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Chinese Labour.

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CHINESE LABOUR.

I.—WHY NATIVE LABOUR IS SHORT.

THE Transvaal Labour Commission was appointed in July last to ascertain how far it might be possible to augment the then existing supply of native labour for the mines by further recruitments from Central and Southern Africa. It satisfied itself that there was a scarcity of native labour, and proceeded to give reasons for the same.

This is the sort of conclusion it arrived at :—

“After hearing the evidence of a great number of witnesses, we have formed the opinion that the scarcity of labour is due first and mainly to the fact that the African native tribes are, for the most part, primitive pastoral or agricultural communities, who possess exceptional facilities for the regular and full supply of their animal wants, and whose standard of economic needs is extremely low.”

Having regard to the above evidence given before the Commission, this is not a particularly helpful conclusion.

As to wages, it says :—

“It was held by many witnesses that the effect of high wages is, ultimately, to re-act disadvantageously on the supply, as the limited nature of the natives' wants enabled these to be more easily satisfied when wages are good, thus inducing them to withdraw from employment at an earlier date. It was, however, maintained by others that high wages improved the supply, the majority stating that the reduction of wages on the mines after the war had prejudicially affected the supply. This conclusion appears to be well founded, but as the effect of wages is merely attractive and not coercive, the probable result of the reduction of wages by the mines was merely to cause the majority to seek employment in other industries where the wages were higher.”

Broadly, these two are the main causes which emerge from the Report of the Commission as conducing to the shortage of labour. But now for the real facts.

The Natives and the War.

First of all there is the war and the lavish expenditure of money upon the natives by the British military authorities. The war not only upset and disorganised everything, but it

left the native with a big handful of money ; and until he has spent this the mine-owners won't hear from him again.

Before the war natives were earning 45s. and over per month ; after the war the Rand magnates, having got the whole thing under their thumb, public opinion in their pockets, and the Press under their heel, offered a shilling a day or 30s. a month. Here, in their greed, they overstepped the mark. The natives very properly declined to play the game. Hence these tears. Witness after witness before the Commission bears testimony to the close relationship of cause and effect between this wage-reduction and this shortage of labour. Let me give just an example or two :—

The Rev. E. Creux (working in the Spelonken District from 1875 up to the war) :—

227. Would you say, according to your judgment, the shortage at present of boys is largely owing to the reduction of wages immediately after the war, when the market was empty?—Certainly.

228. That you are convinced of?—Yes.

Mr. Wirth (engaged in business in Lourenco Marques) :—

BY MR. WHITESIDE.

2,520. What is your opinion of the reduction of wages which took place to 30s. per month?—I believe it is the general opinion that it was a big mistake.

Treatment of the Native.

But, serious as this “fatuous” double reduction of wages was, it seems to me (seven thousand miles away and with only the Blue-books before me) that the treatment habitually meted out to the natives—a matter which the Report of the Commission does not deal with—is easily the most thorough justification for a shortage of native labour. Hear the Rev. R. H. Dyke on the treatment of the Basutos :—

They say also that they are compelled when they come here to go to certain mines against which they are prejudiced. They also say that they are treated with a great amount of indignity, are kicked about and so on, and that when they are maimed for life there is no compensation whatever given to them.

Now hear the Rev. F. Suter on the treatment of the Zulus :—

The life on the mines is, of course, far worse than it is at their own homes ; any comparison would be odious. . . . I have seen sick boys lying about apparently without any attention worth speaking of.

Then there is the evidence of Umhalla, Chief of the Mdlambe. He complains of his people being “kicked and

bullied." The Chairman of the Commission asks if "these complaints were made since the war." Umhalla says, "Yes, since the war." (Please remember that we went to war partly because of the alleged ill-treatment of the natives by the Boers.) Later the following conversation takes place:—

Had they any other complaints to make?—Yes, they say they are flogged, but the flogging, I think, is just a little, encouraging them to go to work with a shovel, such as you would use with a crowd of young Kaffirs, such as these East Coast boys are.

