

ABX. 380207



METHODIST LAYMEN'S
MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

London Branch.

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—:—
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IVY LODGE,
167 MOFFAT ROAD,
THORNTON HEATH,
SURREY.

Per
Race Relations

7th Feb. 1938.

Dear Dr. Xuma,

*I know you will like
to have the enclosed copy of the
next programme of lunches.*

*It should be an interesting
day for all of us when you come in
April next. We are looking forward
to it.*

*Yours sincerely
W. T. D. Glasspoole.*

BRITISH PROTECTORATES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Lionel Curtis addressed a meeting of the Royal Empire Society yesterday on "The British Protectorates in South Africa," over which The Marquess of Lothian, Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, presided. Mr. Curtis said:-

I must, to begin with, recall some familiar dates and facts. The Boer War was ended in 1902. Article 8 of the treaty signed at Vereeniging provided that:

'The question of granting franchises to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government.'

In 1901 Lord Milner had appointed a town council of residents in Johannesburg to administer the municipal services within the military outposts which surrounded the city. When peace came this council was instructed to propose a municipal constitution on an electoral basis. The councillors, several of whom were British born, submitted their draft constitution to the Transvaal Government in 1903. In this draft the municipal franchise was confined to white voters. When the Transvaal Government altered the draft so as to extend the municipal vote to coloured persons the appointed council drew their attention to Article 8 of the Vereeniging Treaty, and such was the tension between the appointed council and the Transvaal Government that Lord Milner met the appointed council and addressed to them one of the most impressive speeches I have ever heard, a speech in which he described himself as 'the man on the watch-tower'. He pleaded for the Cape policy as expressed in the formula of Cecil Rhodes, 'equal rights for all civilised men.' I regret to say that the published volume of his speeches does not include this courageous utterance which goes far to stultify the storm of obloquy with which party critics in this country assailed him. But in 1903 Lord Milner pleaded in vain with his own appointed council. They stuck to their point that to grant the municipal franchise to coloured persons, before

the grant of responsible government, was a moral violation of Article 8 of the Treaty of Vereeniging, and the Transvaal Government acquiesced in that view.

In 1906 Sir Campbell Bannerman had come into power with an overwhelming majority behind him and announced his intention of granting responsible government to the two conquered republics. When his Liberal supporters acclaimed this policy they had scarcely reflected that this would mean handing over a vast majority of natives in the Transvaal to be ruled by a white minority. For Liberals do not always face the full implication of their doctrines. So the Government sent out a Commission to discuss the terms of the constitution with the British who feared responsible government, and also with the Boers who, of course, desired it. On one point the Commission found that the Boer leaders refused to compromise, for Botha and his colleagues stood firmly on Article 8 of the Vereeniging Treaty. The best that the Liberal Government could now do was to exclude Swaziland, which before the war had been ruled by the Transvaal Republic. It was, therefore, laid down that

'pending any grant of representation to natives..... no native territory now administered by the Governor or High Commissioner, will be placed under the control of the new responsible Government.'

The Protectorates thus became a lever which the British Government retained in its hands for pressing South African opinion to accept the British policy of native enfranchisement.

The Liberal Party thought that the grant of Responsible Government to the conquered Republics was a necessary step to the liquidation of the South African question. I thought at the time they were right, and I think so still. But we who were on the spot were better aware of the dangers and difficulties which would quickly follow than were the politicians in London. After peace had been signed there were four principal governments in South Africa, in the Cape and Natal, governments responsible to electorates, in the

Transvaal and Orange River Sovereignty, governments responsible only to the British High Commissioner. The ink was scarcely dry on the Peace of Vereeniging before these British Governments were all at each others' throats. They were quarrelling over the customs and railways and dozens of other matters as to which they could seldom agree. Such agreements as they reached were due to concessions made by the High Commissioner to the popular governments in the Cape and Natal which no Prime Minister responsible to electorates in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony could possibly have made. We saw clearly enough that the moment the two inland Colonies came under governments responsible to electorates, these disputes would rapidly grow into open ruptures. Behind these disputes was the native question, the social, economic and political relations of whites with blacks. This question would quickly divide the Colonies, though on lines other than those created by customs and railways. We had no doubts that four self-governing Colonies would soon be at odds in a country where guns had gone off with alarming facility. The old South African question was with us unsolved, and now suddenly revived in a dangerous form.

