

# RACE RELATIONS

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# RASSEVERHOUDINGS

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## NOTE

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Except where expressly stated, views advocated in articles published in *Race Relations* do not necessarily express the views of the Institute.

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## THE APPROACH TO THE NATIVE PROBLEM\*

by the HON. JAN H. HOFMEYR, M. P.

### The Academic Spirit

At the risk of frightening some members of my audience, let me say that I am going to be frankly academic to-night. It is a terrible admission, I know, for a politician to make, especially for one who has been a professor and who has spent a large part of his political life trying desperately to live it down. But for to-night I shall glory in what some of my political colleagues regard as my shame, feeling as I do that our politics would be all the better for a little more of the unprejudiced thinking and the ruthless analysis which are the essence of the academic spirit. After all there is no greater fallacy than that the academic man is necessarily unpractical. The Scotch are sometimes said to be lacking in a sense of humour — I am not sure that the truth is not that they have a sense of humour so intense as to prevent them from appreciating the quips and oddities that appeal to the rest of us who are less gifted than they are. And similarly I am not sure that, very often, the supposedly unpractical academic man does not see more deeply into the most important practical issues of a problem than does the bluff, contemptuous politician, who proudly claims for himself that blessed modern attribute of being realistic. And I am also not sure that, in our handling of this very Native problem, of which I am to speak to you, we would not have been all the better for a little more academic analysis and a good deal less muddled thinking and blatant prejudice-mongering.

It is, as everybody knows, customary among politicians to take exception to the views expressed in our Universities in regard to Native affairs, when those views do not happen to accord with the predominant political conception. It is true of course that it is from our Universities and from men connected with them or imbued with the University spirit that much of the support for the more liberal view has come. But it is surely an insufficient answer to retort with the cheap gibe which the word academic conveys to the unenlightened mind. What after all is the conception which really underlies that word? It implies open-minded consideration; it implies balanced judgment; it implies the fearless pursuit of rectitude and truth. Surely it is primarily to the end that the nation may secure the benefit of these things that we

have set up our Universities, and have made large sums of public money available for their needs. Why then should we reject that benefit in regard to the greatest of all our problems, that which is fundamental to the survival of European civilization in this land? For my part I rejoice with all my heart that our Universities have, to an ever-increasing extent, been applying those academic qualities to the consideration of that problem. And it is therein chiefly that I find hope for the future. For I refuse to think of our Universities as the homes of lost causes. I regard them rather as the vantage points from which are caught the first gleams of the coming dawn.

### Importance of Fundamentals

Perhaps I should emphasize the terms in which I have defined the subject on which I am to speak to you. I would not have you expect me to propound a solution of the Native problem, or to advance some new theory in regard to it. It is not with the solution of the problem that I am concerned, but with the approach to it, with, if I may revert to academic language, some of the *prolegomena* of the problem. I shall not attempt to mark out the actual path up the steep and rocky hillside which we have to climb. All that I want to do is to clear away some of the dense undergrowth which at present prevents us from seeing which is the natural line of ascent. I think that there is value in such an attempt. Undoubtedly there is to-day a great lack of precision of thought in most men's approach to the Native problem — the catchword and the slogan exercise almost unchallenged dominion — and most of us would be all the better for getting back to fundamentals, for making a conscientious and determined effort to see straight and to think straight in regard to it. My aim this evening is no higher than to give such assistance as I can towards that end.

You will also have inferred, both from my title and from what I have already said, that I do not share the facile optimism of those who claim that the Native problem has been solved by the legislation enacted during the last parliamentary session. At the best, that legislation dealt only with certain aspects

\* Address before Bantu Studies Society of the Students of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, on August 13, 1936.

of the problem, with what measure of finality time alone will show. But the problem in its totality is not one that can be solved by a couple of legislative acts nor even in a measurable period of time. It is one of those problems the solution of which depends on growth — the growth of attitudes of mind, the growth of interacting spiritual forces, the growth of economic processes. Faith and patience, the willingness, sometimes, in Carlyle's phrase, to "let time work", are among the first requisites in the approach to it. We of this generation will look foolish indeed in the judgment of history if we claim that in our time we can solve it or have solved it. We cannot hope for more than that, in honesty of mind and sincerity of purpose, we should make an enduring contribution to the completion of the main account.

#### Nature of the Problem

And so it is as well that I should commence by asking what *is* this Native problem of the approach to which I am speaking. It is a point on which all my subsequent remarks will have a bearing, to which, therefore, I shall needs have to return. Let me say this much at this stage. To different people the Native problem quite obviously means different things. It is a problem which arises from the juxtaposition of white man and black man in the same country. That much is common cause. But for some the problem would appear to be how, in such a country — in this case it is South Africa — the white man is to ensure his position of dominance for the future; how South Africa is to be made safe for the European. Those who so view the problem would proclaim their ideal as being that of "a White South Africa". For others, however, the problem is one of the adjustment of the inequalities in the position of the black man conceived as a fellow-citizen along with the white man of a common country — and of these the ideal is rather that of "equal rights for every civilized man". For my part, I can conceive of no better description of the problem than that it is an aspect of what Dr. J. H. Oldham has described as the ultimate political problem of the world — "the problem of how the different races which inhabit it may live together in peace and harmony". And, of that description of the problem, the essence seems to be the notion of living together, of joint participation in the life of a single community.