Mr. Whiteside: Is this encouraging the boys to work by flogging general along the mines?—Yes, it is general among the mines.

To all this I may add the testimony of Zwedala, Headman of the natives in the Lady Frere district. The following conversation took place between him and the Chairman of the Labour Commission:—

"Have you had any complaints from people returning who have been working here?"—"They complain of the treatment which they say is bad, since the war it was very bad, much more so than when the Boers ruled this country."

"How is it now, do you know?"—"On my way here this time I met 40 men at Sterkstroom; they say the cat-o'-nine-tails was placed on a fellow's back every day without being taken before the magistrate; the Managers do it."

And from Zwedala I turn to the evidence of Mr. Ferraz, representative of the Portuguese Government in Johannesburg. Here is the horrifying picture he draws:—

"If the agent was to blame for bringing such scum to the Rand, not less was the mine to blame for keeping those 69 boys in one single room in their compound, leaving them to purposely suffer the consequences of their dirty habits, that is, as they refused to clean it they were compelled to stay there. I entered this room, and it must have been a miracle how I escaped alive from the stench."

A Striking Comparison.

After all this one is not surprised to hear that whilst last year in Great Britain one miner per 1,000 was killed, and that whilst, during the South African war, the death-rate amongst the soldiers was under 40 per thousand, in the Rand Compounds the death-rate was, in 1902-3, 70 per 1,000, and in one case went up to 106 per 1,000! This phase of the matter is so appalling that I think I will put in the official table (p. 385 of the volume of evidence before the Commission):—

NATIVE MORTALITY ON MINES.*
IN JOHANNESBURG, KRUGERSDORP, BOKSBURG,
GERMISTON, AND SPRINGS.

Period, November, 1902—July, 1903.

During the Month.		No. of Natives Employed.	No. of Deaths.	Death-rate per 1,000 per Annum.
November,	1902 ...	46,710	247	63.4
December,	„ ...	48,542	324	80.09
January,	1903 ...	49,761	253	61.01
February,	„ ...	55,288	207	44.9
March,	„ ...	57,022	235	49.4
April,	„ ...	62,265	269	51.8
May,	„ ...	65,371	431	79.1
June,	„ ...	68,819	492	85.7
July,	„ ...	70,474	627	106.7
Average number of natives employed per month ...				58,250
Average number of deaths per month ...				343
Average death-rate per 1,000 per annum per month ...				70.6

II.—THE TRUTH ABOUT STAGNATION ON THE RAND.

Asked a couple of days after the opening of the Session whether he would give a day for the discussion of the Chinese labour problem, the Colonial Secretary, on behalf of the Prime Minister, flatly said No! The matter was most urgent, and no time could be allowed beyond the limits of the debate on the Address. On October 30 last the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal went so far as to say that “the only thing which stands between us and a general crisis is the sanguine hope of the early introduction of Asiatic labour.” And Lord Milner (Sept. 29) cabled home: “There is complete stagnation of commerce and industry owing to the labour difficulty, and it affects almost every branch of revenue, especially the railways.”

It is upon statements of this nature that the Government justifies not only the introduction of indentured Chinese labour, but also the expedition with which the Ordinance has been put into operation. Of course, the whole thing rests

* Compare the following figures relating to mortality among natives employed other than in mines in Johannesburg, Krugersdorp, Boksburg, Germiston, Springs, Heidelberg, Klerksdorp, and Vereeniging. Period, November, 1902—July, 1903:—

Average number of natives employed per month ...	44,797
Average number of deaths per month ...	65
Average death-rate per 1,000 per annum per month ...	17.4

upon the finding of the Labour Commission. But the principal evidence before that Commission was that of the Chamber of Mines—an institution whose prime concern is to watch over the interests of the shareholders in mining companies. As Messrs. Quin and Whiteside very well put it in their Minority Report :—

The function of the Chamber is to see that the mines under their control pay the largest dividends possible to their absentee principals, and this without any regard to local feeling and opinion.

