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URBAN NATIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA*

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THERE IS much evidence to support the contention that discrimination against the blacks in the Union of South Africa is more far-reaching, more cynical, than in any other self-governing country in the modern world. The Negro in America is at least by law considered a citizen, whose rights are identical with those of any other citizen. The disparity between theory and practice is regarded by men of good will as a blot upon America's honor, so that constant pressure is exerted to abolish discrimination. That goal is far from being achieved, but candor compels the admission that the status of the Negro has, for all its present limitations, enormously improved in the past quarter-century.

In South Africa, on the other hand, the Native (as he is called) is not a citizen. There is no statement in any official document that he is the equal of the white man, nor any pretense that he has equal rights with whites. He and his fellows constitute a group apart, with special legislation to govern every aspect of their life. With minor exceptions, the Native may not vote, own land, bear arms in defense of his country, enter an occupation of his choice, live where he pleases, nor leave the Union. Discrimination against him is one of the cardinal principles of South African politics and economics. No one of the Four Freedoms, except freedom of

* *Bibliographical Note.* Much of the material in this paper is derived from observation and personal investigation. Footnote references have not been given, since daily newspapers, journals, and government reports not available in America have largely been drawn upon. The most useful published material consists of the *Report of the Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932* (Pretoria, 1932); the *Third Interim Report of the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission* (Pretoria, 1943); the *Report of the Native Farm Labour Committee, 1937-39* (Pretoria, 1939); the *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1941* (Pretoria, 1941); John Burger (pseud.), *The Black Man's Burden* (London, 1942); Lord Hailey, *An African Survey* (Oxford, 1938); and the numerous publications of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

religion, has the slightest application to him.

This brief paper is not intended either as an indictment nor as an explanation of South African discrimination; its intent is rather to give a short survey of conditions among those Natives who live in cities in order that an American reader may make his own comparisons with the conditions of urban Negroes in the United States.

Composition of the Population. Of South Africa's 10,730,000 people, 7,377,000 are referred to as Natives or Bantus, 845,000 as Coloureds, 278,000 as Asiatics, and the 2,230,000 whites as Europeans. These figures are estimates for 1941.

The *Natives* comprise all people of African descent whose ancestors originally spoke one of the Bantu languages. The term is used to refer not only to those millions who still lead a tribal life as Zulus, Basutos, Bechuanas, and the like, but also to the other millions of urban dwellers or farm workers who are either completely divorced from their tribes or return to them only occasionally. The term "Native" has a well-recognized legal usage: there is a Minister for Native Affairs, a Native Affairs Department, a Natives' Representative Council, and so on. The *Coloureds* are the descendants of mixed unions between early Boer Dutch farmers and Hottentot (non-Bantu) women in the Cape Province or, later, between English settlers and Native women. The *Asiatics* are mostly Indians of the second generation whose parents were brought into Natal to work on sugar plantations, although there are likewise many Malays and Chinese. *European* refers to any white, whether an Afrikaans-speaking citizen whose ancestors have lived in South Africa for almost three centuries,¹ an Englishman whose family came out three generations ago,

¹ These people are now called Afrikaners, not Boers; they constitute about 60% of the white population. Their language, Afrikaans, is an outgrowth and modification of Holland Dutch and Low German. It is one of the two official languages of South Africa, and has a flourishing literature.

or a recent white arrival from Europe or America. This paper concerns only the urban Natives.

Background. From 1652 to 1795 South Africa was a "refreshment station" for Dutch East Indian ships plying between the mother country and the Indies. A few Hollanders were brought out to serve as workers and farmers (Dutch *boers*), and their number was augmented after 1685 by the immigration of a few hundred refugee Huguenot families. The two groups merged. They gradually moved away from the coast to avoid the surveillance of the East India Company which, since it had no intention of founding a colony, now left them to their own devices. On the vast upland plains of the interior they developed a characteristic pastoral life with Hottentots as slaves. The English took over the Cape during the Napoleonic wars, abolished slavery, and tried to govern the Boers. The upshot was a mass migration of Boers northeastward (the Great Trek, 1836-38) and the establishment of the independent "Dutch" republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. During this trek the Boers came into contact, often bloody, with Bantu tribes just then moving southward.

