

# THEORIA

EDITORIAL COMMENT

BERNARD NOTCUTT—A TRIBUTE

THE IDEA OF NON-EUROPEAN EDUCATION:

A SYMPOSIUM

EDGAR H. BROOKES  
C. P. DENT

MABEL PALMER  
D. G. S. M'TIMKULU

A. D. LAZARUS  
S. R. DENT

THE EDUCATIONAL PATTERN OF THE BANTU

EILEEN JENSEN KRIGE

BANTU ART (With Illustrations)

J. W. GROSSERT

OUTLINE OF ZULU LITERATURE

D. MCK. MALCOLM

BANTU MUSIC

HUGH TRACEY

NATIVE RESERVE POLICY IN NATAL

N. HURWITZ

THE HINDUS IN SOUTH AFRICA

RANJI S. NOWBATH

THE HUMANITIES, SCIENCE, AND VOCATIONALISM  
IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

W. H. O. SCHMIDT

TWO POEMS

TERENCE HEYWOOD

THE ARS POETICA OF HORACE

Translated by

W. R. G. BRANFORD AND M. W. M. POPE

THE AUTONOMY OF ART

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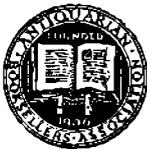
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WRITE FOR OUR CATALOGUE

# THEORIA

## A JOURNAL OF STUDIES

in the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences

*Edited by W. H. GARDNER*

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## FOREWORD

The Editor acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Hans Meidner for the welcome suggestion which brought into being the following Symposium, and also to Dr. Lindsay Young for his careful proof-reading.

We also wish to thank all those *alumni* and others who have enrolled as regular subscribers, and to express the hope that they will continue to find *Theoria* worthy of their interest and practical support.

The attention of *all* readers is directed to the "Important Notice" at the back of this number.

## EDITORIAL COMMENT

“men are saved  
At greater cost than soil. The enemy  
Is not the outer but the inner drought.”

GUY BUTLER (*The Dam*)

### §1

Seven of the articles in this issue give the book a predominant theme, which may be called “aspects of the life and culture of the Non-European races in South Africa, with special emphasis on the Bantu or African.” Considered together, these articles should throw some light on a problem which is seriously engaging the minds of thoughtful people not only in the Union and the rest of Africa but also in Europe and America. It is part of the present policy of *Theoria* to stimulate the mentality which will rigorously compare or contrast South African thought and practice in the sphere of the humanities, arts, and social sciences with the ideas and procedures which now obtain or are steadily evolving in other parts of the civilized world. If any kind of isolationism is considered necessary or expedient, we should at least face all the home facts, if only to put ourselves in the position to stave off (or take to heart) the uninvited home truths. It would indeed be regrettable if the sociological and cultural matters dealt with in some of the following essays, and especially in the Symposium, should be of greater interest to people north of the equator than to people south of the Limpopo.

The present writer has recently returned from an academic tour which included visits to a number of European universities and high schools, and in almost every one of these institutions there were several members of staff who seemed more eager to discuss South African internal affairs (racial, social, educational, political) than to make a start with the more specialized business which had occasioned the visit. Some of the opinions expressed showed a failure to grasp realistically (and therefore imaginatively) the conditions and problems in a multi-racial society—a society in which the most advanced, self-determined and powerful groups constitute only a small numerical minority; but this ignorance, this prejudice, was at least biased towards a genuinely humane, if somewhat speculative, world-view. In our own country too there are people of every race, class, and shade of political opinion who are equally unable, or even unwilling, to recognize the facts—

or who, knowing them, fail to realize their import. There may be no serious dearth of fundamental humanitarian goodwill; but there is, we submit, a disquieting lack of humanitarian logic or clear vision. This 'vision' implies a sharply focussed foresight of ends-to-be-achieved and a consequent harmonizing of aims and methods, and without it men of goodwill easily degenerate into well-meaning blunderers. Nevertheless, to return from Europe, where the solution of our problems is too facile, to the Union of South Africa, where the problems provoked by our solutions are at present too formidable, is to come back to a country which is particularly rich in opportunities for the exercise of close observation, sympathetic understanding, and the bold concessions of a mature altruistic wisdom.

As regards the subject of our Symposium, there are still many South African Europeans who, because of their inherited and inhibiting attitude of exclusiveness and caution, are so far from observing historic and contemporary trends in the larger world around them—and even the most obvious signs of progress in their own country—that they would read the title with a certain irritated emphasis on the word "Idea"; but as one eminent contributor to the Symposium observed in his covering letter, the education of the Non-European is not an idea which can be accepted or rejected: it is, in fact, a direct consequence of the contact between *blankes* and *nie-blankes*:

" Apart altogether from the question of Human Rights (which to some of us means a great deal) or the deliberate intent to 'educate', every contact is education, for better or worse. Carrying a note from one European to another would convince some that there was a way of sending messages without spoken words which would be worth learning. Mothers teaching their children to read and write, in the presence of their nurse-maids, unconsciously start some on the road to book-learning. More African girls are given a training in what may be called 'house crafts' through employment as domestic servants than receive it through domestic science training schools, and so on through an almost endless series of educative contacts. This process is both an opportunity and a responsibility which far too few even recognize. Once the educational process has been started you cannot stop it [we would add here—'or even retard it'—Ed.] without awakening strong resentments, which are the natural consequences of suppression. Would anybody say that the desire to learn was wrong, or that freedom to follow the desire was not in the nature of a human right? If any European in South Africa says 'I am against the idea of Non-European Education', the proper retort seems to be, 'But you are actively engaged in it yourself, and that usually without thought'."

Dr. Edgar Brookes, in his answer to the Questions, refers to the *Report of the Commission on Native Education (1949-1951)*, which was drawn up under the chairmanship of Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen. This authoritative document should be taken into account by any reader who wishes to consider very seriously those parts of the Symposium which deal specifically with the education of the African. For instance, Paragraph 60 is a concise statement on the "Intelligence and Aptitude" of the Bantu:

"While the volume of evidence on this subject presented to the Commission was considerable it was of a very contradictory nature. Your Commissioners have therefore maintained an open mind on the subject. No evidence of a decisive nature was adduced to show that as a group the Bantu could not benefit from education or that their intelligence and aptitudes were of so special and peculiar a nature as to demand on these grounds a special type of education."

Not only the resultant "open mind", but also and more particularly the negative form of the last sentence, indicates clearly the presupposition of many if not most of our European South Africans, namely that the Bantu intelligence is basically inferior.

Again, Chapter VIII, "The Aims of Bantu Education", presents, in Paragraph 765, the following "definition":

- (a) From the viewpoint of the whole society the aim of Bantu education is the development of a modern progressive culture, with social institutions which will be in harmony with one another and with the evolving conditions of life to be met in South Africa, and with the schools which must serve as effective agents in this process of development.
- (b) From the viewpoint of the individual the aims of Bantu education are the development of character and intellect, and the equipping of the child for his future work and surroundings."

It cannot be denied that this two-fold definition is vague or ambiguous. For a comment on the implications of these passages and the *Report* as a whole we refer the reader to Dr. Brookes's article.

## §2

Among the important books published in the Union during the past year there are three which call for comment and recommendation, and they do so, by good hap, in the light of the foregoing remarks. The first is Mr. Leo Marquard's *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa*,<sup>1</sup> which is obviously a well informed and, on the whole, balanced exposition of those historical and contemporary facts which form the basis of a just assessment of the first eight articles in this journal. Mr. Marquard is usually quite objective; with a complete detachment, for instance, he records the surprising fact that in 1952 the Native Reserves occupied about 9.7 per cent. of the total area of the Union:

“When the full amount of land has been bought the Reserves will occupy 58,000 square miles, or 13 per cent. of the total area of the Union. The remaining 87 per cent. is for European occupation<sup>1</sup> only. (p.40).

Elsewhere, however, Mr. Marquard's bias is manifest, and that bias is towards the humane and liberal. The essential problem underlying our Symposium may be resolved into the question as to whether Mr. Marquard is demonstrably right or mischievously wrong in the statements he makes at the end of Chapter V. Human rights, we would all agree, are the concern of Justice; but, says Mr. Marquard,

“Even in the homogeneous societies of Europe it is only since the latter half of the nineteenth century that harsh laws and sentences against socially inferior classes have come to be regarded as unjust.”

In South Africa, he continues,

“Those who have political power use it to entrench their social and economic position. In such circumstances, justice is poisoned at its source and cannot flow in a clear stream.”

Mr. Marquard is a South African, and one of those who recognize the world-wide liberal tradition of the last hundred years. The view stated in the last quotation is the view of our situation which is most commonly expressed, rightly or wrongly, by educated if not always wisely informed observers in other remote but friendly countries.

Perhaps it is not the masters of ‘theoretical knowledge’ or the active politicians who will play the biggest part in clarifying and directing the attitudes and policies of South Africa, but the

<sup>1</sup> Oxford University Press, 1952; 18/-.

<sup>1</sup> The word “occupation” does not preclude Non-European domicile, but it does imply European ownership and control.

creative writers. Poets, in proportion as they are *good* poets, are still (though not in the full Shelleyan sense) "unacknowledged legislators of mankind"; and if the vision which can penetrate to the truth of that paradox is lacking, the nation will perish, or at least languish. Professor Guy Butler of Rhodes University is, like Mr. Alan Paton, a man of vision (not a mere 'visionary'—if a visionary is ever 'mere'). In his slender collection of lyrics called *Stranger to Europe*<sup>1</sup> Professor Butler proves again that he is a true poet and again (in his themes and his imagery) that he is no stranger to South Africa. In the deliberately rough broadsheet style of "The Underdogs" he gives an ironical description of the disaffected African of Johannesburg—"Repulsive, degraded/And coldly self-assured" . . . "Waiting for night, the burglar's tart"; and at the end he points a specific and necessary contrast between the 'ideal' and the 'actual':

"Time, surer than the Stock Exchange  
Will pay big dividends to underdogs:  
Injustice, stronger than a Parliament  
Will grant red rights to underdogs,  
  
To forget all terrors in despair,  
To marry violence with hope. . .  
So what! We, of the chosen pigmentation,  
Shall calmly call on our tribalised God:  
  
'Lord, save the shining Christian culture  
Of White South Africa!' Then squat  
Heroically behind clean Vickers guns  
Jabbering death in our innocent hands."

That is the kind of 'brash', witty, satirical verse which appears whenever a civilization is healthy but could be much healthier. It is not typical of this collection. In most of the lyrics a sensitive imagination combined with intellectual vigour produces images which are at once fresh and bold, while emotion is controlled by integrity of mood and a sense of form. A few poems have no compelling centre and are gracefully slight; but many of those which crystallize the author's war experiences, such as *December 1944*, *Bitter Little Ballad*, and *Aubade*, are poignant and satisfying. One of the best is *Cape Coloured Batman*, a perfectly realized portrait, touched in with a true humanity and subtle pathos.

The same writer's prize-winning poetic play, *The Dam*, is a work which succeeds in recapturing some of the choric beauty and dramatic power of a Greek tragedy. A slight propagandist tendency, though worthy in its ethical aims, prevents the theme from being fully universalized; moreover the significant tension built up in

<sup>1</sup> Balkema, 1952; 10/-.

the second act is dissipated in the too protracted resolution of the third. A more rigorous concentration on the main dramatic conflicts, and a refusal to be lured by topical 'splinter problems', would have led to an even more moving climax, which should have been, perhaps, ruthlessly tragic. Nevertheless, despite a few unworthy passages, this first play is instinct with poetry and moral power, and augurs well for the future of indigenous drama. Some readers will find significance in the fact that Professor Butler is bold enough to flout those who to-day will have no other God before Man; like Mr. Paton, he sees that harmony between the various national and racial sections in South Africa must ultimately have a religious basis—a concept which of course transcends the dogma of the "tribalised God". *The Dam* is dedicated to the priests of a Christian church in Sophiatown; but even before this was known to us, and during the actual performance of the play, we seemed to be hearing the voice of Butler himself in those words uttered by the protagonist in Act I, Scene ii:

“O God of stars and stones and us between them  
 Touch these semi-savage things that sweat for me,  
 Half-warriors without a chief, still held  
 To the tribal womb by a tattered chord, . . .  
 These migrant muscles in rags, . . .  
 Touch them, dear God, touch me, and let us know  
 Your common touch. O let us hear one heart  
 Beat over the breadth of Africa, one heart.”

<sup>2</sup> Balkema, 1953; 10/-.

## OBITUARY

It is with deep regret that we record the premature death of Dr. Bernard Notcutt, who was Professor of Psychology in Durban and who was always closely associated, as both editor and essayist, with this journal. A biographical tribute to him, by Professor E. Pratt Yule, follows immediately.

# BERNARD NOTCUTT

## A TRIBUTE<sup>1</sup>

Bernard Notcutt, first Professor of Psychology in the University of Natal, like many others who hold Chairs of Psychology to-day, began his academic career as a philosopher. After graduating at Stellenbosch, he went to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he read for the Honours School of philosophy, politics and economics. Having been awarded a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship in philosophy, he went to the University of California and to Harvard, where he worked with Professor A. N. Whitehead in the field of symbolic logic. Much of this work went into his D.Phil. thesis which he presented to the University of Stellenbosch in 1935, but he also published papers in *Mind* and the *Annals of Mathematics*.

Notcutt's interest in philosophy never ceased up till the time of his death, but he first turned to psychology after he was appointed to a lectureship at Fort Hare, where I imagine that, after the fashion of those days, he had to teach both philosophy and psychology. I remember him saying in 1935, soon after he was appointed to Natal, that his interest in psychology was first aroused because of the aridity of the academic psychology he was supposed to teach. He thought that some "real" psychology, in the sense of concrete knowledge about the actual behaviour of human beings must exist somewhere, and he set out to find where. This was very typical of him, and in later years he always distinguished "knowledge about psychology" from "knowledge of psychology".

It was indicative of his extraordinarily catholic interests and abilities that he first came to Natal to lecture in psychology and in English, and that he carried both subjects for a number of years. Not only did he possess an excellent philosophical and historical library, his knowledge of literature, English, German, French and Italian, was extensive. The two articles on psychology and literature which he published in *Theoria* in 1947 and 1948 illustrate very well the width and detail of his readings in literature.

Soon after the outbreak of war, he went on military service in Egypt, Libya and, later, Italy. He joined Army Education services as a Research Officer, and was responsible for two publications which, regrettably enough, were for service circulation only. One of these was a report on an extensive survey of opinions about

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by the kind permission of the Editor of *Proceedings of the S.A. Psychological Association*.

social, economic and political problems among military personnel. This work must prove of historical significance as a detailed and accurate reflection of what the soldier thought in the later years of the war.

During the long months which Notcutt spent in the desert at Mersa Matruh and Buq-Buq, he planned and wrote a book called "The Ordinary Business of Living", one of the simplest, most fresh and stimulating discussions of the ethical problems of everyday life and the theories of the philosophers. It is hoped that this book may now be published.

After returning to Natal and being appointed to the Chair, Notcutt began a programme of research which well reflects the width of his psychological interests, and the fructifying effect of his wide knowledge of other disciplines. He made significant contributions to the study of African intelligence and to the validation of personality tests. He explored the value of projective techniques as instruments for the diagnosis of human personality and as a means of making cultural comparisons. He interested himself closely in the psychology of group relations and tensions, in the newer work of the industrial psychologists, and he took a personal share in Child Guidance services.

Bernard Notcutt possessed in himself all the qualities one would like to think of as personifying the best kind of academic mind. He loved books and lived intimately with them. He was liberal-minded and objective: there were no fields of genuine enquiry which he despised, and his lively interest in all fields of human endeavour never flagged. He had an almost uncanny flair for bringing together the most unlikely facts from apparently disparate fields. His catholic knowledge made him aware of relevancies and relationships, and helped him to see where the significant problems lay. He was full of original ideas, and of suggestions for ways of finding out facts.

Conversation was one of his chief recreations, but it was also his way of showing his sincere interest in the interests of his friends, and his way of stimulating both his colleagues and his students with new ideas or new aspects of old ones.

In his short life, he carried out enquiries in many fields and published a number of them. But his truest memorial will remain what he did for the minds and feelings of those of us who were privileged to know him.

E. PRATT YULE.

# THE IDEA OF NON-EUROPEAN EDUCATION

## A Symposium.

**T**HE title of our last symposium was "The Idea of a University". Equally important for South Africa to-day should be a discussion, by experts, of the nature and ultimate aims of the education now being given, or offered, to the Non-European majority of our people.

The present theme is not unconnected with that of the previous symposium. At no fewer than five out of nine 'university institutions' in the Union, degree courses may now be taken by Non-Europeans on an equal footing with Europeans, and recently a new Medical School, for Non-Europeans only, has been opened in Durban. It is obvious therefore that the training of the Non-European forms an integral and growing part of the educational system of this country.

In its essence, the subject under examination is not a question of politics, but rather a matter of fundamental ethics, of humanistic philosophy. The inquiry has therefore been strictly limited to the educational field and to such other broad, basic considerations of ethnic psychology and social expediency as are naturally involved.

Three questions were sent to each of six persons who have an expert first-hand knowledge of the administrative and practical aspects of Non-European education in South Africa. All were offered two alternatives; either (a) they could answer one, two, or all three of the set questions, or (b) taking their general direction from the questions, they could make a relatively free personal contribution to the theme.

The answers given below have all been written independently. They supply relevant facts and significant points of view. The Editor proffers no further comment, but leaves the reader to form his own judgment on the issues under discussion.

### THE QUESTIONS.

(1) In the "Unesco Statement on Race" (July 18, 1950) we read:

"According to present knowledge there is no proof that the groups of mankind differ in their innate mental characteristics, whether in respect of intelligence or tempera-

ment. The scientific evidence indicates that the range of mental capacities in all ethnic groups is much the same.”

(Section 15, (2))

Does your experience convince you that Non-Europeans are capable of benefiting by the same general, technical and higher education as is at present available to the Europeans? If they are, please give specific examples or illustrations from your own field. If they are not, what type or types of education should be offered to them?

- (2) Do you consider that the developments in Non-European education during the last twenty or thirty years have been adequate in respect of (a) “natural human rights” (a moral concept, logically arrived at), and (b) the essential needs of South Africa as a whole?
- (3) What, in your opinion, is the ultimate aim of Non-European education? Can you suggest ways in which this aim could and should be furthered, and do you consider that Non-European education can contribute effectively to the solution of the larger problem of inter-racial justice and co-operation?

#### THE ANSWERS.

(i) *Dr. Edgar H. Brookes (See below, page 120)*

All of us who discuss Non-European education must watch lest we be unduly influenced by our general political theories. Advocates of political *apartheid* tend to defend separation in educational ideals, programmes and organisation. We who believe in political integration must also be careful. We may find ourselves tempted to reject in its entirety a document like the Eiselen Report on Native Education, instead of weighing its recommendations on their merits. Education cannot be separated from the rest of life, but it must not be dominated by political theories.

The Eiselen Report<sup>1</sup> takes the view that education should conform to the social structure. The education of the African in particular should within the Union be moulded to fit in with the Union's political, economic and social ideals. The result of this theory is that African education should be different because of a principle of differentiation, and that it should not unfit the African for his subordinate place in this multi-racial state.

On the contrary, education is dynamic. It must mould the social structure, not be moulded by it. It is concerned with living personalities, and cannot make terms with the heresy that other people have a right in advance to set limits to the development of a personality. Some of the recommendations of the Eiselen

<sup>1</sup> See *Editorial Comment*, above, p.3

Report are of real value, but the main thesis is one which many of us cannot accept. Whatever factual differences there may be between European, Coloured, African or Indian education, between education through Afrikaans medium or education through English medium, between the education of boys and the education of girls, these differences can arise only from the application of general educational principles (e.g., studying the pupil's background and proceeding from the known to the unknown); but in the fundamental sense of the term there can be no such thing as "Non-European education", only education. We can no more decide that certain fields of education are not for Africans than the Church can decide that only the red-haired can be trained for sanctity and all the rest given a course in pedestrian Christianity. The object of education is to release personality—to release it from the inhibitions of fear and lust, self-worship or inferiority, and open the personality to the influences of beauty, of love and of truth—and to make it possible for that personality to enjoy abundant life. We could not if we would, we would not if we could, determine in advance what that personality is to believe or to do. That is why no teacher must be unduly disconcerted if his pupil takes a line of which he personally cannot approve. We cannot train for a point of view, even what seems to us a right point of view or the only point of view. We rightly condemn those who see in education a device for training human beings to fill contentedly a subordinate place in society. We rightly condemn those who see the Schools and the Universities as institutions for revolutionary propaganda, for training young revolutionists. But we are equally blamable if we set ourselves out to train them to accept exactly our form of political or religious faith. We cannot indeed be other than we are. To be completely objective is not in man. If he is alive enough to be a successful teacher he will be alive enough to have his own faith and his own opinions. But he must not feel a failure if those he teaches do not share them.

What we communicate most of all to one another is the things of which we are wholly or partly unconscious. Our pupils cannot hear our words for the undertones. A real faith, a real friendliness, a real spirit of interest and adventure, may mean heaven and all to our students. But if we are very conscious of these they lose their value: we become prigs and our students know the reality of ambition or spiritual self-culture which underlies these studied imitations of spontaneity.

In education we give the best we have. No good teacher can willingly give less. This is the biggest problem of those who wish the African child to be given a limited and watered-down education: the really worth-while teacher cannot do it. He is a liberal in spite of himself. He may try to practise *apartheid* but cheerfulness, as in the case of Dr. Johnson's old friend, is always breaking through.

To give one's best, however, is not enough. One must be willing also to receive. Particularly is this the case when the pupils are of a different racial stock and social background. Many of the mistakes of missionary enterprise are due to the arrogance, masked as dedication, which gave all and was willing to learn nothing.

If the greatest aim of education is to free personalities and open them to the good and the true, surely the next most important is to enable the pupil to understand the universe, physical and social, in which he lives. In this field the need for European teachers in African Schools is very great, and it is a great pity that rising racial tension makes their position more and more difficult. (Even so the white man is rarely resented as a colleague or adviser—only as a "baas".) The teaching of science by those who understand it and who have the scientific outlook on life is of prime importance to Africa with its fears of witchcraft and its darkneses. The close relationship between true science and true religion is nowhere more manifest than in Africa where each has the same intellectual enemy—magic. History, properly taught, is also very important to enable Africans to understand a political and economic society of which they are inescapably a part but which has been imposed upon them as the society of the Roman Empire was on our ancestors.

But you cannot just take an ordinary South African history textbook and use it unchanged with a class of intelligent Africans. Try teaching them about the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth "Kaffir" Wars, and see how it goes! We look on Shaka as a Nero or an Attila: to a Zulu he is a William the Conqueror. That is what is meant by saying that, though all education is one, there must inevitably be differences of approach if one is sensitive to one's students. Here the Eiselen Report sometimes recommends the right thing, even if often for the wrong reason, and must not be dismissed airily because we do not like its underlying philosophy. The teaching of Bantu languages, for example, should occupy a far less humble place in our African Schools, and much more care and imagination used in it. And in arts and crafts African motifs should be encouraged. Other examples could be given. Unfortunately many Africans, even those who are politically African Nationalists, oppose sound education of this kind because it is not exactly the same in every detail as the education given in European Schools. It is quite true that the reasons which the Eiselen Report gives for some sound changes are so abhorrent to progressive Africans as to cast a shadow on the changes themselves. None the less it is regrettable to find European educationists fighting for a formal education for Africans based on what was good for Scotsmen in the 1890's.

The fact is that African education needs to be modernised. It needs fresh air, courage and enterprise. To apply the principles

of the New Education Fellowship to African Schools must inevitably mean, for example, the better teaching of the Bantu languages and the fuller recognition of African art, and these advances must not be rejected merely because another group of thinkers advocate them in order to conform to an abstract theory of separatism. Our motto must be "On to the unknown future", not "Back to the kraal"; but it must *not* be "Remain unintelligently in an uninspired present".

We have enormously valuable human material — intelligent, sensitive, capable of profiting by the best we can give—and to teach it is much more of a privilege than of a responsibility. Let us carry out our task without patronage and without fear: it is a rewarding task, even though no man can forecast the results of our labours.

(ii) *Professor C. P. Dent, M.Sc., Principal of the University College of Fort Hare.*

#### QUESTION I.

I am not able to express an opinion on "all ethnic groups", but I believe that in so far as it applies to the Bantu people of Southern Africa the Unesco Statement on Race is true. In this connection present average attainment is not a criterion of potential, since it depends on many factors other than innate mental characteristics, such as variations in background, environment, opportunity and stimulus. Even in advanced European societies the Faradays, Darwins, Einsteins and Rutherfords, and contributors of comparable merit in other fields, are only a very small proportion of those studying in those fields. I own a wireless, but cannot claim the slightest credit for its invention. Genius is rare in any group, but the occurrence of genius does show the heights to which the human mind can rise, and the potential of any race cannot be lower than is indicated by the highest attainments of individual pure blooded members of that race, and even then allowance must be made, as in Gray's *Elegy*, for loss through lack of opportunity and stimulus.

My own life has been spent among Bantu, Indian and Coloured students and I have found in all these, and in different members of the same family, the same variations in gifts and in character that one would expect to find elsewhere. There have been some in each of these groups, who would rank high in any normal group of university students.

#### QUESTIONS 2 AND 3.

The ultimate aim of Non-European education must surely be the same as for any other group: to guide and encourage the innate capacity of each individual in the development of mind and of character, and in the acquisition of knowledge, so as to enable that individual to share in, and to contribute to, the life

of an ordered community. I believe there is a natural human right to what may be called fundamental education, an indispensable requirement for social progress, though there may be differences of opinion as to the minimum that may be regarded as essential. There can be no natural human right to particular specialized training as a doctor, an engineer or even a teacher; provision for such training must be adjusted to the needs of the community, which has a right, and even a duty, to devise tests by which the most suitable candidates, to the number required, are selected from among those desiring such training.

In practice there is a gap between the ideal and what is immediately attainable, and we have to go on, at each stage, from where we are. Assuming the general recognition, in South Africa, of the right of every individual to at least primary education, there are practical obstacles to the immediate granting of this right to all. There is the question of the supply of teachers: to provide even primary education for all requires a very large number of teachers with sufficient training for this purpose, and a smaller, but still large, number of teachers to train those teachers, and so on up a large educational pyramid whose building requires considerable time. There is the question of cost: in South Africa the ratio of national income to total population is small, and this ratio, which is of basic importance in a project such as that under consideration, can be increased only by raising agricultural and industrial production and efficiency; this requires trained personnel of various grades, the products of a planned educational system, and again that takes time. Development of education and development in other directions are not independent, but interdependent.

I may mention two special "troubles" which affect Non-European, and particularly African, education today. One may be called "growing pains", a recent rate of development which has outstripped the supply of qualified and experienced teachers, and the other is lack of suitable and attractive employment especially for those with more advanced education, in fields other than teaching. While I believe that education, widely interpreted, is the foundation of social advancement, and good teachers the most urgently needed servants of the African community, yet there are many able students, in any community, who would do well in other types of work but who feel no call to teach and do not make good teachers. There are two important differences between the position of the European student after graduation, and that of the young African graduate, and the same differences apply to other grades of training.

1. European graduates have a wide field in which to find employment with good prospects of advancement in their chosen field if they prove worthy; the African graduate is limited to a narrow field.

2. European graduates, even those with a distinguished academic record, are usually absorbed without much notice into the European community, and are in a sense "lost to sight" for a period of fifteen or twenty years before those among them who have proved their worth in service begin to appear in senior posts. Principals of secondary and high schools, magistrates, postmasters, bank managers and managers of business houses will almost all have this length of experience before being promoted to such posts, and many reliable and efficient workers never reach these senior positions. It is not so with the African graduate. He is a marked man in his community from the date of his graduation, and is watched as such by his own people and by Europeans. If he is a teacher he may be appointed to a principalship within five or six years, or even less. It is understandable that the young graduate should appreciate the chance of early promotion and the advance in status and salary that go with it, and some of these young principals have done very well. Many of the younger graduates may disagree, but I am sure that those with more experience will agree that this is a danger period through which we must pass, and which I would not slow down if I could, and that the whole system will be sounder when senior appointments have to be earned by longer periods of really good service.

The discipline of employment in a service which demands faithfulness and efficiency over an extended period as the condition of advancement is an important part of the educational process, but it should not be limited, for trained persons, to one or two services to which their gifts and inclinations may be unsuited. The remedy lies only partly in increased opportunities in State services, since in a balanced community only a fraction of total employment is provided directly by the State, but I think that this part would be much more effective if the road to promotion to senior appointments were open under conditions, and at the fairly slow rate, applicable to Europeans. I have been glad to note that a move has been made in this direction: there are African postmasters in charge of small post-offices, with the opportunity to prove themselves fit for larger responsibilities; there are now Africans in charge of police-stations, and I understand that provision has been made, or is to be made, for promotion under the Department of Native Affairs to the rank of Native Commissioner. The extension of this principle, the withdrawal of 'artificial ceilings', would do much to build confidence and, in the words of your question, should "contribute effectively to the larger problem of inter-racial justice and co-operation". Of course mistakes will be made, and some, perhaps many, will fail under test, but other people too make mistakes and fail, and taking these risks is part of the price of progress. It takes time to build up a service with a tradition of

faithfulness which its members take pride in maintaining, but even a relatively high percentage of failure should not hide the fact that it is to the successes we should look as the real indicators of potential and the justification for keeping the way to advancement open. I am aware that very often an African, coming under reproof or discipline from a European, assumes that he is being reproved or disciplined because he is an African and not because of the fault he has committed, and this is a dangerous rationalization which does not lead to the correction of the fault. There is also a tendency among Europeans in authority to condone failure with an implied "Well, what can one expect?" This is something thinking Africans cannot afford to accept, because it gives rise to a concept of permanent inherent inferiority, whereas failure should be dealt with as a personal failure. The disciplines of a service must be accepted on the basis of personal responsibility, and neither of the excuses to which reference has been made should be accepted.

Economic development should enable European business concerns to provide more responsible appointments for Africans in some of their branches, but every encouragement should be given to African private (and company) enterprise to provide profitable and attractive employment for qualified persons. The rate at which this increases must depend on the thrift, enterprise and economic development of the African people. A start has been made. There are African farmers, and there must be many more, replacing occupiers of small unproductive holdings, if the land is to be saved; there are African traders, shoemakers, dressmakers, African owned taxis, passenger-buses, garages, employing Africans; there are African lawyers and doctors, and there may soon be African pharmacists if the recommendations of a special Committee appointed by the Minister of Health to enquire into the training of pharmacists are implemented. These all require education, and are required by organised education in a mutually beneficial process of development towards what I believe is rapidly tending to become a dominant world culture.

