

~~Dr. W. J. LEYDS~~

~~KARPOOL~~

THE RACE CONFLICT
IN
SOUTH AFRICA.

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE GENERAL
QUESTION OF NATIVE EDUCATION

BY
F. S. TATHAM,
(MEMBER OF THE NATAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.)

MDCCCXCIV.

PIETERMARITZBURG :

MUNRO BROS., PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS.

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P R E F A C E .

THIS PAPER is not intended to aim at an exhaustive treatment of the momentous question it attempts to discuss. It deals with the subject in outline only, and those who may think it worth while to read it, are asked to bear in mind that it is impossible in a paper of limited extent to enter very fully into details. These observations have special reference to the closing chapter, and the suggestions therein made. The details of any scheme for turning the attention of the natives to agricultural pursuits would in themselves form material sufficient for another paper.

PREFACE

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

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ERRATUM.

PAGE 4.—For “52” read “82.”

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The extreme difficulty in dealing with the question has inclined South African politicians to allow it to slumber, in the vain hope that it will at length solve itself. In others, however, the very difficulty of the problem excites a fascination which grows the more it is considered.

The native races of South Africa consist of three great divisions, excluding for the purposes of this paper Hottentots and Bushmen, whose presence will never exert any considerable influence on South African politics. I class the Cape and Natal Natives, Pondos, and Basutos under the general head of Kafirs. These divisions consist of the Amazulu, Swahili, and Kafirs. The origin of the divisions is unknown, but it is common ground that all are negroes with all the physical characteristics of the ordinary Central African Negro. The probability is that they are the des-

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

OF all the questions affecting the future of South African politics, that of the relationship of the black and white races is probably of supreme importance. It is a question upon which Ministries are likely to form and fall; it is one which must seriously disturb South African politics by the eventual division of the people into two great classes; the one comprising those who, actuated by a blind enthusiasm, will see nothing but good in the education and emancipation of the natives; the other, those who, from motives of self-interest and for political reasons, will steadily oppose the raising of the native in the scale of civilization.

The extreme difficulty in dealing with the question has inclined South African politicians to allow it to slumber, in the vain hope that it will at length solve itself. In others, however, the very difficulty of the problem excites a fascination which grows the more it is considered.

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endants of emigrants from Tropical Africa, who have at some period or other been driven out of their country in consequence of internecine disturbances.

The conformation of the skull, the woolly hair, the angle of the face, the lips, the peculiar smell, and other physical characteristics remove any doubt as to their consanguinity with the Central African negro, including that portion of the race now inhabiting parts of the United States. The whole race has been called the "Bantu" stock, and for convenience I shall adopt the appellation throughout in this connection.

Whatever the origin of the South African native may be, his environment has made him what he is; and it will be interesting at this point to indicate the chief physical differences which exist between the seat of the intellect of the Negro and that of the Caucasian. The facial angle of the Negro is 70 degrees, that of the Caucasian is 52 degrees; the specific gravity of the Negro's brain is forty-five ounces, that of the Caucasian is forty-nine ounces.

Scientific knowledge does not afford us information of any value with regard to the specific gravity of the brain of the inhabitant of Britain prior to the dawn of civilization there, but it may fairly be assumed that by a natural process of evolution, the brain has grown with the development of the intellect, and it is so held by Pritchard in his enquiry into the physical History of Man.

The growth of civilization in Africa has been remarkable for its languor, and it is probable that its inactivity may be accounted for partly by climatic conditions and partly by the fact that its march was made from North to South instead of from South to North, thereby necessitating a passage across the Equator and a struggle with the enervating climate and other physical influences of Equatorial Africa.

Whatever the cause may be, it is generally conceded that the negro has existed under conditions of extreme degeneracy from pre-historic times, and that in him is to be found the lowest possible form of human life. Scientific research has demonstrated that he existed in his present physical state at least 4,000 years ago.

As the Equator is left behind in the march southward, the enquirer would expect to find a higher level of human life; and the expectation is realized. It is conceded that the natives of Southern Africa are raised above their progenitors of Equatorial Africa. Cannibalism, for instance, is unknown in South Africa, and here as elsewhere, I include in the expression "South Africa" that portion of the continent lying south of the 16th degree of south latitude.

The occupation of Southern Africa by its present inhabitants, both black and white, is believed to be of comparatively recent times. Environment in South Africa would probably in time have created a civilization—assuming that that country had been cut off from communication with the civilized world. It has not, however, been so cut off. A wide and ever widening stream of life from civilized Europe is pouring into the land. That stream represents humanity in its highest development; it represents life from that portion of the earth where civilization has been growing by slow and steady stages for two thousand years; it is pouring itself into a country peopled by men who are sunk in the lowest form of degeneracy in human life. It is a spectacle only possible at this late stage in the history of the affairs of men. The highest form of human refinement is brought suddenly into contact with the lowest form of human degeneracy. They cannot co-exist; one or the other must be effaced. Which is it to be? This, then, is the question to which thinking men in South Africa will have to apply themselves. The answer depends upon the methods adopted by the governing classes of the South African States. The object of this paper will be to shew that so long as the ascendancy of the Caucasian is preserved, civilization will march onward in South Africa: so soon as the ascendancy of the Bantu comes about, South African races will revert to their former degeneracy, with, however, the added disadvantage of the loss of the system of Government under which they originally lived, and its displacement by a system which will spell demoralization and death to them.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL.

THE effect of a sudden contact between a highly civilized and a barbarous form of human life produces one of two things. Either the civilized man will fall, or there is produced from the barbarian a hot-house plant which withers and dies upon exposure to the scorching rays of self-reliance. The civilized being will not fall so long as he is constantly being aided and augmented by additions to his ranks from the country whence he came, as is happening in South Africa. The other alternative will therefore happen. The hot-house plant will be raised, only to wither and die. Nature will not be forced. She will not work by any other than her own slow but sure means. She will not alter the conformation of the skull of man in a few years at the bidding of man. She will operate upon the intellect of man as she operates on the physiognomy of man; by a natural process of evolution. Missionaries and those who urge State interference in order to force the growth of the native intellect, disregard the experience of history and the teachings of science. The attempt has been made before and has failed, and I propose in this chapter to set forth some of the experiences of other countries in this connection.

