

The Territories and the Gold Mines.

In this section we have studied some of the available data regarding the employment of Native labour from the Territories, more especially of course that employed by the Gold Mines, with a view to learning something about its bearing on the agricultural and economic life of the people.

We are indebted to the officials of the Native Recruiting Corporation and to the Chamber of Mines for their assistance in supplying us with the information for which we asked.

The questions we had in mind were approximately as follows. How many Native males leave their homes to seek employment outside the Territories; what percentage are they of the men of their age-group; what proportion of them go to the gold mines; what is the usual rejection rate when they are examined by the Native Recruiting Corporation in the different districts and why does it vary so from place to place; what is the probable effect of the absence of these men on the agricultural and economic life of the Territories and what bearing have the foregoing observations on the future supplies of labour.

Many of the facts brought forward are no doubt well known to the industry, but it was felt that they must be considered here, since they are so closely related to other aspects of our inquiry. It is hardly necessary to say that we have done little more than state some of the problems which the data disclose, hoping that this may lead to further investigation by others.

According to Table 20, the total number of Natives from all sources employed by the mines at December 31, 1936, was about 318,000. The Territorial analysis (Table 21) shows that about 40 per cent. of these came from the Cape Province, the large majority being from the Ciskei and Transkei.

As will be seen from Table 22, about half those engaged from the Cape Province came under the Assisted Voluntary Scheme.

.../ Table 20

TABLE 20.

TOTAL NUMBER OF NATIVES EMPLOYED BY THE MINES

December 31st, 1936.

(Summary Witwatersrand Native Labour Association Report, Table F)

Witwatersrand Gold Mines	202,100
Collieries	15,061
Others	404
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	317,565
	<hr/>

TABLE 21.

REGIONAL ANALYSIS AS AT DECEMBER 31st, 1936

(Adapted from Table C, Witwatersrand Native Labour Association Report, 1936.)

<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Number Employed</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Employed</u>
Cape Province	124,817	39.23
East Coast	80,441	27.85
Basutoland	45,981	14.46
Transvaal	22,241	7.00
Katal and Zululand	15,403	4.85
Bechuanaland	7,159	2.25
Swasiland	7,009	2.21
Orange Free State	3,607	1.10
Tropicals	3,405	1.07
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	317,565	100.00
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.../ Table 22.

Table 22.

CLASSIFICATION OF 'CAPE OF GOOD HOPE' NATIVES EMPLOYED

DURING 1936.

(Adapted from Tables B and D Sitwatersrand Native Labour Association Report, 1936.)

Recruits	67,057	}	121,744
'New' i.e. Natives obtaining employment on travelling passages from home	64,687		
'Local' and 'Mine'			9,421
			<u>131,165</u>

Table 23.

OUTPUT OF RECRUITS FROM PRINCIPAL AREAS IN CAPE PROVINCE.

	<u>1934</u>	<u>1935</u>	<u>1936</u>
<u>Frankfort</u>	14,055	15,260	19,006
East Beaufort	6,554	7,996	10,591
Maclear	7,616	8,309	9,364
Umtata	17,916	19,860	18,496
Bitterworth	18,970	16,612	15,202
Engobo	9,129	8,769	9,548
	<u>71,240</u>	<u>77,114</u>	<u>81,026</u>
<u>Ciskei</u>			
Queenstown	15,991	17,175	19,656
Kingwilliamstown	12,333	12,630	12,624
	<u>28,324</u>	<u>29,805</u>	<u>32,280</u>
T O T A L	<u><u>99,564</u></u>	<u><u>106,919</u></u>	<u><u>113,306</u></u>

The number of recruits drawn from the principal areas in the Cape Province for the last three years are recorded in Table 23, and the output for the past 15 years is shown in the accompanying graphs (Appendix 7 Graph I & II .../ It should

It should be noted that for 1935 and to a lesser extent for 1936 there was practically no restriction on the number of recruits required, hence the figures represent practically every fit recruit that offered.

The rejection rate under these conditions of maximum demand are therefore of particular interest and are to be found in Table 24. It will be seen that when grouped as Transkei and Ciskei, the rejection rates for 1935 and 1936 are fairly constant and that for both years the rate for the Ciskei is definitely lower than for the Transkei. In later calculations we have adopted a rejection rate of 20 per cent., but as will be seen here, even this low figure is somewhat higher than the actual rates obtained at the depots.

We wished, however, to understand what these figures really mean in terms of potentially available males. For this purpose we needed to study the composition of the population more closely and especially to learn more about the distribution into various age-groups; it should then be possible to ascertain what percentage of the eligible males actually leave the Territories, what proportion are recruited annually and so on.

Owing to certain practical difficulties the Census authorities have not been able to prepare a table showing the age distribution of Natives such as is available for Europeans (see Table 25 A). There is, however, a broader classification available, dividing them into four main groups (Table 25 B). This is arranged in Table 25 C in the form of a percentage distribution; the figures show some interesting differences between the distribution of the two sexes, which will not, however, be considered further here.

