full weight of its authority, all such preposterous notions as equality between Europeans and Natives. Equality is a state of affairs which, at the present stage of evolution, should not even be dreamt of. It is an unnatural condition between people so utterly dissimilar in civilisation. The fact of the establishment of the Council as the authoritative and principal channel of communication between the Natives and the Government would reduce the desire for representation in Parliament. There would then exist no sufficient reason why the former should be given the franchise, no matter what their qualifications might be (except in extreme cases where these might be made difficult and exacting) and the Council, being constituted in accordance with Native idea, and composed, to begin with at any rate, of the hereditary heads of the people, would, on its own account, tend to repel and smother among the masses any apparent desires there might be for the vote until the time shall in every way be ripe and expedient for conferring a privilege so foreign and extraordinary. The franchise should not be conceded. It is enough for many years to come, if the people be given an interest on the lines indicated in the conduct of their own affairs, lines which are simple and intelligible. In these circumstances, it may be expected that competition between Natives and Europeans, which already exists in various forms, will tend to disappear, the Natives being more and more convinced of the advantages of living under a system of life they know, rather than one they have only experienced for a comparatively brief period. By removing the sources of competition, the chances of friction and racial hatred would diminish ; moreover, the European would find less motive for introducing class legislation, which, in his own defence, he has in the past occasionally been tempted to do.

Over and beyond these material considerations, there stands out, even more prominently, a further advantage. There is no colonist of South Africa but has already been startled by the announcement that a so-called " Ethiopian movement " has been set on foot in our midst. The chief factor in this movement is undoubtedly the African Methodist Episcopal Church of America, that land where the negro is deliberately prevented from exercising the franchise rights conferred on him by law. The African Methodist Episcopal Church is a negro institution, existing entirely apart from the control or influence of European Churches—a fact significant in America but alarming in Africa, the home of the black man. This Church has already obtained official recognition in the Cape Colony, and, unless the position as it now stands is faced in a determined manner, it is probable the poison of segregation and racial strife will creep from place to place throughout the whole of this sub-continent, for the movement is nourished by a deep distrust of the coloured races in European government. It is obviously of such a character as cannot be stayed by Law or Proclamation. It leans on all modes of discontent, especially of the most obscure, most deep-seated and most general type. The more active we are in educating the Natives and causing them to discontinue their hereditary customs and habits, the more we prepare them, so far as I can see, for imbibing the undesirable influences of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which would otherwise find Africa as difficult a field for missionary work as our own missions have done. South Africa is, in my view, already a " fair " field for the Ethiopian Churches because of the deep discontent that lurks far and wide. I have seen this discontent in Natal, in Zululand, and in Swaziland, and I am convinced it will also be found wherever else in South Africa the Native is found. If no such step as that recommended be taken, the field instead of being " fair " will soon become " magnificent," and, when every Native comes to associate himself with such a Church, sociological and political organisation as it at bottom is, will he, under an entirely independent and uncontrollable banner, have irrevocably ranged himself. To a man he will begin to resist the white man, and the general peace of South Africa will be menaced. The African Methodist Episcopal Church holds no God-given charter to propagate a gospel of dissension between white and coloured—both of whom are God's creatures—whilst appearing to murmur the Gospel of Peace. If this natural antipathy between the two races of South Africa is not in some way overcome, and overcome in a plain and determined yet amicable and just spirit, these aggravating influences must of necessity continue to thrive and develop. And they may so develop until a set of circumstances is brought about in His Majesty's South African Colonies in equal complexity and intensity to those England was, in 1776, called on to face in respect to her " American Colonies." Our policy of drift and absolute lack of interest in Native affairs *must* come to an end. We *must* awake to and appreciate the position. We dream, but cannot be dreamers ever. The appointment of the Council would unquestionably be a concession, and a large concession, to the Natives. They may not think it adequate, but there is no reason why, if it succeeds, it should not be made more effective and useful. Such a concession is just of that kind which *will* give content. It will show that Native interests are held as precious in the eyes of the European as they certainly ought to be, and, after all is said and done, the best resistance that can be offered to the introduction of disturbing and even hostile ideas is to *endeavour* at least in some honest, active and far-reaching manner to make the people contented—and *now*. In no country more than in South Africa should we, when deciding on our policy, bear the future more steadily in view, for the stability of the Empire itself rests on the clearness of our vision now.

Why should I seek further to point out the advantages likely to result from following such a step as herein put forward ?

