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RACE PROBLEMS IN THE
NEW AFRICA

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RACE PROBLEMS IN THE NEW AFRICA

BY

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A STUDY OF THE RELATION OF BANTU
AND BRITONS IN THOSE PARTS OF
BANTU AFRICA WHICH ARE UNDER
BRITISH CONTROL

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DEDICATED

TO

S. J. W. CLARK, Esq.

of London and Chester, merchant, philanthropist, traveller, missionary, and Christian ; who has given himself freely to the promotion of comity and business-like efficiency in Christian Missions ; to whose unwearied patience and generosity the art of Survey in Missions owes more than can yet be told ; and who blithely bore the cost and hardship of tramping through South and Central Africa in quest, not of trade, sport, or adventure, but of first-hand information concerning some of the Problems discussed in this book.

FOREWORD

IN the new mandatory system that the League of Nations is applying to Africa, tutelage, trusteeship, and the just treatment of the native inhabitants are dominant ideas. But if the tutor does not understand his pupil or the trustee his ward, he will fail to be just, however honourable his intentions. And government is no longer the privilege of a few: it is now everybody's business.

Stars which were outshone and unnoticed on clear nights catch the eye when they shine through a rift in dark clouds. In the gloom of the Great War it came to us almost as a new revelation that mistaken leadership must be paid for in the blood and tears of its followers, and that mistaken loyalty thereto may mean widespread disaster for others. And also the magnificent response of the British Dominions and Dependencies to the call of need convinced us that spiritual oneness counts for more than legislative shackles, and that the security of the Empire consists in the mutual sympathy and faith of its varied communities. Much of the old apathy to the wider affairs of the world has disappeared. Labour organizations that were devised for the purpose of humanizing toil have come to the conclusion that it is perilous to stand aloof from the larger problems of statesmanship; and Churches insist with growing emphasis that the spirit of Christianity must pervade world-politics. Men are out for a justice that is touched with a warmth of generosity. But justice depends upon intelligence as well as intention. If men can secure such an understanding of world-movements as will enable them to form just judgements concerning duty, nothing but good can come of the new determination to control these movements; but consecrated ignorance and blundering zeal are more potent for mischief than is selfish apathy.

With all the goodwill in the world, however, it is not easy for Britons to understand the alien life of those parts of Africa for which they have made themselves responsible. Intercommunication is constant, rapid, and easy. That marvellous network of electric nerves that covers the earth keeps every part in touch with every other. News passes freely. It was never so easy to discover what happened yesterday in the extremities of the Empire; but it is no easier than it used to be to look beneath the strange ways of a strange people and discover that unseen element that matters most—the spirit with which their institutions are inspired, the ideals that will determine their action in days that have not yet dawned. Any hasty traveller may motor through the forest and see much that is of interest; but the inner life of the forest reveals itself to those who linger lovingly amidst its shadows. This is still more true of the life of an alien race. But something more than long residence in Africa is needed to enable one to speak with authority on African life. Men do not become geologists by merely living among rocks; and inability to interpret rocks means inability to see what is most significant in their structure and relations.

The problems created by the European invasion of Africa are numerous and complex, and there is no formula that will solve them all; but an accurate knowledge of tribal life is essential to the solution of most of them. Even the sweet reasonableness of a Christian gentleman is insufficient to enable one to look out on life through eyes which are as foreign as those of the Bantu; and yet it is only as we take their view-point that we can get them to take ours. Until we see what Bantu life really is, we cannot know how greatly it needs the aid that can be given by the best elements in British civilization and Christianity, still less can we discover how to render such service. The straight clean life of a good man is of value to any Bantu tribe in which he happens to dwell; but earnest and good men have also wrought mischief through failing to understand the life of the people around them.

Tribes that have been shut off from the rest of humanity for about 2,000 years provide interesting material for the psychologist, the theologian, and the study of comparative jurisprudence; but the primary purpose of this book is to give busy men an interpretative glimpse of the inner life of people who have come under British control, and to consider questions of race-contact in the light of that vision. The writer's aim is not to produce a book of travel, with all its charm of personal adventure, danger, disappointment, and triumph; nor to give vivid pictures of African life by employing general effects, vigorous touches, and masses of form and colour; nor to show the results of missionary activity, either by means of those interesting little stories of individual converts which prove so little, or of that broader survey of the influence of Christianity upon the life of whole communities which means so much. Excellent literature of all these varieties is already available. But there are few books that help the students to explore the soul of the Bantu people. And yet thousands of clear-headed and unprejudiced men, who are not moved by mere emotion, want to see things as they are, and to see the real inwardness of the foreign life that Britain has to handle, in order that they may form sound judgements and shape their course accordingly. The writer's hope is that he may be permitted to show such men some of the salient facts of Bantu life.

Much of the material in these pages, being the result of prolonged residence and research among Bantu tribes, is here published for the first time; and the remainder can be gathered only by wading through a redundancy of unavailing literature. In the study of Bantu institutions, as in that of chemistry or biology, no text-book can ever take the place of the laboratory; but those who, like the writer, have had to struggle slowly through difficulties and blunders to a passable understanding of Bantu life know how the difficulties might have been lessened and the blunders avoided if some such exposition as this had been placed in their hands when they were new to Africa. If

young men preparing for an African career as traders, miners, planters, doctors, missionaries, or Government officials find guidance in these pages as they thread their way through unfamiliar scenes, the author will be amply rewarded for his toil.

The book is of necessity brief, or it would fail of its purpose. And the danger of brevity is seeming dogmatism. But the writer has tried (he hopes, successfully) to avoid the *dogmatic spirit* and to discuss the problems without bias or passion.

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The Map of the Races of Africa is based on that in Meinhof's *Introduction to the Study of African Languages* by the kind permission of Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons.

PART I

RELATION OF THE BANTU TO
OTHER AFRICAN RACES

I AFRICA AND THE AFRICANS

i. *Main geographical features.* Africa, the most tropical of all continents, is roughly pear-shaped, extending for thirty-five degrees on either side of the Equator, with an east-and-west length in its northern bulge that is equal to the east-and-west length of Europe. It is about three times the size of Europe. Its interior consists of two tablelands—if any surface so uneven can be called tableland. The north-western, which is much the larger, runs from the Abyssinian Mountains to the Atlantic coastland, at an elevation of, say, 1,300 ft.; falls gradually northwards to the Sahara (which averages some 600 ft.); and rises on the south and east to join the south-eastern plateau at an altitude of, roughly, 3,000 ft. The south-eastern plateau runs from the Abyssinian Mountains to the Great Karoo in Cape Province, and extends at its widest part almost from Loanda, on the Atlantic, to Cape Delgado, on the Indian Ocean. Its margin on all sides except the north is a range of mountains—sometimes two ranges—parallel with the coast. It attains its greatest elevation on the east, where, even on the Equator, volcanic mountains rising considerably higher than Mont Blanc are clad with eternal snow; where, also, the second largest lake in the world, the Victoria Nyanza, gives birth to the second longest river, the Nile. All the rivers have to break through the mountain edge of the plateau, and then descend to the coastlands in waterfalls and rapids that forbid navigation from the sea for any great distance.

All around Africa there is a strip of lowland, generally narrow, but wider at the mouths of great rivers, and widest on the Mediterranean east of the Atlas Mountains. Except where it is a continuation of the Sahara or the Kalahari deserts, this strip is everywhere fertile; within the tropics it is exceedingly fertile, but also very hot and unhealthy. The coast-line of Africa is peculiarly unbroken, and there are few harbours.

ii. *Rainfall and vegetation.* The rainfall and vegetation are as regular as the coast. The rains of *South Africa* (except the Cape

coast district) come from the Indian Ocean with the monsoon, and the quantity decreases with distance from the east coast. As South Africa is not very tropical, the vegetation is, therefore, from east to west in the order of Savannah, Scrub, Desert. *Central* Africa gets its rain from the Atlantic, and the vegetation from west to east is in the order of Tropical Forest, Savannah, Steppes. *North* Africa receives its rain from the Atlantic, which sweeps a half-circle around its western bulge. The Atlas Mountains tap the rain winds, bringing the driest point a little nearer the north coast than the south. The order of vegetation from south to north in the bulge is, therefore, Tropical Forest, Savannah, Scrub, Desert, Scrub, Savannah. Egypt and Nubia are practically rainless lands.

iii. *Distribution of population.* As a rule the density of the population varies with the density of the rainfall, probably because rainfall determines fertility and the people depend on agriculture. But the *races* are distributed on a somewhat different plan. If a line be drawn from Cape Verde to the junction of the Nile and Sobat, thence up the Nile to its source in the Victoria Nyanza, and on to the mouth of the Tana River, which is about 100 miles north of Mombasa, it would be the southern boundary of the territory occupied by Semitic and Hamitic people. South of this line, there is a great Black belt from the Atlantic to the Nile, with a medley of Negro tribes and an inextricable confusion of hundreds of uncouth languages, in many of which monosyllables prevail and tones are of very great importance. These tribes vary from the shapely, self-respecting people of the uplands, with much Semitic and Hamitic blood in their veins, to the deteriorated but purely Negro people of the malarious swamps on the Gulf of Guinea. The southern boundary of the Negro belt is approximately a line drawn eastwards from the Cameroon Mountains on the Atlantic to Zongo, which is below the northern bend of the Ubangi River, and thence by the south of Lake Albert to join the southern boundary of the Hamitic people. The term 'Negro' is often used of all very dark-skinned people; but it is better to reserve the term for such people as those who inhabit this belt.

All tribes south of this line, except a few Hottentots and Bushmen to be mentioned later, are Bantu.

It will be seen, then, that while the African varieties of mankind are more numerous and diverse than the European they fall naturally into a few more or less definite groups. Where one group has been long in contact with another, however, there has been much intermingling of races, with consequent confusion of physical type, culture, and speech—which, it is hardly necessary to say, is most conspicuous on the border-lines between groups.

iv. *Semites*. Let us glance at the main groups.

The Semites need not detain us long : they are better known to most readers than any other African group of tribes, and of less importance to our present discussion. But it must be remembered that the Arabs have been profoundly influencing Africa for 2,000 years and more ; that after their conquest of North Africa in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era, they infused much of their blood and religion into the Hamitic tribes ; and that for some centuries they have been penetrating the Negro and Bantu groups.

v. *Hamites*. There is much, especially in language, to indicate that the Hamites are an ancient blend of Semites and some darker race. The ancestors of the ancient Egyptians, who occupied the Nile Valley long before the Pyramids were built, are believed to be of this race. But the race would never have been called ' Hamite ' had the name not come into vogue in the days of antiquated Old Testament exegesis. The typical Hamite of to-day may be described as a tall man, with broad shoulders, long and sinewy limbs, fine ankles and wrists, reddish-brown skin, elongated head, frizzy hair, oval face, steel-grey eyes, prominent straight nose, finely chiselled nostrils, rather thin lips, and without projecting jaws or any tendency to corpulency. Just the sort of figure that might have posed, in suitable costume, for the ancient statues of Egypt. But the Hamite people have mingled much with others in the long centuries of their history, and departures from this type are very frequent. Of the two divisions of this race, usually called Western and Eastern, the Berbers and Gallas, respectively, are the purest examples, and the Western division is superior to the Eastern. The Somalis and Abyssinians also are of this race, but with a larger admixture of Arab blood. The Niamnians and

Fulbe (or Fulah) are a departure of another kind—Hamites modified with Negro blood. Bejas, Copts, Masai, Wahuma, Watusi, and many other tribes are Hamites with some modification or other. Many of them are great traders, with markets in every town, and all of them are fond of pastoral pursuits. The Watusi have lived for many generations among the agricultural Bantu of East Central Africa; but they still cling to their ancient avocation and look upon agriculture as derogatory. Another characteristic of this race is its strong love of personal freedom; but there is the same tendency to split into small communities that we shall find later among the Bantu.

vi. *Negroes*. The typical Negro may be described as an agriculturist of good stature and burly build, with long forearms, short legs, small calves, projecting heels, black skin, black woolly hair, long head, bulging brow that retreats upward, broad nose, flat nostrils, everted and projecting lips and projecting jaws. He is often referred to as the real African; but in view of the fact that he is found in the Malay Archipelago, New Guinea, the Philippines, and Fiji, as well as in Arabia and Tropical Africa, it seems more likely that the race originated in Asia. And yet the race must have lived in Africa for thousands of years; for there was a Negro element in the population of ancient Egypt, and the Negro is depicted on the walls of ancient Egyptian buildings. The present distribution of races suggests that the Negro stream of migration came into Africa from the east and spread along the fringe of the Sahara to Senegambia, extending at times apparently from the Sahara to the Congo. This race is now almost confined to the country between the Senegal and the Niger, and even into this area there has been an extensive intrusion of the Berber strain. In other parts of the Black Belt it has been modified by other stocks; but typical Negroes occur, as individuals, almost everywhere in Africa.

Since the days of the slave-trade it has been common to make the Negro the scapegoat for the worst barbarities of Africa. The practice of cannibalism and human sacrifice that is found in various parts of the continent, and even the belief and ritual of witchcraft that are found everywhere, are readily attributed to Negro blood and influence; and it has been dogmatically asserted that the Negro is incapable of being raised even to the

level of Arab civilization. This is a mistaken prejudice, due, probably, to the assumption that the degraded people of the swampy coastlands of the Gulf of Guinea are typical Negroes ; to what is known of such gorgeous and gory kingdoms as Dahomey and Ashanti ; and still more to the willingness of humanity to believe what is to the discredit of those who have been first wronged, then despised, and at last hated. There are not a few full-blooded Negroes who have shown ability to rise in the scale of European civilization and even of scholarship, though it can hardly be doubted that an infiltration of Hamitic or Semitic blood tends to produce a finer type.

vii. *Primitive man in Africa.* Before speaking of the Bantu tribes it will be well to complete our compendium of the earlier inhabitants of the country. In the strict sense of the term, there are no 'primitive people' anywhere in the world—not even in Australia, that home of archaic forms of animal life. Always and everywhere there has been some response, even though feeble, to the play of the divine spirit upon the human : every race has moved in some direction, though not always in that of progress. But though no primitive race remains in Africa, that continent appears to have been once peopled with palaeolithic men, and later with those who used more highly finished stone implements. The bulk of the continent still hides its buried treasures ; but from Egypt to the Cape, where excavation has been at all extensive, or where suitable localities have been examined by palaeontologists, both palaeolithic and neolithic implements have been discovered and often in abundance. Some old river terraces, like those below the Zambesi Falls, for instance, are rich in these curious specimens of ancient human skill. We have but touched the fringe of probable discoveries, but as evidence accumulates from parts of Africa that are far asunder, it becomes increasingly clear that a great part of the continent, if not the whole, was peopled in very early ages. It is noteworthy, however, that no copper or bronze implements have yet been discovered. Africa probably passed directly from the age of stone to that of iron.

Along the south coast of South Africa, there are scores of old kitchen-middens or mounds of shells, ashes, charcoal, and bones of animals. In these refuse-heaps are found bone awls,

and fragments of coarse unglazed pottery, some of which are probably of Bushman origin, while others are of a different make. Bushman legends refer to a people who occupied the country before the Bushmen came, and Hottentots have traditions that their ancestors found the country inhabited by Bushmen and another race, which frequented the sea-shore and lived on shell-fish.

viii. *An extinct civilization.* There are indications, also, that a race of very much higher culture once occupied a considerable area south of the Zambesi. The last thing that a traveller in Bantu Africa expects to find is a stone building. The remarkable civilization that arose in Egypt thousands of years ago, and left stone structures which are still the wonder of the world, did nothing to modify the domestic architecture of Africa. While sparing no toil of brain or muscle to build magnificent tombs and temples that should defy the centuries, the common people of Egypt lived in mud hovels as they do now, and their rulers in palaces of the same perishable material. In Algiers and Morocco also, where Egyptian influence is more apparent than anywhere else, the finest stone buildings are of a sepulchral nature; and throughout North Africa, where the influence of Europe has been felt for thousands of years and that of Arabia for many centuries, most people live in temporary shanties, though stone dwellings are often found in the cities. South of the Sahara, stone buildings are rare, except as mosques and palaces; and they are not found at all south of the Soudan except in Abyssinia. From something like ten degrees north of the Equator right away to the Cape, there is no tribe anywhere outside Abyssinia that builds with anything but flimsy material, notwithstanding the fact that many of them have seen Portuguese houses for centuries. Nor is the reason far to seek. To the African, a house is not a place to live in: it is a store-room, a dormitory, and a shelter from inclement weather. He lives, and cooks, and works, and gossips in the open. When vermin become too numerous in the hut, or if a death occurs in it, it is deserted and a new one built. Then too there is a nomadic strain in the blood of the African, so that it is no uncommon thing for a whole community to migrate to a new site within the tribal domain. These and many other considerations disincline the

tribesmen to build houses or villages that cannot readily be scrapped and replaced. They build with poles, mud, reed, grass, palm-leaves, and the like ; and even the discovery of a tribe that used sun-dried bricks before European influence touched them would be a noteworthy event.

It is, therefore, astonishing to find scattered over Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and adjacent districts, hundreds of ruined stone buildings that are not suggestive of either Egyptian or European inspiration. Of these, the most noteworthy are what are called the Acropolis and Temple at Zimbabwe, seventeen miles south of Victoria, in Southern Mashonaland. The Acropolis is a kopje, some 200 ft. in height, rising in places to 300 ft., which is strewn with huge granite boulders. On three sides granite cliffs make it inaccessible, and the fourth side has been made impregnable with great walls of granite masonry. There were but two approaches to the city. The one that is least dilapidated leads from a fortified gateway in the lower rampart up a steep ascent of which the last 50 ft. is through a natural fissure, only shoulder-wide, with 90 ft. of sheer rock-face on the one hand and 50 ft. on the other ; and on the very edge of the cliff, the approach is defended with a wall, 30 ft. high, 15 ft. thick at the base, and originally 130 ft. long. After passing through this, one comes to another great curved wall, 130 ft. long, 25 ft. high, 20 ft. thick at the base, and from 10 to 14 ft. thick at the top, surmounted with conical towers and slate monoliths. The city is a labyrinth of narrow passages, covered ways, parapets, traverses, buttresses, terraces, balconies, recesses, and great walled enclosures which it would take a military engineer to describe. Before gunpowder was known, a small force of determined men could have held the place against a hundred times their number.

South of the Acropolis and crowning a slight rise in the adjacent valley, there stands an elliptical building that measures some 800 ft. in circumference. Its walls, which are fairly intact, are still over 30 ft. high in places, and vary in thickness from 15 ft. at the base to 10 ft. at the summit. It is certain that the building was never intended to have a roof, and probable that it was a great open-air temple. At what appears to be the sacred end of the enclosure, a cone of solid masonry rises to a height of 30 ft., as if it were the phallic symbol of ancient nature-worship-

pers. At this end of the building, the outer wall is decorated on the outside with two courses of chevron pattern in relief, near the summit, and surmounted with slate monoliths and the remains of cone-shaped towers. The decoration runs from, approximately, north-east to south-east; but it is doubtful whether there was any intention of orientation.

In the valley between the Temple and the Acropolis stand the ruins of many other dwellings like those in the city on the hill, indicating that there was once a considerable population within the outer ramparts.

All the original walls, both on the hill and in the valley, are built of flat slabs of granite, a few inches thick and 2 or 3 ft. long. The stones on both faces of the wall have been roughly hammer-dressed and laid in courses without mortar; but even in the best work, such as the Great Cone and the Great Parallel Passage, false courses occur, and there is no attempt at course-work in the filling of the walls. The builders never used through-bond or batten gauge, and avoided the rectangle in design. The exploration of these buildings, which is very far from complete, has brought to light something like a thousand ounces of gold, in bangles, beads, beaten plates of uniform size, tacks, cakes, &c., a soapstone ingot mould for gold, clay crucibles containing gold in flux, half a score of carved soapstone pillars, each having a bird of prey perched upon the summit and a crocodile climbing towards it, smaller replicas of the same bird, carved soapstone bowls, a couple of hundred stone phalli (the male emblem of fertility), and a soapstone cylinder, which some archaeologists take to be the conventional form of the female emblem of fertility. These were all found on the original floor of the buildings beneath layers of *débris* which had accumulated during centuries of Bantu occupation, and which contained relics of a much more modern description. Nearly all the symbols of nature-worship were found in the Great Elliptical Temple, as it is usually called, and in what are thought to be two smaller temples in the Acropolis.

Who were these ancient builders? That is one of the mysteries of Africa. They must have had an abundance of slave-labour. And yet they and their slaves have vanished, leaving no conclusive evidence of who they were, when they lived, or why they

disappeared, and apparently without affecting the civilization of any part of Africa. That they had enemies is shown by the elaborate preparations for the defence of their cities; and the fact that solid gold ornaments and symbols of worship were found scattered over the floors of their buildings suggests either that their flight was precipitate, or that they were annihilated before they could escape, and that their foes did not know the value of gold or care for the symbols that they had treasured.

Makalanga tribes had been in possession of this region and its coastlands for some three centuries before the Portuguese found the descendants of 'Moors' who, having settled in these parts long before, had married Makalanga women. These half-breeds were Mohammedans; grew bananas, lemons, and garden plants; and sent merchants inland to trade with the Makalanga for gold and ivory. Though these people were much more civilized than the Makalanga, their wattle-and-daub dwellings were but little superior. The Portuguese found also 'Moors' from Southern Arabia, who monopolized the sea-borne trade of these ports. Some 'Moors' told the Portuguese of the great 'Empire of Monomotapa' in the interior, and of immense buildings, which they described as then ancient ruins. The Portuguese connected the ruins with the Empire, which they described in their usual grandiloquent phrases, but there can be no doubt that the 'Empire of Monomotapa' was a Makalanga chieftaincy, and that the ruins were there before the 'Empire' began. Sir Harry Johnston derives the word *Monomotapa* from Makalanga words which mean 'Lord of the Mines'; but the term *Moñ a matlapa* means 'Lord of the Rocks' in Secwana, and Makalanga people who are familiar with both languages have told me that its meaning is the same in their mother tongue. Makalanga chiefs occupied these ruins for many generations, and, with that genius for imitation that is so characteristic of Bantu tribes, they used the old materials to repair breaches and build other walls that were more in harmony with their ideas; but their crude work, which still remains, falls far short of the original. It is possible that the generation which occupied these old buildings when the Makalanga swarmed into the country from the north fell in conflict with the invaders; but I know of no echo of such happenings in Makalanga tradition. At the time of the Matabele

Rebellion there was talk of a tradition that the great buildings were erected by White people, whose slaves rose against them and murdered them all in a single night; and it was said that the Matabele had intended to repeat the experiment. But whether it was really an old tradition or the modern invention of some Native genius who wished to weld the Matabele together for a sudden onslaught on the Whites, I have never been able to discover.

In the countries dotted with these ruins there are hundreds of old gold mines—shafts sunk to a depth of 150 ft., though usually much shallower, and levels run out along the reef. Heaps of uncrushed quartz, sometimes burnt, and stone mortars for crushing it, are often found at the pit-heads. Whether these mines were worked by the builders of the ruins is a moot point. There are indications that they were. The Makalanga who subsequently occupied the ruins were great workers in metal, who dug and smelted their own iron; but though individuals among them occasionally won a little gold from these shafts, there is no evidence that they ever made any extensive use of the ancient mines.

Two theories of the origin of these ruins have been presented. Some writers contend that they were built by people from overseas, whose line of approach was along the Sabi River and its tributaries; and Sabeans, Phoenicians, and Solomon's Red Sea fleet have all been impressed into the service of this theory. The only indigenous population south of the Zambesi at such an early period appears to have been Bushmen. Did the fleet bring the thousands of slaves required for such extensive works? Were fresh slaves brought generation after generation while the work was in progress? Or were women imported, too, and the slaves bred locally? And what happened to all these people after their work was finished? It would be remarkable, also, if Solomon's people, or Hiram's, or even the Sabeans, had erected such buildings and yet left no clear indication of race, whether in inscriptions (which are plentiful even in Southern Arabia), or in symbols, or in peculiarity of design. In the main, of course, it is a question of archaeology, of which I am not qualified to speak; but the buildings do not appear to be more than about 1,000 years old. Professor Randall MacIver was probably right

in demolishing the theory of a very ancient date ; but when he asks us to believe that the buildings are of Bantu workmanship, he puts too great a strain upon our imagination.

No Bantu stone buildings have been reported north of the Zambesi, and practically no others south. On many hill-tops in Bechuanaland, from the area of the ruins as far south as Dithakong,¹ I have seen lines of roughly piled stones, which seem to be the remains of walls that once surrounded villages and sections of villages, and were sometimes evidently arranged on a defensive plan. These walls are thought to have been built by the first Bantu tribes that swarmed across the Zambesi in their southward migration, and the Lighoya or Bataung are specially mentioned in connexion with them. Though the workmanship is crude in comparison with Zimbabwe, and though there is no indication that stone was used for the building of dwellings except as a foundation for the platform on which the hut stood, yet even crude stone walls are a great departure from age-long Bantu practice. What was it that inspired the first Bantu tribes that passed south of the Zambesi to build stone-walls of any kind ? Was it not that during their stay in Matabeleland and Mashonaland they saw stone buildings for the first time in their history, and probably sojourned in them ? The Bantu are weak in initiative but strong in imitation. Those of us who care much for the uplift of these tribes are not slow to accept evidence of their ability ; but we are unable to believe that they could plan such buildings as those of Great Zimbabwe, persist in the completion of such extensive plans, or even look forward to such a lengthened stay on one site as would make such a huge task worth while. Whatever their date, these buildings testify to the long sojourn in this country of another race, which had completely disappeared before Europeans came.

ix. *Bushmen*. Of extant races the Bushmen have probably been longest in Africa. Not only is it recorded that pygmies from the land of Punt danced before Pharaoh, but there are grounds for the belief that the Nile Valley was occupied by a dwarfish race—probably of the Bushman type, before the Caucasian people settled in it. But Bushman is a new name for the race. It was

¹ *Dithakong*, or Lattakoo, as it used to be called, is about 30 miles north-east of Kuruman. The name means ' At the stone walls '.

the Dutch who first called them Bosjesman (a name which they had previously given to the orang-outang in Sumatra); the Hottentots call them San; the Bantu call them Barwa, Batwa, or Abatwa. Bushmen of the Okavango River call themselves Kung, and those of the Orange River call themselves Khuai (the initial 'k' in each word being combined with a cerebral click). But *Khuai* is merely the Bushman word for 'man'.

Two or three varieties of these strange people are found south of the Zambesi, those of the south being shorter than those of the Northern Protectorate, and if the Central African pygmies are of the same race, which is doubtful, they are at least different varieties. The Bushman is about five feet high, men and women being of the same stature. What colour he would be if he were cleaned, it is hard to say; but in his normal condition he is of a dirty yellow colour that sometimes approaches to copper and has always a faint undertone of red. He is of slim but sinewy build, with lean limbs, pendulous paunch, and proportionately small hands and feet. His skull is small and low in the crown; but its ratio of breadth to length is somewhat greater than that of other African races, and is not far removed from that of Europeans. The slope of his face, too, is much the same as ours. He has a broad forehead, somewhat prominent cheek-bones, eyes placed almost horizontally but slightly on the oblique, lobeless ears, very flat nose turned up a little at the tip, wide mouth, projecting jaws, and lips moderately everted. He lacks the characteristic Negro odour, but has other marked peculiarities. His lower jaw is very small, and the upper and lower teeth meet. His skin has a dry, wrinkled appearance, sometimes falling in folds over the abdomen and the larger joints, which is said to be due to the fact that there is very little fat under the skin. But on the calves and buttocks there is an astonishing growth of fatty tissue, especially in the women; and this gives the little people a grotesque contour that can hardly be mistaken even in the distance. The rusty brown woolly hair of the Bushman (which becomes grey in age) seems to be arranged in tiny tufts with bald spaces between—very much as the grass grows in his native wilderness. This appearance is accounted for by the fact that the hairs are short in men and women alike, and, being oval or kidney-shaped on transverse section, curl very tightly

and cling to one another in little tangled knots that are never combed.

As hair is one of the most useful characteristics in classifying mankind according to their physical types, it should be mentioned that Negroes and Bantu, as well as Bushmen, have this variety of hair. With many Negroes and Bantu, however, the hair grows longer than the Bushman's and, being slightly rounder, forms somewhat larger curls, so that the head appears completely covered, especially when the hair is regularly combed; but the 'peppercorn growth', as it is called, is generally visible on the temples of the adult, and on the heads of children and those old people who keep their hair closely cropped. The hair of the Hamites is much rounder on transverse section, as well as much longer and thicker, and is therefore frizzy—hence the 'fuzzy-wuzzies' with which Kipling and the illustrated papers have made us familiar. In proportion as Hamite blood predominates over Negro blood in the races of mixed origin, the 'peppercorn growth' tends to disappear.

South of the Zambesi, there are, in addition to the true Bushmen, scattered groups of Masarwa, the progeny of Bushman mothers and Bantu fathers, and Katia (very degraded, but now almost extinct) who are said by some to be a distinct variety of somewhat taller Bushmen, and regarded by others, probably more correctly, as descendants of Bushman fathers and captured Bantu women. The Dutch call them Vaalpens ('brown bellies').

The Bushman is a nomad of the wilderness, with hardly any social organization, industries, dwellings or clothes, and only very primitive weapons. He plants no gardens and keeps no domestic animals, except an occasional dog. In inclement weather he takes shelter in a cave, or underneath an overhanging rock, or even in a hole that an ant-bear has made. Failing anything better, he bends over a few shrubs and ties them together; piles a little grass on top; and bestows himself and his belongings in this abode. He can curl up his lithe limbs and flexible back in a small hole with as much ease as his dog. Water is very precious in the wilderness where he dwells, but he transports it in the shells of ostrich eggs, and sometimes hoards it by burying these shells in the ground. Instead of kindling fire by rubbing a stick along a groove, he has an improved and more

expeditious method of twirling a pointed stick rapidly in a notch cut in a bit of wood. He has improved, also, upon the very ancient method of cooking with hot stones, having discovered how to make rude unglazed cooking-pots by moulding ant-heap clay inside a woven rush basket and firing the two together; and nowadays he tips his little reed arrow with iron instead of the bone that his father used. Having no use for anything that he and his women-folk cannot carry, his property consists of little more than bow, quiver, arrows that are tipped with bone or iron and poisoned, knobkerrie, sandals of hide, a skin or two, nowadays often a kaross of sewn skins, a knife of iron, and a digging stick weighted with a perforated stone. All these things are of crude workmanship.

The little man is a fleet-footed and very cunning hunter, with a keen eye and an instinct for finding his way. As a tracker, and in practical knowledge of woodcraft, he is unsurpassed. His tiny little bow (my specimen measures 2 ft. 8 in., and the arrows barely 2 ft.) has but a short range of action; but with the aid of feathers, grasses, leaves, a touch of white clay, and great skill in imitating the gait and cries of wild things, he conceals himself in very short cover, and patiently worms his way so near to his quarry that he can get his little poisoned arrow home to its mark. Then he drops instantly, lest he should scare the wounded creature into a madcap gallop and have to seek the meat miles away. The animal, startled with the sting of the arrow, sees no foe and runs only a short distance. Then the hunter retreats unseen; gathers his family together; takes up the spoor of the wounded beast, when the poison has had time to do its work; and camps alongside his prey till not a scrap of carrion remains. He is clever, too, in setting snares and digging pitfalls; and if there is nothing bigger or better, he is not averse to a meal on snakes, mice, insects, roots, or berries. But he is not a cannibal. He is a past-master in the art of enduring hunger and thirst; though if hunger be prolonged there is a great shrinkage in his fat buttocks and calves.

He is a shy, improvident, merry soul, with more intelligence than many people think; and, in his way, he is a musician and an artist. He makes a rudimentary fiddle out of a gourd and a couple of bits of twisted sinew, and enjoys the music and the

dance. He loves to adorn the rocks of his favourite lurking-places with pictures of animals and hunting-scenes, in pigments of white, black, red, and yellow that preserve the freshness of their colours for centuries. I have seen these colours still fresh and bright, though grey-headed patriarchs told me they had known them from childhood, and though the camp-fires that vandals had lit underneath them had caused flakes of granite to fly from the painted surface. The little artist was evidently not much interested in humanity; for his sketch of a person is of the type that very small boys draw on their first slates. But he knew the animals, and evidently loved to have them before him.

In the neighbourhood of the Vaal River and in the country between that and Mafeking, I have seen similar pictures incised in rocks, as if the rock had been sharply struck with a diamond or quartz crystal so as to show an incised dot for every blow. All the paintings that I have seen have been on the faces of overhanging rocks or of entrances to caves; but all the incised figures that I know are on loose boulders of no great size, lying quite in the open. It has been suggested that the engravings are the handiwork of a different but related race; but they are inspired by the same motive as the paintings, and show the same exaggeration of peculiarities and the same life and movement in the figures.

Of the Bushman's mentality and spirituality too little is known. Missions to the Bushmen are impossible; because the people are found only in very small and widely scattered groups, which are always on the move; and the inner life of a foreign people can be mastered only by prolonged residence in their midst. Dr. Bleek, the most famous African philologist of his day, who was at work on the Bushman language when he died in 1875, discovered that Bushmen have an elaborate mythology somewhat similar to that of the Australian aborigines. That they have some sort of a religion is indicated by their practices. Their burial custom is to lay the corpse on its side, facing the east, in a cavity scooped out of the western wall of the grave, and to pile a cairn of stones upon the mound. For some obscure reason, they amputate the terminal joint of the little finger of the left hand; but they do not practise circumcision.

The language of the Bushman is largely monosyllabic, and probably akin to the Sudanic family. It has nothing to do with Bantu tongues, and its relationship to Hottentot is very remote. It is said to contain no numerals beyond '3'. Being full of strong aspirates, gutturals, and clicks, it sounds very harsh to European ears. These strange clicks are suction-sounds of six or seven varieties, very like those with which our country people drive horses, call fowls, feed pigs, and utter notes of commiseration; but European tongues cannot easily combine such sounds with consonants as components of words. Clicks are said to occur in the languages of one or two small groups in East Africa; but in spite of the enormous amount of work done, we are still only at the beginning of African language-study. The judgement of the future probably will be that clicks are found only in the tongues of Bushmen and of people who have borrowed them from Bushmen.

When Europeans came upon the scene, the Bushmen were scattered over most of the country south of the Zambesi; and there is little doubt that they once extended throughout tropical East Africa, if not farther west, and were driven into the more inaccessible parts by the arrival of the pastoralist tribes. Some of the earlier tribes that streamed south of the Zambesi found it prudent not to quarrel with the Bushmen, but others captured Bushman women and added them to their harems. The Bushman's idea of property is restricted to that which can be carried; and he made as free with the flocks and herds of the pastoralists as the latter did with the game in his old haunts. Bantu, Hottentots, Boers, and Britons hunted him as vermin. When he could, he took revenge by letting fly his little venomous arrows upon his hunters, without giving them a glimpse of their foe; but thousands of Bushmen were shot at sight, and the remainder driven into the fastnesses of the mountains and deserts. The race is now largely confined to the lower half of the Orange River, the Kalahari Desert, Lake Ngami, and the Okavango River. It is apparently doomed to speedy extinction, but much of its blood has passed into other South African races.

x. *Hottentots*. For a couple of centuries after Vasco da Gama discovered the Cape, the whole country from Walvisch Bay on the west coast to the Kei River on the south coast was occupied

solely by Bushmen and Hottentots. 'Hottentot', like 'Bushman', is the White man's name of contempt for the race; but there appears to be some doubt as to its origin and significance. Some writers allege that it is a modification of a Dutch word that means 'stupid'; others, that the name was given because the language of these strange people seemed to the Dutch to be a mere gibberish of 'hot' and 'tot'; a very old writer¹ says that the name was given them because they stammered; and T. Hahn, who was born and bred among them, his father being their missionary, says that 'Huttentut' is the Low German word for 'quack'. All agree that it was a term of contempt, and the probability is that it had reference to the peculiarity of their language; but it is questionable whether they were not called Hottentot by the Portuguese before the Dutch came. They have names of their own for the several tribes into which the race is divided: the Gonaquas in the eastern part of Cape Colony, the Attaquas and Outeniquas in the south, the Namaquas in the north-west, and the Korannas in the north. But it is doubtful whether they ever thought it necessary to have a name for the race till the White man sought it at their lips, and then they called themselves *Khoikhoi*, which in their language means 'people, *par excellence*'. Of the tribes mentioned, the Namaqua is the purest, the Koranna well-nigh extinct, and all are now much modified by contact with Europeans. The Griqua, who gave their name first to Griqualand West and then to Griqualand East, were, it is thought, the progeny of Dutch fathers and Hottentot slave-mothers; but during the last century the blood of many Europeans and some Asiatics was infused into this race, and they are now commonly called 'Cape Boys'. Whether or not it is correct to regard the Hottentot as their basic stock, they are increasing rapidly in numbers and civilization, and would be a valuable element in South African life if they could be protected from their great enemy—liquor.

There is much in the Hottentot that reminds us of the Bushman, and much more of another stamp. In stature he exceeds the Bushman by some five or six inches; his skin is darker, varying from brownish-yellow to a dingy brown; his back is distinctly hollow, but the tendency to grow adipose tissue on the

¹ Dapper, whose travels were published in 1670.

buttocks is not so pronounced. His woolly hair is of the same peppercorn growth, but black instead of brown; and he has prominent cheek-bones, broad and flat nose, somewhat oblique brown eyes with yellowish corneas which are set in deep sockets far apart, and a pointed chin which gives his face a curious triangular appearance. His everted lips and the slope of his face are Negro rather than Caucasian. His hands are fairly small, though not quite so small, proportionately, as those of the Bushman. All this suggests that there are Bushmen and Hamites if not Negroes among his forbears—a theory with which his mental and social make-up is in accord. But the blend must be very ancient, or the type could not be so persistent.

In character, the Hottentot may be described as mild, amiable, sociable, improvident, indolent, unstable, and very dirty. He used to abandon sick and aged kindred without scruple; but he was never a cannibal.

His other vices were the smoking of *dacha* (wild hemp), and, when there was wild honey to be had, the excessive drinking of honey beer—a liquor to which he imparted a very vicious 'kick' (to use an Americanism), by means of certain roots with which he was familiar.

Like the Hamites, the Hottentots are essentially herdsmen, shepherds, and nomadic hunters, and are averse to the cultivation of the soil. They brought with them into South Africa the same sort of gaunt, bony, long-legged, and long-horned cattle that the Galla possess—a breed which is not indigenous to Africa; and the herding of these beasts is their most honourable employment. Women are forbidden in Bantu tribes to have anything to do with cattle; but Hottentot women, like Hamites again, consider it to be their daily duty to milk the cows. Hottentots were very clever at training cattle, not only to carry burdens, but to respond to calls and signals as readily as dogs, and even, so some say, to attack the enemy in war. They had great herds of these cattle, and very large flocks of that breed of long-eared, fat-tailed, hairy sheep that is found throughout Bantu Africa. When Captain Lancaster¹ put into Table Bay on his second voyage, with his crews suffering terribly from

¹ Capt. James Lancaster brought the first English ships into Table Bay on 1st August 1591, and called again with five ships on 6th September 1601.

scurvy, he had little trouble in buying 42 oxen and 1,000 sheep from the Hottentots of that district for pieces of hoop-iron.

The Hottentots lived in small villages of portable dome-shaped huts, with wicker frames and mat roofs. Their more warlike tribes placed these huts in a circle around the cattle-pen, as the Bantu do, but others placed them in the centre of the cattle-pen for protection. The Hottentots that Vasco da Gama met at St. Helena Bay (100 miles north of Cape Town), on 7th November 1497, were armed with weapons of wood, hardened by fire and pointed with the horns of animals. But long before that date they knew how to make iron heads for their spears and arrows; how to shape ornaments out of the solid masses of copper that they picked up here and there; and how to mould ant-heap clay into pots by the freehand process. They were too indolent, however, to do much that could be avoided, and found it less toilsome to tip their weapons with horn and bone, store their water in ostrich egg-shells and the horns of cattle, and cook their meat over open fires. Even upon the skins of sheep and wild animals with which they clad themselves they bestowed but little care.

The Hottentot language is a puzzle for philologists. It has borrowed from Bushman many words and the four clicks that are most easily pronounced. Bleek says that three-fourths of the syllabic elements in the Hottentot language begin with clicks. But it has little affinity with Bushman, being much more highly developed, and resembling Aryan rather than Bantu tongues. Take, for instance, the word already mentioned as an example of their method of expressing number and gender: *Khoi*, 'person'; *khoib*, 'man'; *khois*, 'woman'; *khoin*, 'people'; *khoigu*, 'men'; *khoitu*, 'women'. As long ago as 1850 Bleek formed the opinion that Hottentot is related to Coptic, Berber, and Galla; and the best authorities of to-day regard it as a Hamitic tongue that has been much influenced by Bushman.

It is thought that the Hottentots are the descendants of a horde of Hamites who went south, long after the Bushmen had gone in that direction, but long before the Bantu migration began; that they were driven farther and farther to the south as the Bantu tribes pressed behind them; and that they married

so many Bushman women in the many centuries of their migration that their physique, habits, and speech all became modified thereby. When Europeans came upon the scene, Hottentots and Bushmen were constantly at war with one another, and yet Hottentot tribes often had families of Bushmen attached to them.

xi. *Bantu*. The race with which this book is concerned is the Bantu, the youngest and toughest race in Africa. But if 'race' be taken to denote a definite physical type, rather than a particular social heredity, the term is as inapplicable to the Bantu as to the Aryan. They are a fairly distinctive group of some fifty millions of people who speak what was once one tongue and are dominated, in the main, by the same idea of the world, but who vary considerably in build and features.

Now it must not be supposed that every one of these millions can understand the speech of all the others—far from it! It is hard to say when a dialect ceases to be a dialect and becomes a separate language; but, of the 226 Bantu languages of which Sir Harry Johnston has given us samples in his last and greatest book,¹ some are no farther apart than the dialects of Dorsetshire and Yorkshire, while others are beyond the limits of mutual intelligibility. And yet when one comes to study either the structure of these languages or their vocabularies, it is easy to see that they are all one. In the seventeenth century, when some Portuguese from the west coast found they could understand Natives on the east coast, it was probably due to a recent migration of tribes from west to east; but it set people thinking. In 1808 Lichtenstein, a celebrated German naturalist, after comparing what was then known of a few languages spoken south of the Congo and at Mombasa, came to the conclusion that they were all closely related. Dr. Bleek, the father of Bantu philology, published the first part of his *Comparative Grammar of South African Languages* in 1862, and the second part in 1869; but as early as 1856 he had come to the conclusion that all the tribes south of the Zambesi (except Hottentots and Bushmen) belonged to one linguistic family, which had other branches north of that river. Since then missionaries and others have

¹ *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, by Sir Harry Johnston. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919.

done an enormous amount of valuable work in African languages, and it has become possible to draw in detail the boundary for Bantu-speaking people that has been indicated on a former page ¹ and even to mark out the few enclaves within this region that are occupied by tribes of other origin.

This is hardly the place for a disquisition on Bantu grammar ; but a brief paragraph may be interesting and instructive. Like most languages in the world, those of the Bantu are genderless ; and one of their outstanding characteristics is the use of pronominal prefixes and consequent euphonic alliterations. Nouns are divided into classes, and each class has its own prefix, though the exact form of the prefix varies according to the dialectic peculiarity of the tribe. The singular prefix for personal nouns is always something like *omo-*, *umu-*, *mo-*, or *m-* ; and the plural prefix for the same word is always something like *ova-*, *aba-*, *ba-*, *va-*, or *wa-*. Take the word 'Bantu' as an example. It is really a coined word. Each separate tribe had a name for itself, and sometimes there was a group-name for a group of tribes ; but the people knew no name for their race. They had never needed such a name. But when it was discovered that this great group of tribes is really one linguistic family, Dr. Bleek suggested that it should be called 'Bantu', and the name was so appropriate that it has held the field ever since. This word is made up of their prefix *ba-*, which gives it a personal and plural meaning, and a stem *-ntu*, which occurs in very many, if not all, of these languages ; and there are few natives who would not jump at once to the conclusion that *Bantu* means 'people', even though they had never heard the word in just that form before. If the singular particle for personal nouns be prefixed to this stem, we get such forms as *umuntu*, *omundu*, *mtu*, or *motho* ; or with the plural, *abantu*, *ovandu*, *watu*, or *batho*—words that look very different on paper, but are really small variations that owe their unlikeness mainly to little tricks of teeth, tongue, and lips, sometimes to nothing more than lip-laziness. There are many other prefixes. There is, for example, a prefix which is always something like *ki-*, *chi-*, *tshi-*, or *se-* and which imparts an adjectival force to the stem. One often finds this particle prefixed to the stem of the tribal name

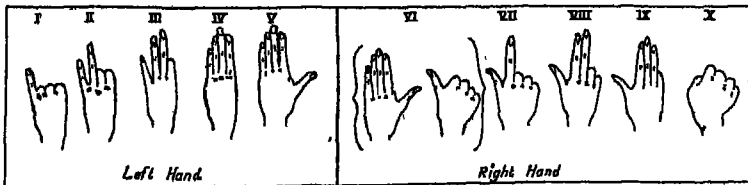
¹ See p. 15.

to denote the language or the customs of the tribe. Since there is a widespread notion that the language of an unsophisticated people is always deficient in abstract nouns, it may not be amiss to mention that the prefix *bo-* gives an abstract meaning to any stem that is capable of carrying such an idea. For instance, with tribes that use the above forms *motho* and *batho* ('person' and 'people') *botho* denotes the essential quality of humanity. The noun is the governing word in a Bantu sentence, and each verb and adjective in the sentence must begin with a corresponding prefix; hence that alliterative quality in Bantu speech which a foreigner readily notices. The liquid and somewhat musical tone of these tongues is largely due to the fact that each syllable consists of one consonant followed by one vowel,¹ the vowels being of substantially the same value as in Italian. The verb is flexible and copious, and capable of expressing very fine shades of meaning with great precision. And the grammatical principles are founded on systematic and philosophic considerations.

When these tribes were discovered, one or two of them had a few pictorial and symbolic signs which they occasionally used in sending messages, and many were familiar with the notched tally-stick;² but they knew nothing of writing. A few Swahili

¹ There are cases in which a vowel is elided, as often, for example, before an initial or final nasal.

² Their decimal system of notation bears a striking resemblance to the Roman numerals, especially if the older form *IIII* be used instead of *IV*, as it still is on clocks. The system is based upon the fingers, and the hands



are freely used at the same time as the tongue. The speaker, holding his hand with the palm towards the auditor, lifts the little finger of his left hand as he says 'one'; that finger and the next for 'two', and so on. The four fingers standing together with the thumb folded down means 'four'; but if the thumb be extended to form a V with these fingers, it means 'five'. 'Six' is made by placing the thumb of the right hand alongside the 'five'. 'Eight' is expressed by folding down the third and fourth fingers of the right hand, and 'nine' by folding down the little finger only. And the names

boys on the east coast had been taught by Arabs to write their vernacular in Arabic characters ; but nearly all Bantu tongues were first reduced to writing by missionaries, who usually began their production of vernacular literature with a Primer, and followed speedily with a Gospel or the Psalms. The value of services which missionaries have thus rendered to the science of linguistics can hardly be over-estimated.

Though each tribe cherishes traditions of its separation from a more ancient community and of the quarter from which it set forth for its present home, there is no tradition of the origin of the race. Sir Harry Johnston's theory, however, is probably not far from fact. He thinks the race originated about two thousand years ago on the watershed of the Nile, Shari, and Congo, from a fusion of Negroes and Hamites of the Galla variety.

It is not difficult to imagine the process by which this race peopled the southern third of the continent from that centre. The country has been subject to periods of famine ; the race possesses amazing fertility, doubling its numbers under favourable circumstances about every thirty years ; their social heredity includes an innate tendency to cleavage and the setting up of independent communities ; and, like all races, they now and then produce a genius who can only express himself in terms with which he is familiar—generally in terms of conquest and pitiless subjugation. All these causes have combined to break up strong centres and reorganize the fragments around new leaders of ability in new localities. We shall see later that the tendency to cleavage is largely due to the jealousy that has free play in the polygamous families of the chiefs ; but whatever its cause, the fact remains that every century or less, especially after famine, defeat, or whatever causes discontent, a swarm emerges from each large community, like angry bees from a hive, and clusters around its leader in unoccupied territory.

Of the disturbing effect of an occasional genius, there was a

for the numerals correspond. This system enables them to count to high numbers ; but it is too cumbersome for arithmetic and is relinquished in all vernacular schools. Fancy having to say ' tens-which-fold-down-two-with-ten-which-folds-down-one ' instead of ' eighty-nine ' !

significant example at the beginning of the last century. Chaka was a man of pre-eminent ability and ambition, which expressed itself in the only way that seemed to him worth while—ruthless warfare. The result was almost incredible. Through terror of his 'impis', one panic-stricken tribe threw itself against another in its effort to escape; and within a couple of decades a million people perished; the life of every tribe within hundreds of miles was profoundly disturbed; and people born in Zululand were spreading terror beyond Lake Nyasa. It was probably some similar occurrence that sent the Jagas on the west coast and the Bazomba on the east coast ravaging and slaying in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but of that we can only guess, as the Portuguese were not given to the philosophic study of the underlying motives of current history, and Andrew Battell, the fisherman of Leigh in Essex,¹ who was with the Jagas for twenty-one months, was hardly the man for such research. Nothing is more fatal to the welfare of a country than genius allowed to run wild and able to command the blind loyalty of hordes of determined men. That has been the story of Bantu Africa from the beginning.

This life of turmoil has had a marked effect upon Bantu physique, language, and social institutions. It has prevented that development of arts and crafts which is found wherever people maintain a settled life for long periods in the same locality. It has resulted in a commingling of Bantu tribes whose ancestors left the original home by various routes at widely-separated periods and whose customs and speech had been subsequently modified by centuries of dissimilar environment. And it has brought some Bantu tribes into contact with non-Bantu people of divers kinds. The Xosa, Tembu, and Hlubi tribes, for example, are sister-tribes that invaded South Africa from the west coast in the seventeenth century. The two former became involved in victorious warfare with Hottentots, whose women they captured and absorbed. The consequence is that many members of these two tribes are now of a lighter skin-colour and somewhat more Hottentot features, and both tribes have adopted three clicks (chiefly in words connected with

¹ See the story in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, published in London in 1617 and 1625 and reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, London, in 1901.

women's work) and many loan-words from the Hottentot language. The first Bechuana tribes to cross the Zambesi¹ fraternized with Bushmen and married Bushman women, while later tribes of the same stock fought with Bushmen and captured Bushman women; and the result is an unmistakable touch of Bushman in the skin-colour and physique of the Bechuana—especially of the earlier tribes, though, strange to say, it seems to have had little if any influence on the language. Western Bantu tribes have taken Negro women, with consequent absorption of Negro peculiarities. Where Eastern Bantu tribes march with Hamites, there is less intermingling of blood, except in the families of the chiefs, as Bantu commoners are seldom able to procure Hamitic women. Tribes long resident at the African ports are tinged with overseas characteristics, especially on the east coast, where colonies of Arabs and Bombay Indians have long been resident.

A description of the physical characteristics of a race can never be more than approximately correct; for every known race is a synthesis of many varieties, and its physical features may change in a century or two under the influence of altitude, humidity, avocation, nourishment, education, political freedom, and the many other factors that constitute environment. As a generalization of the Bantu physical type, one can only say that they show every variety between Hamite and Negro; that in tribes long resident in the east, Hamite predominates, even to the extent of steel-grey eyes and Egyptian-like faces among the aristocrats, while the Negro strain is more pronounced in tribes that have lived for many centuries in the west; and that Bushman and Hottentot features occur in tribes that came much into contact with either of these races in the south. Even this vague statement must be taken as nothing more than a rough indication of the truth.

The Negro component of this mixed race gives bulk and weight to the figure, and the Hamitic confers greater ability. Among South African tribes it is noticeable that those that

¹ It is thought that there were no Bantu tribes south of the Zambesi and Kunene rivers till about a thousand years ago, and that up to that date the whole of that country was in possession of Hottentots and Bushmen, with the possible exception of the builders of the ancient ruins, of whose identity nothing is yet known.

came from the west have more brawn and more bounce than those that came from the centre or from the east of the continent—though one would hardly say that self-abasement is the mark of any Bantu tribe. In eminent Bantu families one occasionally notices individuals who bear a striking resemblance to men of mark at home; and early explorers were struck with the Egyptian-like features of the ruling families of the larger tribes. Both facts are probably due to the larger proportion of Hamitic blood in the ruling families; for the Egyptians were Hamites, and Hamites are in the main Caucasians.

Though it is true that each race is a synthesis of many varieties of humanity, and that its physical characteristics can be but roughly described, it is also true that each race has a more or less definite and peculiar outlook on life. It is this common ideal that gives people a sense of kinship and marks them off from every other race. What matters most is not the origin of each thread in the mingled yarn, but the texture and pattern that the fabric has taken in the loom of time. Much has been written, for example, concerning the main features of British culture and institutions; but the British are not even one in language, to say nothing of origin or physical type. The French also are a medley of many different strains. But British and French have each succeeded in developing a distinctive type of civilization, notwithstanding the fact that for ages each of them has been subject not only to the influence of the other, but of divers other nations. Bantu tribes have lacked the political and geographical solidarity that both British and French have long enjoyed; but, on the other hand, the *dominant* influence in the social culture of all Bantu tribes is evidently of one origin, and, except to the limited extent already indicated, these tribes have been shut off for about two thousand years from all the modifying influences of the wider world. The result is considerable variety in the details of tribal customs and institutions, and yet fundamental agreement concerning the larger problems of life.

It is this Bantu outlook on life that we propose to study in the five following chapters.

Like all Africans, except Bushmen and other pygmies (if they are other), the Bantu passed long ago from a primitive condition

of complete dependence upon nature, in which the daily need of the family was supplied by the family effort of the day, into an intelligent exploitation of natural resources by the agricultural and pastoral labour of the community. They are all hunters, breeders of fowls and small stock, and cultivators of the soil. But where the country is congenial to cattle, men leave the lands largely to their womenfolk and devote themselves to pastoral pursuits.

Nothing is more characteristic of pastoral Bantu tribes than their love of those long-horned cattle that were the joy of the Hamitic heart before the Bantu race was born.¹ If you want to see a look of rapture on Bantu faces, place them before a herd of black-and-white cattle of a kind that they can appreciate. The greatest Bantu chief prides himself upon his knowledge of cattle and his ability to manage them; and men generous beyond their neighbours are most reluctant to part with a fertile cow, even in emergency. They have never felt the need of separate terms to distinguish between the colour of the grass and that of the sky, but the colours of their cattle are distinguished with the greatest terminological exactitude. With one word, they can describe a beast which it would take a paragraph and a diagram to describe in English.

The failure of waters on the upper veld often necessitates the removal of a herd to another 'fountain' or stream, but the Bantu have passed out of the nomadic stage of civilization into that of permanent settlements. Their homes soon become insanitary, however, and are often rendered ceremonially unclean, and it is no great hardship to move to another locality.² There is, moreover, an element of restlessness and desire for change in Bantu character, and before the days of European government, especially after the slave-trade made man-hunting the most profitable pursuit in Africa, intertribal war often desolated a whole country-side, and made every community insecure. Few Bantu clans have been blessed with anything like permanence of abode.

Though a high degree of industrial skill is not incompatible with cannibalism, domestic slavery, or the rule of a despot who

¹ See pp. 17 and 31.

² See pp. 119-21 for village architecture, also p. 19.

treats the lives of his subjects with great levity,¹ it is found only in centres of population that have continued for long centuries, where secrets of manufacture have been passed on, age after age, from father to son. Nevertheless, smiths were found in all Bantu tribes—clever smiths in some of them, especially in the centre of the continent—who dug ore from their native hills, smelted it, and worked it into tools² and weapons. Some tribes (those of Katanga, Angola, and the Limpopo Valley, for instance) knew how to smelt and work copper into articles of personal adornment long centuries before they saw a white face. In a Barolong town on the Molopo River, Moffat³ saw a Mohurutse from Kurreechane making a mixture of copper and tin, which he drew into wire and wove into ornaments. I saw Mirambo's people drawing wire in Unayamwezi in 1882, though the art was then apparently dying. Some tribes used to weave loin-cloths of wild cotton; some made garments of the inner bark of the baobab or, better still, of the banyan; and others were skilful furriers. Wood-carving was practised almost everywhere, though often poorly done, stools, pillows (of the Egyptian pattern), dishes, and various other vessels being carved out of the solid and often decorated with figures of animals and conventional ornaments. The potter's wheel was unknown and pot-clay was of inferior quality; but pottery of great utility and often of graceful design was everywhere produced. Basket-work, hat-weaving, and mat-weaving were common accomplishments: some Central Bantu tribes wove dishes and beer-pots of chaste patterns and of texture so fine that they were watertight. All these industries may still be found among the Bantu; but European goods find their way cheaply and easily even into districts that Europeans have never visited, and native craftsmanship is rapidly dying.

¹ It is hard to find better specimens of wood-carving in Bantu Africa than those of the Barotse Valley; better iron-work than that of some Manyema tribes; better basket-work than that of Mirambo's Wanyamwezi; or a higher degree of general civilization than that of Uganda. And, also, it is not the most warlike tribes that have produced the finest weapons.

² Bantu hoes were of the Egyptian pattern and suggest the origin of the design for 'spades' in playing-cards.

³ *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, by Robert Moffat. London: John Snow, 1842, pp. 466-8.

In individual character the Bantu differ as widely as the British. But, as a broad indication of proclivity, the following is not far wrong. They are a peaceable people, though liable to short outbursts of anger or grief. To those whom they trust, they are kindly and willing to be helpful; but underneath a somewhat stoical exterior they carry an emotional and impulsive temperament, with more than a touch of vanity. They are not insensible to argument; but it is easier to manage them with a laugh and a joke than with stern logic. Any display of bad temper calls out the worst that is in them, and when convinced that a White man despises their race they are quite willing to be thought fools if only it will add to his annoyance. Accustomed to a world without clocks, where time is of little consequence, and where they can do what they like when they like, the regular and persistent methods of European industry soon become irksome to them, and they must either go home and rest awhile or seek a change of employment. They are often accused of indolence; but, though love of work for work's sake is confined in every race to the few elect souls that have tasted the joy of creative art, and though the simple wants of the Bantu are easily supplied, they spend much of their time in what they consider useful employment. One would hardly call them cleanly people; but water is scarce and they have great love for their native soil. Their objectionable habit of smearing their bodies with an evil-smelling mixture of grease and haematite, ochre, or powdered redwood is, however, really hygienic, and those of them who live near great rivers or on the sea-coast are fond of bathing and swimming. Their remarkable weakness in all that pertains to finance is probably due in part to lack of forethought; in part to the fact that currency is a new idea to most of the Bantu tribes; and in part to a streak of avarice that runs through their nature. They have retentive memories, a faculty for imitation, and a childlike facility for learning foreign languages. Men who can speak two or three Bantu tongues besides their own are common, and it is not uncommon to find men who speak also Portuguese, Cape Dutch, or English, or possibly two of these European tongues in addition to one or two vernaculars. They are courageous and very loyal to any authority that they recognize; and in patience of the

passive variety they excel. Their music is monotonous and sad even in its joyousness, and their musical instruments are primitive though varied.

xii. *Sudanese hybrids.* Perhaps it ought to be said, in conclusion, that in the Northern Sudan there are tribes which do not speak Bantu languages but are a somewhat similar blend of Negroes and Hamites (Tuaregs) or Semites (Arabs). That the finest of these Sudanese hybrids are superior to the finest Bantu is due to the larger proportion of Hamitic and Semitic blood in their pedigree, and to the fact that the culture of the Western Hamites is superior to that of the Eastern. But environment counts for much in the development of a people; and, while the Bantu have been isolated from more progressive races till a very recent date, the Sudanese have had the benefit of more than seven centuries of Mohammedan influence—an influence which, though it falls far short of the Christian ideal, is not only immensely superior to anything in heathen Africa, but was able to contribute valuable elements to the culture and scholarship of mediæval Europe.

PART II

A STUDY OF BANTU LIFE AND
THOUGHT

II. SPIRITS OF THINGS

' Anthropologists have recently been attacking religion by methods similar to those employed by biologists against love. By an elaborate chain of deduction which would make a theologian blush, they have decided completely to their own satisfaction that ancestor-worship and such rude beginnings explain all. . . . To show that religion as we now understand it began as something very different, is no more argument against the reality of religion than the fact that the flower began as a root, the cousin of dirt and worms, would be an argument against the reality of the flower. . . . If man were once an ape, there is all the more likelihood that he will some day be an angel.'—Le Gallienne's *Religion of a Literary Man*.