Making use of the first table again we have compared the European and Bantu in Table 25 D, from which the well marked differences between the two populations are very clearly seen i.e. a much higher proportion of the Bantu population are in the infants and children age-group. The figures also suggest that there is a lower percentage of old people, though we have no means of correcting this group for the reduction which is merely due to the larger number of children.

Table 24.

TRANSKEI AND CIKHEI: REJECTION PERCENTAGES AT THE NATIVE RECRUITING CORPORATION DEPOTS, BY AREAS, FOR THE YEARS 1935 AND 1936.

	Number Examined	Number Rejected	Percentage Rejected
<u>1935</u>			
<u>Transkei</u>			
Kokstad	22,437	3,387	15.01
Umtata	35,105	7,617	21.70
Butterworth	21,768	4,732	21.74
Engcobo	7,901	1,140	14.43
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	67,211	16,953	19.33
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
<u>CikheI</u>			
Queenstown	18,998	2,542	13.45
Kingwilliamstown	14,816	1,933	13.05
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	33,711	4,475	13.27
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100,922</u>	<u>21,331</u>	<u>17.64</u>
<u>1936</u>			
<u>Transkei</u>			
Kokstad	26,166	3,828	15.43
Umtata	34,297	6,645	19.38
Butterworth	18,872	3,706	19.64
Engcobo	6,253	904	10.95
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	67,572	14,700	16.85
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
<u>CikheI</u>			
Queenstown	17,152	2,820	12.94
Kingwilliamstown	14,782	1,940	13.12
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	31,934	4,160	13.03
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
<u>Total</u>	<u>119,506</u>	<u>18,940</u>	<u>15.85</u>

Table 25 A.

Percentage of Males (Rural European) in Quinquennial Age Groups.
1931, Census.

(Union Year Book 1937.15.1058)

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
0 - 4	13.3
5 - 9	11.8
10 - 14	10.1
15 - 19	9.3
20 - 24	9.2
25 - 29	7.3
30 - 34	6.0
35 - 39	6.6
40 - 44	6.0
45 - 49	5.2
50 - 54	4.6
55 - 59	3.8
60 - 64	2.8
65 - 69	2.1
70 - 74	1.3
75 - 79	0.8
80 - 84	0.3
85	0.1

Table 25 B.

Native Population (1921 Census) Arranged in Various Age Groups.
(1921 Census, Final Report p 90)

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Persons</u>
Infancy (0-1)	112,050	125,652	237,702
Childhood (1-14)	873,173	845,541	1,718,714
Maturity (15-50)	1,239,003	1,111,060	2,350,063
Old Age	163,876	231,986	395,862
Unspecified	4,495	1,277	5,772
	<u>2,315,418</u>	<u>2,315,418</u>	<u>4,630,836</u>

.../ Table 25 C

Table 25 C.

Native Population (1921 Census) Percentage Distribution in Various Age Groups (for Cape Only.)

	<u>Per Cent. of Total.</u>		
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Persons</u>
Infancy (0-1)	5.11	4.94	5.03
Childhood (1-14)	43.35	37.11	40.05
Maturity (15-50)	43.55	48.87	46.37
Old Age (50 plus)	7.92	9.04	8.51
Unspecified	0.01	0.00	0.01
	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Table 25 D.

Comparison of the Percentage Distribution in Various Age-Groups of European and Bantu Rural Males.

	<u>European</u>	<u>Bantu</u>
	(1931 Census)	(1921 Census)
	<u>Per Cent. of Total.</u>	
Infancy and Childhood (0 - 14)	35.15	48.47
Maturity (15 - 50)	49.45	43.55
Old Age (50 plus)	15.40	7.92
Unspecified	-	0.06
	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>

The deductions to which we wish to draw special attention, however, are those contained in Table 25 Z, in which an attempt has been made to estimate the proportion of males of recruitable age i.e. 18-44. This estimate was obtained by reducing the number in the age group 16-50 for Bantu by making use of the proportion at ages 15-17 and 45-50 given for Europeans in Table 25 A. There is no reason for supposing that the distribution over these small ranges differs very widely as compared with Europeans, though presumably the 15-17 range would be somewhat higher, whilst at 45-50 it would be somewhat lower, than for Europeans; hence it is suggested that the value obtained, namely 33 per cent. for age group 18-44 may be taken as a fairly good approximation for the 1931 population. We cannot, of course, say what changes may have taken place during the last fifteen years, but it may be suggested that owing to the many severe droughts and general decreasing agricultural prosperity there may have been a reduction in the proportion of children surviving, giving rise to a correspondingly higher proportion in the older groups. This is, however, pure surmise. The picture as far as recruiting is concerned may therefore be assumed to be as in Table 25 E.

Turnover Distribution.

Similarly, since we know that the percentage of the total male population over 50 is 7.9 per cent. we can estimate the percentage in age group 64 plus.; the European figure is 4.6 and since Bantu evidently tend to die earlier we may reduce this say to 3 per cent. This gives us a taxpayer distribution as shown in Table 25 F, which makes the percentage of the total male population of taxable age (18-64) as about 45. Reference to Appendix 2, Table C, shows that the percentage who actually pay taxes is much higher, ranging from 42 to no less than 69 per cent. in different districts.

