

The problem of the races in Africa / by Harriette E. Colenso.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE RACES IN AFRICA.

BY MISS HARRIETTE E. COLENZO.

A THOUGHTFUL paper by Lt. Col. Elsdale, R.E., in "the Asiatic Quarterly Review" for April, 1896, on "The problem of the races in Africa," which is also an interesting forecast of their future, has just been brought to my notice.* As in some sort I represent the Zulus—one of the leading African races—it seems due, if only in gratitude for the kindly interest which the paper shows, that I should notice certain points on which my reading of the facts is somewhat different, while it none the less supports Colonel Elsdale's argument.

First, however, to prevent misconception, I will mention points on which we disagree.

The vision of "a great South African Anglo-Dutch-Bantu Empire, comprising all the countries south of the Zambezi, and extending . . . north of it among the Bantu districts of equatorial Africa," is too distant and speculative to interest me keenly, whilst South Africa's experiences in 1877-1880, under a British official of high standing and long service in India, must always seriously discount the fascination of any suggestion for "a Governor-General of South Africa, to rule the whole country . . . on an Indian footing."†

* The paper had been republished in pamphlet form.—*Ed.*

† Colonel Elsdale suggests that Mr. Cecil Rhodes might be "the first Governor-General" under such an arrangement. This was written before such a suggestion had become—impossible. It was written, if not before, as Prime Minister of the principal British colony in South Africa, Mr. Rhodes had declared that "he preferred land to niggers," yet before the full significance of these words had been proved by the attempt to revive negro-slavery in that part of the British dominions in which he has been practically speaking, Governor" (see Mr. R. Maguire before Parliamentary Committee, *Times*, June 2, 1897) and before the other combination against Great Britain's true interests—the rising-cum-raid arrangement—had come to light, bringing home to at least one half of white South Africa the danger to themselves of Mr. Rhodes' policy.

The South African Empire is a distant speculation. What is of more immediate and vital importance is Colonel Elsdale's summary of evidence as to the present, and the less distant future for white and black in Africa. South Africa, it is pointed out, is "a century in advance of the rest of the continent," "having already been exploited by the English and Dutch under the most favourable conditions," and with "climatic conditions pre-eminently favourable to permanent white colonisation." It is shown that in the British and Dutch communities, with their outlying dependencies, "natives or coloured persons" number six to every white person, and are increasing rapidly, more rapidly than the whites, the "less prolific Aryans," can ever expect to do. It is rightly argued that "the future position of this vast mass of natives must mainly depend upon their courage, energy, and capacity as a race, and upon their capabilities for improvement and civilisation"; and the questions of their "fighting value," "working power," "mental capacity," etc., are then discussed.

The "fighting value of the Bantu races" I may well be content to leave where Colonel Elsdale puts it. Their "working-power" too he classes high, quoting *e.g.* Captain Lugard's "very high opinion of the natives for discipline and work," and endorsing it from his own experience. At the same time he observes that in idleness "lies at first sight the weak point of the African natives. Their forefathers for untold generations have been accustomed to lead an idle life for the most part, leaving a good deal of the hard work to the women, in a country and climate where very little real continuous labour from anyone was required to supply all their simple wants."

In Natal, in 1896, the census or estimate of the native population is 503,208. At a recent public meeting there, figures were quoted by a prominent colonist—and his statement does not appear to have been questioned—showing the number of Natal natives "employed in the colony and beyond it" to be 92,839. "Beyond the colony" means

for the most part "at Johannesburg," and while many of the "employed" are mere boys, and a very few of them women, the statement does not mean that the remainder of the native population are not supporting themselves by tilling their own crops (all paying hut-tax to Government and, many of them, rent to landlords as well)—but that the natives, men and boys, are actually *in service* to the number of nearly three-fourths of the adult males of the native population; "no inconsiderable proportion" is the Natal paper's comment.*

