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MIGRANT LABOUR AND TRIBAL LIFE

MIGRANT LABOUR AND TRIBAL LIFE

A STUDY OF CONDITIONS IN THE
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE

By

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PREFACE

THIS book is the outcome of a request by the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration that I should study the effects of labour migration upon the tribal life of the Native peoples inhabiting that Territory. For reasons indicated in the text,¹ I have gone beyond my original terms of reference, and the book in its present form deals with all aspects of labour migration (excluding only the life of migrants while abroad), and concludes with various suggestions for dealing with the problems arising from the system.

The investigations upon which the book is mainly based were carried out during the months of July–September, 1943, in the course of which I visited Francistown, Serowe, Mochudi, Molepolole, Gaberones, Kanye, Ramoutsa, Mmankgodi, and other Native villages. I have also used material gathered during previous trips to Bechuanaland, including a special study of the same problem that I made among the Kgatla during 1932–4, and I have drawn freely upon official records filed at Mafeking and elsewhere.

The manuscript was submitted to the Administration as a Report in November, 1944. Various factors beyond my control are responsible for the delay in publication. In the meantime, some of the conditions described in the text have changed. Among others, the African Pioneer Corps has been disbanded and its members repatriated, and the contract period of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association has been reduced from twelve months to 270 shifts. It is almost certain, too, that much of the statistical data is now out of date. A population census, for instance, was taken in May, 1946 (although no figures have yet been published). However, I have decided to let the text stand as originally written, because complete revision would have entailed a further spell of fieldwork for which I have not the time at present, and partial revision would have distorted the picture of the conditions that prevailed in 1943. The book must therefore be regarded as a study, not of present-day Bechuanaland, but of that country during wartime.

For statistical and other data I am greatly indebted to

¹Cf p. i

Government officers and to the tribal authorities in the various centres that I visited. I am grateful for similar help to Messrs. T. W. Jones (District Manager of the W.N.L.A.), R. Gordon Turner (District Superintendent of the N.R.C.), A. W. Sprenger, L. S. Glover, and other local representatives of the N.R.C.; Mr. J. C. Knobel, of Molepolole; the Secretary, Transvaal Chamber of Mines; and the Native Affairs Departments of the Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and South-West Africa.

The whole or portions of the original Report were read by Messrs. G. E. Nettleton, V. F. Ellenberger and E. H. Ashton, of the B.P. Administration, and Dr. H. J. Simons, Lecturer in Native Law and Administration, University of Cape Town. To all of them, and especially Dr. Ashton, I am grateful for criticisms and suggestions that have been extremely helpful. I am indebted also to the B.P. Administration for subsidizing the publication of the book, and to the Department of Geography, University of Cape Town, for the sketch map.

I. SCHAPERA

December, 1946

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Chapter One

THE NATIVE POPULATION

ONE of the outstanding features to-day in the life of the Native peoples inhabiting Southern Africa is the continuous flow of men and women to and from European centres of employment, especially in the Witwatersrand and other urban areas of the Union. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate, as elsewhere, this labour migration has during recent years increased to such an extent that complaints are now often heard about its adverse effects upon the Territory. It is said, for instance, to be weakening tribal organization and discipline, spoiling the local market for farm labour, hampering the development of the cattle industry, and encouraging the spread of disease. In view of these and similar complaints, I was asked by the Administration to investigate in detail 'the effects of labour migration upon the social and economic life of the Native population in the Bechuanaland Protectorate'.

In order to evaluate such effects correctly, and be able to suggest possible remedies for any evils that may be associated with migration, we cannot limit the inquiry to the terms of reference just quoted, but must extend it to many other topics that have a bearing on the matter. They include, for instance, the history and present extent of migration, the reasons for its popularity, the forms in which it occurs, and the attempts that have been made to regulate it. Furthermore, since the supply of Native labour, whether for local needs or for export, obviously depends to a great extent upon the size of the Native population, its sex and age composition, and its standards of health and physical fitness, these factors too have to be considered. I propose, accordingly, to discuss all these different topics before dealing with the actual effects of migration. Some of them I have already discussed in previous publications,¹ but it will be more convenient if I here summarize their salient features.

¹ Cf. especially my books *Married Life in an African Tribe* (1940), Chap. V, and *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate* (1943).

Environment and Distribution

The Bechuanaland Protectorate is bounded on the south and east by the Union of South Africa (Cape and Transvaal Provinces), on the north-east by Southern Rhodesia, on the north by Northern Rhodesia and the Caprivi Strip, and on the north-west and west by the mandated territory of South-West Africa. Its total area is approximately 275,000 sq. miles, of which less than half (north of lat. 22° S.) falls within the Tropics. Topographically the country is divided into three natural regions: (a) a relatively fertile eastern zone, approximately 60,000 sq. miles in extent, which contains most of the good arable and grazing land, but lacks perennial surface waters except in a few isolated springs and portions of the Marico and Crocodile Rivers;¹ (b) the Okovango basin (c. 80,000 sq. miles) in the north-west, well watered all the year round by the many streams of the Okovango delta, but lying wholly within the Tropics and infested with tsetse fly; and (c) the Kalahari Desert in the west and south-west, a vast waterless region of approximately 135,000 sq. miles, much of which is covered with bush and sand.

The scarcity of surface water, except in the north-west, is perhaps the greatest single natural difficulty with which the people of Bechuanaland have to contend. The sands of the Kalahari absorb whatever rain falls there, and elsewhere the water flows rapidly into the rivers and is lost. Another handicap is the irregularity and paucity of the rainfall. The mean annual fall in the eastern zone is from 17 to 21 inches, rising to 26 ins. in the extreme north-east (at Kasane). At Maun, in the Okovango basin, the mean is only 17 ins., and over the Kalahari region it is probably far less, although records have not been kept long enough to be significant. The rainfall, moreover, is exceedingly variable from one year to another, and periods of prolonged drought are common. The earlier storms also tend to be localized, so that while one area is being regularly drenched, another, perhaps only a few miles away, remains completely untouched.

Owing partly to these unfavourable environmental conditions, the Territory is very thinly peopled. Its total population was

¹ Within the last few years, however, two large dams have been constructed at Mogobane (in the Maletse Reserve) and Kanye (Ngwaketse Reserve), and the possibility of adding others is now being explored.

returned in the last census (1936) as 265,756 (of which 260,064 were Natives, 3,727 Coloureds, 1,899 Europeans, and 66 Indians). The density is therefore less than one person per sq. mile. But the population is very unevenly distributed. The great bulk of the people, including more than 80 per cent of the Natives, are concentrated in the eastern zone (density approx. 3.9 persons per sq. mile). The Okovango basin, some 200 miles away, has about 40,000 inhabitants, giving a density of 0.5 persons per sq. mile. The remainder of the Territory, comprising the vast area of the Kalahari Desert, is inhabited by only a few thousand people, scattered widely apart in small semi-nomadic communities; the density of the population in this region is less than 0.08 persons per sq. mile.

The Native peoples belong in the main to two different ethnic stocks: Bantu and Sarwa. The former can be divided, on the basis of language, customs, and history, into several cultural groups. The dominant group are the Tswana, to whom belong the ruling communities of all the principal tribes; most of them originally entered the Territory from the Transvaal during the first half of the eighteenth century, but a few immigrated from the same region less than one hundred years ago. Other Bantu groups include the widespread Kgalagadi, who seem to have inhabited the country for many centuries; the Koba, Mbukushu, Damara, and other peoples of the north-western districts, who came originally from the adjoining territories of Northern Rhodesia and South West Africa; and the Kalaka, Birwa, Tswapong, and others, of the north-eastern districts, who are allied to the peoples of Southern Rhodesia and the north-western Transvaal. Most of the people belonging to these non-Tswana groups are subject to the rule of Tswana chiefs, and some, like the Kgalagadi, Koba, and Tswapong, were formerly the serfs of the dominant communities. The Sarwa, who are essentially Bushmen with an admixture of Bantu blood, were probably the earliest inhabitants of the Territory. They are widely scattered over the whole of the western and northern districts, and formerly many of them also were held in servitude by Tswana and other Bantu masters. Together with the Kgalagadi, they are the principal inhabitants of the Kalahari region, into which they were forced by the encroachment of the later invaders.

The Native Reserves

The Protectorate is divided territorially into Native Reserves, European areas, and Crown Lands. In 1899 special Reserves were proclaimed for the principal tribes. This followed upon an agreement dating back to 1895, by which the chiefs had undertaken to pay taxes and surrender portions of their land to the Crown in return for British protection. A few other Reserves were subsequently created for minor tribes and communities. The total area of the Reserves, at the present time, is approximately 103,110 sq miles (about 37 per cent of the area of the whole Protectorate). But, as the following Table shows, they vary greatly in size, number of inhabitants, and density of population.

TABLE I

THE NATIVE RESERVES

<i>Name of Reserve</i>	<i>Date of creation</i>	<i>Area (sq m.)</i>	<i>Estimated population</i>	<i>Density (per sq m.)</i>
Ngwato .	1899	40,000	110,000	2.8
Tawana ..	1899	34,500	35,000	1.0
Kwena .	1899	10,000	33,000	2.2
Ngwaketse ..	1899	9,000	31,000	3.4
Kgatla..	1899	3,600	18,000	5.0
Rolong .	1892 ¹	420	5,000	11.9
Tati ..	1911	344	9,500	27.6
Malete ..	1909	178	8,500	47.8
Tlôkwa ..	1934	67	2,000	29.9

The five smallest Reserves (Kgatla, Rolong, Tati, Malete, and Tlôkwa) are all situated in the relatively fertile eastern zone of the Territory; they alternate with intervening European 'blocks', and, except for the Tati Reserve, they all border directly upon the Transvaal. They are also the most densely settled of the Native areas, and in three of them (Tati, Malete, and Tlôkwa) the problem of overstocking is now so acute that special Administrative action is contemplated to relieve the pressure. These facts, as we shall see in due course, have a direct bearing upon the local extent of labour migration.

The Ngwaketse, Kwena, and Ngwato, Reserves, extend for varying distances into the arid zones of the Kalahari region, but

¹ This area, commonly termed "the Barolong Farms", was awarded to the Rolong in 1892, after a boundary dispute with the Ngwaketse, it has never been formally proclaimed a Reserve but has always been treated as one by the Administration.

lie mainly within the eastern zone, where the great bulk of their population is concentrated. On the east they meet the European areas and the smaller Reserves, but in every other direction they have no adjoining white settlements. The Tawana Reserve, in the north-western corner of the Territory, comprises almost the whole of the well-watered area round Lake Ngami and the Okovango delta. It is much more remote than the others from the railway line, and the nearest European settlement, Ghanzi, is more than 200 miles from the tribal capital (Maun).

The Tati Reserve is on land belonging to the Tati Company but leased to the Government; it is inhabited by five different communities, all politically independent of one another. Each of the other Reserves is inhabited by a single tribe, by whose name it is known, and to whom the land is held to belong; the only exception is the Tlôkwa Reserve, where the land is vested in the High Commissioner. In each of these Reserves there is a large central town, sometimes containing 10,000 people or more, which is the seat of the tribal administration and the residence of the chief. The other settlements are generally much smaller, especially in the northern Reserves, where many are inhabited merely by single family-groups.

The land outside the Native Reserves falls into two categories: (a) the Crown Lands (total area approx. 164,000 sq. miles), and (b) the European settlements (total area approx. 7,630 sq. miles). The Crown Lands consist mostly of the arid and waterless regions of the Kalahari Desert west of the bigger Native Reserves, but there is also a large tract of what is said to be good country between the Tawana Reserve in the west and Southern Rhodesia in the east. These Lands are almost wholly undeveloped, and their sole inhabitants, apart from a handful of European officials and traders, are small scattered communities of Natives whose total population probably does not exceed 20,000.

The European areas consist of Ghanzi (3,000 sq. m.) in the north-west, and, in the east, of the Tati district (2,200 sq. m.), Tuli Block (1,995 sq. m.), Gaberones Block (185 sq. m.), and Lobatsi Block (250 sq. m.). Ghanzi has been occupied by Europeans since 1898, when Cecil Rhodes granted farms there to a small number of settlers. Its inhabitants are still engaged solely in farming. The Tati district was ceded in 1880 by Lobengula to what is now the Tati Company, which still owns most of the land. Gold mining has been carried on there inter-

mittently since 1868, but the industry was of little importance until South Africa went off the gold standard (December 1932). In 1911 the Company also began to settle Europeans on the land, but from 1926 onwards farming has steadily declined. The remaining three areas were ceded by the Crown in 1905 to the British South Africa Company, which subsequently disposed of the land to European farmers. There are also small European townships at Francistown (Tati district), Lobatse and Gaberones; in addition to Government officials, they contain traders and people engaged in business of various other kinds. The European population outside these five areas consists mainly of Government officials, traders, and missionaries, almost all of whom live and work in the Native Reserves.

Changes in Economic Life

Before the coming of the Europeans, all the Native inhabitants of the Territory were economically self-sufficient. The Sarwa were primarily hunters and collectors, living almost entirely on game and wild vegetable foods. The Bantu peoples were more advanced, and, besides hunting, kept cattle, goats, and sheep, and cultivated Kafir corn and various other crops. Throughout the Protectorate, however, both agriculture and animal husbandry were adversely affected by the arid nature of the country, not even in the Okavango basin could the people derive a secure livelihood from their environment. There, as elsewhere, crop failures were frequent.

In the main, each Bantu household produced its own food by raising crops and breeding livestock; it also built its own huts, and made most of its own clothing and domestic utensils. In these activities men, women, and children, all took part, according to a simple and uniform division of labour. Certain utensils and other goods were made and bartered by specialist craftsmen, who supplemented in this way their income from farming. But there was no regular production for exchange, and nothing in the nature of an organized system of trade. Reciprocal obligations of gift and service between kinsmen and neighbours enabled people to make good any momentary wants; and the payment of tribute to the chiefs, who in turn were expected to provide in various ways for their subjects, still further ensured that no one should ever be completely destitute.

Since the coming of the Europeans, this old self-sufficiency has broken down, and the Natives have become increasingly dependent upon outside sources of supply for many of the goods that they now use. From about 1830 onwards, hunters, travellers, and traders, began to visit Bechuanaland. They seldom stayed for long, but they introduced the material goods of Western civilization, to acquire which the people had to exchange local products like ivory and ostrich feathers. Livingstone's discovery of Lake Ngami in 1849 led to a rapid increase in the number of Europeans coming to the country, and during the next twenty years or so traders began to settle permanently at the headquarters of each tribe. From about 1860 onwards, missionary societies also established stations with most of the tribes. They not only brought a new religion to the people, but by starting schools, and insisting on 'civilized' forms of dress among converts, they helped to stimulate the demand for the wares of the trader. Both traders and missionaries, moreover, employed local Natives as domestic servants and other assistants, and thus introduced the practice of working for cash wages.

The discovery of diamonds at Kimberley inaugurated a new phase in the economic development of the Natives. From about 1870 onwards men from the southern tribes began to make their way to the diggings, attracted largely by reports of the goods that could be earned there, and as time went on their numbers steadily increased. The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1884 created another huge demand for Native labour, but did not at first affect the people of Bechuanaland.

The proclamation of the Protectorate in 1885 made little immediate difference to the economic life of the Natives. In 1896-7, however, a railway line was built through the eastern portion of the Territory and beyond it to Southern Rhodesia; this not only constituted a vast improvement in transport facilities, but also led to new forms of local employment. Then, in 1899, the Administration for the first time imposed a hut tax, and thus forced upon the people the necessity of finding a regular sum of money each year.

Apart from imposing taxation and creating Reserves, the Administration for many years did little to influence Native economic development. It was owing mainly to the expanding activities of traders and missionaries, the introduction of European settlers, and the growing demand for Native labour both

within the Territory and beyond, that Native standards of living began to rise. Not until 1920—thirty-five years after the proclamation of the Protectorate—did the Administration seriously attempt to promote the economic welfare of the Native population. In that year it started a Native Fund to subsidize educational and economic development. A special levy of 5s. per annum was imposed on all Native taxpayers, the money being used for such purposes as financing education, building dams, boring for water, improving local breeds of cattle, and fighting stock diseases.

Following upon the report of the Pim Commission (1932), many other developments took place. The technical branches of the Administration (Medicine, Education, Public Works, Agriculture, and Veterinary Services) all extended their activities very considerably, and incidentally greatly enlarged their Native staffs; an elaborate programme of water development was undertaken; agricultural demonstrators were stationed in various tribes, livestock improvement centres were established in the principal Reserves; the system of tribal administration was reorganized, and Tribal Treasuries were created. The outbreak of war in 1939 led to an intensive campaign for increased agricultural production. This was followed in 1941 by the recruiting of men to serve abroad with the African Pioneer Corps, the result being that the Reserves were depleted still further of adult males.

Owing to all these developments, certain broad changes have occurred in Native economic life. The people have been drawn into an elaborate system of exchange economy, through which they are linked up with and even dependent upon the markets of the world. New commodities of many kinds have been introduced, many of which can be obtained only from the traders and other external sources of supply. The acceptance of these goods has greatly extended the range of desirable acquisitions, and created new standards of wealth and social status. Money has also become established as the principal medium of exchange, and the imposition of taxes both by the Administration and by the tribal authorities has made its acquisition a universal necessity.

To satisfy their new wants, the Natives have taken to selling their produce to traders and other Europeans. But in spite of some improvements in agriculture and animal husbandry, their

income from this source is not enough, and has to be supplemented by working at some paid occupation. A few people have started small businesses on their own, and others find local employment. But the opportunities within the Territory are still so few that the vast majority of men have to seek work in the Union and elsewhere. It is with this particular sphere of their activity that we are primarily concerned in the present Report.

Population and Health

In view of the extent to which labour migration has grown, it is important to analyse the composition of the Native population, in order that we may see how many people are available for employment, whether at home or abroad. Such an analysis is indispensable, whatever the ultimate objective of policy may be. Whether we aim at 'developing' the Reserves, or look upon them instead as mere 'reservoirs of cheap Native labour', we need to know the number of potential workers who can be drawn upon for our particular purpose. It is equally important to know if the population is increasing, stationary, or decreasing; and, since the working capacity of the people is obviously affected thereby, what are the prevailing standards of health and physical fitness.

Size of Population

The only comprehensive statistics about the size of the Native population are contained in the periodical census returns (1904, 1911, 1921 and 1936). Unfortunately none of those returns can be regarded as accurate, since, owing to lack of the proper machinery, the basic task of enumeration had to be entrusted to Natives inadequately prepared for the work. The earlier censuses cannot be trusted at all, some of the figures supplied were indeed admittedly nothing more than rough estimates. Even the most recent census, although probably more reliable than its predecessors, cannot be accepted as free from error. For instance, the total Sarwa (Bushman) population of the Ghanzi district was enumerated on a single form in the words: 'Estimated—males, 7,000; females, 3,000; total, 10,000'. The relative proportions assigned to the two sexes are obviously absurd, yet the figures were incorporated without question in the final return.

for the whole Territory, where they form no less than 38 per cent of the total. Only two years later another District Commissioner reduced the estimate of the local Bushman population to 'approximately 2,000'. Again, the Native population of Ngamiland (Tawana Reserve) was returned in 1936 as 42,158. The Sleeping Sickness Survey, which travelled through the greater part of the district in 1939-40 and made a careful count of the people in each village, found that this figure was greatly exaggerated, and that the total population for the whole area probably did not exceed 35,000.

It seems, therefore, that the total of 260,064 given for the population in 1936 must be regarded as an over-estimate. On the other hand, this figure does not include the large number of Natives domiciled in the Protectorate, but away in the Union and other territories at the time of the census. Returns from individual districts (except Ghanzi, Kgalegadi, and the European area of Gaberones) give the total number of absentees as 14,821,¹ but there is no means of ascertaining if those people were in other parts of the Territory or in the Union and elsewhere. All that can be said is that the majority were probably outside the country, but how big the proportion was cannot be reliably estimated. Taking all the facts into consideration, we feel justified in concluding that the total Native population of the Protectorate in 1936 was probably not more than 250,000 (including absentees abroad).

There has been no census of the Native population since 1936, so that its present size can only be estimated. The data upon which such estimates are usually based in the Territory is the total number of registered taxpayers. The conventional procedure is to multiply this figure by five, although some officials maintain that the more correct unit is four, or even three and a half. I have no information about the number of taxpayers per tribe at the time of the 1936 census. In the following Table, however, I have been able to use the number of taxpayers within a year of the census for three tribes whose population returns seem to have been comparatively reliable. As will be seen, the ratio of taxpayers to total population is far from uniform.

¹ The figures were not published in the official returns, but have been extracted by me from the original census forms.

TABLE II
RATIO OF TAXPAYERS TO TOTAL POPULATION

Tribe	Year	No of taxpayers	Population (1936 census) ¹	Persons per taxpayer
Tlôkwa	1935	358	1,847	5.2
Malete	1935	1,452	6,675	4.6
Kgatla . . .	1937	3,933	15,755	4.0

There is another objection to basing estimates of population upon the number of taxpayers. In principle, every male 'over the apparent age of eighteen years' is liable for tax; in practice, youths in most tribes are not taxed until they are incorporated into an age-regiment (unless they have previously been recruited for labour abroad). The result is that the number of taxpayers in a tribe usually increases suddenly within a year or two after the formation of a new regiment. On the other hand, the periodical but irregular checking of the tax registers by District Commissioners may cause the deletion of many names, e.g. those of men who have died since the last check, gone away permanently, or been entered by mistake on two different pages. The number of taxpayers may therefore fluctuate considerably over a period of even a few years. But it would be absurd to maintain that there were corresponding fluctuations for the whole population, or that the population, in the absence of wholesale migration to or from the district, automatically rose or fell in proportion. This can best be seen from the following Table, which gives for certain districts, the numbers of taxpayers in March, 1940 and the latter half of 1943 respectively.

TABLE III
FLUCTUATIONS IN THE NUMBER OF REGISTERED TAXPAYERS

District	Taxpayers		Percentage Difference
	1940	1943	
Lobatsi . . .	2,000	1,800	- 11
Kanye	7,900	9,200	+ 16
Molepolole .	6,800	8,200	+ 21
Mochudi .. .	3,600	4,400	+ 22
Kgalagadi . .	1,500	1,400	- 6
Scrowe . . .	27,900	24,700	- 11

From this one can only conclude that the number of taxpayers at any given time must be regarded as no more than a very rough index to the size of the population.

¹ including "absentee members,"

In the absence both of accurate census returns and of any other reliable guide, we can do little more than guess at the size of the Native population. The following estimate gives what I consider to be the present population of the Territory, including people who are away in the Union and elsewhere. It has necessarily been based partly upon the data reviewed above, supplemented by the equally inadequate information we have about the trend of population growth; I therefore cannot claim more than that it is as close an approximation as can be reached from a critical survey of the available data in the light of personal knowledge.

TABLE IV

<i>ESTIMATED TOTAL NATIVE POPULATION OF THE B.P.</i>						
<i>Region</i>						<i>No of People</i>
Eastern zone:						
Reserves ¹	.	.	..	.	..	217,000
European Areas and Crown Lands:						
Southern			..	..	..	5,000
Northern	.	..	..	..	..	9,000
Okovango region.						
Tawana Reserve	..	.	..	..	..	35,000
Crown Lands (Chobe, etc)				.	..	3,500
Kalahari region						
Ghanzi district		..	..	..	..	4,500
Kgalagadi district	..	.	..	..	..	6,000
						280,000

Sex and Age Composition

According to the published returns, the sex composition of the Native population at the time of the various censuses was as follows.

TABLE V

SEX COMPOSITION OF NATIVE POPULATION (CENSUS RETURNS)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Masculinity²</i>
1904	58,712	60,699	96.7
1911	61,460	61,843	99.4
1921	77,857	72,238	107.1
1936 ³	122,259	127,805	95.3

¹ For details, see Table I.

² i.e., number of males for every 100 females

³ I have omitted from these figures the wild estimate of the Sarwa population in the Ghanzi district, according to which there were 233 males for every 100 females.

The striking difference between the masculinity for 1921 and those for the other years is almost certainly due mainly to the general unreliability of the census returns, to which reference has already been made. Labour migration, however, may also have had some bearing on the point. The 1921 returns gave the number of 'absentee members' (i.e., people away from home at the time) as 5,169, but did not specify their sex. The published returns for 1936 do not give the number of absentees, although, as already mentioned, returns from individual districts show that at the time of the census at least 14,800 people were away from home. Their sex is again not specified, nor are we told if they were in the Union or merely in other parts of the Territory. But, from what we know about the extent of labour migration, it seems reasonable to assume that the great majority were men in the Union. It can safely be concluded that if these absentees had been taken into account—since after all they belonged to the Territory—the relative proportions of the sexes would have shown a slight preponderance of males.

This conclusion is borne out by the results of a sample survey that I conducted among 3,614 families in the eastern zone of the Territory.¹ The total number of living people in those families was 15,202, of whom 7,698 were males and 7,504 females; the masculinity is therefore 102.6. However, at the time of the survey (July-September, 1943), no fewer than 1,864 of the males, and 384 of the females, were away from the Territory. If we omit them, and consider only the people who were actually at home, the masculinity was 81.5, i.e. there were approximately five females for every four males. This is one of the features that will have to be specially discussed when we deal with the effects of labour migration.

The census returns are also deficient in regard to the age composition of the population. But, since they are the only comprehensive data we have for the Territory as a whole, it is necessary to state briefly why I consider them unacceptable. The returns for 1904 and 1911 classified the population into only two categories: 'Under 15', and '15 and over'. The returns for 1921 and 1936 substituted four categories, and the relevant figures for 1936 are as follows.

¹ The survey covered six different tribes: Ngwato (1,117 families), Kgatla (665), Ngwaketse (661), Tlókwa (409), Kwenā (402), and Mālete (360).

TABLE VI (a)

AGE COMPOSITION OF POPULATION (1936 CENSUS)

Age category	Males ¹		Females ¹		Both Sexes	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Unweaned babes .	11,014	9 0	10,435	8 2	21,449	8 6
Under 16	43,950	36 0	40,706	31 8	84,656	33.9
Over 16	51,157	42 0	53,664	41 9	104,821	41.9
Old People	15,835	13 0	23,218	18.1	39,053	15 6

On these figures alone, there is no evidence of any marked discrepancy. It is when we turn to the individual district returns from which the totals are derived that portions of the classification become suspect. Thus, the percentage proportion of 'Old People' (both sexes) works out at 4.0 among the Kwena and 7.3 among the Ngwaketse, whereas it is 31.2 among the Kgatla and 33.9 among the Tawana. It seems fairly certain that the Native enumerators in these two groups of tribes respectively differed widely in their ideas of what constituted 'old age'—with the result, of course, that there are corresponding divergencies in other age categories.

The main difficulty in using a category like 'Old People' is its lack of precision. This, unfortunately, is inevitable when the great majority of Natives do not yet reckon their ages in terms of calendar years. Nevertheless, there is a somewhat more reliable criterion of age that could have been used for the adult population in place of the two categories adopted for the census. I refer to the age-regiment (*mophato*). In almost every tribe, new age-regiments, of people who are considered coevals, are still being formed nowadays, at intervals of from four to eight years. Hence, if a person's regiment and the date of its creation are known, his approximate age can easily be estimated, since the usual age of initiation is from sixteen to twenty years.²

In the family survey referred to above, the regimental affiliation of every adult was ascertained, or, if a child had not yet been initiated, it was noted if he was old enough to be eligible for membership of the next regiment to be formed. Using this in-

¹ The totals in these two columns are reproduced from the official form 'Age Grades of Natives, 1936', which excludes (from the details for the Francistown district) '78 men and women in Institutions'. I have myself omitted from the Table given here the 7,000 male and 3,000 female Bushmen of the Ghanzi district, who are not classified into age groups in the census returns.

² For a detailed account of these regiments, see my *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (1938), Chap. V.

formation, I have classified the members of the families investigated into the following six age-groups.

(a) 0-14, embracing all the children too young to be incorporated into the next regiment;

(b) 15-29, embracing all the people initiated from about 1930 onwards, and including children old enough to belong to the next regiment,

(c) 30-44, belonging to regiments created between approximately 1915-30,

(d) 45-59, belonging to regiments created between approximately 1900-15,

(e) 60-74, belonging to regiments created between approximately 1885-1900, and

(f) 75 or more, belonging to regiments created before about 1885.

This method of classification is not above criticism, since there is almost certain to be some overlapping of individuals in the different age-groups, especially in tribes where the period between the initiation of one regiment and another is fairly long. But on the whole I consider this the most reliable method that can be used in the circumstances, and I claim no more than that it indicates only very approximately the distribution of the various age-groups in the population.

The following Table gives, for the family survey, the percentage proportions of the six different age-groups.

TABLE VI (b)

*AGE COMPOSITION OF POPULATION
(BASED ON GENEALOGICAL SAMPLE SURVEY)
(Proportions per cent)*

<i>Age-group</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Both sexes</i>
0-14	40.7	39.9	40.3
15-29	25.3	24.3	24.8
30-44	17.5	18.2	17.8
45-59	9.7	11.1	10.4
60-74	5.2	4.8	5.0
75 +	1.6	1.6	1.6

From these figures alone, it would appear that about 43 per cent of the population (age-group 15-44) is capable of strenuous manual or physical work, and another 10 per cent (age-group 45-59) is still young enough for ordinary work.

Since the survey was confined to the eastern zone, its findings are not necessarily valid for the Territory as a whole. However, as the eastern zone also contains approximately 82.5 per cent of the Native population, little harm will be done at this stage

if we tentatively use the survey as a basis for estimating the approximate numbers of the people according to sex and age. Assuming that altogether some 280,000 Natives belong to the Territory, we may put the number of males at about 142,000, and the number of females at about 138,000. If we classify them into age periods according to potential working capacity, they are distributed as follows:

TABLE VII
ESTIMATED NUMBERS
OF PEOPLE AT CERTAIN AGE PERIODS

<i>Class</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Children (0-14)	58,000	55,000	113,000
Working Age (15-59) .	74,000	74,000	148,000
Aged (60+) .	10,000	9,000	19,000
	142,000	138,000	280,000

Physique and Health

It should not be assumed that the people classified above as of working age are necessarily all fit for labour, whether at home or abroad. On the contrary, most competent observers agree that the Natives of Bechuanaland are noticeably poor in physique compared with other South African tribes. Except among the Koba and other groups of alien origin in the north, few of the men have fine strapping figures. They are mostly slender and poorly built, with little muscular development, and many of them appear to be weak and diseased. Young women usually look sturdier, but those who are middle-aged sometimes tend to leanness. The children do not look as robust as European children, but only the minority are really thin, with hollow backs and protuberant bellies. The Director of Education, however, commented in 1931 that many of those at school 'are in actuality several years older than their general appearance would lead one to believe.'¹

These superficial impressions are reinforced by the few statistical records that are available. The Witwatersrand gold mines have laid down certain minimum standards of health and physique which must be attained before a man can be accepted by them for employment. Of 500 mine recruits examined in

¹ Quoted in *Annual Medical and Sanitary Report, 1931*, p. 17.

the Kwena Reserve in 1933 (which, however, was a famine year), no fewer than 207 (41.4 per cent) were rejected as unfit;¹ and in another batch of 846, examined at Francistown in 1934, the rejects numbered 356 (42.0 per cent).² Apparently, however, the standards applied by the medical officers concerned were more rigorous than necessary, or else the standards were subsequently lowered, since later records show a much smaller proportion of rejects.

TABLE VIII

*MEDICAL REJECTS
AMONG MEN APPLYING FOR WORK ON MINES³*

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of applicants</i>	<i>No of rejects</i>	<i>Percentage of rejects</i>
Ngamiland .	1941-42	1,750	416	23.7
Francistown ..	1937-43	7,655	1,126	14.7
Serowe ..	1939-41	2,856	385	14.2
Molepolole .	1928-42	6,829	793	11.4
Khale ⁴ .	1940-43	4,909	386	7.9
		23,999	3,106	12.9

In all these instances, the main grounds for rejection were chest troubles, poor physique, venereal diseases and defective eyes.

It is also worthy of note that, over a number of years, the rate of mortality from disease on the gold mines of the Union has been higher among Bechuanaland Natives than among those from any other part of South Africa. This is shown in the following Table.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 1933, Appendix IV, pp. 43 ff.

² District Superintendent, W.N.L.A., to Government Secretary, 5 March, 1934 (Mafeking Registry, J 6357).

³ For the Francistown and Ngamiland figures, I am indebted to the District Manager of the W.N.L.A., for the Serowe figures, to Dr M. L. Freedman (M.O.H., Serowe), for the Khale figures, to Mr L. S. Glover, (temporary) local representative of the N.R.C., and for the Kwena figures to Dr P. M. Shepherd, medical missionary at Molepolole.

⁴ The N.R.C. office at Khale handles recruits from the Kgatla, Tlōkwa, Maletle, and Kwena Reserves, as well as from other adjacent areas.

⁵ Quoted from *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 22 (1941), p. 432. The B.P. figures refer only to men from south of lat. 22° S.

TABLE IX

*MORTALITY FROM DISEASE AMONGST NATIVES EMPLOYED
ON GOLD MINES IN UNION LABOUR DISTRICTS*

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>(Rate per 1,000 per annum)</i>		
	1938	1939	1940
Union of South Africa .	3 88	3.07	2 83
Basutoland	5 01	3 02	2 98
Swaziland	6 32	2 77	3 60
Bechuanaland Protectorate . .	8 17	5.66	4 34

The more recent figures quoted in Table VIII show that on the average about 13 per cent of the men examined for work on the gold mines are considered physically unfit by medical officers. These men, it should be realized, do not constitute a random sample. Obviously unfit men do not offer themselves for the mines, and labour agents also make a preliminary selection before having would-be recruits medically examined. The proportion below standard in the population as a whole would therefore be larger. This was seen when recruiting was begun for the African Pioneer Corps. In several tribes, the chiefs adopted the procedure of calling up whole regiments, usually of men between the ages of 25-44. Many were specially exempted for family or other reasons, but those who attested can nevertheless be regarded as a fair sample. The medical examination at first corresponded roughly to that used for the mines, but the standard was subsequently lowered, yet the proportion of rejects was 34.1 per cent among the Ngwato (out of 4,740 men examined) and 27.9 per cent among the Kwena (out of 1,999 men examined).¹ These figures suggest that at least from 25 to 35 per cent of the younger and middle-aged men in the population as a whole are unfit for work of the kind demanded on the mines or with the A.P.C.

The poor physique of the Natives has sometimes been ascribed mainly to malaria and syphilis. Malaria is no longer a serious factor in most parts of the country, although it appears seasonally and sometimes in epidemic form; but it is endemic in the north-west, especially Ngamiland, where many of the people are said to be 'rotten with infection'. Venereal diseases, which may have been introduced originally by men returning from work abroad, have long since become endemic. The Pim Report

¹ Figures for the Ngwato from Dr M. L. Freedman, and those for the Kwena from Dr P. M. Shepherd.

noted in 1932 that 'Estimates of the proportion of the population of the Territory affected are as high as 60 to 80 per cent', but wisely and correctly added that 'the statistical basis is not broad enough to allow of any very confident conclusions being drawn beyond the fact that the percentage is undoubtedly a very high one'¹ Respiratory diseases are also very common, and so are diseases of the digestive system, while the spread of tuberculosis, another legacy of work in the towns, is becoming a matter of concern. All these complaints have induced a spirit of lethargy that is often only too obvious, with disastrous effects upon efficiency and enterprise.

However, some authorities maintain that the low standards of health and physique are due primarily to malnutrition. 'The diet of the Bechuana from infancy and through adult life', wrote the Principal Medical Officer in 1930, 'is so deficient in nitrogenous and vitamin content that the main reason for their poor physique is not far to seek, and it is this poor constitution that makes them an easy prey to syphilis, malaria, respiratory and other diseases'² Later investigations have tended to confirm this observation, but show also that the local incidence of malnutrition varies greatly. To quote but one instance,³

'In the north-eastern Protectorate, of all the patients seen by the Medical Officer in charge of the Travelling Dispensary, it has been found that the average proportion suffering from malnutrition judged from purely clinical observations is of the order of 20 per cent, but the proportions vary greatly from area to area. A recent comparative survey using both clinical and physiological methods, as strictly controlled as possible, carried out on two groups of native children one in the Tati Reserve and one in the Nata area, indicates that 25 per cent of the Tati children suffer from malnutrition as against 4 per cent of the Nata children. These different degrees of malnutrition appear to be correlated with the dietary habits of the people, the diet of the Tati children being predominantly cereal, whereas that of the Nata children is much more varied.'

The Administration is fully aware of the problems presented by the poor health of the Natives. Much good work has been done, especially since 1932, to extend medical facilities and to train the people in hygiene and sanitation. Efforts have also been made to combat malnutrition by the improvement of econo-

¹ *Financial and Economic Position of the B.P.* (Cmd. 4368; 1932), p. 74, cf. the Johnson Report on *Medical Administration* (1937), pp. 37 ff., and (on malaria) pp. 56 ff.

² *Annual Medical and Sanitary Report, 1930*, p. 18, cf. *Summary of Information regarding Nutrition in the Colonial Empire*, First Report, Part II (Cmd. 6051), pp. 49 ff.

³ Govt. Secretary's circular memo. on Nutrition (No. 7714/2, dated 11 March, 1941), par. 11.

mic resources, including above all the provision of more adequate water supplies, and an ambitious experiment in the feeding of school children has recently been started. It is evident, however, that much still remains to be done before the general standards of health and physique are raised to a level that can be considered satisfactory.

Trend of Population

In view of the generally poor physique of the people, and the allegedly high incidence of venereal disease, we should expect to find that the natural growth of the population has been adversely affected. This is the opinion held by many of the Natives themselves, who maintain that their women no longer produce as many children as formerly. Similarly, Dr H. W. Dyke (then Principal Medical Officer) wrote in 1931 that European residents of the Protectorate were of the impression that the 'natural increase' of the population 'was rapidly declining and approaching about to a standstill'.¹ Dr. E. G. Malherbe, on the other hand, has calculated that the population is increasing at the rate of three per cent per annum.² But his calculation is based upon the census returns alone, which, as stated above, are far from reliable. It is sufficient merely to note in this context that, if we accept the official figures at face value, we must believe that the population increased by only 26 per cent from 1904 to 1921 (a period, incidentally, during which several thousand Damara and Seleka-Rolong immigrated into the Territory), whereas between 1921 and 1936—a slightly shorter period—it suddenly increased by no less than 73 per cent (although there was no corresponding large-scale movement of people into the country).

Census returns alone, in any case, and especially returns of the kind published for Bechuanaland, do not as a rule give the information that is essential if we wish to ascertain the real trend of population. Mr A. T. Culwick, an experienced officer of the Tanganyika Administration, has made some remarks in this connexion that seem appropriate enough to be worth quoting:³

'The ultimate fate of any population depends on the balance of births and deaths. . . . It is all too easy to slip into the error of arguing that if a popula-

¹ Cf. *Papers relating to the Health and Progress of Native Populations in certain Parts of the Empire* (Colonial No. 65, 1931), p. 150.

² *Report on Education of Europeans in the B.P.* (1939), p. 8.

³ 'A Study of Population in Ulanga, Tanganyika Territory', *Sociological Review*, Vol. 31 (1939), pp. 35 f.

tion is increasing all must be well, and of thinking that periodical counts of the total population are all that is necessary for governmental purposes. It is often not sufficiently appreciated that a people may be increasing rapidly in numbers and yet be on the road to extinction.

'In many parts of the world medical science has prolonged the average span of life and considerable natural increase has resulted, but this does not necessarily influence the ultimate trend in population, in fact, it can only do so provided the persons saved are still capable of reproduction

'The only sure test as to whether a given population is reproducing itself or not is to determine how many children survive to reach adult life and to replace their parents. For unless on an average every woman leaves behind her at least one adult daughter, the tribe or nation must eventually diminish in numbers, no matter how great the immediate but temporary increase may be as a consequence of increased longevity.'

Unfortunately, as Dr. Dyke himself noted in 1931 (and as the Annual Report on Protectorate affairs has stated ever since): 'No vital statistics are available from which to give any definite figures as to the increase of the population.'¹ The official excuse is that 'The vast area of the Territory, with a widely-scattered population and a relatively small number of officials, has made it impossible for the Government to collect data which would be of any value'² Some medical officers have indeed carried out small investigations into the reproductive histories of Native women,³ but the information provided is not sufficient to form the basis for any reasoned judgment about the trend of the population. Since 1941, however, a beginning has been made in some tribes with the keeping of births and deaths registers, and as the practice becomes more general statistical data of some value should gradually accumulate

In the genealogical survey that I conducted, information was sought regarding the total number of children born to every woman, their sex, and their present whereabouts (at home, away at school or working, dead, etc.). The great bulk of the genealogies were collected with the help of literate Native assistants. A cursory check, supplemented here and there by independent personal questioning of women, showed that while all living children were listed in the records, dead children were often omitted, especially if they had died in infancy many years ago. The material, in other words, is highly reliable about the number

¹ Colonial No 65, p. 150.

² Annual Report on the B.P., 1935 (Colonial No 1792), p. 6.

³ Cf. Sir W. Johnson's *Report on Medical Administration*, p. 42 (citing Drs. Hamilton and Murray), and *Minutes of the African Advisory Council*, 1941, pp. 19 ff. (statement by Dr. B. T. Squires on infantile mortality in the Francistown district).

of children now alive, but cannot be used with confidence to calculate fertility and survival rates

To meet the point, I instituted two special control investigations, one among the Kgatla (339 women), and the other among the Ngwaketse (143 women).¹ The former showed that 25.6 per cent of all children born die before reaching the age of approximately fifteen;² the corresponding figure for the latter was 23.1 per cent. Similar investigations previously made independently in other areas have yielded comparable results: Kwena, 29.5 per cent (204 women); Ngwato, 25.8 per cent (1,374 women); and Francistown, 28.6 per cent (294 women).³ Taking the average of all these, we find that, of every 1,000 Native children born, 262 fail to reach the age at which they can begin to reproduce themselves. Accordingly, in working on the data of the main survey, I have ignored the dead children listed there (for the reason stated in the previous paragraph), and have used the information about living children only. To arrive at the total number of births, I have in every instance used the formula, '738 living children = 1,000 live births', and have converted the figures accordingly.

Since for our present purpose we need to know only the fertility and survival rates in regard to female children, I shall confine the discussion to them. In all, the relevant data was obtained in regard to nearly 6,000 women. From these, I have selected all those who are still alive (8,198), and 413 others of whom it is known that they died before completing their child-bearing period. The other dead women (who if alive would now all have been over the age of fifty) have been omitted from consideration because we do not know if they died before or after attaining the menopause, which is an important factor in the calculations.⁴

The information derived from the genealogies may be conveniently summarized as follows. Taking the whole group of living women, we find that the average number of daughters

¹ The Kgatla investigation was carried out by myself, and the Ngwaketse one by Dr E. H. Ashton and Chief Bathoen II.