#### The Lines of Cleavage

I do not propose to enlarge on that point now. I want rather to pass on to another observation of a preliminary character, which will however also lead

me on towards my main theme. When we think of the history of South Africa we think of it very largely in terms of a conflict between men of English and men of Afrikaans speech. It is that conflict, and the consequences of it, that have most vividly forced themselves upon our notice within the recollection of our own generation. But that has not been the true drama of our history: we shall find that drama, rather, in the struggle to avoid the occurrence of a tragic clash of colour. In most of the scenes in that drama which have so far been enacted, the protagonists have not been white men and black — let us hope that in the future also it will not be so; — the conflict has rather been one between white men of varying outlooks and schools of thought, on the question of the relations that should subsist between different races. Sometimes the conflict has marched with that other conflict of which I spoke, the conflict between Dutch and British; very often it has been an element incidental to the phases of that conflict. But, happily, there has never been a complete coincidence between the lines of British-Dutch cleavage and the lines of cleavage on the Native question. The essential issue has not been racial in the sense in which we usually, but of course wrongly, use that term in South Africa: it has rather been an issue between two different points of view: the point of view, on the one hand, of the man on the spot, who claims that only those who are in daily contact with Natives can understand them, and who tends inevitably to be influenced in his approach to the problem by his economic necessities; and the point of view, on the other hand, of the idealist at a distance, who starts out with the conception that every man, be his skin black or white, is an end in himself, and who will not admit that there can be any departure from the principles which follow from that conception in their application to any race, whether he has knowledge of the distinctive characteristics of that race or not. The first has been the point of view of the pioneer, whose contact with the black man has necessarily been constant, and it has been held independently of race; it has been the point of view not only of our old Dutch Republics, but also of British Natal, which has on occasion been prepared to break even the British connection in its defence. The other was the point of view for the most part of the British Government in relation to South Africa — the point of view also which largely impressed itself upon the old Cape Colony. And the issue of which I have been speaking finds itself reflected in the difference between the Northern and the Southern traditions, which is so often evidenced in the discussion of Native questions to-day.

The second of the points of view to which I have referred may naturally enough be described broadly as liberalism — one must be more careful in describing the other. It is easy to think of it in terms of mere opposition to liberalism, as a narrow oppressionism a denial of the rights of humanity to men of a different colour, a ruthless subjugation to the position of mere chattels of less favoured human beings. That would, however, give an entirely wrong impression of the origin of this point of view, or of the attitude of mind towards the black man of the older European inhabitants of South Africa. Let it be admitted that the influence of the slave economy which once prevailed at the Cape was a constitutive force in this regard; yet, in the treatment of their slaves, our early South Africans attained a relatively high standard of humanity. Moreover, the frontiersman may, in his dealings with the Native, have been concerned almost entirely with the assurance of his safety and his economic interests, yet, if his pragmatism was hard, it was not in essence unkindly. The true origin of this point of view is indeed rather to be sought in patriarchalism; in the wide conception of the family, with the servants as part of it. Of that the admission of the black servants to family prayers, a custom which still prevails in many South African homes, is a survival and an evidence. The fact of the continued survival in increasing numbers of the black men in South Africa, as contrasted with what has happened in other countries where men of different colours have met, has often been remarked upon. To some extent no doubt it reflects the superior physical qualities of the Bantu — but it does also show that there has been nothing deliberately inhumane about the policy and attitude of the white man in South Africa in relation to the black. That policy, it may be, does not show many traces of liberalism or of idealism, but it was none the less, in its original conception at least, a policy by no means divorced from the notions of fair play, of live and let live.

But in its later manifestations there are definitely disquieting elements about this policy. These are derived from the fact that there has come to be associated with it what can only be described as a fear-complex. In the old days — the days of the frontiersman and the pioneer — there was of course an element, a very justifiable element, of fear in the white man's attitude towards the Native. When the military power of the Native was broken, that element fell into the background. But it survived subconsciously, and remained susceptible to a fresh stimulus. Such a stimulus has been provided in our own time by the penetration to the consciousness of the white

man of the essential insecurity of his economic position. The white man may have no ground to fear physical attack from the black man — but he has become acutely conscious of the influences from that quarter on the conditions of his life, and as his economic world tends to be increasingly straightened about him, he conceives of himself as engaged in a new struggle with the Native, a deadlier struggle than the physical struggle ever was, and so his dominant thoughts have come to be thoughts of fear.

What are the essential elements in the white man's attitude to-day? Perhaps they may be described in this way. The white man is conscious of cultural superiority over the Native — he is conscious also of numerical inferiority. And so he is afflicted with the haunting fear that his present position of ascendancy may be weakened and destroyed. Does not the Native outnumber him by three to one? — and nearly always when he speaks of it he exaggerates the ratio. Is not the Native's rate of natural increase higher than his own? — and usually he forgets the factors which to-day tend to limit that increase. He has asserted his mastery over the Native in the past; to-day he has all the material resources for the enforcement of his will — but what of the subtler economic struggle of the future? To whom in that day will the battle be?

#### The Element of Fear

It is hardly necessary to remark on the fact that of late this fear complex has powerfully influenced the Union's handling of its Native problem, and that against it the old liberalism of the Cape has been fighting a losing battle. At the time of Union there were those who hoped that Cape ideas of political equality as between white men and black would come to prevail throughout the Union. They have been disappointed. At the Albany by-election in May of this year Natives for the last time voted on a common electoral roll with Europeans. And, while in Native administration there has, especially in recent years, been a good deal of paternal solicitude for Native welfare, legislation dealing with Native affairs has for a considerable period now, taken its form largely from the prevailing desire to keep the Native "in his place", a place of permanent subordination to the white man and of subservience to his interests.

Now, for my part, I have no hesitation in saying that, in so far as our present approach to the Native problem is based on a fear complex — I am not saying that it is exclusively so based — but in so far as it is so based, it has an entirely false foundation.

and considerations both of national honour and of national security demand that we should not leave such a position unchanged. Certainly, while fear is at the root of public opinion, it is no easy matter to build up a Native policy on the foundations of justice and fair dealing. There is, as my earlier remarks have implied, a fundamental desire in the minds of the South African people to act justly towards the Natives in their midst, but that desire fights a difficult battle for expression against the power of fear. Sarah Gertrude Millin has told us how once she put this point in a conversation with an American Negro. "You know", she said, "the relative numbers of black and white in South Africa. Well, consider the black people as a big man struggling in a swamp, and the white people as a little man standing on the edge of the swamp. The little man wants to help the big man. But how far dare he? Isn't it more possible that the big man will pull in the little man, than that the little man will pull out the big man? That is the question we are always asking ourselves in South Africa."