(iii) *Dr. Mabel Palmer, Organizer of the Non-European Section, University of Natal.*

I have now been in South Africa for 30 years. I came here with a more or less open mind, never previously having been in close contact with Non-Europeans, and quite prepared to find that there were marked differences of basic character and intelligence among Europeans and Non-Europeans. The longer I live in this country the less evidence I find supporting any such theory. I have now for the last 17 years been engaged in organizing classes for Non-Europeans of the University of Natal and I find

that they are quite as capable as Europeans of profiting by University education.

We have now 211 graduates, many of whom are distinguishing themselves in various lines of work.

Among our graduates there is for instance one who has recently been appointed lecturer in Economics at Fort Hare, another is distinguishing himself as an organizer of Indian Child Welfare and contributing to magazines very able articles on the subject. Another is a journalist and has written very interestingly in the Indian Press of Natal on conditions in India. Another is now the Registrar of the M. L. Sultan Technical College in Durban. One student in Social Anthropology was selected by the Professor as the most able student of the year among Europeans and Non-Europeans and given a special certificate of merit to that effect. We have at present a student working for his M.A. in Social Anthropology, who has been awarded a special Government grant for research. Another ex-student, though he was with us only for a short time, has been appointed lecturer in Sociology in the University of Natal.

I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that the best Non-European brains are fully capable of profiting by the highest type of University instruction. In the case of Indians this is, of course, not surprising; some of the greatest mathematicians of the world have been Indians—it was they who invented the present decimal system of notation—and there are also many Indians who are great philosophers. But the Bantu have only recently reached the stage of University education and in their case proof was required. It is being steadily supplied by the achievement and careers of a certain number of well-educated Bantu.

This is not, however, to say that Non-Europeans in South Africa do not suffer from a great many disadvantages, a fact which naturally reflects itself in their University careers. The standard of teaching and of equipment in their schools is much poorer than in white schools. Their homes are not such as to provide an atmosphere in which culture is almost unconsciously absorbed and which conduces to the right attitude for study. Even artificial light in the evening, adequate for study, is not always available. Few of them can get books from public libraries, their admission to cinemas and other entertainments is limited. I always feel that when an Indian or a Bantu in South Africa succeeds in taking his University degree it really is of higher value than in the case of Europeans, because the student has had so many more disadvantages to fight against.

I should not be taken, however, as advocating in every case similar courses of instruction for Europeans and Non-Europeans. The same course of instruction should be open to both, and if a

man displays a special interest in a particular subject, that should as a rule be encouraged and certainly no obstacles should be placed in his way. But in many ways their circumstances are different, and I can quite imagine that a certain differentiation in their studies might justifiably be established.

As a general rule Non-Europeans with no marked or special personal interests should concentrate rather on English, Social Anthropology, Hygiene and the sciences supporting Hygiene, which would not be so much needed in the case of Europeans.

In answer to Question 2, I have to say that I do not consider that the development of Non-European education during the last 20 or 30 years has been adequate. Only a proportion of the Non-Europeans can achieve even an elementary education and it may well be that among those excluded are first rate brains who need and deserve a higher education. Similarly the number who are able to go on to secondary education is very limited. There is, for instance, no African school in Durban that provides Matriculation classes, yet there must be many young Africans who ought to be encouraged to attain that standard. They are debarred from secondary schools firstly by the lack of previous education and secondly by their poverty. Their parents cannot afford the necessary fees and in many cases cannot do without the contribution which their children can make to the family income by going to work as early as possible. There is not the same provision of bursaries and other aids to education among the Non-Europeans as there is among Europeans.

With regard to the third question, the aim of Non-European education is not fundamentally different from that of European education. In both the attainment of knowledge for its own sake is an important aim. But the aim of education as I see it is also to enable the student to earn his own living and to play a part in the general development of his community.

It would certainly not be desirable to train a Non-European (unless he has that special urge which I mentioned above) for a profession or trade which he would not be allowed to practise in the Union. It is useless for instance, at present to offer classes in Pharmacy, as existing requirements for apprenticeship cannot be fulfilled because firms will not take Non-Europeans as apprentices. I would not encourage a Non-European student to go in for engineering, as there are practically no openings for Non-European engineers in the Union. This is not to say that I regard these restrictions as right; on the contrary I think it most desirable that there should be trained Non-European pharmaceutical chemists to provide the necessary medicines for their own people and to counteract the attractions of the witch doctors. But the purely theoretical training in pharmacy at present would be valueless to a Non-European.

Trained social workers are very greatly needed among Non-Europeans, but until their salaries bear some relation to their long period of training it is unwise to encourage them in this field.

Academic and technical training for Non-Europeans should contribute not only to the uplifting of their own community but also to the welfare of South Africa as a whole. At present South Africa is presenting itself with an insoluble problem. A European population of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions is reserving to itself all the skilled services which are required for a population of 10 millions.

In the Post Office for instance, as a general rule only white workers are admitted, save for the most unskilled labour. The same is true of the Railways and most Government Departments. The attitude of the general public forces the same attitude on commercial firms, with the general result that all over South Africa there is a shortage of manpower in all occupations requiring special skill or power to take responsibility. A glance at the columns of the South African newspapers will provide proof of this. Naturally efficiency suffers. The South African Post Office can simply not get sufficient capable and intelligent employees to enable it to carry on its work satisfactorily, and all the time there are Coloured and Indians unemployed who would be quite capable of doing the work and so adding to the general efficiency of South Africa.

Obviously steps must be taken to ensure that the influx of Non-Europeans does not undermine the level of payment and the standard of living of Europeans already employed in the industry in question. But such arrangements would be complicated and there is no room at present for discussing the matter.

South Africa should be ashamed of the fact that so many of her people are illiterate and that the further evolution of our complex social and industrial machinery is hampered and impeded by the ignorance and backwardness of many of its workers. If South Africa is to be a really civilized country, it must employ in the service of civilization the whole of its citizens and not merely one quarter of them.

With regard to the final question as to whether Non-European education can contribute effectively to the solution of the larger problem of inter-racial justice and co-operation, I think its importance can be better seen by putting it negatively. The failure of South Africa to provide four fifths of her population with adequate education naturally prevents her from taking the place she should take in the International Councils of the world and must militate against her playing her full part in the promotion of international justice and co-operation.

(iv) *Mr. D. G. S. M'Tinkulu, M.A. (S.A.), M.A. (Yale), Principal of the Ohlange Institute, Natal.*

QUESTION 1.

African education is the result of missionary enterprise. The old missionary believed in education as an uplifting agency, and he also believed that the African was not fundamentally different from himself. From these fundamental assumptions he came to the conclusion that the same kind of education which had brought the white man so far, would also enable the African to climb the ladder of cultural progress. And so he gave to the African of his best as he knew it.

African education today, in spite of minor variations, is still guided by these same major principles. To find out whether the African has benefited by this kind of education one has only to look about one and see what strides the educated African has made, in spite of handicaps, during the last hundred years.

When I first went to high school, exactly thirty years ago, there was only one Secondary School (Lovedale) and the recently established South African Native College, where one could scale the dizzy heights of matriculation—and very few indeed reached the top in those days. Today there are upwards of thirty High Schools in Natal alone and over 21,000 pupils undertaking secondary education in the whole Union. For our present purposes the most significant fact about this rapid development is that all these schools are mainly staffed by African teachers, who are now passing on the benefits of their education to their own people. Thirty years ago in the two schools mentioned above there was only one African member of staff.

This rapid development has come about mainly as a result of the better financial support that African education has received from the Government. The estimated expenditure by all four provinces on African education in 1921-22 was £340,000. In 1950-51 this expenditure had risen to £5,141,910. But even this is not nearly enough, when one considers that only about 40 per cent. of African children of school-going age are at school today.

If one were to examine superficially the hundred years of African education in this land, one might be tempted to doubt whether the African is able to benefit by the same general education as is available to Europeans; when one considers, however, that for the first seventy years of that hundred years, African education had to depend almost entirely on the small trickle of missionary funds, one is amazed to find that the African has benefited as much as he has, in spite of numerous difficulties arising out of a lack of adequate financial support. This has meant that the great majority of African schools are poorly constructed, poorly equipped and

poorly staffed. Where these handicaps have been removed, the African, as in the case of many brilliant students that I know, has proved himself capable of profiting fully by the same general, technical and higher education as is available to the Europeans. A few years ago, a high school, almost entirely staffed by Africans, entered sixteen candidates for the Matriculation. Fifteen passed, including three in the first class and five in the second class. The one December failure wrote a supplementary in March and passed. Even at University level African students are proving themselves, and some have obtained Double Firsts in their B.A. and B.Sc. examinations.

#### QUESTION 2.

The first part of this question has been answered by implication in my remarks under (1).

Although there have been great developments in African education during the last twenty or thirty years, these have not been adequate in respect of natural human rights. Firstly, they have not been adequate because there has been a considerable backlog which accumulated during the years when African education was left almost entirely as a missionary responsibility. To clear that backlog many more millions of pounds must be spent in helping education to catch up with African needs today. Secondly, the developments have not been adequate because the attitude of many people in this country towards the education of Africans is wrong. The right of the African child to an education is not recognised. Education is considered as a favour which the white man generously grants to the African, when he can afford it.

It is this attitude which is the cause of the hamstringing of African education and the denial of an opportunity for education to the majority of African children. This narrow outlook is inimical to the interests of South Africa as a whole: for the education of the whole of the African population would not only benefit the country materially, but would bring about a better understanding between white and black in this country by creating more and more spheres of common interest.

#### QUESTION 3.

I consider that the ultimate aim of African education is the ultimate aim of all education—viz. the development of good men and good women—the development of all that is best in a man to the highest reaches of his capability in order that he may contribute, in his own especial way, to the welfare not only of his country, but of mankind.

I consider that this aim can be furthered in South Africa by

- (a) compulsory education at the primary level for all African children;

- (b) The removal of all bars to the professions and the skilled trades; so that Africans, and all others, who have the necessary ability, gifts, and character can prepare themselves to enter fields of occupation in which they will find spiritual satisfaction.

In this way, a great deal of the sense of frustration which is the deep-seated cause of the unrest among our young people will be removed. At present they feel that there is a ceiling beyond which they cannot rise—no matter how able—and they feel that that same ceiling is particularly low.

Only when this horizontal bar has been ultimately removed will African education contribute effectively to the larger problems of inter-racial justice and co-operation.

I am convinced that the education of the African, worked out on the broad principles enunciated above, can and will produce men and women who will join hands with all those who are working to bring about justice and fairplay in our human relations.

(v) *Mr. A. D. Lazarus, M.A. (Yale), Principal of Sastri College, Durban.*

The writer's chief qualification for attempting to answer the questions for this Symposium, is that he has been very actively associated with Indian education for 23 years and has had not a little to do with some aspects of its development in this time. What follows has reference only to the education of the Indian people of Natal, not to the larger group generally referred to as Non-European.

I should prefer to begin with the last question, which refers to the ultimate aim of Non-European education, because it might serve as a backdrop to the general situation. From the beginning of this century and even before, the education of the Indian people has followed the same patterns as that of the European both in content and context, although there never was as much of it for the Indian as for the other group. It must therefore be considered as having the same general aims whatever these may be now and ultimately, because it must be accepted that the Indian people are now part of the permanent population of the country (though one is aware that this point of view is anathema in some quarters) and their destinies are inevitably bound up with those of the rest of the peoples of this land.

One is constrained to comment on the term "Non-European education". There being no scientific evidence to prove any difference in the educability of human beings on racial lines, the

term is as meaningless as it is naive. It suggests some kind of educational witchcraft that can divide the indivisible and has led many well meaning people into easy rationalisations about the Non-European generally. To go further and suggest that there could or should be different aims for European and Non-European, is quite candidly fatuous. Indeed such a proposition would immediately invite the fiercest criticism to say nothing of violent opposition on the part of the Indian people. The general racial situation of the country being what it is, such opposition is understandable.

As an educationalist it is not easy for me to indicate how to further such a differentiated aim. Inasmuch as some men and women, whatever their race, are better advised to train their hands and others to train their heads, the country generally, along with the Non-European, would benefit from the widest possible training of hand and head, and as a student of race relations, I should add that equal emphasis be given to the education of the heart as well. Not enough attention is being given to training in the manual skills, with the result that some of this country's finest craftsmen are born perforce to blush unseen. An unhealthy aspect of this is that there is growing up among Indians a 'white collar' class and further up the scale, a 'snobocracy' among the professionally trained.

There is a further and more important argument against this differentiated aim. Race attitudes being what they are, and the chief industry of one section of our multi-racial society being to exploit the differences between it and the others, largely for political ends, to think in terms of different ultimate aims in education is a dangerous exercise. What is needed is a concentration on the similarities among human beings and a recognition that such differences as there are might be the means of enriching the whole. The educated Non-European has much to offer to the advancing of inter-racial co-operation, if only his talent could be accepted at face value instead of being frustrated as it is. Half educate a man, and that in a different pattern, and immediately is created the half-baked politician and agitator who thereafter is not amenable to reason. Which path shall we tread? One does not have to be a prophet or super oracle to provide the answer. It would be almost trite to say that the Non-European has a definite contribution to make: indeed he is eager to give his talent to the solution of South Africa's grimmest problem.

With regard to the first question posed, whether the Non-Europeans are capable of benefiting by the same general education, in all fields, as the European, the available evidence is all on the side of an affirmative answer. Judged purely from an achievement point of view, the Indian is possessed of no mean ability when we remember that he is being taught in the English medium and passes examinations—often "with Distinction" or *cum laude*—up to the University level in this foreign language.

Since the establishment of the first High School for Indians 22 years ago, the record is as follows:—

University Junior Certificate	Total number entered	2,753
Exam. (1930-1952):	Total passed ... ..	1,725
Matriculation Exam. 1930-1952	Total entered ... ..	1,215
(December Exams. only):	Total passed ... ..	685

If the supplementary Exams. are included, the Matriculation passes would probably be about a third as many again. It is interesting to note in passing that the total Indian school population in Natal for 1952 was 61,529, of which 2,958 were in secondary schools.

In the Technical field the results are equally impressive. In 1952 about 1,400 students wrote various technical examinations of the Union Department of Education. 70 per cent. of these passed. One student gained first place in the whole Union for Diploma Book-keeping. The Sultan Technical College is a part-time institution, and its results are equal to, and often better than, those of any other part-time Technical Institution in the country.

At the University level about 120 Indian students gained Bachelor degrees in the University of Natal between 1946 and 1952. In the Arts and Sciences there have emerged many graduates from the Universities of South Africa, Witwatersrand, Cape Town and several from institutions abroad. One Indian now lecturing at the Springfield Training College qualified for the M.A., M.Ed., and Ph.D. (Cape Town). In the city of Durban alone there are about forty Indian doctors, three of whom are women, and three dentists—all serving the Indian community.

From this it is clear that the Indian is capable of benefiting from the same type of education as is available to the European. Only the economic situation of the Indian people, aggravated by the colour bar and all that this connotes, has precluded a more impressive statistical record.

The third question which deals with developments in Indian education over the last two decades is perhaps best approached statistically.

In 1930 the total Indian population of Natal was	159,200,
the total school population was ... ..	14,701,
the total number of schools, State and State-aided, was ... ..	82.

In 1952 the total estimated Indian population of Natal was	299,068,
the total school population was ... ..	61,529.
the total number of schools—State, State-aided, and registered private was ...	239.

All through our history there never have been adequate school facilities for Indians in Natal. It must be noted that in 1952 there were 188 government-aided schools and 16 registered private ones. These were all built by Indian enterprise with a 50 per cent. building grant from the Education authority.

At the time of writing there is no accurate estimate of the number of Indian children of school-going age for whom there are no schools. It is clear from the known facts that the figure runs into tens of thousands. One political organisation interested in the matter recently gave out that it is 40,000, but this in my opinion is a little exaggerated. It is clear however that we are facing a critical situation which, if something is not done at once, will soon become beyond the wit of man to solve.

With regard to education being a "natural human right", South Africa has still to advance along the road which will lead to the acceptance of such a concept. In many quarters it would be considered the grossest impertinence for any Non-European to assert such a claim. But such developments and expansions as have taken place—and they have been colossal over the last decade—indicate that the Education authority is keenly aware of the problem and is doing all in its power to give the Indian people a square deal. We are, however, paying for the neglect of the last two decades and more, so it cannot truly be said that education for the Non-European was ever regarded from the angle of a "human right".

Consequent upon this neglect a large section of the people is growing up in complete illiteracy with all its attendant evils. With such a large wastage of intelligent man power, the essential needs of South Africa are indeed ill served.

Education for the Indian is neither compulsory nor wholly free, but the extraordinary avidity with which the Indian people grasp such facilities as there are, and the tenacity of the student, sometimes against the most overpowering odds, lead to the conclusion that in the very insecure and uncertain political climate of South Africa, where many of the Indians' material acquisitions seem to be in danger of unjust alienation, this acquisition at least is secure against any encroachment on "human rights". These considerations apart, there is, of course, the very natural urge to seek economic security through education.

(vi) *Mr. S. R. Dent, M.Sc., Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal.*

1. My answer to the first question is "Yes". I have been directly connected with African Education for over thirty years, partly as a teacher of Africans and partly as an Inspector of African Schools, most of which have been staffed entirely by African teachers.

As between Africans and Europeans I have found no difference in mental capacity which there is any reason to regard as inherent or permanent.

It is true that the great majority of African primary school pupils require eleven years to reach the Junior Certificate level, whereas European children achieve that standard in ten years. There is no evidence, however, to show that this difference is due to a deficiency in mental quality among African pupils. It is much more likely to be the result of such factors as poor home background, with illiterate parents, an absence of facilities for and incentives to study, inadequate diet, the comparatively low academic and professional qualifications of the African teachers in charge of all the primary school classes, the crowded and uncomfortable conditions of many African classrooms, and the fact that the medium of instruction in the upper primary classes and in the two Junior Certificate years is not the home language, but English.

Notwithstanding these very considerable handicaps, the effects of which often persist into adult life, many Africans have demonstrated their capacity to benefit by the "same general, technical, and higher education as is at present available to the Europeans."

It would perhaps be invidious to mention names; but I know African graduates who are now serving efficiently on University staffs, others holding with real credit responsible posts as Heads of large boarding schools and Principals of large day schools; others who have become proficient at the techniques of building, tailoring, motor-mechanics and carpentry.

2. The question of 'adequacy' is difficult to answer in the absence of a definition of the meaning of the term. There are those who would say that nothing short of the provision of at least a primary school education for every child, and of higher and more specialised education for all who desire it and can profit by it, should be regarded as adequate, and that the present limitation of schooling facilities to no more than about 38 or 40 per cent of the African children of school age in Natal, reveals an inadequacy which is appalling.

Considered from the point of view of ultimate "human rights", this contention can hardly be gainsaid; but as a criticism of the present situation, it is both unjust and unrealistic.

The following figures give some idea of the development in Native Education which has taken place in Natal during the last thirty years:—

	1922	1952	Increase
Total Expenditure by the Government	£45,532	£1,306,626 <sup>1</sup>	28.7 X
Total School Roll	28,295	168,761	6 X

These figures compare very favourably with those of other African territories, and probably with those of any other country in the world.

Indeed some observers fear that the rate of growth is too rapid, and may result in the plant being etiolated and enfeebled. There is, of course, a danger in over-rapid development; for it compels the appointment to responsible posts of many people who are too young and inexperienced to build soundly, thus preventing the growth of wholesome traditions of thoroughness and quality.

To some extent this has happened; but those of us who have been closely associated with Native Education for the past quarter of a century have no doubt that there has been qualitative improvement. Academic standards have risen, the desire for learning has spread and deepened, a fair beginning has been made in the production of Zulu literature, a recognition of the necessity for land conservation and sound methods of agriculture has been born and is steadily growing, and the elementary laws of health are being more widely and faithfully observed.

These, among others, are solid gains, and may fairly be said to be meeting at least some of the "essential needs of South Africa as a whole".

This statement is true, despite the many failures by the way, and despite the frustration and bitterness felt by many Africans at the various colour-bar restrictions which appear to hinder their progress, undermine their confidence in the white man, and mar their happiness.

3. In my opinion the "ultimate aim of Non-European education" is not, except in a very restricted sense, to fit people into planned niches of a pre-conceived but unachieved Non-European society. The true aim of Non-European education is the same as that of European education: to develop the latent powers of the individual and to give him knowledge, so that he will be able not only to adapt himself to society as he finds it, but to change society into something better. Education must regard the in-

<sup>1</sup> This figure includes improved *per caput* grants and teachers' salary scales, and thus does not represent expansion only.

dividual as an "end" in himself, and not as a means to an end. The new society he will help to build will be composed of free individuals.

This aim is not inconsistent with present practice, which gives to African children in primary schools the three R's, which are the essential tools for progress, and also basic ideas of health and civilised behaviour and some practical acquaintance with agriculture, needlework, arts and crafts. After the primary stage, the comparatively few children who continue must choose between technical education leading to skilled and semi-skilled manual occupations, and academic secondary education, which leads to the few professions at present open to Africans, among which nursing and teaching predominate.

The society of the future, for Non-Europeans no less than for Europeans, will inevitably be a development of what is called Western Civilization, with very meagre contributions, if any at all, from the old pastoral system of the Zulus. Already more than 30 per cent of the South African Native population is urbanised, and a larger percentage is permanently divorced from the sanctions and ideas of the tribal society from which it has sprung. These Africans, and many—perhaps most—of their relatives and friends in the rural areas, would say, "We have burned our huts and are on the march to the West".

The building of the society of the future, if it is to be characterised by "inter-racial justice and co-operation", will need individuals whose abilities are developed by education and experience, and who are devoted to the great ideal of service. Obviously Non-European education can and must "contribute effectively" to this "larger problem". In fact the "problem" cannot be satisfactorily solved without the co-operation of educated Non-Europeans.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL PATTERN OF THE BANTU

**T**O the European, accustomed to regarding schools and education as almost synonymous, one of the salient features of indigenous African education is the virtual absence of any formal training. The nearest approach to schools among our South Bantu are the various initiations or transition ceremonies associated with puberty or circumcision. These are usually of short duration and their main purpose is not to inculcate knowledge so much as to ensure a propitious transition from one stage of life to another and imbue the individual with qualities of maturity and with the values and outlook of an adult. In individual puberty initiations which are still carried out in many parts of South Africa, the boy or girl is isolated under the control of his immediate seniors, who sometimes subject him to harsh treatment to impress on him the respect due to those older than himself. Medicines are administered to give him adult qualities, more especially fertility in the case of a girl. There is instruction, directed largely to his newly acquired sexual powers and his responsibilities as an adult and, in addition, a religious ceremony may be held to commend him to the care of the gods. Characteristically the instruction is indirect in the form of symbolic formulae, songs, dances and mummeries or play-acting. These techniques are typical also of the national circumcision and other initiations of the Sotho which last about three months. Here respect for the chief and those in authority and the right attitudes to things of importance to the society are emphasized. The atmosphere of secrecy surrounding the initiation, the interest and expectancy mingled with fear on the part of the novices, the temporary reversal of the standards and manners of everyday life, the secret language and extensive use of symbolism make the whole an unforgettable experience. That such initiations do indeed effect a change in outlook is testified to by many farmers in the Transvaal who encourage their farm hands to go for circumcision because they find them more responsible thereafter in their work and behaviour.

Initiations, however, striking as they are to the European, occupy a minor place in the total scheme of Bantu education. To the African, education is life itself; it is the gradual, informal induction of the individual into the social life from one stage of development to another. The knowledge and skill that are necessary to wrest

a living from nature are gained, not by any formal instruction of the child, but by letting it take part in practical adult activities. A girl of four may be given a small gourd which she will balance on her head when accompanying her mother to the river; she will ask to stir the porridge pot and be shown how to pick only the fresh, young shoots and leaves when collecting wild spinach. When she is older she will go with other girls to collect firewood or help with the hoeing. Every half-grown Lovedu girl is given a corner of her mother's field to cultivate for herself. She has sole right to its produce which she may sell or exchange for clothes for herself.

A boy of four or five begins to herd goats near the village, then later joins the bigger boys who herd cattle. Here he is introduced into a new world, with its own activities and pastimes and its own hierarchy of authority. The younger boys fag for the older ones and often have to watch the cattle alone while the older ones hunt or indulge in games and pastimes. When they are older they in turn will lord it over their juniors. Sometimes there are fights between the herdboys of rival districts for pasturage.

It is while herding that a boy gets to know the properties and qualities, economic, nutritional and medical, of plants and the habits of birds, cane rats and other animals which he hunts with traps or bow and arrow. Toys are made of mealie pith and other materials, nowadays often taking the form of wagons, cars and model aeroplanes that would be the envy of any European child. In constructing these the child gains experience of the raw materials at hand and puts into the work his own skill and creative ability. This from the educational point of view is better than formal manual training received in schools, while the pleasure and satisfaction of the child in the end product is much greater than that derived from bought toys.

In these activities as in all Bantu education the emphasis is on learning, not teaching. True, adults take a pride in teaching the young and realize the importance of training. But teaching comes in response to the individual's own interest and desire to learn. What is true for ordinary skills holds also in the case of specialized crafts like pottery, ironwork, woodwork, which are taken up only by adults who are attracted by the work. The initiative must be taken by the learner. Furthermore, the child learns in real situations where he sees the practical use and results of his work. Every advance in knowledge and skill is pragmatic, directed to achieve a result there and then as well as adding to a previous level of adequacy. The small girl who carries water has the satisfaction of seeing it consumed in the household with that brought by her mother. The herdboy realizes that he is rendering a service to the whole community and feels his importance accordingly.

The child then plays his part together with adults in the work and activities of the society, sometimes rendering indispensable economic services. His individuality, even his rights in property

are respected by adults. I still remember how, when a fowl which had been caught to be killed in my honour turned out to belong to a child of five, his father sent for him and solemnly asked permission to kill it, promising to replace it with another. There are also occasions when adults are dependent on young children for indispensable ritual services. In the magic to scare destructive birds from the ripening kaffir-corn, Lovedu boys and girls under puberty are the main actors. Ceremonies to enlist the aid of Nomkhubulwana, the Zulu Ceres, against top-grub in the mealies had to be carried out by young unmarried girls. When all efforts to procure rain in the Lovedu tribe have failed, the rain-queen herself having proved unsuccessful, the whole country is thought to be defiled. Then it is that boys under puberty are sent with medicine to stamp out all the fires in the land so that new ones can be ceremonially kindled with fire-sticks. I shall never forget the pride with which a small boy related to me details of this procedure whereby "we boys had to set the country right."

The Bantu child not only identifies himself with the life and activities of adults but forms an integral part of society with duties and responsibilities and a unique contribution of his own to the common weal. This stands in marked contrast to the modern European concept of a child-world as distinct from the ordinary adult world and children as a marginal group with needs of its own but without responsibilities towards the community or serious contributions to community life. This does not mean, however, that the Bantu child is a miniature adult. Children are recognised as having special needs and their own play-life and interests. Sometimes their play is institutionalized as in the Lovedu *mandwane* when, at the end of the reaping, the children build miniature villages in the fields, choose 'husbands', 'wives' and 'children' and use the gleanings to cook food for themselves. For several weeks they imitate adult life, sleeping at night in their own 'villages', the girls even shyly taking some of the food they have cooked to the mothers of their 'husbands' in the manner of a real wife.

I have touched on Bantu ideas of the place of the child in social life and given some indication of the manner in which the knowledge and skills essential in adult life are acquired. But knowledge and skill, necessary as they are for one's livelihood, are not conceived as all-important ends of education by the Bantu. It is social behaviour that holds a central place in Bantu education. What is emphasized are qualities of character, the attitudes and values of the individual, smooth human relationships, reciprocity, respect for authority and those older than yourself, the proper appreciation of cattle and crops on which society depends for its livelihood. These are the things that are stressed in the formal education of the initiation ceremonies; these are what receive attention in informal education throughout life.

Important in the development of social behaviour and the mould-

ing of the individual to the social norm are the expectations of the society. Just as among ourselves the small girl is conditioned by the actions and expectations of those about her to take an interest in dolls and pretty clothes rather than toy engines and cricket bats, so the Bantu child is by many diverse and subtle influences encouraged to develop the qualities that are prized in his particular tribe. Even in urban areas the Zulu child is subjected to influences that make for approximation to the ideal man or woman. By far the most essential qualities of Zulu manhood are physical prowess and strength, bravery and resourcefulness in fighting. There were very special rewards for bravery in battle in the old days—decorations, honorific praises, gifts of cattle from the king—and a man could rise to the highest political position through bravery. Wisdom in human relations which enables a man to build up and maintain a large kraal is also admired but ranks far below bravery and strength. Another important quality to which great prestige is attached is that of being an *isoka*, one much admired by women. For a king to be greatly admired by women, as was the late King Solomon, is therefore most fitting and appropriate; hence the number of women attached to the royal kraals even today. There is tremendous emphasis on male courting, with its concomitant preparations and love magic. A man who did not court the girls would be looked upon as physically imperfect, and, owing to polygyny, there is no limit to the number he may court simultaneously. The implications of this value for educated young men in the modern situation are considerable. A young teacher finds it difficult to refrain from enhancing his prestige and living up to the social expectations by extensive courting yet is heavily penalized by the educational authorities if he fails to conform to European standards of morality.

What of the ideal woman? Not for the Zulu the glamour girl of Hollywood. Beauty in woman is admired and appears in her praises but primarily a Zulu looks for other qualities, most important of which, as every Zulu girl is constantly reminded, is diligence. Laziness and slovenliness are reprehensible in a wife on whom rests the economic welfare of the whole family, just as inability to support a wife is a disqualification for a European man. A woman must not be quarrelsome (important in a polygynous society), she must be even-tempered and of a calm, quiet disposition, never pushing herself forward but showing deference in the presence of men, especially her husband and his relatives. It is very important for a woman to show her pride by 'giving the men a hard time' when they court her. Unlike a man, a woman must confine herself to one lover. Generosity, especially in the distribution of food and a high degree of *ubuntu* (consideration for others, kindness) are not only prized but bring very special rewards in a woman's position and prestige in the village. Physical weakness is not thought of as an attribute of the female sex. Girls not only carry heavy loads but take part in stick fights with boys,

especially when helping to herd cattle. The praises of a Natal University student's mother who was noted for her skill in stick-fights when young run, "Person who gives to those of the home and others too (emphasizing her generosity) . . . if you hit her head it never bleeds!"