² For the method of calculating age, see above, pp. 14 f.

³ For the Kwena and Ngwato data, I am indebted to Dr P. M. Shepherd and Miss E. Haile respectively, who kindly allowed me access to records kept by them at ante-natal clinics; the Francistown figures are taken from the statement made by Dr B. T. Squires at the 1941 meeting of the African Advisory Council.

⁴ I hope to publish a more detailed discussion of the material in the near future, and will then describe fully the methods of analysis and calculation that I have used in reaching my conclusions.

who have been born per woman is 1.67. However, since the great majority of the women are still young or in early middle age, we cannot accept this figure as a final index of their fertility, for they have not yet reached the end of their child-bearing period. If instead we consider only those women of this group who have already attained the menopause (there were 909 of them), we find that the average number of daughters born per woman is increased to 2.54. We may reasonably regard this figure as equivalent to what demographers call the 'gross reproduction rate', i.e. 'the number of girls born on the average to each woman who lives all through the child-bearing period.'¹ The rate for Bechuanaland indicates that, under present conditions of fertility, the women are bearing more than enough daughters to take their place.

But we need to know more in order to ascertain the real trend of the population. By no means all the girls who are being born will live through the child-bearing period. 'Some, dying under 15, will never reach the period; others will die during the period. The gross reproduction rate measures fertility, but it tells us nothing about mortality; and population increase or decrease depends upon mortality as well as fertility. To find out whether the present generation is producing enough children to keep the population at its present level, we want to know whether the newly-born girls of this generation will be replaced by an equal number of newly-born girls in the next, and for that purpose we must measure mortality as well as fertility; we must strike the balance of births and deaths.'² The figure reached in this way is known as the 'net reproduction rate'.

In the absence of accurate and comprehensive vital statistics, I have tried to deal with the problem as follows. Assuming that the data contained in the genealogies and the control samples is typical, we may say that, of every 1,000 girls now being born, only 738 will survive to maturity. Of these, another 424 will die before the end of their child-bearing period, but in the meantime they will have produced 457 daughters between them.³ If to this we add the 798 daughters borne by the 314 women who survive to attain the menopause, we get a total of 1,255. In brief, under the existing conditions of fertility and

¹ G. F. McCleary, *Population* (London, 1938), p. 90.

² McCleary, *op cit*, pp. 92 ff.

³ This figure is derived from the calculated fertility rates of women dying at various ages during the course of their child-bearing period.

mortality, every 1,000 girls now being born will in due course replace themselves by 1,255. This figure (which, incidentally, corresponds fairly closely to the present net reproduction rate for the European population of South Africa) can be regarded as a fairly good indication that the Native population of Bechuanaland is apparently more than adequately reproducing itself.

The conclusion just reached assumes that the material upon which it is based covers an adequate sample of the population, and that the methods of analysis and calculation will stand the test of criticism. Accordingly, we should not attach too much importance to the actual figures given above; the most we can say is that the available evidence suggests that the population is certainly not declining, and is in fact probably increasing.

Chapter Two

NATURE AND EXTENT OF LABOUR MIGRATION

Historical Development

THE habit of working for Europeans began long ago among the Tswana. As early as 1844 men of the Kwena tribe, then living temporarily in the Western Transvaal, were being employed as farm-hands by the Boer Voortrekkers who had recently settled in the country.¹ The Kwena soon afterwards returned to what is now the Protectorate, but local tribes such as the Kgatla, Maletse, and Tlôkwa, continued to provide the servants demanded by the Boers. It was in fact the hardships imposed upon them by forced labour that were largely responsible for the migration of those tribes into Bechuanaland between 1850 and 1870. The traders and missionaries who were the first European settlers in Bechuanaland also drew upon the local Natives for their domestic servants and other assistants. But the number so employed must have been extremely small, for at the time the European population consisted of only a few families in each of the important tribal capitals.

The discovery of gold in the Tati district in 1866 had little immediate effect upon Native life. Most of the Europeans who came to mine there abandoned their efforts within a couple of years, owing mainly to the prohibitive cost of transport and other practical difficulties, and the Native labour they employed during that time was drawn very largely from the adjoining districts of what is now Southern Rhodesia.

On the other hand, the exploitation of the diamond mines at Kimberley from about 1870 onwards gave rise to the first extensive flow of Native labour from Bechuanaland. Attracted by reports of the goods (especially firearms) that could be earned there, men began of their own accord to make their way to the mines from places as far north as Shoshong, then the capital of the Ngwatso. In 1876 the Griqualand West Administration sent Mr. A. Bailie on a special recruiting tour through Bechuanaland,

¹Cf. statement by Sechele, Chief of the Kwena, printed in *Parliamentary Papers* xlii 1758 (1894), enclosure to No. 1

and he reported on his return that the chiefs had all agreed to encourage the flow of labour to the mines 'if aided by Government'.¹ According to Kgatla tradition, Chief Lentswe, who was then at war with the Kwena, actually sent a newly-formed regiment of young men to Kimberley to work for £8 each, the money being spent on arms and ammunition for the tribe. By 1880 there were altogether 2,135 Bechuanaland Natives at Kimberley (mainly Kwena, Kgatla, and Ngwato), and the following year the number had increased to 2,571.²

The diamond mines were still the principal market for labour from Bechuanaland when the Protectorate was established in 1885. The following year the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand created a new and ever-increasing demand. The supply from other sources proving inadequate, the Territory was after a few years, as the Resident Commissioner complained in 1898,³

'flooded by both white and coloured persons calling themselves Labour Agents, persons who, in most cases, do not care to work for themselves, but who visit our country to try and induce our Natives, by flattering promises, to go to Johannesburg to work in the mines, the Agent receiving a certain amount per head from the Companies to whom they take the boys. The result, consequently, is that all the agent cares about is to get as many boys as possible. If these agents were persons who really interested themselves in the boys they engaged, and saw that they were fairly treated and looked after when they got to the mines, there would be little to say against the system, but, with a few exceptions, the natives are persuaded to leave their homes under promise of high wages, etc., which are seldom paid, or if presumably paid there are so many reductions made that the native seldom gets what he was led to expect.'

To check such abuses, the Administration soon afterwards issued a Proclamation (No 6 of 1899), which for the first time sought to regulate recruiting. Its main provisions were:

(a) none but licensed labour agents could recruit within the Protectorate for the mines, and the issue or renewal of licences was at the discretion of the Administration;

(b) anybody found engaging Natives without first having obtained a licence would be liable to fine or imprisonment;

(c) in addition to paying an annual licence fee of £5, each labour agent had to deposit £100 with the Administration as security to cover costs and damages in the event of any Native engaged by him suing him in a court of law for breach of contract; and

(d) the licence could be revoked in the event of 'misconduct' on the part of the agent.

¹ Bluebook C 2220 (1879), pp. 50, 77.

² Cape Bluebooks on Native Affairs, 1881 (G.20-'81), p. 132; 1882 (G 36-'82), p. 182.

³ Despatch to High Commissioner, 4 October, 1898 (No. 73 H.C.).

The Resident Commissioner suggested at the time that 'the licence money collected might be devoted to remunerating some person in Johannesburg for looking after the interests of our natives whilst at that place';¹ but in fact it was not until 1938 that the Administration, following the lead of Basutoland, for the first time stationed its own representative on the Rand. The Resident Commissioner was also anxious 'to start some means by which natives might remit money to their wives and families.' The Chamber of Mines promised to go into the suggestion, but nothing seems to have resulted for the moment.²

Apart from the diamond mines at Kimberley and the gold mines on the Rand, labour was being recruited in the Protectorate in 1898 for 'numerous Gold Companies in Rhodesia, as well as for the Monarch and other mines in the Tati District.'³ The Rhodesian mines, which had begun operating after the settlement of that country by Europeans from 1892 onwards, seem to have been fairly popular with the more northerly tribes, and many old men, especially among the Ngwato and the Kgatla, claim to have worked there from forty to fifty years ago. The Tati mines, then working on a very small scale, were still relatively unimportant as a market for labour.

The outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899 provided other opportunities for working abroad. The British forces operating in the Northern Cape and the Western Transvaal employed many Protectorate Natives as transport riders and in other capacities. The Administration, for instance, sent many Ngwato to Modder River to be used on defensive works, but some died of pneumonia, and others consequently deserted, with the result that their terms of service were modified and they were allowed to return home.⁴

In the Protectorate itself, other opportunities for employment had in the meantime been provided by the gradual development of the country. The construction of the telegraph line to the north (1890-91), and of the railway (1896-97), had given temporary occupation to many. The railways continued to use Native labour, and in 1903 it was estimated that about 400

¹ Despatch to High Commissioner, 4.10.1898 (No. 73 H.C.).

² *Chamber of Mines, 10th Annual Report* (1898), pp. 74 f.

³ Letter from Resident Commissioner to Chamber of Mines, 17 December, 1898 (*Chamber of Mines, 10th Annual Report*, p. 74).

⁴ F. W. Panzera, evidence before the Transvaal Labour Commission, 1903 (Cd. 1897, 1904) p. 230.

men were regularly employed on the line as 'gang boys', etc. About 600 more were working at the time in stores, hotels, etc., and another 1,000 or so (all probably Sarwa) were herds and labourers for the farmers at Ghanzi.¹ Many Natives also earned a cash income by using their own wagons and oxen to ride transport for traders and other Europeans. The settlement of European farmers in the eastern districts of the Territory from 1903 onwards opened up still other spheres of employment inside the Territory. But, on the whole, the local demand for labour was far too small to absorb all those wishing to earn money, and the number going to Kimberley, the Rand, and elsewhere, continued to increase.

In 1907 the law relating to the recruiting of labour was amended and extended by Proclamation No. 45. 'The chief innovations were:

(a) persons applying for a labour agent's licence had to give the name of the employer for whom they wished to recruit, the nature of the proposed employment, and the rate of wages to be paid.

(b) labour agents could employ Native 'runners' on payment of a prescribed fee,

(c) Natives might not be induced to leave the Protectorate by false representations regarding the terms or conditions of employment;

(d) Natives already working under any agreement of service might not be induced to leave their employment; and

(e) 'No concession or contract by which any chief or headman purports to bind himself or his people to provide native labourers shall be valid.'

A further Proclamation (No. 7 of 1909) provided for the attestation of all labour contracts before a Government officer, who had to satisfy himself that the terms of the contract were fully understood by the labourers; it provided also that the agents should prepare and sign a pass for every Native recruited. Finally, Proclamation No. 10 of 1912 laid down penalties for desertion by labourers after contract, or for entering into a second contract before the first was completed; it stipulated also that not more than £2 might be advanced to recruits (apart from charges for tax or railway transport). Except for amendments in detail, these Proclamations remained in force until very recently.

Meanwhile a gradual change had been taking place in the destinations of labourers from Bechuanaland. From about 1908 onwards, when a slump in the diamond market resulted in many

¹ F. W. Panzera, *evidence, op. cit.*, p. 228.

of them not being taken on again at Kimberley, they turned more and more to the gold mines, although such tribes as the Kgatla and Malete, disliking the underground work, favoured the rural districts of the Western Transvaal. In 1913, however, the Union Government (under the Immigrants' Restriction Act) prohibited the Rand mines from employing Natives coming from north of 22° S. latitude, owing to their high rate of mortality. The prohibition affected all the inhabitants of the Tati (Francistown) district and the Tawana Reserve, and many of those in the Ngwato Reserve.

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 created a new demand for labour. The South African Railways, through the Administration, recruited several hundred men, mostly from the south-eastern tribes, to work in South-West Africa. (The Ngwaketse, who were also asked for labourers, replied that they could not provide any, since most of the young men were already away at the mines.) In 1916, more men were employed by the Union Government for the African Labour Corps, which was sent to France to work on docks, railways, quarries, etc. These labourers were recruited through the chiefs, who usually adopted the policy of conscripting men from one or more of the able-bodied age-regiments in their tribes. The Kgatla, for instance, sent about 300 men of the Mantwane, Majankô and Makuka regiments to South-West Africa, and 140 men of the Majankô and Makuka regiments to France.

The years following upon the conclusion of peace in 1918 saw a steady increase in the number of people leaving the Territory in search of work. From about 1923 onwards men from north of latitude 22° S (chiefly in the Francistown district, and the Bokalaka district of the Ngwato Reserve) were recruited for the diamond mines in South-West Africa, and until 1930, when recruiting ceased, an average of some 1,400 per annum found employment there¹. Similarly, the opening of the alluvial diamond diggings at Lichtenburg in the Transvaal in 1928 attracted large numbers not only of men, but also of women and children, mostly from the south-eastern tribes. In 1929 the Native Recruiting Corporation intensified its local efforts to secure labour for the gold mines, and its annual report for the following year states that 'Results in Bechuanaland have shown

¹Cf the figures published in the annual reports on the administration of South West Africa (presented by the Union Government to the League of Nations)

a gratifying improvement.' The world-wide depression of 1930-33, and the added distress resulting from drought, locusts, and foot-and-mouth disease, all contributed towards the growing exodus. The closing down of the Kimberley and Premier diamond mines in 1932 was a serious blow; but from 1934 onwards recruiting for the gold mines was again permitted by the Union Government in areas north of latitude 22° S, and within a few years several thousand men were going there from this part of the Protectorate alone.

In the Territory itself, the promulgation of mining legislation in 1932 was confidently expected to provide considerable scope for Native employment once operations began. The hope was not realized, as almost all the mining concessions were abandoned after prospecting had shown that there was little mineral wealth outside the Tati district. However, the revival of mining in that district, following upon South Africa's abandonment of the gold standard (December, 1932), created a strong local demand for labour. It led also to the first specific attempts to regulate Native employment in the Territory. The Native Labourers' Compensation Proclamation (No 39 of 1934) provided for the payment of compensation by employers in respect of Native labourers suffering from injury or death in the course of their work. Two years later the Proclamation was repealed, its place being taken by the Workmen's Compensation Proclamation (No 28 of 1936), which provided, in addition, for compensation in respect of certain diseases that might be contracted during the course of employment. This Proclamation has not yet been applied to any other industry than mining.

Other legislation about the same time dealt with the employment of Natives under tribal conditions. The Native Administration Proclamation (No 74 of 1934) regulated the chiefs' use of regimental and other tribal labour; the Native Labourers (Protection) Proclamation (No 14 of 1936) regulated the conditions under which Natives could be employed as servants by other Natives; and Proclamation No 17 of 1936 affirmed that 'Slavery in any form whatsoever is unlawful, and that the legal status of slavery does not exist'.

The tribal authorities, meanwhile, had become perturbed about the extent of labour migration from the Reserves, and at various meetings of the Native Advisory Council from 1924 onwards they had requested the Administration to help in check-

ing the exodus, especially of youths under age. In 1937, 'The situation created . . . by the acute shortage of labour in the Union and the correspondingly intensified efforts of recruiting agents in the Territory, together with the unauthorised exodus of native labourers in ever-increasing numbers', led to renewed complaints from the chiefs 'about the undue proportion of adult males leaving the Reserves, to the serious detriment of tribal welfare.' District Commissioners were asked to report upon the matter, and the question was taken up with the Chiefs 'of devising a system to prevent as far as possible the unauthorised flow of natives across the Union border and to limit the number of natives who may be recruited in each area.'¹

The complaints by the chiefs led the Administration to investigate also 'the question of the better control of labour recruitment generally in the Territory'. Certain occurrences had indicated 'that closer inquiry was necessary into the conditions prevailing at the places of employment of some of the native workers, and instructions were given for the endorsement thereon of conditions necessary to safeguard the interests of the workers.'² The result was the Native Labour Proclamation (No 56 of 1941) which amended and consolidated the legislation hitherto in force. Among its major provisions are the following:³

(a) It prohibits direct or indirect recruiting by Government officials or chiefs and headmen;

(b) specifies the conditions under which labour agents may be licensed and carry out recruiting activities,

(c) provides that the Resident Commissioner may limit the number of men to be recruited from any district or Reserve,

(d) provides for written contracts of employment, which must be attested before a Government official, and fixes a maximum period of employment under any single contract,

(e) provides for the medical examination of recruits, their transport to the place of employment, and their repatriation under certain circumstances; and

(f) lays down penalties for the breach of these and various other conditions.

Meanwhile, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 had given a fresh impetus to the exodus of Natives from the Territory. The Administration first informed the tribes that gold mining was regarded as an essential war service, and that by going out to work on the mines they would be helping the

¹All quotations in this paragraph are taken from the *Annual Report on the B P*, 1937 (Colonial No. 1871), pp 27 f.

²*Ibid.*, p. 28.

³These provisions are discussed more fully in the following chapter

war effort. Subsequently, in 1941, an African Pioneer Corps was created for service with the Imperial armies, and intensive recruiting campaigns were carried on in every tribe, as the result of which some 9,500 men in all were sent to North Africa and the Middle East within the course of the next two years. In order to avoid competition with the recruiting for the A.P.C., recruiting for the gold mines was suspended for several months in both 1941 and 1942, but the ban was finally lifted in September, 1942. About 500 more men, who were already in the Union, had enlisted in the meantime in the Native Military Corps of that country.

The best indication of the marked extent to which labour migration has recently increased is provided in the official returns, published every year by the Union Government, of Natives employed in proclaimed labour districts of the Union of South Africa. From the following Table, it will be seen that prior to 1930 there was a slow though steady increase; thereafter the numbers going abroad grew so rapidly that in 1940 practically four times as many men were in those parts of the Union as ten years previously.

TABLE X¹
*PROTECTORATE NATIVES EMPLOYED IN
 LABOUR DISTRICTS, UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1910-40*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage Increase</i>
1910	2,266	
1920	2,578	13.7
1925	3,820	48.2
1930	4,712	23.4
1935	10,314	118.9
1940	18,411	78.5

The enormous jump from 1930 to 1935 is due to many causes, including the depression and local distress, the abandonment of recruiting for the diamond mines in South-West Africa, and the opening-up of the areas north of latitude 22° S. It will be seen, nevertheless, that the increase in actual numbers was sustained during the succeeding five years, even if not to the same proportionate extent.

¹ The annual figures, from the time that they were first published, are reproduced in Appendix A, which also gives the sources of information.

It should be noted that prior to 1922 the figures relate to Transvaal labour districts only, but all subsequent figures relate to labour districts throughout the Union (excluding alluvial diamond diggings) and Kimberley.

Present Extent

There is no accurate information about the number of Natives who leave their homes every year to work either in other parts of the Territory or outside its borders. Nor, until recently, were regular statistics of any kind available about the numbers employed outside Bechuanaland at any one time, except in regard to the Witwatersrand and other proclaimed labour districts of the Union. From 1928 onwards, however, records were kept of the numbers of passes issued annually to Natives leaving the Territory for work or on visits.¹ These show that in 1940 the number of men going abroad to work was approximately 2.6 times as many as in 1928. But, as the Pim Report pointed out some time ago, 'it is fairly certain that considerable numbers manage to leave without passes, more especially women and children, for whom, until recently, passes were not required.'² This is particularly true of the south-eastern tribes (Kgatla, Maletle, Tlôkwa and Rolong), whose Reserves border immediately upon the Transvaal, and who are consequently able to slip fairly easily into the Union at various places without having first secured passes. The figures must accordingly be regarded more as an index of the increase in migration than as an accurate statement of the numbers actually going abroad.

In the absence of complete and reliable statistics about the numbers leaving home every year, the best we can do is estimate the total number of people away from their homes at any one time. An official estimate (October, 1943) put the number of men away from the Territory in July of that year at approximately 31,400, of whom 9,450 were in the African Pioneer Corps, 9,950 on the gold and coal mines of the Transvaal, and 12,000 in industrial and other occupations in the Union.³ The figure for the A.P.C. is presumably correct, but that for the mines is slightly too low,⁴ and, on the other hand, the figure for other industries is almost certainly too high. The estimate, moreover, does not allow for men working away from their homes inside the Territory or in countries other than the Union, nor does it include any women at all.

¹ The detailed figures are reproduced in Appendix B

² Cmd. 4368 (1932), p. 32

³ Mafeking Registry, J 2850

⁴ The figure supplied by the Chamber of Mines is 10,372

Number of Male Migrants

A more detailed estimate, in regard to the men, can be obtained from the tax registers, the checking of which will enable one to ascertain the relative proportions of taxpayers who are at home and away respectively. This method has the additional advantage of bringing out tribal and other local variations. In 1942, District Commissioners were asked to report upon the Native manpower of their respective districts and to indicate roughly the present whereabouts of the men. Some of the returns submitted were based upon first-hand information about all or most of the taxpayers, but a few seem to have been based upon crude estimates rather than detailed investigation. In the following Table, I give the relevant data included in these returns, except that in certain instances I have substituted the results of my own inquiries conducted along similar lines¹. For convenience, I have grouped the tribes (or districts) according to the major topographical areas in which they are respectively located

TABLE XI

PROPORTIONS OF TAXPAYERS AWAY FROM HOME (1942-3)

Tribe or District	Total no. of taxpayers	No in sample	Percentage away		
			Army ^a	Elsewhere	Total
EASTERN ZONE:					
Rolong . .	1,027	1,027	6.4	54.5	60.9
Lobatsi . .	782	782	2.6	51.2	53.8
Ngwaketse . .	9,200	7,182	14.7	48.1	62.8
Kwena . .	8,200	1,003	13.6	36.3	49.9
Maletse . .	1,558	635	7.0	50.0	57.0
Tlōkwa . .	442	442	13.8	48.0	61.8
Kgatla . .	4,400	1,973	19.0	40.2	59.2
Ngwato . .	24,700	9,725	30.5	28.5	59.0
Tati . .	3,500	1,446	14.7	43.2	57.9
	53,609	24,215	20.4	39.2	59.6

¹ The figures for the following tribes and districts are taken from the official returns (Mafeking Registry J 971): Ngwaketse, Ngwato, Ghanzi, and Kgalegadi. Those for the Kwena, Maletse and Tlōkwa, were collected by myself, and those for Tati and the Kgatla combine my own data with the official returns. The figures for Lobatsi (i.e. Lobatsi Block and Crown Lands) and the Rolong (i.e. Barolong Farms) are taken from a later, very comprehensive, check of the tax registers by the local D.C. (Mr. V. Ellenberger). No survey was made of manpower in the Tswana Reserve; the figures I quote were supplied by the District Commissioner, but those for men not with the A.P.C. are admittedly a rough estimate.

^a Including both the A.P.C. and the (Union) N.M.C.

<i>Tribe or District</i>	<i>Total no of taxpayers</i>	<i>No in sample</i>	<i>Percentage away</i>		
			<i>Army</i>	<i>Elsewhere</i>	<i>Total</i>
OKOVANGO.					
Tawana ..	7,500	7,500	4 7	4 0	8 7
KALAHARI					
Ghanzi .	513	513	1 6	0 1	1 7
Kgalagadi .	1,391	1,391	7 2	17 0	24 2
GRAND TOTAL.	63,013	33,619	15 8	30 2	46 0

The figures given in the Table cannot be accepted unreservedly. Not only do the samples vary greatly in relation to total number of taxpayers, but in certain instances (notably the Ngwato) the inquiry was limited to men of the able-bodied age-groups and did not touch the others at all. It is indeed a defect of the method generally that it relates not to the whole of the adult male population in each tribe or district, but only to men listed in the tax registers; it excludes, for instance, those exempted from tax because of old age, poverty, sickness, or some other factor, and those (like youths at school or at the cattle-posts) who have not yet started to pay tax. If all these other males had been considered as well, the proportions of absentees would certainly have been reduced.

In attempting to reach a more balanced estimate of the total numbers of men away from home (during the third quarter of 1943, when my field investigations were made), I have used the following data: (a) we know, fairly accurately, how many men were then on military service, and how many were employed on the Witwatersrand gold mines and in the various districts of the Territory respectively,¹ (b) the family survey that I conducted indicates more precisely the proportions of absentees to adult male population generally in six of the principal tribes; and (c) my family survey and certain portions of the official manpower survey enable us to ascertain the relative proportions of men in the army, in the Territory (outside their own areas), and in the Union and elsewhere. By correlating the information from these different sources, I have reached the sets of figures given in the following Table. They must, of course, be accepted with reserve,

¹ The figures for the Territory were obtained through a census of Native employment specially conducted at my request by the Administration.

especially in the details for each tribe or district; but I think that the totals are on the whole fairly accurate

TABLE XII

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF ADULT MALE ABSENTEES
(JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1943)

Tribe or district	No. of Male adults	MEN AWAY FROM HOME					
		Army		Elsewhere		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
EASTERN ZONE							
a. SOUTHERN							
Kwena .	10,000	1,250	12.5	3,100	31.0	4,350	43.5
Ngwaketse ..	9,400	1,500	16.0	2,900	30.9	4,400	46.8
Kgatla ..	5,300	800	15.1	1,700	32.1	2,500	47.2
Malete ..	2,500	160	6.4	1,050	42.0	1,210	48.4
Rolong .	1,500	80	5.3	650	43.3	730	48.6
Tlókwa .	550	70	12.7	230	41.8	300	54.5
¹ Misc. ..	1,500	20	1.3	620	41.3	640	42.6
TOTAL ..	30,750	3,880	12.6	10,250	33.3	14,130	46.0
EASTERN ZONE							
b. NORTHERN							
Ngwato ..	32,500	5,200	16.0	6,800	20.9	12,000	36.9
Tati Res. .	2,800	400	14.3	1,050	37.5	1,450	51.8
² Misc. . .	3,250	150	4.6	600	18.5	750	23.1
TOTAL ..	38,550	5,750	14.9	8,450	21.9	14,200	36.8
OKOVANGO ..							
Tawana ..	10,500	350	3.3	450	4.3	800	7.6
Chobe, etc. ..	1,050	—	—	100	9.5	100	9.5
TOTAL ..	11,550	350	3.0	550	4.8	900	7.8
KALAHARI ..							
Ghanzi ..	1,350	10	0.7	20	1.5	30	2.2
Kgalagadi ..	1,800	10	0.6	230	12.8	240	13.3
TOTAL ..	3,150	20	0.6	250	7.9	270	8.6
GRAND TOTAL	84,000	10,000	11.9	19,500	23.2	29,500	35.1

¹ European areas and Crown Lands of Lobatse and Gaborone districts.

² Tuli Block and European areas and Crown Lands of Francistown district.

It should be noted, firstly, that just over one third of the absentees (33·8 per cent) are in the army; at the time of investigation, there were approximately 9,500 men in the A.P.C. and 500 in the N.M.C. of the Union. This must of course be regarded as an abnormal type of migration, due solely to the war; and although it is probable that many of the men concerned would ordinarily have been working abroad, we cannot assume that they would all have been away together at one time. I shall return to this point below.

The local variations among the eastern tribes in proportions of men on active service may be attributed partly to different methods of recruitment, and partly to differences in tribal discipline. It is notorious, for instance, that many men from the border tribes made their way into the Union, or hid in the veld, to avoid being enlisted. Such methods of escape were less easy among, say, the Ngwato and Ngwaketse, which are farther inland and are also more efficiently controlled by their chiefs. In the Kalahari region there are no large tribal communities, and recruiting for the A.P.C. was probably not pushed very actively. The low proportion of recruits from the Tawana Reserve may also be due partly to lack of zeal among the tribal authorities, although the alleged unsuitability of the people has been mentioned as another factor.

Turning now to the absentees who are not in the army, we find that, in general, proportionately many more men are away from the eastern zone than from the Okavango and Kalahari regions, and that the proportion in the south-eastern tribes is also much higher than in the north-east. Proximity to the Union probably has much to do with these local variations, but it is not the only factor. Until the end of 1934 the areas north of latitude 22° S. were closed to recruiting for the Witwatersrand gold mines, and men from those areas are still legally prohibited from entering the Union to seek employment in other spheres of industry. Moreover, there is greater scope for local employment in both the Ngwato Reserve and the Francistown District (which includes the Tati Native Reserve). Both factors have no doubt contributed to restrict the number of migrants from this region. On the other hand, geographical situation seems to be largely responsible for the relatively small proportion of men away from the Okavango and Kalahari regions, which until fairly recently were isolated and difficult to reach. It is only

within the past ten years that labour recruiting has been carried on actively in the Tawana Reserve and the Kgalagadi District. In the Ghanzi District, moreover, people can usually find work with the local European farmers, and therefore have less inducement to go abroad.

A further point arises if we consider again the figures for the eastern zone. It will be seen that, in general, the highest proportions of labour migrants are from the Mafefe, Rolong and Tlôkwa Reserves in the south, and the Tati Native Reserve in the north. As shown in Table I, these four Reserves are not only the smallest but also the most densely settled in the Territory. It is possible, therefore, that in these particular instances overstocking and congestion of population may have a direct bearing upon the extent of migration ¹

It should be added, finally, that the total number of absentees shown in Table XII has almost certainly been inflated by war-time conditions. Not only have some men enlisted (or run away) who otherwise might not have gone abroad, but their period of absence has been compulsorily prolonged. Hence many more men were away at the time of investigation than might normally have been the case. We cannot say definitely how many men would have been abroad had it not been for the war. A rough estimate, however, may be made on the following lines. In the third quarter of 1943, the average number of men employed monthly on the Witwatersrand gold mines was 10,500, and the total number of labour migrants was approximately 19,500. During the three years immediately preceding recruitment for the army (i.e. 1938-40), the average number of men employed monthly on the gold mines was 12,700. Hence, if we assume that the ratio of mineworkers to other labour migrants over the past few years has been fairly constant, we can say that, in general, the average number of men away from home during 1938-40 was approximately 23,500, i.e. 28.0 per cent of the total adult male population. The proportions for the various geographical regions would then be as follows:-

¹ The causes of migration are examined in detail in Chapter IV.

TABLE XIII

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF MEN AWAY FROM HOME, 1938-40

<i>Region</i>	<i>Adult males</i>	<i>No. of absentees</i>	<i>%</i>
Eastern zone: South . . .	30,750	12,400	40.3
North . . .	38,550	10,140	26.3
Okovango . . .	11,550	660	5.7
Kalahari . . .	3,150	300	9.5
TOTAL . . .	84,000	23,500	27.7

Age Composition and Marital State

The figures given above cannot be fully appreciated unless we correlate them with the various age-groups into which the population is divided. This I have tried to do in the following Table, which shows the numbers and percentage proportions of males in each age-group who were away from home at the time of investigation. The proportions are based upon the family survey that I conducted in six of the eastern tribes; I have had to assume, in the absence of the necessary data, that they apply equally elsewhere.

TABLE XIV

DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY AGE-GROUPS

<i>Age-group</i>	<i>No. of men</i>	<i>MEN AWAY FROM HOME</i>					
		<i>Army</i>		<i>Elsewhere</i>		<i>Total</i>	
		<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
15-29	35,850	4,300	12.0	10,900	30.4	15,200	42.4
30-44	24,800	5,550	22.4	6,975	28.1	12,525	50.5
45-59	13,750	150	1.1	1,200	8.7	1,350	9.8
60-74	7,350	—	—	400	5.4	400	5.4
75+	2,250	—	—	25	1.1	25	1.1
TOTAL	84,000	10,000		19,500		29,500	

As would be expected, the highest proportions of migrants are found in the two able-bodied age-groups (15-44), where altogether nearly half (45.7 per cent) of the men are away. It will be noticed, however, that the older of these groups has more men in the army than the younger group, whereas the converse is true of labour migrants. The difference is due primarily to

the system of recruiting for the A.P.C. The original intention, in most tribes, was that the younger men, and especially the youths, should remain at home to look after the cattle. The fact that so many of them are at work instead reflects the extent to which labour migration has become a part of tribal life. The junior age-group, it should be added, also includes boys who are still at school and many others who are too young to be recruited for the mines. This helps to explain why the total proportion of migrants from this group is lower than that of the succeeding group. It is interesting also to note that even in the older age-groups (especially 45-74) the proportion of absentees is by no means insignificant; it is to these groups, in fact, that many of the men belong who have gone away permanently.

Inquiries into the marital state of the absentees brought out another significant fact. The relevant data are given in the following Table, which again is based primarily upon the family survey that I conducted.

TABLE XV
MARITAL STATE OF MIGRANTS

Age-group	No. of men	MEN AWAY FROM HOME					
		Army		Elsewhere		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married ¹							
15-29	5,350	1,350	25.2	1,025	19.1	2,375	44.4
30-44	18,600	4,825	25.9	2,400	12.9	7,225	38.8
45-59	12,850	145	1.1	810	6.3	955	7.4
60-74	7,180	—	—	260	3.6	260	3.6
75+	2,230	—	—	5	0.2	5	0.2
TOTAL	46,210	6,320	13.7	4,500	9.7	10,820	23.4
Single ¹							
15-29	30,500	2,950	9.7	9,875	32.4	12,825	42.0
30-44	6,200	725	11.7	4,575	73.8	5,300	85.5
45-59	900	5	0.6	390	43.3	395	43.9
60-74	170	—	—	140	82.4	140	82.4
75+	20	—	—	20	100.0	20	100.0
TOTAL	37,790	3,680	9.7	15,000	39.7	18,680	49.4

¹ 'Married' men include widowers and divorcees; 'single' men are those who have never married.

The figures suggest the following conclusions:

(a) On the whole, less than one quarter of the married men are away from home, whereas among unmarried men the proportion of absentees is more than twice as great

(b) In the youngest age-group (15-29), marital state has no significant bearing upon migration, since both married and single men are away in equally high proportions. But whereas the majority of married migrants in this group are on active service, among the unmarried men by far the greater proportion are working in the Union and elsewhere.

(c) In the succeeding age-group (30-44), the proportion of married absentees is still fairly high, although about two-thirds of them are with the A.P.C. or N.M.C. The proportion of unmarried absentees, however, is now very much larger, and again the great majority are at work and not with the army. Moreover, they greatly exceed the corresponding proportion in the junior age-group, owing mainly perhaps to the fact that the latter includes many youths still at school or looking after cattle.

(d) In the three senior age-groups (45+), the proportion of married absentees is relatively small, and it decreases progressively as the men grow older. There are comparatively few unmarried men in these age-groups. In the youngest of the three groups (45-59), the proportion of unmarried absentees is not specially significant, except in comparison with the married men of the same group. But in the other two groups the proportion is again very high. However, as we shall see below, many of these absentees have been away so long that they are now considered lost to their tribes, and it is possible that they have married abroad unknown to their relatives at home.

There is obviously a marked tendency for men as they grow older and marry to settle down permanently at home, whereas while they are still single they continue to go abroad. It is significant, too, that most of the married migrants are with the army. This may be due partly to the fact that in some tribes recruiting for the A.P.C. was in effect carried out by conscription, and that many more married than unmarried men were home at the time. We know also that numbers of unmarried men fled into the Union to avoid being enlisted. Moreover, as already indicated, recruiting was done mainly among the more mature of the

younger men, most of whom were in fact already married. It may be assumed, therefore, that were it not for the war a larger proportion of married men would now be at home than is actually the case; but this only serves to emphasize the fact that the great majority of absentees are unmarried men.

Social Status, Wealth and Literacy

It is generally assumed, in discussions of labour migration, that the men who go away to work belong very largely to the poorer and socially inferior sections of the community. There is some evidence to support this view in regard to Bechuanaland. In tribes like the Ngwato, Tawana, and Ngwaketse, hardly any prominent members of the ruling dynasty have ever been abroad to work (although many are now serving with the A.P.C.), whereas men of what were formerly servile communities (such as the Koba, Saiwa, Tswapong and Kgalagadi) have gone away in large numbers. But we cannot speak of a uniform tendency in this direction. Nor is there any scale of social values that relates wage-labour to an inferior grade; consequently no one is demeaned by going out to work. There are many Sarwa and Kgalagadi (the two peoples at the bottom of the social ladder in Bechuanaland) who have never been abroad. On the other hand, a full brother of the present Kwena chief worked for many years in the Transvaal, and so did the present acting chief of the Malete, one of the three Kgatla regents, and three of the five 'councillors' in the same tribe. The present Tlôkwa chief and his four eldest sons have all worked on the Witwatersrand gold mines, and two of the latter (including the heir) were still there at the time of my investigation. There is thus no absolute correlation between social status and labour migration.

It is also not altogether correct to maintain that only the poorer members of a tribe go out to work. Relatively few of the men who own large herds of cattle seek manual labour abroad, but even those who are moderately wealthy by Native standards do, whereas some men who are definitely poor prefer to stay at home. A sample check of married men in three south-eastern tribes (Kgatla, Malete and Tlôkwa) gave the data incorporated in the following Table.

TABLE XVI
CORRELATION OF WEALTH AND LABOUR MIGRATION

Category	No. of men	HOME		AWAY	
		No.	%	No.	%
Cattle owners ..	361	190	52.6	171	47.4
Without cattle ..	101	42	41.6	59	58.4

The figures show that, within the cattle-owning group, more men were at home than abroad, whereas the reverse was true of the men who did not own cattle. But the differences, especially in the former group, are not large enough to be specially significant.

Actually, the best commentary on the whole question is afforded by the results of inquiries I made into the labour history not only of men who were still away, but also of those found at home. The results are summarized in the following Table, which incorporates data relating to both classes of men.

TABLE XVII
PROPORTIONS OF MEN
WITH EXPERIENCE OF WORKING ABROAD

Tribe	No. of men	No. still or formerly away	Percentage
Tlôkwa .	452	434	96.0
Kgatla .	288	234	81.2
Ngwaketse ..	68	59	86.8
Ngwato .	364	256	70.3
	<u>1,172</u>	<u>983</u>	<u>83.9</u>

It will be seen that the number with some experience of working abroad constitutes a very high proportion, especially among the three southern tribes. This suggests that relative poverty and inferior social status are not the only characteristics of migrants. The point will be more fully discussed when we deal with the causes of migration.

Within relatively recent years another factor has tended to govern migration. The (Union) Native Economic Commission wrote in 1932 about conditions in that country:¹

¹ Report (U G 22, 1932), par 85 (p 13).

'The dead uniformity of life in the Reserves results in an emigration of a large number of Natives who desire to follow occupations other than primitive pastoralism and peasant farming. This includes many of the more advanced Natives. The Reserve Natives are thus continually being deprived of many of their people who, by following more advanced methods, would gradually work like a leaven throughout Reserve communities. "The exodus of Natives with brain and education," said one witness, "is having a terrible effect on the territories".'

During my early visits to Bechuanaland, I found a similar situation in the Kgatla Reserve, about which I wrote in 1933:¹

'A fair number of those who have made their homes outside the Reserve are artisans or teachers for whom there is no prospect of employment inside it, so that actually the loss to the tribe is greater than would appear from figures alone. . . . Conditions are not so bad as they appear to be in the Union, but the loss of these men is unquestionably prejudicial to the future development of these people.'

Since then, conditions have improved greatly, owing mainly to the many new openings created for literate Natives in teaching, tribal administration, and various other spheres of public service. Inquiries I made into the educational attainments of all taxpayers in sample wards (among the Tlôkwa, Kgatla, Ngwato, Ngwaketse, and Khurutshe of the Tati Native Reserve) showed that there is a much higher proportion of migrants among illiterate and poorly-educated men than among those more advanced in their schooling. This is shown in the following Table, which is confined to men below the age of forty-five (whose opportunities for education were better than those of their seniors).

TABLE XVIII
EDUCATIONAL STANDARD OF LABOUR MIGRANTS

Standard ²	No. of men	HOME ²		AWAY ²	
		No	%	No.	%
Nil	281	95	12.2	686	87.8
1-3	245	29	11.8	216	88.2
4-6	107	44	41.1	63	58.9
7+	33	16	48.5	17	51.5
TOTAL ..	1,166	184	15.8	982	84.2

¹ 'Labour migration from a Bechuanaland Native Reserve.' *Journal of the African Society* vol. 33 (1934), p. 52

² Under the heading 'Home', I have classed all men who are now (a) working locally for wages, (b) farming, without having ever gone out to work, and (c) with the A.P.C., but without previous experience of working abroad. The heading 'Away' includes all who were (a) working abroad

It will be gathered that in general the standard of education is low. Only one-third of the men are literate, and less than one in thirty have gone beyond the primary stages at school (i.e. beyond Standard VI). However, our immediate concern is with the correlation between labour migration and education. It is obvious from the Table that, whereas the vast majority of illiterate and poorly educated men go away to work, those who are better qualified remain at home to a much greater extent. As we shall see later, one reason is that these men are more often able to find suitable employment in the Territory. It may be noted, nevertheless, that even in the best-educated group more than half the men are or have been away at work.

Destinations and Occupations of Migrants

The figures given above about the extent of migration relate to all the men who, at the time of investigation, were away from their homes for reasons other than visiting. I have not included in them the men working inside their own Reserves, either for Europeans or at some other form of wage-labour. However, as will be shown in due course, the number so occupied is relatively small. The vast majority of men not engaged in farming at home are employed outside their own Reserve, either in some other part of the Territory, or in the Union and elsewhere.

Destinations

The following Table indicates approximately the numbers and proportions of men from each tribe or district who, at the time of investigation, were (a) in some part of the Territory outside their own tribal area, (b) in the Union, or (c) in some other country. Men serving in the army have been excluded. The figures were obtained by correlating various sources of information, including my family survey, the official manpower survey, the Native employment census of the Protectorate, and checks of sample wards. Here and there the details may be inaccurate, but the totals, especially for the south-eastern and north-eastern regions, are probably reliable enough for our purpose.

at the time of inquiry, (b) farming at home, but with previous experience of labour migration, and (c) with the A.P.C., but also with previous experience of labour migration. The educational categories used are 'Nil', i.e., with no schooling at all, and '1-3' etc., i.e. passed Standards I, etc., at school, '7+' includes those who have passed the Junior Certificate or Matriculation examinations, or hold a teaching diploma.

TABLE XIX

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR MIGRANTS

Tribe or district	Men abroad	TERRITORIES					
		B P		Union		Other	
		No	%	No.	%	No.	%
EASTERN ZONE							
a. SOUTHERN							
Kwena	3,100	120	3.9	2,970	95.8	10	0.3
Ngwaketse ..	2,900	210	7.2	2,690	92.8	—	—
Kgatla	1,700	60	3.5	1,620	95.3	20	1.2
Rolong	650	50	7.7	600	92.3	—	—
Malete	1,050	50	4.8	995	94.8	5	0.5
Tlôkwa	230	15	6.5	215	93.5	—	—
Misc	620	95	15.3	525	84.7	—	—
TOTAL ..	10,250	600	5.9	9,615	93.8	35	0.3
EASTERN ZONE.							
b. NORTHERN							
Ngwato	6,800	750	11.0	5,850	86.0	200	2.9
Tati Res. ..	1,050	210	20.0	820	78.1	20	1.9
Misc.	600	60	10.0	515	85.8	25	4.1
TOTAL ..	8,450	1,020	12.1	7,185	85.0	245	2.9
OKOVANGO ..	550	80	14.5	450	81.8	20	3.6
KALAHARI ..	250	100	40.0	150	60.0	—	—
GRAND TOTAL..	19,500	1,800	9.2	17,400	89.2	300	1.5

It will be noticed, firstly, that less than one-tenth of all labour migrants are employed in the Territory itself. The proportion is lowest among the south-eastern tribes, more than twice as high in the north-eastern and Okovango regions, and highest of all in the Kalahari region. The north-eastern peoples are employed mainly in the Francistown district, but there are many Ngwato scattered about in other parts of the Territory. The high proportion from the Kalahari region (Ghanzi and Kgalagadi districts) reflects primarily the small extent of migration generally from this region; the number of men concerned is by no means large, and most of them are employed as herdsmen, etc., by

farmers and traders in adjoining districts. Throughout Bechuanaland there are of course many other people working inside their own tribal areas or districts, so that the total number of migrants given here does not indicate the full range of Native employment in the Territory. But it is significant that the vast majority of migrants go beyond the borders of the country. The reason will become apparent when we discuss, in due course, the opportunities and forms of wage-labour that exist in Bechuanaland.

