Written evidence presented to the Native Economic Commission Volume 2: Durban 1931
2. Section 10, sub-section (1), Chap.4, of the Act states: 'The Governor-General may, by proclamation in the Gazette, constitute courts of Native commissioners for the hearing of all civil cases and matters between Native and Native only. . . .' Section 31, sub-section (1), Chap.8, states: 'In any case in which he may deem fit, the Governor-General may grant to any Native a letter of exemption exempting the recipient from such laws, specially affecting Natives, or so much of such laws as may be specified in such letter: Provided that no such exemption shall be granted under this section from any provision of law regulating the ownership or occupation of land, or imposing taxation or controlling the sale, supply or possession of intoxicating liquor.' Sub-sections (3) and (4) of the same Section state: (3). 'Any letter of exemption issued under any law included in the Schedule to this Act shall be deemed to have been granted under sub-section (1).' (4). 'Any letter of exemption granted under sub-section (1), or referred to in sub-section (3), may at any time be cancelled by the Governor-General without assigning any reason.

3. These provisions are summarised in the Schedule to the Act of Laws Repealed: 'Natal: Law No.26 of 1865: For relieving certain persons from the operation of Native Law: Extent of repeal - Whole.'

4. The citing of the above sections of the Act makes it clear that no Native even bearing letters of exemption may become exempt from tribal influence completely.

An Exempted Native becomes subject to the courts of the Native Commissioner. Objection by Exempted Natives to the Native General Tax, known as the Poll Tax, is based upon this fact. That, in terms of Act No.41 of 1925, he is subject to this tax is objected to only because, (1) infringement of the Act places him under the jurisdiction of the Native Commissioner's court, and not under the Ordinary Jurisdiction, and (2) for purposes of the receipt for such tax he is required to furnish the name of a Chief nominally responsible for him.

A tax, of equivalent amount to that of the Poll Tax, as the personal tax paid by Europeans, to which, indeed, the Exempted Native should rather be liable, would willingly be paid by Exempted Natives, since the responsibility of taxation is realised and the payment of such tax regarded as a sign of responsible citizenship.

The fact of government by Proclamation, to which the Exempted Native is now subject, is held to be contrary to the rights of citizenship as recognised in civilised communities, and it is to such standard of citizenship that Exempted Natives are striving to attain; and it is believed that the responsibilities and rights of such citizenship should be the goal finally of the whole Native population of South Africa.

The restriction now imposed in the acquiring of land is
felt to be a serious obstacle, especially in view of
the present insufficiency of land for the total Native
population within the alloted Native areas, to progressive
use of the land by Native people, especially on the part
of such section of the people (the Exempted Native) most
ready to make such progress.

5. Conclusion: This evidence in relation to the 1927 Native
Administration Act as it affects directly the Exempted
Native, as such, is here pressed very strongly as it is
held with conviction that this legislation militates
against a healthy relationship between the European and
the Native populations within South Africa, and because
this legislation is, as demonstrated, a serious obstacle
to the right and steady progress of the Native people;
which progress, it must be believed, is the serious
purpose, as demonstrated in provisions for education
and like matters, of the Government of the Union of
South Africa.

(Signed): Ernest Reginald Ntansi;
Alfred Zeallah Mazingi;
Albert Paul Sibonkala;
Donald R. O. Thomas; (Organising Tutor;
Workers' Educational Assoc.)

Sub-committee appointed by the Bantu Adult
Educational Association, Durban.

P.O. Box 1387,
Durban,
Natal. April 28th, 1921.
These budgets were collected under the auspices of the Joint Council of Natives and Europeans of Durban, with the help of an intelligent native woman, Mrs. Charles Dube. It is probable that some of them represent estimates rather than actual expenditure, but when dealing with small incomes so near the margin of necessity, even estimates come nearer to actual facts than would be the case with our more fortunate selves. Although it will be necessary to point out obvious defects in several statements, even these partial and defective accounts of native expenditure are not without sociological interest. Therefore, although it is fully realised that this research is so far only begun, it has seemed worth while to report results to date, partly in the hope that the tentative conclusions reached may result in the offer of co-operation in the collection of further budgets.

Readers who are unacquainted with Native Administration in Natal should bear in mind that permission to reside in Durban with their families is only given to a small number of educated detribalised natives. The usual custom is for the man alone to come into town to work, leaving his family in the reserves. The borough has a monopoly of the manufacture and sale of kaffir beer, the profits from which are expended for the benefit of Natives, largely in the erection of barracks and a small quarter for married natives. Tribal Natives are required to reside either in the municipal location or on their employers' premises. There are drawbacks to this policy as will appear from the budgets, but it has this great advantage - it has prevented the growth of native slums inside the municipal area. There are, however, insanitary districts inhabited by Indians and Natives, in what is now coming to be described as peri-Durban.

The budgets collected fall into three classes: I. The Native intelligentsia - teachers, clerks, etc.; II. Native artisans; III. Native unskilled labourers.

I. - In the first class are four budgets representing the native educated class, one native clerk and three teachers.

The first, a clerk, is apparently a married man, who keeps his family in a kraal in the country and travels down to see them at intervals. His regular wages are £5-10-0 a month, with free quarters for himself in town, and his expenditure per month is as follows:

- Food (including food for his family) £4-10-0
- Travelling expenses to and from kraal 8-0
- Tobacco 4-6
- Taxes 4-2
- Education 3-5
- Medicine 10-0
- Newspapers 5-0
- Laundry 5-0

Total: £6-7-3

Further, his expenditure on clothing is about £22 a year for his family and himself. Clearly, there is a considerable difference here between income and expenditure. I was told that there were no extra earnings but that debts were inevitably incurred. Some items of the budget are certainly open to criticism; 10/- per month for medicine seems unnecessary.
unnecessary but observe what is left out, - insurance, holidays, books, games. I was assured, however, that native workers had no time for games. No provision appears to be made for old age. Note, too, the point always characteristic of low incomes, the very high proportion spent on food. Later budgets will give us more detail.

Next comes a married native teacher, with a family of four, living in Durban. He gives his expenditure only, not his income, but I learned at an interview with him that the average payment for native teachers in Durban is £5 per month, the highest payments being £8 or £9, the latter figure including certain allowances. They usually teach at evening school after their day's work, earning by this on an average about £2 per month which, as one of them said, "Just about makes it possible to live." It is felt as a real deprivation when, in vacation, this extra source of income disappears.

The monthly expenditure is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>1-0-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and fuel</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Offerings</td>
<td>5-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban transport</td>
<td>3-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationery (Stamps, etc.)</td>
<td>5-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundries</td>
<td>5-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>£5-6-0</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£200 per annum, it is calculated, is spent on clothing, £1 on Poll Tax, and occasional visitors are entertained at an estimated cost of 3/- a day. This family lives in one of the cottages of the married quarters in the Durban native location, very pleasant brick houses of two rooms each, and a yard. These are built at the expence of the Durban Native Fund, and their rent does not represent anything like their real economic value. It is to my mind very questionable whether low wages should be subsidised in this way from public funds. In England it is difficult to provide adequate housing accommodation at economic rentals for labourers, but teachers, at all events, should pay at unsubsidised rents for their own house room.

The next budget is that of a single male native teacher in Durban at a salary of £6 a month.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>2-10-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding (food)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry</td>
<td>2-0-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Offerings</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban transport</td>
<td>4-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationery, stamps, etc.</td>
<td>3-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundries</td>
<td>5-0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>£5-10-0</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He pays £1 poll tax per year and £10 for shoes and clothing. His rent pays for one-third of a very small room in the location, in which, on inquiry, I was assured that there was not now much trouble with vermin. His food he eats at the location restaurant at a charge of 5d. per meal, for this he gets a plate of stew or curry and cup of tea, or a bit of bread and steak. Forrige, tea and a slice of bread can be had for 7d. He has, it will be observed, some margin, but he can hardly afford holidays or books or games. He does, however, possess a bicycle. But it is certainly a narrow and restricted life for a teacher. He expressed a great desire for more books.
A native woman teacher receives £3 a month and her expenditure is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>£5-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding (fuel)</td>
<td>1-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry</td>
<td>5-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>1-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Services</td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Transport</td>
<td>3-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationery (stamps, etc.)</td>
<td>3-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{Total: } \£9-5-3 \]

Her clothing will cost her about £5 a year, or 8s. 4d. a week, which more than swallows up the narrow margin on her wages. No room exists here for holidays, savings, books or recreation (unless urban transport is to be regarded in that light). She lives in the native women's hostel and seeks her own food at a cost of 7s. 6d. a week. Yet these native women teachers look neat and reasonably prosperous.

One small point, which was apparently felt as an acute grievance by all these educated natives, was that for their children they had to pay school fees varying from 2d. to 1/- a month per child while white, and, in some cases, Indian and coloured children are educated free. I made inquiries as to other regular payments covered by sundries and was told that burial insurance (that first form of insurance among the very poor) was 2s 6d. per month. The married teacher was also paying 4s. a month for the education of a child, which would secure a lump sum of £30 at 16.

These purport to be actual records of expenditure. There was also furnished to me an elaborate estimate of necessary expenditure for a man, wife and three children, living in the married native quarter in Purba, which, although not fully reliable, will throw more light on some details. It runs as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent (a bag of coal a week, and wood 3d. a day)</td>
<td>£1-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel</td>
<td>17-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar, a lb. a day</td>
<td>10-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat, three times a week</td>
<td>11-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice, 1 lb. a day</td>
<td>10-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables, 4 times a week</td>
<td>6-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread, 2 loaves a week</td>
<td>7-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mealie Meal</td>
<td>5-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>6-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunch in town at 6d. a day</td>
<td>13-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total food</td>
<td>3-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burial Society (which is in scales)</td>
<td>2-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School fees (intermediate 1/-, primary 3d.)</td>
<td>1-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church fees</td>
<td>3-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport in trams</td>
<td>3-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap in washing and scrubbing floors &amp; windows</td>
<td>7-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes of family</td>
<td>2-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer: at reasonable times</td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish for floors</td>
<td>2-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>1-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>2-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepper, curry powder, matches, stove polish</td>
<td>2-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{Total: } \£9-5-3 \]
In addition, there is a poll-tax of £1 a year. There are obvious deficiencies in this estimate, which I have, however, produced as it was given to me, save for correcting the error of including the yearly poll-tax in the monthly expenditure. Eight shillings for tea per month and 2/6 for coffee seems excessive. On the other hand, there is no provision for milk or any sort of fruit, or for books and newspapers. Without milk or fat or currants or cheese, the food expenditure works out at £2.16.3, which seems to support the view that the sums of £4 and £4.10.0 appearing in earlier budgets are not unreasonable. I very much doubt whether this budget provides the necessary food values for such a family. Any shortage in milk would be particularly unfortunate, as milk is part of the traditional diet of the Bantu and is needed with mealie meal to provide a balanced diet. The budget has, however, no estimate for medicine.

II. I tried to get budgets of native artisans, and two were furnished to me, one of a shoemaker with seven children, and one estimate of the expenditure of single natives engaged as vulcanisers, painters and plasterers. I could not interview the authors of these and the first especially is clearly defective. But it is so quaint and revealing a document that I simply reproduce it.

