

the last year or two, are the following: "On the Men of the Long Barrow Period," "On Excavations at Sigwell," and "On Human Remains at Cissbury," besides the part which he frequently took in our discussions, record of which has been published in our Journal, not to mention the assistance which he freely rendered to brother anthropologists whenever it was asked.

To him we are indebted for the only scientific description which exists of crania of the stone age in this country, those of Cissbury and of the Long Barrows. Although his early training made physical anthropology his chief study, Professor Rolleston was an anthropologist all round; in archæology and ethnology he took a deep interest and an active part. Archæologists were in the habit of submitting to him for identification animal remains found in excavations, where the date or place in sequence could be fixed, and from these he was gradually accumulating a store of information about the changes and distribution of breeds in pre-historic times, which, had he lived, would have led to important results.

But apart from the great services which he rendered to science, and anthropology in particular, those who knew him will remember him chiefly for his fine chivalrous character, his ready wit, his earnest love of truth, and his straightforward method of dealing with the affairs of life. Nor was there ever a man more ready at all times to do justice to others. A proper notice of him will doubtless appear in our Journal, but, in the meantime, I think I may safely say that in no Society has he left behind him a larger number of friends than in the Anthropological Institute.

The Right Hon. Sir H. BARTLE FRERE then read the following paper:—

ON *the LAWS affecting the RELATIONS between CIVILIZED and SAVAGE LIFE, as bearing on the dealings of COLONISTS with ABORIGINES.* By the Right Hon. Sir H. BARTLE FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., F.R.S., &c.

IN inquiring what are the permanent laws affecting the relations between civilized and savage life as bearing on the dealings of colonists with aborigines, the first question is that of *continued existence* of the uncivilized race. Is it possible for an uncivilized race to continue to exist as uncivilized, in the presence or immediate neighbourhood of a civilized race, equal or superior in numbers?

If they can, under what conditions and with what modifications is such continued existence possible or probable?

The possibility of such continued existence has been denied,

and with very practical results, as arguments for slavery and slave trade in the Southern States of the American Union—in East and South Africa and Brazil; and the examples of the Carib inhabitants of the West Indies—the North American Indians—and the Maories, have been adduced as recent proofs of the impossibility.

Let us look at the historical evidence on the subject.

In India it is clear that from the earliest immigrations of the Aryan races up to the present time, the civilized immigrants have always been in contact with uncivilized and more aboriginal races.

We find clear evidence of such contact, and of the warfare to which it led, in the earliest poetical legends of the contests between the gods and demi-gods of Hindu mythology and the demons and spirits of mountain and forest—whom it was the office of the heaven-born race to conquer or destroy. We see the battles and other events of the contests depicted in the earliest efforts of Hindu sculpture and paintings, and we find the contest still going on under the native dynasties which immediately preceded the British dominion in India.

And what has been the result?

The civilized Aryan immigrants have everywhere dispossessed their more aboriginal and less civilized predecessors of the lordship of the soil in the open and plain country, not always of the ownership and right of occupation as cultivators of the soil, but almost invariably of something more than the highest rights of sovereignty.

It is very rare to find in the plain open country of India any petty chief of any aboriginal race (I know but of one in the Deccan, the Berud chief of Serapoor), and there are no *great* chiefs or sovereigns of such races, though the oldest and most powerful of Rajput sovereigns cannot be formally and securely seated on his ancestral throne till the Bhil Headman has marked the Maharaja's forehead with blood drawn from the Bhil's own arm. Nor in old times could a Rajput or Maharatta fortress be built with any certainty in popular estimation, of permanence or safety, till the Headman of the Bhil or other aboriginal race—or his child, or some equivalent victim—had been buried under the foundation of a keep or corner tower.

These are intelligible indications of the popular belief that without the aboriginal agency the safety of the dynasty or of the edifice set up by the intruder cannot be assured.

As a general rule, in the open country the uncivilized aborigines, when subdued, were incorporated into the community organised by the intruding race, and were settled on the land, sometimes as cultivating serfs—sometimes and more frequently as

village servants—hewers of wood, and drawers of water—as Helots charged to clear away refuse and dead carcasses, to skin animals, and to undertake, with all its defilements, the preparation and manufacture of leather and of leathern articles of dress or use; and to perform other services which would defile their Aryan superiors. They are found in almost every village of the open country, as an essential part of the village organisation—but always as outcasts—living apart from the other villagers and generally outside the village area, forbidden to touch the purer races, who could not, however, live without their help, in their present condition of civilization.

There are often clear traces of successive conquests of separate races more aboriginal than the Aryan. In large village communities in the Deccan, for instance, the outcast races are never on one uniform level of inferiority. There are grades of outcasts as well as of the “twice born,” and one grade may not live, or eat with, still less intermarry with the others—the caste which removes and skins and buries the dead ox, may not intermarry with that which twists the skin into well-ropes, or makes the skin into leather, or the leather into shoes. There is much to justify the conjecture that each caste marks a separate conquest of some aboriginal tribe, each tribe having had its separate work assigned to it in the organisation of the village community.

This description applies only to the plain and open country. In the mountain ranges and forests we still find aboriginal races in sole occupation of large tracts from which the immigrant Aryans have never been able to drive them: Gonds, Koles, and Sonthals, Warlis, Bhils, and Naikras, Katkurris, Kulis, Dublas, and Ramoosis (Baruds) are examples of tribes apparently more aboriginal than Aryans, who have succeeded in maintaining a tribal, and almost a national existence in the presence of the Hindu invaders, and who still retain in their customs, beliefs, and language, and often in their physical characteristics, unmistakable traces of non-Aryan and probably pre-Aryan origin.

How did the Aryan contact, either in the way of incorporation in a village community, or by confining these aboriginal races to mountains, forests, &c., affect the social life and physical characteristics of the aborigines?

In the village communities it imparted a certain tinge of Aryan civilization to the aboriginal Helots. They generally lost their own language and acquired that of their conquerors. They gave up their nomadic habits, and settled down to live continuously in the same locality, and to cultivate the same fields. They acquired proficiency in some distinctive industries which were necessary to the village community, *e.g.*, as tanners, leather workers, shoemakers, &c.

They accommodated their own religious beliefs, more or less to fit into the dominant religion of their Aryan conquerors. The Tiger God, Wagya, became an incarnation of the orthodox Siva. Murri, the goddess of small pox, or cholera, was localised as a manifestation of the Brahminical Bowani or Kali, and generally the fetishism and demon worship of the aborigines was fitted into the nomenclature of the more philosophical Brahminical pantheon.

Physically some change took place, partly owing to changes in the conditions of life, such as the use of clothing, however scanty, and the habit of living in houses. All the Helot races, in the Deccan, for instance, are darker than the Aryan Hindus, but seldom so dark as the unchanged aboriginal races, and sometimes clear traces are to be seen among the Helots of crisped hair, rarely if ever seen in a pure Aryan race.

But there was little if any visible change from admixture of races, owing to the strictness of rules of caste. Intermarriage between a pure Aryan and a Helot was peremptorily and effectually forbidden. Concubinage was restricted within the narrowest limits, and as a domestic institution was rendered, by severe caste penalties, nearly impossible to any but men of high rank and great influence, and thus it happens that when all the Helot castes and sub-divisions of a large Deccan village are assembled, it is easy to recognise a general difference in colour and physical characteristics from one another, as well as from the various Aryan castes living within the same village.

In some cases, from various reasons, the changes caused in aboriginal tribes by contact with the Aryan races are less marked than in others. Thus the village Bhils and Ramoosis, and Mangs of the Deccan are less fixed to settled habitations than other Helot castes or races living side by side with them in the same villages. They more readily revert to nomadic life; and if it is reported in the Deccan that the Mangs or Ramoosis have left their houses in the little hamlets of Helots outside the village walls, and are living in temporary booths in the distant fields and jungle, the experienced Brahmin Administrator will look out for disturbances, organised gang robberies, precluding insurrection. He will say, "It is always the way with these wild people! They are but evil spirits half tamed, or wild beasts, and will return to their lawless ways whenever the hand of Government is slackened."

There are scattered among the Aryan populations of the open plain country a few aboriginal tribes who have never been settled down in fixed habitations, and have not lost all traces of their aboriginal tongue. Such, for instance, are the Wuddars, who under various names are found as nomad quarrymen and

stonemasons throughout Central India, Rajputana, and the Deccan.

They are great proficient in their own crafts, but retain their own dialect, apparently of Dravidian origin, and a very curious communistic organisation, settling all matter of private as well as public import, from the movements of the tribe down to the marriages of the young men and maidens, and the division of wages, in full assembly of all adult males, where all except the parties directly interested may speak and vote, and from whose decisions no appeal is allowed to any other authority or tribunal.

They rarely and unwillingly accept wages as day labourers, and prefer taking task work or contracts to dig out a tank of a given acre and depth, to hew and carry stones of a given size and number, to build given lengths of wall of stone or earth, and they never fail to execute fairly a bargain so made. The proceeds are then divided, in full assembly, the weak and sick, the widows and orphans, all receiving their fair share of the gross earnings, the share being apportioned according to the opinion entertained by the general assembly of the deserts of the recipients or of their former bread-winners as contributors in times past to the general earnings of the community.

Such are a few of the effects on the aboriginal races of contact with Aryan civilization in the open country, where the aborigines have been effectually subdued and incorporated with their conquerors. In the hills and forests and elsewhere, wherever the aborigines have maintained a separate national existence, the effects of Aryan contact are less visible. Sometimes, as in Assam, the Hinduizing process has gone on gradually among the aboriginal tribes for generations past, and up to our own time; but in many cases there has been little visible change or improvement in civilization for centuries past, till the European Aryan with his roads and railroads, his uniform codes, and his centralised administration broke into the aboriginal reserve of Warlis and Bhils, of Sonthals, or Gonds, or Koles—and in half a generation effected more change than Hindu Rajas or Moslem Nawabs had effected for centuries before him. But space does not admit of more than a passing notice of such results.

It is clear from the written records, and still clearer from the sculptures and paintings of ancient Assyria and Egypt, that the highly civilized people of those countries were from the earliest ages in contact, and generally in conflict, with their uncivilized neighbours. That extermination of the uncivilized race, or at least of the whole adult male population, and the absorption of the women and children by the conquering race, so as practically to extinguish the conquered tribe, was a common result, is

also clear. But this result did not invariably follow. It appears to have been a usual policy of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Babylonians, as well as the Medes and Persians, to transplant whole colonies of one conquered race and settle them in the territory of another subject people—sometimes probably the colonies thus introduced were superior in civilization to those people amongst whom they were settled, and acted as civilizing military colonies—but the main purpose of the transfer was apparently simply to break up national ties—and to fuse the whole population of the empire into one submissive whole.

