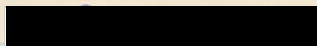


NAME.

WILLIAM ALAN SMALLMAN.

DATE OF BIRTH.



ADDRESS

18. STAFF TERRACE

STANHOPE LINES

ALDERSHOT.

SCHOOL.

THE FARNHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

BOOKS USED IN PREPARATION.

The Romance of Empire .
South Africa
Empire Expansion

Sir Phillips Gibbs.
Colonel Silburn
Murray.

Summary.

I

Introduction

Peoples of different stock and traditions cannot live happily under the same government. Problem is as old as history. Racial ~~and~~ settlement essential for world peace. Difficulty of uniting people of different stock under one government. Incompatibility is partly physical and partly due to literature and folklore. Problem for the government is to strike at root that is, in the individual. This problem is found in many parts of ~~South~~ the British Empire.

South Africa.

South Africa exemplifies problem well, due doubtless to many races found there. Historical survey, first settlers, arrival of English, large numbers of slaves freed, Great Trek begins, first Boer war, free government for Transvaal. Discovery of diamonds, Cecil Rhodes and the 2nd Boer war. Reaction - Union of South Africa act offers fresh scope for party and racial controversies.

Conclusion.

Racial antipathies are being destroyed upon the sports field, in the study and by the full of life of to-day. The duty of everyone to stamp out the hostility. Until this is done world settlement is impossible.

1
It has been sometimes said that men of different stock and traditions cannot live happily together under the same government. Write a paper on this subject, as if for a school society, illustrating your argument from the history of South Africa or of Canada or of both Dominions.

The argument in this Essay is illustrated mainly by reference to South African history.

The problem that we have here presented to us is as old as history itself. Amidst the welter of present day international difficulties; financial, economic, racial and even religious, we are extremely liable to overlook the apparently minor question of domestic content amongst people, who, while differing with regard to stock and tradition are yet forced by circumstance to submit to the same central government. Western civilization has evolved as its aim a form of International Fellowship wherein each of its units will be freed of these jealousies, economic necessities, suspicions and often groundless antipathies which form the psychological causes of war. Must not each one of these units strive first to put its own house in order? and what government in the world today can claim that among all nations it is the only one that is not confronted with the problem of a mixed nation entailing not a single aim but a policy embracing the desires of the several units of the nation?

Differences of stock and tradition are essential factors that have to be considered in studying a nation's internal structure and conditions. Such differences entail incongeniality of customs and often of religions. The great problem of internal administration has been to bring these differences together under one single government. A survey of the political activities of all peoples who have

entered into the known stream of world history produces little more than a constant repetition of this same unhappy relationship of people of differing characteristics seeking to end their real or imagined oppressions under some form of centralised government. There is the identical, wearisome repetition of plots, counter-plots, revolt, repression, religious persecution and assassination. The Jews wrung their very heart strings in a benign captivity; The cities of Greece carried their domestic prejudices and animosities into their camps when in the very face of a powerful foe; no part of the great Roman Empire was ever without its anti-Roman secret society. Every form of centralised administration, whether it be great or small, presents us with this same vital problem.

This incompatibility of racial trait is largely instinctive being inherited partly in the blood and largely in the oral and in the literary traditions of the people. The implied aversion is usually both physical and mental. Of these the former is, in the main, an aversion based on a racial difference of colour, physique, physiognomy or bodily habits; it is usually greatly stressed in discussing the problem in question but actually it is of far less importance than mental aversion. Physical aversion can, under especially favourable conditions, disappear in one generation. Mental aversion, however, being based upon psychological processes is infinitely more durable. It may be lessened by lenient and compromise policy but is ever retained in the sub-conscious and is ever liable to break out on provocation. Born in those apparently harmless nursery tales and native legends and folk-lore learned at the mother knee, it is nourished by the "interesting" history of the text-books, and it gains its full maturity in the catch phrases

III

of a sensational press in times of acute national or world crisis or in the careless and unpremeditated utterances of unscrupulous or hasty politicians, acting under the influence of an idea that they are benefiting their own race as a unit but not the nation as a whole.

These more or less personal aversions become crowd instincts in the body politic and therein lies the difficulty of government. The ruling body must, to ensure its very existence endeavour to hold these head aversions and controversies within due bounds; in its nature the administrative unit is only capable of dealing with groups yet the only real way to strike at the very roots of the problem is to deal with the individual unit. As we have seen, through judicious compromise, a wise government can maintain its units in a state of ostensible contentment but they will have always to contend with and make careful allowance for the latent tendencies of racial instinct which are ever a potential nucleus of civil strife if not of internecine war. Frequently these racial tendencies find an outlet in some sentimental or purely symbolic form such as a Gaelic League, an Eisteddfod gathering or a Bonneton fête. Although in some cases these form a beneficial means of relieving the intensity of hostile emotion, too often have they become the seed of a concentration of anti-government propaganda and sedition.