Shoemaker with wife and seven children (Wages £10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent at Overport</td>
<td>£2.15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two working suits and two good ones cost him</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For wife and 4 younger children and a school</td>
<td>1.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter, clothing costs £10 a year</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 boys in intermediate school, 4 suits each</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pairs of shoes for himself cost £4.12.0 a year</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and repairs a year at 15/-</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For two sons, boots 2 pairs cost £1.10.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For wife and rest of children shoes cost £4 a year</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blankets, sheets and pillow cases</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent home</td>
<td>2.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling to and from kraal</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes £1.10.0 a year</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education for two boys</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a girl at Inanda Seminary, Education £4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books and sewing material</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles for him</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church contribution at least</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debts mostly for clothing and blankets</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>3.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£15.15.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparent this, again, is a case of a man working in town and supporting his family in the kraal. The £2.15.0 sent home must include food, for the other food details given are quite inadequate. Probably some food is raised from the family plot.

Observe /
Observe the heavy burden education charges are and the obvious pre-occupation of the poor mother with the clothing of her family. The arithmetic in this is not absolutely correct and for any rigid calculations this budget could not be included, but as a psychological document, it is by no means worthless.

I have also an estimate of the earnings and necessary expenses of native vulcanisers, painters, plasterers and shoe-makers. The average weekly pay is stated to be 50s., that is £6 a month.

**Day rations are :**
- Tea 1d., sugar 2d., beef 6d., bread 5d., rice 2d., lunch 6d., salt and pepper 1d.

This averages 49d. a month, and with dw. a month for soap, amounts, for actual necessities, to 2-10-0.

Other expenditure is church contribution, about 1-6-0.

Tobacco and matches 7-6-0.

Railway or bus fare once a month 1-10-0.

Hire of room 4-0-0.

Washerwoman 7-1-0.

Bed, pillow and pillow slips, sheets and wash-basin 2-12-7.

The writer adds, "Without clothing", this single man at 56 per month is left with only 17/6, excluding luxuries like drink, games, biocoscopes. Fire and wood should be added at, say, 1d per day - 2/6. Evidently the case contemplated is that of a man living out of the location and catering for himself. There are defects in the estimate. He would not need to pay instalments for the purchase of bed, pillow, pillow-slips, etc., each month forever. By buying piece-meal each day, his catering is expensive and bad, and yet, what says can a man living by himself in a hired room do? I suggest that this estimate shows how expensive, in the long run, is the curious and artificial method of bringing male labour alone into the towns and leaving their families behind in the reserves.

In Durban, we either provide for these men in the subsidised and crowded quarters of the urban location, or we force them into expensive and uncomfortable methods of living beyond the borough boundaries as shown in this estimate. It is unnatural to divorce working men from family life, and the country which practices it will pay for it in inefficiency, discomfort and almost certainly, in the long run, immorality and degeneration.

It is stated that the problem of a place to live is so difficult for these men that some of them bargain with a Durban householder to give, in return for a place to sleep, light work in garden or house in addition to their regular day's work. It is also said that this class of native artisans is increasing, and that many of them simply abscond from their kraals, abandoning all their family responsibilities, and henceforth live as single men in the towns.

**III.** - Lastly, I have two statements as to the earnings and expenditure of labourers. One is the budget of a ricksha puller. It is stated that his takings average 57 a month and that they are spent as follows:

- **Rent and licence of ricksha** 2-2-6
- **Food** 1-10-0
- **Fuel** 5-0
- **Tobacco** 5-0
- **Drink** 15-0
- **Light** 5-0

Total 8-2-6.
This is obviously the merest rough estimate; it omits
rent of lodgings, as ricksha pullers are housed by their Employers.
Taxes, it is stated, amount to £1-10-0 a year. If the statement
really represents anything like the ricksha puller’s financial
situation, we can comment on the very heavy charge for the rick-
sha, and the high proportion of the income spent on drink end
 tobacco.

If the Durban kaffir beer monopoly does provide lodgings
of a sort for the very low figure of 5/- a month, the ricksha
puller appears to pay indirectly for this in his expenditure on
beer. One grievance of ricksha pullers was mentioned to me. They
have to bear expenses of repairs, after an accident to their
ricksha. When collisions with motor-cars occur, the fault often
lies with the motorist, but as the ricksha man cannot read, and
so cannot record the number plates, they can seldom identify the
cars and are left themselves to meet the full liability for the
accident.

Lastly comes an estimate as to expenditure of Togt boys, i.e.,
unskilled labourers engaged by the day at an average wage of 3/-.
It is stated that they do not work regularly and can only count
on average earnings of 12s. a week. They pay 5s. a month for a
bed in the municipal barracks with the right to cook their food in
the common kitchen. The day’s expenditure is put down as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meat 6d.</td>
<td>1-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mails and meal 3d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar and tea 6d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firewood 1d., soap 2d., beer 6d.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco and matches 6d., vegetables 6d.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obviously, this cannot be repeated every day. It repre-
sents the “low-cut” of the casually employed labourer after a
successful engagement. The same statement indicated the togt
boy’s weekly expenses at 10s. as against average weekly earnings
of 12s., leaving 2s. a week, or 8s. a month to provide for cloth-
ing and fare home. I do not think this can be accepted as more
than a rough approximation. Some togt-boys probably do better
than this; others may do worse. It would require a long and care-
ful investigation to determine the average situation among these
irregularly employed workers. One may, however, venture the obser-
vation that these men are clearly and little money home and that
their wages are not full subsistence wages, including in sub-
subsistence the maintenance of the average family. And to this extent
South African industry is parasitic on the labour expanded on
land cultivation in the reserves.

These budgets are too few and too open to criticism to allow
us to draw any definite conclusions from them, but they suggest
the following questions demanding further research:

1. Is it really economical and socially desirable to employ
male labour separated from normal family life and family responsi-
bilities?
2. Are native teachers paid sufficient for real teaching
efficiency?
3. Why should natives pay school fees when other races are
educated free?
4. Is the diet of natives in town adequate, and does it contain
all the food values necessary? In particular, do native children
in town get sufficient milk?
5. Is the policy of the Durban Corporation in providing
subsidised housing accommodation for natives, in the at, socially
desirable?

N. B. This paper was presented to the South African Association
for the Advancement of Science on 30th June, 1925, by
Mrs. Mabel Palmer, and is printed in its proceedings.
In Natal, by Act 28 of 1865, provision was made for the issue to natives under certain conditions of Letters of Exemption from Native Law. This Act was repealed by Act 39 of 1927, under which authority is given for the issue of regulations providing for exemption. These regulations have never been issued and therefore in effect the Act of 1865 has been repealed and nothing so far has been put in its place. As economic and social changes are going on very rapidly among the natives, and many are now in fact living under civilised conditions, many practical difficulties and inconveniences arise from their being unable to free themselves from the provisions of a law suited only to primitive tribal life. Women, for example, in service, who save money by their own efforts, cannot by the native code dispose of it by will. Unmarried natives cannot appear in court save through their kraal-heads and many legal difficulties are due to the fact that natives earning money in towns cannot in their own persons bring legal actions. By a recent decision, even natives qualified to bring actions can only do so in the courts of their places of residence, i.e., the reserve from which they come to work, often for months together in Durban, and this even if the cause of litigation has arisen in Durban and all the witnesses to the action reside there.

There were, however, serious anomalies in the Act of 1865 and the regulations to be issued under the Act of 1927 should avoid these. In the first place, letters of exemption are personal, and name the children of the exempted man. But children born subsequently, not being named in the letter of exemption, are not included and pass therefore under native law. This division of families is obviously undesirable. In the second place, the status of the married woman is unsatisfactory. A woman married when her husband receives his exemption is named in the letter of exemption and remains exempt after his death, unless she marries an unexempted native. But an exempted man marrying an unexempted woman, gives her his status only by courtesy, and only during his life-time. On his death she reverts again to native law, and any property left to her by will by her husband becomes automatically the property of her nearest male relative.

The position in Natal is more acute than in the other Provinces, as the Natal Native Code (instituted by Law 19 of 1891) is obligatory; magistrates trying cases must decide in accordance with its provisions, whereas in other Provinces the recognised law is European Law and while native law may be recognised, considered and consulted the magistrate may apply European Law if he thinks fit. Doubtless the retention of Native Law under Shopstone's influence was a statesmanlike act, the natives sixty and seventy years ago were living under tribal conditions to which European Law was not applicable; the Zulu legal system embodies a great, and in some ways a noble, tradition and its retention has helped to preserve the fine characteristic of the Zulu race. Yet now its provisions no longer fit the conditions under which modern Zulus live, and therefore refusal to exempt from it is in fact a serious grievance.

It is further obvious that in view of the growth of railways and the greater mobility of the population that as far as possible letters of exemption should be issued on uniform conditions throughout the Union, and that any native exempted in one province should automatically be exempted in any other to which he may remove.
Statement by: Alfred F. Matibela.
Address: 48 Cathedral Road, Durban, Natal.

SUBJECTS:

1. Social and Economic Condition of Natives.
2. Good Feeling between Europeans and Natives.
3. Effects of Education on Natives.
4. Native Domestic Servants.
5. Recreation of Native Employees.

1. The statements which are made herein individually, apply to the District of Durban and its out skirts.

2. (a) The remarks refer to the Natives from the rural and other parts of Natal, as well as from beyond her boundaries as follows:—
   I. Christianised Natives.
   II. Non-Christian Natives.
   III. Educated Natives.
   IV. Un-Educated Natives.

My experience with the above begins as far back as 1899.

I obtained my experience regarding the Natives dealt with here in my capacity as:—

1. For 7 years Secretary of the Durban Branch of the Natal Native Congress when the Organisation was in its fullest force.

2. For 7 years Clerk in a Durban Solicitor's Office.


4. Commission Agent for 4 years since the 9th day of March 1927.
HOUSING OF NATIVES

Any rapidly growing industrial town must expect to face difficulties in housing its unskilled labourers (which in Durban are mainly natives) but there are certain special factors in Durban which intensify the difficulties. These are:

a) The continuation of the tribal system in Natal, with the result that when commercial employment for natives first began, the men alone entered the town, the women and children remaining in the reserves, cultivating their allotted plots and watching over their cattle there. The result is that native wages did not represent family subsistence, but tended to be of the nature of pocket money wages for the man only. It is true that this state of affairs is changing, but it has produced an unusually low rate of wages, which makes it impossible to provide adequate accommodation at economic rents.

b) There is in addition the special Durban regulation by which no natives, with the exception of exempted natives, are allowed to live inside the borough unless they reside either in the municipal location, or in quarters provided by their employers. The municipal locations are built from the profits of the kaffir beer monopoly which is controlled by the municipality.

Thus the following classes have to be considered:

NATIVES WITHIN THE BOROUGH

1) Exempted natives, persons of some education anxious to live in civilised fashion. Their usual wage is from £5 to £7 per month, the lower figure being probably more frequent. The cheapest dwelling they can get is a room about 10 ft. by 10 ft., with a small outside kitchen, in the Cross St., or May St., area. Unless exempted natives can get a cottage in the married quarters in the location or in one of the three-bedded rooms in the barracks (to be described later), they are forced into slums, and decent native artisans and their families are compelled to live in dirty and tumble-down premises near illicit liquor-sellers and quarrelsome people, conditions in which the preservation of self-respect is very hard. Indian and coloured families sometimes have rooms to lot in their own houses, but they will not usually let these to natives.

