

**T**HE BLACK  
PROBLEM

by .

D. D. T. JABAVU, B.A. (Lond.)



BOOKSTORE, LOVEDALE, C.P.

THE BLACK PROBLEM.



# THE BLACK PROBLEM

*PAPERS AND ADDRESSES ON  
VARIOUS NATIVE PROBLEMS*

BY

**D. D. T. JABAVU, B.A. (Lond.),**

PROFESSOR OF BANTU LANGUAGES,  
S.A. NATIVE COLLEGE, FORT HARE, ALICE, C.P.

---

*Second Edition.*

---

WITH A FOREWORD BY

**THE RT. HON. JOHN X. MERRIMAN, M.L.A.,**  
LATE PRIME MINISTER OF THE CAPE GOVERNMENT.

THE BOOK DEPARTMENT  
LOVEDALE, C.P.

[2]



## FOREWORD.

Mr. Jabavu has asked me to say a few words as to my opinion of the work—"The Black Problem," which, I am glad to learn, is about to be reprinted.

It is a very well written and thoughtful exposition of the relation of the coloured races to the Europeans in South Africa; and it deserves careful attention by all of those, whatever their colour may be, who love South Africa and desire that it may be a centre and example of the higher civilisation in the Dark Continent.

Mr. Jabavu writes with moderation. Himself a man of European culture, with a degree recognised all over the British commonwealth as a hall-mark of acquirements of no small order, he states, with moderation, the many slights and indignities, to which in this country of which we are so proud, he and his like are subjected. The subject is a painful one, and in the days to come it may be fraught with difficulty and danger.

Mr. Jabavu is a follower and admirer of Booker Washington who led the school of Negro thought in America, which is in opposition to that which, by emphasising the social disabilities that beset the cultured and wealthy Negroes in the land where all men are free and equal has, under the leadership of Dr. W. E. du Bois, striven to bring about a revolution among the coloured people not only in the United States but all over the world. Mr. Jabavu following in the lines of Booker T. Washington has uttered some words of wisdom to his fellow countrymen: on the value of the gospel of work as the best and truest means of raising them in the path of civilisation and prosperity.

His sketch of Tuskegee and its aims and methods are deserving of study by Europeans and Non-Europeans alike. They are worth a wilderness of windy appeals to social grievances; and are the surest way of obtaining redress at the hand of all right-thinking men.

I cordially wish Mr. Jabavu success in his effort to uplift his countrymen in the true path of wise citizenship and I hope his book may have the success which it undoubtedly deserves.

JOHN X. MERRIMAN.

Schoonegezig,  
12th December, 1920.

[5]

## PREFACE.

SO much has been said and written about the Native Problem of South Africa that any further intrusion into this vexed question seems to call for an explanation, if not, indeed, an apology. In offering this modest volume of speeches and addresses, the writer has been influenced by certain clearly defined motives.

In the first place, the times appeared to be ripe for the statement of a Native's opinions on Native matters. In connection with the progress through Parliament of that far-reaching measure the Native Affairs Act of 1920, much has been said in Parliament, on political platforms, at conferences and in the press on Native matters. While much enthusiasm, some meanness, and not a little race hatred have been shown, the prominent feature of these utterances has been the ignorance of Native opinion and Native ideals revealed by the speakers and writers. This has been largely inevitable since, through lack of opportunity, guidance and proper education, no Native has hitherto attempted a serious and comprehensive explication of the Native question. It is true that fragmentary statements have been made from time to time in the Native press and by certain organisations. We are still, however, unsupplied with an all-round practical exposition of the Native problem by a Native, an exposition that would constitute an adequate reference work, providing both negative and constructive criticism. This is part of the work essayed by the present volume.

In the second place it seemed necessary that the Native people themselves, should receive such friendly criticism and guidance as can be given to them by one of their own race. If it is true that it takes a Native to know a Native, the writer should be in an especially

[6]

favourable position to advise his fellow countrymen, since it has been his task to study the languages of all the South African Native peoples, with their local, racial and social characteristics. He is conscious of their strength and weaknesses. And in several of the articles in the present volume he is addressing people whom he knows intimately, whose life is his life and whose problems are his problems.

The *post bellum* spirit is one of aggressive reconstruction. The world to-day in every sphere of activity, not excepting in churches and religion, wants practical men, preachers and prophets who, whilst seeing the faults in things and men as they are, stand by with remedies and solutions. It has no time for idle grumblers. The present booklet may not fully supply the contemplated need, but the author hopes it may indicate, for future Native African researchers, the way in which this may be done. One says designedly African researchers; for however sympathetic and good a European may be, he cannot undertake such a task with the minute knowledge and enthusiasm that can belong only to the Native African, who must himself be the victim of the untoward circumstances and difficulties under discussion.