A heterogeneous Empire, such as is the world wide and far renowned British Empire of today, will, on inspection, in every portion ~~there~~ show that there are many inhabitants

X of different stock and tradition bound together under the same administration. As outstanding examples, taken from our own Empire, we may quote India, Canada and the Union of South Africa. In India there lies the vast and truly intricate problem of an almost unknown number of races, each with its essential caste distinctions and each speaking a different tongue. Canada exemplifies the smoothing down of these aversions, between French and English strains, under careful and considerate government. The problem of South Africa is in part that of Canada and in part that of India. It is a problem that is alive and active today and one that is to have a vital effect upon the future concord of our Empire. Thus in our consideration of these problems we would profit greatly by discussing at some length their existence in South Africa.

South Africa has ever been to the fore in the eyes of the British public. They have had little cause to forget that the British government has spent more money and wasted more English lives upon the maintenance of peace and prosperity in South Africa than in any other colony or Dominion overseas. The history of the country reads as page after page of internal strife. There have been wars between the British and the Dutch farmer, or "Boers" as we shall know them, between the British and the Native, and between Boer and Native and many little tribal wars between the different black races.

The first settlers at the Cape of Good Hope were a number of Dutchmen who founded the Dutch East India Company in 1652. By

V

native a hardy race, used to the difficulties and dangers of Holland's encroaching sea, they soon began to make their settlement pay. In ¹⁶⁵⁴~~1544~~ a large number of Assisted convicts augmented the little band of settlers and 2 years later a party of West African Slaves were imported. Later on, in 1655, when by the "Edict of Nantes" the big old king of France exiled many of his Protestant subjects some 200 of these "Huguenots" as they were called made their way out to the farms of Cape Colony. Thus we see that already there were four quite distinct and antipathetic nationalities plus two indigenous races; the Bushmen and Hottentots. These races consisted of descendants of peoples of varying degrees of education and civilized progress, inheriting each the individualistic traditions, customs and peculiar racial prejudices of their forebears. For 150 years these people lived a life of constant watchfulness and fear, ever awaiting an attack from the surrounding hostile native tribes. They worked with their weapons ever to hand and dreaded that on their return to their homesteads they might find their wives and children brutally murdered. Is it not natural that these Boers should learn to hate the black races? Is it not natural that such a life of perpetual hardship and dread should breed in the colonist his especial characteristics of: independence, intolerance, furtiveness and suspicion?

When in 1795 the British occupied the colony the Boers thought that at last they should have adequate protection from their warlike neighbours. However the government, more concerned with affairs in Europe and at home, had little sympathy for them and soon showed the Boers that they

V!

would have to fend for themselves. This severity of treatment gave the Boers an opportunity for showing their resentment of what they considered to be an unwarrantable action on the part of Britain: the annexation of the colony. In vain did the British government point out that the Cape of Good Hope had been formally and quite legally annexed to Great Britain long before the formation of the Dutch East India Company. Logical argument will always fail when opposed to the force of inherited prejudice.

This hatred for the English was to bear bitter fruit for both sides in later years. It had become so intense by the year 1836 that many of the Boer farmers were so disheartened that they resolved to trek Northward in search of new pastures. This Great Trek as it was called was inevitably decided upon when the British government carried out its drastic action of emancipating all slaves; and by their failure to reconcile the Boers to the decision by making ample recompense. These travellers formed new states ^{now} and as the names of: Natal, the Orange Free State and Transvaal. Here, left to themselves, freed ^{of the} hateful, shackling yoke of British administration, they lived peacefully and happily together until a British garrison was ordered to occupy Durban, in Natal. Once again the Boers sensed an injustice and, fearing that happiness would be theirs no longer, they trekked once more: this time across the Vaal river and into the territory of the Transvaal. Here, once more, remote from the disturbing proximity of the English, the Boers lived in a condition of contented liberty although they had never been formally granted their independence. However native wars increased in number and ferocity and the British government

VII/

sensed the extreme likelihood of a general native rising so the administration of the Transvaal was incorporated under the crown.

To this chopping rule the Boers have appeared to submit, looking upon it as merely a temporary evil. However, although every attempt was made to treat the Boers on an equal basis in the country and to patch up old differences and mistakes on both sides, the farmers instinctively thought of the British as mere usurpers. Education appeared to have no other effect than to stimulate the desire for discovering the where withal to remove for ever the unbearable yoke of submission to the Crown. Even the few intelligent and thoughtful men among the Boers, such as Kruger and Pretorius, did little but attempt to formulate an active hostility to British rule. It was primarily at their instigation that the Boer "commanders" went to war with the Britons. The war ending with Great Britain yielding to the desire of the Boers for independence. So blind were the Boers in their distrust and suspicion of the English that this appeared to them to be only an act of craven submission performed by a government who were acknowledging defeat.