2) Natives in private compounds. Through the kindness of Mr. Chestor of the Municipal Native Affairs Department, two of us have seen one of the railway compounds and the compound of one of the Ricksha companies. The former was notably clean and well-swept, and the buildings substantial. The rooms provide wooden beds for about ten men, a minimum of 300 cubic ft. per inmate being allowable; they were reasonably clean and well ventilated, but the rooms were very crowded in floor space. When all the beds were in position, there is room practically for no other furniture, and there is no space for storing clothes or personal possessions. The surrounding yards were not specially spacious and the only space provided for recreation was a comparatively small roofed but unwalled area. The Ricksha compound was more spacious but not quite so tidy. Here the inmates are allotted in a long building bays paved with concrete and separated by low knee-high walls. The men provide their own bedding which is spread on the floor. The company provides both an eating house where cooked food is sold and a kitchen where the boys cook their own
food. Both these rooms are available for recreation. We understand that these two compounds compare favourably with the other private compounds in the town; they are certainly not markedly inferior to the barracks accommodation sometimes provided for European navvies and other unskilled workers.

3) The smaller groups of store-boys and others residing on their employers' premises. Dwellings only are provided, with a separate place for cooking. The natives eat their meals, sitting on their beds. Your committee is not convinced that there is adequate inspection of these native quarters, that sufficient cubic space per inmate is provided or that they are kept clean. The boys themselves cannot protest as they would no doubt lose their jobs if they complained of their quarters.

4) Domestic servants on purely private premises. Here conditions differ widely. Many kyes are roomy and comfortable but often they are not, and the necessary furniture is of the most meagre description. There is however more privacy, in some cases passing into loneliness, where a single kitchen boy is employed and the mistress objects to visitors.

5) Natives in the municipal compounds.

a) The married quarters. These are pleasant little terrace cottages, containing two rooms with a small stove and shower bath and W.C. in a small backyard. Many of the women are house-proud, and their quarters are well kept and adorned by the produce of ornaments characteristic often of the working class. There are drawbacks; the unmade roads cause dust in the dry season, while during the rains there is flooding of the area from the adjacent vlei. Rents are low, only 1/- per month and are quite uneconomic, the deficit being stated to be over 50%. This deficit is made up from the profits of the Beer Fund. They are very popular and there is always a long waiting list, and there is an impression among the natives that there is some favouritism shown in the choice of tenants. The main criticism of these quarters is, however, that they are altogether inadequate in number. There are over 36,000 natives in employment in Durban and there are 180 families in the married quarters. This is the only provision made by the borough for normal family life among the natives working in the area.

b) Natives in the barracks. Here two kinds of accommodation are provided:

i) Big rooms taking 20 or 30 inmates, with wooden bedsteads, charge 5/- per month.

ii) Smaller rooms containing three inmates, with the use of mattress, pillows, etc., at a charge of 10/- a month.

These barracks are substantial buildings, and the surroundings are kept clean and tidy. They make often a good impression on visitors and they compare not unfavourably with the Rowton Houses provided in London for the poorest class of casual labourers. Probably too at their beginning, when natives came into town only when comparatively young, and only for a few months at a time, they suited their purpose well. But as the principal dwellings provided in Durban for all sections of natives, they obviously cannot be defended. Many natives now depend on their work in Durban for years at a time and when they are mature men, and to force on these barrack-life with its harsh unhomely atmosphere and its separation from family life must lead to discontent, and immorality. That native schoolmasters and clerks should be compelled to hard in very cramped quarters with rough and uncogential companions is most undesirable. No special provision for recreation is made in the barracks, with the exception of the bicscope provided by missionary enterprise. There are some native recreation grounds, but these are open equally to all the natives of the borough.
The natives feel that the dormitories are too big, and suggest that they should be subdivided with a maximum of six inmates and that some care should be taken to enable groups of friends to be housed together.

A general criticism on the whole of the municipal compounds is that the buildings are too elaborate and expensive. They are built by highly paid white labour, and yet must be inhabited by low-paid black labour. Simpler and cheaper accommodation would be welcomed, with less rigid regimentation and more provision for privacy and congenial companionship.

iii) There is also a women's hostel containing 260 inmates.

The approximate number of these classes within the borough is as follows:

- Natives in private compounds containing not less than 10 each: 6,500
- Natives in municipal compounds: 7,300
- Domestic servants: 15,000
- Numbers in the married quarters: 500
- Number in the women's hostel: 260
- Total: 29,560

Total number employed in Durban: 39,000

(N.B. This does not include either women, other than those in the Municipal Hostel, or exempted natives who are not subject to registration).

Thus there are at least nearly 10,000 natives in employment in Durban for whom no legal accommodation is available in the Borough. Probably some find unauthorized quarters with their friends; it is stated that sometimes umfasans are terrorised by bullies who compel them to share food and sleeping accommodation with them. Natives often offer to do light work in return for permission to sleep in the back premises of European houses, and though this is illegal it appears to be not uncommon. It was stated at a native meeting last year that there was a good deal of sleeping in old corners off the streets. Certainly wayfarers at night through the alleys off Grey St., will see dark forms recumbent in the doorways and in the corners of lanes.

There is, of course, a deficit on all sections of the municipal barracks, which is met from the Beer Fund. This subsidising of housing accommodation on so large a scale will inevitably tend to depress wages. One of our native members informs us that native garage attendants in Durban receive only half the wage paid to coloured boys for the same job in Cape Town.

NATIVES OUTSIDE THE BOROUGH

It can be understood that in these circumstances there naturally arose a great demand for native dwellings in the peri-Durban area. Nearly 10,000 must go there in any case and all must who wish to have their women and families with them, or who desire smaller, cosier, freer, dwellings than the crowded noisy barracks. At the time this started there was no control worth speaking of over the area; buildings could be created according to the whim of the owner of the land. Naturally very undesirable conditions developed. Indian storekeepers, having licenses for shops, crowded their back premises with rows of corrugated iron huts, supplying water from wells sunk in the courtyard. Three of us have inspected some of these backyards, and were appalled at the conditions we found, though our guides assured us these were not the worst houses to be seen.

We entered by a narrow passage off the main street and found ourselves in a courtyard with rows of one-roomed houses on each side; in the centre were back to back very small...
kitchens. The W.C's were at the end of the courtyard, quite near the houses, and the well was in the lower left corner. The first house we entered was inhabited by a native shoemaker with a respectable coloured wife and three children 16, 13 and 12 years of age. Wages, I was told were £1.10.0. a week and the rent £1 a month. The area of the room was 10ft. by 10ft. The husband and wife slept in the bed, a small bed was for one child, while two slept on the floor. The heat in summer was overwhelming. Notwithstanding the room was fairly well kept, and the tiny kitchen, though its walls were dirty, was reasonably clean and tidy. The woman complained much of her difficulties with regard to water. She received only one petrol tin of tap water per day. Water was not laid on to the W.C's which were however of modern type, but they were swilled out every day.

In another house of the same set we found a better off household, consisting of husband, wife and one baby. This room was 14ft by 10ft. and fairly lofty, but with no through ventilation, window and door being in the same wall. The husband made £1.5. as a worker at the aerodrome, and his interest in his occupation was shown by the pictures of aeroplanes hanging on the wall. They had good furniture, 2 beds, table and chairs and a small harmonium. This woman complained of the well-water, it smelled and tasted tainted and sometimes dried up in the winter. Our guide to this area stated that the landlord's takings amounted to £14 a month, with very few expenses, while the cost of the buildings would have been covered by one year's rent.

We saw another area where small shanties were planted down behind the store higgledy-piggledy; in it we were told that 400 Indians and Natives lived on between 3 and 4 acres; 5 or 6 people commonly inhabiting rooms 800 to 1,000 cubic ft. I entered one of these houses not a bit bigger than a fair sized bathroom, where a woman with a tiny baby was entertaining another woman and her baby. This room contained about 800 cubic ft. and was inhabited at night by man, wife and three children. The well in this case was 18 inches from the nearest house, the W.C's at the top of the garden, draining downwards into the well. There was an attempt at some sort of septic tank but the sides were crumbly and there was obviously a good deal of leakage. In some areas there was much rubbish which the sanitary authorities do not collect and remove. One woman complained to me of the defilement of the wells by hens and pigeons poring above it.

Another area of 71,000 sq. ft. is admitted to be inhabited by 30 adults and 25 juveniles. It was believed by the authorities that this was an understatement by 25%.

Not all these insanitary buildings are owned by Indians; one block of back to back houses is owned by a European reputed well-to-do.

Naturally in these circumstances of over-crowding, filth and poverty, morality is not high. Many of the women are not legally married to the men they live with, and change mates frequently with disastrous effects on the children. Isitshimyana brewing is common and provides a better income than honest work.

One of the worst features of the district is its lack of any organic character. It has no centre, no community buildings or activities. Buildings are pull-mall, not arranged according to any plan. The return to the clean orderly streets and houses of Durban was like rising into another world.

The Health Boards are slowly bringing about an improvement; no new buildings can be erected without authority. The worst of the older ones are being condemned and demolished.
But this is all negative, the population must be housed and room must be left for them to live. About 80% of the native inhabitants of these areas, it is said, work in Durban and the Health Boards naturally do not feel called on to rate themselves for the housing of Durban's unskilled workers. It is to be hoped that the emergence of a Greater Durban will soon allow this problem to be tackled as a whole over the entire area involved.

Recommendations

The Joint Council of Europeans and Natives wishes to make the following recommendations:

1. That the fact should be faced that the absence of a suitable village for Durban's native workers is causing social and physical degeneration in all directions. Life in Durban to-day is demoralizing to the natives because they are forced to live either in the filth of the peri-Durban area or in the unnatural restrictions of the barracks and compounds. The presence of an area set aside for normal healthy family life would exercise a wholesome and regenerating influence over the whole of Durban's native population. But it must not consist of a few hundred houses. The problem is a large one and the longer it is left, the more unmanageable it will become. Every industrial town requires an increasing number of manual labourers, and as nearly all our manual labourers (certainly all the unskilled ones) are black, Durban must expect a large permanent native population.

We learn therefore with pleasure that the Town Council is seriously contemplating the establishment of a Native Village at Clairwood. Provision should be made as early as possible for 10,000 native families, of whom it may be expected 5,000 will come from Durban, and 5,000 from peri-Durban. We suggest 12 houses be placed on each acre (this ratio is permitted in model English housing schemes), and that the area be properly planned, and spaces left for churches, schools, stores, etc. We suggest that incorporation be hurried on in order that other areas, possibly near Red Hill, be developed as additional native townships.

It should be realized that the presence of a large number of steady respectable natives, spending their wages in the town, instead of sending them away to the locations, will be an asset to the community instead of the dangerous liability at present constituted by the unhealthy and lawless slums on the outskirts of Durban.

In order to avoid native irritation at being moved to a considerable distance from their work, we suggest that the provision of means of transportation be regarded as a part of the scheme from the beginning. It would further be highly desirable that allotments should be available for native gardens on or near the village.

