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Umteteli wa Bantu.

2nd APRIL, 1927.

THE VOICE OF WHITE LABOUR.

Section 26 of the Native Administration Bill is to be recast. In our first reference to this section we remarked upon the difficulty that would be experienced in the enforcement of the provisions of the resurrected Sedition Bill, because they imposed a restraint on the liberty of the individual which no Government could sustain in practice. General Hertzog's recognition of this fact has probably been hastened by the representations of his labour colleagues whose expressed disapproval of this section is infinitely more weighty than the appeal of some millions of Bantu. It is not important, however, to analyse the causes of the Prime Minister's alleged change of front. The Native people are more interested in the effect and are not disposed to cavil at Labour methods if they result in Native advantage. The undercurrent of politics washes constantly against the Native position and has recently threatened to throw down the only worth-while institutions that the Native people have; but the worst damage has not yet been done, and it now appears that, although from no altruistic motive, the Natives are to be supported by the same force that has hitherto so violently and so selfishly assailed them. White labour is the evil genius of Native life in South Africa, and to its influence most of the economic ills that have befallen the Native people are traceable. But in this instance white labour, fearing for its own safety, has intervened to modify the injustice that was intended, and it is now probable that the institution of free speech and liberty of movement will be preserved. The Labour caucus saw in Section 26 the possibility of a serious restriction of Labour freedom and made haste to point out that the Government had not faithfully observed the terms of the agreement under which the Sedition Bill was buried. They showed that its provisions could be applied to Europeans as well as to Natives, and that trade union activities might be curbed to an undesirable degree if there should later arise a Government that dared to do it. The Pact Government may not ignore representations made by Pact parties, and it will be interesting to see in what manner Section 26 will be recast to exempt Europeans from its operation, and to what extent liberty of speech and movement will be the consequent Native gain.

It is said that the Prime Minister was much impressed by the Labour suggestion that repressive legislation

would drive Native organisers to employ underground methods. Such a conclusion does not involve any great mental strain. No man worth his salt would abandon his claim to privilege merely because it was made difficult to attain to; and the Native people could not be expected to surrender their title to common rights because of the small matter of a legal injunction. Actually their efforts would be better directed and their work more forceful if they were compelled to adopt sub rosa methods. To be forbidden to acquire is the greatest incentive to possess, and a sentence of perpetual silence may mean only a temporary relief from embarrassment. For he who may not openly present his demands is stimulated to redouble his efforts to win to his objective, and the plan evolved by dark and devious methods is usually more formidable and menacing. General Hertzog, according to report, has "appreciated" the Labour presentation of a fact that was patent, and has undertaken to give a little more thought to the provisions of Section 26 before he asks Parliament to endorse the principle it embodies. There are other doubtful legislative projects to which further consideration might profitably be given, and if the Prime Minister would carefully review all the bases on which his Native policy has been built during the past fifteen years it is not unlikely that he would discover other obviousnesses equally worthy of "appreciation."

The Native Administration Bill was the subject of discussion at a largely attended meeting of Natives at Johannesburg on Sunday, when European speakers stressed the value of the strike militant as the quickest and surest way to obtain redress for grievances. Mr. W. H. Andrews, general secretary of the Trade Union Congress, formerly a prominent member of the Communist Party, assured the Natives of white trade union support for their protest against the Bill. He intimated that the Prime Minister had agreed to modify his proposals in response to the demand of the Labour caucus, and proceeded to urge the Natives to organise and to co-operate with white labour for the overthrow of the capitalist.

"Build up your organisation, irrespective of prejudices, so as to take possession of this country—I am now speaking to all workers, white, black and coloured—as the Russians have of their country, and as the Chinese are endeavouring to do—and for the first time in history you will be able to enjoy the full fruits of your labour."

Mr. Andrews was followed by Mr. Glass, another Communist product, who said that freedom could be won by doing what the Russians had done and what the Chinese were doing. These two white men preached bloody revolution to a crowd of Natives, and did their best to provide an excuse for the drastic provisions they protested against. Native orators are often of the irresponsible order, and they say many things of an improper character solely for the entertainment of their audiences. They prate wildly of retaliation and reprisal and are rewarded by much applause; but they do not mean what they say, and they know, in any case that they could not and would not translate their verbal violence into action. They act officially to blow off

the nation's steam, and the crowds who listen to and applaud them go away happily innocent of wrong-doing either in deed or intent. But here we have white men in all the pride of their two thousand years of civilization trying in cold blood to inflame the passions of Native men to the end that Russian history may be repeated in South Africa and that Johannesburg may taste the horrors of Shanghai. It is the Andrews-Glass type that promises trouble in this country, and the Pact Government would be better employed in combing out its own tangles rather than in devising new disabilities for an oppressed class that is peace-loving and innately loyal.

The Problem of Urban Natives.

(BY R. V. SELOPE-THEMA).

Twenty-five years ago the Native people lived a life of ease in their own villages. They herded their cattle, sheep and goats; they cultivated their fields and produced just sufficient for their needs. For in those days their wants were few and were easily satisfied without any strenuous exertion on their part. Consequently they worked part of the year and the other part was utilised either in hunting or in beer drinking. This sort of life was regarded by Europeans as a life of indolence and laziness. It was an obstacle to the country's industrial and commercial development. The African jungle had to be cleared, and for this purpose African brawn was indispensable. The European had the brain but not the muscle, and so the problem which confronted him at the time was how to secure Native labour. The Natives were unwilling to come to European towns; they preferred to "develop along their own lines" in their own villages. But the white man said: "This will not do; these people cannot be allowed to live their savage life in this way; they must be taught the dignity of labour." So the Government was urged to make laws which would stop this life of laziness and force the Natives to leave their villages and go to work among Europeans on the farms and in the towns. As the result the Pass Laws were enacted, heavy taxation was imposed and Native occupation of land was restricted. This produced the desired effect, although on a small scale. But as time went on Native life underwent changes, and heavy taxation drove hundreds of young men to the towns to work for a portion of each year.

Meantime the Native people were being evangelised and educated and urged to adopt civilised modes of living, to work all the year round in accordance with the law of nature and to become useful citizens of South Africa. The Natives responded to these teachings, and as the result their social systems underwent a great change. The tribal organisation was weakened and the barriers which existed for centuries among the various tribes began to totter. The wants of the people increased and outgrew their tribal organisation. Christianity and education widened and broadened their outlook in life, and made it quite clear that only by the sweat of their brows could they live.

Having acquired industrious habits and learned the dignity of labour, Natives began to leave their villages with the object of finding work among Europeans. At first they only worked for six or twelve months and then returned to their homes; but as time went on some of them brought their families with them and established themselves as town dwellers. For these people the urban authorities set aside areas for their occupation. Here Natives were allowed, as is the case even in some towns to-day, to build their own houses. Evidently it was taken for granted that Natives could never settle permanently among Europeans. Consequently the areas set aside for them

were for temporary occupation. It was also taken for granted that Natives could only live among Europeans as servants. The possibility of their ever becoming property owners and business men was not considered. It was impossible, so it was argued, for the Natives to rise in the scale of civilisation. Were they not predestined by God to be the servants of the white race? Did not Noah's curse on the children of Ham bang the door of progress against their faces? In this belief the white people found security and did not bother to tackle the problem which was growing daily before their eyes.

Still unaware of this new phase of the so-called Native problem, our legislators enacted the Natives Land Act in 1913. The purpose of the law was to restrict the purchase of land by Natives among Europeans, and to set aside areas in which Natives only could buy, own and hire land. But owing to the greed and selfishness of the white race sufficient and suitable land could not be found in this country of vast tracts. The inevitable consequence was that the Act operated in such a way that Natives were driven from the land into the urban areas. As the towns were not prepared for so sudden an invasion, the problem of housing these people became acute and perplexing. In the meantime Natives found accommodation in the slum parts of the towns where their contact with the low type of European created social problems of a disturbing nature. Here the colour line was bridged; social mixture of the races became the order of the day. The illicit liquor traffic was increased enormously, and it became evident that this state of affairs could not be allowed to continue without disastrous effect upon the moral welfare of both white and black. It was then that an agitation for the removal of Natives from European areas was started. This culminated in Parliament passing the Urban Areas Act in 1923.

The purpose of the Act was to provide for the better housing of Natives in urban areas. But the Act was rendered unworkable by the deletion of a clause allowing Natives to buy and own property in the areas set aside for them. This was a mistake. And those who were responsible for it will not escape the censure of future generations. The idea that the towns are for Europeans only is misleading. As I have already pointed out, the white man is responsible for bringing Natives into the urban areas by interfering with their natural life. To-day the Natives cannot go back into tribal conditions because they have outgrown those conditions. Those who think that Natives can evolve their own nationality and their own civilisation under the control of Europeans are leading this country astray. It is a mathematical truth that no two objects can occupy the same space at the same time. This truth applies equally to the questions of nations and civilisations. So long as white South Africa thinks that it forms a separate nation from that of the Bantu people there can be no solution of our inter-racial problems. Any one who studies questions of race relations can hardly fail to see that these problems are the products of a policy which refuses to recognise the black man as an integral part of the economic and national life of this country. To-day Nemesis has overtaken us, and we are but paying the penalty of the follies and faults of those who insisted, and are still insisting, that Natives should be treated as a separate national and economic unit. The problem of urban Natives cannot be solved by driving Natives out of the towns because in the land there is hardly any place for them. Take for instance, the Native population of Bloemfontein and Kroonstad. If they are driven out of these towns where can they go to? There are no more Native villages in the Free State. What is wanted is to recognise the fact that Natives are bound to become an integral part of our town life, not merely as servants but as workers in every department of the industrial and commercial life of the country.

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Swiss Interest in Native Affairs.

Open Letter to General Hertzog

The Bureau International pour la Defense des Indigenes, established at Geneva, Switzerland, has addressed the following letter to General Hertzog in connection with the Land Bill:—

Sir,—The Bureau International pour la Defense des Indigenes, which has the honour to approach you in this open letter, is an association of a certain number of citizens mainly of Swiss nationality, the object of which is to endeavour to secure just and equitable treatment for the coloured races throughout the world.

The association has no political character and in no way interferes in the internal affairs of the Governments responsible for the Native peoples. Its methods of action are purely those of moral persuasion. It is in no way inspired by a narrow or exaggerated negrophilism. Its constant endeavour is to take account of practical realities and possibilities.

The Bureau International pour la Defense des Indigenes has for some time followed with interest the position in South Africa. We are aware that the problem of the co-existence of different races is perhaps more acute in South Africa than anywhere else, and when your Excellency, raised by your fellow citizens to a position of such distinction and authority, decided to attempt to solve this difficult problem, we admired your courage. The echo of your Smithfield speech reached us, and we noted with pleasure how scrupulously you had consulted the Natives of the country before deciding on the policy you would follow. That in itself was an omen of great promise, and we know that the black peoples of the Union of South Africa were filled with hope.