Of course, the war brought things to a standstill, from which, so far as I can see, they are rapidly recovering. But the too eager magnates of the Rand—their fingers itching to grasp the gold that lies in the ground—have manufactured terrible stories of stagnation as the only means of inducing the Government to swallow the bitter pill of yellow slavery. Indeed, it seems clear that they have helped to promote a certain measure of stagnation for the purpose.

But are things so desperate? (If they were it would make no difference to me as regards my opinion as to the lasting disgrace of the Chinese Ordinance.) Look at the steady increase in the output of gold during the past twelve months :—

In January, 1903, the output was ...	£846,490
February	834,739
March	923,739
April	967,936
May	994,505
June	1,012,302
July	1,068,917
August	1,155,039
September	1,173,210
October	1,208,660
January, 1904	1,226,846

Observe that the figure for last month, if maintained, will give 1904 a total output of nearly fifteen millions, or scarcely a million short of the time of the Rand's greatest prosperity !

This is the real truth about the stagnation on the Rand, a stagnation which is so terribly acute as to call for the hustling through Parliament of the introduction of Indentured Chinese Labour.

No! The whole thing is a fine illumination of the rapacity and unscrupulousness of greedy financiers feverishly eager to make such profits as will enable them rapidly to shake the dust of the Rand permanently from their feet in

order to become the pillars of Park Lane and the leaders of modern English society. The lamentable feature of the whole thing is the ready manner in which the British Government dances to the piping of the magnates of the Rand. But that their easy complaisance will cost them more dearly than anything they have yet touched is as certain as to-morrow's sun.

III.—WHY THE WHITE MAN IS NOT WANTED.

The South African war, as we know to our cost, raged 33 months, and it engaged 450,000 British troops. 25,000 of them fell in action or died of wounds or disease in hospital; 25,000 came home permanently invalided for all time, a burden to themselves and their relatives; and 25,000 white men, women, and children, died in the Concentration Camps. In direct charge the war cost us £250,000,000 of money. Since its final close we have paved South Africa with money wrung from the British taxpayer; and the garrison at present in the South African Colonies costs us £80,000 a week to maintain. (When the iniquity of the introduction of yellow slavery is finally accomplished it will cost a good deal more. But that is for the hereafter.)

Well, what was it all for? We remember the grandiloquence of the General Election of 1900. We remember how the leaders of the Tory party placed their hands upon their hearts and protested that the war had been waged—not to seek goldfields or territory—but to secure Equal Rights for All White Men. It had been waged to secure political freedom for the unenfranchised white man of the Transvaal. It had been waged to open new fields of activity for British labour and British trade. Excellent! Excellent! As Mr. Chamberlain assured the miners of Cannock Chase on October 8th, 1900:—

The war was, in a certain sense, a miners' war—that was to say, it had been undertaken in order that justice might be done to the British miners of the Transvaal.

Yes, but to-day "justice" takes the form of hoofing him out in order that his place may be taken by cheap Chinese labourers.

And every British working man should clearly understand the reason. The 25 millionaires of the Rand for whom we shed 25,000 lives and spent 250 millions of money want the Rand organised politically and socially on lines that are all their own. They want to be the governing class, and they want to have under their heel a labouring community which shall be voiceless and impotent so far as political and social organisation is concerned. This comes out again and again in the evidence now in our hands. On page 171 of Blue-book numbered 1895, Mr. Percy Tarbutt, Chairman of a mining company, writes :—

I have consulted the Consolidated Goldfields people, and one of the members of the board of the Village Main Reef has consulted Messrs. Wernher, Beit, and Co., and the feeling seems to be one of fear that, having a large number of white men employed on the Rand in the position of labourers, the same troubles will arise as are now prevalent in the Australian colonies, viz., that the combination of the labouring classes will become so strong as to be able to more or less dictate, not only on the question of wages, but also on political questions by the power of their votes when a representative Government is established.

The reason is emphasised by Lord Milner in his cynical reply to the White League on June 2nd (same Blue-book, page 42) :

We do not want a white proletariat in this country.