In the third place, the black man is in danger of losing confidence in the possibility of good coming his way from the white man—indeed many think that he has already lost it irrevocably. The writer does not share this pessimism; but even if it were the case, it would still be possible, one would like to think, to restore this moribund confidence to life, provided that the black man can secure the right type of leader from his own race, to master his psychology and guide him aright in the difficult task of race-adjustment.

This work, being a compilation of papers and addresses made during the course of the last seven

[7]

years, has a certain overlapping of topics due to the disconnection in the dates of the occasions that called forth the efforts. The repetition may, however, prove an advantage as it will serve to emphasise the more important points of the general Native question. Hence for those to whom the use of the first personal pronoun is a rock of offence, the writer should say in explanation that several of the addresses, far from being philosophic disquisitions, were simple talks to simple Native teachers, and frequently to unsophisticated rustics who appreciate the direct personal appeal better than impersonal abstractions.

Thanks are due to Rev. J. E. East of Middledrift, C.P., for to him and to a close association with him in social work among the rural people of our vicinity, I owe much of my information on agricultural matters and conditions. The formal addresses of the Native Farmers' Association included under certain sections are introduced here only because the writer was a collaborator in the framing thereof.

I am thankful to Rev. H. B. Coventry, B.D. (Lond.), of Lovedale, for his valuable assistance in the correction of many proofs and some verbal suggestions, and to my College students for transcriptions and typing.

A word of gratitude is due also to Prof. Alexander Kerr, M.A., Principal of the S.A. Native College, for his generosity in granting me leave to attend meetings of farmers and teachers as well as religious conferences; for had it been withheld, as it could have been withheld *sine injuria*, this book would not have been possible.

To Dr. C. T. Loram, M.A., LL.B., Chief Inspector of Native Education, Natal, the author is deeply indebted for encouragement in the genesis of this venture. May it not be in vain.

D. D. T. J.

September, 1920.

[8]

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of this volume has been exhausted within three months and the author feels that a piece of propaganda work to uplift his people and to enlighten the Europeans, specially those who have much to do with African Natives, has been in some measure successful. Since its appearance, a number of arresting events, some ominous, others promising, have dramatically compelled attention to the first section of the work: such are the Port Elizabeth riots with other strike-threatening movements elsewhere, on the one hand; and the discussions on the Native Elementary vote in the Transvaal Provincial Council, Rand European meetings for the study of the Native question, and the spread of Native Welfare Associations up-country and in the Cape, on the other hand.

Press notices from the principal papers of the Union (European and Native), from certain papers in Great Britain and many personal communications of writers from all races have welcomed the book notwithstanding its unconventional form; and even though they did not agree with all its contents—and this is inevitable in this world—they have, however, led the author to believe that his endeavour will go a considerable way towards his goal of inducing a good understanding between the black and white races of South Africa.

The section on the Native Affairs Act has been condensed so as to allow room in the book for the kind and valuable foreword by one of the oldest and most genuine friends the Natives of this country have ever had, Mr. J. X. Merriman, to whom I offer my sincerest thanks.

*January, 1921.*

D. D. T. J.

The first edition of this volume has been exhausted within three months and the author feels that a piece of propaganda work to uplift his people and to enlighten the Europeans, especially those who have much to do with African Natives, has been in some measure successful. Since its appearance a number of interesting events, some ominous, others promising, have dramatically compelled attention to the first section of the work; such are the Port Elizabeth riots with other strike-threatening movements elsewhere, on the one hand; and the discussions on the Native Elementary vote in the Transvaal Provincial Council, Rand European meetings for the study of the Native question, and the spread of Native Welfare Associations up-country and in the Cape, on the other hand.

Press notices from the principal papers of the Union (European and Native), from certain papers in Great Britain and many personal communications of writers from all races have widened the book notwithstanding its unconventional form; and even though they did not agree with all its contents—and this is inevitable in this world—they have, however, led the author to believe that his endeavour will go a considerable way towards the goal of inducing a good understanding between the black and white races of South Africa.

The section on the Native Affairs Act has been condensed so as to allow room in the book for the kind and valuable foreword by one of the oldest and most genuine friends the Natives of this country have ever had, Mr. J. K. Maitland, to whom I offer my sincerest thanks.