I have indicated that the fear complex which is at the root of some at least of the present tendencies in Native policy is to be deplored. There are, however two things that I would emphasize as arising from that statement. The one is that we would be foolish to lose sight of the psychological justification of that fear complex. Psychologically, as Mrs. Millin has pointed out, there are ample grounds for it. There is the black man's numerical superiority and our country's apparently low absorptive capacity, in present circumstances, in the matter of immigration — and these are considerations which tend to vitiate many of the comparisons with the United States which are so frequently drawn. There is the menace presented by the black man's lower standards of living to the white man's economic position. There are the evidences of his constantly accelerating advance under the impact of European civilization. There is the revolting possibility of ultimate social equality and the mixture of the races. It would be strange indeed if the European in South Africa were *not* apprehensive as to his children's future. It needs something in the nature of an act of faith for him to be otherwise — and in these days faith is perhaps not the facile thing that once it was.

#### The Old and the New Liberalism

The other point that I want to make at this stage is that you are not going to defeat the fear complex merely by advancing the ideals of the old

Cape liberalism. I would be the last to wish to give the appearance of seeking to belittle the liberalism of the Cape. I am deeply conscious of the richness of its tradition, of the great men whom it nurtured, and who gave expression to its spirit. But I would suggest that in later years that liberalism tended to become too largely a thing of sentiment, too readily found satisfaction in warning itself at the fire of the old idealisms, paid too little heed to the need for finding in changing times a new basis for those idealisms. That, I think, is why the old Cape liberalism has, on the question of the Cape Native franchise, suffered so resounding a defeat. For, in fighting a fear-complex, idealism is not enough — it must be grounded in knowledge and nurtured in understanding. It is a new liberalism that South Africa needs — the acceptance of, in essence, the same broad principles as those for which the old liberalism has stood, together with the application, to the working-out of those principles, of sympathetic first-hand acquaintance with the Native peoples — or, to put it differently, eager study and thorough-going investigation, with a view to giving form and substance to the otherwise possibly dry bones of idealism. Of such a kind must be the new liberalism — a restrained liberalism, it has recently been described, which is content to hasten slowly. And, to my mind, the hopeful thing about our approach to the Native problem to-day is just this, that, although the old traditional liberalism has in recent years steadily been repelled in our Parliament, there has been none the less, outside Parliament, abundant evidence of the swelling of the tide of that new liberalism of which I have been speaking.

"For though the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seen here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main."

May I repeat that the bases of knowledge and understanding are essential for this new liberalism. It must be a liberalism of the mind as well as of the heart. It is that as much as anything that gives significance to the development of departments of Bantu Studies at our Universities, to the part that societies such as this play in University life, to the revolt amongst so many of our University students against the narrowness of the doctrine of keeping the Native "in his place", and to the ever growing evidence of the desire and the capacity in our academic world to express distinctive opinions on various aspects of Native affairs. Moreover, whatever may be said in criticism of this year's Native legislation, at least it has revealed to the country just exactly where it

stands in this matter, and so provided the necessary starting point for a new advance.

(Perhaps it is necessary that, before I go any further, I should here make one point clear, lest I be misunderstood. It is natural that at this time the mention of the word liberalism brings up in men's minds the idea of the Cape Native Franchise. I would explain that, as I use the term, franchise rights make up only a part of the conception of liberalism and certainly not the most important part. For my part I regard the question of the Cape Native Franchise as an issue which has been adjudicated. I certainly have no intention of reviving it. All that I am saying this evening is based on the assumption that the present position in regard to the representation of Natives is to continue.)

So far I have been emphasizing the necessity that our approach to the Native problem should be made in the spirit of what I have called the new liberalism. Let me pass on from the spirit of approach to the method of approach. Again I would proceed by way of analysis. Let us examine some of the chief lines of approach that seem to offer themselves.

#### The Two Extremes

The two extreme methods of approach — one on either side — may be ruled out without very much difficulty. There is first of all the policy which would regard the Native merely as a means to an end, a chattel in the white man's economy, ministering to his needs, building up his wealth, but, for the rest, to be kept "in his place" by sheer physical force, if need be, and to be restrained from any advance in the scale of civilization, lest thereby he should add to the gravity of the "black menace". I have stated the policy in its crudest form, a form in which perhaps not many would admit their adherence to it yet none the less, considered in its collective aspect, an important factor in our present national approach to the problem. What does such a policy imply for the white man and for the black? Take the case of the latter first. I shall put it, as I heard it put a few years ago by an educated Native at a meeting in the Transkei: "The white man came to us, and told us that we must throw off our barbarism, we must be educated, we must advance. We have obeyed his words, and now because we have done so, because we have advanced, he tells us that we are a menace and a danger." It was a statement to which one felt that it was impossible to find an answer. But from the white man's point of view too the policy is indefensible. Look at it in this way. The white man has come in

amongst the Natives and has changed their world; he has in large measure broken down the sanctions of the kraal and left them, many of them, exposed without protection to the freakish currents of thought of our modern world; he has awakened in them a self-consciousness, a race-consciousness, new wants, new desires; he has aroused in them the stirrings of a divine discontent. And, having done all that, he cannot, save at great peril to himself, and to those who will come after him, seek to block the stream in the channel into which he has himself led it, while he provides for it no other outlet. One thinks of the Natives on this Witwatersrand, of the impact upon them of our civilization, of the constantly multiplying manifestations of their response to that impulse. It is amazing how little the white man here on the Witwatersrand really knows of the stirring of this new life in the Native peoples living in his midst. But whether he knows of it or not, whether he likes it or not, the bare logic of facts will compel him, as he is brought to face up to it, to admit that the day of repression as a basis of Native policy is past, if indeed there ever was such a day. The white man has awakened the Native, he has ended his savage life, he has set his feet upon the long road which leads to civilization. It is a path on which there can be no retreat. And the white man has no option save to adjust his thinking and his policy to the realization of these facts.