THE UNITED STATES.—The importation of the African Negro commenced probably 300 years ago. He was taken over from Africa in slave ships, and removed from a life of constant danger and destruction to one of care and rigid supervision. The slaves were kept in segregated cantons, each slave owner in the natural course of events exerting himself to maintain health and strength among his slaves. He encouraged breeding, did his best to destroy vice, enforced sobriety, and did all that lay within his power to increase the value of his possessions by increasing the numbers and working power of his slaves. So long as this state of things continued, the negro, treated as one would treat one's breeding cattle, increased and multiplied until

his numbers reached to millions. Then there arose a set of circumstances which resulted in his emancipation. He was placed in full possession of all the rights and privileges of citizenship of the United States; he was no longer a breeding and working machine in the service of another to whom his welfare meant increased riches. For a little time he appeared to be stunned by the change and did not at first realize its full effect, but there were not wanting misguided missionaries and unscrupulous politicians who pointed out its effects to him, with the upshot that the negro became the dominant factor in the Government of those States wherein he was formerly a slave.

The inevitable result followed—anarchy and corruption reigned supreme. The public funds were pillaged and squandered. Riots and bloodshed supervened. Bedlam was let loose. I take as representative of the condition of all those Southern States, the State of Louisiana.

In 1868 the legislative elections in Louisiana resulted in the return of a black legislature save for an admixture of a few whites. The voters' roll showed 45,218 white voters as against 84,436 black voters; and I borrow from the excellent letters contributed to the *Times* by its special Commissioner Mr. W. Laird Clowes, and afterwards published in volume form under the title "Black America," the following further information:—

"To the summit of this mass of ignorance and corruption a creature named Henry C. Warmoth at once climbed. By arts which can be best compared with those of the political schemer in a burlesque, he had already ingratiated himself with the negroes; and he had little difficulty in inducing his protégés to make him the first Reconstruction Governor in Louisiana. Warmoth originally went to Louisiana in the Federal Army, from which he is said to have been dismissed for good cause. He should appear in history as one of the very worst of the Carpet baggers; yet he was a man of, in some respects, a remarkable character. From his earliest assumption of power he took measures not only to render himself supreme but also to render himself immovable. He was inaugurated in July 1868. Democratic members of the Legislature were with very few exceptions excluded by the operation of a test oath imposed by the majority; all election machinery and the disposal of nearly all important offices were entrusted to the hands and sole will of the Governor; and a Board of Registration was appointed, the object of which was to ensure that elections should result favourably to the party in power. Warmoth, whenever he made a

considerable appointment, adopted the precaution of simultaneously obtaining from the appointee a resignation in blank: so that rebellious or troublesome officials could always be summarily got rid of by the simple act on the part of the Governor by filling up the blank forms. So complete in time became Warmoth's system that, says Mr. B. J. Sage, 'a practically unanimous people could not have driven the Republicans out, save by a popular uprising.'

"Of the members of the Legislature only ten among the dominant party were taxpayers; and consequently, the house was not in the slightest degree in sympathy with the people, who soon began to be burdened with a taxation such as had before been undreamt of. Corruption and bribery reigned supreme, and the knaves to avoid any possible danger, refused to pass any bribery law, so that it was no crime to bribe a public official. To assist himself and his fellows in controlling elections, Warmoth raised what was in fact, though not in name, a standing army, and subsequently a small fleet; and he caused the establishment in all parishes of Republican newspaper organs, to the conductors of which was given a monopoly of printing the laws and public advertisements. The State expenditure rose to five times its normal level; the cost of the short session of 1871 amounted to £1,230 sterling per legislator, and the State debt, of course, increased rapidly and alarmingly, until proportionately to the population it became, within only a year and a half, very much larger than that of any State in the Union. Bonds were issued for all kinds of fraudulent objects—many at a rate as high as 8 per cent.; and all sorts of valuable privileges and franchises were given away to the favourites of the men in power. In fact, the State was plundered wholesale and in every direction. It is calculated that Louisiana was the loser in these years of the equivalent of about £24,000,000 sterling, or of more than half the total estimated wealth of the State.

"Warmoth's own share of the spoils was large, but its exact amount can never be ascertained. Up to the time of his accession the average printing expenses of the State had been about \$37,000 (£7,400) a year.

"During the first two years and a half of Warmoth's rule the New Orleans Republican, in which he was the principal shareholder, received \$1,140,881 (£228,170) for public printing.

"Warmoth also took upon himself the appointment of the Judges, from whom he exacted the usual blank resignations; and thus with an army, a navy, a press, a bench, a legislature, and election managers all securely, as he believed, tethered to his chariot, he was absolute dictator.

"He found his justification in the elections of 1870, which went exactly as he willed them to go. Not even Lopez in Paraguay was more powerful than Warmoth in Louisiana. 'But,' says Mr. Sage, 'over the spoils arose the inevitable quarrel, and the two factions that formed went heartily into their only good work, which was to acquaint Louisiana and the world with their rascalities and infamy and make manifest the gross wrong of Con-

gressional reconstruction. For over two years the Warmothites and the Anti-Warmothites fought often in arms, frequently with much bloodshed; and in 1872-1873 the State was in a condition of disgraceful anarchy, which was in nowise ended by the substitution of Pinchback the Lieutenant Governor, for Warmoth, and by the impeachment of the latter; for by that time another Governor, who claimed to have been properly elected, was in the field in the person of Mr. W. P. Kellogg. Kellogg was sustained by United States troops, but, although there were many riots and much bloodshed on his behalf, he was never popularly recognized. In one riot alone sixty-three persons were killed.

