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Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the years 1927-1947 (incomplete)

South Africa. Native Affairs Commission

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Revenue and Expenditure Accounts of Cities and Towns.—The annual Native Revenue and Expenditure Accounts of the principal cities and towns in the Union were from time to time referred to the Commission for their consideration and recommendations.

Estimates Development Account.—The annual estimates of the Native Development Account were scrutinised and improvements and modifications were suggested before the Account was submitted to the Minister for approval.

Estimates Native Education.—Concurrently with this, consideration was given to the annual Native Education Estimates of the Provincial Administrations which were discussed with the Directors of Education at a conference held in Capetown at the beginning of the year. (Educational matters are further dealt with in Appendix A, Chapter II).

Grants-in-Aid to Hospitals.—Applications for grants-in-aid to Hospitals and grants for the establishment of dispensaries and hospitals were submitted to the Commission from time to time. (This matter is further referred to in Appendix C.)

Applications Separatist Churches.—Applications for Government recognition by Separatist bodies and churches, together with applications for church and school grants, were referred to the Commission for their consideration and recommendation. (This matter is further dealt with in Appendix D.)

Prospecting in Native Territories.—Applications from interested persons and bodies for mineral prospecting licences in Native territories were referred to the Commission for their consideration and recommendations.

Investigations Natives Trust and Land Act.—Matters relating to the excision and acquisition of land in released areas under the Native Trust and Land Act occupied most of the Commission's time. A future policy had to be considered. The Commission set to work systematically, resolving itself into sub-committees for the purpose of investigating the position in those areas where the congestion was most acute, and expediting the acquisition of additional areas. (Appendix A, Chapter I deals with the question of policy.)

Soil Reclamation Schemes.—The Commission also took special note of matters relating to the control and administration of allotted location areas such as the construction of dams, water supply, soil erosion control, afforestation, improvement of stock, etc. These matters were discussed with the officers concerned, opinions being exchanged and sug gestions made. (This matter is referred to in greater detail in Appendix B.)

Proclamations, Regulations, etc.—The Commission further took note of all proclamations, government notices and regulations in connection with the general control and administration of Native affairs and considered special draft proclamations referred to it, suggesting possible improvements and modifications.

Press Opinions.—The Commission also noted various discussions of matters relating to Native policy which had appeared in the Press from time to time as well as Native policy adopted in the neighbour states of the Union and other British territories.

APPENDIX " A."

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL REVIEW—GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

1. The guiding principles adopted by the Native Affairs Commission when it was first established in 1920, were as follows :—

(*a*) That the Native Affairs Commission is primarily and essentially the friend of the Native people, and, as such, the needs, aspirations and progress by the Natives, should be considered sympathetically by it ;

(*b*) That the Commission is the advisor of the Government where the interests of the Natives are concerned ;

(*c*) that the Commission should endeavour to educate public opinion, both Native and non-Native, so as to bring about the most harmonious relations possible between white and black in South Africa.

Those guiding principles animate the mind of the present Commission and are interpreted and can only be interpreted in conformity with the national policy of segregation determined by the recent Native legislation. With the policy of segregation South Africa has accepted the principle of Trusteeship of the Native races ; and the Commission believes that the universal recognition throughout the Union of the obligations of that Trusteeship, which has its roots in the Native Trust and Land Act, will best serve the interests of both Native and European and lead to the most harmonious relations between the races.

2. The Commission in carrying out the above principles is engaged in a very difficult task. In many quarters which assume to speak in the interests of the Native people, there is still misunderstanding of the segregation ideal and hostility to the Native policy which has now become the law of the land by the almost unanimous vote of Parliament. It is still assumed that assimilationist agitation and accusations of repressive intentions, will influence and change the outlook of South Africa on Native affairs and lead to a re-acceptance of the old policy of *laissez faire* upon which the country has turned its back.

The Commission believes that such an attitude is mistaken. Whatever conjunction of repressive or liberal motives may have gone to the evolution of our Native policy, its philosophy of trusteeship is broad, based on experience and scientific research. The wise and generous development of this national ideal will alone make our Native policy an instrument of beneficent and effective government and ensure the advance of the Native people on peaceful and prosperous lines. It will save South Africa from the dangers and difficulties which must inevitably follow from a neglect to appreciate the biological differences between the various sections of the people.

3. The Native Economic Commission emphasised that Native policy "was not primarily engaged with a small vocal, dissatisfied, semi-civilised group of urbanized Natives, but with the millions of uneducated, tribal Natives, held in the grip of superstition and of an anti-progressive social system." Platitudes drawn from the assimilationists' vocabulary would be of little use to the Commission, which is faced with the sterner and more responsible task of translating the original guiding principles into something more than mere pious aspirations. It is the duty of the Commission to face uncompromisingly the existing racial, political, social and economic conditions of the Union, and make all its recommendations in the full view of these facts.

4. The first fact to face is that the Native people do not consist of a lower class of the South African population. All the class arguments, Marxian or Benthamite, which comprise the current coin of political controversy, is unreal in Native Affairs. The Bantu of South Africa form a separate race from Europeans. Strangely enough, they possess, as a traditional part of their makeup, that communal quality of brotherhood, inherent in tribal thought and deed, in religion and in economics—which our modern communists are trying to force upon an individualised society by means of a machine gun. Yet communist propaganda amongst the detribalized is aimed at making them cheap imitations of European revolutionaries who have no such communal instincts. Similarly, liberalism which, in South Africa, is definitely utilitarian, acting with the best possible motives, endeavours to wean the Native from everything which supports and sustains him in Native life in order that he may become more individualised, more like a European, more a member of a lower class whose sole protection against exploitation in our capitalistic system must ultimately be his combination and fighting strength as a proletariat.

5. The Native Economic Commission warned the country that "the growth of a Native nationalism or race consciousness is a factor which is not yet generally recognised by Europeans of the Union, but it is one which must be kept clearly in view when questions affecting the Natives' social and economic position is being considered. It cannot be safely ignored or suppressed." It is this factor which the Commission wishes to emphasise. The alternative of turning the Native into a lower class of the population must result, not only in the engulfing of the ethos of the Bantu race in a black proletariat, with the loss of every vestige of independence and communal brotherhood, which is the greatest birthright of the Native people, but also, and inevitably, it will result in the class war—a war waged between sections of the community of unequal strength and power in which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be easily distinguished from each other by the colour of their skin. If the conflicts between the rival ideologies going on in the world to-day teach anything, they surely teach that lesson.

6. South Africa has always recognised these racial facts. The existence of a separate department of Native Affairs, which has for years been developing as a Native welfare institution, the maintenance of the Native Reserves, of Native Law and institutions—all retained in the interests of the Native people—comprise undeniable proofs that South Africa regards the Bantu as a race. If the Natives were a lower class, to be catered for merely by the same Labour Department which ministers to the wants of Europeans, then all these supports to a separate Native life must disappear, and with their disappearance must go all thought of that guardianship which animates the Native administration in its attempts to develop the "most harmonious relations between black and white." The genetic facts of the position are plainer and stronger than political theories.

7. As its guiding principle, therefore, the Commission accepts all the implications denoted by the term "Trusteeship" as denoting a solemn duty, accepted by South Africa, to safeguard and advance the interests of the Native people as a race, respecting their own evolving culture and institutions, improving their social and economic conditions, adapting their education to their needs and circumstances, providing opportunities for the ability and competence of the Native leaders in spheres where their services will be most useful to their fellows, assisting always in the building up of a pride of race which, while having its roots securely fastened in the Native Reserves will, to its own advantage, co-operate with the Europeans in developing the wealth of the country. This does not mean the throwing back of the detribalized, urbanized, educated Native into the tribal life he has forsaken. On the contrary—In the diversity of conditions prevailing and the different stages of evolution to which Natives have attained in different parts of the Union, there is opportunity for all.

THE NEW LEGISLATION.

8. The Representation of Natives Act and the Native Trust and Land Act contain all these implications. They were adopted almost unanimously by Parliament during the 1936 Session as the result of eight years of patient study and discussion by Joint Select Committees of Parliament, assisted by the investigation of various Commissions and Committees. The legislation represents the culmination of all efforts since Union to fashion a Native policy in consonance with the realities of the African scene. Until

it was passed there did not exist, for the guidance of the Commission or the Native Administration, any clear indication of the national purpose in Native Affairs. Native Administration was governed by a legacy of conflicting policies and ideas, which had been variously followed by the South African States prior to Union ; and, even within those separate states, policy was rarely so clearly defined as to enable the local administration to do any more than meet the difficulties as they arose from day to day without regard to the future. Consequently, a unified policy for South Africa has been of slow growth. For years it was found impossible to reconcile the divergent views of the Cape Province—which accepted as a political theory, the social and economic assimilation of black and white as common citizens in a single state—with the outlook of the three Northern states of Natal, the Transvaal and the Free State which, in theory, sought to develop Native life and Native institutions in proclaimed Native Reserves on parallel lines to those of Europeans, with such continuing adjustments as were rendered necessary by the contact of a primitive society with civilisation. In both cases, theory fell far short of practice ; but the one aimed at the ultimate destruction of the Bantu as a separate racial entity while the other sought its maintenance.

9. The conflict between these two schools of thought has infected the political atmosphere for nearly a century. It has given rise to much misunderstanding. Neither side has been able to credit the other with good intentions. Every step taken to further the segregation ideal, no matter how humanitarian its impulse may have been, has been represented as repressive and taken with the sinister object of establishing helotage amongst the Native population. Calumnies of this character have not served the cause of the Native people but they have created much mischief at Home and Abroad. Such arguments are responsible for the delay in the transfer of the three British Protectorates which form a geographical, economic and racial part of the Union ; and undoubtedly by the hostility they have aroused, they have retarded the development of Native education and the Native Reserves within the Union. Similarly on the other side, the Northern school of segregationists has never ceased to claim that the policy of the Cape meant the ultimate swamping of European civilisation, the handing over of the Government to the barbarian and the creation of a coloured South Africa. By this policy, argued the North, the standards of life of Europeans were being undermined. The evolution of the poor white class, which formed so large a part of the European population, was a glaring example of this fact, which was due to the possibilities of employment continually receding as the steps of industry became crowded with the servile labour from the reserves which was willing to work for a wage corresponding to its primitive standards.

