Written evidence presented to the Native Economic Commission
Renumbered Volume 12: Pretoria (1931)

Original volume no 13
Sir,

My evidence is as follows:

Native Migration Urban Area.

(17) The Causes is the Multiplication of Passes.
This act causes the conviction of many natives, who when convicted, the Government hires them out to people. Therefore the convicts do the work for nothing on their side. But to the benefit of the Government, thus barracing the natives looking for work to get it that's why there are surplus natives.

Natives are retrenched from jobs especially in the Government Department.

No. 2. Land Tenure by Natives.

We favour that every man can buy as he likes.

No. 9. Landless Natives.

They will become a gang of 'criminals beggars outcast outlaws' therefore we beg for more land.

No. 21. Domestic Servants.

Male servants favoured because they do the house work plus Gardening.

No. 27. Laws affecting Native workers in towns.

Application favoured for same laws as European in all classes of work. The Wage Act and the Conciliation Act.


[i] Native Land Act (ii) Mines and work act (colour bar Act)
[v] Pass laws. (vi) Squatting or labour tenants law.

All of these laws to be abolished.

Native Taxation and Development Act.

Under this act Native are arrested criminally for owing tax. They are not even allowed to pay by instalments even if native earns £24. per year he is forced to pay tax. Natives are tax payers while on the other hand the Government closes all avenues of employment against them.

Urban Area act Service Contract.

Contract to be treated the same as Europeans give both parties the right to sign off or terminate such contract. Not to be demanded by the Police in the Streets unless in events of dispute.

Signed by ________________

357, Vermeulen Street

Pretoria.
Additional Native Commissioner,
PRETORIA.

Sir,

Herewith we are returning the reply of the document which you sent to us to give evidence according to the four questions written below:

A. Concerning the wages according the work we perform in town, can be eight shillings a day (8/-) to satisfy our reasonable needs.

B. In question (b) we Natives must be treated just like a European in the work we are performing. And work eight hours a day, and the money that we earn per month the above said, to be eight shillings (8/-) per day, must be increased in three months time.

C. --

D. --

We are your humble servants of the above Society,

(Asd) JOSEPH MOTAU (Headman)
D. MOLE, Chairman.
I. D. KUMALO, Secretary.

PRETORIA.
6.6.1931.
Statement by PIETER RAMUTLA, 111 Sixth Avenue, Marabastad, PRETORIA.

1. TRIBAL AND DETRIBALISED NATIVES.

(a) All leading factors to detribalisation, viz:
Want of better education draws old and young into towns, wages, and civilised social entertainments, (especially for the young people).

Detribalised Natives, advantages - as quoted above.
There are disadvantages as well, such as the barriers in trade.

Tribal Natives disadvantages - insufficient land.

25. OPENINGS FOR EDUCATED NATIVES.

(a) Openings in existence for educated Natives, viz. Interpreting in Native languages to Natives; Native policemen, motor mechanics, plumbers.

Further openings - advancement of education such as spare time studies at trade schools, etc. i.e. mechanics, electricians, plumbers.

(c) Obstacles in the way for further openings - barriers in the law.

(d) Steps must be taken to remove such obstacles. This will advance the education, also encourage the Native to better their conditions.

29. NATIVES AND COLOURED PERSONS IN TOWNS.

No effect.

30. GOOD FEELING BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND NATIVES.

(a) Yes. (b) Municipal by-laws. (c) No steps are being taken. (d) An inquiry should be held immediately by the Commission on this point.

PRETORIA.
5.6.1931.
In considering the scope of the Commission, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the work. To a great extent the result of its deliberations may influence the course of events in the Sub-continent, and determine whether the white races will remain the directors of policy, or be submerged. As things are going a limit of from fifty to one hundred years may be assigned as the time when the natives of South Africa will assume control and the proud Afrikander become a part of what is aptly called the Brazilian system. This would be the prelude to the final submergence of the white races, swamped by numbers and economic follies. The political question is comparatively unimportant, when viewed in the right perspective.

Nothing will help except a radical change of policy in this land where wealth accumulates and white men decay. Any solution which my be proposed to obviate this state of affairs, should be worthy of the greatest attention. The problem is not yet insoluble. Time is the essence of the contract, as in a few years the position will have become intolerable and almost impossible of solution. Outbreaks which have already taken place in connection with the detribalised natives, will occur on a larger scale before the whites are finally ousted from the labour market.

The solution lies in creating a position in which the interests of Whites and Natives will not clash, and where both pursue suitable occupations but in different spheres. This would lead to a spirit of mutual regard and understanding. Such a system is practical and economic, and is not unjust in any way to the native, but entirely in his interest. The evidence submitted hereunder is in conformity with the above proposition and in terms of the Resolution adopted at Conferences and Meetings of the following bodies: - The South African Agricultural Union, the Transvaal Agricultural Union, and the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce. - "That the welfare and prosperity of the white and native races of South Africa depends in a large measure, on the complete segregation of the towns, and the gradual repatriation of all male
natives, except such as are housed under the Compound system while serving periods of employment."