It is expected that every child will grow up to take his place naturally and normally in society. So strong is the expectation of normal behaviour that delinquent or anti-social conduct tends to be attributed to the sinister influences of witchcraft rather than blamed on the individual himself. When Bilwana in 1940 shocked the whole Lovedu community by running away during her puberty initiation (owing no doubt to the harsh treatment received at the hands of the elder girls in charge), her people went to consult a diviner. Only a witch, they said, could have made her guilty of such unusual and blameworthy behaviour. The girl thus needed no rehabilitation; she was encouraged to think of herself as fitting into the normal pattern and to act accordingly. Factors such as these, together with the full integration of the child in the life and activities of the community as a whole, make the "problem child" unknown in Bantu life.

In keeping with this emphasis on the normal in individual behaviour, with the assumption that the child naturally desires to do the things he should, is the infrequency of punishment in the training of Bantu children. The child is encouraged to do right not by fear of punishment, but by the general emphasis on reciprocity and interdependence in all social relationships and by praises and rewards for good behaviour. Praises are an important instrument in the educational system of the South Bantu, especially among Zulu where *ukugiya*—solo dancing or jumping about in display, stabbing at an imaginary foe to the accompaniment of praises shouted by the onlookers—has become institutionalized. Zulu praises are like labels or military decorations which may be displayed on various public occasions. They indicate the social esteem in which a person is held, his personality and character. Not only do they act as an incentive to and reward for socially approved actions but their recital is a constant reminder to all present what qualities and conduct are considered praiseworthy.

A few words about this institution may help to indicate how it functions. Every Zulu father or mother gives praises to his children as do also other relatives. Such children's praises often have reference to family history or the circumstances surrounding the marriage of the parents. Each time a child does his brothers and sisters a good turn, they recite his praises. When a boy begins herding he receives additional praises from his fellows which tend to overshadow the earlier ones except for those given by the father. He may now himself compose his own praises but they must be based on actual achievement. When a boy begins courting it is important that "his personality should be built up" in the

form of praises by his group who are as much concerned as he is with the regard in which he is held by the girls. When boys were still regularly enrolled in regiments they used to be closely watched during the hunts and fights of the period of enrolment and those who distinguished themselves received appropriate praises. Occasions more particularly associated with *ukugiya* and public praising are betrothals, weddings and, in the old days, military occasions. Great importance is attached to the order of *ukugiya*. To begin to *giya* before a prominent man or well-known brave would be risking a fight. Before two opposing sides meet for a fight, jeering, shouting or *ukugiya* are indulged in to arouse their fighting blood. It is the aspiration of every Zulu boy to look well when he *giyas*.

This building up of the personality by means of praises which give body and form to public opinion has the effect of making the average Zulu very conscious of social approval and exceedingly vulnerable in his self-esteem. Public recital of one's own praises may seem boastful to a European but it must be remembered that it is done only in special situations. Far from being encouraged to be boastful the Zulu child is taught never to push himself forward. People who grab before others, even those who are always the first to do things or the child who eagerly and readily answers questions in class in the modern situation are looked at askance. Both sexes are expected to be reserved and dignified to the extent of aloofness.

The regime of the Bantu child is a mild one, especially during infancy when it is treated with great affection and indulgence. Fed whenever it cries, nestling safely in its skin cradle on its mother's back, dandled on the laps of the older women and admired by all, the infant grows up with a sense of warmth and security. If a Lovedu mother leaves her child crying or otherwise fails to attend to it in the approved manner, not only will she be taken to task by the older women but a fine in the form of pardon-beer for them will be imposed on her and all the other women of her approximate age in the neighbourhood. Yet the Bantu child does not grow up "spoilt" or exacting in its demands, for the lax regime of infancy is tempered from the age of about three, when the child begins to spend most of its time with others its own age, by life in groups and by the strict respect for age which is so marked a feature of the social structure. Discipline in Bantu society comes not so much from parents and other adults as from the group just older than oneself. A Zulu girl is controlled in her actions and behaviour, particularly in her contacts with the opposite sex, by the girls just older than herself; small boys while herding are chastised by and must obey the elder boys; and in all initiation ceremonies, though older men and women are nominally in charge, it is those just previously initiated who are responsible for the control and discipline of the novices. Among the factors to which increasing

juvenile delinquency and lack of control among children in urban areas can be attributed, it is probably the lack of this form of group control far more than the absence of both parents at work that is important.

There are many significant aspects of Bantu education that have not been touched upon here, but enough has, I hope, been given to indicate the general pattern and emphases of the educational system. A point that emerges clearly from this brief discussion is the importance of the informal educational influences still at work in Bantu social life and the danger of ignoring them in the modern situation. The school as an institution in European society is founded upon a certain social order; it reinforces values and ideas inculcated in the home and accepted by society as a whole. The modern school for Bantu children bears no relation to their social structure; the stress laid upon knowledge as an end in itself stands in marked contrast to their own educational emphases, while in many ways the school runs counter to the values and ideals of the Bantu community. If the school is to be character-forming, if it is to combat social disintegration instead of increasing it, steps will have to be taken to bring it into closer relation to the community it serves.

EILEEN JENSEN KRIGE.

## BANTU ART

**T**HE title "Bantu Art" will create in the minds of readers a wide variety of mental pictures. To some it will recall memories of primitive Bantu craftwork seen in museums or in the kraals of some Native reserve, to others it will revive memories of central African wood-sculpture or Benin bronze masks, and to yet other people the title will bring up mind-images of pictures painted by some of the few African artists who have ventured into the field of graphic art. However, since one theme of this volume of *Theoria* is, "The Idea of Non-European Education", the many interesting aspects of Bantu Art in general will be passed by, and attention focused on Art and Craft education in Bantu Schools in Natal.

Art is a form of expression common among all races of mankind. The frequency with which this statement has been made in the past has turned it into a cliché, and the underlying truth has been ignored. The result is that many people pass over expressive and interesting examples of creative art without enjoying the satisfaction which comes from personal contact with the original expression of vital, living persons. Let us pause to consider for a moment the variety of uses to which wood, one of the most common and easily worked of natural, raw materials, has been applied. It has been shaped to form the foundation of thatched, beehive huts, early Greek temples, half-timbered Tudor cottages, Elizabethan men-of-war and Mosquito bombers, each capturing and expressing the thoughts and emotions of the men who made them. In the formless, characterless saplings and logs of wood, men have seen a medium suitable for the construction of articles for their needs and in the making of them have unwittingly also expressed the ideas and characters of their ages. The cliché becomes a law, its application is as universal as the law of gravity; try as we will, we cannot make the original work of our hands do aught else than reveal the character of our souls and the thoughts which pass through our minds, springing from the innermost parts of our being. "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things; and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things." "For a tree is known by its fruit."

The field of art education probably offers as much scope for the development of original creative expression (when the opportunities and possibilities are understood by the teacher) as any other subject in the school curriculum. Creative expression by the pupils consolidates and crystallizes their thoughts into a form which can be conveyed to others; and in the simple experiences and problems of the classroom, this is just as necessary as in the world of engineering and architecture. Awareness of the existence of a problem is an early indication of intelligence; the satisfactory

solution of that problem, whether it be the carving of a wooden spoon, the construction of the Forth Bridge, the building of the Parthenon or the painting of the famous "Night Watch", indicates the quality of that intelligence. The necessity for creative expression as a balancing and stabilising force in the educational experience of children is probably greater among African pupils than European, because of their present rapid assimilation of various aspects of "European" knowledge which is being forced upon them through their ever deepening integration with the European culture surrounding them. In addition to the practical difficulties of materials and techniques inherent in the solution of any problem of creative expression, there are always the co-existent factors of the subtle aesthetic qualities which, in the final testing in the balance of Time, prove to be the eternal qualities which give inestimable value of a more enduring kind than mere utility to the truly great works of mankind.

There is a quality in Bantu art which chiefly distinguishes it from similar European work. It is its simplicity. Basically there appears to be a complete antithesis in the reactions of untrained Europeans and Africans when confronted with a problem of creative expression: a European tends to cover up lack of knowledge by adding more and more superfluous detail whereas the African tends to simplify until the underlying universal form is reached. This has been seen in the carving and modelling of many African school children, but in general this special quality of the African mind has not yet received any particular attention; nevertheless, in the course of time, it may prove to be one of the African's greatest assets and enable him to make a great contribution to the thought of our age.

In many areas of Natal there are still people to be found who are practising the old Zulu crafts; but through economic pressure, which is gradually becoming heavier, and for other practical reasons, these are showing signs of dying out. The traditional crafts, although not as varied as those found in central Africa, nevertheless display a sensitive feeling for form and design, and appreciation of good craftsmanship. The skill with which grasses are plaited and woven evinces technical ability of an exceptionally high order coupled with patience and perseverance. It is the policy in Native education to encourage the practice of traditional crafts in the primary schools, firstly because of their educational and aesthetic value, and secondly because it is sound pedagogical procedure to progress from the known to the new. It must be frankly admitted that within the next generation many of the traditional crafts will be almost as foreign to the urban Africans as to Europeans, and therefore, while their appreciation of beauty and technical skill in craftwork still flows strongly, it must be directed into fresh channels where the Africans can not only contribute towards the mass production of everyday utensils and furnishings for the

homes of their people, but also give them their own new designs. Indications of this trend one finds in many schools, particularly in towns, where both the traditional and the newly adopted types of craftwork are being practised side by side; but every effort is being made to maintain and perpetuate the best qualities of the old crafts.

An event, in some districts an annual event, which is having a considerable beneficial influence on School craftwork is the local Schools' Show of handwork, including carpentry, needlework and handwriting, which is accompanied by competitive singing by choirs and drilling by small teams. These School Shows are arranged by the District Inspectors of Schools and are sometimes co-ordinated with adult Native Shows organised by the Native Commissioners. The Shows have become an established social institution and, through the competitions for prizes in the large number of sections included in the catalogues, have given a healthy stimulus to Native initiative in these fields. It is considered that without these Shows some handicrafts would certainly have already died out.

Art and Craftwork practised in African schools in Natal can best be described under the following headings:—

*Traditional Crafts:*

Grasswork: weaving, sewing and plaiting;  
 Palm-leafwork: basketry using weaving and plaiting;  
 Pottery and Modelling in clay;  
 Woodcarving;  
 Beadwork;  
 Dyeing: using indigenous dyes.

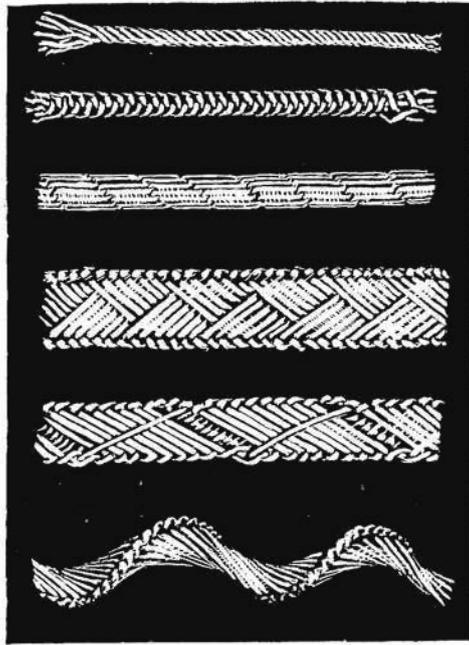
*Adopted Crafts:*

Sisal-fibrework: weaving and plaiting;  
 Sculpture in wood and stone;  
 Horn- and Bonework;  
 Graphic art.

It will be noticed that the major and minor arts are grouped together and no attempt is made to treat them as different "subjects" or different forms of art or craftwork. This attitude is encouraged in order to maintain the high aesthetic qualities of good craftwork and avoid a distinction between the two from developing because one is looked upon as being superior to the other. Furthermore, it is considered that any differentiation between the purely imaginative and the practical forms of applied art should be made only in the post-school training of the pupil.

**GRASSWORK.**

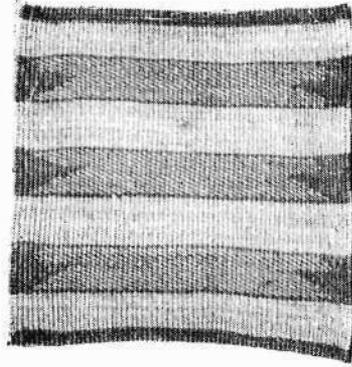
There are many different varieties of indigenous grasses which are made use of in Bantu craftwork: Umtshiki (*umvithi*—*Eragrostis plana*), Isikhonko (*Digitaria eriantha*), Ikhwane (a tall



*Illustration No. 1.*  
Umsingizane Plaits.



*Illustration No. 2.*  
Making an Ivovo.



*Illustration No. 3.*  
An Isithebe.



*Illustration No. 4.*  
An Ilala Handbag.



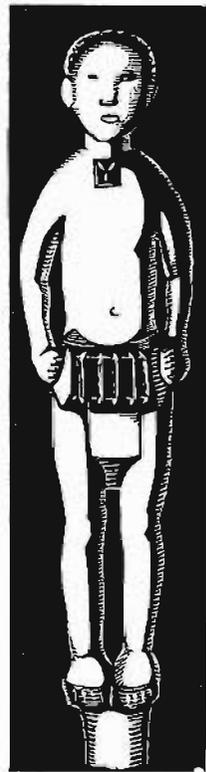
*Illustration No. 9.*  
Woodcarving.



*Illustration No. 8.*  
Woodcarving.



*Illustration No. 5.*  
Clay Modelling.



*Illustration No. 10.*  
Woodcarving.

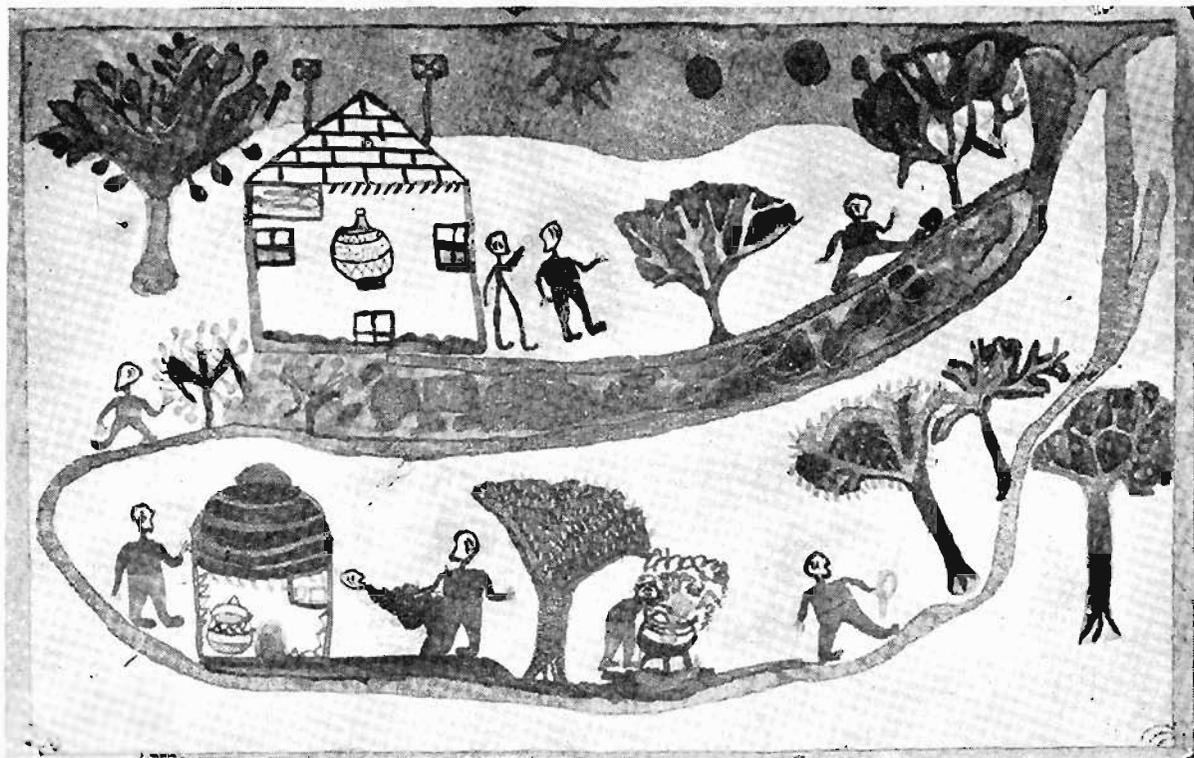


*Illustration No. 6.*  
Clay Modelling—"A Priest."



*Illustration No. 7.*

Clay Modelling—"Mother and Child."



*Illustration No. 11.*  
Watercolour Painting—"A Zulu Legend."



*Illustration No. 12.*  
Lino-cut—"Father and Son."



*Illustration No. 13.*  
Lino-cut—"The Browsing Antelopes."

sedge—*Cyperus fastigiatus*), Umsingizane (*Sperobolus indicus*), Incema (thin round rush—*Juncus maritimus*), Umuzi, umbukubuku (icwazicwazi—a marsh grass), etc.

The first exercise in grass is to make plaits from umsingizane which is the round, flowering stalk of a very common grass. Although grass-plaiting is generally considered to be women's work, these grass plaits are commonly made by herd boys, and in schools it is frequently noticed that some boys are better at this kind of plaiting than many girls. (*Illustration No. 1*, page 38.)

It will be seen that these plaits are very similar to woven braids and they are in fact an introduction to weaving which is used to make a number of articles from suitable grasses.

A most ingenious article of this kind is the *iyovo* (beer-strainer), made from ucwazicwazi or umbukubuku grass. The "warp" is made of split ucwazicwazi, twisted into three-ply cords while it is wet and left to dry. The strainer is made by threading a weft through the warp in such a way that two of the three-ply strands are on the outside and one on the inside. It is necessary to form the article round a temporary core and for this purpose a tightly bound bundle of thatching grass is used. To finish off, the ends are brought together in a neat, tight bunch and firmly tied. (*Illustration No. 2*.)

An *impontshi* (spoon-holder) is woven in a similar way, but nowadays a bottle is found to be more convenient than a core of grass. The *impontshi* is usually made of incema which is used for the warp or upright stakes and a fine thread of either hand-twisted aloe-fibre or common string for the weft. The addition of a superficial decoration of beads is popular.

Probably the most interesting woven article made from grass by the Bantu people is the *izithebe* (eating mat) which varies in size from six inches to two feet square. It is usually square but it is not uncommon to find specimens which are circular or semi-circular, made in a similar manner by the Pondos in southern Natal. *Izithebe* are made from umuzi (umhlahla or induli are also suitable) or, if these are unobtainable, from incema, but the incema is much coarser and does not lend itself to delicate pattern work. Before commencing the article, thin strips of umuzi are prepared and a proportion of them dyed. The strips are twisted tightly while wet to make two-cord threads which are partly dried before being woven, so that the cording is fixed. The warp is then prepared by tying together stronger pieces of umuzi with a special knot and the twisted pieces made earlier are woven in, in the same way as "whaling" in basketry.

Although the quality and texture of some *izithebe* are extremely pleasing, they claim particular attention because of the variety of patterns which are worked into them. These patterns are created in two different ways. In those mats which have no colour

introduced, the patterns of zig-zag lines and diamond shapes are made by variations in the stitch, that is, where a line is required two warps instead of one are taken together in one stitch. Since the two weft threads are being woven simultaneously the design formed in this way is reversible. The second method of creating a pattern is by using dyed threads for the weft. Sometimes these threads are used to give lines of colour right across the mat, but they are frequently made into solid diamonds and squares by returning them at the edge of the coloured shapes and filling in the background with natural colour, in the same way as is done by European weavers when making hand-made, woollen floor-rugs on conventional looms. The illustration is of one of these mats but the colours show only as lighter and darker tones. (Illustration No. 3.)

#### PALM LEAVES.

The leaves of the ilala (*Hyphaena crinita*) and isundu (*Phoenix reclinata*) palms provide a very popular craft material which is used extensively by Africans living in coastal regions where they flourish. They are woven into hand and shoulder bags and *isivovo*, but stronger articles, such as baskets and trays, are made when the leaves are used to wrap thin coils of grass (usually *umsingizane*) strengthened with the hard edges of the palm leaf, and knotted in various ways to hold the coils together. This coil method of construction in basketry is used also with *umsingizane*, sisal fibre, and maize husks to produce very fine articles. Boys always object to making articles by sewing plaited strings together because they consider this to be girls' craft, but they enjoy making articles by the coil method, whether they are using *umsingizane* or ilala leaves.

It is always necessary to split the blades of ilala leaves before using them and the quality of the finished work is judged by the fineness and evenness of the threads. Ilala work looks most effective when patterns of dyed material are worked in, but ilala does not absorb dyes very readily; it generally requires several hours, and sometimes days, of boiling to make the dye penetrate the fibres. (Illustration No. 4.)

#### CLAY.

In most schools clay is found to be a rather difficult medium for the higher classes on account of the poor accommodation and storage space, even in the best schools. In infant classes clay modelling fills a big place in the scheme of work and in some schools where good clay is close at hand, excellent modelling has been done. Beyond the making of clay oxen and perhaps a few other animals by herdboys, few adult Zulus have ever used clay as a medium for self-expression in the realm of imaginative art; it has no place in their traditional manner of life. Nevertheless, when challenged to model something out of clay in the sympathetic atmosphere created by a good teacher, many Zulu boys and girls

have responded with great artistic skill to produce work which compares very favourably with the best by children of similar ages in other lands.

The first illustration of clay modelling, No. 5, is the attempt of a five-year old to make a figure of a woman. It has a pancake-like head fixed to the top of a legless body, which is supplied with two arms which resemble the horns of a bull, a pair of breasts and buttocks. The importance of this primitive piece lies in its originality and the fact that the child has visualized this form subjectively and expressed it simply and purely in its own childish language. Such originality is the essence of all great art; but often teachers in their anxiety to "teach" art, dominate the classroom to such an extent that originality on the part of the pupils is impossible and the "results" at the end of a lesson are misshapen abortions—the pupils' attempts to represent what they have been "taught" to model.

The second illustration, No. 6, is a statuette of a Priest by a ten year old African boy in Standard I at Ottawa Government-aided School. It has been conceived with a vital intensity of feeling for the essentials which are conveyed even in the photographic representation. The dramatic strength of the simple fluted robe and the firmly out-stretched hands in fervent prayer, form a design which is both purposeful and satisfying.

The third illustration of modelling, No. 7, is of a Mother and Child, by a pupil in Standard II, also at Ottawa School. There is no high technical skill in modelling fingers and toes owing to the fact that a piece of modelling like this must be completed in one lesson, since no damp-box facilities exist for keeping the clay moist over a long period of time while the details are worked up; but have not the essential qualities of form and composition been achieved? Is there not a touching tenderness in the embrace with which the mother holds her child as well as a most appropriate device of composition achieved quite unconsciously? Many further examples could be quoted but these are sufficient to reveal the talent which is to be found among Bantu children.

#### WOOD.

The fine feeling of form seen in clay modelling is also apparent in Bantu sculpture in wood and stone. The illustrations of sculpture are by older children in Standards V and VI, but the African character has increased rather than diminished with added years. The "Duck", No. 8, is a delightful little piece which has conveyed unmistakably the form of an aquatic bird, streamlined like a racing yacht. The standing "Figure of a Girl", in a striped skirt, No. 9, might have been taken from an Egyptian tomb, but it was made by a boy attending a school near Pomeroy who had never left the Msinga district. Carving applied as a decorative handle of a stick, is seen in the "Figure of a Boy", playing a concertina, No.

10; the shape nestles snugly into the hand and is particularly well suited for the purpose for which it was made. Can anyone give higher praise than this?

#### GRAPHIC ART.

As a general observation it might be stated that the Bantu find it easier to express themselves in plastic (that is in the round) than in graphic art. This is probably true, but the reason is perhaps that in the past they have had more facilities for modelling and carving. However, such small opportunities as there were in the decorating of the surface of clay pots were not used to draw figures of human beings or animals but to make geometrical patterns. During the last few years materials for graphic art have been gradually introduced into many town schools where children have enjoyed the game of "picture making", working under teachers who have had no training in art teaching but are interested in it. The result has been that in practically every school where the experiment has been carried out the pupils have been left free to express themselves; and there have been many instances in which pupils have produced better work than their teachers.

Exceptionally interesting results have come from several of the Natal Native Training Colleges, where highly qualified European art teachers are working. The paintings show the stages of development of artistic expression from the most primitive, uninhibited naiveness to very sophisticated competence.

Illustration No. 11 is a first effort at picture-making by a youth aged 19 years, an excellent example of the former type. It could quite as reasonably be the first effort of a ten-year old. The painting is an illustration of the Zulu legend about the boy who murdered his grandmother and cooked her in a pot. The incidents of the story follow consecutively along the road like a strip cartoon, with the figure of the wicked grandson appearing seven times. The drawing ability is very weak, and the common confusion of showing the furniture and fittings inside when drawing a house, is present; but in spite of these handicaps the student has told the story in a lively, understandable way, with reasonably good design and colour values.

Sophisticated competence is usually dull, because as students acquire some ability in the representation of natural appearances they tend to lose the strength of expression that was the attraction of their early work.

The lino-cut "Father and Son", illustration No. 12, is by a student who is being trained as an art and craft teacher and is typical of the work of trained Africans. In the strong contrast of black and white which is the special quality of lino-cuts, they find a medium which is particularly suitable to their rather deliberate manner of working, always tending towards the decorative.

In the conclusion of this article, it is fitting to pay tribute to the pioneer of graphic art in African education, the Reverend Canon Edward Paterson, who has made the name of Cyrene, Southern Rhodesia, famous for the delightful paintings of African life through the work of the pupils of his small primary school. Until the work of Cyrene became known about fifteen years ago, the world had not suspected the depth and quality of artistic feeling which lay dormant in the African psyche. Canon Paterson, being an artist himself with deep insight and perception, was quick to appreciate the signs of latent talent which might have been overlooked by anyone of less keen sensibility; and having opened the gates he has been able to watch the flood of artistic expression pouring from the brushes of his pupils. As an illustration of Cyrene work, the lino-cut, "The Browsing Antelopes", No. 13, has been chosen, since it conveys, beyond the power of words, the mystery and the spirit of the African veld as Nature planned it.

J. W. GROSSERT.

## AN OUTLINE OF ZULU LITERATURE

**I**T would seem almost inaccurate to write of Zulu literature at all, for its written content is so small and its writers so inexperienced that what exists can hardly lay claim to what is generally understood by the term. Be that as it may, it is true that the best of Zulu literature is still unwritten, and is being preserved by the people by being handed down by word of mouth, from generation to generation, in song, legend and story.

The European way of life is, however, making such a profound impact upon Zulu society that the traditional way in which their manners, customs and folklore were normally transmitted is being very seriously interfered with, and there is grave danger of the unwritten store of legend and romance being lost.

No longer is it possible for the father of the family to be at home every evening, and to gather the young people around the fireplace and to give them instruction in proper behaviour and the exact use of words. No longer is he able to tell an enthralled family of the might of Shaka and the deeds of many lesser heroes. He must work, and that entails long absences from home, or, if he is near enough to get home every night, the transport arrangements are so inadequate that he gets home late and has to leave again at daylight, and there is no time for stories and riddles and fun.

The Zulu loves conversation. It is to him a recreation which he enjoys to the full, and he has a wonderful appreciation of the fitness of words for an occasion. Dr. A. T. Bryant in his preface to his *Zulu-English Dictionary*, published in 1905, makes the following statement (p. 8):

“A fact that showed itself most clearly during my pursuit of new words and their meanings, was that the Zulu language is in the keeping of the female sex. I can affirm without exaggeration that fully 19,000 of the words entered in this Dictionary were known and their meanings understood by an intelligent, though absolutely uneducated adult girl, who was a member of my ‘court of enquiry’ in Zululand to whom all words were submitted for verification or correction previous to entry.”

The men are, however, not far behind the women in the range of their vocabulary and the Zulu is therefore seldom at a loss when called upon to speak on any topic that may have arisen. So it came about that the folklore was handed down with a remarkable accuracy and attention to the value of words. Let us then look at some of these legends.

There are first of all the great national legends; for instance, the legend of the origin of the race. It is said that uMvelingqangi, the first man, came out of the reeds, and had a wife and cattle with him. They knew how to brew beer and to plant corn and these two were the Mother and Father of the race. It is not unlikely that this tradition originated from the fact that the Bantu had their cradle in the well-watered country to the east of Lake Tanganyika, and that in their migrations to the southern part of the continent rivers bulked largely in their travels. "*Sehla ngesitulu*", they say, which means "we came down by means of a grain basket". These grain baskets when tied together made excellent rafts, and so they crossed the largest waterways.

There is also the legend of how death came into the world. It is said that some years after the creation *Nkulunkulu* (God) decided that men should live for ever. He therefore sent a message to them to that effect. He, however, entrusted the delivery of it to the chameleon, which, in any case, walks very slowly; but, to make matters worse, it spied some berries of which it was very fond on the *ubukhwebezana* shrub and took a very long time climbing up to pick the fruit. It did not think there was any hurry with the message and delayed so long that *Nkulunkulu* got angry and sent off another message, entrusting it this time to a salamander, to tell the people that they would be subject to death. This messenger arrived in the world long before the chameleon had even had enough berries to eat and proclaimed its message: "*Nkulunkulu* says you must all be subject to death". When at length the chameleon arrived and gave its message, the people would not believe it for they said *Nkulunkulu* would not speak with two voices, and in any case, people had already begun to die, and the fate of the remainder could therefore not be changed, so the people said, "*Sobamba elentulo*" (We will stick to that of the salamander). The saying has now become proverbial as describing a conservative attitude.

Next we have the fairy stories told for the amusement of children by the grandmothers of the race. They are generally told at night, after the evening meal, in the appropriate setting of a smoke-filled atmosphere and a flickering light, and they deal with cannibals and fearsome animals, and monsters like the *Isidawane* which eats little herd-boys if they are so foolish as to doze off at their task. Here is one example of the less creepy ones—the story of the greedy mother-in-law:

Long, long ago a young couple got married and lived happily together in their own hut. After a little while the wife's mother came to visit them and stayed some weeks. It was during the weeding season, and at sunrise every morning the two young people went out into the fields to weed the maize and corn, returning about 11 o'clock to have their breakfast. There is a taboo amongst the Zulus against a woman partaking of milk in a home

which is not her own, so before going out the young woman would crush some boiled corn (*umcaba*) and put it into a small basket, covering it over, ready to be mixed with the thickened and sour milk (*amasi*) in the gourd for herself and her husband when they came back. She also made ready some porridge and pumpkin, garnished with tasty fat, for her mother. Soon after her mother's arrival, when they returned, hungry with the morning's exertions, there seemed to be an unaccountably small quantity of food for herself and her husband. They did not remark upon it for the first three or four days, but when this went on they decided to ask the old lady whether she could offer any explanation. She said she could not account for it and said she would keep an eye on the hut while she worked in the fields. The mother-in-law, because of her age, worked in the small patches of ground near by. The food continued to disappear so the son-in-law, after going out to work, returned secretly and hid himself in the back part of the hut. About an hour before the usual time for them to cease work he saw his mother-in-law enter the hut and mix herself a good helping of corn and milk and begin to eat it. He then came out of hiding and said, "So you are the one who has been stealing our food?" The woman could not deny it and prayed for forgiveness, but the young man was very angry and said, "Not only are you guilty of theft but you have broken one of the laws of the ancestors and you may bring their anger upon us. Here, take this water-pot and do not come back to this house again until you have been able to draw water from a pool which contains not a single frog".