It comes out again in Mr. Rudd's reply in the *Times* to Mr. Benjamin Kidd (Blue-book 1896, page 65) :—

Could Mr. Kidd replace the 200,000 native workers by 100,000 unskilled whites, they would simply hold the Government of the country in the hollow of their hand, and, without any disparagement to the British labourer, I prefer to see the more intellectual section of the community at the helm.

Here, in all its nakedness, is the reason why the White Man is not wanted. Indeed, so fearful are these Rand magnates of trade combinations that the suggestion is made (page 79, Blue-book 1895) that Chinamen from various districts should be well mixed up when they get to the mines, so as to prevent combination.

This scheme of organisation of society on the Rand is not only a flagrant misuse of the power won by the British soldier ; it will be fatal to Colonial Federation in the Cape. Already in the Cape Parliament steps are being taken to express profound regret at the action of the British Government. And let me add here the grave appeal made by the

Governor, Sir Hely-Hutchinson, to Mr. Chamberlain, received on August 17th last. Sir Hely-Hutchinson says (Blue-book 1895, page 54) :—

In the first place it must be remembered that the coloured population to the south of Zambesi River is in an enormous majority compared with the white, and it is most undesirable to increase that preponderance by the introduction of another coloured race, especially at a time when every effort is being made to reduce it by encouraging white immigration.

Secondly, Government of this Colony are doing all in their power to civilise native population by inducing them, without any kind of compulsion, to work and so supply the great demand for labour in South Africa, and if Asiatics be introduced that means of civilisation will be checked and the natives will remain in the state of barbarism from which they are slowly but surely emerging.

Thirdly, in relation to the policy of British South African federation which Ministers are most earnestly pursuing, they cannot but feel that the importation of Asiatics will greatly hamper its consummation, as it will introduce a highly discordant element between the European communities which will certainly complicate, if not altogether prevent, the union of all the Colonies under a Central Administration.

Fourthly, to effect a satisfactory solution of labour question in South Africa what is required above all is the exercise of patience, for Ministers are firmly convinced that if the continent to the south of Equator be explored sufficient labour is available, and can be secured not only for working mines in Transvaal but for all other requirements if a fair wage be offered, and considerate treatment in the way of housing and food be accorded.

A long experience of South African affairs emboldens Ministers to place foregoing consideration on record in belief that it will be received in the spirit which the gravity of question demands, and with hope that his Majesty's Government take a firm stand in this matter, and intimate in the proper quarter their disapproval of a proposal which will, if carried out, prejudicially affect the future of this portion of the Empire.

Can we safely disregard the Colonies in this matter? But a few weeks ago, if anyone dared but express doubt as to the wisdom of certain crude and unworkable fiscal proposals, which the Colonies never asked for and which most of them will never tolerate, he was promptly abused as a Little Englander, an enemy to the Empire, and so on. Where are all the eager friends of the Colonies now? Already New Zealand and the Australians are showing resentment of the action of the Imperial Government in this Chinese labour scheme. Why do not all the Tariff Reformers—so tenderly susceptible were they of Colonial sentiment a week or two since—help the Colonies to bring this hapless proposal to naught?

IV.—THE TREATMENT OF THE CHINAMAN.

Every man is free, he cries,
Where the British Colour flies.—("Jack's Yarn.")