Lord Selborne, who knew this better than anyone, instructed a few of us to study the situation under his supervision and to put the results in a memorandum.

We officials who up to that time had been engrossed in the details of administration were thus led to ask what the South African problem really was; and to answer that question we had to go into its history, of which we had previously known little, right back to the times when white men, first the Dutch and then the British, had come to South Africa. We learned that Cape Colony was founded by the Dutch in 1649 as a port of call on the voyage to the Far East. For over 150 years their colonists were spreading over the country south of the Orange river, in an age when

negro slavery was an institution recognised and accepted by the nations of Europe. As with our own Colonies in Virginia and to the South of it, Boer society was developed on the principle that the black races exist for the benefit of the white. In the Napoleonic wars we had seized the Cape to secure our own route to the East. The Evangelical movement was now convincing British opinion that negros no less than the whites must be treated as ends in themselves and that slavery was a crime against civilisation. The slave trade was presently forbidden and after a time the existing slaves were freed.

By these measures the framework of Boer society in the Cape Colony was dislocated in the same way that the framework of planter society in the Southern States of America was dislocated by the abolition of slavery after the civil war. Boer society, which was even more outside the currents of world opinion than Virginian planters, naturally conceived the deepest resentment against an alien government which imposed these drastic changes upon them. A movement developed amongst the more vigorous farmers to migrate northwards across the Orange river and establish there a society of their own outside the jurisdiction of the British Government. The reversal by Lord Glenelg of the settlement effected by Durban on the Kei river, merely precipitated a movement which in my opinion would have taken place without that incident. By 1837 some 2,000 Boers were leaving the Cape Colony for the regions north of the Vaal.

The result was a series of conflicts between the emigrant Boers with native tribes and also with British forces. As the native Britons retreated into the mountains of Wales and Scotland when the Saxons invaded England, so native tribes were concentrated for defence in the mountains of Basutoland and Swaziland, while the Boers secured control of the grassy plains of the high veldt.

In the early fifties the British Government thought to end these troubles once for all, by agreeing with the emigrant Boers to abstain from interference north of the Orange river, while the Boers agreed to abstain from the practice of slavery in those regions. Two Boer republics were recognised, one in the Transvaal, the other between the Vaal and the Orange rivers.

In the Cape Colony the British Government established relations between Europeans and natives on the principle afterwards described by Rhodes as "equal rights for all civilised men." It had now recognised sovereign states north of a river which was merely a line on the map, republics which, although they renounced slavery, expressed their native policy in their constitutions by the words:

'Between white and black there is no equality in church or state.'

This antithesis was nearly as deep as that which in these years was hurrying the northern and southern States in America into civil war.

Almost at once a struggle broke out between the Basutos and Orange Free State. In 1858 that state in despair was asking for a union, federal or otherwise, with the Cape Colony.

The Governor of the Cape, Sir George Grey, supported this application in a despatch to the British Government, the upshot of which is summarised by Professor Walker when he says

'that native question, one and indivisible, governed the whole situation, and that if the European states could not come together in peace, they would surely meet one another in war.'

The idea which inspired this despatch was that all South Africa should be united under one federal government, so that full responsibility could be placed on the white people in South Africa for settling their relations with the natives.

Grey's advice was rejected and his forecast verified thereby. For the rest of the century the separate states, British, Boer and native, repeatedly met each other in

war as Grey had foretold.

h/w
Towards the close of this century another great Englishman appeared in South Africa. The conclusions which Grey had reached were expressed by Rhodes in negative form, when as Prime Minister of the Cape he boldly said that the South African question could only be solved by eliminating the Imperial factor. It is needless now to defend Rhodes against the charge of wanting to break up the British Empire. What he saw was that if the British Empire was to hold together, a country like South Africa must be left to handle its own internal problems from first to last. He, like Grey, saw that this could only be done by uniting its numerous fragments under one South African government.