It will be seen also that only a very small proportion of men go from the Territory to countries other than the Union. The great majority of such men are Ngwato, and almost all of them go to Southern Rhodesia; there they work mainly on farms and mines, although some are also employed as domestic servants and unskilled industrial labourers in towns like Bulawayo and Salisbury. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, a much larger proportion of men went to Southern Rhodesia, especially from the Ngwato and Kgatla Reserves; but the higher wages and other attractions offered in the Union have since diverted the flow of labour. At the present time, migrants to Rhodesia come mainly from the Francistown district and the adjoining Bokalaka district of the Ngwato Reserve, both of which are right on the border and therefore very close by.

A few other men were reported to be working in South-West Africa, which from 1923 onwards attracted a fair amount of labour from the Territory. Since recruiting for the local diamond mines ceased in 1930, however, hardly anybody has gone there, and the men concerned seem to have remained over from earlier days.

The only other country outside the Territory and the Union that was mentioned as a destination of migrants was Basutoland. But the few men stated to have gone there turned out on inquiry to be ex-policemen whose home it originally was, and who had gone back after retirement, taking with them the wives they had married in Bechuanaland.

By far the overwhelming majority of migrants go to the Union. Their main destinations in that country are shown in the following Table, which is derived from the sources of information already mentioned.

TABLE XX

DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANTS WITHIN THE UNION

Tribe of district	Men in Union	REGION OR PROVINCE					
		Rand ¹		Tvl. misc. ²		Other ³	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
EASTERN ZONE							
a. SOUTHERN							
Kwena	2,970	2,800	94.3	100	3.4	70	2.4
Ngwaketse	2,690	2,500	92.9	80	3.0	110	4.1
Kgatla	1,620	1,250	77.2	300	18.5	70	4.3
Rolong	600	390	65.0	90	15.0	120	20.0
Malete	995	850	85.4	100	10.1	45	4.5
Tlókwa	215	190	88.4	20	9.3	5	2.3
Misc.	525	410	78.1	80	15.2	35	6.7
TOTAL	9,615	8,390	87.3	770	8.0	455	4.7
EASTERN ZONE							
b. NORTHERN							
Ngwato	5,850	4,400	75.2	1,100	18.8	350	6.0
Tati Res.	820	760	92.7	40	4.9	20	2.4
Misc.	515	400	77.7	90	17.5	25	4.9
TOTAL	7,185	5,560	77.4	1,230	17.1	395	5.5
OKOVANGO	450	450	100.0	—	—	—	—
KALAHARI	150	100	66.6	—	—	50	33.3
GRAND TOTAL	17,400	14,500	83.3	2,000	11.5	900	5.2

In general, five-sixths of all the Protectorate men working in the Union are concentrated on the Rand. There are, however, some interesting tribal variations. The Tawana (Okovango), Kwena and Ngwaketse, especially, have a very high proportion of migrants on the Rand; the Rolong, Ngwato and Kgatla, on the other hand, are relatively far more scattered over other parts of the Transvaal and the Union generally. Some possible reasons for the difference are mentioned below. The localities most favoured in the Transvaal, apart from the Rand, are towns like

¹ 'Rand' = Witwatersrand area of the Transvaal.

² 'Tvl. misc.' = localities in the Transvaal outside the Rand.

³ 'Other' = Cape Province, Natal, Orange Free State.

Pretoria, Rustenburg, Zecrust, and Brits, and the farms and base metal mines of the Western Transvaal.

Outside the Transvaal, the most popular destination seems to be Mafeking, only sixteen miles from the southern border of the Territory. It is the principal settlement of the Rolong, and is consequently much frequented by the inhabitants of the Barolong Farms; it also attracts many Ngwaketse labourers, some of whom have relatives who settled there long ago. The cement works at Slurry, close to Mafeking, likewise employ many Rolong, Ngwaketse and members of other south-eastern tribes. Other men are found working in coastal towns as far away from home as Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Durban, or inland at Kimberley¹ and Vryburg, and a number, employed chiefly by the South African Railways, are scattered widely over the smaller towns and villages of the Cape. The manganese mines at Postmasburg were fairly popular for a few years, and attracted many men from the adjoining Kgalagadi district as well as other parts of the Territory.

Occupations

The occupations in which migrants engage are as diversified as their distribution. The majority are employed on the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. According to figures supplied by the Chamber of Mines, the number of Protectorate Natives working on the mines at the time of investigation (July–September, 1943) was approximately 10,500. This represents 72.4 per cent of the men on the Rand, 60.4 per cent of all those in the Union, and 53.8 per cent of the total number of labour migrants (including those in the Territory). The figures are important in two respects. They show on the one hand how greatly the economic welfare of the Territory is linked up with the prosperity of the gold mining industry. But they indicate also that about two-fifths of the men going abroad from the Territory are engaged in some other occupation, many of them in localities and under conditions where their movements cannot be as easily checked as those of workers on the mines.

It should be added that mine work seems to vary in popularity from one tribe to another. According to figures obtained from investigating sample wards, between 80 and 90 per cent of the

¹ Most of the men found in this town to-day are long-standing deserters from home, who went there prior to the 1932 slump.

Malete, Tlôkwa, Ngwaketse and Kwena, working on the Rand, are employed on the gold mines, but only 66 per cent of the Ngwato, and as little as 52 per cent of the Kgatla. If we consider all labour migrants, the respective proportions of those going to the mines from different tribes are as follows: Kwena 77 per cent; Tlôkwa 74 per cent; Ngwaketse 72 per cent, Malete 67 per cent; Ngwato 43 per cent; and Kgatla 38 per cent.¹

The relatively low figure for the Ngwato may be due to the fact that part of their Reserve (the area north of lat 22° S) was closed to recruiting for the gold mines until a few years ago, and that, owing possibly to the war, it has not yet been fully exploited by the two main recruiting agencies. In 1935, for instance, the local District Commissioner reported:¹

'The Ngwato District has only recently been the source of any number of recruits for the Mines. Increased quotas of Mine Labour in this District only began less than two years ago, so there has hardly been time to note any marked effect, especially as prior to this and when the cattle markets were open exceedingly few natives were recruited for the Mines, in fact, the Chief was much against it. The number of natives proceeding to seek work voluntarily is largest from the Bokalaka District and from the Tswapong District. The Matswapong seem to prefer domestic and farm work and the Makalaka prefer to ride a bicycle to Johannesburg and seek work with building contractors to being recruited for Mine work.'

It is probable that the habit of seeking work in other spheres of industry has persisted because the people have grown accustomed to such forms of work. There has also been more intensive recruiting in the Ngwato Reserve than in other parts of the Territory for the citrus plantations at Zebediela and iron ore mines like Thabazimbi, and this may have helped to reduce the flow of labour to the gold mines.

The still lower figure for the Kgatla is due very largely to the definite prejudice that these people have against working on the mines. On this point I wrote in 1933:²

'The mines do not attract many of them, they dislike the work, and are afraid of the dangers involved. . . . The Chiefs, too, discourage their men from going there (except when it is necessary to earn money for hut tax), and prefer them to engage in some more useful occupation. Chief Isang, for instance, would urge them to go to the farms or to engage in such work as road-making, where the knowledge they gained could afterwards be applied by them at home; but as for the mines, "Any fool can play about with dynamite," he scornfully remarked.'

¹ Mafeking Registry, J.7890.

² 'Labour migration from a Bechuanaland Native Reserve,' *Journal of the African Society*, vol 33, pp 48 f.

This attitude is due mainly to the many deaths suffered by Kgatla on the mines at the close of the nineteenth century, as the result of which the chiefs for a long time would not permit any recruiting for this type of labour inside the Reserve. It was only in 1937 that the ban was lifted. Apparently, however, the prejudice still persists, for in 1938 the local District Commissioner wrote to the Government representative on the Rand:

'I agree entirely that it is a much better plan for our natives to go on contract to the Mines, where it is possible to keep touch with them and prevent detribalisation as far as that is possible. I have of course always recognized that, but unfortunately the Bakgatla have a good answer for it when it is put to them. They point out that even the risk of detribalisation is worth facing just as long as their young men can have an opportunity of learning some worth-while trade whilst they are at the same time earning money. The Bakgatla ask what on earth is the use of their young men learning to become miners. That trade, they say, is of no use to them when they return to their Reserves.'

The main occupations of men working on the Rand outside the gold mines are reflected in the following list, compiled from data collected by the local Government representative in regard to various municipalities outside Johannesburg itself:

TABLE XXI

OCCUPATIONS (EXCLUDING MINING) OF MEN ON THE RAND

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>No employed</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Industrial (factories, etc)	299	30.6
Domestic servants	229	23.4
'Labourers' (unspecified)	152	15.5
Municipal employees	102	10.4
Farm hands (kitchen gardens)	82	8.4
Commercial (shops and stores)	66	6.7
S A Railways	19	1.9
Miscellaneous	30	3.1
	979	100.0

It will be seen that less than one-quarter are employed as domestic servants. The great majority of the others either work in factories, smelting works, breweries, brick works, power stations, building trades, etc, or as drivers and delivery 'boys' for commercial firms, or are employed in various unskilled capacities by engineering, sewage and other municipal departments. The Kgatla, especially, work in fairly large numbers for the Johannesburg and Krugersdorp Municipalities,¹ and a few men of the

¹ In 1933, the tribal secretary of the Kgatla gave me the addresses of 496 men who had sent home their tax payments from abroad. They were distributed as follows:

same tribe have even set up business on their own as butchers, bootmakers, etc

Similar data is not available regarding Johannesburg itself, nor about the other areas in the Union outside the Rand. Some indication, however, is provided by the following information obtained in the Territory among the Ngwato and the Kgatla. The figures all relate to localities in the Transvaal outside the Rand, but the occupations were not always specified clearly enough to permit of more than a rough classification.

TABLE XXII
OCCUPATIONS IN AREAS OUTSIDE THE RAND

Type of Employment	Ngwato		Kgatla		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No	%
Urban (miscellaneous) .	181	35.6	68	39.1	249	36.5
Mines and quarries . ..	187	36.7	20	11.5	207	30.3
Farms and plantations . .	131	25.7	73	42.0	204	29.9
S.A. Railways	10	2.0	13	7.5	23	3.4
	509	100.0	174	100.1	683	100.1

Under 'mines and quarries' are included places like Thabazimbi (iron ore), Boshhoek (chrome), and Rooiberg and Leeuwpoort (tin). The farms are mainly private ranches, but many men also go to large plantations like Zebediela (citrus), the Union Government experimental farm at Rustenburg (tobacco and cotton), and Hartley's, Magaliesberg (tobacco). However, as will have been gathered from the data given above, relatively few Protectorate Natives go to work on farms. They usually consist of men who are either too young or medically unfit for work on the gold mines, but include a number making their way on foot to the Rand without passes. Within recent years, moreover, the Administration has consistently refused to license agents wishing to recruit agricultural labour for the Union, the

	No	%
Witwatersrand gold mines	202	40.7
Rand Municipalities	186	37.5
Rand (odd jobs)	23	4.6
Rand (unemployed)	18	3.6
Rustenburg (platinum mines)	34	6.9
Rustenburg town (odd jobs)	29	5.8
Rustenburg (farms)	4	0.8

The figures cannot be regarded as a random sample, but the high proportion of municipal labourers is worth noting.

main objection being the lack of such facilities as deferred pay and arrangements for repatriation (A special exception, however, was made in regard to Zebediela, where the necessary facilities were provided.) Consequently, the majority of the men not employed on mines are found working in some form of unskilled industry or distributive trade in urban areas like Rustenburg, Zeerust, and Mafeking

• *Period of Absence*

Length of Migratory Career

It is difficult to ascertain how many years the average Protectorate Native spends as a migrant labourer.¹ The only detailed figures I have bearing on this come from the Ngwato and Tlôkwa; and, since they were derived from the statements of the men themselves, who sometimes were not certain exactly when they first migrated (or finally returned home), they cannot be regarded as altogether reliable. However, they are useful enough as indicating tendencies. In the following Table, I have separated the men from or about whom information was received into two categories: (a) 'former migrants', i.e. elderly or middle-aged men, now at home, who stated that they did not intend to go away again; and (b) 'present migrants', i.e. younger men now at home, and all other men still away. The numbers of years denote the approximate period for which the men continued to go out to work, and the number of men in each column is expressed as a percentage of the total for that category.

TABLE XXIII
LENGTH OF MIGRATORY CAREER

Category	No of men	No. of Years				
		0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21+
Former Migrants:						
Ngwato . . .	61	62	16	18	2	2
Tlôkwa . . .	102	33	28	23	9	7
Present Migrants:						
Ngwato . . .	118	39	34	15	9	3
Tlôkwa . . .	258	46	30	17	5	2

¹In the evidence submitted on behalf of the Gold Producers' Committee to the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Commission it was stated in regard to Union Natives that 'The working age of the mine labourer is shown to be between 18 and 40, during which time he spends about 12 years on the mines.' (Memorandum headed 'Summing up and Argument', p. 40)

There is a marked difference between the two tribes in regard to 'former migrants'. Among the Ngwato, nearly two-thirds of the men had a migratory career lasting less than five years, and only 22 per cent continued to go abroad for ten years or more. The average period for the whole group is approximately six years. Among the Tlôkwa, on the other hand, the corresponding average is nine years. Only one-third of the men worked abroad for five years or less, and 39 per cent continued to go abroad for ten years or more. The Tlôkwa, in other words, formerly tended to work abroad for longer periods than the Ngwato.

Nowadays, there is relatively little difference between the two tribes, and the figures actually show slightly longer periods of service for the Ngwato. Among them, 27 per cent of the 'present migrants' have already been going away for ten years or more, and the average for the whole group has been raised to eight years. Among the Tlôkwa, the corresponding average is seven years, and the number of men working abroad for ten years or more is 24 per cent of the total. It must be realized, however, that the men of this category have not yet settled down finally at home, and many of them are in fact still away. This is the reason, for instance, why the figures for the Tlôkwa are now lower than they were for the 'former migrants'. The samples are perhaps too small to justify the drawing of definite conclusions. But the evidence certainly suggests that the Ngwato, at least, are tending to work abroad for longer periods than formerly, and statements made by informants in other tribes indicate that this feature is characteristic of the Territory generally.

Duration of Visits Home

The figures given above do not indicate periods of continuous absence from home. On the contrary, the great majority of men come home at least once during the course of their migratory career, and many make several trips abroad (sometimes four or five) before finally settling down. The reason men usually give for their visits home is that they wish to help with the ploughing. This is confirmed by the monthly figures for mine recruitment, which show that there is a definite seasonal fluctuation in output, correlated with the agricultural calendar. Men usually leave home in January or February, just after ploughing, and return again in October or November, just before the planting season begins. Some men, again, tire of their work in the towns, and

say candidly that they have come home to rest for a while. Others may have been called back to attend to domestic or tribal affairs, or come of their own accord to see their parents and other relatives. Again, all mine labourers recruited by the W.N.L.A. are repatriated by the Association when they have finished their contract period of service (twelve months). This is not done with labourers recruited by the N.R.C.

It is a common complaint nowadays that the younger men seldom stay home long on such visits, but go back to work after only a few months or even weeks. The matter was raised at the meeting of the Native Advisory Council in 1936, when the chief of the Kwená requested that 'boys when they return from the mines be forced to stay at home for at least six months before being allowed to take a new contract'.¹ The request was endorsed by other speakers, but no immediate action was taken. In 1939 the same suggestion was again put before the Council, this time by the Administration itself. The acting chief of the Malete protested that it would interfere with the 'bonus' system, whereby men who return to the mines within four months of their discharge are taken on again at the same rate of pay as they were receiving when they left, instead of starting again at the minimum; and he added that this was the reason 'why many of us do not remain at home too long'. The Council as a whole, however, agreed to accept the Government proposal if it were made into law.²

Nevertheless, the consolidating Native Labour Proclamation of 1941 does not stipulate anywhere that a minimum period shall be spent at home before a man may again go out to work. I have been unable to discover the reason for this omission, unless it is, as the Resident Commissioner minuted in 1942,³ that

'it would be impossible without the closest co-operation by the Union Authorities to keep men at home for specified periods between contracts since they can at any time cross the border unhampered, work on farms and so drift back to the mines or other industrial occupations. The Protectorate thus loses their taxes and tribal control is still further weakened.'

¹ Minutes, N.A.C., 17th session (1936), p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, 20th session (1939), pp. 26, 30. The 'bonus' system referred to is more accurately described as follows in the *Report of the Mine Natives' Wages Commission* (U.G. 21, 1944) par. 86:

'The labourer who, by reason of his length of service and efficiency or either, is receiving pay at a rate in excess of the minimum will, if he leaves for home at the conclusion of his contract, usually be re-employed by the same mine at the same increased rate if he returns to that employment within a period of twelve months in the case of tropical natives, eight months in the case of Portuguese natives and six months in the case of all others.'

³ R.C. to Govt. Secty., 5.12.42 (Mafeking Registry, 8313/6).

In the memorandum submitted on behalf of the High Commission Territories to the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission in 1943, the matter was raised once more. 'The Governments of the Territories', it was stated, 'consider that for the social and political well-being of the Territories it is of paramount importance that the able-bodied men should be compelled to spend a greater proportion of the young and energetic period of their lives at their homes.' It was consequently desirable that 'No returned labourer, unless specially exempted, may be recruited for further service in the Union within six months of the expiry of his previous contract'¹ No indication, however, is given of the method by which this proposal is to be put into effect, nor is any reference made to it in the Report of the Commission.

There is little doubt that the average length of time spent at home by migrant labourers has been diminishing steadily. This is shown very strikingly by figures collected in regard to the gold mines. In 1931 the Director of Native Labour (Union of South Africa) made a test check of Natives arriving in Johannesburg, and men who had previously been employed on the Rand were asked to state how long they had been at home before returning to work. A similar check was made in 1943 at the request of the Mine Natives' Wages Commission. The figures for Bechuanaland are given in the following Table, the number of men in each being expressed as a percentage of the total.² It may be noted, incidentally, that the number of Bechuanaland Natives questioned in 1931 was 426, of whom 390 (91.55 per cent) had previously worked on the mines; the number questioned in 1943 was 281, of whom 213 (75.80 per cent) were former mine labourers.

TABLE XXIV
DURATION OF VISITS HOME

Year	No. of men	MONTHS				
		0-2	3-5	6-8	9-11	12+
1931	390	13.6	30.5	18.2	4.4	33.3
1943	213	35.2	26.3	9.4	8.9	20.2

¹ Mafeking Registry, 8313/6 (pars. 25 and 22(3) of memo.)

² The figures for 1931 are adapted from the Table published in *Report of the Native Economic Commission* (U.G. 22, 1932), Annexure 21-III, p. 299, and those for 1943 from *Report of the Witwatersrand Mine Natives Wage Commission* (U.G. 21, 1944), Appendix 'I', p. 55. In both instances the periods of stay at home were given in terms of single months, for convenience I

The 1943 check was made in the months of October and November. The date of the 1931 check is not given, but the figures were forwarded by the Director of Labour to the Native Economic Commission in April of that year. It is possible therefore that the two checks were made at different times of the year, so that the results may have been affected by seasonal fluctuations. As the figures stand, they show that in 1931 the proportion of migrants staying at home for twelve months or more before returning to work was exactly one-third of the total, whereas in 1943 it had decreased to only one-fifth. Moreover, the proportion of men staying at home for only two months or less is now nearly three times as great as it was in 1931, and constitutes more than one-third of the total. All this suggests that the situation about which the Native leaders complained in 1936, and on which the Administration was apparently prepared to take action in 1939, has since deteriorated still further. It may be added that in both 1931 and 1943 the proportion of Bechuanaland Natives remaining at home for twelve months or more was smaller than that for any other part of South Africa.

Time Spent Abroad

Apart from the tendency for men to remain at home for shorter periods, to which attention has just been drawn, there is ample evidence to show also that the intervals between visits home are becoming longer. In the early days, men going to work on the diamond mines at Kimberley seldom remained away for more than four to six months. The gold mines on the Rand at first insisted on a six months' contract, but in December 1903 the period was specially reduced to four months in respect of Bechuanaland Natives, owing to their 'strong reluctance . . . to be absent from their homes more than four months at a time'.¹ I have been unable to ascertain how long this special concession remained in force. At the beginning of 1924 the mines extended their normal period of contract from six months to nine, although in 1928 they also introduced the Assisted Voluntary Scheme, by which men can go to work on selected mines for periods of up to six months only, if they wish. The A.V.S., however, does not apply to men from north of latitude 22° S, whose contract period is for twelve calendar months.

The general effect of these changes is that most mine labourers

¹*Annual Report of the W.N.L.A.*, 1904, p. 16.

are now away about twice as long as, say, twenty or thirty years ago. Nevertheless, relatively few of them stay away for more than twelve months consecutively (or, in the case of 'tropicals', for more than about fifteen months); and many, as we have seen, try to be home every year in order to plough. On the other hand, men engaged in occupations other than mining usually stay away much longer, since they are seldom bound by fixed-time contracts. The few mineworkers who are in good positions, such as police and 'boss boys', also tend to remain at work for long periods, 'since they are afraid of losing their jobs.' The difference between mine labourers and others is clearly brought out in the following Table, summarizing replies to a questionnaire (circulated among the Ngwato, Kgatla and Ngwaketse) in which men now at home were asked, *inter alia*, to state how long they had been away on their most recent trip abroad.

TABLE XXV
LENGTH OF LAST STAY ABROAD (MEN NOW AT HOME)

Occupation	No. of men	YEARS					
		0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5+
Mining ..	253	88.9	7.9	1.2	0.8	0.8	0.4
Other ..	50	26.0	34.0	12.0	4.0	4.0	20.0

It will be seen that only 3.2 per cent of the mine labourers had been away from home for more than two years consecutively,¹ whereas the corresponding proportion of men engaged in other occupations is no less than 40 per cent. Even more significant is the fact that fully one-fifth of these other labourers had been away for at least five years without a break before returning home.

I made a similar investigation in regard to men still 'away' (excluding those with the A.P.C.), the object being to ascertain how many years had elapsed since their last visit home. Unfortunately I neglected in many instances to inquire into the occupations of these men, so that the figures cannot be used to distinguish between mine labourers and others. On the other

¹ A test check, covering Natives who took their discharge from the mines in 1924, showed that the average period served by men from Bechuanaland was 81 months, which was less than that from any other part of Southern Africa. The figure, however, is based upon a sample of only 26 men. (*Report, Native Economic Commission, 1932, p. 213.*) Moreover, it was only in the same year that the nine months' contract was introduced. The average period of absence from home of the 253 mineworkers listed in Table XXV above was 11.5 months.

hand, the numbers are perhaps big enough to allow of tribal differentiation.

TABLE XXVI
TIME OF ABSENCE ABROAD (MEN STILL AWAY)

Tribe	No of men	YEARS						
		0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-10	10+
Kwena ..	172	57.0	20.3	8.1	5.2	2.9	4.1	2.3
Ngwaketse ..	89	51.7	16.9	13.5	1.1	3.4	3.4	10.1
Malete ..	110	30.9	21.8	14.5	4.5	7.3	10.0	10.9
Tlôkwa ..	221	14.9	26.7	19.5	14.9	5.0	10.0	9.0
Kgatla ..	221	23.5	34.4	20.8	4.5	6.3	6.3	4.1
	813	32.3	25.7	16.1	7.1	5.0	7.0	6.8

The great majority of the men (approximately 74 per cent) have been home within the last three years. But no less than 13.8 per cent (approximately one-seventh) have been away continuously for five years or more, and nearly seven per cent have actually been away for ten years or more. Among the Malete and Tlôkwa, particularly, the men who have not been home for five years or more constitute about one-fifth of the total. This indicates once again that these two tribes have been more seriously affected by labour migration than the others. It will be noted, incidentally, that the total proportion of men away for one year or less is much smaller than that shown in Table XXV for mine workers. The explanation probably is that the men dealt with here included a large number of workers in other industries, although, as already noted, I failed to get the relevant data.

The figures tabulated above are confirmed from two other sources:

(a) Information compiled for me by the tribal secretary of the Kgatla, from records he had kept about men going to work abroad during the years 1933-37 inclusive, showed that, of 632 men,

- 14 (2 per cent) had since died;
- 219 (34 per cent) were at home (September, 1943);
- 103 (16 per cent) had joined the A.P.C.;
- 170 (27 per cent) were still away but had come home periodically since their departure; and

126 (20 per cent) had not been home at all since then, i.e., had been away continuously for more than six years.

(b) The Government representative on the Rand collected some data for me about men working (in various municipalities outside Johannesburg) at occupations other than mining. His figures show that of 882 men, about whose length of residence information was supplied by Pass Officers, 119 (i.e. 14 per cent) had been living in the Union for five years or more.

It is not surprising, therefore, that tribal authorities have complained about the length of time for which men stay away, and that requests have been made at meetings of the Native Advisory Council for a maximum period of absence (not exceeding nine months) to be embodied in all recruiting contracts.¹ The Administration also considered that the tribal system would deteriorate if men stayed away too long. Accordingly, in a circular issued in December, 1937, it was laid down, as one of the conditions henceforth required from all labour agents,²

'That recruited workers will be returned to their place of recruitment on the expiry of their contracts. It has been found in practice that the only effective method of achieving this is by the system of deferred pay.'

A further step was taken in the Native Labour Proclamation of 1941. Section 23(8) lays down that Natives locally recruited for work outside the Territory shall not be engaged for periods of more than a year (with the possibility of renewal for another nine months), provided that

'where the period of service to be stipulated in any re-engagement contract together with the period already served under the expired contract, involves the separation of any native from his family for more than eighteen months, the native shall not begin the service stipulated in the re-engagement contract until he has had the opportunity to return home at the employer's expense.'

Section 35, again, provides that the worker has the right to be repatriated at the employer's expense 'on the expiry of the period of service stipulated in the contract', as well as in certain other cases; but it appears from Section 36 that he is not bound to exercise that right. I shall return to this point in the concluding chapter.

Permanent Emigrants

The question now arises if men who stay away for lengthy

¹Cf Minutes, N A C, 17th session (1936), pp. 53 ff; *Ibid*, 19th session (1938), pp. 76 ff.

²Govt. Secty's circular memo. No. 1565/5 of 9.12.1937, par. 1(4).

periods do ever return to their tribe. It cannot be automatically assumed that a prolonged absence from home necessarily means permanent departure, since cases are known of men returning home after being away continuously for ten years or more. However, it seems reasonable to conclude that men are not likely to return if they have not communicated with their families or other relatives for a long time, have not paid local tax for many years, and have either been joined by their wives and children or are living abroad with women whom they have married there. Such men are in fact spoken of locally as *makgwelwa* (sing *lehgwelwa*), a term that may best be translated as 'deserters'.

The following Table summarizes such information as I was able to obtain, from genealogies and other sources, about the proportion of *makgwelwa* in each of the tribes studied in the field. The first three columns give the total numbers of men in the samples, the numbers of *makgwelwa*, and their percentage proportions; the last two give the estimated total number of men in each tribe, and the estimated total number of *makgwelwa*.

TABLE XXVII

PROPORTIONS OF MAKGWELWA ('TRIBAL DESERTERS')

Tribe	NOS IN SAMPLE			ESTIMATED TOTALS	
	Men	Makgwelwa	%	Men	Makgwelwa
Kgatla ..	1,121	80	7.1	5,300	375
Ngwato ..	927	60	6.5	32,500	2,110
Tlôkwa ..	452	37	8.2	550	45
Maletse .	635	56	8.8	2,500	215
Kwena .	583	22	3.8	10,000	380
Ngwaketse	483	27	5.6	9,400	525
				60,250	3,650 (=6.1%)

The following conclusions emerge:

(a) On the average, about six men out of every hundred are said by their people to have gone away permanently. This is a very high proportion, and can only be interpreted to mean that conditions in the Territory are not sufficiently attractive to ensure the return of all those going out to work.

(b) The highest proportions of loss are among the border

tribes, especially the Tlôkwa and Malcte, who are not only the smallest of the tribes under consideration, but also live in the most densely settled Reserves.

(c) The rate of loss is lowest among the Kwena. I cannot say if this is in any way correlated with the fact that their Reserve is less densely settled than that of any other tribe dealt with here.

(d) If we assume that the average for the six tribes mentioned holds for the eastern peoples generally, it would appear that of the 69,300 men belonging to those peoples about 4,200 have been permanently lost to their tribes through migration. I am unable to give any figures at all for the peoples of the Okovango and Kalahari regions, but doubt if they have suffered to anything like the same extent.

The age-groups to which the *makgwelwa* belong are shown in the following Table, which combines the figures for all the six tribes investigated. Since we are here concerned primarily with proportions, I have not tried to estimate the total number of *makgwelwa* in each age-category.

TABLE XXVIII

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MAKGWELWA

Age-group	No of men	No of <i>makgwelwa</i>	%
15-29	1,788	60	3.4
30-44	1,237	130	11.2
45-59	690	67	9.7
60+	486	16	3.3

The most striking feature of the Table is the steady increase in the proportion of *makgwelwa*. Among the men aged sixty or more, most of whom ceased their migrant career from twenty to thirty years ago, the number of *makgwelwa* is relatively small. In the succeeding age-group, whose members would mostly have started to go abroad during the period 1905-20, the proportion of loss is nearly three times as great. The next group shows a further increase, which means, if the figures are reliable, that of the men who reached active working age in the years 1920-35, one in every nine has left home permanently. The youngest age-group shows a sudden drop, but it must be realized that most of the men belonging to it have begun to go out only within the past ten or even five years; consequently one can hardly expect as yet to find many deserters among them. It is

possible also that some of the so-called *makgwelwa* in the preceding group (30-44) may still return home. But there is little reason to doubt the conclusion, to which the figures lead, that many more men are tending to abandon their tribes permanently than was the case say forty years ago.

There has been another significant change. This is indicated in the following Table, which shows the marital state of the *makgwelwa* at the time when they finally left home or their relatives last heard of them.

TABLE XXIX
MARITAL STATE OF MAKGWELWA

Age-group	No of men	Never married		Divorced or widowed		Wife at home		Wife with husband	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-29	60	34	56.6	2	3.3	—	—	24	40.0
30-44	139	40	28.8	8	5.8	11	7.9	80	57.3
45-59	67	34	50.9	8	11.9	10	14.9	15	22.4
60+	16	7	43.8	2	12.5	4	25.0	3	18.7
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	282	115	40.8	20	7.1	25	8.9	122	43.3
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

In the two senior age-groups, approximately half of the men had not yet married when they went away, and another tenth were widowed or divorced, i.e. approximately 60 per cent were single. It is almost certain that most of these men would have married subsequently, but, if they did, their relatives in the Reserves were not aware of the fact. Of the men who were actually married when they left, nearly half (43.7 per cent) abandoned their wives as well as their tribe. In the succeeding age-group, on the other hand, only about one-third of the men were described as being single at the time of their departure. The great majority of the others, moreover, were either accompanied or followed by their wives (or, in a few instances, married abroad); the proportion of abandoned wives in this group is therefore much smaller. The youngest age-group again shows a high proportion of single men, but this is to be expected considering that all of them are still less than thirty years old. More significant is the fact that all the married men of this group had their wives with them. A number were stated to have married

abroad, but the majority had taken their wives and children with them from Bechuanaland. These men do not disappear without trace, since their relatives often know where they are living; but they have apparently decided to make their homes in the Union, they generally pay Union taxes, they have no property in the Territory, and they hardly if ever return there even on a visit.

The main conclusions emerging from this portion of the survey may be stated as follows:

(a) The average loss of manpower to the Territory through 'desertion' must be regarded as high, especially when it is remembered that migrants normally represent the most able-bodied elements of their tribe.

(b) There is a higher rate of loss through desertion among the younger men, i.e. those who have gone out to work within relatively recent years, than there was among their seniors. This suggests that the tendency to stay away permanently is increasing.

(c) Proportionately many more deserters than in the old days have been accompanied or followed by their wives and children. This means that they are finding it possible to lead a family life in their new homes, and that the prospects of their ever returning are accordingly diminished.

The reasons underlying such 'desertions', and the effects they have on tribal life, will be discussed in later chapters.

Migration of Women

We saw at the beginning of this chapter that the migration of men to labour centres outside their own Reserve is a practice dating back more than seventy years. The migration of women, on the other hand, is a much more recent development, which has probably assumed significant proportions only within the last twenty years. Nevertheless, although it does not feature nearly as prominently in tribal life as does the migration of men, in some tribes it now occurs to an extent that is far from negligible. It may be added, too, that the tribal authorities almost everywhere are strongly opposed to the migration of women, and discourage it as much as possible.¹ However, as we shall see, a fairly considerable number of women do manage to get away.

¹ This point is dealt with more fully in the next chapter.

Numbers, Age and Marital State

No official records of any kind are available about the numbers of women going abroad from their tribal areas. The only statistics I have are derived from the family survey conducted among six of the eastern tribes in July–September, 1943. These figures enable us to say proportionately how many women were away at the time, but not how many leave every year, nor when the migrants had departed. The relevant data in regard to the adult women are summarized in the following Table, where I give (a) the actual numbers of women in the samples, the number abroad at the time of investigation, and the proportion of migrants; and (b) the estimated total number of women in each tribe, and the estimated total number of women away at the time of investigation. The figures in (b) have been calculated from (a) in the light of the estimates already given (cf. Table I) for the population of each tribe.

TABLE XXX
ADULT FEMALES ABSENT FROM HOME (1943)

Tribe	NOS IN SAMPLE			ESTIMATED TOTALS	
	Women	No. away	%	Women	No. away
Ngwato ..	1,332	36	2.7	33,300	900
Kwena ..	529	19	3.6	10,300	370
Ngwaketse ..	737	56	7.6	9,000	685
Tlókwa ..	520	55	10.6	590	60
Maletse ..	475	71	14.9	2,450	365
Kgatla ..	833	106	12.7	5,500	700
	4,426	343		61,140	3,080 (=5.0%)

It appears from the Table that, in general, five women out of every hundred in the tribes dealt with are away from home. If we assume that the proportion is constant for the whole of the eastern zone, we may put the total number of absentees from the zone at approximately 3,450 (in an estimated adult female population of 68,000). I have no similar data about the peoples of the Okovango and Kalahari regions. The number of female absentees from these two regions is, however, almost certainly very small. Assuming that it is as much as 100 (which is prob-

ably an over-estimate), we get a total of 3,550 female migrants for the Territory as a whole, out of an estimated adult female population of 83,000, i.e. a proportion of 4.3 per cent.

It will be seen also from the Table that the proportion of absentees is appreciably higher among the three border tribes (Tlôkwa, Maleté and Kgatla) than among those farther inland. It is highest of all among the Maleté, whose Reserve, as has been shown (Table I), is the most densely settled Native area in the Territory. There is also a higher proportion of absentees among the Ngwaketse than among the two other inland tribes. This applies equally in regard to males (see Table XII), although there the degree of difference is not so great. It may be noted in this connexion that the Ngwaketse live closer to the Union of South Africa than do the Kwená and the Ngwato. The figures thus suggest once again that there is a possible correlation between extent of migration and proximity to the Union. I shall deal more fully with this point in a later chapter.

The approximate age distribution of the female migrants is shown in the following Table, where for convenience I have combined the relevant figures from the sample groups of the six tribes investigated. (Here again, since we are interested primarily in relative proportions, I have not thought it necessary to work out the estimated total numbers of women concerned.)

TABLE XXXI
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE MIGRANTS

<i>Age-group</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>No. away</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
15-29	1,761	168	9.5
30-44	1,331	133	10.0
45-59	856	30	3.5
60+	478	12	2.5

The figures show, as one would expect, that there is a definite tendency for younger women to migrate more extensively than their seniors. The rapid increase in the 30-44 age-group, as against the 45-59 group, is parallel to what we have already noted for the males (see Table XIV).

Further light is thrown upon the nature of female migration by the following Table, which indicates the marital state of the absentees in the various age-groups.

TABLE XXXII

MARITAL STATE OF FEMALE MIGRANTS

<i>Category</i>	15-29	30-44	45-59	60+	<i>Total</i>
Never married					
No. of women ..	954	187	25	2	1,168
No. away ..	134	74	3	—	211
Percentage ..	14.0	39.6	12.0	—	18.1
Married:					
No. of women ..	771	954	534	176	2,435
No. away ..	28	44	13	6	91
Percentage ..	3.6	4.6	2.4	3.5	3.7
Divorced:					
No. of women ..	10	40	31	8	89
No. away ..	2	5	6	1	14
Percentage ..	20.0	12.5	19.4	12.5	15.7
Widows:					
No. of women ..	26	150	266	292	734
No. away ..	4	10	8	5	27
Percentage ..	15.4	6.6	3.0	1.7	3.7

In general, the highest proportion of absentees is found among women who have never married, especially those (in the age-group 30-44) whose prospects of marriage have receded but who are not yet too old to work for themselves. Next in order of frequency are women who have been divorced or abandoned by their husbands. The only conclusion one can draw from this is that many unmarried women nowadays prefer the freedom of life abroad to the irksome restrictions surrounding them if they remain at home. It must be noted in this connexion that under tribal law unmarried women, however old they are, are always subject to the authority of their father or some other male guardian, and therefore cannot lead the independent life that is possible to them in the towns. The marked drop in the proportion of absentees in the youngest group of women who have never married has no special significance, since few of the women in this group are old enough to have abandoned all hope of marriage. Many, in fact, are still considered too young to marry. They consequently lack one incentive that drives some of their less fortunate elders abroad.

An interesting feature of the Table is the increasing extent to which widows also are tending to migrate. Under tribal law, a widow should remain with her children at her late husband's

home, where she falls under the guardianship of his brother or eldest son, although if young enough she may marry again. The tendency revealed by the Table suggests that the younger widows who do not re-marry are also beginning to rebel against the traditional system of guardianship. This point will be discussed more fully when we deal with the causes of migration.

It will be seen that, in every age-group, only a relatively small proportion of women with husbands are away. But not all these women are actually with their husbands. In the whole group of 91 married women, there were 20 who had gone abroad independently. Usually such a woman has been neglected by an absentee husband. In disgust or despair, she sets out to find him and try to resume life together. Should he refuse, she may come back and ask the chief to put pressure upon him to return. Failing this, she may then go abroad again on her own without first obtaining a divorce. Occasionally, too, a wife may desert her husband and seek independence abroad. But all the other married women in the group (20.7 per cent of the whole sample) are actually living abroad with their husbands. They cannot therefore be considered as 'migrants' in the same sense as women who have left home to seek work or personal freedom.

Destinations and Occupations

The principal destinations of female migrants, as indicated in the family survey, are shown in the following Table (from which I have excluded women living with their husbands). The first two columns give the actual numbers and proportions of women according to the survey; the third column gives the estimated total numbers of women, on the assumption (see above) that the total number of migrants is 3,550, and that 79.3 per cent of these, i.e. 2,815, are single women or women living apart from their husbands.

TABLE XXXIII

DESTINATIONS OF FEMALE MIGRANTS

<i>Destination</i>	<i>No. of women</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Estimated Total</i>
Bech. Protectorate ..	19	7.0	200
Witwatersrand ..	155	57.0	1,605
Western Transvaal ..	75	27.6	775
Union (other) ..	18	6.6	185
Southern Rhodesia, etc.	5	1.8	50

The total proportion of women going to the Union is slightly higher than that of the men (91.2 per cent as compared with 89.2). On the other hand, relatively fewer find their way to the Rand, whereas the proportion going to urban and rural areas in the Western Transvaal is much higher than that for men (which is only 10.3 per cent). In those parts of the Union outside the Transvaal, Mafeking is by far the most favoured destination. The Territory itself, and Southern Rhodesia, are apparently as unattractive for the vast majority of women as they are for men. Most of the women going to Rhodesia come from the Ngwato and Tati Reserves, the factors of proximity and ease of access no doubt being a major consideration in this particular instance.

I have no statistical data about the occupations of female migrants, except in regard to Bechuanaland itself. This will be discussed later. Women going outside the Territory are said to engage mostly in domestic service, although many Kgatla and members of other border-tribes work on citrus and other plantations in the Rustenburg district of the Transvaal. Some of those going to the Rand and other urban areas do not even seek work, but live either by illicit beer-brewing or as prostitutes, sometimes combining the two.

Period of Absence

The only concrete information I have about the length of time for which women stay away comes from the Tlókwa. There I was given the names of twenty-nine women, who were all described as *makgwelwa* ('deserters'); except for one who had been divorced, and another who had deserted her husband, they were all single when they left. The periods for which they were stated to have been away may be tabulated as follows:

	Period of absence (years)					
	1	2	3	4	5-9	10+
No. of women	1	2	2	8	8	8

We can hardly regard this group as representative of ordinary female migrants, since, as just indicated, they were all said to have gone away permanently. The general impression I received from conversation with people both here and in other tribes is that women going to urban areas, and particularly the Rand, tend to stay away for several years consecutively, if they come

back at all. On the other hand, those seeking work on farms, etc., in the Western Transvaal normally return after a couple of months, usually at the end of the harvesting season. In this connexion, Chief Bathoen II writes of the Ngwaketse:¹

'Women seem to remain away much longer than men, because they mostly work as housemaids and cooks, and these particular employments are easy for them. The men at the mines, on the other hand, find conditions unsatisfactory, and return home on the completion of their contracts, unless they stay longer to acquire more money for some special purpose. . . . Women seem to move to and fro more leisurely than men, since they are not bound by obligations. It is common for them to go to farms during May to July, when they offer their services to farmers for reaping.'

Summary

The main features emerging from what has been stated in the present chapter may be summarized as follows:

(a) It is more than seventy years since Natives of Bechuana-land started going out to work in regions away from their homes. The number of migrants grew steadily with time, but since the great depression of 1930-33 there has been a very marked increase; in 1940 more than three times as many men were away as ten years previously.

(b) The number of adult males away from their own tribal area in the third quarter of 1943 may be estimated at about 29,500. About 1,800 were in other parts of the Territory, and 10,000 were in the army (African Pioneer Corps and Native Military Corps). The remainder were distributed approximately as follows: Witwatersrand, 14,500; elsewhere in the Union, 2,900; Southern Rhodesia and other territories, 300. During the three years preceding recruitment for the army, the average number of absentees at the corresponding season was about 23,500.