But the other extreme policy — the policy which aims at complete equality, at the identity of black man with white, social no less than political and economic — is no more possible of acceptance. For the pure idealist the notion of racial equality has of course a large measure of attractiveness. Moreover, it is an ideal which is consciously being put into operation to-day on this African continent of ours. "France", it has been said, "is not a nation of thirty-nine million inhabitants, but one of a hundred million subjects." French policy postulates the identity of all subjects of France whatever their colour or race. To the South African of course the notion is repugnant. We are revolted in particular by the notion of social equality, with its corollary, as it seems to us, of inter-marriage and miscegenation. Racial antipathy, based on colour prejudice, or by whatever name we may call it, is for us a real thing. It may of course be argued, that such antagonism is not really innate or instinctive, that it is communicated by social suggestion, that an Englishman for instance, who comes to South Africa from an environment in which he would have welcomed a black man unhesitatingly to his home, assumes, usually within the briefest of periods, the

prevailing tone and sentiments, in this regard, of the country of his adoption. All that may be true; and yet the racial antipathy is too real a fact in our life for it to be brushed aside, either by the enunciation of the ideal of equality or even by the logic of argument. Moreover, it has its foundation in real differences, differences not just in the appearance of individuals, but differences rather in social tradition and in outlook on life. The United States was founded with the declaration of the "self-evident truth" that all men are created equal. Yet it was the President of the United States who in 1919 resisted Japan's claim for the insertion in the Covenant of the League of Nations of an acknowledgement of the principle of racial equality. There are some differences too deep-seated to be brushed aside by high-sounding declarations. There is a diversity between the races of men, there are facts of inequality which cannot be ignored. And although there is a fundamental equality in principle of men as men alongside of those facts of inequality, we must be careful in our definition of what that fundamental equality implies. Dr. J. H. Oldham has put it in this way. "Men are not equal in their capacity to serve the community, nor are they equal in their needs. But they are equal in the possession of a personality that is worthy of reverence. They are equal in the right to the development of that personality, so far as may be compatible with the common good." There is a special significance for us in South Africa in those concluding words: "So far as may be compatible with the common good." For, certainly, things being as they are in South Africa, we could not accept a policy of complete equalization of black man with white to the point of identity as being for the common good, or indeed for the good of either black man or white. That racial antipathy with which we started out as a fact would only be immensely magnified thereby.

#### Facts of Difference

We have then rejected the two extreme lines of approach. We have ruled out the permanent subjection of black man by white, and *a fortiori* of white man by black. We have ruled out also the equality, the identity of the two races. Obviously, we must seek our line of approach in another category. And we shall best find it, perhaps, if we take as our starting-point the recognition of the differences between white man and black — if we leave out of account questions of relative status, and concern ourselves in the first instance with the facts of difference. White man and black man are not, probably never will be, the same: — they have different social traditions,

they have different media of self-expression, they have different ideas of social welfare — should not those differences be the basis of a differentiation in policy and administration?

#### Meaning of Segregation

That statement will at once suggest the term "segregation", and it is here that the clearing away of undergrowth of which I spoke is particularly necessary. For segregation has come to be a potent word in South Africa. It is potent almost in the sense of being cabalistic. Many of those who utter it as a charm would be hard put to it to say what they meant by it. The explanations which would in fact be given would be most diverse in their nature. But the number of those men, to whom it means no more than Mesopotamia with all its soothing qualities meant to the old lady, would still be legion.

In its strict and original sense, in the sense in which it was first conceived by Shepstone, segregation means the complete territorial separation of white man and black man, and the barest minimum of intercourse between them, it means the distinctive development of the Native peoples on lines of their own, and in such manner as not to impinge on European interests, it means the growth of a black nation and a white nation side by side in South Africa. This ideal has the merit of being logical and of springing from a sound conception of inter-racial relationships. It suffers, however, from the fault of being entirely unpractical. In that respect it is in the same category as the solution, sometimes advocated in the United States for its colour problem, of dumping its twelve million Negroes *holus bolus* into Liberia, or as the proposal advocated in South Africa, chiefly at election times, for solving our Asiatic problem by whole-sale repatriation. The Native Economic Commission a few years ago went so far as to say that no one any longer advocates this view of segregation.

What then does segregation really mean in the minds of those who to-day support it as a policy? There are, as I have suggested, several shades of meaning, but for the most part they group themselves round two very distinct conceptions. There is on the one hand a crude segregationism, which is the form in which the doctrine is held by most of those who have not thought it out, and by some few of those who have. For them it means the extrusion of the Native from the white man's life, save in so far as he is necessary for ministrations to the white man's needs, the setting aside, for his occupation, of land so inadequate that dire necessity will drive him out to

labour at low wage-rates for the white man, and, for the rest, the refusal to regard him as other than a means to an end, or effectively to encourage his development in the areas reserved for him. That conception links itself up with that repressive policy which I dismissed as one of the extremes — it needs no further consideration than we have already given to that policy.

#### Constructive Segregation

But there is also a constructive segregationism which merits much closer attention. Let us start with the description which General Smuts gave of it, with reference to the wider Africa, in his Rhodes Lectures: "A policy which will not force her (i. e. Africa's) institutions into an alien mould, but which will preserve her unity with her own past, conserve what is precious in her past, and build her future on distinctively African foundations". Such a policy means the distinctive development of the black peoples; it means the encouragement of, and the provision of facilities for, that development; its aim is that the black man should not merely advance towards prosperity for himself, but should also make a specific contribution to the good of the whole community. But — and this is important — it does not necessarily mean the complete territorial separation of black man from white; it faces up to the present territorial and economic intermingling of the two races as a factor which may be reduced, but cannot be eliminated; it regards labour for the white man as a necessary element in the economic structure of Bantu life. It is, however, on distinctive Native development that the emphasis is laid — that is the essence of what I have called constructive segregation.