“Kellogg was worse even than Warmoth had been. In 1874 the whites organized themselves for their protection under the style of the White League. Their attempt to arm themselves led to a bloody battle at New Orleans, in which 40 people were killed and 100 wounded. Immediately afterwards Kellogg was overthrown; but he was re-seated by the Federal forces. At the 1874 elections the Democratic whites again swept the State; but Warmoth's cunningly devised Returning Board, which still existed, neutralised the results by summarily rejecting nearly half the successful opposition candidates, and by thus manufacturing another Republican Legislature. Indeed, a number of Democratic members of the House were actually arrested by Federal troops. A Congressional Committee, it is true, afterwards recognized the illegality of these acts, and reinstated a majority of the Democrats, but the policy of the Committee did not reconcile the State with Kellogg and with his numerous other enormities. For example, the Governor illegally arrested between 500 and 600 persons at various times, generally on blank warrants; and in every instance in which any of these cases were investigated in Court the charges were dismissed.

“The struggle of 1874 had not satisfied Kellogg that there was a point beyond which he should not go in his requests for Federal assistance. He determined to make further requests, with a view to securely entrenching his party during the elections of 1876. Once more, however, and in spite of wholesale bribery on the other side, the Democrats swept the State; and again the results were neutralized by the operations of the old infamous Returning Board. Renewed anarchy with two Governors and two Governments followed. One Government, that of Packard, the Republican leader, was unable, nevertheless, to exercise even a vestige of authority outside the State House, which, crowded with people, lay in a state of siege, in spite of the fact that small-pox had broken out there.

“Packard waited for the active Federal support which had never been refused to Kellogg, but he waited in vain; and when, after months of hesitation, the president withdrew the national troops, Packard and his Government collapsed. Governor Nicholls, a Democrat, then assumed full authority, and from that day Louisiana has formed part of the solid Democratic South.

“And here let it not be forgotten that public gambling and public lotteries owed their establishment in Louisiana to Warmoth. The gambling has since been abolished; the Louisiana lottery, owing to its having been granted a twenty-five years charter, still exists to remind the world of the evil methods of the periods of reconstruction.

“Warmoth himself said of the Legislature which he had caused to be elected in 1870:—‘There is but one honest man in it,’ and to a delegation he cynically remarked: ‘Corruption is the fashion; I do not pretend to be honest; I am as honest as anyone in politics.’”

This, then, was the miserable condition of the Southern States included within the limits of the Black belt. The condition of affairs in the other States was no better.

Mississippi, Alabama, North and South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, all had the same story of the effects of negro domination. It is important to bear in mind that these men were not recent importations from African savagery. They were men upon whom missionaries and enthusiastic philanthropists had lavished education, they had lived in America for generations and had long been removed from the environment of their African homes; but no sooner were they exposed to the temptations of freedom, than they began to fall back into all the savagery of their original life. The forced hot-house plant was unable to stand the weather. White domination in politics has been reasserted in the Southern States because it was impossible for things to continue as they were; but white rule is retained only by resort to electioneering tricks and devices which would be inexecutable were they not forced upon the populace by the circumstances.

But it is not only in politics that the negro of America demonstrates the futility of the attempt to force the growth of his intellect. Notwithstanding his long residence in the States, his contact with civilization, and his separation from the heathendom of his forefathers, there is a constant tendency to revert to the practices of Voodooism with all its nameless horrors and ills, its cannibalism and its brutality.

But not only in the United States is this so. The history of Hayti with its Black Republic, its revolutions, its superstition, its rampant immorality, its cannibalism and nameless crimes, furnishes a more potent argument; and again I borrow from the writings of one who has studied the people

on the spot. Sir Spenser St. John, in the introduction to his book on "Hayti or the Black Republic," says :—

"I have dwelt above thirty-five years among coloured people of various races, and am sensible of no prejudice against them.

"For twelve years I lived in familiar and kindly intercourse with Haytians of all ranks and shades of colour, and the most frequent and not least honoured guests at my table were of the black and coloured races.

"All who knew me in Hayti know that I had no prejudice of colour ; and if I place the Haytian in general in an unenviable light, it is from a strong conviction that it is necessary to describe the people as they are, and not as one would wish them to be. The band of black and coloured friends who gathered round me during my residence in Port-au-Prince were not free from many of the faults which I have been obliged to censure in describing these different sections of the population, but they had them in a lesser degree, or as I was really attached to them, I perhaps saw them in a dimmer light.

"The most difficult chapter to write was that on 'Vaudoux Worship and Cannibalism.' I have endeavoured to paint it in the least sombre colours, and none who know the country will think that I have exaggerated ; in fact, had I listened to the testimony of many experienced residents, I should have described rites at which dozens of human victims were sacrificed at a time. Everything I have related has been founded on evidence collected in Hayti, from Haytian official documents, from trustworthy officers of the Haytian Government, my foreign colleagues, and from respectable residents, principally, however, from Haytian sources.

"It may be suggested that I am referring to the past. On the contrary, I am informed that at present cannibalism is more rampant than ever. A Black Government dares not greatly interfere, as its power is founded on the goodwill of the masses, ignorant and deeply tainted with fetish worship. A Haytian writer recently remarked in print : 'On se plaisait beaucoup de ce que le Vandoux a reparu grandiose et sérieux.' The fetish dances were forbidden by decree under the Government of President Boisrond-Canal. That decree has since been repealed, and high officers now attend these meetings, and distribute money and applaud the most frantic excesses.

"President Solomon, who is now in power, lived for eighteen years in Europe, married a white, and knows what civilization is. He probably on his first advent to the Presidency possessed sufficient influence in the country to have checked the open manifestations of this barbarous worship ; but the fate of those of his predecessors who attempted to grapple with the evil was not encouraging. It was hoped, however, that he would make the attempt, and that grasping the nettle with resolution he might suffer no evil results ; but many doubted not only his courage to undertake the task, but even the will ; and they, I fear, have judged correctly. Whenever all the documents which exist on this subject are published, my

chapter on Cannibalism will be looked upon but as a pale reflection of the reality.