So off the old woman went on what seemed a hopeless task. When she got near a pool she would say, "*Akukho sele lapha na?*" which means, 'Is there no frog here?' and immediately a frog would bob up and say, "*Gwi! Gwi!*" which is to say in frog language, "I'm here!" For days the old woman went on and on trying at every pool. She would say, "*Akukho sele lapha na?*" and, sure as fate, up would bob a frog and say "*Gwi! Gwi!*" and so wearily and hungrily she would go on again. At last when she was almost famished, she came to a pool and when she put her question there was no answer. Quickly she filled her pot and drank deeply. Then, feeling exhausted, she sat down on the bank and went off to sleep. She slept and slept for days, and when she awoke she found that her body had taken root in the ground and she could not move, and there she died. Her body, however, grew into a big shady tree, and if ever you find a pool in which there is no frog, be sure to look carefully and you will see also the tree that was once a greedy mother-in-law.

When we come to history, it is found that the Zulu memory goes back only about two hundred and fifty years to Chief Malandela who had two sons, Zulu and Qwaŋe, both of whom wanted, when their father died about the year 1690, to be chief. Rather than fight over the matter they agreed to separate, each

taking his adherents with him, and so the Zulu tribe was established, and more or less accurately the subsequent chiefs of the tribe are known down to the present day. It was the great Shaka that made the Zulu tribe the dominant force in South-Eastern Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and many are the stories of his deeds which are handed down by tradition. There are, too, lesser heroes whose exploits are remembered and whose actions are still recounted in the family circle or the chief's council. As a sample of such lore, the following very much summarised story of Zulu, son of Nogandaya, is typical.

He belonged to the Qwabe section of the people to which we have already referred. His name was really Khomfiya, but it was changed to Zulu by Shaka because of his doughty deeds. He had to flee from his own tribe because of a false accusation and he enlisted in Shaka's army in which his courage and ability were quickly recognised. Shaka invited him to bring some of his relatives from his home land and build a kraal for himself near Shaka's Bulawayo kraal, which he did. Shaka then made him his chief counsellor and he was thus on familiar terms with the dreaded chief. In fact it is said that Zulu took such liberties with Shaka as no one else ever dared to do, and that Shaka laughed them off because he so admired Zulu's courage. It is asserted that in every fight Zulu killed more of the enemy than anybody else. He had five separate wounds in his body. He was fond of going off on individual forays and even a whole kraal would submit to his taking off some of their cattle because of being afraid to tackle him. He it was that commanded the Zulu army that devastated Durban in 1838 after the defeat at the Thukela of the early English settlers and their Zulu followers who were led by John Cane in an effort to help the Voortrekkers. Mpande, however, had a grudge against Zulu, and when the former became king Zulu left Zululand and settled with his followers at Mkhunya, in the Umzinto District, where he died full of years and honour.

A good deal of Zulu history is to be found in the *izibongo* (eulogies) of the chiefs and other important persons. These are in the special care of the official 'praisers' of each tribe and set forth in poetic language the exploits of the person concerned. Knowledge of the incidents referred to in the *izibongo* is necessary before a translation of them can be made. Some of the allusions have lost their meaning even to the Zulus themselves, because of the failure of the 'praisers' to deliver to their successors adequate explanations of the eulogies which they recited. The following is an example taken at random from the eulogies of Shaka :

Inyath' ejame ngomkhonto phezu koMzimvuḅu,  
 AmaMpond' ayesaba nokuyehlela;  
 "Nani boGambushe, nani boFaku,  
 Ningamhlabi,  
 N'othi ningamhlabi,

Koba senihlaḅ' uPhunga, nahlaḅ' uMageḅa".

Oḅe sixhokolo singamatsh' aseNkandla,  
Aḅephephel' izindlovu ukuba liphendule.  
Ulusiba gojela ngalaphaya kweNkandla,  
Lugojela njalo, ludl' amadoda.

Uḅiyoze kuNomangci phezulu,  
Eya kunqumel' umbango wakwaNyuswa,  
Kwakungabangwa lutho ngakwaNyuswa,  
Kwakubangw' izinhlakuva semanxiweni,  
Bethi: "Ntekenteke, zilinden' amajuba".

Thou armed buffalo that sent a challenge above the Mzimvuḅu,  
And the Pondos feared even to descend upon it;

"Even thou Gambushe and thou Faku,

Thrust not at him,

For if ye do spear him,

'Twill be as if ye pierced Phunga and roused Mageḅa".

Thou wert a shelter like the rocks of the Nkandla,  
Which shielded the elephants in bad weather.

Thou feather that disappeared over the Nkandla,

And so disappearing ate up an army.

Who, breathing heavily, climbed the height of Nomangci,  
Going to settle the dispute of the Nyuswas,

The Nyuswa dispute was about nothing,

Quarrelling over the castor-oil beans on the old site,

And saying: "Shoo! Shoo! Guard them from the pigeons".

Shaka's army penetrated to the banks of the Mzimvuḅu and seized all the cattle it could lay its hands on, thus challenging the Pondos to come out and fight, but they kept securely hidden in their wooded recesses. The poet, however, goes on to warn Gambushe and Faku, their chiefs, that if they did venture out they would be fighting not only the flesh and blood of Shaka but also the spiritual power of his ancestors Phunga and Mageḅa. The allusion to Shaka being a shelter for elephants has reference to his incorporation of other tribes and their chiefs. Then follows a brief reference to his famous retreat from Zwide, when he lured the Ndwandwe army over the Nkandla and then inflicted a severe defeat upon it. The Nyuswa dispute was between two brothers, each of whom wanted to be chief, so they referred the matter to Shaka for settlement. His feeling of contempt for what he considered a pettifogging business, hardly worthy of his attention, is reflected by the poet. It is recorded that he settled the matter by allowing his dog to decide who should be chief, which it did by smelling them both and then lying down in front of one, who was then proclaimed the chief.

Shaka's doings are a matter of history, but it can readily be appreciated how difficult of elucidation these eulogies become when their subject is a less-known personality, and especially if he lived

before the Shakan period. There is no chronological order, but the events are dealt with as they came into the mind of the original composer.

Another interesting study is to be found in the many hundreds of proverbs which adorn Zulu conversation and oratory. As in all languages the brevity and aptness of the aphorism determine its survival, and therefore in translation it is not always possible to find corresponding terseness and neatness of expression. The following examples illustrate the point that it is better not to attempt to use the same words but to get as near to the essence as possible:

(a) *Isalukutshelwa sibona ngomopho*, 'He who listens not is taught by blood'; pride goes before a fall; (b) *Ubude abuphangwa*, 'Stature cannot be obtained by force'; Rome was not built in a day; (c) *Umthente uhlabá usamila*, 'The (*umthente*) grass pricks even while young and growing'; the boy is father to the man. There are many to which no translation can do justice.

Turning now to the written literature in Zulu it will quickly be seen that it is still in its cradle days. It lacks the virility, the poise and assurance of its oral counterpart. This is not surprising when it is realised that the bulk of what has been printed must have been suitable for school use before it could find a publisher. Thus it was that the first books were composed of descriptions of incidents, fragments of history, short poems and accounts of travel such as would interest children in the process of learning to read, and these only made their appearance from 1923 onwards. Before that children were reading chiefly books of a religious nature.

The first Zulu novel was published only in 1933. It was a story of the time of Shaka, a slight effort of 80 pages, written by the late Dr. J. L. Duše and entitled *uJeqe, Insila kaShaka* (Jeqe, Shaka's body-servant). The Zulu novel, then, is barely twenty years old. Since that time a little over a score of others have appeared, some showing promise, such as *Noma Nini* (For Ever) by B. W. Vilakazi (1935); *Indlala YaseHarrisdale* (The Heir of Harrisdale) by E. H. Made (1940); *Indlela Yašabi* (The Way of the Wicked) by R. R. Dhlomo (1946); *Nigaše Ngani?* (What are You Proud Of?) by J. Mdelwa Zama (1948); and *Mntanami! Mntanami!* (My Child! My Child!) by Sibusiso Nyembezi (1951). The last named in this list is a great advance upon its predecessors both in its delineation of character and its dramatic quality. Most authors, so far, appear content to tell a story based on the known facts of people whose lives are prosaic and whose motives are never put to the test. Characterization is therefore slight and drama absent.

Only one play, and it has its base on a well-known fairy tale, has, so far, made its appearance. It is entitled *UGubudele Namazimuzimu* (Gubudele and the Cannibals) by Nimrod N. T. Ndebele (1941).

The biographies of the Zulu kings (Shaka, Dingane, Mpande and Cetshwayo by R. R. Dhlomo and Dingiswayo by B. W. Vilakazi) have been written. They are all rather sketchy and could with advantage be expanded. E. H. Made in his *Ubuwula Bexoxo* (The Foolishness of the Frog, 1941) has published a collection of essays in which he discusses with a good deal of penetration the social problems of the Zulus in their present transition stage.

Collections of fairy stories such as those made by Dr. Callaway (as far back as 1866-68) are long out of print, while records of Zulu custom have been made by Petros Lamula, *Isabelo SikaZulu* (The Zulu Inheritance) (1936) and by T. Z. Masondo, *Amasiko EsiZulu*, (Zulu Culture, 1940).

Mention must also be made of the largely apocryphal history of the Bantu written by Magama M. Fuze: *Abantú Ahamnyama, Lapha Bavela Ngakhona* (The Bantu People and Where They Came From, 1922), and also of a delightful collection of fairy tales written by Alban Mbatha and Garland Mdhladhla under the title of *uChakijana Bogcololo* (1927). In each of these tales Chakijana is the hero. He is a mythical being who issued from his mother's womb already able to fend for himself, but like Peter Pan he never grew any bigger. He was clever and mischievous and delighted in getting the better of people and animals. He is the Brer Rabbit of Zulu folklore.

Finally reference must be made to the Zulu poetry which has been published. The pioneer and most learned exponent in this field was the late Dr. B. W. Vilakazi, whose first book entitled *Inkondlo kaZulu* (Zulu Songs) was published in 1935, and a second, *Amal' ezulu*, (Zulu Horizons) in 1945. Vilakazi very soon found that the Zulu language does not lend itself to rhyme, but he endeavoured to keep to the rhythmic forms of European poetry. Even these he found irksome when his subject was a national hero like Shaka. The old composers of *izibongo* had none of these limitations. They had rhythm but not lines of regular length occurring at recognised intervals. In the instances where Vilakazi casts aside these bonds his poetry becomes inspiring.

Vilakazi has a wide range of subject, for his purpose was not only to write poetry but also to educate his own people and to show that the heroic was not the only type of poem suitable for the Zulu. He particularly wanted to draw their attention to the beauties of nature, to which the average Zulu is generally unresponsive. He was also keenly aware of the disabilities under which his people laboured, and his pain at the indifference of the

European to these things obtrudes itself here and there. His second volume is a real advance upon his first, for it is less academic and less concerned with the impression which it will make. In the second book Vilakazi has a message to give and an explanation of life to impart.

One of his first poems was on the 'Xhosa Calamity' in which thousands perished because of their belief in the power of the ancestors to give them a new world of plenty and prosperity and the strength to drive the white people back into the sea from which they had come. To accomplish this they had to kill all their cattle and destroy all their food and wait on a set day for the miracle to happen. A girl, Nongqawuze, brought the message from the ancestors who were said to have appeared to her. The following verse describes the scene on the great day as the people wait and disillusionment comes:

Ilanga lakhwel' umango walo  
 Liyilokhu lisinekile njalo,  
 Imisebe yalo ehlabayo,  
 Lazi konke okwehlakalayo  
 Nokuzovela phinde lithi vuya.  
 Ladwengula lay' eNtshonalanga,  
 Kwezwakala omuny' esuza ethi:  
 "Kodwa nith' ikhona into ekhona?"  
 Abanye babika indlala nokoma  
 Amaqhalaqhala athula duya.  
 Kwavela ishing' elithize lathi:  
 "Ngikhombise uphi uNongqawuze  
 Ngincame ngizizwele ngesijula?"  
 Kwahlokoma izwi labadala bathi:  
 "Thul' umsindo mfana kaNobani  
 Uxosha amathongo azofika  
 Ngokushona kwenhlamvu yal' ilanga;"  
 Yashona yathi gqwambi, kodwa dwaya.  
 Kwahwelela kwaqoqana ukuhlwa,  
 Yaphum' inyanga ihlek' usulu nayo.

Up climbed the sun across its zenith,  
 Grinning, always grinning,  
 Its dazzling rays  
 Knowing all that was happening  
 And was coming, but said not a word.  
 It ploughed on to the West  
 And one was heard enquiring,  
 "Do you think there's anything in it?"  
 Some complained of hunger and thirst.  
 The boasters kept absolute silence.  
 Thereupon appeared a daring one, who said:  
 "Show me where that Nongqawuze is

And let me do my worst with a spear."  
 Then came a clamour from the aged:  
 "Contain yourself, son of So-and-So,  
 You are frightening the spirits, surely coming  
 At the going down of the ball of the sun!"  
 It went down plump, but nothing appeared.  
 Dusk came and darkness gathered,  
 The moon rose laughing scornfully too.

Although Vilakazi was intensely religious and some of his poems reveal his Christian upbringing, he nevertheless appreciated the love of the Zulu for his beer. In an ode to 'Sonkomose's Goblet' the last verse reads:

Yeka lawo manz' ampofu,  
 Qwabe wen' obuwakhonza  
 Enjengompe lwezinyosi.  
 Ngish' ikholw' elithi, Nkosi,  
 Emsamo liyakukhonza  
 Wena Nkosazana empofu  
 Owendela kul' ukhamba  
 Nokuphethwe yil' ukhamba.

Lo, the beverage, rich in colour,  
 Which thou Qwabe adored,  
 Like the sweet nectar from the bee.  
 Even the believer who says, Lord,  
 In secret accords thee reverence,  
 Thou Princess amber,  
 Who didst wed the pot,  
 And what the very pot holds.

His appreciation of natural phenomena is revealed in the following verses from 'The Victoria Falls':

Min'engingenal' izwi njengelakho  
 Elokhu limi njalo limpompoza,  
 Kunjengomfanekiso wesilima  
 Uma ngiling' ukuchaza phansi  
 Ngalolusib' olugcoboz' uyinki,  
 Isimo sobukhosi nesoBuhle,  
 Ngenzela nokuvus' uthando kubo  
 Abangazange bakuBone ngeso.  
 Uphunuz' imiphefumul' ehlwelwe  
 Eyimhambina ingenandawo  
 Yokubeka nohlangothi ngenkathi  
 Ilizw' elakho izwi ikubeka.

Amehlo aBo agcwal' intokozo  
 Bahlale phansi bazicobebele  
 Insangu, bashay' amadosh' ogwayi  
 Babeme bakubuke baze bome  
 Bomel' ubuthongo bazilalele.  
 Umsindo wakh' unjengoju lwenyosi,  
 Unjengesandla somzanyan' ekhanda,  
 Selul' iminwe sithungath' unwele  
 Silulalisa, siluvusa phansi,  
 Nemihambim' ithol' isiphephelo  
 Ngasezimpikweni zamanz' amhlophe,  
 Adilika empophomeni yakho.  
 Dilika njal' uzubikele bonke  
 Abenzalo yeAfrik' abezayo.

I who have not a voice like thine,  
 Which is for ever sounding,  
 I am likened unto a clown  
 If I attempt to paint,  
 With this quill, dipping into ink,  
 Thy form, so majestic in its beauty,  
 And trying to arouse desire in those  
 Who have never set their eyes upon thee.  
 Thou art bliss to souls overtaken by darkness,  
 Wandering and without home  
 In which to rest, as soon as  
 They hear thy voice and behold thee.

Their eyes are full of gladness,  
 They sit down and fill their bowls  
 With balm, and tap their snuff-boxes,  
 And smoke, gazing at thee until they thirst  
 And long for sleep and repose.  
 Thy voice is sweet as honey,  
 Soft as a nurse's hand on the head,  
 Putting forth her fingers and reaching for the locks,  
 Smoothing them down and again ruffling them.  
 Even the wanderers find refuge  
 Under the wings of thy foaming spray,  
 Descending from thy dizzy height.  
 Crash down for ever, and announce thyself to all  
 The generations of Africa to come.

From the second volume two extracts (in translation only) of a poem entitled 'Regarding the Mines' must suffice:

Roar ye machines of the mines  
 Thunder louder and ever louder,  
 Besiege with noise that we may not be heard  
 Although we weep and groan always,

The joints of our bodies are destroyed by thee;  
 Laugh loudly ye old machines  
 It is good ye laugh at us as we get angry,  
 Your power is great, ye are terrible  
 Ye may do as ye please, we submit.

We agreed to come out of the little hut  
 And come to be herded like oxen;  
 We left behind corn and thick and fresh milk,  
 And came to wait for steamed meal and porridge;  
 Manhood has departed, we are 'boys',  
 We see the world upside down.  
 Awakened at dawn we stand in line.  
 Wherever did ye see a person buried  
 While seeing with both eyes, and walking?

And a little further on in the same poem we find this verse:

Thunder softly that I may lie down and sleep,  
 The sleep of the closed eyes,  
 And not think of tomorrow and the dawn.  
 I mean sleep from which I shall awake far away,  
 Far off in the land of the spirits and of dozing.  
 Sleep from which I shall not awake  
 Embraced by the arms of the ancestors  
 Down on the green pastures of heaven.

There are, of course other poets besides Vilakazi whose work has been published. E. Thos. Mthembu, E. H. Made, F. M. Kunene and J. C. Dlamini all give promise of better things to come. In fact, it is in poetry that Zulu authors have done their best work. In verse they find it easier to express feeling and emotion and they get nearer to the heart of things. They all suffer from the temptation to use archaic and unusual words when simple ones would do as well. It is to be hoped that they will learn how beautiful and satisfying the simple word is.

Zulu literature generally will not reach a satisfactory level until a Zulu reading public, willing and anxious to buy books, has been created. At present the average Zulu does not read. He would rather talk. Hope lies in the fact that the children are learning, and a new generation may want more and better literature. When that comes about publishers will be willing to risk the issue of a book not necessarily suitable for school use.

Zulu literature is still very much in its infancy, but the infant is kicking lustily and will soon be sitting up and taking notice. I venture to predict that during the next fifty years it will be able to stand on its own feet and send forth a stream of books that will bear comparison with the older literatures of the world.

D. McK. MALCOLM.

## BANTU MUSIC

**T**HE term 'Bantu music' covers the whole phenomenon of music-making by the many tribes conveniently classified under this name, most of whom live south of the equator in Africa. There are one hundred and thirty recognized Bantu language groups, and it has been demonstrated that there is a noticeable change of musical style with every change of language. We can appreciate this fact by moving out of Natal into the Basutoland mountains, where the songs of the highlanders bear little resemblance to those of the Zulu below. Anyone travelling across similar ethnic boundaries in the Bantu regions would be able to note changes in the music of the common people as distinct and abrupt as that between the Zulu and the Sotho.

How then can we start to describe not one music but a hundred or more musics without robbing them of the sparkling colours proper to their own spheres? Experience of the sound of the music and an understanding of its origin—these only can give us the answer. The former entails far too much travelling, and for most of us the gramophone and the film must serve as substitutes; the latter may prove largely conjectural in the absence of written history.

The diversities of Bantu music are the result of a common racial heritage fostered in areas of comparative isolation. Until white people opened up lines of communication, forbade tribal fighting, and policed the continent, it was foolhardy for anyone to move out of his own recognized territory unarmed. Social gatherings were largely patronised by close friends and relatives with an occasional wandering musician to enliven the proceedings, teach new songs and entertain by his superior skill. He would be a fellow tribesman, no doubt, speaking the same language as his audience. For them there was only one language and one kind of music that mattered—their own. The possession of a common music was as much of a password as a common tongue, but this tolerance did not extend across the hills to the tribes beyond.

Watertight compartments of tribal rigidity, as much as their common heritage, have given us to-day as wide a variety of musical styles in this continental music as one could wish. Even the topography and the vegetation have contributed to this end. The forests of the Congo basin produce great trees ideal for drum making. The open grazing grounds of Natal ensured that the Zulu should not play that instrument. The most substantial of all the Zulu instruments is nothing but a bow cut from a bush and

strung with the sinew of an ox. Choral singing is what one must expect on the open savannah, xylophones and drums in the woods, pipes along the rivers, and trumpets where there is game or where there are gourds growing in the fields.

Everywhere there are the same human necessities which call for music, regardless of tribal boundaries or idiosyncrasies. There is endless work to be done in the gardens, repetitive work which is the better performed for a touch of trance. Everywhere work-songs provide just that magical, mechanical cycle of action which eases the strain, whether it be braying skins in Basutoland, paddling canoes along the Zambesi or carrying 'tipoi' sedan chairs through the bamboo thickets of Kivu. All are Bantu means to the same essential end. Monotony is set to work in the repeated phrases of a song and it achieves not boredom but release from drudgery, not dull uniformity but companionship and unity of purpose.

Take a Bantu dance. It may hold an audience of dancers entranced, fulfilled and satisfied for a whole night. The subtlety of its rhythms sets eccentricity against regularity as a steam valve slides cunningly, off-beat, to give power to the main stroke of the piston's swing. Bantu music does not come alive until cross rhythms are added to enhance the truth and inevitability of the main tempo. Try it for yourself for ten minutes by the clock, for twenty, and you will know the compulsion of automatism; for an hour, and you will understand the elevation of a patterned dance. The next degree is belief in the dance as a prophylactic against worry, harm and disease; as a vehicle for the divine essence which stems from the dancing ancestors and a blessed link with the past and future regardless of time. Monotony is a virtue in these two kinds of Bantu music, not appreciated perhaps by a bar-counting musician, for bars in this music were not meant for counting.

Work songs and dance songs both produce their appropriate conditioned reflexes, and in some cases dance and work are almost interchangeable. The wise employer or chief will encourage it. 'Music while you work' was not a B.B.C. invention. In the army it was difficult to prevent native soldiers from drilling each other as a recreation. They made of their drilling a kind of dance routine.

Nyanja men from Nyasaland have since created a popular dance called *Malipenga*, which is based upon military drill transmogrified with singing horns, drums and whistles into an enjoyable prancing for the dancers and spectacle for the crowds.

Conversely an embryo dance may be used to produce work, the dance action exacting more energy than the coincidental labour. Examples of this kind of dance work may often be seen where gangs of Africans haul a pontoon across a stream, flail corn on a threshing floor or stamp earth in a trench. The work is achieved as a pleasurable by-product of the dance.

These are the more obvious kinds of African music but by no means the most important if we are looking for the best artistry. For works of real merit we must seek the original minds whose compositions influence all the folk around them.

There is little to indicate that the Bantu are intrinsically any more musical than Europeans. The folk are usually forced to sing their own dance and social music themselves, as they have neither the resources nor the professionals to provide it for them. In the same way, most music which accompanies social functions such as marriages, funerals and initiations is the spontaneous participation of the friends and relatives present following traditional patterns. The uninitiated might gain the impression that everyone taking part was a born musician on account of the gusto and un-selfconsciousness with which he or she performed. That would be superficial. Original musical minds are rare in any society. If one might hazard a guess, it would be a fair estimate to reckon that one only in a thousand African persons is a musician; one in ten thousand a good musician; and one in a hundred thousand an original composer who would be recognized as such by his fellows. By this arbitrary rule of thumb the Zulu tribe should be able to produce twenty original composers, South African natives eighty, and the Bantu six hundred. Six hundred original composers of African music is a formidable body indeed.

No estimate of this nature could be verified, for there is no channel of official recognition for African composers. Their work is not published, their names are not known to Europeans but only to a very limited circle of African acquaintances. They are hardly ever the men who are picked out with monotonous regularity as having a 'Paul Robeson' voice or who conduct choirs of school boys and girls. This class, with few exceptions, has long since sold its birthright for a mess of Tonic Sol-fa, or for a little cheap applause on the concert platform.

The genuine African composer is a man worth meeting. He is often a social misfit; there is nothing unusual in that. It might indicate an independent mind capable of critical expression. He is frequently outspoken, insubordinate, humorous and consequently poor in material wealth, as one would expect. Beggar musicians are still in evidence in many African tribes, though with the recession of the influence of the chiefs their livelihood is becoming precarious. As in our own case over the last few centuries, patronage of the arts has been moving away from the barons to the municipalities, companies and theatres, though in Africa it is away from the chiefs to the welfare halls and bawdy houses. Such a transposition gave birth to jazz in the southern States of America, and a similar strain of popular sex-stimulating music is sure to be a by-product of the industrialisation of Africans throughout the continent.

A successful merchant in the Congo put it very simply. Indicating

his wishes concerning the type of recordings he required for his native trade he remarked briefly, "What you must do is this . . . make the Africans sing always 'I love you' with the name of a different woman in every song" . . . a kind of adolescent chaconne in which a light tenor recites a melody of girls' names to a ground bass of bovine voices repeating endlessly their amorous formula.

A popular English magazine acknowledging well established distinctions in musical preferences reviews gramophone records under the three blatant headings of "Above the eyebrows", "Straight to the heart", and "Below the belt". Certain gramophone companies, with experience of the more profitable line of business contained in the third category, encourage its development in urban native taste to the total exclusion of any other.

Nor is it the merchant only who undermines the natural taste of the average African. Social workers, teachers and missionaries with the least selfish of motives unwittingly introduce various complications in order to induce moral or spiritual virtues through the ancient device of associating what they imagine to be uplifting strains of music with a new lesson in ethics. Sympathetic magic plays an important if unconscious part in their teaching.

Not least, Africans themselves, open to any wind that whistles, bend without a struggle to the material and mental pressures that are brought to bear upon them. Struggling against wind and tide is not part of their philosophy, nor is their spiritual equipment proof against such assaults from above or below. Sinner and saint go hand in hand to destroy a continent's taste in music, and the victim enjoys them both, adding unexpected little quirks of his own—a brand of stark realism to his love songs and a shuffling of feet (not written into the original text) in the hymns. He surprises and alarms his mentors who, indeed, have started something which neither has the power to curb.

In the dissenting churches of our Christian Africans we see the revival of religious dancing. In the lyrics of our urban location singers we find free translations of what Tin Pan Alley, to pass the censors, has been hinting at in euphemisms only—translations with lusty details complete and no holds barred.

It is necessary to mention this aberration of African music because to most Europeans in Africa the prospect of any future for native music is mistakenly wrapped up in the degree to which it can become westernised. Our proselytising zeal can foresee little virtue except in this direction, never in the present. We would prefer to create a new African in our own image rather than tolerate his personality as it is and with it his music untouched by our 'progressive' ideals and themes for development.

It is already clear that, whatever we do, our ambitions on their

behalf will soon get out of hand and the essential African will assert himself and display his innate musical qualities. It is against that day that we now study Bantu music from our external point of view and realise that effective use of our work will be made only by those gifted creatures, the few original composers who eternally matter, whose inspiration bears the stamp and pattern of their race and the undoubted originality of their personal styles.

You never know where or when you will find one of these experts or what instrument he has made his own. Brilliant performers on the flute, zither, xylophone, lyre, lute, mbira, guitar and drum would all be represented in a roll of honour if the world of African music were a literate one. But it is essentially an unwritten art, with all the freedom of action which this implies and all the feats of memory which any work of length entails. Haya and Tutsi singers of historic legends from the lake regions, for example, chant their lines without repetition for fifteen minutes or more. Long and apparently difficult passages of music are generally found to have a word base. The xylophone orchestral introductions which precede the grand dances of the Chopi are notable exceptions and demonstrate the ability of some African musicians to compose both methodically and harmonically, without the scaffolding of spoken ideas upon which to frame their craft. An important characteristic of African music is its modality. It is an empirical fact that, whatever the cause, the different Bantu tribes adopt distinctive modes of their own in which to sing and to which they tune their instruments. As in our own case, they may make use of more than one recognized mode, and the exigencies of the physical properties of musical instruments often demand acceptance of their limitations and deny free choice of a scale or scales. Flutes are notorious in this respect, owing to the great difficulty of drilling the finger holes in their correct positions to produce any predetermined scale. On the other hand, xylophones and *mbira* (the small instrument, made of metal tongues set on a board, which is indigenous and peculiar to Africa alone) both of which are widely used, have their notes tuned independently and therefore represent a free choice of musical intervals on the part of the player. From this source we have gathered first hand evidence of their unconscious selection of those intervals which are considered to be satisfactory and fitting. It is not so 'hit and miss' as some would expect. There are, of course, degrees of accuracy, and we have yet to determine what tolerances are permissible. But from what we know already we may make certain generalisations:—

(i) The majority of Bantu tribes are pentatonic in their choice of scales. Both Zulu and Sotho are among these, though their respective pentatonic scales do not coincide.

(ii) A few tribes naturally prefer scales of six intervals, and

the most musical Bantu tribes perform for preference in heptatonic modes.

(iii) There is no use for quarter tones in any African scale that we have measured; and in point of fact, the use of any interval as small as a semitone is rare, and hardly ever do two small intervals approximating to a semitone occur consecutively. This naturally accounts for the strange effects one hears when African choirs attempt to sing unsuitable foreign music. Unable to sustain the tune in its original western scale, they naturally transpose it into their nearest native mode.

Hymn tunes left to isolated African communities undergo a strange transmutation which is not always detrimental. A few years ago, for example, an outstation of the St. Augustine mission in Rhodesia produced a carol which is based upon some old English tune, possibly 'Good Christian men rejoice'; it is quite unlike its male parent, and taking on something of the characteristics of its mother country it has become a thing of gentle mulatto beauty.