NEITHER Black men nor White men ever express the ideas that matter most in argument. Such ideas appear so fundamental to a speaker that he credits his listener with taking them for granted. In our own community this is no bar to mutual understanding, for we all take much the same things for granted ; but in a community very alien from our own we must discover what is assumed before we can understand what is said and done. It is probably impossible for a White man to 'think black' ; but success, if it comes at all, comes always along a path that is strewn with the failures of those who tried and partly succeeded. So we venture into the jungle.

i. *Assumptions of Bantu thought.* The Bantu conceive of everything in the world—every animal, every tree, every hill, every rock, everything animate or inanimate (as we should call it)—as having a soul, a subtle unseen something within that makes it what it is and enables it to do what it does. They conceive, moreover, that the soul pervades not only the body, but its clothes, its secretions, its shadow, its name, and everything with which it comes into close contact. And, stranger still, they think it possible for one soul to be more or less absorbed by another ; and that there are many clever people who have been initiated into the secret of aiding or thwarting this absorption, whether for weal or woe to others.¹

¹ This Bantu belief is sometimes referred to as a conviction that every quality of people and things is 'catching' under certain circumstances, and that the most desirable thing to know is how to 'catch' some qualities and avoid others, and how to expose one's foes to the contagion that they wish

If we take this as the assumption that lies at the back of the Black man's mind, taboos and magic are not so inexplicable after all. Without this they look like Bedlam let loose. And the puzzle of it is that the people who rely upon taboo and magic are not at all the sort of people that one expects to find in Bedlam. They are not all alike. In a Bantu community there is as much difference between individuals as there is in a British community, but many of them are very capable people, and, like everybody else, they all accept the explanation of their experience that seems to them to explain the most.

ii. *Taboo*. Look at their idea of taboo. I can only mention a few samples out of thousands. 'Taboo' is not a Bantu word; it comes from the South Seas, I believe. The Bantu words for the idea are varied, but may be translated as 'things to be avoided'. Birth and death are simply crowded with taboos, as we should expect the greatest mysteries of life to be. For instance, a corpse is, of course, taboo: it must not be seen by children, nor buried by any one who is not full-grown; and it must not be carried through the door, but through a hole made in the back wall of the hut. Some tribes burn the hut in which death has occurred; some merely abandon it; some not only remove it, but dig over the ground on which it stood, and forbid children to play on that spot. At least, the hut is taboo and requires elaborate purification before it can be used again. All the personal possessions of the deceased are taboo. Some of them can be purified by appropriate mixtures; but there are impurities that only fire can take away, and such things as axes and spears are passed through the fire till the wood is burned. Some tribes bury all the personal possessions that are not iron; but according to many tribes the clothes must neither be buried nor burned in the rainy season; and in tribes that make the clothes of a dead man the perquisite of his maternal uncle, these clothes must not be removed in the rainy season. Even the milk in the calabashes and milk-sacks of the dead man must be poured out; and it is taboo for his relatives (though not for others) to use the milk of his herd till the sacrifice has been offered for the repose of his soul. The grave is taboo; one must not stand or sit on it, or remove anything placed there. Mourners are taboo; to avoid. To the Bantu, however, it is more than a *quality*; it is a part of the *soul* of the person or thing.

until they are purified they must not pass through a herd of cattle, and near relatives must not associate with their neighbours for a period. The taboo that rests upon widows and widowers is very serious and remains for a long time.

Death is not regarded by the Bantu as a natural happening, but as a supernatural visitation. And anything that has come into contact with the supernatural is taboo. If a hut is struck by lightning, no part of it may be touched till it has been purified, and after that it can only be demolished and the materials thrown outside the village. Tribes with which I lived are very fond of flesh. They regard it as a beautiful valediction to wish that the traveller may hap upon a dead eland or zebra on the way; and if a beast dies of disease (even anthrax) they eat it; but if it is killed by lightning, its flesh must not be eaten. Perhaps it is for the same reason that the day after a hailstorm or tempest with lightning must be kept as taboo-day. But there are other taboo-days, or 'sabbaths'—days on which no work must be done in the fields. It is hard to distinguish between taboo and sacred in primitive thought. We sometimes say that the number seven was a sacred number to the ancient Hebrews; and seven is a taboo number to the Bantu. People haggling for the biggest possible bride-price for their daughter would rather take six head of stock than seven—though they would keep the bargain open for weeks in the effort to get eight.

The supernatural and the unnatural are one in Bantu thought, and everything abnormal and uncanny is taboo. Babies who cut their upper teeth before the lower, or who are born feet first, and twins (in most tribes) must not be permitted to live.

The Puberty Ceremonies, which we shall discuss later, are guarded with many taboos. These taboos are largely sexual; but the neophytes in the Boys' Camp must not sweep the floor, or mix mud, or shape a mud-wall, or shave the head, or cook porridge, or handle malted grain, or take up the ashes of a fire in a potsherd. It is taboo for a woman to enter the camp, or even to see it or the neophytes in the distance—at least among tribes that maintain these ceremonies in their ancient glory; and in the old days a woman who violated this taboo would undoubtedly have been killed. Even women who cook food at home for the use of boys in the camp are placed under many taboos.

War is hedged around with many taboos. Men on the war-path must not eat wild fruit or berries; must not pass *over* a stick lying across the path; must not point the muzzle of a gun or the blade of a spear in any direction but that in which they are going; and must not eat food found in a captured village or take any of its plunder till the capture is complete. And each warrior who has slain a foe is under fearful taboos till the ceremony for the purification of warriors has been performed.

iii. *Breach of taboo involves supernatural penalty.* Now the penalty for breach of taboo, though often material, is always supernatural. The Bantu idea is not that these things or deeds are forbidden by the authority of the tribe; but that those who violate taboo will be supernaturally punished. When I was travelling in Polynesia and New Guinea I often saw signs placed on trees, paths, gardens, &c., which made it taboo for any one but the owner to use them. Bantu magicians think they, too, can place things under the protection of spirits; but that is not what they mean by taboo. With them the thing or the deed is taboo by reason of its very nature, not by reason of any magical rites that have been performed over it; but, as in the other case, the penalty comes from the spirit-world. If a pregnant woman were to sow seed in a garden or walk over cultivated land, the crops would not ripen. If a woman (from the time she reaches puberty till she is past child-bearing) were to pass through a flock of sheep or allow her shadow to fall upon them, there would be serious mortality among the sheep. If either wife or husband break the taboo of child-birth, their new baby would either die or become a simpleton. If the clothes of a dead man were burnt or removed in the rainy season it would stop the rain or cause hailstorms. The result of taking seven head of stock as a bride-price would be to curse the marriage. If you ask the Bantu why they do not engage in field-work on taboo-days, they tell you that they fear to offend the spirits.

I have already mentioned that the Bantu idea of the soul of things underlies their notion of taboo. But another belief that takes a prominent place in their thinking is that which peeps out from the two old English sayings—'Talk of the devil and you'll see his horns,' and 'Deeds speak louder than words'. The Bantu never heard of the devil, and, therefore, do not use

our metaphor ; but both these ideas are prominent in their religious ceremonies and taboos ; actions, they think, are prayers to the spirits, and what one expresses in word or action is likely to happen—whether one intends it or not. However it may be with the ancestral spirits, the spirits of things seem destitute of ability to read motive, but very sensitive to things said and done—especially the latter.

For example : to point at a person is to curse him, apparently because you are directing the attention of the spirit-world to him. He will speedily remove himself from your baleful presence. And if you point at the rain-clouds, you will drive them away, and there will be drought. They are as sensitive to insult as people are. In carrying forth a corpse from a hut, the bearer who emerges first comes out backwards ; and so does the man who takes a flaming torch into a hut to purify mourners after a burial. And thus to come out of a hut backwards is to dramatize an event that may speedily happen. Such doings are therefore taboo. For the same reason a flaming stick or wisp of grass must not be taken into a hut ; he who wishes to light a fire on the indoor hearth should take a few live coals in a potsherd. A hole must not be dug in a cattle-kraal for any purpose whatever ; it would suggest a grave for the owner of the herd. It is taboo to wear the cloak inside out (that is, with the fur on the outside), or to eat with the left hand, or to wear one sandal only ; such doings are suggestive of the purification of widows and widowers. The idea that underlies these taboos is that it is very dangerous to suggest things to the spirits, or to direct their attention to people.

iv. *Purification from breach of taboo.* In the ceremonies of purification from breach of taboo, the prevailing principle seems to be the introduction of some counteracting spirit, or influence as we should call it. What the Bantu call 'medicine' is often used in these ceremonies ; that is, roots, bulbs, herbs, &c. But to the Bantu mind all medicine, even European drugs, are occult substances. He knows nothing of the chemical properties of things ; he fights charm with charm, spirit with spirit. Mention has already been made of the flaming torch that is used in the purification of mourners, and of impurities which nothing but fire can take away. Now lightning is the fiercest of all fires ;

and for the purification of mourners the magician takes a splinter of a tree that has been struck by lightning, and, having lit it at the courtyard fire, enters the hut of the deceased and passes the flaming brand in a circle around the head of each of the bereaved. If this were not done, darkness would fill their eyes. The contents of the stomach of an ox that has been sacrificed to ancestral spirits is not only a very sacred substance, since it has been brought into contact with the gods, but it is also one of the most potent items in the repertory of the magician for removing the defilement of taboo. The totem is another. Space forbids us to discuss the totem ; but, briefly, it is generally an animal which is thought to be of the blood of the tribe. It is always taboo to the tribe, though not to their neighbours ; but, nevertheless, it is sometimes the only substance that is potent enough to remove the impurity of taboo contact ! One of the oldest Bantu totems (there are hundreds of them) is the crocodile, and crocodile's dung is a wonderful corrective of defilement to people who would be unspeakably contaminated if they touched it save in this ceremonial manner.

Here again we see the principle that the soul of a thing pervades its secretions. It is not necessary to have the whole body before you in order to act upon its spirit ; any fragment or secretion is enough for the man who knows how ; or anything with which it has come intimately into contact, or even its name. We shall see further illustrations of this principle as we proceed.

v. *Taboos are not mere social regulations.* Many Europeans think that some taboos are valuable regulations of etiquette, hygiene, or even morality. It is taboo to enter a hut with your sandals on. It is taboo for young people to eat brains, marrow, tripe, chitterlings, kidney, or fat—delicacies reserved for the old and toothless. A woman must not associate with her father-in-law or her husband's male relatives in the ascending line ; in some tribes she must not even pronounce any word that contains their names. It is taboo for an incontinent or ceremonially unclean person to enter a sick-room, and nurses must be very carefully selected. Violations of this taboo involve restlessness and relapse for the invalid. But though such taboos as those mentioned are to us suggestive of social amenity, chastity,

and sanitation, they are grounded in quite another conception of life; a simpler and more primitive interpretation of life, in which science, religion, and magic have not yet been differentiated: a world that is all of a piece, and is spiritual through and through. That which gives validity to every taboo is a potent spirit-influence, with which it is dangerous to tamper, which may easily be brought into play by a careless word or action, and which can be counteracted only by men whose acquired or inherited lore enables them to select and oppose other unseen influences of greater potency.

vi. *Magic*. Now this is the idea that runs through all Bantu magic. And, with the Bantu, magic counts for much. The magician is the high priest of a religion that deals with the spirits of things. Mr. Ellenberger's *History of the Basuto* gives a very excellent description of the magician or medicine-man. 'The *ngaka*'—that is the Basuto word for medicine-man—'combines the offices of diviner, rain-maker, priest, and physician. The mysterious charms which he carries on his person place him in communication with the dead, whom he has power to evoke. He is the natural ally of the chief, whose arbitrary acts he consecrates; the preceptor of the young, who pass several months under his care while being prepared for circumcision. His occult science brings hope to the invalid who thinks himself the victim of witchcraft; to the cultivator who fears drought, hail, and the voracity of birds for his crops; to the herdsman who is in despair at seeing the hyenas defy his stick and his dogs. Young wives, to whom the sweets of maternity are denied, assemble, fearful and panting, around the dwelling of the astute magician, who pretends to nothing less than omnipotence.' And again: 'A man could not sleep in his house for fear of magic, fire, or lightning, and therefore the *ngaka* must be called to doctor it. His services were needed to ensure the fidelity of wives and husbands, and also to assist illicit lovers in attaining their desire. Indeed, it was not uncommon for a witch-doctor to sell medicine to a husband and to a paramour at the same time in respect of the favours of the same woman. . . . If a bird of ill omen perched on a house, purification was necessary. . . . The witch-doctor would guarantee a man against accident when hunting or travelling. If a man had a case against his neighbour, the witch-doctor

would help him to win it by means of charms, medicine, or inoculation. He could fertilize the earth by burning the reins of an eland, the skin of a hedgehog, or the dung of a sheep.'

vii. *Character of medicine-men.* These quotations show very concisely the far-reaching influence of the magician in Bantu life. The description is true to the letter. And yet the witch-doctor may very easily be overdone in European descriptions. He is as low-principled as his neighbours, and much more cunning; and his work is a frequent temptation to insincerity and craftiness. But they are not all hypocrites: they believe in their own charms, and have still greater faith in the maleficence of unseen powers. They are seldom happy men; but that may be partly due to their knowledge of what often happens to witch-doctors who rouse the resentment of a great chief or incur the enmity of powerful rivals. I cannot write these words without thinking of one whose constant fear of occult influences appealed to my sympathy; and of another who was all kindness, unselfishness, and sympathy to me in weary days of fever, but met the fate that so often befalls men of his craft. Therefore I cannot agree that they are all scoundrels and hypocrites, though I cannot dispute the fact that they often lend themselves to iniquity.

viii. *Herbalists.* Mr. Ellenberger lumps all these varied practitioners together under the term *ngaka*, according to the custom of Basuto and Bechuana tribes. But some tribes have separate titles for herbalists, experts in ancestor-worship, diviners, exorcists, and magicians. And among the Bechuana a practitioner wearing the general title usually specializes in one or two branches of his profession. Occasionally one meets a man (there are women doctors, but I never met one) who confines himself to herbalism, and has no faith in divination or magic. But it is doubtful whether the medical, magical, and priestly functions can be separated in any way that is satisfactory to the Western mind. Even when the herbalist does not practise divination or magic, he takes the spirits of his ancestors into all his affairs, as his neighbours do, and trusts them to guide him to appropriate remedies. Some of them tell me that their remedies are often revealed to them in dreams. One explained to me that when in doubt as to the remedy for a patient, he

went into the forest, and having prayed to the spirit of his father (from whom he learnt his craft), turned round and walked forward till he saw a root, which was always the right remedy. This is hardly in accord with our ideas of herbalism ! But there are remedies for simple ailments, mostly emetics and purgatives, the secret of which is passed down from father to son, which often relieve suffering. I shrink from holding the balance between the good they do and the evil that comes of their bungling ; but till the suffering people can be provided with men of more rational training, I would do nothing to hinder the native herbalist in his practice. If he does nothing more, he stimulates the faith of those who trust him, and that is all that is needed by fifty per cent. of those who think they are invalids.

ix. *Diviners*. Of the expert in ancestor-worship, we shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter. But the diviner may be more fitly considered here. He is connected with ancestor-worship, but not in the same way. His business is to discover which ancestral spirit must be propitiated, and how it can best be done ; but he is in demand for many other purposes. If Saul the son of Kish had been of the Bantu tribes, he would inevitably have resorted to the diviner as soon as he realized that he had lost the spoor of the stray asses. The apparatus varies considerably in different tribes. In Central Africa a cone of flour is placed overnight at the head of the sleeping-mat ; or sometimes a pot of beer is used. In the Shiré highlands, Mr. Rowley¹ witnessed a remarkable case of divination, in which two sticks, of about four feet in length and the thickness of a broom-handle, were supposed to be so filled with spirit-power that the men who held them were whirled away by them to the hut of the guilty. I have a divining apparatus which was made for me in Unyamwezi, and which consists of two sticks connected with a kind of lazy-tongs device. The expert who made it told me that the lazy-tongs is a mere mechanical contrivance, and that the spirit-power resides in the two terminal sticks. South of the Zambesi, little tablets and knuckle-bones (*astragalus*) are more common. Of the three sets in my possession, each one contains a King, Queen, Jack, and Jill, all distinguished by conventional

¹ *The Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, by the Rev. H. Rowley. London : Sanders, Otley & Co., 1866, pp. 258-60.

signs ; and one set has in addition knuckle-bones of the duyker, steenbok, and ant-pig. But whatever the form of the apparatus, it is a mere mechanical device (like the planchette of spiritualists nearer home) for discovering the will of the spirits. One would much like to know what spirits—whether the spirits of things or the spirits of people, but the evidence is conflicting. The spirits of things figure prominently in the ritual of ancestor-worship ; and it is clear that the spirits of ancestors can be influenced by the spirits of things—probably much in the same way as before they passed through the gateway of the grave. In making the only divining apparatus that I ever saw made, a sacrifice to ancestral spirits was essential, and the expert drew my attention to the careful way in which he cut the throat of the victim in the shape of a cross—a sign that figures frequently in Bantu magic. And I note that divining-tablets are often made of the bones, &c., of animals associated with the totem or with graves. The method of divining varies with the form of apparatus used. With the bones, the operator reads the result of a random throw (the client often throws the bones for himself) according to intricate but definite rules ; and the result seems as reliable, though not nearly as simple, as tossing a penny, or opening the Bible at random and immediately placing one's finger on a text.

x. *Magicians.* The manufacture of charms is a regular line of business with the magician. There are charms for everything—charms to secure health, love, fertility of gardens or herds ; charms to do the very reverse for your rivals and foes ; charms to beget children and charms to prevent pregnancy. And they take a variety of forms : powders to be licked or placed under the skin ; fantastic bits of root, horns, shells, skins of reptiles, images, magical signs ; charms to be worn round the neck, tied to guns, hung from trees, planted in the paths, or scattered about an enemy's village. One is struck by the fantastic shape of most charms, but the bit of gnarled root or twisted horn is not the real charm ; it is but the tabernacle in which the magician's art has induced a spirit-power to dwell.

Spells are always used in the making of charms, and spells are always intoned. Take a spell for securing the death of your foe. You watch the hated man till he leaves a distinct footprint

in the dust of the road. Then you carefully scrape off the dusty surface of the footprint, and take it to the magician. He moulds it into a rough image of the victim and calls it by the victim's name. Then he puts it through the pantomime of being killed by the image of a lion, or crushed by the image of a wagon, or he mixes with the dust certain blossoms, light as thistle-down, which are blown aimlessly about the veld to a great distance; and he intones an appropriate spell as he performs the pantomime. The fate of the victim is sealed. The lion will get him, or the wagon will crush him, or in the last case he will wander aimlessly about the veld and be lost. This is an example of the belief that the soul of a person so pervades his footprints that it can be affected by a spell recited over the dust. But for many purposes the name of the victim is enough; only it must be the real name, which is one of the things that Bantu do not like to reveal to strangers. They have other names for public use. Witches are supposed to have the power of bringing a corpse out of the grave by the compelling might of the name of the person who is buried.

Magical signs are not so easy of explanation. Those who use them know only that they were taught that certain conventional marks are necessary in some forms of magic. Of these symbols the cross is by far the most potent. It takes the form of the sign of addition, but magicians always call it 'The Cross'. If it is to be hung up, the horizontal line is made of some red powder and fat, and the perpendicular line of black. But often the sign is all of one colour, and for some purposes it is made with a knife on the skin of the abdomen or chest. In some parts red and black bands are placed alternately around the door-post of a hut, sometimes, as a protection from unfriendly witchcraft. Of course the mixture for all these signs must be made of the right stuff; and that is the magician's secret. When a feast is cooked on a great occasion, magical signs are placed on the cooking pots as protection from unfriendly witchcraft. For instance, the magician dips his finger and thumb in a paste made of crocodile's dung and other ingredients, and applies them to the outer surface of the pots so as to leave little white, roundish spots.

In the founding of a new township, protective magic has a prominent part to play. The ceremonies are elaborate; but

the first thing is the making of a great cross by dragging branches, cut with magical ceremonies, across the site of the township, from west to east and from south to north. The result is said to be that any unfriendly magician who attempts to cast a spell upon that town will become 'cross-hearted', that is, so bewildered that he will not know who he is, or where he came from, or what he wanted to do. It is a general principle of Bantu magic that if a person tries to cast a spell over what has been already protected by a stronger spell, his spell will rebound upon himself.

xi. *Rain-makers.* The rain-making of which travellers speak is one of the highest reaches of magic; but it is not rain-making. It is really a prayer to the spirits of the dynasty, as becomes very evident when, the minor rites having failed, the major rites are observed at the grave of an old chief. But, though the minor rites are performed most years in some districts, the major rites are rare. To a European, the minor rites are not at all suggestive of prayer. A cloud of black smoke rises at intervals, day after day, from within the sacred circle that is carefully screened from all but the chief and his expert assistant; and the ingredients from which the smoke is produced are gruesome: untimely births, twins that were not permitted to live, drippings of blood from men and women who were lacerated for certain sexual offences, and a variety of animal and vegetable substances that the experts keep secret. It would never occur to a European that the rain-pot is a censer and the black smoke incense; and yet that is what the experts claim. 'Weaving rain' is their name for this ritual; but they confess freely that it is only their method of giving efficacy to their prayer to the spirits. It is another instance of influencing the spirits of people by means of the spirits of things—perhaps it would be fair to say, of *compelling* the spirits of people by means of the spirits of things; for the magical element is to the fore, and magic aims at *control*. Its advocates admit that it sometimes fails; but they contend that failure is due to some flaw in the performance of the rite, or some unusually heinous offence in the tribe that has hardened the hearts of the dynastic spirits—the only mediators that are sufficiently exalted to intercede with the Great Spirit in such an important matter as rain.

xii. *No worship of the spirits of things.* So far we have seen nothing that can properly be termed worship of the spirits of things ; and, indeed, there is little of that among Bantu. Sometimes black pebbles from the river-bed are placed permanently within a sacred circle in the village, and presented periodically with libations of beer, offerings of meal, and the first buck killed in the hunting season, while praise and prayer is intoned. But each such pebble is called by the name of one of the founders of the tribe, and what is actually worshipped is not the pebbles, but the ancestral spirits which they symbolize. The stones are but shrines, or altars of ancestor-worship.

Tribes belonging to what is called the Western Wave of Bantu Migration are to be found as far inland as the Great Lakes ; and among them offerings, sacrifices, and prayers are sometimes made to quaint little bundles that are often decorated with shells, beads, feathers, and splashes of sacrificial blood. But these again are in reality reliquaries, and the worship is given to the spirit of the ancestral saint whose relics are onshrined in them, or it may be to a whole line of ancestors whose fragments are all mingled in one bundle. These are examples of the Bantu belief that spirits can be influenced through any fragments of their earthly tabernacles ; but they have nothing to do with the worship of the spirits of things. An axe-handle stuck into the centre of a circle specially prepared for it, is often the centre of family or clan worship ; and occasionally, especially among the Western Bantu, real images are used. I have never met a tribe that uses images, except in the Puberty Rites ; but the axe-handle is admittedly a symbol of the ancestral spirits, and the image is probably the same.

All over Africa, generally in lonely places, there are heaps of loose stones and rubbish, which are treated with reverence. Every passer-by adds a stone, stick, or a little dust to the heap, and mutters a greeting or a prayer. These cairns mark the spot where sudden death occurred, accidental or premeditated, and often cover the remains. This worship, also, is associated with the spirits of people.

For a similar reason, caves, hills, rivers, trees, and groves are often associated with worship. Some tribes still bury their chiefs in caves, and others, in rivers, while a grove or the shade

of a big tree is suitable for any grave. Tribes which remain long in the same district bury chief after chief in some great hill, which comes to be sacred to them, and is ultimately regarded as the abode of the gods, even by later invaders or still later conquerors of the invaders. Such gods are always rain-gods, as Bantu dynastic spirits always are; and even when legend has forgotten their earthly career, they still retain their personal names. The Bantu do not worship the spirits of caves, hills, rivers, &c., but ancestral spirits that are associated with them. Some of these hill-gods and cave-gods have become so famous that it must have taken many centuries to produce them; and some of them have become so confounded with the Great Unknown and Unworshipped that the cult of them has been transformed into what amounts to crude worship of the Supreme Being.

People who attribute a soul to everything are sure to think of the heavenly bodies as persons; but, in spite of a few ambiguous customs, I know no evidence that the Bantu worship sky, sun, moon, stars, clouds, or lightning—though the practices of the lightning-doctor sometimes suggest propitiation.

xiii. *Magic and Worship — the contrast.* A large question opens here. What is the distinction between magic and worship, or between spell and prayer? Briefly put, magic and spell mean coercion: while worship and prayer mean communion. The Bantu, regarding the spirits of things as mischievous, if not unfriendly, seek occult control over these spirits, so as to ward off harm from themselves or inflict it upon their foes. The potency of the spell lies in the exact use of certain words (which may be meaningless to him who utters them), correct intonation, and the use of a compelling name and of substances that are thought to add efficacy to the ritual. There is no appeal to the pity, sympathy, or mercy of the spirit.

Now the spirits of people are sometimes unfriendly, too, especially those who have been offended. The mere anger of one's brother is thought likely to produce illness in one's family, quite apart from the brother's intentions; and if it does, nothing helps the invalid till the brother takes the anger away. Much more, then, is the wrath of a departed spirit to be dreaded. The spirits of one's own kith and kin, however, are friendly, and

may be relied upon to help, so long as they are not offended. They are sometimes exacting and have to be expostulated with, but in the main they are a help and comfort. What the ancestor-worshipper seeks, therefore, is communion with the ancestral spirits, and, if necessary, the restoration of right relations. True, the worship of ancestors is often marred with magic rites and notions (even Christian prayers sometimes carry that taint); but its dominating note is communion, conciliation, persuasion. Therefore it is prayer. Now, in the relation of the Bantu with the spirits of things there is nothing of this: they aim at the absolute control or prohibition of such spirits, often by opposing the activity of one spirit to that of another.

Reference has already been made to the power of mimetic action. Another and somewhat similar principle of Bantu magic is that like *produces* like, though sometimes the very opposite seems to prevail, that like *cures* like, just as in the old wives' remedies of Britain cochineal and saffron-water are used to throw out eruptions, and nettle-tea as a cure for nettle-rash. Both principles are exemplified in the elaborate ritual that prepares warriors for the war-path. Parts of the spring-hare, ant-pig, and hyena are used in this ritual, and an expert explained to me *without being asked* that these animals are not seen during the day, and that that is a quality which the regiments desire. On the other hand, he told me also that certain vital organs taken immediately from a brave foe who has been slain in battle are used in the war charms, not that the warriors may get these qualities, but that the enemy may lose the strength of their loins and legs. He who eats the heart of a leopard becomes fierce and relentless. There is a beetle in Bechuanaland which will survive for a month after it is suspended on a thread, and mothers who have lost their children in infancy suspend one or two of these beetles from the new baby's neck, or tie them on to its hair. In order to gain a spiritual quality, it is thought enough to bring the body that possesses it, or the organ in which it is thought to dwell, into intimate association with one's own body.

xiv. *Witches.* All Bantu tribes believe in witchcraft and fear it. Many Europeans try to distinguish between the witch and the witch-doctor, medicine-man, magician, or whatever you call

him, by saying that the former is anti-social, while the latter uses his power for social ends. That is not true. Vengeful, jealous, envious, ambitious people often employ the magician for very anti-social purposes ; and everybody in the tribe knows it. Yet he is a respected member of a lucrative profession, while the witch is thrown over a precipice or burnt to death. It seems to me that the distinction between them is that the magician has been professionally trained to control spirits by orthodox methods, while the witch is a quack who has secured power in illicit and heterodox ways.

What influence have these magical notions upon the life of the people? Much, and terrible! No greater tyranny ever cursed a community than belief in magic. No one knows what uncanny result may follow an accidental word or deed, or what fearful spell a resentful or amatory neighbour may be weaving. Wherever magic holds sway, human life is treated with great levity, and suspicion finds a hotbed in which it can grow into monstrous shapes. Would you be happy, trustful, kindly, magnanimous, even in your own family circle, if you lived in constant dread that one of them in an hour of anger might hand you over to spirits that know no mercy, or that another, fearful of your displeasure or jealous of your love, might sprinkle your food with such vile human secretions as would absolutely subordinate your will to that of the charmer? The astonishing thing is, not that they are frequently cruel to one another, especially in hours of panic, but that they so often show love, trust, and kindliness. It is fortunate for humanity that the heart of man is often bigger and truer than his creed. Nevertheless, here is a slavery of the mind which is much more terrible in its consequences than any slavery of the body ever was, and which appeals more strongly to the chivalrous succour of the free. But he who would knock off these shackles of the mind needs sanity, patience, and grace, more than courage and zeal.

xv. *European attitude toward these beliefs.* The European who is scornful of African belief in the spirits of things and its consequent magic, is hardly likely to do much good in Africa. It is a childish notion ; but one does not scoff at childish notions in children, and the Bantu are a child-race. One talks to children

in child-words, and drives the point home with a childish metaphor, touched all the time, of course, with pity ; but pity never lives in the same street as contempt. Children are often disdainful of children ; but the man who is a man never fails to remember the time when he himself was just there. Lordly people who show their vulgarity in haughty criticism of the disgusting 'superstition' of Africa must be very ignorant of their own ancestry, and not well acquainted with their poor relations. How long is it since it was the common belief of Britain that sickness was caused by evil spirits, and could be charmed away ? The microscope has made some of these little devils visible and shown us how they give up the ghost when properly treated ; therefore most of us have ceased to propitiate and begun to handle them more effectually. But it does not take a profound study of contemporary thought to convince one that in city and hamlet alike there are not a few Britishers who still resort to the charmer, the diviner, the vendor of lucky stones, and the like, in spite of modern science and all the centuries of Christianity which preceded its birth.

Personally, I find it easier to be patient with an African who goes to the diviner when in trouble, than with those disdainful people who dilate so readily upon his pitiable 'superstition', without taking the trouble to understand either it or the word with which they label it. 'Superstition' is an undefinable term of contempt for the ritual of a more primitive religion than our own ; and contempt is a blind alley that leads nowhere. One cannot spread the Christian religion by becoming a Pharisee ; but he who has caught its spirit treats the religion of another as he would like another to treat the religion that is most sacred to him—which, though not above investigation and criticism, is always to be approached with respect.

What we have to do for these people is not to run over the surface of their lives with a lawn-mower, as some one has put it, but get down below the weeds and have the roots out—which is much less like holiday work and much slower. But he who uses the spud needs knowledge, patience, and care, or he may spoil the lawn. In eradicating these weeds of magic, teachers of modern science, even in its elementary forms, may render immeasurable service to Africa and to humanity ; only they must

study these phenomena with the same sympathy that they take to the study of birds, flowers, and rocks. It is an acknowledged principle in modern pedagogy that only teachers of a high type can succeed with the deficient and the kindergarten. No country needs primary school teachers more than Africa does ; but the teachers must be men and women who have a special vocation for the work and have learnt the most approved method of carrying it out, and whose lives are steadied and inspired by love of humanity and the practice of religion.

their tribe); but when you ask questions like this, why, you are 'only talking'. In a general way, as far as I can make out, they think of it as 'down' rather than 'up'. The common opinion is clearly shown in a sacrificial hymn that Mr. Junod, of the Swiss Mission to the Thonga, was good enough to send me. The sacrificer says: 'I have remained outside (on the earth). I am wretched; but I received life from you *who are in the earth, down.*' But there are some facts that seem to point the other way. 'Remember us from the heights to which you are going,' is a prayer that is known to Basuto and Bechuana. Miss Werner¹ quotes a Yao legend according to which *Mulungu* (God) went up on high and ordered that people should also come up on high when they die. There is a curious likeness between the Bechuana word for 'God' and their word for above. But, possibly, these are all echoes of a time when hills were the burial-places of the great.

It is not a satisfactory reply to the question, but the truest thing that I can say is this: The spirit is believed to be where its family is; but whether it lives in the ground in that neighbourhood, or comes there from the grave through which it passes to the spirit-world, is far from clear. One thing, however, is clear: distance does not hamper its movements as it did while the spirit was in the flesh. Whether distance exists in the spirit-world is a question which the Bantu have never asked.

But be the spirit-world where it may, it seems to be very much like the world we know. Wherever the Bantu go, they find people like themselves, organized in villages like their own, and engaged in similar amusements and occupations. And they naturally think of the spirit-world as being similar, though glorified. The herd-boy herds his cattle; the women till the gardens and pound the corn; the hunter chases the game; the patriarch rejoices in his beautiful black-and-white cattle; and the villagers gather in the evening for gossip, dance, and song. In that world all the tribes are assembled, good people and bad people, too; and all are free to go where they like. 'But,' said the medicine-man in Unyamwezi who gave me the last sentence nearly forty years ago, 'in my village, where good and bad live

¹ *Natives of British Central Africa*, by A. Werner. London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1906, p. 74.

together and can mix as they please, you will generally find the good in one group and the bad in another ; they prefer it so.' The difficulty of getting reliable information from the Bantu about matters to which they have paid little attention is, however, great ; and the inquirer has to be *very* careful not to put leading questions.

When Chaka, the Zulu tyrant, was carving out his empire at the beginning of last century he found it necessary to use the religious beliefs of his people for his political purposes. He had played such havoc with old customs and introduced so much that was new that he thought it wise to secure the sanction of the spirits of the old chiefs. And he did it with great astuteness. A lion carried off a prophet in the night, so it was said, and left the poor man's friends disconsolate. Some months later the prophet was sent back into the world of turmoil and strife with a message from the old dynastic chiefs. What interests us here, however, is not the message that he brought, but the description of the world in which he professed to have dwelt after the lion ate him. He pictured it as a fine country, and mentioned a number of men, who had been killed in war or died at home, whom he found there. 'They are much smaller than we,' he said ; 'they have plenty of cattle, but all very small. The girls are handsome.' One smiles at the trick, but is grateful for the Bantu picture of the spirit-world. It was essential to the success of the trick that the picture should agree with the notions of the people ; and we may take it as reliable.

ii. *Cult of ancestral spirits.* In most parts of Bantu Africa the villages are adorned with miniature spirit-huts, in which the relatives place little offerings for the spirits. Miss Werner¹ says, 'Whether or not they consciously think of their dead as little shadowy figures, a few inches high (like the representation of the soul as it issues from the body, on some Greek vases), such is evidently the thought that suggested the erection of these miniature dwellings.' The Zulus evidently had that idea, and probably all Bantu tribes. It is a very ancient idea, and widespread through the world. Who are the fairies, and *piskies*, and little folks that haunt ancient burial-places in Ireland, Cornwall, and Scotland ? People-whose-grandfathers-knew-people-who-

¹ *Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 49.

were - relatives - of - people - who - frequented - the - same - tavern-as-people-who-had-seen-them describe them as about a span high ; but no pygmy race could have worn the bones found in the old graves which these uncanny little people are supposed to haunt.

But however diminutive the spirits of the Bantu under-world may be in size, chiefs are still chiefs in that world, and have powers of intercession with the Great Chief that no Bantu would attribute to ordinary folk. The spirits of chiefs seem to have enormous power apart from the Great Chief ; but the most important among them all cannot send rain—he can only intercede with the Great Chief of the spirit-world when his people cry for rain. Even so, the intercession of a notable is thought to be of immense value. A Bantu chief is unlikely to refuse a request that is urged by the high-born in his community ; and the Great Chief of the spirit-world is credited with similar compliance. Spirits of common people can do much for their family ; but spirits of chiefs can render immeasurable aid to the whole tribe.

And the spirits are still interested in the things that they lived for while on earth. There is nothing so near to the hearts of the pastoral tribes as their cattle ; and the spirits of patriarchs, clan-heads, and chiefs still turn towards the herds they left behind them. Few things move them to pity and hurry them to intercession so much as the lowing of the thirsty beasts when the drought is turning the fields into desert. And if the ancestral herd is squandered, the spendthrift will have to reckon with the anger of the ancestral spirits—probably long before he meets them in the spirit-world—certainly then.

All Bantu tribes are interested in agriculture ; but among the pastoral tribes agriculture is left to women, and though women after death are worshipped occasionally, they are thought to take a back place in both worlds. And yet every chief in the spirit-world is interested in the fertility of his tribal lands whether his tribe be mainly pastoral or mainly agricultural ; and clan-heads and patriarchs maintain a concern for their family holdings.

How much do these spirits know ? Clear definitions are not to be looked for in Africa. There is no hint anywhere that such

spirits are able to read the heart ; but they know what their people do and suffer. They do not bother about all the little peccadilloes of their people—they never did ; but they were and are upholders of the ancient customs, and will soon show that they know when a custom has been broken. Many things are likely to be overlooked if not brought definitely to their notice ; but, upon the whole, their knowledge, like their power, has been enhanced by death.

Death does not seem however to improve their character. The spirits of mean, selfish, and unreliable men are mean, selfish, and unreliable still. But when they lived as men in the village, even these selfish people could be smoothed down by those who knew which way the fur lay ; and their spirits can be similarly approached after death. Some spirits have to be rebuked for favouritism towards the givers of greater offerings ; and some jealous souls are apt to block the path of one who seeks communion with another spirit until they, also, have been propitiated.

iii. *Ancestral spirits communicate with men by* (a) *Dreams.* There are various ways in which the spirits reveal their will to men. Perhaps the commonest is through dreams. The ancient Bantu custom is to eat little or nothing till sunset, and then to take a huge meal, fortunately followed by dance and gossip for a few hours before turning in for the night. It need hardly be said therefore that they are dreamers. Exchanging dreams in the morning is quite usual ; and if the memory is pleasant enough to retain, the narrator spits upon the floor, otherwise he produces an artificial sneeze that it may be banished from his thoughts. But there are dreams and dreams. If a dead relative or friend figures in the dream, that dream is a message from the spirit-world. Then a diviner is consulted and worship rendered to some spirit.

(b) *Calamity.* One of the unpleasant ways in which spirits impose their will upon worshippers is by calamity. And they are often rebuked for it : ' Have we ever refused you a sacrifice when you wanted one ! Why do you come like this ? ' Tribal disaster, drought, cattle-plague, locusts, personal illness, or anything out of the usual run is attributed to the interposition of some spirit who has been neglected or offended. Therefore the spirit must be propitiated before hope can dawn upon the sufferer.

(c) *Trance*. An uncommon method of communication with the spirit-world is by trance. All the cases of trance that I have met with have been due to the delirium of disease; and most of them have foreboded death. I know one instance, however, in which the patient was given up by his friends, and the grave was being dug; but he regained consciousness and gave a delightful account of the spirit-world, as a place in which everything was neat and clean and beautiful, but said that he was told by the spirits that they were not yet ready to have him. And he recovered.

(d) *Reincarnation*. Sometimes the spirits revisit their old homes in the form of an animal. It would hardly be worthy of a great chief to choose any animal except a lion, leopard, or snake. Miss Werner¹ says that among the Yao 'this does not happen so often as among the Zulu, who quite expect their deceased relatives to come back, like Cadmus and Harmonia, as "bright and aged Snakes", and are very glad to see them when they do. The Yao theory seems to be that none of the departed will do this, unless they mean to be nasty.' The Zulus take such an appearance as a kindly warning of approaching danger and a sign that the spirit wants a sacrifice; and great care is taken that no harm is done to such a snake. Among the Mashona the spirit sometimes reincarnates itself in a bird. Leopards do much damage among some West Coast tribes that refuse to kill these reincarnated chiefs.

(e) *Possession*. There is one other way in which the spirits communicate their will, and that is by 'possession'. 'Possession' is really insanity. Stark, staring madness is not common among the Bantu; but when it occurs, the patient takes to the hills or forest, shouting violently to imaginary beings, till death brings release. Cases of mild insanity are more common. Now the Bantu speak of the maniac and the daft as 'possessed', and stand in awe of them; though when a person is raving mad his utterances are not thought to be inspired. But just as one patient in a British lunatic asylum will tell you in the broad dialect of his country-side that he is King of England, and another, that she has committed the 'unpardonable sin', so it is common for crazy Bantu to assert that they are 'possessed' by the

¹ *Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 64.

spirit of some famous old chief or medicine-man ; for insanity everywhere takes its form of expression from the thoughts and habits of the patient's saner years. We smile at the claim of our demented neighbours ; but the Bantu submit more readily to such claims than to the claims of sanity.

In one case in which I was interested, the 'possessing' spirit demanded that all the guinea-fowls caught in the garden-traps should be brought to him through the medium ; and the medium got so many guinea-fowls that she became the centre of a little group of ardent followers who were possessed by quite another spirit. Now if she had demanded those birds for her own use in her saner days, she would have met with anything but ready compliance.

(f) *Prophets*. 'Prophets', as they are called nowadays (though the modern name denotes a class of people which has always been known to the Bantu), present an interesting problem to students of psychology. Most prophets may be written off at once as mentally afflicted. But there are others who claim to be charged with a message from the spirit-world, though not from any particular spirit, who authoritatively demand a return to old loyalties as a remedy for the present evils of the tribe. They indulge largely in apocalyptic visions, and predict material disaster for the heedless, and material prosperity for those who obey. Their message is destitute of anything that we should call ethical, though much of it could be included in any just definition of Bantu ethics. Their appearance always causes excitement in a district, and sometimes disaster. Usually they attribute their inspiration to a vision. They say that they died, saw the vision, and were sent back to warn erring men. We should describe their experience as delirium followed by a comatose condition. They are not all hypocrites or insane, though they are as cunning as their neighbours. Some of them are neurotic people who have struggled with the problem of their people's wrongs or misfortunes, till the burden has well-nigh crushed them, and have then caught a glimpse of what seemed a compelling vision of redemption for their tribe. Having always lived in an atmosphere of the spirit-world and been taught to look upon loyalty to old customs as the ideal life, their message shapes itself naturally in these familiar thought-forms.

The only value that it has for us is that it voices and concentrates a discontent that is dumb, but diffused through their community. They are mentioned here because they are held—while their popularity lasts—to be authoritative exponents of the will of the ancestral spirits.

The Bantu do not regard the worship of ancestral spirits as a daily task. Some people place a little offering for the spirit most days, or even acknowledge their presence at every meal; but one may spend years among the Bantu and yet never suspect that they worship their ancestors at all. This is not because they are ashamed of it, but because the practice takes unobtrusive forms and is clad in garments which we do not associate with religion.

iv. *Ancestral spirits and family life.* As ancestral spirits are guardians of the family and tribe, they are naturally worshipped on the great occasions of tribal and family life.

There is usually some rite for relating the new-born babe to the ancestral spirits; sometimes it is sacrifice or prayer for a blessing on the child; sometimes the relation of the babe to the family is established by floating its navel-string on a pot of water in the presence of the elders; sometimes there is a baptismal rite, in which the child receives its name as water is blown over it. This blowing water from the mouth is a very common accompaniment of morning worship in many tribes.

Marriage, too, is an occasion for worship. Some regard the sacrifice of an ox to the spirits as the essence of the ceremony; some content themselves with placing sacrificial marks on the pots in which the feast is cooked; some offer (but do not sacrifice) the bride-price to the spirits; while others regard a prayer offered on the threshold of the new home as being the heart of the whole ceremony.

When absent members of the family return from their wanderings, or those estranged bury their quarrel, the spirits are always invoked. In the former case, lustration with 'holy water' is frequently thought to be enough; but an elaborate anointing with the contents of the stomach of a sacrificed beast is not uncommon, and is always resorted to in cases of reconciliation; it is the great ceremonial cleanser.

v. *Ancestral spirits and tribal life.* Some tribes who keep

their cattle at a distance for part of the year mark the return of the herds to the homestead with a special act of worship.

Rain and the fertility of lands—and thereby the supply of food—are always closely connected with the beneficence of the spirits, just as with us there are many people who carefully say 'grace' before partaking of a meal, but not before enjoying a walk, a book, a picture, a song, or a joke. Europeans have often ridiculed what they persist in calling 'African rain-making'. And Bantu civilization is so primitive that it does not require much wit to make fun of even their most sacred practices. But after allowance is made for the crude ritual of immature people, there is nothing more absurd in Bantu rain-ceremonies than in prayers for rain, especially if such prayers are accompanied with oblation and incense. Drought is often taken to indicate the presence of an Achan in the camp, and everybody scrutinizes everybody else so as to drag some hidden breach of custom into light; for nothing incenses the ancestral spirits like a violation of the customs they left for the tribe. The smoke that rises within the thick fence of wait-a-bit thorns which is sacred to the chief and his great medicine-man is, they say, only their way of accompanying their prayers with incense, though the ceremony is shrouded in such secrecy that one cannot understand its full significance.

The major rain-ceremonies, such as the sacrifice of an animal at the grave of an old chief, are clearly a ritual of intercession, designed to induce the spirits of the dynasty to pity their perishing children. That is why the chief is the officiant, though he is always assisted by his expert, the medicine-man. Where the reigning chief is not the officiant in such a ceremony, it will be found that he is not in the main line of succession, and that the (perhaps unimportant) man who does preside is the rightful heir to the chieftaincy, though either he or his ancestor parted through choice or necessity with his secular powers.

In many tribes there is a New Year ritual which must be performed before the new crops can be eaten; and in this ritual the utmost stress is laid upon the proper precedence of families. The only person whose priestly orders are valid enough for these great ceremonies is the proper representative of the dynasty. Clever and able men, especially if they are of royal birth, may

oust the rightful chief from his secular dignities, but nothing but death can deprive him of his spiritual prerogatives—and death does but give him his scat in the Valhalla of tribal deities.

There are many ceremonies connected with fertility that space forbids us even to mention. The spirits of the family are acknowledged by some tribes with a thank-offering of beer, and then it is important that the eldest son of the family should drink the first cup. He is the priest of ancestor-worship. The consecration of seed-corn takes many forms. In some tribes, women of high birth plant a few grains of corn upon the grave of a chief, and chant a hymn of praise and prayer to his spirit. In others, the chief consecrates some seed-corn by bringing it into close association with the relics of some ancestor who is now in the spirit-world, and then places a little of this sacred corn in each woman's seed-basket so that the consecrated seeds may hallow the lot.

The hunting or the fishing season is often ushered in with an act of worship, the first catches of the hunter or the fisherman being offered to the spirits. It is curious, however, to note that this worship is often rendered to the spirits of the old lords of the land, rather than to the ancestors of its present possessors.

vi. *Worshippers communicate with spirits by (a) Sacrifice.* Sacrifice is a common Bantu method of worship, but is reserved for emergencies. Almost any domestic animal from a fowl to a slave is considered suitable for sacrifice in some or other of the Bantu tribes. Yet there is often a tradition in a tribe that certain animals are unfit for the purpose. Some object to sheep, for instance, because the sheep is dumb, they say, and the groans of a stricken beast are indications that it is acceptable to the spirit. In the pastoral tribes, the ox is regarded as the ideal animal for sacrifice. But whatever animal is selected must be good of its kind; and for some sacrifices it is necessary that it should be black. Only certain parts of the sacrifice are abandoned to the spirit; but these are given first, and the spirit is called by name to come and eat with his children.

The Bantu appear to have no idea of transferring the sin of the worshipper to the victim, or of substituting the death of the victim for the merited death of the sinner. Their idea of sacrifice is rather that of communion with the spirit. There has been a breach in

the normal relation of worshippers and spirits—due, of course, to the wilful or the unconscious 'sin' of the worshippers ; and a special meal is prepared in which the best beast is killed that the spirit and his worshipper may partake together. The blood is usually poured upon the grave, and so are the contents of the stomach and intestines, which are as sacred as the blood ; but the only significance of the shedding of the blood is that one must kill before one can cook meat. Nor does the commercial element seem to enter prominently into the transaction. Spirits depend apparently upon the spiritual part of the sacrifice, and often reveal to neglectful worshippers—generally in unpleasant ways—their need of beef or beer. But the idea that is most prominent in the Bantu mind is the restoration of normal relations of friendship with the spirit, not the buying off of its wrath.

(b) *Offerings.* Offerings as well as sacrifices are often presented to spirits, for the same purpose. Cattle are devoted to a spirit, and must not be sold or worked ; but none of them are sacrificed unless the spirit indicates such desire through the diviner. Beer, grain, milk, porridge, tobacco, beads, cloths, are all offered to some spirits by some Bantu ; but each tribe has its own idea of what is proper in such matters. This is a method of reconciliation with which Bantu are familiar in ordinary life : you mollify the person whom you have offended, with a gift or a feast.

(c) *Praise and prayer.* But praise and prayer are much more frequent than sacrifice or offering. In reality, the Bantu do not distinguish between prayer and praise. 'Praise-names' and 'praise-songs' are a great institution. Every important person has his praise-names and praise-songs, and they are known to his friends. The Bantu do not allow praise to lie idle till the tombstone is ready. It is the key that unlocks the heart of a giver. And anything that would have pleased the offended elder when he was in the village is thought likely to please his spirit. Few things jar upon inexperienced missionaries like the constant repetition of praise-names for God in the prayers of Christian converts ; but it is no mere thoughtless habit : it runs through the very fibre of Bantu thought. Bantu worshippers approach the spirit in what is to them a perfectly natural manner. They may expostulate with him, as already remarked, and ask definitely that he will cease troubling the people ; but more

frequently they recite his praise-names and then content themselves with mentioning what they need most, as if talking to themselves. This is a subtle form of flattery : there is no need to ask, it is enough to mention what is lacking. The Bantu are the most accomplished flatterers and beggars in the world.

vii. *Drama and music in worship.* Prayer and praise are usually sung or intoned. It seems almost an instinct of humanity to intone appeals to the unseen. One often hears it in prayer-meetings in the homeland where all the participants would be shocked at an accusation of ritualism. But action is as natural to a primitive people as speech. When the worshippers desire to relieve their overcharged feelings they proceed instinctively to dramatize their needs and wishes. In time of drought a man will go to the grave of an ancestor, taking the milk-pail, the thong with which he ties the cow's legs for milking, or some such implements, and holding them over the grave will beg the spirit to let these things still be of use. The clapping of hands, the utterance of that curious ululation that only Bantu women can properly produce—both being methods of saluting royalty—and even dancing, are intimately associated with praise. A very intelligent tribesman goes so far as to state, in a letter to me, that songs of war and other sad occasions are the only ones ' not sung with the feet '.

One of the striking things about Bantu ancestor-worship is that it emphatically demands faith for its effective operation. That marks it off at once from Bantu magic. A sacrifice to an offended spirit is one of the diviner's commonest prescriptions for the recovery of the sick ; but the sacrifice is valueless for the purpose unless the patient makes it a definite act of his own will. Even though the animal be taken from his herd and he be correctly anointed with its fat and bile, it avails nothing for his recovery unless it be done at his desire.

viii. *The Supreme Being.* Whether one affirms or denies that the Bantu knew of God before Europeans found them depends partly upon one's interpretation of certain words that are in common use amongst them, and partly upon what one means by ' God '. If ' God ' is intended to mean just what Jesus meant by that term, then, of course, it must be said that neither the Bantu nor any other non-Christian people know God. But, for my part,

I have no doubt whatever that the Bantu have always known of a Supreme Being. An adequate discussion of the many Bantu words that missionaries have used as translations of 'God' would take us too far afield; but let us look for a moment at what I consider to be the best of these words.

ix. *Translation of the term 'God'.* The tribes with which I am most familiar use the word *modimo* of any ancestral spirit to whom they pray—just the very spirits of whom we have been speaking. When they talk about seeing a 'ghost', they use the same word with the prefix *se-* instead of *mo-*, so that it becomes *sedimo*. And there are other changes for other purposes. Now when the first missionaries to these people were looking for a word with which they could translate 'God', they came to the conclusion that, of all the words in the language, *modimo* was the best. And they builded better than they knew. When you have a noun, *modimo*, in a Bantu language, you expect to find a verb *go dima*; but I never heard that verb used in ordinary conversation. When I have asked old people who are experts in their own tongue—and there are many such—I have frequently been assured that the word is known; and when I have asked further what the verb means, I have always been told either that it means 'to permeate, or pervade', or 'to be exceedingly skilful'. A few people have told me that it carries both meanings. Now, if we may judge the original meaning of *modimo* by its present use, both these meanings of the verb become clear. *Modimo* means that which pervades what you see and gives it its ability—just that which makes all the difference between a man and a corpse. Perhaps the best English translation of *modimo* is 'spirit'. If you ask one of these people what *modimo* he is speaking to in his prayer, he will tell you the name of some one long dead. If you ask him who made the world, he will reply *modimo*; and if you ask him the name of this *modimo* who made the world, he will tell you that it is just the Great *Modimo*, whose name they never heard. Now, since no missionary among a heathen people can ever find a word that means just what he means by 'God', and since every missionary is obliged to take the nearest word that the people know and clean it up and fill it out with a larger meaning, it seems to me that a word which means 'spirit', and is used by the people themselves of the

Great Spirit, is a very good selection. But the people never thought of praying to the Great Spirit direct. They have often explained to me that etiquette demands that a man shall approach a great chief, whom he does not know, through some friend of his who lives in the great chief's town. And so they pray to the spirits of their ancestors who have gone forward into the town of the Great Chief of the spirit-world.

There are other words than *modimo* that have to be handled by any student of this large and important question. But the conclusion at which I have arrived is that the Bantu had from the beginning of their racial history an idea of a Supreme Being, who made the world, but has since had no direct dealings with men ; that they had no name for Him, and simply spoke of Him as the Great Spirit, or the Chief of the spirit-world, or the Chief Above, or something of that sort ; that they never worshipped Him ; and that some tribes have come to confuse the Unnamed and Unworshipped with certain famous, ancestral hill-gods, which had been worshipped for so many centuries that they had lost all trace of their earthly existence, so that these tribes now worship the Supreme Being under names that originally stood for ancestral spirits.

x. *Influence of Bantu religion upon character.* We can best close this chapter, I think, as we closed the former, by noticing the influence of this religion upon its worshippers, and inquiring how far it has prepared them for Christianity or exposed them to peculiar dangers.

Ancestor-worship is the source of Bantu ethics ; but we can consider that more intelligently after we have looked into Bantu law.

The Bantu, like all other people, interpret the unseen world in terms of their present experience. With them, the conventions of society count for more than they do with us ; and they use the term 'well-bred' in much the same way as we do. Propriety demands the observance of certain social forms in one's dealings with others, and especially with people of importance. The man who has wronged another and desires reconciliation seeks the mediation of a friend who has influence with the offended, and probably sends some little present to assuage the wrath which he has roused. The mediator bulks large in Bantu social life. Ask a man his name, even, and he turns to a com-

panion with a look or a phrase that craves his intercession, and the friend will give you the information that you seek. He who is under accusation at the Judicial Assembly is free to speak in his own defence, and not slow to use his freedom ; but he relies upon the advocacy of his friends and elders and seeks and follows their advice. Bantu chiefs, with rare exceptions, are approachable by the humblest members of their tribe, and even by strangers, without pompous ceremony ; but the suppliant at their court must observe the formalities of polite society, and it is of first importance to have a suitable mediator with the chief. The ideal mediator is one who is in the inner circle of the chief's friends—the 'branches of the chief', as the Bechuana say ; and happy is the suppliant whose patriarch or clan-head is among the 'companions of the king'. There are many little services which those of this favoured band can render without bothering the chief, whose mind they know ; and when it comes to something beyond their power, they can put that to the chief with a soft tongue and receive his instructions.

Now the ancestral spirits of Bantu worship are regarded, not as independent deities, but as mediators at the court of an Unapproachable Chief. Bantu worship is Bantu social intercourse carried over into the spirit-world. The solidarity of family or clan is not broken by death. An elder in the spirit-world ought to receive the homage that was his due when he wore the garments of flesh ; and the ancestral spirits are, therefore, entitled to be worshipped on their own account. And yet they are not thought of as independent deities, but as mediators whom it would never do to neglect or offend. They are, to use a phrase with which we are more familiar, the patron saints of the Bantu.

That the Bantu should find their saints in the progenitors of their tribes seems to me quite natural, and not altogether lacking in beauty when looked at with human sympathy. After all, the great facts of the world are the great persons of the world, and the light that we have upon the divine has come to us through them. Have the Bantu not been feeling after this truth ? And is it not worth while to take them the truth that they dimly perceive ? It ought not to be hard for people accustomed to such thoughts to appreciate the teaching of the Christian religion.

xi. *Perils of ancestor-worship.* Of the perils of ancestor-worship, apart from its ethics, the following are the most important. Though the ancestors are in theory only mediators, yet, in practice, they become barriers between the soul and God, so that few of their worshippers ever think of God when approaching them. The ideal of the ancestor-worshipper is in the past, instead of in front, as every traveller's horizon should be. The petty, parochial distinctions of tribalism cut deep into the soul of the ancestor-worshipper, compelling his benevolence and brotherliness to flow in very narrow channels. When I have my special saints and you have yours, we are not likely to feel that kinship that comes to worshippers of a common Father. While men hold that every touch of malarial fever, typhoid, or other calamity, is a chastisement from the spirit-world for their disloyalty to immemorial custom, they are unlikely to study mosquitoes, attend to drainage, or learn useful lessons in the costly school of experience, though they have to pay its fees in full.

xii. *Points of contact with Christianity.* There is also much in Bantu religion which looks like groping after great truths, rather than finding them. Their consecration of the army before battle is a very barbarous affair; but it seems like a confession that victory depends upon being right with the unseen as well as upon big battalions. Their harvest and ploughing rites seem to indicate that something more than skill and industry is needed for growing a crop, and that man's labour comes better when the man is in harmony with the unseen world. Their marriage ceremony, their rite for relating the babe to the ancestral spirits, their New Year ceremony, are all suggestions that the great events of life—life's new beginnings—ought to be consecrated by an unseen presence. Whether they clearly see these truths is very doubtful; but experience teaches me that in the light of Christian doctrine they speedily make them out.

When all is said, life is more than drama and biology. Take a compassionate view of the Bantu man, and you can hardly avoid the following conclusions: He is no exception to the rule that the deepest thing in the soul of man is an instinct for God. He is not satisfied with himself; and his craving for help, sympathy, and guidance is greater than the human community around him

can supply. He has a sense of mystery; he feels that in some way he is related to the unseen and dependent upon it. Sometimes he feels that he is in touch with it, and then he is conscious of hope and vigour. At other times he feels that he is out of harmony with it, and that the break must be due to himself—something that he has done or left undone. But even then he feels that the unseen powers are as reasonable and kindly at heart as he himself is—that the divine are still human, and that if he shows his penitence in an appropriate manner, the old relation may be restored. He throws himself upon the care of his ancestral spirits in his emergencies, confident, if he has complied with their demands, that his times are in their hands. He feels that they have a right to his allegiance; and that his gratitude is due to them for whatever help they give. And there is something in his experience that makes him think it possible to discover the will of the unseen. Another side of his experience touches his fellows more closely. He cannot imagine that death is the extinction of life, or that those to whom he owes so much cease to care for him after they have entered the spirit-world. He has a feeling that they are near him still; and his faith is strong in the love and care of an unseen friend. His experience of other men is that some of them sometimes are endowed with such unusual knowledge or power that he is unable to attribute it to an earthly source; that they are charged with power from the unseen. Or, to put this last differently, his experience has led him to believe in the possibility of the human being impregnated with the divine. He has tried to express his experience in ceremonies and statements closely akin to those that men at a similar stage of civilization have used for the same purpose all the world over; but he has given to all these expressions a tone as distinctly African as that of his own speech. No one who knows him will ever argue that the African does not need redemption. But a man with such an experience is worth redeeming, and capable of being redeemed.

IV. TRIBAL LAW AND POLITICS

A fire, a mist, and a planet,
A crystal and a cell,
A jellyfish and a saurian,
And a cave where the cave-men 'dwell.
Then a sense of law and beauty
And a face turned from the clod,
Some call it Evolution,
Others call it God.

WILLIAM HERBERT CARUTH.

i. *Bantu political institutions.* In studying Bantu institutions it is necessary at the outset to eliminate our idea of the individual. With us the individual is the unit of society. During his minority he is not an individual in the eye of the law, though even then he is cared for by an ever-growing body of legislation that tends to remove him more and more from the tyranny and caprice of parents. But from the time he attains his majority, he stands in his own shoes, being bound only by the contracts into which he freely enters. What is more, the world is before him, and if he have ability and enterprise, he may make of himself what he will. Our Western society regards it as more of a disgrace than an honour for a man to remain in the station in which he was born—unless he was born very near the top! But such doctrines are alien to Bantu life. With them, a man's social and political status is irrevocably fixed by what we sometimes call the accident of birth. I never heard such a phrase as that from Bantu lips. On the contrary, there are indications that they regard each child as a direct gift from the spirit-world, and probably a reincarnation of one of the old family spirits. I am not prepared to assert that that is their belief: we are still slowly feeling our way into the Bantu mind; but there are a few customs that appear unintelligible without this assumption. Be that as it may, birth fixes for life (if not for ever) the social status of each individual. Where Bantu society is much disintegrated, it is possible for a slave to usurp the position of chief by intrigue or military adventure; but this is an anomaly, and we are discussing regular Bantu life. It has always been possible for an individual to break away from his family; but if he does, he

goes forth stripped of his possessions, and is regarded as what our forefathers used to call 'a masterless man'. The choice before such a man is, either to remain an outlaw, or to put himself under another master, which, with rare exceptions, means lower status. What I mean by status is that a man's rights and duties are born with him, being conditioned by his precedence in the family and the precedence of his family in the tribe. Nothing is farther from Bantu thought than the doctrine that all men are endowed by nature with fundamental equality and an inalienable right to liberty (whatever the definition of the terms). That doctrine is arch heresy to the Bantu and subversive of good morals. They cannot admit for a moment that any man but a chief is born free, and they cannot conceive how any two men can be born equal. Everything in their political system is built on status; and status is a matter of birth.

ii. *The family.* Well, all this means, in brief, that the individual does not exist in Bantu society. I shall often have to use the word—one must use English in speaking to English people—but I shall use it in a biological sense, and nothing more. The unit of Bantu society is the family.