For the consideration of segregation in this form, it becomes necessary to ask what measure of separation of the races is essential if that end of distinctive Native development is to be attained. For the answer it will probably be best to refer to that part of South Africa where this constructive policy of segregation has in fact been most successfully applied. In the Transkei we have a territory of sixteen thousand square miles, of which all but a thousand are reserved for Native ownership. It carries a population of a million Natives, who have been provided with the machinery of self-government in respect of their own specifically local concerns. In its administration the development of the Native has been the primary aim. He has been encouraged to determine the lines of his own progress, and there have been stimulated in him a feeling of pride in his own institutions, a sense of responsibility, and a growing experience of administrative affairs. And yet,

to its Native inhabitants, even the Transkei secures only a marginal subsistence. It is of the essence of its economic life that a large number of them should go out at regular intervals to work in the white man's industries, beyond the borders of the Territories in order to satisfy their expanding wants and desires. There is, therefore, no attempt to secure a complete separation between white man and black. One cardinal thing alone is secured — and it is of the first importance that this should be noted — the home of the Transkeian Native remains in the Transkei and to that home he normally returns.

So then we may define the aim of the constructive segregationist, in relation to the Union as a whole, in some such way as this — the reservation for the Native peoples of sufficient land to make possible the maintenance of their family and tribal life, no substantial restriction on their going out to work for the white man for definite periods, but the retention of the reserve as their home and the centre of their life and of their distinctive advancement.

Now, stated in this form, the policy has obvious merits. It will achieve a considerable reduction in the intermingling of black and white, it will ensure a large measure of recognition for the facts of difference and yet it does not postulate either the setting aside, for the black man's occupation, of land sufficient to provide for all his needs independently of the white man's wages, or the administration to the white man's industry of the shock which would be caused by the withdrawal of the black man's labour. It does, however, require, and this is the bare minimum, the provision of adequate reserves to ensure at least a marginal subsistence for all Native families, and the removal to those reserves of all such families as dwell in the white man's towns or on the white man's farms to-day. That, it seems to me, the provision of sufficient land, to provide a bare subsistence for all the families that dwell to-day in the white man's towns or on the white man's farms, is the minimum essential if the use of the term segregation is to be justified. On the basis of that minimum a constructive policy of segregation can be evolved, and there is no reason why such a policy should not satisfy the demands set at once by logic and justice for a solution of the problem. But if that minimum is not attained, then segregation offers no solution; and, the more we fall short of it, the greater is the danger of it becoming a mockery and a sham.

#### The Land is the Test

It is clear, then, that we must test the value of segregation as a line of approach by asking whether

the minimum condition precedent to its success can be satisfied to-day. Fifty years ago, no doubt, it could have been satisfied. Natal, the Transkei, Bechuanaland offered a fair field for such a policy. But the position is very different to-day, and it is so chiefly because of the *laissez faire* which characterized Republican and Ciskeian Native policy; because of the failure to make adequate provision for the Native as an independent agriculturist, and of the desire to enjoy to the full the reputed advantage of cheap Native labour. Away back in 1882, President Kruger spoke with enthusiasm of the time when the Native tribes would reap the prosperous fruit of the old principle of the Republic, in terms of which every tribe of any importance had a fixed territory appointed for it. Unfortunately, not many years after 1882 that principle began to be honoured in the breach — and the result of its desuetude is that to-day something very different from prosperous fruit is being reaped by many Natives of the Transvaal. The failure of the South African Republic to deal with the problem of Native land in its latter years has made a very substantial contribution to our Native problem as we know it to-day.

It is the *laissez-faire* in the Transvaal and elsewhere in South Africa at that time which makes so difficult to-day the task of re-creating Native family and tribal life, and, let me insist again, the re-creation of Native family and, in some measure at least, Native tribal life is essential for the success of any policy of constructive segregation. For, as a result of that *laissez-faire*, the Native has in fact gone out from his tribal home, to an ever increasing extent *with his family* to make his home in the white man's towns; he has, also with his family, made his home on the white man's farms, and it has been in the interest of the European farmer to encourage him to do so. "The whites", said General Smuts at Oxford, "like to have the families of their Native servants with them. It means more continuous and less broken periods of labour, and it means more satisfied labourers. It means moreover the use of the women and children for such work as they are fit for." Over half of the Native population of the Union is to-day living outside of the reserves: that is a fact of the very first importance in the testing of the segregationist theory. There are well over two million Natives in rural areas outside the reserves; there are about a million in the towns — and, though our European urban population has been growing disproportionately as compared with our European rural population, our Native urban population is growing far more rapidly than our European urban population. Not all these,

of course, represent Native families, but it is clear that the task of re-establishing Native family life in the reserves is one of very considerable magnitude. The segregationist labours under what is indeed a *damosa hereditas* from the policy of drift of the past.

I think it will be clear by now, that, for any policy of segregation which would merit consideration as a solution of our problem, there will be a very heavy price for the white man to pay. There is a price to be paid in respect of labour — less continuous, as the Native family is moved back to the reserve; less abundant, as Native development proceeds, and absorbs more of its own labour; less cheap, as the Native, in the building up of his own life, becomes more independent of the white man's wages. There is a price also in respect of land, for it means setting apart for Native ownership considerable areas which are open to the European to-day, and which have come to be regarded as eminently suitable for European exploitation and settlement, areas moreover in which Europeans have already established themselves. Let it not be forgotten that, for the success of this policy, there must be postulated the setting aside of enough land to give effect to a policy of building up Native homes for all the Native peoples of South Africa and for the natural increase of the future — land sufficient to provide them at once with a safeguard against economic exploitation, an inducement to retain their domicile, and the facilities for effective development. And, even after all possible allowances are made for an increase in the productivity and carrying capacity of the existing reserves, that represents a very heavy demand.