Such was the case we submitted to Lord Selborne in a draft memorandum. In a covering despatch which he wrote with his own hand he endorsed this view.

'What,' he asked, 'is going to be the policy of South Africa towards the natives? Those questions are not for me to answer. They can be answered only by the people of South Africa.'

Then in a series of cogent paragraphs he showed that the answer could only be given by a government responsible to the country as a whole.

The bold publication of this despatch by Lord Selborne in 1907 brought the question of South African Union on to the plane of practical politics. In May 1908 a conference of South African Governments invited the legislatures of all the Colonies to nominate delegates to a National Convention, for drafting a constitution for South Africa. Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of Cape Colony, who was afterwards Chairman of this Convention, started for Canada to study Canadian experience. Visiting London on the way there and back he saw the Liberal ministers and sounded their views. A letter he wrote to General Smuts dated September 3rd, 1908, reveals the result:

'I am entirely at one with you as to the franchise question. This is one of the questions which will have to be relegated to the future Union Parliament for solution. It is, moreover, one of the few questions in regard to which the British Government would wish to have some guarantees. When we meet I should like to tell you what I have gathered to be the prevailing sentiment among the supporters of the present Government. The native franchise and the native protectorates are the two matters on which they seem to feel strongly, but I am inclined to think that the British Government would not object to these matters being reserved to the Parliament of United South Africa. The only objection I have heard is that such a Parliament would be too strong for the Government of the day successfully to cope with, but that is of course not an argument which would have much weight here.' (de Villiers p.441)

The latent conflict between British and South African opinion on the future relations of whites and blacks in South Africa has thus come to the surface. Just as in 1906 the Liberal Government in granting responsible government to the Transvaal had excluded Swaziland from its control, so now the Liberal Government were refusing to hand over the Protectorates to a Union Government, unless or until the native vote in a form it approved was conceded throughout the Union.

British and Boer leaders in the Convention were at one in desiring to include the Protectorates. The British Government was not prepared to postpone the ratification of Union until the northern colonies accepted the Cape Franchise, and fell back on the expedient adopted when responsible government was granted to the Transvaal. At its first session in Durban, the Convention was privately informed by the High Commissioner through its Chairman, Sir Henry de Villiers, that

'The conditions of transfer must necessarily be affected by the decision of the National Convention on the general subject of the native franchise of South Africa.'

In the final result the Protectorates were excluded for the present, but by Section 151 of the South Africa Act, power was given to the British Government to transfer the Protectorates, if and when the Union Parliament asked for the transfer. In the House of Commons Colonel

Seely speaking for the British Government said:

'I can assure the House that the wishes of the natives in the territories will be most carefully considered before any transfer takes place.'

To the Act was attached a schedule, agreed between the British Government and South African delegates, prescribing in detail the regime to be applied to the Protectorates on their transfer to the Union Government. Conditions for the protection of native interests in the Protectorates when transfer came were thus embodied in the Act of Union.

Had the Great War not taken place and had it not shortened General Botha's life I have no doubt that the transfer would have taken place in his life time. The whole position has since been radically changed in two directions by the Imperial Conference and Balfour Memorandum of 1926. Under Section 20 of the schedule to the Act of Union:

'The King may disallow any law made by the Governor-General in Council by proclamation.'

for the Protectorates. Under Section 25

'All bills to amend or alter the provisions of this schedule shall be reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.'

It is common ground that the Statute of Westminster has now rendered these two vital provisions inoperative. It is also, I think, common ground that if the Protectorates are to be handed over to the Union, this obsolete schedule must be replaced by a treaty in which the Union would agree to the safeguards to the natives prescribed in the schedule. In plain words, the good faith of the Union Government as expressed in a treaty must be accepted in place of the veto of the Crown on Dominion legislation, which has now been abolished.

