

**BROWN
SOUTH AFRICA**

C. ZIERVOGEL

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BY

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CAPE TOWN

DEDICATED TO THE LATE MR. HYMAN LIBERMAN
AND MY WIFE AND FAMILY.

*I wish to tender my sincere thanks to Dr. Mohr of the
University of Cape Town and to Mr. R. Hoedemaker
for their kind advice and assistance, as well as to
all my other friends who have helped me.*

PREFACE

Some of the essays collected in this book have appeared in printed form in South Africa in such non-European journals as *The Sun* and *The Liberator*, while others were given as addresses to various audiences.

The Economic Survey of the Brown People was delivered at Stellenbosch under the auspices of the Debating Society of the University of Stellenbosch, while *National Welfare* was given in connection with the African Methodist Episcopal Church of South Africa at Cape Town.

They are now published in a permanent form at the request of many friends and by reason of the crying need for a book about the coloured people* by a coloured man.

I owe many thanks to those of my friends who have helped by their advice and encouragement, and I am sending this book forth in the hope that it will serve the purpose for which it was intended.

* The coloured people are distinct from the original natives (Bantu). They range from lily-white to nut-brown in colour, and live chiefly in the Western Province. Anyone not of pure European descent is regarded as coloured.

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I.

THE CAPE BEFORE THE WHITE MAN.

Recent archaeological investigations indicate that a number of different stone-implement cultures, clearly separated in time as well as in character, have existed in this country. The particular races that left these relics of ancient culture are unknown to us. Of one thing only are we certain—that once upon a time the Bushmen wandered undisturbed over all Southern Africa. These Bushmen were real relics of the Stone Age: up to a few centuries ago they were still using stone tools of a type that was common in Europe in the Stone Age.

The Bushmen were about five feet high, men and women being of the same stature. Normally their skin was a dirty yellow, which sometimes even approached the colour of copper, and which always had a faint undertone of red. They were of slim but sinewy build, with lean limbs, pendulous paunch, and proportionately small hands and feet.

Their skulls were small and low in the crown; but the ratio of breadth to length was somewhat

greater than in other African races, and not far removed from that of many Europeans. They had broad foreheads, somewhat prominent cheekbones, eyes placed at a slightly oblique angle, lobeless ears, very flat noses turned up a little at the tip, wide mouths, projecting jaws, and lips moderately everted. Their skin was wrinkled, sometimes falling in folds over the abdomen and the larger joints. This is said to be due to the fact that there was very little fat under the skin. The hair of the Bushman was rather rusty brown and woolly ; it grew in tiny tufts with bald spaces in between—very much as the grass grew in his native land. He was a nomad of the wilderness, with hardly any social organization, industry, dwellings or clothes, and only very primitive weapons.

Even before the advent of the white man in South Africa, these primitive Bushmen were becoming extinct. They were being forced out of their hunting grounds by their stronger Hottentot neighbours ; and white colonists did not hesitate to continue this process of dispossession until eventually the ancient owners of the land, unable or unwilling to domesticate animals, to cultivate the soil, or to adapt themselves in any way to their changed environment,

were reduced to a few scattered and dwindling remnants.

Where did the Hottentots come from?

Very little is known about their origin; but in all probability they were descendants of the Hamitic people who many centuries ago occupied the region of the Great Lakes in the north, from which they gradually moved south. These Hottentots and Bushmen were the people found by the white settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay in 1652.

They were fairly numerous; for when the Dutch arrived at the Cape the different Hottentot tribes alone numbered many thousands. Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots differ in appearance from all other Africans, and belong to an extremely ancient type. They were, however, a whole age in advance of the Bushmen; for they were able to use copper.

For several centuries before and after the early discovery of the Cape, the whole country from Walfish Bay on the west coast to the Kei River on the south coast was occupied by clans such as the Hessequa, Ottaqua, Mqua, Damaqua, Hamcumqua and Gonaqua.

These people were called Bushmen and Hottentots by the white man; but *Hottentot*, like

Bushman, is only the white man's name for them, and there appears to be some doubt as to the origin and significance of these names. It is, indeed, doubtful whether the Hottentots ever thought it necessary to have a name for their race till the white man sought it from their lips. They called themselves *Khoi-Khoi*, which in their language means *People* or *Men of Men*.

In the Cape Town Museum there is a very interesting anthropological collection, consisting of life-size casts of Bushmen and Hottentots. The casts were made from living models, and their interest lies in the fact that these races are now practically extinct. The few individuals still alive occupy the most inaccessible parts of almost waterless regions.

It is now necessary to give a very brief account of certain events which have an important bearing on our subject.

On 20th March, 1602, the Dutch merchants, who had a vast trade connection with India, consolidated all their sea-going ventures into a great chartered company—the Dutch East India Company. In the same year they sent out their third fleet to the East. The eastward-bound ships of the Company called at St. Helena, which the Dutch had occupied from 1645 to

1651, and at Table Bay, where they maintained friendly relations with the Hottentots.

In 1648, however, a Dutch ship—the *Haarlem*—was wrecked at the Cape, and some of the crew managed to land. They lived there for several months until they were picked up by a passing Dutch ship. During their stay at the Cape they had sown and reaped wheat, and obtained plenty of beef and mutton from the neighbouring Hottentot tribes.

On their return to Holland they gave such an excellent account of the Cape that the Directors of the Company, the famous Council of Seventeen, decided to utilize it as a refreshment station. They selected, as the head of the new station, a man who had previously been in their service, Johan van Riebeeck.

Among other things Van Riebeeck was given definite instructions as follows :

(1) A fort was to be built in order to protect the men from the natives.

(2) Gardens for fruit and vegetables, and land for sowing, were to be laid out.

(3) Their meat supply was to come from the neighbouring tribes, and they were to keep on friendly terms with them.

(4) The station was to cover its own expenses.

On 6th April, 1652, when he landed, Van Riebeeck found the country occupied by Hottentots and Bushmen. This was the beginning of White South Africa, and also of Brown South Africa.

The coming of the European to this country was a historical stage in western commercial civilization. This is the mosaic into which all subsequent events fit. It is only when we understand this fact that we can understand the history of South Africa.

II.

THE COMING OF THE SLAVES.

A formidable task confronted Van Riebeeck when he landed in Table Bay. As he himself expressed it, he had to bring forth everything out of nothing. A fortnight after landing, he began to complain of the shortage of labour. His tiny labour force, enfeebled by a long voyage, and disgusted by the nature of the work they had to undertake, proved quite inadequate. The men were not only unwilling, but also absolutely new to the tasks which confronted them. Van Riebeeck himself had to be engineer and gardener, farmer and carpenter, mason and smith.

The first settlers, who included Hollanders, Germans, Flemish, Poles and Portuguese, are described in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as being for the most part "people of low station and indifferent character," with a small number of higher class, from whom was elected a Council to assist the Governor. Such were the conditions in which these pioneers, who laid the foundations of White South Africa, found themselves.

It is a very interesting side-light on the mechanism of a historical process that the

Company originally had no intention of establishing a colony at the Cape. Its sole aim was to found a refreshment station; for, like most companies, the Dutch East India Company was interested in one thing only, *viz.*, its profits. For this reason directors frowned upon colonies, which were naturally a source of increased responsibility and expense. Therefore during the first five years the white population of the Cape consisted wholly of paid officials of the Company acting on behalf of the Company. But these Company servants were woefully inefficient, and failed to fulfil the expectations of their employers.

Consequently they issued stringent instructions that the aborigines were to be placated by every possible means—a policy which it was not always possible to carry out, for there were continual conflicts between white and non-white, and incessant demands for presents from the settlers.

Moreover, the Hottentots displayed a stubborn resistance towards encroachment on their pastures. They could never understand why the Europeans wanted more and more territory.

After the Europeans landed, the problem of labour became acute; and, in order to cope with the insufficiency and inefficiency of the white

labour at the Cape, two important steps were decided upon.

In the first place the Directors of the Company (the Council of Seventeen) decided in 1657 to establish nine free burghers on their own farms, hoping that the production of foodstuffs would increase when the burghers had a personal interest in their production.

In the same year Van Riebeeck began importing slaves.

On 27th March, 1658, in the teeth of a violent south-easter, the *Amersfoort*, which had left Amsterdam on 14th October, 1657, arrived at the Cape with a crew of white settlers. On its voyage to the Cape, the *Amersfoort* had met a Portuguese slave-vessel coming from Angola, from which she took 250 slaves in order to ease the latter's burden, allowing the rest, who were old and decrepit, to depart in the Portuguese ship. Many of the slaves taken on board were weak and sickly, and considerable numbers of them died, so that, of the number who survived, the majority were merely boys and girls.

Thus was the first cargo of slaves accidentally brought to the Colony. About the same time, and after long insistence on the part of Van Riebeeck, slaves were imported from the East Indies.

These, however, proved very troublesome. They did not understand the language spoken by their Dutch masters ; and a school had to be started to teach them a few words of Dutch. Moreover, they absconded at every opportunity, causing complications with the Hottentots. The colonists complained that these slaves were being corrupted and were receiving stolen property from the Hottentots.

The slaves flourished in the mild climate of the Peninsula. At first they married amongst themselves ; but, as usually happened at all stations and settlements where slave labour flourished, miscegenation soon occurred.

From this, as well as from the cohabiting of whites with the Hottentots, which occurred sporadically from the time when Spilbergen first landed in Table Bay, a mixed group soon evolved. The European population being small, and marriageable women being scarce, Van Riebeeck, in keeping with the East Indian precedent, encouraged mixed marriages. The classical example was Jan Wouter, who duly married Catherine, a Bengal woman, while Van Meerhof, an explorer, married Eva, a Hottentot woman. Contact, official and unofficial, with Europeans had serious effects on the non-Europeans ; and, in a word, the Hottentots and

slaves were gradually absorbed into the ranks of the whites. Therefore Van Goens decreed that no more heathen were to be manumitted except for good reasons, as the absorption of the latter, even in Van Riebeeck's time, was considerable.

