made indicated that in these families the deficiency is accounted for by charity, begging, debt and malnutrition.

An attempt to tabulate European family earnings at once revealed widely varied scales of salaries. My own inquiries, for instance, were made among families whose wage-earners were artisans. Consequently nearly sixty per cent were classed in the group "Above minimum comfort". In another group of fifty families where many wage-earners were unskilled labourers, only nineteen percent were above the standard of minimum comfort.

An adequate investigation of the position of European families was not found to be possible so this group has not been included in the figures quoted.

Comparisons and contrasts were natural consequences of every discussion and in this way each member was made aware of the difficulties of other groups even if he could not fully appreciate their significance. Until such acquaintance is made with the problems of a "whole" society of South Africa, an understanding of what this entire society means, is impossible. It is not that one loses race prejudice, colour prejudice or fear of social equality between Black and White, but that what were hitherto distant and technical problems become the very human problem of individuals for whom they are the realities of daily life. That is what our Study Group has meant to me.

I should like to add, however, that the leader's guidance in defining the line of research and discussion, in inviting all our interesting visitors and in contributing facts to challenge or illuminate statements made by members — was as important as the regularity of the weekly meeting in giving point and structure to the results of our studies.

Research and enquiry can provide much knowledge if the purposes are clear. Through the work of a group like ours, one realises that any social progress must include a progress of all groups, however slowly that progress is made.

The foregoing was presented and adopted at the last meeting of the group in 1937. All the members spoke to it voicing agreement with its contents and also a strong desire to continue the work of the group in 1938. Each member spoke warmly of knowledge gained, of prejudice and distrust broken down, of extended sympathies and wider understanding, and of the translation of impersonal problems into human realities.

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Obligation of the Native Affairs Department to settle certain Persons in Trust Areas

1. Chapter I: Section 39 provides that it shall be the duty of the Native Affairs Department to provide accommodation in Trust Areas for any Union Natives who are displaced from European farms by reason of the operation of the Provisions of the Chapter.

2. Under the Native Laws Amendment Act No. 46 of 1937, it is the obligation of the Native Affairs Department to provide accommodation in Trust areas for Natives expelled from urban areas as redundant under Section 21 of that Act. (16 ter of Natives (Urban Areas) Act as amended).

Mission Land

The Native Laws Amendment Act, 1937 has brought Mission owned land under the Restrictions of the Native Land Act, 1913, from which it had been previously exempted.

Special District Memoranda

It is not possible within the limits of this paper to deal with the application of the general principles to particular areas. Detailed memoranda have however been prepared or are in the course of preparation on as many districts as possible. What is to happen to those who remain and survive the next three years we may leave the citizens of 1968 to decide. In any case, the licence must be paid. It is encouraging to note that some of the largest landowners in the area have decided not to add this licence fee to the annual rent at present. This fee will only fall due as from April 15th, 1939.

BACK NUMBERS OF "RACE RELATIONS"

The following numbers of Race Relations are out of print and are not available for sale:

Volume I. No. 2. (February, 1934)
No. 3. (April, 1935)

All other numbers, from Volume I, No. 1 onwards, are in stock and can be procured at the price of one shilling. (Exception to members of the Institute).
which convey a satisfactory impression to the audience of the life and activities of civilized mankind. On the Witwatersrand, a special committee of the Native Recruiting Corporation pre-selects all films to be shown in the nine theatres. This committee, however, does not import films from overseas, but is dependent on the local film exchanges for its supply. The local film distributors import films, naturally, with an eye to European box-office receipts. So it is a question of sifting out films intended for Europeans, those which are the most suitable, or, more exactly, those unsuitable, for exhibiting to Native audiences.

The Union Board of Film Censors, sitting at Cape Town, pre-views all films entering the country, and issues certificates specifying the types of audience for which films are suitable and to whom they may be shown. Many films are passed for universal exhibition. Certain ones are banned entirely. Others may be shown Europeans above a certain age. Others, again, may be shown Europeans, but may be banned for Non-Europeans. Still others may be shown to all, except Natives. Just what qualifications the Board has for putting on the suitability of films to be shown Non-Europeans and Natives, the writer has been unable to discover by careful inquiry.

Several cinemas in Johannesburg are licensed as “Non-European Bioscopes.” These may exhibit films which are passed for universal exhibition and those which are banned for Native exhibition but passed for all others. In exhibiting films which have been banned for Natives, the proprietors are instructed to post a sign: “Natives are Not Admitted to This Performance.”