2. To mitigate existing circumstances we suggest the following:

a) The re-organization of the barracks, with smaller rooms, the provision of lockers, and the provision of some properly furnished single rooms for educated single natives.

b) That mess-rooms in addition to dormitories should be provided wherever more than ten natives are employed.

c) We recommend further that the authorities should be urged to carry out strictly the laws with regard to the accommodation of natives on the premises of their employers, and should insist that the standard shall not be allowed to fall below that laid down in the municipal regulations.

Lastly we suggest that as far as possible native labour be used in putting up buildings for native use, and that
every effort be made to put native housing on a sounder economic basis. It cannot be made to pay; the housing of unskilled labourers is never a profitable commercial enterprise. But it certainly ought not to be subsidized to the extent to which it is at present. Wages should be higher and rents lower, so that the gap between costs and rents which must be filled by public funds should be reduced to a minimum.

DURBAN, September 4, 1930. Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee:

Henry Cotton — Chairman.
Mabel Palmer — Hon. Sec.
NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION 1930.

At a special meeting of the Native Administration Committee of the Town Council of the Borough of Durban held on Wednesday, 18th March, 1931, it was resolved that evidence be tendered to the Native Economic Commission 1930, which will sit in Durban on the 31st March, 1931.

The terms of reference of the Commission are:

1. The economic and social conditions of Natives, especially in the larger towns of the Union.

2. The application to Natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment and for dealing with industrial disputes and the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purposes.

3. The economic and social effect upon the Europeans and coloured population of the Union of the residence of Natives in urban areas and the measures, if any, to be adopted to deal with surplus Natives in, and to prevent the increasing migration of Natives to such areas.

4. What proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the Native population directly and indirectly. What proportion of the public expenditure may be regarded as necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to the Native population.

The subjects of importance to Durban on which evidence can be led are:

A. Urban Native Area,
   System of Administration.
B. Native Labour,
   General conditions.
   Domestic service.
C. General Economic Conditions.
   Standard of living.
   Indigency.
   Native products.
D. Education of Natives.
   Provisions made in Durban by the Town Council.

E./
E. Inter-racial relations.

F. Trade.
   Between Native and Native.

G. Legislation affecting Natives.
   Nature of.
   Taxation.
   Urban Area Regulations.
   Pass Laws.

The report opens with a brief chronological outline of the legislative measures introduced from time to time for the control and administration of Native affairs in the urban area.

Early policy:

The earliest policy of the Town Council of the Borough of Durban was a comparatively simple one because the Native population resorted to the urban area consisted of members of one race, the Zulus, whose own system of administration was contained in pure Native law and Custom - and made ample provision for offences and irregularities of conduct. Expansion and development of Durban carried with its progressiveness attendant social complexities arising from an increased Native population. The first considerations of social welfare proceeded along lines of health conditions, housing and labour.

These matters came up for discussion by the Town Council at intermittent periods.

In the year 1858 Hospital accommodation for Natives was suggested.

1868 a Native location site was recommended.

1868 conditions of labour were investigated.

1869 Vagrancy Law is introduced.

1871 erection of buildings for vagrants recommended.
The introduction of Law 19, 1872, "Municipal Corporations Law" vested in the Town Council powers of a wide nature including the establishment of a Police Force which enabled sound control to be exercised over Natives in the urban area.

Under Law 21 of 1881 a system of registration of passes was introduced, the more effectively to enforce contractual obligations entered into by Natives.

Up to the year 1896 there was no specific restriction on Natives brewing beer for their own consumption, but by the promulgation of the Natal Liquor Act 38 of 1896, municipalities were empowered to preclude by resolution the issue of Native Beer licences and the Town Council on the 5th, November, 1896, resolved that no licence for the sale of Native beer shall be granted within the Borough of Durban.

The Togt Act 28 of 1902, (Natal) had for its object the regulation of conditions of labour where Natives were engaged by the day, or on piece-work or as jobbers, and to reside on premises specially set aside for the purpose by the Town Council, as well as introduced the principle of revenue derived from Native sources to be expended in the interests of Natives.

The Town Council received further powers under the Native Locations Act 2 of 1904 (Natal) to set aside areas where Natives were required to reside and to make by-laws for the proper control and administration of such locations.

The exemptions from residence included:

1. Native freehold owners of land.
2. Natives exempted from the operation of Native Law.
3. Those actually employed in domestic service by the month and for whom sleeping accommodation to the satisfaction of the Town Council is provided by their employers.

Further controlling legislation was necessary over the sale of Native Beer, and upon the introduction of Act 23 of 1908, the Town Council proceeded to clear the urban area of some 100 drinking dens and introduced the monopoly system for the manufacture and sale of Native beer.

In 1916 extensive constitutional measures were taken to control Native affairs in Durban and the Town Council established a Department of Native Affairs and revised its regulations and registration system.

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1920 has consolidated the divergent systems of urban Native Administration and it is under this enabling statute that the Town Council regulates the affairs of Natives residing in and resorting to the borough.

Present/
Present system of Native Administration.

Upon the Municipal Native Administration Department devolves the responsibility for the initial consideration of all matters affecting Natives within the limits of such legislation, regulations, by-laws having special application to Natives that fall within the scope of Municipal administration. It is responsible to the Town Council through the Native Administration Committee for the business management of all Native institutions established by the Town Council; the duty of advising the Town Council on Native affairs and of explaining the intention of regulations and acts of administration to the Natives; of giving advice and assistance to them on all matters of difficulty incidental to their residence and employment in the urban area. To afford facilities and guidance in connection with the large class of transactions in which they need help in a European community.

The following description of the institutions for Natives established and the systems operative will serve to indicate the extent of provision made in terms of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1922:

The systems in operation consist chiefly of:

(a) Monopoly system for the manufacture and sale of Native Beer.

(b) Hostel system for residential purposes.

(c) Registration system and the subsidiary features of togt labour and ricksha hauling.

(d) General social conditions.

Under the monopoly system the following institutions are included:

1. Native Brewery, Ordnance Road.

2. Native Eatinghouses, five in number situated at and known as Victoria Street Eatinghouse
   Bell Street do.
   Prince Alfred Street do.
   Umgeni do.
   Maydon Wharf do.

The Municipal Native Brewery is solely a manufacturing concern to which the eatinghouses form the sales department.

...
The product is the beverage known as "Utshwala" Native Beer which has received recognition as a drink among adult Natives by successive Governments.

The work of brewing is conducted by a European Head Brewer and his Assistant with a staff of 22 Natives. The output varies according to the demand and would attain during periods of brisk trade approximately 2050 gallons of beer per diem except Sundays, but this quantity is not entirely distributed as the issue of beer to the eating houses is largely determined by the daily demand. The Overseers in each eating House are able from experience to gauge the spending power of Natives attending these institutions, and this factor enables the brew to be prepared as close as possible to the demand. The beer is not stored as the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act restrict the alcoholic content of beer to 4 per cent.

The delivery of beer from the brewhery to the eating houses commences at 8 a.m. daily. Details of cost of premises will be found later in the report.

EATINGHOUSES. The five eatinghouses have been established at suitable centres of the town removed from European residential areas. Each house is under the supervision of a European staff with a varying number of Native servers according to the amount of trade done. There are regulations for the proper control of entrants and Natives following occupations on their own accord. copies of which are attached.

By regulation it is compulsory that the sale and consumption of Native beer shall be on these premises only. Entrance to the buildings which are all divided into two portions namely; beer hall and eatinghouse, is given through a turnstile, to the beer section or an ordinary doorway to the eatinghouse section.

Customers for beer purchase tickets from the overseer and the staff of native attendants serve the beer in quantities denoted by the ticket which are limited in price to 3d and 6d.

The quantity of beer sold at the prices indicated are:
- 1/6th. of Imperial Gallon or 262/3rds fluid ozs. for 3d.
- 1/3rd. of Imperial Gallon or 53,1/3rd. fluid ozs. for 6d.

In the trading section of the Eatinghouses provision is made by the demarcation of sites; erection of stalls; and equipment with tables and forms which are hired to "Natives daily who desire to conduct business for their own benefit with their fellowmen. The classes of occupation or trade followed in these institutions vary from saddlers, butchers, tobacconists, stationers, curio manufacturers, snuff sellers, poultry dealers, to waterers, sellers of minerals, tea and coffee.
The rentals charged for the facilities of trade graduate from a minimum of 6d up to 2/6 per diem according to the nature of the business undertaken.

The earning capacity of individual Natives who undertake trade in the eatinghouses is not a factor which it is possible to compute owing to the varied character of the commodities dealt in and the underlying principle of the Town Council to inculcate habits of industry and to afford Natives an opportunity of acquiring business methods on their own initiative. The absence of any restrictive measures upon the individual activities of Natives in these institutions places upon them a responsibility for good behaviour, cleanliness and punctuality. The foodstuffs supplied are subjected to examination by the Health Department, and the only further precaution taken is the one in which a Native must make a declaration at the time of application for trading facilities that he is the sole partner of the business carried on in his name.

The local conditions surrounding each eatinghouse largely determine the source of custom peculiar to each one as well as the amount of trade and class of customer attending.

Taking the central area of Victoria Street the Natives frequenting the eatinghouse in this locality would consist mainly of Natives employed in Stores, Railway workers, ricksha pullers, and visitors. Those attending at the Point eatinghouse would consist largely of Native stevedores, toft labourers and Natives engaged by the Harbour Department. In the Congella area traders would rely upon their custom from Natives engaged in warehouses and industrial concerns.

HOSTEL SYSTEM.

The housing of Natives presents the special consideration of the following points:

1. The site must be in relatively close proximity to the place of employment.

2. Institutions such as Native Hostels cannot encroach upon localities recognised as residential quarters by Europeans.

3. The areas and buildings set apart for the purpose must meet the requirements of Natives in regard to rent, water, sanitation or other essential services.

...
The system of tenure of the Native Hostels in Durban is that the land is rented by the Native Revenue Fund Account in terms of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1932, from the Corporation and the buildings erected thereon and land rated according to the general provisions of rating.

The assets of the Native Revenue Fund consists of the following Institutions:

- Native Brewery and Maltling House;
- Five Eatinghouses;
- One Hostel for Native Women;
- Quarters for Married Natives consisting of 120 cottages;
- and four Hostels for single male Natives.

The system of supervision in the Hostels is maintained by resident Hostel managers and a matron for the women's institution together with an adequate Native staff. The duties of the officials are to arrange the order in which rooms are let for occupation; the exercise of close scrutiny in maintaining cleanliness; assistance in matters of difficulty; the encouragement of recreation and thrift; the prevention of loitering; and to give effect to such regulations as affect the occupation of Natives in the hostels.

Provision is made in each of the Hostels set apart for male Natives of a portion of the accommodation for such married men who are in employment in the Borough whereby they on receiving temporary visits from their wives may resort to conditions of family life.

Religious services are held by various denominations in the Hostels and recreation is provided by means of a bioscope entertainment in the recreation halls. All institutions are connected with the water supply of the Borough and Natives are permitted to use rational quantities freely. In addition to the provision of public latrines for Natives in the Urban area, each hostel is connected with the sanitary and sewerage system, - a separate water closet is attached to each cottage at the Married Quarters.

Electric light is supplied free of charge and the construction and maintenance of pathways in each hostal area is maintained at the expense of the Native Revenue Fund.

