

Uncle Tom's Cabin Up-to-Date, OR Chinese Slavery in South Africa.

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PICCANNINI (See p.6).

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Uncle Tom's Cabin Up-to-Date.

“ Really, it seems that we shall have to ask the young generation to read ‘ Uncle Tom's Cabin,’ in order to enable them to realise that under the Union Jack, England is preparing to harbour a race of Legrees on the Rand.

“ It is true that the Rand Legree is forbidden to flog the Chinese Uncle Tom, but why?—Because the Chinese Minister protested! If you wish to plumb the depths of turpitude into which the Randlords have plunged old England, ponder over that ironic fact. China teaching England the elementary duty of humanity! A heathen race rebuking a Christian Nation!”

The above extract from the *Star* of February 19th, 1904, which admirably epitomises the present position of this country in its relation to the Transvaal, may well serve as a text upon which to found a new edition of “ Uncle Tom's Cabin ” up-to-date.

The provisions of the Ordinance (see Government White Paper, Cd. 1898 and Blue Book Cd. 1941, pp. 41-50) under which Chinese are to be introduced into South Africa, and the restrictions there to be imposed upon them, which more than justify the description of the Ordinance as a Charter of Slavery, may be summarised as follows:—

The Chinese are not to be allowed to live anywhere except on the premises of their employer. They may never leave those premises except with a ticket-of-leave from their employer, which he can, of course, refuse to give, and in any case they may not be out for more than 48 hours, nor travel more than a mile from their compound.

If one of them escapes, he may be arrested without a warrant and sentenced to imprisonment.

Anyone who “ harbours or conceals ” an escaped “ labourer ” may also be fined or imprisoned.

The Chinese may not trade, own landed property or mineral “ claims,” or engage in any work other than unskilled labour in the exploitation of minerals.

They must have a pass, which must be produced on demand by any constable or official appointed under the Ordinance. Failing the production of such a pass on being challenged, it is to be presumed that any Chinaman thus challenged is an escaped “ labourer,” unless he can prove the contrary—an absolute subversion of the well-known principle of British law that every accused person is to be considered innocent until he is proved guilty.

They may be transferred from one “ importer ” to another without their consent, and be compelled to serve anyone who may thus acquire the right to their services.

They may be punished with fine or imprisonment for dilatoriness in the execution of their work.

And finally, on the conclusion of their contract, they must be deported, forcibly if necessary, from the Transvaal, and returned to the country from whence they were brought.

If the above conditions and restrictions do not constitute virtual slavery, it is difficult to imagine what would, especially in view of the fact that *no rate of pay and no hours of work are specified in the Ordinance*; which means that having obtained their "labourers" under Governmental sanction and control, the mine-owners may pay them as much or as little as they choose, and work them any number of hours they like.

And this Ordinance, let it not be forgotten, has not only been passed by the nominated "Legislative Council" of the Transvaal, but has also been endorsed by our British House of Commons by a majority of 51!

Scarcity of Black Labour ?

The question now arises, where and what is the necessity, real or pretended, for this departure from the highest and best of our national traditions? The ostensible reason for the employment of Chinese is the shortage of black labour. The mine-owners assert that after trying by every means in their power to induce the Kaffirs to work in the mines they have failed to obtain them in numbers sufficient for the requirements of the mines. They assert, further, that white labour is too expensive, and that therefore they are forced to seek outside of South Africa the labour which they are unable to obtain in the sub-continent. None of these assertions have any solid foundation in fact.

In the first place, to the extent that there is any shortage of Kaffir labour, that is accounted for as being partly due to the disturbing influence of a three-years-long war in the country, but to a far greater extent it is due to the policy deliberately adopted by the mine-owners of reducing by one-half the pre-war rate of wages as soon as they were allowed to resume mining operations; long before even the war was brought to a conclusion. Further, it was shown by some of the witnesses called by their own faked and packed Commission appointed to inquire into the labour difficulty, that the shortage to the extent that it really existed was now mainly due to the methods adopted by the Rand Native Labour Association—an annexe of the Chamber of Mines—in recruiting the natives; methods which had the effect of repelling them from, rather than of attracting them back to the mines. There is no reason to doubt that the recruiting of natives would show greatly im-

proved results by the return to the system of free recruiting which obtained before the war.