"With regard to the history of the country, materials abound for writing a very full one, but I do not think it will prove interesting to the general reader. It is but a series of plots and revolutions, followed by barbarous military executions. A destructive and exhaustive war with Santo Domingo, and civil strife during the Presidency of General Salnave, did more to ruin the resources of the country than any amount of bad government.

"The enforced abandonment of work by the people called to arms by the contending parties, introduced habits of idleness and rapine which have continued to the present day; and the material losses, by the destruction of the best estates and the burning of towns and villages, have never been fully repaired.

"From the overthrow of President Geffrard in 1876 the country has been more rapidly going to ruin. The fall was slightly checked during the quiet Presidency of Nissage-Saget; but the Government of General Dominique amply made up for lost time, and was one of the worst, if not the worst, that Hayti had ever seen. With the sectaries of the Vaudoux in power, nothing else could have been expected."

So too in San Domingo. Here is an extract from the book of Mr. J. A. Froude on the English in the West Indies:

"Morals in the technical sense they have none. A religion which will keep the West Indian blacks from falling back into devil worship is still to seek. In spite of schools and missionaries, 70 per cent. of the children now born among them are illegitimate. Behind the religiosity, there lies active and alive the horrible revival of the Western African superstitions; the serpent worship, and the child sacrifice, and the cannibalism. The facts are notorious. There is no sign, not the slightest, that the generality of the race are improving either in intelligence or moral habits; all the evidence is the other way. Ninety years of Negro self-government have had their use in showing what it really means. . . . The movement is backward, not forward."

Here again we have a people, notwithstanding their removal many thousands of miles from their natural environment, notwithstanding the complete severance of all ties which bound them to the lives of their forefathers, notwithstanding the establishment of Christianity which became the universal religion amongst them, rapidly falling back to their original condition. Heredity was too strong.

Again the hot-house plant withers and dies. Nature rebels. She refuses to operate by any other than her own methods. She refuses to evolve the advanced intellect save by her own slow and sure process.

The student of the South African native character will readily see in all this precisely the characteristics of the other branches of the "Bantu" stock. The native's antipathy to work is acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of the land; indeed, the fact that in Natal, out of a native population of half-a-million, it is impossible to command sufficient labour to work a few small industries without importing that labour from a country thousands of miles away, affords proof which is conclusive.

The enquirer will also recall the readiness with which natives, upon whose education much care has been lavished, relapse into barbarity. The last report issued from Lovedale, the greatest native educational centre in South Africa, bears witness to the fact. I print a cutting from a church newspaper in Natal edited by a clergyman who is also very deeply concerned in the education of natives, which unwittingly admits the fact:—

"S. Agnes' Home.—Four of the girls of this Home were baptised at S. Marks, on Sunday, March 4th, and confirmed on Tuesday, the 13th, at S. Mary's. Your prayers are asked that strength may be vouchsafed to them to withstand every temptation to fall back into heathenism."

Canon Widdicombe, a South African Missionary, in his interesting book on Basutoland, says:—

"From time to time numbers of the younger men leave their homes and go away to the Diamond Fields or the Goldfields, to work in the mines for periods of six months or a year, hoping to save sufficient money out of their earnings wherewith to procure the much coveted rifle, or the still more coveted wife. It is to be feared that these poor fellows learn more of the vices of civilization than its virtues. They return to their homes with their wits sharpened, and their cunning developed, but also in most instances with constitutions enfeebled and habits more depraved than ever.

"What added to the misery of the situation all round was that drunkenness was rife throughout the land. For several years past the great majority of chiefs and people have given themselves up to it, until it bid fair to be the destruction of the tribe. The strongest and vilest 'Cape smoke,' we used to call it 'kill at forty yards,' was daily smuggled into the country by unprincipled white men, both Dutch and English, and a whole string of illicit grog shops and canteens existed along the border.

"Some of the chiefs, and many of the people, drank themselves to death. It was no uncommon thing to see a native take a whole bottle of brandy, and drink it off, raw as it was, in less than a quarter of an hour.

“Some of the people took to mixing the spirit with their joala, drinking large draughts of the villainous compound, which maddened and poisoned them at the same time. Ten years of such excesses would, I think, have gone far to destroy the nation, and a people of less splendid physique would have suffered from them much more than the Basutos did. Of course, there were not wanting cynical white men with no faith, no principle, and no bowels of compassion, who looked on with indifference, or even gloated over this condition of things. ‘Let the niggers drink themselves to death,’ was their cry. ‘It is the best thing that could happen to the country and to ourselves.’ But the vast majority of the colonists and the Free State burghers regarded the sight with very different feelings. They were profoundly distressed at the spectacle of such a promising people as the Basutos going headlong to destruction.”

The history of Liberia is a repetition of that of San Domingo and Hayti. It would be wearisome to reproduce here extracts from authorities, but those who desire to study the subject are referred to Cameron’s book on the West Coast of Africa.

So far back as 1837, the British House of Commons appointed a select Committee to investigate the general question of the effects of the introduction of civilization to barbarous countries, and it is interesting to notice that Mr. Gladstone, then an apprentice to Parliamentary life, subsequently became a member of the Committee.

The following questions and answers shew us what careful observation had even then proved :—

“QUESTION TO MR. COATES.—In the first place, is it your opinion that European contact with Native inhabitants, always excepting the cases in which missions have been established, tends to deteriorate the morals of the natives?

“ANSWER.—Yes.

“QUESTION TO MR. BEECHAM.—Do you concur in that opinion?

“ANSWER.—Yes.

“QUESTION TO MR. ELLIS.—Do you concur in that opinion?

“ANSWER.—Certainly.

“QUESTION.—Does it tend to introduce European vices?

“The three witnesses replied ‘Yes.’