We do not understand how these high percentages are arrived at since even if the European distribution over the period 16-64 years is used the figure obtained is only 60 per cent. of the total male population. That a larger percentage of Natives reach these older ages is unlikely.

If we now apply these estimated proportions to the Ciskei and Transkei populations we find (see Table 26) that in 1933 the number of recruits

Table 25 B.

Estimated Distribution of Cape Native Male Population with regard to Recruiting.

	<u>Percentage of Total Male Population.</u>
Below Recruitable Age (0 - 17 years)	64
Recruitable Age (18 - 44 years)	35
Above Recruitable Age (45 plus years)	13
	<u>100</u>

Table 25 P.

Estimated Distribution of Cape Native Male Population with regard to Taxation.

	<u>Percentage of Total Male Population.</u>
Below Taxable Age (0 - 17 years)	54
Taxable Age (18 - 64 years)	45
Above Taxable Age (64 plus years)	3
	<u>100</u>

Table 26.

TRANSKEI AND CISKEI; MALE ABSENTEES.

	<u>TRANSKEI</u>	<u>CISKEI</u>
(1) Total male population (i.e. Enumerated plus absentees)	613,650	166,500
Hence <u>TOTAL MALES</u>		780,150
(2) Number in Age Range 18-44 (Estimated from Table 6 as 33%)		
Hence <u>MALES OF RECRUITABLE AGE</u>		260,000
(3) Number fit for mine work (Estimated by Table 5 as 80%)		
Hence <u>FIT MALES OF RECRUITABLE AGE</u>		208,000
(4) Actually recruited in 1930		113,300
		or <u>54.4%</u>

Table 27.

MALE ABSENTEES IN RELATION TO MALE POPULATION.

AREA	TOTAL MALE ABSENTEES	ABSENTEES AS PER CENT. OF TOTAL MALE POPULATION	AS PER CENT. OF MALES 18 - 44 (assumed to be 1/3 Total males)
E. Griqualand	43,922	26.2	78.6
Pondoland	29,261	17.3	51.8
Tembuland	37,274	25.4	76.3
Transkei	33,882	26.0	78.0
Transkei Terr.	144,337	23.5	70.5
Ciskei	36,696	22.0	66.1
TOTAL	181,023	23.2	69.6

recruits accepted for mine work was no less than 24 per cent. of the total fit males of recruitable age i.e. those either in the Territories or already at the mines. The remaining 45.6 per cent. are presumably (a) already at the mines (b) resting from mining at home (c) employed in other occupations outside and (d) inside the Territories (e) engaged on home duties.

For a further analysis of the situation reference has now to be made to other information.

What is of more significance, is the percentage of native males who are absent from particular districts at any one time. No data for calculating this are available, but it is possible to arrive at a fairly close approximation by combining information from other sources. Thus, if we use the Census data for total male population and total male absentees (see Appendix B, Table C), we find that roughly a quarter of the total male population was absent when the Census was taken. It may be assumed that the large majority of these absent males are between the ages of 18 and 44, and if this age group is accepted as forming about one third of the total male population it follows that the percentage of absent males of recruitable age must amount to something between sixty to seventy per cent. (See Table 27) Even admitting that this estimate does not allow for a certain proportion of older men, and that others, though recorded as 'absent' for purposes of Census, might, in reality, have been elsewhere in the Territories, as for example on a visit to friends, it will be agreed that the figures are astonishingly high.

In Tables 28 (A and B), we have carried this matter a step further and have endeavoured to trace the occupation adopted by these absentees. It will be seen (Table 28B) that about 68 per cent. of the males in age group 18-44 are absent from the Cape Province, that about the same percentage of these absentees are employed in the gold mining industry. In other words almost half the total male population of age group 18-44 are already employed on the mines at a given time.

TABLE 28 (A)

OCCUPATIONS OF NATIVE MALE ABSENEES FROM VARIOUS NATIVE TERRITORIES.

	Cape Province	Natal & Zululand	Basuto land	Bechuanaland	Swazi Land	P.E.A.
Resident						
A. Male Population (5. May 1936)	619,720	742,600	238,705	129,259	64,679	-
B. Absentees (5. May 1936)	181,025	117,733	-	-	9,451	-
Total Male Population (5. May 1936)	799,745	860,333	-	-	74,130	-
C. Employed in 'Labour Districts' (Dec. 31 1936)	155,064	55,450	59,099	10,441	8,446	-
-C Employed elsewhere	25,961	59,283			1,005	
D. Employed in Mines and Works only (Dec. 31 1936)	133,139	21,225	49,552	7,521	7,316	
-D Employed in Labour Districts, other than Mines and Works	21,925	37,155	9,547	2,920	1,130	
E. Employed in Gold Mining Industry (Dec. 31 1936)	124,617	15,403	45,961	7,159	7,008	88,447
-E Employed in Mines and Works other than Gold Mining Industry. (Dec. 31 1936)	8,522	5,992	3,591	362	308	

Data obtained from :

- Union Census : May 5th 1936. Preliminary Report & information kindly supplied by Dept. Census.
- Union Year Book : 1937. pp. 473
- Sitwatersrand Native Labour Association Report for 1936.