It is not even yet sufficiently understood in this country, how persistently the mine-owners have adopted the policy of fictitiously creating a scarcity of native labour, or else of pretending that such a scarcity existed, when, as a matter of fact, it did not.

In my book, "The Truth About the Transvaal," will be found (see pp. 152-3) an illuminating account, *from my own personal experience*, of the absolutely barefaced manner in which mine managers have declared that they were unable to obtain sufficient natives, and then have refused to take natives offered to them; in some cases for immediate engagement.

As early as 1890 the mining industry created a real scarcity of native labour by reducing the wages of the natives, and immediately began to clamour for Government intervention in the direction of "inducing" the natives to work at the reduced or even lower wages. This game was repeated at intervals right up to the war, and has been continued since.

Forced Labour Desired.

That *forced labour* was what was required by the mine-owners we have the record of the proceedings before the Commission appointed by the Boer Government in 1899 to enquire into the "grievances" of the mine-owners to show. Before this Commission, Mr. C. Goldmann, director of sixteen and chairman of twelve mining companies, said:—"Thus, if the dignity of labour were impressed upon them—the natives—by the enforcement of this law—a proposed tax of £2 10s.—we are likely to get a larger supply."

Mr. Amandus Brakhan, manager of Alfred Goerz and Co., and himself a member of the Commission, in his evidence stated:—

Such taxes, I think, must be imposed on the native living in the Republic as will virtually compel him to work, not alone for a short period, which is generally now the case, but for the best part of the year.

Mr. James Hay, chairman of the Chamber of Mines, said:—

I think we are all agreed that the natives are too highly paid in this country.

By Mr. De Beer: Do you think it would be desirable to get forced labour?—Yes.

Mr. George Albu, chairman of the Association of Mines, gave the following interesting evidence, in reply to questions by Mr. Smit:—

Do you intend to cheapen Kaffir labour? How do you propose to effect that?—By simply telling the boys that their wages are reduced

The maximum at present is 2s. 3d. a shift, and we can reduce that to 1s. 6d., that is for skilled labour. For ordinary, 1s. or less for the shift.

Suppose the Kaffirs retire back to their kraals? Now, in case that happened, and that you were without black labour, would you be in favour of asking the Government to enforce labour?—Certainly. A Kaffir cannot live on nothing.

You would make it compulsory?—Yes. I would make it compulsory, and without using force a tax could be levied.

It is to the infinite credit of the Commission that it refused to report in favour of the thinly-veiled slavery, which even then the Randlords were hankering after, and thus shamelessly advocating. And yet one of the charges most persistently levelled against the Boers before and during the war, was that they were not merely totally indifferent to the welfare of the natives, but treated them in a grossly oppressive manner!

In Lord Milner, however, the Randlords found a more pliant tool than the Boer Government, and no sooner were the blessings of British rule (!) bestowed upon the Transvaal than the mine-owners were not only allowed to cut down native wages by one-half, but shortly after an Ordinance was promulgated by Lord Milner, increasing the capitation tax on every adult male native to £2 per annum, and, in addition, a tax of £2 per annum for every wife over one possessed by a native was levied.

Many and Cogent Reasons.

But apart from the foregoing, which is alone sufficient to account for the shortage of native labour to the extent that it really exists, there are still more weighty facts which would account for the same thing.

The awful mortality amongst the natives working in the mines is one fact which must by no means be overlooked. This was shown by Sir Godfrey Lagden, in a memorandum presented to the Native Labour Commission, to be not less than 70 per 1,000, as against 30 per 1,000 in the De Beers mines at Kimberley—in itself a sufficiently high rate.

Again, it is a matter of notoriety that the natives were shamefully ill-used at the mines before the war. The native chief Umhalla stated before the Native Labour Commission that he could bring thousands of his people to the mines, but for the complaint amongst them that “they were kicked about and got low wages.”

And the following evidence given before the Commission by Mr. Perry, chairman and manager of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, speaks volumes, more by reason of what it implies than by what is stated.

MR. PERRY CROSS-EXAMINED.

Mr. Quinn: I suppose you are aware that since the war great changes have taken place on some mines in the way some boys have been treated and fed?

Witness: Yes, I believe it is so on most mines.