But suppose that the South African natives, generally, or in some quarters, are now becoming idle. Is such idleness really ingrained, or long established? On the contrary it seems to me that they have been accustomed, not certainly to grinding labour, but to an active, rather than slothful life. Apart from war, the last generation—perhaps in the older Cape districts the last but one—had plenty to do in keeping down lions, leopards, wild-dogs, and baboons, in hunting buffaloes, and elephants, occupations requiring all the energy, the patience, the endurance, in a word all the qualities which some of us rate so highly when the "big game hunter" happens to be of our own colour! Moreover, at all events among the Zulus, under the Zulu Kings, while the home crops were the women's affair, the king's crops were tilled by the young men (the "soldiers" as we call them, inaccurately, since they were rather a national militia); and the elder men and leaders had all the affairs of the people on their shoulders—those "affairs of their own" which they "are better able to manage than we can do it for them," though "they need our help in international matters, and in matters between white and black."† It may well be now, when from the young men the hunting even is gone or is fast going with the big game; and when to a great extent we are blindly taking from the elders and leaders the

* *Natal Witness*, April 10, 1897.

† Sir Marshall Clarke, K.C.M.G., at a meeting of the Aborigines' Protection Society, February 10, 1897; quoted from memory.

occupation of managing their own affairs, that a certain amount of "idleness" is inevitable. But I am as "firmly persuaded" as Colonel Elsdale that "the energy and capacity for work is in them, and only needs to be brought out." All that is wanted is a little sympathetic leading, as Colonel Elsdale's own experience shows.*

One word more as to idleness. Colonel Elsdale points out that when Europeans cannot get Africans to work the fault *may* lie with the Europeans. In this connection I may quote a lesson taught me by a Zulu. He was fresh from Zululand, just after the war of 1879, having hurried down on learning by a message from my father, that he might come to his brother, who was one of the only two wounded Zulus brought by the British army into the colony. On the wounded man's discharge from military hospital, my father gave him food and lodging while his brother worked to earn a pony on which to carry him home to Zululand. The work at first was clearing weeds in our shrubbery, and the first day, going out to inspect in the middle of the morning, I remarked, "How is it that I find so little done, and you sitting in the shade. I thought you Zulus were so vigorous?" To which he replied "Is it not the lady [myself] who delayed? Had she only told me of this overnight, I could have got it done before the sun began to scorch." That was true enough, and the fault in that case, the failure to make the best use of the means available, the willing Zulu, and the fresh cool morning hours, was mine, not his. He and a half brother earned the pony, and got their crippled brother home, a journey of about 100 miles. We

* Of heartless cruel driving we see the results in Matabeleland, and in Mashonaland. The natives there, it seems, are now starved before they will work for the white man. At the beginning of March the *Cape Times* correspondent at Salisbury tells us, "the police have this week destroyed a large area of native crops, *thus compelling the natives to come in and work submissively*" (*Cape Times*, March 12, 1897). And the London daily papers, e.g. of June 1, 3, and 14, show the same sort of thing going on in the Jubilee month, and in the Queen's dominions—not in those of some "irresponsible, savage despot."

had hoped at first that they might have had some little help from the fund raised in Natal for the benefit of those wounded in the Zulu War ; but a line was drawn at a wounded Zulu, though practically the only one.

"Courage and working-power," continues Colonel Elsdale, "are of little value without brains," and he proceeds to consider "the mental capacity of the native," quoting various "well-considered opinions of those who have been for years engaged in the practical work of teaching the natives, both in the Cape Colony and in Natal." On the whole, he says, it would appear that the [A]Bantu are a strong race, "as capable of education and civilisation as the Teuton. . . ."