Jack will have to learn a new and a different ditty now that the Rand Financiers have taken the wheel. For it is Jack who will bring the Chinese slaves to South Africa, even though the Old Flag is at the main. Through the centuries the Union Jack has been the Sanctuary of the Oppressed and the Covenant of Hope for the Down-trodden. In these degenerate days it is to be made the Cloak of Tyranny, the Cover for Inhumanity, and the Screen for Greedy Lust. For remember the way that the white unemployed at home have been deceived as to what would be the sequel to the war that cost so dearly in blood and treasure is bad. So is the treatment of the natives as revealed in the evidence before the Transvaal Labour Commission. So are the lies about the ruin of the Rand Magnates and the hopeless falling off in the output of gold. So is the barefaced way the public opinion in the Transvaal has been "faked" to satisfy the British House of Commons. But bad as all these are they fall into complete insignificance beside the conditions under which the Chinaman is to be brought to South Africa. The British people will indeed be unworthy stewards of the heritage placed in their hands if they endorse the hastily formulated and hustled opinion of their House of Commons. I will ask the average Englishman, Tory or Liberal, if this is the sort of thing that has given us our place among the peoples of the world and made our name revered among the weak and the suffering. The Chinaman is to be brought to South Africa by an "Importer." I turn to Webster for a definition. I see that an Importer is "he who imports; the merchant who, by himself or his agent, brings goods from another country or State." "Goods" is excellent. But since when did the British people traffic in human beings as in "goods"? Then when he gets there he is "to perform unskilled labour only." By what right do we, as a free people, limit his activities in this way? Either let him come as a free man or not at all. Then he is to be indentured to an employer, for whom alone he must work until and unless that employer transfers his legal right to the Chinaman to

some other employer. (And this document has on its face the British Coat of Arms: "Dieu et mon droit," the Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock, and "Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of his Majesty"! It is enough to make the Britishers of a hundred years ago turn in their graves.) Then he is not allowed to trade on his own account in any way whatever; cannot hold any land or property; can have no right to minerals or precious stones; must live in a compound; cannot leave the same without a special permit; and, even then, cannot be away from the compound for more than forty-eight hours. He is bound round by more regulations than a Portland convict, and sees six months in gaol staring him in the face every way he looks. And, so far as I can make out, his wife and children, if they accompany him, are to be under the same restrictions. Well, I object to all this. It is a horribly cynical sequel to a war that was not for goldfields, not for territory, but for Freedom and Justice. So restrictive is the British Ordinance that the Chinese Minister (and how smugly we contrast Western methods of civilisation with Eastern) had to plead for a mitigation of its barbarity. He had to ask that it should be made illegal for employer or servant "to inflict corporal punishment on the immigrant." He had to ask that the person styled "the importer" shall be a *bona fide* employer of labour, and not a mere dealer or speculator in labour. "This," says the Oriental to the representative of Christian Western Civilisation, "is necessary in order to prevent the immigrant from being made a mere chattel or article of commerce."

Finally, I am thoroughly convinced that so long as this Ordinance remains a British Statute in any form whatever, a deep stain will remain upon our national good name. The characteristics which have made the British race feared and respected the seven seas over have been Truth, Justice, Honour, Liberty, Humanitarianism. The modern ruler of British destinies, the newly-arrived financier, cares for none of these things. He would—to attain his ugly ends—replace Truth by Duplicity; Justice by Tyranny; Honour by Greed; Liberty by Slavery; and Humanitarianism by Brutality. And if the Britisher doesn't put his

heel upon him soon the fate of the Old Country—which, after all, has stood for so much that is good, wholesome, and unselfish in the affairs of the world—is sealed.

V.—THE TRUTH ABOUT PUBLIC OPINION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

How the Rand magnates have endeavoured to crush South African opposition to the Ordinance the famous Johannesburg "Wanderers'" meeting, with its roughs hired at 15s. a head, amply attests. But in addition to all this is the attitude of Lord Milner. That public official wants Chinese labour for South Africa and wants it in a hurry. Worse than this he either misunderstands or misrepresents the feeling in South Africa very seriously indeed. For instance, on January 3rd he cabled home (Blue-book 1895) that the opposition to the Ordinance was then confined to a small minority among the Boer and British even in the Cape. On January 28th he cabled home (same Blue-book) that local opposition had now become "apparently extinct." In the face of this a Blue-book (1941) was issued on March 3rd, covering the period from January 13th to March 1st *literally full of South African protests from white people and from black people denouncing the introduction of Chinese labour.* Here is a characteristic white man's resolution (December 30) :—

"We, the citizens of Lydenburg and district, in mass meeting assembled, view with alarm the deliberate attempt of the mining houses to saddle the mining industry of the Transvaal with Chinese labour.