Replying further to Mr. Quinn, witness said that improvements in the way of better food had been effected, also more careful provisions for clothing for natives had been and were still being made.—*Johannesburg Star*, August 1st, 1903.

It is obvious that there must have been considerable room for improvement, or the improved conditions could not have been effected.

But even more to the purpose in this connection is the illustration on the cover of this pamphlet, and the following letter-press, both of which are reproduced from the *East Rand Express* for January 27th, 1899.

ONLY A NIGGER.

HOW PICCANNINI WENT "HOME."

DEATH FROM STARVATION.

Piccannini, the thirteen year-old native who was admitted to the Gaol Hospital last week a living skeleton, is dead. He passed away on Monday morning at twenty to ten, the doctor's certificate giving the cause of death as "Armoed oozaak van dood"—in other words, starvation. He went "Home," but home in his case was not the kraal in Portuguese territory he so longed to see, but a place where the little collier boy may expect to receive better treatment than he has ever secured on the Rand.

The photo of Piccannini we publish with this issue, as taken immediately on his arrival at the gaol, gives only a faint idea of what was his actual appearance. It does not show the bones projecting through the skin, or give an adequate idea of his

EXTREME EMACIATION,

but it will serve. Aged thirteen, he weighed only about 30 pounds at death, a death which might have been prevented had he only received proper treatment.

But we have reason to believe that the starvation of Piccannini is not an isolated case by any means. It seems to be the practice for a certain class of persons to allow their sick and dying boys to go adrift on the veld, by which means they escape the trouble of providing medical treatment for the natives, and also the inconvenience of burying them when they succumb. On the side of economy this action may be justified, but what about its humanity?—*East Rand Express*, January 27th, 1899.

If then such things were possible under the conditions and comparative freedom enjoyed by the Kaffirs before the war, what may we expect if the mine-owners are allowed to compound the Chinese and keep them close prisoners, as this infamous Ordinance will enable them to do! With every inducement to take as much out of their virtual slaves as possible during their three years of servitude, the latter will be even

worse off than the absolute slave; since in his case it is to the owner's interest to keep him alive as long as possible in order to make the most out of him.

As far as the natives are concerned, the solution of the difficulty lies in better treatment, higher wages, healthier conditions of employment, and *real* supervision by Government officials who will be actuated solely by considerations affecting the well-being of their charges. Given these, and there is no doubt that within a very short period of time the difficulty would solve itself by the gradually increased number of boys who would be attracted to the mines as the better conditions prevailing became known.

No British Need Apply.

The real reason for the employment of Chinese becomes evident, however, when we come to consider the question from the standpoint of the employment of white labour—failing Kaffir labour, that is. Undoubtedly the most interesting, not to say dramatic incident in connection with the Commission already referred to was the evidence given by Mr. Creswell, the then manager of the Village Main Reef Mine. Mr. Creswell, a strong advocate of the extended employment of white labour in the mines, was twitted by some of the members of the Commission with not having put his theories into practice on his own mine. He thereupon threw a veritable bombshell into the camp of the pro-Chinese party by producing and reading a letter he had received from Mr. Percy Tarbutt, the chairman of the London board of directors of his company, and in which the following highly significant passages occur:—

With reference to your trial of white labour for surface work on the mine, I have consulted the Consolidated Goldfields people, and one of the members of the Board of the Village Main Reef Company 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 by combination the labour 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 representative government is established.

This is, of course, only a confirmation of what was previously known—at any rate, to the student of the South African problem—to be the sentiments of the mine magnates, as proved by former statements of a similar nature. Thus, Mr. Rudd, in a letter to the *Times* in reply to Mr. Benjamin Kidd, said:—

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 hands, and, without any disparagement to the British labourer, I prefer to see the more intellectual section of the community at the helm.

Again, in the "Memorandum on the Mining Industry," presented by the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines to Mr. Chamberlain on the occasion of his visit to that town in January, 1902, occurs the following passage: "If this policy is adopted, there should be no possible opening for discontent amongst the working classes, *no opening for that trail of the serpent, the formation of labour unions.* The pay being excellent, the dissatisfied would always be very easily replaced."