Diamonds and gold were discovered in Boer territory in the seventies and eighties, and immediately there followed an influx of foreigners (*witlanders*), mostly British. In the inevitable clash which followed, British interests were ultimately triumphant (the Boer War, 1899-1902). Thanks to the leadership of such Boer generals as Botha, Smuts, and Hertzog, it was possible to form a Union of South Africa in 1910, consisting of the predominantly English provinces of the Cape and Natal, and the Boer provinces of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Politics since 1910 have tended to follow national sympathies, yet Smuts, an ardent adherent of Empire, is still able to win enough votes among the Afrikaners to maintain South Africa as one of the Dominions. A very vocal minority is strongly anti-British; it wishes to secede from the Empire and establish a South African republic.

The Colour Bar. A long-standing grievance of the Afrikaners against the British is the attitude taken by the latter toward persons

of color. The abolition of slavery in 1834, the granting of the vote to Coloured citizens in the Cape, the attempt to decide dispassionately between Bantu and Boer in their quarrels instead of supporting the white man—all these actions seemed to the Boers to fly in the face of religion, common sense, and sound economics. Later, against Cecil Rhodes' phrase, "Equal rights for all civilized men," they opposed their own, "No equality between black and white either in church or state." When the Union was formed, opinions on matters of race differed so basically that the issue had to be left to the decision of the individual Provinces. The hope was expressed in Britain that the liberal attitude of the Cape would eventually prevail in the two northern Provinces. The reverse has occurred. There is now, by legislative sanction, under various acts of the Union Parliament, a "colour bar" which discriminates against the Native in all matters of importance: marriage, residence, occupation, taxation, wages, freedom of movement, property ownership, and the vote.

Distribution of the Natives. Contiguous to, or surrounded by, Union territory are the three British *Protectorates* of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland. Over these South Africa has no authority, although many of the Union's urban residents are drawn from the 950,000 Natives of the Protectorates. Within the Union proper, however, are some seven and a quarter million Natives. Of these, about 45 percent live in *Reserves*, or *Native Areas*, specially set aside for them and capable of supporting some measure of the former tribal life, free from close contact with white civilization;² about 31 percent are employed as workers on *farms* owned by Europeans; more than 500,000 live in *compounds* belonging to the gold and diamond mines or to industrial concerns; and 750,000 live in *locations* (segregated districts in the suburbs of cities) and servants' *quarters* in the rear of European homes. The rest are scattered in rural townships, on alluvial diggings, or on farms owned by Asiatics or Coloureds. Our concern

² Among the better known Reserves are Zululand, Pondoland, Griqualand East, and Tembuland.

here is with the 1,250,000 in compounds, locations, and quarters.

Reasons for Urbanization. It should not be supposed that the provision of Reserves, with an opportunity for the retention of tribal ways, guarantees a satisfactory life for the Natives. On the contrary, existence in the Reserves is becoming increasingly precarious. There are many reasons why the Natives have left them, and continue to do so, for temporary or permanent residence in the cities.

The Reserves comprise only about $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the total area of the country. This means that two-thirds of the population of the Union would have to crowd into one-fourteenth of the land if all Natives chose to live under tribal conditions. As it is, the Reserves are so overcrowded that malnutrition and disease are the common lot. Because of poor agricultural methods the soil is becoming seriously eroded; many Reserves are becoming deserts. Owing to a fondness for cattle, as the only satisfactory form of tangible wealth, as the means of making the traditional marriage settlement (*lobola*) and so of preserving the stability of family life, and as the centre of many religious observances, all the Reserves are overstocked. No Native will willingly sell or slaughter his cattle. Grazing cattle do not fertilize the land, for the manure is gathered for fuel. Pressure of population, then, drives many people to the cities.

Often young men leave the Reserves in order to make money enough to buy cattle for the *lobola*. Many go because of the excitement of city life, and others because they wish to be free from tribal and parental discipline.

The chief reason for cityward migration, however, is taxation. South African economy, particularly its rich gold mines, depends for prosperity upon cheap labor. In order to secure an adequate supply, the Union Parliament in 1925 enacted a poll tax of £1 a year upon every male Native over eighteen, and a hut tax of 10 shillings upon every family in the Reserves. Such sums being far greater than can normally be earned upon Reserve land, many thousands of men must leave home in order to earn money for the taxes. Some return home as soon as possible there-

after, but many live away for years; increasing numbers are becoming permanent city dwellers. Much could be said against the poll tax,³ and the white South Africans candidly admit that its chief purpose is to force the Native to work for the white man. It is true that practically all the educational, health, and public services the Native enjoys are paid for out of the tax, but it is equally true that a large amount of it primarily benefits the white man.