“QUESTION.—Does it tend to spread amongst them new and dangerous diseases?

“The three witnesses replied ‘Yes.’

“QUESTION.—Does it tend to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits?

“The three witnesses replied ‘Yes.’

“QUESTION.—To the seduction of native females?”

“The three witnesses answered ‘Yes.’

“QUESTION.—To the decrease of the population?”

“The three witnesses answered ‘Yes.’

“QUESTION.—Does it tend to impede that civilization which, if Europeans conducted themselves, might be introduced?”

“The three witnesses emphatically replied in the affirmative.

“QUESTION.—The same as to education?”

“The three witnesses answered ‘Yes.’

“QUESTION.—The same as to commerce?”

“The three witnesses answered ‘Yes.’

“QUESTION.—It is generally your opinion that the effect of European intercourse, save where missions have been established, has upon the whole hitherto been a calamity upon the native and savage races whom we have visited?”

“The three witnesses concurred that it had.”

It will be observed that these witnesses erroneously attributed the decay of the aborigines to the absence of a Christianizing influence. We have seen that their conclusion is erroneous, as the history of Hayti and the Southern States, notwithstanding the influence of Christianity, proves. In their enthusiasm they were unable to recognise that they were in conflict with nature the moment they attempted to raise the aborigines by any other than nature's methods, and they erroneously attributed to the absence of Christianity, that which was due to natural causes.

Mr. Laird Clowes says:—

“Education is a supposed panacea that has been more widely advocated; and amongst its ablest champions is Judge Fourgée. But education, although it may in time civilize and soften the more naturally intelligent of the coloured people, will, I am convinced, do very little for the pure blooded negro, the man with the facial angle of about 70 deg. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and you cannot make a Solon out of a person with an unsuitably constructed head. Coloured people and blacks in the South have now for quite twenty years been more or less subjected to the influences of education. Almost anyone who may have so desired has been able during that period, and indeed for a longer time, to obtain instruction of all kinds—technical, linguistic, mathematical, scientific, and philosophical, as well as elementary. In fact, there is in the South even less practical difficulty in the way of the poor negro of genius, if such a being exist, than in the way of the poor white of genius; for philanthropic people have established free colleges and schools for him, and stand ready to give him all possible encouragement to persevere and make a name and

a fortune. Yet in spite of this the pure blooded negroes who have come to the front in any way may be counted on one's fingers—perhaps on the fingers of one hand. A greater number of coloured people—mulattoes and crossbreeds of various tinctures—have profitted by the opportunities given. Among these one of the most noteworthy is Mr. B. K. Bruce of Mississippi in his boyhood, subsequently removing to Missouri, but returning in 1869. His education was limited, and while following the occupation of a planter he held the position of Sergeant-at-arms of the State Senate for two years, Sheriff and tax collector of Bolivar County for four years, a Levee Commissioner for three years, and was elected U. S. Senate in 1875. He now holds a responsible Government post at Washington. Another notable coloured man is Mr. F. Douglass, who is many times mentioned in these pages, and who is now United States Minister to Hayti. He had previously been one of the San Domingo Commissioners, was a trustee of the Howard University and of the Freedmans Bank, and was appointed United States Marshal for the District of Columbia by President Hayes, and Recorder of Deeds for the district by President Garfield. He is the fourth coloured Minister to Hayti, his predecessors having been Messrs. E. D. Bassett, J. W. Langston, and J. E. W. Thompson.

“Mr. R. B. Elliot, who was born at Boston and educated in England, has held several high positions in South Carolina, including a seat in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congress, which he resigned.

“Mr. Pinchback, Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana, who afterwards contested a seat in the Senate, is another leader of the coloured men.

“But these are not the individuals with the negro facial angle and the full negro characteristics, neither do they form the majority of the negro and negroid population.

“Moreover, they are, I am assured, decreasing in numbers, and though more intelligent than the pure blacks, are, as a general rule, even less desirable as citizens. But of this later. Suffice it to say that education has not produced such results as might fairly be expected from it; and that the educated man of colour, if severed from white influence and stimulus, seems to evince an ineradicable tendency to ‘hark bark’ to the vices, superstitions, and the weaknesses of his ancestors; while as I have already said, education does not abolish race prejudice, and scarcely ameliorates it.

“The educated black becomes doubly conscious of the contempt in which the whites hold him and his race; while the white looks upon the black as a doubly dangerous rival and possible enemy. In the meantime, with every scrap of education that he assimilates, the black imbibes increased anxiety to assume that position as a citizen which the white is above all things determined that the coloured man shall never hold in the South.

“Even the *Boston Transcript*, a Northern paper, recognises this fact. ‘We have always said,’ it declares, ‘that the very improvement of the negroes’ condition socially makes worse the prospect of quieting down that

burning question. Naturally the more they get the more they want, and the more they will have, too. The only logical position was to keep them slaves. Once citizens they have as good a right as anybody to ride in your pullman, or sit in your theatre or restaurant, sleep in your hotel or live in your street or block. Lack of money is all that intervenes at present, and that will not always.' ”

And Dr. M. S. Smith, D.D., of Columbia, South Carolina writing in the *Presbyterian Quarterly* for October, 1889, takes the same view. His conclusions are thus summed up by the *Raleigh State Chronicle* :—

“The patent panacea for all negro defects, education, does not mend matters in the least; an educated negro is just as much negro as before, just the same raw hide volume with the incongruous addition of a gilt edge; but he is only a little more aggressively offensive than his less ornate brother. Social complications are not at all lessened by education, nor mitigated by light complexions either.”

In 1892 the Council of Education of the Colony of Natal appointed a special Committee to consider the general question of Native education, and in the report brought up by that body (valueless by reason of the narrow view taken of the whole question), the following admission is made :—

“To insist upon manual and industrial work as required by the Government would simply mean the closing of nearly all the schools in the Colony.”