As early as Van Riebeeck's day it was recognized that a coloured person who professed Christianity was the equal of a white; so he had a legal status. When Wagenaar, successor to Van Riebeeck, blurted out that he could do more with 25 Celestial families than with 50 such burgher families as were then actually settled at the Cape, the Company proclaimed its intention to convert all natives to Christianity, some efforts having already been made in earlier days to that end. After this further complications set in through intermarriage. For instance, one of the children of Eva, who has already been mentioned, subsequently became the wife of a well-to-do Cape farmer, named Zaaiman.

Slaves and political exiles from the various Dutch possessions, who were brought by compulsion from the Malay Peninsula, included some notable persons, such as Sheik Joseph, who, because of defeat in his own country, was first sent to Ceylon and subsequently transported to the Cape. He arrived with his family and a number of followers in 1682, and lived and died

on a farm in the district of Stellenbosch, some 30 miles from Cape Town. His tomb is still visited by large numbers of Cape Malays. These early peoples, together with Hottentots, slaves and half-castes, mixed quite freely.

When the military engineer, Isbrand Goske, was sent out as Governor to finish the building of the Castle, he received the shock of his life when he found that out of the children born to coloured people and half-castes one-quarter were black and the rest ranging from lily-white to nut-brown in colour.

They presented a problem, because they claimed free burghership ; and the difficulty was that most of these children were of a slave mother and were automatically slaves, belonging to the owner of the mother.

Goske, however, ordered that children of European fathers and half-caste mothers should be baptized. This was in accordance with the Council's Christianization policy. With the increase of the coloured people, the Directors considered marking out a reserve for them, especially as at that time they were despairing of attracting Europeans as colonists to the Cape.

In 1685 there were among the slaves 32 sons and 26 daughters whose European fathers were of one particular group. One early writer

speaks of children born of ex-slaves in lawful marriage and of others acknowledged by colonists as their children and taken into their families.

Then matters were allowed to develop on their own lines. The laws concerning the treatment and manumission of slaves had been vague ; but in the year 1685 a very distinguished man arrived in South Africa. His name was Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee-de tot Drakenstein, also known as Lord of Mydrecht. He had unlimited power—was able to make or displace governors and admirals, to proclaim new laws, to create new officials, to abolish old ones, to enter into treaty with native rulers ; he was able, in short, to do anything he might think advisable in the Company's interest.

The emancipation laws now made by the new Commissioner were as follows :

(1) Every male half-caste could claim freedom as a right at the age of 25, and every female half-caste at the age of 22 (provided only that he or she professed Christianity and spoke Dutch). But each case was to be considered on its merits, in order that well-conducted slaves might be emancipated, while those of bad character might be kept under control of a master.

(2) Slave children under 12 years of age were to be sent to school in order that they might learn to know the principles of Christianity as well as to read and write and to conduct themselves respectfully towards their superiors. Those over 12 years of age were to be allowed two afternoons a week for the purpose of instruction in the Christian religion. The females were to be taught separately.

(3) On Sundays all had to attend church services twice.

(4) As schoolmaster for the slaves, a well-behaved half-caste, named Jan Pasqual, of Batavia, was appointed, while Margaret, a freedwoman of the Cape, became schoolmistress.

(5) Marriage between Europeans and freed slaves of full colour was prohibited, but Europeans and half-castes might marry if they chose. (Here it is of interest to note the legal status which one section of the coloured people acquired ; but it is further noteworthy that, as the Europeans became established, they tried to prohibit marriage with pure blacks.)

In the following years the white people slowly but surely spread over a large part of what is now the Union. It is clear that during the

eighteenth century the imperialistic urge for territorial expansion had its repercussions in the Cape.

The Cape burghers at this period owned quite a large number of slaves ; but the Hottentots were nominally free, although it was difficult to distinguish them from the servile coloured population. The slave population had increased at a fairly rapid rate, so that by 1795 it amounted to approximately 17,000.

When after 1795 the government of the diverse peoples of South Africa passed for ever from the hands of a company of merchants to a responsible state government, the issues left on one side by the Company could no longer be evaded. Consequently, before and after 1834, the half-castes, Hottentots and slaves were merged together as the Cape coloured people ; and these combined classes numbered almost twice as many as the whites.

In the early days of the 19th century there was a considerable struggle by these classes against odds. Dr. Philip, of the London Missionary Society, was the first influential European who had the courage to point out that the welfare of the coloured people was not merely desirable in itself but also essential to the well-being of the whites. Appealing to the English in his

Researches, pp. 381 and following, Dr. Philip wrote: "If the British Government would contribute effectually to the prosperity of South Africa, let them at least do justice to the aborigines of the country."

The movement for emancipation reached its climax in 1828; but in the various enactments of the next few years there was a tightening up in favour of the masters. For the Cape Colony it was provided that from 1st December, 1834, slavery was to cease; and after a short term the ex-slaves were to have the same civil rights as the white people.

But the real termination of slavery came about 1838 rather than in 1834; and the liberated slaves were compelled to enter into contract with their masters, under whom they would perform stipulated services in return for specific allowances. This apprenticeship was a kind of semi-servitude, designed to avoid the perils of immediate emancipation. Many farmers were thus able to secure the free services of coloured children, who were apprenticed to farmers until their twenty-first birthday in order to avoid starvation; and so farmers were to some extent protected against a grave shortage of labour.

From Van Riebeeck's time onwards South Africa has depended on what cannot really be called free labour, and the benefits of prosperity have not been fairly distributed between the white, coloured and native workers.

III.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BROWN PEOPLE.

The slaves at the Cape were of three classes, which might be called Negro, Malay and Afrikaner. The Negroes were brought from Madagascar and Mozambique, and the Malay from the Far East. The most valuable slaves, however, were those who were the African born—the product of a European and a slave girl.

So many years have passed, during which the Cape has been in the uninterrupted possession of the Dutch or English, that from black and brown this half-caste type has evolved into something very like the Southern Europeans, and many have come to be considered white.

Cohabitation between white master and slave, as well as that of other free people of colour, was frequent, and is referred to by Lady Duff Gordon.

Intermarriage was sanctioned by the churches, and in Natal and the Cape there were in 1933 eighty-three mixed marriages.

In the Cape, fifty European males married non-European females, while thirteen European

females married non-Europeans ; in Natal thirteen European males married non-Europeans, while four European females married non-Europeans. Since the Union there have been one thousand, nine hundred and ninety-eight such mixed marriages.

There are strict laws against mixed marriages between European and non-European in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and in 1927 a law was enacted in the Cape making sexual relations between white and black a criminal offence ; but the coloured population increases year after year.

Though, as has already been remarked, very few pure Bushmen or Hottentots remain, their facial characteristics are still to be recognized in many of the coloured people of to-day, the vast majority being in the Cape Province.

Their chief grievances are their low economic income and the political discrimination which they suffer ; but one important factor in the problem of the coloured people throughout South Africa has been their constantly changing status.

The term *coloured* is rather a misnomer, and it has various meanings : the term *brown hybrid* would be more appropriate, as brown hybrids these million people really are. *Coloured*

commonly means possessing colour, such as red, blue, green, etc., which would be peculiar if applied to people. In some parts of the world (e.g., in the United States) the term *coloured* applies to black people; and many Englishmen speak of a *nigger* when referring to any non-white person.

“Near whites” are not usually regarded as coloured; but they are so regarded in South Africa. It is surprising to find that the dark people of Mediterranean stock in Southern Europe are included among the white people of South Africa: strictly speaking they should be classed as coloured also according to the South African definition of this term.

This sub-continent of ours is a country of strange contrasts. The word *European*, which is synonymous with *white* in South Africa, is quite erroneous when applied to the peoples of Moorish origin in Spain and France. As regards racial origin, they are as much European as we are. Like us they are now part and parcel of the country of their birth; and if they are Spanish or French because for centuries their ancestors have lived in Spain or France we are equally entitled to the name of South Africans without any qualifying adjective. On the other hand, many people classed as Europeans here are of

Asiatic origin with no European blood in their veins.

It would be difficult to find a line of demarcation dividing the peoples of South Africa into white and coloured. To trace back the descent of every individual would be a wellnigh impossible task, and would not be pleasant for a good many people, whose descent had best remain in obscurity.

The hybrids of South Africa, the coloured people, are in many cases partly descended from English people, and must of necessity have inherited some of the virtues of that race.

Hence, though they are comparatively backward at the present time, it is reasonable to suppose that it will not take them nine centuries to reach their ancestors' high standard of development. Those descended from Asiatics will naturally develop in accordance with the stage of development previously reached by their ancestral race. That is, the people of Indian descent will develop more rapidly than those of Javanese descent, since the former come from a stock where there has been greater enlightenment. On the other hand, the hybrids of Bantu origin cannot be expected to develop as rapidly as the others, since the degree of development reached by the

Bantu is not equal to that of the Europeans or of the Asiatics.

Since the arrival of the white man, a process of change has been going on. The causes of this change have been partly natural, such as the increase in numbers both by birth and by inter-marriage; but more significant still have been the changes brought about by contact with the progressive western civilization, to which the coloured man is constantly responsive.

Those changes are reflected in the laws which are enacted from time to time with a view to regulating the movements of the coloured people, defining their rights, and fixing their status, which somehow would not stay fixed. They have a way of out-growing their status as soon as some party succeeds in fixing it. Many of the changes in the history of the coloured people were brought about by their constant fight, in their forward march, for a higher status in civilization, and were achieved with the assistance of white men and women, too numerous to mention, who interested themselves in the welfare of the coloured people.

We could point out, in minute detail, what has been done by various missionaries; but our readers will excuse us for refraining.

We may note the romantic generosity which influenced the fathers of the Moravian Missions to propose to sacrifice themselves so that they might have the opportunity of instructing the people in South Africa in the "mysteries of the Kingdom of God." We feel no disposition to conceal that it was the incalculable worth of the human being which gave the missionaries their inspiration and zeal.

It is to this principle that we are indebted for the zeal which induced the missionaries to plant the germ of civilization on the green hills of South Africa—to sow the seeds of social virtue on the sultry plains of this southern continent.

As there will always be people who are not content to countenance slavery in the bosom of the society in which they live, by making distinctions between its citizens, so these worthies of old interested themselves in the cause of the coloured people. That there were steady improvements in the conditions of the people as a whole is evident from historical records.