Recruiting. Although thousands move to the cities on their own initiative to look for work, many are recruited. There are some 750 well-organized recruiting agencies licensed by the State and serving the gold, diamond, and coal mines and the great sugar plantations of Natal. A certain amount of recruiting is constantly carried out by commercial agencies for farms and industries. While recruiters occasionally lure away juveniles and perform other dubious actions, the recruiting in general is honest. Railway fare from the Reserve to the place of employment is advanced and then deducted from the worker's first wages. By agreement between the Union and Mozambique, about 80,000 Natives each year are recruited from Portuguese East Africa.

Passes. Upon arrival in the city, the Native is not free to come and go as he pleases, except in Cape Province. In the other three Provinces he must immediately secure a temporary pass, valid for one month, during which time he may look for work. If at the end of that period, he has not found a job he must leave the city. Natives who have been recruited and those who secure work are given permanent passes. A policeman may demand to see a pass at any time. A few "advanced Natives" (not more than 14,000) are exempt from carrying passes, but in general any Native appearing outside a location or compound between 10 P.M. and 4 A.M. is likely to be challenged. There are at least 50,000 convictions annually for Pass Law offenses.

³No such head tax is levied upon Europeans or Coloureds or Asiatics. There is no land tax in South Africa (the Afrikaner farmers see to that); most Natives of the Orange Free State, therefore, pay higher taxes—actually, not proportionately—than most white farmers of the Province.

The pass requirement is one of the major complaints of the Native, for it stigmatizes him as inferior to every other element of the population and assumes him to be dangerous. The methods of enforcement are often outrageous. Arguments advanced in favor of passes are protection as a means of identification and as a job contract, prevention of having strangers live or sleep on an employer's property, deterrence to wholesale migration to cities. Only the second of these seems valid. Cases can be cited of four separate passes required for one individual.

Locations. On the outskirts of every city is a series of locations, whose conditions run the gamut from indifferent to appalling. There is no single model location in the Union.

In the main, there are two methods of providing housing in these locations: the Bloemfontein system, in which the Natives are assisted with building means to erect their own houses, and the Johannesburg system—the prevailing one—in which the municipal authority provides the houses and rents them to the Natives.

The houses are mere shells, whose dimensions for a family are supposed to be 12 by 12 feet, and the floors are often bare earth. There is practically none of the ordinary "essential" services in urban locations—plumbing, sewerage, electricity, street paving, for example. One tap of running water for four blocks of huts is considered generous. In many locations, because of scarcity of houses and high rentals caused by using skilled and high-priced European labor in construction, two, three, and even four families must share one room.

Mine Compounds. Mine workers have better living conditions than any other group of Native city-dwellers. They are given physical examinations before being accepted, hospital care is provided when they are ill, and they are given a reasonably balanced diet. Their living quarters, though restricted, are comparatively satisfactory. (The word "comparative" sets the bare concrete tiers of bunks of the miners in contrast with the complete lack of beds in many huts in locations, fumigation and sanitation for mine compounds in

contrast with filth in locations.) There are generally facilities for recreation. The great disadvantage of working at a mine is that the compounds are for men only (with minor exceptions), so that the mine workers must generally be deprived of family life for ten months of the year, or whatever is the term of their contract.

Mine owners are increasingly aware of the need for healthy and satisfied workers, and have consequently brought about a steady improvement of living and working conditions. They accepted without too much complaint laws granting compensation to miners disabled by accident or phthisis. One may be reasonably sure that the advantages to the companies of establishing compounds for married men have been carefully weighed against the disadvantages, and that the latter have been found to prevail.

The prosperity of South Africa depends, in actuality, upon the economical operation of the gold mines, which are in significance to the Union what a combination of the automobile, steel, and oil industries would be to American economy. Costs are already increasing as the shafts are extended seven, eight, and even ten thousand feet into the earth. Since 390,000 Natives are employed in the mines, it is a matter of simple sense to have efficient workers. The question is, whether efficiency consists of sound bodies and contentment alone, or whether trained intelligence is not also a component. The mine owners lead all other employers in their shrewd management, but so far they provide only for the physical well-being of their workers.

Other Compounds. Conditions vary widely between the industrial compounds and those housing workers on the Natal sugar plantations. Manufacturing is in its infancy in South Africa, and except for a few steel plants there is nothing to approximate the factory economy of Pittsburgh, Paterson, or Pawtucket. Since the Native workers drift into jobs and out of them, since they are prohibited from becoming skilled laborers, and since no European community cares to develop civic pride among its Natives, compounds are generally slums. Some are almost

casual mushroom growths of shanties and lean-to's made of odd bits of tin and wood; many more are mere collections of mud-brick hovels; all bespeak the transient character of the labor supply.