Occasionally, on the other hand, the less civilized race got the better of the civilized—and effected something more than a change of dynasty though they were sometimes absorbed into the conquered race. This seems more than once to have happened in Assyria and Babylonia, and the Medes and Persians were apparently far less civilized than the people they conquered.

In Egypt the Hyksos would appear to have been an uncivilized race as compared with the Egyptians—but in all these cases we know too little of the details of history to judge of the precise action of the one race upon the other.

Nor is much to be learned from the earlier history of Greece. That the Hellenic races, which achieved so rapidly a civilization in some respects unsurpassed as yet by any human family, were from the earliest times of authentic history always in contact with less civilized races, is clear, and also that the Hellenes were themselves inferior in civilization to the Phœnicians and Egyptians, the Assyrians, and other neighbours to the south-east and south of the Mediterranean—and drew from them much which was essential to Greek culture in its best time. But here, again, of the definite mode of action we know little.

Much more is to be learnt from the Roman history of every age. The tribes which formed the original constituent parts of the early Roman State were apparently in a state of civilization, much less advanced than their older neighbours, the Etruscans, who were gradually absorbed into the Roman commonwealth, and probably contributed more than any other single race to mould the Roman civilization of later days.

It is clear that, from the first, absorption and assimilation, and not extermination, was the usual, and apparently the chosen result of Roman conquest. The aim was extension of empire—not mere triumph over a national rival. Whether the people conquered were Jews or Egyptians or other possessors of an ancient civilization—or Gauls and Britons in a state of extreme barbarism—the object was always the same, though it might require very different and even opposite treatment to attain it. In the former case, when a civilized kingdom was subdued, steps

might be taken to bring to Rome somewhat of the arts, the literature, and refinement of the conquered people, but these were secondary objects, and were often aimed at no further than was needed to adorn the triumphal procession of the conqueror. The essential object was always dominion. The conquered country was to be bodily absorbed into the Imperial Republic or Empire with as little change as was consistent with safety—and apart from what personal vanity or avarice might demand, little need be taken from the conquered people, as long as the ruler bowed to the majesty of Rome, and was content to retain his crown as a vassal of Rome. Sufficient garrisons were placed in all posts, of great strategic importance, but the form of government, and the framework and all details of internal administration remained unchanged, few additions or alterations were made, save those which were essential to the Empire. Regarding these the roughest Roman soldier seems to have had an instinct almost as intuitive and discriminating as Cæsar himself: as long as the people were content to act on the principle “We have no king but Cæsar” all might go on as under their own rulers, great causes and capital cases being alone reserved for decision by Imperial authority. Our own Empire in India, and that of the Manchus in China, are modern examples of the working of a policy akin to that of Rome.

An entirely different course was followed (though it was to secure the same object) when a rude and barbarous people were subdued. We could hardly have a better example than is afforded by the history of our own island. The Romans found Britain in a condition of civilization little if at all superior to that of the Zulus in our own day. In each province of the island, after the preliminary work of conquest by victory in the field, secure communication by means of military roads between carefully selected strategical points was the first care of the conquerors. Wherever the military detachments rested even for a single day, the post was appropriately fortified according to the best known rules of military art, and the fortifications of all points of permanent strategical importance were of a character to indicate that permanent undisputed possession of the country was the dominant idea of the conqueror. So wisely, with reference to the natural features of the country, were the lines of communications and fortified posts chosen by the Roman invaders, that the general direction of the trunk lines of Roman road will usually be found identical with those of our modern great lines of railway, the deviations being in most cases due either to natural obstacles which the modern locomotive finds more difficult to surmount than did the Roman Legion; whilst there are few natural ports, or natural centres of commercial transit, which are

not marked by the remains of Roman stations, so placed as effectually to command the communications and trade.

Of the results of Roman occupation on civil administration and on social and political life in Britain we have fewer remains, but they are sufficient to show how wise, with a view to permanent empire, was the policy adopted. The native chiefs and rulers were subsidised, and as far as possible Romanised—and apparently the details of local administration were conducted through them with the result of gradually settling and civilizing the barbarian British tribes who remained in the open country. The fiercer and more untameable tribes were pushed back into the mountainous regions of Wales and North Britain, and there shut in by good military frontier roads, communicating between strong fortified posts, the fortifications being sometimes continuous for long distances.

In the open country, administered under Imperial authority, great progress seems to have been made during two or three centuries in assimilating the social and municipal life of the people to that of the older provinces of the Empire. The remains of fortified towns with their baths and temples, of country villas which had evidently been the abode of leisurely and even luxurious civilized occupants—and other remains of the Roman period—concur with the somewhat meagre written historical records in showing that before the Romans left the island, life in Roman Britain had become at least as much assimilated to life in the older provinces of the Empire, as life in our colonies is to the English life of the present day.

(Let me note in passing that a system of securing military possession of the country precisely similar in principle to that adopted by the Romans in Great Britain was inculcated on Sir Harry Smith by the Duke of Wellington, when discussing the Kaffir War in which Sir Harry Smith was engaged; and the system so inculcated was practically carried out by Sir George Cathcart, whose volume of despatches from South Africa lays down a complete system for securing military possession of British Kaffraria, including the Amatola mountains, such as might have been dictated by Julius Cæsar or Agricola.)

The question, What was the result on the bulk of the native British population? has next to be considered.

There is much evidence to prove that the total population of the southern part of the island must have greatly increased during the Roman occupation. The greater part of whatever population existed was probably of aboriginal races, for except to retired soldiers or traders who had lived here previously, there was little to tempt emigrants from southern Europe or Greece to settle here, and till late in the period of Roman sway, we

hear little of any considerable immigrations or invasions from the eastward, from Germany or Scandinavia.

The Roman language had evidently been from the first the language of officialism and of the educated classes.

How far it had superseded the mother tongue of the aborigines in daily and domestic use it is difficult now to guess, owing to the numerous successive waves of large immigrations of northern races after the Romans left. The same may be said of the physical stock. Cornwall is evidently not the only English province which may claim a large amount of aboriginal element in its population. But to what extent the population of other provinces has undergone changes and additions similar to those known to have occurred in Cornwall during the period of recent history, it would be difficult accurately to estimate.

It is, however, clear that before the Romans left, so many of the aborigines had been civilized and educated as Romans, that men and women of British birth and Roman education were sufficiently numerous to be a recognisable element among the upper classes in Rome.

Space does not admit of more than a glance at the interaction of civilized on uncivilized races during the long period which elapsed between the time when the tide of Roman conquest began to recede, and the recommencement of a career of Eastern conquest by the Western nations about the time of the crusades. Western Europe had in the interim been overwhelmed by invading barbarians from the north and east. Occupying one province after another of the Roman Empire, immigrant conquerors became themselves gradually more or less settled, civilized, and Romanised, changed in religion and often in language, till they took the form of the modern nationalities of Europe, nearly as we see them at present.

The process seems in most cases to have been very uniform. Sometimes as successful invaders and conquerors, sometimes as allies or hired auxiliaries of the Christian ruler, the heathen uncivilized immigrants acquired the substantial power of the sword in a Roman province, learned many of the arts, adopted much of the civilization, and finally the religion of the conquered people, intermarried with, and settled amongst them without losing the uncivilized energy they had brought with them from the distant regions of the north-east. After a century or two they were a new people, with settled habits and national aspirations, wedded to the land of their adoption, determined to defend it and its institutions to the death, and as firmly rooted in the soil as if for the preceding centuries they had lived on it, and not been ceaselessly journeying westward from the original cradle of their race.

How, after many generations of rest, after the fermentation of new ideas in religion, in politics, in commerce, and in all the arts of life, the inspiration of foreign adventure again pervaded the people of Western Europe, and directed the swarms of emigration to distant lands, would take long to tell. We must pass over the many valuable lessons to be gathered from the painful but instructive history of the contact between civilized and uncivilized races in America,—Spanish, French, Dutch, and English,—as well as in Polynesia and Africa, Australia and Australasia, up to our own time, and come at once to the more recent lessons afforded by our experience in our own day, and especially in Southern Africa, to which I would at present mainly confine my remarks.

South African experience is, for many reasons, especially valuable in examining the present question, owing to the variety of races to which our experience relates. Of all these races I would remark that they seem to me to have been, when they first met with Europeans, descending and not ascending in the scale of civilization. None of them have any recorded history which could place the fact beyond the reach of doubt; such evidence as exists must be sought in language and legend, and scanty traces of migration, but all races bear some traces of descent from ancestors in a higher state of civilization than their modern representatives were when we first heard of them. This is especially the case with regard to their language and to such differences as exist between early and late immigrations of the same race.

1. There are the races which have apparently most claim to be considered aboriginal. The “Red,” or “Yellow skinned men,”—the tawny complexioned races: Hottentots, Bushmen, Namaquas, remarkable for their generally short stature, broad and prominent cheek-bones, and for their peculiar languages, which have given rise to a controversy, as yet unsettled whether their affinities are with the Coptic, Berber, Galla, Ethiopic languages of Northern Africa, with the Finnish of Northern Europe, or whether they form a class apart, distinct from any yet known modern tongues.

Time does not admit of our entering into the discussion, but all who could wish to pursue the subject further would do well to consult the excellent article on “Hottentots” by Mr. Noble, Clerk of the Legislative Council in Cape Town, which will be found in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* now in course of publication, where the argument will be found summarised with reference to the authorities Wallman—the Doctors Hahn, three in number—Tindall, Bleek, Kronlein, and others who have written at length on the subject.

Mr. Noble notes that the early Dutch travellers Kolben, &c., represent the Hottentots as mild, placable, ingenuous, affectionate,

hospitable, indolent, unenergetic. Their description of the personal appearance of the Hottentots is: body slender, well proportioned, small hands and feet, skin leathery brown, faces oval, projecting cheek bones; eyes dark, wide apart, deep set; nose broad, thick, flat; chin pointed, mouth large, thick upturned lips; hair in woolly tufts; beard scanty.

The women are described as held in high esteem among all the tribes of Hottentots, but they were made to do the hard work of the family—an oath by mother or sister was considered the most binding of any.

Polygamy was sometimes allowed, but was not common.

The early travellers could discover no traces of religion. The Hottentots were great believers in witchcraft, had a superstitious reverence for some insects and animals, for the moon and other heavenly bodies, and for the spirits of their ancestors, but their notions of a supreme being were very vague and contradictory, and they had no fixed belief in existence after death.