But what is the Bantu family?

There are three forms of marriage¹ among Bantu.

The first prevails in tribes where it is customary for the man to live at the home of his wife and beget children for her family.² He remains an outsider, and his children pass into the clan of their mother. In these tribes the mother counts for much in the relationship and inheritance of her children, and the father hardly counts at all. The property and control of the group pass to the children of its women, and the children of its men live with their mothers in other groups. This is a very old form of marriage that is found all over the world. It is often spoken of as *matriarchal*; but,

¹ A fuller discussion of Bantu marriage will be found in Chapter V. We are here treating only of the constitution of the family that is the unit of Bantu society.

² Polygamy is recognized in all Bantu tribes, and was the rule rather than the exception. In matrilineal tribes men distribute their time between the villages of their various wives; and in patrilineal tribes the establishments of a man's wives are grouped together. In either the matrilineal or the patrilineal a man may have slave-wives as well as wives of higher status; and in all cases slave-wives live in the man's family village.

since in Bantu tribes the head of the family is not its mother but her brother (if her mother's brothers be dead), and the headship of clan and tribe passes in a similar manner, it is evident that 'matriarchal' is not a correct term to use. 'Matrilineal' is better; for status and all its accessories pass to the sons of a line of mothers. One can easily see that men would not always be content with a system by which their natural children are strangers in their group, and their dignities and property are inherited by the children of their sisters. And though this form of marriage seems at one time to have prevailed in all Bantu tribes, it has disappeared entirely from very many, leaving only its trace in customs and terms of relationship; it remains only in the family of the chief in some other tribes; and it is breaking down everywhere.

In these and all other Bantu tribes there is another form of marriage, *marriage by capture*. Forms usually remain for some time after the spirit has left them, and the form of this marriage is often found, more or less idealized, in communities which have attained a somewhat higher conception of life. In Africa it existed in its crude condition. After a successful foray, it was usual for a Bantu chief to distribute some of the captured women and children, as well as other booty, among his warriors. The warrior sometimes kept the woman for himself, and sometimes handed her over to a neighbour in exchange for something that he preferred. The captured woman was really a slave, and both she and her children were under the dominion of the man. From her point of view, it was a disaster, though she was not the kind of person that allowed such a disaster to take all the joy out of life. From the man's point of view, such marriage gave him a standing in his own household which he could not obtain under matrilineal marriage. But such marriages were looked upon as less respectable than what one may call marriages of the standard pattern, though they were nowhere despised. The suppression of intertribal warfare by European Governments has made marriage by capture impracticable since about the beginning of the present century; but slave-marriage, which is practically the same thing, still obtains in many Bantu tribes.

The third standard pattern of marriage that has come to take

the place of the matrilineal in most Bantu tribes may be called *marriage of dominion*. That is to say, the woman passes by agreement from the dominion of her father or patriarch to that of her husband or his patriarch, and her children with her. A bride-price is handed over to the bride's paternal group, and as long as that bride-price is retained by them the woman is under the power of the man's group, and her children with her. Under the matrilineal system, the son succeeds to the status of his mother and the property attached thereto. Under the system of marriage by capture, the woman does not count at all, and the children are in the power of the father, to be provided for or neglected as he chooses. Under the marriage of dominion, the son succeeds to the status and property of his father, and belongs to the father's group.

What we have to notice here is that in all these forms of family life the family is constituted on patriarchal lines. In the matrilineal tribes the son (generally the eldest son) of the late chief's eldest sister succeeds to the chieftainship and its emoluments. And similarly with the headship of families of lower status. With the exception of hordes like the Jagas,¹ however, no tribes ever relied solely upon marriage by capture, and probably no families; and captured women were taken into the household as inferior wives, their children inheriting nothing but what their father publicly handed over to them during his lifetime. In tribes that rely upon marriage of dominion the son (generally the eldest son) succeeds his father in the chieftainship and all the property attached to it; and the headship of families of lower status passes in a similar manner. So that in all families patriarchal rule prevails, the main difference being that in the one case the patriarch holds his position by mother-right, and in the other by father-right.

'Family' suggests blood-relationship to most of us; but, if

¹ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Jagas ravaged the country that is now called Angola. Of their origin nothing definite is known, though there have been many guesses; but they were not so much a tribe as a miscellaneous horde of ruthless cannibals, who lived by plunder, and when they had devastated one district moved into another. Battell, who lived with them for twenty-one months, says that they killed all infants that were born in their camp and recruited their numbers by absorbing the youths of both sexes who were captured in their raids.

you look up the history of the word, you will find that it originally signified the servile property, the thralls of the master. That is what it still means for the Bantu. I have already stated that headship of the family comes by natural descent, through father in some systems and through mother in others, and that many of its members are of the blood of the patriarch; but the bond of union is not blood, but *power*. Besides the children of daughters of the family by outside men in matrilineal tribes, or children of the sons of the family by outside women in patrilineal tribes, there are members of the family who cannot claim the least drop of its blood in their veins. And there is no pretence of consanguinity. In British families, happily, it is safe to assume that a woman's child is of her husband's blood, for our women have a high ideal of marital fidelity, and our men are quick to disown the paternity of another man's child; but among Bantu it is all different. There, children are an asset and glory, not a liability and restraint, and they are readily adopted. Where marriage of dominion prevails, a man claims the children that his wife bears years after she has left him—if the bride-price has not been repaid. Children of other stocks, obtained in this and other ways, become real members of the family. Often enough a patriarch pays the bride-price of a stranger's marriage, knowing that by that very action the stranger and his children pass as completely into his family as if they had its blood in their veins.

To put the matter briefly and without regard to occasional minor modifications:

In patrilineal tribes, the daughters leave home on marriage and bear children for the families of their husbands, while the sons bring outside women into the family to bear children for it. In some tribes, therefore, the patriarchal family consists of all *male* descendants *in the male line* from the patriarch's father;¹ such of the patriarch's father's female descendants *in the male line* as are unmarried² and their sons and unmarried² daughters (if any); the sons and unmarried² daughters of all women

¹ In some tribes this man's children by one or two of the senior of his secondary wives become separate families upon his death.

² If any woman married out of this family has been divorced by repayment of bride-price in full, she and her children pass back into its power; but a husband usually prefers to retain the children rather than reclaim the full bride-price.

whose bride-price has come from the patriarchal herds, no matter what men have begotten these children; and all people of both sexes, together with their descendants, who have passed to the patriarch by inheritance, purchase, or capture, and have not subsequently been disposed of by gift, sale, or bride-price.

In matrilineal tribes, on the other hand, the daughters remain at home on marriage and bear children for their own family by husbands from outside; but though sons build houses in the family villages of their wives, they do not become members of such families. In these tribes, therefore, the patriarchal family consists of *all* the children of the patriarch's mother; *all* their descendants of both sexes *in the female line*; all male or female slaves which have come into this family by purchase or capture; and all the children of such slave-women, whether begotten by members of this family or by outsiders.

Now though the matrilineal family is very differently constituted from the patrilineal, both are alike patriarchal; and the cement of the family in both cases is not blood, but the power of the patriarch—a power which passes from patriarch to patriarch, whether the inheritor be son of deceased, or son of his mother,¹ or son of his mother's eldest daughter.¹ It is important to remember this.

iii. *Patriarchal power.* When we consider the nature of patriarchal power, our first impression is one of utter astonishment at the scope of its apparent despotism. As against the individual, the patriarch has the sole right to gardens and grazing lands; controls the activities and earnings of the members of the family; claims to dispose of the persons of sons and daughters in marriage, without regard to their wishes; can deprive them of their share of the family possessions and proclaim them outlaws; and in some districts is able to pawn members of the family or sell them into slavery. Ostensibly, he holds the power of life and death over the members of the family, at least till they have passed through puberty ceremonies into the larger community. He permits no members of the family to be silent concerning anything that has come to their knowledge, and in matters of conscience and religion he is pontifical. In a word,

¹ I have hesitated to use the terms 'brother' and 'sister', because such words suggest to us common fatherhood as well as common motherhood.

patriarchal power wears the semblance of sheer tyranny over the individual. But in practice it is held in check by many influences.

iv. *Checks on patriarchal power.* Perhaps the most important of these is human affection. One hardly looks for love in such a scheme; but, as the sunshine beautifies the rubbish-heap as well as the flowers, love touches the most sordid life with heavenly colour. The student who omits this figure from his calculation need never hope to find the true solution of the problem. To us, it seems that the appropriation of an adult's earnings by his elders deprives him of any chance of making his way in the world. But the adult of tribalism sees little necessity for making his way in the world. To be so engrossed with the scramble for wealth that he has no time to live and laugh is to him a mark of barbarism; while it is rudimentary politeness to share what he has with his own. Thousands of White men can remember, when they were big boys at home, the joy with which they took all their earnings home to their mother; and to these African 'boys', as the patriarch calls them, it is not only a primary obligation of kinship to take one's earnings to the patriarch, but an act of pride and loyalty.

There are other influences. To the Bantu, greatness is the cream of life; and not only is the patriarch great in proportion to the size of his family, as well as the distinction of his ancestry, but his greatness is reflected on every member of his family. Acts of injustice or even undue severity tend to lessen his following, and when there is no panic or passion all the interests of the family plead for mildness of régime. Besides, appeal to the clan or the tribe is possible; and Bantu are very sensitive to public opinion, dreading the contempt of their neighbours almost more than anything else.

The machinery through which these influences play upon the little community is that of the family council. The patriarch decides nothing of importance till it has been discussed—generally at inordinate length—by the members of his family, so that he may be sure of the support of family opinion. He decides; but his decision is theirs. Here, in the midst of what looked like arrant despotism, are the rudiments of trial by jury. Even if corporal punishment has to be administered to some

youthful delinquent, his father will hand him over to the family that they may correct 'their child'.

v. *Patriarchal responsibility.* Besides, the duty and responsibility of the patriarch is as great as his power; and this, too, is a family affair. Within the family there is a large measure of communistic ownership and joint control, and a proportionately heavy collective responsibility, which amounts to a kind of perpetual and universal suretyship and guarantee against pauperism and vagrancy. If an individual has committed a fault against another community, the whole family is at fault and must suffer. If a fine is imposed, the family is liable for its collection, even though the offender has nothing of his own to collect. Within its own circle, the family knows nothing of wages and needs no law of master and servant. Each individual has his own patch of land (to use, not to sell), and grazes what stock he has at the family cattle-post, maintaining thereby his own granary and milk-sack. But if misfortune should overtake him, he can rely upon the help of his family. There is no problem of pauperism, though in times of famine those of higher status are less likely to die of hunger than those of lower grade.

One other feature of the patriarchal organization deserves notice: It is rooted in religion. The patriarch is but the earthly vicar of those who held office before him and are still watching from the spirit-world to see that their will is being done.

Europeans who go to Africa are usually too intent upon their own business to make a real study of the life of the people; but when they come suddenly upon some obtrusive feature of this family organization, they are wont to condemn it as abnormal and monstrous. Much may justly be said in disapprobation; but this form of society is so like what we see when a corner of the veil that hides the distant past of our own race is momentarily lifted, that we are unjust and unwise if we call it either abnormal or monstrous. On the contrary, it is so natural or instinctive that all the progressive families of mankind have passed through it in their onward march towards the goal of civilization—a goal that still seems very far off, even for the most advanced.

vi. *Clan.* Such is the family. What is the clan? Suppose, for a moment, that such a family as we have described has settled

in some isolated position, where it is cut off from its affiliations and is free to live its own life. That is a condition which seldom, if ever, occurs in actual life, but a diagram is as good as a photograph when one wants to understand a situation. Let us suppose, further, that this patriarchal family is organized on patrilineal lines. (The variation of inheritance in a matrilineal tribe will not affect the main lines of our diagram.) During the patriarch's lifetime, he has probably placed the eldest son of each of two secondary wives that rank next the mother of the heir in a lordly position, publicly endowing them with cattle and serfs. While he is still living, they are as dependent as ever upon him; but when his heir succeeds to power, they become semi-independent, each as head of a family consisting of his own younger brothers and serfs. Each of these sons is now a small patriarch of his own family, but recognizes the heir's superior rank, his needfulness for the validity of sacerdotal functions,¹ and his authority in matters which concern the whole community or disputes between any two of its families. Now you have a miniature *clan* of three patriarchal families. And in the whole clan there are not two people of equal status, and not one that could not easily take his proper place in a line of strict precedence.

vii. *Tribe*. If this process of growth and division is maintained long enough and the group is able to hold its desirable land, it attracts to itself patriarchal families and clans from other tribes that have been broken up by disaster, internal jealousy, or war; and the larger community becomes a *tribe*, of which the heir of the original patriarch is paramount chief.

Such a society does not necessarily live together in one town. Oftener than not it is scattered over its domain in patriarchal hamlets which are grouped in clan-districts, each hamlet and district being jealous of its ancient liberties, though compliant with what it takes to be the just orders of the paramount chief. The largest Bantu towns are those of the Bechuana tribes. Khama's town (Serowe), for instance, has within a mile of the chief's official residence a population of 26,000, according to census and tax returns; but a still larger number of the chief's people are scattered far and wide in hamlets and villages.

Before the arrival of European Governments few tribes

¹ See pp. 57, 73, and 97-8.

hesitated to attack an adjacent and weaker tribe upon slight provocation. There was always loot for the victors, and the excitement of a raid was a welcome break in the monotony of life, especially for the young men. All over Bantu Africa, and apparently from time immemorial, war has been the hammer that has broken up feeble communities and welded the parts together in new combinations. But usually the old principles prevail in the newer society, with a lower status for the unfortunate.

Every century or so, however, Bantu tribalism has produced a military genius, who has devastated large areas, and substituted a despotism for the old institutions. Of these despotisms, a few have lasted for centuries, but the greater number have fallen into the hands of decadent descendants of the conqueror, and dissolved again into rural communities of the primitive type, except, perhaps, for a few permanent political scars. To trace all the modifications of political pattern that have thus arisen would require a very large book; we must content ourselves with a glance at some distinctive features of the general scheme. These are most easily studied in one of the large towns. For each town is a conglomeration of rural communities, all continuing their old form of local self-government, but, through proximity, co-operating more completely and frequently in tribal affairs.

viii. *Land.* Look first at the land, which is fundamental to the existence of the tribe. The tribe claims the land; but the only title it can show is—

The good old rule, the simple plan
That he should take who has the power
And he should keep who can.

Every tribe in Africa took its tribal domain from some other that was less able to hold it. Every tribesman, therefore, had to be a warrior, ready to defend the possessions of his tribe to the last, or he and his neighbours would go down in the general welter. But since peace and contentment are essential within the tribe, it was impossible to apply such a rule to individuals and families. The theory is that no individual or family can own any fraction of the tribal land, but that all have an equal right to use what they need of it. And there is a law of distribution. Land is divided into township, arable lands, and

pasture. In principle, the chief allots each clan its building-site in the town, and its arable and pasture lands in the country. But in practice, each clan's building-site is related to the chief's residence, both in distance and direction, by those rigid laws of precedence that run through all Bantu life, and its arable lands lie beyond the confines of the town at a corresponding distance and in the same direction. What the chief actually does, however, is to point out the outer boundary of the clan that comes one step nearer to him in that direction. Areas of no-man's-land that are unfit for building or cultivation are allowed to lie vacant. When the clan-head sees his building-site, or the cultivable area that he may occupy, he distributes his patriarchal groups over it according to the same rigid laws of precedence. The patriarch does the same with the households of which his family is composed, till every individual has a building-site and sufficient arable land for his own use.

The situation of grazing lands depends upon the location of permanent waters ; but they lie in the same direction, though often at a great distance from the town. They are not subdivided to the same extent as arable lands.

It is considered an act of oppression to deprive a family of land that it has brought into cultivation, as long as the family continues to use it ; but the family has no right to sell or lease its land. Rent is unknown : all rights to land are rights of citizenship. Europeans, who are unable to think of land apart from rent or purchase, sometimes declare that the tribesman pays for his land by the service he renders the chief or community. This is a misleading statement. It may be permissible to say that he pays for all his privileges as a tribesman by discharging all his duties as a tribesman ; but there is no relation between any one privilege and any one duty.

The use of the term 'pay' is due to our commercialized thinking. The Bantu would never use that term in such a connexion. Even the idea of wages has hardly risen above the mental horizon of the Bantu, except where foreign influence has been felt, though it is interesting to note that the idea was dawning before Europeans came. Agriculture is woman's work in the pastoral tribes, and each wife is supposed to cultivate her own allotment, often helped, nevertheless, by her husband

and any slaves or serfs that the family possesses. But it is common for a husband to aid his wife by giving her a few goats for the ploughing, and the wife announces that on a certain day she will slaughter certain animals for the entertainment of those who help her. They regard their labour as neighbourly assistance, and she regards the meat distributed as hospitality to her helpers. But the number of people who may share a goat under such circumstances has become conventional in many districts ; so that the meat approximates closely to wages.

This method of dealing with land is almost exactly that which was once in vogue among our ancestors. The Bantu have taken what has proved in other countries to be the first step in individual ownership of land, by dividing the arable land into individual holdings. But it took our ancestors many generations to pass from this method to that which we have come to consider natural, and it will probably be a slower process with the Bantu, unless it is hastened by foreign influence.

ix. *Duties of a tribesman.* The duties of a tribesman are those which he owes to his patriarch, his clan-head, and his chief. Apart from membership in a regiment, *the chief* demands little from him. He must put in one day's work at the beginning of every ploughing season in the chief's official lands, which theoretically provide the chief with a sort of hospitality fund. He must contribute a little grain to the tithes which are sent to the chief after harvest for use as a thank-offering to the ancestral spirits. He must render the chief a portion of the game he kills. But the taxation of tribesmen is not oppressive, unless they happen to be members of clans that were subjugated in the conquest of the domain and forcibly embedded in the tribe. Every tribesman must muster with his regiment when it is ordered on active service, or to work on roads, drifts, public fences, or buildings, or to weed the chief's lands. His *clan-head* requires more labour on the official lands of the clan, and may, at the chief's request, detail clansmen to act as messengers to other tribes, or to dress and sew pelts for the chief's use. No payment is made for any of these services. But it is noteworthy that the chief has no right to give such orders to any but his own clansmen, and can only secure such service from other clansmen in his tribe by making a personal request of their clan-head. We

have already referred to the extensive duties that a tribesman owes to his patriarch.¹

x. *Public business and Bantu law.* The public business of the tribe is transacted in Tribal Assemblies, of which there are several varieties. All but one of these Assemblies are held in the forum or central Place of Assembly—an enclosed courtyard, adjacent to the chief's premises, where the heads of the community and such others as care to join them gather around the chief morning and evening to hear and tell the latest news.

xi. *Judicial Assembly.* Nearly all disputes and offences are dealt with in local assemblies of clan or family; but if there is a case to be tried in the *tribal* court, a *Judicial Assembly* is convened, generally for sunrise on the following morning. It meets in the forum, and all adults, even visitors from a distance, are free to attend; but in most tribes it is not usual for women to come unless they are specially called. The chief presides, supported by his younger brothers and the heads of the principal clans; and the people, including litigants and witnesses, group themselves in a semicircle before the notables. The chief sits on his stool, which remains always in the forum, and which no one would dream of occupying in his absence. His younger brothers and the heads of the leading clans usually have stools of their own, left in the forum or brought there for the occasion; but the people squat on the ground. The complainant speaks first, presenting his case in full, and the defendant replies. Both are assisted by their own clan-heads and patriarchs; but any one, even a visitor, is free to state anything that he knows or has heard about the case, to examine or cross-examine those who are concerned in the matter, or to express an opinion regarding it. All speakers stand while speaking, and address their remarks to the tribe rather than to the chief; but they speak from the place where they happen to have been sitting. There are no formalities, fees, or oaths. Every man is his own lawyer and his own policeman, but every man has his family and clan behind him. Each party must bring its own witnesses. The heads of the community listen patiently and often silently to all that is said, allowing each speaker to tell his own story in his own way, and then question the speakers,

¹ See p. 87.

sometimes with great acumen, not necessarily rising for the purpose. When the hearing has continued long enough, the chief calls upon the Assembly to pass judgement. Those who wish to speak do so, and the others signify approval or disapproval, or remain silent, as they please. A few of the leading men are sure to speak. And ultimately the chief pronounces judgement, generally in the words of some previous speaker who has evidently carried the consent of the Assembly. No vote is taken. The case is finally disposed of.

There is no clear distinction between what we should call criminal and civil cases, and fines of cattle are the usual punishment, though flogging is not uncommon and outlawry¹ is sometimes decreed. If outlawry be the sentence, the culprit is generally given till sunset in order that he may make his escape. If it be flogging, it is usually given forthwith by the crowd that are in the Assembly. If it be fine, the person entitled to compensation must levy the distraint, usually approaching the property through the head of the offender's clan or family and supported by a party from his own clan. If he meets with resistance, he retires and appeals to the paramount chief for succour; and the chief sends a representative, with some symbol of authority, who is entitled to seize something additional for his trouble and something also for the chief. If the chief's representative is resisted—— But no one in his senses would court ruin, and he who so far forgot himself would find that his family and clan were still mindful of their interests.

The procedure of such a Judicial Assembly may be crude; but where native witnesses are concerned, an Assembly of that kind, with a capable and just chief at its head, can get at the facts much more easily than a full array of learned lawyers who are bound by rules of court and laws of evidence. Any attempt to hurry a native witness, or to induce him to discard irrelevant matter, or to flurry him with questions while he is in the midst of his story, is fatal to the discovery of facts. I have often been astonished at the way in which a clever chief, who seemed half-inattentive to the evidence, has got at the truth by means of half a dozen clever questions after the witness has ended his narrative.

¹ Outlawry and capital punishment are not permitted to tribes under British control.

But not all chiefs are capable, and, worse still, not all chiefs are just. It is very difficult to grow decent men out of children who are surrounded from infancy with flunkeys and sycophants to whom the whim of the young divinity is the highest law. Cupidity is prominent in Bantu character, and venality is common everywhere, but especially among chiefs.

xii. *Civil Assembly*. Another form of assembly is called the *Civil Assembly*. Its decisions, like those of the Judicial Assembly, have the force of law, as the Bantu understand law; but no definite case is of necessity laid before it, and its discussions need not end in decisions. Something has gone wrong in the community; perhaps the rains are scanty, and it is necessary to discover whether any one has hardened the ancestral spirits against the tribe by killing a python or using sleighs when the corn is earing; perhaps there is a feeling that undesirable practices are growing common, or that certain roads ought to be closed because of cattle-disease beyond the border, or that the trader is charging too much or paying too little. In all such cases the Civil Assembly discusses the matter and decides whether it should move the chief to take action. All tribesmen are expected to attend these Assemblies, but there is seldom any compulsion.

On very important occasions, such as when war is imminent, or some of the major ceremonies of the tribe have to be observed, a *Convention* is called. One such convention, called the *Convention of the Spears*, is usually held when the water of lustration is prepared for fertilizing the lands. This is a sort of 'holy water', of magic virtue, with which the spears are sprinkled, so that they may be cleansed from all contamination and made successful in the chase.

xiii. *Armed Assembly*. The *Armed Assembly* is the most important of all. All tribesmen must attend this Assembly, armed as for war, and absentees are liable to be roughly handled. It meets at some appointed place well away from the town; and its convocation indicates that 'weighty words' will be spoken. The fact that it was at an Assembly of this kind in 1825 that the Bakwena tribe executed a chief for despotic practices reminds us of the ancient *Comitia Centuriata* of the Romans, which was a somewhat similar gathering of the state

embodied as for war, and had power to inflict capital punishment even upon persons who were otherwise sacrosanct. It is usual for a chief to convene one such Assembly every year, and after it is constituted to announce that there is no business and that the regiments are to spend the day or more in regimental hunting, the tactics of which are similar to those of war. The Armed Assembly is a great safety-valve, which allows sections of the community that have generated much wrath against the chief or some other high-born person to blow off in violent language, and thus avert an explosion that might wreck the tribe. At all these Assemblies the prerogative of freedom of speech is very jealously guarded; but at the Armed Assembly men can declaim against their lords and masters with a freedom that is not permissible elsewhere.

xiv. *Military organization.* As there is little distinction between the military and civil organization of the tribe, something should be said here concerning the constitution of regiments. Upon return from the Boys' Puberty Camp, all the initiates of that batch are constituted a new regiment. That means that there is a new regiment about every five years; that all its members are practically of the same age; and that every tribesman goes through life regimented with his contemporaries. Regiments are organized on the same lines as the civil community: each clan has a company in each regiment, and the highest born in each company is its officer, and is responsible for its strength and behaviour at every regimental muster. The commander of the regiment is the highest-born member of it, always a son or nephew of the paramount chief.

xv. *The chief.* The paramount chief is head of every department of the tribe's activity—war, justice, land, public works, religion, and everything else. He is careful to act only through regimental officers and clan-heads, because these dignitaries are as quick as he is to resent a slight. The most conspicuous trait of Bantu character is reverence for blue blood, and for the laws of which the blue-blooded are the only legitimate custodians. Not content with the doctrine of the divine right of kings, the Bantu believe intensely in the divinity of chiefs. Even when a royal weakling is robbed of his civil and military headship by an enterprising younger brother, his sacerdotal functions

remain untouched as long as he lives, and then pass to his heirs after him. Ceremonies connected with the worship of the spirits of the dynasty would be invalid unless he presided. Thus it is not uncommon to find in a tribe a clan which has lost its wealth, power, and vigour, and yet takes precedence of the chief in the greater tribal ceremonies of religion. But blue blood runs in the veins of the clan-heads also, and within the clan there is as much loyalty to them as to the chief—sometimes more. The clash of the power of kindred with that of the state, which did so much to shape our Anglo-Saxon polity, is, therefore, constantly at work in Bantu tribes. The trend of events appears to be away from patriarchal control, and towards control by the chief, or, in other words, the paramount chief tends to become more and more a little absolute monarch. But the movement is very slow.

xvi. *Lordship and servitude.* The most potent influence in this direction is what is known by the Bantu as 'servitude', a custom which is much the same as that of ancient British and Irish laws and of the feudal period. By handing over stock to a family willing to receive it, the lord places that family in permanent servitude to himself and his heirs. Only destitute people, or those who are not strong enough to resist the demand of the chief, would consent to receive such stock; but owing to the disintegration of tribes through war and the internal jealousy which is inseparable from polygamy, there are many people of broken fortunes who are ready to put themselves beyond the reach of destitution by thus coming under the protection of a strong chief, receiving land in his domain and cattle with which to cultivate it, and obtaining an honourable standing in the tribe. In return for these advantages they have to herd these cattle for the lord and cultivate the lord's lands with them. Clan-heads sometimes place people in servitude by this means, but it is only the chief who is in a position to do it on any large scale. This practice tends to bring more and more of the waste land of the tribe under the immediate control of the chief; to increase the wealth of the chief; to provide him with a strong body of vassals whose support makes him less dependent upon the goodwill of the clan-heads of the tribe; to create a new order of nobility that is dependent solely upon intimate association with

the chief ; and to substitute land and cattle for kinship as the bond of society. This is the same process as was due to similar methods in the feudal period of European history.

xvii. *Legislation.* It seems strange to come to the end of a chapter on ' Politics ' without ever mentioning legislation ; but, though the Bantu are almost fanatics for law, they repudiate legislation. Here again, if we understood our own institutions a little better, we should have less difficulty with theirs. The bulk of British law consists of statutes made by Parliament ; but the most important part of it, the groundwork of the whole legal system, is Common Law, which exists only in the minds of lawyers, and of which there is no authoritative text. Statutes are only extensions or corrections of Common Law to suit changes in modern life. Now when Bantu speak of law, they mean an unwritten law (like our Common Law) that never was made, that has always been in force, and that exists only in the minds of people. There is one small item of rude legislation in Bantu polity. After the Civil Assembly has discussed a matter, the paramount chief sometimes issues an order which, while it lasts, has the force of law, but which is changed, withdrawn, or neglected when the need has passed. The tribe believes that this ' chief's law ' is an application of ancestral law to a new condition, just as our legislators believe that their statutes are in accord with Common Law. The changes in our modern life are so rapid and profound that Parliament cannot keep pace with the need for new statutes ; but Bantu life hardly changes at all, and there is seldom need for ' chief's law '. The Bantu claim, however, that this is the only legislation in their system. They are mistaken. In their Judicial Assembly, as in our Law Courts, former decisions are often cited to prove what the unwritten law really is ; and so every important decision tends to define anew, and thereby to modify, the law of the ancestors. The extent to which Case Law, as English lawyers call it, has modified ancestral law may be seen by comparing the difference in practice between two tribes that long ago drifted apart. Each of them claims that it has never changed the old law in the least, and that the difference is wholly due to the blundering of the other tribe.

xviii. *Politics rooted in religion.* The conviction that all the

activities of a tribesman ought to be controlled by the law of the divine ancestors leads to important results. It puts that law above criticism: you can no more question the wisdom or righteousness of it than of the law of gravitation. It means that the only perfect policy for family, clan, or tribe is that which the ancestors left; and thus it becomes a bar to political progress. Ancestral law knows no distinction between private and public, civil and criminal, legal and moral, ritual and religious. Any breach of an ancestral law, whether it be killing a neighbour, eating of the new crops before the Ceremony of Firstfruits, or ceremonial defilement, will be avenged by the spirits; and the community which does not correct the sinner in its midst shares his sin. All offences are not equally serious; but all are sins, and all are crimes, and all are punishable in the courts of family, clan, or tribe. According to the law of the ancestors, morality is a matter of conduct rather than character, and only of conduct in so far as one's behaviour rouses the resentment of the custodians of law and custom, that is, of spirits and men. The law of the ancestors has nothing to say of a tribesman's treatment of outsiders, unless that treatment is likely to bring trouble to the tribe.

xix. *Bantu ethics*. It is possible to write the most diverse sentences about Bantu ethics without any intention to mislead. I could say of tribes with which I have lived in Africa, that reverence for parents and elders is commonly inculcated and that disobedience is punished; that self-control is cultivated; that men of probity are respected; that brotherliness, courtesy, and hospitality are common virtues; that a high respect for property prevails; that mercy is highly esteemed and justice praised; and that murder, witchcraft, stealing, adultery, false witness against one's neighbour, hatred, and arrogance are all condemned. I could say all this with truthfulness; but it would serve only to mislead those who read an English meaning into my terms. The fact is that every term must be defined in a Bantu sense, or the statement becomes untrue. The Bantu idea of the relation of the individual to the community has had great influence on Bantu ethics. 'Brotherliness' is not incompatible with a profound conviction that there cannot be such a thing as equality between men, and that birth makes the

lord and his brothers his servants. 'Adultery' means intercourse with another man's wife without the man's consent. 'Neighbour' does not include people of another race; you can be as hateful and arrogant towards them as you like. 'Justice' is praised by all; but it is easier to practise, and anyhow the outsider is not within the scope of the law.

Bantu ethics is as truly Bantu as Bantu speech or customs: there are good points about them all, but they do not satisfy the requirements of European civilization. It is not that their ethical code is worth anything, but that they have a code of ethics, an idea of right and wrong, a sense of responsibility to the unseen; that tribal law has kept the tribesman's conscience alive till he is educated to a Christian level; and that it has saved him from extinction.

They have something to the good that they have inherited from the past, a moral obligation to the unseen, whether you spell the word with a capital or small 'u'. That enthusiasm for personal purity which is a mark of the best Old Testament saint-ethics which grew out of a lofty conception of a personal and holy God who reads the heart, was the development of a tribal 'law' that was not very different from that which we find in the Old Testament. The great difference was not ethical, but moral: morality was related to a tribal God rather than to a universal God. But the tribal God of Early Israel was very different from the God of the Old Testament. His characteristics. It took long centuries to evolve out of personal purity out of the legal and ceremonial ethics of Early Israel; and we must not be impatient of the process though we bring to our task the assistance of a far more rational religion.

V. WOMAN AND MARRIAGE

'No man ever lived a right life who had not been chastened by a woman's love, strengthened by her courage, and guided by her discretion.'—Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*.

'However, I am not denying that the women are foolish; God Almighty made 'em to match the men.'—Mrs. Poyser in *Adam Bede*.

i. *Various forms of marriage.* For many centuries there has been slowly growing up in Britain a new ideal of marriage, which has been realized in thousands of Christian homes, although not yet fully recognized in law—a relationship in which husband and wife are on terms of perfect equality. It is, of course, useless to look for anything like that in Africa. In Bantu tribes only two forms of marriage¹ are in vogue: matrilineal marriage, and marriage of dominion. However it may be in other communities, it is safe to assert that in these tribes matrilineal marriage is older than marriage of dominion; for we find tribes in process of passing from the former to the latter, but never the reverse, and fragments of matrilineal custom are embedded in the practices of tribes who are unaware that they ever followed the matrilineal mode. In matrilineal marriage the woman is the predominant partner, and the man has a precarious hold upon the wife, and no right to their children. In marriage of dominion, which is now much more common among Bantu, the man is supreme, and has sole right to the children.

ii. *Bantu terms of relationship.* In our brief discussion of the family² nothing was said of Bantu terms of relationship; but these terms bring out very clearly the inequality of father and mother in relation to their children. The term applied in Britain to a relative depends upon how many steps along the line of descent we have to take to pass from ourselves to him. A person takes one step back and he comes to his 'parents'; he takes another step in the same direction and he comes to 'grandparents', making no difference between those of his mother and those of

¹ Of the three forms mentioned on p. 83 marriage by purchase or by capture is really a severer form of marriage of dominion.

² See p. 83 et seq.

his father ; he takes a third step to his grandparent's other children, and calls them 'uncle' or 'aunt', whether they are on his father's side or his mother's ; he takes a fourth step to their children, and he calls them all 'cousins'. That is to say, all his relations in the fourth step (lawyers say 'fourth *degree*') are cousins ; and it makes no difference whether he traces the relationship through father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, uncle or aunt. Now, that, if one thinks it out, means that mother and father are equal in relation to their child. This system of relationship seems so simple and natural to us, that we are astonished when we first discover that it is rejected by the great majority of mankind ; and perhaps more astonished still when we learn that it is of comparatively modern growth even in our own race. But, as a matter of fact, it is as puzzling to many other nations as their system is to us—which is saying much.

Let us see how puzzling Bantu terms of relationship are. If, being familiar with a Bantu vernacular, I were given an isolated phrase like 'Smith's uncle', I could not translate it till I knew whether 'uncle' stands for the brother of Smith's father or of Smith's mother ; and if I discover that he was the brother of Smith's father, I have still to ascertain whether he was senior or junior to Smith's father. And then, when I have given the correct Bantu equivalent, I shall have scandalized Smith's worthy uncle—good, honest Westerner that he is—by attributing to him privileges or disabilities that he will hotly repudiate. Or, take a simpler term than 'uncle'. Try 'brother'. That seems easy to understand. But before I can translate 'brother' I must know the sex of the speaker, and whether the brother is senior or junior to the speaker ; and when I have translated it correctly, no native will be able to discover from the term I have used whether that 'brother' was what we should call brother, half-brother, cousin, or uncle. But I have said 'senior' and 'junior' ; and these are not only terms of relationship, but (to us) very misleading ones at that. The 'junior' brother may be twenty years older than the 'senior', or may have had half a dozen children of his own before the 'senior's' mother was married. 'Father' is a fairly simple term for a translator when it is given in the singular ; the nearest Bantu equivalent means the man in whose name the bride-price was paid for 'mother', and can be

defined in the great majority of instances as 'male parent'. But give the translator such a Sechuana phrase as *borra ba le babedi ba gagwe*, and ask him to put it into correct English terms of relationship, and the translator is floored. Taking the words successively and translating them literally, we have 'fathers-they-being-two-of-his (or hers)'; but the word used for 'father' includes people that we should call father, father's brothers, father's half-brothers, and, if father is a junior among them, possibly the cousin who has succeeded his father in the headship of the family. It looks like confusion, but it is not. Our terms of relationship describe the relation of one individual to another (we are always laying stress on the individual), regardless of whether it is through father or mother. Bantu terms describe the relation of groups to which the individual belongs; and before I place two individuals in their proper groups, I must consider the sex and status of both, and the paternal, maternal, or marital links that connect the one with the other.

In these remarks I have had the patrilineal tribes in mind; but it is not very different with the matrilineal.

iii. *Primitive meaning of marriage.* Before describing the forms by which the marriage obligation is contracted, we shall do well to have a clear idea of the two theories of marriage that are in vogue. With primitive people, marriage is an economic proposition. It is not inspired by the joy of going through life hand in hand with the comrade of one's choice, sharing one another's burdens, stimulating one another's courage, doubling one another's sagacity, buckling on one another's armour, wearing one another's laurels, and easing one another's pain. In their view, the primary purpose of marriage is children. Not that it is designed for the welfare of the child; far from it—the child must scramble through as best it can. But the group must maintain its numbers or disappear, and the great ambition of every group is to rise in dignity by increasing its spear-power. Hence it is that there is nothing but contempt for women who do not bear children, whether barrenness be of necessity or choice. Love is not prominent in any Bantu theory of marriage, and lust can be satisfied without its restraint. But the crucial question is the possession of the children.

iv. *Matrilineal theory of marriage.* The older way of securing

this result is, in plain words, that which pastoral tribes always take with their cattle : they will not part with a cow that is at all likely to calve. The theory is that the daughters are not to leave the group, and that their children are its hope and its stay. Accordingly, the daughter remains with her group, and receives her husband either as a lodger or a frequent visitor, and the children are her children, not his. It is true that she is not her own, and that she and her children are under the control of her mother's brother and his superiors in matrilineal descent. But the point is that the father of the child is an outsider and cannot deprive the group of its progeny. Under this system the child inevitably takes its descent and its inheritance from its mother, and all the dignities and property of the group pass ultimately to the sons of its daughters. Since neighbouring groups adopt the same plan, they claim, for similar reasons, the natural children of the men of this group. If it seem strange that the headship of such a group should be vested in sons and not in daughters, it must be remembered that man is the warrior, and that every Bantu group, whatever its social pattern, must be prepared to defend what it does not wish to have plundered. In government, these groups (whether family, clan, or tribe) are as patriarchal as the rest ; they are matrilineal, but not matriarchal.

At the same time, the position of woman in these groups is more independent and honourable, though hardly more chaste. If the man tires of her or she tires of him, no great change takes place in her life ; she simply fills her old niche in the economy of the family, retaining her children, and probably finding another husband with little delay, and he goes his way. But the freedom of her position adds to her influence in her own community, and enables her to make her voice heard in public affairs to an extent that is not possible to women of patrilineal tribes. Her husband has no voice in the concerns of her family ; he may or may not have other wives in other groups, but he is at any rate an outsider in hers with only a platonic interest in its affairs. In brief, this theory of marriage regards the woman as almost the only factor in the family, and the man as a mere begetter of other people's children.

I know of no scientific name for this kind of marriage ; but,

for our purpose, it is sufficiently correct to speak of it as the *matrilineal theory of marriage*.

This theory, together with the belief, which seems inherent in Bantu thought, that the younger is born to serve the elder, is at the foundation of the whole social structure of many Bantu tribes, especially in Central Africa. But it has obvious defects. According to what seems to have been the old law of inheritance, the sons of the first-born daughter of the leading house succeeded to the headship of that house in order of seniority, and when the last was dead, the eldest son of his eldest sister stepped into the position, to be followed in turn by his younger brothers in order of birth. This often gave them a succession of patriarchs, clan-heads, and chiefs who were too decrepit to maintain an authority which they had not been wont to exercise, and left the group an easy prey to well-knit and adventurous neighbours. Another defect is that such a theory of marriage is not satisfactory to the man. Human nature cannot be permanently held in check by artificial restraints, no matter how authoritative they may appear; and when it throws them off, it is apt to rush to the other extreme.

v. *Marriage by capture*. Concurrent with this form of marriage there was another, which lacked responsibility. Women were captured in raids on other tribes, and slave-women were obtained by barter. Such women were completely under the dominion of their owners, and their children with them. And men perceived that in such wives there was readier obedience and greater security of tenure. Natural affection for a man's own children came into play; and also, as he retained his children in his own group and under his own control, they brought him service, profit, and pride, while adding to the strength of the only group in which he had permanent interest. Inevitably such marriages became more popular, especially among men who were sufficiently prominent to secure a share of the captives or to be able to buy slaves—the very men who set the fashion in any society. To this day, these slave-marriages are looked upon in matrilineal tribes as of lower status than those of standard pattern, but they are not thought at all disreputable. This is the route by which many tribes probably passed out of the matrilineal form of marriage into that marriage of dominion

which has now come to be accepted as the only standard pattern by most Bantu ; but, be that as it may, the fact remains that marriage of dominion secures much the same result to the man.

vi. *Marriage of dominion.* Now let us look at the other theory of marriage, which is known as *marriage of dominion*, and is associated with the patrilineal method of heritage. According to this view, the husband is lord over his wife ; that is to say, the girl's father transfers her to the husband, together with much of the power that he has over his child. When this form of marriage prevailed in ancient Rome, the wife abjured her own *sacra* and passed entirely under the paternal power of her husband, ranking as his child. The Bantu wife is also called the child of her husband, but she does not pass so completely into his power. She still belongs to her kindred and worships its ancestors. She looks to them for protection and support if ever she should need it, and her eldest brother claims a voice in the betrothal of her first daughter and assumes a special relation to all her children—an interesting survival of matrilineal customs. But she lives at her husband's home ; all her children belong to him ; and she has no power to dispose of her own person, but owes perfect obedience in all things to her *lord and master*. If she breaks with him, or he with her, she returns to her own kindred, leaving them to take up her quarrel ; but she must leave her children with her husband. The only difference between a captive-wife, a slave-wife, and a wife under dominion is that the last mentioned has a kindred of free tribesmen who are able to protect her from gross cruelty, and who rarely fail to make the husband pay for her return when she flees to them for protection.

Thus we see that in neither of these Bantu theories of marriage is there equality between husband and wife. In the matrilineal form the woman is supreme, and the man is a mere begetter of her children. In the patrilineal the man is supreme, and the woman is a mere child-bearer for him. Both these theories of marriage are found in many parts of the world, as well as in the earlier history of more advanced civilizations. For example, both were common among Semitic nations. The latter was the usual type of Hebrew marriage ; is still the standard pattern in Arabia ; and was common, not only in ancient Rome, but also in the early history of most European nations. To our modern

sense of fitness both are repulsive ; but that is not because they are unnatural or inhuman, but because we have outgrown them. They are marks of a low grade of civilization—a stage of barbarism through which every race has passed.

vii. *Bride-price.* In the very forefront of the forms by which the marriage obligation is contracted, we find an ancient and world-wide institution, known as *the bride-price*, which must be understood before it will be possible to see the scope of the obligation.

In all Bantu tribes the man has to 'gift' the woman as the price of her consent. This primitive notion has become conventionalized in curious ways. In Uganda, where the bride goes to the bridegroom's house some two or three days before marriage, she demands cowries before she consents to enter his house, more cowries before she will sit down, and more still before she will move from her seat at bedtime. In many tribes, it is a point of etiquette that the bride should refuse to proceed towards the bridegroom's village until her reluctance has been overcome, at various stages of the journey, by gifts of beads. The details are as varied as the tribes. Now the idea at the base of these conventions of society appears to be that the woman is not throwing herself at the man, but must be induced to bestow her favours upon him—that she must be wooed before she can be won. There is nothing indelicate about these Bantu symbols of maidenly bashfulness and nothing commercial, except that between the lines it is possible to read the suggestion that she is more likely to be influenced by what the man has than by what he is ; but I shrink from saying that that is a mark of a *very low* grade of civilization ! The point that I want to make here, however, is that this notion has nothing to do with the origin or meaning of bride-price.

In matrilineal and patrilineal tribes alike, it is not enough to win the favour of the woman. She is not her own ; she is a fragment of a family. And so is a man. And marriage is regarded as an affair of two families ; and of two families alone. In the case of commoners, neither the clan nor the tribe takes cognizance of marriage or divorce. If one family has been very unjustly treated by another family in the same community, it may appeal to the higher authority of clan or tribe for redress,

whether the injustice arises from marriage or anything else ; but that only occurs in divorce, and not often then. In marriage the usual procedure is for the man's family to approach the woman's family with proposals, and, if negotiations prove successful, to share with it in celebrating the union. Now, in a society so primitive that it knows nothing of records, public formalities and ceremonies are much more important than they are with us ; because it is necessary that the transaction should be imprinted deeply on the memory of all concerned, and of as many others as possible. A matrilineal family usually requires the man to help his mother-in-law in the cultivation of the lands for a more or less definite period ; to build a hut in his wife's village ; and to make a public gift to the family, such as goats, cloths, or hoes. The reception of this service and gift is a public recognition by the wife's family of the man's relation to the woman. It regularizes the marriage, and entitles the man to the good offices of the family if his wife should tire of him. He does not bind himself to keep to her alone, and is not expected to do so.¹ Much more sexual fidelity is expected from her ; but she has the best of this bargain. He has paid his price to the family, however, and they are in honour bound to see that he is fairly treated. This is a *bride-price*—a formality that regularizes the union, and entitles the man to respectful and fair treatment.

In marriage of dominion the bride-price is a much more important affair, and usually of greater intrinsic value. The procedure is similar ; but the handing over of the cattle that constitute the bride-price is attended with great formality. In this type of marriage the wife is handed over to the man and goes to live at his village. He does not bind himself to keep to her alone,¹ and has no intention of doing so ; but she comes so completely under his authority that she has no right to dispose of her person without his express permission or command. Here, likewise, the bride-price is the sign and seal that is publicly set upon the agreement between the two families. In all tribes the union is celebrated with additional ceremonies of one sort or another, and no tribe is wont to distinguish between the essential and non-

¹ In all Bantu marriages the right of the husband to contract other matrimonial alliances is presupposed ; for polygamy is regarded as normal. But polyandry is not recognized in Bantu tribes.

essential in ceremonies that it usually combines. Still, a careful study of the usages of many tribes convinces one that the public reception of the bride-price and handing over of the bride would validate the marriage, even if all other ceremonies were omitted. It would be a marriage with maimed rites that none of the neighbours would admire, but it would be a marriage.

viii. *What the bride-price buys.* Now, what is it that the bride-price buys? That is a subject that is keenly debated in missionary circles. All tribes with which I am familiar hotly resent the assertion that they sell their daughters; they regard the transaction in quite another light. They are as keen in getting the largest possible bride-price for their daughters as in having the best of any other bargain; but they never use such terms as 'buying' and 'selling' in connexion with bride-price. Yet it is evident that they are parting with something for valuable consideration. What is it? It is not the woman; for she is still of their family, and looks to them for protection against ill usage, and for succour in sickness or in want, just as she would continue to do if the bride-price were not paid. It is the duty of a Bantu wife to grow and prepare the food for her husband, to fetch water and firewood, and to care generally for her part of his home; and whether the marriage be of the matrilineal or patrilineal type the husband gains these services and the wife's family suffers a corresponding loss. In matrilineal tribes she still lives at home, and still helps her people, but in patrilineal tribes she transfers her services entirely to her husband and his family. It is commonly said that the bride-price is compensation to the girl's family for the loss of her services. That is, probably, an old Native view of the transaction; it is, at any rate, one that Natives readily adopt, because it chimes in with their sense of fitness. It explains, too, the fact that the bride-price is trivial in matrilineal marriage and costly in marriage of dominion. But it throws no light on what is after all the distinctive difference between these two theories of marriage—that in the older form the children belong to the kindred of the girl, just as do the children of an unmarried girl in all tribes, while in the newer form the children belong to the kin that pays the bride-price. I am of opinion that bride-price was in use among the Bantu before marriage of dominion (except in so far as the

marriage of a captive is a form of the latter); that in matrilineal marriage it was small (as it still is), being mainly a symbol of regular marriage, though also a recognition of the service which the wife was expected to render her husband; and that, as marriage of dominion gradually ousted the older form in some tribes, owing to the men's desire to control the children of their wives of higher status as they did those of their captive-wives, the bride-price became larger and more important because it secured larger and more important rights. What the bride-price buys in marriage of dominion is the child-bearing power of the woman and the services that ought to be rendered by a wife and mother.

To give all the facts that lead to this conclusion is not possible in a little book like this. But take one or two of special significance.

In a patrilineal tribe, as long as the woman's family retains the bride-price, every child that the woman bears belongs to the man in whose name the bride-price was paid, even if he has deserted her or she has deserted him. The right which the bride-price brought him is property which does not revert to the woman or her family merely because he fails to use it for a period. Her family cannot compel him to accept return of the bride-price, unless he has been guilty of cruelty towards her; but if he accepts it from their hands, he loses, not only her, but all the children she has borne him, and her child-bearing power is again vested in her family, who may dispose of it for another bride-price, or claim her children as their own. On the other hand, he cannot send her home and demand return of the bride-price unless she has been guilty of stealing, laziness, witchcraft, or adultery. The Bantu definition of adultery is characteristic; a wife can violate only her own wedlock, and a husband can violate only that of another man.¹ The husband has sole marital rights over his wife; he can lend her to a guest as a mark of hospitality, and much besides, but if she dispose of her person without his express permission, then she has violated his right and he can call back his bride-price.

ix. *Substitute-wife.* Another fault which vitiates the bargain is

¹ This definition of adultery is inevitable in a polygamous society—quite apart from the institution of bride-price.

barrenness. What he bought was child-bearing power, and if it is found to be non-existent, he can reclaim what he paid for it. Nevertheless, if she is a woman of status in her own family and has made herself agreeable to her husband, she is not likely to be divorced for barrenness. With the consent of her husband and without additional cost to him, her family is likely to send her a 'younger sister', that is, one of lower status in her family, to bear children for her; and all the children that the substitute bears to the husband rank as children of the barren wife. If the barren wife is the 'great wife' of the husband, the children of her substitute, being children of the bride-price of the 'great wife', take precedence of all the children of the husband's other wives.

Similarly if the woman dies without having borne a reasonable number of children, the husband expects her family to replace her with a 'younger sister'. There are complications here, for if the husband has been remiss in his attention to his father-in-law's family, he may be blamed for the death of his wife; and, also, if deceased has borne some children, the family may demand half bride-price for the 'younger sister'. But what we have to notice is that the children of this substitute rank as children of the deceased, just as in the former case.

x. *Substitute-husband or law of the levirate.* The counterpart of this law of the substitute-wife is what is called the law of the levirate. One often hears the phrase 'law of the levirate' used by people who evidently connect it with Levi and Leviticus and consider it has a Biblical flavour. The law of the levirate has been observed and is still observed by many and diverse races, but the name comes from the Latin word *levir*, a husband's brother. As practised by the Hebrews, its enforcement appears to have depended upon the childlessness of deceased, and its object is said to be to 'raise up to his brother a name in Israel'. As practised by the Bantu, the child-bearing power bought by the bride-price passes like other property with the estate, regardless of whether the widows are childless women or mothers of families. Adult heirs of the several houses sometimes arrange that their mothers shall be free to live with them; but the only condition upon which a widow who has not reached infertility can refuse the man to whom she is apportioned is that the bride-

price paid for her shall be returned to the estate. If, however, a recalcitrant widow should go to her own kin, leaving a number of children behind her, her late husband's family would rather lose the bride-price than part with the children; and, besides, by refusing the bride-price this family still retains its right to any children she may bear in future. Minor differences of practice prevail in different tribes: often the wives, or at any rate the junior wives, are distributed among the sons; or, if the deceased die before he has grown-up sons, the widows pass to his father or brothers in order of seniority. But the inheritor may cause an outsider to raise up children to deceased by the widow who has fallen to his portion: it is not necessary that the blood of deceased should flow in their veins. The widows are kept in the family because they are valuable property, and because their children are members of the family; but the law that held during the husband's lifetime holds now that he is dead, and any children of that bride-price are his children as much as if they were of his own begetting. If the 'great wife' be left childless, her first-born son by the man to whom she is apportioned will become heir to the estate of her late husband in preference to all the natural sons of deceased by his other wives.

xi. *Polygamy.* The one-sided nature of a Bantu marriage contract is very evident; the woman surrenders her person, but the man is sexually free. This, however, is inevitable in a society that practises polygamy. Marriage for the woman is the one event of life; but for the man it is merely one of a series of similar events. The Bantu idea of matrimony is that the son of a commoner has no voice in choosing his first or 'great wife', who is to be the mother of his heir; and that no daughter should be allowed to choose her husband. The main consideration in selecting a spouse is not the suitability of the individuals to one another, and still less their fancy for one another, but the desirability of an alliance between two families; and the ideal son or daughter submits in silence to the decision of the family council. But young men and maidens, even in Bantu families, are often able to work the oracle so that its pronouncement shall not be alarming. Mother is always available, and generally sympathetic; and even if she is expected to be a mere furtherer of her husband's plans, she has learnt from experience that there

are several ways of furthering them. Once a man has married his 'great wife', however, he is free to look about for himself, and in a year or two, if the bride-price is available, the family council is ready to negotiate a marriage of his choice. Hence it often happens that the first wife is not the one for whom he cares most at the time of marriage. But hers is a position of dignity. Second and third wives are of subordinate status in the man's household, but each of them has her own hut and granary and occupies a fairly independent position, though nominally subject to the 'great wife'. The first-born son of each becomes heir to that 'house', but the whole of the husband's undivided estate goes at his death to the first-born son of the 'great wife', and each of the other houses will have only what the husband has publicly given it during his lifetime. It is the business of the family to see that he does not impoverish the 'great house' by being unjustly lavish in his gifts. But the number of a man's wives is not limited to three. In some tribes there are only three 'houses', and all subsequent wives are counted as subordinates of one house or another. Europeans often suggest that polygamy must be repugnant to the women of a polygamous family; on the contrary, a husband is often urged by his wives to add another to the group. No woman among them all ever imagined that she would be able to monopolize the affections of her husband for very long together; and the more wives, the more shoulders to carry the burden of the family, and the greater the glory of the establishment. He makes a sad mistake who counts upon the support of the women in breaking down polygamy.

xii. *Wives or concubines?* But are they all *wives*, or is the first a wife and the rest concubines? In our sense of the term, none of them are wives; for we have come to fill out the word 'wife' with a nobler and grander meaning than has ever dawned upon them. We think of marriage as a lifelong contract of love, service, and fidelity between one man and one woman. None of these wives have promised to love their husband, still less to love him for life; and none of them have *promised* him fidelity and obedience, though they knew full well when they went to him that he had henceforth power to exact both as long as their family retained the bride-price. And he, in turn, has *promised* them nothing; but he was well aware when he took

them, as all the neighbours were, that henceforth he had certain duties towards them. It is absurd to look for an embodiment of our ideal of marriage in any Bantu ceremony or contract. But whatever you call them, whether wife or concubine or anything else, you must call them all by the same name ; for they regard themselves, and are regarded in their community, as all occupying similar positions of honourable relationship with the man ; even the substitute-wife is looked upon as fulfilling her duty to an unfortunate relative. No two of them are equal in wifely status ; but then equality is foreign to Bantu thought. ' Wife ' is a term of respect in our language, and ' concubine ' a term of reproach ; there is no reproach attached to them on account of their relationship with the man. Again, in our community the children of a wife are the legal children of their father, while the children of a concubine are not legally related to him at all ; but all the children of these women are alike legal children of the husband. We are faced by the same difficulty that we have encountered before, the difficulty of finding exact English terms for foreign customs and relationships. But whatever terms we use, we must harbour no thought of contempt. They have done what they thought to be right, and what their neighbours thought to be right, and that fact must be recognized by those who would show them a more excellent way.

xiii. *Relation of bride-price to dowry.* The same spirit of justice and compassion should mark our consideration of the bride-price. Its apologists speak of it as a ' dowry ', and its opponents call it ' selling the daughter '. As a matter of fact, it is neither ; and yet there is truth enough in either fallacy to make it inviting to one wishful of escaping the toil of wider investigation. History shows us that time-worn social and political institutions are hardly ever thrown upon the scrap-heap, but piously repaired and remodelled till there is little of the original left. No custom is exactly the same in any two nations that are far apart, but the bride-price of the Hebrews and other Semitic nations of Old Testament times was almost identical with that of the Bantu tribes of to-day. As found in modern Arabia, however, the bride-price has become a gift to the bride, practically a dowry. The bride-price continued in all European nations long after Christianity found its way into their midst, remaining in Germany till the twelfth century ; but the Church opposed it, or rather

opposed that of which it was the symbol, marriage of dominion. In marriage of dominion the woman was a perpetual minor, incapable of holding property, as she still is in Bantu tribes. This does not mean, of course, that she can have nothing of her own; even children and slaves have little things that public opinion permits them to dispose of as they please. What is meant is that everything of value belongs to the husband, and passes to his heirs on his decease, and that the wife has no claim upon such property. The Church set its face against this unrighteousness, and insisted that the husband should make a special settlement upon the wife before marriage, so that she should not be left destitute in the event of his death, and the bride-price came to be invested for the bride instead of paid to her guardian as recompense for the rights and privileges which he surrendered. That is, it became a dowry. In many nations, however, a kind of conventionalized bride-price continued for a long time; because it was felt—and probably women felt this more than men—that without the bride-price, there was a lack of regularity and respectability about the marriage. In the English Prayer Book of 1549, for example, the clergyman is bidden to receive from the bridegroom the ring *and the espousal money in gold and silver*. The direction was omitted from the 1552 edition, and since then the man has been required to place only the ring upon the book. But it is significant, though puzzling to thoughtful people who know something of property laws, that as the man places the ring upon the woman's finger, he has to recite a sentence containing the phrase: 'with all my worldly goods I thee endow'.

But though the bride-price became a dowry under the influence of Islam in Arabia and of Christianity in Europe, it is distinctly not a dowry in Bantu Africa. It is not held in trust for the bride, but is often distributed or reinvested in another bride for some member of the bride's family. Its apologists claim that it is in return for the bride-price that the wife receives from her family protection, medical treatment, and support if her husband deserts her. But her claim on her family for maintenance is no greater than that of her unmarried sisters for whom no bride-price has been paid; it arises from birth, not bride-price. She was never sold. She never lost her status in her family, and status means duties and privileges. Nor can her children

obtain any advantage from the bride-price, since they can never be taken into their mother's family till the bride-price has been repaid to their father's family. Moreover, it is interesting to note that even in tribes that have moved farthest from the old matrilineal method, the wife's family has never felt quite comfortable in its abandonment of her children, and has always granted them special privileges at their maternal uncle's. If husband and wife separate and the wife is not at fault, she resumes her old life in her own family; but the bride-price does not then become hers. And yet as long as the bride-price remains in her family, she cannot marry again, or have her children with her, except those who are too small to leave their mother, and even they must be handed over to the husband as soon as they are big enough. Besides, to talk of the maintenance of such a woman is to ascribe European conditions to African life. A Bantu woman who has no kindred to protect her is, indeed, in an evil plight; but as for maintenance, why, she is a profitable investment for any family, unless she be aged or infirm. And the wife is in the same case if her husband dies. Unless she is so old that nobody cares, she can never live where the bride-price is, and then she is unlikely to be welcome.

xiv. *Effect of these customs on women.* We cannot here speak of the influence of polygamy, marriage customs, and bride-price upon the community, nor of the attitude of the Christian Church towards these usages; for the present we are concerned only with their effect upon woman. We examined these practices one by one, as we might do with the threads in a fabric or the colours in a pattern; but they are not separate—they are all of a piece. To change the metaphor, they are not diseases of Bantu society, but symptoms of social septicaemia. If we are to be of service to the invalid, we must get at the poison in the system; and the poison is *a low ideal of womanhood*. The woman is often sacrificed to the cupidity or vanity of her family, being forced to repress her own affections that they may obtain a big bride-price or secure a desirable alliance with another family. From the time she is handed over to her new guardian, he has sole control of her person. She is a perpetual child, to be chastised when she is naughty, petted when she is compliant, and passed on like other breeding-stock to another guardian when her present lord is dead.

The penalty for treating a woman as primarily a sex chattel is that the offender loses the healthful and grateful sunshine of her purity, fidelity, and tenderness. Tyranny breeds intrigue and cunning all the world over, and Bantu womanhood has perfected itself in both arts by long centuries of practice. Theorists sometimes assert that polygamy is at any rate better than the social evil; but in practice it is the social evil covered with a respectable garment and taken into the home. Its atmosphere reeks with the miasma of immodesty, duplicity, and intrigue. Paramours are common. It is a remarkable fact, though, that even in a barbarous society men demand from their women a higher morality than their own, and that this unjust demand tends to elevate the ideal of womanhood. It is true that Bantu women are not fit for the freedom which we associate with wifehood; but Bantu women are slightly better than Bantu men, and there is no reason why the two should not be placed upon terms of equality in the marriage relationship. They will both fail; but the only way to fit slaves for freedom is to set them free, and help them to rise to the dignity of their new position.