Wages. It is a part of the basic tradition, as well as of South African law, that similar treatment shall not be accorded white and Native labor. The disparity between the wages of the two groups is great. The strong trade unions of the whites have succeeded in forcing through legislation which reserves all skilled occupations for Europeans. Moreover, the whites firmly believe that a Native is addicted to a low standard of living and that if he got higher wages he would only waste the money in gewgaws. Finally, although Natives may organize, they are forbidden by law to strike.

The average daily money wage in 1940 for Natives in the gold mines was between 44 and 50 cents, in the Transvaal coal mines 42 cents, in the Natal coal mines 38 cents, and in the Cape diamond mines 64 cents—all exclusive of housing and food and "compound services." Wages of Europeans in these same occupations, though without maintenance, are generally between six and ten times as high as those just cited.

A Government Commission in 1932 reported that for house servants "a common wage in Johannesburg at present is £3.10s. a month," or about \$14. "Out of that sum the Native living [in a location] must pay 25s. [\$5] a month for rent, 10s. [\$2] a month for transport, and 1s.8d. [53 cents] a month for his Poll Tax. That leaves him, for food, clothing, education for his children, and any other necessary expenditure, a sum of £1.13s.4d. [\$6.47]."

Since 1932, of course, wages and prices both have risen. In 1944 a good average wage in Johannesburg for house servants is £4.10s. [\$22] a month, with living quarters and food frequently in addition; but there is a municipal regulation against the residence of wives of servants in servants' quarters, so that the provision of lodging for a male servant does not free him from the obligation to pay rent for his family in one of the suburban locations, if the family has fol-

lowed him to the city. Because of inadequate monetary income, the wife has frequently to seek employment away from home, so that her children must be left to the casual care of neighbors in the location.

Crime. The general consensus of responsible witnesses throughout the Union is that the Natives are a law-abiding people. Under their tribal system discipline was well maintained, and the habits so instilled into them persist today in the majority of Natives. There is, however, a considerable amount of serious crime, as that phrase is understood in South Africa. The 1940 statistics show that 21,112 Natives (as compared with 1,955 Europeans, 307 Asiatics, and 3,849 Coloureds) were convicted of serious offenses, a proportion three times as high as that of Europeans. The predominating offenses are crimes of violence, frequently committed under the influence of drink, and, chiefly in rural districts, theft of stock. ("Stock" includes poultry and domesticated game.) Serious crime accounting for 14 percent of the convictions of Europeans is also connected with Natives: the sale of liquor to non-Europeans.

Of the more numerous offenses not classed as serious crime the chief ones for which Natives were convicted were, in order: failure to pay tax, violations of the Pass Laws, illegal possession of Native liquor (generally a weak brew called "Kaffir beer"). There seems to be a steadily increasing amount of theft, particularly in Johannesburg. Many of the offenses for which 250,000 Natives are jailed each year are not crimes in the ordinary sense.

The Chief Inspector of the South African Police, Johannesburg, said that in his opinion 75 percent of the assaults to harm in his area could be traced to illicit liquor, and added, "One very important aspect of Native life on the Rand which has a great bearing on illicit liquor and crime lies in the lack of suitable housing and recreation for Natives when not at work."

Police and Courts. Law enforcement in Native sections of most cities is in the hands of white policemen who, because of their attitude toward the Natives, and because pro-

motion is often based upon the number of arrests made, have come to be regarded with enmity and dread. Roving police vans frequently patrol the locations on Saturday nights and round up hundreds of men who cannot produce their passes. In recent years Native policemen have been added to the force; evidence seems to indicate that the attitude toward these is much the same as toward the white policemen. Manhandling of Native prisoners is common.

The difference in attitude between the magistrates and the judges of higher courts is notable. In the lower courts the judgments upon Native offenders are unduly harsh, whereas the higher judges are, in the main, scrupulously fair. This is all the more noteworthy in that the higher judges are very often of Afrikaner stock. The facts that the Native is unfamiliar with South African court procedure, that he usually knows only a few words of English or Afrikaans, and that he is frightened, make it difficult for him to defend himself; moreover, the magistrates are often rushed and are impatient with what is regarded as the Native's stupidity. A white policeman's word outweighs a Native's testimony.