Let us turn from the letter of the Statute of Westminster to the spirit of the Balfour Memorandum which inspired it. The issue of that Memorandum by the Imperial Conference of 1926 was, of course, largely due to the difficult position in which General Hertzog was placed as leader of a

party a large proportion of which desired secession from the Commonwealth. In accepting the Balfour Memorandum H.M.G. agreed that henceforward the Union electorate should control their own internal affairs as finally and completely as the British or American electorates control the internal affairs of their respective countries. The acceptance of the Balfour Memorandum by H.M.G. largely reduced the proportion of General Hertzog's followers who demanded secession, and so enabled him to adopt the policy of conciliation initiated by Botha which he himself had opposed before he was Prime Minister. In a few years it enabled him to join hands with his old opponent General Smuts, and establish a National Government in South Africa, which at last brought the more moderate elements of British and Dutch into one party. It was then inevitable that the men who headed this National Government and Party should consider how far the control they exercised in their own domestic affairs was as complete in fact as it was in the law, as expressed in the Statute of Westminster.

In considering the answer to this question I will ask you to turn your eyes to the map of South Africa. The jurisdiction of the Union Government is, as you see, separated from the jurisdiction of the British Government in the Protectorates by definite lines.

But now turn to the human facts; for communities consist not of lands as shown upon maps, but of the people who inhabit them. The facts are that the native inhabitants of these Protectorates would starve, unless they were able to sell their produce in the Union territories, and still more unless a large proportion of them earned their living in the Union. Speaking of Basutoland Sir Alan Pim says (p.34):

'The figures show that more than 50% of the adult males are normally absent from the country.'

That is to say are resident in the Union. Socially and

economically the Union and the Protectorates are integral parts of a single system. The relations of white to black lie at the root of all South African questions. It is idle to tell the South African Government that they have been given complete and unfettered control of that fundamental interest, so long as they lack control of areas which, beyond dispute, are component parts of their social and economic community. As Lord Selborne wrote in 1907:

'every time a native passes the unseen boundaries which divide one Colony from another, he finds himself subjected to different treatment, he finds that he is expected to conform to a different set of rules. In his own mind he forms an opinion as to which conditions are most favourable to him and to his friends, and wherever he finds other conditions prevailing, there he becomes increasingly discontented.' (Selborne Mem. pp 15, 16)

And Miss Perham sums up the position in the words:

'It is impossible to consider the treatment of the Protectorates at the Union apart from the whole question of South African native policy. The issue is controversial, but we cannot avoid it: it is one of the two main motifs of South African history, and the very reason for our connexion with the Protectorates today. Nowhere has it been more often proved than in South Africa that difficult issues are not to be solved by the kind of moderation which consists in obscuring awkward facts.'
(Protectorates p. 11.)

Now let us face the issue. Undoubtedly we agreed in 1926 to the principle that in future the Government of the Union should control their own domestic affairs from first to last. Unquestionably the continued exclusion of the Protectorates from their jurisdiction limits their power to control the domestic conditions which affect them most, to a far greater degree than the obsolete formal restrictions which the Statute of Westminster abolished. It was therefore inevitable that the Union Government should claim that the acceptance by His Majesty's Government of the Balfour Memorandum marked the time when effect should be given to the transfer of the Protectorates for which provision was made in the Act of Union. In the light of the Balfour Memorandum can the answer to this claim still be that which

Liberal ministers made when responsible government was granted to the Transvaal, and again when the Act of Union was ratified, 'We will not transfer the Protectorates until you have shewn that your native policy in your own jurisdiction has conformed to British opinion.' Yet that is the attitude which the opponents of transfer are now asking His Majesty's Government to adopt.