During 1936-1937 the following films have been exhibited in the Non-European Theatres in Johannesburg:

- Bad Girl
- Alias the Doctor
- Smoking Guns
- Roadhouse
- Rhodes of Africa
- Anything Goes
- Frankenstein
- Wedding Night
- Casino de Paris
- Last Outlaw
- The Cheat
- Gun Justice
- Mr. Lips Bernay
- Fog Over Frisco
- Outlawed Guns
- First a Girl
- Dancing Pirates
- Too Many Women
- The Perfect Lady
- Dark Angel
- Strike Me Pink
- Seven Sinners

Care should, of course, be exercised in judging the aforementioned films without knowing what cuts have been made and parts eliminated. But the titles alone are sufficient to indicate to anyone remotely familiar with current film productions the general character of the films, and to suggest, as a minimum judgment, that, while they might not have contained scenes which were vulgar or suggestive, they did not convey an elevating or ennobling picture of Western civilised life to the spectators of the kind which many of them had had scant experience of the ordinary home life of the European.

The writer has a good deal of sympathy with the managers of the Non-European bioscope theatres in having to draw the line between patrons on purely colour lines. One proprietor said to the writer: “This censorship is a farce. It has not excluded anybody. The educated Native is a better patron than many Coloured or Poor Whites.” It is expecting a good deal of exhibitors that they shall turn customers away who come with money in their hands asking for admission. The writer obtained printed programmes from four Non-European theatres, advertising the names of feature films scheduled for future showings. No indication was given on the programmes whether shows were to be open to Natives or not. The proprietors displayed little sympathy with the classification of desirable or undesirable by means of the racial label. “Why shouldn’t we admit a well-dressed Native? Isn’t he as good as an Indian or a Chinese?” seemed to be the attitude. This attitude was explained by Mr. W. Watson, Manager of the African Consolidated Films, Limited, as follows:

“The position is complicated by the fact that Indians, Chinese, Coloureds and Natives are classed under the one category in all intents and purposes, and this is distinctly unfair when you realize the tremendous gulf between the educated Hindu or Chinese, or even the educated Native, as against the lowest type of Native. This makes the whole question most difficult as far as the audience in the larger towns in the Union are concerned.”

The writer has found South African distributors, especially, the management of the African Consolidated Films, Limited, willing and anxious to assist in the provision of suitable films for African audiences. Were the Non-European theatres to-day sufficiently numerous to warrant the importation of special films for them alone, the local distributors would do this on a cooperative basis in order to assure that the programmes were as good as the facilities of the overseas market made possible.

As it is, however, lack of money is to-day the main deterrent to the South African Bantu patronising the cinema in their tens of thousands. For they are enthusiastic about motion pictures. When their economic position is improved a large expansion of the motion picture industry is assured.

During 1936-1937 the Cinematograph Act, (3) the Recognition of the Different Uses in Exhibiting Films to Africans from that in Showing to Europeans (4) have been passed for all others. In exhibiting films which have been made and pans eliminated. But the titles alone are sufficient to indicate to anyone remotely familiar with current film productions the general character of the films, and to suggest, as a minimum judgment, that, while they might not have contained scenes which were vulgar or suggestive, they did not convey an elevating or ennobling picture of Western civilised life to the spectators many of whom had had scant experience of the ordinary home life of the European.

We cannot discuss here many aspects of the film industry in South Africa, including the implications of the Cinematograph Act, (3) the Recognition of the Different Uses in Exhibiting Films to Africans from that in Showing to Europeans (4) and the Similar Act passed for all others. In exhibiting films which have been made and pans eliminated. But the titles alone are sufficient to indicate to anyone remotely familiar with current film productions the general character of the films, and to suggest, as a minimum judgment, that, while they might not have contained scenes which were vulgar or suggestive, they did not convey an elevating or ennobling picture of Western civilised life to the spectators many of whom had had scant experience of the ordinary home life of the European.