Most guitars in the hands of the Bantu produce half-caste music, often of distinctive character with African pre-literate freedom enlivening the original measure. There are three main streams of influence which have invaded Africa with guitar music: the South African with its Afrikaans folk songs, the Arab with the traditional music for the stringed instruments of the middle east, and the Portuguese from both ocean seaboard. Of these the Portuguese is by far the most important either directly from their colonists or indirectly through gramophone records from Brazil. There are other influences, to be sure, films and cowboy songs in particular, but none is having greater popularity at the moment than the Portuguese styles. Some quite remarkable music has already been evolved under this inspiration, particularly by native musicians who belong to the more musical tribes. Tribes with modest success in their own styles of music hardly ever throw up a successful performer on the guitar. The more northerly tribes in Kenya and Uganda, who are not Bantu but Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic, are particularly gifted when they take to the guitar, as they are already skilled on the harp and lyre.

The guitar is popular largely because it is easily purchased by Africans in town. But the two most important indigenous instruments are undoubtedly the *Mbira* and the xylophone. Both are widely spread over Bantu Africa. The *Mbira*, which, as already noted, is peculiar to Africa alone and therefore of special interest to students, produces its tinkling music from an array of metal prongs set out in sequence on a sound board. Unlike our keyboard instruments, in which the treble notes are invariably on the right and the bass towards the left, most *Mbira* have their bass notes in the centre of the board and their treble notes towards the

outside. This rational system allows for the natural turning movement of the hands inwards and outwards over the surface of the instrument. 'Bass-ness' therefore is expressed by the thumbs travelling inwards, 'treble-ness' by the outward movement. (There is no association of altitude or height with treble notes in African musicology as there is with ours). Remarkably swift percussive music is produced on this fine little instrument, which must have influenced many centuries of African compositions. It is to be found in over fifty different varieties south of the equator, the two most important of which have the generic names of *Mbira* in the south and east and *Likembe* towards the north and west.

The xylophone is found wherever well wooded regions make its manufacture possible. The best examples both of the instrument itself and of the music played on it come from the Portuguese colony of Moçambique, where the Chopi and the Bazaruto tribes are the great exponents.

Drums, the instruments most commonly associated with the Bantu by foreigners, are indifferently played by most Bantu tribes, who use them as a thumping background to set the tempo of a dance. The great exponents of drum music are also found in the northern regions, where the Ganda, for example, tune drums to pentatonic scales and play them like a xylophone, each drum representing a note in the two and a half octave range. The music they produce is exhilarating, though not as subtle as that of the great orchestras of xylophones in the south.

The smaller instruments such as flutes, musical bows, zithers and lutes have all made their special contribution to the body of African music, each influencing the course of Bantu musical progression and determining its form. There is a formidable array of percussive instruments, and this helps to build up the African crossed rhythms which are the *sine qua non* of so much of their dance music. The list is extensive, and all depend for their effective use upon the poetic or romantic streak in the make-up of the Bantu musician.

Day-dreaming exercises a particular fascination for these people, who hold no special brief for work over and above the immediate requirements of "fooding, drinking and dancing", as one Luo expressed it.

Finally, all this music is not created in a vacuum merely to pass the time. It is an essential part of the social life of Africans everywhere. Their aspirations in love, war or society, their opinion of the status of women, of the spiritualities, of authority, homely or foreign, are all to be found in the texts of songs.

The study of Bantu society through the eyes and ears of its most sensitive and articulate members, addressing, admonishing,

entertaining and charming their own people, would seem to be a royal road to an understanding of their character. Unless we are misinformed, it has so far received no official recognition in any South African University and is not listed as a potential subject for research by students. One professor of music only has taken up the study of South African instruments as a hobby and published an excellent work of reference on his findings.

We pretend to a sympathetic knowledge of our dark skinned fellow Africans, from their intimate sexual habits to their complex political institutions. Yet, to us, this most vital part of a people's living, its recreations, its secret dynamo against drudgery, its dreaming, its compensation for failure and its shout in success—the music of Africa—is almost a closed book. Why?

HUGH TRACEY.

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## SOME ASPECTS OF THE NATIVE RESERVE POLICY OF NATAL

### *Origin of the Reserve System*

**A**T the time of the annexation of the Colony of Natal in 1843 its native population was estimated to number one hundred thousand, consisting of remnants of tribes which had been broken by the Zulu power, and refugees from the tyranny of chiefs who held sway in the territory beyond the Tugela River. The stream of refugees had increased to such an extent that the Colony was faced with the problem of controlling large masses of natives who might prove a potential danger to the very existence of the new territory. To a government lacking military forces and finances, the problem of preserving the Colony as "the centre whence the blessings of civilization and Christianity may be extensively diffused amongst the numerous but barbarous population of south eastern Africa",<sup>1</sup> became imperative.

Faced with meagre resources and revenues, and a diversity of claims on these, the Natal authorities were neither wholly able nor wholly willing to divert funds for the advancement of the natives. So little had been done to raise the standard of the Bantu that fifteen years after the coming of the British, Scott was forced to remark that no advance had been made in the civilization of the native tribes, despite the fact that revenue collected in direct taxes had averaged annually £10,000, no part of which had been appropriated for their special services. This was contrary to the initial intention of imposing direct taxation on the Bantu, since the intention had been to apply the entire amount for the benefit of the native taxpayers.<sup>2</sup>

The introduction of the Shepstone system resolved temporarily the vexatious problem of controlling the masses of natives by locating them in reserves and re-establishing the tribal authority of the chiefs. This system, whatever its merits, engendered two distinct economies, each proceeding along different lines of development, and yet each dependent upon the other. Alongside a developing capitalistic economy was harnessed a limping subsistence economy, a fundamental cleavage basic to future problems

<sup>1</sup> Earl Grey to Pottinger, 4th December, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Lytton to Scott, 19th August, 1858.

and relationships. The unification of remnants of scattered native tribes into a cohesive body resurrected tribal authority, but an authority which depended upon the will and power of the dominant European rulers. In the course of time this cohesive body was to be disrupted by social and economic forces and to give rise to a number of agrarian and urban problems of our day. Lacking the vital elements of economic advancement, these reserves were destined to remain at a level of subsistence which could afford only a precarious existence in the face of droughts, declining soil fertility, primitive methods of cultivation and a rapidly growing population, which eventually had to seek new outlets for its excessive and often landless numbers. Out of a system which "united but failed to civilize" emerged the problems of migratory labour, detribalization of a landless class of urbanized natives, and the spoliation of the reserves themselves.

### *Past Native Policy*

Native policy since the turn of the century has placed increasing emphasis on segregation, backed by legislative sanctions. Thus early it was felt that the time had arrived when "the lands dedicated and set apart or to be dedicated and set apart as locations, reserves, or otherwise, would be defined, delimited and reserved for the natives by legislative enactment".<sup>1</sup> Policy further dictated that once provision had been made for the reserve population, no more land should be set aside for native occupation;<sup>2</sup> seemingly it was implied that future congestion in these areas would be obviated by the surplus population being absorbed into the European economy. It is interesting to note that territorial segregation was thus the keynote, although provision was made for the locating of natives in labour centres.

Official attitude towards the native had, after the Zulu rebellion of 1906, hardened considerably: it was pointed out that "the natives must be made clearly to understand, and to realize that the presence and predominance of the white race will be preserved at all hazards"<sup>3</sup> Besides being determined to maintain European supremacy, the Native Affairs Commission (1906/7) advocated a policy of filling up the reserves with all those natives who could not be accommodated on private lands. In view of the congestion and poverty of the reserves, such a policy, besides alienating native feeling, would have aggravated still further the economic position of those already resident in the native areas. In any case few concrete suggestions were made for immediate and large scale rehabilitation of these native areas. The past has shewn that territorial segregation without generous aid to the reserves must fail under the pressure of economic forces.

<sup>1</sup> The South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-5), para. 207, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Native Affairs Commission (1906-7) of Natal, para. 20.

*Recent Trends in Land Policy*

With the advent of Union a uniform native policy became possible, with segregation as the keynote. Segregation was the spirit of the Native Land Act of 1913 which clearly demarcated the reserves and prohibited the sale or lease of such areas to Europeans. This step was welcomed by the natives, although the proviso forbidding them to acquire land in the European areas was distasteful to native wishes owing to the growing congestion in the reserves. Despite the recommendations of the Beaumont Commission to increase the existing reserves by additions from European areas, which suggested accretions subsequently became the "released areas", the reserves remained practically the same until the passing of the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936. This piece of legislation has been regarded as the culmination of the then policy of territorial segregation, despite the protests of the Native Economic Commission that complete economic segregation could not be implemented.<sup>1</sup> The Commission, however, did believe that a policy of partial economic segregation would not only tend to develop the reserves, but would aid in crystallizing rural and urban labour "to an extent which will enable greater efficiency to be achieved by both."<sup>2</sup>

The Act of 1936 embodied some of the recommendations of the Native Economic Commission. Provision was made for the purchase of land in order to alleviate overcrowding in existing native areas, as well as for the development of old and new areas. For this purpose a Trust Fund was set up for the financing of capital improvements. Furthermore, native wishes would be consulted through the Native Representative Council. The general policy embodied in this far-reaching Act was to maintain the reserves as the permanent home of the majority of the native population: in these areas the spirit of trusteeship would prevail while guidance by the European trustees would enable the native to develop along his own lines.

The policy of *apartheid* of the present government does not fundamentally differ from its predecessors, although the present policy of segregation, owing to its vagueness, acerbity, and boldness has largely alienated the goodwill of the Bantu. It is also interesting to note that throughout the long history of native policy in Natal, segregation in some form or other remained the dominant note, with certain concessions to the Bantu in respect of additional land grants.

*Efficacy of Native Policies*

The efficacy of the Reserve System with its concomitant tribalism has been the subject of controversy in more recent times. By many it is recognized that, in the given circumstances, the

<sup>1</sup> U.G., 22/1932, paras. 692 to 699.

<sup>2</sup> U.G., 22/1932, para. 695.

various governments had no alternative but to call the system into being. Thus the Cape, Natal, and the Transvaal during the previous century, found it expedient to concentrate their native populations in definite delimited areas where, by means of diplomatic moves and threats of more direct action, they were able to control the restlessness of the Bantu masses. Brookes' succinctly sums up the position as follows: "it is sufficient to say here that the system was forced upon the various governments of South Africa by the exigencies of the case. It is not so much the best system as the only possible system". Even such a liberal as Hoernlé<sup>2</sup> endorsed this sane view by pointing out that "the steady influence of tribal traditions and discipline, severely strained as it is even now, would long ago have been completely lost under the alternative policy".

The alternative would of course have meant the dissolution of the reserve system and the break-up of the tribal authority at a time when the Bantu was incapable of adapting himself to a social and economic milieu foreign to him. Even now, after many generations of contact with western culture, the African is still not in a position to adopt an alternative system that does not contain the concept of communal ownership of land, which is the fundamental basis of tribalism. Individual ownership of land, unless hedged by legislation, would prove disastrous. As yet, too, the Bantu has not learnt an alternative system of agriculture, despite the efforts of the European authorities. A radically different system of farming would be essential for the native to survive in a fiercely competitive world. Socially and economically the reserve system is desirable as a bulwark against the greater evils which would result from its break-up. Indeed, the Fagan Report soberly points out that a policy of development in the reserves deserves every encouragement,<sup>3</sup> thus implying that no alternative economic, political, and social entity could replace the Native Reserve System. On the other hand, it has been maintained by antagonists of the reserve system that tribalism is doomed, since those influences which inevitably will lead to its dissolution are too powerful and widespread: in effect "African development and animistic tribalism are mutually incompatible".<sup>4</sup> The continuance of the tribal system (a system which has been described as "artificial"<sup>5</sup>) is thus regarded as an obstacle to the civilization of the Bantu, although MacMillan does grant that the "natives in Natal, in short, present a sufficiently complex problem".<sup>6</sup> It is averred that as an alternative the solution of the native problem does not lie in the maintenance of such an archaic and outmoded system, but rather in the integration of the Bantu in the body

<sup>1</sup> Brookes: *History of Native Policy in South Africa*, p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Hoernlé: *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit*, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Para. 20, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Broomfield: *Colour Conflict*, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> MacMillan: *Bantu, Boer, and Briton*, p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 309.

economic. *Per contra*, the strengthening of the tribal system and authority would in a large measure counteract the disruption of the tribal social life. Under the guidance of European trustees the tribal authorities can play a notable part in maintaining the unity of the tribal system, under which it is further visualized economic progress will be made possible by means of European aid and financial investment. It would appear that many critics of the South African native reserve policy have simply not understood the complexity of the problem, or have put forward remedial measures more compatible with some territories beyond the Union borders, where different situations and problems obtain. Tribalism need be no bar to African development provided that the best is retained and the worst features eschewed. Social deterioration in the reserves has been hastened partly by the break-up of the tribal authority. The premise that the Bantu should be integrated in the body economic implies that the African has reached that cultural development, in the widest sense, that would fit him into the complex European economy without dislocation to either. *Prima facie* this appears to be a facile solution. But the absorption or integration of millions of undeveloped peoples presents innumerable difficulties. Nor would the native peoples wish to give up the security they enjoy under the reserve system. This aspect is often lost sight of, for there is a large measure of security in the possession of a piece of ground even though that ground be tribal property. There is no doubt that large masses of natives are already integrated into the European economy, either as migratory labour or as permanently settled urban dwellers. The solution appears to lie in stabilizing the native urban population, controlling migratory labour, and stabilizing conditions in the reserves so that these areas would be able to carry a larger population through increased productivity of its agriculture, or increased productivity of its peoples through some forms of industrialization. Such measures do imply that the two cultural groups, European and Bantu, will not be totally segregated.

#### *Effects of Past Policies: Present State of the Reserves.*

A hundred years of contact with and rule by Europeans has wrought no very marked change in the system of agriculture of the reserve economy. Subsistence agriculture is still practised at a primitive level, while the husbanding of animals follows the traditional customs of a primitive pastoral society. A hundred years of vacillating native policy has failed to keep a balance between the needs of the reserves and the claims of the European economy. Past policies are bearing their fruits in the destruction of the native areas and their communities, and in the emergence of an amorphous black working class, without roots in the reserves and standing outside the discipline and restraint of the tribal authorities. As yet, moreover, this class has not become completely urbanized, nor has it as yet acquired the training and skill

to raise its productivity in order to command higher incomes so that in turn the people may be able to raise their standard of living.

To do so a great deal of assistance will have to come from the European side. The economic future of the reserves and the lot of the Non-European population thus depend on the policies designed by the dominant group. Nor is counsel as to the "best policy" undivided among the Europeans. On the one hand are the protagonists of segregation, a policy inherent in the original Shepstonian system; on the other are the advocates of liberalistic measures which aim at greater interdependence between the European and reserve economies. But common to both is the realization that the reserve system must remain intact, while steps should be taken to improve the lot of those destined to remain in these areas. Common to both, too, is the realization that any improvement and advance in these areas must depend on the economically stronger group, from whom must come the economic and social aids so necessary for the rehabilitation and further development of these long-neglected areas.

It would not be wholly true to assert that the conditions in the reserves have been completely static. There have been changes, but changes which have not brought equilibrium between the ability of the soil to maintain its population even at minimum standards, and the desire and the ability of the rural population to remain in these areas. Contact with western culture, it is true, has given rise to new wants and desires, as well as the need to fulfil money obligations toward the fiscal authorities. But these have necessitated the export of labour, the only valuable and "surplus" commodity which the reserves are able to export in exchange for the manufactured goods and food of the European economy. The drain of human resources from the reserves is thus one of the important causes leading to the sociological decay of the native areas. It is wellnigh redundant to repeat that the degeneration of the subsistence economy is also due to primitive methods of cultivation and the absence of scientific animal husbandry. To these must be added the conservatism of a primitive folk, suspicious and loath to change their traditional mode of life. Education and mission work have but touched the fringe of the problem since these have been carried out on too small a scale. Private initiative in these fields, laudable as it has been, cannot but administer to the needs of relatively small numbers, while state education, in the past and in the present, has been on a modest scale owing to the heavy financial burden imposed on the stronger economic group.

Failure of a subsistence economy to provide minimum needs must inevitably lead to poverty. Even to the casual observer the reserves present a sorry sight, with human and physical deterioration evident throughout the native areas of the province. Digging below the surface one finds an apathy born out of helplessness,

and a resentment which is the outcome of many generations of real and imaginary wrongs. These are some of the many facets of the many-sided problems of the reserves which cannot escape the eye of the observer. Conditions in these areas differ in degree, but common to all are declining soil fertility and the evils consequent on the soil not being able to support an expanding population. Despite the presence of malnutrition and a high infant mortality rate the reserve population has continued to increase and has thus tended to press more and more heavily on the meagre resources of the land. How meagre these resources are can be assessed in times when nature fails to provide those conditions necessary for the successful cultivation of the soil and the rejuvenation of the veld.

### *Conclusion*

The conditions prevailing in the native areas are the resultant of complex sociological and economic forces, the nature of which is but imperfectly understood and whose roots are deeply embedded in the past. Nor must it be forgotten that the state of the reserves is the result, too, of cumulative forces engendered within and without these areas. Looked at from this point of view, the reserves have not been static, but have definitely regressed as compared with the progress made in the European economy. Nor can the dependence of the two systems be overlooked. In how far it is politically desirable to strengthen or weaken the bonds between the two economies falls outside the scope of this study. Yet it cannot be gainsaid that the future wellbeing of the reserves depends in a large measure on the political policies of the European.

The reserves cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon: thus provision will have to be made for the urbanized landless natives who are congesting the Black Belts of the peri-urban areas. Furthermore, in order to strike a balance conditions must be so improved that the native areas will be able to maintain their populations at a relatively high standard of living in order to lessen the desire to migrate, while that section of the native population unable to make a living as peasant farmers will be partly absorbed in non-agricultural activities established in the reserves, or by industries outside the reserve economy. Stabilization of the situation also demands the recognition of a process of urbanization among the Bantu, a process which has gone a long way.

N. HURWITZ.

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HINDUS IN SOUTH AFRICA

**H**ISTORICALLY the Indian people in South Africa have been described as "Coolies" and "Arabs". The former were the indentured Indian labourers who were introduced from India to work Natal's sugar plantations, and the latter were the Indian traders of the Moslem faith who arrived in the wake of the "Coolie" as "passenger Indians", that is, Indians who paid their own fare from India and who were under no contract of service in this country. There has been no further differentiation between these Indians who, within twenty years of their introduction and arrival, were regarded as a "problem", and who have, since the first commission of inquiry investigated the Indian question in the 1880's, become one of the major "political problems" of South Africa. Possibly this pre-occupation with Indians as a "political problem" has diverted attention from substantial studies of them as a people with a definite "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."<sup>1</sup>

Only in recent years has any interest been taken in the Indian community of Natal as a group of people who are bound together by various forces and in the fact that they have definite social characteristics and *mores* which extend far beyond the charge of the politician, namely that the Indian has two outstanding features in his life—his propensity for polygamous habits and for a malodorous curry.<sup>2</sup> A short note by the late Mr. V. Sirkari Naidoo in the Handbook of Race Relations is the only published work in South Africa on the religion of the Indians. In addition to this, *Indian Life and Labour*, edited by Professor Raymond Burrows, deals with some aspect of the social life of the Indian people, but it is inadequate as a document on Indian society. It does not purport to be one. Beyond this, nothing has been done in the compact and interesting field of ethnology and the cultural anthropology of the Indian community of South Africa. Against this, some of the most eminent English ethnologists and anthropologists have done a wealth of work in the field of caste, customs and manners of

<sup>1</sup> Definition of Culture—Tyler: *Primitive Culture*, Ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence led by European witnesses before the First Broome Commission, 1940-41.

the Indian groups from which the immigrant indentured Indian and the "passenger Indian" have been drawn.

The Indian people of South Africa provide an interesting and fascinating field for the study of caste, religion, morals, social laws and the entire concept of what makes up the culture of a people—in this case ranging from the custom of uncle-niece marriages in one section to the remarkable insistence on first-cousin marriages in another, both of these practices being abhorrent to the third. All this is projected against a background of violent transfer from traditional moorings and native environment and the direct impact of European law and morals. This has led to the adaptation of old forms to new attitudes and to the struggle of advanced ideas against almost inherited beliefs. Attempts have been made to re-arrange practice and accommodate old traditional rituals within the framework of new bearings.

In this article some observations on the composition and *mores* of one section of the Indian community, the Hindus, together with a short definition of caste and references to some of the distortions and mutations in the caste system as known and practised in South Africa, are recorded. The word Hindu was first applied to the great body of Aryans who emigrated from Central Asia and settled near the river Sindhu, now called the Indus, and later spread over the plains of the Ganges; but to-day the word signifies a religion. Thus, a man saying, "I am a Hindu" indicates a religious, not an ethnic, linguistic or provincial identity. He could be anything from the trader of Surat noted, not by any means in a complimentary sense, for his business acumen, to the dark-skinned, small-limbed Tamil-speaking Dravidian of Madras or the fair-complexioned Hindi-speaking Indo-Aryan of the United Provinces.

Religion separates the Indian community of South Africa into two main groups—the Hindus and the Moslems. In 1936 Hindus formed 81% of the 183,341 Indians in Natal; Moslems 14%; Indian Christians 4%; others 1%.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1946 the religious distribution of Indians in South Africa was: Hindus 179,209 and Moslems 60,954.<sup>(2)</sup> The Hindus of South Africa are descendants of immigrant labourers, with the exception of the Hindu trader class—the Gujeratis, who came out as passenger Indians. There were also Moslems among those who emigrated from India as labourers, but the distinction between the passenger and indentured Indian may be safely based on the port of departure from India. Whether Moslem or Hindu, he was an indentured labourer if he came *via* Calcutta or Madras; whether Moslem or Hindu he was a passenger Indian if he came *via* Bombay. People coming from the same ports, although of different religions, had more in common than people of the same religion coming from different ports.

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Life and Labour in Natal*, ed. by Prof. H. R. Burrows.

<sup>2</sup> *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 28, 1948, p. 244.

Distinguished province-wise—that is by the Indian provinces from which they come—the Hindus can be divided in the following manner: Madras, Bihar, the United Provinces, now called Uttar Pradesh, Gujerat and Kathiawad. Language-wise the divisions are as follows: (i) those coming from Madras and speaking Tamil belong to the districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Salem and Ramnad; (ii) those speaking Telegu come from Northern Madras, Vishakapattam, Godavary and Southern Orissa. Those from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh speak Hindustani and, for the want of more accurate terminology, are referred to as “Hindustanis”. Those from Gujerat and Kathiawad speak Gujerati, but there is sufficient distinction between the two to lead to the existence of a Surat Hindu Association Hall and a Kathiawad Hall in Durban. The actual language spoken in all these cases is the village and regional variation of the main language. The Tamil, Telegu and Hindustani-speaking people are all descendants of immigrant indentured labourers, while the Gujeratis all entered as passenger Indians. Although language divides the Hindus into four groups, the first three are bound together by the consciousness that all are descendants of immigrant labourers. The Gujeratis exist in a separate pocket.

When the Indian labourers were caught up in the nineteenth century emigration to the British tropical and sub-tropical colonies, among them Natal, they left their native environment largely with a traditional knowledge of their caste, custom, manners and religion. They were caught in the vortex of a system which did not permit them to carry with them, or later practise, the details of their village social system, taboos and organization. When they had worked out their periods of service in the colonies they tried to recall the details of their village life; they remembered many of their customs, and forgot many more, and in the new environment distortions and mutations followed. There was imaginative addition and rational subtraction. This process has gone on for over ninety years, and to-day the Hindu in South Africa responds to an interesting social organism, pivoting on his caste, religion and village custom.

The general prevailing notion of caste in South Africa is that it is the social system of the Hindus; that it consists of a division of Hindu society into four sections: first, the Brahmins at the top; second, the Kshatryia—the ruling and the warrior class; third, the Vaisya—the agricultural, pastoral and trading groups; and lastly the Sudra, or the labouring and the menial groups. But this is not the caste in practice in India. Caste is a remarkable social organisation which overlies Hindu society, yet its sanctions, although erroneously believed to be so, are not found in the Vedas—the Scriptures proper of the Hindus. It was the Hindu Law-Giver, Manu, who codified a social system as he found it in existence in his day and gave Hindu society its present caste

system. Since then a mighty body of prejudices, taboos and regulations governing every aspect of the life of an individual in Hindu society—marriage, food, occupation and ceremonial rites—has developed. The caste system proper was not an institution known to the Dravidians, but it was later acquired by them and today exerts a tremendous influence in their lives. The castes are divided into numerous clans, tribes and regional groups. For instance, the Brahmins are sub-divided into tribes, then into *gotras* or family groups which cannot intermarry. They are still further classified according to their supposed particular line of study. Each subdivision is subject to its own set of rules and regulations. When, as already pointed out, the Indian emigrant got caught in the great nineteenth century exodus to the British colonies, he was illiterate, but he had learnt his customs and his religious practices from his family and the people round him. Once in the colony, all he had to go by was his memory and his fancy in a new environment which had done a great deal of levelling.

The Gujeratis, who came out as independent traders, were able to preserve all their caste, social and religious prejudices; for, unlike the indentured Hindus, they were not wholly illiterate, nor did they undergo the vicissitudes to which migrant, semi-servile, helpless labour groups are subjected. The result is that they are to-day the strongest in their social, religious and caste prejudices. They are a very conservative, compact, homogeneous group of Hindus, given to the maximum of Hinduism's taboos. They live within a community of their own, with their own customs, practices and social lives. They do not participate in the normal life of the rest of the Hindu community, except on a few formal occasions. In fact so strong is their food prejudice that an attempt by Durban's Indian community to hold an annual dinner on the anniversary of India's Independence Day foundered on it. They insisted on an entirely vegetarian menu, while the other groups argued that provision should be made for both those who were normally vegetarians and those who ate meat normally. The Gujeratis were adamant and the dinner plan was wrecked.

They do not worship exactly the same divinities as the other Hindus do in South Africa, nor do they participate in the regular ritual of Hinduism in this country as reflected in temple-going and temple-worship. They do not form part of the congregation of any Hindu temples, nor have they established public places of worship of their own. They may possibly have private shrines. They make regular pilgrimages to the temples in their native villages in India where they discharge vows taken in South Africa. So strong are their taboos that a woman in her menses is regarded as polluted and is, for the duration of her courses, not permitted to cook or handle food in the house. So strictly do they still adhere to their caste regulations on exogamy that they cannot find in South Africa brides and grooms who are not within the prohibited degrees

of affinity, so they journey regularly to India for the purpose of marrying off their daughters and finding brides of the correct caste for their sons. Their food taboos and prejudices hamper social contacts with other sections of the Hindu community to such an extent that it might be said of them that they constitute an entirely independent pocket in South Africa. Within that pocket also is very strict gradation of caste, and even though the agriculturist has taken to watch-making in this country, the cobbler has given up cobbling and the goldsmith has abandoned his calling, there is no inter-marriage, for the Gujeratis are still very caste-conscious.

Of the immigrant Indians, that is the descendants of the indentured labourers, the Tamil-speaking is the largest group, numbering about the same as the other two groups taken together. The figures at the 1936 census were: Tamil-speaking, 74,704; Hindustani-speaking, 53,949; Telegu-speaking, 21,961. Although caste, as expounded by the Law-Giver Manu, is strictly-speaking foreign to the Dravidian peoples, it is now freely accepted by the South Indian. In South Africa caste among them is indicated by the use of certain surnames, the most common being Naidoo and Reddy among the Telegus, and Pillay, Moodley, Govender and Chetty among the Tamils. Padayachee and Maistry also occur. Some of these are common to both Tamils and Telegus. Naidoo may be regarded as exclusively Telegu, and Pillay as exclusively Tamil. The fact that a man has any one of these names indicates that he is a man of caste. The absence leads to the presumption that the man does not have a caste and may, therefore, be regarded as a man of low caste. Again, it does not necessarily mean that merely because the man has the surname "Pillay" he is of high caste. It is possible that the name might have been assumed at some stage, and so the Tamil people among themselves distinguish between "Pillays" of high caste and "Pillays" of low caste. In South Africa to-day there are no rigid barriers to social intercourse between the castes, but caste does often constitute a bar to marriage in the absence of wealth and education.

These names are, however, incorrectly regarded as caste denominations. Correctly speaking, they indicate not caste but the social standing of the individual within his own caste and, freely interpreted, may mean chief or headman. It must, however, be borne in mind that there is, to-day, a vast difference between the Hindu in his native village in India and the Hindu after ninety-two years in South Africa.

With the Hindustani people the caste terms in common use are "Maharaj", which is accepted as indicating a Brahmin, and "Singh", which is regarded as showing a man of the Kshatriya caste. The Vaisyas and Sudras also have definite caste names such as Kurmi, Koiri, Murao, Kahar, Ahir, Lohar, Dom, Chamar; but it is interesting to note that they are not appended to the

name of the individual as is the name "Maharaj" and "Singh". The absence of caste names, again, is sufficient to indicate that the man is "not of caste", whereas the terms "Maharaj" and "Singh" may be regarded as, in some cases, the aggressive flaunting of caste, even though the suffix may have been acquired much in the same way as Snug the Joiner or Quince the Carpenter, having acquired money and with it social status and power, proceeds to assume the surname of Russell or Cavendish and to secure family heraldry. In South Africa the term "Maharaj" is used to signify a Brahmin; in India it is the popular form of address for the Hindu cook, for cooking was among the vocations permitted to a Brahmin who was, apparently, unable to make a living from any of the Brahmin's usual occupations. It is safe to assume that the Hindu immigrant who was a cook in an upper caste household must have set himself up as a Brahmin once he had served his term of indentures in this country. The "Singh" in South Africa refers to himself as a "Kshatriya"—or a man of the ruling and fighting caste in India; but in practice he was no more than a Rajput cultivator in Bihar or the Eastern Uttar Pradesh. It must always be remembered that the process of social elevation corresponds with the acquisition of wealth. Among Hindus in South Africa many who were formerly excluded from social intercourse have, on the acquisition of wealth, become "important" in Hindu society, although *sotto voce* they are referred to as upstarts.

The four main points on which caste pivots in the life of an individual are marriage, food, occupation, and ceremonial rites. Emphasis on them in South Africa is placed in varying degrees. The question of caste is raised directly in connection with marriage; but, as already mentioned, it gives way to wealth and education, while with ceremonial rites there is a process of standardisation. The rituals of the linguistic groups differ. The question of caste is raised almost instinctively by the Hindus whenever a marriage is proposed, but it gives way to certain conditions. Again caste also gives way when a young couple make their own choice, but there is a great deal of heart-burning should there be neither education nor wealth to offset limitations of caste. Superficially it appears that there are no more taboos with regard to inter-dining among the various castes in South Africa, but it is quite possible that investigations will reveal that large numbers of Hindus are not prepared to dine at the homes of certain people because the latter are not "high caste". But money is quite a leveller in this respect! As a group, the Hindus have not yet discarded their aversion to beef.