Let no one imagine, however, that the Bantu woman is pining to be delivered from bondage. All primitive people are averse to innovation, and woman is more conservative than man. The Bantu woman has been trained from childhood to regard these marriage customs as sacrosanct, and to adjust herself to the inevitable. There are a few cases in which the husband and wife fall in love with one another, but these cases are rare. Nevertheless, the real woman amongst them can generally manage her husband, even if she be but the third or thirteenth of a wife, unless he happens to be something smaller than the thirteenth of a man; and the influence of a mother over her son is as great among them as among us, although its value depends upon her mind and character. The Bantu wife rules in the house, as her chief often rules in the tribe, by seeming to yield to those who are unable to match their wits against hers. The greatest obstacle to a betterment of her condition is the woman herself. Bride-price appeals to the cupidity of men; marriage of dominion appeals to their ambition; polygamy appeals to their lust; but all these practices find their greatest security in the woman's worship of things as they are.

VI. TRAINING OF BANTU YOUTHS

'Tis dame Circumstance licks Nature's cubs into shape.'—Court Fool in Kingsley's *Saints' Tragedy*.

'Make your educational laws strict, and your criminal laws may be gentle ; but, leave your youth its liberty, and you will have to dig dungeons for age.'—Ruskin's *Munera Pulveris*.

i. *Bantu homes.* If the most plastic years of life are from birth till a year or two after puberty, it follows that the subsequent character of the individual, as well as his outlook upon life, must be profoundly modified by the home in which these years are spent. And the home of Bantu youth is almost the antithesis of what we think a home should be.

The greater part of Bantu Africa is dotted with little separate patriarchal family villages, each surrounded by its arable lands, and each living its own life without much tribal cohesion in time of peace. This was probably the original type of Bantu village life. But the villages show much architectural variety. In some districts the circular huts of the patriarchal family are arranged in a circle around a cattle-pen, which is built of 'wait-a-bit' thorn-bushes or else of poles, and forms a last refuge for the defenders in case of attack. The whole village is surrounded with a fence, or, where peace is precarious, with a stockade, or even a double stockade, the stockade being pierced with one or two narrow gateways that are securely closed at night. Between the cattle-pen and the dwellings there is a wide courtyard, in which some sort of shelter is always provided for the men who gather for work, business, or gossip. This shelter is often no more than a curved wind-screen of poles, but occasionally a shed is built of poles and thatched with grass, to shield the men from tropical sun and shower. The roof may be either flat or conical. In some districts each family surrounds its own cluster of huts with a screen of reeds or of woven branches, for the sake of privacy ; and within the family enclosure there is usually a front court where the cooking is done and guests received, and a back-yard for rougher household work and the storing of corn and implements.

The hut is circular. Some tribes bend over saplings, interweaving others to form a frame, and then thatch it right down to the ground. Others plant a circle of forked poles securely in the ground; lay a wall-plate of poles along the forks; place long, slender poles, fork downwards, on the wall-plates, bringing all the upper ends together into a cone; interlace the whole structure with lithe branches; tie the poles together with straps of hide or bark; and then plaster the walls with mud and thatch the roof with reedy grass. Floors are made of beaten clay, and finished with a mixture of clay and cow-dung, often brought to a polished surface and occasionally finished in patterns. In Central Africa, where there is less safety than in South Africa, I have sometimes seen opposite the door an inner parallel wall running for about a third of the circle and forming a passage with one blind end in which household utensils were stored. And both in Central and South Africa one occasionally finds the interior divided into two apartments.

From Mpwapwa (about 200 miles west of Zanzibar) right away to the Cameroons, square buildings are frequently preferred. What is called the *tembe* is a square, consisting of flat-roofed hollow walls divided into apartments for the households and enclosing a cattle-pen in which the flocks and herds are folded for the night. The walls and roof are made of poles and interlaced branches, plastered with mud. There is usually but one narrow entrance, which leads into the cattle-pen, whence access may be had to the several apartments. Such is the *tembe* in its simplest form, but modifications are many. Sometimes, towards the West Coast, only two parallel sides of the *tembe* are built, and the space between is left open, or partially closed at the end with a club-house or other public building. Sometimes a further step has been taken in the evolution of the dwelling, and the two parallel sides have become a little street of detached or semi-detached cottages, perhaps with pitched roofs.

In many localities these villages are grouped together for mutual aid and protection. The great towns south of the Zambesi, with their compact political organization, are merely collections of little rural communities, all retaining their old pattern. At Mpwapwa, in Central Africa, too, when I last visited the place (in 1883), there were scores of *tembes* within

a radius of about a mile, which were united in some sort of tribal organization, though remaining apparently distinct. On the Congo there are long streets, made up of villages joined end to end, which are called towns, because they seem to be one, though organically separate. In no Bantu town, as far as I know, is there any real town life; the people live the old agricultural and pastoral life, with gardens and cattle-posts far afield and no native trade or craft that is not found in isolated rural communities.

The hut is little more than a sleeping-place. Somewhere on its floor there is generally a circular hearth with a raised rim, but that is used only on wet days and cold nights, and then the smoke has to find its way out through any crevice that it can discover, doing useful fumigation on the way and coating the inside of the roof with a brown that is wellnigh black. There are no windows, but there is often a tiny peep-hole somewhere in the wall. Furniture is of the simplest description. One or two stools carved out of solid blocks, one or two wooden neck-rests of the old Egyptian pattern, a few wooden dishes, platters and spoons, some clay cooking-pots of various sizes, a sleeping-mat or two of woven grass or brayed hides of the bastard hartebeeste to be laid on the floor at bedtime, one or two karosses made of the skins of fur-bearing beasts, an axe, an adze, and some weapons—and the hut is furnished complete.

ii. *First years of childhood.* Such is the home into which Bantu boys and girls are born, and in which they spend their first month or three months, as tribal custom may demand. After that they live in the open, with no clothes to spoil, no daily tub to be dreaded, the whole village and its vicinity for their playground, and any old corner indoors or out in which to curl up for a snooze when the eyelids are heavy. Three years of constant tipple at mother's breasts, or dozing in the carrying^g skin upon her back, or riding astride of her hip; three more of freedom from irksome rules and petty restraints—years of peril in testing the toothsome-ness of anything not too big for the mouth and in yielding to the fascination of fire; and then, little by little, the tasks begin. But at first the tasks are games—playing at helping mother when other frolic fails.

The Bantu are indulgent parents while the children are small.

I suppose they have an ideal for little children, but if so, it must be one that the child can reach with hardly any help from father or mother. Hence there is little scolding and no nagging. During the first six or seven years the child gets practically no admonition, formal instruction, or correction; and, left largely to its own resources, it quickly learns to provide for the passing hour. Young children are their parents' playthings and pictures; objects of embellishment and mirth in the home. Their little exhibitions of self-will, independence, and disobedience serve only to amuse the parents, and valuable opportunities of moral instruction are thoughtlessly wasted. There is hardly any attempt to train the child's will, and certainly no danger of breaking it. The children quickly become blithe, animated, winsome little creatures, much less independent than one would expect, never doubting their acceptability to everybody, and not a little precocious. There is something fascinating in these plump little chocolate bodies, clad only in birthday suits and a few beads and tassels, as there is in other young things of the woods. One could make anything of them if only one could have them all to oneself, notwithstanding the fact that the seven most precious years of life for education have been squandered.

iii. *Bantu education.* The next seven or eight years of a child's life are the years of its education. For, of course, there is education even in the most barbarous community—though it is picked up rather than provided. We have already seen that the younger generation in a Bantu community is heir to all the property and dignities of family, clan, and tribe; but it is heir, also, to all the other acquirements of the group. The mere fact that the people have outgrown the use of stone implements proves that the individual does not start from the beginning. All that previous generations have slowly and painfully discovered is passed on to him in compact form and homoeopathic doses, which is the essence of education, especially when the pupil is required to utilize the knowledge as fast as he obtains it. Whether the experience is worth passing on, and whether it is passed on in a manner likely to lead forth the pupil's abilities—these are separate questions. Our present aim is to discover what is passed on to Bantu youths, and how it is done.

iv. *Training of girls.* Girls begin by helping mother, which involves some amount of vocational instruction. What we call housework is conspicuous by its absence; the Bantu have no furniture to care for, no tables to be laid, little dusting to be done, no fancy work for the embellishment of the home, no elaborate kitchen outfit to look after, no family washing, no marketing, and the only bed-making needed is the sunning of sleeping-mats and karosses every morning. The hut has to be swept every few days, and every few weeks the floor must be freshly 'smeared' (as Afrianders say) with clay and cow-dung; but the chief tasks in which a girl can help are minding baby, running errands, helping mother to fetch firewood and water, and later in tilling and harvesting the lands and preparing the food-stuffs for consumption. If her mother is of a family skilled in pottery, basket-making, or any other feminine craft, the girl learns the hereditary art; but most families get such things by barter. In districts where women do skilled work in beads, girls naturally learn a variety of patterns; but garments and karosses for both sexes are made by the men, who are often skilled furriers, and thus often become dressmakers for their families when imported cottons and sewing machines come into vogue.

v. *Training of boys.* Boys of seven or eight are sent to herd goats and sheep, and, when they grow big enough for promotion, to herd cattle. They leave home soon after the dew is off the grass and the milking done,¹ fortified perhaps with a little cold porridge from last night, but with no other food till sundown. Small stock are usually herded at no great distance from the village, but cattle have often to be driven miles away. The duty of herd-boys is to take the cattle into suitable pastures; guide them to water at noon; see that no harm befall them during the day; and bring them home safely at sundown.

If these beasts trespass on cultivated lands, or if any go astray, there is likely to be a whipping for their careless keeper. He is sent into the bush to cut half a dozen wild-currant rods, lithe and tough, and these are laid vigorously along his bare back as he lies prone upon the ground with his head towards his tormentor's feet. An owner of damaged crops is entitled to

¹ Girls are not allowed to milk cows or goats, or even to enter the cattle-pen.

thrash a negligent herd-boy, no matter who he may be ; but if a boy's father deem a thrashing needed for any offence, he generally hands the culprit over to the family council. Such happenings are, however, rare. One sometimes hears it said that the administration of corporal punishment is a return to savagery. It is not that, whatever else it may be. Bantu boys seldom get the rod ; but when they do, they know it. Laughter and ridicule are greater deterrents, and easier of application ; for the boys take corporal punishment with much tranquillity, but are very sensitive to contempt. Appeal is often made to their sense of fitness : not to ideals of beauty or goodness, in which they take little interest, but to truth and duty. They are reminded of the disgrace, loss, or trouble that they are bringing upon their family, and of the terrors of the unseen world and the calamity that will befall them if they break taboos or other tribal customs. Bantu children have a strong feeling of natural respect for parents and elders, and accept the assertions of their guardians at face value. Such appeals work wonders. Thus, lifelong habits are formed : arbiters of conduct when the eye of authority is closed.

Responsibility for family cattle rests primarily upon the older herd-boys, but the latest recruit is dealt with before reaching home if the trouble has arisen from his remissness. All this means that the boys are trained to accept responsibility, and exercise watchfulness and care. They study each animal in the herd, its appearance, habits, and footmarks, till they know their beasts as well as they know one another. If an animal has strayed, they easily pick out its spoor from all others, and the older boys would recognize the beast among a thousand, while the younger are eager for such proficiency. Often a number of herds graze near one another, and the boys lighten their work by chumming together ; but anyhow there is abundance of time for other pursuits. They teach one another to make weapons and traps ; to build shelters ; to know the name, habit, and property of plants and trees and the tracks and ways of wild creatures ; to snare and trap and hunt ; and, in a word, every phase of veldmanship that is reasonably within reach of boys. Hunting is a favourite pursuit, and birds, mice, and other ' small deer ' that fall to their skill are promptly roasted over

an open fire, and eaten with an appetite that makes everything delicious; though if they should happen upon a good fat porcupine, a hare, or a small antelope, they are in duty bound to take that home to their elders. In this rough school of youth the boys reduce one another to pattern with a readiness that their seniors cannot imitate. Sham fights are frequent, and real ones not uncommon; but sticks are used, not fists. Riding the two-year-old cattle is a daily amusement; and there are frequent contests of strength, speed, daring, nimbleness of limb, quickness and clearness of sight, endurance and skill; and boys learn by their own failures and the success of their companions. Bantu boys are great sticklers for propriety and status; the junior must obey the senior, and the senior is not usually strong enough to be gentle when he puts his gang on to an offender. It is a rough school; but it is not without results.

vi. *Picking up knowledge.* After the herds are penned for the night and the evening meal is disposed of, there is another variety of instruction for both sexes. Girls and boys sit with open mouths as their elders relate their adventures in war, the chase, and travel; or tell of happenings in their tribe in days long past, or repeat the myths, legends, and praise-songs of their people. Some men, and more women, are noted for their knowledge of an extensive unwritten literature of wit and wisdom, cunning and trickery, and for the exquisite mimicry and dramatic effect with which they tell such folk-tales as those that Uncle Remus got from Africa and adapted to America. Then, too, youths listen to their elders discussing the events of the day, or recapitulating and criticizing the evidence and arguments of tribal assembly or family council, and so learn the rudiments of tribal law, custom, and history. This is not purposive education for youths; the older people merely follow the bent of their own inclinations; but youths sit silent and listen, and find much to think of and discuss with one another on the following day. Sometimes, however, older people will carefully instruct a youth of either sex what he or she ought to have done to avoid a recent failure. Herd-boys frequently receive such teaching; for in pastoral tribes nothing grips a man's heart like cattle, and every one, even the greatest, has served his apprenticeship to herding and is never loath to display his

superior knowledge and skill. Then there are recognized authorities on tribal law and lore, bards who invent praise-songs, and others who are experts in hunting or in the idioms of their own tongue—all eager for the rôle of preceptor. And parents often disclose to their children ancestral secrets of medicine, magic, law, craftsmanship, and the chase, which they would be reluctant to impart to an outsider even for a substantial fee.

vii. *Education by playful imitation.* Further there is education by playful imitation for both sexes. All the occupations of the parent are imitated by the child. Girls build little houses outside the village; make clay pots or whatever they see made at home; and play at housekeeping. Boys are fond of plastic art and woodwork: they mould clay oxen, goats, sheep, dogs, horses, and wild animals, and build little wagons and sleighs of wood; and with these toys of their own making they imitate the occupations and enterprises of their elders.

viii. *Dancing and singing.* Dancing and singing fill a large place in African life and are clearly educational instruments. Bantu dancing is a rapturous simulation of something that has happened in war, the chase, or social life. It is open-air drama in its crudest form; often immoral; but often full of wit and cleverness. Some dances are deliberate attempts to bring about what is acted, in accordance with the belief set forth on pp. 49 and 50; and these are arranged by the master of ceremonies. But the popular dances of the village on moonlight nights are mere extemporaneous efforts to find amusement and give vent to superabundant vigour. Both sexes join, but never in couples. If a villager is thought clever at dancing, there may be a clamorous demand that he or she should entertain the company; but otherwise performers step into the arena at random, as the drums beat time; and as one sings and suits the action to the words, others join, in the spirit of emulation. The mimicry is often superb; the singing is monotonous and melancholy; and there is always a certain rhythmic movement of the body; but as for 'poetry of motion'—well, the less said about that the better. Such dances as the bee-dance and the ghost-dance are amusing pastimes. But I have never seen or heard of a native dance that was inspired by any thought of chivalry, beauty, harmony, or grace; while many dances are wanton, and some

positively obscene. All the children of the village are present while lust is thus popularized and applauded by their elders ; and these children are even more imitative than certain other youngsters who see burglary, robbery, and elopement made heroic at the ' movies '. One must say as little as possible about sexual matters in a book of this description ; but if the reader is to have any just idea of the men and women that Britain must win to a cleaner life, some things cannot be left unsaid. If there is ever a time when Bantu boys and girls are not familiar with sexual subjects, it must be in the years when they have not yet become familiar with anything. Little effort is made to shield children from sexual contamination ; but, on the contrary, it adds spice to the elders' amusement when little voices try to sing these fearful songs, and small children ape their parents' vices. Nothing seems to matter till puberty is approached ; and then there is a sudden attempt to look after the girls.

In the villages of Africa I have often thought of George MacDonald's ' Baby's Catechism ' :

Where did you come from, baby dear ?
' Out of the everywhere into here.'

Where did you get your eyes so blue ?
' Out of the sky as I came through.'

Where did you get that little tear ?
' ' I found it waiting when I got here.'

Where did you get that pearly ear ?
' God spoke, and it came out to hear.'

How did they all just come to be you ?
' God thought about me and so I grew.'

And I have often wondered how many centuries must pass before an African writes anything like that. It will come ; but it will come slowly, and only as the reward of patient, sacrificial labour. There is too much of the real about the African and not enough of the ideal ; too much lust and not enough love.

ix. *Purposive education.* The passage from childhood to manhood and womanhood means much for primitive people, and is usually marked with characteristic ceremonies, called Puberty Rites. These are elaborate in more centralized Bantu tribes, and simpler in rural communities. Varieties of detail are

endless ; but since the Bechuana ritual is evidently ancient and fairly complete, it is a good exemplification of the underlying idea.

x. *Boys' Initiation Ceremonies—first degree.* (a) *Days of preparation.* On p. 97 I explained that a regiment is constituted of one batch of neophytes, and that youths of senior status among them become officers. Puberty camps are established about every four or five years, the interval being shortened or lengthened so that a son or nephew of the chief may be in each batch, and thus become head of the regiment. On such day in March or April as the chief may select, boys who have reached puberty assemble in the court of their clan at dawn, and, lying on the ground, each receives four strokes of the rod on his bare back. This is called 'testing'. Then they are taken to some spot in the veld where there are *moshu* bushes growing, and spend the day stripping off *moshu*-bark and chewing it into fibre. Their bodies are smeared with mud. In the evening they return to their clan-court, rub off the mud in the cattle-pen of the clan, and go to their several homes. This programme is repeated for four or more consecutive days. Not a word is breathed to the boys of the use of the *moshu*-bark ; but members of the last regiment constituted (which is always bound to initiate its juniors) take the chewed bark as fast as the boys prepare it, and secretly weave it into kilts, which will be worn by the boys for certain exercises in the Puberty Camp, and which are now carefully hidden lest the glance of an uncircumcised person should profane them. On the morning after these preparations are completed in all clans, the boys run from the Place of Tribal Assembly to their camp. It is important that they should *run*, for in Puberty Rites of both sexes the candidate must show a willing and eager heart.

(b) *Puberty camp.* The camp has been already prepared at some secluded spot, well away to the east of the town and near water, and has been duly consecrated by the chief magician. It is a circular enclosure of thorn-bushes, with main entrance looking westward, a tree in the centre of the enclosure, a semicircle of clan-booths five or six yards away from the inside of the fence, a clear space in front of each clan-shelter where the neophytes sit for their exercises, a semicircle of clan-fires between

that and the tree, and, within the fence on either side of the main entrance, a few booths for occasional visitors from other regiments. The camp is in charge of 'shepherds' from the respective clans. Such members of the initiating regiment as have kept themselves from women since their own initiation are promoted to the dignity of 'shepherds', and the rest of the regiment are detailed for more menial tasks. All (except occasional visitors) must remain in camp from start to finish, that is, for parts of three moons, usually ten or eleven consecutive weeks.

(c) *Circumcision and white clay.* On the day of arrival, each boy is circumcised, and for four of five days thereafter there is little activity and no whipping. Then the boys are painted with white clay, and the work of the camp goes vigorously forward. The application of white clay is both a purification ceremony and a military decoration: men on the war-path smear their bodies in white wavy lines, having probably noticed that such markings aid the animals to lie undetected in the veld. The purpose of the whole initiation is to harden the boys and give them necessary instruction. The hardening is thorough: the instruction is scanty.

(d) *Hardening the boys.* The rod is freely used, though at no set time: neophytes are whipped for carelessness, slips in recitation, want of alacrity, being sleepy at night, and often without pretence of fault and merely as part of the game. But there are many other ingenious and cruel devices for hardening the boy. A man spits on his sandal, dips it in sand, and strikes a boy on the thigh with it, so that the sand scarifies the skin. Or, a stick is spun with friction on a boy's shin, till it raises a blister. Or, a boy is struck across the throat with the outer edge of a man's extended hand. Or, a stick is laid across a lad's head and drummed with another stick, to the agony of the boy. Another torture of impish ingenuity is called 'milking the goat'. For this discipline the boy is ordered to place his hands palm to palm so that all the fingers are parallel. Then a man, having placed five small sticks in such a manner that the corresponding finger of both of the boy's hands comes between each pair of sticks, grasps the sticks tightly at the ends with his two hands and draws them sharply forth along

the boy's fingers. The result is that the skin between all the fingers is painfully abraded. If a boy has the reputation of being headstrong or disobedient, there are special torments for him; such, for instance, as being compelled to carry at arm's length a piece of timber in which biting-ants have made their nest. Boys are inured, also, to hunger and thirst, and forced to eat disgusting food without murmur. Upon entering camp, no neophyte is allowed to possess anything but sandals, the little apron that he was wont to wear, and a knobkerrie. Having spent all their days in nature's garb, the youths find nudity no hardship now; but they have been accustomed to lie at night beneath warm karosses, and while in camp, though the nights are cold at this season of the year, they are obliged to lie on the bare ground with no other covering than a little grass.

Every morning the boys assemble between the tree and the entrance, and, surrounded by the initiated, rush forth at a signal, singing and dancing, and take an obligatory plunge into the cold river or pool. Then they are taken into the veld, professedly for hunting, but really for exercise.

(e) *Instruction.* The instruction given to the neophytes consists of songs that must be correctly learnt and rendered. Of these the most important, called 'Songs of Law', are admonitions to order themselves lowly and reverently toward their betters in the community, to respect the aged, to obey the rules of herding, to defend the cattle from wild beasts at all risks, to be obedient and loyal to the clan, and to share their food according to regulations. But many of the songs are absurdly boastful accounts of the exploits of the tribe and its last few chiefs; and some are distinctly obscene. Of useful information there is very little; but the neophytes are fully instructed 'about women', to use their own pregnant euphemism.

(f) *Taboos imposed.* The taboos of the camp are many and peculiar, and it is thought that there would be alarming fatality among the neophytes if these taboos were violated. For example, those men of the initiating regiment who are disqualified for 'shepherds', and also initiated visitors from the town, must not eat from pots in which food is cooked for neophytes, or enter the booths in which neophytes sleep. All neophytes, 'shepherds', and other guardians of the camp must avoid seeing a woman,

or being seen by a woman, as long as the ceremony lasts. Initiated visitors are forbidden to enter the camp unless they have temporarily withdrawn from conjugal relations; and they are all tested with a system of secret signs and passwords. The women at home who cook for the neophytes, and those who bring food to the place on the road where the attendants receive it, are under similar taboos. And yet the most obscene songs and conversation are not only common, but required from all these people while observing the ceremonies.

There is usually a death or two in the camp, from unskilled surgery, want of antiseptic care, exposure, or natural causes. Boys who die are buried at the back of their clan-shelter in the camp; and it is taboo to mention the death outside. Even if the father or elder brother of deceased becomes aware of the death, on one of his occasional visits to the camp, he must give no hint of it to the people at home, upon penalty of death. In fact, all are bound to secrecy concerning everything that takes place in the camp.

(g) *Return home—regimented for service.* When the days are fulfilled and the ceremonies completed, the boys have their heads shaved and are taken to the river to bathe; and leaving in the camp their ceremonial outfit and the sandals and apron that they wore in boyhood, they proceed homewards, naked, shoeless, and carrying only a knobkerrie and a stick. The camp and all they left in it is immediately set on fire, and it is taboo for a boy to look back, upon pain of lifelong stupidity.

Their arrival at the Place of Tribal Assembly is timed for about an hour before sunset; and all the men of the tribe muster to receive them and chant the war-song in their honour. After that the chief confers upon them a regimental name, and gives them what advice he wishes, warning them never to appropriate other men's wives, to respect their elders, and to act like men (Bantu men, of course) whose lot it is to die in battle. One or two of his councillors follow in the same strain.

Now each boy's father has prepared a new kaross, sleeping-mat, cloak, sandals, and platter for him, since everything associated with boyhood must henceforth be discarded; and his mother has prepared porridge and two little pots of pomatum—one of oolitic haematite ground with fat for his body, and

another of pure haematite ground with water for his head. These things are taken by men to the Place of Assembly, and handed over to the 'shepherds' of the boy's clan. Before the war-song is chanted, the Master of Ceremonies reports to the chief what deaths have occurred; and thereupon the 'shepherd' of each boy who has died takes the pomatum-pots that have just come from that boy's mother, and breaks them at her gate. She knows the meaning of that fell sign, but no word is spoken, and until recently she was forbidden to bewail her loss.

(h) *A night of vigil.* The boys—I beg their pardon!—the *men* of the new regiment spend the night lying on their new mats and under their new karosses in the Place of Assembly, but keeping vigil. All the initiated of the tribe are there—men and women; and it is a night of festivity, dancing, singing, drinking, and moral laxity. But the boys are still under certain taboos: they must not look at a woman, or smile or speak in her presence. The initiating regiment shields them from the women; but, as the night proceeds and the beer-pots empty, the women grow mischievous and try spasmodic rushes to break through the guards and pull the blankets from the boys. These festivities are followed by months of conscious glory for the newly made men. They strut about with a 'grand and glorious feeling', receiving weapons of war, presents of stock, and other precious things from their friends. And the girls almost worship the heroes.

xi. *Initiation into the second degree—the sacred pole.* But many Bechuana tribes (I think all those that demand the interval of chastity from 'shepherds') have a second degree, and do not consider that those who have emerged from the first degree are fully men. They call the rite that we have seen, 'White Initiation', from the white clay with which the neophytes are smeared; but the second degree is called 'Black Initiation', because the initiates are smeared with soot or ground charcoal mixed with fat. The second degree cannot be conferred till the new-made regiment has initiated its junior.

The initiation of the second degree is preceded by a long period of preparatory work. Candidates proceed day by day to the forest, and fell the tallest tree that can be found; strip it carefully of branches and bark; and let it lie till they are

ready for it. The camp for this degree is established in the chief's cattle-kraal, the fences of which are greatly strengthened and thickened with thorn-bushes, and the entrance provided with a long labyrinthine approach of interwoven, peeled branches. During the night before the ceremony begins, the long, straight pole has been brought home; crowned with a tuft of ostrich feathers or wild-cat tails; and its whole length covered with horizontal bands of black and red, and, in some tribes, white. This pole is set up in the camp while the village is asleep, and in the morning there is a cry raised, 'God is there!' and everybody is in duty bound to be astonished. The men pretend that this pole has grown miraculously during the night from a whipping-rod that was planted in the cow-dung of the kraal.

Candidates for the second degree remain in this camp for six days, emerging on the seventh. And the whipping is very much more cruel than that of the first degree. When they come out, their backs are covered with wounds and bruises. After the graduating regiment has mustered for inspection, it is ordered off for a long hunt. Then they *are* men! They are freed from the law of chastity, and show their freedom by their licence.

xii. *Variations in Puberty Rites.* The above is a mere outline of the Puberty Rites as they are practised in one group of tribes; but, in some form and with much diversity, these rites are found throughout Bantu Africa. In some puberty camps, the boys are instructed in the use of weapons, or in such handicrafts as the braying of skins and making of karosses; in others there are elaborate dances in imitation of the gait or cry of the totem animal of the tribe. Some tribes circumcise the boys in small groups, allowing them to prowl about the villages, plundering gardens, stealing sheep and goats, molesting people, and making themselves a public nuisance, though even in these tribes a boy must not speak to his mother or allow her to see his face during the ceremonies. Some take each boy separately, as he reaches puberty, into the veld; circumcise him with meagre ritual; and have a beer-drink on return home. Others do not circumcise at all, but mark the attainment of puberty with a cold plunge, a whipping, and a day or two of meekness and silence under public indignity. It is the custom of many tribes to give a boy a new name at initiation, discarding his

juvenile name along with other boyish belongings. In all camps the initiates are taught secret names for many things; and in some few tribes this amounts almost to a secret language. Probably we shall not be far wrong if we say that in all camps human flesh is eaten by the initiates; but it is charred almost to a cinder and ground into black powder, so that the boys have no idea of its origin, and the magician tells even the 'shepherds' no more than that a sprinkling of this mystic powder in the boys' porridge will make them brave and strong.

Where the rite is used for regimenting the boys of a clan, it forms a lifelong comradeship of loyalty to the high-born among them; and everywhere, whatever the modification of ritual, it is the portal to Bantu manhood and citizenship. The man who does not enter by this door is despised, insulted, and ostracized by both sexes.

But we must look at the corresponding rite for girls. In this, also, the Bechuana use is very ancient and fairly complete, and serves as well as anything to illustrate the general Bantu idea.

xiii. *Girls' Puberty Rites*—(a) *Camps and vestments*. The Girls' Puberty Rites are performed in town. Several private courtyards and their huts are set apart for the ceremonies, the interwoven brushwood fences being made impenetrable to prying eyes. A week or so after the boys' ceremonies are ended, girls resort to the Place of Assembly and declare in songs that of their own choice they have come to ask for initiation; and then each receives a few strokes of the rod. On a set day, generally the first after the July moon is visible, candidates assemble, each wearing only a girl's string apron; and *The Mistresses of the Mysteries* take them into the veld for a small surgical operation, which is held to be equivalent to circumcision, but varies in character even in tribes of the same group. After sunset they are slowly marched back to town, being carefully screened by a crowd of initiated women. On reaching the nearest selected courtyard, the initiates crowd round the entrance; pass in the requisite number of neophytes unseen; and proceed in like manner to other courtyards, till all the neophytes have been placed. As soon as the neophytes enter the courtyard they don the ceremonial garments, and drop their own names as long as they wear these vestments.

The girls' ceremonial garments are much more elaborate than those of the boys, and are often passed on to younger sisters. They are made of upper joints of Kafir-corn stalks and seeds of Kafir-melons, and make a jingling noise with every movement of the wearer. Lengths of corn-stalk¹ are strung alternately with melon-seeds on a thread of vegetable fibre, made into fringes long enough to reach from a girl's loins to her knees, and worn, layer over layer, as a back-apron. Strands of corn-stalks, cut a little longer, are made into shoulder-sashes and girdles, half a dozen of which are worn on each shoulder and a larger number above one another around the body from breast to loins. Underneath the back-apron there is the usual girl's apron of sheepskin; but the only garment in front is a small skin apron that all Bechuana women wear as a sort of *lingerie* that must never be seen or mentioned. Strange as it may seem, this is not only *de rigueur* as an outer garment for all the neophytes, but custom demands that it should be a well-worn specimen. Each girl wears a fur cap, carries a branch of the wait-a-bit thorn, and has her body smeared daily with ashes from the fire, and her eyes with soot. The priestesses (called *Mistresses of the Mysteries*) and all other initiates wear ordinary garments, but carry thorn branches, with which they savagely scratch any man who comes within reach—unless he happens to be very old.

(b) *Images of the gods.* Every day of the month that the neophytes spend under the constant supervision of their priestesses has its appropriate ceremony, many of which are semi-public. Some priestesses are experts in the secrets of the craft, which are said to be more numerous than those of the men; and others are clever moulders of the gods. They all work in seclusion, the latter being concealed even from the neophytes. The gods are clay images of animals, or of the whole or part of the human body. Different animals are preferred in different tribes, and even in the same tribe in different

¹ Only the top joints of the stalks of sorghum ('Kafir-corn') may be used for these garments. The pieces of corn-stalk are about 1½ inches in length. And it is the seeds of the Kafir-melon (Sechuana: *marotse*) that are interspersed with lengths of corn-stalk. The Kafir-melon is not known in Britain, but it resembles the vegetable marrow rather than the sweet melon. Both Kafir-corn and Kafir-melons are indigenous in Africa.

years ; but the python is always included. There is a new god for each day. When the image of the day is ready, the cry is raised : 'Dhu-dhu-dhu-dhu ! Whoever wishes to see, let him (or her)¹ come and see !' The cry is passed from court to court, and as the day declines the image is carried in procession to the Place of Assembly, neophytes from other courtyards joining the procession on its way, both neophytes and image being carefully concealed in the midst of the throng of initiates. At the Place of Assembly a circle is formed, each initiate spreading her fur cloak so as to make the human screen more effective. The men are there in large numbers, but well beyond the reach of those terrible thorns. When the songs of the day have been sung, the circle opens for a minute, revealing the priestesses grouped near the image and the neophytes kneeling around, with hands clasped in the conventional attitude of prayer and eyes fixed upon the god in adoration. Then the circle closes again ; the neophytes lift their thorns above their heads ; and the procession returns as it came.

(c) *Masquerade of the gods.* Towards the end of the period, women masquerade as gods. Each god has his own peculiar make-up and name, and each appears alone. Some remind one of fauns and satyrs ; for wild-beast skins and the white cores of horns figure largely in the grotesque disguises. The great god of the ceremony, the 'Overlooking God', comes last of all, and is of heroic height : a light framework, covered with hide and hung with wild-cat tails, is worn by a concealed woman who looks out somewhere through the body. As each god appears, to the simulated astonishment of the knowing and the real astonishment of the simple, he is praised and thanked in song for the rites which they are celebrating.

(d) *Instruction.* During their seclusion girls are said to be taught everything concerning womanhood, the work of home and lands, affairs of sex, and their duties to male relatives and husbands. Songs and dances are almost ceaseless ; whipping is frequent and severe ; and many cruel punishments and useless hardships are inflicted.

(e) *Return to the community—a night of vigil.* On the evening after the appearance of the August moon, the neophytes bathe ;

¹ There is no gender in Bantu grammar.

anoint themselves with customary cosmetic mixtures of haematite; put on their fine clothes; and repair to the Place of Assembly, where they are drawn up in line and have a pair of clay horn-tips (2 inches long) placed upon the head of each. Each girl must stand all night wide awake and still as a statue, so that these fragile horns may not fall from her head and break. Men line up in front of them, singing and shouting the whole night through, and giving the girls snuff to keep them awake. The girl who fails to pass this ordeal brings disgrace upon herself and her family; but once she has passed it, the initiation is complete, and she has attained womanhood and the prospect of marriage.

xiv. *Variations in Girls' Puberty Rites.* The Girls' Puberty Rites, like those of the boys, are found in some form throughout Bantu Africa. The period of seclusion may be longer or shorter; the gods may be sketched in meal upon the ground; the costumes may vary; the sacrifice of an animal may be an essential adjunct; actual fieldwork may take the place of indoor instruction. There may be endless variations in the ceremonies. But always and everywhere they are puberty rites by which girls pass from childhood to womanhood, and in which sex-teaching is prominent and lust made seductive. In one of the southern tribes each girl's arrival at puberty is celebrated immediately in her own home; but the nature of the social functions is sufficiently indicated by the fact that when a patriarch of this tribe scolds his people for filthy talk in ordinary life he is apt to exclaim, 'Is this a girl's puberty rite?'

xv. *Motive of Girls' Puberty Rites.* The dominant motive of these ceremonies is a glorification of fertility. Of the gods that are moulded in clay or sketched in flour upon the ground, as of those which appear in the final masquerade, the Natives know little more than their names and conventional forms; but it is hard to resist the impression that they are crude congeners of those gods of the underworld that ancient European peoples thanked for the fertility of lands and herds. The Sechuana name of the ceremonies is connected with the vernacular equivalent of the verb 'to sow'; and the garments that the neophytes wear are emblems of the two most exuberantly prolific plants of those that the Bantu have always cultivated.

xvi. *Puberty Rites associated with religion.* It is wellnigh impossible to exaggerate the havoc that is wrought in the morals of Bantu youths of both sexes by these rites; and yet one cannot study the history of mankind, without becoming aware that there is nothing abnormal or monstrous about such ceremonies, and that all the world over, at a certain stage of civilization, they have been associated with religion. To us, with our more spiritual conception of religion which we owe, not to our own intrinsic merit, but to Christian missionaries from other lands who persisted in teaching our forefathers in spite of seeming failure—to us it seems like desecration to attach the word religion to such things. But the sacred pole of the boys' second degree, with its significant name, must remind students of the Bible that no sacred place in ancient Palestine was complete without such a symbol, and that this symbol and its associated ritual had so gripped the hearts of the people that they tried again and again to graft it on to the worship of Jehovah. Or to come to our own Aryan race, all students of Greek and Latin literature know of festivals that women and girls held every third year, about the shortest day, in honour of Dionysius, the god of luxuriant fertility;¹ and of similar festivals in Rome, where one of the goddesses of fertility was symbolized by a serpent. Fortunately for us, these bad old customs were superseded by Christian ideas before we were born. But can Christianity do for the Bantu what it has done for the Aryan race? And what can Britain do with Bantu, who are intensely human, but two thousand years behind the times?

¹ It should be noted that the Bantu Rites are celebrated every three or four years, beginning soon after the shortest day of the southern winter, and that one of the gods is always symbolized by the image of a serpent.

PART III
THE EUROPEANIZATION OF
BANTU AFRICA

VII. DISCOVERY OF THE BANTU

'There are countless heroes who live and die
Of whom we have never heard ;
For the great, big, brawling world goes by
With hardly a look or a word ;
And one of the bravest and best of all
Of whom the list can boast,
Is the man who falls on duty's call,
The man who dies at his post.'

i. *Ancient African civilization.* At first sight it seems astonishing that Africa should be the last of the continents to disclose its secrets.

In 146-5 B.C. the Romans conquered Carthage, on the northernmost cape of that continent, and made it the capital of a new province, which they named 'Africa'—apparently after the Afarik tribe of Berbers which dwelt in that region. Gibbon speaks of this province as 'the common granary of Rome and of mankind', and existing ruins show the extent and magnificence of its civilization. Gradually the province expanded westward and the name with it ; but the wildest dreamer of those days could hardly have imagined that the name would one day denote a whole continent that stretches away southward for 5,000 miles.

Now, Carthage was a centre of civilization more ancient than that of Rome ; it was founded by a princess of Tyre in 813 B.C. ; and its skilful seamen and adventurous merchants, not content with sailing into the north and south Atlantic and making their city a famous market for gold, ivory, slaves, and much beside, had planted prosperous towns along the coast from Tangier to Tripoli.

The Greeks, too, had planted colonies on the northern coast of Africa. Cyrene had been an important centre of civilization for more than five centuries before Simon came thence to carry the Lord's cross to Calvary. And along the coast from Tunis to Tripoli, and even far inland, many other populous Greek cities had risen to something like splendour.

The Greek and Phœnician civilization of Africa was, however, modern in comparison with that of Egypt. When Joseph and Mary took the child Jesus into Egypt, the great pyramid of Kheops had been crowning the knoll at Gizeh for twice as many centuries as have passed since then, and the Sphinx—fit emblem of huge, enigmatical, appalling Africa—had been watching the sun rise over the sands below. Furthermore, the civilization of Egypt must have been old when Kheops was born. How else could he have found architects skilful enough to lay out the mightiest single building that was ever erected, with an error in the level and squareness of the base of less than one ten-thousandth of the side, or masons able to execute acres of stone-work, in the entrance-passage and casing of the pyramid, with the accuracy of modern opticians?

The existence of this high state of culture on the north coast of Africa from very ancient times makes one marvel that Africa was not thoroughly explored at a much earlier date.

And yet the reason is not far to seek. The Sahara stretches from Egypt to the Atlantic, and was practically impassable before camels were introduced in the seventh century of our era. Herodotus had heard of five young men who had crossed the desert and reached a city of dwarfish Blacks on a great river. And for centuries before the Christian era stories were afloat in Europe of the wonders concealed in that mysterious land beyond the desert—pygmy people, huge birds, black-faced cannibals, swift-footed cave-dwellers, men with dogs' heads (baboons?), and other fearsome creatures.

Nor was it possible to penetrate Africa by the Nile. The Emperor Nero sent two centurions to find the source of the White Nile in A.D. 66; but they failed, as many a modern traveller failed, to get beyond the great masses of floating vegetation which block the river and turn the flat country above Khartoum into expansive lakes and morasses.

ii. *Early African exploration.* The only hope for explorers was the sea—the *Ocean Stream*, as ancient geographers called it. In the Heidelberg library there is a Greek translation of a tablet which Hanno placed in the temple of Moloch upon his return to Carthage from an expedition down the West Coast. After planting his colonies, Hanno continued his voyage southward,

with the Phoenician love of adventure in his blood, and passed the Senegal and Gambia Rivers to Sherboro Island (Sierra Leone), where they saw 'wild men and women clothed in hair'! They could not catch any of the 'men', but they caught three of the 'women' and brought their skins back to Carthage. The interpreters from the Lixus River (33° N., 6° W.) called these strange creatures 'gorillas'; but we should probably call them 'chimpanzees'.

Herodotus (died 424 B.C.) says that Sastapes, a Persian nobleman, was sentenced to death for offending Xerxes and respited upon condition that he should sail round Africa; that he sailed from Egypt, passed through the Pillars of Hercules, and continued southward for many months, visiting the towns of a dwarfish people who wore palm-leaves and kept cattle; and then gave up the voyage in despair and returned to Persia, where he was executed. There is nothing to show how far south these towns were.

The mention of sailing round Africa in those early days comes with a shock of surprise. But the notion was not new. Herodotus tells us that Pharaoh Necho II (600 B.C.)—that enterprising man who connected the Mediterranean and the Red Sea by a canal from the Nile—sent ships manned by Phoenicians to sail round Africa. They left the Red Sea; sailed round Africa, staying on the coast to sow and reap corn; and returned through the Pillars of Hercules within three years. Herodotus believed the story, though he doubted the travellers' tale that the sun was on their right hand as they sailed round Africa from east to west. Most ancient geographers scouted the tradition, and unfortunately Herodotus does not quote his authority or such notes of the voyage as would now prove or disprove it.

During the first century of our era an anonymous Greek merchant of Alexandria wrote a manual for seamen. With the air of one speaking from experience, he proceeds from port to port in the Red Sea, buying myrrh, frankincense, cinnamon, ivory, tortoiseshell, &c., till he reaches Cape Aromata (Guadafui). Then, in the manner of a retailer of hearsay, he runs over the ports on the East Coast as far south as Rhapta, which was on the mainland and apparently almost opposite Zanzibar. He says nothing was known of the country farther south, except

that the coast was thought to trend westward into the Atlantic. Rhapta, he tells us, had long been subject to the sovereign of the Mapharitic country (in South Arabia), and Arab merchants from Muza rented it from him and regularly sailed thither in their own ships.

About the middle of the second century A.D., Ptolemy, a native of Alexandria, published a geography and map of Africa. According to him the Greeks were then carrying on an extensive trade with Rhapta. He shows the Nile rising in two lakes, fed from the snow-clad Mountains of the Moon, and states that Ethiopian cannibals lived between these mountains and the coast. He had read the narrative of a Greek merchant, named Diogenes, who claimed that he had landed at Rhapta on his way back from India, nearly a century before, and had travelled inland for twenty-five days till he reached the two great lakes and the snowy mountains. Diogenes *could* have seen Kilimanjaro in twenty-five days; but one would much like to know who told him of the two lakes.

In North Africa the Romans were the dominant power for centuries. They penetrated beyond the Atlas Mountains, and they knew of the Senegal River. One of their generals travelled for four months beyond the southern Fezzan and reached a land swarming with rhinoceroses. In the beginning of the fifth century Rome was weakening and her foes increasing so that she withdrew from Britain. In A.D. 429 one of the African generals, who had quarrelled with another, invited the Vandals to come over from Spain and help him; and the Vandals came, and wrested the whole of North Africa from the grasp of Rome. In A.D. 533 the Byzantines took Carthage; led the Vandal king in triumph through Constantinople; and brought the Vandal kingdom to an end.

iii. *Christian Churches in Africa.* It is hard to say just when Christianity was first planted on African soil. Tradition gives Mark, the Evangelist, as the founder of the Church in Egypt; and it is certain that not only in Egypt but right along the northern coast of Africa the Church grew rapidly in the first century. In the second century it had reached Upper Egypt; had grown strong and wealthy in Alexandria; and had taken root in every important city on the north coast. In the year

A.D. 200 seventy bishops met in council at Carthage; eighty-seven attended the council of A.D. 256, and about two hundred that of A.D. 418. Of the twenty most prominent leaders in the Christian Church during the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, nine were Africans, and one of them was Augustine. In Alexandria and elsewhere prosperity and wealth produced flabbiness of moral fibre before the second century was ended; but where the Church busied itself with its Lord's work and met its persecutors with meekness, it retained its vigour. In Egypt the old philosophic and symbolic faiths were in the blood of many converts, and before long broke out in fierce discussions of subtle distinctions between the human and the divine. Farther west two sects arose, the one Puritan and the other Romanist (to give the modern labels that F. P. Noble¹ affixes to ancient movements). The former had a passion for martyrdom and the latter for orthodoxy. And from A.D. 313, till the besom of Muslim conquest swept them all away, some three centuries later, they spent their strength struggling for their ideals; the former for the freedom of the Church from State control, and the latter for the unity of Christendom. If both sections of the Church had stood shoulder to shoulder in the face of heathenism, they would have discovered speedily how much they had in common and how little to quarrel about. Suppose, for instance, that they had spent half the effort in Christianizing Arabia that they spent in ironing out the wrinkles in each other's philosophy, what a different environment would have played upon Muhammad in the days of his religious development!

iv. *The coming of Islam.* The birth of Muhammad in Arabia in A.D. 570 was destined to have a profound influence upon Africa. Though the Commonwealth of Islam was not founded till A.D. 622 the impetuous Muslim troops snatched Egypt from the feeble grasp of its Byzantine ruler in A.D. 640; swept away to the west and conquered the old Roman province of Africa thirty years later; and by A.D. 711 were triumphant throughout North Africa, and ready with an army of new converts to slip across the Straits of Gibraltar and invade Spain. And thereafter, as century followed century, by winning the tribes of the Sahara and the Nile and sending their converts forth

¹ *The Redemption of Africa*, vol. i, pp. 31-3.

white-hot with enthusiasm for their new faith, Islam crept steadily southward into regions of which Europeans never heard.

But there are Africans and Africans. We have spoken of those who were first called Africans; but they were not Black men. Few of them were darker than the average southern European. The colonists from Rome, Greece, and Phoenicia found Berber tribes in possession of North Africa; and Berbers are more closely related to Jews and Arabs than to Negroes.

Though it is probable that individual Negroes, like the Ethiopian eunuch that Philip baptized, were converted at an early period, Christianity did not come into contact with a Negro people till the Egyptian Church took the Gospel to the Nubians living on the Nile between Assuan and Khartoum. By the sixth century the Nubian Church had grown strong enough to withstand all the influences of Islam, till, ignorant and isolated from the rest of Christendom, it succumbed to the dominant power of the Nile Valley some seven centuries later. A few years ago the Mahdi was born in Nubia and became the scourge of Christians. Is there anything so costly as neglect!

After the Muslim conquest, Africa was practically barred to Europe, though, from time to time, efforts were made to gain a footing. In the twelfth century, for instance, the Crusaders took Tunis, Tripoli, and the Nile Delta; but exciting as their exploits are to the modern reader, they conferred no benefit upon Africa. It was really Portugal that began to open the oyster.

v. *Africa and Mediaeval Europe—especially Portugal.* Portugal had already driven the Moors, as they had come to be styled, back into Africa; but Moorish pirates continued to infest the coasts till the Portuguese were driven in desperation to attack them in their lairs. So in 1415 Tangier and Ceuta fell to Portugal. Then there came upon the scene a learned and enterprising man, Prince Henry, 'the Navigator', second son of the King of Portugal and his English wife (daughter of John of Gaunt). He heard from the Moors of the wonderful wealth that was locked up in the great continent: the gold and ivory, and, what was in those days almost as precious, the spice and pepper. And he had heard, even if he had not read, something of the adventurous

voyages of the past. Now the Portuguese were bold, skilful, and hardy seamen; and by this time the mariner's compass had been invented. So Henry fitted out his ships and sent them southward. Years passed before they got as far down the coast as Hanno had gone; but they reached the Senegal in 1444, and before the end of the century they had discovered the Gold Coast, Benin, the Niger Delta, the Congo, Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Mozambique, Zanzibar, Mombasa and Malindi, and had reached the Malabar coast of India. This was the result of many expeditions, each one creeping a little farther than the last. Time would fail me to tell of their adventures, and the resourcefulness and daring with which they met danger; but, oh! the riches they brought back, and the wonderful stories that they heard! There were slaves, of course; for in those days slave-trading was just ordinary business. But what they wanted most was not slaves. They built a fort on the Gold Coast and called it 'St. George of the Mine'; they got pepper and ivory from the people of Benin; they heard marvellous stories of the wealth of Timbuktu; they saw the Cameroon Mountain (Camarões, they called it, because the waters were so full of *prawns*); they went up the Congo and cut their record in the rock cliffs below Yelala Falls; they saw Table Mountain, with its tablecloth of cloud spread over the top in the early morning; they met the Arabs on the East Coast who told them of the gold and great stone buildings of Monomotapa; they met Black men everywhere, with strange customs and weapons and ornaments, except at the Cape, where they found stunted yellow Hottentots and pygmy Bushmen. And what was more, they reached India, the goal of their ambition.

The wealth of Ind had long been proverbial in Europe; and since the caravan routes to the east had fallen into the hands of Muslims, there was every inducement to reach India by way of the sea. But could it be done? When Bartolomeu Diaz rounded the south-west projection of Africa in 1488, he called it 'Cape of Storms', for he could not forget the weather that he had to sail through; but when John II of Portugal heard of the adventure, he changed the name at once to 'Cape of Good Hope', knowing that there was now good hope of reaching India. And Vasco da Gama did it. Whether he could have done it if the

Arabs at Malindi had not given him a pilot who knew the ways of monsoons is doubtful. But it was not for nothing that Moorish blood flowed in Portuguese veins, and that they had been compulsory students of Moorish ways. Vasco da Gama could fight the Arabs (he called them Moors) when he liked; but he could hob-nob with them when that suited him better. But they were great men—these Portuguese! Men who sailed out into unknown oceans, mocking danger in their little cockle-shells, must have been big enough within to make up for their scant equipment.

Moreover, the Portuguese were not only intrepid sailors, but doughty fighters and venturesome travellers. Two of them were sent from Portugal to India by the Red Sea route, in the hope that they might find a way of nibbling at the Venetian spice trade before the sea route to India was discovered. One of the two reached India and returned to Cairo by way of Madagascar, Sofala, and the East African ports; and then, having sent his message home, he went back to see a little more of the Red Sea coasts of myrrh, frankincense, and musk. Unfortunately he fell into the hands of the King of Abyssinia, who kept him an unwilling guest for thirty years. 'Prester John' of Abyssinia was one of the legendary characters that gave glamour to the unknown; and the mysterious city of Timbaktu, with its fabulous grandeur, was another lure for the explorer. A Portuguese expedition set out from Senegal at an early date and pushed its way inland hoping in vain for a glimpse of the mystic city; another, inspired with like ambition, pushed its way from what we now call Liberia up into the country of the Upper Niger; while yet another penetrated from the Gold Coast to Moshi. On the East Coast, the Portuguese ousted the Arabs from every port right away to Aden, making their headquarters at Sofala, the port at which Arabs had traded from time immemorial for the gold of Monomotapa, and building at Mozambique the great ugly fort that still frowns on passing ships. And they pushed into the country here and there, and laid out their little trading-stations on the rivers. On the Zambesi, they seized the old-time Arab settlement at Sena, and explored the river to Tete. In 1569 they sent forth from Sena a great expedition, equipped with camels and horsemen, to visit

the 'Emperor of Monomotapa'; but the tsetse fly 'did for' the beasts, and hostile natives taught the gallants to distinguish between audacity and rashness. If they had reached the 'Emperor', they might have found that veracity required a less grandiose title; but one never knows—the eye sees only what it brings with it the power of seeing, especially those old Portuguese eyes! But when they came to difficulties, why, there were difficulties everywhere; but to these mettlesome men difficulties were to the daily task what African spice and pepper were to the diet of Mediaeval Europe.

Of course, all this was not done in a century; but it was done before that black day in 1580 when King Sebastian and his army fell in Morocco. Up to that time Africa was Liberty Hall to the Portuguese, but French, Dutch, and English were warned against intruding. France was too busy in America to bother much about Africa; but Dutch and English sometimes took 'French leave' in the Portuguese preserves. Neither Holland nor England cared to break with Portugal while Spain needed close watching; but these were days when the 'Jolly Roger' was on the sea and 'Dick Turpin' on the heath, and no nation was held accountable for the pranks of its frolicsome sons. Captain John Hawkins had a trick of evading such Portuguese ships as he could not capture, robbing the others of their cargoes, and sailing away from the West Coast richly laden with gold, 'grains of paradise', and ivory—both black and white. And exemplars and imitators of the great sea-rover sailed from many a port in Holland and England; but Holland and England kept the peace with Portugal. In 1582, however, the King of Spain fell heir to the crown of Portugal; and Holland, England, and France were all let loose on Africa.

Misfortunes never come singly. In 1589, when Portugal was weakened by her Moorish defeat, great hordes of savages (called *Zimbas*) came surging along the East Coast, looting and slaying as they went—an experience to which Africa has been periodically subjected for very many centuries—and there was grave peril for the Portuguese at Tete and Mozambique. About the same time, too, the Sultan of Turkey sent his warships through the Red Sea to retake the old Muslim strongholds. But Portugal, weakened as she was, managed to weather the storm.

vi. *Africa in the seventeenth century—Dutch, British, and French.* The seventeenth century saw many changes in Africa, but the most important was the incoming of the Dutch, British, and French.

The Dutch were first in the field. They had recently thrown off the yoke of Spain, and were in fine fettle. As soon as Portugal passed to the King of Spain, Holland seized Portuguese holdings in Senegambia, the Gold Coast, and Angola. The Dutch secured the ascendancy in the old Congo kingdom of which San Salvador was capital, and actually held S. Paulo de Loanda from 1641 to 1648; and for a while they were in possession of Mozambique. But that which left the biggest mark on Africa was the founding of Cape Town in 1652. Nothing was farther from the thought of the Netherlands than founding a city or a colony; they wanted a safe haven for their ships on the long voyage between Europe and the Indies; so they built a fort and laid out kitchen gardens. But events proved too strong for them. At first there were practically no Dutch women in the community; but they had to come, and they came in 1687. Two years later 200 Huguenot refugees arrived, with their improved methods of viticulture and much else that has been a boon to Africa. Before the end of the century the Dutch had explored the coast from Zululand almost to the Orange River, and had tried to buy the Bay of Natal from the Natives. But they had done little inland exploration. In 1685 one of their Governors explored Namaqualand almost to the Orange River; but the river itself was not known till a Boer hunter found it when he was looking for elephants in 1745.

The French were still busy in America, but they found time to build a fort or two on the Senegambian coast, which the Dutch subsequently seized. In the closing years of the century, however, they made another attempt in the same district, and with better success.

British ships bound for India had rounded the Cape in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and Devonshire merchants had been chartered to trade with Senegambia; but there was no attempt to govern any portion of Africa till the Royal African Company was chartered in 1672.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century no modern

European nation wanted to colonize any part of Africa. They were out for trade, and blithely fought those who would not trade with them. They built forts on the coast, not as centres of government, but as dépôts for trade and strongholds from which they could clear the sea-board of all rivals. Each nation tried to monopolize what it discovered. During the seventeenth century English ships pursued the West African trade in increasing numbers, bringing home gold, ivory, gum, hides, dye-stuffs, ebony, ostrich feathers, spice, and pepper. The names of the West Coast show the product for which each part was famous : Grain Coast, Ivory Coast, Gold Coast, Slave Coast. The ' Grain ' was ' Grains of Paradise ', a condiment in great demand all over Europe before true pepper was known, and the most lucrative of all merchandise. The older Portuguese name for the whole of this coast was Guiné ;¹ and the coins that were discontinued in 1817 and still figure in subscription lists were called ' guineas ', because they were made of gold from this coast.

vii. *European and American slave-trade.* Slaves were bought from the first, for there was always some demand for them in Europe ; but they were not as profitable as other merchandise till the exploiters of the New World found American natives too fierce and weak for plantation work, and clamoured for imported labour. Negro tribes were willing to sell their captives, prisoners, and sometimes their children and neighbours ; and it was soon discovered that the Negro was a good investment. He worked well ; was tractable if reasonably treated, and had a short memory for misfortunes ; he could survive a hard life in almost any climate and still breed rapidly ; and he was almost incapable of combining against his oppressors. So the demand for Negroes increased, till the slave-trade became the most profitable sea-venture. Spain started the business in 1517, and other nations followed. Captain John Hawkins was the first Englishman to engage in it ; he took 300 slaves from Sierra Leone to San Domingo late in 1562 ; but the English were not active in the trade till the war with the Netherlands in 1653. At first the chief sources of supply were between the Senegal and the Gold

¹ The word is thought to be a corruption of Genewah, one of the ancient names for that great Black Belt which stretches from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and is now usually called Sudan.

Coast ; but in the eighteenth century markets were opened at every important port between the Senegal on the west and Mombasa on the east, though the Slave Coast took first place.

The magnitude of the wrong thus inflicted by Europe on Africa can never be measured. Arabs had been exporting Negro slaves to Arabia and the Mediterranean for centuries, and became collectors and middlemen for the Atlantic trade ; but they were excelled in callousness by their African and half-breed henchmen. Their plan was to incite and help the strongest chief in a district to attack his neighbours and then buy his prisoners ; and when they had used him to the full, to attack their whilom friend and capture his followers, slaves, and ivory. In this way large areas were depopulated. Then came the fearful march to the coast ; men and women chained together, with slave-sticks on their necks, heavy loads of ivory upon their shoulders, slave-whips playing remorselessly about them, and scant rations of food and water. There was not even the care and consideration that is displayed by a calculating cattle-drover whose one aim is to market the largest possible number of his beasts in good condition. Then followed the voyage across the Atlantic in ships that were as much like hell as ships can ever be made. It is safe to say that for each slave landed in America four people had been killed—probably more. And yet quite decent, not to say Christian, people were content to grow rich on this atrocious traffic, and those who pushed it felt no touch of shame. When Captain John Hawkins was knighted, he was so far from being ashamed of having run 1,000 slaves across to America that he took for his crest 'a demi-Moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord'. Even good and learned people were able to show to their own satisfaction that the slave-trade was 'consistent with the principles of humanity and the laws of revealed religion'.

Gradually, however, European feeling revolted. Fox, the Quaker, opposed slavery in 1671 ; and the Puritans of Boston, U.S.A., asked their representatives to abolish slavery soon after Sewell wrote his anti-slavery pamphlet in 1700. The first power to forbid the slave-trade to its subjects was Denmark, in 1792 ; but the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool gave Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their growing band of followers a very stiff fight before it was possible for the British Parliament to pass the mild

measure of 1807, and again before it was strengthened in 1811. When the slave-trade was made a felony and the cruisers were ordered to seize the ships and liberate the slaves, the friends of the slave were delighted ; but the slave-ships were packed closer than ever, and when capture was imminent the living cargo was jettisoned without compunction. In 1833, however, slavery was abolished in the Empire.

Once the conscience of Britain was roused against slavery she certainly brought forth 'fruit worthy of repentance'. She paid Portugal £300,000 and Spain £400,000 for agreeing to suppress the trade in their African possessions, and to slave-owners in the West Indies and South Africa £20,000,000 and £1,250,000, respectively, for the liberation of their slaves. And at great cost she swept the African seas with her cruisers for many years, to recapture slave-cargoes that were being constantly run.

viii. *Interior Africa still unknown.* Now, at the beginning of the nineteenth century hardly anything was known of Interior Africa. It is said that a Portuguese priest had crossed Africa in 1563, and that another had traversed the uplands north of Tete to the Barotsi country ; but the maps are as silent as the books concerning their discoveries. The first record of inland travel in Angola is that of Andrew Battell, of Essex, who was sent as a Portuguese prisoner to the fort at Masanganu, on the Kwanza River, in 1590, and about ten years later wandered about the country for twenty-one months with the Jaga cannibals.¹ Pigafetta had published the information which he had gathered from Duarte Lopez in 1591, but that is hardly a book of travel. The Portuguese had travelled inland some 400 miles from Angola in 1606 ; George Thompson had gone eighty miles up the Gambia in 1618, and Jobson, who was sent out to find him, got beyond the Barakonda Rapids ; John Herder, a Dutchman, had travelled far inland from San Salvador between 1642 and 1651 ; Bruce had been searching Abyssinia for the sources of the Nile from 1768 to 1773 ; Captain Gordon discovered the junction of the Orange and Vaal Rivers in 1777 ; Mungo Park had crossed from high up the Gambia to the Senegal in 1795, and in 1798 the Governor of Portuguese Zambesia began the era of scientific exploration by travelling from the East Coast to Kazembe and

¹ The first account was published in *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, 1613.