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to forget that we exist, and not troubles; to be taken out of

While picture-books for the African must have entertainment value as we have pointed out, it must be remembered that to the White man the film is advancing from a primitive art to a recognition of its importance. He has once more to learn of the world; about man and his fellow human beings than has the white man. The African, furthermore, does not see enough of the finer side of the life of the White man to enable him to form a true estimate of his Western civilisation and standard of morals and conduct. Care should be taken to present programmes which reflect, as far as possible, the whole life of Europeans—an exemplary type. Films with little else to recommend them but "sex appeal" would not be greatly missed. To the African in his triple state there was nothing notably fascinating about sex matters. The sex function was normal function of life, to be talked about openly and without hesitation. Scientific and cultural films of same, but invested return still be valuable, it shown to educated groups of Africans and it accompanied by explanations as to what is being shown. It might help producers and distributors to think of the present peoples of the older European countries, peoples with a limited background andcircumscribed knowledge of the world, and plan programmes which would be of the greatest value to them, judged from every angle, not alone from the standpoint of box-office receipts.

THE BANTU IN THE CITY

Professor R. F. ALFRED HENDRICK

Whether we like it or not, we have to face the fact that Africans have become a permanent element of the populations of all South African towns and cities. By "permanent" I mean permanent as residents, in contrast with the Africans who come to town only as temporary, migratory workers, leaving their families still in the Reserves or rural districts. The urban African has his "home" in the town (or in the Location attached to the town) as truly as the European town-dweller has his home in the White residential areas. Most urban African families could not now return to the land and make a living there, even if they wanted to. They are as completely urbanised as the numerous Whites who have been shifting into the towns from the farms during the last thirty years. They earn their living in jobs such as only the businesses and industries of a town can offer, and many of them hold the same jobs for years on end. They sometimes own their own houses and pay rates. More generally, they rent a house and plot in a Location. In any case, they and their families live, so far as their low incomes permit, in a "location of the White man", enable him to form a true estimate of the way he lives and on which he depends. More generally, they rent a house and plot in a Location. In any case, they and their families live, so far as their low incomes permit, in a "location of the White man", enable him to form a true estimate of the way he lives and on which he depends. More generally, they rent a house and plot in a Location. In any case, they and their families live, so far as their low incomes permit, in a "location of the White man", enable him to form a true estimate of the way he lives and on which he depends.

A thorough study of this struggle for adjustment has been long overdue, and no better man could have been found for the task than R. F. Phillips, who writes from fifteen years of first-hand experience as a social worker, and three years of intensive study of the problem in preparation for this book. He deserves to be warmly congratulated on a most informative piece of work, which no one interested in the African people and in race relations can afford to miss. It is a book equally valuable for three things: for its presentation of the whole, the chapter on the Economic Basis (I) and that on Religion (VI). Like all the other chapters, both begin with a brief sketch of the tribal conditions which each African has left behind him, thus emphasising vividly the stretch of the re-adjustment which he has made or is engaged in making. In his economic life, for instance, he has to alter his outlook and take the place of the one-product economy on the land, without money, and relying on kinship bonds for mutual help in time of trouble, to an individualistic, competitive economy, based on money ("the shilling takes the place of my brother")—p. 50), which has to be earned by getting and keeping a "job". For this life the African fresh from the kraal is as poorly equipped as though he had suddenly been dropped on the earth from one of the planets" (p. 3). Moreover "the door to progress in industry is shut in the face of the Black man and the bolts are locked by the highest political authority in the land" (p. 4). As a result, wages on the average are deplorably low, and kept low by the competition of the temporary worker from the outside, as well as by colour-bars and the "Civilised" (in practice, "White") labour policy. In general, all this of course, well-known. But, it is some the less instructive to have these facts driven home into our minds once more with full illustrative detail, e.g., that a medically satisfactory diet for a family of father, mother and two children would cost between six and seven pounds per month, not reckoning any other expenditure, when the wage-earner's average monthly income is only about four pounds.

Inevitably, there is chronic underfeeding, with lowered resistance to disease and lack of strength for work. Inevitably, there is debt, with its corollaries of worry insecurity, and shiftlessness. Inevitably, there are efforts to make good the deficiency by gambling, illicit liquor-brewing, and the like. Understandable ways of earning money. Generally, the mother has to go out to work to supplement the family income, with bad effects on the upbringing of the children. It is noticeable that even in the better "educated" families the mother very often earns additional income.