Occupation, the biggest single determinant of caste in India, has in South Africa come to be so widely regarded as immaterial that whereas in India the purveying of meat is looked upon with disgust, and regarded as a degrading avocation, in South Africa some of the most successful butchers have been "Singhs". No

Hindu in India, unless he belonged to the very dregs of Hindu society, would voluntarily take up this occupation. No practising Brahmin in India will think of polluting his priestly function by engaging in any other means of livelihood; he lives by the performance of rites or engages in the learned professions—learning is his caste function. But many “Maharajs” in South Africa have been successful potato merchants.

With regard to the ceremonial rites which a Hindu must discharge at birth, engagement, and marriage, and have discharged for him at death by his progeny, there is a process of change, confusion and casting-off going on. In its native village in India, one caste performed rites which were not necessarily the same for another. The details always varied. In South Africa many things contribute to a levelling and even innovation in the ceremonials. The entire body of Hindu belief and morals has undergone vast changes in South Africa over the last ninety-two years. The process of change, modification and innovation is still going on, and a new social body is being built up with its own *mores* and morals, thus providing an interesting field of investigation for the sociologist and cultural anthropologist.

RANJI S. NOWBATH.

## THE HUMANITIES, SCIENCE, AND VOCATIONALISM IN SECONDARY EDUCATION<sup>1</sup>

**I**N discussing secondary education today most educationists are pre-occupied with the problem of how to adapt it to the needs, abilities, and interests of pupils who no longer seem to fit into the mould of the old high school with its traditional academic curriculum.

Need for adaptation there certainly is, for in a highly differentiated society such as ours, and in an age of universal, compulsory education many pupils, who have no marked academic interests or abilities, continue their education beyond the elementary stage. But if secondary education is to be adapted to new needs, it is essential that we should be aware of the basic purposes of the studies pursued in secondary education at present and in the past.

Three elements enter into all secondary education: vocationalism, the humanities, and science. I should mention a fourth: religion. But for several reasons I shall omit this from the discussion. In the first place, though attempts are everywhere being made to introduce more religious instruction of an inter-denominational kind into the secondary government schools, it does not seem to me that by and large religion is a pervading force in these schools. We may regret this—but there it is. The religious element is usually strong only in denominational schools. But my main reason for avoiding here the issue of religion in secondary education is that the brief discussion to which available space confines me, would lead to a grosser distortion than the complete omission.

I mention vocationalism first, not because I believe that it should be the most important, or that in fact, as things are to-day, it is the strongest element; I mention it first, because in their impatience with utilitarianism in education highminded critics of the schools are apt to take a very unrealistic view with regard to vocationalism.

The history of education since the Middle Ages shows clearly that vocational needs were a very powerful factor in promoting the growth of education and in creating a ferment of fruitful thought about it. The medieval university prepared for the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Part of a lecture given at the University in Pietermaritzburg and in Durban during the academic year 1952.

fessions of theology, law, and medicine; the grammar schools taught their pupils Latin so that they would later be able to follow the studies at the university. The schools aimed at more than this, but that is a matter that we shall have to discuss later. When a new nobility was created, whose sons were marked out, not for theology, law and medicine but for government and courtly life, an education for that specific purpose was evolved. As the grammar schools would not, or could not, offer this preparation, it was left in England to private tutors and on the continent to courtly academies. It was a utilitarian education designed, that is, to be useful in the future vocation; it included such things as the use of arms, fencing, riding—John Locke recommends gardening, woodwork, and shorthand in addition to a long list of other subjects to be pursued with an eye to their applications. The unprecedented growth of sea-borne trade in the seventeenth century created a need for captains and officers with the requisite knowledge of mathematics. Some of the grammar schools along the coast of England responded by introducing the study of 'navigation and other mathematics' for the specific purpose of satisfying this vocational need. The 'mathematical school' at Christ's Hospital, which was founded in 1673 for the same purpose, was supported in diverse ways by Sir Isaac Newton and other eminent mathematicians. The growth of commerce from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century created a demand for young men who could read, compute, write bills and letters, and led to the modification of the curricula of some grammar schools and to the establishment of a great number of commercial academies enrolling their pupils at the age of about twelve years. The Industrial Revolution, technological progress, and the differentiation of economic pursuits created an avalanche of new vocational demands that could be met, and halted temporarily, not by providing a separate training for each vocational need, but by universal education in reading, writing and arithmetic, on which in due course were grafted different forms of school education orientated towards groups of vocations.

History, it seems to me, teaches us that it is inevitable that education should respond to vocational demands. It teaches us too that if education disregards the vocational element, it has little or no chance of becoming a vital force in the lives of men. If the nobility of the seventeenth century had not evolved its own form of vocation-orientated education, the sons of the nobility would either have had no schooling at all (for the opposition to the grammar schools was intense in their circles) or a very ineffectual one (for if they had attended the grammar schools, they would have done so in a spirit of rebelliousness and with a conviction of its futility). The youths who looked towards the mercantile marine for their careers, or to commerce and the factories and the technical world, would hardly have sought an education or acquired it in anything but a spirit of dull passivity, if it had not offered them some sort of vocational usefulness.

And this applies to our own time too. We may deduce, as logically as we can, from first principles or from a noble vision of humanity, the notion formulated by Cardinal Newman in the nineteenth century, that true education and utilitarianism exclude each other, but the orientation to the demands of the vocations will always remain an indispensable element in all secondary education.

But a man, if his life is worth living at all, is always greater than the office he fills, and the society in which he finds his niche by practising his vocation is always imperfect and at times downright evil. It follows from this that an education that is oriented too exclusively towards vocations can never ensure a full development of the individual or give an impetus towards the self-rejuvenation and improvement of society.

Education has at most times either tried to give this impetus or, at least, has paid lip-service to the ideal. It is the ideal of the humanities.

In the Middle Ages the universities prepared not only for the professions of theology, law and medicine; they required that all students should have studied the liberal arts (the trivium: grammar, rhetoric, logic; the quadrivium: arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy) before entering upon their professional training. The grammar schools, which prepared their pupils for the universities, gave part of this general liberal education until, with the decay of these schools, the liberal ideal was lost, leaving only a narrow professionalism. The grammar schools of the sixteenth century, in which the humanism of men like Erasmus of Rotterdam and the aspirations of religious reformers were combined (and even a touch of the utopianism of such a man as Thomas More in England was not always absent) prepared specifically for the professional studies of the universities, but they gave at the same time an education that directed the minds of men towards the highest achievements of mankind and made them dissatisfied with the imperfect present. But we gain the clearest idea of the strength of the ideal of an education directed towards developing the individual as a whole rather than as a useful member of the existing society by looking at the neo-humanistic education of the early nineteenth century.

Neo-humanism shared with the early humanism of the fifteenth and sixteenth century the admiration for the Greeks. But three hundred years of history, in which Descartes, Galileo, Leibniz, Newton and others had transformed mathematics and science, in which great vernacular literatures had been produced, and during which the knowledge of Greek civilisation had progressed, could not fail to affect the nature of this admiration. No longer could it be said that the Greeks knew all that was to be known about science, nor that there were no worthy examples of modern verse or prose or drama. What had grown up in the minds of the

greatest intellects was an admiration for the type of man that Greek civilisation had produced. According to Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose ideas influenced not only the German secondary schools and universities of the nineteenth century, but also Thomas Arnold of Rugby and the great Public Schools of England, ancient Greece had produced the highest example of human development. To become acquainted with human nature, we may try to meet as many and as varied people as we can; it gives us an understanding of what people are—empirically. But to learn what human nature is, in its essence, and ideally, we need to study a civilization which has developed the potentialities of human nature to their highest form and into an harmonious whole. We must, therefore, study ancient Greek civilization—and Roman civilization too, for the latter grew out of the former.

That is the first idea underlying the study of the classics in the 'Gymnasien' of Germany in the nineteenth century and in the Public Schools in England of that time. What is much more important from the point of view of our enquiry is that the neo-humanistic schools were not really teaching Latin, Greek and ancient civilizations for the sake of increasing the great storehouse of learning, but for the purpose of moulding individual personality and social life according to an ideal.

There was intense dissatisfaction with society as it existed everywhere. Earlier Rousseau had condemned education for perpetuating an evil society by preparing children to be useful in it; in the place of this education he wanted to put one that isolated the child from society and allowed Nature to develop what it had intended the child to be. A similar idea gave to the neo-humanistic school the sense of having to fulfil a mission: a school does not merely exist to induct pupils into the present, existing, imperfect society; it must be the nucleus of a new and better society. The value of a school subject was assessed not in terms of utility, i.e. not in terms of its usefulness in the existing imperfect society, but in terms of the effect it was likely to have on the pupils and on the quality of the society that would eventually emerge. Thomas Arnold's emphasis at Rugby on the corporate life of the school and on the whole machinery of school organization was a logical and practical outcome of planning for a new and nobler society, by providing for the conditions of its growth in a miniature form.

It should be pointed out in passing that with Arnold and most of the schools in England *influenced* by neo-humanism—but not strictly speaking neo-humanistic schools in the sense of Wilhelm von Humboldt's conception—the Christian ideal was stronger than the Hellenic. Thomas Arnold demanded of the teacher as an essential qualification not only that he should be a 'gentleman and a scholar', but also that he should be a Christian. And though more time per day was spent on Latin and Greek than on religion and worship, Christianity was a pervading force.

The best of the neo-humanistic schools undoubtedly achieved their purpose. They gave their pupils a coherent education, in which the study of Latin and Greek together with Ancient History, Mythology and Literature provided the core, with reference to which a miscellany of modern subjects and contemporary affairs could be studied. At their best the studies infused an ancient ideal of humanity into modern society; they were not remote from life. The coherence of the emerging outlook on life was further assured by requiring the classics master to teach some other subjects as well. And whether the more leisurely pace of the Public Schools in England was in vogue or the more rigorous discipline of the German Gymnasium, there was justification for hoping that pupils would leave school with an ability to judge contemporary affairs by clearly articulated standards and in the light of worthy human values.

Worthy human values: this is what we refer to when we speak of the humanities as an essential element in all education, not to the subjects that advance their claims to being considered instruments for discovering the values. And this too seems to me to be the essence of a liberal education: the discovery by the pupil of worthy human values—for it is the discovery, not mere indoctrination, that will liberate the individual from the narrow confines of his future vocation and from mere subservience to the demands of the present imperfect society in which he is living. It is the pre-condition of all individual freedom and of all social and political progress.

The third element in all secondary education today, science—and with it I include mathematics, without which science would be a cripple—was introduced into the schools out of a mixture of motives. According to some critics of our schools, and more so of our universities, the study of science would almost seem to be a mere utilitarian pursuit, carried on by barbarians and devoted to the twin purposes of raising the standard of living and of exterminating civilisation. That science is used to improve material comforts and can be misused for destructive purposes is, of course, evident. It is true also that science often gained admission to the schools for its usefulness. Even today there are educational theorists—the extreme functionalists—who seriously believe that the study of science in school should not only begin with, but also end with, a study of the principles necessary for the understanding of gadgets which children use and about which they should show curiosity. In the seventeenth century the son of the nobleman would include in the curriculum of his studies at the courtly academy mathematics and science—as applied to the art of warfare. We have already seen how mathematics was introduced into some schools in response to the needs of the mercantile marine. It is an historical fact too that in England at the end of the nineteenth century the post-primary classes in science—the nucleus of a later secondary school—that developed out of the elementary

education for the masses, owed their introduction mainly to their demonstrable vocational utility. The Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, at which countries from all over the world were represented, had drawn public attention to the lack of facilities for the study of branches of science related to industrial occupations. An age of technology requires the application of science, and a competitive technological society requires its unceasing further application. The harnessing of nature to man's purposes, which science makes possible, holds out the promise of freedom from material want. It produces a man-made, man-controlled material civilisation, which itself has to be understood by those who live in it. For if it is not understood, it cannot be maintained.

There are, however, weightier reasons why science is an indispensable element in all education. Interest in science begins, as Goethe knew and as all of us know if we have not completely forgotten our most exciting childhood experiences, with wonder and curiosity and often with awe—not with mechanical gadgets. The constellation of the stars on a star-lit night, an unusual insect or a plant or a crystal, the fall of an object—but also birth and death, the wanton destruction of human life by the natural elements: these can be the sparks that kindle a more than ephemeral curiosity about nature, something better than a mere morbid apprehension in the face of natural forces. Sir Francis Bacon was thinking in terms of science and man's need for security in an awe-inspiring universe when he said that the object of all knowledge was to give man power over nature. Knowledge of nature holds out the prospect of freedom from the disturbing unpredictabilities of natural events.

Science does even more. If the child's curiosity and awe in the face of an infinitely varied and vast universe are not prematurely stifled by the callousness of uncomprehending adults or by the partial blindness of an utilitarian age, then the study of science can keep alive in the minds of men the essential distinction between a man-made material world, controlled by all the devices of a technological age, and the immeasurably more potent and mysterious universe itself. To be aware, however dimly, of man's position in the cosmos is no less important than to control the material civilization which science has made possible. And it is by the study of science, based on the unspoilt child's spontaneous curiosity and awe and disinterestedly pursued, as much as by moralizing about man and the universe, that we can keep alive this awareness.

Science, like the humanities, properly pursued, can claim to liberate men: their bodies from the blind forces of nature, and their minds from the confines of their man-made world and from the adulation of the omnipotence of technological man.

If the humanities aim at discovering the ideal of humanity, science no less aims at keeping open to our minds vast vistas of thought that enable man to discover—himself. For the object of

all knowledge is not merely, in Sir Francis Bacon's words, to gain power over nature, but, as the Greeks knew and the Middle Ages and the early humanists knew, to understand man.

In the study of the humanities and in that of science we employ different methods to supplement each other and to achieve the same end. The instrument of the humanities is language and eloquence. The word 'eloquence' today is somewhat discredited, for it is confused with the prostitutions of eloquence, perverted propaganda and demagoguery. The schools of the sixteenth century, which bear the stamp of the humanists, pursued the study of rhetoric and eloquence with so much zeal not only to teach people to speak well (a very necessary art for the professions of theology and law), but to acquire knowledge. For the humanists believed what Melancthon, the right-hand man of Luther, formulated so clearly, viz. that 'insight follows eloquence as the shadow follows the body'. And the study and writing of poetry, which was perhaps the most important element in the training in rhetoric, was pursued not for the purpose of producing poets, but for that of sharpening the instrument of language and of clarifying thought. It is interesting to see that this purpose of the study of poetry, though without the emphasis on the writing of poetry, has today been re-discovered in the teaching of language and literature.

The instrument of science is language too, but it is not the language of the poet and of common intercourse. It starts not from the words that penetrate our consciousness from the moment our organs of hearing are functioning in early infancy, not from the words whose meanings are shrouded in a veil of familiarity. It starts, like that of the poet, from an individual's direct apprehension of the world; but, as it is concerned with the evidence that can be verified by all, it tends towards mathematical symbolization.

I have said that there are three elements in all secondary education today: vocationalism, the humanities, and science. But the whole is always more than the sum of its parts. The mere juxtaposition of the three elements in the form of a curriculum that includes some allegedly vocational, some humanistic, and some scientific subjects does not provide education. For education is something that takes place in the pupil, whose mind is interacting, under the guidance of the teacher, with other minds and with the reality that underlies the subject matter of all the studies. It is the unity that issues out of the confluence of the three basic purposes: usefulness in the existing society, the discovery of worthy human values, and orientation towards the universe as a whole.

W. H. O. SCHMIDT.

## TWO POEMS

## BY THE CROCODILE RIVER, NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

Mists were collecting to mantle the river  
 That evening I wandered the willowy kloof.  
 I had been on the kopjes alean to the leeward  
 And there had reflected aloof  
 That the warmness upon them left naked those kopjes,  
 While down in the dimness the dampness was forming  
 A blanket to cover the kloof—  
 Yet not in that blanket was anything warming,  
 But dankness and chilliness under the roof.

Never, I felt, is the hand of protection  
 Soft in itself, but a sour  
 Reminder that man is connected though helpless  
 To every abuse of its power.  
 And I thought him ignoble to claim a protection  
 As railings that circle a bower.

## POTENTIAL POEM

Many a shaking  
 Of friendly palm  
 Has gone to the making  
 Of my right arm.

Arm, be steady  
 And strong for your ends—  
 Arm made ready  
 By immortal friends.

Hand, be clever  
 In the task assigned,  
 Forgetting never  
 The love behind.

TERENCE HEYWOOD.

# THE ARS POETICA OF HORACE

Rendered into English Verse

**T**HE *Ars Poetica* was probably not planned as an exhaustive critical treatise. It is written in the form of a letter to the governor of Rome under Augustus, Lucius Piso, and his two sons, Cnaeus and Lucius. It is thought to date from about 10 B.C.

Behind it lies the critical theory of Aristotle, perhaps taken at second hand from the work of Neoptolemus. It appears to have been largely through Horace that Aristotle's account of literature became known to Europe at the Renaissance, and Horace's status as a critic is that of an interpreter of the Greeks rather than an original thinker.

The structure of the *Ars Poetica* is loose, its manner conversational. It is one of the last works of Horace, and he may perhaps have left it unfinished, or imperfectly revised, at his death. Its discursiveness makes it difficult to subdivide it, but in the present slightly abridged translation a few marginal notes have been added as signposts to some of the chief topics of Horace's dissertation.

The principles of coherence and order.

Suppose a painter felt an urge to grace  
A horse's shoulders with a woman's face,  
Adding odd limbs until she had the look  
Of something between Venus and a snook,  
Could you, my friends, if they admitted you,  
Contain your laughter at the private view?  
In writing it is possible to make,  
Believe me, Pisos, much the same mistake,  
When images, as in a fevered brain,  
Are but evoked to melt away again,  
And head and tail and all the other features  
Seem to belong to twenty different creatures.

'Poets and painters, though, have always shared  
The right of trying anything they dared—'  
I grant them the indulgence, for I use it,  
But these unnatural marriages abuse it,  
Where lambs and tigers find themselves in love,  
Savage with mild, the serpent with the dove.

Again, your heavy introductions fail  
 When purple-dyed embellishments prevail,  
 However promising, since 'Dian's shrine',  
 'The rainbow in the sky,' 'the river Rhine,'  
 'The babbling brooks through pleasant valleys leaping'  
 May catch the eye, but here are not in keeping.  
 You draw a lovely cypress-tree—but will  
 Your client much appreciate your skill  
 When you've already pocketed his cheque  
 To show him swimming desperate from a wreck?  
 Why does the flagon you designed grow squat  
 Upon the wheel, and change into a pot?  
 The moral is, preserve consistency;  
 Keep to the point, whatever it may be.

Most poets are deluded, noble youths.  
 By partial glimpses of artistic truths:  
 I labour to be brief, become obscure;  
 You lose your spirit though your style is pure,  
 One poet's Grandeur swells to Grandiose,  
 Another fears a storm, and creeps in prose.  
 To trick out one theme with prodigious notions  
 Breeds dolphins in the woods and pigs in oceans,  
 While shunning risks with inartistic caution  
 May lead a writer into worse distortion.

Close to the Gladiators' School there lives  
 A coppersmith whose native cunning gives  
 Softness to hair, life to the fingernails—  
 Masterly detail, though the statue fails  
 Because conception's lacking and the art  
 To make the whole incorporate each part.  
 Now, as an artist, I'd no more desire  
 My work to be like his, than I'd aspire  
 To live dark-eyed, with raven ringlets crowned,  
 But for my monstrous nose still more renowned.

Whatever you attempt, reflect at length:  
 'Will its demands not overtax my strength?'  
 Examine every burden with the thought  
 Of what your shoulders will—or won't—support,  
 For if your theme is chosen well you'll find  
 Words, clarity and order follow on behind.  
 And, as I see it, order's strength and grace  
 Consists in keeping everything in place.  
 Choose the right moment, therefore, for revealing  
 Each point, and study methods of concealing  
 The rest until they're needed; for perfection  
 Depends upon intelligent selection.

Language.     The poet's choice of words, it follows, will  
 Require the utmost subtlety and skill,  
 And expert combination earns much praise  
 If it rejuvenates a well-worn phrase,  
 Though recondite material requires  
 Words never heard of by our jerkined sires.  
 Coin if you must, remembering the act  
 Calls for a certain modesty and tact,  
 Though, if the source be Greek, some new-devised  
 Term, rightly framed, may well be authorised.  
 Why not? For Plautus and Caecilius did it—  
 Shall Virgil do the like and Rome forbid it?  
 And if I have invented two or three  
 Words of my own, why look askance at me?  
 Since Ennius and Cato both supplied  
 New terms by which our tongue was magnified,  
 It shall be always lawful to create  
 And issue words stamped with the current date . . .

All that Man does must perish; shall what he says  
 Live longer? The archaic shall revive  
 And words that now in highest favour thrive  
 Shall fall if Usage wishes them abased—  
 Usage that rules all language and all taste.

Style and  
 subject.     Homer has shown the proper metre for  
 The exploits of a king in cruel war;  
 The couplet next, in verses ill-aligned,  
 First made its debut when a lover pined,  
 But when his prayer was granted, changed its mood,  
 And learnt to frame the poet's gratitude.  
 (Whose pen these elegiacs first provided  
 Savants dispute; the question's undecided.)  
 It was Archilochus, infuriated,  
 Who the iambic measure first created,  
 And now the comic and the tragic stage  
 Have welcomed this by-product of his rage;  
 It's both for dialogue and action suited  
 And can be heard however much it's hooted.  
 To celebrate an athlete in his glory,  
 A winning horse, a god's or hero's story,  
 Youth with hot love or liberal wine afire—  
 These tasks the Muse bestowed upon the lyre.

'How does this help the poet?' you may ask;  
 'Learning distinctions is a pedant's task.'  
 They must be learned. No poet could do worse

Than tell a comic tale in tragic verse,  
 Or set forth Atreus's unnatural crime  
 In measures borrowed from the pantomime;  
 Use every style in its appointed place,  
 Since ignorance will only breed disgrace.  
 Yet sometimes Comedy may raise her tones  
 When angry fathers speechify at sons,  
 And often tragic grief in mufti goes  
 When lyric lamentation sinks to prose.  
 So Peleus, poor and a refugee,  
 Discards big words and orotundity,  
 When he essays most deftly to impart  
 His sorrows to the audience's heart.

Polish will fail, without the magic spell  
 That works upon the sympathy as well.  
 As laughter is infectious, so are tears;  
 Such is our nature. When your grief appears  
 I'll weep, but apathetic speeches cause  
 Slumber amidst your hearers, or guffaws.  
 Fierce language must accord with fierce intents  
 And wanton words with wanton sentiments,  
 Grave with austere. The reason's in this fact:  
 Nature makes man instinctively react  
 To every face of Fortune—to show mirth  
 Or anger, or with anguish sink to earth.  
 Then, as interpreters, our tongues express  
 These inward motions—that is why, unless  
 An actor's speeches match his situation  
 Circle and pit will rock in cachinnation.

Characteri-  
 sation.

Make it apparent if your speaker be  
 A callow youngster or hard-boiled M.P.,  
 Commercial traveller or ploughboy's mate,  
 A Theban or an Argive graduate,  
 God, hero, matron of distinguished birth  
 Or shuffling nanny full of tedious mirth.

In all your characters obey tradition,  
 Or make a plot to suit their disposition:  
 So if you put Achilles on the stage,  
 Show him as quarrelsome and full of rage,  
 Scorning the remedies that laws afford  
 And settling every question by the sword;  
 Medea should be untamed in her ferocity,  
 While Ino's character is lachrymosity,  
 Thessalian Ixion in treason flagrant,  
 Orestes melancholy, Io vagrant.

But if your theme comes virgin to the stage,  
 Figuring an invented personage,  
 From the beginning of the play be certain  
 It's self-consistent till the final curtain.  
 Most difficult it is to make one's own  
 This authors' no-man's-land of themes unknown,  
 So, lest you lose your way in chartless tracts,  
 Stick to reducing Homer to five acts.  
 Stock subjects you may make your own, but not  
 By jogging round the commonplace of plot,  
 Lumbering through a word-for-word translation,  
 Or endless bogs of slavish imitation.

Don't start, like one ambitious bard of old:  
 'Hear Priam's fortune and Troy's war unrolled.'  
 Alas, the mountain will succeed in bearing  
 Only a mouse, for all this vulgar blaring.  
 Homer dispensed with pompous introduction:  
 'Muse, sing the man who, after Troy's destruction,  
 On his long journey homeward from the strife,  
 Saw many cities and their way of life.'  
 This is no flash that will dissolve in smoke,  
 But smoke to herald light. Behind the cloak  
 To take the reader later by surprise  
 The sea of Scylla and Charybdis lies.

He strikes at the essentials: would not date  
 A *Diomed* from Meleager's fate;  
 Writes of Troy's fall, but does not bore the reader  
 Tracing its causes to the eggs of Leda.  
 Into the midst of things the listener's thrown  
 Almost as if they were already known,  
 While the discreet composer passes by  
 Scenes that he knows he cannot beautify.  
 And though he lies, and mingles truth with fiction,  
 From first to last there'll be no contradiction.

If until your performance is completed  
 You'd keep the audience—and Horace—seated,  
 And revel in applause, and friendly calls  
 Of 'Author!' when the final curtain falls,  
 Assign, from knowledge of man's alterations  
 Fit characters to all the generations.

When squalls and gurgles blossom into talk,  
 And infant waddling steadies to a walk,  
 The boy, unstable, given up to play,  
 Will change his temper twenty times a day.  
 Next the young man, released from education,

Finds on the Turf more pleasant dissipation;  
 A passionate, unstable, eager mind,  
 Careless of wealth, and to advantage blind,  
 Deaf and inflexible should ever grave  
 Uncle exhort him; wax to any knave.  
 Years as they pass will alter his desires;  
 Manhood to wealth and influence aspires,  
 Promotion's slave, beginning to fight shy  
 Of acts it may cost pains to rectify.  
 An old man's full of troubles, till the end  
 Accumulating what he fears to spend,  
 A putter-off of business, slow and fumbling,  
 Greedy of life, yet full of peevish grumbling,  
 Querulous critic of his juniors' ways  
 And panegyrist of the good old days.

The years bring many blessings in their train,  
 Which as they pass they take away again;  
 Stress therefore, lest your infants talk like sages,  
 The properties that mark the different ages.

Drama. (1)  
 What **not**  
 to stage.

You ask me next: 'How should my plot unfold?  
 What should be seen? What by the actors told?'  
 Bear this in mind—that the imagination  
 Is kindled more by vision than narration,  
 And a spectator's brain prefers to credit  
 The truths with which the faithful eye has fed it.  
 Two cautions though—some sights may make us sick,  
 And if a wonder's staged we scent a trick;  
 Describe them feelingly with all your means,  
 But keep your horrors well behind the scenes.  
 Thus if we see Medea's infanticide,  
 Or Atreus serving up his nephews fried,  
 Cadmus turn snake, or Procne nightingale,  
 Either our stomachs or our faith will fail.  
 For a long run, and popular success,  
 Your play should have five acts—nor more nor less—  
 And at the end—no heavenly intervention!  
 Unless you've something worth a god's attention.  
 Of human actors one should only hear  
 Three on the stage—no fourth should interfere.

(2) The  
 chorus.

The chorus, too, should play an actor's part,  
 Do a man's duty with a manly heart.  
 Between the acts, though, it should not disjoint  
 A well-knit play with lyrics off the point.  
 Let it restrain the passionate, commend  
 The meek, and be forever virtue's friend,

Praise frugal living and impartial laws  
 Which bring security and open doors,  
 Keep secrets, and implore the powers divine  
 To quit the proud and on their victims shine . . .

Craftsman-  
 ship or  
 Inspiration?

All styles have been attempted by our nation,  
 Not feeblest when they gave up imitation,  
 Forsaking Grecian myth to find at home  
 Light themes or tragic from the life of Rome:  
 And more than all the laurels that have crowned  
 Our victories, our tongue would be renowned,  
 But for our poets' arrogant rejection  
 Of the delay and trouble of correction.  
 I beg you, sons of Numa, not to spare  
 Poems that cost no labour to prepare,  
 Until long days and many scratchings-out  
 Have put perfection out of reach of doubt.

Democritus holds Art of no account  
 And bars sane poets from the sacred Mount;  
 Nature's the cry, so washing is eschewed,  
 And beards and nails grow long in solitude,  
 Since the sublimest mind, they all declare  
 Hides under shaggiest and longest hair,  
 While its psychoses, if they saw the light,  
 Would put a Grecian alienist to flight.  
 And I, they say, destroy my inspiration  
 Because I cure my spring-time constipation.  
 Then Fame's not worth the inconvenience, but  
 Honelike I'll sharpen though I cannot cut,  
 And writing nothing of my own, I'll show  
 Our erring poets what they ought to know;  
 The matter and the discipline from whence  
 Proceed decorum, strength and excellence.

As for your themes, your surest light for these  
 Shines in the dialogues of Socrates;  
 Good writing rests on wisdom; once your mind  
 Has grasped the theme, the words aren't hard to find.  
 And since a poet ought to understand  
 Man's duty to his friends and fatherland,  
 The work of High Court judges, legislators,  
 Generals on active service and head-waiters,  
 (All this experience and information  
 Will make for proper characterisation)  
 Then study life and manners, which will teach  
 Art the vitality of common speech.  
 For now and then a play, ill-shapen, rough,  
 Where sentiment and speech have life enough,

Though it lacks weight and form, despite these flaws,  
Provokes less shuffling and wins more applause  
Than other comedies that miss success  
Through highbrow or aesthetic emptiness.

The Greeks made speech their study, and were given  
A lofty wit, and eloquence from Heaven;  
Not so ourselves, for Roman education  
Rests on the useful arts of calculation,  
And young Albinus gets his penny-lick  
For coming second in arithmetic;  
Smart little stockbroker! The soul itself  
Is rusted over with the itch for pelf;  
How can it form a poem fit to grace  
A varnished cover or a cedar case?

The function  
of poetry.

Poets instruct or please, or may unite  
The purposes of profit and delight.  
Be brief in all your precepts: you will find  
An epigram sticks in the hearer's mind,  
While a long-winded lecture will be leaking  
Out of his head before you've finished speaking.  
Stick close to probability, for fiction  
That aims at pleasing should not strain conviction.  
And babies eaten by the ogre's wife  
Ought therefore not to be restored to life.