D. D. T. J. January, 1921.

# CONTENTS.

Foreword	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	vii
Preface	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ix
Preface to the Second Edition	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xiii

## PART I. POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

Section I.	Native Unrest: its Cause and Cure	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
"	2. Pass Laws—Suggestions	...	...	...	...	...	...	18
"	3. Rural Locations—a Scheme	...	...	...	...	...	...	20
"	4. Native Affairs Act, 1920—Comments	...	...	...	...	...	...	22

## PART II. EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS.

Section I.	Booker T. Washington's Methods applied to S. Africa	...	...	...	...	...	...	25
"	2. The Native Teacher Out of School	...	...	...	...	...	...	68
"	3. Self-Culture for the Native Teacher	...	...	...	...	...	...	79
"	4. Native Educational Needs	...	...	...	...	...	...	92

## PART III. AGRICULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

Section I.	Natives and Agriculture	...	...	...	...	...	...	97
"	2. Native Agricultural Unions	...	...	...	...	...	...	108
"	3. Native Peasants and their Difficulties	...	...	...	...	...	...	114
"	4. Native View of Farm Labour	...	...	...	...	...	...	120
"	5. Why Native Farm Labour is Scarce	...	...	...	...	...	...	125
"	6. Teaching Natives How to Farm	...	...	...	...	...	...	132
"	7. Native Village Industries	...	...	...	...	...	...	134

## PART IV. SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Section I.	Native Womanhood:	...	...	...	...	...	...	141
	i. Lobola, ii. Native Girls in Towns, iii. Ideals	...	...	...	...	...	...	
"	2. Social Reform:	...	...	...	...	...	...	151
	Religious Laxity	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Racialism	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Ignorance, Narrowness, Bad Training	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Contagious and Epidemic Diseases	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Alcoholism	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Improvidence, Debt, Low Wages	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Wrong Foods, Unhygienic Habits	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Poverty	...	...	...	...	...	...	

## Part 1.

### NATIVE UNREST.

ITS CAUSE AND CURE.

(A paper read before the Natal Missionary Conference,  
Durban, July, 1920).

The Bantu people throughout the Union of South Africa are in a state of positive discontent. One need not be regarded as an alarmist for making such a statement. These people are, as it were, beginning to wake up out of their age-long slumber and to stretch themselves out and speak through their press and platform-demagogues in municipal areas like Johannesburg, Cape Town and Bloemfontein, their voice waxing louder and louder; while even in the rural districts of Natal, Pietersburg, the Transkeian reserves and among Free State squatters there is a growing feeling of distrust in the white man's lordship, loss of faith in his protestations of just intentions, and loss of confidence in the old-time kindly protection of the British Constitution. These feelings are largely not expressed, for the Native is not given to confiding the secrets of his inmost feelings to Europeans, as in many cases he dare not; but nevertheless the feelings are there, and are seething like molten volcanic lava in the breasts of these inarticulate people.

It is only the bolder spirits who have ventured to give the world this secret by means of their scathing criticism in their press (the *Abantu-Batho* of Johannesburg being the most outspoken organ), and through their deputations to Great Britain.

And unless something is done at once to mitigate the

causes of present dissatisfaction it will not be very long before the whole white community must deal with a situation overwhelmingly beyond their control.

1. The most immediate cause of unrest, although there are two or three more equally serious, and others less serious though individually and collectively serving to create an atmosphere of suspicion, the most immediate cause of unrest is the present economic pinch.

The Natives have been far harder hit by the prevailing high prices of the strictest necessities of life, than has been the white man. This needs no proving for the daily press reports unusual prosperity and extravagant spending of money by those who have made fortunes out of the high prices of merchandise. Government estimates display greatly increased salaries and wages; white employees and clerks everywhere are being paid in accordance with the times, either as a consequence of strikes, threatened strikes, or other persuasion. This is all due to the fact that the European, being well educated, knows how to speak out his sufferings, plead his case intelligently in the press, organise to the point of perfection, enlist public opinion in his cause, and finally force the hands of Government.