We have, however, now been able to examine the Natives' Land Act, 1913, Amendment Bill, 1927, and have learned that it is to come before Parliament during the session of this year. We regret deeply that our perusal of the provisions of this Bill has disillusioned us, and we have realised why the whole Native population of the Union has abandoned the high hopes it had conceived.

We trust that you will allow us, as friends of the Natives, to express to you respectfully our reflections on this subject.

(1) We do not hold the views of those who, in principle, condemn the conquest of Africa by the white race. That conquest was doubtless inevitable and necessary for humanity, and even for the progress of the first occupants. Nevertheless, it can only be justified if the white race leaves sufficient land to the black race for its normal development and multiplication. This has not been done in South Africa, as is proved by the fact that the Native population is cramped in the overpopulated Native areas, and that the thought of its future fills it with despair. In these circumstances, we feel that to remedy this error, which was perhaps unintentional, the Government should have accepted the principle that the lands essential to the Natives should be gratuitously restored to them. Such is not the principle of the Natives' Land Bill. All that is offered to the people who, in the land of their fathers have no share in the soil, is the possibility of purchasing properties in the released areas placed at their disposal, areas, which moreover, are very limited.

(2) It would be possible to accept this provision if the blacks could obtain the lands on easy conditions, and if practical measures had been devised to facilitate these purchases. The Land Bill, however, does not meet these elementary desiderata. In the first place, we note that the land in the released areas may be bought by Europeans as well as by Natives, a fact which appears to us to be in contradiction with the principle of segregation at the basis of the 1913 Act, and which will result in an immediate and considerable increase in the price of land so as to put its purchase beyond the limited means of the blacks. This is an aggravation of the provisions of the 1913 Act, and, in conjunction with the absence of the necessary measures to facilitate the purchase of land by the blacks, threatens to make illusory the hope of their settlement in large numbers in the released areas, and thus to compromise the very object of the law.

(3) We are assuredly supporters of the provisions favouring collective purchase enabling the chiefs to obtain wide stretches of land for their tribes, the members of which will live side by side, and continue thus to lead their tribal life. What we regret is that individual purchases are made so difficult. It would be of great advantage if educated or detribalised Natives or voluntary associations of persons of this kind could without difficulty obtain land where they would not necessarily be subject to chiefs who may look to the past rather than to the future. Under the influence of civilisation, of education and of religion, the tribal system is weakening from day to day; a society based on individualism is gradually emerging, it is essential to encourage this inevitable evolution, otherwise grave disturbances will arise among the educated portion of the Native population to which new ideals are being taught, whilst at the same time obstacles are being placed in the way of their realisation.

(4) For all those reasons it appears probable that the new Land Bill will not succeed in attracting to the released areas the whole of that Native population which is at the present moment living in districts assigned to Europeans. Moreover, it appears that one of the objects of the Act is the suppression of the class of squatters and the encouragement of that of labour tenants, even though the position of the latter is being rendered less favourable. The question arises, what will become of the first class of Natives which at the pre-

sent moment is so numerous? The answer is not easy to give. And what will be the position of the labour tenants? It was on this point, we beg to state, that the examination of the Bill caused us most grief. We realise that the farmers need assistance in the cultivation of their land, and we know that in the Union of South Africa it has always been the custom to seek this assistance among the Natives. In Europe, too, agricultural labourers are necessary, and there is much difficulty in training them. What, however, is so difficult for us to approve in this connection is that a man, sometimes with his family as well, may be forced to work for 180 days for a farmer without pay, in return solely for the right to reside on the farm, to cultivate a little land and to feed a few cattle. Doubtless this is not forced labour in the strict sense of the word, as where, in certain colonies, the Government seizes the blacks in order to send them to work in the fields of the colonists. But is it free labour? We note that the labour tenant, has no possibility of escape from his position, since he earns no money and cannot thus hope to purchase land in the released areas. Furthermore, no provision is made for a contract guaranteeing his rights and preserving him from any possible exactions on the part of his master. He is not even sure of his future since on any June 30 he may be evicted if his master has no further need of him. If he is evicted, what will become of him and his family? Finally, he is not even free to choose his master, since the competent authorities decide where he shall be employed, basing their decisions solely on the needs of the European farmers. Such a position, if it does not fall entirely within the definition of slavery, is in any case serfdom, and is deeply repugnant to modern conceptions of the rights of man.

We have had the opportunity of following the sittings of the sub-commission on slavery set up by the League of Nations, which prepared the Slavery Convention adopted by the Assembly last September, and already signed by about 30 States.

The discussions in this sub-commission and the results reached are to us one of the finest manifestations of the enlightened conscience of the twentieth century, and it was with great pleasure that we noted that the representative of the Union of South Africa took his share in the work. Article 5 of this Convention lays down that: "The High Contracting Parties.....will take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery." Can it be possible that at a time when the civilised nations have just adopted this clause in all solemnity, the Natives' Land Bill of 1927 is to be brought before the Parliament of the Union of South Africa?

We appeal to your feelings of honour. We appeal to your people for whom we have a deep respect, knowing that they read and love the Book in which is written:

"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

We beg you to amend this measure, the consequences of which will be of such importance to your country. We ask you to remember that a liberal solution of these questions may result in the re-establishment of peace and confidence among the Natives now deeply stirred, and may spare South Africa an era of unprecedented struggles and misfortunes. Our voice is weak, but you will realise that it is raised only in love of justice and in reason of the deep interest we have in your country.

We have the honour to be sir, your obedient servants,

(Signed) S. HATIO.

HENRY WEIKERO.

(on behalf of the Bureau International pour la Defense des Indigenes).
Geneva, February 5, 1927.

New Mission Dispensary.

A new dispensary has lately been opened at Sophiatown, in premises adjoining St. Mary Magdalen's Church. A lady doctor is in attendance daily at 2.30 p.m. except on Tuesdays and Sundays. This new venture in Medical Mission work is under the ægis of the Church of the Province, but, as need hardly be said, the services of the dispensary are for the benefit of all, irrespective of creed.

The Native Bills.

The International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, has written to the South African Government urging the withdrawal of the recently-introduced Native Bills, because "they are unworthy of a State claiming a place among the civilised countries of the world." Copies of the letter have been sent to the League Secretariat, the International Labour Office, and the British Trade Union Council.

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The Urban Areas Pother.

(BY H. SELBY-MSIMANG.)

The announcement by the Prime Minister that magistrates had been asked to order the return to their homes of Natives dealt with under the Natives Urban Areas Act rather than to order their detention at a farm colony has come to some of us as a great relief. It is proper therefore that we should record our sincere appreciation of the magnanimous act of the Prime Minister in this regard. I confess that I was becoming fearful of the evil consequences of the "smelling out" process that has recently been vigorously employed within the area of Johannesburg and which having been reinforced by a system of boycotting all unfortunate Natives who happen to have a criminal record against them has tended to swell the number of idle and dissolute Natives. We have, it is regrettably true, an increasing number of criminals among our race, and it is all the more depressing to find that every effort is being made to manufacture more criminals.

When, at the Bloemfontein Native Conference in 1923 convened under the Act of 1920 to consider the draft Bill of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, the delegates approved of the provisions of Section 17, few (if any) knew what dangerous weapon they placed in the hands of the authorities and how these provisions would be abused and misapplied. We all thought that what was contemplated by the establishment of farm colonies was to set apart a place where our idle and dissolute would be initiated in the art of work and taught the value and the accruing benefits of labour, so that when they had served their time they would be enabled to turn over a new leaf and start on a life of usefulness and service, as was the case with England's criminals who were sent out and settled in Australia. We least expected that farm colonies were to correspond with prison conditions and that persons committed to them would not be afforded a means to reform or to acquire an incentive to work. Farm colonies, we believed, were a kind of training field where men would be taught all classes of work and that the Government would follow up the career of these men after their discharge, assisting them to find employment and encouraging them in every way possible. In this belief I have always advocated in these columns some settlement scheme, on the lines of the small holdings provided for European indigents, where this class of Native could be settled and assisted by the State. I have always failed to understand what good purpose would be served by any reform institution which did not make permanent provision for those who have gone through its reform processes but contented itself in throwing them into the streets with nothing to do, and obstructed in their search for employment. As it is, we find under the white labour policy that many honest and hard working Natives are being thrown out of work and the question what is to become of them is being severely left alone as if they had no moral or legal right to live.

Apart from the male Natives who would appear to have been singled out for this treatment, one has to bear in mind and remember always that the most serious problem confronting urban authorities is the increasing flow of Native families and unattached women into the towns to earn the wherewithals of life by doubtful means, and incidentally to add to the demoralisation and pollution of industrious Bantu workers. They have accentuated the gravity of the housing problem and popularised the

slum areas. Until now nothing has been done for their rescue save and except to seize them and send them to a farm colony. Some of these families and unattached women have no houses to call their own, for their relatives in most cases are squatters or farm labourers and cannot keep more than their immediate dependents. I am satisfied that at least some fifty per cent of the families in the industrial centres can be easily persuaded to settle on the land provided the conditions are liberal and attractive. If this is not done, it seems to me that General Hertzog will soon find that the number of Natives repatriated would cause serious congestion in Native areas with the result that (as the law stands to day) those repatriated instead of staying at home would go to some other industrial centre to aggravate the situation there. Such a situation would seem to indicate that any law that aims at differential treatment will only serve to intensify the trouble and render its administration impossible. But if the law would seek to adjust conditions in such manner as to raise the standard of public morality and contentment, the country would have less crime. If the Prime Minister should desire that all Natives dealt with under Section 17 of the Urban Areas Act be sent to their homes, he should also take steps to make life worth living at their homes so that they would not leave one industrial centre merely to go to another.

Along the Colour Line.

(BY A WAYFARER.)

Our political outlook is dark and gloomy, and to some people it seems as if there is no hope for the Bantu race. Indeed there are people, and well meaning people too, who will tell you that things are so bad that they have no more confidence in the Government of this country. "What is the use," they say, "of thinking that the white man can do anything good for the black man? The white man is here to work for his children, and therefore he has no time to bother himself about black children. The law of self-preservation is the supreme law of his life."

But while the majority of our people are losing hope yet there are men and women who discern a ray of light in the darkness of oppression: who are able to point the way of salvation because they have come to realise that the purpose of oppression in God's scheme of creation is to build the oppressed into a strong, intelligent people. These men make use of every opportunity that comes knocking at their doors; they do not allow their grievances against the misuse of the white man to overshadow their opportunities. While rightly they strive for equal opportunities in every department of life yet they are not blind to the fact that the greatest thing in life is to play a bad hand well. They know Rome was not built in a day, and so when the Government give their race certain concessions they are ready to make use of them.