Senior Conservatives may well applaud  
Your moral, but the Hunt Club will be bored;  
Though old and young will clap, and not complain,  
If you can both instruct and entertain.  
It's then your volumes swell the export trade  
And fill the bookshops till your name is made.

Critical tact.

Some minor faults deserve to be ignored,  
For though the hand and mind desire a chord,  
The string may fail them; so don't always carp  
If what should be a flat turns out a sharp.  
Hundred percents are rare: what marksman's bow  
Sends every arrow where it ought to go?  
When many lines are brilliant, though some blots  
Deface the work, why sniff at surface spots,  
The spillings of neglect, or the mistakes  
That unforeseeing human nature makes?  
What should the critic do? Well, when a fault  
Repeats itself, it's time to call a halt.  
Woe to the bookkeeper whose boss for long  
Must demonstrate where his addition's wrong,  
Or he whose fiddling always turns to screeching

On the same note; they're both in need of teaching.  
 Thus with your poets; one who's often reckoned  
 Faulty, I'll hail as Choerilus the second,  
 Whose two or three good phrases, coming after  
 So many bad ones, only move to laughter.  
 At the same time, I'll not be one who glozes  
 Over the passages where Homer dozes,  
 Though in long poems it's perhaps in keeping  
 For writers to be rather prone to sleeping.

Books are like pictures; some will take the eye  
 If you stand back, and others from close by;  
 This loves the dark, that preens itself in light,  
 And, though sharp critics quiz it, takes no fright;  
 One charms you all at once—but once is all—  
 Another read ten times will never pall.

Cnaeus, although your literary sense  
 Leans on your father's long experience,  
 Remember this: in many a position  
 Moderate talents gain due recognition—  
 In country lawyers there is seldom found  
 Messala's knack of talking judges round,  
 Or Aulus's deep wit, yet their advice  
 Commands respect and a sufficient price—  
 But mediocre poetry incurs  
 The wrath of gods and men and publishers.  
 Only the best will do; for as you feel  
 The profanation of a perfect meal  
 By blatant music, savouries and scents  
 (The dinner doesn't need such ornaments)  
 So poetry, invented and designed  
 To bring the highest pleasure to the mind,  
 If it should miss the summit of perfection  
 Falls beyond any hope of resurrection.

Runners or discus-throwers fearing shame,  
 Only compete when masters of the game;  
 Football is only played by those who know it,  
 But any fool can call himself a poet.  
 Why not? He pays his taxes on the nail,  
 Has never been divorced, or sent to jail—  
 But you've enough self-knowledge to refrain  
 From mental tasks that go against the grain,  
 And, if you write at all, your work should be  
 Referred to critics of repute, like me,  
 Then locked up in your cupboard out of sight  
 Nine years before you bring it back to light:  
 Unpublished Odes are easy stuff to burn,  
 But volumes once sent forth will not return.

Poets and  
civilisation.

The Orpheus story—how a poet's art  
Softened the tiger's and the lion's heart—  
Is based upon the fact that he began  
The enlightenment of prehistoric man,  
The gods' interpreter. One might explain  
In the same way Amphion's magic strain;  
He founded Thebes, and so the legend spread  
That rocks would follow where his music led.  
For wisdom long ago strove to define  
The boundaries of human and divine,  
Public and private charges, to disparage  
Promiscuous love and thus establish marriage,  
Teach all to live together for their good,  
Build towns and carve their simple laws in wood.  
All this the poets did, and so acquired  
The reputation that they were inspired.  
Then Homer won renown, and Tyrtæus' song  
Made manly hearts in warlike onslaught strong;  
Oracles spoke in verse of sacred things,  
Pierian measures won the hearts of kings,  
Verse showed the way of life, and song began  
The festivals that crown the toils of man.  
Phoebus the singer, and man's lyric sense  
With these achievements then, need no defence.

It is a common subject of debate  
If Art or Genius makes a poem great,  
But studies, when the aptitude is lacking,  
Are vain as aptitudes without their backing,  
So each requires the other, and they ought  
Both to unite in mutual support.

Olympic runners undergo long training,  
Shiver and sweat, from love and wine abstaining,  
Flautists of international reputation  
Have borne a maestro's choice vituperation,  
But poetasters are content to boast:  
'I'm good! The devil take the hindermost—  
It won't be me! What gentleman would show  
His ignorance of what he doesn't know?'

Poets with large investments or estates  
Will find admirers flocking at their gates;  
Profit's in sight, so votarists appear  
Like thronging touts around the auctioneer.  
Perception of your literary charms  
Grows if you grease the audience's palms,  
And if a writer's rich enough to bail  
Poor men, without security, from jail,

I fear it's ten to one he'll lack the eyes  
 To tell true friends from flatterers in disguise.  
 If you have made a present, or (still worse)  
 Intend to make one, do not read your verse  
 To the recipient. 'That's good! That's neat!'  
 He'll murmur, beating time with hands or feet;  
 He'll start, turn pale, and bring the tears distilling  
 In tragic scenes, from eyes a shade too willing.  
 The greatest grief at funerals is shown  
 By those who do it at so much per groan,  
 And true admirers will show less emotion  
 Than secret sneerers hoping for promotion.  
 Kings, it is said, in seeking to divine  
 A servant's worth, draw out his thoughts with wine;  
 So, if you take to verse, beware the rocks,  
 And bear in mind the fable of the fox!

Quintilius, if you asked him to inspect  
 Your work, would tell you what you should correct;  
 If after several efforts you denied  
 Some weak expression could be rectified,  
 'Scrap it entirely,' you would then be told,  
 'Re-cast your statement in a better mould.'  
 But if he found that you preferred defending  
 An error to the labour of amending,  
 He'd leave you, without further disputation,  
 To bask alone in your self-admiration.  
 A sound and frank adviser will not shirk  
 The smallest details of a critic's work,  
 Severe as Aristarchus pointing at  
 Lines over-decorated, or too flat,  
 Rhythm that's sluggish, or offends the ears,  
 And patches where the meaning disappears;  
 Ambiguous phrases that should be replaced—  
 In short, at all that might offend the taste;  
 Trifles perhaps, but trifles that have grieved  
 Many whom false admirers have deceived.

Neurotic writers who forego advice  
 Moreover, have to pay a dreadful price.  
 As one by leprosy or jaundice seized,  
 Wild frenzy, or Diana unappeased,  
 The crazy poet, when he heaves in sight,  
 Pursued by urchins, puts the wise to flight.  
 Like a bird-watcher studying the sky  
 He hiccups choruses with nose on high:  
 Suppose he tumbles in a well or pit  
 And yells for help, let no one offer it;

Don't fetch the ladder—surely this descent  
Must be symbolic, seriously meant;  
Didn't profound Empedocles decide  
He'd jump down Etna to be deified?  
Let poets always perish if they're willing,  
To thwart them is as bad a crime as killing.  
If rescued, too, he'll not forget his passion  
For perishing in some dramatic fashion.  
What hidden guilt impels the man to rave,  
A shrine profaned, or else his father's grave?  
His strange psychosis stings him into rage  
Like a wild bear escaping from its cage;  
Dunce and professor flee in consternation  
Before the threat of endless declamation,  
For once he has a listener he'll stick  
Inflated and persistent as a tick.

W. R. G. BRANFORD.

M. W. M. POPE.

## THE AUTONOMY OF ART

THE doctrine 'art for art's sake' may have been rejected for very good reasons. But we ought not to overlook one merit it had, namely, it did try to defend the autonomy of art. Other theories, although they may admit this autonomy, are apt to give an account of art that is incompatible with the admission. The 'art for art's sake' theory had, however, the serious defect of concentrating too much on the uniqueness of the aesthetic feelings. Formalistic theories supply a corrective to this approach without minimizing the uniqueness and independence of art; for by their emphasis on the importance of form and their insistence that to follow the unique structure of a work of art is essential—is perhaps the only thing necessary—for its appreciation, they redirect the attention outwards to the work of art itself. Formalistic theories may be too narrow, but one should proceed to a more adequate theory of art via the formalistic theories rather than by rejecting them *ab initio*. Clive Bell, a well-known exponent of Formalism, contrasts the emotionalistic approach to art, which encourages one to bask in the warm and possibly quite pleasant emotions experienced in the stuffy valley of everyday life, which experiences certain 'works of art' arouse and are intended by their creators to arouse, with the 'austere and thrilling raptures of those who have climbed the cold white peaks of art.' He then proceeds to indicate the quality of a work of art which alone is capable of moving us in this purely aesthetic manner, namely, its significant form.

If the function of art is to 'express' the emotions of everyday life, including those aroused by its crisis and other unusual events, then it is difficult to avoid subjecting art to moral criteria. The emotions of everyday life are motives, and their value depends on the goodness or badness of the deeds they tend to produce; in other words, these feelings are to be judged by moral standards. The goodness of a work of art would then consist in its power to arouse virtuous feelings, and its badness in its power to arouse vicious feelings leading to all manner of wickedness. There would then be only one way of trying to free the artist from the tyranny of the moralist: by arguing that the artist should be left free to express what feelings he likes because this, so far from doing moral harm, actually provides a safety valve, which eases some of the pressure of the emotional forces tending to disrupt a well-regulated social life. We owe this argument to Aristotle. The argument is not, strictly speaking, a defence of the *autonomy* of art. It is rather

a plea for non-interference with the artist on the grounds that he serves morality by lancing its boils. Strangely enough, those who put up this defence on behalf of art never ask for the suppression of works of art that express virtuous feelings on the grounds that works of this kind dissipate these all too rare motives.

Intellectualist theories also endanger the autonomy of art. These theories assert that art is not solely or even mainly emotional; that its function is to give us understanding of man and his lot, an understanding that may involve a quickening or a modification of our sense of values, a vision of what man might rise to. If we accept this as an adequate theory of art then the moralist would be justified in judging a work of art according to its 'uplift'. Moreover, as moralists differ in their moral judgements, who are to constitute the final court of appeal? Further difficulties arise when we consider art as showing us what man is as well as what he might be. For then a work of art will tell us something we already believe, or something we disbelieve, or something new on which we have still to form an opinion. We shall then most likely judge a work of art according to whether it conflicts with or confirms our own opinions. Or we will be prepared to entertain the artist's conception of human nature as hypotheses to be tested by further observation of people's behaviour. And then we shall be able to appreciate his work only when these later observations have been made, i.e. when we are not attending primarily to the work of art itself. This is very much as if we were to appreciate the tastiness of a meal solely by the later enjoyment of its proper digestion. When the rapt contemplative attitude characteristic of aesthetic enjoyment has ceased and our minds have wandered from the work of art is this the moment when we are really beginning to appreciate it? A work of art is to be appreciated for what it is in itself and during the time when it wholly absorbs us. Moreover, how on the basis of an intellectualistic theory are we to distinguish the satisfactions offered by art from those offered by psychology and philosophy? And how does the understanding of human nature to be gained from art differ from psychological knowledge? If there is no difference then one of them is usurping the function of the other and must give us inferior knowledge. If art gives us aspects of human nature that lie outside the field of psychology, is it not then a branch of knowledge about man together with the other social sciences, like anthropology, and an unscientific one at that?

It may be possible by freeing ourselves from constrictive theories of knowledge to maintain the thesis that the drama and the novel do extend our knowledge of man and of human society within the moment of aesthetic contemplation, and without becoming a kind of concrete and simplified psychology and sociology for those who cannot or will not do some scientific thinking on the matter. But it is safer not to value art, as the intellectualists do, primarily as a queer and inferior, or superior, form of knowledge—intellect-

ualists differ on this point—reached direct by the imagination,<sup>1</sup> while psychology plods errantly or more surely towards the same goal. Besides, there is the difficulty that a person may reject, say, the theology of *Paradise Lost* and find its psychology superficial and yet enjoy the poem. To regard the philosophical and other ideas a poem may contain as of no importance would be going too far. But our ability to enjoy a poem which contains ideas we do not accept is evidence of a difference between intellectual and aesthetic values which an intellectualistic approach blurs.

When we turn to the formalistic theories, it might seem at first that in place of the bread of emotional excitement (or depression) and the wine of strange visions (or hallucinations) we are offered the stone of mere form. And although formalists may use the term '*significant*' and not '*mere form*', the attachment of this label to 'form' that is not intended either to represent the characteristic shape of things or to express the familiar emotions, fails to dispel the suspicion that it is mere form devoid of meaning and interest. If formalistic theories disappoint us, it may be because we expect them not merely to indicate what we ought to look for in a work of art but to move us as only the work of art itself can do, i.e. to provide us with a substitute for the work of art itself. But we ought to bear in mind that the criticism of a particular work of art is more like a map than a photograph of the territory to be visited. The most criticism can do is to give preliminary guidance; it cannot present us with the sights or even with replicas of the sights to be enjoyed during the journey. Still more is this true of a general account of art. If anyone were to describe the game of soccer to a person unacquainted with games of any kind, he might at first think it quite senseless. The proof of the game is in the playing thereof. However, before having a try at the game, a person must at least know what he is supposed to do and what to avoid. For example, one might warn him that if he picks up the ball and rushes off the field on a private frolic of his own, then, although he may have fun, it is not *football* that he is enjoying.

Some people's 'enjoyment' of a symphony or of a painting is no more like the appreciation of a work of art than our friend's antics are like football.

For an analysis of art forms that will help us to appreciate particular works of art we must go to the expert critics in the different arts, or to practising artists if they will spare us the time, and not to a professor of things in general. What aesthetics can do is to explain the importance and the appeal of form, and to bridge the gap between the work of art and our emotional responses which has been made by the theory that art is the expres-

<sup>1</sup> This applies to the aesthetics of a number of philosophers who have proved, to their own satisfaction, that art, or at least all great art, is an incarnation of their philosophy.

sion of emotions. This theory virtually implies that a work of art is a complex set of symbols or stimuli that have acquired through association the power of arousing our feelings. These emotional associations must be relative to a person's particular culture, or even to his own peculiar experience. This means that there is not a special fitness or rational connection but only a causal relation between a work of art and our responses to it. A formalistic approach enables us to see that there is something more than a merely external or conventional or causal relation between a work of art and an understanding response to it, that aesthetic values are intrinsic and not dependent on the peculiarities of a culture or on the idiosyncrasies of an individual.

Hanslick in his "Vom Musikalisch-Schönen"—a remarkably clear and vigorous piece of writing—has done much to show wherein the significance of form in art lies. He writes that music portrays not so much the quality of feelings as their dynamic aspect, not 'murmuring tenderness' or 'impetuous courage', but the murmuring or the impetuosity; that it produces 'the motion accompanying psychical action according to its momentum, speed, slowness, strength, weakness, increasing and decreasing intensity. But motion is only one of the concomitants of feeling, not feeling itself'. In other words, musical form reflects the movement of our inner life, and, one might add, of our whole inner life and not merely of our emotions. Hamlet's thinking is, no doubt, emotionally charged; but his soliloquies are patterns of thought that might, if concerned with other matters, occur with little intensity of feeling. And if we bear in mind that these patterns<sup>1</sup> are only parts of the larger pattern of the play as a whole, we shall cease to think of the form of a play as adequately analysed into three or five acts with the plot thickening during the first half, a major crisis in the middle, and the denouement in the last part. With such a meagre conception of form it is no wonder that in our analytic and more reflective appreciation of a play we look for psychological insights and philosophical ideas. But when watching a play it is because we follow its movement that we are stirred, excited, and feel more intensely alive. The matters on which Hamlet debated with himself may grow stale or may be remote from our own experience of life and so fail to touch us; but the movement, the activity of the human mind *sub specie aeternitatis*, particularly a subtle and agile mind like Hamlet's, is of abiding interest.

The movement or dynamic pattern of music is objective, and its qualities can be valued quite apart from and independently of any specific emotions it may arouse. To appreciate music we must follow its structure. It will then excite us, and our excitement will take on the movement of the music. This excite-

<sup>1</sup> A not too fanciful analogy may be drawn between them and certain musical forms.

ment may or may not be coloured by a revival of nameable emotions which have a similar but much simpler and cruder pattern, e.g. an adagio may make us feel somewhat sad. To appreciate music is, then, to follow an objective form and not to bathe in pumped up emotions or to amble through a gallery of trivial mental pictures of our own creation. It is because the music moves in a living way—like our own inner life of thought and feeling—that we say the *music* is exultant or solemn, or that it is the *composer's* feelings that are being communicated to us. In our use of this kind of language we are trying to say that the enjoyment of music lies in the appreciation of aesthetic qualities in the work of art and not in the indulgence in our own private feelings. And what has been said of music is largely true of all the arts, however much they may differ from each other and have their own special appeals. When art is approached from the formal point of view we may safely speak of it as the expression of feelings without falling into the dualism between the private feelings of audience or spectators and the public sounds or sights externally related to them, which dualism the emotional approach forces upon us and so lands us in subjectivism. In following the structure of a work of art my inner life, my consciousness, takes on the identical rhythm and movement of the work of art: and the distinction between subject matter expressed and medium of expression, form and content, tends to disappear. This rhythm and movement, though similar to that of my everyday consciousness, is far more complex and differentiated. Thus art is no mere pale repetition of our inner life but is a development and enrichment of it. Our experiences in the everyday world are chaotic and drab as compared with the order and striking contrasts of our experiences in the world of art. Another merit of the formalistic approach is that it avoids dualism between intellect and feeling. It requires intelligence to follow structure, and as art involves organization and differentiation of feelings, we may say that art makes our life of feeling intelligent and intelligible, and stiffens our emotional experiences with such intellectual power as we are capable of. The artist has through the form of his work of art achieved understanding and mastery over his feelings (or emotionally charged thoughts) instead of being a half-blind slave of them, and it is because of this that in all great works of art, even in their most agitated parts, there is a transcendent serenity not unlike the peace of God that passeth all understanding. That we may lapse, when we return to everyday life, into the relatively chaotic and crude feelings of everyday life is unfortunately true. But the aesthetic experience is to be valued for what it is in itself, and not for the improvement it may make work in other and generally inferior experiences.

# DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI AS TRANSLATOR

## I

**B**ORN in London, the son of predominantly Italian parents, in an age when all cultured Italians still also spoke French, Dante Gabriel Rossetti must, from his earliest years, have been peculiarly conscious of languages rather than of language. It is not strange therefore, that translation should so conspicuously mark his entrance upon his poetic career. Its influence, both upon his general psychological and specifically artistic development was very great and permanent, and is not less evident in the actual pattern of his daily life. Nevertheless, it has received but scant attention from Rossetti's critics and biographers.

A few lessons in German, soon discontinued and quickly forgotten, produced the earliest of his translations as they have come down to us, a quite respectable verse rendering, for a lad of fifteen, of Bürger's *Lenore*, and in the following year (after a part of the *Nibelungenlied*, now lost), one of the mediæval poet, Hartmann von Auë's *Arme Heinrich*, entitled *Henry the Leper*. In his choice of these poems Rossetti unconsciously showed some of his own fundamental emotional attitudes, including that love of the mysterious, macabre and diabolic, that apparently incongruous mixture of religion and sensuality, mysticism and idealization of woman, even of moralizing and sadism, afterwards so characteristic of him as man and as poet. So ended the Germanic phase.<sup>1</sup>

The "Gothic" influence remained, however, though fortunately modified by others from France and Italy. Spirited versions of two songs from Victor Hugo's *Les Burgraves* were made a year later, in 1847, and in 1850 a very "Preraphaelite" rendering of a short passage from the *Roman de la Rose*. On one or two occasions in later years, Rossetti returned to translation from French sources, making English versions in 1869-70 of three poems by Villon, *To Death, of his Lady, His Mother's Service to our Lady*, and, the best of all Rossetti's translations from any language, the famous *Ballad of Dead Ladies*. About the same time as these, Rossetti also translated two traditional ballads from old French, then well known even in England though now forgotten, *Jean Renaud* and *Les Trois*

<sup>1</sup> D.G.R. also translated in 1866 a quatrain from Goethe's *Faust*, lines 373-6, after W.M.R. had at his request copied out the lines and Shelley's translation of them. D.G.R. entitled them *Lilith*. He was then projecting the picture so named.

*Princesses*, which he entitled *John of Tours* and *My Father's Close*.<sup>1</sup> Although he never knew more of Greek than the alphabet, if even that, his single translation from Greek, whatever the actual medium of the original, has been canonized by inclusion in *The Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation*. He entitled his version *Beauty: A Combination from Sappho*.

All these translations, however, whether from German, French or Greek, were of but transitory interest to Rossetti. Italian, his home language, although he never completely mastered it, naturally provided most of his material for translation. His greatest achievement in this kind is his *Early Italian Poets*, published in 1861, and republished in 1874 as *Dante and his Circle*. This volume, together with a very occasional, casual poem from Italian and one or two from short Italian poems by himself, completes Rossetti's work as translator.

The *Early Italian Poets* had its roots in the home of Rossetti's boyhood, dominated by his father's ceaseless studies of Dante and of Platonic Love in the Middle Ages. "Thus, in those early days," wrote Rossetti himself in his Preface, "all around me partook of the influence of the great Florentine; till, from viewing it as a natural element, I also, growing older, was drawn within the circle". His material, taken from that of his father, was chiefly Dante's lyrics and *Vita Nuova*, and the love lyrics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Italy, written in the troubadour tradition of Provence. For the father, this early Italian poetry was but the material for misapplied pedantry; for the son, who absorbed it imaginatively during his early, most impressionable years, it became a dominating, directive influence. The mediæval, chivalric code with its exaltation and idealization of woman, its curious but explicable association of almost religious devotion with adultery,<sup>2</sup> found obvious expression in Rossetti's poetry, painting and personal life.

From seventeen to twenty-two, with the enthusiasm of youth, and even before he had begun *Henry the Leper*, Rossetti was already reading and translating whatever most appealed to him in the works of these early Italian poets. Whatever originals his father's study lacked he obtained at the British Museum, and before he was twenty-three, the translations, his brother tells us, were completed. Nevertheless, Rossetti's correspondence clearly shows that for many years afterwards, indeed until their publication in 1861, they were almost continuously in his thought. Continual revision by himself and his friends over this long period, inevitably concentrated his thoughts and emotions upon the content of these poems, upon that conception of romantic love which exercised so

<sup>1</sup> For details re French sources of these two poems, v. C. Y. Lang; *The French Originals of Rossetti's "John of Tours" and "My Father's Close"* in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 64, 1949, pp. 1219-22.

<sup>2</sup> v. C. S. Lewis: *The Allegory of Love*. Oxford, 1938. pp. 12-13.

profound an influence upon the thought, art and life of the Middle Ages. In that lay the source of Rossetti's (and consequently of Preraphaelite) "mediævalism".

It is Rossetti's largely unconscious assimilation of this material through the actual circumstances of his normal daily life which invests these otherwise antique and exotic poems with a living, personal quality in his translation, suggestive of original verse, and particularly difficult to impart to work so largely formal and conventional in origin, so often monotonous in its repetition of both subject and treatment. "La lirica provenzale," wrote one Italian historian of literature, referring to the source of these Italian poems, "trattò argomenti vari; fu politica, satirica, gnomica, polemica, ma nella sua piu gran parte fu lirica d'amore; e l'amore cantò con istucchevole monotonia, aggirandosi in una cerchia angusta d'idee, suggerite dalla moda e dalle convenzioni che regolavano i rapporti fra la dama e il poeta, piuttosto che ispirate da personali atteggiamenti dell'affetto. Perciò a ragione fu detto che tutta codesta letteratura potrebbe essere considerata come l'opera d'un solo poeta che avesse scritto i suoi versi con varia intonazione."<sup>1</sup>

Such was the Provençal poetry which, carried by troubadours across the Alps, inspired Italian poets, and in time became the Court Poetry of Italy. Love was almost their sole theme. They introduced the *canzone*, "the stateliest form of Italian lyric";<sup>2</sup> and invented the sonnet. Dante's friend Guinicelli and his followers, influenced by Scholastic Philosophy and Christian mysticism, refined this erotic Provençal poetry into "the sweet new style",—"il dolce stil nuovo,"—which Dante so admired and praised. Croce describes them as "The School of Love, which is one with the cult of the 'gentle heart', by which woman was raised to the rank of a celestial personage, a messenger of God, an angel, an ambassador and a promise of Paradise, shunning base desires, envy and hate, and inspiring noble and virtuous feelings".<sup>3</sup>

It was of this school that the young Dante soon became leader. From its influence sprang his *Vita Nuova* which, perhaps more than any other of their works, so deeply impressed upon Rossetti their mediæval ideology and emotional pattern. For so essentially rationalistic and sceptical a nature as Rossetti's, a life-long inner conflict between the opposing elements was inevitable. In his vain and largely unconscious attempts to resolve this conflict, lay much of the secret of his artistic inspiration both as poet and painter.

<sup>1</sup> V. Rossi: *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*. Milano. 3 vols. 1914-19. I. 74.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Gardner: *Italian Literature*. London. 1927. p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> B. Croce: *The Poetry of Dante*. London 1922. (translated by D. Ainslie) p. 42.

## II

How genuine was Rossetti's appreciation of this poetry his remarks in *The Early Italian Poets* clearly show. "Its great beauties," he feared, "may often remain unapproached in the versions here attempted." This was a fundamental anxiety to him, for he had selected the poems, he said, "chiefly for the sake of poetic beauty."<sup>1</sup> "Poetic value" and "biographical interest", he declared, had drawn him to these poems "which possess . . . beauties of a kind that can never again exist in art."<sup>2</sup> To recreate this beauty, in English verse, as nearly as possible, was his aim, although he was as conscious as Coleridge that the essential poetic quality of a poem was untranslatable. Nevertheless he believed that in the case of these poems, "hardly kept alive through centuries of neglect", and now almost dead through "clumsy transcription and pedantic superstructure," a good translation was "the most direct form of commentary".<sup>3</sup>

Rossetti's attitude as translator and editor was that of an artist, not of an academic. That, as he saw it, meant not only the primacy of beauty over information, but also the mastery of life over death. To the deadliness of previous Italian editors who, he said, had presented the poems "in a jumbled and disheartening form, . . . as *testi di lingua*—dead stock by whose help the makers of dictionaries may smother the language with decayed words", he opposed the artist's passion for life, "appealing now I believe for the first time in print, though in a new idiom, from their once living writers to such living readers as they may find. . . ."<sup>4</sup> Rossetti's dislike of heavily commented texts again revealed itself when he turned to discuss the *Vita Nuova* in similar terms. How deeply his father's laborious and misguided studies had sickened the son, these comments show. Nor could he refrain from concluding his Introduction with a final onslaught upon academic pedantry: "Among the severely-edited books which had to be consulted in forming this collection, I have often suffered keenly from the buttonholders of learned Italy, who will not let one go on one's way; and have contracted a horror of those editions where the text, hampered with numerals for reference, struggles through a few lines at the top of the page only to stick fast at the bottom in a slough of verbal analysis. It would seem unpardonable to make a book which should be even as these . . ."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Footnote to Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo* in *Early Italian Poets*, D.G.R.'s *Works* 1911 ed., p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to *Early Italian Poets*, D.G.R. *Works* 1911 ed., p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Preface to *Early Italian Poets*, *Works*, pp. 282-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Introduction*, *Early Italian Poets*, *Works* p. 296

<sup>5</sup> *Introduction*, *Ibid*, pp. 309-10.

So, over against pedantic dullness he would put the artist's perception and expression of beauty. "The only true motive for putting poetry into a fresh language must be to endow a fresh nation, as far as possible, with one more possession of beauty."<sup>1</sup> Finally, succinctly asserting his basic principle as translator,— a poet's principle,—he declared that it consisted of this, "that a good poem shall not be turned into a bad one."<sup>2</sup> Hence, he continued, "literality of rendering—I say *literality* (not fidelity, which is by no means the same thing.)—is altogether secondary to this chief law."<sup>3</sup> Yet even literality he very largely preserved in his English versions.

He was, in fact, far from claiming infallibility as a translator, being well aware of his inadequacies as an Italian linguist, and gladly accepted the help of his mother who, since his father's death in 1854, was the most proficient member of the family in this respect, having a good and accurate knowledge of the language. William Rossetti too, assisted, doing as usual all the dull work for his brother, reading proofs, noting errors and providing the prose translation for the Dantesque commentary upon each of the lyrics in the *Vita Nuova*. Rossetti was not entirely optimistic as to the reception of his translations by the public. Whether or not any merit was remarked in them, their defects, he ironically observed, would certainly be discovered, and he continued with an apologia which, though unfortunately too long to detail here, is an excellent summary, not only of the difficulties inherent in his material, but also of those which beset every translator of poetry in one language into poetry in another.

### III

When from the monotonous love-death theme of the *Vita Nuova* and of similar lyrics we turn to the general body of these translations, we find considerable variety of content and form. Sonnets, canzoni, ballate, sestine, occasional shorter lyrics, even blank verse and one or two musical catches reveal Rossetti's versatility in poetic form. Into all these, despite their conventional formalism, he breathes something of individuality or at least of personality. In his translations we hear a human voice speaking; we do not merely see dead words on a page, but words as he had said, "appealing from their once living writers to such living readers as they may find".

As an artist he must preserve, revive if necessary, the life in these poems of some six or seven centuries ago. They were old, forgotten,

<sup>1</sup> *Preface, Early Italian Poets*, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Preface. Ibid.*, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Preface. Ibid.*, p. 283.

unknown. He was well aware of that. "I know," he wrote in his Preface, "there is no great stir to be made by launching afresh, on high-seas busy with new traffic, the ships which have been long outstripped and the ensigns which are grown strange". So he passed much of his youth grappling with the technical difficulties involved. Those inherent in an attempt to turn the many rhyming forms of a language as plastic as that of Italy into the hard and unyielding, (though magnificently poetic) language of England, he largely and admirably surmounted. In rhythmical and rhyming patterns he generally closely adhered to his originals, and his ingenuity in utilizing the limited rhymes of English to serve the purpose of the unlimited rhymes of Italian, is remarkable. Sometimes he was led by the limitations of his medium, sometimes perhaps by aural insensitivity, to misplace accents, a weakness which found its way into his original poetry and was parodied by his enemy Buchanan in lines which even amused Rossetti himself:

When winds do roar and rains do pour,  
Hard is the life of the sailòr:  
He scarcely, as he reels can tell  
The side-lights from the binnacle:  
He looketh on the wild wàter, etc. . . .

Rossetti's translations were then, on the whole, successful, and as such they were recognized by the fit though few audience they obtained. Close, terse, vigorous, they achieved the vital quality he desired; recreated by a poet, they attained his dominant aim, "that a good poem shall not be turned into a bad one". There were, of course, errors, as William Rossetti pointed out in some detail after his brother's death. Some were due to what Dr. Johnson in a similar situation once frankly described as "ignorance, pure ignorance"; some to Rossetti's refusal to sacrifice form to accuracy, so that even when errors were pointed out to him he declined to correct them. Yet such departures were few and never serious, being in harmony with his declared preservation of "fidelity", even if "literality" were abandoned. These translations are not, like Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*, largely original poems. They are what they pretend to be,—translations. They generally closely follow their originals in both content and form, and their occasional monotony, to which Ruskin objected, is due to this, not to Rossetti.