But the opinions quoted all relate to Africans trained and educated by Europeans in European ways, with European advantages. And it seems to me that the political organization of the leading South African tribes affords another, and a not unimportant measure of their mental capacity, showing what progress they have already made in "social efficiency" without European assistance. On this point there is missing from Colonel Elsdale's list of authorities a very important document, the Report, in 1883, of the Cape Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs.*

This Commission reported of the "Aboriginal population generally" and especially of "the tribes inhabiting the eastern and frontier districts of the [Cape] Colony . . . and comprising broken clans of Natal and Zulu origin," that

"Among them a system of law has, for generations past, been uniformly recognized and administered. Although an 'unwritten law,' its principles and practice were widely understood, being mainly founded upon customary precedents, embodying the decisions of chiefs and councils of bye-gone days, handed down by oral tradition, and treasured in the memories of the people. This law took cognizance of certain crimes and offences ; it enforced certain civil rights and obligations ; it provided for the validity of polygamic marriages, and it secured succession

* [Cape Parl. Papers, G. 4—'83.]

to property and inheritance, according to simple and well-defined rules. The system was, to a great extent, created by and adapted to the conditions of a primitive, barbaric life, and, in some respects, it was not unlike that which prevailed among our Saxon ancestors. . . .*

"It appears that, although the chiefs have at times exercised despotic power to such an extent as to induce some witnesses to come to the conclusion that the will of the chief is law to his tribe, the power of making law does not in reality rest absolutely in the chief. The chief himself is subject to the laws in force when he assumed his chieftainship. . . . Mr. Orpen says that the laws of the Kafirs are not usually made by the chief and his councillors without reference to the people ; that the laws have all grown up among the people, and are only administered by the chief. That of . . . three laws altered by Moshesh [paramount chief of the Basuto] only the one published after long council with the tribe . . . held its ground ; the other two, his individual commands, were failures.

"From this it will be seen that the natives have not been subject to the capricious laws made by a chief, but to laws emanating from the national will, which laws have been administered by the chief. . . .

"The inference we may draw from the whole evidence upon the subject is, that although natives have nothing corresponding to a representative form of government, their existing laws embody the national will, and that no chief would attempt to alter a law without taking the opinion of his councillors, or referring the change to the people."†

The conclusions thus stated by the Cape Commission are the more important because, though chiefly occupied with Cape Colony natives, the Commission examined as a witness on the one side Sir Theo. Shepstone, a principal supporter of the theory that by native law a "supreme"

* [Cape Parl. Papers, G. 4—'83, Report, p. 14, para. 7.]

† [*Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21, para. 31.]

or "paramount chief is above all law in his own tribe . . . and is supposed to do no wrong," and as to the Zulu kings in particular that "their organization was a pure military despotism." On the other side the Cape Commission examined the Zulu King Cetshwayo himself, then a prisoner of war at the Cape, whose evidence on the point in question was as follows, given through an interpreter :

"Question 15.—Cannot you alter laws ?

"Answer.—No, the King says he cannot alter a law like that, because it has been the custom in Zululand he supposed ever since the nation was created. Every King has agreed to the law, and so must he.

"Answer (to question 20).—He would not consent to that law being abolished because of the right or wrong of it, but because the whole nation agreed to it."*

Colonel Elsdale does not seem to have known of the Cape Report, for when, further on in his paper, he touches on such matters, he refers only to Sir Theo. Shepstone as an authority, and quotes him as arguing "most convincingly" concerning the native tribal system and chiefs, that "all experience in South Africa has shown that the natives cling so tenaciously to them that it is simply impossible to abolish them"; and advising that the chiefs "should be turned to account as lieutenants of the Government."

But Sir Theo. Shepstone assumes a distinction between such "hereditary chiefs," and those whom he terms "great military chiefs, or Kings." These "are stumbling-blocks, and indeed absolute hindrances in the way of progress and civilization, and must sooner or later be abolished." "He [Sir Th.] points out that this has already been done, or must soon be done." "We have since seen this carried out in the case of Lobengula," adds Colonel Elsdale.

It is true that Lobengula, the late chief paramount of the Matabele has been hunted to death. But that does

* [Cape Parl. Papers, G. 4—'83, p. 518.]

not abolish the tribal spirit amongst his people, nor the need for a chief for the sake of order. What was the protest of the Matabele headmen at the meeting with Earl Grey in the Matopo hills, last October?

Sekombo ("rebel"): "We cannot manage the people unless one head is over us."