It is worthy of remark, *en passant*, that in the Blue Book (Cd. 1895) which contains the Memorandum in question, the above passage is deleted (see p. 341), a sufficiently glaring illustration of the manner in which Blue Books and other documents are doctored by the present Government, and also the extent to which the Government is hand-and-glove with the Randlords. The passage in its complete form, as printed above, is to be found in the *Times* for February 9th, 1903. Nay, so fearful are the mine-owners of anything approaching combination among the workers engaged by them, that in the report of Mr. H. R. Skinner on his visit to the East to enquire into the prospects of obtaining Asiatic labour, he refers to the possibility of the Chinese forming societies, and suggests that the gangs should consist of Chinese from different districts in order to minimise this danger! (Cd. 1895, p. 79).

Of similar purport was the declaration of Lord Milner, that "we want no white proletariat in South Africa." (P. 42.)

The Real Objection to White Labour.

The above is abundantly sufficient to prove that the objection to white labour is not an economical one at all, but is purely political. But if further proof is required we have the testimony of Mr. F. H. P. Creswell, late manager of the Village Main Reef Mine, and whose testimony before the Native Labour Commission has been already referred to. Mr. Creswell has shown by actual facts and figures that white labour can be and has been profitably employed even in comparison with Kaffir labour. Want of space prevents lengthy quotation, but the following figures supplied by Mr. Creswell show some of the results which he obtained:—

Labour in cyanide works, excluding work of shifting sand still done by Kaffirs in 1903: Cost per ton in July, 1899 (Kaffirs), 5.30d. per ton; cost per ton in July, 1903 (Kaffirs nearly all replaced by unskilled whites), 4.92d. per ton.

Labour in mill : Cost per ton in July, 1899 (Kaffirs), 4.83d. per ton ; cost per ton in July, 1903 (Kaffirs replaced by unskilled whites), 4.25d. per ton.

Cost per ton mined of machine drill contract work on South Reef, developing and stoping : In May to August, 1899 (with Kaffirs), 7s. 0.64d. per ton ; in July and August, 1903 (unskilled whites), 6s. 9.46d. per ton.

The Poverty-Stricken Mines !

But even assuming that white labour was really more expensive than Kaffir labour, it is simply fatuous for the mine-owners to say that there is no margin of profit available for the payment of the higher rate of wages in view of the following dividends paid by leading Rand mines for the year 1903 :—

Company	Issued Capital.	Dividend per cent
Angelo	£600,000	50
Bonanza	200,000	100
Crown Deep	300,000	50
Crown Reef	120,000	155
City and Suburban	1,360,000	15
Driefontein Consolidated	600,000	40
Durban Roodepoort	125,000	75
Ferreira	90,000	187½
Ferreira Deep	910,000	10
Geldenhuis Estate	200,000	60
Geldenhuis Deep	300,000	45
Ginsberg	160,000	25
Henry Nourse	125,000	100
Jubilee	50,000	50
Langlaagte Estate	470,000	40
Lancaster West	195,000	10
May Consolidated	288,746	32½
Meyer and Charlton	100,000	40
New Primrose	300,000	25
Nigel	223,106	5
Rietfontein A	350,000	20
Robinson	2,750,000	11
Robinson Deep	950,000	25
Roodepoort United M.R.	295,000	15
Rose Deep	425,000	22½
Simmer and Jack... ..	3,000,000	5
Treasury	540,000	13¾
Village Main Reef	400,000	20
Wemmer	80,000	100

Or take the following list of deep level mines only, in order to show in a still more forcible manner not only the vast amounts which are being earned and distributed as dividend by the Rand mining companies, but also the progress which is being made from month to month by the industry. It will be seen that the sums given in the following table promise far larger dividends for this year than even those paid last year by the same companies, large as they were :—

	12 months' profit on basis of returns for January, 1904.	Capital issued.
Crown Deep	£193,200 ...	£300,000
Durban Deep	67,200 ...	300,025
Ferreira Deep	162,000 ...	910,000
Geldenhuis Deep	235,000 ...	300,000
Glen Deep	110,400 ...	600,000
Jumpers Deep	97,248 ...	523,895
Langlaagte Deep	63,600 ...	750,000
Nourse Deep	78,000 ...	450,000
Robinson Deep	308,964 ...	950,000
Rose Deep	138,000 ...	425,000

And it is to increase the already far too-bloated dividends and profits like the above of a gang of cosmopolitan financiers, who, as Mr. John Burns recently said in the House of Commons, "sing the National Anthem in broken accents, and require an interpreter for the top notes," that "the sum of human villainy," slavery, with all its concomitant cruelty, vice, and degradation is to be again established under the ægis of the British flag!