The Berg Damaras are apparently of Bantu origin, and in their physique hardly to be distinguished from the Damaras proper. But they have been conquered and enslaved by tribes of Namaqua origin and now speak a dialect of Namaqua, a very interesting instance of a change of language of which I know no other instance in South Africa.

The first question in this, as in other cases, relates to the continued existence of these races in the presence of civilization. I have been frequently assured by educated men in South Africa who had paid some attention to such subjects "that it was impossible nowadays to meet with a single man of pure Hottentot race." But I soon found on enquiring further that this was true only if it were meant that the man must be, not only of pure Hottentot race, but that he was unbaptized, and able to speak his own Hottentot language. I found that wherever there were many of the class popularly known as "Hottentots" or "Bastards," it was not difficult to find many individuals who, as far as could be learnt by personal examination, were of pure Hottentot parentage; but all who were baptized, and many who were not, had adopted Christian names, and generally Dutch surnames also, and were known as "off coloured boys" or "Darkies," regarding the name of Hottentot as a term of reproach; this is especially apt to be the case where a man has prospered, and acquired money, as many have; the language, moreover, rapidly falling into disuse, and now useful only among the Hottentots themselves, who almost always understand Cape Dutch.

The conclusion I came to at last was—that it was doubtful whether there were not, at this moment, more people of pure or

nearly pure Hottentot blood within 300 miles of Cape Town than there were when Van Riebeeck first founded the Dutch Colony. I was struck with the very small numbers of natives in each tribe as estimated by the early voyagers, and summing up the numbers of those tribes whose territorial limits could be defined, it seemed to me that there were now, within those limits, as many, if not more, people of apparently genuine and unmixed Hottentot descent, than there were when the traveller wrote. This will not appear surprising if, setting aside for the moment the theory that the race must be dying out, we consider the great area of country required to support a nomad population subsisting mainly by the chase, as compared with the area required to support the same numbers living as labourers on farms or vineyards.

The official returns as far as they go confirm this view.

The early Dutch travellers speak of the Hottentots as numbering about 6,000 souls.

Sir J. Barrow in 1798 estimated them at 1,500.

An official return in 1806 gave male Hottentots, 9,784 ; females, 10,642 ; total, 20,426.

In 1824	..	..	..	..	31,000
In 1865	..	..	..	..	81,589
In 1875	..	..	..	..	98,561

But in the earlier returns slaves of other races were apparently included, and many of mixed races included in the later official census, as Hottentots. Dr. Theophilus Hahn estimated the Namaquas at 17,000 in Great Namaqualand and Damaraland.

The point, however, as to whether the Hottentots of pure race in the Cape Colony are or are not dying out admits, I think, of being more clearly ascertained than by simple observation uncorrected by carefully collected statistics. It is useless to attempt any test by means of ordinary census returns, for few will register themselves as Hottentots who can possibly class themselves under any more respectable heading. But there are more than one of the large Moravian settlements specially devoted to the maintenance of Hottentots, and where the missionaries possess an unusual amount of knowledge of the personal history of their flock. Such are, Mamre, Gnadendhal, and others, at either of which it would be possible to obtain a fairly accurate history of the descent and other particulars of ethnological import—regarding probably two thousand of the people in and around the station. The enquiry should be made personally, in house to house visitation, by a competent scientific reporter, who is acquainted with some of the leading points to be investigated in dealing with the problems of Anthropology, with an eye for variations of physical features, and an ear

for language. Dr. Hahn, the zealous Professor of Chemistry in the South African College, Cape Town, has, I know, made such matters his study at Mamre, in the Malmesbury district, and with the aid of other members of the South African Philosophical Society would be able, I have no doubt, to throw much light on the subject. It would be desirable to enquire, in the same manner, regarding the births and deaths, and duration of life in each family selected, and to collect as much information as possible bearing on the vital statistics of the race.

I fear it will be found that, even if I am right in believing that the aggregate numbers of the race have not decreased since they came in close contact with Europeans, the rate of mortality among them will be found to be very high as compared with either the European, or with other African races. Measles and small-pox create terrible havoc among them, whenever they break out. Venereal diseases are abnormally frequent and fatal, and the destruction caused by spirit drinking is frightful, the race appearing to be unable to resist either the temptation to drink, or the ill effects of drinking, to a degree unusual even among savage races.

It is difficult to draw any very distinct line between Namaquas and Hottentots. But whereas the Hottentots are generally considered as confined to the old Cape Colony proper, the Namaquas form distinct tribes, more or less independent of Colonial control, and in Great Namaqualand beyond Colonial jurisdiction. Hence they afford a better field for ethnological study by the Anthropologist and Philologist. But they throw less light on the immediate subject of our inquiry, the laws affecting the relations between civilized and savage life. They have been sensibly receding northwards before the advancing colonists; and have come in hostile contact with the Damaras, a Bantu race, moving southwards and westwards, with whom they waged war, with varying success, till peace was restored, mainly through the intervention of the German missionaries. Damaras and Namaquas alike agreed to a modified English Protectorate, which led to the annexation of the port of Walwich Bay, and might have led to the settlement and partial civilization of the whole region between the lower Orange River, and the Portuguese frontier on the western coast, and from the sea to the Kalahari desert. But a change in the policy of the English Government has led to the withdrawal of the promised protectorate, and according to the latest advices, to the renewal of war between Damaras and Namaquas.

Between the Namaquas and the Bechuana tribes along the banks of the Orange River and its northern tributaries as far east as Basutoland, were found the Korannas, apparently an

offshoot from the Great Namaqua family, and mixed up with them, Griquas and Bastards, and other mixed races, whose chief interest to our present enquiry consists in the evidence their history during the past eighty years affords, that such mixed races, moving in front of the advancing wave of European colonisation, form tribes with a novel organisation of their own, partly European, especially in its official aspects, but claiming tribal rights and a national existence, on the same grounds and to the same extent as if they belonged to an ancient dynasty ruling over a tribe of historical importance.

Thus the Griquas, both of Eastern and Western Griqualand, are clearly of very modern origin, having grown up within this century from mixed and broken tribes, chiefly Namaqua, Hottentot, and Koranna, but with a considerable mixture of Bechuana and other Kaffir and negro blood, and some Dutch blood; with much Dutch and English training from missionaries and frontier farmers, traders, and Europeans of various kinds. Their principal chiefs generally trace back their pedigree to a grandfather, or great grandfather at furthest, who is known to have been in the service of some Dutch colonial family as slave, or hired servant. The possession of a few horses or guns by a man of energy and intelligence superior to his fellows was sufficient to found a chiefship, and to form the nucleus of a tribe which gathered round from waifs and strays of the Colony and broken border tribes. Sooner or later European adventurers appeared, and attached themselves to the chief, sometimes as traders, or as secretaries and advisers. If the chief was prudent and successful, he generally invited a missionary to settle with, or near him, and he seems always to have felt that his power was not firmly established unless he persuaded some European with less interested motives than the itinerant trader, or loafing adventurer, to throw in his lot with the new dynasty.

In a few years the new-fledged chief would have, besides his missionary and private secretary, his "Staats Secretary," who often were all Europeans, and in addition to his councillors, the indispensable appendages to any native chiefs, he had his "Raad," or legislature, and surveyors, and land registrars, and, in two instances, an elaborately written constitution, on the European model.

It may be owing to the incongruous materials employed, and perhaps to untoward circumstances, but none of these constitutional experiments have survived the original projectors, and in more than one instance, when the chief grew old, he recognised the instability of the edifice he had attempted to rear, and surrendered his power during his own lifetime into other hands.

Bushmen.—The following is the usual, and, as far as I was able to judge, accurate description of the Bushman race:—Small stature, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet being rarely exceeded; dirty yellow-coloured complexion; Mongolian type of face; cheek-bones prominent, eyes deeply set; nose small and depressed; hair in woolly tufts; hollow back, protruding stomach; thick hinder parts; small limbs, and very small hands and feet.

Habitations—rocks, rarely huts; no cattle, and few dogs; arms: bows and poisoned arrows. No tribal unity. No chiefs. Language, monosyllabic, abounding in clicks, and having no numerals beyond two.

That the Bushmen proper are rapidly disappearing admits, I fear, of no doubt; but even in their case I have found generally much error in the popular estimates of their numbers, or even their continued existence.

In their wild state, every man's hand is against them, and up to the present time we hear hideous tales of their sufferings, and their being shot like wild beasts, and being reduced by want of food to cannibalism, in the difficult border-country where they still continue to live at large, in rocky and barren places, and in the thick bush which fills the ravines in the lower part of the Orange River and its tributaries.

As the large game disappears they are more often reduced to feed on the smaller wild animals, and even on reptiles and insects, the larger grasshoppers, and locusts, and ants affording them a frequent meal, and they are charged with occasional cannibalism in seasons of great scarcity. They are naturally unable to resist the temptation of stealing the sheep and cattle of the frontier colonists, and this propensity, joined to their reputation for using poisoned arrows, has so steeled the hearts of many border farmers, that to shoot a wild Bushman is hardly regarded as a crime in any but a strict legal sense.

Time does not admit of more than a passing allusion to their most interesting, and, in a philological sense, most important language; their marvellously spirited and accurate cave paintings and rock sculptures, and their utensils and weapons which have frequently a special interest as illustrating the use of stone concurrently with metal. Thus to pick up the surface of the soil, and prepare it for sowing, they still occasionally use a sharpened stick loaded with a round ball of stone at the thicker end, to give it weight and impetus; they still sometimes use arrows armed with neatly formed flint splinters, and I was told by a Damaraland trader, that he found in one place the Bushmen were frequent purchasers at the trader's wagon or store of bottles of cheap German scent. He enquired the object of such an unexpected taste, and found that the Bushmen had discovered

that the little bottles, thickened towards the lower part so as to hold the less fluid, could by a blow in a particular direction, be splintered so as to furnish excellent arrow-heads. He could not learn that the scent was valued except as a dram of strong spirit.

When captured or domesticated the Bushmen make excellent herdsmen, and often settle down as valued servants of the European farmer ; but as they learn to speak Dutch, and lose the habit of using their own language, intermarry with other races, and improve in physique by regular and abundant food, they gradually lose some of the most characteristic features of their people, and merge into other races or denominations, becoming classed as Hottentots or Bastards, among whom an unusually irascible or violent temper, short stature, extraordinary aptitude for music, and for delineation of animals or human figures is often accounted for by attributing a Bushman origin to the possessor of these Bushman characteristics.