"We look upon the importation of Chinese or other indentured labour as unnecessary, as mines in America, Australia, and Canada, of less average grade of ore than those of the Rand, are worked at a good profit by white miners, who are earning living wages.

"We deny the scarcity of an adequate supply of native labour, if the wages and conditions existing before the war now obtained.

"We respectfully refer your Excellency to Mr. Chamberlain's statement that this question would not be settled until a majority of the people of this Colony were in favour of such a radical change in the economic history of the country.

"We respectfully ask your Excellency to take immediate and proper steps to ascertain, by means of a plebiscite, if the people of this Colony acquiesce in the importation of Chinese or other indentured labour, before any law is enacted to this effect.

"About 50 or 60 persons were present, and all, with the exception of a minority of five, which included the well-known Boer residents, Mr. Abel Erasmus and Mr. J. Coester, ex-member of the Volksraad, were all opposed to the importation of coloured labour."

And here is a characteristic black man's protest (Jan. 12) :

"The native and coloured inhabitants of Graaff Reinet have learned with deep regret that strong efforts are being made in the Transvaal Colony to import Asiatic labour into South Africa; and wish to place on record their protest against the introduction of such large numbers into this country, with the full conviction that such advent of the Chinese into any of the South African Colonies would be detrimental to the prosperity of the native and coloured population of this country, and seriously injure and retard the progress of Christianity amongst all the native races; and earnestly pray that the Imperial Government will not give sanction to, nor facilitate in any way, the importation of Chinese labour into this country."

It is intolerable that a man who should transmit to the British Government quite impartially the views of all parties should so patently associate himself with the insignificantly small, but colossally rich and powerful Pro-Chinese party in South Africa.

That Lord Milner wants the Ordinance, and wants it in a hurry comes out in the last Blue-book (No. 1941) in another way. On February 16 Mr. Lyttelton made a speech in the House of Commons in which he pledged himself that the Ordinance should be so amended as to include a number of amendments mitigating the condition of the imported Chinese labourer. These he cabled to Lord Milner on February 18th. The reply (Feb. 20th) is significant, the italics being mine :—

"I have had a complete list made of your pledges and requirements as contained in the various telegrams received from you on subject, and care will be taken to embody all of them. *Meanwhile it would appreciably assist position here if you could telegraph assent to Ordinance.*"

And this before the Ordinance is complete, or has been laid on the Tables of the British Houses of Parliament!

Concerning Colonial Opinion.

As to this, the latest Blue-book (1941) contains the following remarkable memorials :—

I.—TELEGRAM FROM THE PREMIER OF NEW ZEALAND TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, PRETORIA.

January 19, 1904.

"*Re Chinese labour in Rand Mines, respectfully desire (to) point out in New Zealand, after years of experience, Government of New Zealand is convinced that practical prohibition of Chinese immigration imperatively required in best interest (of) people British community, especially those who enjoy or expect (to) enjoy powers (of) responsible self-government. Though most reluctant (to) travel beyond*

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their own boundaries in order to introduce themselves into matter having local import, Government of New Zealand, in discharge of duty to the nation, feel compelled to express deep apprehension (at) results which will follow introduction (of) Chinese (into) Transvaal. Government of New Zealand foresees grave perils, racial, social, political and sanitary inevitable induced by alien influx, injurious to yourselves, and neighbouring territories with whom your future is linked indissolubly and vitally to Empire, of which South Africa is (a) great and vital part. Government of New Zealand (is) aware of safeguards you propose, but our experience with Chinese shows that however stringent conditions of their introduction (and) employment may be made, yet it is practically impossible (to) prevent the many and serious evils arising. Moreover, such introduction creates vested interests on the part of employers, which render it very difficult to terminate (the) practice once it has been sanctioned. Government of New Zealand earnestly commends these considerations to Transvaal Government as far (as it) outweighs any immediate pecuniary gain. Momentary material advantage will be dearly purchased by influx of foreign element, dangerous while unassimilated, and not to be assimilated without detriment to our progress, institutions and patriotic ideals. In this matter Government of New Zealand acting in concert with Government of Australian Commonwealth, from whom (it is) understood that similar representations will reach you."