Later came the great and world shaking discovery of the diamond fields in the Transvaal and the tremendous influx of foreigners, all anxious to enrich themselves as quickly as possible. Amongst them there were a great number of English men. Had the Boer politicians been astute enough to treat their erstwhile enemies with some slight measure of hospitality and respect many of the inter-racial problems might not have arisen later. As it was, however, they did

all in their power to hinder to hinder them in their prospecting and to treat them no better than the blacks. They taxed them unbearably, made them pay outrageous prices for food, lodging, and transport. In addition with complete disregard of the fact that these foreigners were a lucrative source of revenue and that they had greatly assisted in regaining financial stability for the country, the Boers continually refused to grant them a vote. It was this harsh treatment that earned for the Boers in the Transvaal the enmity of one of the most powerful leaders, both in politics and in commerce that South Africa has ever known. His name was Cecil Rhodes and he was destined to set light to the train that would ultimately cause the conflagration of the 2nd Boer war. He introduced arms, money, and munitions into the Transvaal and attempted to coerce the foreign population to rise against the tyrannical rule of the Boers. This rising was a complete failure but it succeeded in breaking through the mild constraint of Boer antipathy to Britain. This time the Boers declared that they could never be happy until they had driven the Britons and all that stood for British sovereignty ignominiously into the sea.

"Romance of
Empire"

Phillip
Gibbs.

The excuse the Boers gave for the actual outbreak of war was that Britain had acted contrary to her agreement with the Transvaal by officially demanding a franchise for the foreign population of that country. "Thus began that great and dread-ful struggle which cost so many valuable lives on both sides and drenched S. Africa in blood." It was a war which proved.

conclusively that the little Boer nation had inherited all the characteristics of its forefathers; indomitable courage, an almost inhuman ~~courage~~ hardihood and a hard won but truly remarkable skill in the science of guerrilla warfare. Contrary ~~from~~ inferential conclusions and expectations British prisoners, and unfortunately there were many of them, were treated with the utmost respect and consideration. This may ~~appear~~ appear to be an unimportant and trivial detail of the war. On the contrary it is actually a vital factor in this discussion as it proves that this great problem of racial controversy is not unassailable. It shows that animal hostility can be ultimately overcome by a more ideal and powerful primitive instinct; respect and admiration for a courageous enemy.

However the ~~unsettlement~~ settlement of war reaction unearthed once more these buried feelings. While our sentimentalists at home were busily occupied penning long letters to the papers saying that at last the Boers had begun to realise that they would gain quite as much freedom and benefit as greatly under the Union Jack as they did under their Republican flag, propagandists were flooding the country with exhortations to demand from Great Britain a constitution.

When this came in 1909 instead of finally annexing the controversy which had waged so long between Britain and Boer it opened up new fields for political differences in the form of party government. For today it is not so much amongst the youth of the nation that the racial feeling is prevalent; it is harboured at the stock-in-trade of the politician. He relies upon it to assist in the

South
Africa"
Colonel
Sillburn

spread of sedition and, with the assistance of foreign agents to "fan the dying embers of racial antagonism into the flame of racial hatred".

Thus have we traced this racial feeling right down through the years of South Africa's history. It has burned, now fiercely, now almost peacefully, through three long centuries. This durability alone should be a conclusive proof that this can be no mere personal prejudice or unfounded dislike. Only hereditary animal instinct could be handed down through so many long years and remain strong to the very last.

We have seen how potent are the forces that affect man during moments of crisis and war. There are stronger forces than man is master of that battle for mastery of man's antipathies.

Also, that, although this racial jealousy may lie dormant in the blood of a whole generation it will always break forth upon provocation.

We have been shown that often there is no real open antagonism between individual members of differing races. The relations, apparent in the behaviour of the individuals, may be, on the surface, perfectly content but the bitterness manifest itself always in mass behaviour.

Fortunately we are entering upon a new era of social and internal progress. It is an era that no past generation could have foretold. It is the era of sport. Upon the sports field racial differences do not exist. The team spirit is the essence of the true solution to our racial problem. In South Africa, for instance, on the rugby ^{field} we find Boers playing alongside Britons, at the cricket pavilion

men whose fathers were bitter enemies conversing pleasantly upon sporting topics. Public men of the present day do not yet seem to have fully realised the vital and revolutionary effect that will have upon world affairs. In ~~the~~ years to come it will be an important factor in the promotion of inter-racial, inter-national and eventually even world wide peace and prosperity.

Coupled with the great increase of sporting activities are the vast new fields of thought that science ever opens before the philosophers of all nations. In the same way ^{as} has the common bond of sport united the carefree members of modern youth so has study formed a bond that will draw the thinkers of all nations into a closer relationship. Inevitably this will result in a suppression of dislikes and jealousies. Moreover with the new fields opening up before the layman his life is rapidly becoming full of new ideas, new theories, new inventions and new wonders. He has not the time to remember his baser hatreds and suspicions when faced with a dream world of ideals.

In conclusion we can but say that it is to be hoped that everyone of us will go out into the world fully determined to strive his utmost to stamp out, first from himself and then from his fellow men the parasitic spirit of racial antipathy. Until this task is done disarmament is but idle talk, peace unlikely and a common bond of nations under the League is an absolute impossibility.