The variety of Native types are catered for by the provision of separate rooms for two or three Natives, and the dormitory for casual or groups of Natives. Domestic servants for whom suitable accommodation is provided are housed on their employer's premises which usually consists of a single room. Natives employed in shops, warehouses, are housed in barracks rented or erected by their employers. In cases where large numbers of Natives are employed at the Railway and Harbour Administration...
private barracks are utilised for the housing of their employees. In these cases there is an official in charge of the labourers who supervises their conditions of living, records the time worked and of pay due.

Among the inmates of the hostels under the control of the Town Council are to be found natives from many tribes in the Union and adjacent territories, Basutoland, Rhodesia, East Africa, and other centres. The accommodation provided is of a wide nature; the kraal Native being accustomed to less comfort that the advanced type who demands additional privileges.

A small amount of catering or trading is done by natives in the Hostels along lines similar to those which exist in the Eatinghouses.

Registration of Contracts of Service. The regulations framed under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1923 for the registration of contracts of service have a practical value in checking abuses and rendering a service to the Natives as well as to the European population. The necessity for having the terms of a contract reduced to writing between the Native and his employer is borne out by the number of cases in which Europeans seek redress against defaulters, and likewise where Natives feel they have a justifiable grievance for unpaid wages. The assistance rendered to public bodies, individual employers, Natives, and for purposes of verification of indentity are shown by the attached comparative returns.

The Native stands in a special position in so far as his labour is concerned by reason of his home being in the country and the facilities available to him to resort to the urban area for the purpose of seeking employment and thereby subsidize the income of the kraal by wages earned in an industrial centre. It has been claimed that in Durban the uneconomic rental charged for accommodation in a hostel of 5/- per month which includes service has had the effect of subsidizing the employer of Native labour by removing from him the expense of paying higher wages.

The process whereby Natives entering the borough, for the purpose of seeking employment or of service in the urban area, are required to be medically examined and vaccinated before registration ensures that the Native labourer is sound physically and the Borough is assured of a healthy Native population.

The nature of the contracts registered is mainly on a monthly basis and this feature was predominant until recent years. There is a steady preference for shorter contract between Native and employer and the Department now registers a large number of contracts on a daily basis. This preference for not being contracted into long periods of employment has its counterpart in the Tōst system of labour a form of employment most suited to the shipping industry whereby Natives undertake work of stevedoring for a limited time. In some instances where Natives are in domestic/
domestic service the attraction for shorter terms of service lies in a more rapid increase in wage as the applicant for employment can then ask for a higher rate providing the demand for such labour is present.

The registration of contracts with Natives engaged in the occupation of ricksha pulling is also of a special character for the puller is nominally attached to some owner of the ricksha vehicle. In this case the vehicle is hired to the Native who plys his trade in his own interests.

The hauling of rickshas by Natives is steadily diminishing before the onslaught of motor transport systems introduced within recent years on a large scale.

While the supply of togt labour has been maintained that of the ricksha hauler has become restricted. The togt system is elastic enough to admit of Natives engaged therein to move to centres of greatest activity. It is found that at points where such labour is steadily employed the supply remains fairly constant provided the attractiveness of reward is not drastically interfered with, and in this respect it is significant to note that in the Regulations a minimum rate of pay is laid down.

An illustration of the fluidity of togt labour is found in the three principal industrial areas of Durban, namely; Point, Central, and Congella. In each of these parts togt labour has varied only in accordance with the development those centres are undergoing.

The shipping activities having extended toward Congella the togt system becomes more intensified there; while in the central area where commerce is definitely established the numbers are constant over a long period of years. The figures for licences issued in respect of these parts are attached.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The distribution of racial groups and the geographical position of Durban make it a centre of dissimilarities to any other area. The European population domiciled here is largely unilingual, the coloured and mixed population is small, but the Asiatic group is probably the highest in the Union. There is in addition to a permanent element a large Native population of a floating character and the interaction of these groups wield an influence upon the Native.
The growth of the urban population is seen from a comparison of the Municipal census instituted in 1913 and 1921.


1921. All races 93,515 46113 29011 18391.

There was an increase of all races by 19,355.


FLOATING POPULATION - NATIVES.

One of the features introduced by the system of registration of service contracts introduced in 1916, was to reveal the extensive Native population of a floating character through the issue of permits for the purpose of visiting or seeking work to Natives.

The following figures show the working population by the number of service contracts recorded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Initial Registrations</th>
<th>Monthly Renewals</th>
<th>Re-Registered</th>
<th>Average employed per month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913/20</td>
<td>14911</td>
<td>225025</td>
<td>31077</td>
<td>21668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920/21</td>
<td>16576</td>
<td>237012</td>
<td>32783</td>
<td>23848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921/22</td>
<td>14251</td>
<td>235122</td>
<td>33721</td>
<td>25591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922/23</td>
<td>17508</td>
<td>290292</td>
<td>41635</td>
<td>29119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923/24</td>
<td>16332</td>
<td>294729</td>
<td>44212</td>
<td>29606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924/25</td>
<td>17088</td>
<td>321829</td>
<td>44299</td>
<td>31338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925/26</td>
<td>17189</td>
<td>344416</td>
<td>47062</td>
<td>34051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926/27</td>
<td>12745</td>
<td>242134</td>
<td>42139</td>
<td>34001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927/28</td>
<td>14401</td>
<td>386689</td>
<td>48866</td>
<td>32992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928/29</td>
<td>14203</td>
<td>338141</td>
<td>45783</td>
<td>32804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929/30</td>
<td>14180</td>
<td>314916</td>
<td>41295</td>
<td>30864</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concurrent with this working population there is roughly a floating population of 50,000 to 60,000 Natives, that is to say, about 5000 visitors or Natives seeking employment in the town every month.

The healthy feature in the social condition of this large Native population is the facilities for Natives to spend week-ends at their homes which are conveniently situated by rail, and more recently by motor transport, where about twenty-five per cent of the Natives working in Durban can obtain relaxation.

...
The converging systems of transport afford to relatives opportunities for visiting the Borough of Durban. In this connection the figures of permits issued set out the classes of Natives who have come to Durban as visitors or to seek employment:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Natives Males Visiting Borough</th>
<th>Female Visitors</th>
<th>Seeking Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919/20</td>
<td>20,377</td>
<td>23,569</td>
<td>29,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920/21</td>
<td>24,206</td>
<td>25,171</td>
<td>27,526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921/22</td>
<td>24,681</td>
<td>30,038</td>
<td>31,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922/23</td>
<td>22,668</td>
<td>25,901</td>
<td>40,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923/24</td>
<td>15,800</td>
<td>10,404</td>
<td>23,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924/25</td>
<td>12,143</td>
<td>21,943</td>
<td>36,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925/26</td>
<td>19,320</td>
<td>25,624</td>
<td>41,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926/27</td>
<td>15,866</td>
<td>16,110</td>
<td>40,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927/28</td>
<td>5,501</td>
<td>7,447</td>
<td>44,667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928/29</td>
<td>4,478</td>
<td>2,374</td>
<td>42,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929/30</td>
<td>1,735</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>25,976</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1920 the high level of wages attracted Natives for some time after the peak of wage level was reached, and the further drop in the figures after 1923 is accounted for by the exclusion of Native women to carry passes or to have service contracts registered under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1923.

Residence of Working and Floating population.

The provisions made under the Town Council's Hostel system was primarily intended for the working population of Durban, and the position was relieved with the increase of Natives working in Durban by permitting domestic servants to reside on their master's premises where such accommodation was to the satisfaction of the Town Council.

Whatever success has attended the Durban system of housing can be attributed to the removal to their homes of Natives residing in unauthorised premises.

Labour and Wages.

With the large population of which the greater portion is a floating one makes the supply of labour in Durban a matter of little difficulty to industrialists.

Some indication of the rate of wages paid by twelve important firms and companies is given for the period 1917 to 1931 and the amounts shown are for the average monthly rate in shillings:

...
### Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1917</th>
<th>1919</th>
<th>1922</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baking</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32½</td>
<td>32½</td>
<td>32½</td>
<td>116½ nett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drapers</td>
<td>42½</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37½</td>
<td>42½</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>32½</td>
<td>31½</td>
<td>42½</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairying</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timber</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool</td>
<td>33½</td>
<td>32½</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>47½</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironmongery</td>
<td>52½</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>52½</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesalers</td>
<td>32½</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32½</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37½</td>
<td>37½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>41/11</td>
<td>42/-</td>
<td>46/-</td>
<td>47/7</td>
<td>48/10</td>
<td>56/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sudden rise in 1931 in the Baking Industry is accounted for by the Wage Determination gazetted on the 13th February, 1931.

A comparison with the 1914 rate indicates that the rise has been generally gradual. The rates averaged in 1914 from 25/- to 40/- per month. In certain cases firms include food and sleeping accommodation in the contract of service, while others afford a small monetary allowance in lieu of food and accommodation. The standard of food supplied is approximately 3 lbs maize meal per head per diem which may be varied by substituting bread or adding two pounds of meat per week or permitting the Natives to make "Amahewu" or by the provision of vegetables.

**Distribution of Population.**

The percentage of absorption of the working population is approximately as follows:

... 25½/
25% of the Natives are males who take up domestic service.
3% are females in household employ.
1% of the females are engaged in other services.
70% of the Native males take up industrial and commercial service.
1% of the Native males follow callings where they are not under service to an employer.

Servants and their duties - Domestic.

The appellation "domestic servant" assumes a Colonial significance when regarded in connection with the range of duties performed by the "kitchen boy" and the term does not necessarily mean that his duties are defined. As a rule a Native domestic servant is assigned the work of a general servant, except where competence as a cook, waiter, or room steward places the individual in a special category. In such cases ability commands a slightly higher wage than the average, but these instances are not common nor does the wage earned by a cook exceed £3 as a minimum or £7 as a maximum per month. Continuous service and general usefulness would also influence the earning capacity of a reliable Native servant.

Gardener.

Natives have not acquired an aptitude for ornamental gardening, or domestic agriculture, and this attitude is not surprising when the agricultural side of their own family life is taken into consideration. However, with very little instruction and with suitable garden implements the Native male can under supervision carry out satisfactorily such work in addition to keeping hedges, lawns, and botanical bed in order.

Nurse girls.

Native nurse girls are paid from £1 to £2. 5. 0. per month and are usually on a monthly contract. Their main duties are the attending of young children with such other assistance in the lighter household duties as are delegated to them from time to time. They either reside in the Hostels set aside by the Town Council, or in isolated instances occupy a separate room of the Native quarters on the employer's premises.

Wash-men and Women.

A number of Native women undertake the washing of clothes and household linen on the premises of Europeans. The practice of taking the linen away to recognised washing centres such as the Umbilo and Umgeni rivers has died out. In this regard the following diminishing returns of revenue received from the issue of licences to Native male wash-men are of interest:

Native/
Native wash-men pay 2/- per head per month for a wash licence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Remittances</th>
<th>Govt: Nature of purpose of remittance.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus/
Thus the payment of government taxes is of first importance to the Native and that as the period of tax collection approaches there is less money available for his other requirements and his budget is made up either by accepting the free masonry of tribal life which is well understood in the urban area and practised in regard to hospitality, loans, etc.