And yet, whilst the use of the hire-purchase system adds to the economic embarrassments, there is evidence also of genuine saving: Building Societies and Banks give their African customers a good name. One family, with an earned income of £200 per annum has £3,000 in the bank; another, with a total earned income, from all members, of £50 per annum has £7,600 in a Building Society. But, there are the lucky exceptions, and, if they were not assisted by some "windfall", one cannot help wondering how it was done. The vast majority is struggling helplessly in the toils of debt.

Among other interesting facts, we learn that, in 1936, there were between five and six-hundred African retail traders along the Reef, some of whom received high praise from wholesalers for their trustworthiness and business acumen. One Indian wholesaler extends credit freely to African customers because he finds them "more reasonable than Europeans and Indians" (p. 27). There is an interesting number, too, of skilled artisans and craftsmen who are earning a tolerable, and sometimes even a comfortable, living by the exercise of their skill as carpenters, bootmakers, etc. They are the advance guard, showing that African, as such, are not unfit to hold their own in an economic world of the European type. Meanwhile, for the great majority of African wage-earners it remains true that the cash-value of their earnings has risen little, if at all, since Union, but that the purchasing power of the pound has declined by about a fifth. Dr. Phillips recommends, as remedies, the stabilising of the urban labour market by control of the composition of migratory workers and absorbing into the available employment of all the permanent residents and their children; further, the raising of wages by extending to Africans the benefits of wage regulation legislation; and the abolition of colour-basts against the permanent African town-dweller.
The chapter on Religion (VI), like that on interracial Relationships (VII), is refreshingly outspoken. It will be a startling revelation to many White readers to hear what intelligent Africans think of much of the Christianity with which they are brought into contact; or of the missionaries who preach human brotherhood in church and practice colour-discrimination in their homes; or of the denominational rivalries of the Christian churches. The growth of separatist African sects—about a hundred are estimated to exist on the Rand—will be a startling revelation to many White readers of the Union as a whole—adds to the friction and confusion. And yet, in general, the missionaries are a devoted body of men through whom the best that European civilization has to offer is flowing into the life of the urban African. To them the African owes most of his schooling. They mean to be his true friends, even if they are all too often woefully powerless against dominant White race attitudes. The whole chapter leaves one sad and distressed: so much good will and unselfish work achieves, against overwhelming obstacles, so small a fraction of its humane aspiration! Incidentally, the juxtaposition of two quotations from our ex-Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. P.G.W. Grobler, is (probably unintentionally) humorous. In the first, he lectures certain English churches on interfering in politics and bids them mind their proper business of soulsaving. In the second, he turns theologian himself and defends "the golden rule of Calvinism" (viz. no equality between Black and White in Church and State) on the ground that "it is an ordinance of God that there should be separate White and Black entities in the country" (p. 268, 9).

The author's constructive proposals amount to a complete programme for the economic, social, and educational progress of the urban African population. If only a part of it could be carried out, it would not only go far to lighten the Africans' burdens, but also open to them the door of development by which they would play a much greater part both as producers and as consumers, to the benefit of the country as a whole. But Dr. Phillips sees clearly that this is possible only if there is a change of heart on the part of White South Africa: if in its ordering of race relationships White South Africa will deal with the Black African as a man, on the basis of common humanity, instead of trying to build what is, in effect, a caste society, with the Africans at the bottom as the lowest caste—in fact, as outcasts. "The future is still in the White man's hands, to make of it what he will. The continuance of the present state of affairs will result in increasing degradation, decrepancy and pauperism of the Africans. It may produce, in time, a uniformation of Africans on a common platform of hate; of opposition to their oppressors" (p. 341). It is astonishing, in the circumstances, that, as Dr. Phillips reports, Communist teaching has, so far, gained little hold among the masses. There is still time to bring about the conditions which will "make life zestful and worthwhile to the coming generations of Africans in the cities" (p. 382). Unfortunately, the chance may well be missed, in spite of the efforts of many well-meaning officials, municipal and national, who are doing their best for the Africans in a spirit of genuine trusteeship; in spite too, of the efforts of Joint Councils and of the S. A. Institute of Race Relations. The unhappy truth is that all too many White South Africans are aware of the Africans merely as either a convenience or a nuisance, as either cheap labour or a racial menace; but not as human beings the quality of whose lives should matter to professedly Christian consciences.

COUNCIL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE

An account of the proceedings at the Thirteenth Ordinary Meeting of the Council of the Institute, held in Durban from the 11th to the 13th of July, will be included in the November issue of Race Relations.

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