Lake Mweru, where he died. But the map of Africa as it was known in 1800 shows little more than a fringe of names around the coast.

ix. *Era of African romance and exploration.* Europe, however, had become keenly interested in Africa. Enthusiasm for humanity and pity for the oppressed had been growing for more than a quarter of a century; and in Britain the revival of religion inspired by Wesley and Whitfield was colouring all interests. People wanted to know more of the tribes of Africa, and Christian people were zealous for their conversion. The nineteenth century became, therefore, the Era of African Romance. While travellers, more or less scientifically equipped, were exploring the unknown land, missionaries were exploring, what is of greater value, the unknown people, and often in the process adding lakes, rivers, and mountains to the map.

There is no more thrilling story in history or romance than that of the African explorers and missionaries. Mungo Park set out again from the West Coast with thirty-eight soldiers and seamen, and only seven were alive when they reached the Niger, and the last five of these were lost with him at Busa. Cowan and Donovan led twenty men of the Cape Regiment to explore the country between Cape Colony and Mozambique, and, having passed beyond the Molopo (Mafeking), were never heard of again. Captain Tuckey went up the Congo to Yelala Falls, and overland to Isangila, and died with nearly all his officers. Bowditch visited the King of Ashanti. Clapperton almost reached the Niger from Tripoli, and then achieved it from Lagos, through Yorubaland, and passed on to Sokoto, where he died, having lost all his companions except his servant, Lander, who, attempting it again three years later in company with his brother, reached the Niger at Busa (where Park was lost), and paddled for two months down the river till he came to the sea. A Portuguese trader reached the court of Mwata Yanvo from Angola, and another crossed Africa from Benguela to the mouth of the Ruvuma. Burton and Speke discovered Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza. Baker discovered Albert Nyanza. Cameron crossed Africa, discovering the Upper Congo, and struck south-west through Mwata Yanvo's country to Benguela. Rohlfs journeyed from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Guinea.

Stanley eclipsed them all in the extent and value of his wonderful journeys. Thompson explored the Great Rift Valley and discovered Lake Baringo and Mount Elgon. And many others whose names cannot even be mentioned did their share in revealing Africa to Europe.

What an Odyssey we should have had if Homer had ever seen such a triumph of pluck, resourcefulness, and tenacity of purpose over fever, fatigue, privation, danger, and death !

As the deer breaks—as the steer breaks—from the herd where
they graze,

In the faith of little children we went on our ways.

Then the wood failed—then the food failed—then the last
water dried—

In the faith of little children we lay down and died.

On the sand-drift—on the veld-side—in the fern-scrub we lay,
That our sons might follow after by the bones upon the way.

x. *Advent of the missionary.* But, thrilling as these stories are, they are outdone by the quiet heroism and devotion to high endeavour of a thousand African missionaries. The Moravians began with Schmidt, Hukoff, and Protten in 1732. Schmidt was the first Protestant missionary to be appointed to Africa, and Hukoff and Protten were the first to arrive. Schmidt's work was cut short by the opposition of the Cape Dutch; Hukoff, Protten, and eight others who followed them to the Gold Coast, all died of fever within a year. But Schmidt's work was resumed later, and Baviaan's Kloof (Baboons' Glen) was transformed into Genadendal (Vale of Grace); and in 1828 the Basel Society planted itself by the Moravian graves and began a work that has become famous for scope and efficiency. Many of the first efforts ended in failure. No one dreamt that the most dangerous animal in Africa is not the lion or leopard, but the mosquito; and missionaries and their Home Boards had to learn that for the founding of an effective mission in Africa, there must be added to consecrated zeal a something which comes only from the costly school of experience. British missions begun at Sierra Leone had gradually crept round the Guinea Coast, leaving everywhere graves that have now become as sacred to hundreds of African churches as the graves of the first evangelists of heathen Britain would be to us if we only knew where to find

them. At the same time they spread out from the Cape through the coastlands and gradually into the interior, paying less for their conquests, but always ready to pay the last farthing that Africa demanded—and she always demanded much.

It was 1841 before Livingstone reached Kuruman; but that was a red-letter day for Africa. Exploration was only a by-product of Livingstone's calling; he was a missionary from start to finish and took care that people knew it, though he was much too Christian to waste any opportunity of adding to the world's enlightenment. And what journeys he made! Forth he fared from his little cottage at Kolobeng,¹ and away to discover Lake Ngami; it was only five or six hundred miles, and the people were akin to his own Bakwena. Next year he did the trip again, meaning to go on to the Zambesi and see whether Sebetuane would accept a missionary. He was baffled by sickness in his party, but only to fight better: a year later he won through. Then back again to the little cottage at Kolobeng. In a few months his home was looted, *and he was free*, as he said. Up again to the Zambesi; away to Loanda on the West Coast; back once more tracing the Zambesi from near its source right on to Quilimane, discovering the largest waterfall in the world on the way. Then a spell with his loved ones in the homeland; and after that, Africa, and still more Africa, discovering the Shiré, fixing the position of Nyasa, discovering Lake Mweru, the Lualaba, the south end of Tanganyika, till found at last kneeling cold and still by his bed in the little hut by Bangweulu. But often have I found him living in the memories of those who knew him. 'He was my master!' boasted old Sehunelo, as he showed me the hill where the lion mauled 'the doctor's' shoulder. And living in other ways. If he had not been lost, Stanley would not have entered Africa, and other explorers would have lacked the inspiration that gave them their vocation. But the motive of all his travels was to heal 'the open sore of the world', as he called the slave-trade, and to scout for missions. The 'sore' has been healed, and all the Churches of Britain rose at his call

¹ Notwithstanding the fact that the cottage was built of sun-dried bricks, some of the walls are still standing, though they have crumbled considerably since I first saw them. When Colonel Garraway was Resident Commissioner of the Protectorate, however, he took steps to preserve the ruins from the unnecessary dilapidation.

and planted messengers of the Gospel throughout Central Africa.

Similarly, if Krapf and Rebman had not raved about the mighty peaks of Kilima-Njaro and Kenia that they had seen in 1848-9, and insisted on the credibility of what they had heard of the Great Lakes, Burton, Speke, and Grant would never have gone to find them. And yet Krapf and Rebman were famous as missionaries rather than as explorers.

VIII. THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN AND HOW HE GOT IT

To every man there openeth
A way, and ways, and a way,
And the high soul climbs the high way
And the low soul gropes the low,
And in between, on the misty flats,
The rest drift to and fro,
But to every man there openeth
A high way and a low,
And every man decideth
The way his soul shall go.

JOHN OXENHAM.

i. *The coming of Europeans.* What little the ancients knew of Africa was mostly due to merchants in search of gain; and though the Portuguese craved adventure and churchly conquests, trade was the great attraction. English and Dutch were lured to Africa by the same bait. Before the cold light of reality took the glamour from the vision of African wealth, African harbours were required for the health of crews in the long voyage to the East, where the vision still lingered. In the European settlement that followed Waterloo, Britain claimed the Cape, because it was strategic to that command of the Indian Ocean which meant opening the markets of half the human race. Hitherto no European power wanted to colonize (in the modern sense of the term) any part of Bantu Africa. It was lucre that lifted the veil. Portugal clung to undefined strips on both coasts for the glory of her ancient name, though she had never been able to govern, still less to develop them.¹ Fernando Po was

* ¹ It had been the practice of Portugal to send her condemned criminals to her African possessions, and make them bear arms in the wars against the Natives. The slave-trade had demoralized everybody with its huge profits; and Portuguese soldiers and officials eked out their miserably inadequate pay by exploiting the subjugated people, while neglecting to develop the resources of the country. Battell says that every Portuguese soldier of any account had a Native chief handed over to him, for whom he was responsible. The chief acknowledges the soldier 'to be his master, and

Spanish only in name after the slave-trade ceased. No other part of Bantu Africa was held by any European power. The interior was almost blank upon the maps, and the fringe of coast-names was very thin. Then came the period of African romance, with its missionaries and explorers.

ii. *Founding the Boer republics.* Another movement became eventful for South Africa. As British rule made itself felt in the up-country districts of South Africa, a few Boer farmers, accustomed to a nomadic and anarchic life, sometimes moved northward to be out of its reach. The Boers had many grievances: the English language was placed on an equality with Dutch; political rights were given to freemen of colour; the conditions under which slaves were emancipated were unsatisfactory; Britain insisted on the restoration of territory taken from the Kafirs; and the governor for six of these eventful years was a man of despotic temper. Consequently the thin trickle of emigration northward increased in volume till thousands of Boers streamed forth in well-armed bands and established the republics of Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal in territories that were for the most part but sparsely inhabited by Natives. Britain made no effort to retain unwilling subjects, nor to hinder them from arming and equipping their expeditions within her borders.

The relation of the emigrant Boers to Native tribes has been wellnigh universally condemned.¹ But he who passes judgement on the men ought to remember that, so far as they wrought iniquity, they did so with a clear conscience. Brought up in the midst of slavery and governed by an unintelligent and mischievous interpretation of the Bible, they regarded themselves

he doth maintain the soldier and maketh him rich. Also, in the wars he commandeth his master's house to be built before his own, and whatsoever he hath taken that day in the wars, he passeth ' (divideth) ' with his master. So that there is no Portugal soldier of any account, but hath his Negro *sova*, or Lord ' (*The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell, in Angola and the adjoining Regions. Reprinted from 'Purchas His Pilgrimes',* edited by E. G. Ravenstein. London: printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1901, pp. 65 and 161-2).

¹ Large tracts of country which the Boers acquired had been swept clear of inhabitants by the action of the Bantu themselves. At first, notably in Natal, the Boers tried to keep their settlements away from Native areas.

as the chosen people of God, to whom He had given the heathen for an inheritance; and they carried out the instruction of Deut. xx. 10-14 as scrupulously as if the Sermon on the Mount had never been preached. They stand among numerous historical examples of the ease with which human vision may be distorted by an atmosphere of prejudice, profit, and piety, till evil seems good; but it has not yet been shown that they were sinners above certain others whom Britons hold in esteem.

The European distress which followed the Napoleonic wars and did so much for the colonization of Australia and America had but slight influence on South Africa. But steam was beginning its conquest of the oceans. The first steamer arrived in Table Bay in 1825; and as decade followed decade the ends of the earth came closer together; for minutes and seconds are the true measures of distance, and all continents are united by sea.

iii. *Lure of wealth.* In 1867 diamonds were discovered on the Vaal River; and when, two years later, the dry farms of Bultfontein and Du Toit's Pan were found incomparably richer than the alluvial, people rushed thither from all parts of the world. Trade boomed; farmers sold their produce at high prices; artisans earned fabulous wages; landed estates rose in value; and imports doubled in three years. In the fifties and sixties gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and quartz reef and alluvial were both worked; but it was the discovery of the Banket reef in 1886 that drew crowds of Europeans and Americans to the Witwatersrand and made huge fortunes for not a few. By the beginning of the eighties—that fateful decade for Africa—there was a boom in ostrich feathers at the Cape, and European manufacturers had come to realize that Africa was valuable for its wool, hides, horns, ivory, rare timbers, spices, gums, peppers, oils, copra, fibre, sugar, and rubber, and might be made profitable in cocoa, coffee, kola, sisal, cotton, and much else. Instead of the old veiled mystery with which she used to play, Fortune threw the magic of her limelight upon Africa and charmed her worshippers. The 'Star of South Africa', one of the earliest diamonds discovered, found a ready sale for £11,000! A smile like that from the goddess meant a competency for even the most incompetent of her favourites; and traders, miners, and

financiers galore were 'fairly sure' that she would smile upon *them* next week! Signs of mineral wealth had been discovered in the interior too. 'King Solomon's Mines' were there, and the 'Queen of Sheba' was a familiar figure in circles that usually ruled the Bible out of their conversation. Africa stood forth afresh as the coy daughter of Mammon, more winsome than ever, because clad in very modern garments. Then the scramble for Africa began. Hitherto no European power had wanted Bantu Africa for its own sake; now they almost tumbled over one another in their anxiety to get in first. That is how the White man came by his burden.

iv. *Scramble for Africa.* Other events conspired to cause this rapid change in the attitude of Europe to Africa. Stanley's great journey of 1874-7 had attracted universal attention; and King Leopold sent him back to secure the Congo for the Congo International Association. When Leopold founded this Association a year before, he professed to care only for philanthropy, science, and the exploration of Africa; but he was apparently suspected from the first, and the scramble for Africa began. France started at once from her Gabun territory, and raced Stanley successfully for the control of the upper river. Other nations followed suit. Within a decade, all the coastlands of Africa were partitioned between Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal; and before the next decade had passed the doctrine of the 'hinterland' had thrown the whole of Bantu Africa—a country thirty times the size of the United Kingdom, which had been sheltered from outside influences for untold centuries—into the whirlpool of European industrialism. And all the nations avowed that they were out for trade.

There was much to be said for each of them. France had emerged from the Franco-Prussian war determined to repair her losses, and her industries were thriving. Germany had been welded into a nation in the fires of that conflict, and, conscious of power, had put all her energy, method, and education into industrial pursuits. Both needed new sources of raw material, and new markets for their products. Germany was also losing her population at a great rate,¹ and cherished the vain hope that

¹ In 1885, the high-water mark of German emigration, 171,000 Germans took shelter under other flags.

she could induce them to live under the old flag in new lands. And Africa was the only field open for colonization. Britain, without rival in Bantu Africa before 1880, had refused all requests to assume suzerainty; but she was unwilling to be excluded.

v. *Trade and the flag.* The change in the attitude of Europe to Africa was facilitated by a change in the European idea of government. Since the French Revolution, the idea had been steadily gaining ground that the state was not the vested interest of a few, but the nation organized for the greatest good of the greatest number—an excellent principle, but difficult of application where knowledge is scanty and character unessential to political success. Under the guise of this doctrine power had passed, through the polling-booth, from birth to wealth. There was a general belief, often justified, that the trade of a state was secure only under its own flag; and by 1880 politicians were talking of commerce as the greatest of all political interests. Hitherto, merchants, missionaries, and travellers had pushed into Bantu Africa with little or no help from their Governments; but now they were made an excuse for state interference. A Bremen merchant had secured valuable concessions near Angra Pequena, and the flag of Germany followed its trade. A Hamburg merchant forced the annexation of the Cameroons. Dr. Peters and his financial friends were held in check on the East Coast for a while, but the result was the same. Companies of merchant adventurers were formed in Britain, France, and Germany for the purpose of pioneering the ways of empire. The British East Africa Company was chartered in 1888, and the British South Africa Company soon after. The object of each state in annexing African territory was to benefit such of its own financiers and merchants as were able to influence public opinion through the clubs and the press, and, with the least possible charge on Government funds and administrative service, to prevent other states from barring the way of its trade. Conflicting ideals arose; the British wanted the uplands from Cape to Cairo; the French wanted their flag to float from Senegal to the Red Sea; and the Germans wanted to link up German South-west with German East Africa. They were all out for gain, as if empire could be defined in terms of push for pelf!

vi. *Can it be justified?* But we must be fair to our own, even though we are British! And justice demands that we should look at both sides of the question.

The European permeation of Africa is instinctive rather than reflective. It is due to growth of population in Europe, spread of knowledge, annihilation of distance by modern inventions, treadmill methods of modern quantity production, artificiality of modern civilization, the craze for wealth, the ever-widening gulf between rich and poor, and much besides. The invasion began as an unorganized effort of a multitude of men, conscious of power and by no means destitute of enterprise, to escape from an economic pressure that was becoming unbearable. No state in Europe could stop the movement. The British Government held aloof as long as possible—some of us think much longer than it ought; but ultimately the Government had to follow its citizens into the scramble for Africa. That vast continent is rich in minerals that the world craves, and its soil contains still ampler harvests of wealth. To expect that modern Europe will allow such treasures to lie unwon is to show an almost inconceivable ignorance of human nature.

But is it right for a strong or intelligent man to take from a weak or ignorant owner, by force or by guile, what he thinks he can put to better use?

vii. *The ownership of land.* Nothing but loose thinking is likely to result from the habit of applying to Africa those highly conventionalized terms that have grown up in Europe during many centuries of stable government. What constitutes *ownership* of land? We associate ownership of land with the possession of parchments, never staying to think that the title-deeds owe their value to the willingness and ability of the community to enforce respect for these ancient grants of exclusive possession. It comes as a shock to discover that if we push our investigations far enough into the past, we shall find all our title-deeds reposing upon a basis of conquest. Fortunately, the days of barbaric conquest are far behind us; but in Africa we are much nearer to the origin of property in land.

Of the Bantu method of establishing the legal right of individuals to tribal lands we have already spoken,¹ and here it

¹ See pp. 91 et seq.

is enough to state that each tribesman is entitled to the use of certain lands as long as he occupies them and fulfils his duties towards the tribe; but that the Bantu know nothing of legal documents or of absolute right to land. The demand that every occupier of land shall be ready and willing for military service is due to the feeling that the tribe's claim to land is based upon spear-power. For the sake of putting down intertribal warfare, the British Government, in some districts if not all, have maintained the doctrine that each tribe is entitled to the undisturbed enjoyment of the area that it was occupying at the time when British suzerainty was proclaimed. But before the coming of this *pax Britannica*, it was customary for strong tribes to raid their weaker neighbours, from mere love of loot and warlike adventure, or for the sake of escaping from the pressure of a stronger foe. If their neighbour's country was more desirable than their own, the conquerors parcelled it out among themselves and reduced its former owners to serfdom; if not, they took what loot they could, and intimated that a similar contribution next year would save another invasion. Few indeed are the Bantu tribes that did not seize their present territory in this manner. The only title that any tribe had to its lands was its ability to hold them against all comers; and all the rights of user that it granted to its tribesmen were conditioned by this fundamental need.

Payments by outsiders for privileges which the tribesmen enjoyed without fee were not entirely unknown. Strangers entered the country at their own risk; and in Central Africa *hongo*—a very primitive variety of customs dues, which varied in amount according to the traveller's willingness to pay and the chief's ability to extort—was exacted for the privilege of passing through the country. It was customary to allow travellers to shoot for the pot; but a hunting-party had to bestow a 'present' upon the chief before it was permitted to hunt within the tribal domain. Some districts contained rich deposits of salt, copper, or iron, and outsiders obtained permission to dig such minerals by paying fees to the chief or his local representative. But under Bantu law no method was known of granting either leasehold or freehold rights in land, or minerals. The most that a foreigner could obtain, whatever payment he made, was permission to

build, farm, hunt, mine, trade, or reside in the country during the tribe's pleasure—a tenure so insecure that it often involved missionaries in trouble and loss (though they sought nothing but the advantage of the tribe) and was fatal to the investment of capital in mines, farms, plantations, or other permanent improvements. There lay the wealth waiting to be won; the Bantu were unable to win it; and a crowd of Europeans were keen on the venture. But as tribal law had never been called upon to deal with such problems, the only way of obtaining such rights as would secure the fruits of toil for the toilers was by the assertion of force. Is that barbarous method ever justifiable?

viii. *How the Bantu got the country.* Those tribes which were in the van of Bantu dispersion probably found that the Bushmen had everywhere anticipated them in the occupation of the country. Now Bushmen, though living in isolated families, have clan relationships; and it is said that, except when there was bad blood between clans, each clan respected the monopoly of other clans in great tracts of hunting-veld. They never cultivated a yard of the country which they called theirs, nor grazed a single head of stock on its pastures. But because it provided them with roots, honey, game, berries, and whatever else they wanted, they claimed the country as their own. Now if one says that at that time the Bushmen were 'owners' of the country, he can only mean that by right of prior possession and occupancy the Bushmen had established a claim to the hunting-veld. A Bushman would have said 'to the country'; for to his thinking 'country' meant 'hunting-veld'. He did not own even the idea of arable lands and pastures. When the Bantu came with flocks and herds and a knowledge of primitive cultivation, they saw that the country was capable of producing much more than the Bushmen had ever imagined; and, equipped with iron weapons and tribal organization, they took possession of country which Bushmen were not wise enough to use or strong enough to hold. That the Bushmen resented the intrusion is shown by the little venomous arrows that sped on their errands of death from apparently untenanted scrub. Pushed by hunger and the need of escaping their pursuers, the Bantu probably acted on instinct rather than deliberation, and it is unlikely

that they ever troubled to justify themselves in seizing the country. What they saw was, on the one hand, their own desperate need, and, on the other, great unused tracts of grass-land interspersed with attractive patches of garden-ground; and they would have ridiculed the suggestion that such country should be left to a few pygmy hunters, whom they considered as little superior to baboons. As a matter of fact, there was room in the country for both Bantu and Bushmen, if only each had been reasonable in dealing with the other. But both were barbarians; and with barbarians, tooth and claw are active and brain and heart are slack. One must admit that the Bushmen were probably justified in their own eyes in defending their ancient preserves; but how is it possible to blame the Bantu for refusing to leave arable lands and pastures to a handful of aboriginals who had no use for either!

Now, the logic that forces us to admit that Bushmen did not *own* arable lands and pastures compels us also to concede that Bantu never owned diamond-pipes and banket-reef. And White men, when they came into the country, laid much stress on this view of ownership. They said it was monstrous to deny them the right of winning precious stones and metals merely because one Bantu tribe after another, who had no use for such things, had occasionally grazed their herds upon that veld. Moreover, they held that even in agriculture and cattle-raising the Bantu were failures; that these people occupied only the most fertile spots, and did that in a wasteful manner; that the extensive lands between the fertile spots could be made very productive by up-to-date husbandry and modern machinery; and that it was unreasonable to expect them, landless as they were, to refrain from trying to secure possession of such unappropriated tracts.

In Britain, when land is found to contain unsuspected wealth which the owner is unable to win, our law-courts make it easy for him to dispose of the necessary rights with profit to himself and still greater profit to abler men; and if the progress of society should introduce conditions so new that no existing law is able to meet them, our legislators are empowered to embody the spirit of the old law in an appropriate statute. Not so with the Bantu. They regard it as a primary duty to exclude foreigners who are unwilling to become tribesmen from anything

more than temporary residence in the country; they know nothing of absolute, individual rights in land, nor of such instruments as leases and title-deeds; and, having no legislative machinery, they are unable to adapt the ancient laws to entirely new circumstances. There is room enough in the country for both Bantu and Briton, if only each race will act reasonably towards the other. Nay, more; the country needs both for its development. But unfortunately neither race understands the other. The Bantu think that if their country has not been taken from them by the same process by which they took it from others, they have a right to use what they can, and exclude outsiders, whatever their colour, from using the remainder. And the time seems to have passed when people, whatever the degree of their civilization, can pursue a dog-in-the-manger policy with valuable land. There is a sense, surely, in which the wealth of the world is the property of the world; but there are not a few people in the world who subscribe to this doctrine, thinking all the time that they are 'the whole thing', as our American cousins would phrase it. Right or wrong, gain is the god of European civilization; and its worshippers are fanatics.

ix. *Mischief wrought by European adventurers.* The methods that European adventurers adopted in Africa to satisfy their land-hunger were deplorable. Most of them would call it 'business' to hide their discovery of mineral wealth from a European owner for the sake of buying his property as cheaply as they could. And they knew the Bantu to be ignorant of European values. But what about title? Europeans are obsessed with the notion that everything they deem valuable must belong to some individual; and as the chief of a Bantu tribe administers everything immovable, they ignorantly assume that he can permanently alienate anything. So they fall back on the only form they know, and produce a mystifying document.

Swaziland is an example of what took place to a lesser extent in many parts of Africa. It adjoins the Transvaal, where prospectors and concession-hunters have long been abundant. 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. These documents were framed in the language of English conveyancing, purporting to convey the fee simple or to grant a lease in return for valuable consideration. Affixing their marks to such documents meant little or nothing to the chiefs, even when not exhilarated; it was more difficult for them to understand what it meant to the White man than for the latter to understand a chief's relation to the coveted rights. When monopolies of lands, minerals, trees, telegraphs, highways, trading, and everything else that was incomprehensible to a Native had been given, without permanently assuaging the chronic thirst of the chiefs, the chiefs began to give it all over again to other adventurers, sometimes in mere juvenile trickery, and sometimes in ignorance that they had parted with that particular incomprehensible before. These chiefs were seldom averse to a one-sided bargain, in which they got good cheer and gifts and the White man got nothing but a mark on a paper. They were badly brought-up children in such matters; but the action of the White man was as immoral as if he had bribed naughty children to sign promissory notes. Nor were the signed documents of any greater value to the holders. The only law in the country was tribal law, which knows nothing of such contracts, but does know that, though the chief administers the tribal possessions during his lifetime, he must act according to tribal custom, which has never conceived it possible permanently to alienate anything immovable. The concessionaires could only reap their contemplated benefits by a display of force; and, however it may seem to the White man, in the eyes of a tribesman such documents could never justify force. The trouble began when the concessionaires brought their working parties, and were told that the man who took the proffered reward and put his mark on the document had no such rights to sell. Whites do not sit down easily under such treatment from Blacks.

Documents of this kind were largely relied upon for securing title to huge slices of Bantu Africa. Again and again, men were sent into tribal areas to secure 'concessions' and make 'treaties' by which chiefs signed away their land and the self-government of their tribes, leaving both the tribes and themselves to the

mercy of European adventurers. Sometimes tribe was used against tribe, and reculant chiefs were terrorized into compliance.

x. *Inevitability of annexation.* Now what ought a European Government to do under such circumstances? It may leave its nationals to fight their own battles; or it may intervene. In the former case, it becomes speedily apparent that the Natives are no match for the cupidity and ferocity of the White man; and in the latter, that the Government is driven to introduce a form of law adapted to the new situation, but demanding a White executive—that is, to take the overlordship of the country. But once that is done, a hundred other questions call for settlement, some of which may concern nationals of other European States. It would have been well for the Bantu if it had been possible to leave them for a few centuries to good and unselfish men, who sought their highest welfare. But the choice was between handing them over to the tender mercies of unrestrained filibusters, and setting up a government strong enough to control all parties. Surely, with all its dangers, the latter is the more merciful course.

xi. *Chartered Companies and Government.* Unfortunately, the British Government hesitated too long to assume such responsibilities. And when at last it was forced into action, it acted half-heartedly. Great commercial companies were chartered for the express purpose of developing such areas as they could secure by means of these precious documents, and endowed with the right to mobilize troops, organize police, levy customs and taxes, exercise judicial powers, make laws, and, in a word, assume all the powers of government within their areas. There were good men among their directors and officials, as there were among privateers before the world had outgrown that method of warfare; but good men are sadly hampered in the government of a primitive people when the spectre of a possible fall in the share-market sits upon every administrative Board. And in the *earlier years* of some of these companies, one could hardly see the good men for the crowd of adventurers and blusterers around them. Men whose knowledge of European law and experience in administration were almost as scanty as their comprehension of Bantu life were placed in positions of authority and responsibility. All sorts of excuses were found to justify the expulsion of

Natives from desirable lands. People of lop-sided morality inveighed against the iniquities of the Bantu, trying to 'compound for sins they were inclined to by damning those they had no mind to'. The next step was to offer the fertile land to European planters, farmers, and traders, who also were ignorant of the Bantu, and who, finding their investments jeopardized by the unwillingness of Natives to leave home and lands and work under unwonted conditions, clamoured for administrative regulations that should force Native labour into their concerns. In some districts other difficulties arose; stock-lifting was the ancient excitement of pastoral tribes, as it used to be of our own borderers, and some Natives treated the White man's stock as he had treated their land. Then the sacred rights of property were invoked in the White man's favour, with inevitable results.

xii. *British ideals.* For a century before the scramble for Africa began, the British ideal was, not to get all it could out of its subject people, but to introduce them to the higher aspects of life—political, social, intellectual, ethical, religious. And in Imperial territories Britain has continued to do good work. Differences of opinion will always exist among sincere and thoughtful men who are bent on a common purpose; and intelligent criticism is the salt of public life. But, after all is said, it would be a great benefit to all Bantu tribes if they could live for a century or so under such government as that of Basutoland or of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. After the scramble began, however, Europe seemed to regard its African possessions 'not as provinces, but as commercial enterprises', to quote Bismarck's confession in the Reichstag; and even Britain handed over huge slices of Bantu Africa to commercial companies. Had she lost faith in her own ideals; or did she think that commercial companies would not put commerce before all other considerations? Under the play of healthy criticism and stricter Government supervision, these companies are now doing good work. Many of their officials are men of probity and ability, who serve their directors with a desire to do justice and promote the welfare of the primitive people in their districts. Every one of these companies can show substantial benefits which have accrued to the Natives under its régime. But the whole system of entrusting commercial corporations with the civil and military

government of a primitive people is wrong'; and since hesitation to scrap the effete because of its cost may put the British Government out of the running as easily as if it were a factory, the hand-to-mouth policy of considering African lands and people as so much raw material to be exploited in the share-market should be relegated at once to the scrap-heap.

The state should be the instrument of good government for all within its borders, not for the exploitation of Blacks in the interests of Whites. And, further, it is just as selfish for a state as for an individual to live only for its own interests: the larger interests of mankind are more important than those of any state, just as those of the state transcend those of the individual.

xiii. *Mandatories of the League of Nations.* It is of good omen that the Peace Conference decreed that Mandatories of the League of Nations shall make the well-being and development of Africans in the late German Colonies a sacred trust of civilization. If that principle is applied, it cannot be limited to these areas; for the Government that insists on its application to these African colonies and not to its own can hardly rebut the charge of insincerity. If the Paris Resolutions are not to meet with the fate that befell the pious principles which the Berlin Conference adopted for the Belgian Congo, the League of Nations must set up a Board of Inspection, with power to insist on the fulfilment of this sacred trust and enough of the wisdom that is born of experience to show a defaulting Mandatory how it may mend its ways. But when the machinery has been perfected, everything will still depend upon the character of the men at the top. If this is of the right stamp and the men have vision and wide knowledge of Bantu affairs, we shall have nothing to fear; but if not, the most useful machinery will be as inert as a locomotive with no steam in its boiler.

IX. SOME PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT IN BANTU AREAS

'The very moment that a Native comes into contact with a White man his education has begun, if it is only with the storekeeper in the Government location; much more when he lives on a farm; and still more when he comes into domestic service, say, on the Witwatersrand. There his education goes on with a vengeance; and if it is the only education he receives, who in his senses will believe that the Native, uninstructed and unguided, will pick up anything from the White man but what is bad?'—Lord Selborne: *Address before the University of the Cape of Good Hope*.

i. *Two methods of governing Bantu.* There are two possible methods of governing our African territories. One is the revolutionary method of sweeping away existing political institutions and substituting British; the other is the evolutionary method of utilizing and improving the institutions that the people know and trust.¹ The latter is that slow but sure way by which our nation has travelled from the political lowlands on which the Bantu still dwell to the more wholesome uplands of constitutional government. Under British tuition, Bantu progress may be more rapid than ours; but such tutelage demands a high

¹ It is inconceivable that any British Government should tolerate infanticide, trials for witchcraft, and savage punishments. The right of inflicting the death penalty or promulgating a sentence of outlawry passes inevitably from the tribal to the superior power. If the chief is thus deprived of the right to protect himself from the intrigue of his brothers and sons in the only way known to ancient Bantu custom, he must in all fairness be protected from their treasonable designs; which means that dynastic disputes must be settled by the suzerain. Since no tribe can be permitted to use force in protecting its tribesmen or property from the depredations of other tribes, the paramount power must administer justice in all intertribal disputes, and act as special protector of all aliens within the tribal domain. These and other features of tribalism must inevitably disappear with the advent of a British Government, and the displacement is so serious that it requires to be made with great patience and sympathy. But such modifications are slight in comparison with that wholesale sweeping away of tribal institutions which is often advocated, and still oftener assumed, by people who have never studied either the political institutions which they ruthlessly condemn or the genesis and evolution of those which they fancy to be compatible with every grade of civilization.

order of Government official. Tutelage of any sort presupposes that the tutor knows his pupil as well as his subject, and that, coming down to the level of his pupil and looking at problems through the pupil's eyes, he is able to place his knowledge of his subject at the pupil's disposal without impatience or display ; so that the pupil may gradually come to look out on life through the tutor's eyes.

It is important that candidates for Government service in Bantu Africa should be trained in Bantu law, politics, ethics, religion, psychology, language, and history ; so that they may set a true value on the ideas which find ready response in the Bantu soul. And as they are to be tutors in civilization, of which the roots are in morals and the fruit in character, they should be models of probity, clean living, and courtesy.

Can the Government find men enough of the right kind ? It can : if it will appeal to the best and then give accepted candidates a year or more of intensive training in phonetics and Bantu lore.

The revolutionary method, that of anglicizing the Bantu, is based upon the fallacy that what is good enough for us is good enough for them. A mother who adopts this principle is unlikely to rear a large family of healthy children ; and a tutor who makes such a mistake is likely to be summarily ejected by any competent educational authority. If we want to perpetuate our dominion over ignorant people, any method is good enough for such an ignoble purpose ; but if we mean to fit this child-race for one day taking its place in the brotherhood of nations, the evolutionary method is the only one worth while. It has often been said that good government is no substitute for self-government. It is because we recognize that fact that we carefully train our children to do without us. Similarly, government must train this child-race to take an enlightened interest in its own affairs, and to spend time, effort, and wealth in its own uplift. Given officials of the right type, existing Bantu political institutions may be utilized to this end with great advantage.

ii. *Bantu parodies of Britons.* A caricature is produced by exaggerating the adventitious and superficial and ignoring the normal and radical. The caricaturist concerns himself with the

excrement, the limp, the mannerism, the monocle, the forelock, the four-inch collar, or other palpable oddity; not with the unselfish soul, the pure life, the untiring industry, the sagacious judgement. That is why no man cares to meet a caricature of himself, and why anglicized Africans are distasteful to Englishmen. These ridiculous Natives are often held up as examples of the evil effects of Missions; but that is quite a mistake. They are products of the Europeanization of Africa—a process to which commerce and industry contribute a hundred times as many workers as the Mission Boards are able to find. Imitativeness is one of the characteristics of immaturity; and though the Bantu race is probably as old as other races of mankind, it is still youthful in development. Moreover, the Bantu are all hero-worshippers. To quote one of their proverbs, 'If the Chief limps, the people crawl'. They have great admiration for successful traders and hunters and competent captains of industry, as well as for able missionaries and Government officials, and they imitate all whom they admire. Whether traders and other workers should be blamed for these caricatures is very doubtful. It is easier to walk over soft clay and leave no footprints than it is to live among these plastic people without making an impression. In some things they are as sensitive as a photographic plate. Few, if any, British settlers in Africa set themselves deliberately to produce these caricatures; but the White man who does not contribute his quota to the process must be weaker than any European that I have ever met. The truth is that nothing is easier than to anglicize the Bantu as far as externalities are concerned, and nothing more impossible than to make them English. If these people can purge their own life of its stains and make it the best that it is capable of becoming, they will not then be British, but they will command the respect of all thoughtful people; and the best service that we can render them individually is to help them to find their better selves and realize the possibilities of their own nature.

iii. *Parodies of British institutions.* I want to point out, however, that though it is easier to get a full-length photograph of an individual than of an institution, African caricatures of British institutions are no less reprehensible, and that unfortunately there are many who set themselves deliberately to

produce them. He who cares for the feeding and grooming of his horse may be able to rejoice in its glossy coat; but he who takes his horse to the tailor is likely to become the joke of the neighbourhood. Our task is to care for the mental, moral, political, and spiritual fitness of the Bantu, and leave them to grow their own institutions. The institutions that they now have are a fit garb for the politicians that wear them; and it is only as the politicians grow larger and crave for suitable political garments that the size and pattern of the institutions can be beneficially changed; and then the change will be gradual—almost imperceptible—evolutionary, not revolutionary.

Speaking of the Resident, and remarking later that what he has written applies to every political officer in charge of a unit, the late Lieut.-Governor of Nigeria says:¹ 'In the primitive groups it is unavoidable that he interfere more with the tribal institutions than is the case in the more advanced sections. Their habits are more at variance with humanity and reason. So the Resident finds it necessary to interfere, and all such interference weakens the hold of the Chief or Elders of the tribe, as the case may be. It is, therefore, doubly important for him, once the preliminary stage is past, to avoid the temptation of posing as a great native chief. The true measure of his success will be the respect and regard with which the populace hold their own Chiefs and Elders, and not him, combined with general good relations between the private individuals which compose the clan, and the general prosperity of the unit. This is a hard lesson to instil into the mind of many a political officer. The desire to bulk large in the eyes of a native population is a very natural temptation to fall into, and indeed it is a very laudable ambition, but where the policy of Government is to rule indirectly, the political officer must be satisfied with the knowledge, locked securely in his own breast, that he is very important to the native population although they are not aware of it.' These are wise words.

There is another reason why the evolutionary method is much to be preferred: the political, ethical, and religious ideas of the

¹ *Native Races and their Rulers*, by C. L. Temple, C.M.G., &c., late Lieut.-Governor, Northern Province, Nigeria. Cape Town: Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., 1918, p. 70.

Bantu are all woven into one fabric, and if the political threads are withdrawn, the fabric falls to pieces.

It is true that the ethics of Bantu society leaves much to be desired; but it has a firm grip on the life of every Bantu tribe. Natives who have been long in European centres often wander in ethical garments that are too ragged to hold on, having nothing else to cover their moral nakedness. They are a danger to Black and White alike, and their best friends are sorry that their old habits were destroyed by European influences before they had secured anything better. It is true, of course, that missionaries are destroying Bantu ethics, but there is this important difference: in the Christian process, the blossom never falls to pieces till the fruit is beginning to form—a process that needs time, patience, and geniality; but the materialistic elements in the civilization of Europe sweep like a hailstorm over Bantu life, stripping even the leaves from its branches.

More urgent than anything else, however, is the necessity of laying down a definite policy for the European government of Bantu territories, and of adhering faithfully to that policy however administrators may come and go. As a rule, our administrators are strong men, who have their own views of what is best and who regard it as their duty to see that the best is done in the area under their authority. The consequent change of policy with the arrival of a new administrator is very puzzling to people who are unaware that any change has ever crept into their own law, and who are wont to think that the possibility of such change robs the law of its right to reverence. The Bantu find it hard enough to adjust themselves to European suzerainty, even under favourable circumstances; but when the policy of the suzerain fluctuates with a change of administrators, they become hopelessly confused. Under our political system it is not easy to avoid such fluctuation. If, however, a policy could be drawn in broad, firm lines, without too much detail; if, also, it were of such a nature that it allowed for a slow but inevitable Europeanization of the social and political life of the people; and if, further, the activities of administrators and their subordinates could be kept within these lines for a few generations, it would be an immeasurable gain for Britain as well as for the Bantu.

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iv. *Education of the Bantu.* Bantu education, as we have seen,¹ is defective in motive and in method.

Its motive is to produce men and women of approved pattern who are prolific of children and regimented for public service. The ideal tribesman has a good memory, a clear eye, agile limbs, and a brave heart; and is skilled in veldmanship, pastoral and agricultural pursuits, and some very primitive handicrafts. The model woman is vigorous, industrious, proficient in growing staple food-plants and preparing the produce for consumption, dexterous in one or two primitive home-crafts, and pliant in the hands of her lord and master. And both men and women, if they are to be exemplars for the tribe, must bear pain and hardship without complaining or betraying their emotions by their faces; must submit themselves cheerfully to their superiors; and must acquaint themselves with the law, customs, morality, and lore of their tribe.

The method of Bantu education is at fault in that it is haphazard and unintelligent. For the most part, children have to pick up as best they can what is valuable in the experience of preceding generations. Natives who have become familiar with the English word 'school' usually refer to the Puberty Rites as the *schools* of the tribe—a use of the term which is perfectly legitimate. These schools are an attempt to cram into a month or two most of the purposive tuition and discipline that should run steadily and quietly through childhood, and to give the youths of both sexes instruction in the salacious details of the processes of procreation. In the girls' school this specific instruction culminates in the worship of fertility. The scheme is no doubt partly inspired by the desire to augment the tribe, so that it may find security in numbers. But among these primitive people the glorification of fertility is the enthronement of concupiscence; and the month or two which youths of both sexes spend in these camps at the most impressionable period of life is largely responsible for that atmosphere of lust which hangs over the community from early childhood till death stills their passions, and which is as fatal to chastity, self-command, and mental virility as sewer-gas is to physical vigour.²

¹ See Chapter VI.

² It is occasionally stated that prostitution was practically unknown to the Africans before the influx of Europeans. Carefully selected facts are the most.

These schools are the climax of a persistent endeavour, which is instinctive rather than reflective, to cultivate a consciousness of nationality by giving all youths of both sexes common conceptions of life, imbuing them with the same sentiments, aspirations, and sense of social fitness, and exciting their loyalty to the same ancient traditions and political institutions. And in spite of the brevity of their curriculum, these primitive colleges have not only produced a large measure of tribal solidarity, but have given the people that touch of stoicism without which it would have been harder for them to face the cruel realities of their life. But there is a very heavy *per contra* account. By their insistence on conformity to ancient pattern, these schools have been inimical to progress. They have helped to provide the youth with a shield of habits, though the habits were not of the best; but they have conspicuously failed to give that mental flexibility which can adapt itself to everchanging environment. Instead of sending forth young people of intellectual capacity, open-eyed to the investigation of great possibilities, they have tied each succeeding generation to the putrefying corpse of the past.

We note, however, with satisfaction, the pathetic eagerness of boys and girls to endure hardship and pain in order that they may realize their poor ideal of manhood and womanhood as graduates of the only school their fathers knew. That is a fact of much significance for the future, especially when one remembers that the graduation ceremony itself regiments them all for the defence and service of the community.

dangerous form of mendacity; but remarks of this kind generally emanate from people who do really believe that *their* geese are swans. The statement is nevertheless grotesque. On the great caravan routes, in the markets of the interior, at the ports, or wherever numbers of men were wont to lodge awhile, prostitution was practised before Europeans came; but in ordinary tribal life few women prostituted themselves *for hire*, and the women of a few tribes held themselves superior to foreigners. But sexual morality was very low. With the influx of Europeans, travel has become more common, crowds of men leave their homes and lodge for many months together at great labour centres, money has been introduced and flows freely, many Bantu women have been attracted by the prospect of combining pleasure with easy gain, and prostitution *for hire* has enormously increased. That there is much immorality among White men in Africa cannot be denied; but it is preposterous to suggest that any form of sexual vice among the Bantu owes its origin to the White men.

v. *Education as an instrument for producing group-solidarity.* During the last forty or fifty years the leading nations of the world have come to see that the most effective method of producing that common culture without which no strong sense of solidarity is possible to any people is a national system of purposive education; and in the evolutionary method of government, efficient, purposive education would be the most valuable instrument that the Government could use. We have better methods of extracting the gold from the ore of experience and passing it on to the next generation; and it is the primary duty of a civilized Government to terminate the ludicrous schools in which Natives throw away the gold and pass on the 'tailings'. If we are to bring that wasteful system to an end, however, it must be, not by mere repressive ordinances,¹ but by substituting a better. In place of schools which perpetuate the common culture of barbarism, Government should plant and control schools which aim at permeating the future tribesmen with the finer ideals of the West. It is no mere question of reading, writing, and arithmetic. What the next generation of tribesmen is to be must depend largely upon what the schoolmaster can make of their lives to-day. Other and baneful influences will play upon their lives, and the schoolmaster may not hope for

¹ Repressive legislation is apt to fail of its purpose, or, at best, to secure only negative results. The best way of abolishing error is to teach the truth; and the best way of making people good—the only way, in fact—is to teach them to love goodness for its own sake. But though the teacher of hygiene does not expect quarantine regulations to purge the land of its plague-spots, he knows that such regulations help to prevent the spread of contagion. If these Puberty Camps are not suppressed for the sake of the moral health of the community, they should at least be discouraged by Government officials, and the utmost possible assistance should be given to those more civilized Natives who desire to keep their children from such contamination, but who are overruled by their superiors in the tribe.

Though one has nothing but sympathy and admiration for people who look for the soul of good in things evil, it is impossible to resist the conviction that noble-minded defenders of these rites have not studied them very profoundly, or have studied them in one of the few districts where they have been shorn of their worst features. A few gracious souls have been thrown on the wrong scent by the name—'Circumcision Ceremonies'—which is given to the Boys' Rites. It is not to circumcision that one objects, but to the pestilential and barbarous concomitants of that operation in these camps. It would be well to provide facilities for the gratuitous circumcision of Bantu boys by the District Surgeons.

more than a qualified success ; but a few generations of thorough education will make a very great difference in the outlook of the Bantu race.

Some British Governments in Africa are aware of the value of the elementary school as a civilizing agency in Bantu life ; but others are unable to see through the fogs of race-prejudice. Of British Governments in Africa, the one that has had least experience of Native education is British East Africa, and the one that has had the longest experience of this beneficent process is that of the Cape Province. The annual expenditure of the former on Native education is less than a penny per annum per head of its Native population. The latter has recently taken over the whole cost of educating its Native children and their Native teachers ; and, still more significant fact, it adheres, nevertheless, to the recommendation of one Commission of Inquiry after another, that the education of Bantu youth should remain in the hands of men with a Christian purpose. In the early part of last century Cape Colony was no more favourable to the education of Natives than British East Africa is to-day ; but it has seen the civilizing influence of schools that were at first founded and supported by Christian charity, and it has learnt its lesson.

vi. *Distinction between education and learning.* In urging that education should be regarded as one of the finest instruments in the hands of Government for civilizing the Bantu, it is necessary to lay some stress upon the distinction between education and learning. Learning is, of course, necessary in schools of every grade, and must be given in accordance with the principles of modern pedagogy. The medium of instruction should be the tongue with which the pupil is familiar, and every effort should be made to keep close to the actualities of the pupil's own experience. The pupil must proceed from the known to the unknown if he is to proceed at all. If English be the compulsory medium of instruction in the lower standards of Bantu schools, these schools will do no more for the education of the masses than the Latin schools of the Middle Ages did for the masses of Britain. But if conversational English be taught as a subject in the lower standards, then English may be made the medium of instruction in High Schools and Colleges, and

advanced pupils thus introduced to the world of English thought.

Though there is no education without learning, it is, however, possible to have a great store of learning without much education, and the product is neither useful nor attractive. Bantu lads who are more learned than their neighbours and yet not educated at all get 'swelled head', and tempt the ungodly to administer homoeopathic treatment, though the fault is really not theirs, but that of their teachers, or of the system that is forced upon their teachers. A pupil may be prepared in a secular manner for a secular examination; but *education* deals with spiritual values. If we are to teach the Bantu to master the brute instincts of anger, fear, envy, hatred, self-assertion, and sex, which they have received from ancestors who would have perished without them, and to transmute them into warfare against evil, into reverence, emulation, service, humility, and love, we must show them the true significance of life. If the teacher's only task is to fill the pigeon-holes of the brain with clippings of miscellaneous information, the overcrowded codes that Governments often inflict upon grant-aided Native schools may be in order; but if the teacher is to be an educator, he must have leisure for personal intercourse with his pupils; for life comes from the touch of the living, not from lectures on biology. The teacher who is rushed with work cannot build up within the pupil an ideal that is strong enough and noble enough to hold him in check through life; and it is more important that Bantu youths should acquire orderliness, punctuality, frankness, truthfulness, quietness of strength, modesty of manner, and loyalty to obligations, than any of the subjects that examiners usually test. The average European child gets much of this from his parents: the Bantu child must get it from his teacher if he is to get it at all.

vii. *Aim of Native education.* Our educational method can never be sound till we have a clear idea of what we want it to achieve. As a general proposition, it may be stated that the purpose of education is to show the pupil the meaning and value of life, and to put iron into his will to live effectually. What is meant, however, is that the pupil is to be helped to discover what life ought to mean *for him*; not what it ought

to mean for people whose lot is cast amidst more auspicious surroundings. In applying this principle to Bantu tribesmen, it should be the aim of Government to fit the millions for their work in their world and to provide them with intelligent leaders of their own race. It is absolutely certain that the Bantu will have leaders of their own race, and that the leaders will be men of natural ability. Whether this leadership is to be as brilliant as that of Chaka, Umsiligazi, Mma-Ntatise, and a host of others whose names are less familiar, does not depend upon our decision; but whether it is to be serviceable to humanity, or to result in similar appalling disaster, depends largely upon our ability and willingness to give the coming leaders a wide outlook on life and well-disciplined minds and wills.

The methods of the educator should be adapted to the present condition of his pupils. To insist that the type of educational institution that is best for Europeans shall be provided for the Bantu is as unreasonable as if experts in woodwork were to insist that their tools are best for workers in metal. Between equality of opportunity and similarity of opportunity there is a whole world of difference. As soon as Bantu pupils have obtained the rudiments of knowledge and education that everybody needs, they should be prepared for what is likely to be *their* life-work. Most of them will engage in stock-raising, tillage, and the crafts that lie at the base of civilized life. Millions of inefficient people live on millions of square miles of unproductive land, and, like inefficient people everywhere, they are so unaware of their own lack that they desire no superior agricultural knowledge. Unproductive people are of no more use to a country than unproductive land; and the way to increase the productivity of both land and people in Africa is to cultivate each by means of the other. What is needed is not the introduction of up-to-date machinery and the establishment of model farms, but a wide diffusion of information concerning elementary principles of scientific agriculture, with its insight into soils, pests, climates, and manures, and the introduction of such simple implements and devices as are not beyond the reach of a race whose feet are on the lower rungs of the ladder of progress.

Learning and industry should be so interwoven in the curriculum of the elementary schools as to make it impossible for

parents or children to entertain the foolish notion that children come to school to learn how to live without working. Every child should do some manual work under supervision and tuition every day, and should be encouraged to take pride in doing it well. Such native arts as weaving, wood-carving, bead-work, and wire-work should be studied, developed, and taught; and pupils should be shown how to make useful articles out of grass, reeds, cane, bamboo, cotton, or other local materials. Since European traders have taught millions of Bantu to wear European garments, the least we can do is to teach pupils how to adapt these fabrics to their own figures, so that they may be less reminiscent of scarecrows; and it is still more necessary to teach them how to keep such garments clean. The combination of European clothes with habits that were acquired when the national garb was a piece of skin and a coat of oolitic haematite and grease is responsible for much of the disease which the White man is usually credited with introducing.

When the pupil has mastered Standard IV the stress should be on vocational training. There is a clamant demand for some magical device that will at once increase the supply of Native labour; but it is impossible to train a primitive race in habits of industry without teaching crafts and encouraging the more enterprising and intelligent among them to taste the joy of creative work. The higher standard of living which stimulates industry and the better homes that are essential to the progress of the people can never come to the Bantu till each tribe is provided with artisans of its own blood—masons, carpenters, smiths, cobblers, and the like, who are trained to do creditable work for their own people with an inexpensive kit of tools. Here again the ideal is not a high-grade workshop, fitted with labour-saving devices and all the machinery for quantity production; but such tradesmen as every British village had a century ago. Before these village artisans can approach their British exemplars in skill, speed, and accuracy of work, time must be allowed for the growth of an industrial conscience—a slow process at the best; but the first generation of these craftsmen should be capable of doing what their own villages need, and of doing it in such a manner as shall excite the admiration and emulation of their neighbours.

But Bantu society can never climb far on the ladder of civilization without doctors, lawyers, preachers, sanitary officials, educationalists, journalists, nurses, authors, and the like, who have sprung forth from their own ranks. Though gifted men in any community are always a very small minority, they mean more for the progress of a people than all the rest. And if we would have the race progressive, we must see to it that the talented few have every facility and guidance and are brought into close touch with the best life of the Whites. For it is from among these people that the leaders of their own race will emerge. Leaders are born, not made, it is true; but a wise Government would see to it that born leaders are made fit to lead.

viii. *Spectre of Black supremacy.* In the background of European thought in Africa, there is always a spectre of Black supremacy—an unconscious tribute to the inherent capability of the Blacks. This bogey is frequently evoked when one urges the need of educating the Bantu. It is true that ideas far excel gunpowder as an explosive; but both are of great service to humanity when wisely used. Higher education and political aspiration are not equivalent to disloyalty, except when they are met with repression. As Dr. Loram says,¹ 'It is in the proper education of the Native that our greatest hope for the settlement of the Native Question lies'.

But it must be *proper* education, not mere book-learning. It must strengthen the weak points of Bantu character. Anything that can be learnt by rote or done by simple imitation comes easy to these people; but they have never perceived the importance of carefulness, accuracy, and the proper co-ordination of brain, eye, and hand. Where European influence is of long standing, the Bantu have developed a fondness for certificates of learning, and are ready to make great sacrifices for the sake of obtaining them; but what they need more is to be able to think through a problem in a logical manner. For the future career of ninety-nine Bantu youths out of every hundred, the ability to draw a plan correctly and then work it out exactly in any suitable material is worth more than the coveted certi-

¹ See *The Education of the South African Native*, by Dr. Charles T. Loram (Longmans, Green & Co., 1917)—the most valuable study of the African Native Education Question that has yet been published.

ficates; and the discipline necessary for the acquirement of this accomplishment will do more for their mental development than all the lessons that can be learnt by heart. Moreover, this discipline will foster inventiveness and individual initiative—qualities that are sadly lacking in the Bantu mind. Since ultra-conservatism is one of the defects of Bantu character, pupils should be stimulated to try experiments and seek improvements.

ix. *Diffusion of knowledge.* Learning is, of course, necessary for the Bantu, as it is for everybody else. If during their school years Bantu youths can obtain an intelligent view of the world with some knowledge of the relation of cause and effect, then magic, witchcraft, taboos, omens, and the like will lose their power to excite fear or to bestow a false sense of security. In Bantu folk-tales wiliness, intrigue, and fraud are crowned with constant success, and the ideal of the people has changed but little since these tales were first told. It is necessary, therefore, to lay much stress upon the supremacy of such virtues as truthfulness, plain dealing, tenacity of purpose, and that more perfect form of patience which is both rarer and costlier than mere endurance. Then, too, the principles of hygiene, ethics, and civics must be taught, and the pupils shown in the frankest possible manner how these principles apply to themselves and their communities.

If the Bantu are to be prepared for a worthy citizenship in the commonwealth of nations, provision must be made for the continuance of their education after they leave school. Local self-government is an integral part of Bantu tribalism; and where tribalism has been broken down and European methods substituted, some equivalent for local self-government should be established. During school-life pupils should be encouraged and taught to run their own little clubs and societies, and even to take a large share of responsibility for the administration of discipline among themselves. They should be helped to see the value and conditions of successful team-work, and to pride themselves on playing the game. And when they return to their tribes, or make their homes in town locations, local school boards, health boards, police boards, village councils, and the like should provide them with opportunities of practising what

they have learnt and making further advance towards an ultimate understanding of parliamentary institutions.

Of course, all this means very intelligent and patient guidance. It is much easier to do the problem for a pupil than to teach the pupil how to do it correctly for himself. The duty of a tutor, however, is not to get the thing correctly done; but to teach the pupil how to do it. Where one fears failure most in this work is not in the intelligence of available tutors, but in their patience. Efficient men are apt to expect the same high standard of efficiency in others; but a tutor can never be efficient till he is content to go at a child's pace.

x. *Native Liquor Question.* At the very outset of a discussion of the Native Liquor Question, it is well to affirm the principle that, though there are offences against the moral and physical well-being of a community that every self-respecting Government must punish, yet, in Bantu as in other communities, general legislation should not be far ahead of public opinion. If this principle be kept in view, the Liquor Question, so far as it concerns a Government, is much less complicated in Africa than in Britain. Of home-brewed Bantu drinks capable of producing drunkenness there is some variety; and no just and general judgement can be passed on the lot. The commonest Native beer is made of malted Kafir-corn, and is almost as nutritious as gruel; but, notwithstanding the great quantity that a Native takes before he becomes intoxicated, it is productive of much mischief. No Native Church can afford to be silent concerning it; and no wise Government would legislate against it in the present state of Native opinion. On the other hand, what is usually called honey-beer, though it is often made from treacle, produces such sexual excitement in the drunkards as to endanger every woman in the community, and is so generally reprobated by tribesmen that Government may safely prohibit it.¹ The prohibition of a home-brew can never be completely enforced; but, in a Bantu community where every man is his brother's keeper, such a law strengthens the hands of the better people in dealing with their foolish neighbours.

The African Liquor Question, however, is a question of

¹ The aphrodisiac effects appear to be due to the use of certain vegetable products employed in the process of brewing this beer.

importing the vilest of ardent spirits for Native consumption. And that question is simple. In the tropics, spirituous liquor kills twenty Whites for every one that it saves, and hinders twenty for every one that it helps; but to the Bantu it is an *unmitigated* curse. In communities where Governments have been content to make revenue out of a traffic which has hopelessly debauched the people, as on the West Coast, there would probably be an outcry against prohibition. Fortunately the war was more merciful to these poor people than the Government would have had the courage to be, and measures are now possible that would have been difficult before the war. But the general opinion of the Bantu is so overwhelmingly against the importation of these spirits that no Government need fear to prohibit them.

A few real friends of the Bantu argue that it would be 'class legislation' or 'the colour bar' to prohibit liquor to Natives while permitting Europeans to consume it. This is the old fallacy that we exposed on pp. 172 and 181. Either the Bantu are the equals of the Whites and must take their chance in the battle of wits with the White man—a game of chance in which the dice are heavily loaded—or they are a child-race that ought to appeal to the patience and chivalry of the strong. But we cannot have it both ways! I hold to the latter, and contend that legislation in their favour is no more 'class legislation' than raising the 'age of consent' to 16, or establishing Juvenile Courts in every city, or prohibiting young children from entering a saloon. The Native Liquor Question is not a question of total abstinence at all, but of keeping spirits from children. A man who takes his 'night-cap' regularly is neither unwise nor insincere in keeping whisky from his children, though some of us think that he might be more helpful to them in another way. But though many Natives plead for protection from this temptation, they are amused at the plea that Europeans may have spirits because they have learnt self-control; for they often see these strong-willed people in their cups. That, however, is another question.

xi. *Native Land Question.* The Land Question is of fundamental importance to the well-being and development of the Natives. It must be admitted that only European government

can save Bantu tribes from the ruthless oppression of European adventurers; that Africa ought to pay the cost of its own development; and that Government is justified in selling or leasing mineral and land rights that it may have funds for the development of the rest, though the current cost of government should be borne by current taxes fairly distributed over the whole population. Some British Governments, however, have adopted the policy of putting the best lands on the European market; allotting the Natives to tracts, often unhealthy, that cannot be developed; and refusing them secure title even to these reserves. If it is a sacred duty of the Government to care for the well-being and development of the Africans, that policy must be abandoned. The tribes should be given secure title to sufficient land for their own well-being and development, with a reasonable margin for future growth; and should be taught, at the expense of what has been taken from them, to develop themselves and their land. As things are, nothing but communal tenure is possible to most tribes; but communal title should be made secure, and tribal institutions utilized in the administration and development of the communal estates. The weakness of communal tenure is that it sadly hampers the progress of the community; for, whereas individual holdings give the progressive man his chance, communal tenure provides no security that he will reap the benefit of improvements. When the Bantu have advanced sufficiently, it should be made possible for family tenure to be granted. But whatever title is given, it should be unsaleable and unmortgageable. In the south there are many Natives who have so outgrown tribalism that they regard it and its institutions as bondage, and whole tribal areas are ready for unsaleable individual title.

X. NATIVE LABOUR

'A horse is no wealth to us if we cannot ride, nor a picture if we cannot see, nor can any noble thing be wealth, except to a noble person.'—Ruskin's *Munera Pulveris*.

'The will of God respecting us is that we shall live by each other's happiness, and life; not by each other's misery, or death.'—Ruskin's *Ethics of the Dust*.

i. *White brain and Black brawn.* As I looked at the biggest artificial hole in the world—the old Kimberley diamond-mine, which has provided thousands of men with a livelihood and hundreds with fortunes—I was reminded that it was dug by White brain and Black brawn, and that neither could have done it without the other. The prosperity of every British territory in Africa depends upon the same factors. For not only do all the mines, railways, irrigation works, and farms of these countries owe their existence to the co-operation of African muscles and European minds, but crowds of Europeans earn their living from Natives or from those who earn theirs from Natives. Compound managers, overseers, labour agents, interpreters, policemen, postal and railway men, Government officials, doctors, schoolmasters, dealers in cattle, corn, skins, ivory, and horns, up-country traders in European goods, shippers, bankers, shareholders who never see the workers by whom they live, and even missionaries—how many of all these would be left in Africa if the Native foundation were withdrawn from our economic structure! If by some great catastrophe our African territories were denuded of their Black inhabitants, their European population would be speedily reduced to insignificant proportions. It would be a calamity for Black and White if either were to say to the other, 'I have no need of thee!' And yet Whites make little effort to secure the welfare and contentment of Blacks, and Blacks grow increasingly resentful of the supercilious manners of those who should be their exemplars.