That is the price to be paid; and, if the question be put whether the white man is willing to pay that price for segregation, there can, I fear, be only one answer — that the chances of his paying a price, sufficient to secure anything that indeed would be worthy of that name, are exceedingly remote. As far as labour is concerned, the European farmer who cries out for segregation certainly does not envisage it as implying the end of the labour-tenant system, the removal of all Native families from his farm to the reserves, and the necessity of paying wages sufficient to attract Natives from the reserves for the carrying on of his operations — and, just because he does not envisage that, one is justified in saying that for him segregation is only really a blessed word after all. Or, take the question of land. The Natives Land Act of 1913 was designed to give effect to the policy of segregation. To that end it first of all scheduled as Native land the reserves then existing. Those scheduled areas amounted to 10½ million morgen, 7.3 per

cent of the total area of the Union. In Natal, with a population 80 per cent Native, 28.2 per cent of the land was scheduled as Native reserve, — the Cape has a 60 per cent Native population and 7.3 per cent reserve area; the Transvaal has 70 per cent Natives and 3.7 per cent reserve; the Free State 70 per cent Natives and 0.5 per cent reserve. But secondly the Natives Land Act, while prohibiting the sale of land to Natives outside the scheduled areas, foreshadowed the demarcation of additional areas for Native ownership. We all know the painful history of the attempts of successive Governments to give effect to the implied promise and we know how great have been the difficulties caused by the white man's unwillingness to make any sort of payment that would really hurt as the price of segregation. It is only this year — after 23 years of frustration and delay — that, by the Natives Land and Trust Act, the promise has been redeemed.

That Act I think we can claim as, on the whole, a really valuable constructive measure. It does more than redeem the promise of 1913, in so far as it not merely releases areas for Native occupation and ownership, but also provides, through the Trust, the means for the acquisition of those areas. Moreover, if we read, in conjunction with the Act, the Prime Minister's promise that the necessary funds for such acquisition will be provided, we can appreciate the fact that we are indeed making a very important advance, an advance along the lines of that policy of constructive segregation of which I have spoken. But we have still to ask whether the advance actually contemplated is sufficient for the effective application of that policy, having regard to the fact that to-day round about half our Natives have their homes outside the reserves. The Natives Land and Trust Act provides for the acquisition of a maximum area of 7½ million morgen. This will bring the total amount of Native land up to a morgengage of rather less than 18 millions, that is, 12.3 per cent of the area of the Union. In assessing this figure we must of course take account of the facts that the standard of living of the Native is very much lower than that of the white man, and that, on the average, the quality of the land in the present reserves is high relatively to South African land in general; but when all allowances have been made, it is hard to see how the land to be provided can in fact meet the needs of all Native families at present living in the white man's towns and on the white man's farms. And indeed it has never been claimed for the Natives Land and Trust Act by those responsible for it that it will have that effect. All that has been claimed for it is that it will provide

for some of those families. It is right that we should welcome and acclaim this legislation, but let no one think that it is really going to satisfy what I described as the minimum condition precedent to the solution of the Native problem by a policy of segregation which would logically merit that name. For such a policy the white man has given no indication of preparedness to pay the price.

But, even if he were prepared to pay it, there would remain a further question — whether in fact it is not already too late for him to do so. Constructive segregation, as I have sought to describe it, implies the maintenance and, so far as need be, the re-creation of Native family and tribal life; the distinctive Native system which it envisages must draw its inspiration very largely from tribalism; and in the way of that there is a very serious obstacle, the fact that, as far as a considerable number of Natives are concerned, the policies of the past have led them very far away from tribalism. Sarah Gertrude Millin has used the apologue of a journey. The black man has been called by the white man to accompany him. He has arisen. He has left his savage life behind him. Now he is on the road, travelling in the shadow of the white man, carrying his chattels. And for a time the white man has been glad to have the black man with him, glad to have him carrying his burdens while he is left free to exult in the air and sun of Africa. But the time comes when the difficulties of the journey increase, and food runs short, and the white man comes to be resentfully conscious of the creature with him who is making demands on him for sustenance, conscious also of the possibility that he may demand a still larger share of the available provisions, and in the end attack his master in order to obtain it. At the last he would fain be rid of his companion, force him back upon dependance on himself, despatch him again to the home from which he called him. But the breach with the old life is too complete, the road already traversed is too long, and, for all the wishing of the white man that he had never called the black man, there is now no going back upon the road — white man and black man must needs travel along together. Put concretely, the position is just this. There is to-day a considerable class of educated and semi-educated Natives. Many of them have risen to, or at least made advances towards, a European standard. They have been educated on European lines, they have been trained to think and feel like Europeans. Here on the Witwatersrand, at least, there is no need to stress the fact. And to-day it is no longer a question of a few educated Native agitators. It is a large and rapidly increasing class with which

we have to deal, a class permeated with ideas of life — and that because of our own direct or indirect encouragement in the past — ideas of life which make it impossible to fit them into the scheme of the segregationist by forcing them back upon the life of the kraal. If the policy of differential development had been followed logically and completely from the outset, these men would to-day no doubt be taking their place as leaders in the distinctive development of their people. But, as things are, in this respect also, the time is past for the full application of that policy : it is now too late.

The policy of constructive segregation may have been a practicable one for the last generation. In our own we can only apply it in bits and fragments : the chance of using it as a solution of the problem is lost.

### Conclusions

The time has come for me to sum up the conclusions to which our process of analysis has led us. We have rejected identity and repression as lines of approach to the Native problem ; we have chosen instead the category of difference, starting out with the necessity for the frank acceptance by both sides of existing differences as facts. That is after all the essence of segregation, and so we have sought to follow up the segregationist line of approach. And the result has been that, on the basis even of the most modest form of that policy that can still be called segregation, we have found our advance impeded, our road blocked, as a result of the policies and the lack of policy of the past. We have found that, natural and logical and right though the policy of differentiation may be, we cannot give it full application. We have found that there are obdurate facts of which we must take account — the unwillingness of the white man to pay the price of segregation, and the existence of a great company of Europeanized detribalized Natives in our midst.

What then follows ? I think our analysis has shown us, that there is in fact no clear-cut approach to the Native problem, leading to a definite and determinable solution. And that being so, we must be content with a partial vision of the goal, following in faith and patience such gleams of light as are at present vouchsafed to us, hoping that fuller enlightenment will in time reward our faith. And if we are indeed satisfied with that limited objective, then I think the analysis of the more ambitious solutions that I have made this evening will be of value to us, as suggesting two ways in which some measure of progress can be attained.