Dealing with the terms of reference, point 1. "The economic and social condition of the natives, especially in the larger towns of the Union". It is admitted on all sides, that the condition of the married people is bad, although not so serious as that of the poorer whites. The Municipalities have provided housing accommodation, to a considerable extent; but millions will have to be spent under present conditions. The Klipspruit Location is the latest instance, where accommodation will be provided for 30,000 natives; the township will be replete with every modern convenience, including presumably trading facilities. Playgrounds, Bioscopes, and many other attractions are provided for the Natives, in the larger Municipalities, free of charge.

To the unmarried native, the umfana, picannin, and female native, the cities undoubtedly have great attractions from a social and economic point of view. The population figures of Johannesburg, estimated, for 1929, as compared with 1921 are extremely interesting. 1921. Whites, 154,413. Natives, 122,565. Burafricans, 11,014, and Asiotics 5,409. 1929. Whites, 176,838. Natives 145,570, Burafricans 14,130, and Asiotics 6,404.

The percentage increases over the eight years being as follows:- Whites, 14.5 per cent. Natives 18.6 per cent. Burafricans 28.2 per cent and Asiotics 18.5 per cent. These figures show how attractive Johannesburg is becoming, it is today largely a plantation city.

Socially in some respects the natives are pampered; and it is a wicked policy which persists in making the towns more attractive than the Mines. Any accommodation provided should be for temporary natives, and not permanent residents.

Welfare and many other societies exist to protect the native; Mrs. Matthews has more attention than that of the poorer whites. Law suits are frequently fought for him free of charge; on the other hand many of these facilities are denied to his competitors. While a case may be made out for improving the position of the married
native and his family in the towns, it would be foolish to do so, he would be far better off if repatriated to the country. If he elects to remain in the miserable conditions of the town so far as he as a family man is concerned, surely that is his own look out. (In Bloemfontein 598 native babies die out of every 1,000.) His presence with that of the other surplus natives creates the condition which the Commission is looking into, namely, a reservoir of unskilled labour, depressing the wages of the white unskilled labourer below the bread level.

The native in the towns is at present the prey of every crook and criminal. In addition he has learnt bad habits only too well, so much so that 2,000 native criminals are scheduled by the police of the Witwatersrand, crime is their profession.

During 1927 the following prosecutions took place in the Witwatersrand area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Europeans</th>
<th>Natives</th>
<th>Asiatics</th>
<th>Other Non-Europeans</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>17,917</td>
<td>78,924</td>
<td>1,166</td>
<td>2,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1,363</td>
<td>17,191</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>790</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Serious crime convictions on the Witwatersrand, 1927.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Europeans</th>
<th>Natives</th>
<th>Asiatics</th>
<th>Other Non-Europeans</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>2,586</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 1928 alone, they were convicted in the Courts of the Union, principally in the urban areas.

74,402 Whites, equaling 4.22 per cent of the white population, 394,709 Natives equals 7.37 per cent of the native population, 10,147 Asiatics equal to 0.47 of the Asiatics and 48,444 other coloureds equal to 8.35 per cent of the Bantu-African population.

It is quite apparent from these figures even allowing for the fact that many of the offences are trivial, that town life is not a success from the moral point of view; the young natives, male and female are dragged down into the gutter, ruined in most cases body and soul.

From time to time we see accounts of the expulsion of the so-called Skokiaan Queens of the Rand, these are well known
prostitutes and liquor sellers. These, with the illicit liquor sellers provide all kinds of rot-gut for the urban natives. No examination takes place of these native women, who are returned to their native villages, diseased to the core to spread disease and death amongst their unfortunate tribes people.

Nobody with the slightest spark of humanity can contemplate the continuance of a system which perpetuates this sort of thing. There is only one remedy for the present economic, social, and moral position of the town natives, and that is to gradually repatriate them.

The second term of reference concerns 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 or the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purpose. In considering these questions, one must remember that a grave situation would arise if our present Wage and Industrial legislation was applied to the primary industries. The machinery which has been created provides for town occupations, if the native is to become part and parcel of our urban life, then naturally he will ultimately fall under the same laws as provide for the white populations needs. The application of the Wages Acts are very slow, and we are not sure that we have found the right way of applying them yet. A Wages Act may lead to diminution of employment; in the case of the natives, the fittest would undoubtedly retain their billets, whether in competition with whites or not. In the various evidence given before the Wages Boards, it has been proclaimed on every side that to mix white and native labour is a great mistake, particularly in those trades connected with food stuffs. It may be generally accepted that Wages Boards, and measures for dealing with industrial disputes as at present in operation in the Union, must apply to natives if it is accepted that they are to remain part and parcel of the urban population. In any case such legislation can only be
It will however be quite unnecessary to provide for this contingency if a change is speedily made in our native policy, and the towns restored to their rightful position as being the white man's reserve, the native being only there so long as it is convenient for him to be retained.