It is unnecessary to remind you of the invaluable labours of the late Dr. Bleek, and of his sister-in-law, Miss Lloyd, in noting and preserving record of all that concerns this most interesting race—their language, physical characteristics, arts, legends, and habits. I do not know that a more valuable contribution could be made to South African ethnology than by enabling Miss Lloyd to complete her researches by visiting the frontier districts where alone the Bushman is still to be found in his primitive state, and by giving to the world, by printing and publishing, the unpublished collections of Dr. Bleek, and the large additions to his “Papers on native African Races,” which she has herself collected.

Mr. Stowe, the Geological Surveyor of the Orange Free State, is another most zealous and trustworthy labourer in the same field. His geological researches have frequently led him into the wild inaccessible country to which the Bushmen habitually retreat, and he has taken every advantage of his opportunities to record the results of his observations which will, I hope, be speedily published, and will be sure to form a most valuable contribution to South African philology and anthropology.

I may remark that we frequently hear of Bushmen in Damaraland, and in the country north and east of the Limpopo, and they are sometimes spoken of, in Damaraland especially, as living in larger and more settled communities than the Bushmen of the Drakensberg, as being of stature as large as the Nanaquas, and able to smelt ore, and work it into ornaments and utensils, which they sell to their Damara neighbours. Whether or not they are true Bushmen, or fugitives and outcasts from other broken tribes called “Bushmen” from their wandering and wild habits, I could not ascertain, but it would be interesting to learn

more about them, as they are obviously a less scattered and wild race than the Bushmen of the Drakensberg.

Some of the people known as "Bushmen" in the Northern Transvaal are obviously Korannas, or other remnants of mixed races or broken tribes, but there may still be others of genuine Bushman race, as known to us further south.

The Bantu races, whether of the Bechuana, Kaffir, or Zulu families, are so well known that I need attempt no more than a very brief general description of the distinctive points in which they differ from the races nearest them in Africa. All are of a type clearly different from either the Hottentot or genuine Negro race. They are generally large of stature and well formed; of a dark brown bronze colour, very rarely black complexion, and by no means assimilated in any way to a negro type, good straight legs, with moderately large but well formed feet, fairly high in the instep, and rarely "lark-heeled" like the negro. The skull is generally more of the European than of the Negro or Malay type, with a broad and moderately high forehead. The lips and nose are thick but not negroid; the hair crisped and closely curled, but not woolly.

The skin is peculiarly free from hair or even down, and this especially when the skin is healthy and well nourished, and yet more when lubricated with fat and ochre, gives it a glossy appearance like that of bronze.

These are generally the characteristics of all families and sub-divisions of the Bantu races, but they differ much *inter se* in the degree in which such characteristics are marked.

There is much controversy as to which is the superior race in the great Bantu family, and I generally found that those who had lived longest among them were inclined to give the palm to that race with which they had been most associated. To my own eye the Gaikas, and Galekas, and some of the Zulus, afforded some of the finest specimens of the race I saw, but I would advise more accurate test by measurement and weighing before coming to any conclusion, and it would be well that the observer should note the pedigree of the examples he selects, for the national practice of "eating up" a conquered tribe, *i.e.*, slaughtering the older folk, especially the males, and all capable of fighting, but incapable of work, and absorbing all the younger women, and all the children into the tribe of the conqueror, leads to great confusion of race—and even a superficial observer may frequently note obvious differences among the inhabitants of the same kraal, and learn that the exceptional form or complexion may be accounted for by the presence of captives of other races who had been absorbed into the tribe, after their own had been "eaten up."

The chiefs are in general notably superior to their followers in physique.

There are very great differences in culture and civilization among the different tribes. The Bechuana tribes, including the Batlapins, Basutos, &c., seem by common consent of all observers to be placed at the head of the list; and from the observations of the earlier travellers, and of Burchell especially, it is clear that they were greatly in advance of the Kaffirs and Zulus in civilization when they first met the European travellers and colonists in South Africa; though, in their case, as well as in that of all other South African races, there is much to show that they have degenerated from a higher grade of civilization, rather than risen from a lower state.

Their language is one of the reasons adduced to prove that the Bechuana tribes belong to a later wave of immigration than others of the Bantu family. It has fewer "clicks" and Hottentot words, and other Hottentot elements, than the Zulu or Amakosa Kaffir. They have also among them a nomadic race of serfs (Balala), who are sometimes supposed to belong to an older wave of Bantu immigration, which was followed and conquered by later arrivals of Bechuanas.

In the arts of life—in smelting and working iron and copper, in agriculture, in building houses with many rooms, upright walls, and a sloping roof, the Bechuanas are far in advance of all the Kaffir tribes. They are most industrious, and more willing to adopt new habits and the improvements of civilized life.

The rule of the chiefs is less despotic, and the habit of congregating in large towns of from 5,000 to 40,000 inhabitants favours improvement and gives a better opening for the labours of the missionaries who have made so much progress in civilizing and converting some of the Bechuana tribes.

In religious belief the Bechuanas, when the missionaries first came among them, differed little from the other Bantu tribes, as we now find those who have not had much intercourse with Europeans. Except in the case of witchcraft, in some vague influences of ancestral spirits, and in omens, they had little definite belief. Of any thing approaching our conception of a Divine or creative power, of a soul as distinct from life and intellect, of spiritual existences—they were sceptical. They were, in fact, materialistic Sadducees.

It would take long to tell of the changes effected by the teaching and influence of the missionaries, especially those of the London Missionary Society, who have laboured among the Bechuana tribes.

I doubt whether five centuries of Roman dominion, and of the

preaching of early Christian missionaries, did much more to civilize and elevate the savage inhabitants of our own island, than has been effected by seventy years of the labour of men like Moffat, Livingstone, Thompson, John Mackenzie, and Hepburn, among the Bechuana tribes. Let any one contrast the accounts given by humane and observant travellers like Burchell, with what may now be seen in the country between the Vaal and the Molappo, or north of that to the northern confines of the Christian king Kama, of Kamangwato, and he will be able to appreciate the difference.

Unfortunately, as in Ancient Britain and everywhere else, so in Bechuanaland, the progress of civilization has inevitably sapped the authority of the barbarian tribal chief, and the absence of any temporal substitute threatens to produce the same anarchical condition which followed the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain. Threatened from the north by the Matabele Zulus, and from the east by the advancing Trek Boers, the Bechuanas, both chiefs and people, have in vain prayed to be taken under the protection of the British Government.

The British Government has repeatedly declined to accept the allegiance, and time alone can show whether some chief or adopted foreigner will arise with the genius and energy needed to repel foreign invasion, and to preserve order in the country, or whether the Bechuanas will be subdued, and absorbed or annexed to some other Power, or be driven on to resume the ceaseless slow migrations in front of more powerful tribes pressing on them, which seems to have been their dreary lot for ages before they fell in with the white men advancing northward from the Cape of Good Hope.

In the other and less advanced branches of the great Bantu family there is much difference in the civilization of various clans, as they have been more or less under the influence of their European neighbours.

In almost every case the impression given by the earliest European observers is that of the extreme savagery of the race as first known to European visitors. Making every allowance for prejudice, and for other circumstances affecting the judgment or competence of observers, it is impossible to read the accounts given by Sir William Harris, Captain Alan Gardiner, Isaacs, and many other competent and by no means unfavourably biassed travellers, without being convinced that the normal state of most of the Bantu tribes who did not belong to the Bechuana family, as apparent to the early European observers, was one of extreme barbarism.

It is often stated, but, as far as I know, entirely on the evidence of unsupported oral tradition, that there was a time not

much anterior to the appearance of Chaka, as founder of the Zulu power, say seventy years ago, when the regions now known as Zululand and Natal were the abode of a simple, peaceful, primitive people, living a pastoral life, in small tribes, under independant chiefs, seldom going to war, and when they did quarrel, settling their disputes by a formal fight in battle array, which decided the question of relative supremacy, without leading to prolonged hostilities or disturbing the generally neighbourly relations of the clans engaged. The picture is a pleasing one, but not consistent with known and undoubted facts, and I fear must to a great extent be classed with the poetical histories of a golden age in other parts of the world. There can be no doubt that, eighty years ago, the country in question was very sparsely inhabited by small tribes, which were slowly moving southward and eastward, along the coast regions, between the sea and the great ranges of which the Drakensberg is the best known, and that the country was full of elephants and other large game to an extent incompatible with the presence of numerous or strong tribes.

There seems no reason to doubt the story of the origin of the Zulu power—that a petty chief and fugitive from his own country, passed some years in the frontier provinces of the Cape Colony, and there learnt something of European discipline, which he carried back with him to his own country, and used to subdue neighbouring tribes, establishing something like a kingdom. He left, however, each tribe as it was subjected, under the rule of its own chiefs and headmen, a humane mistake, as it seemed to his successors, leading to a conspiracy against him, and to his own assassination. His favourite lieutenant, Chaka, resolved to correct this mistake, and introduced the custom of assimilating each conquered clan, and absorbing it into the conqueror's own tribe of Zulus. This was effected by slaying or putting to flight all adult males who were likely to be incorrigible upholders of their own tribal rights, and the absorption of the younger males and females into the ranks of the victors. This policy was consistently followed, with some variations of energy and success, by Chaka and his successors, Dingaan, Panda, and Cetywayo. It was effectual in welding all the conquered people into one nation, though the assimilation and extinction of separate rights was more perfect in the case of some tribes than of others. As a rule the centralization of authority, the destruction of separate tribal influence and of the power of the tribal chiefs, was very complete. The fighting men were organised in regiments instead of tribes. Each regiment was made to consist of a mixture of various tribes, the warriors being chosen rather for equality of age than for

similarity of origin, and commanded by a chief, chosen by the king for his valour and devotion to his sovereign rather than for his descent or tribal connection. The system was of course not always carried out with unvarying exactness and completeness, and occasional concessions were made to local and family influence, so that the regiments became more like a local militia under command of the local chief, than a royal battalion under the centralised authority of a commander selected by the king. But the general result was effectually to substitute centralised royal authority for tribal allegiance.

When and by whom the important change was made, which substituted the short stabbing Zulu pike for the assegai or light javelin, whether by Chaka or his predecessor, is not agreed. It was probably Chaka, who certainly carried to perfection the stern discipline, which, with the use of the short pike, made it the invariable duty of the Zulu "impi" to come to close quarters as speedily as possible, after their enemy was aware of their proximity, and to overwhelm him with a mob of warriors who showed no quarter, and were determined to conquer or die.