10. This battle of the schools has coloured all South African history with calamitous results. Of recent years the Native question has been a most explosive element in the political party programmes and has served to separate still further the two white races which were learning the lesson of co-operation during the first years of Union ; for the two schools, like much else in our national life, have tended to claim kinship with the traditions of the race by which they were erroneously first thought to be evolved, the policy of assimilation being attributed to the British and the policy of segregation to the Dutch. The dividing line, however, cannot be so clearly drawn, since segregation has been sponsored by both British and Dutch from the earliest days. Sir Theophilus Shepstone translated his segregation principles into the Natal Native Code and the Natal Native Reserves, while the Hofmeyr Act remains as a much appealed to assimilative measure. By 1926 the division of opinion had become dangerous to the peace of the country. The introduction into Parliament of the Native Bills in that year was the signal for a general political party truce while the measures were being discussed in the various Select Committees, a truce rendered effective in 1930. The cessation of party political warfare enabled the representatives of the two schools of thought in Parliament to examine each others' premises in the fuller light of the facts, as disclosed by study and the expert evidence of the Native Administration. In the calm atmosphere engendered by this truce, it became possible to synthesise the opposing views, and, in the result, the policy shaped itself as one of trusteeship of the Native people in their own territories in consonance with the groping spirit of the age, manifest in the mandates of the League of Nations, and in the declarations on Native African policy by the British Government.

THE EVOLUTION OF A UNIFIED NATIVE POLICY.

11. The need for a unified outlook in the government of the Natives of South Africa was recognised for many years before Union took place. It was first authoritatively set forth in a Resolution passed at the Bloemfontein Conference of Governments in March, 1903, in the following words :—

> "That in view of the coming federation of South African Colonies, it is desirable that a South African Commission be constituted to gather accurate information on certain affairs relating to Natives and Native Administration and to offer recommendations to the several Governments concerned with the object of arriving at a common understanding on questions of Native policy ; such Commission to consist of two representatives from each of the Colonies and one each from Rhodesia and Basutoland with the addition of a Chairman to be nominated by the High Commissioner."

This Commission, under the Chairmanship of Sir Godfrey Lagdon, and consisting of some of the most experienced Native administrators of South Africa, reported in 1905 and recommended, as the basis of Native policy, the territorial separation of the races—a policy which had been struggling for effective expression for many years. Owing

to the uncertain way in which this policy had been pursued, there existed at that time much Crown land in occupation by Natives, which, though regarded as Native reserve, was not legally secured to the Native people ; and there were also areas which had been annexed from time to time without any legislative guarantee of continued Native ownership. Lacking such legislative security it was obvious that it was only a matter of time, as events had shown, before most, if not all, of the land occupied by Natives had passed into the possession of the economically more powerful Europeans, and South Africa was faced by a landless, poverty-stricken Native population. The Commission, therefore, recommended that this land should be set aside by the legislatures in perpetuity for Natives ; and that additional land should be obtained to meet the needs of the separation policy. This should be done, said the Commission—

> " with a view to finality for the provision of land for the Native population and that thereafter no more land should be reserved for Native occupation."

The Commission further resolved :—

> " That the unrestricted squatting of Natives on private farms, whether as tenants or otherwise, is an evil and against the best interests of the country."

12. Territorial separation of the races, which required the setting aside of large tracts of country for exclusive occupation by each race, required also some consideration of the political relationship subsisting between Europeans and Natives. On this subject the Commission reported :—

> " The Commission arrived at the conclusion that the exercise of the franchise by Natives under the system existing in the Cape Colony, which permits it being used in a spirit of rivalry with and antagonism to the European electorate, which makes the organized native vote the arbiter in any actual electoral struggle between political parties, and which as the Native voters increased numerically, will enable them to outvote the Europeans in certain parts of the country, is sure to create an intolerable situation and is unwise and dangerous."

The Commission finally recommended :—

> " That no native shall vote in the election of any member or candidate for whom an European has the right to vote."

13. This report brought about the necessary concentration of thought upon the need for a unified Native policy for South Africa. It struck at the root of the dual system of the Cape. It could not be denied that the Native policy was used as the " arbiter in electoral struggles between the political parties." In the opinion of many it had already created an " intolerable situation," which affected political thought and action throughout the country. The separatist movement, initiated by this report, culminated in the passing of the Native legislation of 1936, thirty years after the report was written.

14. When the report was presented to the Governments in 1905, however, no immediate steps could be taken to give effect to its recommendation, though the report undoubtedly quickened the progress towards Union by demonstrating the need for combined action on Native Affairs. When Union came, there was an immediate consideration of the suggested policy. It was not found politic to accept the Commission's recommendations in regard to the Cape franchise, upon which already a number of party seats depended ; and, since the existence of the franchise was in itself an acknowledgment of common citizenship and, therefore, the negation of any separation of interests between the races, no progress could be made towards a common policy. There could be no common policy as long as one Province was administratively encouraging the detribalization of the Native people by the bribe of a democratic vote, by the creation of a separate, higher, more civilized voting class, with definite rights, such as the right to obtain liquor, a right denied to the voteless Natives, while the other Provinces were bent on maintaining the existing Native Laws and communal institutions, with no separate Native classes, with separate rights. The Government of the day, however, sensible of the gathering force of opinion, made a start with the Natives Land Act of 1913.

15. The Natives Land Act of 1913 put an end to the indiscriminate land buying by Natives or Europeans. It secured in perpetuity to the Native people all the land then considered to be Native Reserve but for which no legislative guarantee existed. Amongst the land scheduled there were also many farms which had been acquired by Natives when land was cheap, so that their alienation to Europeans was rendered impossible. The total scheduled area amounted to 10,422,935 morgen. Having in mind the injunction that further land would have to be provided if territorial separation was to be effective, the Act created a Commission to delimit further areas for Native occupation. This Commission, known as the Beaumont Commission, submitted its report in 1916. In 1917, the Government of the day introduced the Native Affairs Administration Bill to give effect to the recommendations of the Beaumont Commission which scheduled an additional area of 8,365,744 morgen ; but the cross-currents in the political field at that time, together with the pre-occupation of the country with the Great War, prevented the Bill from becoming Law.

16. The delay in some respects was most unfortunate. Local Committees were appointed to follow on the footsteps of the Beaumont Commission to determine whether or not the areas recommended should be accepted by Parliament. The country was thus kept in a ferment, while the two schools gained fresh vigour for their mutual attacks. The Local Committees' recommendations found no greater support than those of the Beaumont Commission, Natives as well as Europeans joining in the campaign against them. In the result, nothing could be done. Native Affairs appeared to be too much of a legislative hedgehog for any Government to touch.

17. What could not be done legislatively was, however, done by administrative means. The 1913 Act prohibited the acquisition of land by Europeans in demarcated Native areas and by Natives in demarcated European areas. The intention of the Act, however, was that additional land should be set aside in the European areas for acquisition by Natives; failure to pass the necessary legislation prevented this from being done; thus a distinct hardship was, apparently, imposed on the Native people in taking away from them the right they previously held to purchase land anywhere in the Union without giving them the right to acquire land in the areas recommended by the Beaumont Commission. In order to meet this position, General Botha, in 1918, laid down that any land in areas recommended for Native occupation by both the Beaumont Commission and the Local Committees, could be acquired by Natives with the Governor-General's approval. This policy has been consistently followed ever since. The small extent to which land has been acquired throughout the Union by Natives since 1918, is strikingly demonstrative of the inability of Natives to purchase land for themselves.

18. The passing of the Natives Land Act in 1913 was hotly resisted by the assimilationist school, the whole of the Native vote of the Cape being cast against it. Thus, glaringly, was made plain the incongruity of attempting to protect the interests of the mass of the Native people by the reservation of land for their own use while the illusive democratic Native vote existed at the Cape—illusive because the vote could only be cast for a European who was a nominee of a European political party, the interests of which were of paramount consideration. The Cape Native voters, a mere fraction of the Native people of the Union, contested the application of the Native Land Act to the Cape and the Courts held that since the ownership of land was a qualification for the franchise, which, under the Act of Union could only be changed by a two-third majority of both Houses of Parliament sitting together, the restrictive clause of the Natives Land Act could not apply to the Cape Province. By this decision the whole policy of territorial separation of the races was rendered non-applicable to the Cape; and thus was incalculable damage done to the cause of Native advance. The Native question was again thrown into the political party arena.

19. The passing of the 1913 Natives Land Act was the first definite step taken by a united South Africa towards the goal recommended by the South African Native Affairs Commission. While the retarding influence of the assimilationists postponed the major legislation for years, the gathering momentum of consolidating opinion throughout the Union compelled Parliament, no matter what party was in power, to adopt measure after measure which had its basis in the ideal of segregation. A mere enumeration of the various Acts passed, which were not at the time considered to be part of any settled plan, but were the result of the pressure of events, shows the growing national purpose in Native Affairs:—

1920—The Native Affairs Act which established the Native Council system in Native areas and thus set up segregation in local government for the Natives. This Act also established the Native Affairs Commission, the creation of which, denoted the existence of a separate community whose interests had to be safeguarded by special machinery.

1923—The Native Urban Areas Act which aimed at the segregation of Native from European residence in all the European towns and villages throughout the Union.

1925—The Natives Taxation and Development Act—a segregation of revenues derived from separate Native taxation for "the maintenance and the furtherence of Native Education" and "the further advancement and welfare of the Native people."

1926—The Immorality Act which imposed criminal sanctions against the unwritten law of vital segregation.

1927—The Native Administration Act which ensured segregation in the administration of Law, recognition of Native custom and institutions, and segregation in the machinery of government.

20. These separate measures, therefore, introduced by different government representing all the political parties, legislated for the social, territorial, residential, governmental and vital segregation of the Native people, the basic conception being the paramountcy of Native interests in Native areas and the paramountcy of European interest in European areas. On each occasion these measures were met by the combined hostility of the various assimilationist groups, which refused to see any other line of advance for the Native people except the destruction of every Bantu custom and institution which did not conform to our European ideas and which regarded the co-mingling of Native and European in every phase of life as the only possible objective compatible with a liberal outlook. Notwithstanding the fact that these groups were extremely well organized and had at their disposal great organs of propaganda throughout the country, the voting in Parliament on these measures shows their influence to have been negligible. Undoubtedly the vast majority of white South Africa is behind the policy of segregation, a policy which has been struggling for full legislative expression for many years and which represents the experience and the wisdom of the nation.

21. The Representation of Natives Act and the Native Trust and Land Act, passed during the 1936 Session, together with the Native Urban Areas Amendment Bill, will complete the legislative plan. Under the Native Representation Act the original plan adopted at Union for the representation of Natives in Parliament by the appointment of a Senator for each Province, who would be selected "on the ground mainly of his

thorough acquaintance, by reason of his official experience or otherwise, with the reasonable wants and wishes of the coloured races in South Africa " has been extended to include Senators directly elected by the Native people. A departure was made from the conception of Bantu national senatorial representation, a departure due to the existence of the 12,000 Native voters at the Cape. The rights of these voters have been retained on a separate register and they will now elect their own representatives to the House of Assembly, separate from the European electorate. Under the existing quota of electors for each constituency of the Union, the 12,000 Native voters then on the register were entitled to three representatives. Native representation for the Cape in the House of Assembly has been fixed at this number.