What about the black man? Behind him he has no European public opinion, the thing that counts in this country; for his power to influence it is negligible because three fourths of his fellowmen in the Union being without the franchise he has no political pull on Government. Hence he is expected to be satisfied with pre-war wages plus a rise of only five per cent. where the cost of living has advanced by from fifty up to a hundred per cent. The prices of rice and sugar are fixed; but maize, the staple food of millions of black people, is left to the mercy of speculators. A native labourer in East London recently asked in the "Dispatch" how he could be expected to be honest on a pound a week when

his food, rent and light alone cost him far more than that a week. The fact is that in most cases to-day the wages earned by a black man cannot buy his food and the barest needs of life. It should be remembered too that the labourers in the Rand and elsewhere are there to raise money not only for their personal needs but for the support of their people at home. Fireside discussions of these things are more rife than they have ever been before. The cure for this is the sympathetic revision of the scales of wages by employers everywhere, the alternative being that the blacks will be obliged to learn the methods of white trade-unionists and be gradually drawn into socialistic organisations to compel the employers to pay at their dictation, just as the American Negro has done who to-day receives 15s. a day for the same type of unskilled labour for which the Bantu get two shillings.

2. Successive droughts with failures of crops have rendered agriculture, on the lines of the ante-diluvian African cultivation, unprofitable, neglected and unpopular. Wonderful opportunities in this connection are being lost by the Union as a whole, for the Natives are capable of being made important factors in the development of production. On this point the Native Farmers' Association of Middledrift, C.P., last year prepared a memorandum for the Native Affairs Department where, however, it received no attention, a memorandum recommending the purchase of a farm by Government in which Natives would be taught how to make a living out of an "isikonkwane" (six-acre plot), by means of a one-horse or one-ox American plough on the lines of Southern State negroes, to be taught by an American negro familiar with the system. Incidentally, dipping has produced much ill-feeling, for Natives do not understand its aim, and they ignorantly imagine it to be a white man's dodge to kill off their cattle, as witness the Mata-

tiele disturbances in 1914; and Natives value cattle above all their other worldly possessions. This is therefore a sore point with them. The cure here lies firstly in the educational training of headmen and chiefs who will encourage the pursuits of agriculture; secondly in the multiplication of native farm demonstrators on the American style to teach dry-farming methods; and thirdly in the establishment of agricultural schools for Natives; for it does not escape the knowledge of the more intelligent Native, that while Government spends £100,000 yearly on agricultural schools for whites, plus overseas scholarships and experimental stations, it provides next to nothing for black people who pay much of the taxes and stand in sorest need for this training.

3. In politics the black people are in the predicament of the American colonists of the eighteenth century who were taxed without representation. Whatever else has held good heretofore the time has gone past when the Bantu of this Union could be treated as children, however uneven be their development in the mass. They have vivid recollections of how their political rights were bargained away in the pacification of Vereeniging (1902). They reckon that the Union Act of 1910 unites only the white races and that as against the blacks; for the colour bar clause struck the death-knell of Native confidence in what used to be called British fair play. "That cow of Great Britain has now gone dry," they said, and they must look to themselves for salvation. All their deputations were referred back to the adjudication of the very government they appealed against and which had now by some dexterous manœuvre made itself its own final Court of Appeal! Then immediately after the achievement of Union the Dutch Reformed Church in her capacity as a Christian Church piloted through parliament in the teeth of glaring heterodoxy an act calculated

to stamp herself indelibly as an anti-Native Church. Behold the contradiction in terms!

Out of this seed-bed of racial antipathy and out of a sense of self-preservation there sprang up several native and coloured political organisations, chief of which was the "South African Native National Congress," which to-day represents the strongest single volume of Native feeling in the Union, although its methods and spokesmen are open to criticism by certain sections of natives. The next thing which has probably done more than any other political event to rouse and antagonise Native feeling against whites is the passing of the 1913 Native Land Act. The irony of it is that the Act was engineered by a man long acknowledged as a great friend of natives, a friend who had to perform an odious task under the political whip hand of a refractory negrophobist section of the then government. Had Mr. Sauer lived to administer the Act he would in all probability have mitigated its hardships. As it was, he died immediately, and its rigour in the Orange Free State was and still is Procrustean, whatever may be said for it in other provinces; for in this province its effect was to dispossess and reduce the native to a veritable bondman. A lurid picture of its torments is to be found in "Native Life in South Africa," by S. Plaatje. Mr. Selby Msimang, the editor of a Bloemfontein Native paper, has collected a number of verifiable cases of its recent victims; while an eloquent sketch of the political position of Natives at that time may be seen in the "Dream of Alnaschar" speech by Dr. Abdurahman, a coloured political leader of Cape Town. Other political events that are factors in the present state of native unrest are (i) The 1914 Native deputation to the Imperial Parliament to appeal against the Lands Act. True, it returned fruitless, but its pertinacious labours have gone a long way in educating the British public on the political disabilities of the