There are many Zulus yet living, and in active possession of all their faculties, who were warriors in Chaka's impis before they had learnt what defeat meant. They are within reach of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, of the Hon. Chas. Brownlee, and of surviving members of the brave band of Trek Boers and Englishmen, who remember the days when under Dingaan the Zulus suffered their first repulse. If some of these gentlemen could be induced (and no men are more competent than those I have named) to take pen in hand and note down their recollections of what they have seen and heard of the half century between 1830 and 1880, they would furnish a record of great historical and military value. How Chaka organised, armed, and dressed his battalion for parade and for the field, how he mustered and exercised them in peace, and fed and marched them in war;—how they were trained to irresistible attack, regardless of wounds or certain destruction;—how their conduct in action was scrutinised and conspicuous bravery was rewarded;—how at the grim assize of the "coward's tree" cases of misconduct and failure in duty were heard and punished with instant death;—how Chaka's system was modified by his successors, especially by the introduction of firearms,—these and all cognate topics are matters of great military importance, and an accurate record of them would furnish many a useful hint to the military reformer or organiser of the present day.

Not less valuable would be the record of the experience of the Trek Boers. The history of the Bloody Sunday, of the

massacres of Weenen, Bushman's river, and of Blaauwkrantz, when hundreds of men, women, and children were surprised and slain by Dingaan's impis, all these afford something more than material for a tragedy or thrilling romance. The history is full of instruction how to defend and protect peaceful agriculturists within reach of savage neighbours.

Again, how the Trek Boers, never mustering a thousand guns, finally defeated Dingaan's tens of thousands of unconquered warriors;—how the Boers never moved camp till they had scouted the country for ten or twelve miles on their purposed line of march;—how they moved with their mounted fighting men in pairs (the Boer and his "Achter Ryter" with his spare firelock), thrown out in advance and on each flank for a distance of four or five miles in every direction;—how at the slightest alarm of a body of the enemy in sight, the wagons were closed up or moved into "laager;"—how the wagon "laager," with more women and children than men inside it, was rendered as impregnable as a British infantry square at Waterloo or Ulundi;—how the wagons, parked so as to protect the oxen as well as the people, were fenced with brushwood and skins, so as to be impervious to a rush of pike men;—how the women and children helped to load the cumbrous "roer" or elephant gun, and, if need were, sometimes with hatchet or knife, defended the wagon from Kaffirs creeping in through unguarded loopholes, these and many other details have a romantic interest for all readers, but they contain many valuable lessons for the military student, even when he has to imagine earthworks in place of wagon "laagers" and firearms with a range of 2,000 yards in place of "Brown Bess," good for a hundred yards, or the assegai of little effect above thirty.

It would take some time fully to describe the effects of the growth of the Zulu power on their neighbours, but there are three or four movements of the population which must not pass without some notice, however brief.

1. The first is the emigration of Moselekatze, an account of which, by a nearly contemporary observer, will be found in Harris' "Wild Sports in South Africa."

It is, I have been informed on the authority of Cetywayo, the modern Zulu belief that Moselekatze was despatched by the Zulu king to "eat up" a Bechuana tribe beyond the Drackensberg—that he succeeded in his enterprise, but, instead of returning, as ordered, to the Zulu capital with his plunder and captives he marched on northward and westward, through what is now the Orange Free State and Transvaal, destroying and "eating up" tribe after tribe of comparatively peaceful and civilized Bechuanas, by whom that part of the Transvaal was then densely

occupied, annexing their cattle and younger captives, and slaughtering their warriors, whose bones were still visible in heaps when Harris visited the country.

Harris found Moselekatze not far from where Rustenberg is now, fully established as an independent sovereign, having earned the surname of the "Attila of South Africa," the scourge of Bechuanas and of the advanced guard of the great emigration of Trek Boers, who have since occupied the country Moselekatze had passed through on his move from Zululand. He seems to have felt that between the advancing Trek Boers and the Bechuanas who had come under some sort of European influence through the missionaries at Kumman and in the Griqua country, he was likely to find more than his match, and moving northwards and eastwards he finally settled with his followers, as the "Matabele," in a rich tract of country which was very sparsely inhabited, on the highland which separates the basin of the Limpopo from that of the Zambesi.

2. A very different emigration was that of the people now known as Fingoes, who appear to be the remnants of various tribes which in Chaka's time occupied what is now the western part of Natal and Zululand. I have seen men now living who remembered their old homes, but it is difficult now to identify either the original locality or the exact tribes to which they belonged, and which seem to have been "eaten up" in the early wars of Chaka, probably even before his time. We first hear of the Fingoes as a miscellaneous collection of fugitives from Zulu conquest—broken men and fragments of clans moving slowly westward and southward, continually harassed by the unbroken tribes through whose country they passed, till they found a comparatively safe refuge as Helots of the Gaikas and Galaekas, and other tribes of the Great Amakosa family.

From an early period of their wanderings they seem to have cherished hopes of protection by the Government of the White-men, whom they found moving in the opposite direction towards Natal, but it is less than thirty years since they were formally received as British subjects, and settled, some on the Fish River and its tributaries, and others in various parts of the country taken from Gaikas and Galaekas between the Kei and Umtata. They were at the time in a state of the utmost destitution, often obliged to content themselves with husks of maize and large leaves sown together to cover them, and reduced for want of regular food to support themselves on roots and wild berries.

Since that time they have prospered wonderfully, and are now rivalling the Bechuana, as an industrious, improving race.

If any one doubts the capacity of the Kaffir races for improvement and civilization, such doubts would I feel sure be removed

by a visit to the Fingo settlements. The visitor would hear from the people themselves the state of utter barbarism to which they had been reduced when they were first met by the missionaries, Messrs Ayliff, Warner, and others, and taken under British protection. He would see in the villages of headmen, like Veldtman, farmhouses and orchards which would do no discredit to an English yeoman, and he would find in their tales of how Captain Blyth ruled and advised them, and in the schools they have erected in Captain Blyth's name, at Blytheswood and elsewhere, the evidence of how the improvement—material, intellectual, and moral—has been effected.

3. There was another emigration of Zulus into what is now known as Umsilar country. Less is known of it than of Moselekatzé's, or of the Fingo emigration, but Umsila's people say they were Zulus driven from Zululand, early in Chaka's time, and after many wanderings settled on the coast some hundred miles north of Delagoa Bay.

4. There is yet a fourth emigration consequent on the formation of the Zulu kingdom, which is probably as numerous as either of the others, I mean the emigration from Zululand into Natal.

When the territory which now forms the Colony of Natal was first visited by the Trek Boers, the country away from the coast was nearly void of inhabitants, a few broken tribes occupied, with the elephant and buffalo, the clearer portions of forests in the warmer and more fertile sea coast; but there were vast tracts nearly uninhabited, and hideous stories are still told of men who, within living memory, were reduced to cannibalism from want of other food.

The country had been laid waste by Zulu "impis"; some of the people who escaped massacre had been carried off to Zululand to swell the numbers of the Zulu tribes to which their conquerers belonged; others had fled and joined the retreating hordes of Fingoes; the country from the immediate low-lying sea coast to the Drakensberg, and often beyond, was practically without any settled inhabitants.

No sooner was the boundary of the British territory fixed, and the English flag hoisted in Natal, than the Zulus, as well as the races they had subjected and incorporated, discovered that the rule of the white man was infinitely easier than that of the Zulu king, and a steady tide of migration across the border set in from Zululand into Natal, which has never since stopped. Sometimes after a contest for the succession or other cause for internal war, the influx into Natal would be by thousands at a time, but more frequently it was by single individuals or families at a time.

So far from the movement being encouraged by the English authorities, every effort was made to check it. At first, before the Colony was formally declared British territory, the threatening remonstrances of the Zulu ruler were met by the promises of extradition. But the shocking fate which was found to await returned fugitives speedily led to a refusal by the British officials to give them up, and had it been otherwise the vast extent of open waste and forest would have made it practically impossible to follow up fugitives.

But up to a very recent period no man was allowed to bring over any property : he could only be received as he stood, and if he brought cattle with him, they were sent back by the British officials to the Zulu king whenever demanded. The new comer was required at once to find some older resident in Natal to answer for him, as not being an habitual vagabond, and within a very short period he must find the means of paying an annual hut-tax.

That under such discouragements the migration should have assumed very large proportions, shows how great must have been the desire of the Zulu population to escape from the military service and arbitrary rule of their own king. If I may judge from the cases in which I was able to examine the Zulu immigrant personally, there was no temptation to move other than the greater security of life and property. Such wages as the immigrants might earn in Natal would have been equally paid had they remained Zulu subjects with a home in Zululand, and other temptation there was none. In one case an old headman who had been contrasting the charms of his old life in Zululand with the humdrum laborious life he led in Natal, in reply to my question, " Why did he remain in Natal, when he was free to go back, and had acquired ample cattle wherewith to propitiate the king ?" answered, " Here in Natal I sleep in peace with my wives, children, cattle, fowls, and mealie store about me, and when I have paid my hut-tax, no one asks me for more. I don't awake if the dogs bark. In Zululand, if the dogs barked at night, I ran and hid myself in the bush, for I did not know whether it was not a message from the capital to take an ox, or a girl, or to kill me because I had been smelt out by the witch-loctors." The extent of these emigrations from Zululand is a sufficient proof of the extraordinary vitality of the races which form the population.

There has been little foreign conquest or absorption of outside tribes since Moselekatze left Zululand to form with his followers the nation of Matabele Zulus. The Fingoes are now numbered by tens of thousands, and the native population of Natal has increased, mainly by immigration, to probably close on 400,000.

We can but cursorily glance at the changes which have taken place in the other great branch of the Bantu family, the Amakosa Kaffirs, since they came in contact with Europeans.

We first hear of them at the end of the last and beginning of the present century as encroaching on the Colony, and pressing back the Hottentot tribes in the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay. They do not, however, seem to have settled much permanently south of the Bushman's river. From that time to this the history of our intercourse with them is a history of continued collision between the frontier farmers and the native tribes. Cattle thefts and reprisals leading to a savage and generally little expected outburst of hostility—a tedious war, and a truce or peace of exhaustion is the usual history—the Kaffir tribes being invariably forced back, and a hollow settlement effected, sometimes with an attempt at improved border arrangements, or at the establishment of a neutral zone, but never with the result of doing more than delay a renewal of hostilities, as soon as the memory of what the frontier tribes had suffered in war began to grow dim.