22. The most important innovation, however, is the creation of a Representative Native Council of 16 Native members, 12 of whom shall be elected and 4 nominated. The Secretary for Native Affairs and the five chief Native Commissioners will be *ex officio* members of the Council, but they will not have the right to vote ; the Secretary for Native Affairs, as Chairman, having only a casting vote. The functions of the Council are wide. Though the Council has no legislative power and is solely advisory and deliberative, it does not differ in essence from any Legislative Council in any British Colony on which there is an official majority, since no legislation affecting the Native people after its election can be proceeded with in Parliament without its consideration ; and it has the substantial right of recommendation to Parliament itself. Each year the official Native Budget, concerning the Native Development Fund and the Native Trust Account, must be placed before the Council which will be able to discuss the financial aspects of territorial segregation, together with the development of the Reserves and the education and uplift of the Native people. Moreover, the representatives of the Natives are brought for the first time into close contact and conference with the chiefs of the Native Administration, and any aspect of Government touching upon Native Affairs may be discussed with the chief officers principally concerned.

23. The delay which has taken place in implementing the promise of the Natives Land Act of 1913 to set aside additional land for Natives, has not been without its compensations. The 1917 Native Affairs Administration Bill intended merely to allow Natives to become preferential purchasers of land in the areas set aside by the Bill. The years of discussion have shown the futility of this proposal. If the land were left to be purchased by the Natives the mass of it never would be purchased. A few individual Natives had been able, and would still be able, to purchase land under exceptional circumstances, but the amount so purchased was relatively small and such individual purchases signalised the rise of a capitalistic class amongst the Native people and, if it continued and grew, the ultimate landlessness of the vast majority which it was the policy of segregation to prevent. Where purchases by a tribe have taken place by means of a tribal levy, many cases of failure to pay the levy by individual members of the tribe have occurred which has led to loss of the instalments already paid as well as the loss of the land. The process of rapid detribalisation is furthered by these two causes alone. The individual Native land owner breaks away from the tribe and turns his fellow tribesmen off the land to which he has secured a title. The dispossessed Natives, having no place to go to, flock to the towns with their families and contribute to the urban difficulties. Many cases of this nature have come under the notice of the Commission. The same result occurs in the raising of the tribal levy. To pay the levy the Natives go out to work, but as the individualising effects of the urban environment begin to grow, the payment of the levy becomes irksome. The tribe loses its membership and ultimately its land.

24. From the point of view of the European landowner, who had acquired his land without any idea that it might become a Native area, the unfairness of making him pay for a national policy of segregation which should be borne equally by all, was manifest. The defeat of the 1917 Bill was very largely due to that fact. The mere proclamation of land as a potential Native area, without any compensation by the State, had the effect of reducing its value, since the possibility of having a Native location as a neighbour rendered farming precarious in the opinion of most farmers. Thus the alarm, created by the publication of the Beaumont recommendations, had its root in the threatened loss of capital and the belief in the added difficulty of successful farming in a potential Native area.

THE ROOTS OF NATIVE POLICY ARE IN THE RESERVES.

25. The policy of segregation, and all that it connotes, in whatever phase it may be considered, must have its roots in the Native reserves. This fact has been emphasised again and again by the Native Economic Commission and by all whose advice has assisted in the development of our Native policy. Consequently it became of outstanding importance, if the policy was to be practical and effective, that the State should secure the whole of the land contemplated for Native occupation as early as possible and maintain it in trust for the Native people.

26. The Native Trust and Land Act was drawn with this end in view. The Native Trust, created by the Act, is a corporate body. Its functions are to protect, safeguard and promote the material, moral and social welfare of the Native population. In it is vested all the Crown land in the scheduled and released areas. To fulfil its functions, the Act creates a Native Trust Fund with which the old Natal and Zululand Native Trusts together with the smaller Trust Funds are merged. The Trust Fund receives also certain mining revenues, rents, quit rents and other small accruements ; but mainly it is financed by " such monies as Parliament may specially appropriate to the fund." It is upon the generous appropriations by Parliament that the whole success of the policy initiated by the Trust depends ; and chief and foremost is the appropriation of

the amounts required to purchase the 7¼ million morgen of land scheduled as Released Areas in the Act as additional Native Reserves. Upon this matter the Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Assembly on the second reading of the Act on the 30th April, 1936, made this statement :—

> " It is not considered desirable that all the funds necessary for the purchase of the selected native areas should immediately be voted by Parliament. In general, the sound principle of economic policy that only funds required for expenditure during the current year should be voted by Parliament ought to be adhered to. However, in order to reassure such as may entertain any fears that the purchase of the lands selected for native occupation may be delayed if some other guarantee is not immediately given that the funds necessary for the purchase thereof will be available whenever required, I wish to state that (*a*) it is the intention of the Government that the purchase of the above-mentioned land be commenced as soon as possible ; (*b*) that funds amounting to £10,000,000 be voted within the next five years in such annual amounts as may be considered necessary for purchase each year ; (*c*) that any further sums which may at any time appear to be necessary for the purchase of the above-mentioned land during the course of the said period of five years, or thereafter, be immediately made available for that purpose. The Government wish once more to give the assurance that it is their earnest desire to see that the obligation towards the natives of the Union arising out of this Bill, in conjunction with the Representation of Natives Act recently passed by the Joint Sitting of the two Houses, shall be faithfully carried out, and trust that this statement will be regarded as sufficient guarantee for the due fulfilment of the same."

27. Since the passing of the Act the Commission has been almost continuously engaged in visiting the Released areas and the Native Reserves, meeting representative bodies of all interested parties, Natives and Europeans, and taking note of their representations. In this way the Commission, or some part of it, has met nearly all the chiefs and leading Natives in the Reserves of the Transvaal, Free State and the Cape, and explained the meaning of the Act and the intentions of the Government. Details of its recommendations and the procedure adopted in regard to the purchase of land appear later on. Everywhere the Commission heard the utmost Native satisfaction expressed with the policy now adopted ; and there was evinced a real desire to aid in the forward movement which has now commenced for the Native people. Amongst the Natives of the countryside, there is little patience with the political aspect which finds such vocal expression in the larger urban areas. Rarely, indeed, is it understood ; the mass of the Native people are looking to tangible results rather than to the imponderabilia which forms so large a part of political propaganda.

28. Practically all the land scheduled as Released Area adjoins an existing Native reserve and is intended to provide for the overflow from these reserves. In recommending land for purchase, the Commission has in all cases considered first the density of population in the reserves and the carrying capacity of the land. It follows that the purchase of land must first serve to meet the needs of congested areas. Consequently, a proper plan of development both of the Reserve and the additional land must be drawn up at the time of purchase and put into immediate practice. Details of these plans will be given later. It will not be out of place to say a few words about the character and extent of the land which will now become the estate of the Trust.

29. Most of the Native land lies in the region of the Union's greatest rainfall. The action which left 1,000 miles of igneous backbone protruding through the strata of the Union High Veld to form the Drakensberg Mountains and their extensions, divided South Africa into two parts. On the West of these serried peaks and ridges, the mountain slopes are met half way up by the highveld plateau, where the worn, flat-topped hills are separated by wide valleys until they are merged into the open plain. The rainfall near the mountains averages 20 to 25 inches a year and is gathered into a few rivers which run through progressively thirsty land until they join the Orange at a point where little or no rain falls on its passage to the Atlantic. This Western portion comprises three-quarters of the Union. It is mainly pastural and almost entirely European, except for the arid region of Bechuanaland and a few small reserves in the Western Transvaal. But in the East, above and below the escarpment, where the land falls shortly and abruptly to the Indian Ocean, and where the rich soils formed by the decomposition of the igneous rocks lie thickly in the valleys, threaded everywhere by running streams, the rainfall is heavy, averaging from 30 to 50 inches on the Eastern Coast. In the North where the escarpment recedes from the Coast, the rainfall falters, so that the Northern Zululand coastal area, the plains of Swaziland and Zoutpansberg suffer from droughts, but on the whole the rainbelt is well marked. This Eastern rainfall area is overwhelmingly Native. Tembuland, Pondoland, Basutoland, the Reserves of Natal, Zululand, Swaziland, Sekukuniland and other reserves in the Eastern Transvaal, all lie in this Eastern rainbelt where agriculture can best be carried on. The significance of this may be appreciated by the fact that 100 acres of land on the Eastern side of the escarpment may be worth in wealth producing capacity 10,000 or 100,000 acres in Namaqualand. Arithmetical comparisons of morgenage held respectively by Europeans and Natives, so frequently indulged in by theorists, have really no practical application to South African conditions. The Native reserves are situated in the agricultural heart of South Africa.

30. For the most part the reserves are where they are because of historic circumstances. When the Europeans spread northwards from the Cape they found the bleak untimbered highveld thinly populated by Bantu. For some years before the Great Trek, inter-tribal warfare had reduced the highveld population and driven the survivors to

seek protection either in the mountain regions of the Drakensberg, as in Basutoland, or in the isolation of the Western desert, as in Bechuanaland. The Griqua people, a coloured race, offspring of runaway slaves and Europeans and Hottentots, mounted and armed with muskets, swaggering under an adopted European republican system which ultimately proved their ruin, ruled widely over the Free State and kept clear of new intruders until the European advent fixed definitely the limits of Native expansion. In the East, on the mountains and over the escarpment in Tembuland, Pondoland, in large areas of Natal and Zululand, as well as in parts of the Transvaal, the Natives were not dispossessed. The separate annexations of the Transkei, of Pondoland and of Zululand, left the existing Native institutions and tribal government intact; so that these territories are to-day virtually Native states, enjoying a continuity of occupation and tradition which it has been the policy of successive governments to preserve.

31. Much confusion of thought has been caused in the Cape by the failure to recognize that the Transkeian Territories, annexed at different times by the Cape Government, never became a part of the Cape political assimilative system. The Cape assimilative system applies only to the Ciskei where Native Law and custom was destroyed in favour of a theoretical equality between black and white which the franchise conferred. Indeed, most of the Natives of the Transkeian Territories have been unable to obtain the vote because, living under the Native system, they lacked the individual property qualification, no matter how rich they might be in cattle and no matter what position of importance and authority they occupied in the tribes. The Transkei, the model Native state of the Union, enjoying a measure of local autonomy not obtaining anywhere else, has developed as it is because it was saved from incorporation in the Cape assimilative system. It continued throughout as it is to-day to be separately governed by Proclamation, a system which maintained its essential Native character.

32. Few of the Native Reserves are inhabited by a single tribe. In the complex of Native society a single homogeneous tribe has rarely existed. The tribes have always been made up of a ruling nucleus, to which has been added the fugitives from tribal raids, deserters from other chiefs and the remnants of successive invasions of other Bantu tribes in their expanding marches. To these must be added the indigenous non-Bantu population which has been absorbed. This mixture of tongues and customs has given rise to much differentiation in economic and cultural standards, and there exists in the Union to-day, every stage of Native progress from the most primitive to the moderately civilised. This in turn has led to every form of Native administration from direct rule to indirect; from the Native Council system in the Transkei to the completely tribal control in Zululand and Bechuanaland. There are detribalised Native land owners living like Europeans, as in the Ciskei, while a few miles away the ancient form of communal ownership holds sway. Native developmental policies, therefore, are conditioned by the circumstances of the people. Some desire and appreciate the Council system. Others again, as in Natal, reject it contemptuously. Native administrative policy never forces an institution upon the Native but seeks always to strengthen that form of Native Government which is found to work and which the Natives themselves accept.