TABLE 21 (B).

	Cape Province	Natal & Trans- vaal	Basuto- land	Bechuanaland	Swasi- land
<u>Absentees.</u>					
(a) As % of total male population (B as % of A+B)	22.8	13.7	-	-	12.7
(b) As % of total male population aged 15-44 (B as % of $\frac{A+B}{3}$)	27.2	41.1	-	-	23.1
<u>Employed in "Labour Districts"</u>					
(a) As % of total male population (C as % of A+B)	20.0	7.3	19.8	7.5	11.5
(b) As % of total male population aged 15-44 (C as % of $\frac{A+B}{3}$)	20.0	21.9	23.4	22.5	34.5
<u>Employed in Gold Mining Industry.</u>					
(a) As % of total male population (E as % of A+B)	15.3	1.0	-	-	9.5
(b) As % of total male population aged 15-44 (E as % of $\frac{A+B}{3}$)	45.3	3.4	-	-	23.5
(c) As % of male Absentees (E as % of B)	60.9	13.1	-	-	74.2
(d) As % of Employed in "Labour Districts" (E as % of C)	20.4	26.3	77.8	58.5	33.0

Owing to the very high annual 'turnover' at the mines themselves, the actual number of Natives who at any one time are either mining or resting from mining must be greater still.

For 1935-6 this annual 'turnover' may be roughly calculated as follows:

Natives employed on mines from Cape Province as at December 31st, 1934.	124,617
ditto December 31st, 1935.	117,820
Increase during the year	6,797
Recruited from Cape Province during year 1935	113,304
Less increase in those employed	6,797
	<hr/>
Hence Natives replacing other Natives	106,507
or per cent. of total employed	<hr/> 90.4

We do not know how many of these Natives will again return to the mines during the same year, but there must be a number who do not and the already very high proportion of males of age 15-44 who are employed on the mines at one time must be increased quite possibly by quite a large additional number of those who are 'resting' at home.

Bearing in mind our previous conclusion, namely that the recruits in the last year or two have amounted almost to half the fit males of recruitable age that the Territories contain, it seems clear that the industry has reached a point when it is obtaining a very high percentage indeed of the man power that can be expected to be available from these areas.

For the sake of comparison we have also given similar estimates for the other Native Territories. Since, however, the total number of absentees for Basutoland and Bechuanaland are not available we have in each case also included figures for 'Employed in Labour Districts', since they represent some indication of the size of the total.

Summarising, we estimate that, at the present time, of the males aged 15-44 there are already absent from their homes 68 per cent. in the Cape, 41 per cent. from Natal and Zululand and 36 per cent. from Swaziland, whilst from Basutoland and Bechuanaland the percentages

not be at least 50 and 22 respectively. However, whilst in most of these areas from 70 to 80 per cent. of these absentees are employed on the mines, in the case of Natal and Zululand only 26 per cent. are so employed.

The effect of such an exodus on the agricultural and economic life of the family unit raises many points of fundamental importance to the future interests of those who depend upon these areas for their supplies of labour. Some of these have been tentatively discussed in the section dealing with Food Production and Labour Supplies.

It is sufficient to repeat here that if it is agreed that in the long run the foundation of the health of the people must depend upon a partially agricultural basis, and if it is also agreed that in the future this basis must become increasingly semi-intensive and hence more skilled in character, it follows that the withdrawal of such a high percentage of males at any one time may, in the long run, be expected to bring about a situation which is neither in the interests of the Natives themselves, nor in the interests of the employers of Native labour.

Examination of some possible causes for the wide variation in rejection rates observed amongst recruits drawn from different districts.

When the rejection rates for recruits examined by the Native Recruiting Corporation are averaged out for the principal areas as in Table 24, they are found to be moderately low and fairly uniform as between area and area. However, the figures for individual depots disclose a surprisingly wide range of rejection rates, which must exercise a marked effect upon the total number of available recruits. We endeavoured to account for these local differences, more particularly because it was possible that some nutritional factor might be partly responsible. Our first object was to exclude those factors which may be assumed to have nothing to do with nutrition.

In Table 29 the mean rejection rates for each depot during 1935 and 1936 are given and have been arranged in ascending order of magnitude for 1936. It will be noticed that they range all the way

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Native Marketing Corporation Districts. Figures in American units according to the systems of accounts usually adopted during 1939. Number and kind of fish varying of possibly cause of variation.