South Africa United in Protest.

It is pretended by the Randlords and their creatures in the Press and on the platform, that the people of the Transvaal, if not of South Africa, are in favour of their pro-Chinese policy. The evidence at our disposal proves the above statement to be a monstrous falsehood. In the recently issued Blue Book, Cd. 1941, page after page teems with resolutions from all parts of South Africa protesting against this intended outrage upon the South African community. On April 1, 1903, a meeting at Johannesburg, by a majority of 5,000 to two, took the following pledge:—

We pledge ourselves to prevent by every means in our power, the carrying into effect the proposal for the introduction of Asiatics to work in the mines and other industries of the Transvaal.—(Cd. 1895, p. 15).

A pledge which will undoubtedly be kept, even by resort to violence if necessary, and that notwithstanding the apparent change in public opinion since.

The attitude of the Boers—except the few traitors known as National Scouts—is indicated by the following protest, wired to the Colonial Secretary on February 10th, and signed by practically all the prominent leaders of the Transvaal Boers:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ALFRED LYTTELTON, SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

Pretoria, February 10th, 1904.

SIR,—In view of your cabled statement in the House of Commons that it was the desire of the Transvaal people to have Asiatic labour for the mines, we beg to remind you that the question has never been submitted

for the approval of the people. Speaking in our individual capacities, but yet as fully acquainted with the sentiments of the Boer population, we assure you that the overwhelming majority of them are and unalterably opposed to the introduction of Asiatic labour into the Transvaal, under whatever restrictions. The Labour Commission was not an impartial or representative body, nor do we agree with its findings. Many signatures to the petition presented to the Legislative Council in favour of Asiatic labour were improperly obtained. The Legislative Council is in no sense representative of the Transvaal people, and it would be a fatal mistake to introduce Asiatic labour without full popular consent. It would prevent this from ever becoming a white man's country, and it would injure the native population by excluding them from participating in the industrial development of the country. In view of the grave issues involved, we are most anxious that His Majesty's Minister who is directly responsible for the administration of the Transvaal, shall not remain under the mistaken impression that the Boer people is in favour of a measure which is looked upon as a public calamity of the first magnitude, for which the temporary slackness of the labour market forms no excuse.

We have, &c.,

S. W. BURGER,	C. F. BEYERS,
A. D. W. WOLMARANS,	P. R. VILJOEN,
J. H. DE LA REY,	J. C. SMUTS,
D. G. E. ERASMUS,	C. J. BRITS,
H. A. ALBERTS,	C. H. MULLER,
HANS GROBLER,	LOUIS BOTHA.
TOBIAS SMUTS.	

On August 9th, at six different meetings of the Transvaal Miners' Association, a resolution was passed protesting against "the unfair and unmanly action of the management of the various mines in attempting to coerce the employees into signing petitions for the importation of Asiatics"; a protest which was first made known in this country by the South African Free Press Committee; as many other facts bearing upon this and other aspects of the South African problem have also been made known.

Unscrupulous and Nefarious Tactics.

As showing the manner in which expression of public opinion against the Chinese movement was suppressed, the following affidavits, reproduced from the *South African Guardian*, and first published in this country in the *South African Bulletin*, the official organ of the above Committee, tell their own story. It was a pity, however, to have suppressed the names. In the same number of the *Guardian* appears a photo-illustration of the men actually receiving the pay for their nefarious work!

December 19th, 1903.

I, _____, residing at Johannesburg, make oath and swear as follows:—

(1.) I was approached by Mr. A., who asked me to attend the public meeting of the African Labour League to be held in the Wanderers'

Hall on Monday, December 14th, 1903, and there to the utmost of my power, by creating a disturbance or otherwise, prevent a vote being taken or carried by the said African Labour League antagonistic to the introduction of Asiatic labour, or a vote being taken in favour of the referendum of white inhabitants of the Transvaal.

(2.) That I did attend the said meeting on December 14th, 1903, and thereon carried out my instructions as far as possible by shouting and obstructing generally, and thus preventing the speakers being heard.