aborigines in this country. (ii) The 1918 Urban Areas Bill which sought to bestow unprecedented legislative powers upon town councils, including the power to create municipal beer canteens, the effect of which would have been to demoralise town natives. (iii) The Native Administration Bill of 1917 whose impracticability caused it to break in the hands of its own forgers. (iv) The 1918 Rand strike of Native Sanitary labourers with the summary and notorious treatment they received at the hands of the local magistrate. This incident has served to unite Native miners because they have ever since been confirmed in the idea that Government favours white strikers but represses the black. As the late Mr. J. B. Moffat pointed out in his report this idea is a delusion so far as the law goes; nevertheless it remains in the Native mind and it is for the powers that be to eradicate it. (v) If ever one race in the world did ever seek the most signal way to repress and humiliate another, human invention could not have done it more effectually than the system of Pass Laws now obtaining in the Northern provinces. For decades, from the days of the Dutch Republics, has this system enslaved the Native, and the Union, instead of palliating its incidence, has not only continued it, accentuated it, but has actually threatened to make it universal or "uniform," to put it in the cunning language of the law-maker. This thing, as one man expressed it on the Reef, is simply perpetuated martial law in peace time.

The revulsion of Native feeling came to a head in a general Passive Resistance movement in Bloemfontein, Kroonstad, the Witwatersrand and elsewhere in 1918, when people mutually agreed to throw away these passes and undergo voluntary imprisonment. Particularly painful and distressing were these laws on women in the Free State and Natal.

(vi) Certain utterances by Europeans of eminence

appearing from time to time in the press have further alienated many Native minds. Such are the words of the Johannesburg magistrate to the sanitary strikers. The famous Savoy speech by General Smuts in London in 1917 has remained an enigma to Natives of this land.

Remarks like those made by a Mr. Van Hees lately in parliament on justice being only for whites and not for blacks do a great deal of damage. Also, what does the expression "to make this a white man's country" mean? Whoever is responsible for coining it must have meant the repression and destruction of black races. (vii) The 1920 Native Affairs Bill is moving Natives who have studied it for two reasons: (a) No attempt has been made to consult them generally before it was framed or discussed in parliament, in view of the permanent character of the machinery it seeks to put up; (b) It has been feverishly rushed through parliament, just as was the Lands Act of 1913, which itself is now proclaimed as the first instalment of the Union Government policy. This feverish hurry has of itself engendered suspicion.

Its powers are so elastic that everything is going to depend upon the personnel of the commissioners; and it seems only fair that Natives should be consulted upon the choice of such plenipotentiaries. See also the "Grievances Memorial" pamphlet recently prepared by Messrs. Pelem and Soga, Queenstown, C.P.—perhaps the most comprehensive document, written by Natives of the Cape Province in exposition of the Native Question from the political point of view; the present writer did not see it until this paper had been completed.

4. In the Department of Justice the Native has gradually lost faith. i. In a country like South Africa, the jury system can never be a success inasmuch as it bolsters up the distortion of justice nurtured by racial hatred, and cloaks it over with an appearance of legal rectitude.

Even a tyro can tell that a black man in a country such as this can hardly expect fairplay from a white jury, when he is pitted against a white man. ii. The sentences of magistrates are a puzzle, and in their severity are distinctly anti-native. For the crime of failing to dip, a magistrate in Kafraria recently fined a Native £20, a fine indubitably disproportionate both to the offence, and the circumstances of the defendant, as compared with the same magistrate's fine against a European who had committed a similar offence. iii. Suspended sentences, as was remarked lately, in the House of Assembly by Mr. Langenhoven, seem to have been invented for the sole benefit of the European and to bear little or no reference to Natives. iv. Natives do not fail to notice that Europeans get off lightly and quietly in crimes against Natives, such as murder and rape, while Natives are unmistakably punished with the utmost rigour of the law amidst press trumpeting and fanfare. v. A high court Judge was not long ago reported in the "Daily Dispatch" as practising and upholding the differentiation of punishment as between whites and blacks for similar offences. Under these circumstances can one wonder that Natives should lose confidence in British Justice?