Gambo ("loyal"): "What my father [Sekombo] says is right. We have no head."*

The Matabele formed one of the "military despotisms" to be "abolished"; but how far is there any reality in the distinction assumed to exist between these "military" chiefs, and the "hereditary" chiefs, whom, on Sir Theo. Shepstone's own showing, it is "impossible to abolish"? As far as I am aware, the case most fully discussed by Sir Th. Shepstone is just the one on which I am best able to meet him: the case of the Zulus, and their chiefs. Sir Th. Shepstone's argument was that there never had been a Zulu "nation properly so called"; that before Tshaka's time† "the Zulu tribe" was a "small" insignificant one; and that what, since Tshaka's conquests, has been called the Zulu nation, has been nothing but "a collection of conquered tribes" of "tribes more or less autonomous, and more or less discontented, yearning . . . always . . . for their ancient separate existence";‡ to whom "the Zulu royal family" were no "patriarchal hereditary chiefs," but a "terrible incubus." And he asserted that "at the end of the Zulu war [1879] 60 years . . . [after Tshaka] it was found that most of the incorporated tribes that made up the bulk of the Zulu nation, had kept themselves so distinct that on the removal of the Zulu King, they were found ready to re-enter upon their separate existence. . . ."§

But the assertions in the above argument as to "discontent" with Zulu rule, on the part of the tribes in question,

* *Times*, November 9, 1896.

† Sometimes written Chaka; about 1810 to 1828.

‡ August 12, 1887. [Parl. Papers, C—5,331, pp. 30-1, enclosure in No. 13.]

§ *Natal Mercury*, January 29, 1892.

are all disproved by recognized historical facts, *e.g.*, the British invasion of Zululand was opened with a proclamation that the English were "not waging war against the Zulu nation, but only against the King";* and the English General had soon to admit that "the Zulu people themselves are not prepared to accept the distinction it was thought desirable to make." "Our troops have had to contend with the whole strength of the Zulu nation."†

Three years later the Zulu Deputation, 2,000 in number, led by 646 chiefs and headmen of these "conquered tribes" "discontented" with the Zulu rule and now restored by England to the "ancient separate existence" for which they had "yearned," undertook the weary journey to Natal—not to express gratitude, but—to pray for the restoration of their "terrible incubus, the [head of the] Zulu royal family"; and carried out their intention in the face of all possible opposition from the local representatives of the Colonial Office.‡

No doubt many conquered tribes were included in Tshaka's dominions, which extended before his death beyond what is now the British Colony of Natal, and the present Transvaal districts of Utrecht, Wakkerstroom, and Vryheid,§ and Sir Th. Shepstone's theory was perhaps founded on accounts given by members of such tribes, among whom the greater part of his official career was passed, but who are not accurately acquainted with the early history of "the grand old Zulu people"—the Zulu nation proper.

For the Zulu chiefs can be traced back through twelve generations of one family, the earlier nine succeeding one

* [Parl. Papers, C—2,242, p. 24.]

† [*Ibid.*, C—2,318, p. 81.]

‡ *Ibid.*, C—3,466, p. 27, last line; p. 28, line 27.

§ "Tshaka's military conquests extended over a large portion of the Portuguese, Transvaal, and Orange Free State territories; they included the whole of Natal, and some of the present districts of the Cape Colony as far as the Umtata river."—*Sir Th. Shepstone*, in the *Natal Mercury*, January 29, 1892.

another from father to son. And several of the principal tribes forming the Zulu nation in Cetshwayo's day, are able to trace the descent of what Sir Theo. Shepstone would call their several patriarchal hereditary chiefs to one or other of the nine elder Zulu Kings, (*e.g.*, the Ntombela, an important tribe, claims descent, as it takes its name, from the eldest but one of the Zulu Kings), and the reality of the relationship is witnessed by the careful distinctions drawn with regard to marriage, *e.g.*, into some of these tribes, Cetshwayo's son may marry, into others "he may not, but his grandchildren may."