NAME	PER CENT BILLED						PRINCIPAL TYPES IN DISTRICT	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BILLED WHICH IS EXPORTED, FOR EXPORT VALUE OF BILLED FISH.	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BILLED WHICH IS EXPORTED, FOR EXPORT VALUE OF BILLED FISH.	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BILLED WHICH IS EXPORTED, FOR EXPORT VALUE OF BILLED FISH.
	1939			1938						
	AT DEPOSIT	AT DEPOSIT	TOTAL PER CENT AT DEPOSIT	AT DEPOSIT	AT DEPOSIT	TOTAL PER CENT AT DEPOSIT				
Alsea	2.7	2.5	11.2	4.0	7.9	2.9	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea (and other in 1939)	7.1	2.7	17.8	2.7	7.9	2.9	Fishes			
Am	2.4	2.4	11.2	1.1	4.2	4.3	Fishes			
Alsea	12.0	2.0	14.0	2.0	4.0	12.0	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea (and Port Harford)	12.7	1.0	11.7	11.4	7.0	12.9	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	-	-	-	0.0	1.0	11.0	Other, Fishes			
Alsea	12.0	0.7	12.7	7.7	7.0	12.9	Fishes, Toms, etc.			
Al. Fisher	4.8	4.0	17.0	2.7	2.4	14.2	Fishes, Toms, etc.			
Alsea	12.0	4.1	17.1	12.9	7.7	12.9	Fishes, Toms, etc.			
Alsea	12.1	2.1	17.0	2.7	0.9	17.4	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	12.8	0.0	12.7	11.0	4.0	16.1	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	8.1	2.0	10.4	11.4	4.0	15.7	Fishes, Toms, etc.			
Alsea	12.7	0.7	10.7	11.1	0.7	11.4	Fishes, Toms, etc.			
Alsea	2.4	2.4	12.3	17.1	7.1	16.8	Fishes, Toms, etc.			
Alsea	2.0	2.1	12.7	2.7	0.7	12.9	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	6.7	0.7	12.7	17.4	4.2	17.1	Fishes			
Alsea	12.0	4.0	12.0	12.0	7.0	12.0	Fishes			
Alsea	12.7	7.1	12.8	12.9	0.9	12.1	Fishes			
Alsea	12.0	7.0	12.0	12.0	7.0	12.1	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea (and other in 1939)	12.0	2.7	11.1	12.0	0.7	11.0	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	12.7	2.0	12.8	12.7	2.9	12.9	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	11.4	4.0	12.8	12.8	7.1	12.7	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	2.7	2.4	12.0	12.2	11.0	11.9	Fishes, Toms, etc.			
Alsea	12.7	4.0	12.7	12.7	4.0	12.1	Fishes, Toms, etc.			
Alsea (and other in 1939)	12.9	0.0	12.1	12.1	4.0	12.1	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	12.0	7.0	12.0	12.0	2.0	12.1	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea and Alsea	12.0	14.0	12.7	12.7	12.0	12.1	Fishes, Toms, etc.			
Alsea	12.1	0.1	12.1	12.0	7.1	12.1	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	12.1	12.0	12.0	12.0	7.0	12.1	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	12.7	4.0	12.1	12.1	12.0	12.1	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	12.1	2.0	12.0	12.0	7.0	12.0	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	12.1	0.7	12.0	12.0	7.0	12.0	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	12.1	7.0	12.0	12.0	2.1	12.0	Fishes			
Alsea	12.7	7.1	12.0	12.0	0.0	12.1	Fishes			
Alsea	12.7	7.1	12.1	12.0	1.0	12.7	Fishes			
Alsea	12.4	0.0	12.1	12.0	0.1	12.0	Fishes, Toms			
Alsea	12.7	0.7	12.0	12.0	7.1	12.1	Fishes, Toms, etc.			

from 0.2 per cent. in the case of Kanga to no less than 37.4 per cent. for Mbanduli. The number of recruits at each of these depots was large in both cases, being 1,274 and 2,246 respectively. Moreover, it will be noticed that the rates are substantially the same for 1933 and 1934, both years of very high demand for labour by the mines. The striking difference between the two districts is brought out even more clearly by the monthly comparison given in Table 30.

Table 30.

MONTHLY EXAMINATIONS AND REJECTIONS DURING 1934 (FOR DEPOTS ONLY) SHOWING LOWEST AND HIGHEST RATES.

MONTH	K O M O N A,		M B A N D U L I.	
	No. EXAMINED	PER CENT REJECTED	No. EXAMINED	PER CENT REJECTED
Jan.	177	3.4	233	37.0
Feb.	89	3.4	187	14.0
March	177	5.1	192	25.5
April	111	9.9	122	36.5
May	76	5.6	79	45.6
June	95	5.3	127	45.7
July	93	3.2	111	53.2
Aug.	116	2.6	150	43.0
Sept.	102	3.9	346	37.0
Oct.	134	2.7	244	21.3
Nov.	56	3.8	193	22.5
Dec.	44	2.3	257	21.8
	<u>1,274</u>	<u>4.47</u>	<u>2,246</u>	<u>32.6</u>

It is somewhat difficult to fathom the statements we have been given regarding the factors which influence the rejection rates so far as the process of recruiting itself is concerned. Some of these statements appeared to us to be contradictory. If we rightly understand the position it may be summarized as follows:

.../ It may

It may be more or less assumed that no Native considering recruiting will reject himself as being unsuitable, unless he is suffering from some gross handicap; in fact it is usually difficult to persuade even a quite unsuitable individual who wants to join to take no for an answer. Nor, on the whole, is it to the advantage of a recruiter or recruiter-trader to take the responsibility of refusing to submit a candidate for medical examination, unless he is obviously under or over age; a potential customer may be lost and in any case the boy will probably try elsewhere. Similarly the Recruiting Office seldom forwards more than a few boys who have not been passed by the medical officer. Hence, in spite of what was said to the contrary, it appears to us that broadly speaking the onus for acceptance or rejection rests largely with the medical officer. Moreover, the amount of previous selection that goes on can hardly vary so very extensively at the different depots.