About a year ago, the Transvaal Education Department, on the advice of the Native Affairs Commission, appointed two Natives in the persons of Messrs. T. P. Mathabathe and Nathaniel Ramokgopa to undertake the duties of supervisors of Native schools. This appointment, although it has never received any praise from this side of the colour line until its mention in a recent editorial of "Umteteli" was a step in the right direction, and a sign of the times. Mr. Mathabathe was placed in charge of the schools in the central districts while Mr. Ramokgopa was in charge of those of the Northern districts. No appointment was made for the schools in the Southern districts. The reason for this is not known; perhaps it was due to lack of funds. But during the absence on leave of the Inspector of the central districts, Mr. Mathabathe has been transferred



If you want the best and strongest kind of pots and kettles, always look for the trade mark of the man dressed like this. This picture is on the bottom of each pot and kettle.



to Johannesburg to work with Mr. Achterberg, the Inspector of Native schools in the South. And it is to be hoped that his work in these districts will prove so useful that it will be found necessary to appoint a supervisor for the South.

Since his appointment, Mr. Mathabathe has visited, with the Inspector, the whole of the 130 schools in the central districts, and I am informed that his services have been appreciated by both teachers and parents of children. In some places he had to receive deputations of men who wanted the Government to establish schools for their children or take over those which they themselves had established. Evidently the desire for education is great.

Another step forward taken by the Education Department is the formation of an Advisory Board consisting of missionaries and two members of the Teachers' Association. The Board has been functioning for over a year now, and although its proceedings are not published, its usefulness cannot be minimised. However there is one defect which one would like to see put right, and that is the fact that the parents of children are not represented on the Board. No doubt missionaries and teachers are well versed in matters of Native education, but to my mind parents should not be ignored.

Native Protests

Against Administration Bill.

Capetown Natives demonstrated last Monday in protest against the Native Administration Bill. They marched in procession to the House of Assembly, and a deputation entered the building to submit a resolution previously passed by a mass meeting which prayed for the withdrawal of the Bill.

There were similar demonstrations in other towns, and in Johannesburg some 2,000 Natives, men, women and children, were addressed by Europeans. Reference to this meeting is made in this week's editorial. The police intervened at this meeting when the speakers appeared to overstep the limits of propriety, and for a few minutes there were possibilities of an ugly development. The meeting, however, dispersed without any untoward happening, but it is hoped that the authorities will not by their inaction condone the attitude and intention of

the two white speakers, Messrs. Andrews and Glass.

After the Johannesburg meeting a large number of Natives began a march to the Marshall Square Police Station to demonstrate there against the arrest of an I.C.U. official under the liquor laws, and it is creditable to Mr. H. Tyamzashe, another I.C.U. official, that he represented to them the folly of their proceeding and induced them to disperse.

Mr. Edward Phetoe of Rustenburg writes that the Bafokeng Tribe under Chief August Mokgatle and the Bakgatla Tribe under Chief Ofentse Pilane, both District Rustenburg, have given liberal donations of £500 and £200 respectively for the cost of building Native hospital wards at Rustenburg. This is a good mark of tribal progress, for hospital and medical treatment is much required in the districts around Rustenburg.

Jane Furse Memorial Hospital.

The Report for 1926, which has just been published indicates the good work which this hospital, continues to do for Europeans and Natives. There is accommodation for 16 in-patients, and the number of admissions for the year was 295. The bulk of the work lies in the out-patient department, where there were 2,900 attendances. The number of European patients treated is nearly double what it was last year, most of them being midwifery or operation cases. Amongst the Natives venereal disease is the source of most of the medical work; and against this unremitting warfare is waged. Tubercular cases show a decrease, but there has been an increase in colitis and dysentery. Many babies have been treated suffering from marasmus (wasting), the result of the drought, an interesting comment on the attempt made in certain quarters to belittle the fact of want and starvation amongst the Natives of the Northern Transvaal.

During the year an out-patients block and dispensary have been built, thereby releasing two rooms in the hospital. The hospital staff consisted of two doctors (one a lady, the other doctor being district surgeon) European matron and sister, and several Native nurses. The greatest needs of the hospital are an improved water supply, as the existing sources have failed owing to a succession of dry seasons, new surgical instruments, and increased financial support. The Johannesburg diocese appears to give a substantial contribution to the funds, but the Pretoria diocese in which the Hospital is situated gives inadequate support to a work of which it should be proud. The total receipts from patients amounted to £575, but owing to the hard times it is certain that considerably more free work will have to be done, with a resulting strain on the financial resources of

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PEOPLE'S BANKS

Use and Value of Co-operative Credit.

BY REV. BERNARD HUSS,
PRINCIPAL, ST. FRANCIS COLLEGE, MARIANNHILL, NATAL.
(Specially written for "Umteteli")

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

DUTY OF SCIENCE

South African Natives will act wisely if, in their attempts at economic betterment, they enlist the help of science, especially economics, psychology and sociology. Science can perform the following functions for them in the matter of building up their own co-operative credit system:

- It can give them the right principles.
- The chief aims can be pointed out on broad lines.
- Factors of construction can be shown.
- Science can point out what can be done immediately in connection with existing conditions.
- In the light of science and history we can examine and constructively criticise attempts made by Africans in connection with the necessary reconstruction of their disturbed economic organisation.

But it is not possible to draw up a big plan of reform worked out into the smallest details. Some first steps must be taken carefully in the light of the principles laid down so far. Time and experience will show how to proceed further and further and how to make the necessary readjustments.

INITIATIVE

When the Prime Minister General Hertzog, in his capacity as Minister of Native Affairs, made a tour through the Transkei in August and September 1925, he urged upon the Natives the necessity of self help, both in regard to initiative and funds for development.

We cannot simply form a bank for the Natives. If the bank is to be worth anything it must be a People's Bank, the people's very own bank, due to their initiative, springing forth from their own judgment, from their own conviction that they need and want it, and from their own resolution to act in it and stick to it. But to arouse this initiative in the people is a more difficult task than to tell them of the brilliant success that institution has achieved abroad, hand them down the rules and then leave them to themselves. We can only advise them to meet us halfway and to accept the stimulus presented on our part in order to release their latent energies.

ASSIMILATION

Imitation is a principal condition in the civilisation and progress of races. Our own western civilisation is the result of a continual and highly complex imitation within and between the various races. For a century now the progress of the Natives has consisted in a wholesale copy of European culture, and there is still much more to be imitated. But this international or interracial imitation has an important aspect which must be understood and well heeded by the imitating party.

When one people copies a certain institution from another the process, in order to be effective, must go from

within outwards, or in other words, if a new practice is to be imitated by a certain race, the sentiments and ideas underlying that practice must first be understood, accepted, widely spread and thoroughly assimilated, and then only the new practice itself can follow as the outward form by which the new impression, the new sentiments and ideas are to be expressed or embodied. It would spell failure if a race tried to reverse the process, or if one race tried to force a new culture element upon another before the necessary assimilation process has been gone through.

For instance, in many places Natives have imitated Europeans in wearing clothes. But as they did not really understand what the wearing of clothes meant, nor what care was necessary to keep them clean and wholesome, they have, in some places, by adopting all kinds of incongruous raiment turned themselves into grotesque figures. In other places, through failure to change and to wash the clothes often enough, they have worn garments until they are thoroughly dirty and insanitary, and so have given to themselves and perhaps transmitted to others diseases from which in their simple primitive state they were free.

ADOPTING AND ADAPTING.

A certain practice performed by one race or some races with evident success may be seen by another race and imitated. But the latter may soon find out that the copied foreign institution does not fit it exactly and that it does not produce the same results as elsewhere. Then at first thought opposition will arise against the innovation so that it is rejected.

Opposition is very useful and may even be indispensable as one of the three steps of social progress, viz. imitation, opposition, adaptation. The aroused opposition stimulates thought, the new practice is more closely studied and the copied model is given another trial, either being adjusted to the existing conditions and needs of the group, or the group adjusts itself to the conditions and requirements of the new institution, or both processes take place simultaneously, and thus ultimately success is achieved.

When the Natives attempt to introduce People's Banks, there is the great danger that they may stop at the second stage of opposition and drop the matter, without trying to find out how the new element could be adjusted to their particular conditions and needs and still less trying to adapt themselves to the exigencies of the new practice.

But a strong note of warning must be sounded here. In their attempt at adaptation the Natives must be very careful not to adulterate the seed so that they ultimately reap weeds instead of wheat, or to use another metaphor, in making some modifications they must not go so far as to change the orange tree into a mimosa tree which will bear yellow flowers but not yellow fruit.

the hospital.

South Africa, according to reports of what the French and Belgians are doing in their respective Colonies, would seem to be very backward in supplying medical aid to the Native population. In this case generosity "pays" for a healthy Native population means a healthy white population. The district surgeon at the J.F.M.H. seems to have done an exceedingly valuable work in establishing district dispensaries (to the number of ten) in outlying districts. To these regular visits are paid, and the work is encouraged by the Chiefs. From the fact that the attendances at the hospital have not been effected to any considerable extent, it would appear that the district dispensaries have really broken fresh ground. The number of attendances at these dispensaries was 2,011. The District Surgeon writes, "Routine public vaccinations are obviously of great importance in such a district as this, where there are approximately 80,000 Natives in a comparatively small area, and

living in densely packed villages. Visits have been made to each important village for this purpose. Considerable tact was required to persuade many especially the younger members of the most primitive clans of the importance of this treatment. It was not unusual to find younger members of one clientele decorating the topmost portions of the surrounding kraals when we arrived "to give them a sore arm when they were not sick." However with the help of the chiefs and elders of the tribes, the tale of victims amounted to some 5,000 head involving 24 trips, (884 miles)."

Evangelistic work is done at the hospital and the surrounding villages by Rev. R. Moffat, and Rev. A. Moeka, as well as by members of the hospital staff. The lady doctor has established a flourishing troop of Wayfarers, the Native equivalent of Girl Guides. The honorary secretary of the hospital is Rev. E. Herbert, The Rectory, Middelburg, Transvaal to whom donations should be sent.

FARMS PURCHASED FOR A SONG
SPECULATORS "LIKE VULTURES" BUY AT 6/- PER MORGEN
DROUGHT AREAS
POOR MAN ROBBED OF HIS LAND BY CIRCUMSTANCE

FARMS are being sold for songs in some of the drought areas, and speculators are now banding themselves into syndicates to acquire the stricken farmers' land. In the Willowmore district, established but drought-stricken farms are being disposed of at 6s. per morgen, and upwards of 100,000 morgen have already been acquired by speculators.

These facts were given to me to-day by an agricultural authority who is in the closest touch with the midland affairs. "The speculators," he said, "are like vultures. Having spied out the land, they keep a sharp eye on selected farms while the owner is known to be in dire straits. Then, at a psychological moment, when he has come to the end of his tether, they come along with a cash offer and the poor devil of a farmer, sick to death of his losing fight, sells out as low as 6s. a morgen.

WORKING IN SYNDICATES

"The speculators," he continued, "are working in syndicates in the district and by these means acquiring for a song farms which, had the drought broken, would be worth 20s. or later—will be worth 40s. and 45s. per morgen."

OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY

Color is lent to his statement by the fact that he is a member of the chairman at the annual meeting of shareholders of the Fort Elizabeth Assurance Co. (Johannesburg) of the drought, he said. "That there is speculation abroad is borne out by the many applications for loans submitted to your board's decision. There is an undue tendency to speculate with other people's money. In many instances your board determined that no money of over is not present, and yet some of these propositions have been readily taken up by others who are not called upon to differentiate between an investment and a speculation."

APPEARED BATTLE OF MOTOR MAGNETS
GENERAL MOTORS EXTEND THE OLIVE BRANCH

New York, Thursday. Wall Street, which, ever since the announcement of the extension of the patent on the Ford Company's motor magnets, has been anticipating a bitter automobile battle between the Ford Company and the General Motors Corporation, is much interested in the report of a meeting of the Ford Company and the General Motors Corporation, in which it is intimated that there was plenty of room in the market for both companies with cars falling in their respective price fields. This is interpreted as extending the olive branch. Newspapers infer that as long as the Ford Company's new model does not invade the domain of higher-priced cars built by the corporation—for example, the Chevrolet—there will not be a battle between these two giants of the motor-car industry.—Reuter.

TALKING DOC TO ATTEND PSYCHIC CONGRESS
FLYING SCHOOLMASTERS AND TELEPHAGIC HANDS

Paris, Thursday. A "talking" dog will be examined by 20 scientists attending the International Psychic Congress at the Sorbonne. The animal will shortly arrive from Poland by aeroplane. Its master described the conversation as by means of a "psychic" medium. One of the other amazing testimonies includes a "medium" professor's description of a "being" who was seen flying from the floor and remains floating in the air for several seconds, but sometimes flies in a steady stream, like a flock of geese.—Reuter.

ARMED AND AMMUNITION SEIZED
POLICEMAN SHOCKED

New York, Wednesday. A policeman in Cleveland (Ohio) was shocked to see a man sitting in a motor car with the light extinguished and a young woman on his lap whom he was kissing.—Reuter.

DELICIOUS MAZAWATTEE

PLAYING THE LEAD AT THE LYCEUM
CAPETOWN GIRLS TRIUMPH
FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

Another young South African woman successfully making her name on the London stage. The Lyceum Theatre, London, is playing the lead opera, "The Girl of the Year," at the Lyceum in the absence of Miss Mary Glynn, who has undergone an operation to her tonsils. Mr. Nelson Terry and the London critics are most favourably impressed. Her portrayal of the highly emotional scenes reveals a very fine talent. "This is the chance I have been waiting for all my life," she said to me. "Now I am waiting for big things. My ambition is to go out to South Africa with company."

THROUGH THE MILL
The "Evening News," commenting on her appointment to the leading part, says: "She owes nothing to favouritism for her chance. She has been right through the mill." Miss Holder toured South Africa, playing minor parts in Sir Frank Benson's Shakespearean company. For seven years she has been touring the provinces in a repertory in Manchester, then in Paris. Lately she has appeared in "The Girl of the Year."

MR. HORACE ROSE'S NEW PLAY
NOT GOING TO LONDON

London, Thursday. Surprise is expressed in theatrical circles in London that the production of Mr. Horace Rose's "Madame Kuranda," a new play, is not being sent to London. Mr. Rose, who is a member of the West End club, is not after all, coming to London. Mr. Patrick Campbell himself is regretting the fact, "for the part is one in which I fairly revel, and I should have loved to appear in it before a West End audience."

SOUTH AFRICAN SINGER'S SUCCESS

London, Thursday. A South African, Deborah J. Jouber, was among the 15 successful competitors in the Royal Academy of Music scholarships. She won the R.C.M. scholarship for singing.—Reuter.

MYSTERY TALK WITH CHAMBERLAIN
SPANISH DICTATOR'S SECRET

Paris, Thursday. Mystery surrounds the conversation which Sir Austen Chamberlain is having today with General Primo de Rivera, the Spanish Dictator. The "Journal's" Madrid correspondent says that the great talk was a great success. Chamberlain is said to have been most interested in the Dictator, and the Spanish Dictator, in turn, is said to have been most interested in Chamberlain. The Dictator is said to have been most interested in Chamberlain's views on the Dictator's position in Morocco. The Dictator is said to have been most interested in Chamberlain's views on the Dictator's position in Morocco. The Dictator is said to have been most interested in Chamberlain's views on the Dictator's position in Morocco.

MURDER OF POLICE CONSTABLE
MAN WHO SURRENDERED NOW RELEASED

London, Thursday. Patrick Balliweg, who surrendered to the police at Basingstoke in connection with the Vulliamy abductions, has been released. No importance is attached to his confession. The constable following up motor-car clues and are seeking three men.—Reuter.

GRIEF-STRIKEN GIRL'S COURAGE
TAKES DEAD FATHER'S PLACE IN SIGNAL CABIN

Rhims, Thursday. Remarkable courage was displayed by a very tragic circumstance. Between Chesham, the daughter of the stationmaster of Prunty, near Rhims, was called to the signal cabin, crossing the line to the signal cabin when he was struck by a passing train. Rhims, surprised at not seeing the signal function, left the station and found her father, whom she carried to the waiting-room, where he soon died. Mastering her grief, the girl's sole thought was for the safety of the train, so, knowing how to work the signal, she took the place of her father in the signal cabin, and thus avoiding disaster.—Reuter.

HONOURED FOR DEVOTION TO DUTY

Rhims, Thursday. The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Howard Beale) has awarded Rose Chesham, the brave girl who took the place of her father when he was killed by a passing train, the Signal Cabin Medal for devotion to duty.—Reuter.

DELICIOUS MAZAWATTEE

CHURCH AND NATIVES
ANTI-CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE
DR. LEYS' CHARGES
SMITH-BALDOCK FIGHT

London, Thursday. The Conference League announced a further anti-Christian attitude in the form of a resolution to support the League of Nations. Bishop Nash describes the League of Nations as a measure of infidelity by the League of Nations. Bishop Nash describes the League of Nations as a measure of infidelity by the League of Nations.

POINTS REBUTTED
Bishop Nash retorts point by point the various statements made by Dr. Leys in his article in the "Manchester Guardian" criticising the alleged anti-Christian attitude of the churches to nations. He deals especially with the accusations made by Dr. Leys that "in South Africa language that would be thought innocuous in the mouth of the European is considered criminal in the mouth of the African."

EVANGELISM AND COLOUR
Dr. Leys replies: "I express no opinion on the question of the African missionaries but had no part in the duty, but since Bishop Nash enlarges on the matter, I feel bound to say that I do not regard the work of the churches in South Africa as anything but a noble and heroic one."

TOO YOUNG AT 50
INCIDENT IN ELECTION OF LONDON'S LORD MAYOR

London, Thursday. Sir Charles A. Batho, aged 50 years, a ship's port merchant at Algeira, has been unanimously elected Lord Mayor of London for the year 1928. The election was marked by the unprecedented action of the senior addresser, Sir Harold Wilson, who, aged 50, who normally would have been elected. Sir Harold withdrew, regarding himself as too young for the position.—Reuter.

MILLIGAN MATCHED TO MEET IRELAND
FIGHT FOR MIDDLE-WEIGHT TITLE

London, Thursday. Milligan, the holder of the middle-weight title, will meet the Irishman, Ireland at Edinburgh on October 7 in a fight for the title.—Reuter.

CURIOUS INCIDENT IN GOLF MATCH
COMMITTEE IN QUANDARY

London, Thursday. The replay of St. Andrew's between Paul and Palko, who yesterday tied with 56 each for the King William Cup, the Club golf medals, was only held today after two meetings of the committee owing to an incident at the much-discussed hole the greenness at which Club members held a meeting to discuss the matter. Eventually he returned a card "No play" and the match was abandoned. The committee held a protracted meeting on the question of rescheduling the match, but it was decided to hold it on the 11th. The committee was called in. The committee was called in. The committee was called in.

DUNCAN WINS FRENCH OPEN CHAMPIONSHIP

Paris, Thursday. Bryan Duncan, with an aggregate of 208 for 18 holes, won the French Open Championship at St. Germain. The following golfers followed Duncan in the order mentioned: Aubrey Jones, 210; G. Campbell, 211; G. Campbell, 211; G. Campbell, 211.

CESAREWITCH TRIAL GALLOP

London, Thursday. Ballynahinch, ridden by Cordell, Steel Point, ridden by Baines, and Boscawen, by R. Robertson, were stripped of their titles in the Cesarewitch Handicap on Monday. The Cesarewitch Handicap was won by Ballynahinch, ridden by Cordell, Steel Point, ridden by Baines, and Boscawen, by R. Robertson.

GAIN-OVER SCRATCHED

London, Thursday. Gain-over was scratched from the Cesarewitch at 9.15 this morning.—Reuter.

RECEIVED BY THE POPE

Rome, Thursday. Three hundred and fifty members of the American Legion were received by the Pope in the Vatican today.—Reuter.

DELICIOUS MAZAWATTEE

FOR "MAIL" READERS
MR. ROOS EXPLAINS HIS FLAG CONVICTIONS
"NEVER REGARDED SIZE OF UNION JACK AS FIXED QUANTITY"
APPEAL TO "FAIR PLAY" SECESSION

By THE HON. TIELMAN ROOS
Mr. Tielman Roos, Minister of Justice, has forwarded to the "Rand Daily Mail" for publication the following statement, written by himself, on the Flag question:—

I AM informed by the B.B.C. that Mr. Eugene Corri will act with Mr. Bohun Lynch in giving a descriptive narrative of the Baldock-Smith fight for broadcasting from 2.0, which, by arrangement with the "Rand Daily Mail" and the Dutch station at Eindhoven, will be relayed on a short wave to South Africa exclusively for the information of readers of this journal. Mr. Corri is England's most famous boxing referee, and is regarded as a world authority on pugilism. Mr. Bohun Lynch is one of the best-known boxing writers and the author of several books on the history of the prize-fight. He enjoys considerable renown among men of letters as a writer on this subject. The "Radio Times," the B.B.C. official organ, devotes a full page describing "this interesting innovation in British broadcasting."

BROADCASTING TO THE DOMINIONS
EXTENSIVE EXPERIMENTS TO BE MADE
From Our Own Correspondent
London, Thursday. The B.B.C. has issued an official statement which confirms its previous intention to make extensive broadcasting experiments to the Dominions and the Marconi Company. Further details of the station at Chelmsford disclose that they will use two 500-kilowatt aerials on a wavelength of 24 metres and a power of 20 kilowatts. The call sign will be 2Z.

DECLARATION OF STATUS
Before quoting the terms of the Flag Bill, it is felt necessary to state that the Bill is not a declaration of status, but a declaration of the status of the Union Jack as the national flag of the United Kingdom. It is not a declaration of status, but a declaration of the status of the Union Jack as the national flag of the United Kingdom.

THE UNION JACK
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DELICIOUS MAZAWATTEE

MAZAWATTEE TEA
and its economy in use is above all question.