The above are only a few of many like statements made to me by Zulu chiefs and headmen, and in most cases verified by members of the particular tribe concerned. They prove at any rate that none of the persons who made them held the theory that they were members of "conquered discontented" tribes. In short, all Zulu tribes and sections in similar circumstances, however fortunate in their present tribal chief or headman, now regard Cetshwayo's son Dinuzulu as the head of their race, their "patriarchal hereditary chief."

In an "interview" dated January, 1897, Sir Marshall Clarke, now Resident Commissioner for Zululand, is reported to have been asked, "Do you think the Zulus would combine to oust the English?" and to have replied, "No. They don't want to combine for that or any other object. They are contented with English rule. . . . The Zulus want Dinuzulu as a Headman or Chief. They have no chief, and they feel helpless without one."

So, too, with regard to the other "great military chiefs" and chieftainships, *e.g.*, the Matabele, the Bechuana under Khama, the Basuto of British Basutoland. Between these and the minor "hereditary chiefs and tribes" whom Sir Th. Shepstone holds it "impossible to abolish," the real distinction is that these have already made considerable advance in "social efficiency," and from being mere loose tribes have become knit together into "collections of tribes"

or nations, with corresponding advance in order, in discipline, and power.

Let us take British Basutoland as a second example, dealing with it more briefly, as I have no hostile argument to meet.

In 1890, Lord Loch, then High Commissioner, recalls the facts that "in March 1884, when Sir Marshall Clarke first assumed the government of Basutoland, a large section of the Basuto nation was in passive rebellion, whilst civil war was being waged between some of the principal chiefs, and a number of Basuto had taken refuge in the Free State with their families and cattle."*

This sad state of things had followed "the gun war," the attempt made by the Cape Government to disarm the Basuto, and to "abolish" their paramount chief, the country being declared to be divided into districts, each under a separate chief, one of whom was Letsea, the deposed Chief Paramount. Lord Loch has described the natural consequences of such an attempt. Sir Marshall Clarke holds the opinion already quoted in this paper, that the South African natives, while they require our help in international matters, and in matters between white and black, are better able to manage their own affairs than we can do it for them. He permitted those who would to recognize Letsea as Paramount Chief, and was patient with those who even for some years stood aloof from Chief Paramount and British Resident into the bargain. In May, 1890, the High Commissioner paid them a visit:—"On the 25th ultimo," says Lord Loch, "I arrived in Basutoland . . . I was met on arrival by Sir Marshall Clarke, the [white] officials, and 12,000 mounted and armed Basuto, including every chief in the country except Letsea, who was too old and infirm to attend . . . for three days about 15,000 men, gathered from all parts of Basutoland, were camped together in one camp . . . during that time there was not a drunken man anywhere to be seen, . . . no quarrels or unpleasant incidents of any sort

* [Parl. Papers, C—5,897—32. July, 1890.]

took place, and . . . though they had all been invited to come armed, the Government had no reason to regret the confidence which it thus showed in the peaceable and orderly spirit of the people."*

And this happy state of things continues, though Sir Marshall Clarke himself passed on in 1893 to like good work among the Zulus of British Zululand. In Basutoland, only last year, Mr. Poultney Bigelow tells us "the feeling irresistibly took possession of me that I had at last reached the one land where governing was easy, and the people contented . . . and where the black population lived in harmony with their chiefs, their neighbours, and the paramount power—England."†

It seems to me that by showing that these national chieftainships are not "stumbling-blocks, but, rightly understood, are stepping-stones marking and helping the advance of civilization, I have strengthened Colonel Elsdale's case on more points than one. We have seen that his examples of mental capacity in individual Africans are examples of natives trained by Europeans, in European ways, with European advantages. I will add an example of the mental capacity shown by a Zulu, brought up until his twentieth year in Zululand, by Zulus only, to be a Zulu of the Zulus, having all that time the slightest, most fragmentary intercourse with stray Europeans. After that in an English prison, still in Zululand, he set himself, with some slight help, to learn to read and write, in Zulu first and afterwards in English, and has struggled on with more or less success, and very spasmodic help, through all the disadvantages, and amidst all the disheartenment of a more than seven years' exile on the island of St. Helena. I speak of Dinuzulu, son of the Zulu King Cetshwayo, and heir to Cetshwayo's troubles.