### Development in Native Areas

First there is the conception of distinctive Native development in Native areas, which is fundamental to the policy of constructive segregation. It is only, as we have seen, of partial applicability, but it none the less merits application in so far as it is possible to do so. It was the emphasis on Native development that gave its chief value to the report of the Native Economic Commission to which I have already referred — and perhaps I should here interpolate that a great deal more is being done to-day, unobtrusively, unobtrusively, by the administrative action of our Native Affairs Department, to promote that work of development than is commonly realized. The Commission emphasized the desperate urgency of the launching of a progressive policy for the saving of the Native reserves from the imminent danger of the creation of desert conditions, and in this connection used graphic language in regard to the race between the enlightenment of the Native and the complete destruction of his land. And, at the same time, it dwelt with all the force at its command on the fact that there is no threat to the white community in the development of the Native ; that indeed the orderly march of the Native population to civilization will be to the benefit, not to the detriment, of the European. The Commission indeed went so far as to speak of a South African "nation, white as well as black" — a phrase which is strong meat indeed to most South Africans. But whether we like the phrase or not, the essential point of the inter-dependence of European and Native economic interest remains. We shall never permanently secure the wealth and prosperity of the white man by keeping the black man poor and depressed. That is a lesson that cannot be emphasized sufficiently in South Africa. And perhaps when we have learnt it, the prevalent fear-complex will begin to disappear.

### Permanency of Urban Natives

The second point that emerged from our analysis is the necessity of recognizing the class of detribalized urban Native as a permanent factor, of accepting the members of that class as co-workers in the building-up of South Africa's economic life, and of showing practical sympathy with their aspirations for conditions in which better living is possible. It is, of course, to be anticipated that the operation of the Native Trust created by this year's legislation, and the development of reserves and other Native areas, will help toward the realization of those aspirations, that they will draw off from the towns those casual workers, whose competition to-day tends to depress

the conditions of work and pay of the urbanized Native, who has no marginal subsistence in the reserves to fall back upon. But it still remains necessary to regard those Natives of this class who will remain in the towns as permanent participants in the white man's economy, to promote their development and advance no less than that of the tribal Natives, and to envisage their training in methods of greater efficiency with, as an inevitable result, the payment of higher wages. This last, let it not be overlooked, will be to the interest and not to the detriment of the white man, for it is the low scale of Native wages which is helping to depress the economic status of many Europeans to-day.

### Harmonising of Interests

I have emphasized these two things — development of Native areas, sympathy with the economic aspirations of the residual urban Native — as ways in which some measure of progress towards the solution of the Native problem can be made. May I now recall the way in which I formulated that problem at the outset — how best European and Native may live together in peace and harmony in the same community. And the conclusions at which we would seem to have arrived this evening may, I think, be summarized as being that, if we would rightly approach the Native problem, we must first conceive of it as a problem of living together in a single community, and then advance towards it along the path in which it will be easiest to overcome the economic and psychological obstacles which hamper progress. And if the conception of living together in this sense is adopted, it will tend to take our minds away from questions of *rights*, questions of superiority and inferiority : it will enable us rather to concentrate on the thought of the *contributions* which the two elements can severally make to the welfare of the community as a whole. Dr. Aggrey once used the simile of the white notes and the black notes on the piano to emphasize the point that each of the two races has its contribution to make to the world's harmony. And that is certainly applicable also in respect of South Africa's economic progress.

### Progress and Racial Intercourse

I would not appear to minimize the difficulties, the obstacles in the line of approach of which I have been speaking. There are those who will ask the question : but will not the development of the Native, the encouragement of his economic advance, lead inevitably to social equality ? and what of the inter-marriage and race-mixture which may be expected to result ? In relation to this last specific point there

is, I think, little real ground for fear. A competent observer has recently declared after a visit to the United States that "it was instructive to find so many signs that repression is being more and more abandoned, that it is becoming more generally realized that the only way to avoid or delay intermixture — and intermixture seems very definitely on the decline in America — is to help the Negroes develop their own race-consciousness, and to do everything possible to make it attractive for them to stay Negro". There is statistical evidence from our own land which points in the same direction. It is in the Cape Province that Native policy has been most broadly sympathetic and that, on the whole, most has been done for Native development. I have taken out some figures in respect of the last available three year period which I ask you to consider. In the Cape the number of offences against the Immorality Act was 3.2 per hundred thousand of the Native population. In the rest of the Union there were 6.4 such offences per hundred thousand — twice as many. In the Cape the figure for crimes of violence with sexual intent committed by Natives against Europeans was .6 per hundred thousand. In the rest it was 2.4 per hundred thousand — four times as high. The danger, on the social side, is decreased, not increased, by the pursuit of a policy calculated to stimulate the pride, the self-esteem, and the race-consciousness of the Native peoples.

There is, then, as far as this matter of race-mixture is concerned, little ground for fear in respect of the policy of Native development. But apprehension in other respects may well be regarded as not without justification. Certainly the approach to the Native problem which I have been adumbrating does call for vision, and imagination, and faith in no small degree. Whether in fact it will ensure the white man's position in South Africa, will make South Africa safe for European civilization, who shall say ? This at least one can say, that there is no Native policy of which that can be predicted with confidence, and that, to the only logically complete alternative policy which to-day could really be described as practicable, the policy of repression, there attach dangers which will almost certainly be far greater. There can be no certainty, no assurance for the future, but if we needs must be content to regard our Native problem as one in which finality is not yet possible of attainment, one in regard to which we can but advance one step at a time, as the light may lead us, if in other words it is in faith that we must go forward, at least we have ground enough to "hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering".

## Triumph of Faith over Fear

It is on the note of faith and confidence that I would close. The problem of which I have been speaking presents to this small nation of ours a cruelly severe test. But when I have regard to our nation's past history, when I see in that history proof at once

of the fundamental soundness of its instinctive reactions in time of crisis and of its genius for constructive statesmanship, I have confidence that it will in this matter also, in the long run, not be found wanting. And the measure of its success will be its capacity to make faith triumph over fear.