(c) Relatively few men go abroad from the western, more isolated, portions of the Territory (Kgalagadi, Ghanzi, and Ngamiland districts). But there is very considerable migration from the eastern districts, which not only contain the great bulk of the population, but also border directly upon the Union or else lie within easy reach. The highest proportions of labour migrants are found among the border tribes, notably the Maletle, Tlôkwa and Rolong.

(d) Among the eastern tribes generally, two men in every

¹ In a memo. on labour migration specially written for me September, 1943.

five are away from the Territory: one man in seven is in the army, and one in four is working in the Union. The proportions are higher if we consider taxpayers only: of this group, three men in every five are away—one in the army, and two in the Union.

(e) The migrants are of all ages, but the great majority (over nine-tenths) belong to the able-bodied age-groups (15-44). The proportion of married men in these groups who are away from home is about four in ten, and that of bachelors is about five in ten. Among older men, on the other hand, only one married man in eighteen is away, as against one bachelor in two. This suggests that men as they marry and grow older tend to settle down permanently at home.

(f) On the whole, about four men in five have either been abroad in the past or are still away. Most of the migrants belong to the poorer and socially inferior classes, but even among the other sections of the population relatively few have not had a spell of migration. Within recent years the more literate men have tended to stay home to a greater extent than others, owing possibly to the creation of many new openings in the public service.

(g) Roughly three men out of every five in the Union are working on the Witwatersrand gold mines, although in some tribes, notably the Kgatla and Ngwato, the proportion is much lower. Most of the other migrants are employed as unskilled labourers in various industrial and commercial enterprises; relatively few are domestic servants or farm hands.

(h) The total period for which a man remains a migrant labourer is now longer than it used to be. Mine labourers generally come home for a while after being away for about a year. Those employed in other occupations often stay away for two or more years consecutively, and the evidence indicates that periods of absence are tending to grow longer. It seems also that even mine labourers are now making their visits home much briefer than formerly.

(i) About six per cent of the men have been away so long that they are now considered lost to their tribe. Some have disappeared without trace, and others are known to have made their homes in the Union. The latter include many relatively young men who have been accompanied or followed by their wives and children—a feature that was much less common in

the past. The proportion of such 'deserters' is again highest among the Maletse and Tlôkwa

(j) During the past twenty years or so, women also have begun to find their way abroad. The number away from their tribal area in the third quarter of 1943 was approximately 3,550. About 720 of them were living together with their husbands. The number of 'independent' migrants was therefore approximately 2,830, of whom about *three-quarters* had never been married, the rest being widows, divorcées, or women who had deserted their husbands. The proportion of absentees was much higher among the border tribes than among those farther inland.

(k) More than half (57 per cent) of the 'independent' migrants were on the Witwatersrand, and just over one-quarter (27 per cent) in the Western Transvaal. The others were scattered over the Territory, the Cape Province, and Southern Rhodesia (in diminishing order of importance).

(l) Most of the women working outside Bechuanaland were apparently domestic servants, but some in rural areas were employed on farms. Those going to the Rand are said to stay away for several years consecutively, and some have never been home since they left.

Chapter Three

METHODS OF MIGRATION

THE previous chapter dealt with the extent to which people migrate from their homes, the destinations to which they go, and the length of time for which they stay away. Before we discuss the causes of this migration, certain other features must be considered. Among them are the methods by which migrants get to their destinations, and the various forms of control that have been instituted, both locally and abroad, over their movements.

Access to Labour Centres

Communications and Transport

It seems evident that migration will be governed to some extent by the distance of labour centres and the facilities that exist for getting to them. As shown in the previous chapter, proportionately many more people go abroad from the eastern districts of the Territory than from the western, and the proportions are highest among the tribes bordering directly upon the Transvaal. But, as we shall see, accessibility of labour centres is not the only factor involved, although it underlies others, such as degree of contact with Europeans and the activities of labour agents.

The western districts of the Territory (Ngamiland, Ghanzi and Kgalagadi) are separated from the rest by the wide expanse of the Kalahari Desert. They are accordingly much more isolated, and until recently contacts between them and the outside world were infrequent and difficult. In 1906, for instance, it took the Resident Commissioner twenty-eight days to travel 480 miles on an urgent political mission from Serowe to Tsau (then the capital of Ngamiland). The development of motor transport has done away with many of the difficulties encountered in the days of the ox-wagon. Since about 1930 Maun (the present capital) has become connected by road with the railheads at Livingstone, Francistown, and Palapye, all from 300 to 350

miles away. A weekly bus service is operated over the Palapye road. The W.N.L.A. constructed the Francistown road in 1937 at its own expense, and uses it mainly for the transport of recruited mine workers, but the Association's motor lorries also carry private passengers. The inhabitants of Ngamiland are therefore able to go abroad much more easily than say fifteen years ago; but, as the local District Commissioner comments,¹ the position still is that 'any native desiring to seek employment away from home at a European centre has to travel at least 300 miles by motor lorry or on foot, or, if he comes from the Kaba-mokon area, about 500 miles.'

Ghanzi, about 200 miles to the south-west, was connected by motor road with Maun in 1932. But it is most easily approached, also by road, from the railhead at Gobabis, some 200 miles away in South-West Africa. A regular bus service carries mails and passengers between the two centres. In 1931 the route was surveyed for a railway line between Gobabis, Ghanzi and Livingstone (in Northern Rhodesia). This would have opened up the whole north-western corner of the Territory and made it much more accessible, but the project has not been carried any further.

Tsabong, the administrative headquarters of the Kgalagadi District, is normally reached by road from Kuruman in the Cape Province. There is also a lorry road through the Kalahari Desert which connects Tshane, Lehututu, and other main centres of settlement in the district with Moshupa and Kanye (in the Ngwaketse Reserve). The N.R.C. operated a fortnightly bus service over this route for a short period in 1938-9, but abandoned it owing to the heavy expense. Nowadays men wishing to work on the Witwatersrand mines occasionally walk all the way to Moshupa (which is the nearest recruiting depot), or, more generally, are conveyed on traders' lorries that run about once a fortnight between that village and Lehututu—a distance of nearly 300 miles.

The eastern portions of the Territory (which, it must be remembered, contain the great bulk of the population) are and have long been much more accessible. As early as the 'seventies of last century, there was a recognized trade route from the Cape Colony and the Transvaal to the headquarters of all the principal tribes. The sole means of transport at the time was the ox-wagon.

¹ *Memorandum on the Situation in 1931* (II, 5/12).

But almost all the men going out to work in those days proceeded to their destinations on foot, the journey often taking several weeks, e.g. when they went to Kimberley. One of the main objects of Bailie's mission to Bechuanaland in 1876, on behalf of the Griqualand West Administration, was 'to induce the several Kings and Chiefs to protect and assist natives of other tribes when passing through their respective territories' to and from the diamond fields.¹

The construction of the railway from Mafeking to Southern Rhodesia in 1896-7 made travelling far more rapid, easy and safe. The line runs through the Territory for a distance of about 400 miles; it traverses most of the tribal areas, and passes fairly close to the main centres of settlement in the others. The capital of each Reserve is connected with the nearest railway station (seldom more than thirty-five miles away) by a fairly good motor road, over which a local bus service is operated two or three times a week or even more frequently. Many of the other important villages are also connected with the railway by a regular system of motor transport. It is therefore seldom that people must travel far on foot, donkey, sledge, or wagon, before they can obtain more rapid means of conveyance. And Francistown, in the extreme north, is only about thirty-six hours by train from Johannesburg.

For a short period, in and after 1930, the South African Railways ran bus services from Zeerust (in the Transvaal) to almost all the main villages in the south-eastern districts. The routes were cheaper and much shorter than by train, and the services were consequently fairly popular; but they were abandoned during the depression, and only the one to Lobatsi has since been revived. Many people, however, still make their way on foot to the nearest terminus across the border, where they take the bus to such places as Zeerust, Rustenburg and Thabazimbi. Within recent years, the bicycle has also been widely adopted as a means of travel to and from the Transvaal; and before the outbreak of war there was even a Native taxi service between the Rand and Mochudi (in the Kgatla Reserve).

Conveyance of Recruited Workers

The methods by which migrants go abroad nowadays are determined by the circumstances of their employment. If they

¹ Bluebook C.2220 (1879), p. 41.

are recruited within the Territory, they are forwarded to their destination by the labour agent, who must comply with various conditions laid down by the Administration. If on the other hand they proceed independently, whether to look for work or to resume a former occupation, they have to make their own way to the place that they want to reach.

Since most of the men going to work outside the Territory are recruited, we shall deal first with them. Until very recently, the only law relating specially to their movements was that labour agents should furnish every worker with a travelling pass, which must be countersigned by the attesting officer (Proc. 7 of 1909). The consolidating Native Labour Proclamation of 1941 contains the same stipulation (Section 23(9)). But it also lays down (Sections 32-35) that the labour agent (or employer) shall at his own expense transport workers to their destination, and must see to it that during the journey adequate safeguards are maintained for their feeding, health and comfort; in certain circumstances, he is also liable for their repatriation. The same regulations apply in respect of families authorized to accompany workers to their place of employment.

Some of the new provisions just noted were in fact already being observed by the two main recruiting agencies operating in the Territory. These are the Native Recruiting Corporation (N.R.C.) and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (W.N.L.A.), both of which recruit for the gold mines on the Rand. As early as 1903, before there was direct connexion by rail between the Territory and the Rand, men recruited by the W.N.L.A. were sent by train to Mafeking, 'and from there walk across to Krugersdorp in parties in charge of a native conductor. Rest houses with food supplies are established on the route, and also via Lobatsi and Zeerust to Malmani, affording the travelling natives shelter every night and food en route.'¹ In 1913, when the Union Government prohibited the importation of tropical labour, the W.N.L.A. ceased its activities in the Territory. It resumed them in 1934, after the removal of the ban; and since it was now able to build up an entirely new organization, we may conveniently discuss this first as providing a standard with which to compare others.

¹ *Annual Report of the W.N.L.A. for 1903*, p. 16. The tramp from Mafeking took six days, in spells of about 20 miles each. (Evidence of Mr. C. Goodyear, district manager of the W.N.L.A., *Report etc. of the Transvaal Labour Commission* (Cd. 1897, 1904), p. 193).

The territory covered by the Association's activities is limited to the area north of 22° S. lat., and consists roughly of the Tawana Reserve, the northern half of the Ngwato Reserve, the Francistown (Tati) District, and the intervening Crown Lands. In this region there are three depots supervised by Europeans: Francistown, headquarters of the District Manager; and Maun and Mohembo (both in the Tawana Reserve), each under a local Representative, who is also a salaried official and not paid on a capitation basis.¹ The depots are linked together by a motor road, some 600 miles long; the Association constructed the stretch from Francistown to Maun, and greatly improved the previously existing road from Maun to Mohembo. It maintains both stretches, aided by an annual subsidy of £625 from the Administration. At Nata Bridge (about 150 miles from Francistown) there is another depot where a European supervisor of roads is stationed. Elsewhere along the road eight rest camps have been established, usually from 50 to 80 miles apart.

Each rest camp in regular use is controlled by a Native clerk, assisted by a cook; it usually consists of sleeping accommodation for recruits and mine repatriates, kitchen, store, campkeeper's hut, and one or two European rest huts, all built of timber and daub under thatch. The camps serve mainly as collecting and distributing depots for recruits and mine repatriates respectively. They are used also as emergency rest and feeding centres for the transport service, and as lorry stops for private Native passengers. The Association has a large fleet of motor vehicles, running from 20 to 40 a month (according to requirements) between Francistown and Ngamiland; they not only serve its own activities, but also carry goods for the Government, traders, and Natives. In 1942, nearly 4,800 Native passengers (apart from recruited labourers) made use of the service.

Men wishing to go to the gold mines apply at the depots and camps. If provisionally accepted, they are housed and fed until the next transport convoy leaves for Francistown, which is seldom more than a week later. Recruits collected in Ngamiland are medically examined and attested at Maun; those recruited between Maun and Francistown are handled at Francistown. If passed as medically fit, they are interviewed by the tax collector,

¹ For the details given in this and the following paragraphs, I am indebted mainly to a memorandum kindly prepared for me by Mr. T. W. Jones, present District Manager of the W.N.L.A. Dr. E. H. Ashton (formerly A.D.C. at Francistown) provided some additional items of information.

and those owing tax and /or war levy are given one year's receipt. This is paid for by the Association, which debits it as an advance to the recruit. The attesting is then done by a Government officer. The recruits are lined up and the contract is read to them, each man's advances being specially explained to him. When they have signified their approval, the attesting officer signs the contract sheets, and asks the men if they have any questions or complaints, which are dealt with immediately. Sometimes he also explains to them the existence and 'consular' duties of the Government representative on the Rand. At the same time as the contract is compiled, each recruit is provided with a travelling pass, which is filled in by a member of the Association's staff and signed by the attesting officer. A copy of each contract and pass is sent to the District Commissioner's office for record.

Before leaving the depot where they are attested, the recruits are addressed by one of the Association's employees, who advises them generally on how to behave while at work. He tells them also that they may at any time draw upon their accumulated deferred pay in order to send cash home by means of the Association's remittance system; further, if they are in any doubt about affairs at their home, they should report to the Compound Manager of their mine, who will immediately institute inquiries through the medium of the liaison service existing for this purpose between the mines and the recruiting organizations.

From Francistown, recruits are sent to Johannesburg twice a week by rail, under the charge of a Native conductor employed by the Association. They are supplied with rations for the journey, and also receive food at Mafeking. After arrival at the Association's distributing depot in Johannesburg, the men are again medically examined. All who are passed as fit are registered to their respective mines and distributed. On reaching the mine, they are medically examined for the last time. Men rejected at either of these examinations are repatriated at the Association's expense, and no attempt is made to recover the money advanced to them for purposes other than tax and war levy.¹

When a worker has completed his contract, the procedure is reversed. He is conducted back to Francistown via the Association's distributing depot in Johannesburg, and draws his deferred pay in either Francistown or Maun (according to the

¹ Advances in respect of tax and war levy are refunded by the Administration. See below p. 109 f.

district from which he comes). At Francistown a tax collector is usually present at the distribution of deferred pay. The repatriate is fed until he leaves the recruiting depot or camp nearest his home. A store hut is available at each centre in which he can house his luggage while he goes home to fetch a suitable conveyance. (He is allowed 50 lb. weight of free baggage on the Association's lorries, but must pay, at specified rates, for any excess)

The Native Recruiting Corporation operates in those portions of the Territory lying south of 22° S. lat. In such matters as the medical examination and attestation of recruits, which are governed by law, it employs essentially the same procedure as the W.N.L.A. In other respects there are important differences.¹ This is due partly to the circumstances under which the Corporation began its activities in the Territory. The Corporation was formed in 1912 by an amalgamation of the various units recruiting for individual groups of mines. Hitherto each group had employed recruiters on a capitation basis, and there was considerable overlapping of agents in various centres. The Corporation at the outset endeavoured to work through influential traders as well as a few men who concentrated solely upon recruiting. As time went on, the policy was evolved of employing salaried officials only, and a District Superintendency was eventually established at Rustenburg (in the Transvaal), which lay upon the route followed by most Protectorate Natives going on foot to the Rand.

In 1936, the District Superintendency was moved to Zeerust (also in the Transvaal, but closer to the Protectorate border). Shortly afterwards the Corporation began to establish local offices inside the Territory, placing each under a salaried Representative responsible to the District Superintendent. The first office, at Kanye, was followed by others at Molepolole, Khale, Lobatsi and Palapye, and their creation involved the elimination of trader-recruiters at Kanye, Molepolole and Moshupa. Subsidiary offices were also established at Mochudi and Ramoutsa (under Khale), Moshupa (under Kanye), Ramatlabama (under Lobatsi), Serowe (under Palapye), and Thamaga (under Molepolole), and there are feeding-camps at Letlhakeng (for Molepolole) and Madinare (for Palapye). These sub-offices and camps are

¹ Almost all the details in this and the following paragraphs are taken from a memorandum specially prepared for me by Mr. R. Gordon Turner, District Superintendent of the N.R.C.

staffed by Native 'runners'. The Corporation, in addition, still retains the services of three European trader-recruiters who are paid on a capitation basis; they reside at Gaberones, Mahalapye and Serowe respectively.

The N.R.C. thus has no central depot in the Territory comparable to the W.N.L.A.'s depot at Francistown. Each Representative or trader-recruiter handles his own recruits. Prospective mine workers apply of their own accord at the centre that is most convenient. Main offices are open daily. Sub-offices and camps are visited weekly or fortnightly by the local Representative, on specified days, so that men wishing to be recruited know when to apply there. During the interval the resident Native Staff (who are licensed as 'runners') go about among the people 'establishing friendly relations' (i.e., making propaganda for the mines).

Once provisionally accepted, a recruit is housed and fed at the depot, pending medical examination, attestation, and despatch to the railhead. Each Representative entrains his own recruits, at the station nearest his office. If the office is not on the line recruits are transported to the station by bus. The Corporation for a short time ran a few bus services of its own (e.g. between Kanye and Lehututu, and between Mochudi and Sikwane), but they were abandoned as uneconomical. The outbreak of war in 1939 has prevented the organization of other services. The transport of workers to railway stations is now done entirely through private contractors, who must provide effective insurance cover and regularity of service, and avoid overcrowding. Recruits are provided with rations for the train journey, during which, however, they are not under any special form of supervision.¹

The few other recruiting agencies that operate in the Territory, like Theron's Native Labour Organization, have always handled far fewer recruits than either the N.R.C. or the W.N.L.A. Consequently they have not as yet installed salaried officers, but use local traders or other agents who are paid on a capitation basis. Where convenient, recruits have sometimes been carried by special bus or lorry all the way from the recruiting centre to their place of work, e.g. from Serowe to Zebediela (citrus plan-

¹ This seems to be in conflict with Section 31(2) (e) of the Native Labour Proclamation, which lays down 'that when the workers have to make long journeys in groups they shall be conveyed by a responsible person.' I am informed, however, that in the opinion of District officers the journey to Johannesburg cannot be considered 'long' (although the distance by rail between Palapye and Johannesburg is 451 miles), and supervision is therefore not necessary.

tations), Mochudi to Springs (brick and tile works), or T'sabong to Postmasburg (manganese mines). Otherwise the system followed seems to have been generally similar to that of the N.R.C : private contractors carry the recruits to the nearest railway station, where they are put on the train.

Cost of Transport

Until recently, the cost of transport to the place of work, and of subsistence en route, was always borne by the worker; the initial expense was incurred by the agent or employer, who subsequently deducted the amount from the man's wages. In 1934 the International Labour Office recommended as a general principle that all travelling expenses should be paid by the recruiter or employer. The Administration, on being consulted, was not able to agree with the suggestion, on the ground that 'it would adversely affect voluntary labour and seriously disturb existing wage rates in South Africa.'¹ However, the Imperial Government's desire to ratify the International 'Recruiting' Convention² led to a change of policy. The first step was taken in December, 1937, when a circular was issued³ stating that in future

'where recruited workers are required to pay the expenses of their journey to their place of recruitment, the wage rates to which they are entitled under their contracts [must] make reasonable allowance for the expenses of the workers in connection with their journey. For this purpose the rates of pay and rations at present offered to workers engaged for employment on the Rand by the Native Recruiting Corporation and Witwatersrand Native Labour Association are regarded as satisfactory.'

In 1939 the N.R.C. and W.N.L.A. undertook of their own accord to bear the cost of the worker's rail fare to the mines.⁴ This was subsequently made compulsory for all forms of recruited labour by the Native Labour Proclamation of 1941. The relevant section, which is based largely on the requirements of the International Recruiting Convention, reads as follows:

'32. (1) The expenses of the journey of workers to the place of employment, including all expenses incurred for their protection during the journey, shall be borne by the labour agent or employer:

¹ Mafeking Registry, J.1565/7.

² The 'Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936 (No. 50)' was finally ratified by Great Britain in May, 1939.

³ 1565/5 of 9 December, 1937.

⁴ It may be noted that the Witwatersrand Brick and Tile Co., for which workers were recruited at Mochudi, had agreed early in 1937 to refund the fare of every man working with them for six months or more. (Mafeking Registry, 2713/2).

'Provided that where this requirement is not in accordance with local custom it may be waived by the Resident Commissioner if he is satisfied that the employers have in fixing wage rates made reasonable allowance for the expenses of the workers in connection with their journey

'(2) The labour agent or employer shall furnish workers with everything necessary for their welfare during the journey to the place of employment, including particularly, as local circumstances may require, adequate and suitable supplies of food, drinking water, fuel and cooking utensils, clothing and blankets.'

The practice at the present time is that both the N.R.C. and W.N.L.A. pay the rail fares to the mines of all full-term recruits. The N.R.C., however, has been exempted from paying the fares of A.V.S. recruits;¹ but if such recruits complete nine months' continuous underground service the amount charged to them for railway transport is refunded.

The Administration also agreed to exempt both bodies, for the time being, from the payment of subsidiary transport expenses, i.e. bus or lorry fares. The exemption has since been extended to other recruiting organizations, provided they engage workers at rates of pay not less than those offered on the mines for which the N.R.C. and W.N.L.A. recruit.

The W.N.L.A. debits workers with the cost of transport from the point of their recruitment to Francistown. The maximum charge is said to be at the rate of 3d. per mile, but there is in fact a good deal of variation: thus, the fare from Maun (320 miles) is 30s., from Gweta (190 miles) 7s. 6d., and from Mosetse River (72 miles) 2s. 6d.²

The N.R.C. charges vary according to distance, but are based on a rate not exceeding 1½d. per mile. 'Owing to war conditions some originally lower charges have been raised to meet higher running costs.' Bus fares are recovered from recruits by deducting the amount from their first month's wages.³

The regulations about the free supply of necessities for the journey have also been modified to some extent. The N.R.C. and other bodies recruiting in the Southern Protectorate are not at present required to issue blankets and clothing, 'in view of the advances made to workers and the custom whereby they take with them a certain amount of their own kit for use on the mines.'⁴

¹ For the Assisted Voluntary System, see below, p. 105.

² Figures extracted from W.N.L.A. contract sheets (D.C.'s office, Francistown).

³ Supplementary memo. from District Superintendent, N.R.C., 25.2.1944.

⁴ Govt. Secty's circular 1565/5.11 of 1.12.1941.

The W.N.L.A., however, gives every recruit 'a warm serge jacket', free of charge. On the other hand, it also debits him with 30s for other articles of clothing that he receives (khaki drill trousers, woollen vests, grey army blankets, and white cotton blankets). He is likewise debited with the cost of feeding him until his arrival at the mines; recruits attested at Maun are charged 5s, and those attested at Francistown 4s. The N.R.C., since 1938, has made no charge for rations supplied to full-term recruits, but A.V.S. recruits are debited with 2s. 6d.

The charges levied by the W.N.L.A. seem to be in conflict with the Native Labour Proclamation. Moreover, since no recruit may receive an advance of more than £2 (exclusive of taxes and fares), these charges mean that he usually gets only 5s or 6s. in cash with which to provide for his dependants before his departure.

The Native Labour Proclamation lays down also (section 35) that the employer shall bear the cost of repatriating workers after completion of their contract; but he may be exempted if the Resident Commissioner is satisfied

'(i) that in fixing the rates of wages proper allowance has been made for the payment of repatriation expenses by the worker; and

'(ii) that suitable arrangements have been made by means of a system of deferred pay or otherwise to ensure that the worker has the funds necessary for the payment of such expenses.'

All labour agents engaging workers at rates of pay 'not less' than those offered by the Witwatersrand gold mines have accordingly been exempted from liability for repatriation; but if the wages are less, the employer must still pay the cost of the journey home.¹

The W.N.L.A., which repatriates all its recruits on the completion of their contract, provides in its contract sheets that sums not exceeding 40s. (recruits ex-Francistown) or 50s (recruits ex-Maun) shall be deducted from each worker's earnings as a deposit towards the cost of transport and food for the return journey. Men who do not use the motor transport from Francistown, or use it for only part of the journey, are given an equivalent refund.

N.R.C. recruits, on the other hand, are not compulsorily repatriated. Once they have completed their contracts, they are free to extend their service on the mine where they have been

¹ Govt. Secty's circular 1565/5 11 of 12 1941.

working, transfer to another mine, or seek work in some other occupation.

The Administration, as we saw in the previous chapter,¹ professes great anxiety to have all recruited workers repatriated, and at the employer's expense, on the termination of their contracts. Both features are indeed made obligatory by the Native Labour Proclamation. But the exemptions since granted have, for the time being at any rate, freed employers from all liability in this respect. I shall return to this point in the concluding chapter.²

As a matter of interest, I give here a Table showing the amounts advanced at different times by the N.R.C. and W.N.L.A. respectively, in respect of railway and bus fares, to men engaged for work on the mines.³

TABLE XXXIV

ADVANCES TO MINE RECRUITS FOR RAILWAY AND BUS FARES

Year	N.R.C.			W.N.L.A.		
	Men	Amount	Average	Men	Amount	Average
		£	£ s. d.		£	£ s. d.
1936	6,181	7,283	1 3 7	656	1,013	1 10 11
1939	7,942	9,762	1 4 7	1,687	2,638	1 11 3
1942	5,948	6,950	1 3 4	1,735	3,138	1 16 2

The N.R.C. figures, unfortunately, do not give details for each centre from which workers were transported, nor do they differentiate between full-term recruits and men going forward under the A.V.S. Figures supplied for 1943 by the District Manager of the W.N.L.A. enable us to specify somewhat more fully how much it cost their Maun and Francistown recruits respectively to be transported to and from the mines. (The details given below include the cost of food and of the railway fare home, which were omitted from the Table just given.)

¹ Cf. p. 60.

² See p. 202 ff.

³ Figures for N.R.C. filed in Mafeking Registry J.7172/1, figures for W.N.L.A. supplied by Chamber of Mines. The full Tables (including figures for intervening years) are reproduced in Appendix D.

TABLE XXXV

COST OF TRANSPORT (W.N.L.A. RECRUITS)

	<i>MAUN</i>		<i>FRANCISTOWN</i>	
No. of recruits . . .	..	300	817	
Food (both ways) . . .	£	150	£	326
Bus fares (both ways) . .		900		160
Return rail fares . . .		450		1,225
		£1,500		£1,711
Average cost per head ^o . . .	£5 0 0		£2 1 11	

The W.N.L.A. Contract is for twelve calendar months. At the rate of wages paid in 1943¹, the usual amount of money earned by a worker completing his contract was just under £28. This means that the Francistown recruit paid nearly 7½ per cent of his cash earnings, and the Maun recruit nearly 18 per cent of his cash earnings, in getting to and from his place of work. The latter was thus left with £23 per annum, or nearly £2 per month, in addition to the food, housing, and other free services, that he received while at work. However, even this rate of pay, as will be shown in due course, compares very favourably with the wages paid in Ngamiland.²

Control of Migration

The existence of the travelling facilities described above does not mean that a Native is now free to leave his home as and when he wishes. His movements are subject to restrictions emanating from two main sources: his own tribal authorities, and the Governments of the Union and other neighbouring Territories. The Protectorate Administration has never attempted to control migration generally. It has occasionally limited recruiting for labour, but this did not affect independent migrants (including women and children). It also issues passes to Natives wishing to proceed to the Union or other countries; but this is in conformity with the laws of those countries, and any refusal to give people passes has been at the instance of either the local tribal authorities or foreign Governments. Protectorate Natives are

¹ The minimum rates of pay for W.N.L.A. recruits were 1s. per shift for the first 26 days (surface work), 1s. 8d. per shift for the first 60 shifts of underground work, 1s. 10d. per shift for the second 60 shifts of underground work, and 2s. per shift for underground work thereafter.

² See p. 140.

not required to carry passes within the Territory itself; normally they can travel about freely from one part to another. The only legal control the Administration has over their movements in this respect is that it may order them to remain within certain specified portions of the Protectorate;¹ but this measure has hitherto been used only in regard to some political offenders whose presence elsewhere, it was held, would be dangerous to the stability of tribal administration.

The Pass Laws

Since tribal control of migration is nowadays exercised chiefly through the pass system, I shall deal first with the latter. It has already been shown that the vast majority of migrants from the Territory proceed to the Union of South Africa.² There has never been any wholesale restriction upon the entry of Protectorate Natives into the Union, although from time to time certain categories have been excluded (e.g. during the period 1913-34, when the importation of all tropical labour was prohibited). Within the Union, moreover, they are treated on the same footing as indigenous Natives, and are not subject to special restrictions such as those affecting immigrants from the Rhodesias and elsewhere. However, like the Union Natives, they must carry passes permitting them to enter or leave the country, or to move about within certain districts inside it.³ Accordingly, before leaving the Protectorate for the Union, they should procure the necessary pass from their local District Commissioner or some other person authorized to issue one. Labour agents, as we have seen, prepare the passes for their recruits, and have them signed by the attesting officer.⁴ All other Natives apply personally at the office of the District Commissioner (or other authorized officer), where they must state the purpose for which they require the pass (e.g., visiting a relative or friend, seeking work, or returning to work) and the place to which they wish to go.

The Protectorate Administration normally issues passes, free of charge, to all Natives wishing to go to the Union.⁵ The main

¹ Proc. 15 of 1907.

² See pp. 46 ff.

³ A full discussion of the Union pass laws is irrelevant in the present context, we are concerned only with their bearing upon the movement of Natives between the B.P. and the Union.

⁴ See p. 78.

⁵ Certain reservations are observed in regard to juveniles, see below, p. 88.

exceptions have been in accordance with legislation or conditions in that country. Thus, while the ban on the importation of tropical labour was in force, district officers were under instructions neither to attest tropical Natives for work in the Union, nor to issue passes to them if they wanted to go there to seek for work; but the restriction did not apply to those desiring to enter temporarily for business or visiting purposes. Again, in 1932 famine conditions obtained both in the Union and in the Protectorate, and large numbers of Natives flocked to the Rand in search of employment. Owing to the prevailing depression, it was not possible to absorb them all. The N.R.C. accordingly wrote to the Administration that the mines would engage only men who had been recruited or who had come forward under the A.V.S. District officers were thereupon instructed to stop issuing passes to men wishing to proceed to Johannesburg independently in order to seek work on the mines. In 1938, owing to the congested state of the casual labour market in the Union, further instructions were issued, at the request of the Union Government, that passes should be issued only to Natives who had been recruited or who wished to pay bona-fide visits to relatives or friends.¹

The position at the present time seems to be as follows:

(a) Natives from north of lat. 22° S are prohibited immigrants (except those recruited for the gold mines), and their entry into the Union is a contravention of the law.

(b) Natives from the Southern Protectorate may enter the Union provided that (i) they have definite employment awaiting them, or (ii) they are on a visit or have definite business to transact. But, if they are seeking employment, they may not go to the Witwatersrand and certain other gazetted areas without the prior consent of the local authorities.² In June 1941 the Union Government allotted the Territory a monthly quota of 200 passes for men wishing to seek work independently on the Rand.

The issue of passes in the Protectorate is governed by the conditions just listed. Railway officials also are under instructions to issue train tickets to any station in the Union only to Natives who can produce passes authorizing them to travel there. Finally,

¹ Mafeking Registry, J 5031/5, 6930/1, and 6418

² The restriction upon entering 'gazetted areas' (those areas to which the provisions of Section five bis of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923, as amended, have been applied) affects not only B.P. Natives, but all others, including Union Natives.

all Natives to whom passes have been issued must report to the nearest Police Post or Pass Office immediately after their arrival in the Union.

The 'Standing Instructions' to District Commissioners and other officers stipulate also that passes to the Union or other territories must not be issued (a) to Natives who are blind or crippled, unless they have means of supporting themselves, and (b) to 'native boys who are too young to pay hut tax, or to native girls under age', unless the consent of their parents or guardians has first been obtained, 'in which case the fact should invariably be noted on the pass'. The first of these restrictions calls for no special comment; the second is referred to more fully below.¹

Practically every Native in the Territory is nowadays aware that he must have a pass in order to enter the Union, and both District Officers and Chiefs are under standing instructions to impress the fact upon the people. Many migrants, nevertheless, cross into the Union on foot or by other means without a pass. They are generally men who have been refused passes to seek work in the Union, or youngsters and others who fear that their parents or Chief will try to detain them. If caught by the Union police, such offenders are in theory liable to arrest and deportation. But, as the Administration said in an official statement early in 1938, 'There is reason to believe that . . . considerable numbers of natives, with or without inducement from prospective employers, cross the Union border in search of work, which they readily obtain although not in possession of passes'.² And the District Commissioner of the Kgatleng District wrote in 1943 that 'Africans from this District cross the border in considerable numbers without passes and appear to receive every assistance from the Union officials to find work.'³ These statements refer particularly to Natives found without passes in the rural areas of the Transvaal, where farmers are usually anxious to secure them as labourers. Control is stricter in the Rand and other urban areas. But even there the lack of a pass to enter the Union seldom results in anything more drastic than an order to leave the area; it does not prevent the man from seeking work somewhere else.⁴

¹ See pp. 92 f.

² Minutes, Native Advisory Council, 1938, p. xiii.

³ Mafeking Registry, J 5031/7.

⁴ In a letter to me, dated 30 August, 1944, the Department of Native Affairs (Union) states: 'In the Transvaal and Orange Free State, where Natives are required to carry passes in order to move from one place to another, there is no doubt that Natives from Bechuanaland Protectorate are arrested for being passless if they are found wandering abroad, but when passless

The inability—or reluctance—of the Union authorities to enforce the pass laws is illustrated by the procedure adopted nowadays in regard to Natives from the northern Protectorate (other than mine recruits). Such Natives, as we have seen, may not be given passes in the Territory. If they nevertheless try to enter the Union at a recognized port of entry, such as Mafeking or Martin's Drift, they are turned back. However, since the *whole border cannot be effectively patrolled, they are often able* to get in at some other place. If subsequently discovered, they are not repatriated, but are given temporary permits (at a charge of 5s.), which authorize them to remain in the country for six months and to seek employment in rural areas. 'This identifies their character as prohibited immigrants and regularises their presence in the Union while relieving them of the hardship of having to find their way back to their homes without means of subsistence'¹

There are no restrictions upon the entry of Bechuanaland Protectorate Natives into Southern Rhodesia, but, as we have seen, the numbers going there are relatively small. As soon as they enter the country, they should report without delay to the nearest pass office, where, if they intend to remain for more than a few days, they will be given a certificate of identification. Should anyone come in without a pass issued by the Protectorate authorities, the Rhodesian pass officer 'may in his discretion refuse to issue a certificate or pass to any such native', who then becomes liable to prosecution if he remains in the country.² Presumably, however, he will be allowed to stay and seek work if he is not discovered to be a prohibited immigrant or otherwise undesirable.

Protectorate Natives are on the other hand not allowed to enter South-West Africa in order to seek for work. They are usually admitted if they wish to visit relatives or take up em-

Natives report at Pass Offices every endeavour is made to ascertain whether they are wanted for any criminal offence, and, if they have clear records, the position at present is that they are given permits to seek work.

'Unfortunately no special statistics are maintained to show how many Natives from Bechuanaland Protectorate have been arrested and prosecuted for being found passless.

'I would mention that in none of the districts in which inquiries were made is there any indication that any considerable number of Bechuanaland Protectorate Natives are found to be passless.'

¹ Secretary for Native Affairs (Union) to Govt. Secretary, 24 November, 1938 (Mafeking Registry, J 6418).

² (Southern Rhodesia) Native Passes Act, part I: letter from Chief Native Commissioner, Salisbury, 24 July, 1944.

ployment already offered; but they must then bear passes issued to them for the purpose in the Protectorate, failing which they are prosecuted¹

Tribal Control

The pass laws reviewed above regulate the entry of migrants into the Union and other countries. The only laws controlling their actual departure from the Territory are those imposed by the tribal authorities. It has long been the rule that any man wishing to go outside his own tribal area should seek the permission of his Chief or local headman. This is known as *go kopa tsela*, 'to ask for the road'. In theory, the law still exists everywhere. In some tribes it has even been extended. Among the Kgatla and Maletse, for instance, the practice was introduced, about twenty years ago, that no one would be given a pass to enter the Union unless he had written permission from his Chief or village headman. Among the Ngwato, similarly, Chief Tshediki arranged in 1928 that no tribesman would be attested for work outside the Territory unless he produced a permit from his headman; and it has recently become the rule that labour agents must bring all prospective recruits to the local *kgotla* (council-place) before attestation. Here members of a recruit's family are able to oppose his departure if they wish, e.g. on the grounds that there will be no one left to plough the family fields or look after the family cattle. The matter is considered by the Chief or village headman, who may then refuse permission to the recruit to leave the country.

Occasionally also there are special restrictions upon the movements of women. Among the Ngwato, Kgama long ago introduced a law, still in force, that no woman might leave the Reserve by rail except with the Chief's permission. One duty of the 'representatives' who have been placed at railway stations such as Shashi, Palapye, Mahalapye, and Palla Road, is to see that the law is not evaded. Two of the sub-chiefs in the Tati District recently decreed that no woman going to Rhodesia without permission would be allowed to return home; the object of the restriction was to prevent such women from subsequently enticing others to follow their example. Among the Kgatla, again, when the South African Railways in 1930 wished to extend a road motor service from the Transvaal into the Reserve, the

¹ Letter from Chief Native Commissioner, S.W.A., 15 June, 1944.

Chief agreed only on condition that his own men were employed as bus conductors, to see that women did not use the service as a means of escaping from home.

That these laws can sometimes be enforced is seen from the following examples. In 1927, Chief Tshekedi successfully prevented several men from going to the mines, on the ground that they were only sons whose duty it was to remain at home with their parents.¹ In 1941, the District Commissioner in the Kgatla Reserve reported that men were reluctant to come forward for work on the mines, believing that if they went to the Chief for the necessary permit they would be conscripted for the A.P.C. The Chief, to whom the matter was referred, admitted having refused permission to several young men who had wanted to go to the mines; he said that he was short of labour for such tribal works as scraping dams and ploughing, and that when these had been completed he would again allow men to seek work abroad.²

In general, however, the tribal laws are often evaded, even where the District Commissioner insists that the Chief's permission must be obtained before a man will be given a pass. As has been noted, many people leave home although passes have been refused to them. Even among the Tawana, where 'Tribal law forbids persons to leave the Reserve for employment without the Chief's permission', the District Commissioner notes that 'This law is evaded by all except labourers recruited by the W.N.L.A.'³ If evasion is possible in an area so remote, it is certainly much easier among tribes bordering directly upon the Union.

The Chiefs are well aware that in fact they cannot stop people who are determined to get away. In 1937, for instance, the Chief of the Ngwaketse (Bathoen II) suggested, as a possible method, the introduction of 'a permit issued by the chief and endorsed by an official, which would help in controlling and tracing natives'⁴ But in 1940 he confessed, at the meeting of the Native Advisory Council.⁵

'The question of young men who are taken away by the recruiters is a source of worry to our minds. It is a fact that the Chiefs have no power to stop them

¹ Mafeking Registry, J 271.

² Mochudi Registry, L 2.

³ Memo. on labour migration, 7 9 1943 (L 5/43)

⁴ Mafeking Registry, J 6930/1.

⁵ Minutes, N A C., 1940, p 60.

and get them to remain in the country and be useful there. In my territory we are very close to the boundaries. The boys run to Lobatsi to take up their tickets there or they go to Zeerust and Mafeking, and I have realized that if we are making it a rule at home that they should ask for permission it would mean that they would disappear entirely and we would not be able to trace them. The only available means is to speak to the recruiter and ask him not to take very young people. That the recruiters do, but if the boys insist they leave the recruiter at Kanye and go to Lobatsi to take up their contract there. If Government can find a means to stop these children and succeed in it, I will be very grateful. For my part I have failed.'

The unauthorized migration of youngsters, to which Chief Bathoen referred, has long been a source of distress to the tribal authorities. The matter was raised at the Native Advisory Council in 1924, when it was suggested (a) that the police should stop youths from going through the border gates, and (b) that station masters should not issue train tickets to young women unless accompanied by their husbands or relatives, or bearing a permit from the Chief. The Resident Commissioner replied that District Officers had been instructed not to issue passes to young people without a permit from their parents or Chief, but he added:¹

'There is nothing to prevent them from crossing into the Union at places other than those at which there is a gate in the border fence and once on the other side we have no control over them and it becomes more difficult to trace them. Therefore parents should look after them.'

Two years later, the discovery and exploitation of alluvial diamond fields at Lichtenburg, in the south-western Transvaal, led to such increased migration of women and children, especially from the border tribes, that fresh complaints were made by the chiefs. The Administration reiterated its instructions to District Officers that passes should not be issued to young people.

'It will be understood,' the circular said,² 'that many of these children are deserters from their homes or from their parents' cattle posts, that there are many people from all parts of South Africa at the Lichtenburg Diamond Diggings, and nothing to prevent such people when leaving the Diggings from taking these children with them to far distant places in Natal, the Cape, South-West Africa, etc., where they could not be traced and whence they would be unable to return by themselves except perhaps when full grown.'

The matter was taken up with the Union Government, whose

¹ Minutes, N.A.C., 1924, pp. 10f., 18.

² Standing Instructions, etc., (May, 1934), p. 62.

police officials were asked to report farmers and others found employing Protectorate children without the permission of their parents. A few children were in consequence located and returned to their homes, but the general impression seems to have been that the complaints were exaggerated. In 1938, however, Chief Isang (Kgatla) again raised the matter at a meeting of the Advisory Council.

'We also desire to know,' he said,¹ 'where our children are located when at work and whether they are being well cared for. We have our property such as cattle and it is our desire that when our children are yet young they should help their fathers in looking after those, as well as ploughing. Those are the children of course whom we want and whom the Union farmers also want. Without our consent these children go over the border into the Union and they are found in the Union by the police. They do not ask them for passes but just allow them to remain. In the past we strongly asked the Government to make representations to the Union that youths should be returned . . . It is only on very rare occasions that we receive communications from Native Commissioners that there are youths there without consent and that their parents should fetch them. On this point I think we can be helped by the Government getting into communication with the Union authorities with a view to the documents of these youngsters being examined when they are found on farms in order to ascertain whether they are there with or without their parents' consent. I think I am speaking correctly when I say that the police do not make inquiries about these people unless they realise they are able-bodied men.'

At the 1940 meeting of the Council, other speakers described how youths were being enticed away from home, and the Chiefs generally admitted that they could not stop or bring back people who left without their permission. To this the Resident Commissioner replied:²

'It is possible for Government to pass new laws more strictly controlling recruiting of labour within the Territory, but that does not provide a solution of the difficulty. Even if we made a law saying that only a certain number could be recruited in each year in each area, we know that the rest of the young men, who want to go, will just walk across the border. The Chiefs say they cannot stop them and frankly I do not know how Government is going to stop them either. Nor can we take powers to compel a person to come back if he does not want to come back. If he has broken a law and we want to try him in a Court then we can get him back. But these people are not criminals nor is it possible or desirable to pass a law which would make it a crime for people to leave their country. I am sorry I cannot be more helpful, but you have set me a problem to which I do not know the answer.'