II.—TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA, MELBOURNE, TO COLONIAL SECRETARY, PRETORIA.

January 19, 1904.

"Australia, after years of experience, is convinced that practical prohibition Chinese immigration imperatively required in best interests people of British communities, especially those which enjoy, or expect enjoy, powers responsible self-government. Though most reluctant travel beyond their own boundaries in order to introduce themselves into matters having local import, responsible Ministers of Commonwealth in discharge their duty to nation, feel compelled express deep apprehension results which will follow introduction Chinese to Transvaal. They foresee grave perils, racial, social, political, and sanitary, inevitably induced by alien influx, injurious to yourselves and neighbouring territories with which your future is linked indissolubly and finally to Empire, of which South Africa is great and vital part. We are aware of safeguards which you propose, but our experience with alien races shows that however stringent the conditions of their introduction and employment may be made, yet it is practically impossible to prevent existence of many and serious evils. Moreover, such introduction creates vested interests on the part of employers, which render it extremely difficult terminate practice once it has been sanctioned. Earnestly commend these considerations to you as far outweighing any immediate pecuniary gain, momentary material advantage will be dearly purchased by introduction of foreign element; dangerous while unassimilated, and not to be assimilated without detriment to our progress, institutions and patriotic ideals."

As I have asked in a previous article, who are the friends of the Colonies now? But a few weeks ago the Lyttelton-Chamberlain-Balfour party were denouncing men like myself because we declined to accept a crude and unworkable scheme of Tariff Revision obviously "faked up" to catch

the British Jingo spirit at home and abroad. We were "Little Englanders," and all the rest of it. Now *here* is a policy which will speedily and irremediably alienate the Colonies. And the work of whose hands is it?

The unscrupulously greedy policy of the Rand millionaires is well described at a Boer meeting at Pietersburg on January 22 (Blue-book 1941, page 32). :—

"Poverty, he (Mr. Wynand Viljoen, father of General Ben Viljoen) said, was non-existent in the Transvaal before the war. It had been deliberately called into existence by the capitalists for the purpose of gaining certain ends. They wished to use poverty as an instrument for the importation of Chinese. Poverty now cried aloud and said, 'Capital, why have you called me into being?'—Ex-Commandant Bierman seconded.

"Commandant Pretorius thought that it was too soon after the declaration of peace to ask for responsible government, and Mr. Van Niekerk satirically remarked, amidst great applause, that they should not be so presumptuous as to ask for it until the capitalists said they might have it. Capital misled poverty, and said, 'It is not I, but want of labour, that have called you into existence. Shout, and shout loudly, for Chinese, and you will again disappear and be buried in oblivion.' The capitalists were endeavouring to mislead them and the British public. With the advent of the Chinese there would come greater wealth for the already over-rich and greater poverty for the poor."

As I have already insisted, Lord Milner's unconcealed partisanship in favour of Indentured Chinese Labour in the Transvaal is a grave scandal. Natal and the Cape are keenly against the introduction of the Yellow labourer into South Africa. Opinion in the Transvaal (where it has not been jerrymandered by the Rand Magnates) is equally opposed to this deplorable departure. And yet Lord Milner presents us with the spectacle of a man in the highest judicial office eagerly becoming the relentless advocate of a cause which is manifestly viewed with disgust and dread by the great majority of his Majesty's subjects in South Africa. Lord Milner's notions of securing pacification in South Africa are curious indeed. His latest deliverance is characteristic. On March 10th he received in the notorious Wanderers' Hall, Johannesburg, a deputation in favour of the Ordinance. In a violent reply, Lord Milner said that "it was a monstrous abuse of language" to apply such a term as slavery to the conditions of labour under the Ordinance. He further said that "it was equally slanderous" to say that there was an organised endeavour to drive white labour off the Rand. For myself I think it monstrous that a great public office like that held by Lord Milner should be prostituted by so undisguised and pronounced a partisanship as is herein disclosed.