The third term of reference, is very wide. "The economic and social effect upon the European and coloured population of the Union of the residence of the native 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." There is not the slightest doubt that the effect of this invasion of the towns has cost the taxpayer heavily. Our Police Force and Prison Department, have had to work over-time to cope with the position, with heavy cost to the tax-payer. The rate-payer as has been already pointed out has to pay his full share. Heavy taxation naturally reacts on the whole body politic, more particularly when it is quite unnecessary. It would be interesting if the Commission could ascertain what amount is being paid by the Government and Public bodies in the shape of Poor Relief, money spent on roads, settlements, and other public works, on which large sums could be saved, if the work was carried out by natives from the towns and their places filled by the white unskilled population. There would be ample work for all the whites and coloured who were worthy of employment if the urban natives were employed elsewhere. In 1929, 292,156 natives were employed in the following occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>23,694</td>
<td>97,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service, Union Govt.</td>
<td>111,361</td>
<td>27,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Govt.</td>
<td>27,564</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mining and Agriculture are not included in these figures. These are the figures given by the Departmental Commission, they are considerably higher to-day, and it is a pity no analysis has been made, showing exactly how the natives engaged in Commerce, Trade and Industry were employed. It seems a great pity that Natives are allowed on the Alluvial Diggings, this should be a purely white occupation, as the conditions of life are entirely unsuited to native labour.
We are continually driving square pegs into round holes, where our employment matters are concerned. We take natives, as domestics, chauffeurs, packers and commercial hands, dealing with foodstuffs etc. and we place elderly men on the road with picks and shovels, there are thousands of light jobs suitable for semi fit white men on which natives are engaged in the towns, who would be far better employed elsewhere, in the meantime it is impossible to get employment for our youth.

Take the position in Cape Town, where the native invasion has driven large numbers of coloured people out of employment. The result of this has been to make Cape Town the cheapest place for prostitution in the world. A terrible state of affairs. In 1926 we had 587,000 natives in the Urban areas, of these 430,707 were males, also a most undesirable state of things. We have according to the Inter-Departmental Committee 111,361 natives engaged in domestic service, it is pleasing to note that this Committee reported strongly in favour of substituting females in these positions. It is unnecessary to labour the bad effects resulting from the employment of this horde of male natives in family life. Children are not only brought up in the wrong way owing to this undesirable system, but they contract habits of idleness, (and may become diseased quite easily) this tends eventually to make the white youth despise all kinds of manual labour and to look on same as kaffir work. Naturally the man who does the work will eventually rule the roost, if no change of policy takes place. The negro in America has made an astonishing advance over the last fifty years, their leaders are quite capable of holding their own, against our ablest business and professional men; in Johannesburg to-day you have native intellectuals in considerable numbers. In the Congo and under French Administration natives are performing most of the skilled labour tasks still reserved to whites in the Union. The Railways are run by natives almost entirely. If we do not see the writing on the wall and train our youth to respect the dignity of labour we are doomed in a comparatively short space of time.

Owing to the fall in the price of primary products a large numbers of farmers have to seek a living in the towns to-day. These people
however respectable must tend to sink, as they are compelled to exist on the wage basis of the native. And in many cases they cannot get work even on this scale, as white employers are reluctant to give a white man employment under these conditions. The same applies to the coloured people who are in the same boat. Despite the fact that we have 220,000 Non-Union natives employed in the Union. In this connection the state of the Cape Location calls for comment. It is a mistake to treat these people worse than the natives. They are a distinct charge and obligation on the white population who should spare no pains to lift them up and bring them into line with white civilization. Failure to do this will insure their becoming leaders of the native population against the whites, should our present condition continue. Nobody can blame them if they incline away from us, we have neglected their interest far too much.

In any case the tendency will be for Asiatic and Communistic influence to meddle more and more in our affairs. We can only insure ourselves against this, by diverting the natives to our primary industries, in which they have ample scope for development; we have no time in South Africa for the Haarlem type of negro, with a veneer of civilization—a town bred prodigy. Johannesburg is unfortunately well on the way to this destination. One half coloured to-day with a black proletariat does not look too well. Bloemfontein has an excess of 5,000 natives over whites, it has also shocking mortality figures with regard to infant natives, proving conclusively that Bloemfontein is no place for the native to reside in.

We must carefully consider the effect of this competition on our youth. At a large number of meetings held by the Wages Board one must be struck by the amount of evidence led to show that a great many of our boys, some thousands in fact could be employed in food distribution, if they were allowed to do this class of work. It has been admitted by those who are prejudiced in favour of native labour that whites can do the work quite as well provided they are not mixed with natives.