Among Dinuzulu's educational advantages may be counted the memory of his father, who is known amongst his own

* [Parl. Papers, C—5,897—32, p. 3.]

† Harper's Magazine, March, 1897.

people as "the merciful prince who did not kill," and who could face a death-struggle for himself and for his people with the feeling that "if he should be vanquished, as he is not the aggressor, death will not be so hard to meet."* I have more than once reminded Dinuzulu of his father, and have never known the suggestion fail. Another advantage possessed by this young chief has been the presence throughout of his uncle Ndabuko, who has been a second father to him since we deprived him, at the age of ten, of his own father Cetshwayo. I must not run too far into the Zulu story here, but I should be ignoring an important factor in Dinuzulu's "education" if I omitted to indicate his uncle's influence. I can perhaps do so most briefly and most effectively by quoting words used by the present Prime Minister of Natal, when acting as Counsel for Dinuzulu at his trial :

"Ndabuko . . . was guardian of Dinuzulu, and it was with him a trust to place his ward in his rightful position over the Zulu people, but under the Queen. As trustee for Dinuzulu it was his duty to protest against the compact made . . . with the Boers [by which the British Government gave away part of Zululand]. For this protest, renewed from time to time, he was called 'traitor,' and when he put his sense of duty before the miserable salary offered to him to betray his trust, he was followed up . . . step by step until persecution could go no further."† And—alas! for us, still more than for the Chief—was sent to wear his heart out at St. Helena!

And now for Dinuzulu's letter, sent in Zulu to an English gentleman who had written to him kindly, but whom he had not previously known. I have put it into English :

Maldivia, St. Helena, 13th June, 1896.

"I have received a very beautiful gift ; I am quite proud of it. I thank you much for my box for matches. As to the remark that I have never seen you, that is true : but I am very glad over you, though I have never seen you. As to your saying that you do not wish to trouble me

* Parliamentary Papers, C—1,748, p. 14. † [Parl. Papers, C—5,892.]

with this letter, instead of troubling me it is altogether a great pleasure and no trouble at all.

As to your saying that you often get news of our [troubles] affairs, you would naturally hear of them, because they start from among you, from England, before they go among us in Zululand, and then return again among you.

As to the hope [which you express] that we may speedily return to Zululand—that is the hope indeed. But a hope without assurance since our time is now more than up. For though a man have offended, if he behaves well through his [allotted] time, it is cut short. And as to us, at first, when it was suggested that the time might be shortened, we had strong hope that we should not remain such a long time ; because we were not taken prisoners, we just came in of our own accord, wishing to investigate the disease from which we were suffering, having had enough of being falsely accused of resisting the Queen.

Another point which is very surprising to us is that word should be given for us to go, and then again for us to remain, and that without our having committed any fault.

I should, indeed, be very glad to come to England, and to see you too—my friend. I send much greeting to you. Do not insist upon it that friendship depends on seeing one another. Real friendship is to feel with one another ; then, when they meet, they are already old friends, and not strange to one another.—DINUZULU KA [SON OF] CETSHWAYO."

Dinuzulu here states his case in a nutshell and with perfect accuracy. They did "come in to investigate the disease" from which they, their whole people, were suffering—to claim inquiry, on my advice and on Mr. Escombe's promise to stand by them—and a free pardon, an appointment for Dinuzulu "over the Zulu people but under the Queen," and a promise that they should return to Zululand "in a fortnight" were given to them by the Governor of St. Helena, in Her Majesty's name, on January 23rd, 1895.

The above letter is my contribution to Col. Elsdale's collection as to the mental capacity of the individual African.