33. For the foregoing reasons, the development of the Native Reserves is unequal. The character of the soil, climatic conditions, the density of population and the habits of the people all make for dissimilarity. Where tribal control is strong, the Chief's assistance is essential to the acceptance of all innovations. Some chiefs are progressive in outlook and could infuse their followers with the desire to improve their conditions. Others reject all attempts at improvement, and indeed, regard all such attempts with suspicion as an attack upon their authority, and, unfortunately, as having some sinister motive. In some reserves public works, such as soil erosion prevention works, the making of dams, the sinking of wells, etc., will find willing workers who realise the value of such works to themselves; in others, labour is difficult to obtain. With these complexities, the administrative officers of the Department have always to contend. The extent to which the development has increased during the past few years, as shown in the reports of the Department, is the measure of their success.

THE NATIVE LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.

34. As already stated, the Native legislation requires for its completion the passing of the Native Urban Areas Amendment Bill, which had been considered by the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament and drafted by the Parliamentary Commission, consisting of members of the Joint Select Committee, which sat in Pretoria during 1933. This measure was subsequently submitted to the Department for redrafting and report and came before the Native Affairs Commission for consideration on the 8th September, 1936. The Commission after due deliberation recommended that the measure should be proceeded with.

35. With the exception of the new principle in the Bill for the removal of redundants, the measure is designed, on the recommendation of the Young-Barrett Departmental Committee which investigated the matter, to strengthen the welfare machinery of the Urban Areas Act and to remedy the defects in administration which experience had dictated to be necessary. It was, therefore, mainly in respect of the new principle which came from the Joint Select Committee for the removal of redundant Natives that the Commission was concerned. On the question of the removal of redundants, the Commission had before it the considered opinion of Dr. Roberts, Dr. Loram and General Lemmer, who were members of the Commission when the Native Urban Areas Act was under discussion. The Native Affairs Commission's report for 1921 contains the following :—

" APPENDIX 11.

" Memorandum of conclusions at conference between the Native Affairs Commission and local Government Commission, the Native Affairs Department being also present, held at Johannesburg, the 10th, 11th and 12th August, 1921. It is agreed : .. ..

" (5) It is recognized that the existence of a redundant black population in municipal areas is a source of the gravest peril and responsible in a great measure for the unsatisfactory conditions prevailing.

" (By redundant Native is meant the Native male or female who is not required to minister to the wants of the white population, but does not include a Native who ministers to the legitimate needs of his fellows within the municipal area)."

In the body of the report, the Commission commented as follows :—

" It seems only right that it should be understood that the town is a European area in which there is no place for the redundant Native, who neither works nor serves his or her people but forms the class from which the professional agitators, the slum landlords, the liquor sellers, the prostitutes, and other undesirable classes spring. The exclusion of these redundant Natives is in the interests of European and Native alike."

36. The acceptance by the Native Affairs Commission in its first report of the principle that Natives were in Urban Areas to minister to the wants of the white population, was in accord with the principle adopted in the Native Trust and Land Act, viz. :—

" 24. (1) Save with the written permission of any person acting under the authority of the Trustee or in accordance with the Regulations, no person other than a Native shall reside or be, or carry on any profession, business, trade, or calling upon land in any scheduled Native area or released area of which the Trust or a Native is the registered owner or which is held by any religious denomination or society."

In other words, the paramountcy of Native interests in Native areas was the corollary of the paramountcy of European interests in European areas.

37. In making its recommendations in 1921 the Native Affairs Commission had discussed the draft proposals for Native urban control with municipal bodies and officials, and with Natives and Native Welfare Societies throughout the Union. The resulting Urban Areas Act of 1923 was the outcome. Unfortunately, the prevention of redundancy under the Act failed. For this failure many reasons could be given ; but chiefly the reason is to be sought in the failure to carry out the Commission's recommendations regarding registration and control by municipalities. This, in turn, has been due to the lack of a clear direction in the Native policy of the country. In the absence of adequate Native Reserves (now to be provided under the Native Trust and Land Act) and with the political problem of assimilation or segregation still unsettled, it was impossible, even had they been so disposed, for municipalities to act with any more clearness of purpose than the central government. The drift continued and with it the increasing Native exodus from the rural areas to the towns.

38. The position was further studied by the Native Economic Commission appointed in 1930, which had amongst its terms of reference the following :—

" (3) The Economic and social effect upon the European 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."

Chief among the conclusions of the Commission are the following :—

1. There are two groups of Natives in Urban Areas : (*a*) the permanent workers, (*b*) the temporary visitors. " Economically these are distinct groups and the distinction is of the greatest importance and should be borne in mind in dealing with economic questions relating to Natives." (Par. 531.)

2. The temporary visitor, fresh from the farms or the reserves, lives inexpensively and is not entirely dependent on his wage. He has latent assets with his family. Frequently he prefers a congenial job at a wage which it would be impossible for the permanent Native with his family to support. (Pars. 541 to 548.)

3. The result is that the labour market is in a constant state of chaos. " No regular class of urban labour gets a chance to develop because those natives who remain permanently in town are always subjected to the disturbing influence on wage rates of a large supply of unskilled labour." (Par. 556.)

4. The introduction of wage regulation for Natives will tend not only to increase the chaos, but also to inflict grave harm on the economic structure of the country generally. (Par. 994.) " The tendency of the Natives to drift to the towns and to prefer town jobs to mining and farm work, is almost certain to be strengthened by improved pay in such jobs." (Par. 1000.) " Your Commissioners are all agreed that the increasing urbanization of the Natives would not be to their advantage. The introduction of wage regulation would not only encourage the present strong tendency to urbanization, but it would make the development of the Reserves more difficult." (Par. 1001.)

5. " State policy should, therefore, be directed to the object of giving more permanence, more stability, to the various classes of labour, and of reducing in so far as possible its casual nature." (Par. 557.)

6. Finally, the Native Economic Commission dwelt upon the danger to European standards by allowing conditions to prevail which operate against the training and employment of European youths. The European population cannot be expected to remain indifferent to the lot of a large number of their own race, who are forced down to the lower strata of the white community by economic pressure.

39. The conclusion of the Native Economic Commission that a cure for most of our economic ills lies in " a wise, courageous, forward policy of development of the Reserves " with a view to " the proper synthesis of our wealth producing factors " has been fully apprehended by the State in the passage of the Native Trust and Land Act. The development of the reserves is now being energetically pushed forward. But such development must inevitably occupy a number of years before it will have any appreciable effect in stemming the tide of migration to the towns in search of the adventure and excitement which cannot be found in the peaceful development of the reserves. Meanwhile the evils in the urban areas continue. The labour market is chaotic. Redundancy grows greater with each year ; and the Municipalities are not always guided by wise considerations of Native policy but by the self-interest of the moment. Unless controlled, redundancy will be encouraged by those whose interests it is to have an abundance of idle labour always at hand to draw upon. That has been the labour lesson the world over. The Commission, therefore, having in mind also that the proposed Urban Areas Amendment Bill (which was changed in title to the Native Laws Amendment Bill to allow of a few necessary changes in the Native Trust and Land Act), was one of the triology of Bills needed to complete the legislative policy, unhesitatingly agreed that the measure should be proceeded with without delay in the best interests of the Native people.

CHAPTER II.

NATIVE EDUCATION.

40. Native policy can never be more than a passing phase unless it is based upon a wise philosophy of Native Education, comprehensible by and acceptable to the people. It is not enough merely to pass legislation designed to direct the political, social and material evolution of the Native people " along their own lines " if, at the same time, the more subtle and moulding influence of the schools is left to the many and varied agencies of assimilation all working in the opposite direction. The same considerations which have led to the acceptance of the paramountcy of Native interests in Native areas must also govern the organisation and content of Native Education. For if, in this revolutionary age, the child is still father to the man, the present system could not be better calculated to destroy the aims of Native policy.

41. Native education has suffered from the same limitations and uncertainty of purpose as Native government. It began by the various missions inducing the parents to allow their children to attend school primarily for the better training in religion. What they obtained, in most instances, was a little clerkly instruction in individualism ; its effect was to undermine the tribal and family communal concepts which they inherited. As the idea of this book education extended, under a generated belief in its wage earning value to the individual, the process of tribal disintegration spread in proportion with the standard attained and with the locality in which the instruction was imparted. Detribalisation and education tended to become interchangeable terms, the one denoting the other, and the declared aim of Native educationalists was to accelerate the speed of detribalization by destroying all regard for primitive culture and communal co-operation in an endeavour to turn the Native into an European in thought and action.

In essence this is still the aim of the Native Education Departments of the Provinces, as shown in the report of Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education in these words :—

> " 465. The Native is becoming Europeanised by mere contact whether we wish it or not. One cannot stop the process any more than one can stop the Native from breathing the surrounding air. All that can be done in the interests of both European and Native is to direct and control the process."

If it be accepted that the Europeanisation of the Native people is inevitable and that all that is necessary in Native education is to—

> " tide the black man over the period during which his tribal sanctions are weakening, and before he feels the full force of the sanctions of European civilization,"

then our whole Native policy is ridiculous. If common citizenship in a single society is to be the end, we should obviously set about a proper education for citizenship instead of legislation for separate development. Our hope of building a Bantu nation, strong in its pride of race, developing its own genius in its own areas in the salvation of so much of its own culture and co-operative economy as is necessary to its distinctive advance, must be abandoned. The whole conception of parallel development with each race living harmoniously side by side, must be dropped. Instead, all that we have to look forward to is the development of an individualised mixed society of white and black

with each individual unit drawn into the vortex of competition, until the hereditary instincts of one section or the other gather in centripetal force around a modern class ideology and usher in the class war. The Native Affairs Commission emphatically reject this view. Its mere statement from an authoritative source, shows the need for directing Native education in conformity with Native policy.

42. So far this educational process towards Europeanisation has been only partial and the greatest obstacle to further progress has come from the very natural and solid conservatism of the Native masses themselves. It is not, as generally stated, the lack of finance which has delayed their progress. It is not a matter solely of schools and teachers. Had the educational methods and content been in harmony with tribal concepts, there would have been a different story to tell; for the force of tribal sanctions would have proved more powerful than school inspectors. An educative process, however, which ends in breaking down the family ties and, too often, leads to the desertion of the Native to the town in search of a permanent urban dwelling, where he can try to use the illusive economic asset of passed Standard II, could expect only faint support from the older generation.