What steps must be taken to stop this state of affairs?

Segregation is admitted by most white people and many of the
natives to be the ideal. And surely it lies in the white people's own hands to carry it out in the towns. This cannot be done in a minute but over a period of ten years our towns could be comparatively white. The first step is to make it a national policy. This would be a great step forward as compared with the social suicide which is gradually taking place.

The next step is to radically amend "The Urban Areas Act" which instead of being a law to encourage the entry of Natives into the towns, as it is at present; should be amended to read, an Act to deter the Native from entering the Urban Areas.

The emigration from the kraal to the town should be controlled by the Native Affairs Department and the Minister, in consultation with the interests concerned. The limitation of entry would be so gradual that it would be imperceptible in the early stages and would surely gain the support of all true friends of the native.

As a first step Umfasans and Piscannins should not be allowed to seek employment in the towns or Alluvial Diggings.... In the majority of cases these children leave home without the permission of their parents, or the Chiefs. Many natives who love their children as much as we do ours, have lost sight of them for years, these little ones are lost in sin, vice, and crime in our large cities.

In dealing with the native population of the Urban Areas we must divide them into groups. There is no difficulty in dealing with the first category. Those who come and go regularly from their kraals. These can be given the option of other compounded employment by the Pass Issuers. The second class are those who are not born in the cities, but are there without permission of their Chiefs, Headmen or their parents. They can be repatriated gradually to the place from whence they came. The third and most difficult class are those who have been born in the towns and have children born there. For these special treatment will be necessary. But the numbers are not so large as some people think. Every encouragement should be given them to return to the land. Given the necessary inducement this difficulty can be overcome.

Certain industries of which mining is the chief one would be
scheduled as compounded industries; and the native villages erected by the Municipalities could be treated as compounds, and reserved for natives under terms of indenture. Natives should not be encouraged to become permanent residents, and facilities should not be provided for this purpose. In a sense this may be cruel in order to be kind, but the provision of houses, land, sport and recreation grounds, the commingling of white and black, will only lead to one end, the absorption of the minority, the whites. The White people have no wish to reside in the Native Territories, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and our own Reserves, they are quite willing to cut off from the natives and give them every opportunity to develop without mixing with us. While welcoming the native as a visitor and customer in the towns, they must learn to respect the White man's reserves, otherwise he and his children will depart or disappear, leaving a Liberia in their place.

Under the heading dealing with the proportion of public revenue contributed by the native population. The proportion of taxation paid by the natives is relatively small, it can be urged that his earnings are meagre. But under our present system nobody can say that he pulls his weight in our economic life, or pays the share of taxation he should. When seasons are good he stops at home and lets the women do the work; he only responds to the call to work when driven by necessity. While this ideal form of existence may be envied by the white population, still it is better that the Native should be subjected to the same form of economic pressure as the white man; this can only be done by keeping his taxation at a fair level. And by remitting taxation when he is shown to be a regular worker. To-day he receives the benefit of a highly civilized form of administration, roads, railways, etc. receives better treatment from the Municipalities and others than the poorer white people. This has all to be considered when further demands are made on his behalf for educational purposes etc. In this respect it may be doubted whether the education he is receiving to-day is of any use to him except to compete with the urban whites. Training in Agriculture and trades associated with it, seem to be the most practical way of helping our native
population, and the white farmer as well. In this way the native can improve his standard of living; in addition he has a great opening in the Mining Industry. As time goes on there is no doubt his remuneration will improve, there would be no need for a colour bar if the towns were segregated. On the Mines 55,000 Portuguese natives or more have still to be repatriated. For natives the Mines are a healthy occupation, as they come and go, for the whites, underground mining is undesirable and unhealthy. The reason why the white man clings so desperately to this form of work, is because of the dread fear of unemployment. All this shows that our Natives could bear further taxation, they have the opportunity of earning more money by taking the place of the non-Union Natives who can all be repatriated. It must also be remembered that the natives wants in a natural state are remarkably small. It is a crime really to attract him to the Urban areas, nothing he can ever get there will repay him for what he loses when throwing off his simple communal life for our complicated and somewhat stupid system. The whites are unable to bear any further taxation, their numbers have only increased by 30% in the last ten years. Emigration to S.A. is practically non existent. If unskilled white labour had a chance in our town, emigration would soon assume large figures; this is the only hope of considerably increasing the white population, and with it, the taxable area. We must increase the production of our primary products, and this can only be accomplished through a plentiful supply of well trained native labour. This will raise the standard of living and keep Eastern dangers away. To divert our labour to secondary industries to any extent will cripple us considerably. To improve the native’s position, for the State to spend more money on him, we must first improve the position of our youth, we have some 200,000 juveniles in the Union to look after, not to mention those people many of whom, are unjustly called the poor whites. Large numbers of these people are out of work.