To attempt any critical consideration of Rossetti's treatment of individual poems is impossible in this short survey; but one must note in passing, how often Rossetti's literary intuition and æsthetic sensibility to language gives to his versions a touch of inspiration, how often it enables him to achieve a form that retains a slight and often charming suggestion of the antiquity of his originals, yet is free from all archaisms and offers no verbal obstacle to the modern reader. It is thus that he delightfully renders Dante's

Donne ch' avete intelletto d'Amore  
 as Ladies that have intelligence in love,  
 and Guido Guinicelli's famous canzone of "the sweet new style",

Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore  
 Come l'augello in selva alla verdura . . .  
 as  
 Within the gentle heart Love shelters him  
 As birds within the green shade of the grove . . .

That metaphorical conception of Love as a bird amongst the leaves, which Dante also adopted in the *Paradiso*:

Come l'augello, intra l'amate fronde,<sup>1</sup>  
 evidently appealed to Rossetti who used it occasionally in his original verse, as in *The Portrait*:

Like leaves through which a bird has flown,  
 and again in *Winged Hours*:

Each hour until we meet is as a bird  
 That wings from far his gradual way along  
 The rustling covert of my soul . . .

Again and again we find in Rossetti's own poetry recollections of the metaphors of these Italian poets or of his renderings of them, as when, translating rather freely Jacopo da Lentino's poem *Of his Lady and her Portrait*, he writes:

I gaze till I am sure  
 That I behold thee move . . .

which becomes in his own poem *The Portrait*:

I gaze until she seems to stir,  
 Until mine eyes almost aver  
 That now, even now, the sweet lips part  
 To breathe the words of the sweet heart:—  
 And yet the earth is over her.

<sup>1</sup> Canto xxiii l.l.

## IV

But it was not only in phrases, it was in the very texture of his thoughts and emotions, that these mediæval poets influenced Rossetti; not only in his painting and poetry but also in his actual life. Sometimes their influence is to give a touch of quaintness to his original poetry, — although he detested “that infernal word ‘quaint.’” It is thus that he assimilated the ancient psychological theory of internal ‘spirits’ which passed on into the Renaissance, and had led Dante in the *Convivio* to write: “Music draws to itself the human spirits which are, as it were, mainly vapours of the heart, so that they almost cease from action of their own, so undivided is the soul when it listens to music; and the virtue of all the spirits is, as it were, concentrated in the spirit of sense which receives the sound.”<sup>1</sup>

So in his translations, Rossetti renders as “spirit of my heart”, a similar phrase in Cavalcanti’s *Ballata* (XVI), and writes in his own original poems in *The House of Life*, “the spirits of mine eyes” (IV), “the spirits of Love” (VII), just as in translating the *Vita Nuova* he had written identical and almost identical phrases. Nor are these the only resemblances in form and content between Rossetti’s translations and his original material.

But such parallels are less interesting because less important than the deeper levels of influence; the love-death polarity of Rossetti’s thought and emotion, the Neo-Platonic influence so evident in his belief in the twin-soul, as in his sonnet *The Birth-bond*, the idealization of woman in a mystical conception of love. All these are predominant elements in the psychological pattern of Rossetti’s development, and give to his translations much of the personal expression of original verse.

It is thus that Rossetti’s translations become the necessary approach to *The House of Life*. They reveal his chief æsthetic interests during his most impressionable years, show how profoundly his father’s studies in the Platonic Love of the Middle Ages and Renaissance had influenced his thought and emotion and sent him to this ancient love-poetry to be its interpreter to the modern English world.

Of all these literary influences the strongest was that of Dante’s *Vita Nuova*; “a book,” as he described it in his Introduction, “which only youth could have produced, and which must chiefly remain sacred to the young; to each of whom the figure of Beatrice, less lifelike than lovelike, will seem the friend of his own heart.” Thus it was that Rossetti came to adopt the legend of the *Vita Nuova* as his own personal myth, the myth he would live by.

<sup>1</sup> *Convivio*. II. xiv. Translation here given is quoted by J. Hutton in *Some English Poems in Praise of Music*. *English Miscellany*, ed. Mario Praz. Roma 1951, p. 22.

Henceforth inner conflict was inevitable. His natural, rationalistic outlook was, as so often with the Latins, no longer to be single and unchallenged; for ever the echoes of long dead voices, the voices of those ancient troubadours, of Dante, and of those Renaissance Platonists who had gathered about Ficino in Florence four centuries ago, rang in his ears as he went his way about the streets of Victorian London.

He was, in fact, neither of his time nor place. His place, his society, was that of the Court of Urbino which Castiglione describes in his *Courtier*. There he would have companioned the Neo-Platonic enthusiast Peter Bembo as he discoursed nightly with the other gentlemen and the ladies of the Court, upon "Plato the divine lover", upon the soul's passionate quest for the higher love and beauty which so largely inspired Dante's *Paradiso*. How happy would Rossetti have been in that company so vividly described at the close of Castiglione's work, as we have it in Sir Thomas Hoby's version of 1561, an age in which the translator could still share the thoughts and emotions he expressed.

All night and for several nights the ladies and gentlemen of the Court of Urbino have discussed courtly love, and now, as the dawn, all unperceived by them, breaks, Bembo, raising the whole discussion to the level of Neo-Platonic beliefs, concludes a long, mystical peroration with the exhortation: "Let us climbe up the staires, which at the lowermost steppe have the shadow of sensuall beautie, to the high mansion where the heavenly, amiable and right beautie dwelleth, which lyeth hidden in the innermost secretes of God, lest unhalowed eyes shoulde come to the sight of it: and there shall wee finde a most happie end for our desires, true rest for our travels, certaine remedie for miseries, a most healthfull medicine for sicknesse, a most sure haven in the troublesome stormes of the tempestuous sea of this life." Ceasing, Bembo stands as if "ravished and beside himself . . . holding his eyes towards heaven as astonied;" until the Ladie Emilia, plucking his sleeve says: "Take heede that these thoughts make not your soule also to forsake the bodie"; to which Bembo replies: "Madam, . . . it should not be the first miracle that love had wrought in me".

Then the Court resume the general discussion, turning to consider "Whether women be not as meete for heavenlie love as men"; until the Lord Cesar Gonzaga points out to the Duchess that "it is day alreedy, and shewed her the light that began to enter in at the clifts of the windowes. Then every man arose upon his feete with much wonder, because they had not thought that the reasonings had lasted longer than the accustomed wont . . . and with their pleasantesse had deceived so the Lordes mindes, that they wist not of the going away of the houres. And not one of them felt any heavinesse of sleepe in his eies . . . When the windowes then were opened on the side of the Pallaice that hath his prospect towarde the high top of Mount Catri, they sawe already in the

East a faire morning like unto the colour of roses, and all starres voyded, saving only the sweete Governesse of heaven, Venus which keepeth the boundes of the night and day, from which appeared to blowe a sweete blast, that filling the aire with a biting colde, began to quicken the tunable notes of the prettie birdes, among the hushing woodes of the hills at hand."

It was into such a world, dedicated to the Platonic archetypes of Love and Beauty, that Rossetti's translations led him in his impressionable adolescence. Henceforth it haunted his imagination until his life and work became largely an expression of his nostalgia.

Even so, when first I saw you, seemed it, love,  
That among souls allied to mine was yet  
One nearer kindred than life hinted of.  
O born with me somewhere that men forget,  
And though in years of sight and sound unmet,  
Known for my soul's birth-partner well enough!

So he sang in *The Birth-bond*; and in *Soul's Beauty*, in poetic soliloquy he cried:

This is that Lady Beauty, in whose praise  
Thy voice and hand shake still,—long known to thee  
By flying hair and fluttering hem,—the beat  
Following her daily of thy heart and feet,  
How passionately and irretrievably,  
In what fond flight, how many ways and days.

It is the voice of Bembo in Victorian London!

OSWALD DOUGHTY.

NOTE: For the sake of those readers who would like to see a complete example of Rossetti's delicate and yet skilfully close rendering of an early Italian original, Professor Doughty has chosen the following short anonymous piece from *Italian Poets Chieftly Before Dante*:

La bella stella che sua fiamma tiene  
Accesa sempre nella mente mia,  
Lucida e chiara già del monte uscia.  
Meraviglia'mi assat; ma il signor grande  
Disse: nostra virtù tal luce spande.  
Quando in sogno mi parve esser condotto,  
Per un gran sire, in bel giardino adorno  
Di bianchi gigli di sotto e d'intorno.

*One Speaks of the Beginning of His Love*

This fairest one of all the stars, whose flame,  
 For ever lit, my inner spirit fills,  
 Came to me first one day between the hills.  
 I wondered very much; but God the Lord  
 Said, "From Our Virtue, lo! this light is pour'd."  
 So in a dream it seemed that I was led  
 By a great Master to a garden spread  
 With lilies underfoot and overhead.

There is room to print also something in a lighter vein which is rare in *Early Italian Poets*—the second half of Rossetti's lively translation of some lines "On a Wet Day", by Franco Saccetti (1335-1400).

Some girls have been gathering wild flowers. One says, "Oh we shall be too long, it's going to rain!"; and another:

"O I hear something! Hush!"  
 "Why, where? What is it then?" "Ah! in that bush!"  
 So every girl here knocks it, shakes and shocks it,  
 Till with the stir they make  
 Out scurries a great snake.  
 "O Lord! O me! Alack! Ah me! alack!"  
 They scream, and then all run and scream again,  
 And then in heavy drops down comes the rain.

Each running at the other in a fright,  
 Each trying to get before the other, and crying,  
 And flying, stumbling, tumbling, wrong or right;  
 One sets her knee  
 There where her foot should be;  
 One has her hands and dress  
 All smothered up with mud in a fine mess;  
 And one gets trampled on by two or three.  
 What's gathered is let fall  
 About the wood and not picked up at all.  
 The wreaths of flowers are scattered on the ground,  
 And still as screaming hustling without rest  
 They run this way and that and round and round,  
 She thinks herself in luck who runs the best.

I stood quite still to have a perfect view,  
 And never noticed till I got wet through.

## ELIOT, YEATS, AND SHAKESPEARE

IT seems that poets find some special inspiration when their subject is some other work of art. It was so with John Keats in the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, and it is so with W. B. Yeats in his *Byzantium* poems and *Lapis Lazuli*, and with T. S. Eliot in his poem *Marina*.

*Marina* has an extra dimension of joy. It delights by the perfection of its expression of a delight, which is the very spirit of Shakespeare's *Pericles*, apprehended through Eliot's fine critical insight. This is the spirit also of the other romances, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest*; and this poem should be most salutary for anyone who has come to these plays with a feeling that they need apology.

It is all too easy to approach them with the acquired idea that, since they are not Shakespeare's best, we must get from them what we can of his former strength and disregard the rest as the tired padding of elder years. But a work of art must be appreciated as a whole, or it is not truly appreciated at all, and the best defence of, and only right approach to, these plays is to feel for the unity which combines the elements in each. Any idea that the genius of the Shakespeare who wrote the great comedies and tragedies is only evident at intervals here, destroys the true value of the plays. The approach must be one which trusts the Shakespeare who produced so many masterpieces to go about his work in the old (and only) way, shaping from his materials a new creation whose greatest beauty is its wholeness.

An integral part of this beauty are passages which in isolation may appear drab, but which, in the total view of the play, are seen to throw up in relief, with faultless skill, those other well-known passages of loveliest poetry. For the difference between these late plays and their predecessors is the quieter and deeper mode of thought, which naturally uses its medium of expression in a different way.

All Shakespeare's mature plays are created from some conception which is the remote origin of their form, since it is the nucleus of their thought, and for full appreciation this conception must inform the reader or audience, as it did the writer. Behind the last plays lies a common idea, the idea of the persistence of human virtue; and Eliot's *Marina* is a triumphal song inspired by its revelation in *Pericles*, the earliest and strangest of them.

When Pericles emerges from his melancholy stupor, restored by the recognition of his daughter, Marina, whom he had believed dead, he says to his faithful friend

“O Helicanus! strike me honour’d sir;  
Give me a gash, put me to present pain,  
Lest this great sea of joys rushing upon me  
O’rbear the shores of my mortality  
And drown me with their sweetness.”

In *Marina* Eliot has caught this feeling of joy and wonder at the dawn of new hope, which is the resolution of the play, as it is also the basic emotion in the romances which followed *Pericles*.

A new sea has come upon Pericles, the sea of a joy so acute that he can scarcely bear it, created out of his past sufferings, but more intense for sorrows undergone. These sufferings, together with all the evil and malice of his fellow-men which have threatened him—envy, lust, bestiality, all “meaning Death” to the spirit,—

“Are become unsubstantial, reduced by a wind, . . .  
. . . By this grace dissolved in place”,

and Eliot sees him recollecting the past and looking with wonder on the transformation:

“What seas what shores what grey rocks and what islands  
What water lapping the bow  
And scent of pine and the woodthrush singing through the fog  
What images return  
O my daughter.”

It is through some miracle of recognition that Marina’s voice, “the woodthrush singing through the fog”, has pierced his grief and roused him from the melancholy which submerged him when he thought his daughter dead, the last and heaviest of all his afflictions. Eliot, interpreting the joy of this recognition, presents at the same time the realisation of what she stands for in Shakespeare’s mind—“A palace/For the crown’d truth to dwell in”, he calls her (Act V, Sc. 1, l.123). She has passed, unscathed because of her virtue, through her own tragic bereavement, and peril from the malice of the world. She is for Pericles a source of new life—“Thou that begett’st him that did thee beget”, he says in the play. For the audience she is a symbol of the endurance of human virtue, a source of hope and new life. Eliot expresses this new hope in the image of “ships”, for Pericles himself has been wrecked on life’s bitter sea, symbolised by the physical sea over which he has sailed to all his perils and sufferings; and now he is as a ship with “bow-sprit cracked with ice and paint cracked with heat”, but Marina is

"This form, this face, this life  
 Living to live in a world of time beyond me; let me  
 Resign my life for this life, my speech for that unspoken,  
 The awakened, lips parted, the hope, the new ships."

Or, as he says in the play,

"O! come hither,  
 Thou that begett'st him that did thee beget;  
 Thou that wast born at sea, buried at Tarsus,  
 And found at sea again . . .  
 . . Thou'rt heir of kingdoms, and another life  
 To Pericles, thy father."

Much has been written about the imagery of fertility and regeneration in *The Winter's Tale*. (So much, that one expects the enthusiasm presently to proclaim Anthropology as another activity among all the studies, trades, and professions attributed to Shakespeare.) To concentrate on the imagery thus gives too close a view of the immediate surface and blinds to the total significance. Shakespeare uses this imagery, so natural to men of various ages and cultures, to express much more than the renewal of life in Nature. It is symbolic of a deeper mystery, the rebirth of the spirit through hope. The rejoicing at the end of the play is not merely because Leontes has found an heir again, but because of the triumph of faith in Hermione and of goodness in Perdita and Florizel. These two, healthy, wholesome, virtuous, end the long winter of despair which evil brought to the King's soul. The hope of spiritual regeneration for the world through the promise of virtue in the young is the inspiration of this play as it is of *Pericles*.

More than a century ago, Hazlitt wrote: "*The Winter's Tale* is one of the best-acting of our author's plays." But in 1944 James Agate made an attempt to explain why "*The Winter's Tale* is so little popular". He might not have troubled to do so if he could have seen John Gielgud's recent production. He came to the conclusion that "the reason . . . is that Hermione talks too much . . . if there is anything most playgoers hate and despise it is a gabby doll who gabs like Hermione." This is deplorable, not only for the grit of vulgarity, but chiefly for the evident failure to feel into the play. It reminds one of so many other crude criticisms of various Shakespeare plays.

His romances most of all, perhaps, are no longer approached as they should be, as Coleridge said *The Tempest* should be, as "a birth of the imagination" resting "only on the coaptation and union of the elements granted to, or assumed by the poet, . . . It addresses itself entirely to the imaginative faculty." There is less display of magic in *The Winter's Tale* than in *The Tempest*, though there is the supernatural element in the consultation and the prophecies of the Oracle of Delphi, and more than a touch of the

fairy-tale method in the latter half of the play (most marked, perhaps, in the convenient and permanent disposal of Antigonus—"Exit, pursued by a bear"). But there is much improbability throughout. Again, as in *Pericles*, and lastly in *The Tempest*, it is as if Shakespeare says, "Accept my story, as I offer it, and I will show you something worth-while".

When these plays fail with us, as they did not with Shakespeare's first audiences, is it because we have lost the art of listening to the poets, since we are apt to listen first to the critics to be told what to appreciate? And since too many critics in this century have attacked, or, worse still, adopted an apologetic attitude towards, these last plays of Shakespeare's, do we fail to approach them with the alert imagination which they require?

James Agate simply does not hear what Shakespeare is saying through Hermione, who is the clue to the whole play. He uses, to prove his point, one of Hermione's early speeches. (I do not think that he could use another, for the rest are full of obvious dramatic significance.):

"Cram's with praise, and make us  
As fat as tame things: one good deed, dying tongueless,  
Slaughters a thousand waiting upon that.  
Our praises are our wages: you may ride us  
With one soft kiss a thousand furlongs ere  
With spur we heat an acre . . . ." (Act 1, Sc. 1).

And five lines more. Not a very long speech, but one which reveals, in her simple joy at having pleased her husband, one of those gay and vital women Shakespeare delights in; and there is in fact great pathos and profound irony here, where Hermione speaks of the need of the tender heart of woman for love, a need which is her own, disguised under the diffidence and apparent playfulness, for she herself is about to be given jealousy instead of love and comfort, and the foulest revilings instead of praise, and to face these deprivations and calumnies with a courage that raises her to the height of tragic grandeur. Her character gives unity to *The Winter's Tale*. She is a symbol of the endurance of virtue, in spite of the worst that evil can do, and she is present to the consciousness throughout the play, for Perdita has the same qualities as her mother. The revelation of Hermione's survival at the end of the play only emphasises what has begun almost immediately after the scene of her supposed death.

Both Hermione and Perdita are gay, tender, imaginative, and unselfish. In spite of her modesty and lack of sureness, surprised often at her own powers, Perdita shows herself as her mother over again. There is the same direct sincerity and innocence, and the same clear-sightedness. She reminds Florizel of the danger to their love:

“O, but, sir,  
Your resolution cannot hold, when 'tis  
Opposed, as it must be, by the power of the King.”

And we remember Hermione at her trial, able, in spite of her own tragic plight, to realise the implications of his acts for Leontes himself:

“How will this grieve you  
When you shall come to clearer knowledge that  
You thus have published me! Gentle my lord,  
You scarce can right me throughly then to say  
You did mistake.”

Perdita makes a charming hostess, as Hermione (Alas, poor lady!) did to Polixenes. Her old foster-father is not satisfied with her at the sheep-shearing and would have her like his late wife, who

“. . . welcomed all, served all,  
Would sing her song, and dance her turn . . .  
. . . her face o' fire  
With labour and the thing she took to quench it.”

But nothing could be more gracious than the simple sincerity of Perdita's welcome to her guests:

“Sir, welcome:  
It is my father's will I should take on me  
The hostess-ship o' the day: — You're welcome, sir.  
Give me those flowers there, Dorcas. Reverend sirs,  
For you there's rosemary and rue; these keep  
Seeming and savour all the winter long:  
Grace and remembrance be to you both,  
And welcome to our shearing.”

When she holds her own in her argument with Polixenes on the subject of art versus nature, her cool determination (she is not to be persuaded out of her convictions by these grand strangers), and her intelligent, fluent reasoning are like those of Hermione during her trial. Hermione's courage and her acceptance of the inevitable without any self-pity make this trial one of the most moving scenes that Shakespeare ever created:

“Do not weep, good fools;  
There is no cause: when you shall know your mistress  
Has deserved prison, then abound in tears  
As I come out: this action I now go on  
Is for my better grace. Adieu, my lord:  
I never wished to see you sorry: now  
I trust I shall.”

These qualities are seen again in Perdita's bearing after Polixenes wrathfully condemns Florizel's love for her: "even here undone," she says,

"I was not much afear'd . . . .  
 . . . Will't please you, sir, begone?  
 I told you what would come of this; beseech you,  
 Of your own state take care; this dream of mine  
 —Being now awake, I'll queen it no inch further,  
 But milk my ewes and weep."

In the restoration scene at the end of the play, Hermione says,

"Tell me, mine own,  
 Where hast thou been preserved? Where lived? How found  
 Thy father's court? For thou shalt hear that I  
 Knowing by Paulina that the oracle  
 Gave hope thou wast in being, have preserved  
 Myself to see the issue";

and this revelation of faith and hope, in the final scene, shows that the implications of the play are to be found in an understanding of her character.

Far from being too bored or successful to trouble, Shakespeare achieves here as fine and subtle a unity of conception as anywhere. The value of the play lies not only in this, and in what everyone admires, its lovely poetry, but in what one senses behind it, the fineness of the spirit that created it. The last creations of that spirit have something in common with the best works of other great writers, and this is perhaps why Eliot wrote *Marina*, inspired by *Pericles*, a fantastic play, perhaps, yet one which shows the beginning of the inspiration which was to form the other romances.

The idea of the endurance of virtue, which lies at the back of Shakespeare's latest thought, has much in common with what lies behind W. B. Yeats's poem *Lapis Lazuli*, one of his last poems, and one of his most richly concentrated. His theme is the "gaiety" of the human spirit, and this gaiety is very much like the courage and virtue of Hermione. It is the spirit which renews the earth, which endures through "tragedy wrought to its uttermost", "transfiguring all that dread" by its heroism, and which rebuilds the world when everything is swept away in disaster:

"All things fall and are built again,  
 And those that build them again are gay".

This endurance of the human spirit is identified with the endurance of art, for in *Lapis Lazuli* a carving inspires the theme, "gaiety" resurgent through tragedy, and is itself a symbol of this.

All that the destruction of time has done could only make the carving more significant:

“Every discoloration of the stone,  
Every accidental crack or dent,  
Seems a water-course or an avalanche,  
Or lofty slope where it still snows,  
Though doubtless plum or cherry-branch  
Sweetens the little half-way house  
Those Chinamen climb towards.”

—The winter of evil again, followed by the promise of spring.

I have looked back with Yeats through the ages at all the disasters which have swept over civilisation, and the old Roman word “virtus” has come to mind as the essence of that quality in man which has inspired the great poets. Purged of any taint of priggishness which unfortunate use has been apt to give it, it stands for all that is most valuable and most human—courage, nobility, endurance, goodness. *Lapis Lazuli*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Marina*, are all hymns to this “virtus”, and poetry gives its utmost of healing and delight when we share the vision of the minds that created them.

Many accuse modern poets of being obscure, if not of writing rubbish, and so of having little value for the age they live in. This may be true of some minor poets and hangers-on, but in the great poets the fault is not. I have tried here to show what there is in common between two great modern poets and Shakespeare. It would seem that our age has lost the art of enjoying poetry. It would be well to recover it.

Whether the poets I have written of wrote deliberately with the idea that here was something that they were sure of and must show to others, or whether unconsciously they gave us the opportunity to share their deepest vision and see how life is sweetened by it, offered thus “a sad tale's best” for the “winter of our discontent”.

Let the voice of Marina pierce the fog of our world, gone into a melancholy—

“let me  
Resign my life for this life, my speech for that unspoken,  
The awakened, lips parted, the hope, the new ships.”

S. K. KING.

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

W. R. G. BRANFORD, M.A. (Cantab.), B.Ed. (Cape Town) has lectured at Stellenbosch and is now on the staff of the English Department in the University of Natal.

DR. EDGAR H. BROOKES has been Professor of Public Administration and Political Science, University of Pretoria (1920-33); Principal of Adams College (1934-5); Member of the Native Affairs Commission (1945-50); Chairman of the South Africa Commission; delegate to Unesco (1947), and Senator representing the Africans of Natal and Zululand (1937-52). His many publications include:— *History of Native Policy in South Africa* (van Schaik); *Native Education in South Africa* (van Schaik); *The Colour Problems of South Africa* (Lovedale Press); *The Bantu in South Africa* (Institute of Race Relations), and (now in the press) *South Africa in a Changing World* (O.U.P.).

PROFESSOR C. P. DENT was educated at Rhodes University College and the N.U.C., where he took his M.Sc. in Chemistry. Since 1922 he has been successively lecturer (in Chemistry and Physics) and Professor of Chemistry at the S.A. Native College (now the University College of Fort Hare). In 1949 he was elected Principal of that institution in succession to Dr. Alexander Kerr.

MR. S. R. DENT is the son of a missionary. Like his brother Professor C. P. Dent, he took his M.Sc. at the N.U.C.—but in Botany, under Professor Bews. He was an Inspector of Native Schools from 1924 until 1944, when he became Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal. He has contributed a number of articles to the *Native Teachers' Journal*.

PROFESSOR OSWALD DOUGHTY, M.A. (Dunelm), B.Litt. (Oxon), was a Senior Lecturer at University College, London, before becoming Arderne Professor of English Literature and (recently) Head of the Department of English at the University of Cape Town. His publications include the standard biographical study—*A Victorian Romantic: D. G. Rossetti* (1949), two books on the 18th. century Lyric, critical editions of five classics, and many essays and reviews. He is now editing a new edition of Rossetti's letters.

J. W. GROSSERT, M.A. (Fine Arts) was educated at the N.U.C. and since 1948 has been Organizer of Arts and Crafts for Native Schools and Training Colleges in Natal.

TERENCE HEYWOOD, M.A. was born in Johannesburg. Educated at Oxford and Upsala (Sweden), he has published poems, stories

and critical essays in many periodicals, including *Horizon, Life and Letters*, etc. He has also published *Background to Sweden* (1951), and two volumes of verse: *How Smoke Gets into the Air* (1951) and *Architectonic* (1953).

DR. N. HURWITZ took his M.Com. with Distinction (S.A.) and D.Com. at Stellenbosch. Now Lecturer in Economics in the University of Natal, he has published articles on agricultural and social economics and carried out extensive research on the Dunn Coloured Reserve and on the history of agriculture in Natal.

PROFESSOR O. C. JENSEN, M.A. (Edin.), D.Phil. (Rand), gained the Bruce of Grangehill and Falkland Prize in Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh University, and before his appointment to the Chair of Philosophy in the University of Natal he had lectured at Edinburgh, at the Universities of Pretoria and the Witwatersrand, and also at Fort Hare. He has published articles in *Philosophy* and the *International Journal of Ethics*.

MRS. S. K. KING, M.A. left Oxford University to get married and later came to South Africa to help her husband in his work as a medical missionary. After Dr. King's death she continued her academic career and since 1948 has been successively tutor and lecturer in English at the University of Natal.

DR. EILEEN JENSEN KRIGE, took her M.A. in Economics. Turning to Social Anthropology, she published a standard work—*The Social System of the Zulus*. After several years 'in the field' with a Northern Transvaal tribe, she gained her D.Litt. at the University of the Witwatersrand for original work on their magico-religious system, and in collaboration with her husband (Prof. J. D. Krige) published *The Realm of a Rain Queen*, a study of a Northern Sotho tribe. She has lectured at the Witwatersrand and Rhodes Universities, and is now Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Natal. She has published also many articles and book-chapters on various aspects of African life.

MR. A. D. LAZARUS graduated at Fort Hare. In 1939 he was awarded a Carnegie Fellowship in Race Relations and Education tenable at Yale University, where he took his M.A. In 1948 he became the first Indian Principal of Sastri College, which now has a roll of 700 students and a staff of 25 graduate teachers.

MR. D. G. S. M'TIMKULU took his M.A. in the University of South Africa. In 1934 he won a Carnegie Scholarship to Yale (where, in 1936, he gained his M.A. in Educational Sociology), and in 1937 a May Esther Bedford scholarship to the London School of Economics. He has published articles on *Religious Concepts and Beliefs among Zulus; Bilingualism in Relation to the Bantu; Race Attitudes*, etc. The Ohlange Institute, of which he was

- appointed Principal in 1947, has 700 pupils and a staff of 31 teachers.
- DR. MCK. MALCOLM was for thirty-four years an Inspector of Schools in the Natal Education Department and for the period 1920-44 was Chief Inspector of Native Education. At present he is a lecturer in Zulu in the University of Natal.
- MR. R. S. NOWBATH graduated in South Africa. In 1949, after editing the Indian weekly *The Leader* and writing articles on Indian affairs for *The Forum* and *Commonsense*, he was awarded a scholarship by the Government of India. At the universities of Benares and Calcutta he collected material for a work now in progress—a 'history of emigration from India under the Indentured Labour System in the nineteenth century and the social anthropology of the emigrants.'
- DR. MABEL PALMER took honours in Philosophy and Classics at Glasgow University. She later studied at the London School of Economics; held a Fellowship at Bryn-Mawr College in the U.S.A.; lectured in Philosophy and Classics in the University of Durham, and in Economics at King's College, London. As a member of the Executive of the Fabian Society, she worked with Bernard Shaw and Sidney Webb, and for two years was leader-writer on *The Daily News* (London). For many years she lectured in the University of Natal, and since 1936 she has been Organizer of the Non-European Section of the University. Her publications include: *Local Government in Scotland*; *Economics, Descriptive and Theoretical*, and *Indians in Natal*.
- MR. M. W. M. POPE, M.A., was formerly a scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge and is now lecturer in Classics at the University of Cape Town.
- DR. W. H. O. SCHMIDT, Head of the Department of Educational Psychology in the University of Natal, took his B.A. and Higher Education Diploma at the N.U.C. and his doctorate at the University of Leipzig. He has published a book and several articles (in German, English or Afrikaans) on various aspects of education and on related psychological problems.
- MR. HUGH TRACEY came from England to Rhodesia in 1921. For twelve years Regional Director of the Durban Studios of the S.A.B.C., he was also co-founder of the African Music Society and has recorded several thousand examples of African music (see the African Music Library). He has lectured extensively, and in addition to numerous articles he has published nine books, including:— *Chopi Musicians, their Music, Poetry and Instruments* (O.U.P.), *Ngoma, an Introduction to African Music for Africans* (Longmans, Green), *African Dances of the Witwatersrand Gold Mines* and *Lalala Zulu, a collection of 100 Zulu lyrics* (African Music Society); *Songs from the Kraals of Southern Rhodesia*.

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