I must now pass on to notice certain of his conclusions, viz. :—that “we find in South Africa on the side of the coloured man an immense and increasing preponderance in numbers, a stubborn race vitality which entirely refuses to die out before, or be displaced by, the white man, and which has shown itself capable of adaptation to changed conditions, a high courage, which we have experienced in many wars, and a proved capacity for education and improvement” : that “provided always that in the long interim the relations between the races are ordered with justice and harmony, so that there be no evil traditions of oppression and wrong to make the native hate the white man and set himself to put him down when he gets the chance, there would appear to be no reason why a fair proportion of white men [and women] should not remain in Africa indefinitely . . . on the condition of competing with the native on his own ground in a fair field with no favour.” And, finally, that “the extent and duration of the white man’s power and prestige in South Africa will be likely to depend ultimately on the degree in which he may now, in the day of his undisputed reign, treat his black brother with justice, wisdom, and liberality.”

According to “the nature of things” for moral beings, that last conclusion is inevitable. What Colonel Elsdale has now done is to argue that in South Africa it is also forced on us imperatively on material grounds, for our own protection in the struggle for existence in this world. Much still remains to be said upon the subject. But granting no more than that the situation thus sketched is not impossible, it surely behoves the now dominant Europeans to act cautiously ; to beware of creating or giving excuse for “evil traditions,” quite apt enough to arise from misunderstandings on both sides without wrong intention on either ; and above all to avoid any action which may tend to degrade the African, to throw him back from any advance he has already made, be it little or great—in civilization, social efficiency—in humanity. For to degrade him will not only make him

a worse neighbour and more difficult to govern, but will tend to weaken the Europeans by degrading them as well.

"If we do not raise the African," says Sir Marshall Clarke, "I have not the least doubt that he will lower us."

Nor is it possible to keep the African as he is :—"Paradoxical as it may seem," says Colonel Elsdale, "we yet contend that any future incoming tide of white immigrants will only hasten the day of the black man's coming equality. For the natives at present need the whites as schoolmasters. Every additional white man who comes into Africa will only be another trainer to show the black man the way." Yes! by merely using him, we are imparting, whether we will or no, a share of the knowledge which is power for good or for evil.

It is true that this may, perhaps, be very far ahead ; that at present "the gulf between"—*e.g.*, the "raw native" and "the skilled artizan"—"is very wide and deep," and that "the coloured men now accept the superior position of the European." But sometimes events move quickly ; within the last few years the gold craze has wrought unspeakable degradation among white and black ; the rinderpest holds wide possibilities of future misery and mischief ; and within the last few months it has seemed not impossible that the next false move might bring us face to face with such a race struggle as Colonel Elsdale deprecates as probably the beginning of the end of white supremacy. "The overthrow of white supremacy in the not distant future," is what Mr. Selous threatened last month as the probable result of "the conquest of South African Boers by a large British force at the present time";* while Mr. C. D. Rudd urges that war now in Africa would mean "not a question of white man against white, but of 6,000,000 natives against 450,000 whites," and incidentally the ruin of the gold mines, but "the gold mines were not worth such a war, for it would be the most ghastly war of modern times."†

* *Manchester Guardian*, May 17.

† *Times*, May 8, which however omits the last phrase given in the "*Star*" report.

It is all too soon to consider this danger past, though as regards the Transvaal, all interested in Africa have reason to be grateful to President Kruger, who, although strongly supported as to the Aliens' immigration law by leading exponents of International Law, has been wise and generous enough it seems, to make a concession in this matter which, as Mr. Chamberlain has told us, has relieved the strain. But additional troops have been sent out to Africa, and the very presence of such means for using force tends to produce the temptation to use it. The attempt, vain, or mischievous if successful, to crush the African, is already going on in at least three quarters. In Bechuanaland, "a force of about 600 volunteers" is "expected to reach the scene of operations by the end of the [*jubilee*] month. . . . On their arrival vigorous measures will be taken to crush the rebellion, simultaneous assaults being made upon the Kloofs, five in number, occupied by . . . [the rebels]. Although they are known to be short of food, the natives still hold out."* Its paramount chief threatens to appeal to the Supreme Court of the Cape against the proposed "expropriation" of his people's land† [which is the civilized side in that dispute?]. In Mashonaland, Mr. Rhodes' "everlasting lesson" of dynamite and starvation still continues, and in the adjoining Gazaland, just eight weeks ago, we learnt that 25,000 people with whose chiefs we have repeatedly exchanged tokens of friendship, are in arms against "Portuguese oppression."