In viewing what is known as the Native Question, one has to take into account the state of affairs as it exists throughout South Africa. The fate, not of one, but of many nations is bound up in any policy that may be adopted. It is from a height only that we can properly survey the lot of these millions of unhappy peoples. Never before has any Power had to face the matter as England is now compelled to do. Never has any nation in the history of the world been called on to deal with an issue so tremendous in its magnitude and so pregnant of possible danger. This is not the time for puny speculative interference. It is not a time for patchwork, for fads and doubtful experiments. The good of the people is at stake, and that good, unless taken into account, will place our own good in jeopardy. If we legislate, let us follow nature ; there only are we on safe ground. The weft of our welfare must, at least to some extent, be woven into the warp of Native welfare to make one garment—one part white, the other part coloured, but still one. This problem, which sweeps from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Zambesi to the Southern Seas, does, I feel, demand something more than the shallow experience of witnesses who do not belong to the people, or of men who, if they belong to them, are no longer in sympathy with their traditional and connate ideas. It is large evidence we need, not such as, rooted in a narrow Now, is liable to be falsified by the changing circumstances of To-morrow. The occasion, I say, is a great and a profound one. Let, therefore, no stone be left unturned to go still further than this honourable Commission would appear to have it in mind to do. In dealing with so vast, so important a matter, we must rest our future action on the bedrock of truth, which we cannot get unless we seek for it, slowly, painstakingly and intelligently. It is necessary, in my view, for South Africa to rise to the occasion, and, realising the position, strive to do right to all manner of people. Let her be guided, not by blind and selfish, but by natural and rational instincts. Let her remember that, after all is said and done, it is the welfare of the people which is of the highest importance. If there are, in the present generation, clamours for labour to supply an industry paltry and fleeting when viewed in the right perspective, the cold perspective of say 50, 100 or 200 years, she must have courage and take that way her conscience commands. How very time-worn in these days do not those urgent demands for labour seem which were once probably heard in connection with Zimbabye and the other ancient diggings of Rhodesia ? Why, the only point of interest about those enterprising miners is the fact that they lived and got gold there, not the ounces they extracted or where the hardly-earned metal went to. Possibly, they too had a Chinese Ordinance, and imported Chinese ! The fact, however, remains that they and the whole of their enterprise, the very lands they no doubt held in freehold, as well as the buildings of stone erected thereon, together with their missionaries, have, to all intents and purposes, as far as we of these days are concerned, sunk into the ocean of time like drops of rain, unknelled, uncoffined and unknown. The people they came in contact with, however, remained to resume their former contented modes of existence. If, unlike our forbears, we, having settled in South Africa, have decided to live here *permanently*, then why, in dealing with what is evidently an eternal problem, should we treat it in terms of what is merely transient? What are the sordid riches of individuals and the temporary welfare of a heterogeneous multitude to the peremptory dislocation of the lives of millions of human beings and the consequent misery which, like a blight, must rest on them for ages ?

Apart from all this, we should try and look on the Native Question from the world's point of view. There comes a time when, like the Japanese, the coloured people of Africa will rise to a higher consciousness, and, when they do, they, remembering the suffering through which they have passed, will not only seek to set themselves free but endeavour to federate with, say, the negroes of America and other coloured races. Is it impossible for the Indians and Chinese we are introducing into South Africa to become in time a link between the Natives of Africa and those of Asia against the white man, whom they both appear to distrust ? Our policy should bear these things in mind. Have we not come to South Africa to hold it ? Our foundations, therefore, in these days, when we still have a free hand, whilst the Natives are still in darkness, whilst they are still tractable and impressionable, should be well and truly laid, and in such a way as to render undesirable the shaking-off of the yoke of our rule. Let us build confidently on a maxim which should be the golden rule of Empires that seek to stand for ever, namely, to act always in accordance with the desires of the people ; for these desires are true, they have their seat in the heart, and, followed, must tend to consolidation instead of to division and war.

It will be seen that no remarks have been offered on the several specific questions asked by the Commission. I have refrained for several reasons. The European of to-day, I may observe, has no actual experience of communal land tenure, of living under a tribal system, of being a polygamist ; consequently, his impressions are slight and faulty, and his deductions therefrom necessarily narrow, because not giving sufficient weight to all the factors.

It is for these reasons that I am silent, but it will be noticed I make it imperative that a thorough-going study of Native life shall be made, and only when we have *that*

evidence, collected in a trustworthy manner, can we be warranted in proposing changes whose future results we have not even the means of judging. "No doubt," as Bacon finely says, "the sovereignty of man lieth hid in knowledge, wherein many things are reserved, which kings with their treasure cannot buy nor with their force command." For knowledge, therefore, let us seek and seek truly.

I am, indeed, most tempted to say a few words about so interesting a subject as the land question, but, vital as it is, I must refrain. This, like many other aspects of the Native Problem, calls for the deepest and most thorough enquiry *by experts*, and on such information alone I think we should dare to bring about the series of changes that appear to be contemplated.

It is within the knowledge of all that Fourier, Owen and others proposed elaborate plans for the betterment of the people, all of which were based on the distribution of land. Each failed. Why ? Because the people found none of them practical. Are we in South Africa, taking advantage of servile races who dare not and know not as yet how to express their views, going to impose on them schemes which appear to *us* suitable, we who do not belong to and live the life of their civilisation and are not even Fouriers or Owens ? By what right do we seek to thrust socialistic and other nondescript schemes of land settlement on a people that is only silent because insufficient pains are taken to arrive at what they really do want, and what their innermost wishes are in these transcendently important affairs ?