I should find the answer to this question more difficult if I thought that the interests of the natives throughout South Africa would be served in the long run by withholding the transfer of the Protectorates. I have stated my reasons in print for believing that such a policy will be fraught with disaster for native interests. Some years ago I was asked by an old and intimate friend from South Africa to meet with a few others a highly gifted and pure blooded Bantu leader. The object of the meeting was to organise support from England for those in South Africa who were opposing the bills on native affairs then before the South African legislature. That that native was not receiving a fair deal in South Africa, to put it mildly, was common ground to us all. Late in the evening I ventured to raise the question whether the South African native in the long run was helped by agitations organised in England. Since the principle of full self-government for the Union had been accepted, it seemed to me that any improvement in native policy must depend upon an improvement in the public opinion of the South African electorate, in which the white voter was paramount. The only factor which would operate to improve that opinion was full and unfettered responsibility. My own belief was that such responsibility would very slowly, but none the less surely, have that effect. Having myself lived for 10 years in South Africa I had seen that agitations organised from England, had the opposite effect, by exasperating public

opinion in South Africa. I then said that I should like to put the Bantu leader a question which I would not press, if he did not care to answer it. My question was this - "Did he agree with my view that since responsible government was established in the Union, any improvement to redress the manifest wrongs of his people must now depend on an improvement in the public opinion of the white community in South Africa?" The Bantu leader was silent for a long time, but at length he said, "I will answer your question. I am obliged to agree that any improvement in our lot must now depend on an improvement in the view taken by the whites in South Africa. As things now are opinion in England can do nothing to help us." His answer made me feel that I was talking to a leader with the mind of a statesman, in which courage is a vital element.

My faith that a system of responsible government does slowly but surely awaken the conscience of those who live under it was reinforced when I visited South Africa three years ago. I then found that a spontaneous reaction had started amongst young Africaners in the universities, against the prevailing opinion on native policy. I am glad to see that my old school-fellow, the Bishop of Southampton, as well as Miss Perham bear evidence to this. I travelled home with a young Dutchman whose views went further than mine, for he was prepared to advocate the intermarriage of Europeans with Bantus. His mind was set on creating a more liberal view on native questions in the mind of his countrymen. But incidentally he said that the greatest obstacle with which he had to deal at the moment was the feeling that England was trying to coerce South African opinion, by threatening to delay the transfer of the Protectorates to the Union.

Frankly I do not hope to see any marked change in South African laws and customs in this matter in my own life

time. But in saying this I ask you to remember how many centuries of responsible government it took in our own country before the laws and customs governing the relations of women to men were placed on a tolerable footing. The vote has only been given to women in the lives of my youngest listeners tonight. I have just received a letter from Henry James, son of the great American psychologist, in which he says that 'a reformer ought to cultivate the sense of time of a geologist.' (laughter)

Can we in England do nothing to help the South African native? Yes, I think we can do a great deal, though not by shaking uplifted forefingers. There is an old saying that example is better than precept. We are and must long remain responsible for the welfare of millions of natives in tropical Africa. Our practice has been to wait until we are forced by deficits or unrest and then send out a commission to examine the cause, as Sir Alan Pim has been sent to the Protectorates. Three years ago Miss Perham and I combined to urge that regular inspectors of the calibre of Sir Alan Pim should be appointed to go through all our Crown Colonies, and report on their administration direct to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. I venture to say that, if such reports were made and published, public opinion in this country would insist on far-reaching reforms. A definite and conspicuous improvement in native welfare throughout tropical Africa would do more to educate public opinion in South Africa than public invective from England against South Africans and a policy inspired thereby.

That is a long-term policy, but what do I think should be done in the immediate future? Let us think for a moment of facts which are certain. In 1909 definite arrangements were made for the eventual transfer of the

Protectorates. The Union Government was to suggest the time, the British Government were to decide it after consultation with the natives. The Union Government is now informally suggesting that the policy settled in 1926 and implemented in the Statute of Westminster marks that the time is ripe. They admit that the Statute has now rendered obsolete the arrangements scheduled to the Act of Union in 1909 and, therefore, offer to discuss the terms of a treaty to take its place and also the actual date of transfer. No one in touch with South African life will hope to see in his own life time a government more able and easy to deal with than the present Ministers of the Union. ^{Mr.} I cannot conceive a policy more dangerous than that of further delaying the discussions they propose. Those discussions must, of course, include consultations with the natives in the Protectorates. The Conference which is taking place as I write this address between British and Irish Ministers in Downing Street surely points to the course of wisdom. Thank God we have a Prime Minister who does not always wait to cross a bridge until he comes to it, but thinks it wiser to plan a bridge which will hold when he has to cross it.