The great changes that followed the Emancipation, that Act of releasing coloured energies for self-improvement and ambition, up to then repressed by social injustices, found its immediate expression in efforts for education, the acquiring of property and the cultivation of the mind.

Thrown wholly on the resources of missionaries, they were not long in recognizing that whatever good was to be realized from this new status as free citizens must ultimately come from their own free will to profit by its opportunities and advantages, and from their own efforts to improve their conditions.

Since then the history of the coloured people has surprised their most courageous white friends.

For a time it seemed that mental and spiritual progress were moving slowly, together with material progress ; but within the last generation or so the mental and social progress of the coloured people has far outstripped their economic position.

Whatever the position to-day may be, we find these people within the South African national body, fully permeated with the spirit of civilization.

Yet to a large extent the white people who do any thinking about the coloured man still carry an idea in their minds such as that expressed by Mrs. Sarah Gertrude Millin : " No Cape coloured man has risen to high rank in commerce, art, science, the professions or politics " (*The South Africans*, 1934). Presumably, therefore, he cannot rise because of his supposed inferiority. This is the picture which is given to the white

child in his school—that the coloured man is only fit to be a messenger or a hawker.

But the coloured people are passing through the same processes through which all minority groups pass. “Slowly,” says Bishop S. W. Lavis, “but surely, at great sacrifice and in the face of every conceivable hindrance, there has arisen a teaching class among the coloured people, numbering about 1,600 persons (nearly 90 *per cent.* of the coloured teaching profession hold certified qualifications). The gulf between mission-school and higher education has been bridged, and to-day (1936) the number of coloured graduates includes Master of Science, Masters of Arts, Bachelors of Education and Bachelors of Arts.”

To understand the thinking coloured man, it is essential to know something of the changes that have taken place in the coloured community's life in the last few years, and of the factors that have produced these changes.

During the long years of struggle there has all the while been developing a new type of coloured person with the desire to improve not only mental and spiritual conditions but the physical too, and along modern lines and tastes. Books, paintings, music, wireless, magazines and news-

papers, all are common objects in the home of the coloured man of the twentieth century.

The twentieth-century coloured man has come to believe in education, in educating his children, in better housing conditions for his family, in wholesome foods and healthy recreation. He strives to give to his children those elements which make life pleasant.

Although the majority of coloured people are still battling against the dangerous currents of poverty, disease, ignorance and moral turpitude, they have to contend with greater difficulties. The bad housing conditions are not caused by the rapid increase of the people: they are caused by the absence of protective laws and institutions, and by the poverty of the larger portion of the population.

Any investigation will show that dwelling in slums gives rise to physical deterioration, and to an increased mortality. These are not the only evils of slum dwellings: they militate against decency, discourage the desire to learn, stifle all aspirations to a better life, and lead to alcoholism and crime. "Morality," it has been said, "is a question of square feet." No family life is possible under these conditions, which are truly the negation of civilization.

Apart from educational efforts, there are many other things which need to be done for the advancement and welfare of the coloured people. Among these we would mention better housing and improved sanitary conditions in coloured residential areas.

In the cities and villages, the coloured people are to be found mainly in definite areas such as (in the Cape Peninsula) District Six, the Malay Quarter, Athlone, the Cape Flats and the Locations.

The houses in such areas are often in a state of dilapidation, without modern conveniences, though all over Cape Town there are now proper sanitary arrangements.

It is evident that no amount or kind of education is going to do much to elevate the coloured people as long as their domestic surroundings are demoralizing. If the slums of the whites in the larger cities are the breeding grounds of vice, disease and crime, then even more so are the slums of the coloured section, where a boy or a girl, growing up in such an environment, has not half a chance of making good.

In addition to what municipalities may be doing for coloured housing, that is, building of more model houses for coloured people, not only to rent but also to buy, much ought to be done by

the coloured people themselves in the same direction. As one coloured man has suggested, the organizing of a Coloured Citizens' Housing Utility Company is very necessary. Although there are a number of societies in existence to assist in this direction, much more is required.

The aggregate of virtue or vice, happiness or misery, in a nation is not to be estimated by the habits, sentiments and pursuits of a few people, but by those of the great mass of society.

This talent of which we are writing must be cultivated, must be given a chance in the land of its birth, or the privileged classes of society will continue to exhibit their ingenuity in constructing new governments and mending old ones. If, in spite of these advantages and efforts, the mass of society is left without social benefits, governments themselves, with all their agents and accompaniments, will be tossed about by mighty movements like a rudderless barge on the surface of a tempestuous ocean.

The conditions in Cape Town—the gateway of South Africa—are more serious than in any other town in the Union. The problem of overcrowding is not of the present generation's making: it began a century ago when the emancipation of the slaves released the Europeans from the necessity of housing them. Long years

ago private enterprise decided that the coloured man was not an economic subject for house-building : he was an uncertain rent-payer because of his low economic position in the scheme of state and commerce, and for many years a coloured population, increasing naturally at the rate of about 3,500 a year, has been forced to live in a city which makes no provision for the existing population, far less taking notice of their increasing numbers.

The position to-day, after a hundred years' neglect of even the barest accommodation for the non-European population, is that in large areas of Central Cape Town more than half the coloured population live in single rooms.

The great damage done by "nigger-baiting" is not the propagating of false doctrines such as the "Nordic Myth," but the creation of an atmosphere antagonistic to calm thought and free movement. It gives us a South Africa under the tyranny of prejudice and passion instead of a South Africa under the sovereignty of reason and conscience.

The bogey of miscegenation in some form or other has been used as a weapon against progress as far back as the records of the coloured man's struggle for liberty go.

Even General J. C. Smuts, speaking at the opening of the National Conference on Social Welfare at Johannesburg (October, 1936—the first of its kind in the Union of South Africa), said: “I am sure that we have very much—almost criminally—neglected our duty to the non-European population of this country. I think that our conscience has not been sufficiently stirred in this matter—not because the people of this country are bad or selfish, but because we have not yet adjusted our view-points to the new situation. We shall fail, and we shall fail profoundly, in this matter of social service, unless we give very grave attention to the hard cases, the pitiable cases, among the natives, the coloured and the Indians in South Africa.”

In order to illustrate further how indifferent the white South African nation is about non-European housing, let us quote what the Native Affairs Department has had to say on this subject :

“It is impossible economically to build and hire good houses to natives because they are too poor to pay higher rents on the basis of the present wages.”

The effects of this cheap labour began to be felt before the war, when it deprived the poorer coloured people of their monopoly of various

forms of unskilled and skilled labour in the Western Province.

The non-European of the twentieth century resents the social injustice meted out to him, and is determined to take his place in the social life of the land of his fathers.

IV.

A SHORT ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BROWN SOUTH AFRICA.

In our earlier study of the evolution of the coloured people, we traced their upward course in the common life of South Africa, and perceived increasing demands on their economic resources.

Among the many disturbing problems entering their complex national life, the one which, above all others, has provoked discussion in every quarter is the economic problem of the people.

During the period of colonization contact was established between coloured and white. The economic subjection of the one to the other extended to every sphere of physical, mental and social life.

Out of this contact there arose certain definite relations, and consequent problems for adjustment. The process by which the people and the slaves were brought into contact with civilization, slow at first, was hastened when the vast areas of Southern Africa came under European control and administration. That meant that the agricultural and mineral resources of these expanses

were to be exploited under white direction and capital, utilizing the labour resources of the coloured and native peoples.

Simon van der Stel, Governor in 1699, brought out settlers, some of them French Huguenots, who exercised a powerful influence on the whole development. When he retired, the first step towards the northward spread of western civilization had been taken. His son carried on his father's policy until 1706, when he was recalled.

In 1807 the slave trade was stopped, and the free coloured peoples had to fill the gap. Thirteen years afterwards the British settlers arrived. In 1822 a resolution was passed by the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce in reference to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and the appointment of His Majesty's Commissioner of Inquiry, because complaints had been sent to England relative to the oppressed state of the subject peoples.

To present an honest view of the policy of the whites we may say that their first object was to secure as much suitable land as possible for their own occupation, as always happens in the development of tropical countries by Europeans. This resulted in the relations between white and coloured being those of employer and employee. For a long time this was tacitly accepted ; but

there are obvious tendencies working to destroy this old outlook. The old slave psychology is crumbling; growing numbers of coloured and native people realize that they are the basis of South African society. The condition of the people is a sad commentary on the influence of the whites on people less advanced than themselves.

Where men are governed by equal laws, where governments stand on the basis of liberal institutions, where rulers are under salutary checks, there the people are raised above the chilling influence of penury. They have peace in which to cultivate and reap their fields, the march of the human mind is unimpeded, and primitive peoples reach an elevation which excites the admiration and surprise of nations.

According to the figures of the latest census (1936), the coloured people in South Africa are so distributed that 356,000 live on farms and rural areas, while 325,000 live in the towns.

To analyse the present position in detail is difficult, because so much of the necessary information is not available. To consider the economic status of the coloured man to-day, and see whether he has made progress and moved to a higher social level, or whether he has gone further back, is of the utmost importance.

Although the coloured people are seen about continually, most people know little about their daily life. They serve in European homes, sell the daily papers, help to make and deliver the daily bread. Europeans are in contact with them at every turn of their daily round; Europeans legislate for them. But even the Government itself has recognized how little is really known about the coloured people—so much so that a Commission of Inquiry has been appointed.

The coloured people came into being from the time of European settlement in South Africa; they exist in the very midst, and they are a part of the economic structure of South Africa. From time to time speeches are made by leading statesmen of the country, assuring them that they have not been forgotten; but they search in vain for any sign of real appreciation of their problem. Most of the avenues of employment formerly open on the Railways and Harbour Services, in other Government departments (in education and in the Post Office there are still some exceptions) are now definitely closed to the coloured man. He can hardly ever hope to be promoted to a position of authority even over his own people, and under the present discriminatory policy he

can never hope to be entrusted with authority over even the lowest classes of whites.

In the past coloured men attained the rank of guard, station foreman, porter or ganger on the permanent way. Now it is scarcely possible to obtain the position of a labourer, and the wages range from 3s. to 3s. 6d. a day.