It is evident, from all this, that at the present time the tribal

¹ Minutes, N A C., 1938, p. 81.

² Minutes, N A C., 1940, p. 61.

authorities are very anxious to restrict the migration of their people into the Union. It is equally evident that they have not found a means of enforcing their wishes, except in rare instances, and that the Government also is unable to help them. Nor do the pass laws of the Union constitute an effective check against the movement of people into that country. In fact, the position seems to be that anybody determined to leave home can succeed in getting away, and that both tribal laws and pass laws are obstacles but not effective deterrents.

Control of Recruiting

As shown above, the recruitment of Natives for work outside the Territory is governed by various conditions relating to matters such as contracts, advances and loans, medical examination, etc. Other conditions may also be imposed by the Administration, such as limitation of recruiting, or specifying the type of work for which recruiting will be permitted. These conditions will now be discussed.

Limitation of Recruiting

Until recently, no official limitations were imposed upon the number of men that could be recruited for work outside the Territory, nor were there analogous restrictions of any other kind. Various attempts had indeed been made to secure some form of limitation. In 1926, for instance, the European Advisory Council passed a resolution asking that no Native should be recruited for labour outside the Protectorate during the agricultural season (September to January inclusive). The reasons given were: (1) that the European farmers could not get enough labour at this time of the year, and (2) 'that for the good of the natives themselves' they should be prevented from leaving the country during the months when they should be ploughing for their families and when their cattle needed special attention. The High Commissioner replied that 'he could not permit the liberty of the Native to be interfered with in such a manner'. Nevertheless, a similar suggestion was brought forward again in 1928. The Chiefs were thereupon asked for their views. Some of them favoured the proposal. Chief Isang (Kgatla) went so far as to say: 'It must be admitted by every thinking man that the suggestion serves more for the welfare of the natives themselves

than for the benefits that will be obtained by the farmers'. And Chief Seboko (Malete) replied that he had long ago asked Government officials 'not to issue any passes to my people during the period in question'. However, the matter does not seem to have been taken any further, and there is no record of its having been subsequently revived.¹

In 1931, owing to the depression and the resulting congestion of the labour market, the N.R.C. introduced a quota system, whereby each of its agents operating in the Territory was limited to a maximum number of recruits every month. This was a private (and temporary) business arrangement, and the only notice the Administration took of it was to press for a larger quota.

Several years later, one of the Native Chiefs himself asked for the official adoption of a quota system. At the 1936 meeting of the Native Advisory Council, Chief Kgari (Kwena) stated that far too many men were going out to work, and he suggested therefore that recruiting in each Reserve should be limited to 'a definite maximum percentage' of men every year. The proposal met with little support from other members of the Council, who said that labour migration was virtually the only method by which a man could earn the money that he needed; the real problem, they insisted, was not to limit recruiting, but to ensure the return of all those who went away.²

In 1938 the same proposal was once more referred to the Council, this time by the Administration. It again met with little support. The general feeling was that limitation of numbers to be recruited would be of little effect, since it would only lead to further independent migration, and in the circumstances recruitment was preferable, since it not only gave greater security and special facilities to workers, but also enabled their movements to be controlled.³

In the meantime, the Administration had begun drafting a new Labour Proclamation, based largely on the requirements of the International Recruiting Convention of 1936. The Convention had laid down as a general principle that some form of numerical limitation was desirable. Accordingly, the Native Labour Proclamation that was ultimately promulgated in August,

¹ Minutes, European Advisory Council, 6th session (1926), pp. 40 ff., *ibid*, 8th session (1928) p. 53, Mafeking Registry, J 519 N.

² Minutes, N.A.C., 1936, pp. 53 ff.

³ *Ibid*, 1938, pp. 76 ff.

1941, contained the following clause (which closely follows the wording of the Convention):

'20 (1) Where the circumstances make the adoption of such policy practicable and necessary, the Resident Commissioner shall, in order to safeguard the population concerned against any untoward consequences of the withdrawal of native males, fix the maximum number of adult males who may be recruited in any district or reserve in such manner that the number of adult males remaining in the said district or reserve does not fall below a prescribed percentage of the normal proportion of adult males to women and children.'

However, in December of the same year a circular was issued stating that 'No action is contemplated at present under this section unless existing figures regarding the exodus of labour to the mines increase to an alarming extent.'¹

A few months previously, nevertheless, one form of limitation had actually been introduced as a temporary measure. In June (1941) the Administration had decided to create a Protectorate 'Group' of the African Pioneer Corps, and in order not to interfere with recruiting for the Corps, all forms of labour recruiting throughout the Territory were suspended from the beginning of July until the end of September. The following year the military authorities asked for reinforcements, and to meet their demand recruiting of labourers for work outside Bechuanaland was once more suspended, from the beginning of July until the middle of November.

There has since been no suspension of labour recruiting in general. In the Tawana Reserve, however, an elaborate campaign for the isolation of tsetse fly had been started in 1942. This involved cutting down the bush in a belt one hundred miles long and a mile wide. In view of the many labourers required for the task, the Chief asked the Administration to suspend recruiting in his Reserve for the mines from the beginning of January, 1943. The necessary arrangements were accordingly made with the W.N.L.A. The position was subsequently reviewed, and in July the Association was permitted to recruit 300 labourers during the rest of the year. It was finally agreed that there would be no restriction on the numbers recruited for the mines, provided that (a) recruiting was done at Maun only, and (b) no recruit would be attested unless he had worked on the tsetse campaign for three months.

Apart from providing for the possible limitation of numbers

¹ 1565/5.11 of 1.12 1941.

to be recruited in any area, the Native Labour Proclamation (section 27) prohibits the recruiting of youths 'under the apparent age of eighteen years', except with the permission of the Resident Commissioner and the consent of their parents, they may, in any case, be employed only upon 'light work', subject to adequate safeguards for their welfare. The circular issued in December, 1941 states that 'The recruiting of non-adults under the proviso to this section will not be permitted at present.' The only condition previously governing the employment of youths was an instruction, issued some time before 1937, that they might not be recruited 'for work or labour of any kind' beyond the borders of the Protectorate without the consent of their parents. We have already seen that this condition has often been nullified by the surreptitious migration of boys and girls into the Union.

Recruiting is limited in one other way, which however is not mentioned in the Proclamation. A circular issued at the end of 1937 stipulated that Natives recruited for work in the Union must be employed 'only in areas which have been proclaimed to be Labour Districts under the Union Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911'.¹ It was added that, pending further instruction, no licences to recruit workers for employment as farm labourers should be renewed or issued; nor was recruiting to be allowed for the manganese fields at Postmasburg, 'where the Union Native Labour Regulations have not yet been applied, and where conditions are not satisfactory'. The ban on Postmasburg was withdrawn in 1939, following upon an assurance from the Union Government that conditions there had greatly improved. Recruiting for farm labour in the Union is apparently still prohibited, although since 1940 a special exception has been made in favour of the Zebediela Citrus Estates.

Control of Labour Agents

Another, and the oldest, way in which recruiting is controlled is through the licensing of labour agents, who must, moreover, comply with various other conditions that have been imposed from time to time by the Administration. The chronological sequence of these conditions, some of which date back to 1899, has already been noted briefly,² and for our present purpose it is sufficient to summarize those now in force.

¹ Govt. Secty's circular 2713/3 II of 9 December, 1937.

² See p. 26 ff

The Native Labour Proclamation of 1941 lays down the following conditions about recruiting and labour agents:

(a) "Recruiting" includes all operations undertaken with the object of obtaining or supplying the labour of natives who do not spontaneously offer their services at the place of employment or at a public migration or employment office or at an office conducted by an employer's organization and supervised by the Resident Commissioner or some other officer authorised thereto,'

This definition is taken verbatim from article 2 (a) of the International Recruiting Convention.

(b) Certain classes of recruiting are exempted (section 3) from the general provisions of the law. These classes are:

(i) 'Operations undertaken to recruit natives for employment within the Territory by or on behalf of employers who do not employ more than fifty natives,'

(ii) 'Operations for the engagement of personal and domestic servants and of non-manual workers for work within the Territory,' and

(iii) the use of tribal labour by a Chief or sub-Chief for various public and private purposes.

(c) Native political authorities may not act as labour agents or runners, exercise pressure upon possible recruits, or receive remuneration in any form for assistance in recruiting, nor may public officers recruit for private undertakings, either directly or indirectly,

'except when the recruited workers are to be employed on works of public utility for the execution of which private undertakings are acting as contractors for a public authority.'

(d) All other persons who engage in recruiting (except Native 'runners') are classed as labour agents. Every labour agent must hold a licence issued to him by the Resident Commissioner or some other duly authorized officer. The licence, for which a fee of £25 must be paid, is valid until the end of the calendar year, but may be renewed annually on payment of the requisite fee. It is not transferable to any other person. Licences may be issued free of charge to agents recruiting solely for Government purposes, but such agents are bound by all the other provisions of the Proclamation. Each licence is endorsed with various special conditions with which the agent must comply (e.g. limiting the area within which he may recruit, or the number of workers whom he may engage). The licence must be produced for inspection upon demand.

(e) 'A licensee shall wherever possible receive a fixed salary'; or, if he is paid on a capitation basis, the rate must not exceed a maximum to be fixed by the Resident Commissioner.

(The circular issued in December, 1941, states in this connexion:

'In view of the difficulty in obtaining suitable permanent men it is not proposed during the period of the war to interfere with existing arrangements and compel the recruiting organisations to replace agents employed on the capitation basis by permanent men. Such replacement is, however, the policy of the Government and will be pursued after the war. The maximum remuneration under this section has been fixed at 24s. per head')

(f) Every applicant for a labour agent's licence (or its renewal) must submit a written statement specifying the name and address of the employer for whom he wishes to recruit, the nature of the proposed employment, the rates of wages offered, and any other particulars that may be demanded. Before issuing or renewing a licence, the Administration must be satisfied that the applicant is 'a fit and proper person', and that adequate provision has been made for the health, welfare, and protection, of the workers to be recruited. (In practice, inquiries are always made into the antecedents and character of any applicant for a licence, and the issue or renewal of a licence may be refused without any reason being given.) The applicant must also furnish £100 as security for the recovery of debts due to Natives or for the payment of fines imposed for an offence under the Proclamation. If the security is not furnished or maintained at its full value, or if the agent is guilty of misconduct, the Resident Commissioner may cancel his licence.

(g) A licensed agent may employ one or more Natives as 'runners' to tout for labour on his behalf. A special permit (fee 20s. per annum) must be obtained for each runner. The permit is valid only as long as the agent himself retains his licence, and may be cancelled at any time if the Administration thinks fit. The agent is liable for the acts of his runner.

(h) 'Licensees shall keep, in such form as the Resident Commissioner may prescribe, records from which the regularity of every recruiting operation can be verified and every recruited worker can be identified'

(i) No person may induce Natives to accept labour under false representations, nor may he induce Native employees to leave their service in violation of an existing agreement.

(j) Penalties are provided for the breach of any of the provisions outlined above.

It has also been the rule for many years that no labour agent may operate in a Reserve without the consent of the Chief. As long ago as 1898, for instance, Kgama decided not to allow any further recruiting in what is now the Ngwato Reserve, owing to the fact that some of his people had died on the gold mines. But he was induced by the Administration in 1903 to change his policy. The Kgatla excluded all recruiters from their Reserve until as recently as 1937, for reasons similar to those which had originally prevailed with Kgama; the Tlòkwa and Maletle Chiefs in 1938 would not allow recruiting amongst their people for work in Natal; and the Ngwaketse, after many unsatisfactory experiences with labour agents of various kinds, decided ultimately to permit only the N.R.C. to recruit in their Reserve.

The Administration accepts the tribe's views in this respect; for instance, a circular issued to District Commissioners in 1939 stated that 'Current Labour Agents' licences may be renewed . . . provided that the chief has no objection.'¹ On the other hand, the consent of the Chief is in itself not sufficient to ensure the granting of a licence. In 1937, for instance, Chief Tshekedi (Ngwato) was willing to let a certain agency recruit for farm labour in his Reserve, provided that (a) only N.R.C. rejects were recruited, (b) no youths under the age of 18 years were recruited, and (c) all prospective recruits were brought to the council-place before being sent away. But the Administration refused to grant the licence, since it had decided that recruiting for farm labour would in future not be allowed.²

Because of the conditions just summarized, and the various others by which recruiting is now governed, there are at the present time hardly any labour agents operating in the Territory except representatives of the N.R.C., W.N.L.A., and Theron's Native Labour Organization. Applicants for licences as independent labour agents are almost invariably told that recruiting is allowed only through recognized agencies; and a recent official statement actually says that 'The policy of the Government in the past few years has been to discourage the recruiting of natives by small agencies, and to afford facilities to the larger and well-established corporations.'³ However, the N.R.C. and

¹ Govt. Secty's circular 2713/2 11 of 4 12.1939

² Mafeking Registry, J 2713/2.

³ *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa, etc.*, No 22 (1941), p. 1197

W.N.L.A. were in 1937 refused a monopoly of recruiting within the Territory, although it was admitted that the effect of the proposed new legislation (Native Labour Proclamation) would be to curtail the activities of other existing agencies to such an extent that the mine recruiting organizations would have the field almost to themselves.

Protection of Recruited Workers

The Administration has not only laid down rules for establishing where, by whom, and under what conditions, recruiting operations may be carried on. It has also insisted, since 1909, upon the official supervision of recruiting, and, more recently, has imposed certain obligations as regards the treatment of the recruited worker till the time that he enters employment. Some of these obligations, relating to the conveyance and repatriation of recruits, have already been discussed. Others that require special mention relate to the form of contract, limitation of advances, and medical examination.

Contracts

The Native Labour Proclamation of 1941 (section 21) lays down that written contracts shall be drawn up whenever 'a native enters the service of an employer as a manual worker for remuneration in cash or in any form whatsoever'. Apprenticeship, and certain classes of employment within the Territory, are specifically exempted from this requirement, and so are contracts for periods of less than six months. All other contracts are subject to the following additional conditions:

(a) As already noted, youths under the 'apparent age' of eighteen years are not capable of entering into contracts, except under certain conditions.

(b) 'No contract shall be deemed to be binding on the family or dependants of the worker, unless it contains an express provision to that effect.'

(c) Every Native recruited for work must be brought by the labour agent before a District Commissioner or other appointed official, in order to sign the contract in his presence. The attesting officer must satisfy himself, before the signature is made, that the recruit fully understands the terms of the contract,

'and in particular that the native has not been subjected to coercion or undue influence or recruited by misrepresentation or mistake, and is not bound by any previous engagement.' A contract which the officer refuses to attest shall have no further validity.

(d) The contract must set forth particulars of various kinds, including the name and address of the employer, the name of the Native 'and any other particulars necessary for his identification', the nature of the employment, the period of its duration, the rate of wages and manner of payment, the amount advanced to the recruit and the manner of repayment, the conditions of repatriation, 'and any special conditions of the contract'.

(e) A copy of each contract executed must be deposited with the attesting officer. The recruit must be provided with another copy, or a work book, or some other form of document, that will enable him 'to prove the existence and terms of the contract, and to verify at any time the terms of the contract'. In this connexion, attesting officers have since been instructed that

'In view of the present difficulty in obtaining paper and as the terms on which they proceed to the mines are widely known to the natives, His Honour agreed that for the time being the requirements of this section will be met by attaching to the travelling pass . . . the Native Recruiting Corporation "schedule of wages" which is affixed to the contracts of service issued to them in the Union.

The travelling pass issued in the Territory is surrendered on arrival in the Union in exchange for a passport and the "schedule of wages" will therefore require to be affixed to the duplicate of the pass which will be retained by the native throughout his contract. . . .

His Honour added that after the war the question of providing a proper work book with the terms of the contract translated into Setswana would be reopened.¹

(f) All contracts are subject to certain conditions about the maximum period of their duration, and about the conveyance and repatriation of workers. These conditions have already been mentioned.

(g) It is also laid down that (i) a medical certificate must be presented at the time of attestation to the effect that the recruit is 'physically capable of performing the contract in question', and (ii) the amount of wages advanced to him shall not exceed a certain limit. These two conditions are dealt with below.

(h) Other provisions relate to the transfer of the contract to

¹Govt Secty's circular 1565/5 II of 14.1.1942.

another employer, and to the conditions under which the contract shall be terminated

(i) Penalties are laid down for the breach of the contract by either the recruit or the employer (or his agent).

The regulations outlined above are almost all based directly upon the requirements of the International Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936 (No. 50) and the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939 (No. 64). Previously there were few provisions in the law of the Territory to safeguard the interests of recruited workers. Proc. 6 of 1899 required labour agents to deposit £100 as security with the Administration to cover the cost of damages and legal proceedings if they were successfully sued for breach of contract; Proc. 45 of 1907 laid down that contracts by Chiefs or headmen to provide labourers would be invalid, and also made it a penal offence for anybody to recruit Natives under false representations; Proc. 7 of 1909 stipulated that recruits must be taken before a Government official for the attestation of written contracts; and Proc. 10 of 1912 limited the amount of wages that could be advanced, and also protected the employer by making it a penal offence for a worker to desert before the completion of his contract. But it was not until 1935 that statutory provision was first made for the medical examination of recruits, and only in 1941 were such important matters as transportation, travelling expenses, type and duration of contract, and repatriation, finally regulated by law.

The history of recruiting in the Protectorate shows that in the past the system often presented unsatisfactory features. This applies not so much to the diamond and gold mines as to other forms of employment, about which many complaints were made to Chiefs by men who had been taken abroad and subsequently found that conditions of work and rates of pay were not as they had been led to believe. A fairly common practice, for instance, was to keep men at work only until they had paid off their advances; they were then abruptly dismissed, and left to fend for themselves. Sometimes, too, workers on reaching the Transvaal were transferred to a locality and type of work differing from that for which they had been recruited. Such forms of abuse have lately become more difficult, and it may be assumed that under the Proclamation of 1941, as well as the Union's labour laws, they are now satisfactorily controlled.

As a matter of interest, a few remarks may be added about the types of contract that are nowadays considered satisfactory by the Administration. The most important are of course those used by the Witwatersrand gold mines, on which the vast majority of recruited workers are employed.

The W.N.L.A. employs only one form of contract. Under this, the worker agrees:

- (a) to go forward by W.N.L.A. means without delay after medical examination;
- (b) to accept work (underground or surface) on any of the mines listed on the contract sheet, and at the rates of pay specified;
- (c) to do surface work for the first 26 days of employment, in order to be acclimatized, during which time he is paid at the surface rates of wages;
- (d) to work twelve calendar months, with the option of renewal for a further six months;
- (e) to return home through the W.N.L.A. on the conclusion of his contract;
- (f) to allow a stipulated sum to be set aside from his earnings for his homeward journey;
- (g) to refund the advances shown in his travelling pass for taxes and/or levies, clothing and blankets, bus fares, and road rations; and
- (h) to obey all rules and regulations on the Mine and W.N.L.A. establishments.

The employer, through the W.N.L.A., agrees:

- (a) to provide free rail fares for the worker to the mine;
- (b) to provide advances for one year's taxes or levies, the necessary clothing and blankets (at cost price), bus fares, and road rations;
- (c) to pay the wages specified on the contract sheet;
- (d) to provide free quarters, rations, medical treatment, and hospital treatment, and to repatriate the worker, free of charge, if the mine doctor judges him unfit to complete his contract period;
- (e) to remit free of all charge any money which the worker wants to send home;
- (f) if the worker decides to draw only a portion of his wages on the mine, the balance will be deferred for him to draw on his return home; and
- (g) if there is a stoppage of work on the mine (because of flooding, fire, strike of workmen, accidents to mine or plant, or other causes beyond the control of the mine), the worker will receive half-pay up to 30 days during such stoppage, unless provided with other work, and after 30 days (if the stoppage continues) the contract may be cancelled by either him or the mine.

The N.R.C. employs two forms of contract, either of which may be chosen by the recruit. Under the first, commonly known as the 'Nine Months' contract, the recruit agrees to work underground for not less than 270 shifts,¹ and to go to any mine to

¹ In practice, 270 shifts = 10½ calendar months.

which he is assigned, subject to his being allowed a preference for any Rand mine able to take him. The other conditions are generally similar to those of the W.N.L.A. contract, except that there is no compulsory repatriation, and that advances do not include clothing and rations.

The second type of contract applies to what is known as the 'Assisted Voluntary System' (A.V.S.), which was first extended to the Territory in 1932, but languished for some years until it was revived in 1939. The essential features of the system are summarized as follows in the Report of the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission:¹

'The recruit contracts with a labour agent of the N.R.C. to present himself within thirty days from the date of the agreement to be registered for service underground with one or other of the gold mining companies within the Chamber, on the conditions specified on the back of a printed contract, it being understood that he is free to select in order of his own preference any such company agreeing to accept his services. The N.R.C. agent, on his part, undertakes to provide underground employment for the recruit on the conditions of service as specified, subject to his physical fitness for such work, as may be determined by medical examination on his arrival at Johannesburg. The recruit is given an advance of so much money as is necessary to meet his railfare to Johannesburg and provide him with food for the journey. This amount is, in terms of the contract, recoverable from the A.V.S. recruit by deduction from the moneys in excess of 10s. earned by him on each completed ticket of 30 shifts until the whole amount is recovered. In practice, however, the A.V.S. native who has worked 270 shifts underground on the same mine obtains a refund of this sum at the conclusion of his contract. After arrival in Johannesburg, the A.V.S. recruit presents himself at the compound of whatever mine he selects. The mine advises the N.R.C. when he has been taken into employment, and obtains from that organisation a statement of the advances made to him so that the deduction from his earnings may be made.'

The A.V.S. not only allows the recruit to select the mine on which he wishes to work. It also enables him to work for a shorter period than the normal 'nine months' contract, since most of the mines to which the system applies are willing to engage labourers for only four months at a time, and a few are satisfied with even less. Older men with families consequently prefer the system, as they are able to return home once they have earned enough money to pay their tax and perhaps buy some clothing and other goods that they want.²

It may be added, finally, that all Native workers employed on

¹ Union Bluebook U.G. 21—1944, p. 4 (par. 45 f.).

² Figures showing the numbers of men recruited under the various types of contract are given in Appendix C.

the gold mines are covered by insurance under the (Union) Workmen's Compensation Act, and all awards of compensation are upon a graduated scale and judged by Government medical officers. Seriously injured Natives are repatriated free of charge, and partially disabled Natives are given preferential treatment for suitable surface work on the mine employing them at the time when the injury was sustained.

Deferred Pay

An aspect of labour contracts that calls for special discussion is the matter of deferred pay. As already noted, the Administration long ago expressed the desire that men working abroad should be induced to send or bring home part of their earnings, instead of spending it all where they were.¹ This desire was partly met when in 1910 the Chamber of Mines introduced the system of 'Voluntary Deferred Pay', by which mine workers could, if they wished, have a specified portion of their wages set aside regularly, the full amount so deferred being handed to them on their return home. The system has several obvious advantages. 'The temptation to spend money on the Witwatersrand on unnecessary articles is removed or diminished, the risk to the worker of carrying money upon his person or sending it by means of another to his family is excluded, and a sum is available for him at his home on his return.'² Moreover, the mere fact that a man has money waiting for him at home will usually serve to ensure that he does not stay away for any considerable length of time.

Mine workers from Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland, and other northern territories, are recruited by the W.N.L.A. under contracts that make the deferment of pay compulsory. In regard to Bechuanaland, however, the system is voluntary, recruits being allowed to decide for themselves whether they wish to have any pay deferred or not. The Administration was at first not particularly interested in the system; standing instructions to District Commissioners stated that 'beyond explaining it to the Chiefs and their people, no persuasion must be employed to induce natives to make use of it'.³ This attitude changed as the advantages of deferred pay came to be realized, and at various

¹ See p. 27.

² Report, Mine Natives' Wages Commission, p. 32.

³ Standing Instructions, etc. (May, 1934), p. 21

meetings of the Native Advisory Council from 1929 onwards the Chiefs have been urged to make their people adopt the practice. The European Advisory Council, too, suggested as far back as 1926 that deferment should be made compulsory, and that the pay be drawn only in the recruit's district of origin.¹ Most of the Chiefs have favoured the adoption of such a policy. But objections have also been raised. In 1929, for instance, Chief Isang (Kgatla) pointed out that goods were cheaper on the Rand than at home, so that a man gained by drawing his pay in Johannesburg; and another member of the Advisory Council, in 1930, protested that compulsion would be an interference with 'the freedom of having the right use of one's money'.² Other objections subsequently raised were that compulsion would lead men to go forward under the A.V.S., or

'would result in Protectorate natives crossing the border to be attested to enable them to draw their pay wherever they might wish . . . It has also been pointed out that if deferred pay is made compulsory for mine labour it should be made compulsory for all other forms of employment, and this is impracticable.'³

The legislation relating to Native labour does not prescribe the compulsory deferment of pay. From about 1937 onwards, however, the Administration has usually insisted that all recruiting contracts should provide at least for voluntary deferred pay. A circular issued in May, 1940, asked that 'the native authorities should do all they can to encourage those of their people who are recruited . . . to sign the clause in the contract form under which their pay is deferred'.⁴

'At the same time,' the circular continued, 'the Head Office of the N.R.C. and of the W.N.L.A. are being informed that it is the wish of Government and of the Native Authorities that as far as possible all labourers recruited by their agents within the Territory should avail themselves of the deferred pay system' and that it would be appreciated if their agents could be informed accordingly and invited to do what they can to persuade all recruited labourers to defer their pay.

From inquiries made in Johannesburg by His Honour it appears that only a very small proportion of the labourers recruited in the Protectorate draw any part of their deferred pay in Johannesburg. The head office of the Recruiting Corporation does all in its power to discourage this practice. No deferred pay may be paid out to any labourer by the mining company employing him, and

¹ Minutes, European Advisory Council, 1926, pp. 40 ff.

² Minutes, Native Advisory Council, 1929, p. 26, *ibid.*, 1930, p. 31.

³ Minutes, Native Advisory Council, 1939, p. 25.

⁴ Govt. Secy's circular 2380/2 of 22 May, 1940.

any labourer wishing to draw a part of his deferred pay has to attend at the head office in the city and state his reasons. This policy of discouraging labourers from drawing their deferred pay in Johannesburg will be continued.'

Finally, in 1943, it was urged before the Mine Natives' Wages Commission, on behalf of the High Commission Territories, 'that in the case of Natives from these territories, deferment of one third of the earnings should be compulsory and combined with an allotment system under which an amount of a further one-third should be remitted to the labourer's family from time to time. The advantages anticipated from this course comprise not only those already enumerated but that money would be spent in the Territories which otherwise might be dissipated on the Witwatersrand'.¹ The Commission agreed that every effort should be made, by means of propaganda and persuasion, to encourage a system of remittance and deferment, but concluded that 'so serious an interference with liberty as compulsory allotment or deferment of pay would entail would hardly be warranted and would be resented by a considerable proportion of the workers'.²

In any case, as far as the Bechuanaland Protectorate is concerned, voluntary deferment has increased to such an extent that little more could be gained by compulsion. In 1933, the proportion of mine workers deferring part of their pay was 58.2 per cent; in 1937 it was 89.1 per cent; and in 1943 it was 95 per cent.³ This was by far the highest proportion among Natives from British South Africa. Next in order of frequency was Basutoland, with 74 per cent, and the average (Union and High Commission Territories) was only 49 per cent. I shall discuss at a later stage the amount of money that has been brought into the Territory as a result of the system.⁴

Advances and Loans

Since the earliest days of recruiting, one of the methods by which labour agents have induced Natives to enter into contracts of employment has been to give them an advance on their wages. The practice was at first open to abuse on either side. The recruiter, who was often a local trader, could pile up the advances

¹ Report Mine Natives' Wages Commission, p. 32.

² Report, Mine Natives' Wages Commission, p. 32.

³ Figures for 1933 and 1937 are taken from Minutes, Native Advisory Council, 1939, p. 25, and those for 1943 from Report, Mine Natives' Wages Commission, p. 32.

⁴ See pp. 159, 210 f.

to such an extent that the Native remained in debt even after having worked for several months, and instances are also known where the recruit was debited with more than he had actually received. On the other hand, it was fairly common for a Native to accept an advance from one recruiter and then, before setting out to work, enter into a similar agreement with another in the same village or near by. To deal with the problem, a Proclamation was issued in 1912 (No. 10 of that year), which made it an offence for a Native recruit to desert or enter into a contract with someone else before the completion of the service first agreed upon. The Proclamation also limited advances to 'the sum or value' of £2, excluding charges for railway transport or tax, and free of interest.¹ The Native Labour Proclamation retains the same limit, and stipulates that contracts must show 'the advances of wages, if any, and the manner of repayment of such advances'.

The most important feature of the limitation at the present time lies in the words 'exclusive of any charges for transport or any amount due for any native tax or fine advanced by the labour agent or employer'. Transport charges have already been discussed.² Advances in respect of tax or fines raise a more difficult issue. There is little doubt that the Administration's attitude towards recruiting has all along been greatly influenced by the fact that it provides an easy means of collecting tax, and, as we have seen,³ tax collectors are sometimes at hand to interview recruits before they are attested.

It will be noticed that there is no statutory limitation of the amount that can be advanced towards the payment of tax. At one time the N R C. (then the sole recruiting agency in the Territory) paid all the arrear and current tax due by a recruit, the understanding being that if he deserted, died, or was repatriated on medical grounds, the Administration would refund whatever had not been recovered from his earnings. However, experience showed that heavy advances encouraged desertion and were in other ways undesirable. In 1933, accordingly, the Corporation decided to limit advances to the amount of one year's tax only. This has since become the general practice. The 1933 arrangement provided also that if a recruit was in arrears with his tax, the balance could be recovered by specially

¹ This legislation may have been inspired by the Native Labour Regulation Act which the Union Government passed in 1911.

² See p. 81 ff.

³ See p. 77 f.

deferring part of his pay. This particular provision is no longer enforced. (It may be noted that before the N.R.C. and W.N.L.A. established their own offices in the Territory, deferred pay drawn at home was paid out by the District Commissioner, who often used the opportunity to collect outstanding tax. Nowadays the recruiting agencies themselves pay out whatever sums of money workers have deferred. This may account in part for the increased popularity of the system.)

At the present time, recruiting agencies usually advance not only one year's Government tax (25s.), but also the local tribal levy (3s. to 8s.), and, by special arrangement, the 'war levy' of 22s. 6d. imposed in 1941. The money is paid to the District Commissioner, and the receipts are given to the labour agent to be handed on to the recruit. The amount advanced is subsequently recovered from the man's wages, the following order of precedence being observed by the N.R.C. in collecting it: (a) the ordinary 'recruiting' advance of £2; (b) hut tax and tribal levy; and (c) war levy. Should the worker die or desert, etc., before having worked for 90 shifts, the Administration will refund whatever is outstanding for hut tax and tribal levy, provided that the claim is lodged within six months from the date of attestation. Claims for unrecovered war levy are accepted up to nine months from the date of attestation, provided that the worker has not completed 120 shifts.

It must not be assumed that all recruits actually take such advances, since some may have already paid their tax and/or war levy before attestation. During the first three months of 1943, for instance, 205 Ngwato recruited by the W.N.L.A. at Francistown took £2 10s. 6d. each (to cover hut tax, tribal levy, and war levy), 39 took £1 2s. 6d. each (for war levy), and 48 took no advances at all for either taxation or levies.¹

Almost all mine recruits, on the other hand, take the £2 that may be advanced to them apart from taxation and levies. As we have seen, those recruited by the W.N.L.A. receive clothing to the value of 30s., and are charged 4s. or 5s. for road rations, so that the cash balance paid to them is never more than 5s. or 6s.² N.R.C. recruits engaged on the 'nine months' contract can receive up to the full £2 in cash. No goods of any kind are supplied to them, except in the few instances where they are

¹ Figures extracted from contract sheets (D.C.'s office, Francistown).

² See p. 83

engaged by a trader-recruiter, and even then they may be given the cash advance first (in the presence of the attesting officer), from which they subsequently pay for the goods they have bought. A.V.S. recruits do not get this cash advance, but may have their tax and war levy paid for them if they wish.

On the average, the total amount per head advanced to N.R.C. recruits during 1943 was £4 6s. 5d (including cash, taxes, fares, etc.) The corresponding amounts for W.N.L.A. recruits were £6 2s. 11d. for men attested at Francistown, and £9 2s. 5d for those attested at Muan.¹ These advances represented nearly 16 per cent of the wages earned by N.R.C. recruits working a full contract (270 shifts), and nearly 22 per cent and 33 per cent respectively of the wages earned by W.N.L.A. recruits working for twelve calendar months (nominally 313, usually 306 shifts).

Medical Examination

In the early days of recruiting in the Territory, workers do not seem ever to have been medically examined before attestation and departure from the country. One important reason, no doubt, was the lack of qualified practitioners. But all recruits for the mines were examined on getting there, and were rejected if they did not reach certain specified standards of physical fitness. As time went on, and the medical services of the Territory expanded, labour agents adopted the practice of having recruits examined before they were sent out of the country. This was done primarily for the sake of economy, since the agent, who was paid on a capitation basis, suffered pecuniary loss whenever a man sent forward by him was rejected by the mine doctors. The mines themselves preferred to have such local examinations, because it was bad propaganda if many of the Natives accepted by their agents were subsequently rejected on the Rand because of poor physique.

The Administration did not insist on compulsory medical examination until as recently as 1935. A Proclamation (No. 21) was then issued, which stipulated that when recruits for mine labour were brought before an attesting officer, the labour agent must produce a certificate, signed by a medical practitioner registered in the Territory, to the effect that each recruit

¹ Averages calculated (a) from figures supplied annually by the N.R.C. to the Administration, and (b) from figures supplied at my request by the District Manager, W.N.L.A. Comparable figures for earlier years are given in Appendix D.

had been examined by him and found to be 'in a sound state of health and physically capable of performing the contract in question'. The Native Labour Proclamation of 1941 extends the stipulation to cover any type of employment, but empowers the Resident Commissioner to grant exemption (a) in regard to workers recruited for agricultural labour, or (b), if the employment is in the vicinity of a man's home, for 'non-agricultural work which he is satisfied is not of a dangerous character or likely to be injurious to the health of the workers', or (c) if no medical practitioner is available. The Resident Commissioner may also require that recruits shall be examined both before departure and after arrival at the place of employment, 'particularly when the journey of the recruited workers is of such duration and takes place under such conditions that the health of the workers is likely to be affected'.

None of the recruiting agencies has its own medical staff in the Territory.¹ All recruits are examined by the local medical practitioners, who are either Government officers or attached to mission hospitals partly subsidized by the Government. The N.R.C. and W.N.L.A. pay the doctor a fee of 2s. 6d per head for the first 500 recruits that he examines each year, and 1s per head thereafter. This is sometimes a lucrative source of income, since the work is not considered an official duty, but is a perquisite of private practice. I shall discuss at a later stage whether this is altogether desirable.²

The Independent Migrant

From what has been said above, it is evident that the recruited worker nowadays receives considerable help in proceeding to his destination. All his travelling arrangements are made for him, he is admitted without question into the Union, and he can start work immediately after his arrival; in addition, the terms under which he is employed are subject to Government approval and supervision. No such facilities are provided for the man who prefers to go abroad independently. He must see to his own transport, and, if he has no definite work awaiting him, he may have difficulty in entering the Union or in finding employment once he has got there. Moreover, unless he works in a proclaimed

¹ The W.N.L.A. normally has a doctor at Kazungula to examine recruits from Barotseland.

² See p. 212

Labour District, there is not necessarily even administrative control over the conditions of his service

It is impossible to state accurately what proportion of the people going away from their tribal areas fall into this category of independent migrants. Official records show that 588 passes were issued in 1939 to men 'seeking work', as against 11,905 recruited for the gold mines and elsewhere; the corresponding figures for 1942 were 224 and 8,777 respectively. These figures suggest that the proportion is very small, but it must be remembered that the number of passes issued is far from being a reliable index of migration. We have seen, on the other hand, that approximately 54 per cent of all adult male migrants are working on the gold mines.¹ Allowing as a reasonable maximum another 6 per cent for those recruited by other agencies, we can put the proportion of independent migrants at approximately 40 per cent, i.e. roughly 7,800 of the men away from home (or 6,000 if we exclude men in other parts of the Territory).² All women who go abroad fall into the same category, since they may not be recruited for work. The total number of independent migrants (men and women) may therefore be estimated at approximately 8,600 (or 10,600 if we include those in other parts of the Territory);³ and the number of recruited migrants (men only) at approximately 11,700

We have already seen that independent migrants usually have difficulty in getting a travelling pass, unless they have definite employment awaiting them.⁴ The result is that the majority cross the border surreptitiously, usually on foot, and that once within the Union they run the risk of prosecution. In addition they still have to find work. This, however, does not seem to deter them. Many men go abroad after having been rejected as unfit for work on the mines. Others, especially youths, leave home surreptitiously because they are afraid of being kept back by their parents or Chief. Still others do not want to work on the mines, or else dislike being bound by a definite contract. Sometimes they secure employment almost immediately after

¹ See p. 49.

² These figures exclude men with the A.P.C. It should be noted also (cf. Appendix C) that not all mine labourers are recruited or come forward under the A.V.S.; during the past few years, between 200-300 annually have been taken on independently. This would bring the total of 'independent' male migrants to at least 8,000.

³ I have excluded women living abroad together with their husbands.

⁴ Cf. p. 87.

entering the Union, especially if they go to a rural area; sometimes, however, they are less fortunate. Inquiries made of forty-one Kgatla (now at home), who had migrated independently during the past few years, showed that twenty-two had found work within their first week in the Transvaal, and nine others within their first month; the rest said that they had wandered about for two to nine months (in one instance) before they succeeded in their quest.

Both the Administration, and the tribal authorities generally, disapprove of independent migration under existing conditions. They contend that the recruited worker is always under supervision and control; his personal welfare and conditions of service are adequately protected; a substantial portion of his earnings comes back in the form of deferred pay, remittances, and advances; his taxes can be collected fairly easily; and he seldom stays away for very long. The independent migrants, on the other hand, are widely scattered, and it is impossible to keep in touch with them all; they tend to stay away for lengthy periods, and sometimes permanently; little of what they earn finds its way back into the Territory as cash, since there are few industries outside mining that provide facilities for deferred pay or remittances; they can seldom be induced to provide for their families at home, and are often behind with their tax payments.

The contrast is valid. But, as several Chiefs have shown,¹ independent migration has the advantage that people can engage in occupations, such as certain trades or farming, which can usefully be applied at home. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that, in the absence of any form of labour exchange or agency, it is only by independent migration that men who are either unfit for mine labour or averse to it can find employment that they like, or for which they are physically capable or specially qualified. The real problem is to help them find work and at the same time keep in touch with them. I shall discuss this further in the concluding chapter.

¹Minutes, Native Advisory Council, 1938, pp. 81 ff.; *ibid* 1940 p. 59 ff.

Chapter Four

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

IT has been shown above that, in the third quarter of 1943, approximately 33,000 Natives (including women) were away from their tribal areas. About 2,000 of the absentees were in other parts of the Territory, 10,000 were in the army, 20,700 in the Union, and the remainder in Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere. We have now to investigate the reasons for this migration. It is obviously impossible to enumerate every single factor: where so many people are concerned, the specific motives that induced individuals to leave their homes must certainly have been very numerous and diverse. All we can do, therefore, is indicate what seem to be the more general sets of causes underlying migration. The discussion that follows is based partly upon the statements of many informants, both Native and European, but mainly upon an analysis of the conditions prevailing to-day in the Reserves.

Social and Psychological Factors

At the outset, one important fact must be emphasized. Labour migration is not a novel feature in Tswana life, except among the relatively isolated communities of the western districts. The eastern tribes, especially those nearest the border, have been accustomed for over seventy years to sending labourers into the Union, and more than eighty per cent of the men now alive have had some experience of working abroad. It has therefore come to be accepted almost as a matter of course that a man should go to the Union at least once during his lifetime; the mines and other industries of that country are a recognized outlet for labour and an established source of income. However, migration is not an inevitable part of tribal life, and the question therefore arises: why do particular people go abroad, and why do they go at a particular time?

Desire for Adventure and Change

Going out to work for the first time is regarded by many

youths as a form of adventure, and some admittedly go mainly in order to experience for themselves the attractions and excitements described by their more experienced elders. The trip is a conspicuous landmark in their lives, and they talk and boast about it on their return. It means a definite break from the routine to which they have hitherto been accustomed, and introduces them to a scene that is both novel and alluring.

The desire to see the white man's world is particularly marked among the youths who normally have to spend most of their time herding at the cattleposts. In the old days, such youths were seldom left alone for long; their elders visited them frequently, and not only supervised their work but kept them company. To-day, owing mainly to the lengthening absence of men abroad, boys at the cattleposts sometimes have no visitors for many weeks on end. They consequently begin to feel neglected, their occasional visits home are cut short because there is seldom anyone to relieve them, and they become slack and careless. Some ultimately grow tired of remaining continuously with the cattle, and run away to the Transvaal to seek a more exciting occupation.

Labour migration, moreover, has come to be widely regarded as a form of initiation into manhood. The old circumcision rites (*bogwêra*) have been abandoned in every tribe except the Maletle, Tlôkwa, and some groups of Rolong on the Crown Lands of the Lobatsi District. The creation of a new age-regiment, to which they were formerly the prelude, is now accomplished as a rule by a purely formal ceremony of naming, which does not evoke the same feelings of pride and self-respect as were produced by passing through the elaborate mysteries and hardships of the *bogwêra*. There is much more sense of achievement in venturing abroad for the first time. As one informant said: 'When told that you are a man, you must discard the practices of childhood and do the work of a man; you've got to leave your village and go out to earn money.' Labour migration has consequently almost entirely replaced the *bogwêra* as a mark of maturity; and, since a youth recruited for work on the mines is immediately registered as a taxpayer, he feels that the Government and the tribal authorities no longer regard him as a boy, even although he may not yet have become a member of a regiment (which in most Reserves, despite the provisions of the law, is the normal time for beginning to pay tax).