## EDUCATION AND RACE ATTITUDES\*

by J. D. RHEINALLT JONES

The growing intensity of our racial problems has in recent years forced public attention upon them, and there has been in consequence more general discussion of these problems than in earlier years, and also there has been more extensive study of them. Not the least of these problems is the question of the psychological relations between the various groups. More extensive racial contact has led to uncertainty, as to the proper behaviour between group and group, and between individuals from different groups, (e. g. Should a white man shake hands with a Native?) and also uncertainty as to what should be the attitude of the ruling white group towards the Non-European groups — in political, social and economic relationships. This uncertainty has led to friction, not only between the European and Non-European groups, but also between sections of the White group whose outlooks and traditions differ in regard to racial questions.

From time to time statements are made declaring not only what the correct attitudes should be but also what they actually are, but hitherto there have not been available any reliable data in regard to the latter. Bruno Lasker's *Race Attitudes in Children*, which embodied the results of a study made in the United States, has had no counterpart in South Africa, and consequently every statement describing the racial attitude of any group has been based upon general rather than specific evidence. And yet no attempt at the harmonising of the racial situation in South Africa can go very far without sound knowledge and understanding of the situation itself, and especially a proper appreciation of the psychological factors in that situation.

A beginning in this direction has been made by Dr. I. D. MacCrone of the Department of Psychology of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, who has recently conducted investigations with a view to testing the reactions of the South African-born White group to the Bantu. The results are presented in a typescript volume which I sincerely trust will find publication shortly, and Dr. MacCrone has generously placed the volume at my service for this address, in which I propose to make use of Dr. MacCrone's findings to assist me in considering the part which education should play in the harmonising of race relations in South Africa.

Dr. MacCrone conducted five separate enquiries, and these are described by him in close detail and treated mathematically. In this address I can only deal with the material sufficiently to bring out the facts as to racial attitudes.

The first enquiry was directed to measuring, by means of a graduated scale, the varying degrees of racial feeling, favourable and unfavourable, among Europeans towards Natives. The second was an effort to examine the attitudes of certain White groups towards other groups, both Whites and Non-Whites, and to see to what extent the results could be correlated with the attitudes towards the Native group revealed in the first study. The third was a test of fair-mindedness in relation to attitude towards the Native. The fourth study was a preliminary survey of the factors which, either at the conscious or the near-conscious level of the mind, affect the beliefs and reactions of Whites in respect of Natives. The last was a word association test.

\* An address delivered before the Annual Conference of the Natal Teachers Society at Durban on July 21st, 1936. The address is based upon the unpublished results of a study on Race Attitudes by Dr. I. D. MacCrone, Professor of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It is hoped that Dr. MacCrone's thesis will be published shortly.

It should be realised that the tests were imposed upon Whites only, and that no tests have so far been applied to Non-Whites.

### I. SCALE MEASUREMENT

As a result of fairly exhaustive preliminary tests, a series of 30 questions, covering, as far as the investigator could judge, the whole gamut of favourable and unfavourable attitudes, arranged haphazardly but designed to bring into grades the feeling for or against the Native in the minds of the subjects, the grading being effected by classifying the replies in accordance with the following step intervals or scores:

STEP INTERVAL CLASS	ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE NATIVE
2-3	1. Very strongly favourable
3-4	2. Strongly favourable
4-5	3. Favourable
5-6	4. Ambivalent
6-7	5. Unfavourable
7-8	6. Strongly Unfavourable
8-9	7. Very strongly unfavourable

The following were some of the statements: —

1. *I consider that the Native is only fit to do the "dirty" work of the White community.*
2. *The idea of contact with the black or dark skin of the Native excites horror and disgust in me.*
3. *I think the Native, if he were given the chance, would prove to be just as good as the White man.*
4. *I do not think that we ought to help the Native until all the White people who are in need have been helped.*
5. *I consider that the Native has been unjustly deprived of his country by the White man.*
6. *I admire the Native for his many good qualities and would like to see him given an opportunity of developing them.*
7. *The fact that the Native had developed no civilisation on his own to speak of before the White man arrived in this country, is to my mind more than sufficient proof of his innate inferiority.*

The first groups examined consisted of the following first year South African born students at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: —

	TOTAL
English-speaking South Africans	M. 141 F. 64 205
Afrikaans " " "	M. 74 F. 26 100
Jewish " " "	M. 77 F. 34 111

Total: 416

i. e. between 60 and 70% of the total number of first year students, and including those taking courses in the faculties of Arts, Science, Engineering and Medicine.

At this predominantly English-speaking University, the Jewish student body represents a larger proportion than the Jewish population of the Union, while the Afrikaans-speaking students represent a smaller proportion than the Dutch section of the population of the Union. To restore the balance to some extent, and also to provide groups whose results would serve as a control over those obtained at Johannesburg, it was considered advisable to go outside the University and apply the test to students elsewhere. For that purpose the test was also applied in Afrikaans to the students of the Potchefstroom Christian University College, where there are no Jews, and which is almost entirely if not wholly an Afrikaans institution. The test was also applied to students at the Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, where there are only a few Jews and which is almost, though not quite, English-speaking. Potchefstroom draws its students largely from the rural Afrikaans-speaking population of the Transvaal, while the students at Grahamstown come mainly from the Eastern Province of the Cape, which, in view of its long tradition of Kaffir wars and close contacts between European and Bantu at the present time, might be expected to provide some interesting results.

Now, at Johannesburg, the students were all in the first few weeks of their first year, before they had been influenced greatly by the teaching and life at the University. They were thus the products of the schools, and their reactions might be held to reflect the results of the education in the schools. On the other hand, they could not be regarded as typical of the population as a whole, since they represented a portion of a selected section which receives University education. Their attitudes however, have special significance, since from among them are likely to be drawn those who will influence thought most in the future.

The students at Potchefstroom and Grahamstown who took the test included second and third year students, whose views may have been modified by, and could perhaps be said to reflect the current feeling, at the University concerned. The numbers dealt with were: —

Potchefstroom	M. 72 F. 48	Total 120
Grahamstown	M. 33 F. 63	Total 96

Total 216