43. Native education, therefore, even along the lines of Europeanisation, has been scarcely worthy of the name. The emergence of a small intelligentsia is poor compensation for the backwardness of the mass. More than 70 per cent. of the Native children obtain no scholastic instruction of any kind; and very few, less than 2 per cent. of those attending school, get beyond the post primary course. The majority do not reach Standard II. The tribal economy prevents attendance at schools in which no regard for tribal economy exists. Most of the teachers, according to scholastic standards, are unqualified to teach and the schools, both aided and unaided, are hopelessly understaffed. Two generations of voluntary effort, often of the most heroic character, have shown decisively that education, to be successful, must be adapted to the character of the soil in which it is to grow.

44. It is a singular fact that where so much is at stake for the future of South Africa the State itself has shown such amazing indifference to Native education. European education is probably as highly organized and as centrally directed in South Africa as in any country in the world; private enterprise applies to comparatively few schools and these, even in their instruction, must follow the lines laid down by the State matriculation standard. But in Native education the utmost licence prevails. Native education still remains in the hands of the Missions. Though they are subsidised by the Central Government and controlled by the Provincial Councils, the control is limited to an inspection of curricula which has little or no relation to the Native policy of the country. The missions represent many nationalities and almost all the sects of modern Christendom, many of them in competition with each other. The Missionaries are themselves the product of many and varied systems of education, having in common only the clerical conception of education which has come down to us from the middle ages when it was designed by priests for the training of clerks to fill privileged positions. To many of the unacclimatised teachers of the Natives, South Africa still presents itself as the land of evangelical adventure which made its stirring appeal to the Christian conscience of Europe in the early years of last century and coloured all our history. That South Africa has developed into a complex whole amongst the nations of the world and is set about shaping its own destiny to desired ends, is least apprehended by some of the teachers in our Native schools.

45. One of the results of this competitive freedom is the rise of a multitude of Native churches, with attendant schools, all seeking for recognition by the Government. To-day the separate Native churches which have actually applied for recognition are 185. There are probably many more of which there is no official record. They continue to grow and, with them, the somewhat pitiful attempts amongst their supporters to found schools for their children wherein they can be taught by their own kind and in which the teachers are scarcely wiser than the pupils. Added to this, many Chiefs attempt to establish their own tribal schools, to which they can appoint their own teachers, in an effort to retain the tribal allegiance of the children as they grow up—an illustration of the inherent struggle for racial self-expression. These facts appear to point to a very deep-seated dissatisfaction with the existing mission institutions amongst many Natives who have passed through them. Their secession, in most cases, is probably due to personal and selfish reasons on the part of the leaders; but that they should carry with them so many others appears to indicate a reaction to the prevailing system which should not be ignored.

46. The inference which the Commission draws from these facts and others of similar character, is that the attempt at the Europeanisation of the Native people, which began in the Native schools, is following a very natural course. There is emerging the same revolt against clericalism as is to be seen in other parts of the world; and though the Marxian dictum that "religion is the opium of the people" has not got beyond the nursery beds of communism, the Native people are showing a decided tendency to seek religious consolation amongst themselves, and, with it, a course of primary education which will not be too alien to their character and needs. Since these Native institutions are quite independent of missionary control and are unsubsidised by the State, the number of Native children under their influence is unknown. It may not be very large; but with all the organised forces of the churches and the State co-operating to prevent these secessions, the very existence of these separate schools gives point to the Natives' desire for self-expression. The logic is on their side.

47. In all countries and amongst all peoples the status of the teaching profession conforms to the general standard of people taught. The teacher in a primary school

amongst Europeans enjoys no better remuneration than is enjoyed by the general run of the parents. Apart from his separate professional interests, he is an ordinary citizen amongst citizens. A Chinaman teaching Chinese or Egyptian teaching Egyptian children is on an equal social footing with the parents of the children, conforming in all ways to the general habits and standards and receiving in remuneration a wage in keeping with the general level of wages of the people amongst whom he lives and works. In South Africa, on the contrary, where the cost of Native education is largely paid for out of the taxation of Natives, we are attempting to maintain amongst the European teachers of Native children, a cultural and economic class which has no counterpart anywhere in Native life. The standard of remuneration has no relation whatsoever to the wages standards of the Natives. The whole educational approach must necessarily be coloured by this fact; and it is desirable when dealing with recommendations by Europeans who are Native educationalists that we do not mistake the interests of the class for the interests of the Native people.

48. The excessive burden carried by Native education in this European aristocracy may be judged by the following particulars. Out of a total of 424 teachers in post primary schools, 282 or 66 per cent. are Europeans. With the same professional qualifications the European is paid a salary 63 per cent. higher than that received by the Native. Thus, approximately two-thirds of the sum spent on post primary education for Natives, i.e. teacher-training, secondary and industrial, amounting in 1934–35 to £103,556, is absorbed by the European staff. An examination of the primary school expenditure would probably reveal the same position. To this must be added the almost completely European cost of supervision.

49. If Natives are to be developed along their own lines, then the Native should be allowed to determine what their own lines are. Since we are aiming at the paramountcy of Native interests in Native areas, then Native education should be considered to be pre-eminently a Native area in which there should be no colour bars and where the Native intelligentsia should find more and more opportunity for their talents. That Natives, who have obtained high educational honours in European universities, should be considered as unfitted to occupy some of the higher directive posts in Native Education, is either a reflection on their ability, which their academic qualifications deny, or else it is an unnecessary form of colour prejudice which is operating against Native policy.

50. The Commission is therefore of opinion that the time has arrived to adopt a policy of Bantuization of the Native educational service which could be gradually accomplished without hardships to anybody, since the qualified European teachers could be readily absorbed in their respective grades in the European educational system, and, *parri passu*, the policy of transferring Native schools from mission control to State control, should be consistently pursued.

THE AIM AND SCOPE OF NATIVE EDUCATION.

51. To bring some sort of unity into this chaos of ideas and practice must be the earnest task of the future. That task is not primarily a financial task, though adequate finance is one of the crying needs of the situation. The real issue is the aim and scope of Native education; and until that aim and scope, which comprise the content of education, is definitely understood and applied in all Native schools, the pouring in of money, energy and zeal, to lift the Native outside and above his standard of life and needs, without the wherewithal to satisfy them, is the royal road to disaster.

52. The aim and scope of Native education must be conditioned to the needs of the mass. Primarily we are not engaged in the creation of a Native elite, though the educational system should afford an opportunity for the training of leaders of the Native people. Education, however, is something greater than schooling and is actually going on all the time in the family life and tribal kinship and in the economic pursuits of the people. The Native mind is not simply an empty slate on which the school teacher proceeds to write his lessons; it is filled with all the accumulated experiences gained in his nurture by Native society and it will respond to European teaching in proportion as such teaching can harmonise with the deep current of inherited and acquired African ideas. There must, therefore, in any system of Native education which is to be of value to the people, be a conscious direction and adjustment of schooling so as not to break down the cultural continuity of Native life.

53. A general definition of the aims of Native education is quoted by the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education as being "the effective organisation of the Native's experiences so that his tendencies and powers may develop in a manner satisfactory to himself and to the community in which he lives, by the growth of socially desirable knowledge, attitudes and skill." That is an acceptable definition if it provides the motive force of Native education; but in the face of the existing conditions where the majority of the Natives are schooled for less than three years and leave at Standard I, it must remain a mere generalisation. The Commission, however, accepts this definition as being the right aim in Native education, if it is related to the national Native policy; and its recommendations are made with a due regard to the attainment of this aim.

54. More precisely the Committee gives the following three principles which should govern Native education. It should aim at enabling the Native to—

"(*a*) interpret his environment;

"(*b*) control his environment; and

"(*c*) enrich his environment by compensating him against the deficiencies of that environment."

THE NATIVE ENVIRONMENT.

55. What is that environment? We are engaged on a policy of building up a Native society living in territories 54,000 square miles in area. Within that area we are establishing local self-government, as in the Transkei, and wherever else local councils have been established. Within a reasonable period it may be anticipated that all the Native Reserves will be governed by either local councils or tribal councils, to whom will be paid for development all the local taxation plus other sums allocated to them for development purposes by the State. These Councils consider not only economic matters, but also all the customary relationship subsisting amongst the people. Changes in tribal custom, in legal institutions, in the Native laws, in all the day to day affairs of the tribe or communities, naturally come under the purview of these councils, whose authority and value to the development of the people will grow with their use. These indigenous Native societies each have their separate needs, according to the climatic conditions under which they live, the form of economic development which they have attained and the character and language of the tribes. In these reserves lies the core of our Native policy—the maintenance of Native life and institutions developing in harmony with the Europeans on parallel lines.

56. Outside of these Reserves, in European areas, Natives live under three conditions, namely, as labour tenants on farms; permanently in urban areas; and temporarily in employment as on the mines, etc. Labour tenancy, although it is still widespread, is tending to disappear. The development of the farms, the higher value of land and the growing independence of the younger generation of Natives, all conspire to bring about a change in the character of farm labour. Labour tenancy will give way in the course of time to hired labour, which will be mainly drawn from the Reserves; so that economically the Natives will be divided into rural and urban communities. In all countries, peasants contrive to supplement the living obtained from their farms by the rewards obtained from temporary labour of a part of their population in other spheres. To-day in South Africa mine labour is almost exclusively drawn from the Native Reserves. Sotho and Chuana living in the Protectorates, Shangaans from the Native area of Moçambique, Rotse from Barotseland and Natives from Nyasaland, as well as the Natives from all the Union reserves, flock voluntarily to the mines, leaving their wives and families behind.

57. There exists a mistaken fear in the minds of some Europeans, which has not been without its effects on Native policy, that the expansion and development of the Reserves and the consequent improvement in the standard of living of the Native people may result in a shortage of Native labour to man the industries of the Union on which our whole economic life is based. There is no justification for such a fear. Experience proves that the increase in Native wants in those areas which have been most intensively developed has led to an increasing desire to augment the family budget by the young able-bodied males seeking temporary employment amongst Europeans. This is plainly demonstrated in the most developed area of the Transkei where the highest proportion of males is away at work amongst Europeans, while in the more backward areas of the Union the absence of desire to improve their economic position results in the Natives staying at home. The whole history of Native taxation illustrates this truth, since its imposition in the first instance was due to the need for compelling the Native to work to earn his tax. The increasing wants induced by raising the standard of the Reserves operate in a similar manner and induce the Natives to seek employment at intervals in European areas to satisfy them. In this way each race will assist in that harmonious parallel development which it is the aim of Native policy to achieve. Natives from the Reserves do not usually become urban residents, but return to their homes on the conclusion of their engagement to be re-absorbed back into the Native society to which they belong. This applies also to a large number of Natives who find employment outside the mines in urban areas; and the permanent urban population cannot be measured by the actual number of Natives employed at any time. The permanent urban Native is one who is living his family life and bringing up his children in the town. Therefore the environment of the urban and rural Native population is different; and the development of the Native Reserves, while it will prevent urbanization, will not destroy the labour supply.