A meeting of non-European railway workers held in August, 1937, at the Trades Hall, Cape Town, protesting against the differential treatment meted out to European and non-European workers in the service, passed the following resolution: "This general meeting of non-European railway workers protests emphatically against the differential policy now practised by the Government and the Administration of the South African Railways and Harbours Services in relation to European and non-European employees. This differentiation, based on colour lines, is utterly opposed to all principles of justice, and can have no other result than to stir up bitterness and hatred. Our loyalty to South Africa cannot be questioned, and we ardently desire a unity of the people based upon goodwill, which will enable every citizen, regardless of race, creed or colour, to give of his best in order to ensure progress and prosperity."

Mr. E. Wallin (President of the Union) said that the General Manager of Railways thanked the railway workers for responding in a manner traditional of the service: "In that statement he includes you non-European workers; yet what has he done for the non-European? What have you got out of the extra work involved by the recent increase of tonnage on the railways?" He quoted letters from several non-European railway workers employed within 20 miles of Cape Town who were getting 3s. or 3s. 6d. a day, to illustrate the conditions under which they were living. In one case a skilled cable-jointer was getting 5s. a day, when the average pay for the same work outside was 8s. 6d. "I know," he said, "of two coloured men doing skilled work as strikers and getting only 4s. 3d. and 4s. 6d. a day, and who, after 20 years' service, were put on labouring work and replaced by white men at nearly double the pay."

Mr. A. J. Cunningham (a white man) said: "Even in the days of slavery at the Cape, coloured men were better off than now."

The rates of pay for the unskilled labourer in the towns range from 3s. to 5s. a day. The City Council of Cape Town has its minimum unskilled wage of 40s. per week; the coloured farm labourers, mainly in the Cape Province and

neighbouring districts, earn wages at the rate of 3s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. per week, including the part-payment plan, known as the "tot system."

Let us consider what this "tot system" is. In the majority of cases (there are exceptions) it means giving the labourers six tots of wine per day—two before breakfast (one when the work starts, and one at breakfast time), two before lunch (one midway between breakfast and lunch, and a fourth at lunch time), a fifth in the afternoon, and the sixth on stopping work.

Formerly, it should be noted, the labourers received cooked food; but now they get a ration or a few pence, with the result that they are not properly fed, and practically try to subsist on the "tot."

In this connection it is hardly necessary to emphasize the effect of economic pressure on the social position of the individual. The difficulty of earning a livelihood fills his mind during his leisure and working hours alike; and there can be little satisfaction in his work, thoughts and feelings, or in his relations to his associates in work, his employers or his fellow employees.

"The economic position of the coloured people," says Dr. T. Shadick Higgins, Cape Town's Medical Officer of Health, in 1935, "is an important factor in their social and health

condition. Many of them are far below the poverty line." Further, they are between two millstones, seriously handicapped both in the economic and in the industrial system, with the Europeans on top and the natives below.

There is absolutely no doubt that the coloured man has been ousted from his position in the economic system because of colour prejudice. The various colour bars which have led to misguided prejudices are responsible for a great deal of the economic struggle in which the coloured man finds himself to-day. The coloured folk, who live chiefly in the western districts of the Cape, never knew any other civilization but that of the Occident. Thus their ideas and mode of life could not be made to fit in with any other than that of the white man.

Traditionally the coloured people were regarded as the unskilled class ; but, as industries grew, many coloured workers became highly skilled, and when colour-bar wage legislation was introduced it had tragic results, the coloured workers suffering severely.

Within fifteen years the coloured people have lost almost every occupation that was regarded as peculiarly their own. Records of early days enumerate the trades and callings practised among the coloured population of Cape Town.

In writing of the means of livelihood of a century ago, Mr. Graham Botha says that burghers carried on the usual trades of smiths, carpenters, masons, bootmakers, tailors, and bakers, but that as a rule the master did little of the work connected with his trade, for the actual labour was performed by his coloured dependants. In 1822 coloured men, especially Malays, were skilled coachmen, tailors, painters, and shoemakers.

There are in all parts of South Africa coloured men who hold their own with whites in every skilled trade. In several departments individuals have attained to the position of ownership and control of their own business.

In the printing trade at the Cape, persons of colour hold long and honourable records, and many firms have been built up and for long periods sustained on the skill and proficiency of coloured men, though their numbers are decreasing daily. The adoption of a "civilized labour policy" by the South African Government has resulted in the introduction of industrial legislation. In theory it is as harmless to the coloured man as it is to any other, but the introduction of the Wage Act resulted in hundreds of skilled coloured men being replaced by whites

from the rural areas, who have now been trained for the work.

Statistics which have been issued as a result of the census of May, 1935, show the gross figures of the population classified according to urban and rural areas. Their chief interest lies in the fact that, when corresponding figures of previous enumerations of the people in South Africa are considered, a very marked increase in the ratio of urban to rural population is once more revealed.

The following table shows succinctly the relation of urban to rural populations in the case of Europeans at each census since that of 1904 :

Year.	Urban.	Rural.
1904	500,926 (48·8%)	525,880
1911	658,286 (51·7%)	617,956
1918	766,849 (53·9%)	654,932
1921	847,508 (55·7%)	671,980
1926	975,897 (58·7%)	701,425
1931	1,119,848 (61·2%)	708,327
1936	1,307,285 (65·2%)	696,227

Thus, whereas at about the date of Union the European population was almost evenly balanced between urban and rural areas, to-day the urban population is nearly twice as large as the rural. The figures are not of course wholly to be explained by the drift of the rural population

into the towns: they are partly due to the extension of local urban authority into rural areas, which have therefore ceased to be classified as rural. But there is no doubt that the chief factor in the important change which is going on has been the growing tendency of the people from the rural areas to flock into the larger centres of population; and this process is likely to continue.

It has been a habit in South Africa from the earliest times to leave the dirty work for the "nigger." As we have already stated, the industries were almost solely staffed by coloured workers because of the belief that all manual work was to be done by non-whites. But world conditions have changed, and because of this even whites are compelled to do unskilled work. We would mention at this stage the effect of such acts as the Factory Act (1918), the Apprenticeship Act (1922), the Industrial Conciliation Act (1924) and the Wage Act (1925). Since the enforcement of these acts the economic position of the coloured worker has become worse. What the future has in store for him now is a matter for him to consider.

Super-profits in South Africa are the results of cheap labour, and present-day prosperity and its benefits have not been fairly distributed among the white, coloured and native workers.

We should like to suggest that the condition of the workers be improved, that economic affairs be managed by some saner, scientific methods, and that things be done not for the good of whites only but for the good of all. In the words of J. H. Oldham : " It cannot be in the interests of South Africa that a section of its population should remain ignorant and poor."

The country stands to gain rather than to lose by the economic progress of the coloured people. " But," says Bertrand Russell, " in the civilizing of Black Africa it is always necessary to deprive the population of land, cattle and other traditional sources of food, in order that they may be compelled to work for the white man."

The duty of the white man to-day is to cleanse the atmosphere which surrounds the relationship between the white and coloured peoples. The industrial legislation which we have described must be removed, because it is a stumbling-block to the progress and economic welfare of the nation as a whole.

It must, then, be definitely laid down and proclaimed that wages for the white and non-white should be the same. We believe that wages should be based on the assumption that whatever a man's labour is he is entitled to his reward. Not until these difficulties are overcome will the nation

have any justification for the belief that all is well.

If the coloured people are given a fair chance to become better citizens by being enabled to earn more wages and contribute more to the national wealth, we are confident that they will be able to do much to develop the country.

W. E. H. Lecky has some impressive words to say on the prosperity of nations and its causes : " Its foundation is laid in pure domestic life, in commercial integrity, in a high standard of moral worth and of public spirit, in simple habits, in courage, uprightness, and a certain soundness and moderation of judgment which spring quite as much from character as from intellect. If you would form a wise judgment of the future of a nation, observe carefully whether these qualities are increasing or decaying." May South Africans, white, brown and black, carefully observe.

Then we have the writer of *Social Evolution*, Benjamin Kidd, saying that the future demands that we realize more clearly just what constitutes superiority and inferiority of race. He says that science gives us no warrant for claiming superiority for a certain race on the ground alone of colour, descent, or even high intellectual capacity. In his opinion " The only test lies

in the measure of the possession of qualities contributing to social efficiency"; and high among these he places "strength and energy of character, humanity, probity and integrity, and simple-minded devotion to conceptions of duty in such circumstances as may arise."

We need only point out that not only commodities but services are included in the circle of exchange. This fact has entered implicitly into all that we have said.

We have now, I hope, gained an idea of the economic position of the coloured workers, whether they belong to the privileged or to the unprivileged class.

There is so much to do in this great country that it is time we laid aside the prejudices of a bygone age of ignorance.

V.

A SHORT POLITICAL HISTORY OF BROWN SOUTH AFRICA.

A short survey of the political history of the coloured people will undoubtedly show that the Union of South Africa has not proved an inestimable blessing to the non-European section of the South African population, although it is invariably assumed to have been such for the nation as a whole. To our mind the real significance of the Union was that any democratic rights which the non-whites south of the Zambesi may have possessed prior to the Union were taken away from them.

“In dealing with the coloured races,” says Mr. O. Pirow (Minister of Defence) in his Union Jubilee message, “we have discovered how to keep the white man’s civilization paramount, without denying proper development to the non-Europeans”! But in order to realize what position the non-whites occupy we must study their political history.

The following extract from instructions to the Landdrost (Magistrate) in the Cape District

in the year 1809 will show that the coloured people of that time were recognized as free people in the Cape Colony—their home; and that was the legal position of all free coloured people: “The original natives of the country (Hottentots) must be considered and treated as a free people, who have a lawful abode in the Colony, and their persons, property and possessions ought for that reason to be protected in the same way as those of other free people.”

From this it will be seen that the civil protection of the state was irrespective of the colour of the skin. Then without debate, in 1828, Sir George Murray, speaking on behalf of the Government, accepted a motion for an address to the Crown, praying that direction be given for effectively securing to all the natives of South Africa the same freedom and protection as were enjoyed by other free persons residing at the Cape, whether they be English or Dutch.