(3.) That for so doing I received the sum of 15s. as promised by Mr. A., when he engaged me.

Sworn before me this 19th day of December, 1903.

A. S. RAITT, Justice of the Peace.

Under the headline "Disconsolate Fifteen-Bobbers," the following sarcastic and amusing explanation is given of the second affidavit:—

Owing to the laxity of the arrangements a number of wholly underserving individuals came in for a little windfall. Seeing their "pals" in the crowd waiting to be paid off they slipped in ahead of them, used their names with fraudulent intent, and obtained a reward for services never rendered. Consequently, when the said "pals" applied for payment they were informed that it had been already given to them, and they had to suffer the unmerited rebuff of being denounced as impostors.

This has led to complications and to the suggestion of the initiation of legal proceedings by these unfortunates against the agent. To substantiate the justice of their claims several of these men have sworn affidavits, one of which we reproduce:—

December 19th, 1903.

I, _____, make oath and swear as follows:—

(1.) I was approached by Mr. B., of Johannesburg, who asked me to attend the public meeting of the African Labour League to be held in the Wanderers' Hall, on Monday, December 14th, 1903, and there to create a disturbance, or otherwise to the utmost of my power, to prevent a vote to be carried by the said African Labour League, antagonistic to the importation of Asiatics, or a vote being taken in favour of a referendum of the white inhabitants of the Transvaal on the question of the introduction of Asiatics into the country.

(2.) That I was promised 15s. if I carried out the instructions given.

(3.) That I did attend the said meeting on December 14th, 1903, and by shouting out "We want Chinese," and otherwise disturbing the meeting, prevented the speakers being heard.

(4.) That I have demanded the sum promised for my services, and have been refused on the grounds that I have received the sum of 15s. promised.

(5.) That I have not received the sum of 15s., neither have I signed any receipt for that sum.

Sworn before me this 19th day of December, 1903.

A. S. RAITT, Justice of the Peace.

Write and Speak to Order or—Go.

As further illustrating the ruthless manner in which the mine-owners crush anyone who exhibits anything like independence, may be mentioned the fact that during the last few

months, in addition to Mr. Creswell, who was compelled to resign his position on the Village Main Reef Mine immediately after his exposure of the real inwardness of the pro-Chinese policy of the mine-owners as related above, not less than four Transvaal newspaper editors have also resigned their respective positions in consequence of their unwillingness to endorse the policy of their previous employers—the mine-owners—namely, Messrs. J. R. Pakeman, Storey, and Monypenny, editors respectively of the *Transvaal Leader*, the *Rand Daily Mail*, and the *Star*, published at Johannesburg, and Mr. J. Scoble, editor of the *Pretoria Transvaal Advertiser*. A notable addition to the foregoing is Mr. Wybergh, late Commissioner of Mines in the Transvaal Administration, who resigned his office because, as he expressed it, the mine-owners were exercising far too great influence over the Government of the State.

In view of facts like the foregoing, it is not to be wondered at that the Transvaal community has been simply terrorised into giving a nominal support to the Chinese policy of the mine magnates. Hence we have paraded a petition said to contain 45,000 signatures in favour of Chinese labour. Probable it does, but the less said about the genuineness of those signatures the better. In the *Manchester Guardian* of March 8th, 1904, appears a long letter from its Johannesburg correspondent, in which this precious petition and the manner in which the signatures it bears were obtained are subjected to a scathing criticism and exposure. Further, in a lengthy letter, under date February 1st, 1904, to the present writer, Mr. R. J. Stickland, Secretary of the National Democratic Federation of Johannesburg, says:—

Re Chinese. Our last hope rests with the home public, and it is better that the agitation should be carried on away from local influences and local prejudices. . . . Rightly or wrongly, the large bulk of the population here feel themselves forced to shout for Chinese; sign petitions, in fact do anything that is likely to remove the commercial depression, and consummate the boom so persistently promised by the Rand magnates if the labour difficulty is solved.

After a masterly summing up of the position there, and indicating the real causes of the deplorable conditions obtaining in the Transvaal, and especially at the Rand, the writer concludes:—

And what is the result of all this? Men who were prepared to lay down their lives for Imperialism, mutter at the street corners, unemployed are alas, only too numerous, and the staunch Britishers of three years ago openly state their disgust of the result of their fighting and would welcome *anything* that would give them back what they had lost—

anything that will end this farcical, capital-controlled or influenced situation.