If the native persists in absorbing the unskilled labour market and opposes efforts such as are being made on the lines of this evidence, he cannot blame anyone if he has to shoulder a greater burden of taxation. Twenty two per cent of the white population at least is
unskilled, and somebody has to provide for them, if their chance of employment in the towns is taken away.

The Native has every opportunity of making good, but not the other class. There is work for every native, large numbers can be profitably employed in farming, they are a pastoral people but they make very little use of their opportunities. The white farmer with his higher costs of living is falling away, owing to poor soils, deficient rain-fall, soil erosion, the competition of the machine farmer in other countries etc. We can only remedy our position, by increasing our purchasing power. As stated, we have the remedy in making our towns white, and diverting the natives to mining and pastoral pursuits. The Natives own more than one half of the Cattle of the Union, a vast undeveloped asset. In this connection the Agricultural section of the Native Affairs Department should be encouraged and strengthened in every way. In Mr. Thornton, the Head of the Department they have a great asset, who knows the cattle business inside out. The adoption of such a policy will mean that the natives can contribute more in taxes and receive greater benefits from the Government. One must remember that the Native Affairs Department is always sympathetic, towards the purchase of ground for Natives, the Prime Minister stated last year in the debate on the Urban Areas Act amended. "In every case where it was brought to my notice that natives needed ground, their requirements were met while I had this department under my charge. Land is continually being purchased. The want of land is therefore not the cause of this influx into the towns." So that when native taxation is being considered, this benefit must also be taken into account.

CONCLUSION.

Finally a warning note must be sounded. Our progress here depends very largely on mining and its development. By improving the methods by which white and native labour are used, vast areas can still be worked. On the West Rand, Heid-Elber, and the Northern Free State there is every reason to believe that barren reefs of payable values can still be opened up. Only one condition governs the position,
and that is the rate of working costs. If these are lowered our
future is assured, but if they become slightly higher, then, within
five to ten years great authorities consider the Gold output will be
largely reduced. The effects of such a reduction in our spending
power would be appalling. Unfortunately we have become accustomed
to thinking that nothing will happen; even if the omens are good, is
it not necessary for us to take reasonable precautions. By attracting
natives away from the Primary industries to the towns surely we are
playing with fire. Are we not courting a collapse? No important
mining meeting is held today which does not emphasise the fact that
the present satisfactory state of the labour supply is only due to
the depression, and bad harvests. As these effects disappear natur-
ally under present conditions the supply will diminish as in the past.
Mining development all over the country has been greatly hampered by
the erratic native labour supply. It is folly to persist in pressing
for a supply of tropical natives outside the Union, while we have
plenty here if they are apportioned properly. Besides there is no
guarantee that tropical labour will succeed, it failed in the past.
In addition the question would undoubtedly become a major political
one and a long fight would take place as was the case with Chinese
labour.

The remedy seems so obvious—by insisting on the gradual
withdrawal of the natives from the towns, in their own interest, and
their place being gradually taken by whites, we shall thus create a
white proletariat capable of attending to all our wants in the towns,
particularly as with the help of electricity and gas tasks are so much
lightened. It would then be a perfectly fair proposition to lessen
the number of white underground workers as there would be plenty
of employment for them elsewhere. This requires a strong and united
front by all the interest concerned.

The question therefore which the Commission has to decide, is
whether the advancement, education, and building up of the natives in
the towns on present lines, is in their interest, and also that
of the white population? What the effects of such a policy will be
judging from the results obtained in the United States of America,
bearing in mind the great disparity in numbers between whites and 
blacks in the Union? What effect the diversion from the primary 
industries of the vast numbers of natives employed in commerce etc., 
and domestic service has on the general wealth production? What effect 
this inter-mingling of the races has upon the youth of the town? 
What hope under present circumstances is there of providing employment 
for our present white population? Is there the slightest hope of 
encouraging an Emigration policy? Are the natives tending to become 
the prey of criminals and Communists owing to town conditions? 
What the effects will be in the country if these centres of sedition extend? 
Will not the effect of creating vast native suburbs and towns adjoining 
the white cities be to shift eventually the balance of trade to these 
centres? Will not this business be mainly in the hands of Asiatics 
and Natives? How long will it be under these conditions before the 
natives demand the same rights of self government as the whites, and 
it being admitted that this is a fair request; then what prospects are 
there of white mix civilization holding its own?
Surely, there is only one answer to these questions and that is we must 
segregate the towns, for the sake of ourselves, our children and the 
natives themselves. Even if the process is painful we have to face 
it or adopt the motto, "Abandon hope all white people who belong to the 
Union of South Africa."
NA TIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. (PRETORIA BRANCH).