The question of Native labour, however, is so painful and intricate that he who attempts to probe it without a compassionate and tranquil mind is likely only to aggravate the

distress. In this problem Europeans are brought face to face with the fact which makes life hard for many Bantu tribes—the magnitude and intensity of the encounter between the two races. If Black and White could have had time to become gradually used to one another, both would have found it easier ; but the tide of European activity suddenly surged in upon Africa, as if through the bursting of a sea-wall, and the two races are so far apart in ideals and habits that neither can rapidly adjust itself to the other. Nor is it possible for either to wait. The Whites are driven onward under the pitiless lash of European competition, and the Blacks can neither resist nor escape. The strain on both races is tremendous ; and it is necessary to recognize the difficulties of both if one is to be helpful to either.

ii. *Superficial judgements.* ‘Teach the nigger to work !’ is a cry that is very common, very sincere, but somewhat incomplete. What the grumblers really mean is that somebody else shall teach the Natives to work *for them*. An African chief who had spent over two months with me in London asked me why Londoners never do any work. His judgement, I found, was based upon his own observation of the habits of Londoners : ‘They spend all their time,’ he said, ‘just walking about the streets !’ Not all star-gazers are astronomers. Most European residents in Africa are wellnigh as ignorant of the life of Africans as my friend was of the life of Londoners ; and it is not surprising if, in their irritation at the confusion of all their plans through lack of labour, they remember the crowd of apparent idlers who greeted them on their occasional and brief visits to tribal towns, and attribute the scarcity of workmen to the indolence of the people. The assumption is, however, unwarranted. The Native’s needs are fewer than ours, and his life less strenuous ; but he is not inherently indolent. Without clocks, factory-bells, and taskmasters, he is accustomed to work for himself in his own way and time, and he is loath to leave freedom, home, lands, and cattle for the sake of the slender rewards of the White man’s service.

iii. *Meaning of industry.* The oft-repeated assertion that the Bantu are indolent is the result of loose thinking and racial prejudice. Few men of any colour work for the mere love of

working. Superabundant energy must find expression in some way or other. A young colt kicks up its heels and gallops over the pastures; and young people have their fling in dance-hall, gymnasium, and sports field. Some Europeans throw their surplus energy into productive channels, finding relaxation in a change of employment; but he who harnesses his superfluous activity and compels it to bring home something that he is eager to possess is never without the motive of desire. It is true, of course, that there are thousands of people who would work even though work brought no pay or they were put beyond the need of wages. The ambition to earn money is, however, by no means the only motive that is capable of making men industrious. Those who, having tasted the joy of creative art, appear to work for the love of work are really dominated by the desire to give birth to the children of their imagination. If a merchant begrudges himself a day's recreation, it is because he has set himself a goal which he is determined to reach. The student who finds it hard to leave his study without longing to be back at his desk is swayed by his thirst for knowledge. Habit counts, too; it is said that the comfort of a hair-shirt is greatly missed by those who have long habituated themselves to such uncommon garments. Except when people persist from force of habit, however, industry is always dependent upon the desire for something, tangible or intangible, which the work is calculated to produce.

Now the Bantu are like other people in this respect. They let off their overflow of energy in ways which appeal to their fancy, such as dancing, horse-play, athletic contests, and hunting. They have their ideal of life, too; and they make efforts to attain it. But the ideal is low. The hard experience of many centuries has made it easy for them to believe that he who lays up for the future is providing for the hunger of his spoiler, and that additional wealth is additional danger. It is, therefore, not surprising that they do not regard forethought as a very great virtue, and are slow to realize that changed conditions ought to make them more provident. In the cultivation of their scanty crops and the tending of their cattle, they aim, as Europeans do, at what they take to be perfection; but, conscious of few needs and having an abundance of game and

a vast country from which to pick the choice spots, it takes much less effort to bring them all that they desire. The most industrious Natives in Africa are those who make the freest use of European appliances and conveniences, and who have come to look upon such things as more attractive than leisure; and if we are to teach the Bantu to do their part towards making Africa yield what it ought to yield for the comfort and advancement of humanity, we must multiply their desires and convince them that the satisfaction of their new hunger is the reward of industry, and that the industrious are secure in the enjoyment of what they earn. People who are wearing themselves out trying to make the Bantu do what the latter see no need for doing stand a good chance of thinking that an abnormal proportion of innate idleness was dropped into Bantu nature.

But the truth is that for anything that they desire the Bantu are willing to put forth effort, and to regard time as of little value. They are not averse to a walk of a hundred miles for the sake of seeing a friend, selling a kaross which they are proud of having made, hunting game, or telling a heathen hamlet of the joy they find in Christianity. And they will give themselves to productive labour when they have made up their minds that they need what the labour will produce and that the reward of toil will not be filched from the toiler.

But when the Bantu become actuated by these motives, it does not follow that they will flock to the mines, town locations, and homesteads of European settlers. It is necessary to distinguish carefully between two problems that are often confused: the problem of supplying European settlers with Native labour, and the much more important problem of inducing the Natives to lead more industrious and useful lives. Failure to discriminate between these two problems has tangled the arguments of many exponents of the Native Labour Problem.

iv. *Native as a servant.* Let it be clearly understood that the service of Europeans is but an incident in the life of the tribesman. The tribesman's business is with his lands and breeding-stock. If he goes away to work for the White man, it is because either he or his elders desire special funds for special projects, and there is not a day of his exile when he does not yearn for home. As a rule he will fulfil his engagement, in so far as he understands it,

but his conscience is not very sensitive in such matters. Unable to handle abstract propositions and weak in forethought, he is liable to enter readily into an unfavourable agreement and evade it with equal ease when it becomes irksome, or serve grudgingly when all avenues of escape are barred. The one thing that he cannot stand is the novel experience of being nagged at. He retaliates upon a nagging employer by assuming an impenetrable stupidity and a lamb-like face—a manoeuvre which rarely fails to annoy the impatient White man, who takes him for a fool and tells him so. But there are always compensations in life; and his comrades rally him with some vernacular adage which is equivalent to the pious reflection that 'more fools pass through Gotham than remain there'. But no consideration, whether of duty, safety, or gain, will cause him to endure being nagged at for many days together. If he hears tidings of trouble at home, especially of illness or death in his family, he wants more than ever to be there. Sometimes the magnetism of home becomes irresistible, and he throws discretion to the winds and returns.

The Bantu understand that while they are in service they must serve after a fashion; but labour laws are an incomprehensible puzzle to them, and they fail to see why they should not leave a European employer whenever they tire of him. He is not their patriarch, clan-head, or chief! They promised to help him, it is true; but they have changed their minds; why not! Contract is a new idea to these people, and it will take a generation or two to teach them that even a regrettable bargain must be kept. Further, some employers are so embarrassed for want of labour that they resort to bluff or over-persuasion in the effort to induce servants to renew their engagements. And such employers, though a minority, inspire bewildered Natives with distrust. If, therefore, a Native servant stays till he has earned the necessary sum, he may fear that his employer will be reluctant to release him, and, since cunning is the weapon of the weak, may 'talk nicely' and slink off a day or two after he has received his pay. If there are people who think it easy not to bear a grudge when one's household or business is frequently thus disordered, they must surely be those who have not passed through the experience, and whose

imagination is not very fertile. And yet when one pictures the happening from the side of the disturbed and ignorant worker, the vindictive feeling appears as senseless as if harboured against the fever which sometimes shakes our frames. Both are natural to the life we chose when we went to Africa ; and though none of us were able to foresee all that was involved in our choice, wise men waste no strength in resentment, but bend their minds to the effort to make out the conditions of success and remove the cause of the trouble.

v. *Native servant and his family.* Where it is necessary for the labourer to go far from home and spend many months near his work, there are other obstacles in the path of the employer. In Bantu tribalism, as we have seen,¹ the individual is only just beginning to appear, and there is no such complete identification of husband and wife as that with which we are so familiar. The intending labourer must await the consent of his patriarch before he may leave home ; and though the patriarch may acquiesce, either for the sake of his share of the earnings or because he approves the project to which the man desires to devote the remainder, the period of absence is likely to be limited. No patriarch likes his young men to be absent for long together, unless they are of the troublesome variety. If it is decided that the young man is to venture on the great quest for wealth (for that is how it appears to the patriarchal group), he leaves his wife, children, cattle, and other belongings in the care of the family. Any other proposition would indicate that he did not intend to return, and would be vigorously opposed by the whole family, and most of all by his wife. In Bantu marriage, when dispute arises between the woman's family and her husband, it is most rare to find the wife siding with her husband against her own kith and kin. They are more truly hers than the husband can ever become. She looks to them to take care of her in sickness, oppression, and want, and she is loath to go beyond their reach. While she remains with her husband's family, his patriarch is responsible to her patriarch for the treatment that she receives ; but if she remove thence to neutral ground, she is at the mercy of her husband. In Bantu marriage, husband and wife are not one in any such sense as that. It is consequently unusual for

¹ See Chapters IV and V.

a tribesman to remove with his family to the scene of his employment, unless he is prepared to break with tribalism and has a wife who has risen above the Bantu conception of marriage.

Notwithstanding the contrary opinion which is held by many European observers, Bantu men are peculiarly dependent upon their homes. The home of their fancy is quite another thing from that which we build in the clouds; but to them, as to us, there are little touches which make home homelike, and they miss them greatly when abroad. They want their wives and children, their village amusements, their tribal discussions, and their 'beautiful black-and-white cattle'; and when the lands are calling for the plough, they hate to be absent. It ought to be said also that Bantu are the last people in the world to lead a celibate life even for a few weeks together. All these circumstances conspire against Europeans who desire Native labourers to undertake work at any great distance from home, unless it is for a short term of service.

vi. *Native servants and their European employers.* Furthermore, the Native who makes the great venture for the first time is often discouraged by the treatment he receives from some European employers and overseers. Some White men have peculiar notions of their relation to their Native labourers, and their influence on the labour market is very prejudicial. Every resident and traveller in Africa meets people who loudly proclaim that the 'raw Kafir' is a better labourer than the 'school Kafir'. With settlers of a certain feather all native Africans fall into these two classes. The so-called 'raw Kafirs' are Natives who are not accustomed to European ways, and who, in their awe of the wonderful White man, submit meekly to whatever treatment is meted out to them. They may be threatened with the sjambok or the boot, and may get what they were promised; but, feeling that they are at the White man's mercy while they are on the White man's place, they do but apply themselves the more vigilantly to their duties. The so-called 'school Kafirs' have had much more experience of Europeans, and are likely to remind an overseer who tries this method of 'managing' his 'boys' that they know the way to the magistrate's court and will stand no bullying even from a White employer. This is 'insufferable cheek', and is one of the reasons why some Europeans prefer

'raw Kafirs'. The terms 'raw' and 'school Kafir' are somewhat misleading to British readers. 'Kafir' means 'infidel', or at any rate one who is neither a Mohammedan, Jew, nor Christian; but the opprobrious epithet was taken over from the Arabs by the first Europeans who came to South Africa, and has gradually passed into the speech of the country as an equivalent for 'native African'. The adjectives 'raw' and 'school' are correct enough when once they are understood. 'Raw' Natives come from their tribal reserves, while 'school' Natives have been schooled by Europeans into a new set of habits. People whose knowledge of Africans does not go deep are sometimes misled into thinking that 'school' must mean mission school, an impression which is deepened by the pathetic fact that many Natives who have had much experience at European centres have managed to pick up a little knowledge of reading or even of writing. Some 'school Kafirs' are no doubt sons or grandsons of Christian Natives, for Christianity shows no greater tendency to run in the blood of the Bantu than of the British. But the school in which the vast majority of them get their touch of European culture is the mine, the store, the township, the farm, and the railway construction camp; and most of their educators hardly pretend to be Christian missionaries. What is germane to our present discussion, however, is the certainty that though these 'raw Natives' are cowed by the White man's threats and able to hide their feelings behind a stolid face, they do not suppress their resentment. To use their own metaphor, they weep inside their own shell, as the tortoise does, and mentally resolve that once they are free from this distasteful experience they will take care that it is not repeated. Before their contract is ended, some of them discover how to adapt themselves to the new situation, and having qualified in 'cheek' are duly passed into the 'school' class; but not a few of them return to their reserves with stories of oppression which deter their neighbours from making a similar venture.

And yet it must be frankly confessed that it is not easy for a European to deal with his Native employees. He may be just and patient, with little prejudice against people of another colour; but he soon discovers that he is confronted with new and trying conditions. It is almost a euphemism to say that

untutored Natives are not efficient workers on European jobs. How is it possible that they should be efficient at work that they have never seen before! Take the green house-boy as an example. The only home with which he is familiar is that described at the beginning of Chapter VI of this book. He knows nothing of European houses, furniture, or methods. The simplest appliances of a White man's home are to him outlandish contraptions; and often before he has become moderately efficient in his service, he has tired of his new amusement, or has earned the small sum that he set out to obtain. Even fairly good house-boys, who have had some experience of their work, are prone to change of mood and occupation, and apt to leave an employer simply because they must have change. Wise employers recognize this weakness in their character, and suggest, when they note the first symptoms of the well-known disease in a 'boy' who is too good to lose, that he should find a substitute and take a month or two at home. Other masters have to make an endless series of new beginnings with very crude material.

Then there is another element which enters into the problem. The only employer of which the unsophisticated Native has hitherto had experience is the Elder of his family, clan, or tribe, whose demeanour towards him is always patriarchal, that is to say, easy-going and familiar. The patriarch pays no wages; seldom cares whether the worker spends a day or a week over the job; and usually leaves him to do his work in his own way. When, therefore, the Native falls into the hands of an honourable European employer who scrupulously fulfils his part of the bargain and expects full time and conscientious service in return, or when he comes under an upright overseer whose bounden duty is to see that the work is done properly and with dispatch, he finds it irksome. Even the best European employers of Bantu labour find the demand upon character very heavy, till they become accustomed to the worker and his little ways; and not a few good Europeans lack the ample patience, cheerfulness, and imagination which are indispensable for the acquirement of such an accomplishment. Too much lordliness of manner on the part of the employer, or too little firmness in handling his men, or inability to look at problems from their unusual standpoint, soon breeds discontent among his servants, and adds much to

his embarrassment, especially if these little foibles are apparent in that first year of the European's residence in Africa when the rarer atmosphere of the upper veld stirs the blood like wine and stimulates him to attempt a month's work every week. But great as the strain is upon the European, it ought to be recognized that it is heavier still upon the Native; for the latter lacks the mental flexibility which would enable him to imagine himself in his employer's place; and perplexing social problems, like intricate patterns in weaving, seldom become intelligible till they are examined from the other side. Even Christian Natives, who are honestly trying to live the new life, may be very trying in the workshop, as I very well know; but what else can be expected of people who are but now emerging from barbarism!

And yet the Native worker is not so bad as he is frequently painted. We all tend to argue from the particular to the general, especially when we pass judgement on a nation. The European who has a good servant does not advertise the fact very much; for he wants to keep him as long as he can. But a bad servant may give half a score of employers a bad month in the course of a year, and furnish them all with a number of true tales, which, while the recollection is still vivid, may be made interesting to associates who forgather in the evening hours beneath the curling smoke of the fragrant weed. I have had scores of efficient and honourable White craftsmen in my employ; but I had one—only one—talented burglar. I notice, however, that when I am in a story-telling mood, my mind runs on the burglar and ignores the scores of almost equally clever men who won my regard by treading the more prosaic paths of virtue. The burglar is 'better copy', as the newspaper men say.

vii. *Two separate Native Labour problems.* It has already been remarked that there are two Native Labour Problems: the problem of making the Bantu more industrious, and that of supplying Europeans with cheap unskilled labour. Many Anglo-Africans are unaware of the former problem, and most of them would assert that the latter is much more pressing.

viii. *Imported labour.* From 1860 to 1911 the sugar industry of Natal provided itself with cheap labour by importing many thousands of Indians under indenture for five years; and in the

first decade of the present century, something like 50,000 Chinese were introduced into the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. Though something may be said in favour of both experiments, they were both condemned and abandoned, largely because they introduced new and disturbing elements into a political life that is already sufficiently burdened with difficult problems. Neither experiment is likely to be repeated until a great change comes over South African public opinion; but if these industries are very seriously jeopardized for want of cheap labour, it is possible that similar short cuts may lead the people into much the same bogs.

ix. *Forced labour.* Long before the days of Natal sugar and Transvaal gold, however, the problem of supplying Europeans with cheap labour in Africa had not only emerged but had come to the fore; and Portuguese and Boers had tried to solve it by enslaving Natives.¹

Had the British been in their place at the same period, they would certainly have tried the same solution as they did in the New World across the Atlantic; for it was in accord with the spirit of the times. Our house is too fragile to permit us the luxury of throwing stones on our neighbour's roof. And yet the fact must be reckoned with, that, though slavery left scars on the character of slave-owners of every nation, the scars are most evident in communities like the Portuguese, which have never really recanted and done penance for these iniquities. With nations as with individuals, the absence of sin is not a synonym for the presence of virtue. When a man leaves his sin, he is invigorated by the victory; but when his sin leaves him, it leaves him debilitated. The child of the slave-owner expects to have things done for him, not to do them for himself; and manual labour becomes ignominious in his eyes—the work of helots, not the vocation of men. For a generation or two the ill-gotten gains of the slave-owner seem to spell prosperity; and then dry rot sets in: industry and enterprise languish, and the community is afflicted with parasitic problems, wellnigh

¹ The slaves of the early Dutch settlers in the Cape district were mostly imported. Some of them were Africans from the East and West coasts; some were Hottentots; and some were brought from the East Indies. But there was no large native population in the Cape Peninsula when the Dutch took possession of it.

insoluble, like the decadence of the southern portions of the United States of America and the 'Poor' White Problem in South Africa. What can be done with a crowd of poverty-stricken Whites who have nothing but their own muscles to put upon the labour market and are still dominated by the notion that manual labour is only fit for 'niggers'! That these 'Poor Whites' are a legacy which slavery has left to South Africa is indicated by the fact that they are more numerous among the descendants of the former slave-owners who trekked north when the slaves were freed. It is not merely, or even mainly, sympathy for the oppressed that causes one to object to slavery. The oppressor is more to be pitied than the oppressed. Manhood can be grown under the lash of slavery, though history shows that villainy is closely connected with villenage and that what the thralls gain in virility they are apt to express in fierce revolt; but they who wield the lash lose more of the higher qualities of manhood than the slaves gain.

Although undisguised slavery is now seldom advocated by men of influence in Anglo-African affairs, one frequently meets champions of compulsory Native labour, which is a modified variety of slavery. And the modifications are not wholly in favour of the slave. In slavery of the ancient pattern, the master was sometimes related to his slaves by links of personal attachment, and oftener still by that feeling of proprietorship which induces a stock-farmer to care for his cattle; but in this modified form the slave-owner is eliminated and the slave-driver remains. Slaves who have spent their months under the yoke are replaced by others, without purchase-price, and the only inducement to seek their welfare is that which springs from a feeling of common humanity—a feeling for which slave-drivers have never been conspicuous.

x. *Forced labour as an ancient tribal custom.* In support of the demand for compulsory Native labour, the specious argument is advanced that the Bantu have always been accustomed to render forced labour to their own chiefs, as a form of taxation, and that a more industrious life is necessary for their own advance in civilization. The axiom that 'good government is no substitute for self-government' is generally accepted in home politics; and when we deal with the Bantu, it is important to

remember the kindred principle, that people hotly resent the enforcement by another nation of laws which they would have tolerated from their own kindred. But let this argument from Bantu custom be stated without evasion. It is only in what the Bantu can see to be of service to their tribe, for a few days at a time, in the season when agriculture is impossible, and under conditions which enable the workers to live at home, that the tribes have exacted a labour-tax from tribesmen. Martial law overrides civil justice everywhere, and it is therefore unnecessary to inquire what happens in time of public insecurity. The only other exception to the above rule is the labour that is bestowed upon the chief's lands. Here the obtrusive fact is that the chief is the sacred symbol of tribal life, as the Union Jack is of the corporate life of Britain; but another fact which is likely to escape notice is that the labour on the chief's lands is not only inappreciable in amount, but is regarded as the tribesmen's contribution to a hospitality fund, without which the tribe would fall into disrepute. If the Government finds it worth while to exact a labour-tax under these conditions, the Bantu cannot object to the principle. But the Bantu are unable to see the utility of many of the improvements for which Government requires labour; and the labour available under the other conditions would not even suffice to maintain the roads and drifts within the tribal reserve.

The curious thing is, however, that this argument from Bantu custom is put forward to justify the demand that Government shall provide compulsory labour for private employers!

Something more must be said presently of this latter demand; but let us first observe the effect of this very modest amount of forced labour upon the habits of the tribesmen. *Leshotla*, or 'scorn-land', is the Bechuana name for the land that is ploughed by the forced labour of the clans.¹ 'The people would fain get away to their own lands,' as one of my old Native mentors explained, 'and so they plough this land contemptuously.' My friend was not an authority on etymology, but there can be no doubt that he had correctly observed the fact. These *official* lands of the chiefs are the most scandalous bit of agriculture in the tribal domain. And regimental labour is just as slovenly.

¹ See p. 93.

No one who has had much experience of the behaviour of Native regiments assembled for forced labour can possibly imagine that such work promotes habits of industry. If ten average men from the same regiment volunteer to ply their task for pay, they will do more and better work than a hundred who are compelled to muster with their regiment for unpaid service. It is not too much to say that the forced labour which tribes have exacted from tribesmen has done more than any other single influence to promote shirking and malingering. What the Bantu need for their advancement is not mere labour, but ingrained habits of industry; and compulsory labour makes work distasteful and popularizes safe and ingenious methods of evasion.

xi. *Why settlers clamour for compulsory labour laws.* It ought to be said, however, that the demand that Government shall force Natives on to the labour market is not so outrageous as it seems to people who are unacquainted with Africa. Settlers have been drawn to the country by Government advertisements, especially in territories controlled by chartered companies, which have advertised not only cheap land but cheap labour. Many planters, farmers, and miners have been better judges of climate, soil, and mineral values than of the factors which control the life of the Bantu; and some have bought attractive estates in localities where it is almost impossible to secure labour. Without Native labour the richest lode or farm in Africa is of little value, for unskilled European labour is not to be thought of under existing conditions. The settlers have, however, bought in good faith, and have invested all they had to invest in estates which Government encouraged them to buy. If they fail, they are ruined. Now, if they come upon pests, transport difficulties, or other troubles that can best be dealt with by legislation on a broad scale, they would not hesitate to demand that Government should legislate on their behalf; and since it appears to them that only legislation can bring them the labour that will stave off disaster, they call upon Government to make it feasible for them to utilize the estates they bought. Their main purpose is, of course, the development of their own properties; but he is a poor seller who cannot find reasons why the buyer should buy, and so the argument is put forward that it would be good for the Native to enter into the service of the

settler—a proposition which cannot command one's unqualified assent until one knows what Native is to be associated with what settler, and which is at any rate quite distinct from the assumption that it would be good for the Government to compel the Native to do what is good for him. Even the settlers would not enjoy life in a Garden of Eden in which they were not free to go wrong; and, what is more to the point, they would not be the virile people that they are if they could enjoy it.

xii. *Indirect method of forcing Natives to serve Whites—(a) Seizing Native land.* In a recent dispatch to the Kenya Colony, the Secretary of State for the Colonies lays it down very clearly that the policy of compulsory labour for private employers is in opposition to the traditional policy of the British Government. This declaration is satisfactory, so far as it goes; but there are many advocates of another policy that would reach the same goal by oblique methods. It has been noticed that a failure of crops in the Native reserves increases the labour supply; and many Europeans confess that if they had the lands which the Natives have, they would not be keen on taking service for others. It is consequently urged that the best method of inducing the Bantu to work for Europeans is to eject the tribes from their ancestral lands. The argument is that it takes but little labour on the land to give the Bantu all that they think they need, but if the lands were taken away, hunger would compel the Bantu to seek employment. The prospect of starvation certainly works wonders in people who are disinclined to drudgery; but when the dearth is attributed to tyranny, the miracle is that of transforming law-abiding folk into ferocious fighters, whose one object is to exterminate the tyrants. Modern European engines of war could probably quell any revolt that is possible to the Bantu, especially now that the aeroplane can hover over forests and deserts that no European troops would care to invade. But to shoot down the labourers is not to improve the labour supply, and, quite apart from the humanity of the procedure, it would cost more to annihilate the Bantu than to civilize them, whether the cost be counted in money or in men. Besides, as things are at present, the tribal land yields not only all that the tribe consumes, but a surplus sufficient to pay for those imported manufactures which the tribesmen are increasingly buying from

traders. If, on the other hand, the Natives are expropriated and their land handed over to Europeans for development, the land will need much more labour than is now expended upon it, and the new demand for labour will be greater than the new supply. Of the honesty or fellow-feeling of the proposal, it is unnecessary to speak. It would be bad business even if it were exemplary.

(b) *Increasing Native taxes.* Another stratagem for increasing the labour supply is to levy heavier taxes upon the Bantu. The increased taxation that is just now necessary in Britain does not seem to increase labour or to cheapen it; but advocates of this expedient contend that if the poll-tax upon Natives were materially increased and made payable only in cash, these people would have to do more work in order to earn money for the Government. Some astute supporters of this proposal, rightly apprehensive lest, after all, the additional industry should flow in another channel, want to make assurance doubly sure by exempting from this heavy taxation all Natives who can prove that they have worked for European employers for a stated portion of the year. Reputable African politicians are, however, shy of the scheme, and, strange to say, its only defenders are Europeans who know little of the Bantu, but who do know perfectly well how they themselves would behave towards a Government which tried, by any such shifty device, either to lengthen their hours of labour, or to compel them to take tasks which appealed neither to their fancy nor their fortune. It is not easy to see why tribesmen who develop their own land, or attend to their own breeding-stock, or follow some purely native pursuit should be heavily taxed, while those who push a European perambulator are released from the obligation; but the great objection to the additional poll-tax is that, if it is to secure the desired result, it must be so exorbitant that it would excite a revolt of the tribesmen, which would be costly to the country and ruinous to its industries. Unfair taxation was the cause of a rising which centred around the Sable Antelope mine in Northern Rhodesia in 1907, according to the authors of a recent book.¹ They say: 'The country is divided into districts, and

¹ *In Wild Rhodesia*, by H. Masters and Walter E. Masters. London, Francis Griffiths, 1920, p. 157.

the tax rights are in some instances sold. The purchaser pays his amount to the Government, and collects what he can from the Natives. As far as we could ascertain, an individual, somewhat unscrupulous, had been exacting heavy taxes. The Natives planned a rebellion, and made considerable preparation to exterminate the white man after the harvest.' The policy of farming out the right to levy taxes on Natives is so repugnant to modern British practice that one hesitates to believe that it was sanctioned in any British territory; but the statement is made by people who were familiar with the district. For a thousand years and more the precariousness of property has robbed the Bantu of the most powerful motive for toil; and they are unlikely to take to diligence if they are led to believe that the reward of greater industry is likely to be filched from them by their British governors. The very suggestion that such a thing is possible does incalculable harm. For the encouragement of industry anywhere in the world, nothing is more necessary than peace and security of person and property.

It is, of course, a grave affair when lack of labour forbids the White farmer to plant his crop or harvest what he has grown. In the mines, too, thousands of Europeans are thrown out of employment and very expensive machinery lies idle when the stream of Native labour fails. One has sympathy with White men whose fine schemes are spoiled by the unreliability of Native labour, and one knows that the Native must learn to persist in tasks that pall and to be faithful to promises of which he has repented, or he can never make much moral progress. But when European settlers clamour, in their desperation, for oblique or direct methods of compelling the Bantu to work for them, they must be resolutely resisted. The cost of forcing the pace is very heavy upon both races. It is much easier to make work hateful than to render it attractive, especially to a primitive people. Even the welfare of the Bantu must not be sought so vigorously as to rob them of all contentment. As unwilling workers, the Bantu are the despair of those White employers who are unable or reluctant to go the whole length of the slave-owner, and the bane of those who are more extreme. We must not forget, either, that the penalty of losing one's heart to an idea is that one must live with the charmer afterwards. A Govern-

ment which forms the habit of compelling obscure people to promote the prosperity of men of repute is not unlikely to discover that mere skin-colour is no bar to an extension of its practice.

It is said that when Jove carved the geniuses he made critics out of the chips—a parabolic warning that more destructive criticism is not of great value. What *can* we do to make the Bantu more industrious ?

xiii. *Inequality of Native response to European influence.* First, we have to remember that there are Natives and Natives, and that no Procrustean method of legislation or European tutelage is feasible for all. Even in those parts of Africa which have been least affected by Europe, tribesmen are of divers kinds ; and where European influence has been long felt there is still greater diversity. There are not only Christian and heathen Natives, but heathens who are almost Christian and Christians who are hardly distinguishable from their heathen neighbours, each class shading off almost imperceptibly into the other. Similarly, there are educated Natives who are ignorant of every subject in the curriculum of a European school, and uneducated Natives who hold Government certificates that they have successfully passed examinations in the lower branch of learning. Some have lived all their lives among Europeans, submitting habitually to certain conventions of modern society, but steadily ignoring the claims of Christian morality. Some consider themselves sufficiently garbed when they don their birthday suit and a triangular strip of some other skin ; whilst others would be ashamed to go abroad unclad in imported garments. Without the restraints of tribalism, some of the Bantu would be as deplorably lost as a small child who wanders in the highways of a great city ; while others are quite ready to take their place as citizens of the British commonwealth. It would be a great mistake to assume that the Bantu are still a mass of illiterate savages whose needs can be met by one piece of legislation ; or to pass a sweeping judgement upon fifty millions of people who are so unequal in response to the play of European civilization. It is necessary to provide not only for the varieties, but for the passing of individuals from one class to another. These are general considerations that should govern the British in all their control of Bantu tribes,

but they bear with peculiar force upon schemes and ordinances for increasing the labour supply.

xiv. *Four classes of European employers.* Another mischievous generalization is that which is covered by the term 'European employers of Native labour'; as if they were all practically on the same level in their relation to labour. In Africa, European employers fall into four classes: (1) residents in tribal areas, (2) settlers whose homesteads are far from tribal centres and European towns, (3) residents in European townships, and (4) great mining corporations which require many thousands of workers. Each class must be considered apart from the others.

1. *Residents in tribal areas.* Except in the busiest weeks of the ploughing seasons, traders, missionaries, and other residents in Bantu towns readily obtain labourers and servants; and even in these weeks, an employer who has established his reputation for justice and kindness is seldom put to much inconvenience. Moved by the desire for wages, good food, opportunity for learning European ways, and the dignity of being 'somebody's' servant, there are not a few young men who are glad to take service where they are still free to spend the night and most of the evening in their own homes. The only labour difficulty with which these Europeans have to deal is that most of their servants are very raw and tire of the new task before becoming competent.

2. *Isolated settlers.* A farmer, planter, or other settler whose homestead is far from tribal centres and European towns, is in worse case. His employees must leave home and settle on his estate, or at least remain there for many months together; and, as already explained,¹ tribesmen are reluctant to make such a venture. To them it seems like exchanging a life of freedom and independence (terms which we should be unlikely to apply to their condition) for one of subjection to strangers. But there are many broken tribes, whose members are not averse to such an enterprise; and there are tribesmen whose experience of life in European communities has made them impatient of the restraints of tribalism—restraints which they had not formerly perceived.

The only process by which these isolated settlers can increase their labour supply is that of building up a reputation for tact, sympathy, square dealing, good food and wages, and attractive

¹ See pp. 193 *et seq.*

quarters for their employees. Unfortunately this process is slow, and many of these speculators in cheap land and labour have a hard time of it during their first years, when as yet they are unknown to the Natives and inexperienced in handling them.

3. *Dwellers in European towns.* To dwellers in European towns the problem presents itself in other guise. They are seldom able to draw their labour direct from tribal areas, or even to house Native servants on their own premises after they have found them. In many municipalities, indeed, it is illegal for Natives to reside in the town, or even to be found in its streets after curfew, though Europeans may pass their servants to the location after hours by providing them with informal notes written specially for the occasion. The 'location' is a Native village, for which the municipality provides a site somewhere on the commonage,¹ and is the reservoir whence the town draws its labour. As long as the location is popular and populous, the town is well supplied with labour, for though servants may change frequently from one employer to another the town supply is not thereby lessened.

For towns which desire to improve the quality or quantity of their labourers, the obvious policy is to care for their locations, making them attractive to Natives of the right sort and repulsive to those of the other variety. But most up-country locations consist of mere hovels, which their native inhabitants have hastily built of soap-boxes, paraffin-tins, scraps of worn-out canvas, and other 'junk'—hovels in which cleanliness and comfort are alike impossible. It is hard to imagine dwellings less attractive to those who live in them, or more offensive to those who visit them; and yet municipalities not only tolerate these slums, but are content to apply the income from them to the improvement of the European township or the relief of its taxation. Strong language indicates bad taste, and extravagant statements reveal a lack of judicial temper, but it is mere commonplace veracity to say that the average up-country location is a disgrace to our vaunted civilization and a menace to the townsmen. Morning by morning, servants, who have spent the night in homes which cannot be kept healthy, come into the town and overrun kitchens,

¹ The 'commonage' is a grazing-ground which surrounds the town for a mile or two in every direction, and on which each householder in the township has the right to graze a certain number of animals.

dining-rooms, bedrooms, nurseries, offices, stores, and workshops, while the townsfolk remain careless of such considerations. One notes with satisfaction, however, that South Africans are at last beginning to take an interest in Native locations, and that a few of the more progressive municipalities are keen on improving them.

(a) *Improved dwellings in town locations.* It must be confessed, nevertheless, that the problem is by no means simple. Where White craftsmen are paid at the rate of a guinea a day, it is not easy to devise a home which the Native labourer can keep healthy and yet rent for any fair proportion of the two shillings which is his usual daily wage.¹ Moreover, the Natives themselves have fancies and prejudices which cannot be ignored. Location Natives have eagerly adopted European garments; but they have hardly begun to perceive that the new garb involves new habits and new homes. Habits which were comparatively harmless when the national dress was a brayed skin and a coat of haematite and grease are fatal to the wearer of store-clothes; and people who have been accustomed all their lives to wattle-and-daub huts which can easily be abandoned for new huts on new sites must be taught how to live in permanent homes. A good supply of pure water, wash-houses, and sanitary arrangements, should be provided in every location; but it is even more necessary to teach Natives the value and use of such conveniences. Even pure water hardly appeals to people who have been accustomed all their lives to drink from any pool, and have acquired a taste for body in their liquor. Typhus, typhoid, dysentery, diphtheria, and much of the tuberculosis which is so rapidly increasing in the locations, are due to dirt and ignorance of the laws of health, and the mere provision of model homes for Natives would fail to banish the evil. Indeed, in this as in every other Native problem the investigator finds himself confronted ultimately with the need for patient tutorial work.

(b) *Moral and intellectual uplift in locations.* But difficult as it is to secure hygienic conditions in the locations, it is harder still to make them centres of good moral influence and intellectual uplift. All sorts of folk drift into the locations. Some are workers

¹ In some districts Native labourers receive more than 2s. a day; but there the wage of White craftsmen is proportionately higher. And there are districts in which the labourer's wage is much lower.

and some are loafers. Some hail from tribes that have come to grief through European invasion or other misfortune; some have outgrown tribal conditions and broken with them; some are half-castes who have never known tribalism from the inside; and some are young men who have come from their tribal homes, intending to stay only a few months that they may earn money for themselves or their elders. Some are pathetically anxious to secure a little schooling for their children, and spiritual help in resisting the pull of that heathenism in which they were nurtured; while others have no higher ideal than that of matching their cunning against all comers. Some of the most enlightened and progressive Natives in Africa live in locations, and some of the greatest scamps. Tribesmen, whose misdeeds have made their own tribal reserves unhealthy for them, live cheek by jowl with progressive people who have found their laudable ambitions crippled by the rule of reactionary chiefs. In one shanty fathers and mothers, who have caught a glimpse of something better than heathenism ever showed them, are struggling, amidst much frailty, to teach their children better ways; and in the next, possibly, there is a Native brothel which is frequented by Whites as well as Blacks. Many dwellers in locations have thrown off the restraints of tribalism, and yet have accepted no higher morality; they have to reckon with the police, but are otherwise masterless men—cunning, elusive, parasitic. And the kind of Natives that will be drawn to a location depends largely upon the class which is already predominant there.

The better Natives that towns ought to attract to their locations are hardly models of all the virtues. Threads of heathenism have been woven into the fabric of their characters, and they are often tempted to take short cuts to the satisfaction of desire. But as a rule they have outgrown tribalism and want scope for individual ambition and enterprise, schools and churches for themselves and their families, fairly congenial neighbours, a living wage, a possible garden, and some permanence of tenure. They are unlikely to become permanent settlers in a location in which the baser elements of Native life are prominent. European residents in South Africa complain of the difficulty of obtaining maid-servants for their homes and their children; but Native girls are unsafe in European towns, and decent Natives can

hardly found a home for their girls in the average up-country location.

The first step towards increasing the supply of labour for European towns is to clean up the locations and provide desirable homes for Native workers. Curfew laws, Pass laws, and laws excluding Natives from trams and pavements are sometimes necessary, especially where the location has become the dumping-ground for the flotsam and jetsam of tribal life; but they are hotly resented by Natives, whose movements at home were never hampered by petty restrictions. At the best, they are repressive rather than remedial, and should be enforced with great discretion and forbearance; but their most ardent defenders are not those who are doing anything to fit the Natives for living reasonable and considerate lives in the midst of European surroundings.

The best way of controlling the locations would be to use them as laboratories in which prospective black-skinned citizens of the Empire work out, under skilled guidance, their first experiments in local self-government and discover the meaning of representative institutions. There should be a miniature school board, health board, and police board elected in every location; and the townsfolk should back Natives of character and influence in their locations, not only trusting them with a little local authority, but training them to exercise that authority with wisdom, honesty, and restraint. The principle of delegated authority is not unknown to tribesmen, and it would not be difficult to teach them the principle of electing Natives who are fit to govern the location. The experiment would have to be carefully shielded, especially in its early stages, but it could be made a valuable kindergarten department in the school of parliamentary institutions, and would give great satisfaction to men who have always been used to having a say in the government of their own communities. And if there should be a loss instead of a profit on the location account in the municipal ledger, it is surely worth something to the townsfolk, who are all employers of Native labour, to have a fair supply of contented and comparatively respectable workers, who remain long enough at their jobs to acquire something like proficiency.

4. *Mines.* The crux of the labour problem, however, is to

find workers for the great mining concerns. Few people realize the magnitude of this demand. The diamond mines of Kimberley have to find a steady supply of about 10,000 labourers; the coal mines of Natal need 12,000, and those of the Transvaal 15,000; the gold mines of Southern Rhodesia employ 40,000; and all these figures together are dwarfed by the 200,000 required for the gold mines around Johannesburg. And this is very far from being a complete list of big African mining ventures.

(a) *Recruiting agents.* Inasmuch as it is clearly impossible to obtain such crowds of Native workers by any methods that are open to employers of the three foregoing classes, these great corporations find it necessary to cover very wide areas of Native territory with a network of recruiting agencies, and to make special arrangements for forwarding contracted labourers to the scene of operations. The Hon. A. W. Roberts, of the South African Senate, stated recently¹ that more money is spent in securing men for the mines than is spent on the whole system of administration. In spite of their elaborate and costly organization, however, the mining people are often at their wit's end to find sufficient labourers for their enterprises.

Recruiting agents are established at strategic points in Native territories; and often the local trader is given a commission on each labourer whom he is able to engage and forward to the agent. In British territory, recruiting agents must be licensed by the Government, and agreements to serve the companies must be signed before the magistrate, who acts as protector of Natives. These agreements bind the man to serve the recruiter's group for a definite period—usually six months. On signing the agreement, the labourer is permitted to draw something on account, since he often wishes to discharge a debt or leave something with his family. When a party of labourers is ready, it is forwarded to the recruiting agent of the district, and conveyed to its destination (by rail, where possible) at the expense of the recruiting agency, which also feeds and shepherds the travellers while they are on their journey. At their destination they are distributed among the mines of the group. While they are at work they are lodged and fed by the mine which employs them; and upon the termination of their agreement they are duly discharged and paid whatever is due to them.

¹ See *The Christian Express* of 1st February 1921.

(b) *Open and closed compounds.* Most mines have what are called 'open compounds', which means that Native quarters are open to visitors, and workers may go in and out as they please, subject to necessary regulations. The ease with which diamonds can be secreted and stolen compelled the Kimberley mines to make more stringent regulations; and when Natives once enter these compounds they are practically prisoners till their agreement expires. Even then they are quarantined and medically treated for a few days before leaving, so as to make it impossible for them to steal diamonds by swallowing them or hiding them in what appear to be trivial flesh-wounds. At the time when closed compounds were introduced into the Kimberley mines, liquor was freely sold to Natives in that district; and the Kimberley company, thinking that lack of liquor would mean lack of labourers, arranged to sell liquor in their closed compounds. Fortunately the 'trade' disputed the legality of their licence, and the company was driven to choose between opening their compounds and running them without liquor. They judged that the latter course would make it more difficult for them to find labour; but there was such a serious loss of diamonds in the open compounds that the company decided, nevertheless, to venture on the experiment. They carefully explained to the 'boys' that they were sorry to deprive them of their liquor, but were driven to this course by the decision of the courts. To their astonishment they found that the predominant sentiment of the 'boys' was in favour of prohibition, and that there was no great difficulty in making their compounds 'dry'.

At first there was an outcry against what was regarded as an infringement of liberty, and the closed compound system was loudly condemned as little better than slavery. When the system had been in vogue for a year or two, I noticed that the better people in the tribe with which I dwelt greatly preferred that their young men should enter the closed compounds of Kimberley rather than the open compounds of Johannesburg; and this led me to make a thorough examination of the Kimberley system. I wandered freely and alone through these compounds (by permission of the Company) and talked with scores of Native labourers. I found stores in which the Natives

could buy a few little dainties at reasonable prices; hospitals in which they received every attention when they were ill; Post Office Savings Banks in which they freely deposited their earnings; and schools and churches which helped many of them to knowledge and character. The elders of our tribe had often explained to me that in Johannesburg their young men had every facility and many inducements for frittering away their earnings, and that some of them acquired a love of liquor; while those who entered the Kimberley compounds, being protected from the wiles of the Levantine pedlars, the fascination of shop-windows, and the seduction of the saloon, brought home practically all their earnings. My visit to the compounds confirmed their statements, and convinced me that the labourers harboured no resentment at the temporary loss of liberty. Though previously prejudiced by the popular outcry, I left Kimberley with the assurance that though these compounds were not incapable of improvement in some particulars, yet they were the best system that had been devised for Native workers in mines.

Mine-work is uncongenial to the Bantu, and, though becoming a little less objectionable, it is unlikely to be popular with the present generation. But when a 'boy' brings home his earnings and a good report of the treatment he has received, there are always neighbours ready to follow his example. Traders who do business near the mines naturally object strongly to closed compounds. They inveigh against the iniquity of depriving the Natives of their liberty, while thinking mainly that their customers will no longer be free to buy their wares. If it were possible to keep the labourers from squandering their earnings at the mining centres, and to pay them the bulk of their wages through the magistrate at their tribal home, it would advertise the benefits of mine-work as nothing else can do; and, on the other hand, the surest way of making mining repulsive to a tribe is to send back a few of its members, debilitated in body, deteriorated in morals, and still poor after many months of work.

(c) *Cost and efficiency of Native mine-labour.* The oft-repeated assertion that Native mine-labour is inefficient and costly can hardly be disputed. The inefficiency is due not to any inherent incapacity, but to the fact that the Bantu are unacquainted with mine-labour and unwilling to stay long enough to become

expert. The few Natives who have returned again and again to the mines, or have been willing to stay for long periods of service, usually become skilful at their tasks. As for the cost, it has been stated that the average rate of pay for European employees on the Witwatersrand mines is about £365 per annum, while that of non-European labourers is about £30 per annum.¹ The wages of Native labourers is, however, but a small part of the cost of their labour to the mines. The enormous cost of recruiting, forwarding, boarding, and supervising must be added, which means a considerable proportion of the cost of European employees. When any large number of Bantu take to mine-work as their means of subsistence, instead of relying upon their tribal lands for support and regarding a spell of mine-work as a subsidiary effort to secure some special object of desire, it will be necessary to pay them a much higher wage ; but then the cost of labour will probably be less, for the waste of inefficiency, recruiting, and supervising will be much reduced, if not eliminated.

From time to time the suggestion is made that Native mine-workers should be induced to bring their families and settle in the neighbourhood of the mines. Of the native attitude to such proposals we have already spoken. There is a small floating population which could be induced to settle in the town locations ; but to suggest that 200,000 Native women and their children should be permanently settled in the neighbourhood of the Rand mines is to raise questions of morality and hygiene which are not easily answered. If the tribesmen were willing to release their people in such numbers, and if Portugal reversed her policy and allowed 30,000 women and their children to emigrate from her domain, one wonders how the tribes which were thus denuded of their young men and women could ever do their part in the development of the tribal areas—a problem which is more important for the welfare of Africa than even that of providing the mines with labour. The most that can be done at present to promote the efficiency of the mine-workers is to induce young men to return again and again on short contracts, and thus become familiar with their jobs.

Of late years there has been great improvement in the treat-

¹ See *The Christian Express*, 1st February 1921.

ment of mine-workers. Not only are Government inspectors more numerous, more vigilant, and more capable than they used to be, but the mining companies have discovered that it pays to take care of their 'boys'. In most mines the diet is ample and suitable; medical examination and treatment are thorough and efficient; Native quarters, though capable of improvement in some respects, are at any rate hygienic; and labour-contracts are for short periods. In response to these improved conditions an increasing proportion of Native labourers come direct to the mines without the intervention of labour-agents—a most hopeful sign for the future.

(d) *Labour-touts and their ways.* Labour-agents, or 'touts' as they are commonly called, are still a necessity. Many of them are excellent people who pursue with rectitude and good humour a calling that makes heavy demands on both virtues; but others, in their anxiety to secure their commission, reply to the unreasonable demands of the Native with lavish promises which they know to be illusory. This is prejudicial to the best interests of both mine-owners and mine-workers. The most avaricious Native is the one who least likes to discover that he has been deceived; and if he starts his first job on the mines handicapped with suspicion, disappointment, and resentment, he is unlikely to become a satisfied or satisfactory servant. Only men of good character and wide experience of Natives should be appointed as labour-agents; and they should be required to make the path to the mines easy and popular among the Natives of their district, rather than to earn a commission by beating up a batch of recruits.

Labour-touts are often charged with bribing chiefs to send men to the mines. Not only does the opinion of the chief carry weight with many of his followers, no matter how flimsy the foundation upon which it is built, but he is often able to hinder his tribesmen from leaving the tribal reserve; and in many tribes it is almost useless to look for labourers till the favour of the chief has been obtained. 'Bribe' is, however, hardly the right word. The 'presents' which office-seekers freely bestowed upon Queen Elizabeth and her courtiers appear to us to be incompatible with dignity and honour; but it would be unjust to suggest that these gifts contained, either for giver or receiver,

that flavour of moral turpitude which we associate with 'bribes'. Until tribesmen have imbibed modern European ideas, they are not wont to blame chiefs for receiving such 'presents'. But the mischief is that when unwilling tribesmen have been 'persuaded' by the chief to go to the mines they are unlikely to be as satisfactory as if they went of their own accord. It is another and subtle variety of forced labour; the labourer feels that he must labour, or appear to labour, but his heart is elsewhere.

(e) *Should Government recruit labour for the mines?* Some colonists contend that Government itself should recruit labour for the mines, or even for all European employers. There is no validity in the objection that Government should not interfere in what we regard as the private affairs of the individual; because Government is certainly warranted in assuming a paternal or patriarchal control of tribes of which it is the Supreme Chief. Nor, indeed, is the idea of a Government labour bureau, or even of the use of Government officials for promoting the welfare of certain industries, as foreign to our own thought as it once was. There is, however, grave objection to this proposal. Though Whites and Blacks are subjects of the same Government, they are far from being upon terms of political equality. Where there is a legislative body, or even an advisory council which is wholly or partly elected by the people, there is simply no comparison between the ability of Whites and of Blacks to influence the Government; and where no person has a vote and legislation is by Proclamation, a hundred Whites can bring more pressure to bear upon the Government of the territory in which they dwell than can ten thousand of its Native inhabitants. Now, if White Government officials are responsible for recruiting Black labour for White employers, it follows, not only that the Whites will be largely relieved from the necessity of making the conditions of labour attractive to labourers, but that the officials will be exposed to the tremendous temptation to still the clamour of influential Whites by putting undue constraint upon the voiceless Blacks. It is better that Government officials in Native territories should continue to be loyal to the fine tradition that they are protectors of the immature and ministers of justice to all.

xv. *How to increase the supply of labour.* Whether we consider the mines, the locations, or the isolated settlers in extra-

tribal areas, there are certain principles which must be observed by European employers if the labour problem is to be solved. Engagements should be for short terms, and labourers should be freely released when their contracts expire.¹ Promises made to Natives at the time of their engagement should be scrupulously fulfilled. The road from the tribal reserve to the labour centre should be free from annoyance to the Native traveller, especially when he is passing from one administrative district to another and when he is travelling by rail.² The pay, food, quarters, and other conditions of the labourer's temporary expatriation should be made attractive to him. Employers and overseers should avoid every trace of tyranny or contempt in handling their Native servants. The rewards of his labour should be preserved to the labourer, so that upon his return to his tribe he may display as much as possible of his earnings. Care should be taken that the labourer does not deteriorate either in health or in character, and he should be encouraged and helped to fit himself for more intelligent service.

Perhaps a little more stress should be laid on this last remark. It is not uncommon to hear it said that if the mine-boys spend all their earnings in liquor and debauchery, they are likely to renew their engagements so as to replace the earnings which they have squandered. We need not discuss the ethics of such a theory, nor whether the large criminal element that is found among Natives on the Rand is in any degree due to its adoption. Some of the spendthrifts may stay for a second or third term, either because they are ashamed to go home penniless, or because they look forward to a future debauch. Good business men often instruct their salesmen, however, that it is better to make a customer than to make a sale; and for every worker thus

¹ When a 'boy' is growing tired of his job, it is more economical, as well as more merciful, to encourage him to find a substitute and go home for a rest, even if his contract has not ended. Such 'boys' often return again and again to the same employer.

² Though railway people are as courteous and considerate as their neighbours, it takes much grace to keep smiling when one is bombarded all day with silly questions and has to be constantly alert to prevent Natives from violating regulations of which they are ignorant. And yet, if Natives are to be encouraged to travel by rail (which is desirable alike in the interests of the railway and of Europeans who need their labour), there must be more compassion for their ignorance and slowness, and more care for their comfort.

secured a dozen others are dissuaded by fellow-tribesmen of the profligate, who hold him up as a bogey.

It is still more common to hear the argument that the custom of bride-price ought to be encouraged because the demand for a bride-price induces men who desire wives to go out and earn it. If the custom of bride-price is for the good of the people, it should be encouraged for its own sake; but if the reverse, it is no more justifiable to encourage it for the sake of increasing the supply of labour than it would be to encourage wastefulness among British workmen upon the ground that people with no savings cannot afford to lie idle. Besides, the argument is fallacious: however it may be for society, work is not the only alternative to want for the individual—as the records of our police courts prove.

xvi. *The larger problem of making the Africans industrious.* Having insisted that there should be no confusion between the problem of supplying Europeans with African labour and that of making Africans more industrious,¹ we have limited our discussion to the former. But though the former problem appeals with greater urgency to the multitude of Anglo-Africans, the future of Africa is much more dependent upon a satisfactory solution of the latter. Moreover, the lesser problem can never be really solved except by working for the ultimate elevation of the Bantu ideal of comfort, consumption, and efficient production. As long as we continue to look for short cuts to the object of our desire, we shall find ourselves wandering in miry places which mock us with a tantalizing glimpse of the goal that we might have reached by a more toilsome path. The lives of Africa's children are of greater value to Africa than is the success of European mines and other worthy schemes of development; and God has so linked together the constituent elements of His great family that the strong (like St. Christopher of the legend) can only find their true strength in hearkening to the cry of need from the farther shore and carrying His little ones across streams which would else engulf them.

xvii. *Conclusions.* One hears much of the lack of Native labour; but lack is the penalty of waste, and waste is the companion of inefficiency. In no other country in the world is there

¹ See pp. 191 and 197.

such waste of Native labour as in Africa. British settlers in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada are accustomed to do their work and are proud of their self-reliance. They often speak of their men as 'boys', because on their lips the latter word has a touch of honour and affection which is wanting in the more prosaic term. We of Africa belong to a white aristocracy, which must not break caste by carrying its own bags, sweeping its own rooms, boiling its own kettles, or cleaning its own boots. Even those of us who were charwomen before we left home, and would be charwomen still if we had stayed there, have men-servants to do these things for us; and when we call these black retainers 'boys', our hardier kinsmen of the maple-leaf and wattle-bloom must know that 'boy' with us means *pariah*. We employ some of the brawniest men which the world has produced, as nurse-girls, office-boys, scullery-maids, and messengers. Of course, they are inefficient: no White man could find efficiency by the path which they pursue. They are everything by turns and nothing long—jacks of all trades who are masters of none—stable-boy one month and nurse-girl another. But they are cheap; and there is a common notion that the product of two inefficients multiplied by three is efficiency, whereas it is often irritation and sometimes nervous exhaustion. We go on using our cheap and unskilled Native labour without stint, and belittling it just as lavishly; and we leave the training of these crowds of possible workers to Luck—a mythical personage who never seems to come out of the clouds. We train our horses, trek-oxen, and dogs with skill and patience, knowing that it is only thus that they can be made into useful servants; but then they are *ours* and we reap the benefit of our labour, whereas the individual who trains a Native servant is probably training him for some other employer who is able to offer larger pay.

It cannot be too definitely stated that the inefficiency of the Native is due not to any innate defect of character, but to the fact that he is untrained. Neither the education of the Native nor the cultivation of his land is altogether neglected; but both are slipshod and superficial, and the result is poor. There are barren stretches of African land and of African humanity—at any rate, stretches that promise but poor return for any methods of cultivation that we have been wise enough to discover; but,

taken as a whole, the soil of Africa teems with wealth and the African race is of still greater potential value to the world. There can be no question of this. The only question is whether we are rich enough in courage, skill, persistence, and prescience to undertake the task of cultivation. Where a patient and wise man, acquainted with tribal speech and custom, sets himself to give Bantu youths careful instruction, they often show surprising intelligence and activity, especially if by some happy chance they come to him before they have been initiated into the enervating iniquities of tribal life. And when, ceasing to be individual exploiters of the Black man and his country, we become dominated with the idea that we are tutors of a backward race, we shall find the people responsive and many of the Native problems swept away, the labour problem among the rest. That is one reason why we have advocated the encouragement of industry by wise schemes of education, especially vocational education of a simple kind.¹ Four or five years of steady application to work in vocational classes and workshops at the most impressionable period of life would make much difference to the labour market in half a century.

Unfortunately there is much opposition to the proposal that Natives should be taught to do skilled work. White craftsmen object to any attempt to teach Natives to compete with them. It is impossible, however, to make a backward people industrious while the higher ranks of labour are barred to them. True, few would ever reach the higher ranks even if all obstacles were removed; but nothing fills the lower positions like a chance to get to the top.

Political power in Europe appears to be passing slowly into the hands of organized Labour. Hence the attitude of Labour to this sacred trust which Europeans have assumed in Africa is important. Labour has had to struggle, century after century, against the selfishness of privileged classes, and to climb out of helotage into free citizenship by a painful path. Its motto appears to be 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'; and many of its leaders seem to be dominated by the spirit of Christ, if not by the creeds, phrases, and conventions of Christianity. Nevertheless, one is compelled to ask whether its South African representatives

¹ See pp. 176-85.

desire to banish helotage from the world, or merely to transfer the burden to other shoulders. That old arguments against the education of the masses in Britain should be furbished up for use in the discussion of Native Education in Africa is not surprising to any student of history ; but who would expect that such arguments would ever be popular among men who owe all the schooling they ever had to the fact that these arguments were successfully answered fifty years ago ? At the great centres of African industry, White artisans are a 'privileged class' in relation to the Bantu. Secure for generations to come in their monopoly of highly skilled trades, they offer uncompromising opposition to the employment of Africans in Africa in any but unskilled work. And it is a scandal to civilization when those of them who are still bringing half-castes into the world use the armaments of labour to exclude half-castes and their maternal relatives from semi-skilled work—work in which they have become proficient while doing it for White artisans who are receiving its pay.

XI. THE COLOUR BAR

' A Japanese, on his return to his home, lately gave an unfavourable account of England and its people, but it appeared that in his short visit to this country he had never got beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the London Docks, and drew his picture from that unsavoury quarter.'—From a Daily Paper.

' The great principle of brotherhood is not by equality nor by likeness, but by giving and receiving.'—Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice*.

i. *Attempts to Europeanize the World.* Europeans assume, apparently, that the whole world belongs to them by virtue of their superior civilization, and that in Europeanizing the earth they are fulfilling their own destiny and bestowing favours upon other races. They do not pose as altruists: the Sleeping Beauty marries the Prince that rouses her from her age-long slumber in the reefs, diamond-pipes, and tropical soil of Africa. But they spread 'the blessings of civilization' with enthusiasm, though they study them with reluctance. The modern missionary enterprise is but one part of this great movement which covers the world; and he who would understand the part must see the whole. For every Christian missionary in Africa, there are thousands of missionaries of a civilization which is, at any rate, not wholly Christian—missionaries of empire and of racial pride, of commerce and of industry—missionaries whose gospel is gold, and others who preach the evangel of self-indulgence. It is not exactly because of their meekness that White men have inherited the earth: pushfulness, dogmatism, and arrogance have been conspicuous. The Good Samaritan has sometimes entered Africa in the garb of an ordinary European trader, miner, hunter, explorer, or official; but Sir Oracle, Captain Bobadil, and Pistol are better known.

ii. *British and Dutch attitude towards colour.* The Proclamation by which Queen Victoria granted Natal its political constitution in 1842 laid down the condition that 'there shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction of person or disqualification of colour, origin, language, or creed; but the protection of the law

in letter and in substance shall be extended to all alike'. The Grondwet, or fundamental law, of the Transvaal Republic declared, in 1858, that 'the people will not tolerate equality between coloured and white inhabitants either in Church or State'. But though British and Boer Governments have been inspired by divergent ideals, Britons and Boers alike have drawn a sharp line of demarcation between Black and White in social intercourse. What is called 'race-prejudice' is rampant all over Africa. Visitors, though they never see far into the life of a strange community, are often surprised at the discovery that kind-hearted people are not free from this prejudice.

iii. *Causes of group-aversion.* What is it that causes whole classes of men to have an aversion to other groups and to assume a lofty bearing towards them? Some day a competent psychologist and historian will describe it, analyse it, and explain it in a fairly big volume; and he will deserve well of all lovers of humanity. It is the most formidable of all discords. It is limited to no section of humanity, and to no age since the dawn of history. Everywhere and always, so far as we can make out, groups of men have thought themselves endowed with an inherent right to lord it over others; to monopolize privileges; and to make conveniences of inferiors. Freedom, education, property, leisure have all been regarded as the preserves of superior people; and thrilling pages of history tell how the latter were inevitably compelled, often by slow and painful processes, to recognize the essential humanity of those whom they were wont to despise, master, and use. This supercilious manner appears not only in the relation of race to race, or nation to nation, but often in the bearing of one religion to another within the same race, of one sect to another within the same religion, of one class to another within the same community, or even of one sex to the other. To those who look at it from the outside, it appears unreasonable; but no matter how reasonable a man may be, he is fairly sure to be affected with clannishness in some form or other. To call it 'race-prejudice', however, is to mislead ourselves with a false nomenclature: it is the cult of blood.

iv. *Inaccuracy of the terms 'race' and 'race-prejudice'.* 'Race', when used of men, is merely a convenient artistic term, which does not permit of scientific definition. In the sense in

which the term is used of plants and animals there are no races of men : there are only varieties.

Anthropologists once looked upon mankind as an aggregate of species, sub-species, groups, races, and tribes, distinct from one another in origin, skin-colour, physical measurements, and mental capacity ; but modern anthropology recognizes that there is only one species of man, and that its numerous varieties are not separated by very deep lines of cleavage. A sound classification of these varieties must be based on grades of civilization ;¹ all other lines break down. And since each type is a living and growing organism, its boundary-lines must be drawn afresh every century or two as it comes more fully into the sweep of the world-movement. Of *origin*, we know next to nothing, except that some varieties can be proved to have sprung from the same stock. *Skin-colour* indicates little more than sunlight and humidity. According to *physical measurements*, Professor Ranke says, the Negroes 'stand in the front rank' of the proportional bodily progression of the human race'. *Mental capacity* can only be measured by mental achievement, and man needs an appropriate stimulus to spur him to action.