That Farcical Commission.

The Commission of enquiry into the native labour supply which sat at Johannesburg last year, and upon the majority report of which the advocates of Chinese labour mainly base their case, may be dismissed in very few words. The whole thing was an elaborate farce from beginning to end. Indeed, in view of the fact that Lord Milner in his dispatch of May 12th to Mr. Chamberlain, declared in so many words that "there are simply not enough natives in South Africa," it was surely superfluous to appoint a Commission in July to prove what, according to Lord Milner, was already an ascertained fact! From the very composition of the Commission its finding was a foregone conclusion. Two only, out of its thirteen members, were independent of the mining industry, and those two, Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside, issued a minority report, which directly and conclusively traversed the findings of the majority. It will suffice, therefore, in this connection to refer my readers to the Blue Book (Cd. 1894, price 6d.) containing the two reports, and advise them to carefully read first the majority and then the minority report.

And now, what is the duty of the British public, and still more the British Government, to the South African community in regard to this matter. I have no hesitation in saying that it is the bounden duty of the Government to refuse to sanction any such law as the Ordinance now under discussion until or unless it is passed by a far more representative body than the present Transvaal "Legislative Council" can pretend to be. In other words, that the proper solution of the difficulty is to suspend action pending the granting of representative Government and the election by a popular vote of a Legislature which, being really representative of the people, may with propriety be entrusted with the settlement of the question. It is equally the duty of every man and woman in this country to urge upon the Government the adoption of the course suggested above, or in the alternative, to at least submit the question to a referendum of the people of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. Failing this, the British Government and people must share with the Randlords and mine-owners of South Africa the responsibility for the perpetration of what can only be adequately described as a crime of the first magnitude, and also for the deplorable results which cannot fail to accrue therefrom.

Why not a Referendum ?

The one fact which, more than any other, gives away the whole case for Chinese labour, is the refusal of the Randlords, through their obedient tools, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal and the Home Government, to submit the question to a referendum of the people directly affected by the question, and as the former was requested to do last December. If, as the pro-Chows and their venal Press profess, they have the Transvaal community behind them, why not prove that to be the case beyond dispute by the adoption of the simple expedient of a referendum? The mere fact that they absolutely refuse any such test proves conclusively, not only that it is false to say that the majority of the people are in favour of Chinese labour, but that they know it to be false.

The *Echo*, in a recent issue, pithily described the position as it now stands, in the following telling manner:—

YELLOW SLAVES.

FOR THIS WE FOUGHT.

Cost of South African War	£250,000,000
Killed, Wounded, Died of Disease... ..	27,477
Boer Losses in the Field	4,500
Boer Women and Children Sacrificed	20,000

RESULT SLAVERY

Your Responsibility.

It now remains for the nation to ask itself, is it in order to introduce hordes of virtual slaves into the mines of the Rand for the sole benefit of a gang of cosmopolitan money-grabbers with unpronounceable names, and to the exclusion of British working men, that 20,000 British soldiers left their bones to bleach on the African Veldt after being assured that they were going to fight for "equal rights for all white men South of the Zambezi"? Is it for this that over 20,000 others have returned to this country broken in constitution, with shattered health and prospects, only to drift, as all too many of them have already done through stress of circumstances, into the workhouse, the lunatic asylum, the gaol, and the suicide's grave? Is it for this that over 4,500 heroic Boers sacrificed their lives on the altar of their national independence? Is it for this—most awful reflection of all—that *over 20,000 Boer women and children were done to death in our concentration camps?* It is for *you*

to supply the answer to these questions. It is for you, personally, to declare that you will have none of it, by protesting upon every possible occasion against this infamy which is about to be perpetrated in your name, until the time arrives when, by the exercise of your vote as a citizen, you can give effect to your protest. And then, when the opportunity does occur, it rests with you, by voting only for such candidates as pledge themselves against this monstrous proposal, to do your part in purging the nation and the House of Commons of the Tory and pro-Chinese members who at present occupy its benches; and at the same time expelling the men constituting our caricature of a Government ignominiously from the offices they have all too long disgraced.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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