Evidence before the Native Economic Commission, by

S. P. MATSHE, Deputy Speaker,
33a, Third Avenue, Marabastad, Pretoria.

A. LAND IN URBAN AREAS ACT.

Lands in urban areas are unavailable as far as ownership of land. That is stopping the Natives to develop the needs of their conditions. It is indirectly causing insolvency.

B. NATIVE LAND ACT OF 1913. (Rural)

Tribal system is not satisfactory. It is discouraging Natives from patronising to buy lands on tribal basis. Buying land on communal system is more better than the tribal system. It gives one the direct title ownership of land.

C. NATIVE CUSTOMS. Native Administration Act 1927.

Lobolo should be encouraged in order to give the direct claim of men and women. That alone gives the children respect.

D. PASS LAWS.

Pass laws have introduced a big cry of unemployment among Natives and Europeans. It has established what is called indirectly slave labour.

PRETORIA.
4.6.1931.
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (PRETORIA BRANCH).

Evidence by C. B. Mbolekwa, Branch Secretary, 32 Third Avenue, Marabastad, Pretoria.

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NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

NATIVE TRADERS IN URBAN AREAS:

Native traders are not doing well. They are not protected against unduly high purchases. No system is arranged, between wholesalers and Native Traders.

A Native is untrusted and is told to pay cash in whatever he purchases. Natives are not allowed to build up as much as he likes. But Indians and Chinese are allowed to build up brick big buildings.

INDIANS AND CHINESE.

Indians and Chinese give no chance to Native traders on condition that they are well organised. They sell very cheap in order to keep the Native down. Separate areas will be helpful to Native traders for about 4 or 5 miles.

PRETORIA.

4.6.1931.
Statement by FRANK BRUYN, Secretary, Independent African National Congress, Pretoria.

SCOPE OF STATEMENT:
Applies to Rural and Urban Native Areas.

TRIBAL SYSTEM:
4. Advantage rural Natives are very poor and their disadvantage very high. Urban area Native advantage it is improving.
6. The present Chiefs having no power among his people.

NATIVE CUSTOMS.
8. As far as the Native customs stand, we are all in favour of it. Cohabitation without marriage is unknown among the rural Natives.
10. No number of cattle is its number, and there can be regulate and no charge be made.

CHANGE IN QUALITY OF SOIL.
13. The change has been observed worse than of twenty-five years ago in all Districts.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.
15. Growing tendency on part of Native is improving, but not much place like Bethanie, Boker, Hgabalatsane, Hebron, and some other place in same District of P.P.Rust.

RECREATION OF NATIVE EMPLOYERS.
40. As far as I know there is no recreation and game made here by employers.

EFFECTS OF ABSENCE OF NATIVES FROM HOME.
41. The social and economic effects the Native male female, marriage is only to become civil.

NATIVE DOMESTIC SERVANTS.
42. In all parts and districts domestic servants are all Native but not well paid, bad treated, not same as Cape Coloured and Indian.

ORGANISATION OF NATIVES.
43. Their organised to protest against them employers and to deal with wages act.

PRETORIA.
5.6.1931.
1. The following statement, in so far as it does not refer to certain areas, tribes, or classes of natives specifically, refers in general to all the various tribes and classes of natives with whom I have come into contact in various areas throughout the Union, more especially during the last eleven years when I have been constantly intensively and extensively engaged in research upon the languages, customs, history, folklore etc. of various tribal groups, but chiefly the Tsonga, Transvaal Sotho and Venda-speaking tribes. I have further a limited amount of experience of the Thonga ("Shangaan"), Zulu and Xhosa-speaking tribes. As regards classes of natives, my experience has naturally lain more with the tribal natives in the reserves than with the wholly- or partly-detrimentalised native elsewhere, but I have had a certain amount of experience of this latter type as well.

I may be allowed to say here that the nature of my work, and the methods I have always followed in performing it, have made it imperative for me to try to gain the confidence of the natives among whom my research has lain, since it is only when people feel trustful and at ease with one that they will talk readily about the subject-matter of my studies. I have therefore never allowed an interpreter to stand between me and my informants and the tribe to which they belonged, except on such formal occasions as etiquette demanded it, preferring to speak to the people in their own language even if it might happen to be one I did not speak fluently. Coming to them neither as a government official (when I was Ethnologist in the Native Affairs Department from 1928 to 1939 I was, of course, not part and parcel of the administration of Native Affairs, and kept this fact carefully before the natives upon whom I worked during that time), nor as a missionary, nor as a teacher, nor as a trader, nor as an employer of labour, but simply as one interested in the languages which the vast majority of Europeans do not know, and the customs which do not interest them, and consequently with no prestige, official or semi-official, enough to interfere between the natives and myself, I have had the opportunity incidentally of seeing the daily life of these people from an angle very different from that from which most of the classes of Europeans I have mentioned usually see it, and of observing the natives’ reactions to that life, both expressed and unexpressed.