¹ Ratzel (*History of Mankind*, London, Macmillan, 1896, vol. i, p. 17), after saying substantially what is written in the above sentences, allows his thought to run to the American Negro, and adds : 'The most important experiment for settling the value of racial distinctions—one for which the resources of science are too small, and only the history of the world suffices—is now for the first time in progress. The introduction of the so-called lower races into the circle of the higher civilization, and the overthrow of the barriers which once were raised high against such introduction, is not only a brilliant feat of humanity, but at the same time an event of the deepest scientific interest. For the first time what was considered the lowest race—the blacks—have had all the advantages, all the rights and duties of the highest civilization thrown open to them : nothing prevents them from employing all the means of self-formation, which—and herein lies the anthropological interest of the process—will necessarily be transformation. If we could say with approximate certainty what will become in the course of generations of the 12,000,000 of negro slaves who have within the last thirty years been freed in America, . . . we could with certainty answer the question as to the effect of culture upon race-distinctions.' What he has said of America and her Negroes may be said with equal appropriateness of Britain and the child-race of her Bantu possessions. To discover the extent to which the Bantu can assimilate Western civilization is to make a greater contribution to man's scientific knowledge of man than is possible to the anatomist, philologist, or student of comparative culture.

Again, high-caste Hindus and uneducated Europeans are of the same *origin*; but what we call 'race-prejudice' modifies the attitude of each towards the other. Many of the American Negroes are of the same *origin* and *colour* as the Bantu; but Bantu and American Negroes find it more difficult to get on together than Bantu and Europeans. The British barbarians and the proud Romans that looked upon them with such disdain were of the same *origin*, the same *skin-colour* (the advantage was a little in favour of the barbarians), the same *physical measurements*, and, as subsequent achievements prove, the same *mental capacity*. Differences of skin-colour, physical measurements, or mental capacity are sometimes greater between two members of one community than between one of them and a member of what we are pleased to call another 'race'. These characteristics are not permanent, either: they may be changed in a century or two by change of environment.¹ They are not the main cause of race-friction. People often prefer those of a different complexion or build to themselves. Tall and short, light and dark, round-headed and long-headed people often marry. That neither the colour nor other physical traits of the Bantu are repulsive to Europeans is proved by the thousands of half-caste children whose European fathers were caring for nothing but physical pleasure.

v. *Colour a symbol of different social ideals.* The fact is that this bias or conceit, which we dignify with the term 'race-prejudice', is not due to bodily differences, but to unlikeness of outlook upon life, or, if the phrase be preferred, diversity of civilization. It is the social and historical element which separates the varieties of man—the wide divergence of ideal which is due to a difference of social heredity. The spiritual heritage that has come to us through home, school, public institutions, trade, industry, art, science, tradition, and religion is far above that which has come to Blacks through tribalism,

¹ Holub stated in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (10th February 1880, p. 10) that the Batauana were much darker than the Eastern Bamangwato. He calls the one black and the other brown. And yet it is a matter of history that these two tribes are of one blood, and that the Batauana did not leave the parent community till Tauana quarrelled with the great-grandfather of the well-known chief Khama, of the Bamangwato—that is to say, about a century before Holub's visit.

ancestor-worship, magic, and the tradition of an isolated and stagnant past. Such terms as 'colour bar' are due to the fact that colour is a rough and ready symbol of different hygienic, economic, moral, and educational standards. Habits of thought that have been inwoven in the Native mind by untold centuries of magic, serfdom, and barbarism cannot be unravelled in a generation or two; and it is this old mental and moral warp that excites the aversion of Europeans. We all suffer from a tendency to substitute the symbol for the thing symbolized, especially in those domains of experience that have been transferred from the control of thought to that of habit; and we are all subject to the law that art appeals only to the artistic and music to the musical. But when we hap upon a Native of mental, social, and spiritual culture, his physical characteristics are no bar to comradeship.

vi. *Group-sympathy and group-antipathy.* The law of dislike for the unlike was originally protective of the clan. Group-consciousness gives each member of a primitive group a kind of group-personality that enables the group to oppose a solid front to other groups which are always waiting to prey upon it. But the brighter the sunlight the deeper the shadow, and the correlative of sympathy within the group is an antipathy to outsiders which tends to become hostility. When animosity flares up into actual warfare, 'race-prejudice' becomes so intense that it takes a long time to cool; and, on the other hand, when two groups make common cause, their oneness of outlook on the things that are nearest chills their former prejudices. Though Bantu tribes sometimes admit that they are junior to certain other tribes, the charge of degeneration that is often coupled with the admission makes it sufficiently true to say that every tribe is as supercilious as it dares to be towards outsiders, and as haughty towards weaker groups which have found shelter beneath its shield. When it comes to varieties of civilization that are separated by wider spaces, like those of Bantu, Hottentot, and Bushmen, the stronger is still more intolerant of the weaker. Everywhere, too, clannishness flouts outsiders with names indicative of physical peculiarity, just as Whites vilify Blacks as 'niggers'. Parochialism, denominationalism, bigotry, fanaticism, intolerance, clannishness, race-prejudice—call it

what you like, is found where least expected, but it thrives and spawns in the backwaters of the main stream of human culture.

vii. *Bantu characteristics which offend the Briton.* Now, it is freely admitted that it is not easy for Britons and Bantu to get on well together. They seldom understand one another's language, and still more rarely take one another's view-point. The best intentions of either are frequently misunderstood by the other; and, however he may recognize a kindness, neither forgets that the other is a foreigner. Even when Bantu have no taste for unknown European visitors, they scarcely ever show them *intentional* rudeness, unless ruffled by infringement of rights or dignity. They are punctilious in etiquette, though Europeans have no eye for the manners of good Bantu society. They behave with a familiarity that Britons resent in a stranger; but this is due to temperament and their ideas of propriety. They are virile people; vain, emotional, boisterous, self-assertive, fonder of oration and disputation than of solid work, and so instinctively sociable that they are slow to realize when their presence is undesired. Underneath an almost child-like compliance and lack of logical consistency, they hide considerable tenacity of purpose. They are astonishingly irresponsible in finance, avaricious of gifts, ignorant of values, and yet so keen in bargaining that it is hard to do straight business with them, though easy to fool them by letting them think they are cheating you. They have little regard for time in the fulfilment of promises or the discharge of duties. And, like more highly civilized people, they 'measure other people's corn by their peck'. In European settlements, where most of the race-contact takes place, there are, also, many Black travesties of the Whites—Natives who have broken with tribal morality and culture, and have easily acquired a certain superficial cleverness and knowledge, without the more essential elements of mental and moral character. In the growth of a race, as of an individual, there is a hobbledohoy period, when it is conscious of new freedom but has not yet gained the grace of self-restraint. All this, of course, makes for 'race-prejudice'.

Now let me warn the reader that this is not a portrait of Bantu character. It omits everything except such elements in the character of some Natives as make for discord between Black

and White. And, further, we must face the fact that there are some elements in the character of some Europeans that have the same tendency.

viii. *British characteristics which offend the Bantu.* Low Whites, who think every Native woman a sexual convenience, every Native man an animal to be worked and thrashed and kicked, and every missionary a kill-joy, call for no further consideration here. 'The sins of some men are evident to the world, leading the way to your estimate of their characters.' We are concerned, rather, with the behaviour of Europeans who show no such reversion to type.

Born aristocrats are said to have an instinctive aversion to peasants of rude manners, scant knowledge, and low ideals. And the saying is probably true. We all meet people of such narrow spiritual horizons, such different social heredity, that we can only endure them when we must. But the few born aristocrats that I have happened to meet have been models of reasonableness and even kindness; probably because they have been inured by long training to the habit of subjecting instinct to judgement and conscience, and of recognizing the obligations which rank imposes. All Europeans are born aristocrats among Bantu. But not all have inherited that excellent tradition. Many have the behaviour of upstarts, rather than of men to the manner born. That is the mischief! What Lord Morley once said of India is just as true of Africa: 'While bad manners are a fault everywhere, they are a crime in a Native territory.'

It is little short of marvellous that the British race, hardened in its fierce struggle with a cold climate and keen competition, should have been permeated by Christianity to the extent that it has; but gentleness has hardly come to be one of its characteristics. And among Britons resident in Africa, a land that calls for the spirit of adventure, it is inevitable that the pushful, self-confident, clamorous, and despotic should be much in evidence. Some of these people never had a dog to order about before they left home, and cannot handle Bantu servants firmly and yet with the respect that is always due to another soul. Others expect the efficiency to which they have been accustomed, and condemn, without mercy, the stupidity, clumsiness, and grotesque blunders of servants to whom the White man's domestic appliances and

methods are outlandish and puzzling, the dilatoriness of Natives who never valued time, and the havoc of Natives who never had anything that needed care. It is not true that these critics are naturally unkind or unjust: they would not ride a horse with a sore back or overload a donkey; but they have never seen the pit from which their Native 'boys' were dug, and imagination fails them. The 'boys' mistake their insistence on order, punctuality, and cleanliness for hectoring and bad temper. We judge Bantu by our standard, and the Bantu fail; the Bantu judge us by their standard, and their judgement is still more severe. Among ourselves, we recognize the awkwardness of a self-conscious person who is trying to do the correct thing in unfamiliar circumstances, and if we smile as he realizes that he has two hands too many, our smile is touched with pity; but we are provoked by the bounce with which the Bantu try to carry off their nervousness. God has endowed our race with many excellent gifts; but oh that He had given us a little more imagination!

ix. *Question of social equality.* The question of *social* equality between Bantu and British is one of the silliest questions that has ever been propounded. It is discussed only by those who decry it, those who have inadequate knowledge of Bantu social life, and those who mean something other than they say. We do not grant social equality to people who are glaringly inferior in the costlier qualities of character and culture that are the true basis of superiority. The average Bantu is not the social equal of the average Briton by a very long way, and it is neither reasonable nor helpful to ask that he should be treated as if he were. There are exceptional individuals in both races: Britons whom one would be sorry to see in one's social circle till they were cleaned inside and out, and Bantu whom it is always a pleasure to have at our table.

x. *Question of political equality.* Very much the same thing may be said about *political* equality. We saw in a previous chapter that Bantu political thought is cast in a different mould. Generations must pass before average Bantu will be fit for political equality in British institutions, even under favourable conditions; and at present, unfortunately, little effort is made to provide them with such local government in their locations

and tribal areas as might gradually train them to take their place in our body politic. Here again there are exceptions : Britons so densely ignorant of national and international affairs that they are ever ready to follow a political carrot at a trot ; and Bantu not only fit for the franchise, but singularly well versed in Cape politics. If we were discussing the possibilities of the future, these British and Bantu social and political exceptions would be very significant, but they are not germane to the present question of equality between the two races.

xi. *Brotherhood and its implications.* The trouble is that many Europeans who scout social and political equality for Blacks and Whites really mean, in their inconsiderate pride of race, that the Bantu are to be treated as if they were not human. Mentally, morally, and spiritually, average Bantu tribesmen are no more full-grown men than small boys and adolescents are ; but they have all the rights that are inherent in immature humans : the right to protection, education, guidance, encouragement, opportunity for development, as well as impartial justice in law-courts and courtesy and fair treatment in social, industrial, and commercial intercourse. The measure of their immaturity is the measure of their claim upon the patience, forbearance, protection, and guidance of the more mature. They, too, are human beings, and therefore our brothers. Brotherhood does not mean equality. The athlete may have a brother who is unable to walk ; the scholar, a brother whose mental development is quite juvenile ; the statesman, a brother whose vision is too narrow for a parish council ; the artist, a brother who is colour-blind ; and the musician, a brother who is deaf. But in moments of reverie they both feel the caress of the same hand ; and the touch of that hand makes all the difference in their attitude to one another. It should not incline the scholar to propose such a brother for a professorship, or the statesman to nominate such a brother for the legislature ; but it should move each to see that no artificial barrier to advancement is placed in the brother's way, and that whatever is likely to make for his welfare and efficiency is done for him. It should lead each to aid his brother in hours of oppression, perplexity, trouble, pain, and want, and whether he gives reproof or comfort, opposition or co-operation, restraint or release, to act as if their mother were there. If we could take

that ideal into our dealings with the Blacks, it would crown our strength with patience and gentleness, and we should become redeemers of Africa. But that means keeping very close to the Great Paternal Heart of the World—or Maternal, if that is a better metaphor.

xii. *Ethiopianism is political and religious.* If it takes so much grace to lift White men above the fogs of clannishness, can we wonder that the Blacks fail, and that waves of what has lately been called 'Ethiopianism' sweep now and then over the community, to the detriment of Africans and the dismay of Europeans.

We draw a sharp line of distinction between religion and politics; but to the Bantu, religion is the staple of which the political fabric is woven. The 'prophets' mentioned in the chapter on Ancestor-worship¹ had much to say of political loyalties. In 1857 a famous 'prophet', named Mhlakaza, ordered the Amaxosa to destroy their cattle and corn; and so complete was their obedience that scores of thousands of that tribe perished of starvation, in spite of all that European generosity could do to mitigate the calamity. This astonishing sacrifice was made because it was believed that the ancestral spirits had commanded it, and would reward obedience with the ruin of the Whites and choicer corn and cattle from the spirit-world.

This particular instance of antagonism to the Whites was largely due to the fact that the Amaxosa, being in the van of the southward push of the Bantu tribes, had to bear the brunt of calamitous conflict with Europeans who were pushing in the opposite direction. But Native 'prophets' of race-hatred still arise at intervals in many parts of Africa.

In 1909 two 'prophets' appeared at Taungs, in South Bechuanaland, and predicted that if the Batlhaping would leave their gardens untilled, as a mark of obedience to the divine command, the Whites would be extirpated. They had adopted the Red Cross as their symbol, and professed to belong to the Roman Church; and one of them claimed, not to be inspired after the ancient manner by the spirit of some old celebrity, but to be a reincarnation of Jesus Christ. This is significant; for it shows, not only that antagonism to Europeans may exist in

¹ See pp. 71 et seq.

circumstances very different from those of the foregoing example, but that an old phenomenon may wear a modern garb without changing its character.

The tragedy which occurred at Bullhoek, near Queenstown, in the Cape Province, as lately as 24 May 1921, is another instance of the same kind. Enoch Mgijima was a local preacher whose neighbours were inclined to measure personality in pounds avoirdupois, and who regarded his 'corpulent stature' (as a Native writer phrased it) as ample compensation for the slenderness of his knowledge. For his knowledge he relied upon visions, not learning; and when the comet appeared in 1910 he knew that it was an indication that God was angry with the world and would shake it to its foundations, unless men returned to the ancient religion of the Israelites. He gathered his disciples around him at his place, which adjoined the Bullhoek Crown lands; instituted an annual festival in imitation of the Passover; declared that the New Testament was a fiction of the White men and should be removed from the Bible; and taught his followers that they were Jehovah's chosen and peculiar people, and that, if they were trustful and obedient, Jehovah would deliver them from the bondage of Europeans as He had delivered their spiritual forefathers from that of Egypt. Thus the sect of 'Israelites' was founded. It is thought that he was at first sincere; but people who see visions are never destitute of imagination, and new emergencies demand new visions. By 1920 the increasing crowd of 'Israelites' had overflowed on to the adjoining Crown lands and built a village of some 300 huts without permission. Heathen people, clad in red blankets and armed with assegais, had been drawn to the movement by the prospect of victory over the Whites, and the sect had become defiant and belligerent. Government acted with exemplary patience, however, and vainly tried every method of conciliation. Thinking that a display of force might succeed where appeals to reason had failed, the authorities after a while sent a detachment of a hundred police to enforce the law; but when the police were resisted, they were withdrawn for the sake of preventing bloodshed and recourse again had to the kindlier method of intermediaries. The 'Israelites' declared, however, that Jehovah had ordered them to resist, and all attempts to bring the fanatics

to reason were unavailing. At last 800 mounted men were sent against them, in the hope that they would be overawed by such an overwhelming force. But the number of guns is hardly a serious consideration to people who believe that they have been rendered magically immune to bullets. Refusing all overtures, even at the last minute, about 500 fanatics drew up in military formation, armed with swords and spears, and, waiting till the troops had dismounted and approached within fifty yards, hurled themselves upon bayonets and machine-guns with such vehemence that they were not checked till some 300 had fallen, of whom 171 were fatally wounded. After that they surrendered, and handed over the ' prophet ' and his brother, the latter being a Government servant who had retired on pension.

xiii. *Why the Blacks blame the Whites for all their troubles.* What is the explanation of the strange notion that the presence of the Whites is the root of all the trouble that the Bantu race has to bear ? Most of us are wont to think that the White man has brought them all their benefits. The writings of the first White men who penetrated any part of Central Africa depict a country which was broken by war and slave-raiders, and in which might was right, life very insecure, and tyranny and servility equally abundant. The people were victims of fear : villages were built in inaccessible hills, which provided adjacent hiding-places ; men never went out unarmed ; women and children never ventured far without protection ; and the few people who reached old age were liable to be killed upon accusation of witchcraft. There was a note of resigned fatalism running through the life of the people ; and cunning and duplicity were not only brought to a fine art, but were positively uncanny. Speke thought there was little hope for Africa unless some such government as we had introduced into India could be given to this continent also. The story told by the first White men who wrote of Africa south of the Zambesi is much the same. The Arab slaver had not wrought such havoc in this region ; but man preyed upon man just as fiercely, and famine stalked periodically like a spectre through the country.

Now it is abundantly evident that the coming of the White man has reduced these horrors to insignificant proportions, and made the life of the Natives fairly secure from famine and from

foes. This is true, at any rate, of districts in which the power of the White man has been seriously felt ; and it is only dwellers in such districts that we are for the moment considering. The mental and moral progress which was impossible to these people in the midst of constant turmoil is impossible to them no longer. On the contrary, they see a freedom and power of which their fathers never dreamt, and they want it. We have no doubt roused resentment, at times, by arbitrary action based on ignorance, or by the haste of individuals to be rich, or by that exclusive sense of our own importance which we are considering in this chapter ; but discontent is the 'growing pain' of an adolescent community, and the more rapidly the Bantu grow, the more do they complain of twinges and aches which they never felt before.

And further, it is one of the beautiful characteristics of memory that it takes the sharp edges from pain and beautifies pleasure with the mellow light of age. Hence the glory which suffuses legends that are poured by revered lips into willing ears. The toil, hardship, and danger of the fathers come to the children in the form of heroic endeavour, endurance, and courage, and their satisfactions are painted in softer colours than they ever wore. Now, the Bantu are peculiarly receptive of legends that are passed down to them by their elders. Until a European has compared the 'praise-songs' of chiefs with a prosaic account of the incidents celebrated, it is not easy for him to believe that the critical faculty can be so dormant in any people, or the receptive faculty so insatiable. One would expect people who shared the experiences to smile at the gross exaggeration of glory, instead of pluming themselves in its reflected light. It is often urged in our journals that nothing would do so much to banish the race-prejudices which are fatal to the amity of European nations as the teaching of impartial history in schools ; and it is abundantly evident that literature, whether written or unwritten, plays a prominent part in forming the ideals of a people. The present generation of Bantu, in regions where European influence has wrought great changes, are familiar with the history of their own people only through the legends which their fathers have told them. They know that the difficulties of their own day are very largely due to the necessity of ad-

justing themselves to the new European environment; and they look back to 'the good old days' when none of these difficulties existed. They feel the pain of the ills they have, but, lacking historic imagination, are unable to feel the pain of ills from which their fathers were delivered.

xiv. *African Nationalists*. It must not be supposed, however, that most tribesmen are antipathetic to Europeans, even in tribes with which we have been in contact for generations. Probably few are unaware of the discord between the two races, but most of them know, also, that their life has gained more than it has lost from the coming of Europeans. Nor must it be thought that all those who are affected with this form of race-prejudice are unreasonable or extreme. Taken in the mass, they compare very favourably with that large class of our fellow-countrymen who talk contemptuously and blatantly of 'niggers'. Their motto is 'Africa for the Africans'; and if their tribes had been welded together into one or two large nations, we should probably describe them as Bantu Nationalists, though it is doubtful whether many of them would vote for the removal of the British Government if the choice were offered them.

xv. *Rise of Ethiopianism*. 'Ethiopianism' is a vague title for a movement in which this attitude of mind is very prominent, but which has many subsidiary purposes to serve. It cannot be described as a religious movement, nor as a political movement, nor as a social movement; for Bantu thought finds it difficult to make such distinctions. But it found its first organized expression in the Christian Church: hence its name.

A Native minister named Mokone led a secession from the Wesleyans of the Pretoria district, late in the 'eighties', and joined a Native named Tile, who had broken with the Wesleyans three or four years previously and formed the 'Church of the Tembus'. As this designation was too local to include Mokone's followers (who were not Tembus), he named his disciples 'Ethiopians'—a term which he thought to be a Scriptural and therefore sacred name for their race. Tile died soon after, and his followers became Baptists, taking the name of 'Cushites', which was also Scriptural; but they soon disagreed concerning the practice of foot-washing, and again divided. In 1894 a

Native named Dwane left the Wesleyans and was induced to join the 'Ethiopians'. He was an able man, and, having blue blood in his veins, began naturally to play for the headship of the new sect. In 1896 he was sent to the United States of America to seek affiliation with the African Methodist Episcopal Church,¹ and returned with the announcement that he had been appointed General Superintendent for South Africa. Hitherto Mokone had been regarded as the head of the 'Ethiopians', and Mokone resented Dwane's manœuvre so bitterly that he never became reconciled. In 1898 the A.M.E. Church sent their Bishop Turner to South Africa; and in six weeks he ordained sixty ministers and deacons, organized the Transvaal Conference with 7,175 members and the South African Conference with 3,625 members, and consecrated Dwane Bishop of South Africa, on condition that the consecration was approved by the A.M.E. Church. It was not approved. Dwane then discovered that the Orders of the A.M.E. Church were not valid, and applied to the Church of the Province of South Africa to receive him and his followers into the Anglican communion, allowing them to remain a separate order under their old name. This was eventually done; and a small minority who adhered to Dwane passed out of the original 'Ethiopian' sect into 'The Order of Ethiopia' and the discipline of the Anglican Church. But the majority of the secessionists forsook Dwane in his last change and remained 'Ethiopians'.

But though the name 'Ethiopian' was first adopted by

¹ At the close of the eighteenth century Negroes and Whites found it difficult to worship together in the Southern States of America, and at the desire of the Blacks a few Negro branches of the Methodist Episcopal Church were formed. Between these branches and those under White superintendents difficulties gradually arose; and in 1816 the Negroes seceded and formed the African Methodist Episcopal Church (usually abbreviated A.M.E. Church). This Church grew enormously. In 1916 it consisted of 6,900 local churches, 16 bishops, 6,550 ministers, and 620,000 members, and its property was valued at \$15,238,630. It is exclusively a Negro Church. The bitter feeling that exists between Blacks and Whites in the Southern States is notorious; and Negroes would hardly be human if they were not cradled in resentment at the lynchings and other injustices which they have to suffer. There are American Negroes of great ability who counsel wise restraint in face of great provocation; and some of these are no doubt within the A.M.E. Church. But it is nevertheless true that this Church is the last body to improve race-relationship in South Africa.

seceders from the Wesleyans, there were similar secessions from almost every Church in South Africa. A split from the Berlin Mission became 'The Free Lutheran Bapedi Church'. 'The Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion' was founded by a native deacon who seceded, first from the Anglican Church in Pretoria, and then from the Ethiopians. Those who left the Natal Mission of American Congregationalists constituted 'The Zulu Congregational Church'; and seceders from the Natal, Cape, and Transvaal Missions of the Free Church of Scotland founded, respectively, 'The National Church', 'The Presbyterian Church of Africa', and 'The Independent Native Presbyterian Church'. Similar but smaller ventures, scattered throughout South Africa, often wore local labels; but the name 'Ethiopian' caught the Native fancy and became a general name for all these disunited bodies with similar ideals.¹

xvi. *Ethiopianism in harmony with Bantu character and tradition.* A detailed study of these schisms would show that not one of them has originated in doctrinal or ecclesiastical divergences; that all are based upon colour and appeal to racial prejudices; that in nearly every case the prime mover was a man who had been educated by the denomination that he was leaving, and admitted to its ministry; that the proximate cause of withdrawal was often private pique or personal ambition; and that, while Churches which had encouraged Natives to take a full share in the general management of affairs suffered greatly from schism, the Roman Church, which keeps its converts in a strictly subordinate position and admits no Natives to its orders in South Africa, never suffered at all.

It is inconceivable, of course, that the private pique of the separatists was always without excuse, or that European missionaries always acted in the wisest and kindest manner. Probably every schism which has rent the Church of Christ has been partly due to the existence in the parent body of apathy, inertia, obscurantism, false pride, lack of the spirit of charity, or such tenacious clinging to old abuses as left the reformers without

¹ This movement is by no means limited to South Africa. The tendency to form Native Churches without Christian ethics but with polygamy and gin is noticed on the West Coast. One seceding Church in that region claims over 10,000 adults. See *Dawn in Darkest Africa*, by John H. Harris, pp. 287-9.

hope. Missionaries are as human as other Christians. But we must look much farther afield if we wish to discover the final cause of Ethiopianism.

At the back of this movement lies the social heredity of the Bantu. For though Christianity brings the converts a new conception of God and man and begins at once to transform their ideas, the converts still remain Bantu. The mental atmosphere in which they were bred makes it likely that they will value the outward and visible sign rather than the inward and spiritual grace; churchly machinery rather than a cleaner life; ecclesiastical titles and dress rather than ministerial fitness. And Ethiopianism promises to satisfy their longing. Moreover, they have inherited the traditions of Bantu tribalism, which from the first, apparently, had an innate aptitude for splitting into innumerable fragments, each looking upon its neighbour with a jealousy that often flared into strife, and each owing its origin to some prominent man who had become an incarnation of its grievances and the champion of its antagonisms. They are hero-worshippers to a man, and each one greedy of glory. And further, in spite of the adulation that they politely lavish upon friendly Whites, they are race-haughty. 'I am black, but comely,' was the proud boast that appeared in heavy type on the front page of every number of a Native newspaper that I used often to read. It is inevitable that these racial characteristics should play their part in Bantu Church-life. Nor can we ignore the fact that the missionary is European. If European arrogance chafes the Bantu till they are supersensitive, even a blameless missionary may find some of them very thin-skinned. Accustomed to racial contempt from Whites, they are liable to assume that any uncomprehended opposition of White missionaries to their plans and aims is due to race-prejudice.

xvii. *Ethiopianism facilitated by our denominational cleavage.* The unfortunate division of the Christian Church into numerous sections, often competing with one another and protesting against the unfair encroachment of one another, is also responsible for much of the mischief. The Bantu cannot understand the historic circumstances that gave each branch of the Church its separate existence, and they would not be interested in them if they could. Nor have they seen any importance in denomina-

tional points of difference. But the clannishness of the various Churches finds congenial soil in Bantu character, and oft-times grows into outlandish forms. If they received their Christianity from you, they believe in your Church-clan, and are ready to fight for it. For other Church-clans they have the same feeling that they have for clans outside their tribal group; and that, at the best, is a feeling of armed neutrality. While they are in your clan, they accept your discipline as they accept that of the clan-head in their tribe. If your judgements are past bearing and the course is open, they turn naturally to another clan for sympathy, or they who are in the front rank and therefore secure of a following start an independent clan of their own. This has ever been their tribal practice, and the many Church-clans point the way to a continuance of tribal practice in Church relationships. It was from our denominationalism that they got the idea that any one with a grievance may leave the parent body and start a church of his own. With them, loyalty to the denomination that brought them the Gospel, and its corollary of denominational rivalry, is merely the old clan-spirit christened and rehabilitated. What the Bishops of the Lambeth Conference recently said in the *Appeal to all Christian People* is as true of the Ethiopian cleavage as of our own unfortunate divisions: 'Self-will, ambition, and lack of charity among Christians have been principal factors in the mingled process, and these, together with blindness to the sin of disunion, are still mainly responsible for the breaches of Christendom.' The Christian Church ought to hide its head with shame as it contemplates the havoc wrought in infant African Churches by its unhappy divisions.

xviii. *Ethiopianism a mark of racial adolescence.* Jealousy of foreign interference is common to all nations. Good government, it must be repeated, is no substitute for self-government. At the bottom, Ethiopianism is racial self-assertion against foreign control. It does not emphasize nationality in food, clothes, trade, or titles: far from it. It does not advocate the throwing off of the European political yoke, though it may easily come to do so if European politicians do not walk warily; but it rightly claims a share of political power, and it takes its place in those political associations that have been founded and led by educated Natives.

That it lays the emphasis upon a Church that is free from European control is due partly to the interweaving of religion and politics in Bantu thought, and partly to the fact that the movement finds its leadership and constituency among those who owe to the Churches their greater ability to think, organize, and advance in civilization.

As already remarked, there is a period of adolescence in the development of a race, like that of an individual, when power is felt and freedom claimed, though endurance has not yet become a finished product—a period which makes the heaviest demands upon both parent and child. Then it is that obstinacy in the parent reacts as self-assertion in the child; and if in his impatience the adolescent breaks away from parental control, he is likely to stress power and freedom more than responsibility. It was thus with the Ethiopian movement. Mission Boards are not working for the perpetual childhood of their converts: their ideal is to found a self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating Native Church. These premature and violent separations, however, produced anarchy, meretricious finance, and predatory raids upon the older Churches. At first the Ethiopian Churches were naturally extreme, and thrusting themselves forward with the impetuosity and ungainliness of youth, in their keen desire to alienate all Native Christians from the Whites, they rapidly became caves of Adullam. But time dulls all sharp edges in our human atmosphere, and as resentment cooled and Ethiopian leaders became aware of other elements in the problems which they had to solve, a greater sense of responsibility came to the best of them, and proselytism lessened, though it has not yet ceased. If they cast out devils in His name, even though they do not follow with us, we know what attitude the Master wishes us to take towards them, however hard it may be to overcome our pride and possibly just resentment. We shall know them by their fruit, and we look to find heathen people won to a cleaner life and Christian people inspired to more unselfish service. But the time has not yet come when the best friends of the seceders find it easy to help them, though there is at least a hope that by generous recognition of what is just in their claims, and by forbearance with what is merely premature and petulant, it may yet be possible to make

the new movement contribute its quota of good to the formation of an indigenous African Church.

xix. *Ethiopianism a reaction against Negrophobia.* It must be distinctly stated, however, that though Ethiopianism has been conspicuous in the ecclesiastical relationship of Black and White, it is not in the main a Church movement, but is essentially a discord between the races, for which neither the missionaries nor their converts are chiefly responsible, and which cannot be corrected merely or even mainly by missionaries. Few people of either colour are altogether free from racial egotism, but missionaries are indisputably less tainted with this vice than any other section of the European population. To this their critics are witnesses. Terse phrases of passionate criticism which catch the public ear cannot be mistaken for discriminating judgements, but they lose their point if they bear no semblance to truth; and the commonest charge against missionaries is that they encourage their converts to think themselves brothers and equals of the Whites.¹ And like teacher, like taught. Natives who remain long under missionary influence arrive at race-adolescence sooner than others, but are less warped by race-hatred than those who reach the same stage by other paths. Let us face facts! At heart, the Ethiopian movement is a conscious reaction of Bantu group-personality against the nigger-hating nonsense which has been the vogue among Afro-Europeans for centuries; and the only way of counteracting the evil of which it is capable is to let reason and kindness mould our manners, instead of prejudice and conceit. Fortunately, there has been an improvement in this matter during the last twenty years. Time was when the attitude of most Europeans who were not missionaries was one of lofty contempt for niggers; but now it is common to meet with politicians, journalists, Government officials, professional men, and other leaders of our race in Africa, who take a reasonable and even compassionate view of the African people. They know well that the African is neither a pet nor a foe, and that any attempt to treat him as if he were either is instinct with calamity for him and for us. They recognize that though the Bantu are separated from Europeans by their different outlook on life and their ignorance of much that men ought to

¹ For the truth at the back of this criticism see pp. 194-5 and 229-31.

know, yet their capacity for self-sacrifice is a great asset ; and that, since the soul of a people is for ever in the making, their mentality is susceptible to a change in environment.

xx. *Democracy and race-hatred both spread from great labour-centres.* But the leaders of our race are few in comparison with the crowds of unthinking Whites, who are mere echoes of one another's crude notions, and who, while enriching the empire with gold and gems, are at the same time sowing the dragon's teeth of racial hatred from which harvests of armed men are likely to spring. It will take more labour and more time to eradicate the weeds which they are sowing than to exhaust the treasures of banket-reef and diamond-pipes. In his famous speech to the University at Cape Town, Lord Selborne aptly likened these great centres of European population to Universities in which African Natives graduate in European civilization. Wherever one goes in the Greater Britain beyond the Seas, one becomes immediately aware that the atmosphere is impregnated with democratic sentiment ; and our compatriots in Africa are as democratic as those in Queensland or New Zealand. Whether the theory of democracy is consciously promulgated or not, it is impossible for Natives to work long in such communities without catching something of its spirit ; and the result, in every Native community that is largely represented at the mines, is a growing demand for self-determination, and an ever-increasing assertion of independence. Hence there arises a Bantu movement towards democracy and parliamentary institutions with which we shall surely have to reckon, though as yet the movement is as that of men who move hesitatingly in the early dawn, when the stars have paled and the sun has not yet risen. This movement is so new to tribal life that it cannot fail to create problems which will defy solution unless Blacks and Whites approach them with mutual sympathy and patience. And it is a disaster when apostles of political equality among Whites diffuse a supercilious spirit of racial superiority which compels both races to view their mutual problems through the fogs of prejudice and passion. True, these political evangelists are not consciously teaching the Bantu to hate the British ; what matters most is not the doctrine that is preached, though that is not unimportant, but the spirit that is cherished. Race-hatred breeds race-hatred

everywhere. What else should it breed! Men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. They who believe that the Bantu have no redeeming quality are not likely to become redeemers of Africa.

If the high ideals of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations are to be realized, Bantu and Britons must grow in sympathy for one another. And sympathy is never dynamic unless it is inspired by knowledge. The only way of bringing Africans to share our ideas, purposes, traditions, and institutions, is to look with kindly eyes upon theirs; and if we are not strong enough to mould African souls after this newer and better pattern, we live among them only at our peril, for the weak are ever moulded by the strong.

xxi. *Segregation.* Let it not be supposed, however, that the talk of segregation which has of late years come to the fore in the Union of South Africa is due to this last-mentioned consideration. Now and then one meets a discoverer of the shortest path between the brain and the lips who says that the shortest cut to contentment in South Africa is to drive the Blacks back across the Zambesi. And the 'prophets' mentioned in preceding pages declared that the way to bliss was to drive the Whites into the sea. If every race in South Africa were driven back whence it came, political problems would, of course, disappear. But one cannot waste time tilting at windmills while there are dragons that ought to be slain: windmills, whether whitewashed or tarred, give character to dreary flats, and no one who is at all versed in current affairs is likely to mistake a White windmill for a segregationist. No segregationists that I ever met want to segregate themselves from the Blacks. They all use Black labour whenever they can get it. What they want to segregate is the lands of the Blacks from the lands of the Whites; and, *providing that there is no unfairness in the division*, there is much to be said for the proposal.

It has long been the custom of White farmers, especially those of Dutch origin, to allow Natives to squat on their farms and cultivate patches of arable land on 'the halves', the farmer finding land and seed, the squatter finding labour, and each taking half the crops. Sometimes the squatter pays for the farmer's land by helping the farmer for a stipulated number of

days. In such cases, though the Native is under the farmer's control and knows it, disputes are common. But the case is much worse when a Native owns land adjoining that of a White farmer who cares for his fences and abhors weeds and cattle-diseases. As a rule, which is not without exceptions, Black farmers and White farmers are not good neighbours. Natives have many unsuspected lessons to learn in agriculture and individual ownership, and Whites are too overbearing.

In some districts, too, the ownership of land tends to pass from Native to White by processes which are perfectly understood in European society. As already remarked on preceding pages, Bantu character is weak in forethought and greedy of glory. Native landowners love to figure among their people as great and generous men; and loans are very seductive things, while mortgages are mere papers till many months have passed, and can then be renewed again and again, still further postponing the day of reckoning.

If certain large districts within the Union could be marked off as those in which Whites alone can own land, and others as those in which only Blacks can do so, an important cause of friction would be removed, to the advantage of both races; but the scheme presented a few years ago was unjust, and it is doubtful whether a just and practicable scheme can be devised. If such a scheme comes into effect, however, it will not segregate Blacks from Whites, though it will probably reduce the Native labour that is now available to White farmers.

xxii. *Mixed marriages.* Let us close our discussion of the colour bar with a brief reference to a kindred problem which is the antithesis of segregation—the question of mixed marriages between Bantu and Britons. Very few Europeans regard such marriages with favour, and many grow furious at the suggestion that such a question is open to investigation. Globe-trotters invade the most sacred temples of humanity with their binoculars, cameras, and measuring-tapes; but over this shrine the legend is boldly displayed: CLOSED BY ORDER OF MRS. GRUNDY. Since it is questionable, however, whether the bite of the old bitch is as terrible as her bark, we venture calmly to inquire how this practice should be regarded by one who tries to sweep prejudice aside and form his judgement according to reason and conscience.

We note, first of all, that the public condemnation of White women who marry Black men is much more severe than that of White men who marry Black women. Right or wrong, this is quite in accord with our British practice. We demand a higher sexual morality from our women than we do from our men—probably because we are still influenced by a social atmosphere which has not lost the taint of marriage customs that we have not only outgrown but forgotten.¹ There is, however, another word that may be said in extenuation of this departure from sex equality. While thousands of White men live in Africa under conditions which practically forbid them to marry White women, there is no such disability attending White women who reside there. As far as mixed marriages are concerned, we may dispose of this inequality of condemnation with the remark that it is not due to race-prejudice but to prevalent British opinion on the sex problem, and may restrict our inquiry to marriage between White men and Black women—a limitation which is the more permissible inasmuch as marriages between White women and Black men are of very rare occurrence.

Then there are one or two facts of human experience which must not be forgotten. History provides us with the spectacle of age-long interfusion between what we are pleased to call different races of mankind. Not only is there no organic inequality between races, but there is no special instinct which has ever kept them from blending—not even the primitive instinct of group-antipathy. The wildest hymns of hate and contempt and wilder deeds of war that have surged over Africa (or any other country, for that matter) have never blinded the conquerors to the physical beauty of their captive women, nor prevented them from adding the prettiest of them to their harems. Even when the conquerors were the most race-haughty of Bantu tribes and the conquered were Bushmen who were vilified as 'baboons', the same practice prevailed. And it has obtained among Europeans, not only when they have reverted to type in that storm of elemental passions which we dignify with the name of war, but in that peaceful penetration of Africa which has happily been more common. Race-hatred has played a terribly divisive part in the opening up of Africa, but it has never prevented

¹ See Chapter V, especially pp. 107 et seq.

White men from cohabiting with Black women. Some of the most virulent nigger-haters that I ever met among my fellow-countrymen were keeping Black concubines. That thousands of Europeans resident in Africa condemn prostitution and concubinage apart altogether from the question of colour, it is surely unnecessary to state ; but it comes as a surprise to discover that among those who are unashamed of the cohabitation of White men with Native women there are thousands who are enraged at the suggestion of marriage between the two. Evidently it is not the physical fact of marriage which is banned, but something involved in the legalization of the union.

And yet most of these unions are already legal in the eyes of the Native woman and her kindred. Native prostitutes are common, and neither Whites who resort to them nor Natives who live near them ever mistake them for other than they are ; but we are thinking of Native concubines for the moment. What the Bantu regard as the essentials of honourable and regular marriage have been set forth in Chapter V, and a word here will explain what is meant. If a White man takes a Native woman without the consent of her guardian, he is likely to rouse the resentment of her kindred and bring trouble upon himself and her. The usual practice is for the White man to arrange the matter with the woman's guardian, directly or indirectly, and pay him a stipulated sum. Her people regard this as bride-price, and from their point of view such unions, whether desirable or undesirable, are legal and therefore moral. His people regard it not as marriage but concubinage, and hold that, because of the difference of race, it would be an outrage for him to make that woman his wife.

Obviously, also, it is not a question of bringing hybrids into the world. It is often said to be the duty of Britons to keep their breed pure, though no one ever explains why it is a duty, or what it means to keep the breed pure. If there is such a thing in the world as a pure breed, one must look for it among people who have been isolated for thousands of years by great geographical barriers, and nothing is more sure than that he who finds it will discover a backward race, at best, like the people whom the Spaniards found in Central America, or, more likely, like those of Central Africa, or Australia, or possibly even of Tasmania, or

Tierra del Fuego. The breed of ancient Britons was purer than that of the Briton of to-day ; and the tremendous improvement in virility, enterprise, and progress that we have inherited is due largely to the subsequent infiltration of blood from twenty different sources. One need not run over the list from palaeolithic man through Celts, Iberians, Romans, Norsemen, Saxons, Normans, and the rest : it is our glory that we are hybrids. The most successful of all experiments for keeping a breed pure is the caste system of India ; and its partial success is largely responsible for the ease with which India has been exploited by successive adventurers for two thousand years, and for her present unfitness to receive anything but a limited freedom.

The assertion that children of White men and Black women combine the vices of both races and the virtues of neither still requires proof. Most of us have met undesirable specimens of this breed ; but we have remembered that they never had a chance. Born of a vicious father, or a father who had not enough will of his own even to be vicious, deserted by him when he tired of their mother, and spurned by his race, they grew up as best they could in their mother's native village, or in some location where she drifted to find a living without parting from the excitements and luxuries of civilization. On the other hand, we have met children of White men who married Black women, either by Native or European custom, and who continued to live with them honourably and to lavish as much love and care upon their little ones as a hen can upon a brood of ducklings ; and one notes with gladness that many of these children have made good. There are instances, indeed, in which the children of White fathers and Black mothers, born under more fortunate conditions, have done remarkably well, winning the respect of all who know them.

But, however this may be, the hybrids come just the same, whether through concubinage or marriage, and the popular sentiment against mixed marriages cannot be due to abhorrence of bringing hybrids into the world. It must be confessed, I fear, that the outcry against these marriages springs from race-hatred.

And yet the question comes : ' Could you congratulate any White friend of yours upon his marriage with the best Black woman whom you ever met in Africa ? ' And honesty compels

me to say : ' No ! I should be sorry for them both.' And I should not be thinking mainly of the stigma that the unfortunate children would have to take through life, though that is important.

What is marriage, and what are the motives which should lead a man and a woman to marry ? The building of home and the begetting of children are inseparable from the idea of marriage. Without children, marriage can never do all that it ought for either husband or wife ; and its full fragrance can never be diffused except amidst the sanctities of one's own home. But they who are mainly influenced by these considerations are likely to find marriage unsatisfactory, if not impossible. To repeat what has been said on a former page, marriage should be inspired by the joy of going through life hand in hand with the comrade of one's choice, sharing one another's burdens, stimulating one another's courage, doubling one another's sagacity, buckling on one another's armour, wearing one another's laurels, and easing one another's pain. That means the perfect comradeship of two kindred spirits. There is room for much variety of thought and taste and expression ; but there must be harmony in the variety. The appeal of physical beauty may make for the invigoration of the offspring, but while society is making progress the individual has to pay the price. That a thoughtful, educated, cultured, and prosperous merchant may wed a girl in his own factory, from a very simple home and a very elementary school, and that the pair should live happily together and rejoice in a family of talented and admirable children, I can imagine. But such instances must be very rare, and a great majority of experiments in this direction must prove lamentable failures. After all, many simple English homes are fertile of those fine spiritual qualities which are at once the result of high Christian civilization and the cement of true marriage. But the outlook upon life of the average Black is much farther removed from that of the average Briton than is that of the factory-girl from her educated husband. The African may have possibilities of which we do not see a glimmer. We do not see him as he is, still less as he is capable of becoming. We are no better able to pierce the veil of a thousand years and see the African that is to be, than were the aristocratic Romans to see the possibilities that lay

beneath the woad in the coracles. When the Bantu have behind them such centuries of mental and material progress as those to which we are heirs, they will not be Europeans, but they may be superior to any Europeans that we know. What we have to consider, however, in dealing with this marriage problem, is the African as he is to-day ; and it seems to me that, except in very rare cases, there cannot be that real harmony of spirit between Bantu and Britons which can alone make true marriage possible. Their general outlook upon life is a hemisphere removed from ours.

This judgement, however, has nothing to do with physical aspects of race. The time may come when marriage between White and Black may be no more reprehensible than between blonde and brunette ; but there must come first a great widening of the mental and spiritual horizons of Africans or else a great decadence of Europeans. Where such decadence has already made it possible for Whites to realize their poor ideal of marriage (if ' marriage ' it can be called) in unions with Black women, there can be no valid objection to making the man legally liable for the care of the wife whom he has chosen and the children whom he brings into the world. Public opinion should vent its wrath, not upon such of these Europeans as make an honourable attempt to meet the responsibilities which they incurred in a paroxysm of sex-intoxication, but upon those who lightly throw their own children into the maelstrom of a semi-barbaric community.

XII. THE TASK OF THE CHURCH

In my own heart love had not been made wise
To trace love's faint beginnings in mankind,
To know even hate is but a mask of love's,
To see a good in evil, and a hope
In ill-success ; to sympathize, be proud
Of their half-reasons, faint aspirings, dim
Struggles for truth, their poorest fallacies,
Their prejudice and fears and cares and doubts ;
All with a touch of nobleness, despite
Their error, upward tending all though weak,
Like plants in mines which never saw the sun,
But dream of him, and guess where he may be,
And do their best to climb and get to him.
All this I knew not, and I failed.

BROWNING's *Paracelsus*.

i. *The unfolding of a child's mind and soul.* Every mother knows that, though in the growth of a child the animal first demands satisfaction, yet it is necessary at a very early period to provide for the intellectual and spiritual also. The cry of hunger may be stilled, and the growing muscles aided in their first blundering efforts to perform their destined tasks, but there is still discomfort in the nursery if the expanding mind and soul are not helped to find self-expression. At this stage in the unfolding of the child-soul, the nursery is full of unseen beings. Every wooden doll and lead soldier is alive ; and if a fairy came tripping into the room on a morning sunbeam, or elves were seen dancing on the lawn in the moonlight, it would seem perfectly natural to the Hope of the Home. Both Prince Charming and his Royal Sister know the language of animals, too, and hold long and interesting conversations with the one or two pets that are admitted into the nursery, and even with the antediluvian beasts which march out, two by two, from Noah's Ark. The child-soul finds belief in the material more difficult and more disagreeable than belief in the unseen : it is not yet swayed by the divinity whom adult and sedate souls call Truth, and poetry is truer than prose. But though the young and sensitive soul finds it

easy, natural, and delightful to believe in God and have commerce with Him, it cannot think of death except as a new and interesting incident of life. The mother who is skilled in the dietetics and hygiene of the nursery, but deaf to the cry of her children's brain and heart, is sure to be a failure. She, too, must see the unseen, and care for it, or it is likely that her task will be made unnecessarily irksome by the discontent of her little ones, and her future years embittered by the unfilial conduct of sons who have found full-grown physical vigour but missed the controlling value of wise judgements and high ideals.

ii. *Similar unfolding in child-races.* Those of us who have had child-tribes in our nursery—foster-mothers though we be—are convinced that the growth of humanity is very like that of an individual. We have never found a child-race so young that intellect and soul had not yet begun to function, and cannot guess how or when the physical first blossomed forth into the mental and spiritual.¹ Upon slender acquaintance it sometimes appears as if a primitive group had neither sense nor religion; but he who has enough patience and human sympathy to become familiar with their speech and customs is soon aware that the lack was his, and that people who look out on life from what is to us an unusual angle may express the fundamental needs and aspirations of humanity in phrases and symbols that we think crude or even repellent. Everywhere we find intellectual and spiritual cravings which will not be hushed till they are satisfied. It is pitiful to see, as I have sometimes seen, little neglected waifs of humanity screaming with hunger and instinctively cramming their mouths with any rubbish within reach; but such glimpses of human need are always lit with a gleam of prophetic hope. They are signs of healthy digestion. The child's stomach was made for food, or the little hands would never try to appease the hunger-pangs with unclean morsels; and when, after allaying fears excited by my outlandish figure, I have induced the child to accept something better suited to its digestive organs, the smile that has played over the tear-stained face has been proof enough that

¹ Odd *individuals* are born blind or deaf or idiotic; and it is hard to resist the conviction that odd individuals may be born without the spiritual sense. But there is not a blind or deaf or idiotic or non-spiritual *tribe* in the world.

all the while the famished creature needed just what I was able to give. Though the food was of a variety that the child in its ignorance had never seen and was unable to name, I knew that the essential elements of the food would commend themselves to the unseen parts of the child and be built up into healthy brain, brawn, and bone. And yet it was but the plain fare which fastidious epicures, in their plethora of dainties, find unappetizing !

iii. *The Bantu are responsive to the unseen.* In the child-race with which this book deals, the animal is too obtrusive to escape the notice of even an inadvertent traveller, still less a traveller who has no eyes for anything else. He who attempts to touch the stomach of the Bantu, or to curb their fleshly lusts, finds that he has undertaken one of the stiffest tasks that ever awaited the undaunted. And yet, incongruous as it may seem, these people are steeped in the unseen and very responsive to what they deem divine sanctions. Appetites that spurn human control are readily brought into subjection by a command from the spirit-world, and turbulent men become calm when once they are convinced that the cause of their unrest is in accord with the will of the spirits. Avaricious people who are loath to part with a beast for the sake of nourishing an invalid child become meekly compliant when the diviner discovers that some spirit has sent this sickness as a reminder that he wants a sacrifice, though they would not think it impertinent to expostulate with the spirit for sending sickness when he knows that he has but to ask and receive. Libidinous men who would dare a husband's spear to reach their paramours are easily held in check by a sexual taboo or a magical charm. All the ethics, laws, and institutions of these people are grounded in their religion, and few among them would venture upon an important enterprise without reference to unseen guardians beyond the veil. They attribute effects to wrong causes, and are dominated by motives which we find it hard to appreciate ; but, given the motives, they are as able as we are to choose between their perceptions and actions and to exercise self-restraint. We pride ourselves upon the fact that we are a law-abiding people ; the phrase has a different meaning upon their lips ; but once they are convinced that the law has emanated from the unseen, they yield it an obedience which we may well envy.

iv. *They need the soul of Western civilization as well as its body.* If Britain attempts to give such people the material elements of European civilization without those spiritual qualities which alone make this civilization endurable to us, she will find her task appallingly difficult and its results disastrous.

Two objections are often raised to this contention: (1) European civilization, it is said, is purely material; and (2) it should not be transplanted into Africa, since it is better that Africans should develop their own civilization than that they should be forced to accept ours. There is truth in both statements—just enough truth to make them misleading; but neither will bear investigation.

v. *Is Western civilization purely material?* A civilization which is wholly material is as inconceivable as a fishing-net which is all holes. The holes are much in evidence, it is true, but the fishes say that the most noticeable thing is the string, and the fact is that without string enough to tie the holes together you cannot have a net at all. The civilization of Europe is shot through and through with a spiritual conception of life. Behind our laws there is a police force, and behind the police force an army; but the vast majority of men do right because they *ought*, not because they must. Our commerce is based upon credit transactions which would be impossible without the conviction that, notwithstanding the need of an open eye for rogues, most men may be relied upon to meet their *obligations* for the sake of their own self-respect. In the welter of blood through which Europe has recently blundered, we consecrated the glory of our mechanical achievements to the service of death; but the more terrible the diabolic inventions became, the more necessary was it found to maintain the morale of the men—that is, their *faith* in the cause they championed and their readiness to die for their *ideals*. Mephitic fumes from the nether world of war have blighted our home-life, but does any one contend for a moment that the family would lose nothing of the purity and beauty that still remain, if all its material trappings and furnishings were left and all its *fidelities* were taken away? Every man among us has a real religion within him—perhaps very different from the one that he advertises—and this religion is the source of all his deeds. 'The good man brings good out of his good

store, and the evil man brings evil out of his store of evil'; but they are both dealers in spiritual values. Furthermore, though European civilization contains much that is un-Christian and more than a little that is anti-Christian, it owes its vitality to what it has assimilated of Christianity. In the development of a community, as of an individual, heredity counts as well as environment. Before the first British tribesman planted wheat in his field, charlock had grown there for long centuries; and, though the soil has since been tilled by a hundred generations of farmers who had no use for charlock, I have seen innumerable fields this summer in which the yellow blossoms were more conspicuous than the wheat. Our past is not behind us, but within. It was easy to convert heathen temples into Christian churches, but not to eradicate the heathen conceptions of God and man and the world from the soul of the people. It takes diligence to produce the plants by which men live, but weeds grow abundantly even in the garden of the indolent. Men may laugh at institutional Christianity as much as they please, but after the laughter has died away this fact remains: even the sprinkling of Christianity which most men deem enough is the salt of their life, and for this they are debtors to the churches which they flout.

vi. *Can the civilization of Europe be transplanted in Africa?* 'Transplanted' suggests uprooting an intact living organism from the soil in which it sprouted and then planting it again intact in some other soil. Nothing like that is possible with the culture of any people. Still less can any such organism be 'forced' into another soil, whether the soil is ready to receive it or not. These unhappy metaphors are fertile of loose thinking.

There are elements in European civilization which have been gathered from every continent. It was not Europe that discovered printing, or paper-making, or coal-mining, or porcelain, or silk, or the mariner's compass: these boons came into Europe from China. Arabia sent us astronomy, chemistry, algebra, and arithmetical notation. Phoenicia, Palestine, Egypt, and India have all contributed to our treasures of knowledge. The newer continents of America and Australasia have been so intimately associated with European progress that they are often spoken

of as 'Europe beyond the seas'. Europe has never been a little garden walled around. From the Stone Age, when North Africa sent its Iberian hordes into Europe, to the present day, we have been diligently gathering elements of our civilization from every quarter of the globe. But we have not 'transplanted' them; we have digested and assimilated them, and built them up into our own bone and blood. Is there any reason why Africa should not do the same? To cover African barbarism with a veneer of European civilization is not a task that is worth any man's while; but to help Africa to find those elements which she can build up into beautiful manhood and womanhood is a task for which it is worth while to live, or, if necessary, to die.

vii. *Europeanisation of Africa inevitable.* It would be interesting and helpful if they who urge that Europe should not force its civilization upon Africa would tell us how the misdeed may be prevented. As far as I can discover, the only way of averting the calamity is to keep Europeans from forcing themselves on Africa; and it is rather late in the day to begin that task. Though the Indians of North America were a proud race, who held aloof from the Pale-faces and clung to their ancient tribalism, the only result was that they went down with the wreck of the peculiar culture which they refused to abandon. The Bantu are cast in a different mould. They are impressionable, imitative, adaptable, sociable, and much too virile to disappear even before the White man's vices and diseases; but, wherever they come much into contact with Europeans, they part with what is most real in their own life and take on what is material and therefore superficial in the life of Europeans. And what is happening at the great European centres is but a prophecy of what is going to take place on a larger scale when the tide of European immigration reaches its flood in the healthier uplands of Africa. Nor could it be prevented by excluding European Governments and missionaries alone, even if such discrimination were possible. It is the advent of Europeans that is responsible for this disintegration, not that of Governments and missionaries. If the Governments were removed, the process would be enormously accelerated and brutalized;¹ and if the missionaries were

¹ See pp. 166 et seq.

removed, the work of demolition would be unaccompanied by any attempt to provide new habitations for the human spirit.

The Bantu are greatly attracted by the material advantages of European civilization; and the best service we can render them is to commend that Christian conception of life which is the vital principle of our remarkable progress—to convince them that if they want grapes, the most satisfactory thing that they can do is to plant vines. Unfortunately, many Europeans, unaware that the luxuriant clusters in which they delight come from unseen roots in familiar soil, are wont to act and talk as if they owed nothing to Christ. This is one of the marked differences between Europeans and Asiatics, and is the source of much mischief in Africa.

viii. *Spread of Arabic civilization in Africa.* We have spoken of modern missionary enterprise as but one part of the great movement which is instinctively seeking to cover the world with the civilization of Europe.¹ The European variety of civilization is not the only one which has set out to conquer the world and Africa in particular. Arabs were spreading their Semitic culture in Africa for hundreds of years before the process of Europeanization began; and it is not too much to say that they have made it dominant in the northern two-thirds of that continent and very influential along the East Coast. The merchant who is too proud to learn from his rival is hardly ever found in the front ranks of prosperity. It is far better to inquire into the cause of Arabic success than to allow our racial prejudices to blind us to the truth. Unlike Europeans, the Arabs, aware that the formative element in their civilization is their religion, have propagated Islam with fanatical zeal. Semitic civilization is the social and political garment that the faith of Islam has woven for itself out of the social and political materials that it found in the tribalism of Arabia. Between the tribalism of Arabia and that of Africa there is close kinship; and when the faith of Islam is acclimatized in an African tribe, it weaves for itself a very similar garment.

ix. *Islam.* The practice of calling Islam a false religion and Muhammad a false prophet is a dust-throwing device that is not conducive to sweetness of temper or clearness of vision.

¹ See p. 222.

Islam is not the highest type of religion that the world has known ; but it is incomparably nobler than anything of which the Africans were aware. And it owes its elevating influence to what is noble in its teaching. As for the rest, well, the attitude of Jesus towards humanity, and especially towards womanhood, is as far from that of Muhammad as heaven is from earth ; but polygamy, easy divorce, concubinage, domestic slavery, intolerance and callousness towards outsiders, and fatalism, were common to Arabs and Africans long before Muhammad was born ; and the worst that can be said of Muhammad in these matters (Let him that is innocent among you throw the first stone at him !) is that he left things as he found them. As a matter of fact, he introduced a few merciful modifications into some of these practices. But the point that I want to make is that Islam is the soul of Arabic civilization ; and that in Islam there is nothing which degrades Africans below their former level and much which elevates them. When an African becomes a Muslim, he takes on a new dignity and is spurred by new ambitions. He becomes more independent, more industrious, and more intelligent. In the great Black Belt which we usually call the Sudan, where Islam has had many centuries to consolidate its conquests, Koranic schools have given the rudiments of Semitic civilization to many thousands of Negroes, and have produced a few scholars who have written real Arabic literature.

And yet there are facts of another kind which have contributed greatly to Islam's African conquests. Islam has not required from its African converts any profound change in their sexual and social relationships. It has not deprived them of the amulets and spells in which they trusted, but has added others of newer pattern and greater repute. It has appealed to the racial pride of Africans with the claim that Muhammad had Negro blood in his veins, counted a Negro among his most intimate friends, and dedicated one chapter of the Koran to him ; and its proud boast of what Negroes have done to spread the faith, from the days of Muhammad onwards, has fired the emulation of thousands of ambitious Africans, with whom, as with others, nothing succeeds like success. African mentality is content to consider the phenomena of experience one by one (if it must consider them at all), without attempting to fit them into one

comprehensive view of the world, and is, therefore, not offended by the fantastic theology of the desert; and, moreover, Islam demands very little intellectual effort from its converts as a condition precedent to their full acceptance among the faithful, being content with a memorizing of a brief and explicit statement of the faith. Islam has not burdened itself with an ornate and elaborate ritual, which is foreign to the African sense of fitness, but has called its converts to a simple service of prayers which are moulded largely after the African pattern of 'praises', though it is not offended by the weird and noisy demonstrations which are indigenous among a simple and emotional people. Its insistence on the stringent fasts of Ramadan and the necessity of avoiding flesh that has not been slaughtered according to ritual requirements is in accord with that notion of taboo that has been common to Arabia and Africa from time immemorial. Submission, the key-note of Islamic faith, is a fundamental principle of tribalism; and in the Koran, with its mechanical inspiration, the African finds those authoritative statutes and formalities which appeal to his love of direct commands and his disinclination to individual initiative and the toil of thinking.

x. *Contrast between Muslims and Christians.* But though Arabic civilization is able to take the line of least resistance among Africans, it owes its wide extension mainly to two other facts. Every Arab trader, even though he be a slave-trader, is convinced that his religion is the soul of his civilization, and esteems it his highest duty to propagate the faith; and every Muslim makes a Native convert feel that he has risen in popular esteem by accepting the faith. It is intensity of conviction and generality of devotion that tell, and the social éclat that awaits a convert. European civilization has defaulted in both particulars.

A coloured Muslim of South Africa, a man of good influence, was criticizing in his journal the spectacular proposal to stem the tide of Islamic advance by drawing a cordon of Mission Stations right across Africa. 'Lord Hadley,' he said, 'who, as the papers announce this week, became a convert to Islam, would nowhere find a mosque from which his servant would be prevented from sitting next him at prayers. So if we would prevent Islam from spreading in Africa, we should make Coloured Christians, especially many of the African Natives who are

recent converts from heathenism, feel that the doctrine of the brotherhood of man—one of the essentials of Christianity—is a live principle of the faith.' To many of his readers that is a powerful appeal for Islam, and all the more powerful because it is propaganda rather than advertisement. They know that an African convert to Christianity is likely to be treated by most White men as a hypocrite, or a 'spoiled nigger', rather than a brother in the faith; and that every slip and stumble that the poor man makes in his heroic efforts to extricate himself from the morass of heathenism is likely to be sneered at by Europeans who are not models of all the virtues.