This did not actually equate the Cape coloured people to the European, and their status was still held to be a matter for separate legislation; but it nevertheless substantially withdrew the restriction on their civil rights and set the course of the Cape policy definitely in the direction of equality between white and coloured.

The famous Ordinance 50 of July, 1828, commonly called the "Hottentot Charter," was a definite landmark in the history of the coloured people. The ordinance did not, however, as is still sometimes supposed, place the coloured or Hottentot peoples upon a footing of absolute equality with the white colonists. The wording of the ordinance itself gives it special application only to Hottentots and free persons of colour. The general significance of the law, and even its previous origin, have been somewhat obscured by the cloud of prejudice it raised at the time of its enactment.

Later the principle of legal equality came to be generally admitted, more especially when Fairbairn and Andries Stockenstrom became leaders in the Colony for the rights of the non-white. No one in 1853 challenged a correspondent of Fairbairn's when the latter declared that the new Parliamentary Constitution was based on principles which forbade class government or class legislation. Thus, when the constitution ordinances were enacted in 1853, and parliamentary institutions were granted to the Colony, there was no mention of colour in the franchise qualifications. The colour-blind equality which this implied was generally accepted as equitable.

The coloured and Hottentot cheerfully paid their contribution to the Anti-Convict Association, which was battling against the making of the Cape into a convict station. Shortly after this, however, there occurred events of tremendous significance which then caused a change of attitude: the whites became conscious of the presence of natives who were regarded as alien—an element which was outside of direct European rule.

The strong rush of the Bantu peoples sweeping downwards from the north, and the European advance upward from the south, meant that the two virile forces came face to face, causing frontier unrest; and the struggle began which created a "fear complex" in the whites. In order to understand the results of the contact it is essential to have some idea of the native races with whom the whites came into conflict and of the territories which they occupied on the eve of the clash.

The races were the Zulu and Matabele powers; and the Zulus occupied the territory between the Tugela and Pongolo rivers, including modern Natal, and made constant attacks upon the tribes that lived both to the north and to the south of their boundaries. The Matabele extended from the Orange River as far as the Zambesi, but their chief strength was between the Vaal and the

Limpopo rivers (modern Transvaal), where their principal villages were situated.

It is surmised that no less than two millions of natives were destroyed in those early conflicts.

The tribes who lived near the eastern frontier of the Colony—the Xosas, Fingoes, Tembus and Pondos—were soon drawn in by the Colonial Government; and the presence of these people naturally brought about a changed situation. Thus under our very eyes we observe the transition of the problem from a Hottentot to a native (Bantu) one.

We do not intend to go deeply into the historical forces which have produced the present situation, for that would take us far beyond the limits of this work. It is quite clear, however, from the Constitution of 1853, that the coloured people were well on their way to securing full citizen rights at a time when they were not so advanced as they are to-day.

But all did not remain well for long. In South Africa the wheel of history has always turned at an alarming rate. Discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa produced a new element of power—the power of great wealth wielded by a small group of men. Griqualand (modern Kimberley) had suddenly revealed, to a South Africa that was as yet too unenlightened to be

properly startled, a new native difficulty of the utmost seriousness—the effect of the native wars of the past two generations and of the unrelieved pressure of the European population upon the native areas and the squatting on European farms.

The stream of natives from every part of South Africa that now came to the Diamond Fields seeking employment was at once evidence of the disruption of tribal life and economy and the cause of still more rapid social change. Though the individual labourers still returned whence they had come, South Africa had now to face a new and serious complication of its native problems—namely, the dependence of a growing proportion of the native population upon European employment for existence, and the creation of a detribalized and landless urban proletariat.

A true and full understanding of the position in South Africa is the relation of the black and the white. Barkly wrote to Carnarvon on 25th July, 1874: "It must be borne in mind that the key to South African politics is the question of the treatment of the natives."

The Jameson raid of 1895 embittered racial feeling in the country, and the relationships between the Boers and British went from bad to



worse. The failure of the Raid greatly strengthened Kruger's position in South Africa. Rhodes's blunder, in fact, threw the Cape Dutch on the side of their Transvaal brothers. Kruger could therefore now proceed towards his ultimate goal of "Africa for the Afrikanders" with more confidence and a firmer step. In the Cape Colony he could now count with assurance upon the support of the "Afrikander Bond" under the able leadership of Jan H. Hofmeyr. Every concession to the "Uitlanders" was obstinately refused, and after three years of more fruitless negotiations the South African war began. The rights and wrongs of this war need not be discussed. It was not until 31st May, 1902, that the Dutch leaders were prepared to accept the British terms of peace, when thirty representatives from each republic met Lord Kitchener at Vereeniging.

Coming into existence immediately after those stormy days, the African Political Organization, supported by such stalwarts as W. Collins, M. J. Tobin, P. J. Ekstein, N. R. Veldsman, H. Thomas, P. le Roux, A. Arendse and J. Poggenpoel, with many others, immediately made itself heard in fiery denunciation of the colour-bar clauses of the Treaty of Vereeniging.

When the Ridge Commissioners visited South Africa in 1905 to investigate the political con-

ditions of the two northern provinces, the African Political Organisation tendered evidence on behalf of the Cape coloured people. The correspondence which appeared in the press of that time, voicing the legitimate claims of the Cape coloured people, from the pen of the present president, Dr. A. Abdurahman, and others, form an important part of the historical records of South Africa, and should be studied by every aspirant to political leadership among the non-Europeans.

In spite of the most solemn promises made to the coloured people by the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Milner, on 20th September, 1909, the South Africa Act received the royal assent, though it included a legal colour bar against all persons not of European descent.

“Only persons of European descent shall be eligible as members of either House of Parliament,” says the Act of Union. After the passing of this act a deputation, led by the late W. P. Schreiner, and representing coloured and native South Africans, went to London to urge the Imperial Government to amend the Act. But their efforts proved fruitless.

Although a concession had been secured for coloured and native people to sit in the Provincial Council, they were still debarred from sitting in

Parliament. Before 1910 the coloured people were far more secure and happy than they have been since that date.

What is the position since Union? They have lost ground in every sphere of civil life. Economic, political and social privileges which they once enjoyed have been almost completely removed.

The National Convention before 1910, in which the South African Act was drafted, was in reality the starting point from which practically all colour bars took their origin. The Cape franchise was the great issue around which controversy in connection with the South Africa Act revolved. Prior to Union the old Cape franchise gave the vote to men of all colours who could pass a rough, but at that time not inadequate, test.

They possessed three rights—the right to sit in Parliament, the right to vote for members of Parliament, and the right to be counted as electors when it came to a re-allocation of seats.

At Union, the first and the last of these privileges were taken away from the coloured and native voters, and only the right to cast their vote was left to them. Clause 34 of the South Africa Act reads as follows :

“ The number of members to be elected in each province, as provided in Section 33, shall be increased from time to time, as may be necessary in accordance with the following provisions : ‘ The quotas of the Union shall be obtained by dividing the total number of European male adults in the Union, as ascertained at the census of 1904, by the total number of members of the House of Assembly as constituted at the establishment of the Union ’.”

From this it is clear that the quota of the Union is made up of the total number of Europeans, and that the non-Europeans are excluded.

But their duty of paying taxes was not excluded. Their taxes, in point of fact, were greatly increased. The brilliant picture which Sydney Smith gives of the state of matters in England in his time describes very clearly the position of the coloured people at the present day : “ Taxes upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot. Taxes ! Taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell or taste. Taxes upon warmth, light, locomotion. Taxes on everything on earth, and the waters under the earth.”

By the South Africa Act the coloured people lost the right of sitting in Parliament. The

disfranchisement of the non-whites and a Union-wide attempt to confine democratic development to white people destroyed the confidence of the non-Europeans in the Europeans.

The Ordinances in force before 1910, and the social status they had conferred on the coloured people, were swept away : the ideals which make for national unity and happiness were disregarded. The "Hottentot problem," and the very name "Hottentot," passed out of recognition, but the successors of those Hottentots—the coloured people—acquired their disabilities.

But to-day, in our age, and in our country, history is again being made. An increasing number of young white South Africans, instead of merely accepting the traditions and sentiments of their predecessors, are beginning to form their own ideas, and those ideas are not the ideas of those who took part in the formation of the Union.

These young South Africans perceive the futility of perpetuating the present unjust and unscientific form of society.

They will, we may hope, lay the foundations of a new and better social order which will bring increased happiness to all sections of the population, irrespective of colour. Only in this way can the white races succeed in regaining the affection and respect of the coloured peoples.

The years of contact which the Cape coloured people have had with Europeans' modes of life, and the success with which they have assimilated them, should remove any doubt as to whether they could play their appointed part in a new society.

In 1925 General Hertzog in his famous speech at Smithfield said that the Cape coloured man must enjoy franchise rights on the same basis as the Europeans, and that economic barriers must be removed. Twelve years have passed, and the coloured people are sinking lower and lower.

The well-being and development of minority groups is a sacred trust; justice and liberty form the sinews and blood and glowing flesh of a healthy social system.

If the present heartless, cruel and one-sided war of political extermination against defenceless, law-abiding, progressive people is allowed to proceed, the conquered may eventually become as barbarous and heartless as their conquerors.

“Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.”

“Law is not law, if it violates the principles of justice.”

There is a tremendous feeling of colour-consciousness among the non-whites. The first attempt to form a Union-wide united front among all subject peoples was made in 1924, when a united non-European congress was formed at Cape Town on the initiative of Mrs. Naidu during her first visit to South Africa, under the chairmanship of Mr. S. Reagon, with Mr. J. A. la Guma as Secretary.

Out of this initial step arose a non-European conference at Kimberley in 1927, when over 200 delegates representing some thirty organizations assembled, such as the African Political Organization, the African National Congress, the Cape Malay Association, and the I.C.U. Amongst the leaders of this movement were Dr. A. Abdurahman and Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu.

In spite of all this, and the continuous protest of the non-Europeans, as far back as 1926 the whites were demanding European women's suffrage, frankly to counterbalance the Cape non-European male voter.

Two years later General Hertzog touched upon the same subject indirectly by promising that coloured women should share in any franchise given to coloured men. Two years later still, in 1930, he had been obliged to give the franchise to European women only throughout the Union.