58. The most valuable quality of Native life is its brotherhood, a quality which causes all members of the tribe to share their fortune with each other. Our individualism, so vaunted and acclaimed in every competitive phase of western life, has led to every inequality between man and man, and modern states are concentrating their attention upon the breaking down of those inequalities by creating a community sense of responsibility, either by means of authoritarianism or by the evolution of social welfare methods. This valuable quality of brotherhood amongst our Natives is everywhere being undermined. One of the complaints of Mission teachers, e.g., is that Native tradesmen trained by them, can obtain no employment amongst their people because there are no capitalists to pay them wages. If a carpenter offers to make a table for a fellow tribesman for money, the reply is: "Why do you ask for money? You are one of us, aren't you? If you make something for me to-day, I shall make something for you to-morrow." This is regarded as a supreme instance of the inutility of Native economic life, instead of as affording a possibility for planning Native advance along co-operative lines. The effective organization of the Native's experiences so that his tendencies and powers may develop in a manner satisfactory to himself and to the community must mean, if it is to be practical, the inspanning of those inherent qualities of brotherhood for the general advance of the people as a whole. That is not so easy as teaching the A B C in schools, which, of course, must be taught, but the lessons of co-

operation, properly thought out and suited to the place and people and their economic conditions, will carry the Natives much further along the path of social and material development than the Standard I and Standard II curriculum which is the Native educational standard of the mass of the Natives to-day.

ORGANIZATION OF NATIVE EDUCATION.

59. Effective organisation of Native Education, however, while single in aim, must be entirely centrifical in tendency. It must give some measure of local autonomy in Native educational development to meet the varying needs throughout the country. Rigid conformity to curricula, such as we are accustomed to amongst Europeans, laid down by a central authority, would prevent the development of experiences and tendencies which differ so markedly throughout the various tribes of the Union. What would be suitable amongst the Venda would be quite unsuitable amongst the Tembu. The Native schools of the urban area, where the Native children must be regarded more or less as permanent, must be differently organised to those in the reserves, and adapted to the social, economic and cultural milieu of the Natives in urban areas.

60. This does not mean that less attention is to be paid to the ordinary curriculum of the schools. It means that all curricula must be harmonised with the Native environment and constantly and expertly adjusted to the local needs and not to the clerkly conception of our European cultural standards. Since our policy is designed to develop a community of progressive Native peasants in the reserves, all education in the reserves must be in harmony with that development. The basis of such education should be a thorough understanding by the children of the part they are to play in it. That, after all, has always been the educational system of Native Africa. Though Tribal Africa did not create a school system such as we know it, it nevertheless had its educational system for the training of the young to manly and economic pursuits. Underlying all the superstitions and barbaric usages there existed a very intensive and thorough development of the qualities of brotherhood and family kinship, together with a selfless regard for the interests of the tribe, which is still the greatest heritage of the Bantu people. " African education is not dead, even in detribalised areas," says Professor Malinowski, " it lives in the family life, in the structure of kinship and community, in the special setting of Native economic pursuits, old and new." Our problem is to harmonise our European schooling to the existing Native concepts if we are to avoid " conflict within the individual and chaos in the community."

61. Holding these views, the Commission has given some consideration to the report of the Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education which was set up to consider and make recommendations on the future control of Native education. The Committee has recommended for the reasons stated that Native education should be transferred from the control of the Provincial Councils to the Union Government. With this recommendation the Commission concurs and would point to the recommendation made by the Native Affairs Commission in its report of 1921, when two of its members were eminent educationalists concerned with Native Education, namely Dr. Roberts and Dr. Loram.

62. " SECTION II. UNION CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATION.

" 7. *Arguments for Union Control and Administration.*—The Commission is unanimously and emphatically of opinion that Native education should be controlled and administered by the Union Government. The following considerations have induced their belief :—

" (1) Native education is the chief factor in moulding a Native policy for South Africa and therefore should be administered by the body responsible for that policy, viz., the Union Government.

" (2) While the several Native peoples will require different adaptations of education to suit their special requirements, there is need of a unifying policy for the country as a whole, and that policy should be prescribed by the Union. In particular, it needs to determine whether the education should be based on European practice, or whether a practice based on the particular needs and capabilities of the Natives should be set up.

" (3) The funds of the Native education should come from Native sources and should be therefore derived from the body empowered to levy Native taxation.

" (4) If Native education is to serve the Native people to the fullest extent there is need for the closest co-operation among the several Government Departments, particularly the Departments of Agriculture, Public Works, Health and Native Affairs, while locally it is from every point of view desirable that the pivot on which all local Native matters should swing, including education, should be the Magistrate of the district. . . . "

63. " 8. *Administration of Native Education by the Union Government.*—If the administration of Native education came under the Union Government, the following system is advocated :—

" (1) Native Education should be a Department of State under the Minister of Native Affairs. To obtain the necessary co-ordination of educational with other Native policy, there should be constituted a Board for Native Education, consisting of the Secretary for Native Education, the Secretary for Native Affairs, and a member of the Native Affairs Commission.

The functions of this Board should be advisory.

" (2) Under the Secretary for Native Education there should be three superintendents of Native Education, one resident at King William's Town for the Cape and Transkei ; one resident in Maritzburg for Natal and Zululand ; and one resident in Johannesburg for the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Under these Superintendents there should be the separate corps of European Inspectors of Native Schools, the Native Supervisors of Schools and the European and Native teachers. To expedite business, the preparation of vouchers for the payment of grants and salaries should be undertaken in the office of the Superintendent of Native Education.

" (3) To retain the co-operation of the Missionaries and Magistrates there should be established in the several Superintendencies of Native Education Advisory Boards somewhat on the lines of the Advisory Board in Natal on which Natives should be represented.

" (4) It is recognised that the educational requirements of Natives will not be the same all over South Africa, so that in order to make necessary provision forthe special needs of districts the Secretary for Native Education will hold conferences at least once a year with the Superintendents in order to make the necessary adaptations. In this way a uniform Native Education policy with the necessary adjustments would be obtained.

" (5) The following diagram will represent the proposed administration :—

Minister of Native Affairs.

Departmental Conference	Secretary for Native Education	Union Board of Native Education
European and Native Teachers' Associations	Superintendents of Native Education	Native Education. Advisory Boards
	Inspectors of Native Schools	
Native Supervisors	Native Teachers	European Teachers

64. The Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education makes the surprising recommendation that " the administration and financing of Native education be dissociated from the Native Affairs Department (including the Native Affairs Commission) and be placed under the Union Education Department." This recommendation to divorce Native education from Native Affairs was arrived at before the Native legislation was passed and before the policy therein contained was definitely established ; nor does it appear that the Inter-departmental Committee, consisting primarily of the Chief Inspectors of Native Education, had considered the recommendations of the Native Affairs Commission of 1921. But, even so, their recommendations fly in the face of their own arguments and appear to be based on quite irrelevant grounds.

65. Dealing with the aims, methods and scope of Native education, the Committee says : " It is as much a political and economic problem as it is an agricultural problem. It involves not only questions of custom, religion and language, but with it are almost inextricably bound up questions of land, agriculture and industrial policy, not to mention political policy. Relatively few people, even those engaged in Native education in the past, have consciously and squarely faced the double set of issues involved." No stronger argument can be used against the transfer of Native education to a Department of State which is not in any way concerned with Native customs and land and agriculture and political developments.

66. The chief criticism of the Inter-Departmental Committee against the Native Affairs Commission, lies in the control which the Native Affairs Commission exercises over the expenditure on Native Education ; but precisely the same criticism will apply to any other body which could be set up to allot funds provided by the State. The Native Affairs Commission, in its allocation, acts on the advice and after consultation with the four Provincial Native Educational authorities whose signatures appear on the report of the Inter-departmental Committee, so that the efficiency of the allocation could not be improved upon by any other Board except on the assumption that the existing Native Educational controllers did not know their business. The criticism, however, of the Committee is really against the limited funds available for allocation, and in common with many other interested people, including many of the Native witnesses who appeared before the Committee, the Native Affairs Commission is held responsible for the actual amounts available. Such responsibility the Commission cannot accept. The present method of financing Native Education is fixed by Parliament.

67. The Committee condemns the Native development fund as the source of expenditure on Native education on the grounds that the total sum available to the fund, viz. the block grant of £340,000 per annum, plus one-fifth of the proceeds of the Native General Tax, is fixed and inadequate for educational purposes ; yet the Committee goes on to admit that the contribution from the General Tax to the fund was, in

fact, increased to two-fifths at the time the report was written. There was also an additional contribution made to the fund of £35,000 by the Treasury the same year on the representation of the Native Affairs Commission in order to cover additional expenditure in Native education. The revenues of the fund, therefore, are not fixed, and it may be reasonably expected that with the new developments now taking place the fund will prove capable of meeting any educational demands which could be met from any new Native Education Fund administered by the Union Education Department, since the same authority must ultimately determine the size of the grant made from Union Treasury. The Minister of Native Affairs must be held to be as much concerned with the education of the Native people as the Minister of Education, who has always held other portfolios unconnected with Education. The actual expenditure on Native Education has grown from £605,509 in 1934–35 to £742,000 in 1936–37.

68. The naive suggestion that by simply creating a new fund to be called the Native Education Fund instead of Native Development Fund, the amount available for Native Education would be immediately increased ; and the belief expressed that if the Union Education Department were substituted for the Department of Native Affairs, the object would be achieved because " through the Minister of Education is provided the means by which the subject can be brought before Parliament in a much more authoritative way than is at present possible," betrays a little ignorance of political cause and effect. All sums voted by Parliament must be submitted to Parliament by the Government, and the Minister of Education is no more powerful to obtain grants for any particular Native purpose than the Minister for Native Affairs.

69. There is, however, a very much graver objection. The handing over of Native education to the Union Education Department would take away from the Native Representative Council the right to consider one of the most important parts of the Native budget. The Native Development Account is now merged in the Native Trust Fund, the estimates of which will be considered by the Native Representative Council before Parliament meets each year. If the proposal of the Committee were agreed to, Native Education would fall outside its purview, since Native Education would then form part of the general educational vote submitted to Parliament in Committee on the estimates.