Race Relations; ABX. 3802096

GROVER J. LITTLE
SUITE 1014-19 SOUTH LASALLE STREET
CHICAGO

February 9, 1938

Dear Doctor:

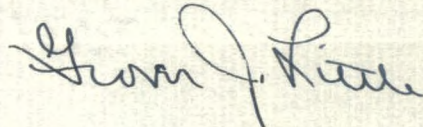
I hope you will forgive me for having delayed so long in writing to you. The boys as well as Mrs Little and myself have enjoyed your letters.

We are now facing another depression, which is seriously curtailing the giving in the larger brackets. This would have a tremendous bearing on your hopes for your work in Africa. I would see little hope unless it came from some person like Mrs Emmons Blaine, Dr Sidney Gamble, the Rockefeller Foundation or some other large institution.

It was delightful having you with us last summer, and I hope you will come back this way before your return to Africa. I wish you would drop me a note from time to time, telling me how you are enjoying your work, and the prospects of your going back to Africa with one of your friends from New York. I hope you won't wait as long as I did in replying to your letter, for we are anxious to hear from you.

The boys and Mrs Little join me in sending our very best wishes to you.

Affectionately yours,



Dr A B Xuma
London School of Hygiene
and Tropical Medicine
Keppel Street
London W.C.1., England

GJL:MB

ABX. 380217

BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

Rare Relations

February 17th,
1938

Dear Dr Xuma,

This is just a short note to thank you for the best meeting that our society has so far had. Many people have come up to me & said that they thought that your talk was the best that they have heard lately, and I for my part agree. It was excellently prepared, and was a compliment to us. The attendance too was far better than I would have expected, as three more came than we have on our books!

I hope that your bed was comfortable, and that you travelled comfortably back to London.

We have all been very glad to have met you, and I hope that I shall have the chance of meeting you when I return to our native land.

Yours sincerely,

Patricia Duncan

Rare Relation ABX. 380218

WELBECK

8938

11 Butstode St.
(off Welbeck St.)

W.1.

Marylebone High St. 18. 2. 38
Derbyshire Place

Dear Dr Xuma

I don't know whether
you remember my calling
on you in Johannesburg
in 1932 (Dr Oremstein's introduction)
but as I hear you are
doing a D.P.H. course
I should like to wish
you all good luck
and to tell you that
I should welcome you
if you decide to return

to S. Africa via the East
Coast, at Dar es Salaam.

I am leaving here
after next week and am
very fully booked up
but if you have an
afternoon free & could
come & have tea here
I'd be delighted. Will
you let me know if you
have a free hour - Saturday
(tomorrow) or afternoon or
evening on Monday or Tuesday.

If Mrs Xuma is in England
I hope she will come too

Yours sincerely

R.R. Scott

(of Tanganyika)

ABX. 380223
personal

938 Beckwith Street S. W.

Atlanta Ga.

U. S. A.

February 23, 1938.

Dr. A. B. Xuma.

The London School of Hygiene & T. M.
London University
Keppel Street
London W.C.1.