The liquidation of debts follows upon the purchases of stock and are closely related. A Native seldom pays outright for a boat and spends portion of his earnings in buying stock on the instalment plan as a prelude to the lobolo for his wife. Sums of money are also handled on behalf of Natives through other agencies such as the Post Office, Native Labour Organisations Magistrates Offices and their employers.

Native Diet.

An investigation made in 1921 as to the composition of a normal month's diet for a Native family residing in the Married quarters, Eastern Vlei, and of single male Natives residing in the Native Hostel, Depot Road shows further sources of expenditure in the NATIVE'S budget.

The investigation covers a range over the family consisting of two persons to that of ten in a family, and in regard to single male Natives three distinct social types classified as:

1. Natives subsisting by their personal efforts in trade (Traders).
2. The ordinary labourer who is a wage earner employed in Stores (labourer).
3. The educated Native who follows European habits.

In the case of the married Native the following commodities appear to form the common articles of diet:

- Meat, rice, mealie meal, bread, husked mealies, flour, tea, milk, and sugar with the vegetables, onions, sweet potatoes and beans. Condiments such as salt pepper, are also used.

The Native trader gives preference for the following:

- Meat, bread, tea, Native beer, rice and potatoes.

The labourer's diet consists chiefly of meat, and meal with some vegetables such as beans, rice or husked mealies.

The educated Native is partial to porridge, meat bread, sugar, tea, rice, and potatoes.

To all the consumption of meat, bread and or meal with beans and or potatoes as vegetables appears to be common.

The quantities consumed are shown in the following schedule but the cost of preparing the food by the use of wood, coal, or oil has not been taken into account as the provision of cooking facilities are generally available to Natives.

### Married Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Husband &amp; Wife</th>
<th>Meat</th>
<th>Bread</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Meal</th>
<th>Potatoes</th>
<th>Beans</th>
<th>Mealies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 &amp; 60</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband &amp; Wife with 1 child</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 in Family</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above quantities are in pounds weight and cover a period of...
period of one month.

12 4 5 45 10 6

Advanced Natives. Consumption per diem.

Breakfast Plate of porridge
Meat Bread Tea

Dinner Meat and Vegetables Tea Bread

Supper Tea Bread

Native Education.

Prior to 1918 a great deal of vigorous teaching was being done on old fashioned lines in night schools for Natives in Durban. Some of the buildings were overcrowded and there were no restrictions on disciplinary lines in the interests of students. On representations from the Education Department the Town Council proceeded to provide school accommodation by erecting a large double-storied building in the vicinity of the Eastern Vlei having for its object manual instruction for Native youths and domestic training for girls, and giving to the Native Night Schools of Durban such re-organisation as the Department of Education considered necessary to improve the system.

The School cost approximately £7500 and grants-in-aid are made to the Native Night Schools to the extent of £1200 per annum.

Native Recreation.

The subject of providing adequate recreation for Natives in the Borough has received consideration from the Town Council chiefly by monetary assistance from time to time, but the more serious effort at social entertainment was introduced in 1919 when Tennis, Football, Cricket Clubs and a Dramatic Society of Natives was formed along with a Native Choir.

The further provision introduced recently by the appointment of a Welfare Officer who is responsible for the work of recreation is an additional endeavour to cope with the reasonable requirements of the Native population.

Inter-racial Co-operation.

There has existed in Durban groups of interested persons who have constituted themselves into associations with objects centering around the welfare of Natives in the borough. The more prominent bodies have been the Native Reform Association,
in 1907, the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives which branched off from the former organisation, and the later appointment by the Town Council of a Native Advisory Board.

Upon other matters falling within the terms of reference to the Commission the representatives of the Town Council will be willing to lead such oral evidence as may be necessary to assist in the work of investigation of so stupendous a character as the economic and social position of the Native in the Borough of Durban.

The annexures are submitted in order to elucidate points in this report.

(Sgd) JOHN K. MURRAY.
Acting Chairman Native Affairs Committee.
## ANNEXURE TO REPORT FOR ECONOMIC COMMISSION ON NATIVES.

Schedule showing area of Town lands utilised for the erection of Native Hostels, and the accommodation available in such Hostels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Area.</th>
<th>Roofs</th>
<th>Perches.</th>
<th>accommodation, 10/- beds.</th>
<th>Monthly rental 5/- Beds.</th>
<th>Nightly rental Casuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOSTELS.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depot Road Hostel</td>
<td>for Males</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2830</td>
<td>44 536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Quarters</td>
<td>Families</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager's House</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostel, Congella</td>
<td>for Males</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1656</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostel Central</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostel, Grey St.</td>
<td>For Females</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostel, Point</td>
<td>Approximately</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2202</td>
<td>44 591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 Acres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Town Council has in addition to the provision of Hostel accommodation in the Borough under consideration, the establishment of a Native Village on 425 acres outside the area in the vicinity of Umhlatuzana on land acquired by purchase for extension purposes.

### AREAS ON WHICH OTHER NATIVE INSTITUTIONS THAN HOSTELS ARE ESTABLISHED ARE SET OUT HEREBEUNDER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Roofs</th>
<th>Perches.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native Brewery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration Offices</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latinghouses</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approximately</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total 8090</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The area of the Borough of Durban is about 8274 acres but additional properties have been acquired beyond the boundaries.
The investigation on the Wage Board Determinations, and their effects on Natives, was the most difficult of all. The reasons for that, I think, are these:

(1) The whole question of the Determinations was under review just at the time I was in Durban, and therefore it was not working with certainty. It was therefore difficult to know what were the exact effects.

(2) Information of a reliable kind could be obtained from the employers themselves. I was, however, very reluctant to approach the employers, being an unofficial person, and moreover on an unpopular topic. The little information I have has therefore been collected from Native sources, and as one would expect, it is not absolutely reliable. There have been cases where Natives refused me information, for fear of losing their jobs.

Europeans have got dismissed through Wage Board Determinations; so have Natives. Obviously, if a firm was employing 15 Natives at 18/- a week, and now has to pay them £1.5-0 each a week - and in a time of depression - it is going to employ less than 15 men. This is what is happening in Durban. The Five Roses Tea Farm is now doing with less men, I understand. Such a position may lead, and generally does, to employment.

There are some firms which are paying their skilled and semi-skilled native workmen the new Determined wage, much to the allaying of their discontent. Take one case at J. Ellis Brown, Coffee-makers. As Natives before 1931 were getting a wage which fluctuated between £1-5-0 and £1-6-0, but ever since January, 1931, they have been getting £2 a week, 2/- being subtracted for lodging, in accordance with the Act (1925) and this makes it £1-18-0.

Somehow, there has been a delay in granting the new wage, and yet the Determination came into force in September, 1928! Then again, Natives, in some cases, were promised the increased wages at the end of January; they did not get them at the end of January, but were promised this increase as from the end of February, and when the end of February came, they still did not get the new wage.

The utmost uncertainty has been in the Bakery Works of Durban. You could never even form definite suspicions. This was probably due to the special protest registered by the Bakers for staying the execution of the Determinations in their present form.

Only one case was reported to me of attempt to side-track the Determinations. A certain Glass Works firm had to pay the Natives £3 a week (Natives doing skilled work). When the Inspector of Labour came, he found they were earning £1-10-0 a week. The firm was found at fault, and requested to pay the men all arrear wages. Allegations of evasions of the Wage Act are numerous, however.
I am reporting facts on what events are probably happening, and I do not think I ought to omit this fact, however much it may be the result of ignorance.

It is well known that the Wage Board Determinations apply to particular trades and not to others, and in one firm, to a section of the workers. Natives cannot understand this preferential treatment, as they say, whereby the Wage Board visits one trade and passes by one next door to it, and whereby some workmen in the same firm get an increase and others do not.
Durban has many small umfanaans working. 80% of these fellows are engaged in the Domestic Service.

I found that the little boys got good pay, good food and better sleeping quarters than many a native in Durban. Among the well-to-do classes the small boys are very often employed along with bigger boys, who protect or exercise guardianship on these little boys, either of their own accord, or in accordance with the instructions of the master; this is commendable. In the poorer sections of Durban, the little umfanaans sleep in the kitchen, the kya being not there because above the means of the employers. In general, however, kitchen boys sleep either in the kya, or in the kitchen, and there are cases where the small umfanaan is made to sleep alone in the kya; it must be very lonely for some of the boys, especially where the mistress does not allow visitors.

Most of the small boys told me that they came into Durban because they were brought by their fathers, uncles, brothers, etc. The object of bringing them into Durban was that they should work and as a result, supplement the family's income. This in itself is significant. Before, only the father came into town to work, or else the older son (or sons), and in some cases both the father and the son worked; now the economic stress is felt even by the rural Natives, and compels them to take away their sons from herding cattle and goats into earning money in the towns. The little fellow has now to add his shilling too! This is therefore a new feature in Native life. It points to a change which is more significant in that it is taking place among a conservative people. To me, this aspect of changing conditions, where small boys are now wage earners, as I think my report on the "Amalaita Boys" shows, is unwelcome. Let me reiterate that even if the small boys come not under the fold of Amalaita, it does not follow that they turn into good boys. One may expect small boys in town, with its influences, to fare ill.

The boys have no place for recreation. This they need. I suggest 'soccer'. Only the other day I found ten small kitchen-boys playing with a rubber ball on a grass plot adjoining a European church which faces Florida Road, near the Grayville Tramcar Station. Then again, small umfanaans are very often not allowed to go to the nearest night-school, and this forces them to spend valuable time in chatting in the streets, after which they go to sleep. Where conditions are less strict, the boy is allowed to go to a night-school; but he often finds himself unable to do so because of his work; he finishes washing dishes, for instance, at 8: p.m., or a little past 8: when he considers it too late for him to go, where the school is in a far-off place, somewhat where he has to pass through dark streets, he fears coming back alone, and prefers remaining at home.

Sometimes the boy gets a visit from his father or uncle or brother, especially at the end of the month, when wages are to be had. Or, as very often is the case, the boy gets permission to visit his relations; again let me say there are cases where none of these things takes place; there is neither visiting nor schooling. In that case, a friendship is made with the next door neighbour's boy, and other near-by youngsters, and leisure time is spent in gossip, either over street gutters, or under verandahs of corner stores or buildings. The majority of the small boys I am speaking about were between the ages of 10 and 12 years of age.
On the whole, the small boys share with the other Natives in the Domestic Service the privilege of being employed in a service which is paying. I find that Domestic Servants are better off than other Natives working in towns. Their wage may certainly not be higher than that of the others; as a matter of fact, I should think it is lower, on the average; but the chances of getting second-hand clothes cheaply, or free, so too with furniture, and the food that is to be had in the kitchen, etc., gives the domestic native an advantage which the other native has not got. And so you will find that it is the domestic natives' money, mostly, which reaches the Native Territories, for they have a better chance of saving.

But just what some of the little umfanas - and these I found to be by no means few - feel and think, is reflected in the two stories set forth heretofore:

One morning I was slowly walking up one of Durban's residential streets when a small boy, clad in the usual kitchen garb, came past me. I turned round and accompanied the little fellow, whose age I learnt was only 10 years. Fortunately for me, he had just left the store where he had been sent to buy some groceries, and his destination was a little further up the street. As we walked up, the boy told me this story, in response to my request.