Another important factor where youths are concerned is the marked preference shown by girls for those who have been abroad. On their return home, well dressed and perhaps with money to spend on gifts, such men, with their airs and glamorous stories, exercise a far greater attraction than those who have never been away. The latter are characterized as lacking in self-respect, 'because they have nothing to wear but their loinskins' instead of working for decent clothes; they are branded as cowards, who fear the risks of town life; and they are seldom regarded with favour as potential husbands, since there is nothing to show that they are willing to work for the support of a family. I once saw a Kgatla girl turn round in anger upon a young man who was pestering her and berate him with the words 'You are useless, you have never been out into the Union'. Cases are even quoted of girls refusing to marry men selected for them because the latter preferred to stay at home rather than go out to work. The desire to find favour in the eyes of the other sex instead of being treated with contempt may thus be a powerful stimulus to labour migration.¹

Once men have been abroad, they often continue to go because tribal life strikes them as dull after the bustle and glamour of the towns. Under the influence of western civilization, many of the old forms of excitement and amusement have disappeared. Inter-tribal warfare has long been a thing of the past, hunting is far less frequently practised, the traditional public dances and religious ceremonies have been widely abandoned or forbidden by the chiefs, and even beer-drinking is in some tribes subject to various irksome forms of control or, as among the Ngwato, completely prohibited. Domestic work, such as agriculture and looking after stock, is monotonous and unexacting, and with the decay in home industries many old occupations have been lost and only a few people have taken on new activities. Village life during the winter months, when the people are home from the fields, often consists of little more than lounging and gossip by day, while at night there is little to do but pay visits or indulge in amorous intrigues. In the circumstances, sheer boredom may drive a man back to the Union after he has been home for only a few weeks or months.

Young women who have been abroad also tend to find tribal

¹ I have dealt with this point somewhat more fully in my book *Married Life in an African Tribe* (London, 1940), p. 67 f.

life boring in comparison. They claim to enjoy themselves far more in the Transvaal than they do at home, there they are free from parental and tribal control, associate promiscuously with men, and 'can do just as we please'. They resent the restrictions to which they are subject after their return, and, like some of the men, may stay at home for only a short while before going out again. The stories they tell of their life abroad influence the girls in the Reserves, who in turn also begin to long for the attractions of the towns. One of my informants, for instance, showed me a letter received from two girls in Mochudi, in the course of which they said, 'We are leaving school, we want to go and work in Johannesburg, and see life'. This attitude is far from universal, but it is common enough, especially among the Kgatla and other south-eastern tribes, to be mentioned among the causes of migration.

Escape from Domestic and Communal Problems

Labour migration nowadays also affords a ready means of escape from domestic and tribal control, especially the latter. Formerly there was no hope of avoiding one's chief or family except by the dangerous method of fleeing to some other tribe. To-day, owing to the disappearance of inter-tribal warfare and the development of new transport facilities, especially the railway, people are able to move about much more freely and safely. Any form of oppression, real or imagined, to which formerly they would have had to submit with as much grace as they could muster, is therefore now merely an added inducement for seeking work in the Union.

Family life in the old days was organized on a pattern in which the husband and father had unquestioned authority over his wives and children. In tribal law this is still the accepted principle, but in practice it has become more difficult to enforce. A son who resents paternal interference and dictation now that he is an adult, who is neglected or treated harshly, or who is denied the girl that he wishes to marry, will seldom hesitate to seek freedom by migrating to the Union. The death of a parent and the assumption of authority by an unsympathetic guardian may also lead to flight from home. Domestic disputes are indeed among the causes of migration most frequently mentioned and illustrated by Native informants. The Kalaka in the Ngwato

and Tati Reserves also stressed the fear of witchcraft, which, however, is itself almost invariably a symptom of strained family relationships.

Women, too, sometimes go away because of domestic trouble. Many, it is true, accompany their husbands or parents, or go later to join them. Some, however, set out deliberately to seek absent husbands who no longer keep touch with them. Others, notably young widows and divorcées, may go merely because they dislike the restrictions surrounding them at home. All women are still obliged to live with either their own people or their husband's, and they are perpetually subject to the authority of a male guardian. Consequently, those who do not marry again prefer sometimes to fend for themselves in the towns, where at least their lives are free from the continuous supervision of officious relatives. Owing to both the decay of polygamy and the absence of so many young men, moreover, girls nowadays seldom find husbands while still in their teens. Some therefore become the concubines of married men at home. Others, resenting the attempts of their parents to guard their morals, find migration to the Union a more satisfactory answer to their problem. Now and then, too, a girl will elope with a lover rejected by her family, or a wife may flee from an intolerable husband.

Other categories of people have found labour migration a means of escape from the burdens of tribal life. This applies especially to the Kgalagadi, Sarwa, and others, who in the old days were held as serfs by the chiefs and other prominent men. The serfs remained permanently attached to the family of their 'master', they were not free to work as and for whom they liked, and they suffered under various other discriminations. Once the European demand for Native labour developed, serfs began to desert from the cattleposts and make their way abroad, especially if they were ill-treated by their masters. Among the Kwena and Ngwaketse I have heard members of the ruling community complain that all their Kgalagadi 'servants' had run away to the mines. As recently as 1937, a request by the N R C. to establish a rest camp at Letlhakeng, in the Kwena Reserve, was opposed by the leading headmen of the tribe, who feared that the presence of the camp would induce the local Kgalagadi herds to desert the cattle and go to the mines. Among the Ngwato, it was even fairly common at one time for masters to follow up and try to

fetch back runaway Sarwa from places like Francistown. This practice is no longer permitted, and throughout the Protectorate members of the formerly servile communities are free nowadays to go abroad if they wish. Even the Sarwa, generally considered to have been the most oppressed of all, are going away now in large numbers.

It is not only the former serfs who prefer labour migration to remaining at home under existing conditions. Other tribesmen too have found it an escape from local obligations, including especially the demands made by the chiefs upon their services. Under tribal law, the chief is entitled to free labour from his subjects for various private and public purposes. Normally the men do not object to the work, particularly when it is for the common benefit, as, for instance, the rounding up of stray cattle. Within relatively recent times, however, tribal labour has been used for many activities that are considered a sheer burden, like the making of roads, agricultural showgrounds, and aerodromes; there have been more frequent calls upon the men; and in some instances forcible measures have been employed against stragglers and defaulters. Moreover, since many men are away in the Union, such tasks fall more heavily upon those remaining behind, who cannot but regard their lot as comparatively unfavourable. Tribal labour has therefore come to be resented by some, who, rather than stay at home and be forced to work without pay, prefer to go abroad where they will be rewarded for their services.

Another instance of escape from tribal obligations was seen when recruiting started for the A.P.C. (1941). In principle, enlistment for the Corps was to be voluntary, but people feared, not without reason, that the chiefs would adopt some form of conscription. Consequently many men, especially among the southern tribes, either went into hiding in the veld, or made their way surreptitiously to labour centres in the Union.

Sometimes men go abroad if they have committed an offence and fear to face the consequences. It is fairly common, for instance, for youths to run away if they have made a girl pregnant and are sued for damages by her family. Cases are also known of men leaving home because they have incurred the personal displeasure of the chief, or because verdicts have been given against them in the tribal courts. Dismissal from a post as teacher or Government employee is another reason occasionally

found for going to the Union. In all such instances, the men concerned are dissatisfied with or afraid of remaining at home, or are unable to get employment owing to the circumstances of their dismissal, and migration seems the easiest way out of their immediate difficulty. Sheer disgust with local conditions sometimes is a cause of migration. Among the Kgatla, for instance, many men went and stayed away during the years of Molefi's chieftainship (1929-34), owing to the continual disturbances resulting from the feud between the chief and his uncle Isang.

Economic Necessity

The various factors described above have been directly responsible for migration in many individual instances. But they do not account in themselves for the perennial exodus of so many thousands of people. A far more universal cause, and certainly the most important of all, is economic necessity. This is illustrated by the replies I received to a questionnaire circulated among men who had recently returned from the Union. One of the questions asked: 'Why did you leave home?' The 297 replies can be classified as follows:

(i) To earn money, (a) for the payment of taxes	119
(b) to pay taxes, and buy clothing and other goods	83
(c) because of poverty	39
(d) to purchase clothing	29
(e) to buy cattle, clothing, and other goods	16
(f) to give to one's parents	5
(ii) Miscellaneous (attractions of town life, dislike of herding cattle, love of adventure, loss of post as teacher)	6

The individual sets of figures need not be taken too seriously. But the replies in general point to an obvious conclusion: the vast majority of men say they sought work abroad in order to be able to pay their taxes and/or purchase clothing and other goods, and some gave as their sole reason 'poverty', i.e. the lack of any other source of income.

The position that exists to-day may be outlined as follows. Before the coming of the Europeans, the Natives of Bechuanaland apparently produced for themselves virtually everything that they used. This is no longer so. During the course of the past century, the people have learned to use new goods of many

kinds, almost all of which are imported; they also pay taxes to the Administration and their own tribal authorities, and need money for various other purposes. In order to satisfy these new wants, they were obliged to find new sources of income. They could increase the output of their traditional forms of production, and so provide a surplus for export; they could produce new crops and other commodities specially for the market; or they could work for cash wages. The first two methods have up to the present proved inadequate. Wage-labour has consequently become an indispensable source of income for the people generally, and, since opportunities in the Territory are limited, the vast majority go to the Union, where there is a far greater demand for their services.

Growth of New Wants

The brief statement just given must now be amplified. Since the coming of the Europeans, there has been a marked change in Native standards of living. Food habits remain substantially the same, but many people have acquired a taste for sugar, tea, bread and preserves. Housing has been affected mainly by the adoption of European doors, windows, and methods of thatching; some people also build rectangular dwellings, and use bricks, iron sheeting, and other new materials. The change in dress has been very marked, for European clothing is worn by all who can get it, although costumes vary widely in completeness. Imported beads, ear-rings and bangles, have almost completely displaced the old Native ornaments. Implements and utensils have become far more numerous, for, apart from those formerly used, the Tswana can now obtain the products of factories all over the world. The great variety of goods available to-day and finding a ready sale among the people is illustrated by the lists of traders' stocks reproduced in Appendix E.

Most of the goods referred to above can be obtained only from European sources. They are sometimes imported directly from mail-order stores in the Union or Southern Rhodesia, or are brought back by returning labourers, but the main source of supply is the local trading stores. Trade is very largely on a cash or barter basis. Before 1923 traders could apparently give customers unlimited credit. In that year, a Proclamation was issued preventing them from taking legal action against Natives for any

debts which had not been authorized in writing by the District Commissioner. Experience soon showed that this made the credit system almost unworkable, and, following upon representations from the European Advisory Council, a new Proclamation was substituted in 1932. This permitted traders to give any Native credit up to the value of £25 per annum, the amount to be recoverable in Court provided that proceedings were taken not later than two years from the time that the debt was contracted.¹ These Proclamations seem to have imposed a reasonably effective check upon indiscriminate credit, and traders have on the whole been fairly cautious. Abuses similar to those found in the Transkei, where many Natives are apparently forced out to work solely in order to pay their debts to Europeans, are therefore unknown in the Territory; they have certainly never been regarded locally as an important reason for labour migration.

Apart from procuring trade goods, people must nowadays find money for making certain cash payments. Foremost among these is the Native Tax (formerly known as the 'hut tax') which, since 1899, has had to be paid annually to the Administration. The amount was originally fixed at 10s. In 1909 it was raised to £1, and in 1920 to 25s., of which 5s. was paid into a special Native Fund. In 1932 there was another increase, to 28s., but the following year, owing to the depression, the amount was reduced to 15s. It was restored to £1 in 1937, increased to 22s. in 1939, and in 1940, as a wartime measure, it was increased again to the present rate of 25s. The collection of tax was at first entrusted to the chiefs, subsequently, owing to various instances of incompetence and fraud, it was more directly controlled by the District Commissioners; but in 1938, following upon the creation of Tribal Treasuries, it was once more made the responsibility of the tribal authorities. Thirty-five per cent of the tax collected annually from each tribe is paid into the local Treasury, the balance being used as general Government revenue.

The Native tax (which nowadays is actually a poll tax) is payable by every male over the 'apparent age' of eighteen years. In practice it has generally been claimed only from members of age-regiments, and from those who even though not yet mem-

¹ In 1940 (Proc. 31) the period was extended to eight years, and traders were allowed to give additional credit to any Native specially exempted by the District Commissioner on the grounds that 'such native is a responsible person of standing and is possessed of adequate means'.

bers of regiments have gone out to work. Exemption in whole or in part may however be granted to men able to satisfy the District Commissioner that they are too poor to pay the tax 'without being deprived of their means of subsistence'. Men with two wives pay twice the normal amount of tax, and those with three wives or more pay three times the normal amount. The number of polygamists is actually so small that relatively few men are affected; and a Government proposal in 1939 to abolish the tax on extra wives was rejected by the Natives themselves, who contended that the payment of the tax confirms the woman's status as a wife.¹

In addition to the 'Native tax', there are special tribal levies. In the past such levies often took the form of an annual tax: among the Ngwaketse and Kwena, for instance, each registered taxpayer during the years 1902-20 paid 2s. a year into an educational fund, and among the Tlôkwa each taxpayer during the years 1907-33 paid 15s. a year towards the rent due to the British South Africa Company for the land occupied by the tribe.² However, levies were more generally imposed as a temporary measure to provide funds for a specific purpose. Among the Kgatla, for instance, a general levy of an ox (or £6 10s. in cash) per taxpayer was made in 1924 to finance water-boring in the tribal Reserve; among the Ngwato a general levy of an ox per taxpayer was made in 1930 to provide funds for the chief's visit to England; among the Maletle there was a general levy of £5 per taxpayer in 1925 for the purchase of additional land for the tribe, and an identical levy was made among the Tlôkwa in 1939. Sometimes again, levies were imposed upon individual age-regiments, as among the Kgatla, where churches and schools have been built with the money raised in this way.³

Until recently, the Administration did not interfere with the imposition of such levies, nor were the chiefs required to account for their handling of the money received. In 1934, however, it was laid down that no levy could be imposed without the approval of the High Commissioner, who must be satisfied that it is in accordance with the wishes of the people. Since the institution of Tribal Treasuries (1938), levies have again become a universal feature, and to-day every registered taxpayer must

¹ Cf. Minutes, Native Advisory Council, 20th session (1939), pp. 55 f.

² This land was acquired by the Government in 1933 and established as a tribal Reserve for the Tlôkwa.

³ Other examples of tribal levies are mentioned in the Pim Report (Cmd. 3468; 1933), pp. 102 f.

pay a local annual tax, ranging from 3s. in some tribes to 8s. in others, the proceeds of which go into the general revenue of the Treasury concerned

In 1941 a special War Levy was also imposed throughout the Territory: part of the money goes into Government revenue, part is used to provide gifts and comforts for men serving with the A.P.C., and the balance is lent free of interest to the British Government. In the imposition of this levy, a new principle of taxation was adopted. There is still a flat rate for Native tax and tribal levy, but the amount of war levy to be paid by each man has been assessed according to his means. Members of the A.P.C. are exempted, and so are people who own neither cattle nor small stock, or who (if employed) earn less than £2 per month or 1s. 6d. per day plus rations. All others pay from 2s. 6d. to 30s. per annum, according to their wealth in livestock, occupation and earnings.

A few other forms of cash expenditure fall regularly upon many people. In several tribes, owners of livestock pay special rates for watering their animals at the boreholes that have recently been developed. Inhabitants of the Francistown district (excluding the Tati Native Reserve) pay rent to the Tati Company for the land on which they live. Money is also often required for church dues, school fees and books, and medical treatment by European doctors. It is the only form in which payment can be made for goods imported directly from places outside the Reserves, and for transport by rail or bus within the Protectorate or abroad. The tribal courts, too, have begun to impose fines in cash as an alternative to livestock, and in the European courts fines have always been payable in cash. Before the imposition of the war levy, collections were also made in almost every tribe for War Funds; contributions were generally voluntary, but in some tribes they took the form of a fixed levy upon taxpayers.

The growth of all these new wants has led to diverse standards of living in the Reserves. Poor people on the whole still occupy the same kind of hut as before, eat the same foods, and keep the same domestic animals. Here there has been relatively little change. But almost all the inhabitants of the towns and larger villages now wear clothing of European pattern and material, especially the women, who insist on having blankets and dresses. In addition, even the poorest household tries to provide itself

with a plough, axe, knives, and other hardware utensils, salt, soap, matches, candles, paraffin and various patent medicines. Its men must also pay the annual tax due to the Administration and the levy imposed by the Tribal Treasury. All these may be regarded as universal wants.

Many people seek to acquire more and better clothes and implements, as well as sugar, tea, bread, rifles and ammunition, crockery of some kind, bedsteads, tables and chairs, bicycles and sewing machines. Those who are wealthy and progressive enough invest also in superior ploughs, livestock of good quality, dwellings and furniture of European type, books and newspapers, and similar goods still considered luxuries by the rest. Professing Christians must maintain respectable standards of dress, buy Bibles and other religious works, and pay various dues to the Church. The parents of school children often have special expenses in the form of fees, books and uniforms. Young men about to be married must provide their bride's trousseau, the cost of which normally ranges from £5 to £20.

Annual Cash Expenditure

Owing to these divergent standards of living, it is difficult to generalize about the cash expenditure of Native families. Investigations I made among the Kgatla during 1932-3 showed that the credit purchases of fifteen men at one trading store alone, over the period of a year in each case, ranged in value from £8 6s 6d to £47 13s. The average was £20 0s 3d., distributed as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Clothing	11	0	7
Foodstuffs	4	9	5
Implements, tools, etc	2	6	6
Other household necessities	1	8	5
Miscellaneous goods	15	4	

These figures cannot be considered complete, since they do not include cash purchases or purchases at other stores. Nor can they be regarded as typical, since all the men concerned were either fairly wealthy (by tribal standards) or were receiving regular wages as teachers, store assistants, etc. They show nevertheless that the expenditure on trade goods alone is sometimes substantial; and when we add Native tax and tribal levy,

plus other necessities, the average annual cash expenditure of such men must have been well over £30

An attempt to estimate the present-day average cost of living of Native families in the Territory was made in 1943 by Mr. R. Gordon Turner, District Superintendent of the N.R.C. He asked the Corporation's representatives and recruiters in Bechuanaland to frame budgets covering the supposed requirements for a year of a family of five (man, wife, and three children). Individual returns, based largely on personal opinion, gave total expenditures ranging from £31 7s to £65 7s 6d¹. The average was £50 os 6d, made up as follows:

	£	s	d.
Food	25	4	0
Clothing	18	5	6
Other essential household items	3	19	6
Taxes and levies	2	11	6

These budgets made no allowance for such items as church and school fees, medicines and doctors' expenses, grazing and water rates, bus and railway fares, etc., at least some of which must be found by almost every family during the course of the year. But the main objection is that the budgets are based, not upon an analysis of a sufficiently large sample of actual expenditures, but upon the estimated requirements of a family—and here no two opinions were found to agree upon details. This is hardly surprising. There is to-day an appreciable difference in standards of living among, say, a Kgalagadi or Sarwa herdsman living at a cattlepost, an illiterate resident of the tribal capital, and an educated teacher or civil servant, and as yet we lack detailed information that will enable us to calculate the average cash expenditure of even one of these classes, let alone of the population as a whole.

In the absence of such information, the most useful approach is to calculate as nearly as possible the amounts that have actually been spent annually by the whole Native population during the course of the past few years. The exact figures are available for certain items, and a reasoned estimate can be made of most others. In the following attempt at such a calculation, I have for convenience taken the five years 1938-42, which cover the period since the establishment of Tribal Treasuries.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Turner for placing the budgets at my disposal.

The known average annual expenditure of the Native population during this period includes the following items:¹

Native tax	£66,684
Tribal levies	7,556
War levy	7,744
Contributions to War Funds .. .	2,885
Contributions to revenue of Tribal Treasuries (court fines, school fees and books, water rates, etc.)	3,881
	£88,750

Certain items of general Government revenue, apart from direct taxation, were made up partly of contributions from the Natives. The most important are:²

<i>Head of Revenue</i>	<i>Estimated Native share³ %</i>	<i>Approx. value</i>
Posts and telephones	33.3	£5,900
Licences	5.0	530
Judicial fines	66.6	740
Miscellaneous:		
Hospital and drug fees	90.0	1,450
Pound fees	80.0	50
Sheep dipping fees	90.0	565
Sales of veterinary vaccines	90.0	1,015
Sales of pigs	50.0	290
Sales of poultry	50.0	160
Sales of Government property .. .	50.0	215
Sundries	33.3	300
		£11,215

We can regard also as Native expenditure about 60 per cent of the Kafir corn, maize, and maize meal, imported into the Territory.⁴ The average annual value of such imports during 1938-42 was approximately £42,375,⁵ of which the Native share would be £25,425. All other goods imported into the Territory

¹ The detailed amounts for each year are reproduced in Appendix F.

² The detailed amounts for each year are reproduced in Appendix F.

³ The estimates are based upon information received from the Chief Veterinary Officer and District Officers in the southern half of the Protectorate.

⁴ This is the figure given by the Chief Agricultural Officer, who states that of the remaining 40%, 28.6% is bought by Europeans and supplied as rations to Native employees, and 11.4% is fed to livestock.

⁵ Detailed figures for imports and exports are given in Appendix G.

by traders, with the exception of livestock and vehicles, are listed in the official returns under the omnibus heading of 'General Merchandise'. Their average annual value over the period we are considering was £381,090. It is impossible to say how much of this went to the Natives, since it undoubtedly included large numbers of goods used exclusively by Europeans. However, most authorities agree that the Native share can safely be put at five-sixths, which would represent a value of £317,575. But the figures given, for both cereal foodstuffs and general merchandise, represent the landed cost to the importer. The Native consumer would probably have had to pay at least 20 per cent more for foodstuffs, and 35 per cent more for general merchandise,¹ which would bring his expenditure on these two classes of goods to approximately £460,000.

There remain certain other items of expenditure for which we have no comprehensive figures. They include bus and railway fares, direct imports from abroad, church dues, and doctors' fees, together with such commodities as beer, meat and various utensils, that are purchased from fellow-tribesmen, and the wages paid by Native employers to their herdsmen and other servants. From what one knows of conditions in the Territory, the first two are by no means insignificant. The travelling expenses of mine recruits alone to the Rand during 1938-42 averaged roughly £12,960 per annum; on this basis, we can safely estimate the travelling expenses of the whole population, both within the Territory and to destinations abroad, at a conservative minimum of £30,000. The average value of goods brought home by men working abroad is about £5 16s per head, and of goods sent home £3 18s per head. The combined average annual value of the goods imported in this way may be estimated at £100,000.² In the light of these figures, I consider that a total of £150,000 per annum is a very conservative guess for the minimum amount spent on all the goods and services enumerated in this paragraph.

The various forms of expenditure listed in the last few paragraphs may for easier reference be tabulated as follows:

¹ These estimates are based upon information obtained by District Officers from traders.

² Details of the basis for this estimate are given in the following Chapter, p 159 f.

TABLE XXXVI
*AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE OF THE
 NATIVE POPULATION*

Taxes and levies		£81,974
War Funds		2,885
Miscellaneous contributions to Tribal Treasuries	..	3,881
Miscellaneous contributions to general revenue	.	11,215
Imports through traders (cereals and general merchandise)		460,000
Other expenditure (estimated)	..	150,000
		£709,955

We can say, therefore, that the total average annual expenditure of the Native population during the past few years has been (in global figures) at least £710,000. As already indicated, this is a minimum estimate, since there are several items for which exact or even approximate figures are not available. Dividing the total by the number of Native families in the Territory (roughly 56,000), we get an average of about £12 13s 6d. per family. This is considerably less than shown in the budgets quoted above, but may on the other hand be regarded as representative of every element in the population; and it has the merit of being based as far as possible upon known expenditure, and not upon estimated requirements.

Income from Sale of Produce

The money spent in the manner described above was obtained partly by the sale of produce, and partly in the form of earnings from wage-labour or some independent occupation. There is a good deal of internal trade in livestock, meat, corn and other foodstuffs, which enables people to acquire money or other goods from time to time. In some tribes many women also earn an odd shilling or two now and then by making and selling beer. Trade of this description is *sporadic*. There are as a rule no tribal markets of any kind where goods are regularly offered for sale, and anybody wanting to buy or sell food or some other object inquires among his neighbours and acquaintances until he finds someone with whom he can deal, and the transaction is then concluded directly between them.

Within the last three or four years, the Administration has or-

ganized periodical markets at places like Francistown and Mahalapye, where Natives are encouraged to bring fruit and other vegetable products for sale to one another. The response up to the present is said, however, to have been 'exceedingly disappointing'¹ Another recent development has been the inauguration of markets where cattle and other livestock are sold by public auction instead of, as hitherto, by private treaty. In some areas the innovation has been a great success, notably in the Kgatla Reserve, where such markets are now held weekly; during the year 1942-3 the amount realized by the Native sellers came to approximately £16,200. Other tribes have not yet adopted the system of regular markets, but are slowly drifting towards it.

In the main, the principal markets for local produce are still represented by the traders, who buy goods that they can export to the Union and elsewhere. In the early days, ivory, ostrich feathers, and the skins of fur-bearing animals, were the most important trade commodities; one firm alone at Shoshong, then the capital of the Ngwato, exported no less than £50,000 worth annually. By 1885, however, the trade was already showing signs of decay, and to-day it is insignificant. During the years 1938-42, the average annual value of exports from the whole Territory was only £4,278 for wild animal skins and karosses, £196 for ostrich feathers and £89 for ivory, giving a total of £4,563.²

The produce sold nowadays consists mainly of livestock, hides and skins of domestic animals, Kafir corn and other crops, and dairy products. 'The cattle trade, with its subsidiary industry, dairying, forms the chief business of the country.'³ However, in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war, the cattle markets in neighbouring countries were closely controlled, and exports from the Territory were often restricted by weight embargoes and other special conditions. These have now been modified, and, owing to the present abnormal circumstances, prices are much higher than they were a few years ago. A good trade also exists in hides and skins, although poor methods of preparation have tended to keep prices low. Sheep and goats have a steady but comparatively small scale. Since

¹ Cf. Minutes, European Advisory Council, 34th session (1943), p. 47 (statement of Chief Agricultural Officer).

² For detailed figures of these and other exports, see Appendix G.

³ Annual Report on the B.P., 1938 (Colonial No. 1911), p. 22.

1926 the Administration has also encouraged the production and marketing of cream. Fairly good progress has been made in the Francistown district and the north-eastern and southern parts of the Ngwato Reserve, but the attempts undertaken elsewhere were almost all abandoned, owing to lack of interest and support. The south-eastern tribes obtain a small but growing return from the sale of pigs, an animal introduced by Europeans, and in most places there is also a steady demand for eggs and poultry.

Apart from livestock and associated products, the only other agricultural commodity of which the Natives can sometimes dispose in large quantities is the crops that they cultivate. But the trade fluctuates greatly according to the nature of the harvest. In some years crops figure prominently in the list of exports; in others, as we have seen, they are imported in large quantities because of extreme local shortages due to drought or locusts. In most tribes, moreover, the chiefs long ago forbade the sale of Kafir corn without special permission, experience having shown that in bad seasons people were often forced to buy back corn at a much higher price than had been paid to them by the traders. The prohibition was strictly enforced among the Ngwato and Kgatla, but in other tribes it was often ignored. Since the outbreak of war, it has become the general rule that all corn for sale must be offered first to the Tribal Treasuries, and only when an ample reserve is available to meet possible failures of the harvest can the surplus be sold, under permit, to traders. As yet no crops are grown specially for the market, with the possible exception of maize (for which however the climate is generally unsuitable) and beans.

The average annual value of livestock exported from the Territory during 1938-42 was £269,589 (cattle, £257,035; sheep and goats, £8,256; and pigs, £4,298). The average annual value of hides and skins exported during the same period was £26,189. The Native share in the production of these goods is officially estimated at 96 per cent, representing a monetary value of £274,350. Exports of poultry and dairy produce averaged £20,614, of which the Native share was about one-fourth, i.e. £5,120. To this must be added £7,187 for Kafir corn, beans and maize, and £4,563 for wild animal skins, ostrich feathers, and ivory, all of which can be regarded as purely Native products. We thus get a total of £291,192 for the average value of Native products exported annually from the Territory. This figure,

however, represents the amount received by the exporter, and not by the Native producer. If we allow the former an average profit of only twenty per cent, the amount actually received by the Natives was (in global figures) approximately £242,500¹.

From the figures just given, it appears that the income received by the Natives from the sale of their agricultural produce during 1938-42 fell short of their cash expenditure over the same period by approximately £467,500 per annum. Before we consider the various sources from which the balance was obtained, certain facts call for special comment. Firstly, not every Native owns cattle of which he can dispose if the need arises. Some have no cattle at all, and others so few that they cannot afford to sell a beast every year to meet their tax and other cash obligations. The following Table shows, for certain areas, the proportions of families having less than ten head of cattle each, which is said to be the minimum size of herd that will yield an annual disposable surplus.

TABLE XXXVII
DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN LIVESTOCK²

Reserve	Families in sample	No. of cattle per family					
		NIL		1-9		10 +	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kgatla ..	1,464	61	4.8	250	17.0	1,153	78.8
Tati ..	954	77	8.1	179	18.8	698	73.2
Malete ..	705	107	15.0	147	20.9	451	64.0
Rolong ..	403	24	5.8	91	21.9	288	72.3
Tawana ..	339	16	4.7	58	17.1	265	78.2
Tlôkwa ..	182	13	7.1	24	13.2	145	79.7
	4,047	298	7.4	749	18.5	3,000	74.1

The figures show, roughly, that nearly one family in every four is too poor in cattle to derive a regular annual income from stock farming, and that one family in every fourteen has no cattle at all.

In the old days, the lack of cattle was not so serious a handicap

¹ For a fuller discussion of Native agricultural production cf. my book *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate* (Lovedale Press, 1943), esp. Chaps. VII, X, and XI.

² Figures have been extracted from the stock registers kept by the Veterinary Department. In assessing wealth in cattle, I have followed the system adopted for the War Levy, under which 6-8 head of small stock are regarded as equivalent to one head of cattle.

as it is to-day, since poor people could usually earn money by selling Kafir corn or the skins of the wild animals that they hunted. Now that the trade in hunting products has diminished so greatly, and the sale of Kafir corn is restricted if not forbidden, cattle are by far the most important source of income through trade; and unless a man can afford to sell at least one animal a year, he has no alternative but to seek work for the money with which to pay his taxes and levies. Moreover, since the plough has become generally accepted, men without cattle are usually also at a disadvantage in regard to agriculture. In order to cultivate their fields, they must borrow not only oxen but also ploughs, for they are hardly likely to have acquired the latter for themselves. Consequently, they usually have to wait until other people have finished ploughing before they are able to work on their own fields, and this may result in their losing the benefit of the early rains. It is thus not surprising that, as we have seen, the proportion of labour migrants tends to be higher among men without cattle than it is in other sections of the population.

A further point arises in this connexion. One reason commonly given for migration from the Native Reserves of the Union is lack of arable land. It is said that, owing to congestion, many of the men living in those Reserves cannot get land to cultivate, and must consequently go out to work in order to acquire their food. This statement does not apply to the greater part of Bechuanaland. In all the bigger tribes, practically every married man has one or more fields. Consequently, even if he is so poor that he has to borrow cattle and a plough, he is at least able to produce his own food, provided of course that the season is favourable.

There are, however, three areas where shortage of land does occur. The Tlôkwa, Maletle and Tati Reserves are all much smaller than the others, and are also far more densely populated.¹ In each of these areas, some married men have not been able to obtain land for cultivation, although tribal law stipulates that the chief or local headman must provide the head of every family with a suitable plot.

In the Tati Reserve, out of 483 married men about whom the relevant information was obtained, the number who lacked fields in the Reserve itself was 94 (19.4 per cent). Eleven of these men had no fields at all; the others were hiring arable land in

¹ See Table I

adjoining areas belonging to the Tati Company. Many of the people attached to the Reserve have even been forced, through congestion, to make their homes on land owned by the Tati Company, and many others hire grazing there for their cattle. In addition, many Natives live on Tati Company land who have never had a home in the Reserve. In 1942, the Company had altogether 997 'tenants', i.e. heads of families, of whom 689 were full residents, 255 paid for grazing rights only, and 53 for ploughing rights. The total amount received from them in rent was £2,840, which represents an annual expenditure of £2 17s. per family, in addition to that already described.

Among the Maletse, the proportion of married men without land to cultivate is 25.3 per cent (80 in a sample of 316 taxpayers); among the Tlôkwa, the corresponding proportion is 24.9 per cent (70 in a sample of 281 taxpayers). These people have not the same facilities as those in the Tati district for hiring land on adjacent European areas; they are therefore unable to grow crops even for their own subsistence, let alone for sale. Consequently they resort largely to labour migration in order to acquire the money they want. The contrast in this respect between men with land and men without land is seen in the following Table, which shows where they were respectively in February, 1943, at the end of the ploughing season. The figures are for the two tribes combined.

TABLE XXXVIII
LAND SHORTAGE AND LABOUR MIGRATION

<i>Age-group</i>	With fields			Without fields		
	<i>No.</i>	<i>% home</i>	<i>% away*</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>% home</i>	<i>% away</i>
45+	154	87.7	12.3	17	35.3	64.7
44—	293	48.8	51.2	133	27.8	72.2

Even if we consider only the younger age-group, consisting of men more recently married and therefore less likely to have acquired land, the proportion of absentees among those without fields is appreciably higher than it is among the others. It is conceivable, of course, that the absentees in the former group referred to stay away rather than come home and seek land to plough. But the people themselves maintain that lack of land is

on the contrary one of the factors contributing to keep those men away

The inhabitants of the three areas just dealt with have been complaining for many years about the smallness of their Reserves. The Maleté and 'Tlókwa have recently even bought additional land from adjoining European farmers, the money being raised by special tribal levies. The Administration realized the justice of their complaints, but was unable to find a solution satisfactory to the people. The whole problem was investigated once more in 1943, and it is possible that the recommendations then made may help to ease the position. In the meantime, as far as these areas are concerned, shortage of land must be regarded as among the causes of migration.¹

Employment inside the Territory

We saw above that during 1938-42 the average annual cash expenditure of the Native population exceeded their income from the sale of agricultural produce by approximately £467,500. We saw also that many people lack cattle and that, in certain areas, there are some who have no land to cultivate. Both these groups were therefore unable to derive any income at all, or very little at best, from the proceeds of agriculture, and their need for some alternative source was even greater than that of the rest.

Some people supplement their income from agricultural production by engaging at home in a specialized craft or trade. The practice of magic is still a fairly lucrative profession for some of the more famous 'doctors'. Workers in wood, leather, clay and grass, can earn occasional sums of money by making and selling eating-bowls, stamping-blocks, karosses, sandals, pots, baskets, etc., but goods such as these are being increasingly superseded by the wares of the trader. A few people have also started business on their own as builders, carpenters, dress-makers, butchers, bakers, keepers of eating-houses, traders, etc. But the number so employed is still very small, and their earnings, while at times relatively large, are seldom regular enough to be a steady source of income.² Skilled craftsmen

¹ A much fuller discussion of conditions in the three Reserves is contained in my reports to the B.P. Administration on 'The Native Land Problem in the Tati district' (April, 1943), 'The Land Problem in the Batlókwa Reserve' (November, 1943), and 'The Land Problem in the BaMaleté Reserve' (February, 1943).

² The money earned by such independent craftsmen or traders comes of course from the pockets of their fellow-tribesmen. I have allowed for this in my estimates of expenditure (see 129).

prefer therefore to work, if possible, for the Government or some other employer, the wages they receive being considered better remuneration than they can earn independently.

Many other people, both male and female, also work for private employers inside the tribal areas. In the old days, labour of this kind was restricted mainly to herding cattle or serving in a menial capacity in the household of some man of rank. Both forms of employment still prevail at the present time. I have no information at all about the number of people engaged in them, but believe that it is fairly considerable, especially among the Sarwa, Kgalagadi, and Koba, by no means all of whom have been completely emancipated from the tradition of serfdom. Such men are occasionally paid in cash, their wages ranging generally from 5s to 10s. per month. But in the main the employer still adheres to the old system of feeding his servants, letting them use his cattle and ploughs for cultivating their fields, and giving them a heifer from time to time to breed cattle of their own. Occasionally he also provides them with clothing and pays their taxes.

The coming of the Europeans provided new scope for wage-labour. The Pim Commission noted in 1932 that 'the local opportunities for paid employment are restricted to the small number in Government service, with a few teachers, store assistants, domestic servants, and cattle herds' ¹ To this should have been added work on railway road gangs. Since then, many new openings have been created. The most important are in the clerical and technical branches of the Government and the tribal administrations. In 1932-3, the Government estimates provided for the payment of £5,077 in wages to Natives employed by the District Administrations and the Public Works, Veterinary, Agricultural and Medical Departments; the corresponding estimates for 1942-3 amounted to £19,588. The tribal administrations in 1932 employed only a few secretaries and tax collectors; to-day they have altogether more than 350 full-time employees (apart from teachers, for whom they have also been made responsible). The revival of mining in the Tati district, following upon South Africa's abandonment of the gold standard, also increased greatly the demand for Native labour. In 1932 the mines employed only 75 Natives; in 1938 the number had risen to 1,500. By 1943, some of the smaller mines having closed down,

¹ Cmd. 3468 (1933), p. 29.

the total had dropped to 900, which however is twelve times as many as in 1932. The W.N.L.A. and N R C., too, have during the past few years established depots in the country, which between them employ approximately 300 men.

However, many of the new openings are confined to men with relatively high educational or other technical qualifications. At most between 1,500 and 2,000 others have been absorbed as unskilled labourers by the recent developments, in mining, transport, agriculture, etc. There has been little or no corresponding expansion in other spheres of employment, such as commerce, industry, and domestic service. The European population has not increased to any appreciable extent during the past ten or fifteen years, and, apart from the civil service (both Government and tribal), the main avenues of employment for Natives are still very restricted.

A special labour census conducted at my request by the Government in the last quarter of 1943 showed that about 3,000 males (including 210 juveniles) and 380 females (including 20 juveniles) were then working for Europeans or tribal administrations in the Native areas. According to the data furnished by employers, the total amount of cash wages paid to these labourers during 1943 may be summarized as follows:

Professions	£34,500
Transport and Communication . . .	17,700
Agriculture	8,200
Commerce	6,100
Domestic Service	5,100
Industry	4,600
Miscellaneous	5,600
	£81,800

Most employers also provided their servants with food and/or quarters. We may, however, ignore this for our present purpose, since we are here concerned only with the cash expenditure and the cash income of the people.

The total wages paid in the tribal areas during 1943 are probably higher than the average for 1938-42, since many of the professional openings have been created only during the last two or three years. However, even if we accept the figure for 1943, and allow as a maximum another £10,000 for the various independent crafts and occupations, it appears that there is not

enough employment in the Reserves to yield even a fifth of the income derived from sources other than the sale of produce. The balance (roughly £346,500) was found mainly by seeking work outside the tribal areas

Towards the end of 1943, there were about 2,550 males (including 230 juveniles) and 200 females (including 25 juveniles) employed in the European areas of the Territory. Many of them were aliens from other countries, especially the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, but the great majority were of local origin. The total amount of wages paid to all these people taken together was approximately £54,000, distributed as follows:

Mining	..	..	..	..	.	.	£12,500
Transport and Communication				.	..	..	12,200
Professions	..	..	.	..	..	..	10,500
Agriculture	..	.	..	..	..	..	7,400
Domestic service	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,900
Commerce	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,900
Industry	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,600
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	.	2,000

In all, therefore, the average annual cash expenditure of the Natives during 1938-42 (£710,000) exceeded by roughly £321,500 the income derived from sources within the Territory (sale of agricultural produce, £242,500; employment in the Reserves, £82,000; employment in the European areas, £54,000; miscellaneous crafts and trades, say £10,000). The only other source of income normally open to the people was the sale of their labour in the Union and elsewhere; and, as will be shown in due course, labour migration to other countries is not only essential in order to bridge the difference between expenditure and income, but is also by far the most important source of cash income ¹

However, the outbreak of the war provided a new although temporary source of income for many people. One condition of enlistment in the A P C was that part of every man's pay should be allotted to his dependants at home. The total amount paid out in this way up to the end of March, 1943, was £289,853 12s. 3d. If we average this for the five years under consideration (which is what I have also done with War Levy and contributions to War Funds),² we get an additional

¹ The contribution of labour migration to cash income is discussed below, p. 157 f

² War Leves etc. were started in 1940, and allotments to dependants in 1941, so that, in fact, both annual expenditure and annual income were higher in the second half of my five year period (1938-42) than in the first half.

£57,970 14s. 6d. Exact figures are not available for allotments paid to dependants of men serving with the N M C, but they probably did not exceed an average of £3,000 per annum distributed over the five years. We can therefore put the annual income from allotments at approximately £61,000, which means that the gap between total expenditure and total income is reduced to £260,500.

One other point must be made. The labour census towards the end of 1943 showed that altogether some 5,600 males (including about 450 juveniles) were working inside the Territory for the Government, tribal administrations, and private employers. Nearly twice that number was then employed on the Witwatersrand gold mines alone, and altogether more than three times as many were working in the Union. This fact suggests, at first sight, that there is not enough employment in the Territory for even one-fourth of the men who want to work for wages.

But the local field of employment is not quite as restricted as the figures indicate. Both the Tati mines and the European farmers, for instance, have complained at times that they cannot get all the labour they want. One important reason seems to be that the wages they offer are considered inadequate. The following Table, for instance, shows the average cash wages paid monthly for certain occupations, both in the Territory and on the Witwatersrand. The rates have in every instance but one been calculated from returns about the actual earnings of Tswana labourers in the two regions during the latter half of 1943; for the Witwatersrand gold mines, however, I have taken the average paid to all Native employees, since separate figures are not available for the Tswana alone

TABLE XXXIX
MONTHLY WAGE RATES IN THE TERRITORY
AND ON THE RAND (1943)

Occupation	Bechuanaland		Witwatersrand	
	No.	Av. Wage	No.	Av. Wage
Gold Mining ..	875	25s. od.	—	58s. 6d.
Domestic service ..	274	29s. 3d.	96	55s. od.
Commerce and industry	502	40s. od.	563	75s. 9d.
Agriculture ..	848	17s. 9d.	49	39s. 3d.

It can be argued, of course, that the cost of living is much higher on the Rand than in the Territory, where the Native is at or near his home, and does not have to pay for food, housing, transport, recreation, etc. In fact, however, the argument does not affect mine labourers, who are housed and fed by their employers, and almost all domestic servants and farm labourers on the Rand are also provided with quarters and rations. In any event, the Native usually considers only the cash wage, and he is firmly convinced, whether rightly or wrongly does not matter for the moment, that he will receive better pay on the Rand than he can earn by working at home. It is for this reason, among others, that he often prefers to go abroad.

Specific Wants and Labour Migration

The survey given above indicates clearly that the Native population as a whole depends upon labour migration in order to maintain its present standard of living. But this does not mean that every man is driven out to work by economic necessity. Apart from those employed in the Reserves, there are many owning enough cattle to satisfy most of their wants through trade. Others, although much poorer, seem content to remain at home even if they have to dispense with some of the goods desired by the majority. Still others, as we have seen, go abroad not so much because of poverty as because they seek adventure and change or wish to escape from a difficult situation.

There is another fact that should be noticed. Relatively few people treat labour migration as a regular source of income; and those to whom it is the main or even sole means of livelihood tend as a rule to remain away for many years, broken perhaps by only an occasional visit home. The majority usually go, when they go for purely economic reasons, because they require money for some special purpose; having satisfied that particular want, they return home and carry on with the normal routine of tribal life, until special necessity again forces them out. This applies especially to married men, who are no longer moved by the incentives that prevailed with them in their youth.