5. In social life the "School Native" cannot move anywhere without being made to know that his black skin is his life-long damnation. He is practically not recognised as a citizen entitled to a place under the sun, (particularly is this the case in Northern provinces). For instance in Pretoria I had three simple Post Office transactions to negotiate. I entered the main post office to buy stamps, for I saw several natives entering and being served. Peremptorily I was told in a discourteous and gruff manner, that Natives could not buy stamps there but had to go some two hundred yards round the

block of buildings to the next street, where after much search, I eventually discovered a back-kitchen sort of arrangement with Indian salesmen behind the counter, and got my stamps. To despatch my parcel to East London, I was told to go back to the General P.O. On getting there it was duly registered; and I desired to purchase a postal order, but was then told to travel back to the Native P.O. for that! My feelings are best left undescribed. Again when in Pretoria, I moved between friends at the East end of the town and others near the Indian bazaar, a distance of about two or three miles across town, covered directly by a 6d. tram ride. Being a black man I was not allowed to use the trams, and was compelled either to foot it daily all the way along the very tram route or pay half-a-crown each time for a private cab.

Socially speaking, the black man in all public places is either "jim-crowed" or altogether ostracized. In stores he has to wait until all whites are served; in public offices, he is bullied by officials; in markets his stock and produce are by tacit agreement earmarked for low prices; his sugar cane is not accepted at the Zululand mills; evening curfew bells restrict his freedom of movement among his friends and he is cut and snarled at throughout his life.

6. In railways he is at the very start of his journey buffeted by booking clerks; in the goods sheds he is unnecessarily anathematised in language that cannot bear repeating. His waiting rooms are made to accommodate the rawest blanketed heathen; and the more decent Native has either to use them and annex vermin or to do without shelter in biting wintry weather. His accommodation in trains is frequently not equal to the money he pays in fares.

To travel 3rd class is often a test of physical endurance

specially on some lines where there are more people than the half coach or single coach can contain. Travelling first class from Alice to Durban recently my first class compartment was in many cases only an old second redubbed "First" and, as it was, I was recklessly dumped with second class passengers—the very privacy for which I had paid being denied. Reserved bookings by Natives are frequently ignored. Several times have I had to claim refunds from railway divisional superintendents when after fulfilling all legal requirements for reserving a seat, I had to go third or not go at all. A number of Native teachers last winter wrote to Umtata a fortnight ahead of time to have second class seats reserved for them. When they came to join the train not only was there no accommodation made for them but no second class tickets would be issued to them and they had either to abandon travelling or go third class. When I joined the same train at Butterworth I was offered pretty much the same treatment, but I stood my ground, threatening to take legal proceedings against the delinquents when after half an hour's palaver an extra coach was attached, to the relief and joy of many black passengers who included a native doctor qualified in Edinburgh University. Such incidents often render railway travelling a perfect misery, as the decent Native has constantly to engage in ugly altercations with supercilious officials in claiming his privileges. Much heartburning has come from the system of replacing blacks by poor whites in railway sheds and workshops. Refreshment stalls like those at Amabele, Komgha and Sihota are doing incalculable harm, converting otherwise peaceful natives into bitter malcontents by their disgusting contempt for native passengers in peculiarly native districts. In fact Transkeian Europeans by their policy of pin-pricks against natives are gradually accentuating racialism. For example rank prejudice is shown in the

very Council Hall at Umtata where Natives may use only a certain door to enter or leave the hall in the Bunga sessions, this peculiar piece of snobbery even necessitating crossing the hall in front of the magisterial benches—all this in a Native reserve.

The cure here lies in the appointment of officials with tested sympathy towards Natives, in all departments of Government.

The above six points constitute, in my view, the most important factors in the general ferment of unrest, which need urgent solution. Now I wish to take eight other points which contribute not a little to the charged atmosphere that has been electrified by racial distrust.

7. Native Housing: This question deserves the attention of all interested in the welfare of Natives. In most municipalities these people live in squalid surroundings, shockingly overcrowded, these quarters being favourable breeding beds for disease and epidemics. From their nature they are cesspools of drunkenness and demoralisation. Conveniences are distant, sometimes non-existent; water is hard to get; light is little; sanitation bad; while there are no common laundry buildings, no gardens, no amusement halls or clubs. Some are located near sanitary dumps, e.g. Klipspruit and Springs in the Rand. The favourite solution of the problem is to threaten to remove them further away from the towns without promising improvement of conditions.

The cure for this is to be found in the suggestions made in the newly-published Government Commission Report on Housing. Many constructive proposals may be gained also from the speech of Mr. P. D. Cluver, Mayor of Stellenbosch, given at Grahamstown in the 1920 Municipal Congress and from the "Municipal Control of Location," a paper by Dr. F. A. Saunders, F.R.C.S., of Grahamstown (now published in pamphlet form) delivered before the same Congress.