This paper may seem hardly fitted for a season of Jubilee, but the best hope for peace lies in disclosing the real state of things. I should be no loyal subject of Her whom all of us in Africa, natives as well as Dutch and English, regard as our Mother and the Fountain of Justice, if, on such an occasion, I spoke of peace—where there is no peace.

* *Times*, June 14, 1897.

† *Natal Witness*, March 18, 1897.

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Contents.

HER MAJESTY AS "KAISAR-I-HIND."

ASIA.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "INDIA IN THE SIXTIETH VICTORIAN YEAR."
HORMUZD RASSAM: "THE TIGRIS-MESOPOTAMIAN RAILWAY AND INDIA."
E. H. PARKER: "THE BURMA-CHINA TRADE CONVENTION."
TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.: "SUGGESTED REFORMS FOR CHINA."

AFRICA.

MISS H. E. COLENSO: "THE PROBLEM OF THE RACES IN SOUTH AFRICA."

COLONIES.

F. FAITHFULL BEGG, M.P.: "THE COLONIES AT THE VICTORIAN COMMEMORATION."

ORIENTALIA.

PROF. E. MONTET: "REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM."
M. S. HOWELL, LL.D., C.I.E.: "EUROPEAN AND NATIVE GRAMMARIANS OF ARABIC." (A REPLY TO PROF. DE GOEJE.)
R. N. CUST, LL.D.: "THE PAST AND FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF ORIENTALISTS."
THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D.: "THE POETS OF THE TAMIL LANDS."
"The Sacred Books of the East."

THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.: "ZOROASTRIANISM" (PAHLEVI TEXTS, PART III.)

GENERAL.

E. H. PARKER: "SIAM."
R. SEWELL, M.C.S. (ret.): "INDIA BEFORE THE ENGLISH."
J. D. B. GRIBBLE: "THE FORGOTTEN VIZIANAGRAM TREATY."
MRS. C. M. SALWEY: "JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS—IV. HOW TO MAKE GARDENS IN JAPAN."
P. E. WOLTER: "THE FIRST DIAMOND PIONEER IN SOUTH AFRICA."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, NEWS, REPORTS, ETC.:

COMMEMORATION OF THE SIXTIETH VICTORIAN YEAR AT THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.—SIR JOHN JARDINE AND BOMBAY RESIGNATIONS.—LORD ROBERTS' "FORTY-ONE YEARS IN INDIA."—THE SULTAN AS KHALIFA—Professor Vambéry—An Indian Muslim.—INDIA BEFORE THE ENGLISH—J. Beames—H. Beveridge—C. L. Tupper.—A BRAHMIN AT THE "DIAMOND JUBILEE."—"THE MYSTERIOUS CITY" OF "KARAKORUM."—SANSKRIT LEARNING IN BENGAL.—THE CHINESE-BELGIAN CONTRACT.—CHINESE NOTES.—MANCHURIA.—RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN KOREA.—THE FRENCH ON THE NIGER.—TRANSLITERATION AT THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY—M. S. Howell.—THE NEXT ORIENTAL CONGRESS—Prof. H. Cordier—A Founder.—THE LATE MAHARAJA OF VIZIANAGRAM.—THE LATE JAVERI LA OF BOMBAY.—THE LAST WAZIRI IMBROGLIO AND THE AMIR.—INDIA AS IT IS IN 1897.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES, INCLUDING SPECIAL ANALYSES OF

"Indian Folklore."—"Picturesque Burma."—"Contributions to Mythology."—"The N.W. Provinces of India."—"The Harsa-Carita of Bana." &c.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA AND THE COLONIES.

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