DR. LORAM'S POST IN NATAL.

RETURNING AT PROVINCIAL COUNCIL'S REQUEST.

PROFESSOR BROOKES' TRIBUTE.

Dr. Loram told a representative of the Cape Times yesterday that the report that he had resigned from the Native Affairs Commission to take up the appointment as Superintendent of Education in Natal was not correct.

The position was that he was a member of the Natal Provincial Service, seconded in November, 1920, to the Native Affairs Commission at the request of the Union Government.

The Natal Administration had now asked for his return to that Province to his former appointment as Chief Inspector of Education. The Union Government had acceded to the request and Dr. Loram was returning to duty in Natal on February 1.

INTERESTS OF EDUCATION.

A striking tribute was paid to Dr. Loram by Professor Brookes, in his lectures on native administration, at the University yesterday morning.

"Even if I had any faith," he said, "in the present system of budgeting for native expenditure before, it would have been destroyed to-day. When I opened the Cape Times this morning I saw that Dr. Loram had been transferred from the Native Affairs Commission to the Natal Education Department.

"In the past there were two names more than any others on the Commission which is responsible for the budgeting, that gave one special reason to believe that the interests of native education would not be ignored. They were Dr. Loram and Dr. Roberts. Now Dr. Loram is going and I would not be surprised to read in the Cape Times soon that Dr. Roberts had also gone.

"If these places are to be filled by second-rate politicians out of a job what will become of the natives' safeguard as to the expenditure of their money?"

WAS MONEY LOST IN POST?

CLAIM UPHeld IN RAND COURT.

(From Our Correspondent.)

JOHANNESBURG, Thursday.

Whether a letter containing money had been lost in the post was a point in a case in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Civil Court to-day. The estate of the late Dr. Kenneth Engels claimed £1 3s. from A. D. Joffer, of the Railway Police, Kazern, for professional services in 1925.

Joffer asserted that the money had been posted in Johannesburg in an ordinary envelope and had never been returned.

Giving judgment, the Magistrate said that the onus was on the defendant to prove that he had paid the money. Proof of postage was not proof of payment, but of intention to pay. Joffer was not the sort of man who would intentionally defraud any man, but the question was, "did he pay?" There were books to show that the money never came into the late Dr. Engels' hands and there would be judgment for £1 3s. with costs.

BARLEY REJECTED BY BREWERIES.

VAN RHYNSDORP FARMERS DISSATISFIED.

VAN RHYNSDORP, Thursday.

A largely attended meeting of irrigators of the Olifants River was held at Vredendal, for the purpose of requesting the Irrigation Department to provide for the election of a water board and to consider a vote of no confidence in the local engineer.

The following were appointed as a deputation to interview the Minister: Messrs. I. Frank, A. Engelbrecht, D. Retief and Ebersohn.

Mr. J. Mostert moved that a Commission be appointed to see the local engineer, Mr. Taylor, and to point out his duties towards the irrigators. Mr. Frank opposed the motion and moved an amendment to the effect that no notice should be taken of any complaints against the engineer that were not in writing. After a heated discussion, Mr. Frank's amendment was carried by a large majority, and the matter was allowed to drop.

Great dissatisfaction has been expressed among barley growers at the rejection of the bulk of their barley by the breweries. This wholesale rejection of local barley is causing great hardship among the farmers and storekeepers.—Reuter.

"GROSS NEGLIGENCE" OF SCHOOLS.

ALLEGATIONS BY RAND M.P.C.

(From Our Correspondent.)

JOHANNESBURG, Thursday.

According to an estimate drawn up by the Public Works Department, £20,000 would have to be expended annually for the next five years if the schools of Johannesburg were to be put in good repair. This statement was made by Mr. F. Handel Thompson, M.P.C., last night.

School buildings in Johannesburg, he declared, had been grossly neglected by the Provincial Council. The schools in the Troyeville district were in a disgraceful condition. At the Troyeville Central school the rain came through the roof. In another school there was such urgent need of repair that the principal had repairs effected out of private funds. He was then "rapped over the knuckles" because he had not obtained the permission of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council to repair the building.

The present Provincial Council system, he added, was not what it ought to be, and needed a thorough investigation.

HEAVY LOSS OF BUNKER TRADE.

"A BLESSING IN DISGUISE."

DURBAN, Thursday.

The Natal coal industry will lose 10,000 tons of bunker trade a year when the Union-Castle Company has brought its fleet of motor ships to five at the end of the year. That reduction will also cost the S.A.R. something like £60,000 a year in loss of revenue, according to figures quoted by Mr. H. Leaf, local manager of the Union-Castle Company. Mr. Leaf, while recognising the seriousness of this loss, thought it might prove a blessing in disguise in that it would compel South Africa to concentrate on making better use of its coal resources. He referred to research being done at the production of oil from coal and its utilisation for other purposes.—Reuter.

HANKEY WHELDON STEEL FURNITURE—the logical equipment for the up-to-date business. CAPS TIMERS LTD., Sole Agents.

NATIVES TAXED UNFAIRLY?

PROF. EDGAR BROOKES

URGES REFORM.

COMPARISON WITH POOR WHITES.

STARVATION OF WELFARE SERVICES.

"STATE DUTY LEFT TO MISSIONARIES."

Professor Edgar Brookes' lectures on the administration of Welfare Services, such as those of health, agriculture and education, among natives, delivered at the University yesterday morning, contained a striking condemnation of the present system of taxation of the native peoples of the Union and the allocation of the revenue derived from such taxation.

At one time, Professor Brookes pointed out, native taxes were paid in directly to the general revenue. In theory, he thought, this was an excellent system, but in practise it had worked out very badly, for considerably less than a fair share of the money was invested in welfare work.

NATIVE DEVELOPMENT FUND.

In 1925, however, the system was changed and a Native Development Fund of £340,000 was founded, as well as a grant of 4s. in the £ which was also devoted directly to native development.

This system, he thought, had probably served a good purpose, but there were very strong reasons why it should be changed immediately.

The system could be severely criticised, for instance, for the principle it involved. It was sound in his opinion because it proceeded from the principle of "payment for services rendered."

The native under this system at most, was to get out of taxation what he put into it—a principle which was in conflict with the concepts of a modern civilised democratic state.

The principle in modern taxation in most civilised countries seemed to be implicitly: "taxation according to ability; allocation according to need."

THE POOR WHITES.

"It is quite certain," he declared, "that we get less from and spend more on our poor whites than on our average citizens. This, I believe, is quite sound, and I would not see it abandoned for anything.

"But I believe also that we should do the same for the native. Finance knows neither colour bar nor race, and it seems to me that at present we are in the rather half-hearted position, where we are not good enough to finance, for instance, native health work properly, and yet not bad enough to let the natives die a year after year the same ill-fated, ill-considered system drifts on, and it does the same thing as a whole—for communities are separate and self-contained departments—no good at all."

INELASTICITY OF THE TAX.

Apart from the principle involved, the system was open to criticism on other points. The tax, for example, could be condemned for its inelasticity. It would only work if normal requirements had already been met. At present the tax could only be increased by the normal increase of people. Yet set against this was an abnormal increase of expenditure on welfare services.

What was happening to-day was that there was actual starvation of welfare services, and what was taken for agriculture would be lost to education.

Apart from this, he questioned the justice of the present system, even on the principle of "payment for services rendered."

The present system, for one thing, did not take into consideration the considerable amount the native was paying in indirect taxation, which he estimated at at least a £1,000,000 a year. Then the 4s. in a £ that went in native development left 16s. which was supposed to cover the native's share of the national expenditure on the preservation of law and order.

Was it fair, he asked, to expect the native to pay for the enormous expenditure on enforcing the pass laws, which, presumably, were devised specially for the benefit of the white race?

"SHIRKING MORAL DUTY."

In the earlier part of his lecture yesterday, Professor Brookes dealt chiefly with the extent to which the Government ought to assume direct responsibility for welfare services. Personally, he felt that the Government was shirking a moral duty in leaving so much of the welfare work, especially education, to missionaries.

It was significant that the tendency among the natives was more and more to turn direct to the Government for help and to distrust missionaries.

What were the motives of white democracy, he asked, in leaving native education, more or less, in the hands of missionaries? Was it because they thought highly of missionaries or because they preferred to tolerate native education rather than to recognise it?

"We must admit," he said, "that for the masses of natives, drifting about anchorless, with their tribal institutions toppling down around them, missionary work does satisfy a real need in their lives.

DUTY OF MODERN STATE.

"Yet I am afraid that there can be no doubt that our contribution to native education, in spite of a certain growth in recent years, is far from being in conformity with the duty of a modern State.

"There is a moral avoidance of duty in pushing our obligations on to missionaries. I am afraid we do it because we prefer to tolerate rather than to encourage native education."

He suggested that the State should more and more take over the administration and control of native welfare work, so that the missionary could be liberated for direct evangelising work.

These were Professor Brookes' concluding lectures on native administration.

EARPHONES FOR TALKIE PATRONS.

AID TO DEFECTIVE HEARING.

(From Our Correspondent.)

JOHANNESBURG, Thursday.

African Theatres, Ltd., are installing a special equipment for a certain number of seats at the Bijou Theatre for the convenience of people, whose defective hearing makes it difficult for them to catch the words of talking films.

The seats will be wired from the operator's box and earphones will be supplied free to those who desire them, the apparatus being plugged into a jack at the back of the seat.

Vinoclin Compensates Diabetes. Highest for Vinoclin. Price 50/.

THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR FRIDAY.

Parliament will be opened by the Governor-General at 3.30 p.m. on Friday. A guard of honour of three officers and 100 other ranks, with the King's Colour, will be furnished by the 2nd Infantry (D.K.O.R.). The guard will take up position opposite the central entrance gate in Parliament-street at 3 o'clock. A mounted escort is being furnished by the South African Police, which on its arrival will be honoured up on the right of the guard of honour. Three salutes will be given by the guard, the first immediately the Governor-General and party arrive at the House, the second when His Excellency reaches the dais inside the Senate House, and the third when His Excellency leaves for Government House at the conclusion of the ceremony. A salute of 19 guns will be fired by the South African Garrison Artillery, the first gun being fired when His Excellency reaches the dais inside the Senate House.

ROUTE TO ASSEMBLY.

The Governor-General will leave Government House (Avenue entrance), and proceed via Adderley-street, Darling-street and Parliament-street to the House. On the completion of the ceremony, the return journey will be made in the reverse direction. The streets will be lined by troops from the Cape Garrison Artillery and 6th Infantry. The steps to the House will be lined by the Royal Navy and R.N.V.R. (S.A.). The S.A.P.G.A. will line the way from the main entrance gates of the House to the foot of the steps.

ROAD FROM STRAND TO MUIZENBERG.

COLONEL CRESWELL'S INTEREST.

(From Our Correspondent.)

STRAND, Tuesday.