70. The Commission observes with some regret the statement made by the Interdepartmental Committee that it would be unfortunate for education " to be linked up with the Government Department which is generally associated in the Native mind with the collection of taxes and the administration of justice. It is not fair to education to place it under a Department whose functions are very largely regulatory." Such an argument, ignoring as it does all the manifold activities of the Department in guiding the tribal life of the people, in the economic development of the Reserves, in the agricultural training of Natives in its schools and colleges, the social welfare work carried on by its expert officials, is very unfortunate. If, indeed, there were any force in such an argument, it would merely serve to show how very necessary it was to link up Education with the Department of Native Affairs in order to humanise its activities and destroy the extraordinarily limited conception of the Department's function which the Committee had in its mind. The fact is, the Native Affairs Department is engaged in every phase of the government of the Native people of the Union and is actively represented in every Department of State. Indeed, the policy of parallel development would be impossible were it not so, for it demands a comprehensive separation of the functions of administration in Native Affairs in all its branches. There is, therefore, no more reason for divorcing Native Education from the Department of Native Affairs than there would be in divorcing the Department from any participation in the political sphere as represented by the Native Representative Council.

71. The Commission, therefore, reiterates the recommendations made by the Native Affairs Commission in 1921 and expresses the opinion that all our subsequent history has emphasised the wisdom of the Commission in making those recommendations fifteen years ago. The question of the further financial provision to be made can be more effectively discussed when the re-organisation contemplated is under way and the limits of the Native Development Account for the purpose have been carefully ascertained.

APPENDIX "B."

LAND MATTERS: (NATIVE TRUST AND LAND ACT No. 18 OF 1936).

72. The Native Trust and Land Act was by proclamation No. 219 of 1936 brought into operation on the 31st August, 1936. The Government immediately embarked upon an active policy as regards the acquisition of further land for Native occupation in accordance with the provisions of Section *ten* of the Act. From the outset it was realised, firstly, that it would be impossible, both from the financial and practical point of view, immediately to buy up all land owned by non-Natives in the released areas ; and secondly, that in order to avoid an artificial inflation of land values with a consequent fictitious boom inevitably to be followed by a serious and acute depression which would adversely affect farming interests throughout the Union, adequate precautions must be taken to ensure that the Trust in purchasing the land would not pay

extravagant and disproportionate prices therefor. It was accordingly decided that the various districts in which there were released areas should be visited in turn by members of the Native Affairs Commission for the dual purpose of :—

(i) receiving and considering any local representations which might be put forward for the modification of the released areas on the basis contemplated under Section *two* of the Act ; and

(ii) investigating the position as regards native ownership and occupation of land in those districts with a view to determining where the greatest need exists for the acquisition of additional land for Native settlement and accordingly which land should immediately be acquired for the purpose.

73. It was further agreed that the *modus operandi* as regards the purchase of land on behalf of the Trust would be that the Minister of Native Affairs would, on the recommendation of the Commission, decide what land was to be purchased from time to time, but that the negotiations with the owners and the actual purchase would be effected by the Lands Department, which had always been recognised as the Department responsible for the acquisition of land required by the Government.

In formulating its recommendations the Commission bore in mind the desirability as far as possible of acquiring first farms adjoining existing Native locations so that there could be a gradual accretion from the base of the existing Native areas.

74. The Committees have in all their reports made two recommendations. One, a general recommendation to purchase all land in the released area where no further adjustment was contemplated and a more specific recommendation to purchase land which was immediately required. In making these recommendations the Committees took into consideration :—

(*a*) the congested condition of the locations ;

(*b*) the unproductive state to which many of the locations have been reduced by overcrowding and overstocking ;

(*c*) the consequent drift to the town of whole families, caused by the distress in the locations ; and

(*d*) in its general recommendation, the need for giving the Department of Native Affairs ample scope for effective planning, both in the re-allocation to Natives of the land purchased and in making provision for purchase in the future.

75. There was a tremendous amount of work attached to these land investigations, which had to be attended to during the portion of the year that Parliament was not in session. In order to expedite the work in so far as possible, it was arranged that the four members of the Commission should, for the purpose of investigations, function as two separate committees, one for the Transvaal and Natal Provinces and the other for the Cape Province, the Thaba 'Nchu area in the Orange Free State and the East Griqualand areas in the Cape.

Considerable progress has been made with these investigations. The following districts have already been dealt with by the respective committees or by the Commission as a whole.

Transvaal Province.

Potgietersrust, Pietersburg, Zoutpansberg, Waterberg, Rustenburg, Lichtenburg Marico, Middelburg, Lydenburg, Pilgrim's Rest and Piet Retief districts.

Cape Province.

King William's Town (including the sub-districts of Middledrift and Keiskama Hoek), Victoria East, Peddie, East London, Komgha, Stutterheim, Cathcart, Queenstown, Glen Grey, Matatiele, Mount Currie, Maclear and Umzimkulu districts.

Orange Free State.

The district of Thaba 'Nchu.

Natal.

Paulpietersburg and Northern Zululand. It is regretted that it was not possible to deal with more of the districts of the Natal Province ; owing to the limited time at the disposal of the Commission, investigations in the rest of this Province will have to stand over for next year.

76. In addition to the recommendations contained in each of the District Reports for the excision of land under Clause *two* of the Act, with the substitution of other land of equivalent agricultural and pastoral value, and the farms recommended for immediate purchase in order to relieve the congestion in the Native reserves, the Commission urged the effective planning of all future development, not only on the new land which was being acquired but also in the existing locations. Many of the locations have become almost desert-like in their conditions owing to overstocking and abuse of the soil by primitive methods of farming. A detailed survey of each location is therefore being carried out by qualified officers of the Department and will follow the model plan adopted by the Commission for the rehabilitation of the Zebediela Location in Potgietersrust district of the Transvaal.

This model scheme, which will be adapted to all the Native reserves of the Union is as set out in the following extract from the recommendations on Zebediela's Location submitted by the Controller of Native Settlements, the Director of Native Agriculture and the Departmental Engineer :—

77. MODEL SCHEME.

" (i) *Arable Areas.*

That the areas tinted brown on the accompanying plan be set aside for arable purposes provided that it is properly and fairly distributed.

In order to ensure a proper distribution of arable land in the location and on the farms, the purchase of which is contemplated, it is considered that a limitation of five morgen should be imposed in respect of the arable land to be allotted to each taxpayer in so far as this area is concerned with, say, two morgen for each additional wife.

(ii) *Irrigable Land.*

The area indicated in dark brown on the plan is approximately 300 morgen in extent and falls under the Gompies Irrigation Scheme. It is recommended that this irrigable land be handed over to the Zebediela Location Council to be worked on a communal basis under the general direction and control of the departmental agricultural officer. Any Natives wishing to participate in this scheme under the aegis of the Council, could, it is suggested, pay a small fee, say 10s. per head per annum, and the resulting crops would be shared on a *pro rata* basis. The best crops for cultivation on this irrigable land would be wheat and peas in winter and potatoes and tobacco in summer. Details of the scheme would, of course, have to be carefully worked out.

(iii) *Residential Areas.*

That the areas tinted pink on the plan be reserved for residential purposes and that the necessary steps be taken to move the Natives' huts and kraals there.

(iv) *Grazing areas.*

That the areas coloured green on the plan be reserved as grazing areas and that the two camps marked 1 and 2 on the plan, in extent 4,950 morgen and 9,300 morgen respectively, be fenced off and reserved for rotational grazing.

(v) *Fodder Plots.*

That the areas marked [ll ll ll] on the plan be fenced off and reserved for fodder production. These areas are eminently suited for this purpose, consisting as they do of a tract of land along the Olifants River which is from time to time flooded, and of six hundred morgen on the farm Bellevue No. 551. If this course is pursued it will have the effect of materially increasing the carrying capacity of the location in so far as stock is concerned.

(vi) *Bull Camps.*

That the two areas coloured blue on the plan be fenced off and reserved as bull camps. They are 150 and 590 morgen in extent respectively.

(vii) *Water Supplies.*

(*a*) That the construction of seven dams on the sites numbered from 1 to 7 on the plan be put in hand as soon as possible.

(*b*) That the four existing pans marked 8, 9, 10 and 11 on the plan be deepened and increased in size by means of the construction of earthern walls.

(*c*) That the group of springs at Matlapudi on the site marked 12 on the plan be drained into one or two pans in order to provide a clean supply of water for stock and that the 'eyes' of these springs be fenced.

(viii) *Soil Erosion.*

That anti-soil erosion measures be undertaken as soon as possible in the areas indicated by means of red curved lines on the plan and that, where necessary the Location roads be suitably drained and treated so as to prevent soil erosion.

(ix) *Fencing.*

The carrying out of the foregoing proposals will involve the erection of some fifty miles of new fencing (indicated by means of red lines on the plan) at an estimated cost of £2,500.

(x) *Limitation of Stock.*

At present there are approximately 3,680 taxpayers in Zebediela's Location with approximately 15,000 cattle units, that is to say, between four and five cattle units per taxpayer. The present carrying capacity of the Location is considered to be one beast to eight morgen, so that the location, which with the tribal and existing Trust farms is approximately 48,000 morgen in extent, should normally carry only 6,000 cattle units. It is, therefore, under existing conditions, overstocked to the extent of about 9,000 cattle units. The farms which it is proposed to purchase should, however, be able to accommodate the surplus stock. The institution of control and rotation of grazing and the establishment of fodder reserves as contemplated will, it is anticipated, have the effect of increasing the carrying capacity of the location itself and of the farms to be acquired to one beast per four morgen. While, therefore, there is no immediate need for the enforcement of a limitation upon the number of stock to be kept by each taxpayer, it will in due course be necessary to impose such a restriction in order to prevent over-stocking for the future. In the meantime it might well be definitely laid down that the number of stock to be kept by the location residents in the location and on the farms, the acquisition of which is contemplated, is not to exceed the total number of 16,000.

(xi) *Supervision.*

To ensure the success of the scheme it is essential that adequate supervision and control be exercised. The total area of the location with the farms, the purchase of which has been recommended, will be approximately 81,719 morgen and no less than 3,700 taxpayers and their families will be resident thereon. In addition the working of the land under irrigation will have to be closely supervised and controlled. Under these circumstances it is advisable that a European Agricultural Field Assistant be placed in charge of the location with two Native rangers to assist him in carrying out his duties.

(xii) *Consultation.*

Special meetings should be held in the location by the Chief Native Commissioner (to be attended by the Native Commissioner and Agricultural Supervisor) explaining the Department's proposals fully to the chief and people, in order to allay suspicion and to gain the confidence of the Natives, as their co-operation is essential.

(xiii) *Financial.*

A careful record would have to be kept of the expenditure incurred under the scheme and the Natives should, if possible, be induced to make application for the imposition of an annual tribal levy upon themselves of a sufficient amount to afford the Trust a return of 4 per cent. interest on the outlay involved."

APPENDIX "C."

HOSPITALS (HEALTH SERVICES).

78. During the past year the Commission made grants totalling £13,140 from the Native Development Fund to Native hospitals. These grants-in-aid and other grants for the erection of buildings, made to hospitals, are also increasing from year to year, as is evidenced by the following figures :—

1932–33	£4,119
1933–34	4,112
1934–35	6,428
1935–36	8,240
1936–37	13,140

The expenditure from the Native Development Account in respect of these services has therefore practically been trebled during a period of five years.