The Colonial frontier has steadily advanced from the Liesbeck brook, or Salt river in sight of Cape Town, which was its boundary when the Dutch first established themselves; it gradually advanced step by step to the Zwartkop river beyond Port Elizabeth, and then by successive but rapid steps to the Bushman river, the Fish river, the Buffalo, the Kei, the Bashee, the Umtata, till now it has practically reached the frontier of Natal, and the most independent of Amakosa Kaffir chiefs has no really sovereign authority, except what he exercises through the permission, or by the insouciance of the British Government. I am not now speaking of rights or constitutional claims, but of practical results.

What has been the result of the proximity of European Colonists as regards the native tribes? And first as to numbers.

In the absence of reliable statistics we are left more or less at the mercy of fallacious personal observation and memory, and I found great differences of opinion among experienced and observant men, as to whether the natives in the aggregate had increased or decreased in numbers. Some opinions were very decided that within living memory there had been great decrease in the aggregate of Kaffir population; but the result of the most careful inquiry I could make satisfied me that any aggregate decrease was certainly not proved. In particular localities, it is true, it was often possible to prove a decided decrease. There had often been a dispersion of large well-known and populous kraals. There had been wholesale removals of all members of particular tribes to other distant parts, and

sometimes over a whole district which we are assured formerly "swarmed with Kaffirs," few are to be found. Such facts, of course, are in favour of a theory of aggregate decrease of population. On the other hand, the number of Kaffirs settled, two or three families together, on separate farms, in various parts of the country, is probably much larger than it was; there is a considerable population in native locations of large towns, and living as labourers in kraals around them, where formerly a Kaffir labourer was seldom seen; extensive districts which formerly were almost uninhabited now contain a large native population. This is notably the case in Pondoland, in much of the old Galaeka country, and in Griqualand East or Adam Kok's country, till lately known as Noman's land, and almost tenantless.

In no part of the country is there apparent any evidence of a decaying population. When a whole family is mustered, there is generally seen an ample proportion of healthy children of all ages around the parents, and there is every apparent evidence of a population increasing rather than dying out.

But we may hope that at no distant period a fairly accurate estimate of actual numbers of the native races may be obtained by census, and place this question of numbers beyond a doubt.

As regards other effects of European proximity on the Amakosa Kaffir, in other respects than as regards numbers, opinions are much divided. It is not uncommon to meet men of great experience and extensive observation who are very positive that the race is deteriorating. It is not easy to obtain direct and conclusive evidence on such points, but I am bound to say that I have never been satisfied with the reasons I have heard adduced for the belief. The assertion that "one never sees the magnificent savages one used to see with Hintza or Macomo in former days when I was a young volunteer in the Kaffir war," may be accounted for by other reasons than deterioration of race. The henchmen of the great Kaffir chief of forty years ago, ready to support their leader in the field, or amuse him in a war dance, were doubtless more striking figures than the old men who adhere to his shrunken fortunes and degraded state in these days, and something may be due to the enthusiasm of a youthful observer, as compared with satiated observation of the grave and reverend senior—*laudator temporis acti*. Other reasons of the supposed change will be intelligible to any one who has noted the difference between a diminutive Oriental in the unbecoming dress of an European, and the same slight figure clad in the flowing and becoming garments of Moslem or Hindu. Nothing can be more picturesque than the bronze complexioned limbs of a young Kaffir warrior with his red blanket thrown

around him. Few figures have less of the picturesque about them than the same warrior bent with the weight of three score years and ten, and clad in the costume of an English rat-catcher.

Certainly any one who sees the ordinary Kaffir labourer of modern days, divested of his usual European dress, either at work on the beach of Port Elizabeth or driving game on a hill side, or basking in the sun outside his kraal, will find it difficult to credit any serious deterioration of race.

This question is, however, one of those which admit of more accurate test than vague recollections, and casual observation of years gone by. If a few competent observers would carefully record the measurements and weights, as well as photographic portraits of typical specimens of the Kaffir population in well selected localities—such, for instance, as a tribe entirely removed from European habits and influences—a tribe in whose territory the trader, the missionary, and the European Colonist have been long established, and the communities of native workpeople at towns like Port Elizabeth, Durban, or Kimberley, they might establish a basis of sound facts for future comparison.

Regarding the physical effects of European clothing on the natives who had been used to little clothing of any kind, and that worn loose like a blanket or kaross, there has been much controversy, and the leading theories and the few facts supporting them will be found recorded in some useful papers by Lovedale and other students and teachers, and in the religious periodicals to which they are in the habit of contributing.

There can be no doubt that in South Africa, as in other countries where an uncivilized people used to scanty clothing have adopted close-fitting European garments, as a part and an evidence of civilization, there is a very general belief that the change often leads to an increase of pulmonary and other diseases. There can be little doubt of the fact that such increase of disease is observable and is easily accounted for, when, as often happens, the garments of European fashion are worn with little attention to European customs, and still less to European notions and rules of health in matters of clothing.

The native wearer has been used to little, if any, tight fitting clothing. He buys a suit of close fitting woollen clothes such as are worn by European workmen, and wears them partly as a matter of fashion, and partly because the police regulations require him to be decently clothed whenever he goes to work in town. He wears them all day, perhaps whilst hard at work, and during possibly a long hot fatiguing walk out to his own kraal; arrived there he throws them off, and of course is exposed to the effects of a sudden chill; or it some-

times happens with probably even worse results he gets wet through, and lets his thick woollen clothes dry on him.

The subject of a pattern of decent clothing which shall be better suited to native customs than our close fitting garments has engaged the serious attention of more than one energetic missionary in South Africa as a matter closely connected with the health of his flock; and on every ground, æsthetic as well as sanitary, we may wish success to the efforts of those who would devise for the Christianized or civilized natives of Africa a decent African costume, instead of a travesty of our most unbecoming and generally unsuitable European garments.

The effects of a regular and sufficient supply of good food, and of a diet less exclusively of animal food, than the best-fed people were accustomed to in their own kraals, are manifested in various ways in different parts of South Africa, but nowhere in more marked a degree than in the labourers who resort to the diamond fields.

They come from great distances, often more than 600 or 700 miles from Kimberley, and in such great numbers, that on any of the great roads leading to Kimberley, as, for instance, that from Pretoria, the stream of labourers going or returning is so constant and so great that a group of "diamond-field darkies" is seldom out of sight as the traveller watches his road, which is generally visible for some miles in advance.

The wages they get at the diamond fields are very liberal, and the food far more regular and ample than any but rich people receive in their native kraals. The result is a very marked improvement in physique during their stay at "the fields"—so great and so marked that the two lines of men, the one going, the other returning, are, practically, the one lean and ill-favoured, the other fat and well-looking; and it is generally easy as one passes a group of them sitting by the wayside to tell from their condition whether they are going to or from the diamond fields. There is probably no place in South Africa where the advantages to the native population of contact with Europeans are more evident than on the roads, especially those leading northwards and eastwards from the diamond fields to the distant regions whence the supply of labour at the Kimberley mine is chiefly drawn.

Would that the results of such contact were always equally beneficial to the native population! But a very serious increase of syphilitic disease, and its introduction into districts where it was previously unknown, are also results clearly traceable to the resort of native labourers to the diamond fields; and on the evil consequences to the population generally there is no occasion now to dwell.

Still worse are the effects of habits of spirit-drinking, too often contracted by the native labourers at the diamond fields and wherever their labour is in demand for European employers. The subject is one of primary importance in any scheme for improving the condition of the natives, either physically or in any other direction, and it deserves a more than passing notice.

I did not hear of any tribe in South Africa in which the habit of drinking some kind of fermented and exhilarating beverage was not universal before the advent of the white men. There are various kinds of mead in use among some tribes, especially the Bushmen, but the usual Kaffir beverage is a kind of beer, varying much in the mode of manufacture and in strength, but generally made from a mixture of corn meal, either millet or maize, and water, fermented. It is usually thick and pasty, requiring to be stirred up before drinking, slightly acid, and only slightly intoxicating, so that gallons may be drunk at a sitting without producing helpless intoxication. It muddles the drinkers' brain and makes him stupid—affectionate or quarrelsome according to his temper. To be a great drinker is accounted everywhere among the heathen Kaffirs a sign of manhood, and I have heard of incredible quantities being consumed at one bout, *e.g.*, of chiefs who prided themselves on being able to drink nine gallons at a sitting without being incapacitated for talking or locomotion. Such bouts, of course, are not of every day occurrence, they are subjects of much previous talk and preparation, and guests are invited from a distance, and often in great numbers, to partake of a great man's hospitality—but beer of some kind is generally to be found at all times in the kraal of a prosperous Kaffir, and in moderation it is clearly wholesome food.

This, however, can only be said of Kaffir beer unmixed with spirits or other intoxicating drugs, a fashion consequent on intercourse with European traders, and much, I fear, on the increase.

But no adulteration of Kaffir beer can make it as pernicious in its effects as the drinking of spirits—a habit entirely attributable to intercourse with Europeans, and so pernicious as to be deservedly regarded as the monster evil of native association with Europeans. The spirits consumed by the natives are usually bad in quality, partly from bad manufacture, and also from artificial adulteration with various kinds of poisonous intoxicating materials.

It is impossible to over-estimate the mischief thus done to all classes of natives, and the evil is more deplorable because intelligent natives are fully sensible of the evil, and of the ease with which, by various measures which they are not slow to point out, it might be checked.

The evil effects of spirit-drinking are certainly greater and more marked among the Hottentots and their cognate races than among the Kaffirs. But even the Kaffirs suffer more than Europeans, and if the mischief done were no greater than follows the conversion of a sober English workman and his children into a family of gin-drinkers, the evil would clearly be one deserving the most serious attention of statesmen. At present, unhampered by the existence of any enormous excise revenue, the South African Colonies have an easy mode of checking the mischief, by forbidding the indiscriminate sale of spirits to natives not specially authorised by the magistrate. The use of unadulterated Kaffir beer might be left untaxed.

The use of hemp, by smoking or drinking the juice of the macerated leaves or stalks, is the only other form of ordinary Kaffir intoxication, and it is not apparently of European origin.

After making every deduction for the evil results to the native races from contact with Europeans, I have myself no doubt that the balance is greatly in favour of the natives generally, but especially the Kaffir races, having increased in numbers as well as having improved in physique by such contact.

We have hitherto considered chiefly the physical results of European contact. Let us now briefly consider how such contact has affected the general intellectual and moral standard of the native races.