2. Advantages and/or disadvantages of the tribal system.

The native living under tribal conditions, even to-day when those conditions are considerably changed from those of, say, even twenty years ago, is yet living under a system native to him, his forefathers and his fellows, which is on the whole congenial, and which gives him a sense of social background and solidarity; under a legal system he knows and understands and respects, though it may often consist of a rough and ready kind of justice and may be open to very real abuses; under a political system which may not be enlightened, but in which he feels he has at least some share, in a cultural atmosphere which he realises and appreciates, though it be a simple and undeveloped culture; and under an economic system which, while it is not progressive, is also not exacting, and which gives him, at a minimum expense of energy, a minimum subsistence. The wholly- or partly-detrimentalised native lives under a system which is not his own, which, on the whole, is not congenial to him, and which gives him no real sense of social
background or solidarity; it is true that even the tribal native is brought willy-nilly into some contact with such a system; but the tribal native is over so much less, and the detribalised are over so much more, in contact with a system of law which he often does not know, and rarely understands, and seldom respects, and does not always even fear; though for all he knows it may embody the quintessence of justice and equity; under a political system which may be the most perfect in the midst of all the perfection of European culture, but with which he has not grown up, which he does not understand, and in which he feels, and surely not wrongly, that he has no share, or at best merely a shadow of one; in a cultural atmosphere which is alien to him, which he may externally appear to absorb but which inwardly can but hardly come home to him, and with, furthermore, living as he is away from his people and among a congeries of strangers, almost no opportunity of strengthening or renewing the cultural bonds which link him to his own people; and under an economic system which may be the most perfect that civilisation has ever evolved, but which, in his eyes, must appear exactly beyond measure when compared with the easy-going tribal system, but which gives him in return for his unwilling exertion not a fraction of the comparatively carefree life of the tribal reserve; summa summarum, a system of which he is no part, which he does not understand, which harasses him and confuses him and restricts him, and gives him in return a series of benefits which, assuming there is no doubt about any of them in the eyes of the ideal spectator, are all of them to some extent deceitful in his own eyes.

If this statement is a fair one, it may be asked why there is any detribalisation at all except under sheer pressure of political or economic forces, or will be tempting to seek the solution at least partly in the disadvantages of the tribal system, which are various and real. These disadvantages consist chiefly in such factors as the reaction of society against the individual who is in one respect or another is in conflict with it; the low economic level of the society, which generally retards the individual who manages to rise above that level; the patriarchal organisation of "family" society, which is in opposition to the rise of the younger generation against the old, of women against men, of class against class; the background of superstition, with its array of priests, medicine-men, diviners, rain-makers, and the like; under one or other of these heads, I think, we can manage to class the defects of the tribal system.

But I am convinced that the defects of the system are not the only, or even the main factors which are causing it to break down. That it is breaking down there can be no doubt, and curious traces of this break-down are found in places where one would least expect it, just as in places where one would expect the most complete break-down there are often traces of considerable tribal solidarity. But we must distinguish clearly between two types of disintegration, that away from the tribe and that within the tribe respectively. Away from the tribe, in the town or village or on the European-owned farm, tribal life has in any case little hope of maintaining itself, and what efforts it makes to do so are rendered pretty hopeless by the imposition from without of the conditions of European life. This type of disintegration is far-reaching and important in its effects, not only upon the people living under such conditions, but also upon the life in the reserves from which these people have come and to which at some stage or other they may conceivably return to exercise a greater or smaller influence. But it is socially perhaps less symptomatic, and may prove far less important in its ultimate effects, than the other type of disintegration which is taking place in the heart of the tribal reserves, slowly, but surely and inevitably, if we wish to study tribal disintegration "in pure culture" as it were, we must go to the reserves, where there is not the physical impossibility of maintaining tribal life that there is elsewhere.

But first one may attempt to answer the inevitable question why there is such drift away from the tribal locations and reserves, and towards town life first, and towards European farms fouts de misux
That some of the definite disadvantages of tribal life, and the phenomena consequent upon them together with other phenomena which are causing disintegration within the reserves are contributing in part towards the process, will appear below; but I feel that this contribution is small compared with the effect of economic pressure, the fact that there is no room or sustenance within the reserves for the greater proportion of the natives of this country, even were the reserves considerably increased in number or enlarged in size, and even were modern farming methods introduced instead of the primitive methods now mostly in vogue; so that, in order to live and meet the demands of taxation, direct and indirect, natives are forced not merely to leave the reserves temporarily, as in the case with some of the sale and some of the female population, but to abandon any idea of living within the reserves at all. Indeed, they not only to mention but are unwilling to be away from them for good. If the disadvantages of the tribal system in the natives’ eyes were as great as some would assume, surely the vast majority of natives would welcome a break with that system, and would not mind leaving the reserves, its last stronghold, though now a tottering one. Let us not confuse certain minor economic reasons, such as the adoption of a certain amount of European material culture, with the need of satisfying the economic demands such adoption makes, or the social factors, which we shall touch on in a little more detail below, with this great economic factor.