The meeting of the Strand Town Council which was to have been held last night was postponed owing to there being no quorum. The Deputy-Mayor, Mr. P. J. Pienaar, intended to bring up at this meeting the question of a road along the beach from the Strand to Muizenberg.

In August last, he said in an interview, he and Mr. P. A. B. Faure, M.L.A., interviewed Colonel Creswell, Minister of Labour, in regard to the construction of this road. It was then pointed out that a road was being made from Muizenberg to Strandfontein and that a road was also being made by relief labour to join the Main road, Strandfontein to Cape Town.

Colonel Creswell had been very sympathetic and asked Mr. Pienaar and Mr. Faure to see him again about the matter before the opening of Parliament.

Mr. Pienaar thinks that a road from the Strand to Muizenberg will be an accomplished fact before the end of 1930, as there are only 4½ miles—from Strandfontein to Zwartklop—to be made. From Zwartklop to the Strand is a perfect hard sand surface, although Mr. Pienaar is advocating a hard road to be made from Zwartklop to De Beers Bridge, at the Strand.

Mr. Pienaar thinks this Strand-Muizenberg road will open one of the finest marine drives in South Africa.

THE NEW PARKING REGULATIONS.

R.A.C. CO-OPERATION INVITED.

At the monthly meeting of the Committee of the Royal Automobile Club on Monday evening, resolutions were passed in connection with the registration of the club. As indicated in a message from Pretoria published in the Cape Times, the Royal Automobile Club has now been registered as an Association, not for profit, with limited liability of members under section 21 of the Companies Act. There is no change in the title of the club, the activities of which will continue as heretofore under the same officers and governing committee.

A letter from the Town Clerk of Cape Town was read inviting the co-operation of the club with the new parking regulations. It was agreed to render all possible assistance.

In view of the expected report of the Roads Competition Commission, the necessity for the club to watch the interests of road users was re-affirmed.

The question of compulsory lighting of vehicles is being pressed as far as possible. A deputation from the club was appointed to attend the meeting at the Chamber of Commerce hall on January 22 regarding level crossings.

One hundred and two new members were elected. During the month 103 roadside signs had been ordered and 24 danger signals erected. The area covered by these signs extends from the Northern Transvaal to South-West Africa.

Act which empowered the Governor-General, whenever he "deems it expedient in the public interest," to order the removal of any tribe or any native from any place to any other place within the Union. Any native who objected to this removal, in any except certain exceptional circumstances, would be held guilty of an offence. In case the whole tribe objected, however, the order of removal would be subject to the approval of Parliament.

FEAR OF TROUBLE?

"Why does this apply to tribes alone?" Professor Brookes asked. "Is it through fear of trouble as far as they are concerned but not as far as individuals are concerned? A worthy attitude for Parliament!"

"Natives have no longer a right of personal freedom, but a privilege of personal freedom, to be held until the Governor-General deems it inexpedient in the public interest."

"In other words it is held at official discretion."

"Their substitution of privileges held at official discretion for common law rights is the fundamental principle of the Act. I want you to note the phrase 'whenever he deems it expedient in the public interest.' It is pure 'drait administratif' and it is the sort of thing our courts with the best will in the world cannot get around."

"The courts look with natural and merited suspicion on this kind of thing and try as far as possible to avoid it. In the Transvaal, for instance, they found a temporary way out of the difficulty by interpreting 'from place to place' as not meaning from province to province. But this subterfuge was soon destroyed by an amendment of Parliament."

ARREST WITHOUT WARRANT.

Yet, he declared, the Act made further and even more serious inroads into the Right of Personal Freedom. He cited the right of arrest without warrant, curtailment of the right of freedom of discussion under which any person who utters any words or does anything with the intent to "promote any hostilities between natives and Europeans" was guilty of an offence.

"These are glorious words," he said, "but if the law were applied to the letter we should not have a quorum in Parliament."

Professor Brookes illustrated his allegation by concrete cases and what he called the abominable administration of the Pretoria pass raids. What was needed, he declared, was vigilant public opinion, constant protest, and last cases wherever possible so as to secure at least the full protection of the law such as it is.

UNION LAW AND THE NATIVE.

PROF. BROOKES' CRITICISM OF ACT OF 1927.

RIGHT OF FREEDOM ABOLISHED.

DANGERS OF LEGISLATION BY PROCLAMATION.

PARLIAMENT'S RIGHT OF VETO.

The dangers of legislation by proclamation, the need in native affairs for some legislative authority other than that of Parliament, and the far-reaching interference of South African Law and the Native Administration Act of 1927 with the rights of the native individual were fully analysed by Professor Edgar Brookes in his second and third lectures on "Official Powers and Common Law Rights" delivered at the University yesterday.

"A reasonably good case has, I believe," he said, "been made out for supplementing the legislative powers of Parliament. There are, after all, degrees of ineptitude in the world, and if our civil servants are sometimes inept, it follows that Parliament is often worse, because its members have had no special incentive to study native affairs. In fact, it seems to be merely a happy accident if we get a native Minister who has made a special study of native affairs or has in some degree particular qualifications for his job."

LEGISLATION HELD UP.

"Anyone who has gone into the history of native legislation in this country must be struck by the extraordinary amount of really necessary legislation that has been held up, merely because it happened not to be spectacular or likely to win adherents for party policies."

The Native Administration Act of 1927, which he, personally, viewed with a very critical eye, Professor Brookes continued, was in many ways a great advance, on the unsatisfactory and anomalous legal situation, which had existed in the attitude of the Courts to Native Law, before and even after Union. Yet it legalised a change which was unprecedented in the history of the British Empire. Obviously, neither before nor after Union could a proclamation repeal, amend, or run counter to an Act of Parliament applying to Native Territories.

The Act of 1927 changed this drastically, for it gave the Governor-General power to repeal or amend Acts of Parliament, past or future, by proclamation.

"INADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS."

The only safeguards that were devised for this unprecedented reversal of legislative power, Professor Brookes declared, were quite inadequate. One safeguard, for instance, was that, save where delay, would in the opinion of the Governor-General be prejudicial to the public interest, no such proclamation should be issued, unless a draft of its principal provisions should have been published.

The omission of such publication, however, would not invalidate the proclamation, and only an extremely alert and pugnacious member of Parliament could, by raising the matter in the House, secure a chance of holding it up, let alone destroying it.

"All sorts of things can now become law," Professor Brookes stated, "without anybody even knowing anything about it. For the people who are likely to be affected by these proclamations very rarely read the Government Gazette. We may say, of course, that there always is the Native Affairs Commission. But the Commission, as it often happens, does not always agree, and its intervention may not, therefore, always be as effective as we might wish it."

ELEMENT OF PUBLICITY.

"Hence, I want to show you that this Act is destroying what has always been an extremely valuable element in democratic government—the element of publicity. It is something often forgotten by critics on democracy, that it enables the Government to have fair opportunities of discussing, criticising and understanding contemplated legislation."

"Under the Act of 1927, however, legislation can be imposed on a people, without their knowing in the least what it is about, and it will have to be more and more the duty of native welfare institutions to study and to protest against unjust legislation of this kind."

Dr. Loram, a member of the Native Affairs Commission: Do you, then, know of any other way in which this should be done?

"My own opinion," Professor Brookes replied, "is that any law by proclamation should come up in the ordinary way in Parliament, and be formally validated by a resolution of both Houses, instead of being left to an individual to raise it."

RIGHT OF VETO.

What the Native Administration Act of 1927 had actually done, Professor Brookes continued, was, apparently, to cut out entirely the legislative power of Parliament. Under it the legislative authority was not Parliament, but the Governor-General-in-Council, who might by proclamation make laws for the peace, order and good government of the territories concerned.

Parliament did, it was true, retain a veto on proclamations, but it was apparently not intended to have any positive power of legislation.

If these particular objections were removed, however, it seemed that the Act of 1927 had solved the problem of legislation by proclamation, as it had to some extent that of the recognition of native laws.

Was it necessary, though, he asked, to go further, as the Act did, and interfere with other rights and with the constitutional safeguards of British subjects generally, and to fortify and consecrate the already bureaucratic tendencies of native Administrators?

RIGHTS OF PERSONAL FREEDOM.

The rights of personal freedom, he stated, which prevented the State from interfering with the individual, except in definite breaches of law, were in South Africa, even for Europeans, less than in Britain. For the natives alone, the Pass Law, whether justifiable or not, created an enormous inroad into the common law right of personal freedom.

"We are daily sending hundreds of our natives," he declared, "to prison, not for moral or criminal offences, but for purely statutory offences."

Similarly, the making of a criminal offence of striking (Native Labour Regulation Act) seemed to be a definite statutory departure from the common law.

So also was the tendency to make matters which give rise to a civil action against Europeans, matters of criminal procedure against natives, as, for example, in the non-payment of taxes.

"The Native Administration Act," Professor Brookes said, "is a locus classicus for this kind of interference with personal freedom."

He proceeded to cite that clause of the

ZIMBABWE 4,000 YEARS OLD?

FOUNDED BY ARABIANS IN SEARCH OF GOLD.

(From Our Correspondent.)

DURBAN, Thursday.

Zimbabwe's riddle has been answered; it dates back at least 4,000 years to the days when the world's first pioneer sailors crossed the Indian Ocean from Southern Arabia to South Africa to found a great mining colony in the richly mineralised country between the Katanga and the Transvaal.

This is the claim of the German archaeologists, Professor Leo Frobenius, who returned to Durban yesterday from Southern India. Professor Frobenius has evidence which, he asserts, is the last link in his theory which so flatly contradicts the views of Miss G. Caton-Thompson, the British investigator, who last announced that Zimbabwe "did not have its origin in great antiquity."

At Hampi, in Southern India, Professor Frobenius declares, there is a replica of Zimbabwe, which gives proof to his claim that the early Arabians were founders of Zimbabwe culture and that they journeyed from Mesopotamia Valley in search of gold, tin and copper. The priests brought the religion of the motherland with them and traces of it still exists in Southern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa. This includes the sacrifice of young girls—carried out by natives in secret places in the mountains and forests—to the Goddess of the Evening Star and the worship of the moon.

AN IMPORTANT FIND.

When Professor Frobenius left for India in September last, he told the Natal Mercury of the two years' work he and his assistants had carried out, and how he had managed to gain admission to the cave-tombs of the kings of a bygone age.

Now he announces a most important find by his staff, while he was in India. In Portuguese East Africa has been found a tomb of a king which contained exquisite gold ornaments. The skull of the long-dead king has been sent to Europe for investigation. Professor Frobenius would only say that it was not the skull of a native.

"We have sought in the country about the ruins, in the bush and dark forests and mountains, for traces of the culture to which the builders of Zimbabwe belonged. In tombs, in the ancient mines and the religious customs of the people, we have gained information which led me to my journey across the Indian Ocean. We found in the heart of the forests in Portuguese East Africa that the natives to this day sacrifice young girls to a Goddess who is the evening star. That will be admitted by no native commissioner, but it is so. We have found the tombs of kings and have been to them as no white man ever has before.