One series of special wants is represented by taxation. Unlike many other wants, taxes and levies cannot be postponed; unless they are paid annually by a certain date, prosecution may follow. Hence, if a man has no other means of raising the money, he will

go out to work. One reason given for the popularity of the Assisted Voluntary System among more mature migrants is that it enables them to pay their taxes without involving too long an absence from home.

However, the importance of taxation must not be over-emphasized. As we have seen, the Tswana began to work on the diamond mines at Kimberley as far back as 1870, but it was not until 1899 that the Government hut tax was first levied. Obviously taxation could not have been a motive for labour migration in these earlier instances. Even at the present time many people go abroad although they are able to pay their taxes and levies from other sources of income. We saw in the previous chapter, for instance, that by no means every man recruited for work on the mines accepts an advance for the payment of taxes;¹ this can only mean that he has already discharged his fiscal obligations. Moreover, no taxation at all is imposed upon women, yet several thousands of them are now away from the Territory. In all these instances, therefore, migration is due to some other immediate incentive than the need to earn money for the payment of taxes.

A more common incentive, among both men and women, is the desire to purchase clothes or some other goods. As Chief Bathoen says,² 'It is well known that in the early days men went every year to Kimberley to earn money for buying cattle and waggons. In those days the requirements of the people were not many, and a man would work and return home after satisfying his needs. Nowadays this idea has grown considerably, and young men and women go out to work in order to be able to buy or do something which they particularly want, such as building huts or purchasing waggons, furniture, cattle, ploughs, trek gear, etc. It is also a known and common fact nowadays that a young man will go out to work for the purpose of buying wedding goods for himself and his bride-to-be in accordance with the usages of modern marriage.' The Kgatla, in 1932, even spoke of a stereotyped sequence of wants. A young man, it was said, goes out to work for the first time in order to acquire a suit and other clothes; his next trip is usually made for the trousseau that he must give to his bride; and, after marriage, he goes again to work for such things as a plough, a bedstead,

¹ See p. 110

² Memo. on Labour Migration (Sept. 1943).

and a 'tank' (a second-hand 44-gallon petrol drum, used for storing water).

The mention of cattle as a special want raises the question of *bogadi*. Among the Tswana, as among other South African Bantu peoples, cattle are not merely used for food, ploughing, and trade; they are also the means of acquiring a wife, since, according to ancient tribal law, no marriage is considered legal until the husband's people have handed over a certain number of animals to the wife's father. These cattle are known to the Tswana as *bogadi* (a term equivalent to the *lobola* of the Zulu, Xhosa and other Nguni peoples). It has sometimes been held that the necessity of giving *bogadi* is a direct incentive to labour migration; poor men, it is argued, go out to work so that they can get enough cattle to acquire a wife.

Whatever the position may be in other parts of South Africa, the *bogadi* practice is relatively unimportant in Bechuanaland as a motive for migration. In two of the largest tribes (Ngwato and Tswana), *bogadi* was actually abolished by the chiefs before the end of the nineteenth century, and although the custom may still be observed in a few very conservative families, the great majority of the people certainly do not follow it to-day. In all the other tribes, too, the spread of Christianity and other civilizing influences has led to the decay of *bogadi*, despite the efforts of some chiefs to revive it. I found in sample surveys that the following proportions of men, some of whom were fathers of adult children, had not (yet) given *bogadi* for their wives (the number in brackets following the tribal name indicates the size of the whole sample): Tlôkwa (91), 24.2 per cent; Kgatla (52), 48.1 per cent; Ngwaketse (141), 60.3 per cent; and Kwenä (88), 81.8 per cent. Obviously *bogadi* is no longer insisted upon as a preliminary to marriage. The need to acquire cattle for the purpose of getting married is therefore seldom a direct incentive to migration. Some men, it is true, go out to work for the special purpose of obtaining cattle, but they want the animals for their own use, and not to give as *bogadi*.

The special motives just noted apply as a rule to the poorer sections of the population, who lack cattle or other forms of property that they can dispose of through trade. But there have been occasions when many others were driven out to work by economic necessity. It has already been noted, for instance, that agriculture is normally a hazardous pursuit, owing to the

inadequacy of the rainfall, and that crop failures are therefore frequent. In the past, a poor harvest almost invariably led to a larger exodus than usual. People who otherwise might not have thought of seeking work were now compelled to find the means of buying food for themselves and their families. This is reflected in the annual reports of the mine recruiting organizations: the number of recruits has always tended to be greater in times of drought and famine than during seasons of plenty. To-day the situation has improved. The Administration's policy of building up tribal grain reserves has meant that supplies of food are available to tide the people over a bad harvest. It is unlikely therefore that conditions like those of 1933 will ever be repeated, when owing to widespread failure of the crops very many men and women went out to seek work in the Union.

The great economic depression of 1930-3 also led to increased migration. Its effects extended not only to the poorer people, but to those who normally could afford to stay at home. As long as such men had a good market for their cattle, hides and other products, they were able to satisfy most of their wants through trade. But the sharp fall in the value of cattle during the depression, and the almost complete disappearance of a market for skins, led to a great shortage of ready money. There were men owning a fair number of cattle and reaping adequate harvests who yet found difficulty in raising cash for paying their tax. They had the means, but they could not or would not realize their assets. To sell an ox for say 30s, when only a few years previously he could easily have obtained double that amount, was something that many a man was unwilling to do. And apart from the sale of his cattle there was no other means open to him of paying the tax, let alone purchasing trade goods, than by going out to work. It was partly owing to this that the number of Bechuanaland Natives employed in the proclaimed labour districts of the Union in 1935 was more than twice as great as in 1930.

Propaganda and Political Pressure

The social, psychological and economic factors so far discussed have sometimes been sufficient in themselves to make people seek work abroad, i.e. many migrants have required no further inducement to leave their homes. From early times, however,

various forms of persuasion and even of pressure have been used to reinforce the other motives for migration and to stimulate the outward flow of labour. The agencies mainly responsible for this have been the labour recruiters, the Government, and the chiefs.

Influence of Labour Agents

From the time (1876) that the Griqualand West Administration sent Mr. A. Bailie through Bechuanaland to recruit for the diamond mines at Kimberley, labour agents have played a prominent part in stimulating migration to what is now the Union. Most of the early agents seem to have been little more than adventurers, who visited the country periodically and tried to secure labour for employers paying them on a capitation basis. Their first procedure, as a rule, was to gain the favour of the local chief, sometimes by means of bribery. A public meeting was then called, at which the chief introduced the recruiter. The latter would describe the employment he was offering, explain the wages and conditions of work, state what advances he was prepared to make, and use any other arguments that were likely to attract workers. It was fairly common, for instance, for rival agents to disparage the employment offered by others, or to promise higher wages than the mines ever paid. Various other forms of deception were sometimes practised, some of which have already been described.¹

An illustration of the methods employed in those early days appears in the recently-published memoirs of Mr. A. S. Poultney, who for many years recruited for the Rand gold mines. In 1899 he went to Ngamiland with the object of getting 1,000 labourers among the Tawana (then ruled by Sekgoma Letsholathebe). The project ultimately fell through, owing to the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, but Poultney had already been able to attract many recruits by the time that the news reached him. His editor describes as follows the reason for his success:²

'Poultney found difficulty at Segomi's Stad in recruiting for his Association. The working classes, *i.e.*, the Makuba, were not unwilling to visit the mines. He explained to them the advantages of a year's work at fifty shillings monthly and free rations. Many were curious to see the white man's big city. But

¹ Cf. Chapter III, p. 103.

² *Kalahari Camp Fires*, by A. S. Poultney and A. G. Bee (Durban, 1941), p. 101.

although a few hundreds out of the thousands living in the Stad would not be missed, their owners refused to let them go without heavy payment

'The only way out of this difficulty was through bribery and corruption, and Poultney took it. He had been instructed to promise these men from fifty shillings to three pounds a month and to take them on a year's contract. Instead of this he offered, at a big meeting or "Pitso" called for the purpose of hearing his proposals, to pay the owner of each recruit one pound monthly for every month worked by the man, while the worker himself would receive thirty to forty shillings.

'This suited all parties. The owners were now anxious that their slaves should proceed hot-foot to work for the white man, and the slaves itched to go because hitherto they had not been allowed to leave the country. Thirty shillings seemed a big sum to them when the wage in the far interior was never more than ten'

As we have seen, it was to check such practices that the Administration issued Proclamation 6 of 1899, which for the first time sought to regulate recruiting. The mining organizations, too, realized that free-lance recruiters usually did them more harm than good, and they began to employ as their agents traders and other local residents, who acted as part-time recruiters. Such men, having a definite stake in the country, were usually more scrupulous in their methods of recruiting, since they could not afford to lose the goodwill of the people. On the other hand, they were able to use their normal occupation as an aid to recruiting, traders, for instance, would make advances of food, clothing, and other goods, to men who promised in return to go out to work. Even such methods, however, gradually disappeared as a result of Government intervention, and the modern tendency of the recruiting organizations to employ salaried full-time representatives is doing away with the other possibilities of abuse attached to the capitation system.

At the present time, the assistance of the chiefs is occasionally invoked by agents who have received permission to recruit for some new branch of labour. The well-established mine agencies, however, rely mainly upon propaganda and touting. The methods employed by the N.R.C., for instance, are summarized as follows by the District Superintendent:¹

'(a) Offices are established at convenient points for the regular handling of recruits, and the payment of Native Remittances and Voluntary Deferred Pay.

(b) Representatives deal sympathetically with all natives coming to their offices.

¹ Memorandum dated 26 October, 1943.

(c) Native Clerks are provided with Uniforms, with N.R.C. badges and buttons.

(d) Native Remittance Order Advices bear the slogan, "Poverty cannot enter our homes if our menfolk are working on the Rand Gold Mines."

(e) Native meetings are held and the terms and conditions (especially anything new) explained. Public address equipment is sometimes used.

(f) Occasional leaflets are issued, but this has not been done for some time past.

The best propaganda is furnished by satisfied returning recruits, and every care is therefore taken to ensure that recruits are well treated from the time of engagement to the time of discharge.

The W.N.L.A., when early in 1934 it again started recruiting in the areas north of lat. 22° S., had some difficulty at first in getting enough recruits to fill its quota. One reason was that many false rumours had spread about the number of deaths on the mines. To deal with them, two of the first gang of men forwarded to Johannesburg were brought back and sent on a propaganda tour through the main villages of the Tati Reserve and the north-eastern portions of the Ngwato Reserve. The District Manager also visited and held meetings at most of the villages, 'and explained matters very fully to the natives'.

To-day such methods are no longer considered necessary, and the Association does not even employ 'runners' to go about among the people and tout for recruits. Men wishing to go to the mines must apply of their own accord at the Association's camps and depots. The only active policy adopted to attract recruits is to treat and feed them well while under the care of the Association, and to ensure that repatriates 'have some means of confirming at their homes the good impressions with which they return'. 'To achieve this object, each repatriate is given several propaganda folders depicting in a series of coloured pictures a panorama of life on the mines. In addition, he is given several leaflets in his own language explaining the wages, details of food and quarters, the fact that our field depots can assist dependants under certain conditions or obtain domestic information for mine labourers, and outlining several other advantages attached to employment on the gold mines.'¹

In fact, there is little need nowadays for the more active forms of propaganda on the part of agencies recruiting for the mines. Over the course of time, as we have seen, a tradition of migration had been built up, and the function of the agencies to-day con-

¹ Memorandum from District Manager, W.N.L.A., 27 August, 1943.

sists rather in forwarding prospective workers than in attracting them in the first instance. The conditions of work and wages on the mines are fairly well known, and the mere establishment of a camp or depot in a previously untapped part of the country is usually sufficient to secure an increased flow of labour.

Administrative Action

In some African territories, labour migration has also been stimulated by official attempts to force Natives out to work. The various forms these attempts have taken are summarized as follows by Orde Browne: 'The needs of the local government might be thus met by a levy as a form of tax in kind, or a proportion of the able-bodied males might be forced through their chiefs to go to work with private employers, or heavy taxation might be imposed so as to provide a stimulus, or partial exemption from taxation or duties might be offered as a reward for the returned worker; various other schemes or modifications were also tried. In all these cases pressure rather than encouragement was exerted . . .'¹

Such methods of inducing Natives to go out to work have seldom, if ever, been adopted in the Protectorate. The local demands for labour are on the whole so small that active Government measures to ensure their satisfaction have not been considered necessary. Occasionally, it is true, farmers or the Tati mines have complained about shortage of labour, but the Administration, although willing to help by appealing to the chiefs, has consistently refused to exercise any form of direct pressure. In 1938, for instance, it rejected a proposal, made at a meeting of the European Advisory Council, that Natives working on a farm for twelve consecutive months should be exempted from hut tax; the Resident Commissioner hinted instead that the difficulty might be met by paying better wages.²

The Administration, nevertheless, has certainly encouraged labour migration by actively supporting the operations of recruiters. In September, 1898, for instance, the Resident Commissioner wrote to the Chamber of Mines:³

'Some months since I used a certain amount of influence with the Chief Khama to get his consent to allow Mr. Poultney, a labour agent, to engage some

¹ G. St. J. Orde Browne, *The African Labourer* (London, 1933), p. 29.

² Minutes, European Advisory Council, 24th session (1938), p. 50.

³ Chamber of Mines, 10th Annual Report, (1898), p. 66.

of his followers to proceed to the mines in Johannesburg. . I am very anxious to assist as far as possible the employment of Protectorate natives by high-class mines at the Rand . . .'

This letter, it is worth noting, was written the year before the hut tax was first imposed, so that the Administration did not stand to derive any immediate financial benefit from encouraging work on the mines. On the other hand, Bechuanaland was at the time suffering from a severe drought, which, following upon the rinderpest epidemic of 1896, had reduced the people to starvation; and it was no doubt thought that the sale of their labour would help the Natives to tide over the bad times they were experiencing, and do away with the necessity for Government assistance.

In 1903, similarly, the Assistant Commissioner for the Northern Protectorate (Major F. W. Panzera) stated in evidence before the Transvaal Labour Commission:¹

'It is my most earnest desire to assist in every way in my power the native labour movement. I have talked to all the chiefs and headmen about the advantages of work, etc. I recently got Khama to call a public meeting to try and induce his people to go out.'

'I was at Khama's new town, which I visit almost every month,' he added, 'when Mr Goodyear² came up to give an account of the terms and conditions of service upon the Rand. I asked him to have a typewritten copy made, and give me the whole thing, and I would go to the chief and get him to help us. Khama called a general meeting of his people. I held a big meeting of the tribe during the day to announce a judgment. After I had finished, Khama had all these conditions interpreted and gave Mr Goodyear a fair hearing. As far as I was able to see that day the terms met with general approval among the people present.'

There is nothing in these statements to suggest any form of coercion. Nevertheless the advice, coming from so highly-placed an official, must obviously have carried greater weight than the unsupported activities of the labour agents. It was indeed owing to the meeting referred to by Major Panzera that Khama agreed to remove the ban on recruiting in his Reserve and Mr. Goodyear himself attributed this gratifying result to the 'full support' and convincing arguments of the Government officials and the local missionary.³

The imposition of the hut tax in 1899 did, however, introduce

¹ Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Transvaal Labour Commission (Cd. 1897, 1904), pp. 227, 231 f.

² Mr Goodyear was then District Manager of the W.N.L.A.

³ Minutes, etc., Transvaal Labour Commission, p. 194

an element of compulsion. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the tax was specifically designed to drive men out to work. It was introduced as part of an agreement dating back to 1895, by which the leading chiefs had agreed to contribute in this way towards the cost of administering the Territory. So far were the Administration from considering the tax a means of encouraging migration that Major Panzera told the Transvaal Labour Commission:¹

'I have heard it suggested that an increase of taxation would have the effect of driving the natives to work out of their own districts to provide the funds necessary to meet it. This I believe to be absolutely fallacious as regards the pastoral population of the Protectorate. The hut-tax, only introduced in 1899, is at present 10s. per hut. A native gets from 12s. to £1 for a goat, and from 12s. 6d. to 25s. per bag, according to the season, for mealies. It is very easy, therefore (except in seasons of failure of crops like the present one), for the Native to obtain the money for his extra tax by a little more work at home or by killing a goat, etc. The increased tax may cause intense bitterness of feeling, perhaps, but it will certainly entirely fail to accomplish the object in view, namely, to induce the native to seek work in the Transvaal.'

What Major Panzera appears to have overlooked is that the tax Proclamation of 1899 provided that anybody convicted of failure to pay the tax within three months of the date after it was due would be liable to a fine of £5 'and in default of payment to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding three months'.² This penal sanction is still part of the law governing taxation, and it has ever since its introduction been a powerful motive for labour migration: men with no other means of raising the money for their tax go out to work for it, knowing that they will be punished if they do not pay in time. Numbers of defaulters are in fact prosecuted every year,³ which suggests that fear of punishment is not in itself always sufficient to drive men out to work. But it is certain also that many more escape prosecution only because they find the money for their tax by accepting advances from labour agents.

— To the Administration, the prosecution of tax defaulters must necessarily be an unsatisfactory measure. Such men are seldom,

¹ Minutes, etc., p. 227.

² Proclamation 10 of 1899, section 6.

³ The annual number of prosecutions for the past few years in the whole Territory (except the Ghanzi and Kgalagadi districts, for which figures were not supplied) has been as follows:

(1938) 531, (1939) 422, (1940) 241, (1941) 334, (1942) 115, (1943) 118.

The much lower figures for the last two years are probably due to the absence of so many taxpayers with the A.P.C. Even so, the proportion of taxpayers prosecuted in and since 1918 has always been less than one per cent of the total.

if ever, able to pay the fine that is imposed, so that the sentence they undergo is almost always one of imprisonment. This does not contribute to the revenue of the country, and in fact adds to expenditure in the form of prison maintenance. On the other hand, as has been officially admitted, labour migration enables the Native to 'meet his commitments for poll tax, and both the recruiting agencies and the mines co-operate with the Administrations in its collection'.¹

Accordingly, not only are special facilities given to the recognized labour agencies, but District Officers themselves have at times actively encouraged recruitment. This has usually taken the form of instituting a special drive against tax defaulters, the men being warned that they will be prosecuted unless they pay their arrears immediately, if necessary by taking an advance from a labour agent. Technically this may not have constituted coercion, but the Natives concerned would almost certainly have interpreted it as an instruction to seek work on the mines or elsewhere unless they were able to pay.

It has now been laid down, by the Native Labour Proclamation of 1941, that 'public officers shall not recruit for private undertakings, either directly or indirectly, except when the recruited workers are to be employed on works of public utility for the execution of which private undertakings are acting as contractors for a public authority'. Presumably this means that tax defaulters should no longer be dealt with in the manner just described.

It may be added that during 1941 the tribes were officially informed 'that after the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps had been formed, and provided sufficient people were left to carry out the food production policy of the Territory, every available man must go out to work and help to maintain production in other spheres'.² This declaration was obviously due to war time necessity, and calls for no special comment; it is mentioned here merely because it shows once again that Administrative action must be regarded as among the factors contributing to labour migration.

¹ Memorandum presented on behalf of the High Commission Territories to the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission, 1943, par. 11

² Notes of discussion between R.C. and District Superintendent, N.R.C., 10.10.1941 (Mafeking Registry, J. 1535/5¹¹).

Pressure by Chiefs

Tribal authorities have on the whole been much more active than the Administration in promoting labour migration. Reference has already been made to the Kgatla tradition that Lentswe in 1880 sent a regiment of men to work on the Kimberley mines.¹ In 1890, again, it was reported that he had ordered all the available men and wagons at his capital to go to Johannesburg with loads of poles; they were then to proceed to the coalfields, 'to be employed in carrying coals to Johannesburg and other places'; and of the money earned in this way, each wagon was to pay 'a certain sum' as tribute to the chief.² A few years later, the chief of the Molete agreed to send men to one of the mines on the Rand, in return for a premium of £1 per head; but when the men who were recruited found that this amount was being deducted from their wages, it 'created very great dissatisfaction, and practically brought about a cessation of recruiting' in the tribe.³ Similarly, among the Ngwato, Kgama, after opening his country again to recruiting in 1903, not only gave a monopoly to the W.N.L.A., but 'does the whole of the recruiting himself, and sends messages to the men to come to him.'⁴

These early instances illustrate adequately the way in which chiefs used their influence or authority to send men out to work. The chiefs realized that migration brought money into the country and improved the economic condition of their people, among the southern tribes, they also had a more selfish motive, for they claimed a personal tribute of £1 in cash from every returning worker.⁵ After the imposition of the hut tax (1899), a new element was introduced. The chiefs were paid a percentage commission on the amount of tax collected from their subjects, but were also continually harassed by the Administration if their tax returns fell below expectation. Labour migration was a convenient means of enabling people to pay their tax, and consequently the chiefs almost everywhere began urging and even forcing poor men out to work.

In 1907 it was laid down (Proclamation 45, section 21) that

¹ See p. 26.

² White Book African South No. 593 (1892), no. 300.

³ F. W. Panzera, evidence before Transvaal Labour Commission (Cd 1897, 1904), p. 231.

⁴ C. Goodyear, evidence before Transvaal Labour Commission, *op cit*, p. 194.

⁵ This tribute continued to be levied in tribes like the Kgatla, Molete, and Tlôlwa, until as recently as 1934, when it was made illegal by the provisions of the Native Administration Proclamation (section 19).

'No concession or contract by which any chief or headman purports to bind himself or his people to provide native labourers shall be valid.' If this was intended to eliminate the exercise of pressure by the chiefs, it did not succeed. In 1909, for instance, Bathoen I, chief of the Ngwaketse, ordered a certain age-regiment of men to seek work in the Transvaal. When asked for an explanation, he wrote:¹ 'The reason for sending them to the Transvaal was this. Some of them had nothing to pay their tax with, and there are a lot of them here too who have nothing to pay with. I therefore forced them to go to the Transvaal to work'. Bathoen's attention was drawn to the Proclamation of 1907, and he was warned not to repeat his action.

In 1911, nevertheless, Bathoen's successor, Seêpapitsô, declared at a tribal meeting (March 22) that all members of certain specified age-regiments who were unable to pay their tax within a fortnight should go to a local labour agent to be recruited for the mines. In November of the same year he even promulgated a tribal law, which said in effect that anyone lacking money, cattle or other goods that could be sold, would be sent abroad to work for his tax money; 'but before departing he will pay his tax, by taking an advance on his wages, and then he can go away to work'.²

Similar instances are found among the Kgatla. Isang, while acting chief (1920-9), sometimes actually drafted tax defaulters to work on the gold mines. He would summon the N.R.C. agent from Zeerust, and the men concerned would be taken away by lorry, even if they objected. The practice was resorted to only as an extreme measure, when all other means of getting the men to pay their tax had failed, and it applied principally to defaulters of several years standing, who would otherwise have to suffer imprisonment. In 1932 Isang's successor, Molefi, likewise sent forty-seven defaulters to the N.R.C. agent at Gabane to be recruited for the mines. The Kgatla objected strongly to this mode of procedure, especially as labour agents were not yet allowed to operate in the Reserve itself, owing to the general dislike of work on the mines. I was told at the time that many men, who would otherwise not have thought of going out to work, were in effect forced to by the fear that, if they were unable to find money for their tax, they too would be sent away to the mines.

¹ Letter to Assistant Commissioner, Gaberones, 19 8 1909

² Minutes of Ngwaketse tribal meetings, 1911 (unpublished)

The Kgatla chiefs also promoted labour migration by imposing special levies on successive age-regiments for such purposes as building churches, schools and tribal offices. Between 1903 and 1932 almost every able-bodied regiment was subjected to such a levy, each of its members being required to pay £4 or £5 to the chief. The majority of men had no alternative but to earn the money by working abroad. Isang went further, and insisted that every member of the regiment concerned should go out to work, even those who could pay the levy by selling cattle;¹ and, as he himself told me, he once fined a member of the Ma-Chechele regiment five head of cattle (one for every £1 that should have been earned at work), because of the man's continued refusal to go abroad like the others. The chief justified this action by saying that he wanted his people to acquire regular habits of industry, and not to rely for their livelihood upon selling the cattle they had inherited from their parents.

Isang, too, was largely responsible for encouraging, if not initiating, the migration of young people to the Transvaal. In 1925 or 1926 he sent the older school boys and girls in two of his own wagons to pick cotton on plantations in the Bethanie district during their holidays. 'He told me then,' a member of the European Advisory Council subsequently reported, 'that he had done it intentionally to interest them in cotton growing. "If the white men grow cotton, why should not my people grow cotton?"'² This was the first occasion on which most of the girls had been to the Transvaal, and many afterwards returned of their own accord because they had grown to like the sort of life they could lead there.

Among the Ngwato, to mention a more recent example, stock thieves unable to pay the compensatory fines imposed upon them by the chief have sometimes been told to earn the money required by going on contract to the mines.³ The order has always been given as part of the judgment, and the men concerned must obviously have regarded it as something that would be enforced

¹ At an official inquiry into alleged abuses of tribal labour, held at Serowe (Ngwato Reserve) in 1930, Isang attended at the invitation of Chief Tshekedi, and in the course of the discussion he told the assembled gathering: '... I levied a tax of £5 on each [member] of the Machechele [regiment] in order that the [school] building should be completed. I did not allow any member of that regiment to pay in cattle—this would not have been proper—and I ordered that each man should go and earn the £5' (Petition of Kesebonye and others, minutes of inquiry, p. 70).

² Mr R. Transfeldt, in Minutes, European Advisory Council, 12th session (1930), p. 31.

³ Cf. records of the following cases tried by the chief's tribunal in 1938: Sellala v. Ratau, etc (K.31/38); Mpitse v. Thobogang (K.34/38), Moitimi v. Gabonnelwe (K.49/38), Thankane v. Gaegae (K.171/38), Rasebooa v. Monnamothoang (K.176/38), Masimo v. Shoti (K.180/38).

it necessary. It is said also that if men fail to pay their tribal and war levies, their property may be attached or, if they have nothing, they are sent out to work to earn money. In 1940, similarly, the acting chief of the Kgatla stated at a meeting of the Native Advisory Council that he had sentenced a habitual cattle-thief to go on contract to the mines, so that the tribe could have some rest from his predatory activities.¹

It is evident, from all this, that the tribal authorities have been a major influence in stimulating labour migration. They have seldom found it necessary to use physical force, but there is undoubtedly a marked element of pressure in most of the instances referred to above. The number of men directly affected has never been large, except perhaps among the Kgatla, and they have generally been either tax defaulters or offenders of some other kind. This, however, does not diminish the importance of the chief's role in sending men out to work. The Native Labour Proclamation of 1941 has now laid down, *inter alia*, that chiefs shall not 'exercise pressure upon possible recruits'. In view of the instances quoted above, constant vigilance is necessary if this particular provision is to be of practical effect.

¹ Minutes, N.A.C., 21st session (1940), p. 68.

Chapter Five

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

IT has been shown in previous chapters that for the past seventy years and more Natives of Bechuanaland have been leaving their homes in ever-increasing numbers to work for a while in the Union or elsewhere. Migration extending over so long a period, and reaching such considerable proportions as now obtain, has inevitably affected tribal life in various ways. All observers agree in stressing its importance as an indispensable source of cash income. But the tribal authorities maintain also that so many adult males are leaving the Reserves to work in the Union that the welfare of their people is suffering; that it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep in touch with tribesmen in the Union; and that some men stay away for many years or even permanently, to the detriment of their families at home. Farmers and other European employers in the Territory complain that, owing to the superior attractions of the Union, they cannot get all the Native labour that they want. A recent Government Commission reported that labour migration is hampering the development of the cattle industry; medical officers have from time to time drawn attention to the spread of infectious diseases by people returning from work abroad; and other observers have commented upon the associated decay of tribal discipline, the growing laxity of sexual morals, and the apparent decline of the birth rate. These and the various other true and alleged effects of migration must now be examined in detail, for only after such an analysis will it be possible to decide what policy, if any, should be adopted towards the system.

In view of the many social and other evils often attributed to labour migration, one comment must be made immediately. Migration is by no means the only cause of the changes that have occurred in Tswana life. The activities of the Administration and of the missionaries, traders and other Europeans living in the Reserves, have also interfered with ancient tribal institutions, sometimes deliberately. The Administration, for instance, has limited the powers of the chiefs and other tra-

ditional authorities, imposed new laws of many kinds, and initiated various forms of social and economic development. The missionaries introduced a new system of religion, and simultaneously attacked old usages that were considered incompatible with its practice. All such innovations have disturbed the traditional equilibrium of tribal life, and there is no justification for attributing every symptom of maladjustment to the effects of labour migration alone. This point will be illustrated more fully below.

I propose in the following discussion to deal with the effects of labour migration firstly upon the Native population generally (including economic and political life), then upon the family, and finally upon the individual migrant.

The Tribal Community

Income from Labour Migration

As indicated in the previous chapter, wage-labour in the Union is an indispensable source of cash income for the Native population of the Protectorate. It also contributes greatly to the general prosperity of the Territory. As has been officially stated,¹

'There is no doubt that the employment of large numbers of Natives on the Gold Mines is of great economic importance to the Territories. The earnings provide a ready source from which the labourer can meet his commitments for poll tax, and both the recruiting agencies and the mines co-operate with the Administrations in its collection. In addition there is a continuous flow of money into the Territories as a result of the system of Voluntary Remittances and Deferred Pay . . . Apart from this a considerable unknown sum is brought back to the Territories by returning labourers in cash and in kind.'

The District Commissioner, Molepolole, wrote in his annual report for 1938:

'The wages earned by these (mine) workers are by far the main source of income in the district and without this money trade and tax collections would be almost at a standstill.'

An even more emphatic appreciation of the financial benefits of labour migration was given by the District Commissioner, Gaberones, in 1935.²

'Were it not for the Union market for our Native labour, the Government would long ago have ceased to collect any tax, the traders would have gone out

¹ Memo, submitted to the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission on behalf of the High Commission Territories (1943), par. 11. (Mafeking Registry J 8313/6.)

² Mafeking Registry, J.7890.

of business, and the Natives, while the least affected, would be depending more than ever on Providence.'

It is extremely difficult to translate statements such as these into financial terms. As we saw in Chapter IV, an amount of at least £260,500 is required to bridge the gap between the total annual cash expenditure of the Natives and their income from sources within the Territory. But on the information at present available, there is no means of determining accurately how much money the Natives earn by working abroad, nor what proportion of their earnings comes into the Territory, either directly or indirectly. Exact figures can be given for certain forms of income derived from labour on the mines, but there is nothing similar for the many thousands of men and women engaged in other occupations. The following attempt to arrive at a comprehensive estimate is based as far as possible upon official returns or sample investigations, but, for the reason just indicated, it cannot be regarded as more than tentative.

During the years 1938-42 the average number of Protectorate Natives working every month on the gold mines of the Witwatersrand was 12,600, of whom probably about 500 were surface workers, the rest being employed underground. The average minimum cash wages paid on the mines over the same period were £30 12s per annum for underground work, and £26 15s. 6d per annum for surface work.¹ On this basis, the cash wages earned by Protectorate Natives working on the gold mines may be estimated as having been at least about £384,000 per annum.

The total cash earnings of people engaged in other occupations cannot be as easily ascertained. The average wage paid during 1943 to 611 men working on the Rand in industry, commerce, domestic service, etc., was £40 17s 3d per annum.² Assuming that on the whole the same rates prevailed during the preceding few years, we may put the cash earnings of all male labourers on the Rand (excluding mine workers) at approximately £196,000 per annum. Comparable figures are not available about the wages paid to the 3,500 men estimated to be working in areas outside the Rand, and to the 2,500 or so women working on the Rand and elsewhere. It can safely be assumed, however, that

¹ *Report, Mine Natives' Wages Commission* (U G 21, 1944), par. 240.

² Calculated from detailed returns furnished through the Government Representative on the Rand) by the pass officers at Krugersdorp, Roodepoort, Randfontein, Germiston, Boksburg and Benoni.

their average cash earnings were at least £2 per month, which gives a total of £144,000 per annum. We thus get a grand total of £724,000 as a minimum for the amount earned annually during 1938-42 by people working outside the Territory.

We have now to determine how much of the money so earned came into the country. All mine workers, and a considerable proportion of the people engaged in other occupations, are provided with free housing and food,¹ but the others must pay for such services. All migrants, moreover, have to meet various expenses in the form of clothing, taxes, transport, recreation, etc. They are therefore seldom able to save much, although the problem has been simplified for mine workers by the system of deferred pay. Nevertheless, although some men spend recklessly on liquor, women and other temptations, the great majority manage to return home both with cash and with goods that they have bought for themselves or their families. Many, while still abroad, also send their dependants occasional sums of money or parcels of goods.

Out of the wages earned by mine labourers, the following sums were paid in or remitted to the Territory during 1938-42, the amounts stated representing the annual averages:²

Advances for tax and feeding	..	..	.	.	£27,897
Advances for railway and bus fares	.	..	..	..	12,961
Remittances to dependants	..	.	..	..	13,970
Deferred pay drawn on return	..	..	.	..	80,476
					£135,304

During the same period, the Government representative on the Rand sent in an average amount of £11,108 per annum in respect of taxes collected from men working on the mines and elsewhere. This brings the total up to £146,412.

Equally comprehensive and authentic figures are not obtainable for other known imports, e.g. goods brought into the Territory by people returning home, money remitted to dependants by people engaged in other occupations than mining, and goods either brought or sent home by workers in the Union. The only basis upon which an estimate can be made is provided

¹ Of 260 men engaged in industry, etc., on the Rand during 1943, 148 (56%) were receiving free rations and quarters, 14 (5%) free quarters only, 2 (1%) free rations only, and 96 (37%) neither.

² Calculated from figures supplied by the N.R.C. and (in respect of the W.N.L.A.) by the Chamber of Mines. See Appendix D for details.

by the answers I received to a questionnaire circulated among men who had recently been working abroad. The method itself is not very satisfactory, since the answers can seldom be checked and verified, and the smallness of the sample (only 290 men gave all the information required) means that the conclusions drawn from it must be treated with great reserve. It can be claimed, however, that the figures given below have some basis in fact, and are not derived from guesswork alone.

It appears, from the answers to the questionnaire, that 85.5 per cent of male migrants come back with sums of money, the average being £2 19s. for mine labourers and £7 3s. for others;¹ 91.4 per cent bring back clothing and other goods, the average cost of which is £5 16s. per head; 22.4 per cent send home goods while still away, the average cost of which is £3 18s. per head; and, of men other than mine workers, 55.8 per cent while still away send money to their dependants, the average amount being £4 13s. per head. If we apply these ratios and amounts to the total number of male migrants,² the average annual value to the Territory of the various items listed may be estimated as follows:³

Money brought back by returning workers	..	..	£54,000
Money remitted by men not working on mines	..	..	21,500
Value of goods brought back by migrants	..	..	82,000
Value of goods sent home by men	..	..	18,000
			£175,500

The Pim Report states also that during the period of six years up to and including 1932 the sum of £2,293 was paid to Protectorate Natives by the mines as compensation for accidents, and £3,542 as phthisis compensation.⁴ A request to the Chamber of Mines for more recent figures brought the reply that they are not available for accident compensation. The phthisis compen-

¹ The difference is of course due to the fact that mine workers, unlike the others, are able to deduct part of their pay, which they draw after returning home.

² I have worked on the assumption that the average number of men away every year during 1938-42 was roughly 12,600 on the mines and 8,400 elsewhere, and that 11,300 mine workers and 4,200 others return home every year. (The estimate of men returning annually is based upon the figures given in Table XXV.)

³ The following test will serve to show the approximate accuracy of the figures. It appears from replies to the questionnaire, that 30.8% of mine labourers remit money to their dependants, the average amount being £3 11s. 3d. per head. On this basis, the total value of remittances from mine labourers, calculated on the methods employed above, would be £13,825. The figures supplied by the Chamber of Mines show that over the period 1938-42 the average annual value of the money remitted was actually £13,970.

⁴ Cmd. 4368 (1933), p. 30.

tion paid during 1943 was £2,510; figures for earlier years are also not available.¹

Our findings up to this stage may be summarized as follows. During the years 1938-42, the wages earned by Natives working outside the Protectorate amounted to at least £724,000 per annum. Of this sum, a known £146,412 was paid in or remitted to the Territory, and it is estimated that another £175,500 was brought or sent back either in cash or in the form of goods. We may add say £3,000 for accident and phthisis compensation to mine labourers. This gives a total of approximately £325,000 (representing an average of £15 9s 6d. per man). I have no comparable data at all about the returns accruing from female migrants, but even if we allow an average of only £2 per head we have to add another £5,000, giving a total of £330,000.

As I have already emphasized, most of the figures given are little more than rough estimates. But there is no reason to doubt the main conclusion, to which we had arrived from a different angle in Chapter IV, that at the present time labour migration is by far the most important source of cash income for the Native population of the Territory. This is best seen from the following Table, which summarizes the amounts derived from the various sources, and indicates their relative proportions.

TABLE XL

MAIN SOURCES OF INCOME OF NATIVE POPULATION

<i>Source</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
Sale of agricultural produce . .	£ 242,500	31.5
Employment inside Territory . .	135,800	17.7
Allotments from army pay . .	61,000	7.9
Employment outside Territory	330,000	42.9
	£769,300	100.0

If we exclude allotments from army pay, which cannot be regarded as a permanent source, the relative proportions of the others are as follows: Sale of agricultural produce, 34.2 per cent; employment inside the Territory, 19.2 per cent; and employment outside the Territory, 46.6 per cent.

The financial benefits of labour migration are not confined to the items listed above. It contributes directly to Government revenue in the form of both labour agents' licences and fees

¹ Letter from Secretary, Chamber of Mines, 13.9.1944

for the attestation of recruits, and in various other ways adds to the income of people living in the Territory. The main heads may be tabulated as follows:

Government revenue (licences and fees)	..	..	£3,000
Capitation fees to trader-recruiters	.	..	4,258
Fees for medical examination of recruits	..	..	2,500
Salaries to European employees	.	.	10,000
Wages to Native employees	.	.	7,445
Tribal revenue (stand rents and water rates paid by N.R.C.)			210
			9
			£27,413

The W.N.L.A., in addition, had up to the end of 1942 spent roughly £31,750 on buildings and plant, and £44,750 on roads, and the N.R.C. had spent £8,000 on buildings and plant. Both agencies also donate to local funds, and the wireless stations operated by the W.N.L.A. are sometimes used for Government purposes as well as for the Association's own business. Finally, donations by the Board of Control of the Deferred Pay Interest Fund to hospitals and other institutions within the Territory had amounted, by the end of April, 1943, to £2,925.

Changes in Tribal Economy

The analysis just given has shown how greatly labour migration contributes to the general economic welfare of Bechuanaland. As far as the Natives themselves are concerned, it enables large numbers to obtain the goods they desire and to pay their taxes and levies, and it is the chief source and present mainstay of the standard of living to which they have attained.

Labour migration, moreover, has made it possible for even the lowest commoner to earn money with which to purchase trade goods. This has helped to break down the old correlation of rank and wealth, and has given more scope for individual enterprise in the attainment of riches. The chief and his immediate relatives are as a rule still the wealthiest men in a tribe, owing largely to the numbers of cattle they have inherited; but men receiving regular cash wages, whether at home or abroad, are nowadays often better off than many an influential headman not so able to adapt himself to modern conditions.¹

In a few respects, too, migration has helped to develop Native

¹This point is more fully discussed in my book, *Married Life in an African Tribe* (London 1940) Chap. V.

agriculture. Most people while abroad buy clothing, blankets and trinkets of various kinds, but there are some who invest in ploughs and other agricultural implements and many, after returning home, also buy cattle. Those working on farms, moreover, get a practical training in European methods of agriculture which should be of great benefit to them; but it must be admitted that they seldom apply those methods to their own plots at home.

In the main, however, migration has reacted unfavourably upon the traditional peasant economy of the Reserves. A few men while abroad acquire special skills from which they can afterwards benefit. There are several builders and carpenters, for instance, who learned their trades while working on the Rand. But the vast majority of migrants, including especially those who go to the mines, engage in occupations that can be of little use to them in their home environment. It has sometimes been claimed that such occupations are nevertheless of value in teaching the Natives 'regular habits of industry'.¹ It is no doubt true that men while abroad work steadily and hard, but the habit does not persist once they get back to their homes. The young men who keep going to and from the Union regard their visits home as in the nature of a holiday that will enable them to rest for a while; this, in fact, is the reason that they sometimes give for coming back at all. And those who have ceased to go abroad soon revert to the normal routine, during which they occasionally have to work strenuously (e.g. during the early and final phases of the cultivating season), but where they often do nothing for days or even weeks at a time. This is due more to the nature of the tasks conventionally assigned to them than to any inherent indolence or dislike of work.² The fact remains, nevertheless, that the only steady workers in the Reserves, apart from the women with their daily chores, are the men employed in some full-time capacity by Europeans or the tribal administrations.

Instead of encouraging 'habits of industry' in the Reserves, migration has actually tended to disorganize the traditional forms of economic activity. One Kgatla informant gloomily remarked: 'As people leave the Reserve one by one, even the

¹ *Report, Union Native Economic Commission* (U G 22, 1932), p. 213.

² For a general account of men's work in the Reserves, cf. my *Married Life in an African Tribe*, chap. VI.

young girls, their homes are left unattended and begin to tumble down, their fields are left to decay and are soon covered with weeds, and cattle scatter with no one to look after them, the result being that they get out of hand and eventually die or are eaten by wild dogs'. The facts are not as depressing as all that, but there is some truth in the statement. Owing to labour migration, many people are no longer available at home to attend to the routine tasks of tribal life, and as a result both animal husbandry and agriculture have suffered.

All Tswana are agreed that migration has led to deterioration in the herding of cattle, and that losses due to straying and neglect are far more numerous than before. The matter has been raised at several meetings of the Native Advisory Council, where the Administration was asked if something could not be done to stop so many youths from leaving the country.¹ The Walker-Hobday report also stressed the need for steps 'to protect the cattle industry from the harmful effects of excessive recruiting in the country, which removes the most active and vigorous sections of the population and the beneficial effects exercised by this section on the cattle industry'.²

In the old days, boys usually remained at the cattleposts until they had grown up and married. Nowadays most of them, on reaching maturity, go away to work in the Union. This does not matter so much to wealthy owners, who either have servants or can hire special herdsmen. But the ordinary Native, who relies chiefly on the members of his own family, now has little alternative but to entrust the care of his cattle to his younger sons. The latter, however willing, cannot always cope with the work, especially during the dry winter months, when the animals have to be closely herded to prevent them from straying, and when water for them to drink must often be laboriously hauled out of wells. It is almost inevitable, in the circumstances, that there should be a high proportion of losses. The boys themselves, as we have seen, tend ultimately to become slack and careless, owing to lack of adequate supervision, and sometimes they simply abandon their cattle in the veld and run away to the Union.