The medical examination itself, in the nature of things, is incapable of more than approximate standardization for the personal factor must enter to a large extent; in fact we were sometimes told that this was the simple and all-sufficient explanation of the difference in rejection rates from district to district! However, it is possible to test this point, since the initial examination at the depots is of course followed by the second examination at the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association headquarters at Johannesburg. In Table 29 we have obtained, as nearly as we can, the appropriate rejection rates for the different districts at Johannesburg. With a few exceptions it will be seen that the above simple solution is not borne out by the figures. Low initial rejection rates in the Territories are not associated with high rates at the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, whilst high initial rates are often again followed by high rates at the second examination. Hence, whilst we do not doubt that individual standards must vary considerably, it seems that more fundamental differences remain to be accounted for.

A further complication is introduced by the fact that some districts send more Natives forward under the Assisted Voluntary Scheme

than others, whilst the standard for acceptance under this scheme is lower than for Contract recruits.

However, the rejection rates for both classes of recruit appear to be subject to much the same variation from district to district and hence the combined rate, in the majority of cases, is not greatly affected. It is scarcely necessary to give figures for all the depots but in Table 31, those applying to the lowest and highest rejection rates are reproduced.

Hereditary differences amongst the various tribes must no doubt influence these rejection rates and as already mentioned it seems a pity that so little information regarding this matter has, as yet, been accumulated. We have had to content ourselves with merely stating the principal tribes recruited for each depot (see Table 29), the information being kindly supplied to us by some of the Native Recruiting Corporation officials. The high position occupied by the Ioss tribes bears out the well known superiority, whilst the Rouvans occupy the opposite end of the table. Doubtless those better acquainted with the Native people will notice other points of interest; we cannot help wishing that more information regarding the habits of these different tribes were available for study.

Whilst the main factors determining the nutrition of the Natives in the Territories are fairly clearly recognizable and have already been discussed, it is not possible, with our very superficial knowledge of local conditions, to go into any detail with regard to the nutritional differences that must exist in particular areas.

As has already been pointed out, although the customary diet may be satisfactory enough when available in adequate amount, the margin of safety is extremely low, and it is easy to see that small differences of many kinds may greatly influence this margin.

The probable effect of some of the more obvious differences between district and district may be briefly referred to.

(1) Geographical conditions and differences in climate and soil must be most important, but they are difficult to separate from other factors such as density of population etc. Thus, whilst the coastal

Table 31,

The Percentage of Assisted Voluntary and of Contract Natives
rejected at those depots showing the lowest and highest rejection
rates for 1936.

<u>Group showing:</u>	<u>Percentage of Natives Rejected</u>		
	<u>Assisted Voluntary</u>	<u>Contracted</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Lowest Rejection Rates</u>			
Kongha	2.3	6.0	4.5
Indwe	6.4	-	6.4
Tsomo	5.1	9.7	5.3
Fedde	6.0	10.2	8.5
Alice	12.2	10.6	11.4
Stutterheim	6.9	2.9	6.3
Bizara	5.3	8.6	7.7
<u>Highest Rejection Rates</u>			
Mt. Ayliff	9.6	18.4	15.0
Tabankulu	20.8	18.5	19.2
Entata	12.3	25.2	22.7
Elliotdale	16.8	21.9	20.8
Lusikisiki	15.0	30.5	26.5
Willowvale	22.2	34.3	28.5
Kqanduli	34.5	29.7	32.6

belt has a higher rainfall and is in some ways capable of greater agricultural productivity, it is also on the whole more densely populated, so that the net position per family unit may be actually less satisfactory than in less fertile areas. (see Appendix B, Table D)

Alternatively, it might be expected that the density of population with its tendency to reduce the available food supplies per head could be reflected in the rejection rates. In column 9 of Table 29, the 'effective' density per sq. mile for rural Natives i.e. including absentees, but deducting land not actually available for agriculture, is recorded. The figures, however, vary widely, for it must again be remembered that the quality of the land is just as important, and cannot be expressed quantitatively.

Moreover, unless the area is sufficiently fertile to carry the greater density, there will be a tendency in the more densely populated areas for more men to seek work outside. Thus Kentani, with a density of 135 per sq. mile has a male absentee population of 27 per cent. whilst a poorer area like Talo with a lower density has practically the same percentage of absentees. Middledrift, where the density is high and the country poor, has 30 per cent. absentees, whilst Libode, with a density of 81 and a more regular maize harvest has only 19 per cent. absent.

One recruiter kindly sent us a most exhaustive survey of his area, location by location, in which the percentage of taxpayers recruited during the year was shown to vary from 6 to 53 per cent. with a mean of about 30. He stated that various causes were responsible for these differences, but where the percentage was high the chief cause was "a shortage of food, due (a) to many Natives being without lands, in densely populated locations (b) to poor agricultural lands in other locations (c) to unfavourable weather for crops." A detailed study of such an area would probably be most revealing.