A year later the inevitable sequel followed, and the republican privilege of one vote to every white man was extended to those who could not attain to the very moderate pecuniary and educational qualifications hitherto demanded in the Cape and Natal. Thus the Cape coloured women were disappointed ; a wedge was driven deeply into the Cape franchise, and incidentally into the South Africa Act ; and those best qualified to know were given every ground to expect a marked accession to the white voting power, especially in response to any such cry as the " Black Peril."

So much for the coloured woman. The fate of the coloured man is still to be decided.

No student of South African affairs can fail to realize the growing cohesion among all non-whites on the lines of colour. Everywhere unity of one kind or another is in the air. We live in an age of collective action, and of a growing feeling of solidarity among coloured peoples.

In order that the reader may realize what a tremendous change is going on under our eyes, we shall quote here from a report of a mass protest gathering held in the Cape Town City Hall on 22nd March, 1936. The meeting was organized by the National Liberation League of South Africa and supported by many non-European organizations, and about 2,000 people

were present. The following resolution was passed :

“ This mass meeting emphatically protests against the proposed anti-colour legislation, and expresses its resentment against the principle of subjecting non-Europeans to special disabilities because of their colour..

“ This meeting demands that the non-European peoples be guaranteed complete equality, equal rights to work and education, and the full right to vote, organize, serve on juries, and hold public office. This meeting requests the organizations present to lay before the Select Committee of Parliament the reason for their rejection of the proposed bill, and pledges itself to do all in its power to resist the passing of the proposed iniquitous anti-colour laws.”

The passing of continuous reactionary laws by the ruling class shows the vital need for a united struggle ; and the depth of the feeling aroused was amply demonstrated by the enthusiasm of the people present at the meeting.

VI.

A SHORT EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF BROWN SOUTH AFRICA.

Coloured education is no mushroom growth.

It did not begin with the Act of 1905, or at any recent date. Still less is it a tender sapling, planted from some outside educational institution. In this chapter we shall point out that the roots of coloured education are well buried in the history of the country.

The schooling of the forerunners of the race is something which came into being when South Africa was just a settlement, centuries before the present South African nation came into being. Throughout the centuries of racial growth of the people, they have developed a culture common with that of the whites ; and to that development nothing has made a larger contribution than that force which expresses itself in and through the educational institutions.

By its charter the Dutch East India Company was pledged to spread the doctrines of the Reformed Church among the heathen at the Cape ; and the Dutch settlers lost no time in

carrying out their intention to Christianize the people with whom they came into contact.

Sometimes it was carried out in a half-hearted fashion, but it must be admitted that, as in the East Indies, a coloured person who professed Christianity was legally entitled to the rights of a white person.

The first school, a mixed one, was formed at the Cape about 1657, and from this school sprang the vast educational system of South Africa. This school was intended for the religious instruction of the slaves who were imported from outside, and such instruction was to be given in the Dutch language. With the population increasing, expansion was essential; so in 1663 a school was opened and carried on by Pieter van der Stel, with seventeen children, of whom four were slaves, one was a Hottentot, and twelve were whites.

Colour prejudice seems to have been non-existent in those days; for we have records of many intermarriages.

Later, as the Colony developed, a movement towards separation took place, and by 1676 attempts to establish a separate coloured school were made. Then the following year Isbrand Goske decreed that all slaves' children should be sent to school. So by 1678 a separate school

for coloured children, with a coloured master, was definitely established. Van Rheeде, too, confirmed the decree providing for slave education, and declared that every slave child under the age of twelve years must attend school.

Special prizes were offered them in the form of sweet cakes, while silver tokens were presented to others at the Christmas Day examinations. But progress was slow and the results poor.

The arrival on the scene of Georg Schmidt, the Moravian missionary, in July, 1737, met with the disapproval of many of the white people because of his mission to the Hottentots and coloured people. In spite of the charter, no very serious attempt had been made to convert the Hottentots.

On his first evening in Cape Town Schmidt heard the views of some of the people. He was sitting in the public room of a boarding house, and there he heard some local farmers discussing the situation.

"I hear," said one, "that a parson has come here to convert the Hottentots."

"A parson?" quoth another; "the young man is no parson at all."

"What good can he ever do to the Hottentots? They are stupid; They have no money, and this man actually proposes to bear his own expenses.

The poor fool must have lost his head."

"And what, sir, do you think?" asked the waiter of Schmidt.

"I am the very man," answered he.

Georg Schmidt soon found himself in strange surroundings. For six years he made his headquarters in a valley, known then as Bavianskloof (Glen of Baboons), about 90 miles east of Cape Town. But now we come to the strange part of the story. As soon as Schmidt began to baptize his converts, the Dutch clergy, holding that in religious matters South Africa belonged exclusively to the Dutch State Church, declared that Schmidt was robbing them of their monopoly. After a few years of hard work he left in 1742, leaving an excellent record behind him.

This interference of the local clergy with Schmidt's station, which is now known as Genadendal (Vale of Grace), gave rise to the opinion that the Dutch were prejudiced against coloured education. This, of course, was a mistake, since in the Dutch colonies coloured pupils had almost invariably been admitted to white schools. It appears that there were quite a number of scholars in the Colony by 1779, of both white and coloured parentage; but teachers were scarce, and that position persisted throughout the period of the Company's rule.

Mission schools appear to have been well established from the end of the 18th century, another Moravian having arrived to carry on the work which was left off by Georg Schmidt, who is known as the pioneering missionary of the coloured people.

The commencement of educational work by the Moravians among the coloured population in the western part of the Cape Colony coincided with the renewal of world-wide missionary work. Good work in this country was done by the Rev. Hans Peter Holbeck, later on Bishop of the Brethren's Church. Holbeck was not only a good missionary but an able organizer, and a splendid educationist. He personally began an infant school by attracting the smaller children to his house, and eventually was able to build a proper school-house for the little ones. But he did not forget the higher education.

The first coloured teacher was Ezechiel Pfeiffer or Pheiffer. He had been trained privately by Mr. Holbeck, and afterwards taught for many years. Pheiffer died at a mature age, after having seen many young coloured people following in his footsteps.

July 25th, 1837, was a great day : a resolution was passed for the building of a training school for teachers and assistants. The means were

granted by a German prince, who did not wish that his name should be published.

During the attendance of Mr. Holbeck at a General Synod of the Brethren's Church at Herrnhut the conditions were agreed upon; and many coloured educationists have since been trained at the Genadendal Training Institute.

After 1799 there was a steady flow of missionaries.

In that year the London Missionary Society arrived, to be followed by the Wesleyans in 1816. The Glasgow Society came in 1821, the Rhenish in 1829, and the Berlin Mission in 1834. All these societies established and maintained schools at their own expense. Their schools were attended by coloured and white pupils, who in many cases sat side by side in the classrooms.

In the early eighteen-twenties Lord Charles Somerset attempted to divide the schools on racial lines. Although it cannot be definitely said that admission of coloured children to schools was refused, this period saw the beginning of an antagonism which has done coloured education a great amount of harm; and many of the difficulties which are confronting the coloured people to-day originated in that period. White South Africa, too, became acutely divided;

and as a result the progress of the country was retarded.

Lord Charles Somerset issued a proclamation in 1822 to the effect that after 1st January, 1825, all official documents were to be in English, and, moreover, that all proceedings in courts of law were to be in that tongue after 1st January, 1828. Thus he made English the sole official language of the Colony.

But in the year 1839, after the emancipation of the slaves, the Cape Colony organized its own educational system, so that by 1860 there were 19 established schools and 87 state-aided mission schools, 106 in all, in addition to 123 mission schools conducted by the missionaries without help from the Government.

The change in administration which came about in 1839 made all schools open in theory to all classes and colours, but by 1860 the state-aided schools were chiefly attended by white children, coloured children being almost completely excluded. A situation had arisen in which social status made itself felt: because of their low economic position most coloured parents could not afford to pay the cost of education at a state-aided school. At the same time there was an ever-rising tide of colour prejudice. The result was that the coloured child had to depend

more and more upon the mission schools for such education as he could obtain.

In 1848 mission work was begun in South Africa by the Anglican Church, mainly on account of the energy of Dr. Robert Gray, first Bishop of the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena ; and a notable feature of the missions of the Church of England was the prominence given to educational work. Beginning with the Zonnebloem College in Cape Town (founded in 1858), every diocese was soon supplied with its schools and training institutions. The education imparted at these institutions followed strictly Anglican lines.

By 1883 the enrolment in the mission schools had reached 38,000, of whom only about 6,000 were white children of European descent, according to Sir Lewis Michell, the Acting Colonial Secretary.

In 1894 a regulation was introduced making provision for the establishment of white mission schools aided by the State, with grants on a higher scale than that applying to mixed mission schools such as were at that time usual. This attractive innovation led to the almost complete segregation of white and coloured pupils in the mission schools ; and segregation elsewhere received an impetus the full force of which was not realized at the time.

In 1905 Sir Lewis Michell made a speech at Kimberley to a white audience, outlining the educational position in the country, and unfolding the educational bill of 1905. He struck terror into his white audience by holding up the usual "Black Peril"; and in the same year a meeting of protest was held by the coloured community in Cape Town, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. Wilson, in the Clifton Hill Gospel Hall in District Six, with Dr. A. Abdurahman as principal speaker, and 500 present.

"To-day (1905) the number of European children is 64,000 and that of coloured 98,000. In other words, there are 34,000 more coloured than European children at school. The increase *per cent.* gives an idea of the rate of increase of European and coloured children," said Dr. Abdurahman, quoting the figures which, according to the Colonial Secretary, proved conclusively that compulsory education was absolutely essential for the white child—necessary, not because Europeans had neglected their duty as parents, but because of the apparently disproportionate increase in the attendance of coloured children, which was a danger!

"Instead he should have said," said Dr. Abdurahman, "that according to the proportion

of the coloured population they should have had not 34,000 but 130,000 more than the Europeans."

Then Dr. Abdurahman continued by outlining the true position. Since 1891 the European population had increased by 53 *per cent.*, and the coloured by 58 *per cent.*, and Europeans still formed about 24 *per cent.* of the total population, so that out of every four children born in the Colony one was a European and three were coloured. Consequently, if Europeans added 23,000 children to the schools between 1891 and 1904, the coloured should have added 69,000 instead of 58,000 as was stated by Sir Lewis Michell.