My Dear Doc,

Thanks a million for yours of the 2nd February. It found me fairly well and as usual with my nose in some old book. You will be glad to hear that I passed comfortably at my Mid-Semester Final examination held here on the 24th through 26th January. Making an "A" in my "Field Work" and never falling lower than "C" in any of the other subjects. Our subjects last semester were ① Social Case work ② Child Welfare ③ Social Statistics ④ Medical information ⑤ Social Ethics ⑥ Group work. This semester the subjects are ① Family Case work ② Children under Foster parental Care ③ The Community ④ Psychiatric information ⑤ History Field and Philosophy of Social Work. and already we are working hard at the latter group in fact we are expecting tests in these in the course of the next few days. Tests here come every so often, which of course keeps us on "our toes". Regarding the article appearing in "Untseteli" I was myself annoyed at the way in which it was pub. for I know I did not put it that way when I wrote to Dr Phillips, then I was merely replying to an uninvited letter I received from him which he wrote me some time in October little did I know that he saw in my letter "Bread & Butter" for the Phillips family, for I notice the letter appeared in his columns on two occasions. I first got to know that my letter was made public when my wife - apparently thinking I had stooped to writing for newspapers - wrote to say how much she enjoyed the "article" only to receive an apology from Dr Phillips a few days afterwards. It is now "spelt milk" and will infuture know how to write. Like yourself I wrote to Mrs Dipodu after she announced the death of her husband, send her a Christmas Card but up to the time of writing have had neither acknowledged. I therefore think she must have moved from the Apartment House in which they lived. Yes poor "old man" Shkels" he lost his wife, but has since that time lived up to his promise by making me a grant of \$100 (one hundred dollars) and has written asking me to make a statement of my needs & he would appeal to the Carnegie Fund for further help. In keeping with instructions from Mr J. D. Rhematt Jones, then I should cable or write him when my funds ran low I received the following reply "Regret no funds" well I staggered. but with old man "Shkels" willing to be used I have recovered sufficiently to perseue my studies with as little worry as possible. Then I wrote to my Executive explaining how necessary it was for me to have at least three months more to enable me to ① Complete the semester ② To enable me to take some of the subjects I would have taken in my second year. The Ex. Co. was kind enough to allow me the necessary extension, but felt that they cannot bear the responsibility of my salary for another month. So it seems I have either to pack off home before I complete this semester

Which ends on June 2nd. but, I am "Chancing the Road" by taking the extension so as to fit me better for my work, for I know I need the additional three months. Yes indeed I receive letters from my "little girl" every week now and it sure, makes me feel good to know that they are all keeping well. I fear if you have to stay in England until October I shall be compelled to leave you behind as Dr Taylor writes to say they would like to have me present when they discuss the new plans for the B. of S. C. for it seems it is now a fore gone conclusion that 1874 Ballenden on his return from India & Italy is going to move "heaven & earth" to have the present locality of the "Centre" changed. Concerning Mr. J. P. Yergan I hear about him through Mrs Broner who writes quite often for he has started a branch of his "Racket" in Newark, In addition to the "African Racket" he has been appointed Professor at the City College in some Negro subject, which appointment I think he got because of the very successful use of the overseas representatives of the "All African Convention". By the way Justice things have been happening in this department for I think that there was a meeting held & officers elected. I think old man "Jehovah" must have been glad you were not present. It is indeed gratifying to learn of the splendid contacts you are making in England. I know with you there Africa has nothing to fear she is well represented. We have had quite a few S. Africans speak at my School mostly from Rhodesia. This week in fact, we are to have Miss Marion Ashbur, I thought you would be interested to know that she has been down here, so clipped out her picture from a local paper & am forwarding it mainly to remind you of the very happy days we spent in N. Y. together, those days were among the happiest in my life & they were so because of your very pleasant personality. I wish many of my people at home understood you as I think I understand you. I have heard very little from Auntie Jay, she only send me a Christmas card and has since been quiet. I am however making it my business to look her up in the summer when I get to N. Y. You can rely on me for playing the "Out". I had along letter from J. H. for the first time since I left N. Y. from his letters the Beer Halls have taken a firm footing on the woodland and adjoining towns and the Municipalities are taking in hordes of gold from the poor African. A new source of income for the White Chief. & a new way of further degrading the Africans. According to "Umberli" of the 15th January Dr Robert Sibbels has landed in South Africa and intends to practice in (South Africa). Bloemfontein. Miss Pearl Ntshiko wrote me a few days ago to say she intends to return home almost immediately as her mother has asked her to come home for the first time, from her letter she is thinking of sailing in either April or May. Then Mrs Broner from whom I heard only a few days ago has her passport for South Africa & is thinking of sailing in May. Old "Jehovah" was at last successful in procuring her the necessary passport. So you see quite a few people are moving Africanwards in the next few months. Hope you are well. I have not been too well but am struggling along. of course nothing to worry about possibly only change of climes.