"NO PARALLEL IN AFRICA."

"The culture which must have been the basis for all this was one such as has no parallel in Africa, save in a small part of Egypt, and we decided that it must have come from outside South Africa. It was not difficult for us to see that there was some relationship with the culture of Southern Arabia, but that connection was a missing link in our evidence, so we went to India.

"At Hampi we examined the ruins which were definitely of the same style as Zimbabwe and we found bronze which is identical with that found in Zimbabwe. This is most important—no people in Africa save that small part of Egypt, possessed the knowledge to make bronze. The discovery of skilfully manufactured bronze ornaments and articles in Africa and similar ones in India was another link.

"It is clear, therefore, that South-west Indian culture and Zimbabwe culture are of the same origin and it is my theory that they had their birth in the civilisation which existed in Mesopotamia Valley 4,000 to 2,000 B.C. They came in search of the great mineral wealth of Africa and they brought with them their culture through their priests.

BRONZE EXPORTED BY ANCIENTS.

"It is my contention that the priests brought the style in which Zimbabwe temples were built with them when they journeyed to the mining colony. It is impossible to say that the ruins we now see were built then; probably they have been added to and reconstructed many times by kings who followed, for it was always regarded as an act of merit for a king to re-build part of a temple.

"These ancient miners possessed an enormous knowledge of geology for throughout the whole country are traces of their activities. Not one European prospector has discovered a mineral ore in that region which had not been worked by men who came from Arabia to Southern Africa. We compute that there are at least 75,000 ancient mining sites from Katanga to the middle Transvaal.

"It has been estimated by a study of excavations made that no less than 14,000,000 kilos of bronze were made from metals mined in South Africa and exported by those ancients."

LANGUAGE OF OLDER NATIVE RACES.

INDICATIONS OF ORIGIN OUTSIDE AFRICA.

DURBAN, Thursday.

Tracing still further the origin of the Zimbabwe ruins to a race of sailor-pioneers who came to Africa in "outriggers" from Southern Arabia at least 4,000 years ago, Professor Frobenius this afternoon said that these pioneers of Sumerian civilisation had not left any other relic such as a form of writing or methods of such in Africa.

He disagreed with the popular theory that the Bantu languages spread downward from the North, and said there were excellent reasons for supposing that the older native races originally spoke Sudanic. Among Hottentots there were still tribes with the same speech as the Sudanese. Purest Bantu occurred among such tribes as the Bavenda, and it was from this region that their language spread and gradually usurped their older one.

"Where the Bantu language originally came from," he said, "I am not sufficiently of a philologist to say, but from my own researches I can say that there are indications that this language also came from the South, that is, outside Africa."—Baster.

"TOTEMISM" IN THE UNION.

BELIEFS EXPLAINED BY PROF. BARNARD.

Yesterday at the Cape Town University, Professor Barnard discussed Totemism, at the request of some members attending the course in Bantu studies.

"Totemism exists," he said, "not only in Southern Rhodesia, but also among the Bushman and the Bantoes in a somewhat more degenerate form. The word has been used to cover a very wide range of beliefs and practices. Its main feature is a belief in some relation between a social group and some natural object, animal or otherwise."

"Generally it is a blood-relationship; that is to say the group is said to be descended from the animal or plant, or whatever it may be, which forms the totem; and the members of the group are obliged to act in a certain way towards the totem-object. If it is a plant or an animal, the totem, they may be forbidden to eat it. It is an interesting and effective means of expressing the solidarity of the group."

NATIVES AND THE LEAGUE.

WELFARE PROTECTED BY WORLD PUBLICITY.

POTENT INFLUENCE FOR GOOD.

PROFESSOR BROOKES' FINAL LECTURES.

In his two final lectures at the University yesterday in connection with this year's Vacation Course in Bantu Studies Professor Edgar Brookes again dealt with international "counsels of authority" and with the post-war international machinery for making them known.

He pointed out that the League Mandates gave us positive, and not merely negative, counsels—for instance, Clause 2 of the South-West African Mandate to South Africa, in which we were enjoined to "promote to the utmost the moral and material well-being" of the native races.

"In the prohibition of slavery and the slave trade," said Professor Brookes, "and the restriction of traffic in liquor and arms and ammunition among natives, the Mandates merely followed the Brussels and Berlin Acts.

"A GREAT ADVANCE"

But in the prohibition of forced labour, except for essential public works and services, and in preventing the establishment of fortifications, or military or naval bases, and of the military training of the natives, except for police purposes and defence of the Territory, the Mandates made a great advance on all former counsels.

They established, too, the principle of arbitral settlement of international disputes arising out of mandated territory questions; and they provided for an annual report on mandates to be rendered to the Council of the League by the mandatory powers.

The important conventions of St. Germaine-en-Laye extended the provisions of the Brussels Act to the whole of Africa, except, in the case of arms and ammunition, Algeria, Libya and the Union; and in the case of liquor, Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, Libya, Egypt, and the Union.

VALUE OF NEW MACHINERY.

A little-known difference existed, therefore, between the Union and Rhodesia in that the liquor law in the Union was purely local, but in Rhodesia was part of international law. The third of these Conventions laid down that there should be complete freedom of trade in the conventional basin of the Congo, that is to say, equal trade opportunities for all nations. This was, of course, in order to protect the natives from commercial exploitation by their governing countries.

The value of the new international machinery lay in providing channels for criticism and advice; in providing sanctions in extreme cases of disobedience to the "counsels," even to the extent of the economic boycott, if necessary; and in the regular and very full publicity given to their proceedings.

In this respect a special value attached to the Assembly of the League, which was given the maximum of publicity with the minimum of executive responsibility and hence was, at the present time, peculiarly fitted to deal with problems of African native policy where publicity rather than interference was desired.

AN AFRICAN PRECEDENT.

For instance, last year Mr. Smit, the Union's High Commissioner in London, raised the question of military training in Africa, taking objection to the raising of African troops.

This was a big step. Had Mr. Smit realised the importance of the precedent he had created in bringing the internal affairs of French Africa before the League. For it was now fully possible for the League Assembly to discuss South Africa's native policy if it wished to do so.

With the discussion of forced labour by the International Labour Conference with the Union's representative present and participating, a double precedent had been set up for the discussion of internal native policy in non-mandated areas. At this date we could hardly protest against criticism; the only way of avoiding it was to give no grounds for it.

Professor Brookes next dealt with the International Labour Conference, where, besides slavery and forced labour, industrial questions such as the eight-hour day and agricultural labour, were discussed. He mentioned the impression made by Kaddie's visit as the "unofficial Workers' delegate" in 1927, and the careful interest taken in native labour by the International Labour Office, and its influence, conscious and sub-conscious, on the Union.

"A CRITICAL ATTITUDE."

He then went on to discuss the Permanent Mandates Commission, set up by the League in order to receive and consider the annual reports of mandatory Powers on their mandated territories. The policy in choosing the members of this Commission had been to take them from countries which had no considerable Colonial interest. This was necessary to ensure impartiality; but it tended to give the Commission a critical and inquisitorial attitude, especially towards the smaller mandatory Powers; it tended to be harder on South Africa and New Zealand, for instance, than on France.

Yet it had fulfilled its functions; it had given full publicity, and rather more than full publicity, to the doings of mandatory Powers, and had applied the sanctions of publicity and ostracism—sanctions commonly applied in what, before this course, he would have called "primitive" society—with some effect.

NOT A JUST CRITICISM.

"I do not think, for instance, that its criticism of our handling of the Bondelswarts Rising was quite a just one," Professor Brookes said, "but the fact remains that we shall be extremely careful how we deal with risings in South-West Africa in future."

Professor Brookes then summarised the native policy laid down by recent international instruments of authority, touching briefly on the points he had dealt with in his lectures. He stressed the fact that the native peoples constitute a "sacred trust of civilisation," so that the civilised world at large was ultimately responsible for them, and international organisations had a right and a duty to take a general non-coercive interest in their welfare. Its chief weapon was publicity through reports and debates, the influence of such publicity on world opinion, and the influence of world opinion on the governing State.

"It has been suggested," he said, "that mandates are no better than annexations; but the extent to which mandates fulfil their duty is well known and subject to public criticism. Even the small measure of advance made is, I think, an advance. International influence will increase and not decrease, and in the long run will be a potent influence for good."

R.A.F. FLIGHT TO CAPE.

BROKEN HILL, Thursday.

The Royal Air Force flight arrived at 12.45 p.m. to-day.—Booster.

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SUPREME CHIEF DANGER.

PROFESSOR BROOKES ON NATIVE GOVERNMENT.

EXTENSIVE POWER CRITICISED.

PRINCIPLE "CONTRARY" TO COMMON LAW.

VIOLATION OF BANTU SYSTEM.

Professor Brookes' concluding lecture on "Official Powers and Common Law Rights in Native Administration," delivered at the Vacation Course in Bantu Studies at the University yesterday morning, was concerned chiefly with the power of the Supreme Chief, created by the Native Administration Act of 1927, and the dangers of that Act.

The Act, he pointed out, had laid down that the Governor-General shall be the Supreme Chief of all the natives of Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State, with all the powers, rights and immunities previously vested in him in Natal. Moreover, Professor Brookes said, these powers were made almost indefinitely elastic by a very significant clause which gave the Supreme Chief the right to add to these powers merely by proclamation in the Gazette. There was, of course, the check of Parliamentary veto, which he had analysed previously and which he considered imperfect, but normally, any additional powers could be added to these.

UNLIMITED POWER.

"I want you to realise," he said, "that the proclamation need not even have the approval of the Native Affairs Commission. Its application is excluded only from the Cape Province, but in the other three Provinces the extent of power by proclamation has really no limit to it.

"It is not the powers of the supreme chief as they existed in 'native law,' but as they existed at the commencement of the Act in the Province of Natal, with such as may from time to time be added.

"Now anything can be brought under this head. All rights can disappear. The valuable element of publicity is gone, and not even the Native Affairs Commission can check undesirable proclamations."

At one time, the powers of the supreme chief in Natal, he said, included the power to turn natives out on forced labour, to move individual natives from place to place, to depose native chiefs, and to punish disrespect to the supreme chief or his representative.

EXCEPTIONAL RULERS.

"It was," Professor Brookes declared, "in its own time probably a good system. For Shepstone, for instance, it was the only thing that could be done in a country where he was handicapped by a lack of funds and officials. It should be considered, though, that his conception of a supreme chief was derived from exceptional rulers like Dingaan and Tshaka. Despots like Dingaan are not at all normal in Bantu government. Government of that kind, indeed, is a form entirely contrary to Bantu custom."

In support of his argument, Professor Brookes quoted the following protest of a convention of paramount chiefs held at Bloemfontein two years ago—a protest which, he considered, was remarkably penetrating and just:

"That Tshaka's Government was a form of government contrary to the Bantu system, is our firm conviction. The policy of Shepstone differs from that of the present Government in that it recognised native progress. The natives, as soon as they acquired civilised habits of living, were to be exempted under the direct rule of the supreme chief.