The admission is of greater value because it is made by persons of pronounced views who strongly support native education.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHANCES OF NEGRO SURVIVAL.

I HAVE now arrived at that part of my subject which necessitates the consideration of the chances of the ultimate survival of the “Bantu” stock—a question of vital importance in the consideration of this subject.

If the native by sheer force of numbers is ultimately to swamp the white man so that he is driven out of the

country, it is idle to occupy ourselves with the solution of a problem of which the happening of that event will in itself be the solution.

I shall therefore discuss in this chapter this question of survival.

The experience of history in modern times shews that wherever the Caucasian has become the dominant race, the aborigines of the countries which have fallen under that power, have become or are rapidly becoming extinct. We have already seen that so far back as the third decade of this century, it was proved before a select Committee of the House of Commons, that contact with civilization tended to destroy the aborigines, and we have had the experience of history in the cases of the Sandwich Islands, Australian, New Zealand, and American aborigines, all of whom are disappearing.

It is worthy of notice that while the negro was thriving and multiplying in North America the Red Indian was dying out. The reason for this is attributable, not to any innate superiority in the negro constitution, but as we have already seen, to the fact that he was a slave while the Red Indian was free. He was protected against himself. He was kept in segregated cantons, and it was to the interest of the white man to preserve and keep him healthy, to provide him with all the coadjuvancy for successful breeding, just as it was to his interest to provide for his cattle in the same way. He accordingly thrived though in a foreign clime, while the Red Indian on his own soil was disappearing. It would have been surprizing had it been otherwise. Slavery was, however, abolished in 1865, but not before the Negro population numbered millions.

The emancipation of the slave is of too recent a date to allow of any final decision as to its ultimate effect on the Negro population, but those who predicted disastrous results have ground for saying that there are indications already of the truth of their view. The first effect apparently has been to put an end abruptly to miscegenation, or the union of persons of different colors. Mr. Laird Clowes found, as the result of personal observation in the United States, that in nine hundred and ninety nine

cases out of a thousand the mulatto was of illegitimate birth, and in ninety nine cases out of a hundred, except in Louisiana, he is a person no longer a minor. This testimony and other facts which would unduly prolong this paper if produced here, destroy the theory of the ultimate fusion of the white and black races.

The same writer in dealing with the Negro as he is, says :—

“Squalid dwellings in filthy neighbourhoods, impure air, dirty water, neglect of personal cleanliness, immorality, extensive meat consumption without vegetable diet to match, and gregarious and generally unsavoury habits, induce a black mortality which, at least in the large centres, is enormous, and is particularly noticeable under the heads of consumption, pneumonia and scrofula.”

In Charlestown in 1884 the death rate of the negro was 1 in 22, while that of the white man was 1 in 42 ; in 1888 it was 1 in 21 for the negro and 1 in 46 for the white. For the week ending 9th March, 1889, the death rate for New Orleans was :—whites 14·13, blacks 30·03 per 1000. The infant mortality is even more remarkable.

The Rev. Dr. Tucker says :—

“In all the country districts the removal of the restraints of slavery, such as they were, has resulted in an open abandonment of every semblance of morality and the loss almost of the idea of marriage. Why in one county of Mississippi there were in twelve months 300 marriage licenses taken out in the County Clerk's Office for white people.”

“According to the proportion of population, there should have been in the same time 1,200 or more for negroes. There can be no legal marriage of any sort in Mississippi without a license. There were actually taken out by coloured people just three.”

“Soon after the war the Legislature passed an Act legalising the union of all who were then living together, marrying them whether they wished it or not ; and for years afterwards the Courts were crowded with applications for divorce from coloured people, which mostly had to be granted, since there was ample cause for divorce under either the Divine or Statute Law. I know of whole neighbourhoods including hundreds of negro families, where there is not one single legally married couple, or couple not married who stay faithful to each other beyond a few months, or a few years at most ; often but a few weeks. And if out of every 500 negro families, one excepts a few dozen who are legally married, this statement will hold true for millions of coloured people, and these things I tell you to—

night are but hints, I cannot, I dare not, tell the full truth before a mixed audience."

Voodooism is said to exist to an alarming extent amongst the American negroes. This then is the condition of the negro in America, after barely a generation of freedom. The pace cannot last. While the natural fecundity of the race may keep it going a little longer than it would otherwise be able to, the conditions under which they live will inevitably tell in the long run and they will shortly begin to show a decrease in numbers. When this down grade is once commenced, they will fall off with increasing momentum as years advance.

We have already seen the state of things in Hayti and San Domingo. And so it will be in South Africa.

The native races in Natal are now forcibly protected against themselves. Severe laws prohibit the supply of alcohol to them. Offences against chastity, notwithstanding the consent of both parties, are severely dealt with as crimes, under their own Government the penalty being death. Local legislation prohibits natives using the public streets after a certain hour at night. Remove these and the many other restrictions placed on the native's freedom (and you will have to remove them sooner or later) and you have nothing left to restrain him. He cares nought for public opinion, and religion exercises no influence upon him. The restraints will have to be removed, because the native as he begins, under the guidance of misdirected teachers, to feel his feet, will demand and will have, the franchise, and the first thing he will do will be to place himself upon an equality with the white man by removing all restrictions upon his freedom, the probable result being a black Parliament in Natal. He will get his freedom, but it will kill him, as it is killing his brother in America.

A comparison of the Cape census returns of 1891 with those of 1875, will show that the process of extermination of the blacks has already commenced in that Colony, due probably to the unrestricted supply of alcohol, of which drug, it is important to observe that the native has apparently an inborn taste.

Mr. Pearson in his book on "National Life and Character" has shewn, and experience proves, that the industrial habits of a race rather than climatic conditions, determine the question of its survival. The South African native, like his brother in the United States, is without any trace of the characteristics of industry.