Glaring examples of injustice often appear in the newspapers as reflections of the prevailing attitude among the whites. On November 1, 1943, two Europeans who had flogged a Native to death were given sentences of 21 and 18 months at hard labor, while a Native who had attacked a white man with a knife, but not killed him, was sentenced to death. On November 24, 1943, a Native soldier was condemned to death for rape of a European girl, while a white man convicted for the second time of rape of a Native woman was given three years.

Immorality. Of the approximately 1,250,000 urban Natives, the proportion of males to females at any given period probably approximates two to one.⁴ The mine compounds, as noted, provide accommodation only for males, who must by contract agree to remain for nine months or more of

work. Numerous Native Areas have more than half their men away at work in the cities.⁵ In view of this long absence from home and wife, it would be surprising if sexual immorality were not a characteristic of urban life. Not only are there Native prostitutes, often associated with the illicit liquor traffic, but also there is much perversion. Some of the worst fights occurring in mine compounds are over the possession of a Native youth, and 252 of the convictions of Natives in 1940 were for "indecent assault (male on male)."

Health. Because of the eroded, overcrowded land and the general poverty of the Natives who live on Reserves, there is practically universal malnutrition. Many of the diseases associated with poverty appear as a consequence. When men leave the Reserves to work they often carry these diseases with them to the cities. The mines, through their required physical examinations before employment, sometimes have to turn down as many as a quarter of their recruits because of weakness or disease. Sanitary conditions in the locations are so poor that these areas must be considered as centres of infection.

Venereal diseases are increasing, and they spread from the urban areas to the Reserves when the workers return home. Infant mortality in the locations is abnormally high; figures have been cited showing rates up to 800 deaths per 1,000 births. Such figures must be discounted for various reasons, but even with such discounts made, reputable calculations show an urban infant mortality rate of more than 150 per 1,000 births.

Since Native women are almost invariably employed as nurse maids for white children, and since servants continually go back and forth between European homes and Native locations, the insanitary slum conditions of the locations constitute a serious menace to the health of the white population. Many Europeans realize this, and from sheer enlightened self-interest press for better hous-

⁴Accurate statistics are notably few in South Africa; even the occasional Government censuses are inadequate.

⁵Native informants universally comment with regret upon the disintegration of family life and morality as a result of the prolonged absences of males from the Reserves.

ing, wages, medical service, and sanitation for Natives. Such proposals invariably come up against the snags of expense and prejudice. It may require a serious epidemic to inaugurate the necessary improvements.

As in housing, so in health, the mine workers fare best of the urban Natives. They alone have adequate hospitals and medical care. Employer's liability is recognized in the event of accident, tuberculosis, and silicosis—though here again the colour-bar appears, for compensation is less for Natives than for whites, and whites receive payments in installments whereas Natives receive a lump sum.

Education. Like all the other social benefits the Native receives, his education is paid for almost wholly out of the poll tax levied on him, for it is a cardinal principle of South African finance that "the Native must pay his own way." The Union Parliament makes merely small grants for scholarships, agricultural demonstrators, and occasional equipment. When certain liberal whites have proposed the abolition of the poll tax as unfair and regressive, most Native spokesmen have opposed such a move, lest their few schools be taken away from them. Missionary groups have so far carried the work of education in the Reserves almost alone, and have done a sterling job.

Despite the numerical preponderance of Natives over whites in the Union (7.3 million to 2.2 million), Government expenditure on education for Natives in 1940 was only £904,978,⁶ as against £7,273,275 for Europeans.

There is among the Natives a widespread and intensely keen desire for education both for adults and for children. Grown Natives in the towns may be seen in large numbers helping one another in their spare time to learn to read and write, and parents will make great sacrifices to get education for their children. Owing to their poverty, the quality and extent of the education Natives receive is as a rule very poor. Unqualified teachers with no more than primary school training wrestle with classes of a hundred

pupils or more, all in one room. Inadequate funds compel the schools to employ unqualified teachers even when qualified ones are available.⁷

Innumerable problems beset the educator. Shall the instruction be given in Zulu, Sotho, Xosa, Shangaan, or some other Bantu tongue familiar to the pupil, or in Afrikaans or English, the official languages of the Union? Shall the education be in practical arts and crafts or along "cultural" lines? Enlightened Natives favor the latter. The real question is Professor Lynd's, "Education for what?"