Are we so sure that the principle of our own modes of land tenure is sound and in keeping with truth; that the current doctrines of socialism and communism, of Spencer, of George and others will not in time become dominant; that we, who are not even in the van of civilisation, may, with absolute complacency, sit down and "recommend" and "strongly recommend" the Government to bring about particular and far-reaching reforms ? Let no such procedure, I pray, be adopted. We, in these matters, are as children. We must wait and we must learn. If, for instance, the Glen Grey Act has been established as law, that is no reason whatever why a measure to some minds plausible, born of the imagination of a masterful millionaire, should be permitted to fire those of men to whose care the destiny of the coloured races of South Africa has to a considerable extent been entrusted. If what the Natives appreciate most in the Glen Grey Act is the management of their own local affairs, how much more would they not do so where the affairs are national instead of parochial ?

I recognise that the land question in Natal is in almost a hopeless condition. It demands serious and urgent attention, but the fact that no "cut-and-dried" remedy is put forward herein cannot be said to render ineffective the leading principle of this paper. It is on the proposed Native Council that I depend for a grappling with the prevailing complicated conditions for which it would be unjust to blame any particular Government, and, after full consideration of all the facts, I would look to them for advice as to the course that should be taken under the circumstances. Thus in regard to Natal, so also with each of the other Colonies. The conditions in each Colony are the accumulated results of years and years of so-called government, and if they are to be understood they should be probed into and carefully studied. It is the Imperial Government that is responsible for such principle of land settlement as is adopted, but I certainly do not think any decision should be come to on so very vital a matter until the voice of the Native people thereon has been heard and heard distinctly. If there be any virtue in the contention that the Native should be governed according to his own laws and customs and generally kept in his place, one of the best ways of defeating that object is to tamper in hasty and ill-considered ways with the position he should take up in regard to land.

To conclude. The object of the foregoing representations is to recommend the appointment at once or without undue delay of the Councils and Departments referred to as enduring institutions, institutions, which as time goes on, should, and, I believe, *would*, speak with growing authority, with the object of throwing on them the responsibility for investigating, discussing, and afterwards offering recommendations and suggestions. A Commission cannot possibly deal adequately with every phase in South Africa in interrupted or intermittent sittings extending over a brief and limited period of time. The safe and precious principle of allowing the people *themselves* to have an interest in, and to exercise an influence on, their own affairs, by all means with the advice, the indispensable advice of the European, should be the very pole-star of our procedure. *Vox populi, vox Dei.* The Natives and those who assist them would be guided by those conditions in each country with which they, having long and special knowledge, are infinitely more acquainted than all the members of a Commission composed entirely of Europeans can possibly be.

The occasion before us, though great, is perhaps not one of such extreme urgency that it cannot afford to wait for systematic and thorough-going treatment. The issues at stake are far too radical, too universal, too paramount, to be hurried over, and I urge that no steps whatever be taken until each portion of the South African Native Problem has been fully and carefully dealt with on the principles already laid down. "All delay is ungrateful, but we are unwise without it."

If the present Commission goes no further than to *prepare the way* for the solution of the many points that call for its consideration, rather than deliberately, on its own restricted and necessarily hurried investigations, actually *attempt* it, it would, I feel sure, earn the lasting gratitude of South Africa.

Should the foregoing suggestion meet with approval, it follows that, in order to bring about uniformity in Native policy throughout South Africa, it might be of advantage to appoint someone to watch the progress of the aborigines in its most general aspects. With such officer each Council would, of course, correspond, furnishing him with its reports, resolutions, etc. In that way he would be in a position to keep the High Commissioner and, through His Excellency, the Imperial Government in direct touch with the whole of South African Native politics, including the Ethiopian and analogous movements. The effect of this step would probably be to assist in the desired Federation of the Colonies.

In the Cape Colony, Transvaal, Orange River Colony, Rhodesia and Basutoland, I would take the same care as in the case of Natal in regard to the *personnel* of their Councils, and especially in the efficiency and suitability of the Europeans who preside. Where, as in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, the tribes have, for the most part, been broken up, I would not—because that has been done—take advantage of it, so to speak, but endeavour to re-constitute the people on the ancient natural foundations and so, by degrees, bring them into line with the rest of South Africa. I would also cease granting the franchise in the Cape Colony (but allow those at present possessing it to continue to enjoy their "legal" rights) on the ground that such measure is inconsistent with the dominant idea.

In closing, I trust I may be permitted to observe that, owing to the extreme importance of the subject of this paper, it has been impossible, in the pages to which I have felt it necessary to confine my remarks, to advance all such arguments in favour of the main proposal as were available. Much indeed remains unsaid, much, I fear, which has found far too poor an advocate. But as I cannot afford now, in the midst of other and exacting duties, to devote time sufficient for exhaustive treatment of the matter, I hope what has been said may be found to carry most of that sense which, in being invited to give evidence, I felt I would like to convey.

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