In 1910 came the Act of Union, and education came under the Provincial Councils. At first the Education Office staff as a whole dealt indiscriminately with European, coloured and native schools; but since 1930 coloured education has been administered separately from European education. What is the position of coloured education now, under the Provincial Ordinance of 1921, with all its shortcomings? Coloured education is definitely "on the march," and, in spite of the policy of inequality, considerable progress has been made. According to Dr. W. de Vos Malan (Superintendent-General

of Education), introducing the section devoted to coloured education in his annual report for 1934-1935, there were enrolled at 30th September, 1935, in schools under the Department, 96,899 coloured pupils, an increase of 6,273 on the figure of the previous year and an increase of 11,115 on the number at 30th September, 1933.

At 30th June, 1935, the total number of teachers employed in coloured schools was 2,398, of whom 2,245 were certificated and 153 uncertificated. The uncertificated were either experienced teachers who received permanent appointments at a time when the supply of qualified teachers was inadequate, or others who were being temporarily employed to enable the permanent positions to be advertised. In 1933 the total number of students entering training institutions amounted to the high figure of 463.

In the practical application of a policy, the coloured people have always been more or less victims of circumstances. Segregation in the schools supported by public funds has for a long time meant for the coloured inferior accommodation and inadequate facilities. The salaries of teachers are affected in the same way—the poorest-paid teachers are found in the coloured and native schools.

In education, then, as in other phases, piecemeal segregation distinctly means discrimination, neglect, and inferior provision for the coloured. It is true that there is a progressive improvement in the school facilities provided ; but it is long overdue.

Indeed, one can observe that within the last ten years there has been a decided change in the public mind on the subject of coloured education. But it has meant a long and continuous fight on the part of those early coloured educationists, to whom all honour must go for the fruits of their labour.

It must be clear to all that the destiny of the nation is to a large extent wrapped up in the destiny of the coloured education.

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak ;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truths they needs must think :
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

James Russell Lowell.

VII.

NATIONAL WELFARE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The main constructive task before us in the twentieth century is the establishment of a new national order ; but if we are to succeed in our efforts to organize the country we must understand the strength as well as the weakness of the system which we have inherited and which we desire to improve.

The purpose of this survey is to endeavour to strengthen the feeling that is growing in all parts of South Africa, that we should treat our great problems on broad humanitarian lines. Let us give a brief sketch of the various groups of the Union of South Africa. The Europeans comprise 22 *per cent.* of the population, the coloured 8 *per cent.*, the Indians 2 *per cent.* and the natives 68 *per cent.*

The Europeans possess approximately 87 *per cent.* of the land, while the non-European races, numbering in all 78 *per cent.* of the population, possess only 13 *per cent.* of the land.

When White South Africa talks about " A South African Nation " it generally means the

22 per cent. of Europeans only. "Colour bar" legislation appears on the statute book in one form or another in every session. The idea seems to be to legislate in haste and to discover the mistakes at leisure.

In all this the coloured races for whom the Government legislates have no voice: their part is merely to obey the law without protest and without the expression even of their most serious grievances.

The relations between the white and coloured races in our country have become dangerously strained; and all who desire the welfare of South Africa are gravely concerned lest there come upon this country what the late Mr. J. X. Merriman predicted would come if the policy of endeavouring to secure white supremacy by might instead of by right were persisted in.

The relation of the races of different cultures and civilizations has been declared by a great expert, Mr. J. H. Oldham, to be the greatest problem of the world. The problem is presented in South Africa in its most acute form. The eyes of the world are on South Africa, and her place among the nations will be determined largely by the measure of wisdom which is brought to bear upon the adjustment and solution of her problems.

It is said that "it is impossible in this country

to be governed solely by humanitarian considerations, because the whites are in the minority and they must maintain their power." It is rightly felt by the whites that European culture and civilization have brought benefits so great that nothing must be done to sacrifice them. The European section of the community are regarded as the trustees of that rich heritage which has been brought to this country from over the seas, and one can understand their anxiety to guard against its neglect. The real danger, however, the only danger to European civilization, is that they may prove unworthy of it. Those who betray the principles of fair dealing, justice and consideration for others—those who do not put humanity in the forefront and make it the determining factor—those are the traitors to their country. That itself is a lowering of the flag; that is the degradation of that civilized standard which our European friends have inherited from their forefathers.

Is it possible for any ethical thinker to believe that injustice can ever be forced upon the coloured races without the degradation of the Europeans? To deprive any section of the people of their fundamental human rights can lead to nothing but disaster.

The fundamental rights of man are to live and move freely in his own country, to develop his powers of service, to train himself to rise in the scale of civilization, and to have some voice in the management of affairs, some say in framing the laws by which he is governed.

The great mass of the non-white races is being forced to the conclusion that there is against them such a spirit of hatred and repulsion, such a spirit of fear, that there is to be no place for them in the South African sunshine, no hope that they will ever emerge into that life of freedom and opportunity which they see around them enjoyed by the whites.

Among the educated leaders of these non-white races the feeling is extraordinarily bitter. There are men who have been mediators between the European race and their own who know well the richness of the heritage into which they have been introduced, who are ready to preach patience to their people, a long-suffering patience ; but those men are being stunned by a sustained and determined policy of repression. They are being forced into becoming anti-white agitators ; and, so far from leading the people into ways of peace, they may very soon be found leading them into ways of strife.

The great mass of these people feel that they are driven into a state of almost apathetic hopelessness. They feel that the white man hates and dislikes them, and is determined to place barrier after barrier in the way of their upward march to civilization. That is not a state of things that can be allowed to go on without grave peril to our country and to its future.

What I would plead for is that the men and women of South Africa make this matter of "National Welfare" their own concern, and endeavour to create a public sentiment which will demand a "square deal" for all sections of the nation irrespective of race, creed or colour, and in particular a chance to gain an honest livelihood and to progress in education, in morality and in civilization.

The non-white races are ready to pull their full weight in the nation. Some of our European friends, however, run away with the idea that the interests of the one section are opposed to the interests of the other, that to do good to the non-white races means to do harm to the Europeans, and that they must be kept independent of one another because their interests must inevitably clash.

I wish to put forward this, that the good of each and the good of all are inseparable, that we

are not independent of one another, but interdependent in the closest possible way.

If we are to build up in South Africa a sound and stable civilization, I am sure that this will be its watchword : that humanity in ourselves and others must ever be sought as an end and not as a means, and that in carrying out fearlessly the principles of righteousness, of human truth, justice and compassion there can be no risk, because morality is the central principle of the universe. It is the one effective power that remains amid all the changes of human things.

There can be no prosperity for a country, though it appoint countless days of humiliation and prayer, unless it sets itself to go the way of justice, fair dealing and goodwill. There can be no blessing from God for people who forsake the ways of righteousness and who will not seek earnestly to adjust themselves to what is good and acceptable to Him.

The white races must keep their emotional and racial prejudices under control if they are anxious to find a solution of our many problems. Europeans may for many purposes remain an exclusive section of the nation ; but there must be, over and above that white exclusiveness, a larger national spirit which will consider the welfare of the whole. A spirit of co-operation must be

encouraged. Human interests and human values must predominate.

“What is morally sound must be politically wise.” On such a two-fold basis we may rest with confidence the future of our land.

White South Africa must be persuaded to realize that only through the path of justice and fair dealing can it hope to establish and preserve the western civilization whose “true signs,” according to Lord Russell, “are thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for women, the frank recognition of human brotherhood, irrespective of race or colour or nation or religion, the narrowing of the domain of mere force as a governing factor in the world, the love of ordered freedom, abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile, ceaseless devotion to the claims of justice.”

Do our European friends, who talk so proudly of protecting “European civilization,” ever realize what Mr. G. P. Gooch has well said?—“Civilization is a co-operative achievement. The civilization which we praise so highly is the result of the co-operative efforts of men and women, known and unknown, through all the ages, belonging to all countries and all races and creeds. It is the most wonderful thing that the

world has ever seen, and it is the result of the common efforts of the human family."

What we need most is a revolution of the people's thoughts, their ideas, their ideals, and their spirit, so that they will recognize us as human beings with human desires and aspirations which must be satisfied, and concede to the coloured races "their reasonable demand to be considered as human beings with full scope for human growth and human happiness."

In our humble efforts to accomplish this task may we always remember the words of Mr. J. H. Oldham, who says: "Christians may infuse the right spirit—the spirit which seeks the truth, is afraid of no facts, harbours no prejudice, condones no injustice, and sets the common good above all sectional and selfish interests."

Our aim, our motto, our ideal should be: "Freedom, Liberty, Justice to all and privilege to none."

VIII.

CHRISTIANITY, SCIENCE AND COLOUR.

The origin of mankind, according to the Christian religion, was that God created mankind in His own image. By this is meant that God was the creative wisdom, love and power, that produced the human race, and the special creative Designer who made it what it is. "So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him ; male and female created He them." "The rich and poor meet together ; the Lord is the maker of them all." He "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."

Advancing beyond these general statements, the Christian religion has always been accustomed to offer definite statements about the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. But these mean very little unless they are put into practice ; and the problem with which the Christian Church is confronted is that of convincing the white people of the truth of its

message. Whether the Christian view is true or not is not the question before us : my concern is to lay before my readers the facts as they present themselves.

At the present time a clear view of the unity of knowledge has begun to be general, and there is no reason why we should not demand all the facts available. It has been said by someone that "one of the oldest and meanest of human follies is to blame others for one's own shortcomings." The most serious problem, however, confronting human groups is the conquering of their own follies. St. Paul said : "What a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

What is called race prejudice or white superiority is pandemic in all Protestant countries. But when Miriam and Aaron took this twentieth-century stand against Moses' Ethiopian wife, Miriam was cursed : "The anger of the Lord was kindled against them : and, behold, Miriam became leprous, white as snow ; and Aaron looked upon Miriam, and, behold, she was leprous." If God is one, and what He has taught in one place is to be received loyally, then what He has taught in another must also be received.