Recreation. While the Native in the Reserves has many outlets for his energies, when he comes to the city he finds few opportunities for recreation. European employers at first gave no thought to the provision of substitutes for his traditional amusements or of outlets for normal high spirits; this lack soon began to show itself in the establishment of gangs and in orgies of drunkenness. The gold mines thereupon provided open-air cinemas and playing fields for organized sports, particularly football, competitive dancing, and tennis. The example of the mines was followed by a few of the larger cities in their locations, but in most towns the Natives must still provide their own amusement.

Religion. More than half the Natives of South Africa still retain their tribal religions. About 1,100,000 belong to small separatist Christian denominations, many of which have fantastic names, and most of which were formed, as in America, by congregations following their leaders off into schism on minor doctrinal or personal disagreements. Native membership in the Christian denominations were, in order, in 1936:

Methodist	795,369
Anglican	407,528
Lutheran	307,387
Roman Catholic	232,905
Dutch Reformed	150,398
Presbyterian	108,094

Aside from their missionary work, the Metho-

⁷ The range of salaries for certificated white teachers is from £210 to £900 a year (\$340 to \$3600); the range for certificated Native teachers is from £70 to £150 a year (\$280 to \$600).

⁶ Of this sum more than two-thirds, and possibly more than five-sixths, is derived from the poll tax.

dists and Anglicans have been most assiduous in the training of Native clergymen and in assistance to congregations in their religious work.

Racial Prejudice. The white child in South Africa grows up in an atmosphere of prejudice and contempt which only a rare individual can withstand. The mere fact that there are three Natives for every white in the Union, and that to the North in the continent are 150,000,000 more blacks, would in itself be enough to instill fear into the race conscious white man. The colonial slave-owning mentality has persisted, and the Boer doctrine that all white men are superior to all colored ones has conquered the British principle of equality of rights. South Africa knows intimately the entire collection of racialist myths—kinship of the blacks with the apes, the lower mental capacity of the Native, his incapability of progress, God's curse on the descendants of Ham. An added complication to the racial problem in the Union is the presence of the Coloureds and Asiatics, so that a hierarchy of social position has developed, with the Native invariably at the bottom.

It is hardly just, although it is common, to say that certain elements of the white population are more prejudiced than others. There lingers the gruesome myth of Boers tying their Native servants to cartwheels and flogging them mercilessly with sjamboks. Such deeds no doubt occur, although the evidence indicates that they are no more frequent than in America. Sadists exist among most peoples. Actually, the farmer's personal relationship with his workers is likely to be one of gruff, patronizing kindness, uncomplicated by any doubt of the Native's inferiority. Since the gold mines present an alternative to farm work, Natives can, and do, boycott farmers who mistreat them or deal unfairly with them.

As usual, poor whites are more inclined than others to crude exhibitions of prejudice, but one may question whether this is any more galling than the daily and hourly evidences, by peremptory orders, tone of voice, and language used, of the general disdain felt by the upper-class whites. European trade unions have done as much as any other single group to make prejudice felt where it hurts,

in the means of subsistence.

There are a few organizations (such as the Institute of Race Relations) and individuals (for example, university professors of anthropology, and Members of Parliament for the Natives) who work with unflagging zeal for fair play and better living conditions. The English press almost without exception advocates less brutal police methods, decent housing in locations, provision of health facilities, cheap meals for Native school children. The Anglican Church leads all other denominations in courageous affirmation of the doctrine that God is no respecter of persons. As already noted, many employers, notably the mine owners, try to improve conditions, not on humanitarian grounds, but for business reasons. More hopeful probably than any of these in the long run, is the growing group of young South African business men, both English and Afrikaner, who are coming to realize that the Union needs markets, and that it would be more beneficial to utilize the potential and permanent market of Natives (if they had the purchasing power) than to try to wrest world markets from the already great industrial powers. These men admit that they still feel a prejudice against color, but they are aware that their feeling is prejudice. Such recognition is a necessary first step to its elimination.

Prejudice is no simple, one-sided affair. The Coloureds, because they have more rights and privileges, look down upon the Native and will make no common cause with him. The Asiatics, some of whom are wealthy, are fighting their own battle for fair treatment; they exhibit no interest whatever in the Native except in so far as he makes more complicated their struggle for justice. The educated Natives, even though they may not climb far up the social ladder, very often refuse to have anything to do with other Natives. The great mass of Natives are of every variety, good, bad, and indifferent, keen and stupid, active and phlegmatic, handsome and ugly; and in these qualities they are no different from any other people in the world. In the main, one sees the same kindly good humor, patience, even gaiety in the face of prejudice and discrimination which American Negroes have so long shown.