As regards intellectual change, there can, of course, be no doubt of the enormous extent of the change as well of the advantages to the natives, which result from communicating such arts as writing, reading, and printing, and from opening to untutored and unlettered races the vast stores of accumulated knowledge which but for those arts could not be collected or preserved. One hears, occasionally, doubts on such points expressed by those who have known uninstructed and uncivilized persons of more than average natural quickness of apprehension and sagacity ; but no one can seriously weigh the mental powers of the ablest savage ever known, against those of a man of the same race who has received an European education, without feeling that there is no comparison between the intellectual powers of the two men, and that, however great the natural force of intellect may be in the one, it is impossible to resist the conviction that his intellectual power would have been infinitely increased could he have enjoyed the advantages of education accorded to the other.

The question of the moral improvement of natives through contact with European civilization is, I will not say less clear, but it is certainly more controverted. We constantly hear it said

that “an educated or christianized native is a native spoiled, and that natives who have been most influenced by civilized contact and teaching have lost most in truthfulness, docility, and other moral qualities for which, as untutored savages, they were most remarkable.”

To what extent is this very common sort of assertion justified by experience? It could hardly be so common in the mouths of people not immoral nor inhumane, without some element of truth or half truth.

Let us consider, in the first place, that it is chiefly as servants, or in some sort of servile capacity, that the natives are judged of by such critics, and that as servants it is not only possible, but certain, that whatever changes, educational or otherwise, follow on contact with Europeans, they would necessarily derogate from the value of the recipient as a servant. We do not require the authority of tradition to assure us that education had not improved Alfred's capacity as a drudge in the neatherd's cottage, and the goodwife would have found the cow-boy apter and more attentive at turning her cakes than the scholar and hero-king.

The doglike fidelity—the unreasoning personal attachment to the hand that feeds and can punish—the habits of implicit obedience, of observance of trusts, under every form of temptation, are natural characteristics of the untutored man, and make a valuable servant when the purely animal instincts are once subdued. Such useful qualities, however, are not necessarily nor often improved by opening the mind through education, direct or indirect. It is a great thing if they are not impaired or destroyed. They are like the speed or agility developed by savage life—useful natural qualities, rarely improved, and sometimes much impaired by civilization.

We may note that similar complaints are made of the same class in every part of the world. Nowhere in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, or Australia do we hear that servants as a class are improving in the estimation of employers who need their services. The fact is, the tendency of all modern teaching is to make those who formerly worked for others now work for themselves. The two objects are not incompatible, and it is the duty of modern education to reconcile them. The process is not always easy, but it is not, I think, more difficult in the case of South African natives than of other races emerging from barbarism and slavery, and I can testify that such reconciliation is habitually effected by those who set about the task with an equal regard for the wants and wishes of the employed, as well as the employers of labour.

In every other respect than as docile drudges, agrarian or

domestic, there can be no doubt of the great moral as well as intellectual and physical improvement effected by the contact of natives with Europeans. Let any one contrast any account of any native community in South Africa as it was before European colonists arrived, with what it is now, as he may find it by personal inspection and experience.

Let us take, for instance, the Hottentots, as described by travellers, from Van Riebeeck and Kolben, down to Barrow and Burchell, and contrast them with such communities as he will now find at Mamre and Gnadendhal. He will hear now, no doubt, lamentations of humane and benevolent neighbours over the idleness, untruthfulness, and depravity of many of the coloured people. "The settlements are not what they might be. The people prefer working for themselves in their own garden patches, to working for wages for farmers, who sorely need their labour, and who are justly entitled to have it. The labour, when given, is often uncertain and dishonest—not always a fair day's work for a fair day's wage. The people are often idle, and fonder of drink than of honest hard work," &c.

That much of the same kind might be said of labourers in almost any part of Europe is obvious; but contrast the least favourable account which can now be given with the most favourable accounts of earlier travellers. In the style of their habitations and dress the change has been from barbarism to civilization, from the almost indiscriminate herding of naked or half-naked savages to decent houses, habits, and dress. Life and property are as secure as in Europe, and if untruthful or dishonest persons are frequently found, how great is the change from the time when truth and honesty were so rare as to enable many harsh judges to say they were unknown!

Let me here quote the testimony I received from a railway engineer, who had many years experience as an employer of unskilled labour out of England,—in Europe, Asia, and America, as well as in Africa. Giving the first place to the English navvy, with no other reservation than that he must be habitually sober, he said he could generally, in a few weeks, train "raw" or fresh Kaffirs to do as much work for the same amount of money as the English workman—not that any one Kaffir would do as much work, or as well as an English navvy, but that receiving lower wages, the Kaffir could be taught to do as much for the money as an Englishman would. But the best of all his African workmen, he said, were the men from Mamre or Gnadendhal Moravian Mission stations, "off-coloured boys," of Hottentot stock; they were well-trained, sober, steady, and intelligent, quite as able to understand, and as trustworthy to execute work as any but good English navvys.

In many parts of the old Colony this class of natives has acquired property in lands and houses, and their conduct would often be a credit to any class of yeomanry or peasant proprietors in our own country.

Mixed up with the Hottentots, are often the descendants of slaves of African origin. The liberty given to them half a century ago was doubtless a fatal gift to many of the less provident and civilized of this class. But as a body they have prospered and improved.

I may here draw attention to the great and manifest improvement apparent outside the Colony in emancipated slaves, after a few years of freedom and civilized training. I have had several opportunities of inspecting a batch of slaves in India and Eastern Africa soon after their capture, and of witnessing the gradual improvement which has taken place during subsequent years of freedom, and of exposure to various civilizing influences. There is far more than mere improvement in physical condition. The type of man is visibly changed, and assimilated to that of superior races in the grade of civilization.

I have never seen any limit to the improvement of which the Kaffir race is capable, nor any reason to suppose that there is any limit beyond which improvement is impossible or even doubtful. The touching biography of Tyo Soga depicts, perhaps, an extreme case; but I saw and heard enough in the country of his birth to feel assured that the picture is not overcharged nor incorrect, and that this was not an exceptional instance.

To raise a people requires something more than a multiplication of individual cases of improvement, but there are no impossibilities to the race to which he belonged, and in which men of natural capacity equal to his are not uncommon.

What, then, is required to give to such men a fair chance of improving themselves, and of helping to raise and improve their fellows?

1. First there is a need of a strong and stable Imperial Government able to protect life and property, and to enforce law and ensure a reasonable certainty of peace, not depending on the life or the will of a single chief.

Such a Government was unknown to South African history before the advent of Europeans. It has always existed more or less in every English Colony.

Such rule as the Romans always aimed at, and the English have been wont hitherto to secure to their subjects, is the first requisite to preserve the numbers and improve the conditions of the native races.

2. Freedom from slavery, and equality in civil rights before the law is essential to any permanent improvement of native races.

3. It is nearly self evident that neither of these requisites can be secured unless it be first settled whether the moral and social as well as the political standard is to be that of the European Colonist or of the native tribe. Not only have the essential pre-requisites as above defined never existed anywhere under any native rule, but they are clearly incompatible with it.

This question has been practically determined wherever the rule of England prevails, and hence follow the consequent conditions of—

4. Education according to English standards, a condition which has been supplied in various degrees both by the various Governments of the different British Colonies, and yet more extensively and completely by the various missionary bodies at work in South Africa.

There are two most important branches of the conditions I have specified of which we must not lose sight—

(a.) The first belongs to the necessity for a Government able to protect person and property. Such a Government cannot exist unless it has the exclusive power of making war and peace. Nor can such exclusive power be effectively exercised unless the Government is able to prohibit private warfare being carried on, either by individuals or by small sections of the community, without the permission or authority from the general Government.

Hence sooner or later arises the necessity for measures of disarmament, or for the prohibition of carrying arms in public without license from the Government.

Much unnecessary controversy has arisen about what is called "the policy of disarmament,"—a controversy which would never have arisen had it been borne in mind that the habitual carrying of arms *ad libitum* in public, naturally and inevitably carries with it the power to use such arms at will; and that if the individual will is directed by any authority save that of the Government, effective protection by the Government of the person or property of its subjects becomes difficult and ultimately impossible; an essential prerogative, necessary to the existence of any civilized Government, has, in such case, been transferred to the possession of individual subjects.

The other condition to which I would refer may be regarded either as a question of police—a branch of the essential condition of protection to person and property—or as a question of education. It is equally important in both aspects, and relates to the unrestricted use of intoxicating substances.

The importance of the subject will be self-evident if it is considered that in no civilized country is the manufacture and sale of intoxicating substances left absolutely free; whilst in

many countries possessing a high degree of very ancient civilization such manufacture and sale, except for medicinal purposes, is absolutely prohibited.

The question is of extraordinary importance in South Africa, where the Government is not always strong enough to do what is, in the abstract, best, if its action would conflict with powerful interests; and where no doubt the evil of unrestrained use of intoxicating liquors is more pernicious to the native races than to Europeans, and is by itself, in the opinion of many, sufficient to destroy a whole race, as it has done in other countries.

I have given reasons for doubting whether this is the case as regards the Kaffir races, but there can be no doubt that of all the evils we can inflict on the native races, none can well be greater than the introduction of European means and habits of intoxication; and that our action in introducing them is sufficient to counterbalance all the benefits of civilization which we can confer on them.

The question is one of great difficulty as well as of great importance, and I cannot do better than refer those who take an interest in it to a masterly speech of Mr. Sprigg, the late Premier of the Cape Colony, which they will find printed in one of the late South African blue books.

In securing the conditions necessary to improve the condition of natives in contact with Europeans, by such measures as I have described, it is essential that the superior Government should possess an adequate revenue to meet the inevitable expenses of protecting person and property, and enforcing law. The native community must itself supply the means, and it is to be regretted that any doubt should ever have been raised as to the ease with which this may be effected, without causing any of the popular discontent apt to follow the imposition of new taxes.

Time does not admit of my doing more than allude to the example set by the Native administration of Natal in this matter.

It used to be said in Natal that every hut had among the fowls one which was known as "Somtsu's hen" (Sir T. Shepstone), whose eggs sufficed to pay the hut-tax; whatever foundation there may be for this story, there can be no doubt that the Natal hut-tax was an extremely light contribution to the expenses of protection, as compared with the contributions in cattle, grain, and labour exacted by the most moderate of native chiefs. But light as the taxation was, it sufficed to cover the expenses of government. I have never heard an objection to this form of taxation, which was not traceable to the desire of the chiefs to retain their power of unlimited taxation.

The headmen of the kraals, as far as I could learn, were less apt to object to the Government impost.

Let me note in passing that direct taxation for the benefit of Government has a very considerable influence in superseding that authority of the great tribal chiefs, which it was the object of rulers like Chaka to destroy, and which is, in fact, in its unchecked exercise incompatible with the authority of any centralized Government. Indeed, it would not be difficult, did time admit, to show that in the great work of civilizing a South African Native community, taxation by Government exercises as great an influence as the security of individual rights in separate property and the enjoyment of good wages, which are among the most effectual practical means of promoting civilization in such communities.