It is not possible to point to one single industry which has ever been fostered by him. He will not work. The burden of the cry of Colonists has been the utter futility of efforts to induce the native population to work. In Natal alone, as we have already seen, notwithstanding the bounty of nature, notwithstanding every natural advantage, it has been found impossible to develop the few industries white enterprize has started in the country without importing labour from India to the extent of 50,000 souls, while half a million natives look on and loiter away their days in sensuality and sloth. Administrators of native law in Natal agree and our hospital returns demonstrate the remarkable growth of vice and disease amongst the native population. Owing to the absence of any system of registration it is impossible to give statistics of birth and death rates, and any observations on that subject would be conjectural only.

We have seen then by the experience of other countries, by the operation of the universal rule when a high form of civilization is brought suddenly into contact with a low form of human life, and by the indications around us, that the native of South Africa, in obedience to a natural law, will probably become extinct in that portion at any rate of the continent which can be occupied by the white man. The process will be a slow one and it may not commence for some time. Its commencement will date from the time that education has shewn him how he may place himself upon a political equality with the white man, and secure to himself the freedom from restraint and the free-will enjoyed by the white man.

I print here an extract from a native newspaper published by a Missionary in Pietermaritzburg on the 27th April, 1894:—

“WHAT I HEARD, SAW, AND THOUGHT.—I made it my duty last Saturday to take a walk round the city, and to visit the homes of the better class of my people as well as the dens of the lower, and I was much struck by the contrast.

“What surprised me, perhaps, more than anything else, was the deplorable fact that so many of my people are openly violating the institution of marriage, treating it as if it had been instituted by man and not by God.

“I could not help thinking that the Government is much to blame for allowing the natives to live in a Christian city as they dare not live under their heathen chiefs. Is it not so?”

This unconscious admission is valuable inasmuch as it indicates the deterioration of native morality the moment the native is removed from the restraint of his own severe laws, and the environment of his secluded life in segregated hamlets. Civilization brings congregation; congregation brings immorality; immorality brings destruction. A member of the Natal Parliament, whose opportunities for observation entitle his opinion to great weight, informed me in May 1894 that the spread of disease amongst the natives in the northern portion of Natal is assuming an alarming phase. His words were “There is hardly a kraal in the neighbourhood where you do not see children in all stages of syphilitic taint.” And so with regard to the recent outbreak of small-pox in South Africa. The disease has been confined exclusively to the native population, and not a single white person has suffered up to this date (May 1894). There are not wanting medical men who deny that the disease now ravaging the natives is small-pox. It is confidently asserted by them that it is a new form of disease, much resembling small-pox, but distinctly syphilitic.

The following is an extract from a letter signed “Priest” and appearing in the issue of the 15th May, 1894, of a Church paper called the *Southern Cross*, published at Port Elizabeth. The letter is a reply to a letter of a native convert to Christianity who complained that the chalice was withheld from native communications:—

“There is, however, another reason which in some places might make the practice advisable. It is a fact, I am grieved to say, that some of the native communicants, instead of taking the usual sip of the sacred element,

have the irreverent audacity to try and take all they can. The celebrant can best guard against this by retaining his grasp on the chalice."

The bald fact that the native population of Natal has increased during the last twenty years, proves nothing except that that increase is mainly due to immigration from Zululand and Pondoland, and that civilization has not yet proceeded far enough to do more than affect those natives who have been brought into actual contact with it.

This branch of our enquiry would be deficient unless the chances of the white man's power to withstand climatic and other conditions were also considered. It is important to bear in mind that the naked fact that South Africa lies near the Tropics is not of itself any impediment to his vigor. The altitude and other physical features of the country will determine this question. It has been established that the white man will live and thrive in South Africa in those portions lying between the 16th and 33rd degree of longitude east of Greenwich, and south of the 16th degree south latitude. This portion embraces the whole of that which is included under the general term "South Africa," save the coast line north of Delagoa Bay on the east, and north of the mouth of the Orange River on the west.

It still remains to be proved that the white man will be able to withstand the ravages of fever on these coasts, but as the draining of marshes and the removal of decaying sea deposit progress, it is seen that the coast line is becoming more healthy. Malaria exists in most new countries, and it is said to have existed in a virulent form where New York now stands. It once existed in a very severe type at Kimberley in South Africa, but with the adoption of sanitary reform, it has disappeared. We have seen, then, that nearly the whole of South Africa is adapted to occupation by the white man, and it would be surprising to find it otherwise, having regard to the fact that it lies within the same degrees of south latitude as Australia and the Argentine Republic, and that nearly the whole of it stands at great height above the sea level. Botha's Hill, a station in Natal only about 20 miles from the coast in a direct line, stands 2,400 feet above sea level, and nowhere in Natal does the

country fall to a lower level than 1,500 feet within 20 miles of the coast.

The average altitude of the Free State is 5000 feet, that of the Transvaal is 4,500 feet, and so on. The height of Snowdon in England is only 3,570 feet.

South Africa, as a health resort, is much favoured by European consumptives, and, in short, the climate is universally acknowledged to be eminently suitable to the constitution of the white man.

I cannot more fittingly close this chapter than by quoting Darwin :—

“When civilized nations come into contact with barbarians the struggle is short, except where a deadly climate gives its aid to the native race. Of the causes which lead to the victory of civilized nations, some are plain and simple, others complex and obscure. We can see that the cultivation of the land will be fatal in many ways to savages, for they cannot or will not change their habits. New diseases and vices have in some cases proved highly destructive; and it appears that a new disease often causes much death, until those who are most susceptible to its destructive influence are gradually weeded out; and so it may be with the evil effects from spirituous liquors, as well as with the unconquerably strong taste for them shewn by so many savages. It further appears, mysterious as is the fact, that the first meeting of distinct and separated people generates disease. Mr. Sproat, who in Vancouver Island closely attended to the subject of extinction, believed that changed habits of life, consequent on the advent of Europeans, induces much ill health. He lays, also, great stress on the apparently trifling cause that the natives become ‘bewildered and dull by the new life around them; they lose the motives for exertion, and get no new ones in their place.’