"In Natal they were exempted from native law and custom. But under the Administration Act of 1927, native progress is not sufficiently recognised. Both the civilised and uncivilised natives, the professional and the ordinary native living in his primitive state, are subject to the autocratic rule of the supreme chief."

"IRRESPONSIBLE DESPOTISM"

This point, Professor Brookes stated, was of the greatest importance.

"The licensed and irresponsible despotism of a supreme chief is contrary to every principle, rule and instinct of our Common Law.

"It is also, as this protest testified, contrary to Bantu law. To apply it at all is unjust and unsound. To apply it in the name of Bantu law, as was suggested, would be hypocritical and adding insult to injury.

He again quoted from the protest: "If it is the policy of the Government that the Bantu people of the Union should be governed by means of their own laws and customs, we feel it our duty as guardians of our people, to point out that this should be in accordance with native law and not with the wishes of the white race. It is our firm conviction that the policy underlying the Native Administration Act is a violation of the Bantu system of government."

Here, Professor Brookes said, he thought, was another big failing in the Native Administration Act. It would have done far better if it had drawn a line between the Europeanised native and the un-Europeanised, instead of between the Cape Province and the other three Provinces. He had been glad to listen to Dr. Loram's lecture on the new native, but he had wondered why an old law should be applied to a new native.

BUREAUCRATIC DANGERS.

Professor Brookes dwelt further on the bureaucratic tendencies of the Native Administration Act and the dangers of increasing the powers and functions of the Native Affairs Department.

The only effective check on a bureaucracy, he said, was either a democratic Parliamentary Government, which the natives had not got, or the control of the bureaucracy by the Law Courts, which the Native Administration Act and other statutes were, as he thought, quite wrongly trying to remove.

"It seems to me," he said, "that in a modern democratic state, it is vitally necessary to have a kind of fruitful liaison between the professional administrator and the public voice. The principle of full discussion is extremely valuable. I believe, therefore, we must look on native administration, for our salvation to this fruitful liaison. Although I feel myself that much can be said for the principle of direct administration, we cannot have the Rule of Law and all that it means to us for the white South African and yet go on making serious inroads into the rights of the black South African.

"We must remember, too, that in fighting the danger of unchecked powers of officials in native administration, we are also fighting the white man's cause. There is a tendency in South Africa generally to strengthen official powers as compared to England.

"The crucial part of the struggle is native administration. It is in that field

(Continued in next column.)

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that the battle of public freedom will be fought in South Africa."

Professor Brookes then began his lecture on administration of welfare services among natives, and the progress that had been made in this connection in South Africa in the last few years.

UNION NATIVE POLICY.

INFLUENCE OF COUNSELS OF AUTHORITY.

LOSS BY ATTITUDE OF RESENTMENT.

PROFESSOR BROOKES' ASSERTION.

In the first lecture of the final series on native administration at the University yesterday, Professor Edgar Brookes spoke on the nature and significance of international counsels of authority in native administration. By "counsels of authority," he said he meant not formal commands but simply authoritative recommendations.

"Direct compulsion," he said, "is very undesirable and often impracticable; but strong influence can sometimes be brought to bear.

"For instance, of recent years no one has suggested direct interference in South Africa's Indian question, but constant and pungent international criticism has undoubtedly influenced our treatment of the matter.

"COMPLEX OF RESENTMENT."

"South Africa does not like to be advised; she has a special 'complex' of resentment of outside criticism. Especially with British 'counsels of authority' is this the case.

"This is unfortunate, and the loss by this attitude, because the man from outside often sees in a truer perspective than we can from within.

"South Africa resents international criticism a little less than the British, because there is no question of status involved. But her reception even of international counsels is hardly friendly; towards the Permanent Mandates Commission, for instance, her attitude is best described as one of petulance.

"The influence exerted by the more informal 'counsels of authority' is very great, but in this course I shall chiefly, though not wholly, concern myself with formal ones. The first are purely South African, and were given in the days before Great Britain stopped giving South Africa advice.

LOCATION SYSTEM.

"At the Sand River Convention of 1837, and the Convention at Bloemfontein (1854), Pretoria (1881), and London (1884) certain permanent provisions were made whose influence is felt to-day. Among these were the prohibition of slavery and the slave trade, and a minimum provision of land for the natives by means of locations.

"I do not suggest that the location system is an ideal one, but international influence does not aim at an ideal policy, but at the minimum of justice which will satisfy the international conscience.

"Further, the Pretoria Convention insisted on the setting up of a Location Commission in the Transvaal—a very necessary step. Such reserves as we have in the Transvaal to-day are the direct result of this Commission's work.

"The Transvaal is, indeed, the crux and centre of the Union's land problem; the interesting thing is that the land is there, but the courage to deal with it is lacking.

"Again, the native's right to acquire individual ownership of land was given him by these Conventions. But so strong was the feeling in the Transvaal that natives ought not to own land that the 1881 Convention put it indirectly; the land was to be held in trust for the natives by the Secretary for Native Affairs. I think I am right in saying that the Free State is the only area in Africa to-day where native individual ownership of land is all but entirely forbidden."

EUROPEAN INFLUENCE.

Other more truly international counsels were given in the Berlin and Brussels Acts of 1885 and 1890. In 1885 the "scramble for Africa" had just begun to subside. The nations of Europe were a little shamefaced and perhaps a little breathless; so the Berlin Act was an attempt to subject Africa to some sort of international government regime.

"Certain of its provisions have helped to mould treaty law since that time—first, the principles of free trade and no monopoly, which have been broken by both France and Belgium, though some definite good has been done; and, secondly, the permissive neutralisation of middle Africa in the case of European war.

"The Brussels Act of 1890 contained two important provisions—the complete extirpation of the slave trade and the restriction of excessive importation of arms and spirituous liquor between Latitude 22 degrees South and 20 degrees North.

"Then there were the Treaty of Versailles and the conventions of St. Germain-Laye. The chief points of the famous 'Mandate Clause' were the doctrine of trusteeship, that the mandate was a 'sacred trust of civilisation', securities for carrying out this doctrine in case of territories acquired subsequent to the formation of the League, and provisions for freedom of conscience and religion.

"RESTRICTIONS NOT JUSTIFIED."

"The restrictions which some Iowers lay on certain missions in Africa cannot in view of this cause be justified," said Professor Brookes.

"But in most cases there is no means of legal redress—only the redress of public opinion and criticism—because in regard to mandated territories we are possibly dealing with international law, and the League might intervene. But, outside of mandated territories, the clause has no force of law, and must be considered rather as a 'counsel of authority.'

"It is possible, though it is manifestly absurd, to subscribe to a certain policy as being good and wholesome for the mandated territory of another country, and to pursue a totally different policy under precisely the same circumstances in one's home territory."

CAPE NATIVE VOTE.

PROFESSOR BROOKES ON
COMMON OBJECTIONS.

RECOGNITION—NOT POWER—WANTED.

"SUFFERING FOR LOYALTY"
TO UNION JACK.

In his concluding lecture on the native franchise at the University yesterday Professor Edgar Brookes dealt with some material points in the history of the Cape native franchise.

"When it was introduced in 1854," he said, "it was not thrust by the Imperial Government on an unwilling and protesting Colony. As regards Bantu voters, there was nothing to protest about.

"In those days the Ciskei, the Transkei, British Bechuanaland and Griqualand West, containing one-tenth of the present Cape native vote, were outside the borders of the Cape. Franchise policy, then, in so far as it represented deliberate policy, affected Cape coloureds rather than natives."

INFLUENCE OF LIBERALISM.

The position was the direct result of the influence on nineteenth century British colonial administrators of utilitarianism, the philanthropic movement and generally of nineteenth century liberalism.

When the Cape system was extended to the Transkei in 1857, it was deliberately extended by the Bond party under Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, and under no Imperial compulsion whatever. When it was restricted by Cecil Rhodes in 1892, the restrictions were applied to black and white alike. Moreover the vote was divided, going sometimes to the Bond and sometimes to the Progressive party.

The first serious public criticism of the system made inside the Cape Colony was that of the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-04. This criticism was influenced by the facts that the Commission was trying to work out not an ideal policy for the Cape, but a compromise policy for the whole of South Africa, and it was faced with delegates from Natal, Transvaal and the Orange River Colony who were hotly opposed to the Cape system. In the second place the election of 1903 had just taken place, putting in the Jameson Progressive majority by a solid black vote, with thousands of "rebel" voters disqualified.

"PATHETIC LOYALTY."

Since then, he said, criticism has been intensified by the inclusion of the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal, which have no native vote, in the same political union as the Cape, and by the natives' steady voting for one side only instead of dividing their vote.

They are suffering to-day for their almost pathetic loyalty to the Union Jack—a loyalty which has been exploited by election candidates ever since 1903.

Since Union, opinion on the Cape native franchise has travelled in the same direction. The influence of residence in Cape Town on the psychology of non-urban legislators, it was hoped, would have had a liberalising influence. Instead, it had in most cases led them to the belief that equal franchise rights for black and white necessarily lead to race-fusion. They did not realise that the race-fusion, which produced the coloured people, preceded the granting of an equal franchise.

"I do not believe that the natives want fusion any more than we do," said Professor Brookes.

Professor Brookes analysed objections made to the Cape native franchise. "The first," he said, "is that of numbers—the fear that natives will soon be ruling Europeans. This is, I think, not really a valid objection. The rate of increase of the native population will, I believe, continue to fall as the natives advance in wealth and civilisation. In the second place, the native can only be said to be ruling Europeans if he is determining which party shall be in power. This cannot very long continue to be the case: the vote naturally divides itself. The more each party honestly and conscientiously does what it can for the natives, the more likely it is that the vote will divide."

NATIVE PARTY.

Replying to a question, Professor Brookes said that he thought the formation of a purely native party was just possible, but not at all probable. The coloured vote, he pointed out, was never cast in a block. The coloured vote was much larger than the native, but no one claimed that the coloured man was ruling South Africa.

"In the third place," he said, "these is the psychological side.

"Does the native want to rule Europeans? No—he wants recognition, not power.

"If, for instance, the new native franchise proposals had been much less favourable, and the natives had been consulted, I think they would have offered far less objection."

The second objection commonly offered to the native franchise was that the qualifications were too low. With this Professor Brookes agreed, but pointed out that this argument applied equally to poor whites. Thirdly, there was the charge laid against native voters that they were more easily corrupted than Europeans. This he thought was exaggerated, but, in so far as it was true, was intelligible, because it was easier to bribe a poor than a rich man.

"Much has been said," he concluded, "to compare the native with the European vote. Is it not more fruitful to compare it with the coloured? It is difficult to generalise oneself to putting the 10,000 fully civilised natives, whom Dr. Loran comprised to be living in the Union, into a different category from the coloured man. In the proposals at present before the country, for instance, would it not be more advisable to treat the native everywhere like the coloured man in the Cape?"

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