"Before coming into Durban from Mapumulo, my home, my time was engaged in herding cattle and going to school. I attended casually at school, because I was told that my main concern was in the veld, with cattle, and that is where I was to spend most of my time.

"One day I overheard father and mother talking together in the evening. Daddy said to Mammy he was taking me into Durban with him on his return to work."

"How did you feel about that?"

"I did not like leaving home, and go to be troubled by the white man; but what could I do as a child? Accordingly, in October, or so (near Christmas time, but not very near, as the boy said) we came into Durban. My father took me to where I am now working."

"What work do you do?"

"Oh, anything boss or Missus tells me to do - washing dishes in the kitchen, looking after baby-boy, cleaning verandas."

"Your wage?" "1/2/6 a month, handed over to Daddy. There is plenty to eat of nice foods and comfortable sleep in the kitchen."

"What do you do in the evening?"

"If I finish work early enough in the evening, I go out to chart with my home boys in the street just near, but if not, I go to sleep straight away."

I asked the little chap, "How about going home?" his face turned pale. "I see these attractions, but I would like to go home as early as possible; I do not like this place."

After that we parted company.

The story is self-explanatory; the little umfana had fair wages, plenty of food, and a nice place to sleep in, but he did not like to be away from home.

Here is another tale: this time from a town boy of 11 years of age. "I was born in Nancefield Location, Johannesburg, and for the first five years, so I hear, I lived with my parents. After I had attended the Local School for a year, my mother sent me to Umhumbulu Mission (Pine Town Division) to stay there with my maternal uncle, because she was afraid lest I be nurtured on the /
the evil influences of Location 1 life. Mansfield has not too good a reputation. I had very harsh treatment at my uncle's place, and consequently, my parents had me removed from there by my brother, who was at Marisnhill at the time, studying.

"We came here into Durban - my brother because he wanted to earn his school-fare, and myself because it was necessary that I should earn my fare up to Johannesburg. Mammy had sent me train-fare, but by some act of villainy, it never reached me. I told my brother that I was not to remain here in Durban, and that he was to take me up as soon as possible. He got into a sample car and left for Johannesburg about last December. I am going to leave Durban on my own. I am putting shilling on to shilling for my fare and after that I will ask my mate - one working with me - I sleep in the same room with him and he is as good as a brother to me - to take me to my right train.

"I cannot stand this lonely life - (brother away, and parents far away too. It comes very near being miserable for me. The Amalaita boys are a constant worry to me; they ask me to join their ranks and be their scout-boy - scout out police, etc. If I do not do that, woe is me! My time is ill-spent in the evenings. I usually finish washing dishes late in the evening, when I cannot go to the near-by night-school with profit and safety to myself. I would sooner be at home, where I will attend the day-school, and also be under parental control. I am afraid that if I remain in Durban longer, I may go astray."

Here are two tales which go to show what many a small boy in Durban would say: 'We do not want to work; we are brought here in spite of ourselves. We would like to be at home.'
NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

COMMENTS BY DR. PARK ROSS, M.O.H. (Union), on
letter by Miss H. Prozesky, dd. 11.2.1931.

1. I agree that venereal disease is on the increase.

2. I agree that few Natives report to the district surgeons, and many Natives, especially women, do not understand its ravages.

3. D.S. lectures are useless. Few could do it: Men of the type of our Native malaria assistants, who are doing it every day for malaria are best suited to do this and would be perhaps better than nurses. The Zulu does not require the same sex discrimination as to lectures, and women ask more "sex" questions at our malaria lectures than men.

4. We have only 25 Native lecturers for malaria.

5. I have adumbrated a scheme to deal with this and cognate diseases, as leprosy, etc.

6. I disagree with Miss P. regarding relative importance of malaria and venereal. The deaths from the former in 1928-29 were over 4000, and it left a huge number of invalids but not in Nongoma.
The question of overwhelming importance to the twentieth century is, and will be, the contact and conflict of races. We have recently entered on a new phase of this question. In earlier periods racial contact was superficial. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Western Europeans traded abroad in luxuries commodities of high value in small bulk and relatively imperishable (spices, ivory, silk, gold, porcelain, also tea, coffee and cocoa, which were at that time luxuries). These were procured usually from native dealers in the over-seas country, and the trade involved little or no interference with the traditional life and social customs of the country. There were exceptions in the areas producing sugar and tobacco (West Indies and Virginia). But there the problem was summarily solved by slavery and these plantations were confined to a few limited areas in the New World - apart from the spice cultivation by the Dutch, equally limited in extent.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

The immense development of manufacture and transport summed up in the phrase "Industrial Revolution" combined with the nearly simultaneous abolition of the slave trade and of slavery created a profound change. In the nineteenth century arose a huge demand for raw materials and for food stuffs for the factories and populations of the new industrial areas. The growing cheapness of transport and, since 1880, the invention of cold storage, made possible the bulk transport and production of raw materials, which previously were either not used at all (rubber, copra, sisal) or were merely high-priced luxuries produced in small quantities. Cotton gives the first instance of bulk cultivation of a subtropical product needed by the Industrial Revolution. Slavery in the Southern States developed in the closest inter-action with the cotton industry in Lancashire. The cultivation of coffee in Ceylon and of tea in Assam provide the first instances of plantation
industry in the East (apart from the Dutch spice trade) and since they develop after (and partly as a result of) the abolition of slavery, labour had to be provided through the Indian indentured migration system, which was extended also to Mauritius, the West Indies, Natal, Fiji, and Malaya. With the development of rubber, cocoa, coffee, tobacco, palm-oil, and cotton in Central Africa, came the recruitment of African male natives for contract labour on the plantations; and in South Africa and elsewhere the same use of male natives separated from their families for a longer or shorter period came into operation for the service of the mines. In some areas especially in West Africa and Uganda, another system is followed: the natives, instead of being recruited for plantation labour, are encouraged to produce on their own plots the raw materials needed by the world, e.g., cocoa in West Africa, cotton in Uganda.

ITS EFFECTS ON NATIVE LIFE.

Whichever method is adopted the production of raw materials in bulk for the world’s markets inevitably affects the social and economic life of native races to a degree quite unknown (outside the slavery areas) before the nineteenth century. Under the plantation or big estate system, the removal of males for months together from the reserves, the introduction of money, the habituation to railways and stores, inevitably undermine the old tribal customs, based as they are on subsistence economy and communal land holding. The talk of segregation, while such recruiting continues, is idle. The life of the natives in their own homes is inevitably altered. And the treatment of the recruited natives raises a whole crop of difficult and so far uninvestigated questions, e.g., recruiting ordinances control and training of recruiters, identification and pass-laws, compound management, control of rest stations and routes. When native education and development have progressed, there arise the further questions of the conditions of detribalisation, the admission of natives to skilled trades and professions, the dangers of their competition with white workers accustomed to a higher standard of life, and their position in urban life.
All these questions are so difficult and so delicate that many writers on the subject tend to assume and imply that white settlement in the midst of natives is undesirable and due only to an improper greed for speed riches. But such an attitude is unjust. The life of a pioneer farmer or planter opening up a new country through the casual and incompetent labour of men little removed from barbarism is hard and often poorly rewarded. Where, as in South Africa and in the high plateaux of Central Africa, there are sparsely populated areas of fertile land whose climate is suited to white families, it would be impossible and undesirable to prevent white settlement. Moreover the negrophilists who advocate in every case the West African method of exchange culture, by which the native himself raises crops for the market overlook many difficulties. Here too, the introduction of money economy changes tribal custom and authority. Not all crops are suited to ignorant and small scale peasant cultivators. To encourage a large native population to depend on the cultivation of one exchange crop only, is to invite disaster. An unlooked for disease, a fall in world prices, might plunge whole districts, encouraged, to be dependent on the peasant cultivation of cotton or cocoa, into profound and undeserved distress.

INEVITABLE CO-OPERATION OF BLACK AND WHITE.

The truth is that the increasing utilisation of the tropics and of other overseas areas as a source of the raw materials and food needed in manufacturing industry, is not an evil development. It is a desirable and hopeful one. It means greater utilisation of the world's resources; it means the opening up of great areas to a share in international civilisation. But since it means the close and perpetual inter-relation of white and black in economic co-operation, it certainly involves great difficulties and dangers unless handled with knowledge and far-sighted statesmanship. The conscience of the world rejects exploitation by salvery or indentured labour; the increased knowledge and common sense of our time
cannot accept an immediate and unqualified assertion of equality between black and white. We know that civilisation is a plant of slow growth and that a tribal native, cannot by the waving of a wand, be turned into a responsible citizen of a modern state. Yet modern civilised man and tribal native have got to exist side by side, without if possible, either exploitation or immediate equality of rights. The demand for segregation when coupled with the continued recruiting of natives for white service, merely obscures or postpones the issue. What is needed is the evolution of a new social organization by which white and black can live and work in the same country, neither harming the peculiar qualities and virtues of the other, and both uniting in the harmonious co-operation for the development of what is now to each alike their home and residence. The achievement of this ideal will not be easy. But if it is not achieved, there is before us a weary prospect of race tension and race conflict beside which the labour disputes of Europe will be peace itself.

NEED OF FURTHER KNOWLEDGE.

Now one of the requisites for the achievement of this aim is more knowledge. Our ordinary economics and political science are too limited to help us. We want to know in more detail what happens to a tribal community living in a subsistence economy when it is suddenly caught up into the fabric of modern large scale competitive production; both native exchange culture and plantation recruitment inevitably have this result. We need further to know the various expedients by which the difficulties of such a situation are being met. The U.S.A. government has prohibited private stores in the Red Indian reserves. Should we do the same in South Africa? The Indian governments are promoting co-operative credit among the Indian peasants. Should we do the same? What is the significance and effect of "native treasuries" in Nigeria and Tanganyika? The conditions of land-holding among natives who are developing exchange cultures is a subject of enormous importance
and complication. The various methods of recruiting as practised in the Union, in Rhodesia where, (it is asserted by some), is the best recruiting ordinance in the Tanganyika, Kenya, Assen and Malaya, should be studied and the facts made available in accessible reports. The field of research is illimitable and is, so far, barely touched.

DEFINITE INSTRUCTION NEEDED.

Further, authoritative and disinterested teaching in these subjects would be of immense value. It is obvious that native administrations and teachers should have a wide economic knowledge. But missionaries too require it. Even quite experienced and distinguished missionaries cannot see the difference between exchange and subsistence agriculture. Recruiting agents and compound managers need training, that the native's contact with modern industry may be to his advantage and not to his disadvantage. The ideal of course, is that recruiting and compound management should become definite professions, involving a course of training without which no license should be granted. Native educators themselves need education in the economic effects of racial contacts. It is reported that Sir Michael Sadler has been sending young Imperial Civil Servants to study negro education in America. But it is safe to say that the education of completely detribalised descendants of slaves living as a minority in a highly civilised country will be a misleading guide to the management of schools and colleges in Africa and India.

SCHOOL OF INTER-RACIAL ECONOMICS.

The suggestion then to be put forward in this memorandum is that a special institution should be established for the study of these inter-racial economic contacts which the spread of the Industrial Revolution is making more and more inevitable, more and more intimate in all sections of the world. Such an institution should aim both at instruction and research. In research it should endeavour to make possible the production and publication of more studies of the same type as Miss Campbell's book on
Chinese Coolie Migration, Professor MacMillan's book on the Cape
Colour question and to name what comes near to being a master-
piece. Lord Ingard's great volume on the Dual Mandate in
Tropical Africa.