Although the grants-in-aid are made entirely *ex gratia* and only to hospitals capable of justifying their existence, the Commission nevertheless feels that some other basis should be found on which grants for health services in Native reserves can in future be made.

79. In Union Circular No. 31 of 1929 it was laid down that grants-in-aid to hospital would be made on the following basis :—

(i) For each necessary and approved medical practitioner who gives instruction of not less than six hours per week to probationer nurses	£100 p.a.
(ii) For each qualified matron supervising the training of probationers (learners)	£60 p.a.
(iii) For each qualified nurse or other approved person supervising the training of Native probationers	£25 p.a.

[NOTE.—When an allowance is paid in respect of a matron, the allowances to nurses will depend upon the number of probationers, on the following scale :—

(*a*) 4 to 6 probationers, 1 nurse ;

(*b*) 7 to 9 probationers, 2 nurses ;

(*c*) 10 to 12 probationers, 3 nurses.]

80. The grants-in-aid made to hospitals on the above basis are, of course, dependent on the available funds. The Commission feels, however, that hospitals and health institutions may justly claim any grant-in-aid which has previously been made, since the expansion of a hospital is not a matter to be arbitrarily ended when funds become depleted. As indicated by the above figures, hospital services expand from year to year, and according to the basis laid down, it is practically a moral obligation on the Department of Native Affairs to comply with the relative conditions, provided that the hospitals show a *bona fide* expansion and base their applications for such grants-in-aid on the requirements laid down in the basis. If, with the assistance obtained from some unexpected source, a hospital suddenly decided to maintain five medical practitioners and fifty nurses, the rate of subsidy to be made to such hospital would increase appreciably, with the result that the Development Fund would also be faced with an unforeseen expenditure.

81. In view of the above, the Commission feels that a new *modus operandi* has to be found for making grants-in-aid to hospitals where Native nurses are being trained. Health services among the Native population certainly merit the most careful attention

from the Government. Towards promoting these services, some sort of understanding should exist between the Department of Native Affairs, the Provincial Administrations and the Department of Public Health. In the near future this matter will have to receive the Government's serious consideration.

82. The Chief Native Commissioners have again called attention to the progressive increase in venereal disease and tuberculosis; and the Commission has felt much concern at the signs of ill-health and general deterioration of the physique of the Natives, that are manifest in most of the Reserves. In his annual report for the year ended 30th June, 1934 (see U.G. No. 40/34, p. 80–81) the Secretary for Public Health, in referring to the excessive mortality among the Bantu, has stated that this high mortality must be attributed in the first place to the low social and economic status of the people which is "directly responsible for much preventable morbidity and mortality"; and he adds that most of the deaths among Natives is due to starvation.

There can be no doubt but that this state of affairs is largely due to the reduction in the milk supply and the lack of nutritious food caused by overstocking and wasteful methods of farming and the consequent destruction of Native land. The development and control of the Native Reserves by raising the subsistence level of the Natives living in them is obviously the first step in the improvement of the health of the Native people, and with it an increase in their working capacity.

APPENDIX "D."

APPLICATIONS OF SECTARIAN BODIES FOR GOVERNMENT RECOGNITION.

83. Applications for recognition of sectarian bodies and churches are addressed to the Department of Native Affairs and referred to the Commission for investigation and recommendation.

During the year no less than 13 sectarian bodies applied for recognition. Only one request was granted.

84. The reasons set out in the application for seceding from the mother church are many and various. Often the point of difference concerns the control of the finances of the body or the manner of observing the Sabbath—i.e. whether devotional services are to be conducted in the church building or in the open—or some mutual dissension may exist between the church officers. A definite religious basis seems in most cases to be entirely absent. The following are some of the reasons given for seceding from the parent church:—

"The Bishop and the General Superintendent they have strike alone in the church and after that they did divide the Church on the two."

"Maladministration and misuse of finance."

"The name American was no longer suitable for us as Africans of to-day. It was felt then, and it is felt now, that time is mature for us to preach to our People. We have long felt that Church properties, bought by the Natives' money, should be owned by the Natives themselves. No difference at all in doctrine."

"No difference in doctrine except preference to Gazaland Zimbabwe Ethiopian Church."

"Strife between Ministers, members and brawls."

"Showed by a dream at night with an Assembly of my Brothers, that I was bigger and would be blessed for doing good with name of Zion."

"Noise and a breach of friendship in Gospel."

"No difference with parent church, merely a wish to start a church of his own."

"Native should develop along his own lines and should be taught that it is not wise to pull down the house of a white man."

"We want to have an independent society not to be controlled by the European Missionaries, as embodied in our constitution."

"Broke off on a question of raimant or garb to be worn by worshippers and preachers."

"Bishop of New Church of Christ refused to put Simon's passes in order. New Church of Christ teaches that Christ born in November: Seceding Church teaches usually accepted date."

"No agreement in proper management of Church Affairs."

"Applicant states that parent church changed Saturday to Sunday and Sunday to Monday to which changes he was opposed."

"There was difference about a native minister who misappropriated money and a large number of members seceded."

"A donkey is revered and leads its processions which is repugnant to the members of this new church body."

"Baptism, for it wasn't a river one."

"Independency and to be governed by Africans."

85. In view of the above, the increase of sectarian bodies can certainly not be

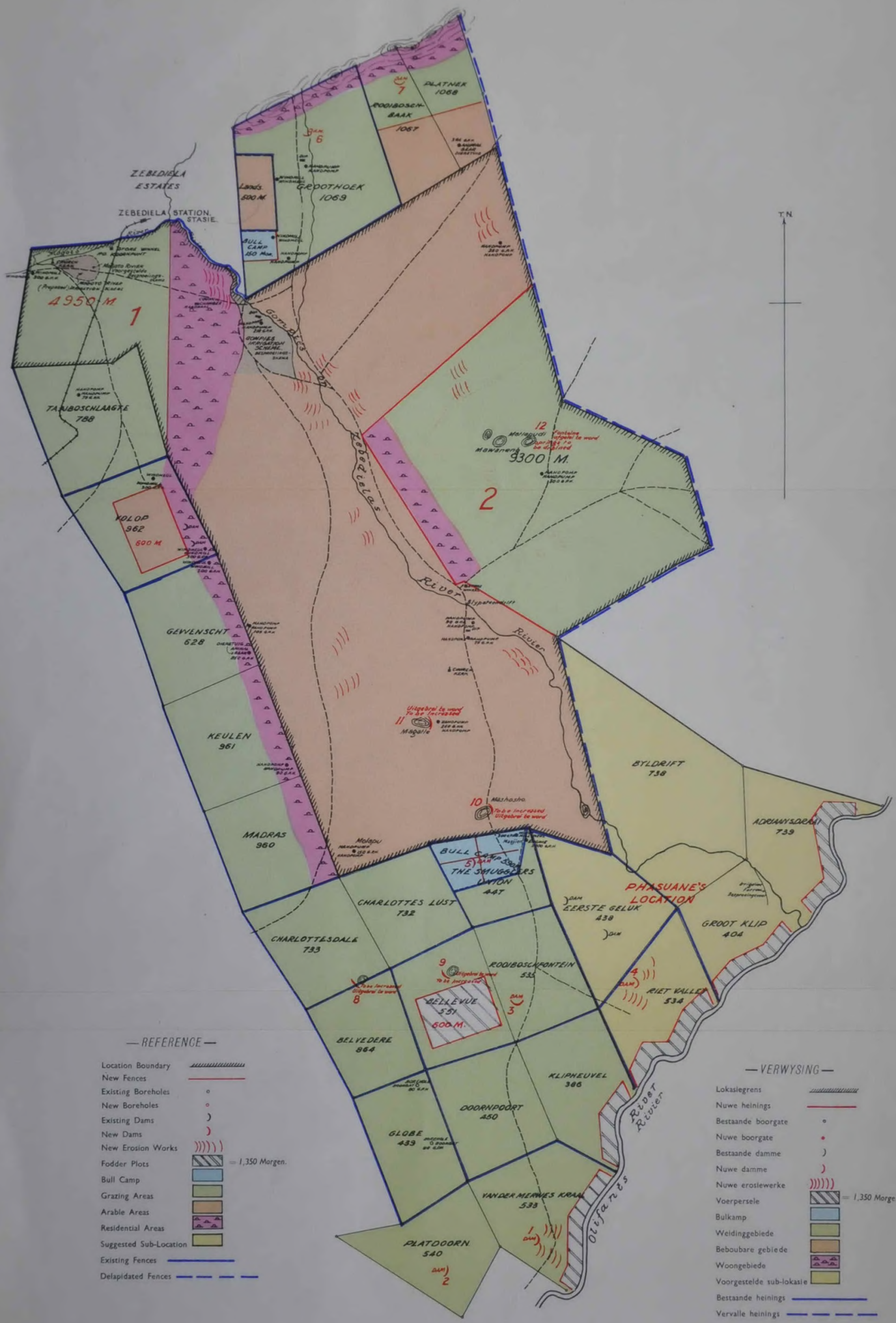
regarded as a sign of progress in the christianisation of the Native. Established mission churches complain that sectarianism is increasing amongst the Natives. An investigation into the causes underlying this tendency would be amply justified.

86. The Commission also receives frequent applications from sectarian bodies for church and school grants in areas where long-established mission bodies already operate. In most cases the establishment of a separate church is quite unnecessary and only interferes with the development of the churches already existing in such reserves or locations. Too many mission churches in the same area frequently lead to apostasy from the established mother church, and the Commission feels that this probably accounts for the existence of the numerous sectarian bodies. There are already sixty-five church and mission societies and seven independent Native churches in the Union doing mission work amongst the Natives under special government recognition, and the further multiplication of churches and societies may easily result in one entering upon an undertaking that may be derogatory to another.

87. Most of the bodies applying for Government recognition have no seminaries for the training of ministers, a state of affairs which gives rise to a form of superficial, imitated religion amongst the Natives. Often a " Bishop " is encountered amongst the sectarian bodies possessing a " theological " knowledge of Standard II.

88. The numerous sectarian bodies create an educational problem. As the missionaries are in charge of Native education, it sometimes becomes extremely difficult to maintain a proper control over the various private sectarian schools.

89. In accordance with the first report of the Select Committee on Native Affairs, 1925, the Commission accepts the principle that, with regard to applications by churches or religious bodies for sites or other privileges, recognition "shall only be granted to churches long established and enjoying universal public recognition." The applicant body must prove that there is a demand for its existence and satisfy the Commission as to its " stability, its capacity both financially and educationally and its general fitness for religious work amongst the Natives."



RECLAMATION SCHEME,
ZEBEDIELA'S LOCATION,
DIST. OF POTGIETERSRUST,
TRANSVAAL.

HERWINNINGSKEMA,
ZEBEDIELA SE LOKASIE,
DIST. VAN POTGIETERSRUST,
TRANSVAAL.

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