With all good wishes

Yours sincerely
 Richard P. B. B.

Rare Relations ABX. 380228

WESTERN 8221.

77, VICARAGE COURT,
CHURCH STREET, W. 8.

28/2/38.

Dear Doctor Kama.

In case I don't see you

when I return your papers this afternoon, may

I thank you very much for letting us read them.

I was especially interested in your paper on Intuition &

nursing work & I have got a most clear view of

what should be done.

We leave here Friday morning March 4th & expect to

leave Africa again at the very end of August,

but this largely depends on Mrs. Shewell's health.

I hope at any rate to see you again either in

September is England a real year in Africa.

With many thanks. Yrs sincerely

Coffey Thwait

Have just Read about Victoria for Mrs
Morse,

Very sorry to hear about Victoria but so it
will be for a while but glad to know the
real reason & that she is all right.
M.

ABX 380307

ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION

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R. H. GODLO
RECORDING SECRETARY

Alice, South Africa
7th March 1938

Dr A.B.Xuma
University College
LONDON

My dear Doctor Xuma,

I have to apologise for being so long sending you a line, but ever since I set foot on African soil I have been continually beset by worries over the numerous changes in my college work, as well as overtaking arrears of teaching work on arrival, plus building a new house for my family 22 miles away, plus the anxiety accompanying my first launch of a second daughter in public school, not to mention activity in connection with the All African Convention, - I have simply not known which way to turn my head.

You will be more interested in Convention matters.

On my arrival I heard numerous reports and rumours of a sinister kind of certain strong groups determined to unseat me from my Presidency by hook or crook. I paid no notice, for I never canvassed for the position to begin with; it was thrust on me, and I assumed therefore that those who had put me there knew well all my failings - of which I admit I have many - but put me there to make the best of a bad job. These personal opponents made the atmosphere so tense at the conference that I was actually asked to leave the hall while the elections were being held for the next office bearers, and when they had finished electing the principal officers I was called in to find I had been re-elected. Since then things have been quiet and the embers seem to be dying out. They made Mr Mahabane the new Vice-President, retained Mr Msimang and Dr Moroka but substituted Mr Masiu for Mr Godlo. So that is how we stand.

I thought it was discourtesy to drop you in your absence, but the deed was done. The Constitution was passed with but minor amendments. One good thing was achieved, namely, the spirit of resuscitating all the dormant bodies throughout the country and to get them affiliated ready for the next meeting three years hence. Another good thing is that an end has been put to all press bickerings about leadership and finding fault with the doings of the Convention. It is now up to the rank and file to put their local organisations in order so that we may at all times speak with a single voice on major political questions. The Representative Council has done splendid work and will soon grow into a team, I think.

The members of Parliament, particularly Mrs Ballinger, have made a perceptible impression on Parliament and the Transvaal farmers have been stung by Mrs Ballinger's words, so much so that at a special meeting they tried to refute some of her criticisms. We saw a press report of a speech made by you (in which we guessed that "Dr Duna" must have been meant for you) that hinted at the great impression made.

Congratulations to you for that. Please do not get tired fighting for us. The Minutes are due to be printed and published this week and I shall post you the first copy out.

Wishing you all success in all your objectives in that far-off land, I remain, with kind regards

Yours very sincerely,

D.D.T. Jabavu

Collection Number: AD843

XUMA, A.B., Papers

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- **Historical Papers Research Archive**

Location:- **Johannesburg**

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