Side by side with research should go instruction and
practical training in native administration. The curriculum
should include naturally ethnology and native languages. There
should be laid a sound foundation of general economic history
with special courses on the effects of the Industrial Revolution
on tropical and sub-tropical areas. For future administrators
there should be courses in law and in public administration.
Compound managers should study hygiene and dietetics. Mission-
aries should pay special attention to the best conditions for native
education. All alike should study native land tenure and the
conditions of recruited labour.

No such institution yet exists. The ethnology and
psychology of the new native are of course extensively studied.
But ethnologists usually regard the native in contact with
modern industry as a spoiled native and the methods and condi-
tions of his contact with commercial civilisation repel rather
than interest them. The writer, while recently on leave
in England, discussed these questions with Mr. and Mrs. Sydney
Webb, who agreed with the view taken here of the necessity of
the establishment and dissemination of a body of knowledge of
racial contacts. On their advice she inquired of the department
of ethnology attached to the London School of Economics and
Political Science, whether these questions of recruiting, land
tenure, native stores etc., were studied there and was informed
that they were not. She knows of no other institution in the
world likely to give serious and sustained attention to these
problems.

WHERE SHOULD IT BE SITUATED?

A great service to civilisation would undoubtedly be
rendered by the early establishment of such a centre of study; it is clear that it should be situated in an area where the problems can be studied at first hand. Students and teachers who do not frequently come in contact with natives would be obviously handicapped. No doubt many districts would be suitable, but it is suggested that Durban, the principal port of Natal in S. Africa, would have many advantages as the seat of such an institution. Natal saw the earliest successful experiment in native administration. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, one of the greatest though least known of colonial statesmen, established there only about a dozen years after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, a system of native reserves, which for many years made it possible in Natal for whites and Zulus to exist side by side without destroying the best characteristics of each race. Durban itself has admittedly an admirable system of municipal native administration, which has been extensively copied throughout S. Africa. It is within reach of the Transkei, where a different system depending on the development of individual land tenure and native councils, is in operation. Further, Natal for many years received indentured Indian immigrants and the implications and effects of this special form of racial contact could be studied on the spot. It may perhaps also be mentioned, should this memorandum fall under the notice of any citizens of the United States, that the American missionaries were at work in Natal before its annexation as a colony of Britain, and that they have a long and honourable record in native education. Again in Durban there are a considerable number of detrabalised and urban natives, whose condition and economic resources could be investigated. It is not infrequently the centre chosen for Indian and native congresses and, as a junction for many line of railway and steamers, it is not at too great a distance from Europe on the one hand and from East Africa, India and the East on the other.
The Natal Technical College which is now undertaking university work in association with the University of S. Africa, has already on its staff economists who are devoting special attention to this question of the economic aspect of racial contacts, and one of its students has already won an important prize for an essay on Native Administration. The college could probably depend on the co-operation of officials of the Native Affairs Departments (Union, and Municipal). A start could be made at an early date with the addition to the present staff of a qualified ethnologist and the employment of part-time lecturers (who could be drawn from the Native Affairs Departments) on native law and native languages. The college library has already the nucleus of necessary books and government reports, and the local joint council of natives and Europeans is urging on the Municipal Library the establishment of a similar collection. Students could at first be prepared for the diploma of Bantu Studies of the University of S. Africa provided that certain modifications or alternate courses could be introduced, allowing for the economic emphasis advocated in this memorandum. Durban is proceeding immediately to the erection of University College buildings, to which the University students now accommodated at the Natal Technical College, will be moved, and it would be comparatively easy to make provision for class-rooms and special sections of library and museum to be used for this new line of study and research.

The writer, therefore, urges on the authorities of the Natal Technical College, on the Durban joint council of natives and Europeans, on the Durban Municipal Native Affairs Department, on the Union Native Affairs Department, on the American Mission Board, on the recently established section for native affairs of the International Labour Office, and in short, on all interested in these profoundly significant questions of the economic inter- relation of race with race, the desirability of taking early steps for the establishment in Durban of an Institute or School of Inter-racial Economics.
1. That **tribalism** is not a racial characteristic but a stage of social development.

2. That **tribalism** is closely associated with the absence of money and immediate dependence on the land for subsistence by each tribal group.

3. That the chief's power depends mainly on his control of the land and power to deprive an offending individual of his plot of land.

4. That **tribalism** must in time disappear when money, with its accompaniments - wage-earning and buying from stores - is introduced.

5. That whatever were the virtues of native tribes unaffected by modern civilization, those tribes cannot live in a country run on money and profit-making lines, and retain their old social organization.

6. That attempts to maintain or re-introduce **tribalism** cannot in the end succeed, and in the meantime give rise to many grievances and difficulties, e.g.,

   (a) Continuance of inadequate agricultural methods in restricted and crowded tribal areas, with resultant short supplies of food.

   (b) Difficulty of improving this without the introduction of individual land tenure.

   (N.B. The Russian experiment in collectivist farms is the only case where agricultural technique has been improved without individual land tenure. The success of the Russian experiment is, to say the least, not assured, and could in any case hardly be copied in South Africa. Therefore, we may safely say that there will be no substantial improvement of agricultural methods until individual land tenures are introduced - but these will still further undermine the chief's power).

   (c) Difficult position of natives under native law in relation to private property, e.g., native women who gave money, widows of exempted men (not themselves exempted), natives other than kraal-heads.

   (d) Difficult position of educated natives on returning to kraal-life.

   (e) That every effort should be made to establish at an early date a native peasantry cultivating on individual tenure and selling at least a portion of their produce.
7. That the peculiar South- and East-African system of recruiting for cheap labour in the reserves has curious economic re-actions.

(a) That native wages are only pocket-money wages, not full family maintenance wages.

(b) That the economic difficulties of natives who try to live on these low wages are very considerable. Also -

(c) That the existence and competition of numbers of pocket-money workers depress all native wages.

(d) That these conditions give rise to wife-desertions, illegitimacy and immoralties of the worst kind.

(e) That every effert should be made to establish a permanent native labour-force, depending entirely on wages and to restrict recruiting to seasonal industries and temporary industries, such as some forms of mining.

N.b. It is not desired to deny that native reserves and native labour-recruiting have their value as temporary expedients. They act as a bridge from the old communal subsistence economy of the tribe to modern competitive money economy. They allow the native community to adapt itself to the new conditions gradually, and secure that it is not deprived entirely of social self-respect by too sudden and complete immersion in the strange stream of European civilisation. But tribal conditions cannot last when permeated by the universal social solvent - money.

(f) That were a native wage-earning class established, the custom of using men as house-servants would gradually disappear; respectable native girls, the daughters of native families living in the neighbourhood, would be available and would be preferred to "boys" in domestic service.

8. That the custom of subsidising native housing and so of letting houses and barrack accommodation at sub-economic rates, also tends to depress wages, to stereotype the character of the accommodation offered and to keep rents low for other accommodation in the same neighbourhood, and so in the end to depress and not to raise the standard of native housing.

(b) That housing by employers will tend to have the same results, and also to increase the workers' dependence on the employer.

N.b. Native workers have to be housed.

As far as possible they should pay for their houses out of their own wages; it is undesirable that employers should be relieved of part of the cost of their labour by public funds. At the same time, to insist that wages ought to cover full housing costs would be a counsel of perfection; the class of unskilled labourers never does meet the
full cost of its own houses, unless it
lives in slums (and even they are usually
second-hand houses). But the Bloemfon-
tein system, whereby the natives build
their own houses, under supervision,
involves very little subsidy, allows
independence to the native, together with
a communal life in his own township, with
his own kind, and is much to be preferred
to the unwholesome Durban system of
expensive, heavily-subsidised barracks,
practically for male natives only.)

9. That is is not desirable to waste time and money on
teaching to natives out-of-date industries, such
as spinning or weaving but that it would be worth
while to develop among the native peasantry sub-
sidiary artistic crafts, the making of articles
which would find a market by reason of their design
or decoration. But that the problems of training
and marketing would be considerable.

10. Finally, that all these problems of the introduc-
tion of the native to money and exchange economy
in place of his traditional subsistence economy
raise so many and such complicated questions,
(e.g., land tenure, agricultural credit, agricultural
education, co-operative marketing, native wage
determinations, right of natives to insurance,
pensions, and participation in trade-union activi-
ties, encouragement of the right native crafts,
native housing, etc., etc., etc., etc., that as soon as
possible a special division or department of a
South African University, working in the closest
touch with ethnology on the one hand, and ordinary
economics on the other, should be instituted to
conduct research to train native administrators
and educators, and to act as a clearing-house of
information on native developments throughout Africa.

MABEL PALLER.
SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE TO BE TENDERED TO ECONOMIC COMMISSION
ON BEHALF OF THE JOINT COUNCIL OF
NATIVES AND EUROPEANS ON
THE NATIVE LAND ACT No. 27/1913.

The above Act was assented to by the Governor General on the 16th June, 1913.

It would seem that the Act had for its object the ultimate segregation of the Native in the widest sense of the word but whether that policy is or is not in the interests of the Natives or Europeans or of both is an issue which does not enter into the scope of this paper and no opinion is therefore expressed thereon.

The evidence to be tendered is confined to the disabilities which the Act has created in Natal and to the influence which it has had upon the migration of Natives from rural to urban areas.

Under Section 1 (1) of the Act certain areas were scheduled as Native areas pending the report of the Commission provided for in the Act whose functions it was to report to Parliament upon the following points:

(A) What areas should be set apart within which Natives should not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interest in land.

(B) What areas should be set aside within which persons other than Natives should not be permitted to acquire or hire land or interest therein.

The findings of the Commission were never acted upon and the position to-day is that the only lands which are scheduled as Native areas are those lands specially reserved in the Act for Natives, all lands outside that area being subject to the following provisions namely:

(a) A Native shall not enter into any agreement or transaction -for the purchase, hire-
2.

or transaction for the purchase, hire or other acquisition from a person other than a Native of such land (i.e., outside the scheduled area) or any right or interest therein except with the consent of the Governor General.

(b) A person other than a Native shall not enter into an agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire or other acquisition from a Native of any such land (i.e., outside the scheduled area) or right or interest therein except with the consent of the Governor General.

Prior to the passing of the Act large numbers of Natives were living on farms and privately owned lands outside the scheduled area as tenants and paying rent. There were many reasons for their doing so, such as the desire to move away from the conditions existing in locations, overcrowding of the locations and the desire to have their homes nearer the labour markets. With the introduction of the Act the hiring or paying of rent for land became illegal except that no Native residing on any farm at the commencement of the Act was liable to be removed or to be subject to the penalties of the act if he or the head of his family was registered for taxation or other purposes as being resident on such farm.

In order however to meet the requirements of employers of labour on farms and in rural areas it was provided under the Act that a Native shall not be deemed to hire land if in consideration of his being permitted to occupy that land he renders his own labour or services or the labour or services of his family. There is no stipulation that those services should be rendered on the land which he occupies.

Unfortunately this provision has worked to the detriment of the urban areas as with the passage of time and the large increase in the Native population of this Province and the consequent overcrowding of locations and the desire of many Natives to escape the influence of tribal control.