The history of man, like the history of the other denizens of the earth, is to be learned through investigation of all ascertained facts ;

and it is impossible that God should have intended ever to contradict the testimony of facts by any utterance in words. Hence man is absolutely free to investigate the origin of his kind, and in this field, as in others, the facts must be accepted and admitted when they have been ascertained.

The time has come when there is a testimony from the sciences which investigate the origin of mankind, so definite that it demands recognition in the field of human relations. A great deal of scientific information has been accumulated on the subject within recent years, so that we now know how man came to his present position; such great books as Darwin's; Professors J. Huxley and T. Haddon's *We Europeans*; *The Evolution of Man* and *Human History* by E. Smith, and the numerous writings of Sir Arthur Keith, may be taken as typical of a large amount of literature which has been issued recently.

The rise of the modern type of man to the position of predominance which he holds in the world of to-day cannot easily be explained here. His place in the zoological order has its parallel in other groups of animals, and does not appear to have given him any outstanding advantage.

We must, however, content ourselves with giving our readers a brief outline, and recommend

the works mentioned above for a more detailed study.

Charles Darwin gave some good reasons for his belief that Africa was the cradle of man, and the more recent discoveries of important primitive human remains of vast antiquity have established many a doubtful link in his reasoning.

The true history of the creation of man, which we now call evolution, is not to be confused with those ancient traditions handed down to us in the form of legends.

In the new field of inquiry which has now been opened after more than a century of passionate controversy, researches are for the first time being carried out calmly and seriously.

The widespread interest which is being displayed at the present time in the fossil remains of man, and in the handicrafts of extinct types of men, affords an impressive testimony to the fact that human history is coming into its own ; and it is now generally admitted that all living members of the human family belong to the same species. The series of fossil remains of man which is now available provides very significant evidence in regard to the cranial cavity, and to the changes which were occurring in the brain to confer upon *Homo sapiens* the skill upon which the attainment of wisdom so largely depends.

It must not be supposed from this that historic men are therefore of recent development ; little is known of the ancient history of the various types of men, but it is customary to classify historic men in three main groups.

The basis of this classification is the hair form—straight hair, wavy or curly hair, and woolly hair.

The first characterize the so-called Mongolian races, of which the Chinese are a typical example ; the second, such diverse peoples as the modern Europeans and the Australian aborigines ; and the third, the woolly-haired group, the various races of Negroes.

Apart from hair texture, various other means of dividing up races of modern men have been suggested ; but, although typical examples of any race are easy to recognize, it is often difficult to be sure to which group a particular skull should be assigned.

There can, however, be less doubt when we are examining living men, though even here it is not always easy to be perfectly certain to which group an individual belongs. The history of the development of man is a record which comes from the remote past, and it has many gaps. In places the details are uncertain ; but the

general trend is becoming clearer with every fresh discovery.

It will be necessary at this stage to make it quite clear that the writer's standpoint is that humanity is greater than race ; all groups belong to humanity, and because of this all—including the non-Europeans—should have an equal standing.

The term *race* is a purely biological one, and has to do with physical characters based on blood-relationship. In dealing with race it is necessary to keep in mind the distinction between biological, economical and political phenomena.

When we proceed to the biological province, we are agreed that the facts of the case are as follows. The "Nordic race," like other human races, has no present existence ; and all "pure races" are hypothetical.

Being unable to define race, it is not strange that anthropologists should have been unable to classify races ; nor has science, up to the present, been able to give an accepted criterion by which it can distinguish races of people. It is surprising that writers in these days of scientific research write and preach that "Nordic race" is the choicest race of mankind, the flower of evolution—that the greatest and most masterful personalities have had blonde hair and blue eyes.

Let us ask ourselves : by whom has the word *race* been used to show the difference in mankind ? We are told that the word *race* is vague, its origin unknown ! Etymologists have disputed as to whether it is ultimately of Semitic or of Slavonic origin, but the word has descended into the literature of the most violent nationalism.

Through this false reasoning, men, women, and children are made to believe that they are superior or inferior to their fellow-creatures. The authors of the book *We Europeans* say : "One of the greatest enemies of science is pseudo-science. A vast pseudo-scientific structure of racial biology has been erected, which serves to justify political ambitions, economic ends, social grudges, and class prejudices."

There is no scientific ground for the belief that attitudes based on racial theories or colour prejudices are fundamentally different from any other attitudes. They are varieties of the same species ; race or colour prejudices are like class and caste prejudices.

In dealing with racial differences it is highly desirable to bear in mind that we are dealing with a problem the solution of which must in the last resort be determined not by our prejudices or partialities but by the facts themselves, when they are discovered.

Let us, in the interests of clear thinking as well as of fair dealing, once and for all try to rid ourselves of the dogmas of innate racial superiority and inferiority, and of the myth of psychological race-differences, and in their stead substitute the problems of human relation amid group-differences, and find solutions which will make for fellowship and co-operation.

The practical attitude of one group or section towards another is determined by the motive of self-interest, or the instinct of self-preservation, on the part of the group which is able to control and dictate terms and conditions of contact between the two. Racial and colour questions do not exist only in South Africa ; they constitute the one great and ultimately insoluble problem of the whole Continent ; and, as Dr. W. B. du Bois says, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line." But it is a fact that the colour question is found in its most difficult form in South Africa.

One is often forced to ask oneself the question put by Mr. G. Findlay : "How white is white South Africa?" when one looks at white South Africans and sees so many dark white people among them. And the same applies to the coloured people in reverse order. There are

few subjects which we more carefully avoid working out to their logical and most unpleasant consequences than this racial question, and more especially when it relates to the non-white peoples.

All the talk about the "white man's burden" and the "white man's mission," about civilizing and guiding, sounds very well; but when the methods of introduction are studied it is very unlike other civilizations and cultures; it has been well said: "You come into western civilization but are never a part of it."

When the white people first came into contact with the less advanced people, they sent only the products of their manufacturers, and a few of their representatives, into the less advanced people's country, so that no real amalgamation between the more highly educated whites and non-whites really took place.

The intellectual standing of any people may be regarded as a product of two factors—first, its opportunity for culture, and, secondly, its natural capacity to acquire culture. If there is no opportunity for culture, there certainly will not be any culture, however high the natural capacity for acquiring it might be. The evidence upon which the inferiority of the coloured

peoples is alleged will be presented here in a series of representative extracts with a view to examining it in the light of modern scientific knowledge.

I submit a number of quotations setting forth the evidence upholding the theory of the superiority of the one and the inferiority of the other.

Sir Frederick Moor: *The Inner History of the National Convention*, page 123, maintains that the white and black races in South Africa could never be amalgamated. "The history of the world has proved that the black man is incapable of civilization, and the evidences are to be found throughout South Africa to-day. Almost every race in the world could point to its stages of civilization; but what stages of black civilization could Africans produce, though the native people have been brought into contact with civilization for ages? What, again, was the experience of the United States of America? It would be the same in South Africa if the same policy were adopted, and the American Negro would have gone back to the condition of his ancestors in the jungle."

William Archer, an English man of letters, in his book *Through Afro-America*, pages 221 and 223, says: "I have not hitherto emphasized

the essential and innate inferiority of the Negro race, because my argument did not demand it ; but the fact of this inferiority seems to me as evident as it is inevitable. Whoever may doubt the superiority of the white races, it is not he ; it is a racial, not merely a social or economic, superiority, to which he does instinctive homage."

Then there is that noted South African novelist, Mrs. S. G. Millin, who says in her well-known book *The South Africans*, first published in 1926, page 205 : " In no circumstances, however, can the coloured man, as a coloured man, hope to pass as the white man's equal. And, if he cannot hope, he does not hope. It is the spiritual factor not less than any intellectual factor that hinders the advance of the coloured man. And so he lives among others of his kind, and he approaches the white man only as an inferior. But that the Cape coloured man is a civilized being must be firmly insisted upon. He is more civilized than the European peasant, more civilized than the South African backwoodsman or the poor white ; he has a more cultivated mind."

Among some other writers, known to hold similar views, is the father of the inferiority idea, Count Joseph de Gobineau (*We Europeans*, page 66). Lothrop Stoddard, J. H. Curle, and others are of the same mind.

This conception of the "innate spiritual inferiority" of the coloured people ought to stagger any scientific or well-read person in this enlightened age of science. The fact is that prejudice possesses the minds of these people to such an extent that when they see a coloured person approach they see only the taint and stain of racial inferiority.

Yet the late Bishop C. Gore, noted for his intellectual and scholastic attainments, says: "It appears to me that anthropology and the science of religion work on the basis of the assumption that humanity of all periods and in all countries is one race, and continually tend to justify the assumption."

"It is," say the authors of *We Europeans*, "more than probable that, so far as European populations are concerned, nothing in the nature of pure races, in the biological sense, has any real existence. The pigmentation (fairness or darkness), unless submitted to scientific record and analysis, is an illusion."

In other terms, science cannot for its own sake come to conclusions such as those of the writers who speak of "innate inferiority" because of the pigmentation of the skin. If the coloured peoples were mistakes on the part of the Creator, then let them go the way of the dinosaur. In the

face of the evidence which is to hand on all sides, it is impossible to avoid being convinced that none of the leading races or nationalities which have ruled in the past, or which wield power on a larger scale over other people in the present, have done so, or do so now, because of any distinctive superior intellectual faculties inborn in the ruling race.

The ideas on this subject which prevailed a few generations ago will not survive the test of contact with facts.

Turning first to aboriginal races, Galton's hasty generalizations about what he conceived to be the greatly inferior mentality of aboriginal races, like the Damaras, have become, when submitted to examination in the light of facts, no more than nonsense.

In nearly all the British colonies, where aboriginal children of various races are educated in elementary schools under the same conditions as European children, it is in evidence in the published state records, that the former learn just as easily and readily as European children, and are capable of showing equally good examination results.

Coming to higher education and to the results displayed in conditions where students of European peoples are trained and educated for the

higher activities of the world, side by side with representatives of almost all peoples outside Europe, the facts are equally noteworthy.

The whole problem would become less dangerous, and might even be solved if we could only get the makers of that force known as public opinion to realize the psychological truth of the old Stoic proverb, that "Men are tormented by the opinions they have of things, rather than by the things themselves."



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