In Table 29, columns 10 and 11, the question of Absenteeism, and its bearing upon rejection rates is further dealt with; the Absentees and N.H.C. recruits have been shown as a percentage of the total male population for the district. In this way some indication

was sought for the 'intensity' of absenteeism.

But men may seek work from sheer necessity or from a desire to improve their position. Hence a high 'intensity' figure might be associated with overcrowding, poverty and poor physique, or with relative prosperity and improved health owing to a steady inflow of wages. Even the percentage of wages earned and remitted to the Territories varies a good deal in different districts. In Pondoland, for example, deferred pay seems to be the rule, whereas in some other parts it is far less usual.

Also it is obvious that the rejection rates of to-day are to a certain extent the expression of conditions that existed many years ago. For example the first effect of drought is to decrease the supplies of 'protective' foods such as milk, maize, pumpkin etc.; if prolonged, or if the absence of rain prevents ploughing the supplies of maize will also be affected. In the first case the effects will be particularly serious amongst the children and young adolescents, but in any case the men will be least affected, since it is they who will go off to work, where food will be available as usual. Moreover, since maize, though not milk, can be bought with money sent home, it will again be the younger generation who will be most adversely affected. In other words the increased infant and child mortality, inferior physique, or increase in the incidence of a disease such as tuberculosis that occurs during a period of acute privation, will only become apparent as far as labour supplies are concerned many years later.

As would be expected, the net result of these and possibly other factors defy analysis, at any rate without a much better acquaintance with the facts that we possess. But in our opinion it would be most unwise to draw hasty conclusions from these semi-starvation figures, as to what would happen to recruiting if the standard of living reached a more stable level. This aspect is discussed in the section dealing with Food Production and Labour Supplies.

The geographical distribution of the rejection rates is roughly indicated in Map 4. Such a map may be reflecting many differences, such as those due to such physical differences as altitude, climate,

.../ rainfall

rainfall and soil conditions, as well as social differences due to differences of tribe, proximity to European areas etc.

It would be absurd for us to attempt to 'explain' the distribution, but it may provide clues for those more acquainted with local variations than we are.

Inspection of the map does, however, bring out one feature of some significance; it will be noticed that with a few well-marked exceptions the areas with the lowest rejection rates are situated on the borders of the Native Territories, i.e. where proximity to European farms is greatest.

A very tentative suggestion for this somewhat curious fact is that in such areas Natives tend on the whole to have access to a better, or at any rate a less fluctuating supply of food, more especially of milk or skimmed milk. Similarly in times of drought food may perhaps be purchased or exchanged for labour more readily than in the remote and purely Native occupied districts.

This is of course merely a suggestion and may not bear closer examination, but it does appear to be borne out to some extent by the general impression arrived at by Hunter, who when dealing with farm conditions in the Adelaide-Bedford-Beaufort area remarks:

Informants agreed that health is not so good in the reserves as on farms. 'People cannot be healthy when they live packed close to one another'. (referring to the Ciskei)

Such figures as have been collected suggest that the health of children on farms is distinctly better than in Pondoland..... Most of the farms visited are partly dairy farms, and there is a milk ration. Well-informed farmers told me that the birth and survival rates are noticeably lower in the adjoining Cradock district where there are no dairy farms.

Hunter (1936 p. 524)

Even quite a small, but regular supply of milk, or skimmed milk during infancy and early childhood and in times of drought, might well make a good deal of impression on the net results over the years.

The Motives for Recruitment and some changes that are affecting them.

The principle influences which lead the African labourer to seek remunerative employment have been described as 'tax, tribal obligations, the desire for imported articles, coupled with a wish for adventure'. In the Territories a crude shortage of food must be regarded as an

.../ equally

equally common motive. But naturally the intensity of any one of these factors must vary a good deal with the individual recruit.

Circumcision. We were told in the Transkei proper that the desire to collect the necessary equipment for undergoing this important ceremony is one of the outstanding motives that actuates the younger recruit. Such a motive does not apply at all to Pondoland, where circumcision has been abolished for many years, but we are not aware that there is any difference in the proportion of young recruits that come forward from this area.

With the older men the desire to obtain money for lobola is another main incentive whilst at later ages it may be to obtain a second wife, or to purchase a plough, more cattle, horses and so forth. Throughout, however, the necessity for obtaining the wherewithal to pay taxes, buy food and clothing and pay personal debts, or those incurred by relatives are prime motives with the majority.

Again there can be little doubt that country life is tending to become somewhat dull for the growing lad. Fighting and hunting are no longer a means to adventure, whilst even the management of local affairs has passed to a large extent into the hands of the Europeans. He is naturally attracted by what he hears of the mining life, with its dangers and novelty, whilst the women folk are coming to regard such work as a test of manhood. The working out of these various motives is discussed by Hunter (1936 p. 143)

Changes are undoubtedly taking place. Thus there are a small proportion of Natives who are going to the European doctor for the actual operation of circumcision and more or less dispensing with the customary period of discipline and training with which it is accompanied. Undoubtedly this saves a good deal of time and only costs the patient about 2/-, but it must also reduce the significance of the custom as a motive to recruitment.