“The grade of their civilization seems to be a most important element in the success of competing nations. A few centuries ago Europe feared the inroads of Eastern barbarians; now any such fear would be ridiculous. It is a more curious fact, as Mr. Bagehot has remarked, that savages did not formerly waste away before the classical nations, as they now do before modern civilized nations; had they done so, the old moralists would have mused over the event; but there is no lament in any writer of that period over the perishing barbarians. The most potent of all the causes of extinction appears in many cases to be lessened fertility and ill-health, especially amongst the children, arising from changed conditions of life, notwithstanding that the new conditions may not be injurious in themselves.”

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

EMBRACING technical education; education generally, the effect upon the native, the effect upon the European population, the effect that removal of European population will have upon the native by removal of the civilising motor; and lastly, the means to be taken to avoid these results.

We have seen then the reasons operating in favour of the following conclusions:—

1. The negro cannot be raised by education to the level fitting him for self government.
2. Wherever he has become master, he has failed.
3. He will probably eventually become extinct.

Let us now endeavour to apply these conclusions in considering the direction legislation on this subject ought to take in South Africa.

The technical education, or education in handicrafts, of the native population, has been attempted without success in the Cape Colony and in Natal. The Natal Legislature in 1856 enacted a law making this a necessary portion of the curriculum in State aided native schools. In Natal, out of a native population of half a million, there are probably three thousand who can read and write in an elementary way. This, however, is purely conjecture, as there are no statistics to refer to. The Colony has spent a large sum in maintaining schools and providing means of education for the natives, and the experiment of establishing a school of industry and learning in the midst of a thickly populated native location at the Zwaartkop was tried. The results have been most discouraging, and the Zwaartkop school was closed. Private enterprise with State assistance has been a little more successful, but even here the results

have been disappointing. Perseverance, however, will result probably in the production of a few native mechanics and clerks. Let us suppose, for the sake of our argument, that there were eventually turned out five thousand native mechanics. The demand for mechanical labour being limited, and the native mechanic being able to live at a cheaper rate than the European, the probable result would be the expulsion of an equal number of white mechanics, as has happened in the United States. You will have educated 5,000 natives to a point which will enable them to oust 5,000 white men, but you have not educated enough to leaven the mass of degeneracy represented by the remaining 495,000 natives in Natal. Double the figures; treble them; and you are in the same position. Every white man is in himself a missionary. What then have you done? You have ousted a civilizing influence represented by 5,000 missionaries, and replaced it by the influence of 5,000 negroes ever ready to return to their degeneracy. Carry the same experiment into other walks of life. Educate them for clerkships, and the result is the same. Educate them for professions, and you will have the same result. Carry out your scheme in its entirety, and you will make competition so keen that the white man, with his greater wants engendered by his civilization, will be obliged to leave the country. It will then become a black State, probably another Hayti or Liberia. The Government will pass into the hands of the natives with the dire results seen in other countries. Then will commence the down rush. The natives will have lost their own rude system of Government with its iron rule; it will be impossible for them to revert to the system of Government obtaining before they came into contact with the white man, with its severe checks upon vice; they will have learnt the use of alcohol and the means of producing it; they will have greedily swallowed all the vices which civilization brings in its train without learning its virtues; anarchy will prevail in political matters; and disease and death will decimate them as it is doing elsewhere.

It must be remembered that history has shewn us, as nature in all her operations shews us, that the negro is not

yet physically fitted for civilization. It has come upon him with a rush before he is prepared by natural evolution for it. Half civilize a Caucasian and the impetus given continues; half civilize a Negro, and the impetus dies the moment the motor is withdrawn. The policy then of educating the natives in handicrafts and professions will result :—

1. In the expulsion of white working men and professional men from the Colony who will find it impossible to compete.
2. The consequent loss of the civilizing influence thus represented.
3. The passing of the reins of Government into the hands of the native.
4. The consequent removal of existing restrictions upon the supply of alcohol and the gratification of the senses.
5. Misrule and anarchy followed by decimation and extinction.

So that by educating the native you have been guilty of an injustice to the white man by taxing him to provide funds for the purpose of raising a competition against himself and so ousting him from the country, and you have been guilty of an injustice to the native by forcing upon his race a civilization which has involved misery and death to him.

What then? How is the question to be dealt with? I shall conclude this paper by indicating the direction which I think legislation ought to take in order to preserve the native from extinction as long as possible, without working an injustice to the white man. The whole thing comes to this:—keep him in the place to which nature has assigned him. If he is eventually to survive the white man, nature will, by her own sure and slow means, prepare his intellect by a process occupying perhaps a thousand years or more. If he is not to survive the white man, do not, by forcing upon him an education and political freedom

which he does not want and is not fitted for, make the last days of the great "Bantu" stock, days of misery and unspeakable horrors.

The adoption of this line of Government is within the range of practical politics. All legislation having for its object the raising of the native to an equality with the white man, ought to be avoided.

Education, pure and simple, ought to be withheld from him. Whether or not he should be taught Christianity, is a question outside the scope of this paper. I do not think it will affect the issue much one way or the other; but in any case, it is a question with which the State can have nothing to do. In order to *assist* nature, but not to *force* her, let the native intellect be trained by the system which commences at the bottom of the social scale. Force him to work as an agricultural labourer. That force can be exerted by the application of indirect pressure, by increasing his wants and taxing his luxuries. One of those luxuries is the plurality of wives, another is his beer, another is to be found in his assegais, beads, and other reminders to him of his savagery. Tax all these and tax the round hut, exempting those who take to houses. The establishment of agricultural schools with a view to encourage the culture of the soil would be of more lasting and telling effect than all the book-learning and training in handicrafts which could be given them.

Thus, by conforming our line of policy with the operations of nature, we shall gradually lead the "Bantu" race onwards in the scale of civilization, if happily, my prediction of its ultimate extinction be a false one.