But this great factor once established, we may glance at other and minor factors, economic and social. Natives of all kinds are adopting an increasing amount of European material culture — clothes, school uniforms, household utensils, the consumption of such commodities as tea, coffee, sugar and the like, the use of candles, match-paraffin and a hundred and one little things of European manufacture, which deserts a price which cannot be paid under present conditions by any but a small proportion of the reserve native. Again, the internal disintegration of tribal life, which will be referred to below, is responsible for a certain amount of moving away from the reserves: among these a hankering after town or village life, with its more varied and stimulating food, drink, amusements, sexual licence etc., but while the number of individuals imbued with this hankering is alarmingly large and increasing, I still believe that ist is in the minority, confined largely to the younger generation, and, if checked, perhaps unlikely even yet to have the pernicious effect upon Zantu society that it will have if allowed to run its course.

But though the break-up of tribal life is thus being brought about largely through the economic factor, and to a smaller extent through more social factors alluded to above, with its effect of drawing the tribe away from its reserves as economic pressure increases and the call of the towns becomes more insistent, there is also an ascertain very definite amount of disintegration from within, with which economic factors have probably very little to do except perhaps indirectly. Like all societies, Zantu society changes, perhaps not more slowly than other societies do, and there can be little doubt that native social life was changing even before the European came into contact with it; but the impregnation upon Zantu culture of a culture in which the individual counted for so much more than he did in native society, at a time when the individual may have been said to be just in the process of emerging...
has given an enormous fillip to the rise of the individual, with the consequent reaction of Bantu society against him, and the consequent strain between the individual and society as represented by his family, his chief, his medicine-men, and what not. In this individualisation, perhaps such factors as the Glen Grey system of individual land-tenure, the direct relation between the Bantu individual and the European government, missionary trader, employer of labor etc., the influence of missions and schools in breaking up the communal spirit setting Christianised individuals against pagan families, educated persons against an uneducated community, have entered to varying degrees. Such influences have been exercised partly of course through external channels of communication, the return to the locations of individuals or groups who had been in more or less intimate contact with European society outside; but equally, and more probably, through quite direct channels from within, the Government office, the mission-station, the trader's store, right within the reserve. In one way and another, then, we may say that in addition to the break-up of the tribal system from without, there is a break-up from within, the former mostly, the latter at least partly, conditioned by external factors, but the latter showing more symptomatically than the former the real causes of the disintegration.

Now while I think that Bantu society is by no means perfect, and while I believe it should move with the times while I am convinced moreover that, though I do not think that everything in his own culture is so good that every other culture ought to be Bantu to draw itself in that culture so as to absorb it most fully, a certain amount of assimilation of European culture would be a salutary thing; while I see that a certain amount of European culture has become to a certain extent indispensable to Bantu culture; I am disturbed at the rate and manner in which many Bantu are being overlaid with a veneer of European cultural externals without absorbing its spirit - a rate and manner which I feel are neither of them healthy, we are continually holding up to the Bantu, in government and school and mission, in mine and factory and farm, in home and store and office, our own culture; and we do not know about, we neglect, we despise, his culture; 

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\text{unfortunately the Bantu themselves do not possess that cultural stability that would save him, and consequently through our own efforts and his weakness he is being denationalized, deculturized, and made into, in most cases, a poor and distorted image of himself. To this process I think some sort of check should be applied. I think it would be futile to try to stop this flood, since that would be impossible even if it were altogether desirable, and I do not think it altogether desirable. But I do feel it should be guided into more regulated channels. I find it difficult to say in any very great detail how such a process of regulation should be conducted, that is necessary in the first place is to convince people that such a process is necessary. On the whole we are so satisfied with our own image that we prefer even a distorted version of it to some other independent image; the educated native has for the most part been trained to regard European culture as the only culture, and, feeling the economic value to him of a certain amount of this culture, and being blinded by it anyway, he grasps at it and strives after it, and resents bitterly any attempt to draw him back to his own culture, which he considers driving him back to barbarism. The vast majority of the agencies which are trying to look after his cultural needs is either utterly ignorant of, or at least neglects, the native's own cultural background, and misunderstands any attempts to give the native some of this culture which he is in process of losing. Neither such agencies nor the majority of the educated natives understand that there is a middle way between tying him down or driving him back to barbarism and trying to make of him a black European between repressivism and assimilationist schools, that it is possible to adopt an adaptationist attitude which would take out of the Bantu past what was good, a d even what was merely neutral, and together with what is good of European culture for the Bantu, build up a Bantu future. To this latter school I would take this opportunity of declaring my adherence.}