We have no right to take the rags from a beggar unless we give him a better garment. The flow of Europeans into Africa in pursuit of wealth is rapidly undermining the authority of the old Bantu institutions. Government should make a paternal effort to retard the process and prepare the tribes for the coming social and political reconstruction; but the break-down of tribalism is inevitable. Now the sanctions of tribalism are, upon the last analysis, spiritual; and if the Bantu are unable to regard the new institutions as the embodiment of higher spiritual laws, these institutions will not command allegiance nor make for social and individual fulfilment. A people accustomed to relate their social and political life to the will of unseen powers cannot long be satisfied with the soulless body of Western civilization. If Bantu civilization is to be reconstructed, it must be infused with a belief in the salvability of mankind and the possibility of modifying and fertilizing human behaviour. To rob their old word 'ought' of all that they have ever taken it to mean is a very dangerous experiment for us to make, unless we first fill it so full of a new and better meaning that there will be no room in it for the meaning that it used to carry.

This, of course, is a task for the Christian Church.

xi. *Some traders and officials of a fine type.* Not a little can be done, and is being done, in the diffusion of practical Christianity by men who think they have broken with the Churches. In all periods of transition, the individual pays the price and the community moves forward. These people are by-products of the reconstruction of Christian thought. They have been offended by phrases and symbols that our fathers deemed apt and beautiful

expressions of a Christian experience which, always too big for words, demands to be translated afresh into the vernacular of each succeeding generation. They say they have no use for an institutional Christianity which clings tenaciously to outworn robes of thought; and, absorbed by other interests, they have not found for themselves a modern setting for the imperishable truths. The loss is theirs, and it is very great. But the ground retains moisture long after the rain has ceased to fall, and many such men are better Christians than they know. While criticizing and avoiding Churches, they remain loyal to Christ's ideals of justice, clean living, honour, truthfulness, humanity, and much besides, and there is still a place in their hearts for the winsome sanity of the Galilean teacher. They do not pray at the corners of the streets, and they blush when it is suspected that they pray in secret; but their feet are swift on paths of mercy, and money could not buy them nor frowns affright them from the path to which Duty beckons. He is a poor disciple of Jesus who can meet such men in up-country stores, camps, or offices without thanking God for giving the Natives such fine examples of manliness, and praying that that 'other Helper, even the Spirit of Truth', may break through their spiritual isolation and keep them unsullied from the filth of tribal life. He who displays the principles of Christ in his dealings with the tribes, even though he traces the principles to his mother rather than his mother's Lord, renders a great service to the British name and a greater service to the Bantu race.

xii. *The business of the Church.* The service which the Christian Church is called to render to the Bantu race is immeasurably larger. It is the business of the Church to discover the mind of her Master, not merely as He revealed it to past generations, but also as He is revealing it to-day, and to make the King's writ run in every part of His earthly domain.

Fortunately there is no longer need to labour the point that Christ means His followers to take the glad tidings to every tribe and nation. Apart from what have been called 'the marching orders of the Church', it is written large upon her history that her health depends upon her activity; that she grows feeble and anaemic when she neglects the work which her Lord has given her to do; and that her own vision of Christ grows clearer

and grander as she brings other nations to her Master and they rise to tell of the glory they have seen.

No doubt there has been a great change in the attitude of the Church towards non-Christian religions. When the Church sent her missionaries into 'lands that lay in heathen darkness', she had no thought but that of spreading the light; but her altruistic service was rewarded with the discovery that everywhere the Light that lighteth every man had always been quietly and persuasively striving to stream through the crevices in the shuttered windows of the human soul. Wherever the missionaries went, they found that their Master had been there before them. And this larger vision of the Lord compelled the Church to reshape her philosophy of Christian experience and express it in larger phrases. The modernizing of Christian thought which reactionaries warned us would cut the nerve of Missions was in reality due as much to Missions as to the modern scientific temper. Timid souls feared lest the sweet singer that nested in the meadows should meet with disaster as it poised in mid-air; for they lacked faith to see that it was built for the heavens and the morning. If men abandoned the hard old dogmas of eternal punishment, it was asked, what motive for Missions to the heathen would remain? But the lark still soared and carolled. Then came 'Modernism' with its new doctrines of humanity and divinity, and again the ravens croaked. It soon became apparent, however, that those who believe in the essential divinity of humanity (instead of its total depravity) must recognize the struggle of the divine to conquer the human (with its frequent failure, which is sin), and must face the duty of those who have arrived to send out help and guidance to those who are still blindly blundering on to failure. If there is essential divinity in the tribal humanity of Africa, then the appeal to me is that of a relative imprisoned, and I cannot realize the divinity that is in me if I refuse the aid that I can give to poor relations. Progress from the lower to the higher, especially in the higher planes of existence, depends upon a just balance between the egotistic and the altruistic—as the modern evolutionists have taught us, and as Christ taught in His inimitable way long centuries before. Bantu tribesmen live a life that has much in common with the animals, but stretch out feeble hands

towards unseen helpers, who seem to them diviner than anything else that they have yet perceived; and if the Church interprets these spiritual yearnings and endeavours as indications that God has not left the Bantu without a witness, she is not less likely to proffer her assistance than if she call it 'devil-worship'. And what is more, she is likely to take up her task with the conviction and impulse that she is carrying out the divine purpose.

But she must understand the material that she has to fashion after a more beautiful pattern, and the tools with which she has to work, or she will fail in her magnificent task.

xiii. *What it means to evangelize Africa.* What is meant by the evangelization of the world? To evangelize our neighbours is not an easy task; but we share their views of the world, their aspirations, temptations, difficulties, struggles, and all else that is summed up in the phrase 'social heredity'. Moreover, we can talk to them in a tongue that we and they learnt at our mothers' knees. Few of them are altogether ignorant of Christian truth; and what we have to do is to put them in remembrance of truths that they are disinclined to face, focus more clearly truths that are blurred to their vision, appeal to the conscience, and invigorate the will to live a devout life. The evangelization of Africa is quite another proposition. Sermons which would crowd the penitent forms of an evangelist's tent, or the pews of an intellectual church, in the homeland, would leave every member of a Bantu congregation absolutely untouched, or, worse still, send them away with the notion that they have heard what Christianity is and now know that it does not concern them.

Even if we put the most superficial construction upon the proposal that European Christians should evangelize Africa, the task is huge. Something like a hundred and fifty or two hundred millions of people live for the most part in small communities, scattered over an area so vast that it baffles the imagination. Most of the continent is tropical; and, though there are healthy uplands within the tropics, the climate of the greater portion proves fatal to a large percentage of European residents, and so disturbs the vigour and equanimity of the remainder that they are seldom at their best and need frequent and prolonged periods of absence from the country if they are

to continue at all. To give every Native in Africa the opportunity of coming into close contact with a European Christian, for, say, three months, would require a very large staff and very great expenditure of life and wealth—much greater than European Christianity is likely to provide; and if the sacrifice were made, it would be a foolish waste of precious material which could effect nothing more than widespread African acceptance of the formalities and phrases of Christianity and the substitution of fetishes of Christian design for those of ancient pattern.¹

xiv. *The conversion of a heathen.* What is needed for the conversion of Africans to the Christian religion is not so much exhortation as definite, sustained, and constructive teaching. At first the teaching must be elementary; always it must be simple and direct; it should scarcely ever be of a negative character; it must relate what the teacher knows and the pupil does not know to that with which they are both familiar; and it must be repeated again and again. The Christian religion views humanity from an angle that is new and strange to Bantu tribesmen, and its implications involve a tremendous change in their thoughts and habits. The movement of a Bantu soul towards Christianity is, therefore, always slow. Sudden conversions are unknown, though in rare instances that which has been long growing in darkness emerges suddenly into light. The Bantu regard sin as formal and ceremonial rather than what we should call ethical,² and are seldom converted by a sense of sin and need of redemption from sin. The first step in the process of their conversion is the uprooting of prejudices, so that the individual may come

¹ One reason why priests who accompanied early Portuguese expeditions failed to make a permanent and beneficial impression upon Bantu tribes is that they made a similar mistake. Seven weeks after Sofala was reached in 1560, the chief and some of his retainers were baptized, and other Natives were offered cloths and beads if they would submit to the rite. The bestowal of grandiose Portuguese names and titles upon Natives was a common reward for baptism. When the King of Congo was baptized in 1491, together with many of his chiefs, he adopted the cheaper plan of threatening death to any of his people who did not abandon their fetishes. Such practices were in accord with that spirit of heathenism which all Europe then mistook for Christianity. But though it would be unjust to blame these old priests for their inability to escape from their own skin, the grotesque results of their superficial methods may well serve to remind us that no permanent uplift of the race can come from the process of veneering.

² See, however, p. 100.

to regard the message as worthy of examination. Here the missionary's practical Christianity is valuable ; but the practical Christianity of fellow-tribesmen is the factor that tells. It is astonishing, however, to see the persistence with which rootlets of prejudice display their presence and vitality long after the soil seems to have been carefully cleared. Then, in his first blundering efforts to perceive the truth, the inquirer needs patient teaching, leisurely conversation, and much human sympathy. If he finally enters the Christian Church, he finds himself at the bottom of a school with many classes, a prolonged curriculum, and a rigorous discipline. He has almost everything to learn. Now, more than ever before, he needs careful guidance, wise ministry, and brotherly encouragement.

xy. *Some essential qualifications for missionary work.* But if it is hard for an African to become a pupil in the school of the Christian Church, it is harder still for a European to become teacher of an African class in that school. Think what it means. His first duty is to make himself familiar with the local vernacular—a task which demands linguistic ability and prolonged and intensive study. For a missionary, a working acquaintance with the language which would enable a trader to do business with the tribe is lamentably insufficient. He must be able to enrich the vocabulary with ideas which have never been expressed in it before ; and he cannot become a luminous preacher or teacher till he learns to think in the language and to use it so naturally that he forgets that he is using it. The halting utterance, broken grammar, and meagre vocabulary of a foreigner make him seem childish to a native of any land. Behind the veil of imperfect speech there may be virile thought and refined feeling, but as far as the hearer is concerned that which cannot be expressed is as if it were not. Hence the wooden-headedness with which many Europeans debit Africans ; and hence, also, the ineffectiveness of much European preaching to Bantu audiences. We have but to strike out a dozen of the main words in a page of classical English and substitute synonyms, and we discover at once how the appealing beauty of the passage is scarred, if not eliminated. It is the same with every tongue. All wise teaching must appeal to the understanding, and all effective preaching must penetrate the understanding and reach

the will and the affections. He is a rare genius who can preach effectively in a foreign language. A native preacher, who is moved by the impulsive conviction of experience and intimately acquainted with all that bulks large in his fellow-tribesmen's philosophy of life, often sways a Native audience with his slender equipment of Christian knowledge, in a way that thoughtful, cultured, and earnest Europeans may well envy.

And that reminds us that it is not enough to have even a first-class knowledge of the vernacular. Language is a very powerful instrument; but the deeper things of the human spirit often demand a larger expression. He who wishes to reach the innermost shrine of the heart must understand the rites and symbols which Bantu value as fit expressions of longings, hopes, assurances, and loyalties that language is too poor to utter. Such symbols are not all religious, as we deem religion; many of them are social and political; but the foreign missionary must master them all. As Paul put it—that great missionary!—to Jews, one must become like a Jew to win over Jews. Before a European can so present the Gospel to a tribesman that the latter may have an adequate knowledge of its august authority, profound value, and tremendous demands, he must not only be familiar with the Gospel, but with the tribesmen. To the intellectual and spiritual equipment that is necessary for efficient ministry in the churches of the homeland, he must add years of special study of the language, lore, institutions, and life of the tribesmen. He must obtain, somehow, an intimate knowledge of the tribesman's outlook on life—his prepossessions and aspirations—what he seeks, what he finds, and what he misses. The essential element in preaching is close contact between the soul in the pulpit and the soul in the pew, so that currents of thought and feeling may flow unhindered from one to the other; and this contact is weakened when words are imperfectly used or infelicitously chosen, and woefully broken when the soul in the pew is inspired and restrained by ideals, affections, motives, and environment of which the preacher is profoundly ignorant. Those of us who are able to enjoy and admire the beauty or skill of services or sermons in a foreign language find, nevertheless, that nothing satisfies our spiritual hunger just like a service filled with familiar symbols or a sermon that is uttered in the

dear old mother tongue. The explanation of this experience is the same—imperfect contact along the lines of communication.

xvi. *Kind of men needed for missionary work.* Now if the foregoing reflections are not illusory, they ought to lead to certain conclusions. The Mission Field of Africa is so vast and so varied that there is room in it for the exercise of many gifts. The demands of an African Mission upon vocational ability are much heavier than those of the homeland, and there is no room for the weaklings of any trade or profession; but teachers, nurses, doctors, agriculturists, and craftsmen may render valuable service in the team-work of the Church if they have been thoroughly trained for their own vocations and fired with devotion to the Christian cause. Even for the sake of their vocational practice, however, they have need to be trained in African thought, speech, and custom; and the need is more imperative if they are to contribute their professional skill to the task of converting the tribes.

Still more important is it that those who have the cure of African souls should be as well equipped for their sacred calling as those who have the cure of African bodies. To cure a peasant, a practitioner must be as well versed in pathology as to cure a prince. The notion is abroad that in Africa, unlike India and China, there is no great religion to be displaced, and that any good local preacher is sufficient for the adventure. People who cherish this delusion are ignorant of African religion, and unaware of the aims of the Christian Church in Africa. In every religion, even in that which we dignify with the name of Christianity in the homeland, there are flimsy blossoms that are destined to strew the ground when they have done their work and the formation of the fruit has been stimulated. There was much of that in Jewish legalism, and yet Jesus declared that He came not to destroy but to fulfil.

None but zealous Christians are likely to be sent into Africa by any Mission Board, nor to go at their own charges; but zeal needs to be tempered by knowledge or it becomes fanaticism. Fanatics are people whose fervour for the faith and incomprehension of its nature are alike profound. Fanatics, in their immaturity, hedge themselves round with intolerance, as the

holly shields its young stem with forbidding spines till strong enough to face the unkind world of browsing beasts. And intolerant people are nearly always iconoclasts. They love to uproot everything in the garden, in order that they may lay it out afresh after what they deem a diviner pattern. As often as not, they tire of their work, or the work tires of them, before the clearing process is complete, so that in after days they are commemorated by the weeds that grow in their cleared spaces, rather than by any choice growths of their planting. Such fervid evangelists, launching into African Mission Work with a scanty knowledge of the religion that they undertake to teach, and no insight at all into that which already holds the field, are apt to assume, upon slender acquaintance, that Bantu religion and culture must be scrapped as heathenism before Christianity can come into its own. The abuses which cluster around the old institutions thrust themselves upon the attention of the most careless observer, while the vivifying principle which enables even the abuses to survive can be discovered only by diligent and patient study of unfamiliar phenomena. The difference between sweeping away institutions and correcting abuses from which they suffer is that between amputation and healing, or, if the metaphor be preferred, between revolution and evolution. When a Christian fanatic gives tribesmen the impression that he is enemy of all that they have hitherto held sacred in religion, political institutions, and social conventions, he does not, however, merely mar his own career as a missionary, but excites a prejudice against the cause that he espouses, which wiser men find it hard to remove.

Apart, however, from the harm that they may do—and young churches, like young children, should be carefully shielded from notions that may dwarf their ideal—it is folly to send into Africa as expounders of Christian doctrine men whose training in Christian knowledge and the technique of preaching and pastoral theology is too shallow to enable them to sustain a prolonged and useful pastorate at home. A judicious sprinkling of catchwords from the New Testament and theological terms that are accepted by the multitude and understood by the few may hide the ignorance of a preacher from a home audience, and even shed around him a soothing aroma of orthodoxy;

and the familiar phrases, already sacred symbols to many in the congregation, may become so charged with the goodness of the speaker's character, the sincerity of his purpose, and the beauty of his spirituality, that they may stimulate the will of his hearers to make new resolutions of amendment, or give fresh courage to those of them who were beginning to faint. To an African tribesman, however, these terms are meaningless; and though the truths for which they stand may be expressed in the vernacular by those who are proficient both in religious knowledge and tribal speech, the terms themselves cannot be mechanically translated. Good men are a great asset in any community; but the value of a teacher of Christianity to an African tribe depends, assuming his personal devoutness, upon his being so much at home with his subject that he can teach it in simple words without the adventitious aid of technical terminology.

xvii. *Need for vocational training of missionaries.* The qualitative success of the Church in its mission must depend largely upon the quality of its missionaries. Educationalists know full well that it takes a high order of teacher to handle the kindergarten and the deficients successfully; and it is no less true that it takes a proficient minister to expound Christianity successfully to a primitive people. When the Church has found men of the right calibre and training, it behoves her to husband such priceless resources. Instead of hurrying them forthwith to Africa, she should provide them with such tuition as will enable them to acquire expeditiously a knowledge of the peculiarities of the human material that they will have to make the most of in their African parishes, and of the methods which have led to failure and success among their predecessors. Why should the Church pay over and over again what it costs for each new missionary to discover afresh, by a toilsome process, what his predecessors discovered before him! There is much, of course, that can only be learnt in the costly school of experience; but the unexplored region of Bantu life is both vast and perplexing, and each new explorer should be taken by the easiest and quickest route to the point of vantage that former pioneers gained with bleeding feet, so that with unspent vigour he may push as far as possible into the unknown. If it be protested that the missionary is a propagandist and not an explorer, the objector must be met with

the retort that no propagandist can ever become efficient in any community till he has discovered the psychology of the people.

xviii. *The only way to evangelize Africa.* If what is set forth upon previous pages¹ be placed side by side with the proposal to evangelize the world in the present generation, it becomes manifest that the word 'evangelize' carries different meanings with different speakers. To believe that we can give each of our swarthy contemporaries in Africa such a presentation of the Gospel as will warrant an intelligent acceptance or rejection of its message of hope and its claim to obedience is to believe in magic, or else to misconstrue the adventure. Bear in mind the slow process of sympathetic instruction which is essential before Africans can come to understand and accept the teaching of the Christian religion, the vast expanse of territory to be covered, the difficulty, cost, and slowness of travel, the malignity of climate, the sparseness of population, the multiplicity of languages, and the long apprenticeship which even talented Europeans must serve before they can see life from the Black man's angle so as to interpret to *him* the message that they have brought—bear all this in mind, and it becomes clear that Africa can never be evangelized, in any sense that is worthy of the term, except by Africans. Though there are minor services which European Christians should render to Africa, such as the manifestation of the fundamental qualities of kindness, probity, justice, self-repression, and good manners, and the inculcation of a new sense of the value of human life and the rights of man as man, the fundamental obligation of the Christian Church is to plant Churches which shall strike their roots deep in the soil of Bantu life and supply the need of each succeeding generation. The vital function of a missionary who is sent forth by the European Church is not that of preaching the Gospel in scattered villages that he can only occasionally visit (though without this he would miss the mark), *but to play his part in the team-work of founding and building the Christian Church of Africa.* This is the crucial test by which the quality of his work must be determined—not the number of converts that he has individually gained. In the Mission Field, as on the Sports Ground, a

¹ Pp. 262-6.

brilliant player, with an ear for the plaudits of the crowd, may cause his team much loss.

xix. *The pioneer missionary.* The model pioneer missionary in Africa is a man of rare parts. In him courage of an adventurous order is supported by great mental and physical resilience; but though his character is flexible enough to adapt itself to the most varied demands upon capability, it is nevertheless steadied by great tenacity of purpose. He stands for all that is good in our social life, almost more than for Christian doctrine. Redemption is the key-note of both sociology and theology; and he is a redeemer. Obligated to do for himself almost everything that he needs to have done, he is yet accessible to everybody, and glad to concern himself with everybody's woes. He is doctor, lawyer, peacemaker, dentist, teacher of hygiene, educationist, craftsman, scholar, priest, and apostle, all rolled into one. He is the source of intellectual and spiritual stimulus and nourishment to his people, caring for cleanliness, self-respect, neatness, and dignity, as well as justice, education, freedom, and the devout life. He is the harbinger of Christian philanthropy, which is the realization that the man who loves God must love his brother also.

Unless some older station in the same language-speaking area is able to furnish him with Native evangelists, he must devote much of his earlier years to preaching the Gospel in its most elementary form. His purpose, however, is to gather together a little company of select souls who respond whole-heartedly to his message, and to train them to become evangelists to their own people. Hence he provides elementary educational facilities for his people at a very early stage of his work. As soon as he can, he forms a Church of his first converts, and shields it from the necessity of deciding fundamental questions till character and judgement are equal to the strain. In teaching a child to walk, one neither waits till the child's legs are mature, nor begins till they are strong enough to warrant a first attempt; and for a time the attempts are mere juvenile and clumsy endeavours to pass from chair to chair whilst the mother's arms are extended to prevent disaster. It is much the same with an infant Church. But the missionary tries, after a preparatory manner, to familiarize the Church from the outset with the ideal of self-propagation,

self-support, and self-government, and to stimulate and direct it in preparing for the time when it will carry on its work without foreign aid. At first, he must inevitably exercise authority—the authority that belongs to superior intellectual and spiritual attainment, sometimes preventing disaster by taking the burden of discipline upon his own shoulders, especially when it concerns a notable in the tribe, and often accepting responsibility for organization and finance; but he can hardly begin too soon to let the Church feel its own feet, though he must expect tumbles and childish wails of woe.

xx. *Training the local Church in (1) Self-propagation.* Then comes a more difficult period in the history of the Church. Having discovered already that nearly all converts are won by the Natives themselves, often by converts whose knowledge of Christianity is scanty but whose changed lives are attractive, the missionary makes it his foremost duty to equip these simple evangelists for their work, by careful, repeated, and systematic instruction. What he would fain have is not a little garden walled around in the midst of this sinful wilderness, nor a people intent on saving their own souls and careless of the ills that torture human society, but a company of tribesmen who, having made their own earthly lives better by the power of religion, shall devote themselves to purify and ennoble the tribe to which they belong. The missionary is convinced that the most fatal disease which can attack a Church is indolent repose; that, with Churches as with individuals, youth requires greater activity than age for the maintenance of vigour; and that the young Native Church must either attack surrounding heathenism or succumb to it. He insists, therefore, that every member, however scanty his intellectual trappings, shall contribute thought, time, effort, and wealth to the evangelization of his neighbours. Thus self-propagation is secured from the start.

(2) *Self-support.* But what of self-support? The ideal is not that the Church shall take over the cost of the foreign missionary staff in its district, but that it shall become robust enough in faith, knowledge, and enterprise to Christianize its own district without foreign assistance.

Charity ennobles the charitable; but unless it helps the recipient to stand alone or to tide over one of those accidental

periods of helplessness which imperil men, it depraves him whom it feigns to succour. A gift neither wounds the vanity of an African tribesman nor satisfies his appetite. Content awhile to be spoon-fed, he is likely to complain, at the first pause in the process, that you are not pouring it in with a jug. 'Base ingratitude !' cries the novice ; but the initiated know that it is a subtle compound of flattery and the spirit of tribalism. Apart from this annoyance, it is attractive work to build schools and churches and run them for Africans : it appeals to one's natural love of being patron of the parish. But it is not business. European benevolence may easily damage a young African Church. Every civilization depends upon character. Even the gifts which worthless men enjoy in a highly civilized society were won for them by character ; and the better gift of Christianity is not such benefits, but the character, knowledge, and skill that can produce them. To teach Natives to build their own schools and churches and to run them, is far more helpful than to do these things for them.

For an infant, however, everything must be done or it will never become able to do anything for itself ; and after the nursery is outgrown much must still be done before the child can take a man's place in the world. All that the infant Church needs is done for it by the missionary. He reduces the language to writing ; prepares a few simple books in the vernacular, beginning probably with a First Reader, some Bible stories, and a Gospel ; teaches the people to read ; and gives systematic instruction to catechumens and Church members. He soon finds, however, that he must leave the elementary work to others and concentrate on the production of literature and the training of preachers and teachers. If its propaganda has been successful the Church becomes, before long, a centre of spiritual activities that radiate in every direction, possibly for scores of miles ; and inquirers, converts, and children at every outstation need teachers, who, being withdrawn from their ordinary work, must be supported. Then the missionary recognizes that the Church has outgrown its strength, and applies to the Home Board, for financial assistance. Every principle that justified them in sending him into the field may rightly be invoked in support of his application ; but self-support is retarded. Decades

must subsequently pass before the Church can attain that robust maturity which is able to carry its own load without extraneous assistance; and by the time the crutch has done its work it has become second nature to the lame limb. Grappling with difficulties is the missionary's vocation, but he seldom needs more tact and determination than when he sets himself to encourage a Native Church to stand on its own feet without support.

(3) *Self-government.* Self-government must, however, wait upon self-support; for while relying on outside funds neither an individual nor an institution can be free from outside control.

'Self-government' is a term that hardly chimes with 'Church'; for a Church is essentially a theocracy, whose business is to find out the divine will and give that will free play in all its activities. By common acceptance, however, the term stands for the claim of a Church to ascertain the divine will for itself and apply it to its own affairs without the interference of outsiders. The claim must be admitted in principle; but whether a Church succeeds or fails in applying the principle must depend upon the quality of the Church's goodness and justice and the responsiveness of its conscience to high demands.

Hence it is that a missionary cares more for the quality of a Church than for its size. Over-feeding ruins digestion and produces debility; but a body, physical or spiritual, gains vigour by assimilation. Almost any well-established Mission in Africa could double its numbers within a year by simply lowering its barriers and failing to bring enthusiasts face to face with the cost of discipleship. Pagan Africans readily accept the rites, symbols, and formalities of Christianity as enchantments and amulets of probable protective value; and, as in the Christianization of Europe, so in that of Africa, if a chief is baptized, or a few notables, there is no lack of tribesmen clamouring to follow the fashion of the great. But a Church courts disaster when it receives converts from heathenism whom it cannot reasonably hope to train.

xxi. *Church discipline.* The enforcement of discipline is fundamental to self-government. Church discipline pursues a twofold purpose: the preservation from corruption of the Church's ideal of human behaviour, and the restoration of the fidelity of the offender; but experience proves that it is,

incidentally, more effectual than exposition in fixing the minds of Church members upon the necessity for mastering the passions, and that it is of great value in moulding outside public opinion.

Heathen morality must be likened, not to a garment that is readily discarded for a better, but to a septic condition of mind and will, which yields slowly to therapeutic treatment and leaves the convalescent liable to relapse. It is gross injustice to condemn converts from heathenism upon the ground that they fail to attain standards that ought to be applied to European Christians; it takes less moral effort to make a European Christian saintly than to make an African convert morally respectable. African converts are as good as those of the first generation in Britain; but they need, as much as Paul's converts in Corinth needed, to have great stress laid upon the ethical factor in Christianity. Most of the cases of discipline that come before a Native Church consist of surrender to the easier sexual morality of tribalism, and nearly all the remainder are acts of submission to the tyranny of custom and magic.

The exercise of Christian discipline calls, therefore, for rare and costly virtues. It demands charity that thinketh no evil, patience that never tires, sympathy that can look upon other people's doings through other people's eyes, strength that can accommodate itself to weakness, goodness and forbearance that can calm storms of passion, and faith that can exorcize the spirit of evil. But it is easier to exercise discipline than to teach the Church to do it. This is no new discovery. Every teacher of craftsmanship knows that it is easier to do the work than to teach apprentices to do it; that it is difficult to keep the hands still when clumsy fingers are doing faulty work at a snail's pace; and that, though he must occasionally lay his hands upon the tool to prevent disaster, yet he can transform greenhorns into craftsmen only by granting them the right to go wrong and taking care that each of their mistakes enriches their experience. If the missionary forces his discipline upon the Church, it is much less potent for good than a faultier decision which is all its own.

xxii. *The lure of an easier path.* It ought to be frankly stated, however, that missionaries, though they entertain these ideals, are sorely tempted to take an easier path. African converts are

avaricious of orders from their missionary, though they seldom give prompt or punctilious obedience. Accustomed in tribalism to await the commands of their elders, and therefore slow to take initiative or accept responsibility in the Church, they look to their ecclesiastical chief for instructions; and it is easy for the most brotherly of men to accept the rôle that is forced upon him and become more autocratic than he knows. This subtle appeal to a missionary's vanity is aided by his desire to make the most of his time. Overwhelmed by the profusion and variety of calls for assistance, life becomes a scramble from duty to duty. Most Mission stations are understaffed, and most missionaries have too many irons in the fire. By mapping out the work of the Church, taking the burden of organization from its shoulders, and issuing orders to those who are ready to receive them, the missionary can save time; and time is the essence of his need. If he succumbs often to this temptation to do for the Church what it is his business to teach the Church to do for itself, he finds it easier to distinguish himself in the missionary world; but he postpones the day when the local Church will be able to do without him—the day to which all his missionary labours ought to look.

xxiii. *Adolescence of the Church.* If the missionary lives up to these ideals, however, there will come a time when his difficulties will enormously increase—a time that has already arrived for many of the older Missions in Africa. The Church will emerge from juvenility and glide into adolescence, with an awakening mind, a consciousness of rights that is more evident than its perception of duty, and a hobbledehoy manner of asserting its independence. The missionary who was formerly tempted to play the prince of the Church finds now that his advice is accepted only when it chimes in with the immature judgements of his converts, who are not only extravagant in action but impatient of control and fastidious of guidance. This stage of the Church's growth is at once most hopeful and most perplexing to its spiritual father. Just when the Church needs most to be shielded from the dangers of approaching maturity, it becomes inaccessible save to those who are big enough to concede the rights and dignity of its personality, in spite of its uncouth and sometimes bombastic interpretation

of the terms. The supreme need of the Church at this period is an experienced missionary who is free from race-pride and content to give pre-eminence to Native leaders, guiding the Church with an unseen hand through leaders who trust him and consult him privately in every emergency. Official authority is now of no avail, but a man who is regal without regalia may save the Church from the danger of premature release and the greater danger of overdue freedom.

It takes more than a lifetime to pioneer an African Church and prepare it for freedom; but if, for illustration, we imagined a missionary privileged to begin at the beginning and carry his work through to completion, we might thus epitomize his career: At first he was alone and incomprehensible to tribesmen who welcomed or tolerated him from ulterior motives; then he became pontifical among his converts; afterwards, as the Church matured, he came to be fraternal among his brethren in the faith; and, finally, content to live as a guest in the house of his spiritual children, he put a padlock on his lips and gave no sign that he was still the source of their wisdom and the nerve of their achievement. And two thousand years hence, some writer might add another line: 'And now he is invoked by the Great African Church as one of its Early Fathers, of saintly influence.'

xxiv. *Training Native leaders.* One is rather playing with temptation in beginning to quote from Loram's excellent book;¹ but two brief passages shall suffice. He says: 'The ability of a hundred of its most gifted representatives often counts more for a nation's or a race's welfare than the ability of a million of its mediocrities.'² And again: 'We forget that the civilization which we enjoy is not the carefully worked out effort of thousands of individuals, but the work of the few, the Harveys, Arkwrights, Stevensons, Bessemers, Hudsons, Darwins, Edisons, and Marconis. Through the efforts of such men we have advanced by leaps and bounds. The progress of a nation is largely the result of the efforts of the great men of its own and other races. The South African Native Question must, to a large extent, be

¹ *The Education of the South African Native*, by C. T. Loram. Longmans, 1917.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 33, quoted from Thorndike's *Educational Psychology*.

solved by the Natives themselves through the efforts of their leaders; and if the European section of the community is wise, it will hasten the day of this ambition by affording the very best education in its power to the talented few, who will not only be able to transfer to their own people the results of European civilization, but will, by their example, influence, and studies, effect a rapid uplift of the Native people.¹

These are wise words. Whether the African Church will be enabled, without unnecessary delay, to take charge of the evangelization of Africa apart from European assistance, depends largely upon the quality of training that we give the first three or four generations of its leaders.

Although a tribesman is a fragment of a patriarchal group rather than an individual—a state of affairs that seems scarcely conducive to the growth of leadership—yet there always have been in every Bantu tribe forceful people who stand out conspicuously from the crowd and come naturally to the front in whatever movement is afoot. What the Bantu lack is not leaders, but leaders with vision and practical knowledge. Enterprise appeals to the Bantu, and so does sacrifice—some kinds of sacrifice, at any rate. Moreover, they love public speaking, even when they have nothing worth while to say. Native converts take readily, therefore, to preaching and teaching,⁴ and though their intellectual interpretation of their Christian experience is shallow, they are willing to give time and labour for the sake of testifying as best they can to the grace of God towards frail humanity. A pioneer missionary discovers at an early period of his career that one of his foremost duties is to train local preachers, class leaders, and school teachers. Apt pupils in the elementary school are soon set to teach the rudiments of reading and writing to beginners, who are often grown-up people; and when the Church becomes able and willing to place one of its members as full-time teacher at an out-station, that teacher is usually drawn either from the local preachers' class or the elementary school. As the work advances, however, better equipped teachers become necessary, and the Mission sets up, at one of its central stations, some sort of training institution to which promising converts can be drafted. At this

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

stage much specialization would be premature : the institution prepares its students to teach reading, writing, a little arithmetic, and the rudiments of Christianity, and to lead the Christian activities of the villagers amidst whom they are to be settled.

As a rule, those who enter these institutions are not mere youths, but people of character, with real convictions and genuine Christian experience, but whose intellectual attainments are so rudimentary that it is impossible to take them far in their pursuit of knowledge. In after years, their work is consequently likely to be a strain upon their slender resources. If their school work loses its vigour, it becomes monotonous and irksome to them and fails to do what it ought for their pupils. If their missionary fails then to apply the remedy, things go from bad to worse : punctuality and accuracy are neglected ; registers are fitfully and carelessly marked ; school is irregularly held ; the discipline of the school is lost ; accounts are posted from memory at rare intervals, and consequently muddled ; in a word, their work becomes inefficient and, like all inefficient work, a danger to the character of the worker. It is much the same with their spiritual ministrations. Freshness of utterance is indispensable to the compulsive power of intense conviction. With practically no available literature and no means of replenishing their intellectual capital by conversation with their superiors in knowledge, they become stagnant and weary of reiterating, year after year, the few things that they know. Infected from birth with cupidity and concupiscence, they are exposed at their isolated stations to the ever-present lure of higher pay in secular employment and the sexual miasma of the heathenism around them—temptations peculiarly enticing to workers whose limited training dooms them to the monotony of running within a very narrow groove. One marvels, not at those who succumb in this struggle, but at the fighting power that enables so many of them to win through ! The weakness of these men is due largely to the slenderness of their training, which is nobody's fault, though everybody's misfortune. The remedy is constant supervision by their European missionary, continual guidance and encouragement in the further pursuit of their own education, and frequent removal to new spheres of labour. Unfortunately most missionaries have more hay on

their fork than they are able to handle. Intensive work is better than extensive, however, and no Mission is justified in covering more ground than it can adequately staff.

Sooner or later, as the Churches grow in numbers and knowledge, their teachers must be made more proficient in their subjects and better able to teach what they know in a workmanlike manner. Then, two kinds of institutions are set up somewhere in the Mission, one for training teachers of primary schools, and another for training evangelists and pastors of churches; and by this time the primary schools have made it possible to insist on a somewhat higher standard of entrance. If these institutions are staffed efficiently for the training of the whole man in industry and hardy manliness as well as knowledge and the devout life, they are costly.

The education of a people is the duty of its rulers, and its cost is a wise and just charge upon the taxation of the people. To cadge for education ought to be as disreputable as any other form of mendicancy. It is a scandal when Government casts the schooling of its children upon the care of charitable people in other lands. Some African Governments give grants-in-aid for the maintenance of both primary and normal schools, but everywhere, save in the Cape Province, the larger part of the outlay is borne by Foreign Missionary Societies. Since ardent evangelism that is unaccompanied by educational effort is likely either to be ephemeral or to degenerate into vain superstition, societies whose aim is to fit the African Church for the Christianization of its own continent cannot do without some system of primary education, and must, therefore, provide schools and pay for them till the tribe or the Government awakes to its duty. Some day, the Governments of Africa—the British Governments, at any rate—will relieve the Missions of this unfair pecuniary burden; but that will not free the Missions from their responsibility. If education is to mean character, the thousands of elementary teachers required must be men and women of Christian temper and purpose. To have Bantu boys and girls trained by teachers who, though proficient in school subjects and expert in pedagogy, are still inspired by the ideals of tribalism and the Puberty Camps would be a calamity indeed! If our African rulers are to use education as a group process for

securing a common culture—as they ought to do—care must be taken that the common culture is not a veneered variety of that which is now prevalent among the Bantu, but that it is permeated with Christian principles, which are capable of harnessing human passions and ideas. Hence it will always be necessary for the Church to lend her aid in this huge undertaking—the European Church, till her African daughter is capable of caring for her own household.

The vocational training of its pastors is, however, a permanent function of the Church; and Mission Boards must be content to defray the cost of these embryo Divinity Schools till the African Church, realizing that they are vital to her welfare, is able to staff and finance them. Inasmuch as this is probably the last step towards self-support that the African Church will be able to take, the Home Church must expect to shoulder the load for some decades after it has been relieved of all other African expenditure.

But the European Church must do more than that.

It is inevitable that primary and normal schools should be supplemented by schools of higher grade, in which leaders may be trained for industry, commerce, literature, medicine, civics, and other phases of the Bantu life that is to be. In the newer territories such schools are not yet needed; but they are overdue and actually appearing in South Africa, and will be required everywhere after a while. Genius means driving power; and if young native geniuses are denied the privilege of higher education in their own country, they work their way overseas and find it where they can earn it. Africa has problems enough of its own without importing bitterness which was grown on other soil. When we drive men upon whom the future so largely depends to seek higher education in the vitiated racial atmosphere of the Southern States of America, we invite political trouble and imperil the orderly development of Bantu civilization. African youths should be educated in Africa, where they can be kept in touch with their own people and the better elements of British life; and Government should provide the necessary institutions as the need for them arises.

The Church should help in this work. Western education is the best solvent of tribalism and faith in magic; and if it is not

free from the danger of materialism, the Church must bear its share of responsibility. At the time when science was making its fascinating and epoch-making discoveries, men were jaded with the formalities of institutional religion and the quibbles of those who equated fidelity to the faith with dexterity in clothing modern theology with phrases that suited the thought of our forebears; and many of these jaded men, captivated by the wonders of natural science, turned their backs upon religion and the study of human nature. Reaction has set in, it is true; for the test of truth is that it can be dovetailed with everything else that is true, and also the consistency with which materialistic philosophy worked itself out to a logical conclusion in the Great War compelled many to examine their assumptions. Not a few who are eminent in science are eminent also in religion. They have discovered a whole universe of spiritual possibilities behind all that the scalpel can touch and the chemical balances weigh, and they explore that universe with more suitable instruments. Still, it is too soon to claim that the danger of materialism has been eliminated from Western education.

Now if we expose people who have always found their moral sanctions in religion to a variety of learning that has been emasculated of its spiritual significance, we do them wrong, and must expect to pay the penalty. Hence the call to the Church. She must give herself to the study of Bantu religion, law, and institutions, after the comparative method—a study, it may be remarked, which breaks down race-prejudice as few other things can do; and she must not only do her part in teaching the Bantu to evolve citizenship out of tribal solidarity, but must, at the same time, help the future leaders of that race to discover the true spiritual significance of life, revealing to them the greatness and glory of that for which their fathers dimly groped. She must help in the production of a balanced and orderly development of the whole man—spiritual, moral, and intellectual.

xxv. *Sectarianism.* Now it seems obvious that if the Church is to attain the required standard, she must close her ranks.

What the outsider sees in African Missions is a profusion of sects, each holding its doctrine and practice to be the nearest approximation to the ideal and striving to propagate its distinctive name and features; and he asks, incredulously, whether

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those who are governed by such heterogenous loyalties can possibly be working for a common purpose. But there is more than sectarianism in our denominational differences, and we shall not attain the unity which most of us desire till we tear away the veil of prejudice and fix our eyes resolutely upon the facts.

xxvi. *Freedom and unity of the Early Church.* Jesus Christ pinned His hopes for humanity upon the ascendancy of the Kingdom of God over all lesser loyalties and all individual self-seeking, whether worldly or other-worldly. It is not recorded that He framed a constitution for the little society that gathered around Him, nor set a hierarchy over them, nor ordained rubrics for the regulation of their worship, nor formulated a creed that called for their assent, nor even gave them a distinctive name.

Nor does it appear that the little flock without a name set itself deliberately to think out a new pattern of organization. Some sort of organization had to come if they continued to gather together; but, like their Master, they paid little heed to the structure of their new society, and cared much for the spirit which it enshrined. In their frequent meetings for fellowship and worship, they fell naturally into the ways of the synagogues with which they were familiar, though even that pattern was not allowed to fetter their freedom. At first they had no sacred books peculiar to their society, no formal 'confession of faith', and no elaborate rites or symbols.

As the faith spread, little companies of Greek-speaking people, who habitually gathered together for prayer, instruction, and mutual admonition, took, just as naturally, the name and complexion of Greek societies with which they were better acquainted. The unity which characterized these scattered bands of early Christians was not that which comes from identity of organization or from common subscription to a formal creed: it was oneness of spirit, purpose, loyalty, and devoutness. We turn in vain to the New Testament for any clear-cut creed, or any formal constitution for the Christian society. Clever artists are content to leave much in the shadow in order that their theme may be the more clearly revealed; but that which led New Testament writers to make only passing reference to the

pattern of their ecclesiastical machinery was not conscious conformity to canons of art: it was their intensity of interest in the more essential which precluded stress upon the extrinsic and adventitious.

xxvii. *Synthesis of local loyalties.* That different sections of the Christian Church differ in the pattern of their organization, in the audible and visible expression of their adoration, and in their intellectual interpretation of Christian experience, is a fact that we ought not to bewail. What a humdrum world it would be if, in face and figure, everybody were a facsimile of everybody else! A variety of flowers in a garden gives far greater wealth of beauty than that of all the isolated blossoms added together. If all men's thoughts, tastes, and aspirations were identical, life would be unprogressive and unattractive. Nor ought we to bemoan the fact that propinquity, whether geographical or mental, fosters fellowship. In days of scanty intercourse, parochial loyalty often cried havoc to others whose only fault was that they lived in another parish—which was reprehensible! But as invention facilitated intercourse and spreading knowledge broadened the horizon of men's minds, local loyalties fused into a larger synthesis, till men learned at last to think in terms of nationhood—a prophecy, so our seers tell us, of what is going to happen to our national loyalties as distance is eliminated by discovery and knowledge grows from more to more. Is it audacious to hazard the opinion that a similar destiny awaits our sectarian loyalties?

Whether it is possible in our day to find a formula sufficiently comprehensive to unite all the broken fragments of the Church in one compact organization is more than doubtful. Even the sects outside the Roman and Greek Churches are unlikely to accept such bonds of union as those which hold the many Romanist sects together in one organization, though they may merge in a federal combination analogous to that which has solved the political problems of Britain and the United States. But, however their sense of unity may express itself, the gleam that gilds the future is the fact that the Christian sects of the English-speaking world are steadily coming together; that everywhere the party fences between them are faring as such devices usually do when love lives on both sides of them. Men

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who are praying for Christian unity have already found it, and their increasing number and influence is full of promise.

xxviii. *The vice of intolerance.* The business of the sects in Africa is to pass on to the tribesmen that great revelation which is so potent to purify motive and renovate character—that which gives each sect the right to be called Christian, not that which makes one sect Anglican, another Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, or what not. But, alas! we are all creatures of circumstance as well as children of God. There is not a missionary in Africa who is without denominational peculiarities. Even the 'Undenominationalists' are not so devoid of idiosyncrasy that they cannot be labelled: they are shop-worn remnants of theological and ecclesiastical commodities that flaunted their own tickets when they graced the shelves in bygone days. To claim that British Christians should give Africans the Gospel untinctured with the flavour of any British denomination is to cry for the moon. Nor can objection be taken to the existence of different schools of thought and taste in the Christian Church, or reason given why one should not find fellowship in work and worship with that section of the Church which looks out on life from his angle; but what has come, by common consent, to be called the 'sectarian spirit' is a spirit of pride and bigotry that is not only un-Christian, but anti-Christian, and therefore perilous to the Church.

Loram, looking at Missions from the outside, mentions¹ an instance in which 'one Protestant denomination stepped over a hundred miles of untouched country in order to establish a station at a place where another Protestant denomination had been conducting a flourishing station for many years'; and when he remonstrated with them, they replied, 'Yes, but some of *our people* have gone to live up there'. Those who know African Missions from the inside could quote many somewhat similar instances. 'A missionary who is unfaithful to the denomination that sent him out is not likely to be faithful to higher ideals,' said a good man to me; but the statement, in its context, was a tacit assumption that his denomination had sent him out to work for *its* extension rather than for the extension of the Christian religion.

¹ *The Education of the South African Native*, p. 74.

Altruism, like patriotism and other virtues, is susceptible to disease ; and a variety of altruism which champions the under-dog whatever the cause of the canine encounter sometimes reinforces denominational exclusiveness. A few missionaries are quick to assume that some other missionary has treated a poor complaining 'innocent' more hardly than they would have done ; and consequently pupils under discipline in a school are readily received into that of a competing denomination, and members under discipline in one Church are received without discipline into another. In the latter case it has generally happened that while the individual was under discipline he discovered that the ecclesiastical polity of the other Church is superior ! We ought to think pitifully and redemptively of pupils who find it hard to submit to sound discipline and converts who have relapsed into the morality or magic of their old life ; but he who receives those under discipline in another denomination is not merely fouling his own nest, but befogging the bleared consciences of 'these little ones'. Instead of being led to see their faults and to repent of them, Natives who are thus treated become convinced that they have been martyrs to the fad of an individual or the fastidiousness of a denomination.

The faults of sectarianism in the Mission Field are manifest : its avidity for proselytes tends to neutralize discipline in churches and schools ; its exaltation of the sect above the Church (the part above the whole) causes overlapping in some districts and neglect in others, and provokes demoralizing friction between overtasked workers ; its intolerance of variety involves the Church in thriftless duplication of specialists and institutions that every Mission finds it hard to provide, and much other waste of material resources ; and, worst of all, its untrammelled independence robs the Church of her ability to combine diversity of attack with unity of command.

But it would be a huge mistake to imagine that sectarianism is the most noticeable feature of any one of the sects. It is the mark of a small mind, which cannot be deep unless it is narrow. Some sects are comparatively free from sectarianism, and even in the one or two where it is a ladder to office, there are not a few men who reach office without it, and many more who are too big for such office anyhow.

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xxix. *The coming comradeship.* Now just as continental travel is a cure for insular prejudice, so interdenominational intercourse is a corrective of the sectarian spirit. In the discussion of common plans, the pursuit of a common purpose, and the sharing of common tasks, men not only get to know one another, but to adjust themselves to each other's peculiarities. Attempts to formulate a common creed, or to secure conformity to one pattern of Church polity, have been prolific of separatists; but since the World Missionary Conference of 1910 various sections of the Church have been coming together to devise plans for the furtherance of their common purpose, and the result is significant. Not only has 'Comity' come to be the most pregnant word in the vocabulary of Missions, but 'there flames in the forehead of the morning sky' a unity for the Home Church that would have seemed Utopian even to the optimists of a decade or two ago. It must needs be unity in diversity; for uniformity would cripple a Church that lives to win men of all sorts and conditions. But the fact that challenges attention is that sectarian arrogance has been marked for the rubbish-heap and denominational comradeship installed in its stead!

A similar movement is making headway in every Mission Field. It must be confessed that the drift towards Christian unity is less pronounced in Africa than it is in India and China. But Africa has its Kikuyu and a dozen other great Interdenominational Conferences that are all looking in the same direction; and the movement towards co-operation, backed by the brain and heart of African Missions, is surely, if slowly, making its way.

xxx. *Plan of campaign wanted.* Though one hesitates to use the metaphor of conquest in connexion with Missions, there is some similarity between military invasion and missionary enterprise. Both are temporary; both work with specially trained forces in foreign territory; both have (or should have) a definite objective, the attainment of which renders their presence no longer necessary; and both are equally in need of a plan of campaign, the last item of which is the successful withdrawal of their forces. There is no reason why the infantry should be deemed unsoldierly because they differ from the cavalry in drill and accoutrements, nor why the aviators should be required to

copy the artillery ; but the various aptitudes of all arms of the service should be intelligently co-ordinated in the pursuit of a master purpose, so that each may contribute its utmost to the advance of the others and the triumph of the whole. Forces at present in the field would become far more effective if they were co-ordinated in a single front, and the consciousness that all were working together on a well-devised plan would bring about an immeasurable improvement of morale.

The first requirement is an accurate knowledge of the number, equipment, capability, and distribution of forces already in the field, and the nature and extent of the work already accomplished and of that which remains to be done ; the second is a clearly defined objective ; and the third is a plan of campaign which shall employ each arm of the service to the greatest advantage and take the whole force to its objective without unnecessary loss of time, material, or men. A want of method which permits, for example, 36 independent missionary organizations to plant themselves impulsively and erratically south of the Zambesi, overcrowding some districts and understaffing others, is really unworthy of a Church whose every section sincerely desires to serve the Great Master of them all, and whose membership includes men famed for their ability to plan and direct great commercial enterprises or to organize vast forces in the service of the state ; but, fortunately, it is no longer quixotic to hope that a united council of the Home Boards on both sides of the Atlantic will soon institute a thorough survey, like that which has been completed for China, and formulate a plan of campaign for the whole huge adventure of planting a great African Church of Christ.

In a plan of campaign, carefully drafted and loyally operated, there should be scope for a large measure of denominational freedom ; but, unless such liberty be kept within the limits of the common policy, it becomes wasteful, frictional, and fraught with danger to the common purpose. Within the broad lines of the larger plan, each denominational unit should frame a definite policy for its own piece of work, and should present each of its workers with a clear statement of that policy, so that it may avoid the prodigality of an endless series of new beginnings. If either the plan of campaign or the denominational policy be

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so detailed as to allow little elbow-room for big men, it will command the services of none but the small ; and, on the other hand, if big men are allowed to modify it at pleasure, it will be worse than useless. It must be flexible enough to yield gracefully to the dint of circumstances that the most far-sighted fail to foresee, and yet so firm in pattern that it springs back into shape forthwith. Since we are unwilling that our successors should become slaves to the dead hand, it cannot be impossible for a future generation to revise either the plan of campaign or the policy for the denominational unit. But both should be superior to a change of personnel in the Mission or at the Home Base ; and any revision should be made only after investigation and deliberation as thorough as that which leads to the framing of the original scheme. No anxiety for the future need disturb us, however : if the denominations work along such lines of unselfish co-operation for a single generation, they will be more likely to move in the direction of organic unity than to return to the denominational isolation that we are happily leaving behind us.

Before such schemes can become effective, they must be endorsed by Church Courts and Home Boards ; and these are manned mostly by men who are eminent in the Home Church but unacquainted with Africa. The day of vocational training for missionaries has arrived ; but vocational training for members of Missionary Boards is a much more difficult matter. If these Boards devise the plan of campaign or the policy for the denominational Mission, mischief will inevitably result, just as the Ethiopian movement was intensified by able and amiable ecclesiastics who were ignorant of Native affairs. But this danger is more imaginary than real ; for every denominational Mission is officered at the Home Base by experts in Missionary organization and administration, and can command the services of capable men who are experienced in African affairs and trained for the difficult and delicate task of mediating between two widely divergent races. In drafting these plans, it goes without saying that full use would be made of these African experts of all denominations.

xxx. *Creed and polity of the Bantu Church.* The question whether such interdenominational comradeship necessitates preliminary agreement concerning the creed and polity of the

Bantu Church which we combine to serve must be met at once with a negative reply.

Church creeds and polity take their bias from the reaction of group-characteristics to the fundamental principles of the Christian Gospel. Now the characteristics of a community are due to many causes ; for nothing is isolated in history : a nation's future grows out of its past ; and its poetry, philosophy, literature, art, architecture, political institutions, and religion all act upon each other, and are all greatly modified by the geography of the fatherland. It is not an accident that the North of Europe is Protestant and the South Catholic ; nor that the Scottish Christian affects simple and quiet forms of worship and claims the right to do his own thinking, while the Spanish Christian demands a lavish display of ornate ritual but is content to take intellectual shelter under the authority of his priests. The distinctive features of the Coptic Church cannot be explained without reference to the pre-Christian history and geographical peculiarities of Egypt. That which shaped the polity of the Church of Rome was not so much anything that came from Christ or His Apostles as the constitution of the Roman Empire and the character of its pre-Christian religion. What is called the orthodox theology of Europe, whether Protestant or Catholic, owes its orthodoxy less to the spirit which informs it than to the ease and grace with which it wears the phrases of Roman law. Religion modifies racial characteristics, it is true : but it is also true that racial characteristics modify religion. History shows that just as the incarnation of Christ involved the limiting of the divine by the local, partial, temporal elements in humanity, so does the incarnation of the Christ-spirit. Two factors will determine the creed and polity of the Bantu Church : the fact that it is a Church of Christ, and the fact that it is Bantu ; and no preliminary agreement that we foreigners can make is capable of eliminating the Bantu characteristics and substituting European.

It must needs be that missionaries form Churches after the familiar pattern of that in which they found their own conversion, inspiration, and spiritual education ; but we have no right, as Bishop Gore once phrased it, to ask the Bantu to take over from us the scars of our controversies of the sixteenth

century. The assertion that each denomination finds its justification in the emphasis which it lays upon some important principle contains an element of truth, though the extent to which such emphasis demands a separate organization is quite debatable. In teaching the Bantu Church to emphasize all these important principles, we do them service; but we impede religious progress and produce ecclesiastical caricatures when we require a section of the Bantu Church to conform to the alien pattern of a European denomination. Africans cannot understand the historic controversies which split the European Church into fragments, and would not be interested in them if they could. In the Bantu Church, as in the European, there will be different schools of thought and taste; but they will all be Bantu, bearing no closer resemblance to those of the European Church than the Black man does to the White—which is to say, that their dissimilarity will be external and conspicuous and their similarity internal and fundamental. After the Bantu have awakened from their mental slumber and done their own thinking for a while, they will write their own creeds in phrases that appear adequate to their mind and metaphors that appeal to their imagination, and will frame their own Church polity, as European nations did, on the model of their secular institutions.

It is noteworthy that certain great formative principles run through all Bantu political patterns. For instance, matrilineal and patrilineal tribes alike, rural, urban, and military communities, all have this fundamental similarity of ideal, that the individual ought to be almost entirely submerged in the patriarchal group, and that the group ought to be correspondingly responsible for the acts of the individual. That was once a formative principle in European tribalism, and greatly influenced the European Church. We are so steeped in the spirit of our own age that we are shocked to discover that the Church recognized the widely extended European custom that a man who could not protect himself from accusation by the oath of his kinsmen must undergo the ordeal, and that for some centuries the ordeal was solemnly performed in the churches as a Christian ceremony. The doctrine of individual responsibility to God did much to break down tribalism in Europe; but some elements of tribalism still linger in the thought of the Church. In Israel,

as in Bantu tribalism, the spiritual privileges of an individual were due, not to his direct personal relationship to God, but to his membership in the family, clan, and tribe. Jesus broke with this doctrine; but it was strongly entrenched in the thought of European tribalists, and the European Church was content to spiritualize the notion, substituting the spiritual group for the secular. Hence it is that a large majority of our contemporary Christians in Europe are taught that they must be members of the Church—the spiritual family of God—if they would share the *covenanted* mercies of God. In pre-Christian Rome, religion was an integral part of the constitution of the state; and when Christianity became paramount in the Roman Empire, it could not become so intimately interwoven with the political constitution as the older paganism had been, but it accommodated itself to the situation as well as it could, and became the counterpart of the state. The awe and grandeur of the ritual of the Church of Rome are due, not to anything inherent in Christianity, but to those august ceremonies with which Imperial potentates fenced themselves round. In the great pre-Christian Empires, the Most High was regarded with awe and surrounded with mystery, and men felt that they ought not to approach Him with symbols of obeisance and humility inferior to those with which they had to approach His son upon the Imperial throne; and when Christianity became heir to the great state religions of the Mediterranean, she clad herself in the vestments of the temples and Christianized ancient rituals that had gripped the heart of millions of worshippers.

We are not here inquiring how far these acts of the Church may be justified: we are citing them in support of the assertion that the creed, ritual, and polity of the Bantu Church will be decided, not by the will of alien missionaries, but by the reaction of accumulated Bantu tradition to such of the fundamental conceptions of Christianity as they are able to accept from us.

The mentality of the Bantu, like that of any other people, is for ever in the making. Defeat or victory, subjugation or domination, heroic endeavour or patient endurance in what they deem a great cause, remodel the soul of a people. The cataclysm of the Great War has changed the character of every nation in Europe; and yet, just as the hills owe their shape to

moisture, heat, and cold rather than to volcanic upheavals, so national character is due far more to quiet changes that creep over the life of a community. Trade Unionism has given great groups of men such a sense of solidarity that they suffer hunger and loss rather than be disloyal to their own, thus working a change in our national character. Only a master of analysis, working with very delicate instruments, can measure the extent to which our national character has been transformed by the unearthing of the British coal-fields, the invention of the steam-engine, or even the contriving of such an everyday convenience as the pneumatic tyre.

In the modification of national character, however, the new ideal does not displace the old ; it is fused with the old and produces a new alloy. When Rome was mistress of the world, she introduced her Imperial institutions into Britain, as into other countries subject to her sway. But when the pressure of alien rule was removed from these islands, the older ideals of British tribalism merged with the newer ideals of Roman institutions, and produced Feudalism—a new conception of life which moulded our institutions for centuries.

Now, it is likely that something similar will happen in Africa, or, at least, in those huge tracts of Africa that are climatically unsuited to European residence.

Healthy areas of that continent may possibly become permanent homes of the White race. In society, as in physics, however, there is a tendency towards equilibrium. Russia has recently given us a striking illustration of the truth that the higher section of a society must lift the lower or be dragged down to its level. There is no promise of permanence in a society in which Black bondsmen hopelessly and increasingly preponderate over their White masters. No scientific frontiers protect the culture of a race that is intimately associated with another. History has much to tell of superior people who were depraved by their inferiors. Permanence can be assured only by fusing the two races into one homogeneous community. The Whites must either gradually lift the Blacks to their own level, incorporating them, as they become fit, into their own community, on what must ultimately become terms of equality ; or they must suffer such a debasement of ideal from long and

intimate association with a barbarous people that the community becomes homogeneous on a much lower plane. In the former case, the increase of virility and virtue with which the heroic performance of a great task is always rewarded will invigorate our political and ecclesiastical institutions; and though we who lack this exceeding great reward are unable to foresee just what the healthy improvements will be, there is not a shadow of doubt that they will include a clear-eyed love of liberty that is very tolerant of variety. In the latter case—from which may God forfend us!—tribalism will probably give as much colour to our institutions as it will take from them.

Europeans cannot become permanent dwellers in tropical Africa, however, except in a few favoured districts where altitude compensates for latitude; and none but lovers of the incredible can believe that our institutions will be allowed to remain unchanged after we have withdrawn. If large sections of the torrid zone are welded together under European Governments whose justice and sympathy enable them so to adjust our institutions to Native ideals that the people will be content with their overlords for a century or so, then it is likely that the tribalism of these regions will be swallowed up in patriotism, as the divergent interests of separate tribes become fused in a larger ideal of life. But if the European Government is so alien in spirit and method that it becomes intolerable to the many tribes in its sphere of influence, these tribes, fused in the fires of wrath against an alien oppressor, may find their unity in a great act of rebellion against everything European. In the former case, the institutions of the people will approximate more and more to the European pattern; and in the latter, the insurgent tribes will probably take over some of the external features of their suzerain's organization and inspire them with the spirit of ruthlessness that was so well exemplified by Chaka.

One thing is certain: the fortunes of ecclesiastical institutions are inextricably interwoven with those of political institutions; and once freed from the pressure of necessity, the Bantu soul will shape its own corporate life after its own pattern. Our only chance of influencing that pattern depends upon our ability to mould the soul of the people while it is yet plastic. Nothing militates against the success of the European Church

in her African task so much as her failure to convert Europe. For purposes of discussion, European influence upon Africa may be divided into secular and sacred, by those who care for such discrimination ; but as far as the Africans are concerned, it is one undivided whole.

By all ye cry or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples
Shall judge your gods and you.

The European Church cannot accomplish her African task by determining the creed that Bantu converts shall recite, the ritual that shall mark their worship, or the polity that shall prevail in their local assemblies ; nor even by trying to permeate African ideals with the Christian spirit, though this latter is of the utmost importance and the very heart of missionary enterprise. The soul of the people is being fashioned anew by the host of White men who are engaged in what is called, and, alas ! often is, secular employment, as well as by the handful of the Church's accredited messengers. The Church must meet the thousands of Europeans on the frontiers of civilization, and young people in our home towns and villages ere they take their places among them, with an interpretation of Christianity that relates it vitally to all that matters most in their conception of life ; and she must fill our social, commercial, industrial, political, and official life with the spirit of Jesus Christ.

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