Before quitting this part of the subject, referring to the extent to which the European races have checked the advance, and are more or less Europeanizing the native races, we ought to consider whether there is anywhere evidence of a reflex action on the European Colonists; whether the natives are anywhere pressing back the Europeans, or denationalizing them, or forcing them to conform to native authority and native ideas. Whether there is in South Africa any apparent possibility of the native races acting on the invading Europeans, as the northern barbarians of Europe acted on the Roman invaders in the decline of their empire, absorbing their civilization as well as their imperial power. Such a danger was apprehended by many acute observers from the Zulus before their power was broken, and it is clear that on the northern and north-eastern border of the Transvaal the European immigrants have not maintained the positions first taken up by the Trek Boers. They have been expelled from many districts they then occupied, and in others have been allowed to remain only on payment of tribute or black mail.

Again, in Damaraland, though a considerable influx of Trek Boers took place about nine years ago, and at various periods since, it has been doubted whether they can maintain their own complete independence, or the degree of civilization which their fathers had preserved.

It is not safe to predict results in such cases, but my impression is that the question is one of the comparative inherent vigour of the two races whose advanced guards are thus meeting. The Trek Boers, like the rest of the white colonists in South Africa, belong to the swarming European nations of northern Europe. They derive their impulse not merely from inherent love of independence or of change, but from the pressure outwards always felt by nations in the

swarming or emigrant stage of existence. Emigration to South Africa may be checked or diverted to Australia or America; but it will not cease. The advanced guard of Trek Boers may advance too fast, and be repulsed or absorbed in the vast native populations on whose territories they have intruded; but there is an impulse behind which will impel others onwards to support them, and to fill their places; and as long as their parent race retains its inherent vigour, and the civilization which gives it the superiority over other equally vigorous but uncivilized races, and as long as it continues in the swarming stage, so long the ultimate result will always be that the European invader will prevail over the native occupants, and expel, subdue, or assimilate the weaker race.

It may seem strange that I should hitherto have said but little directly on the influence of missions in altering the physical intellectual, or moral condition of the native races.

This has not arisen from any doubt whether a discussion regarding the effects of missions would be appropriate in a lecture delivered before this Institute, but simply from the fact that, in South Africa, at all events, the missions of the various Christian churches embody, in the most concentrated and active form, all the most efficient European influences at work to change the character of native existence.

It is otherwise in India, where the existence of powerful, active, and ancient forms of religious belief greatly restrict the dominant European race in the use of any but secular influence and teaching, and render the teaching of the missionary something apart and distinct from the teaching of the secular ruler. No such restriction exists in South Africa. The European government there, as elsewhere, refers for its code of principles of action to the same documents which contain the moral precept as well as the religious beliefs of European nations; and the European missionary is not only in general the person best able to instruct his native pupils in the contents of those documents, but he is in most cases the only European to be found whose direct business it is to impart such instruction.

The Government official in Africa or in India may expound and apply the law when malefactors or litigants appear before him, but it is no part of his direct duty to train those subjects to his authority to understand or obey the law, and this function necessarily falls almost exclusively on the missionary, whose teaching may be taken as the only practical embodiment of European law and principle which is accessible to the natives.

Of other results of religious teaching further than they affect the physical condition and moral and intellectual status of the pupil, this is not the place to speak; I need only say that no

educated Englishman who has seen much of educated Kaffirs is likely to doubt that the race possesses at least as much aptitude for receiving and analysing such truths and as good a chance of moral and intellectual growth under such teaching, as the captives at Rome who are said to have moved the compassion of St. Augustine.

What then—to sum up—are the laws or invariable facts affecting the relations between civilized and savage life, as bearing on the dealings of Colonists with Aborigines, as we may gather them from our experience in South Africa ?

1. That it is possible for the civilized to overcome and destroy by war the uncivilized and savage race—to expel or drive them back—or to turn them aside in their migrations, admits, I think, of no doubt. In such contests the civilized power, if vital and growing, must in the long run prevail.

2. That simple proximity of the civilized to the uncivilized race has led, or is leading, to the extinction of the savage race, seems probable in the case of the Bushmen—is very doubtful in the case of the other Hottentot or tawny-skinned races, and clearly has not occurred and is not likely to occur in the case of the Bantu family—the Bechuana, the Zulu, and the Kaffir races.

3. That the changes which have occurred in the native races, consequent on the proximity of European colonists, are an advance in civilization and approximation to the types of European civilization—marked in the case of the Hottentot, but yet more marked and rapid in the case of the Bantu races, and that there seems to be no practical limit to the changes which may thus take place.

4. That the essentials necessary to such development are—

(*a.*) Such a peace as the Romans and the English elsewhere have ensured to subject races, as a consequence of civilized sovereignty—a peace bringing with it—

(*b.*) Protection for life and property, and practical equality before the law, leading to a substitution of individual property for tribal commonage, and involving logically the abolition of slavery and of all sale of man or womankind; also of private rights of making war, and consequently of carrying arms, except under authority of the supreme ruler.

(*c.*) Power of local legislation for the purpose of securing the objects enumerated, such legislation to be directed on the principles recognised in civilized European countries with a view to secure education in the arts of civilized life, and in such knowledge as forms the strength, and furnishes the rewards of civilization.

(*d.*) Legislation should also be directed to place such restrictions on the manufacture and sale of intoxicating substances as are

needed to prevent their ruining the health and retarding the material welfare of the native community.

(*e.*) To secure all these objects an equitable form of civilized taxation is needed, sufficient to meet the expenses of administration.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. JOHN EVANS expressed his thanks for the Paper, in which, besides the immediate subject-matter, there were so many interesting details with regard to the various races now occupying South Africa. He was glad to hear the references to the practice of ancient Rome, with regard to the foreign countries brought under her sway. It was, indeed, her special gift "to spare the subject and repress the proud." He could not, however, quite agree with the author in placing the ancient Britons, when first brought in contact with Rome, on the same level as any of the natives of South Africa when first exposed to European influences. Long before the time of Julius Cæsar the Britons had commercial relations with Gaul, and for nearly two centuries they had possessed a coinage. During the ninety years which elapsed between the invasion of Julius and that of Claudius, they made further progress in civilization, became acquainted with letters, and built important towns. It was also to be borne in mind that, though foreigners, most of the nations who came under the Roman dominion were practically members of the same great Aryan family, and did not differ from them in anything like the same degree as the coloured races of South Africa do from Europeans. He quite agreed with the general views expressed by Sir Bartle Frere at the end of his Paper—but to ensure the progress of civilization among those brought in contact with our colonists, not only was peace a necessity, but time during which new ideas might take root. It was to be regretted that so much mischief was frequently done by the force of bad example, but still the careful administration of justice in a Colony, the obedience to law, and the general regard for morality, could not but have their effect. A firm adherence to fixed principles, and an absence of vacillation and change when treating with savage nations, appeared to him to be of the highest importance, and looking at the widespread influence of this country throughout the world, he trusted it might always be for good, and that Britain had yet a glorious mission of civilization before her.

Mr. F. GALTON would refer first to the purely ethnological part of the memoir, which dwelt upon the difficulty of defining the Bantu race. He thought that ethnologists were apt to look upon race as something more definite than it really was. He presumed it meant no more than the average of the characteristics of all the persons who were supposed to belong to the race, and this average was continually varying. The popular notion seemed

based upon some idea like that of a common descent of the different races, from a parent Noachian stock, whence the aborigines of each county were derived, and where they lived in unchanged conditions till the white man came. Nothing can be further from the truth. We know how in South Africa the Bantu population has been in constant seethe and change; how, in much less than a single century, Chaka and his tribe, Mosilekatse and his tribe, and others, have in turn become prominent nations, and the average of the whole Bantu population must thereby have differed at different times. This same fluctuation of the average qualities of the population must, for anything we can see to the contrary, have gone on for many thousands of years. He therefore thought the phrase of Bantu race, as signifying some invariable and definite type, to be a mere chimera. In the earlier part of his memoir, Sir Bartle Frere had compared our mode of treating uncivilized races to that of the Romans. He heartily wished that the resemblance held in certain essential points. Our military hold was as firm, our tolerance of local customs was as great, our dealings were as just, and more just than theirs. But we did not amalgamate with them as the Romans did, we did not intermarry; by means of our missionaries we pressed upon them a form of religion which was not the most congenial. Our civilization was stiff. This, and much more, was pointed out in a very able and most pathetic memoir by Mr. Blyden, the present Minister of Liberia to England, who is a full-blooded negro. The article appeared in "Frazer's Magazine" some years ago, and it showed the repressive effect of White civilization upon the Negroes, as contrasted with that of the Mohammedans. It was a shame to us as an Imperial nation, that representatives of the many people whom we governed, did not find themselves more at home among us. They seldom appeared in such meetings as the present one; they did not come to England. We did not see them in the streets. It was very different in ancient Rome, where the presence of foreigners from all parts of the then known world was a characteristic feature of every crowd. He did not now suggest any action, but merely wished to lay stress on this serious drawback to our national character as rulers of a great Empire. He thought they were greatly indebted to Sir Bartle Frere for introducing to public notice so important a subject as the best form of conduct of civilized races towards their less civilized neighbours, and he trusted that it would meet with that full and many-sided discussion which so important a question deserved.

Professor FLOWER remarked that the results of the contact of one race with another were greatly affected by geographical or climatical conditions. In all temperate climates, where Europeans established themselves, the natives disappeared, the process being much more rapid in the case of islands than upon continents. In tropical climates, unsuited to the permanent residence of Europeans, the native races retain their numerical supremacy. The degree of

relationship between the different races spoken of must also be taken into consideration. The ancient Britons and the Romans, though in a different condition of culture, were closely related, and there was no difficulty for the one to adopt the civilization of the other, but with the English and Zulus, and still more with the English and Australians and Tasmanians, the relationship is far more remote. Such considerations should give greater importance to the study of anthropology by statesmen and colonists than has hitherto been accorded to it.

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE and the PRESIDENT also joined in the discussion, and Sir BARTLE FRERE briefly replied.

On the motion of Professor FLOWER, seconded by Mr. RICHARD BIDDULPH MARTIN, M.P., a vote of thanks was unanimously carried to the PRESIDENT and to Mrs PITT RIVERS for their kindness in inviting the members of the Institute to hold the meeting at their private residence.