As regards lobola we gathered that in some parts, perhaps more particularly in Pondoland, the rapid progress of detribalisation which is taking place is tending to break down the lobola system, with its reliable checks and discipline. Instead, marriage or its equivalent

.../ tends

tends to become less and less complicated.

The decay of home discipline was frequently referred to by Natives and is evidently a source of much trouble; young boys tend increasingly to become independent and even a source of liability to their parents, a very different state of affairs from what which was the rule even a generation ago. Even now, however, sons may go out to work for several seasons merely to pay off debts incurred by their parents.

In the more eastern districts we heard a good deal about the way the sugar estates continue, in spite of representations, to recruit boys for the plantations, who are still too young to work on the mines.

Apart from the fact that the health of these boys is often ruined, the way in which they are enticed over the border, without their parents consent, sometimes even without their knowledge, has a bad effect upon home discipline and was spoken of with much feeling by some of those with whom we came in contact, both Natives and Europeans.

From Table 23 B, it will be seen that approximately three quarters of the total absentees are at the gold mines, but it is obvious that gold mining as an occupation already has formidable rivals in farming, diamond mining, the sugar estates, and above all the rapidly expanding secondary industries in the more important urban areas throughout the Union. The absence of properly organized medical examinations, arrangements for deferred pay and other amenities in most of these less highly organized industries has a particularly unsatisfactory effect upon the dependents.

The steady improvement in transport that is going on must also be leading to a change in outlook. Other things being equal, a Native will, to a certain extent, prefer work that is fairly near his home, and the development of the bus services, for example, means that quite a number of men are learning to make periodical visits to the larger centres and so become familiar with alternative ways of earning money.

As far as our limited experience went we obtained a definite impression that mining is regarded with approval by the population

as a whole.

We often tried to obtain evidence through stray remarks, or by direct question, as to Native opinion regarding the alleged 'leakage' of pay about which we had been told by Europeans, since any widespread impression on the part of Native families that recruits were consistently wasting their money, instead of sending or bringing it with them would act as a most efficient deterrent to recruiting. Though such cases must inevitably occur we gathered that Native opinion did not regard them as serious, or more than might be expected. Frequently too they are men who have gone to other industrial centres, where the employers have no system of deferred pay etc.

A responsible Native told us that recruits come back from the mines with three main impressions (a) how good the food is (b) how hard everybody must work and (c) how important it is to educate your sons so that they too can learn to be clerks and just sit in offices ordering people about!

It seems to us that it would be worth while learning much more about the motives that are operating in the Territories to-day and how they affect individual families. Such information could be obtained without much difficulty, though undoubtedly only with much patience, by questioning and investigating the circumstances of many individual families in sample areas. The following record, though not particularly illuminating by itself, is an example of what we have in mind.

Information taken from an old man - aged about 68; he said that he had been circumcised about 50 years ago.

He is the head of his kraal, and has one wife.

He has five sons and one daughter; another daughter died a long time ago. The first two sons are married, and the daughter is married and has gone from his kraal to live with her husband. Three sons go to the mines and two are not yet old enough to go forward.

He has four huts, and his own land, which is near a stream; and he says that even though there was a severe drought last year he had a better crop of mealies than this year, although last year's crop was very poor.

He has one bull; two oxen and two cows; four fowls; there are three horses, but they belong to his sons.

First the eldest boy went to work on the gold mines and then the second and then the third; but they do not now go forward in that

.../ order

order. His sons go forward as assisted volunteers and do not go on deferred pay. The first and second eldest usually stay away from home for about 10 months when they go forward. The third son has been working for the last two years.

These sons go up to the mines often, but he could not say how long they stayed at home before they returned to the mines. It depended on circumstances.

They go up when the family is in difficulties. They also go forward when they are not pressed for debts or taxes, because they want to buy cattle and horses.

They send money to him at irregular intervals - sometimes £1, sometimes £2, £3 or £4. With this money he pays the debts, and when circumstances are easier he buys personal necessities for the family at home.

This man is responsible for the needs of the family, and he says that he finds it very difficult to live, firstly on account of lack of funds to supply all their needs, and secondly on account of debts. Whenever the family is in straitened circumstances he goes to the trader for help.

He did not know exactly how much he owed - he would have to think about that - but he thought £20 would clear him. He had never been to the mines.

He said that the yield from his land was not sufficient for the family need, and that his cows gave milk for only a short time in summer - the land was so poor.

The third son who has been working on the mines for two years has sent the most money. The older boys' remittances are sometimes to be used for their wives' benefit.

This man is a Xosa, and his sons and daughter married Xosas.

The Effects of Recruiting.

We have already referred to the improvement in physical condition which is such a well known effect upon the adolescent recruit, provided he does not go when too young. The hard work, the regular feeding and the stimulus of what he sees and does, the training in first-aid and many other influences, are bound to leave their mark, and undoubtedly to some extent takes the place of much that he would have learnt during the circumcision school and during fighting or hunting in earlier days.

It is not within our province to consider the less desirable effects that are also produced by contact with European civilization under town conditions, though it is also impossible to disregard the effects produced on the life of the krael.

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