Complaints are also common that the young men who return

¹ Minutes, Native Advisory Council, 4 (1924), pp. 10 f., 18, 7 (1927), 7f., 17 (1936), pp. 53 ff., 21 (1940), pp. 58 ff.

² H. S. Walker and J. H. N. Hobday, *Report on the Cattle Industry of the B.P.* (1938), par. 43 (iii).

from the Union take little interest in herding, and prefer to spend their time loafing about in the villages. One excuse often put forward by them is that they have come home to rest. Others, however, contend that they do not see why they should have to concern themselves with cattle which mostly belong to their fathers or elder brothers. This individualistic attitude is adopted especially by those who have come back with fair sums of money, but it is sufficiently widespread to be regarded by the people as contributing largely to the increasing slackness in cattle management.

The cattle owner who himself goes out to work may also suffer loss. He generally arranges for a relative or friend to look after his animals under the *mafisa* system¹. The trust is sometimes discharged with diligence. But it is common enough for the custodian to take his responsibilities lightly: he may neglect to move the animals when necessary to fresh pastures, and he will not take the trouble to see that they are properly watered during the dry season; moreover, should any of them die, he benefits from a supply of meat which he could not get otherwise. The owner on returning may therefore find that his cattle have diminished instead of increasing, and his savings are seldom enough to enable him to make good the loss.

But labour migration is not solely responsible for the lack of progress in animal husbandry. A contributory factor is that many of the people themselves are not really very interested in their stock. Even those who are at home and have the means do not always look properly after their animals; they sometimes neglect to give adequate supervision to their cattleposts or herd-boys, and prefer to follow the old routine rather than take active steps to improve their methods of ranching.

Similar effects are observable in regard to agriculture. In the old days, the cultivation of fields was done largely by women. Once the plough was introduced, the work of turning up the soil became a predominantly masculine occupation. As long as the standard period of contract service on the mines was four months, men were usually able to arrange that their absence from home did not interfere with the ploughing. Even to-day, despite the extension of the normal contract period to nine months, many

¹ Under this system, one man looks after another's cattle and in return is allowed to milk them, use them for ploughing, etc. Cf. my *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 246 ff.

men either contrive to return in time to plough, or else postpone their departure until the ploughing season is over. But the mere absence of the men for the greater part of the year

'is invariably reflected in the cultural operations of the land and the resultant low yields. Even while the responsible male times his visit home to coincide with the ploughing and seeding season, agriculture suffers. It allows of no preparatory cultivation nor does it enable him to take advantage of favourable rainfalls. It necessitates leaving to the women and to juniors the major part of the work. There can be no organised system of working. The standard of agriculture, therefore, is low and there can be no development.'¹

Nor is there much hope that marked success will attend the efforts of agricultural demonstrators, when most of the people whom they should be teaching are normally absent from home.

Nowadays, moreover, many men are either unable or do not care to plan their absence according to the season. Formerly, if a man was away when ploughing began, his relatives considered it their duty to help his wife. This is still often done, although it is becoming more difficult now that the number of absentees is increasing. Occasionally, too, men send money home for hiring outside help in ploughing, or arrange for such help before they go abroad. In all these instances, however, the help is given only after the relatives or others have ploughed for themselves, so that the wife loses the benefit of the early rains and her fields suffer accordingly. And if, as happens often enough, there is no man to help her, she must either do the ploughing herself, with the aid of her young children, or else her fields must lie fallow. Inquiries I made among the Tlôkwa in February, 1943, at the end of the ploughing season, showed that, of 127 married land-owners who were at home, all but four (3.1 per cent) had ploughed their fields; on the other hand, of 81 who were away, no fewer than 16 (just under 20 per cent) had omitted or been unable to get their fields ploughed. These figures illustrate, perhaps more vividly than anything else, the way in which migration has led to the neglect of agriculture.

Informants maintain that some women do not even try to cultivate their fields, but rely for their food supply upon money sent to them by their husbands. This development is said to have become much more noticeable since the recruitment of the A.P.C., one condition of which, as we have seen, was that part

¹ Statement by Mr Germond (Lecturer in Agriculture, S. A. Native College, Fort Hare), *Report, (Union) Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932* (U.G. 22, 1932), p. 213. The statement refers to conditions in the Union Native Reserves, but is equally applicable to the Protectorate.

of every man's pay should be allotted and given regularly to his dependants at home. I have no data about the number of women in the Reserves who depend solely on the earnings of their absent husbands. But there is certainly a tendency among some of the people to discard agriculture entirely in favour of wage-labour. As we have already noted, many women nowadays either accompany or follow their husbands into the Union. Such families presumably find it attractive, for various reasons, to live at or near the man's place of employment, and do not consider it a greater advantage to have a home in the Reserves and land where the bulk of their food can be produced.

The extent of this drift away from the Reserves is illustrated in the following Table, which gives, for the age-groups under 45, the proportions of married couples who were living together in the Union in 1943:

TABLE XLI
FAMILIES SETTLED IN THE UNION

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Families in sample</i>	<i>No living in the Union</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Ngwato ..	334	7	2.1
Kwena ..	550	14	2.5
Ngwaketse ..	366	17	4.6
Kgatla .	242	11	4.5
Tlôkwa .	174	9	5.2
Malete ..	144	9	6.2
	1,810	67	3.7

The local differences bear out the conclusions already reached, i.e. the south-eastern tribes, especially those along the border, have on the whole been more affected by migration than the others. It will be noted, however, that families from every tribe are now living abroad, and the average proportion, of one in twenty-seven, is far from negligible. As we shall see later, these families cannot all be considered permanently lost, since many of them still have their children in the Reserves, which suggests that they intend to return there. It is more important for our immediate purpose to realize that such families have for the time being completely abandoned agriculture. To them wage-earning is not only the principal, but the sole, means of livelihood. If to this fact we add what has already been said

about the effects of migration upon animal husbandry and the raising of crops, it seems justifiable to conclude that farming has become less important in the tribal economy as wages loom larger and larger in the family income.

Tribal Solidarity and Discipline

Responsible Tswana blame migration not only for its adverse effects upon agriculture and animal husbandry, but also for weakening the cohesion of the tribes. They say that it is difficult to keep in touch with all the people who go abroad, and that some of the latter ultimately drift away altogether and are never heard of again. Even those who do return periodically are now staying away for much longer periods than formerly, the result being that they take little interest in tribal affairs at home. 'If this is allowed to go on,' said Chief Kgari (Kwena) at the meeting of the Native Advisory Council in 1936, 'the tribe will gradually die, because the men who should build up the tribe are spending more and more time in the mines.'¹

It should be noted in this connexion that even within Bechuanaland itself almost every tribe has at some time or other suffered dismemberment, single families or even large sections breaking away for political reasons and moving to some other part of the Territory. Thus there are to-day in every Reserve many people who belonged originally to different tribes than that of the chief under whose rule they are now living. The loss from labour migration should therefore be considered from the standpoint not so much of individual tribes as of the Territory generally.

Nor is it correct to assume that all the people who go to the Union tend to become 'detribalized'. The great majority, as we have seen, return home sooner or later. While abroad, moreover, they seem to associate mainly with members of their own tribe, and the common tie between them is sometimes given concrete expression. In 1933, for instance, the Kgatla on the Rand organized a form of mutual aid society, one of whose main functions was to help unemployed fellow-tribesmen and to repatriate those who were sick or unable to pay the fare home. In 1941, again, when the Administration sent two Natives to the Rand to help in collecting the war levy, the Kwena working on the mines

¹ Minutes, N A C, 17 (1936), p. 53.

protested openly at having to deal with men who were not of their own tribe. Even among the families which have moved to the Union, more than half (51.8 per cent) have left all or some of their children at home, which suggests that, for the present at least, they have not finally abandoned the Territory. There are also men who have lived on the Rand and in other parts of the Union for many years, but who regularly pay Protectorate tax and who make occasional if brief visits to their relatives in the Reserves. Others, after having been away continuously for ten years or more and been given up as 'lost', may unexpectedly reappear at home; and a few, when taken seriously ill, have been known to go home simply because they wished to die among their own people.

It is nevertheless true that some people have been permanently lost to their tribes and to the Territory as the result of labour migration. We saw in Chapter II that the average proportion of 'deserters' among male migrants during the past forty years has been no less than six per cent, and that in general many more men are tending to keep away nowadays than formerly. It should be noted also that of the married couples living abroad just over a third (33.9 per cent) have all their children with them, and presumably, therefore, intend to remain in the Union.¹

Another very common complaint about migration is that it makes young people disrespectful and insubordinate; it is said that once they have been abroad they resent being called upon for tribal labour, neglect their other tribal duties, and are often insolent in their attitude towards the chief and their elders. Chief Bathoen, for instance, says:²

'The behaviour of young men and women nowadays is undesirable. In labour centres they come into contact with people of different races and character, and some of them are inclined to copy bad influences. They go out with little or no education, and return with the idea that they are more enlightened than the people at home. They have little respect for the chief, and at times have to be pulled up in the *kgotla* or elsewhere by older members of the tribe, who point out to them the correct ways to behave towards the chief or their seniors. Its effects on the discipline of the young people have been bad; they are most unruly and mannerless, and some of them eventually become criminals, no good to themselves and just liabilities to the tribe.'

¹ The remaining families in my sample (14.3 per cent) did not have any children, so that similar deductions cannot be made about their probable intentions.

² Memorandum on Labour Migration (September, 1943)

It may be said at once that labour migration does not seem to have greatly increased the incidence of crime in the Territory. The most common local offences are failure to pay tax, stock theft, and assault by Natives upon one another; but the last two were found even in the old days, and there is no reason to believe that they are committed more frequently by men who have been abroad than by other sections of the population. A few men have undoubtedly come back more lawless than when they went away, and in some of the south-eastern tribes drunken brawls have become fairly common, owing to the introduction of potent Native liquors from the Rand. But the population as a whole has remained essentially law-abiding. As the District Commissioner, Gaberones, wrote in 1935:¹

'It has ever been recognised that criminal intentions are conspicuously absent from the "make up" of the average Protectorate Native and, whatever the future may show, there is no indication as yet that contact on a large scale with environments such as those of the Witwatersrand and Lichtenburg has in any way altered the mind of the Native in this direction. It has to be admitted that our very few habitual criminals were born and bred in the Territory.'

On the other hand, it is substantially true that young men who have just begun to work abroad tend on coming home to rebel against the conventional obligations of tribal life. In the Union they have experienced the relative freedom of another culture, where tribal sanctions no longer affect them directly, and where the authority of father and chief is replaced by that of employer and policeman; they have come into contact with all sorts of new influences and ideas, which often conflict with what they were taught at home and encourage disrespect for traditional forms of control; their eyes, as they say, have been opened to the way in which they are 'exploited' in the Reserves. They come back tired of working, and want mainly to idle about in the villages, displaying their new clothes and affectations of speech and behaviour, boasting of their experiences while abroad, and condescending to those who have never been away. Any call upon their services, any attempt to curb their exuberance, is apt to be resented. They have, in effect, come home on holiday, and want to be free to enjoy themselves. It is not surprising that their seniors should find them ill-mannered and disobedient, while they, on the other hand, complain of being ordered about excessively or made to work without recompense.

¹ Mafeking Registry, J.7890.

But the new forms of behaviour do not persist. The men who find tribal life boring or distasteful soon return to the Union, and tend to prolong their absence from home or even to stay away altogether. The others, once they have become accustomed to going abroad, and especially after they have married, generally settle down again quietly to the normal routine. It must be remembered in this connexion that the great majority of men in the eastern tribes have at some time or other worked abroad. In their youth they too were accused of arrogance; as early as 1878, for instance, a missionary among the Kgatla wrote: 'You can have no idea of how conceited the young Kaffirs are who have worked for a while on the Diamond Fields.'¹ It can hardly be maintained that all these early migrants have remained 'unruly and mannerless'; in fact, there is often little in their general behaviour to suggest that they have ever been away from home. Among the south-eastern tribes, especially, many of the ward headmen and other tribal leaders of to-day have had considerable experience of working abroad, and yet they are now among the more conservative elements of the population.

It is generally true that, among the Tswana, people nowadays are often openly critical of the chiefs, and show comparatively little enthusiasm for regimental labour and other traditional obligations of tribal citizenship. Labour migration has contributed to the development of this attitude, especially by spreading the idea that people should be paid for their services. But it is by no means the only factor responsible. The personal character of the chief, and the political intrigues of his relatives, have much to do with the degree of respect in which he is held. The chaotic state of tribal affairs among the Kwena from 1917-31, for instance, was due very largely to the vicious character of the chief, and the unrest among the Kgatla from 1929 onwards was the result of a bitter feud between the chief and one of his uncles. Educational progress, again, has introduced new conceptions of the relationship between ruler and subject, especially in regard to matters like forced labour; and the activities of both the Administration and the Missions have tended to weaken the authority and prestige of the chief. Criticism against him, where it does occur, is not confined to labour migrants. Men settled at home are just as apt, and even more, to resent frequent calls upon their services, or to rebel against other impositions. A

¹ Rev. P. Brink, in *De Kerkhede*, vol. xxx (1878), p. 289.

survey of cases tried before the tribal courts, in which men were charged with disobeying the chief, shows in fact that few of the men involved were recent arrivals from the Union. And the most conspicuous protest against regimental labour was made among the Ngwato in 1930, at a time when far fewer people from this tribe were going abroad than nowadays; the leading agitators, moreover, were all men of some standing, whose opposition to the chief was certainly not the outcome of impressions formed while working in the Union.

It is therefore not correct to attribute to labour migration alone the lack of order and discipline that is sometimes so evident in the public life of modern Tswana tribes. The special effects of migration seem to be limited mainly to a tendency towards unruly behaviour on the part of the youths who have recently been abroad—a tendency, however, which does not persist, and which seldom goes to the extreme of open revolt. There is no reason to believe that migrants as a class are more opposed than other sections of the population to the established tribal authorities, and certainly none of the many political disturbances of the past fifty years can be regarded as either wholly or even largely the outcome of migration.

Where migration has been important is in providing a means of escape from tribal obligations. As we have seen, men who dislike tribal labour, or who find life at home burdensome in other ways, are now able to go abroad fairly easily. They can therefore afford to be more critical and independent than was formerly possible or politic, and to this extent, too, labour migration has helped to weaken tribal discipline.

A further point should be noted in this connexion. In tribal society, political authority is as a rule hereditary: a man becomes chief or a ward-head because his father held the position before him. Nowadays, however, it is fairly common to find ward-heads who are not the senior representatives of their line. The true heir, the man who should be ruling the ward, is away at work, and prefers to earn money for himself rather than stay at home and attend to the unremunerative task of looking after the affairs of his people. Political life in general is none the worse for their absence, since the deputies manage equally well; but there are a few men of ability, both in the Union and in Government service in the Territory, who would be able to do much for their tribes if they could be induced to take up their rightful

positions in the political structure. 'This is one of the few ways in which labour migration can be said to militate against 'healthy political development'.

Some Native informants blame migration for what they cite as another instance of modern decadence in tribal life, viz the growth of sexual immorality among unmarried people.¹ Their arguments run as follows. In the Union, where they are not controlled by tribal conventions, the young men have many opportunities of indulging freely in sexual relations, which as a result they come to regard lightly. On their return, well dressed and perhaps with money to spend, they readily attract the young women, whom in consequence they are able to seduce fairly easily. Again, owing to the absence of so many men in the Union, girls nowadays often have to wait for several years after puberty before they are married. 'It is against nature' for them to remain chaste all the time,² and that is why most of them yield sooner or later to the advances of lovers. Some are never married at all, but become the concubines of men who already have wives. As a result of all this, there are now in every tribe many children who were born out of wedlock.

It is true that many women nowadays bear children before being married or even engaged. Among the Kgatla, for instance, my genealogical samples show that 22.9 per cent of unmarried women between the ages of 15 and 44 are mothers (67 in a group of 292); the corresponding proportion among the Ngwato is 19.2 per cent (51 in a group of 266), and among the Kwena it is 16.9 per cent (11 in a group of 65). These figures are sufficient indication of the marked extent to which premarital sexual relations are practised, since there must of course be many other women who have lovers but either manage to avoid conception or else resort to abortion.

So far as we can judge, it appears to be true that on the whole young people were chaster say fifty years ago, and that the promiscuity now prevailing is a relatively recent development in Tswana life. Migration, for the reasons indicated above, has certainly been a contributing factor. But, once again, it is not the only one. As I have shown more fully in previous publications,² other factors also have been responsible. Among them may be

¹ I shall deal later with the question of marital fidelity.

² 'Premarital pregnancy and Native opinion', *Africa*, vol. 6 (1933), pp. 59-89; *Married Life in an African Tribe* (London, 1940), chaps. 2 and 9.

listed the widespread abolition of the old initiation ceremonies (*bogzwêra* and *bojale*), which constituted a powerful disciplinary force; the spread of education, which has given the younger people more personal freedom, and the Mission ban against polygamy, which has deprived some women at least of the prospects of early marriage.

Spread of Infectious Diseases

In addition to the effects already noted, migration has contributed to the spread of disease among the peoples of Bechuanaland. Reference has already been made to the general physical condition of the Tswana, and especially to the prevalence of venereal diseases and tuberculosis. Both are generally attributed to the influence of contact with Europeans, especially in the towns and other centres of work; it is held that migrants become infected there and after returning home spread the disease to others.

Venereal disease was introduced to the Tswana a long time ago. Livingstone noted that the Ngwaketse had brought it from 'the west coast', but that it soon died out 'without the aid of medicine'; and he concluded from this that 'in the pure Negro of the central parts it is quite incapable of permanence'.¹ But Surgeon-Major B. Z. Jagdowski, who accompanied the Warren Expedition into Bechuanaland in 1885, wrote as follows:²

'At Kanya and Molepolole a good many cases of . . . syphilitic disease were observed. . . . No cases of syphilitic disease were observed at Shoshong, but on inquiry I found that it does occur, the natives say that this disease was introduced by the white man, and it might easily be brought to Shoshong by the men who visit Kimberley to work in the Diamond Fields, I was, however, informed by traders that they had seen cases of primary syphilis far north as the Zambesi.'

It seems fairly certain that migration was largely responsible for the introduction and spread of venereal diseases among the Tswana, even although it may not have been the only source of origin. At the present time, as we have already noted, a 'very high' proportion of the population is said to be infected.³ Some

¹ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), p. 128. The statement about the Ngwaketse having been to 'the west coast' refers probably to the time (c. 1835) when a portion of the tribe, under Sebege, had fled to near Ghanzi, where they were in contact with the Herero and other people from South West Africa. Cf. my 'Short history of the Ngwaketse', *African Studies*, vol. I (1942), pp. 8 f.

² Bluebook C 4588 (1885), pp. 96f.

³ See p. 19.

authorities maintain that labour migration is still a major factor in the spread of the disease. The District Commissioner at Serowe, for instance, wrote in 1935:¹

'I am informed by the Medical Officer that there has been a large increase in venereal disease in this Reserve, and he finds that the morals have gone down very much. This may be ascribed to the influence of the young man fresh from the mines who is in possession of ready money.'

However, it is probable that nowadays the spread of syphilis is due as much to the general promiscuity of sexual life inside the Territory as to further importations of the disease from abroad. Many people have already been infected before they go to the Union, and we must accept as authoritative the statement made in 1937 by Sir Walter Johnson:²

'The infection has long since become endemic and now has no direct reference to employment of men on the Rand mines, although indirectly the break in family life caused by long absence of the men is a social evil which tends to increase venereal diseases.'

'There is some indication,' he adds, 'that the disease is becoming more under control, as the percentage of syphilis cases to total cases at hospitals and dispensaries appear to be diminishing, but it is as yet too early to see the effect of such increased medical facilities for treatment as have been provided recently.'

Tuberculosis is evidently a much more recent development. Major Jagdowski noted in 1885 that it was 'nowhere observed' in the Territory, and indeed it does not seem to have been until about twenty years ago that medical officers first began to draw attention to its presence among the Natives. It has since been maintained that the disease is spreading, and that the main source of infection is men who have worked on the mines. In 1932, for instance, the Principal Medical Officer wrote:³

'There can be no question but that Tuberculosis is on the increase, as shown by the progressively large number of cases seen among the Dispensary Out-patients. . . . No doubt new infections do take place at the natives' homes, as shown by the fact that women and children are discovered to have active lesions, though the general impression of the Medical Officers is that by far the larger number affected are men who have developed evidence of infection after their return from working on the mines. One Medical Officer says: "One regrets the number of cases of Pulmonary Tuberculosis met with in Dispensary work which give a history of Mine service."'

And in his Report for 1933 he stated (par. 24)

¹ Mafeking Registry, J 7890.

² Report on Medical Administration in the B.P., par. 54.

³ Annual Medical and Sanitary Report for 1932, p. 9.

'The distribution of Pulmonary Tuberculosis was fairly even in the Southern districts of the Territory while in the Northern Districts (Mangwato and Tati) it was lower than in the South. The distribution may be of some significance in that up till the end of 1933 native labourers have not been recruited from North of Latitude 22° for work on the Gold Mines in Johannesburg (Most of the Bamangwato Reserve and the whole of the Tati District is north of that Latitude). It would therefore appear that Tuberculosis is met with more frequently in those tribes South of Latitude 22° from which labour for the mines is recruited.'

Subsequent experience has led to a modification of these views. The number of cases of tuberculosis reported by Medical Officers was 36 in 1927, 340 in 1932, and 518 in 1937, but only 286 in 1938, in spite of the fact that more out-patients were seen that year than at any time previously. The official explanation for the decrease was that 'The present advice given, that those affected with this disease should remain at the lands and not live in the villages, may have some influence in the lowering of the figures.'¹ But in 1939 the Principal Medical Officer told the Native Advisory Council:²

'We have come to the conclusion that quite a number of cases that have been diagnosed clinically as tuberculosis are really cases of malnutrition. One of our late Medical Officers in the Protectorate . . . said that he found that a great many patients whom he was inclined to diagnose as tuberculosis cleared up as soon as they were put on to a diet and Cod Liver Oil.'

It is possible therefore that the apparently rapid increase noted in the incidence of tuberculosis between 1927 and 1937 may have reflected (in part at least) mistaken diagnosis instead of actual fact. However, the Tuberculosis Survey which is about to be undertaken should give a more accurate indication of the true position in the Territory.

As for the present connexion between migration and the spread of tuberculosis, the most reasonable view seems to be that given in the Annual Medical Report for 1936:³

'There is no doubt that this disease was originally introduced from the Mines, but now cases are frequently met with in women, children, and young adults who have never been to the Mines but who, in quite a number of cases, have had relatives or friends who at some time worked on the Mines.

'From figures available of Natives repatriated on account of unsuitability for Mine work the percentage of those returned for Tuberculosis is 0.95. The opinion is held by some medical men that every Native who has worked on the

¹ Annual Medical . . . Report, 1938, par. 11.

² Minutes, N.A.C., 20 (1939), p. 78.

³ Paragraphs 22 *et seq*

Mines for a certain period develops the disease in a quiescent form, but whilst at the Mines is so well fed and looked after generally that the disease lies dormant. He returns to his home and after a time, with indifferant food, and insanitary surroundings, the disease flares up and he becomes a source of infection to others.

'A much greater danger, however, in the spread of tuberculosis, is the Native who leaves the Territory on his own, seeking employment other than Mine work. He is not nearly so well fed or housed as the Mine boy and falls an easy prey to the disease, but, for economic reasons, continues to work until failing strength compels him to return home. Such Natives frequently arrive home in an advanced state of tuberculosis and thus infect their relatives and friends.

'The spread of this disease is largely governed by conditions prevailing in the Territory itself—frequent droughts, resulting in failure of the crops, lack of milk and green foodstuffs cause marked malnutrition and, added to this, the ravages of diseases such as Syphilis, Scurvy and Malaria, it is little wonder that the vitality of the Natives is so lowered that they become prone to the disease.

'As this disease is of comparatively recent origin in the Protectorate, the population has not yet had time to acquire an inherited immunity as is the case with the European race, therefore, a large increase in the incidence of this disease must be expected in the future.

'The custom of the Bechuana of living huddled together in large *stadts* must also have a marked effect on the spread of the disease as a single focus of infection can affect a much larger number of individuals. In addition, inability to keep their cattle near them, and the lack of sufficient ground for cultivation in the immediate vicinity is responsible, in no small measure, for the malnutrition which exists.'

Sir Walter Johnson, too, concludes that tuberculosis is now fully established in the Territory, 'and that returned labourers from the mines are no longer the main source of infection'.¹ But there is no reason to doubt the general view that both tuberculosis, and probably syphilis also, were first introduced into Bechuanaland through labour migration, although other factors have since contributed to the spread of both diseases.

Family Life

When discussing the effects of labour migration upon the family as a separate unit within the tribe, Native informants, as usual, paint a gloomy picture. They say that migration leads to broken homes, husbands deserting wives and sons deserting parents; it causes women to be unfaithful to their absent husbands, but at the same time it also reduces the birth rate, because men stay away so long that their wives have fewer children than possible; and it causes young people to lose respect for their

¹ Report, *op. cit.*, par 65

parents, thereby destroying one of the foundations of tribal society. Most of these and similar allegations have some basis in fact, but they are generally much exaggerated, and in any case labour migration is not as a rule the only factor responsible for disruptive tendencies in family life.

Upkeep of the Home

Data collected in regard to 400 families¹ among the 'Tlôkwa, Ngwato and Ngwaketse, showed that there were only 26 (6.5 per cent) from which people had never gone abroad to work. Of the others, 253 (63.2 per cent) had one or more adult members away at the time of investigation, and the remaining 121 (30.2 per cent) had had people away in the past, sometimes only a few months ago. Whatever the specific reasons for migration may have been, it is evident that, among the eastern tribes at least, the vast majority of families have been affected by the process.

I have already discussed the effects of migration upon subsistence activities and other aspects of economic life in the Reserves. The main point to notice, as far as the family is concerned, is that in some instances it no longer produces its own food, either because there is no man at home to plough, or because all the adults have gone to live abroad. In other respects, too, there have been changes in the domestic organization of labour. The absence of the menfolk often means that additional help must be obtained from outsiders to perform tasks for which members of the household are not available. Thus, it is now fairly common for people to hire others to clear a new field for them, bring in a load of firewood, dig a well, or cut rafters and thatching-grass for use in building the roof of a hut. In these and other ways the family has become less self-sufficient, and, since payment for such services is usually in either livestock or money, people have to make good their labour shortage by their income from other sources.

Something should be added about the relationship between labour migration and the maintenance of the household. Men as they grow older usually settle down finally at home, and, if they are relatively poor, look to their children to support them.

¹ By a 'family' is here meant the group consisting basically of husband, wife, and unmarried children. The 'family survey' referred to in previous Chapters covered a far larger number of families, but for my present purpose I have used only those families where I also had information about the labour history of people who were home at the time of investigation.

It is considered the duty of sons to earn money for their fathers' taxes and other wants, and, as we saw in the previous chapter, some men give this as their main reason for going out to work.¹ Even after they have married, young men are still expected to help their parents, and of course they now also have to provide for their own wives and children.

I have no reliable data at all about the extent to which labour migration contributes to the cash income of the individual family. But, as we saw above,² approximately 47 per cent of the total cash income of the Native population is derived from employment in the Union. If we remember in this connexion that not every family has people working abroad, we may reasonably conclude that the families which have migratory members derive over half their cash income from that source alone. But this is a very broad generalization, and certainly would not apply to every individual family. There are some families, as we have just seen, which appear to rely solely on wage-labour. There must be many others in which it is relatively unimportant, except as the means of satisfying some immediate want.

In the absence of more satisfactory data, all we can do is indicate roughly what is done with the money earned abroad. As will have been gathered, the savings of migrants are as a rule devoted primarily to the payment of taxes and levies, and to the purchase of clothing and other personal or household belongings. We have seen that almost all the men working abroad bring goods back with them, and that many also send goods home while they are still away. The variety and quantity of the goods so imported can be gathered from Appendix H, where I have listed (a) the kinds of goods consigned by rail during 1932 to Natives in the Kgatla Reserve, and (b) the contents of boxes brought home during 1943 by men returning from the mines. It seems fairly safe to say that few persons or households would have been able to acquire such belongings had it not been for migration.

Many men while abroad also send money home to their dependants. Judging from the replies I received to a questionnaire, this applies to 55.9 per cent of married men (71 in a group of 127), and 26.9 per cent of unmarried men (47 in a group of 175). But only one man in the whole group had sent

¹ See p. 121.

² Cf p. 161.

home a regular remittance (£1 per month to his wife). The others all sent money home spasmodically, the amounts usually ranging from £1 to £4; and these remittances were usually made in order to satisfy some pressing need, such as the payment of tax or medical expenses, the hire of labour for ploughing, etc., or the purchase of food. It appears, therefore, that very few families in the Reserves receive a regular cash allowance from those of their people who are working abroad.

As we have seen, however, the great majority of migrants bring money with them on their return. Mine labourers, in addition, usually have deferred pay awaiting them at home. This money, and the goods that the men also bring, are as a rule shared among the members of their family. As one Kgatla informant said:

'When an unmarried man comes home from the Union, it is his duty to place at the disposal of his parents all the money that he has saved and the goods that he has brought. The parents keep the bulk of the money, but should give the youth at least £1 or £2 for his own use, and divide another £1 or £2 among his brothers and sisters. The clothing and other goods are distributed according to the wishes of the youth. He usually brings dress material for his mother, and a shirt or jacket for his father, and may have similar gifts for his brothers and sisters. If he is mindful of his kinship obligations, he will also have brought something for his maternal uncle. The rest of the goods he keeps for himself. Then, if his parents are pleased with what he has brought, they may slaughter a goat for him to eat with the rest of the family.'

A married man should also bring back something for his parents and other relatives, but the bulk of his earnings will be spent on his own household.

The way in which unmarried migrants actually dispose of their earnings is illustrated more specifically in the following Kgatla case-histories, which were collected in 1934.

(a) M. R., during his first spell of work in Johannesburg, sent his father a coat and £2 in cash, of which £1 was for tax. He also sent home two suits for himself. On returning home, he brought the betrothal goods to be given to his fiancée, and £5 in cash. He gave £3 to his father, who from it bought him a heifer for £2.

A few months later M.R. again went out to work. While away, he sent home money for his own and his father's tax. On his return, he brought dress material for his mother and sister, and £4 10s. in cash. He gave 10s. to his sister, and spent the rest on his bride's wedding outfit.

Later he again went to work, as a married man, but returned after a few months owing to illness. He brought with him £4, £2 of which he gave to his father, and the balance he spent with his wife.

He then returned to Johannesburg for the fourth time (and was still away when this information was obtained). During the six months since his departure, he had sent home £2 to pay for medical treatment for his sister, 10s. and a blanket for his wife, and a plough and a door for their own home.

(b) S.R., younger brother of M.R., sent home nothing at all while abroad for the first time. On his return, he brought £6 which he gave to his father. The latter spent £3 on buying the betrothal goods for S.R.'s fiancée, and also handed back £2 to S.R. himself. S.R. spent £1 at the village store, and kept the other £1 for his fare back to the Rand.

While away for the second time, S.R. sent home £1 and dress material for his fiancée. He was still away when this information was obtained six months later.

(c) M.K. had so far been out to work only once. While away, he sent home a coat for his father. He returned with clothing for himself and £4 in cash. He gave £2 10s. to his father, who handed 10s. back to him.

(d) R.P. first worked for nine months in Johannesburg, starting at 17s. a week and rising to 25s. While away, he sent £1 to his mother (a widow), and 10s. to his sister M., he also sent home corn which cost him £2 14s. (it was a year of drought), he further sent his younger sister P. £1 10s. for clothing and school books, then another 10s., and finally £3 for her school fees (she was at a training institution in Southern Rhodesia). He also sent 5s. to a girl friend. He left £6 in the post office savings bank at Johannesburg as the nucleus for the purchase of a plough, and came home with £1 5s. in cash, which he spent on food for his mother's household.

R.P. subsequently worked in Cape Town for five months. While away, he sent 10s. to his mother, and £4 (in two instalments) to his sister P. for school fees and books. He bought suits of clothing for himself, dress material for his mother, a shawl for his sister M., and two shirts for his brother. On getting home, he gave £2 to his mother, and 7s. to his sister M., he also spent 10s. on a goat for his maternal uncle.

Judging by our own standards these contributions to the family income may seem trifling, but they are by no means insignificant in relation to the standard of living of most Tswana households.

~ However, not all those going abroad do actually help their people in this way. One often hears complaints that migrants cease after a while to send home money or goods, and also stay away so long that their families in the Reserves are left destitute. It is not so much the married men about whom this is said, although occasionally wives are in fact deserted or neglected by their husbands. The main offenders are usually unmarried men who should be supporting their parents. Among the Kgatla, for instance, one youth's mother complained of him:

'The first time he went to Johannesburg he did not send us anything; he stayed away for a long time, and did not want to return. Chief Isang then found him loafing about in Rustenburg, and brought him back. He had with him a suit-case containing a few clothes. He said that he had no money, because he

had been taken away from his work in the middle of the month, and we believed him. Later on we found that he was going about the village buying and drinking beer, and then he began to buy beer for us as well. This shows that he must have had money with him. We say of such a child that he is not fit to have been born. Now he has gone away again, he has been away for over a year, and has not sent us anything or even written, he is just hiding himself.'

Another youth's mother told me:

'When he first went abroad, he stayed away for four years without writing. Some people of our ward used to see him, he was working on farms, and they came to tell me. At last he went to Rustenburg district and worked there, until I took the train and went to look for him, because he was the only son in our household. I found him and brought him home; he had no money at all, and I had to pay his train fare with money I had taken when I went there, he had spent all his money on gambling and dancing and buying guitars. Now he has gone back again, and is working in Benoni. Before he went he became engaged, and since then he has written to me and to his fiancée. He sent some dress material for the girl by another man who was coming home, and recently he also sent me £1, telling me to buy myself dress material for 10s, and to give the other 10s. to the girl.'

And a third youth's parents stated that he had been away uninterruptedly for twelve years, during which time he had sent them nothing, not even money for the payment of his father's tax.

Instances like these are not confined to the Kgatla, but occur in every tribe. It is doubtful, however, if they are as common as is sometimes maintained. As is shown in one of the examples quoted above, parents or wives sometimes go themselves to look for a husband or son who is neglecting them. But the normal procedure is for them to complain to the chief, who may then write personally to the man concerned,¹ or refer the matter to the District Commissioner. Both the Government and the mine recruiting organizations have set up machinery through which requests for assistance can be forwarded to people working abroad. But in the eleven years 1933-43, the number of applications for financial assistance received by the Government's agency on the Rand was only 18 in all, as against 115 applications for repatriation;² and of 32 requests forwarded by the N.R.C. office at Kanye during 1940-41, only one was for

¹ The Chief of the Ngwato wrote 15 such letters during 1940, 22 during 1941, and 31 during 1942. Considering the number of migrants from his tribe, the figures must be regarded as very low.

² The agency serves not only Bechuanaland, but also Basutoland (with some 60,000 labourers on the Rand) and Swaziland (with 10,000). Similar applications from Swaziland are said to be 'negligible', and those from Bechuanaland constitute only 12 per cent of all those received by the agency.

financial assistance, the others being for the return of people who had been away for several years or were wanted home for some special reason. The general impression one gets from the figures is that migrants, on the whole, do not neglect their families to the extent that Native informants sometimes maintain. It is highly probable, however, that ignorance of the available facilities had restricted the number of applications. Of those received by the Government's agency on the Rand, no fewer than 82 came from the Ngwaketse alone. This suggests that the facilities have not been as well publicized in the other tribes, or else the local authorities have not been as active in using them as the chief of the Ngwaketse.

Cohesion of the Family

A more serious effect of migration is the tendency for people to stay away for long periods or even permanently once they have gone abroad. As we have just seen, requests for the repatriation of such people are fairly common. Occasionally a man is wanted at home because a parent or some other close relative is seriously ill or has died. But the reason most often given is that the man has been away for several years, and his dependants cannot manage at home without him.

An analysis of the genealogical records collected in 1943 showed that, out of 1,590 families, there were 104 (i.e. 6.5 per cent) which had lost one or more of their menfolk through permanent desertion, i.e., approximately one family in every fifteen has been affected in this way. In 79 of the families (roughly 76 per cent), the deserters were still unmarried when they left home; in 18 of these 79 families they were the only sons, and in 29 others they had only one brother each. Of the 25 married men who had deserted, eleven were widowed or divorced, and the other fourteen had all abandoned their wives.

These figures show that migration has undoubtedly broken up or weakened many a family. It may be argued that divorce is fairly common in some tribes, and that many more women are divorced in the Territory than are abandoned by migrant husbands; but divorced women are never left unprovided for in the same way as one whose husband stays away indefinitely without supporting her. And there is no parallel in tribal conditions, outside warfare, for the disappearance of adult sons.

At the very least such a loss means that the family is deprived of a potential breadwinner, and when he is the only son the parents must find it even more difficult to manage without him.

One can therefore understand why the people view with alarm the tendency for periods of absence to grow longer, and why it is the repatriation of the migrants that is sought rather than mere financial assistance. It may be added that most of the men who have stayed away do seem to return when officially requested. During 1940-41, for instance, the N.R.C. office at Kanye dealt with 29 requests for the repatriation of mine workers who had been away for periods ranging from two to eight years. The records do not show what happened in twelve cases; in eleven the men returned within two months, in another five they promised to return shortly, and only one man, who had been away for six years, refused to go home, but said that he would send money to his parents.

The following cases, dealt with by the District Commissioner at Molepolole during 1943, will illustrate more specifically the situations created by lengthy absence from home.

(a) A woman, N., asked for the return of her husband, who had left home in 1935, and was now working at Riverton; since his departure he had not supported his wife and children, and she had no one to help her plough. The husband was ultimately located through the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, and promised to return home at the end of the following month.

(b) M.T., working on the mines in Johannesburg, had been away from home 'for a long time', and had ignored all the letters written to him. His brother, fearing that he intended to stay away permanently, asked the District Commissioner to secure his return. Communication with the mine authorities led to M.T.'s repatriation within three weeks.

(c) The mother of K.M. complained that her son (also a mine worker) had stayed away so long 'that his property at home was getting wasted', i.e., his cattle were disappearing because of neglect. The mine authorities replied that he had promised to return by the end of the month.

(d) The parents of M.M. complained that he had been away 'for a long time' on the mines, and would not answer their requests to come home. M.M. replied through the mine authorities that he did not intend to come back, as he could not get on with his family.

But even where men do ultimately return, their absence from home tends to break down the traditional pattern of family life. Since the vast majority of married men who go out to work leave their wives behind, migration often results in lengthy separation of the spouses. The wife during the absence of her husband is nominally under the control of his senior relatives.

In practice, her actions are not governed to the same extent as when he is at home, and she seldom fails to take advantage of this as far as her personal life is concerned. She enjoys a relative freedom to which she was not formerly accustomed, and the husband may find on his return that she will no longer submit so readily to his authority.

Often enough, too, the husband stays away so long that his wife gets tired of waiting for him, and seeks consolation with some other man. If one may judge by village gossip, a considerable number of women are unfaithful to their absent husbands, and many a man has come back to find that while he was away his wife has given birth to one or more children of whom he is not the father. Legally the children are his, and normally he may take no action in the matter, recognizing that it is his own fault for having stayed away so long. Should he actually venture to proceed against his wife, the attitude sometimes adopted by tribal authorities is reflected in the following statement by Chief Bathoen.¹

'It is considered that when a man has been away for a very long time, and on his return finds that his wife has misconducted herself, he has himself to blame, and cannot divorce her on the grounds of adultery.'

Nevertheless, even when the husband is complaisant about his wife's infidelity, it tends to rankle in his mind, and may become the occasion for subsequent disputes that make domestic life unpleasant for both him and his wife.

The relations between parents and children are also adversely affected. Nowadays complaints about the behaviour of children are very common. It is said that they are cheeky and ill-mannered, showing little respect for their parents and still less for other elderly people, except when compelled, they seldom do as they are told; they take little interest in domestic work, and do not support or help their parents as they should; they have lost all sense of discipline, and think only of their own pleasure. As I have shown more fully elsewhere,² there is a good deal of truth in this indictment, exaggerated though it is. The widespread abolition of the old initiation ceremonies, the growth of school education, and various other factors, have all contributed to make young people more independent in their relations with their parents, and domestic disputes have consequently become

¹ Memo. on Labour Migration (September, 1943)

² *Married Life in an African Tribe*, chap. IX.

very common. Among these 'other factors', labour migration has been one of the most influential

Where the father of a family goes out to work, his often prolonged absence frees his children from the main instrument of domestic control. They take little notice of their mother, especially if she has a lover, and they tend to do much as they like. This is particularly true of school children, who for part of the year, while the other people are out at the fields, stay in the villages with hardly any supervision at all. The father on his return may therefore find that not only his wife, but also his children, have fallen into bad habits; and while it is easy enough to deal with the younger sons, the older ones do not submit so readily to being disciplined. Labour migration has opened to them also a new and easy means of escape from the severities of parental control, and any harsh treatment, which formerly they would have had to endure with patience and resignation, is now merely one more reason for leaving home to seek work in the towns.

Many of the young men who go out to work remain obedient and dutiful sons. They keep in regular touch with their parents at home, send them occasional gifts of money or clothes, and on their return show all the deference and respect that could be desired. But others come back with a different outlook. They realize that their parents depend on them for the money with which to pay taxes and meet other wants, and that in consequence they have acquired a new importance in family life to which the old conceptions of discipline must yield. They tend accordingly to ignore the wishes of their parents and to act on their own impulses. They seldom put all their earnings at the disposal of their father, or remain to help in the ploughing; they object to being sent to the cattleposts, and, as we have seen, prefer to swagger through the village streets and spend their time with the girls.

The results described above usually follow only when a man stays away for a long time. Where his absence is limited to a few months, family life does not suffer to nearly the same extent. Most husbands and sons, in fact, keep in touch with their people through letter-writing or personal messages by returning labourers, by whom they sometimes also send gifts of money or clothes; and newcomers from the Reserves are anxiously asked for news about relatives at home. Migrants often show evidence

of deep attachment to their parents and other relatives; their letters sometimes complain that they have not heard from home for a long time, and many men stated (in reply to a questionnaire) that they had returned to the Territory merely because they wanted to see their own people again.

The position may be summed up as follows. On the purely economic side, labour migration is of direct material benefit, and is often indispensable as a means of livelihood. One cannot therefore say that it has done nothing but harm to the family. But on the social side it has resulted in many evils, even though they are the direct result not so much of migration itself as of the over-long period of separation of husband and wife, father and children, that it often entails. A few men have overcome this by taking their wives and children with them; but not many can do so, hence, unless the periods of absence are greatly curtailed, the evils will continue, and possibly even spread.

Influence on Birth Rate

Most Native informants maintain also that labour migration is leading to a decline in the birth rate. They point out that when a man stays away continuously for two years or more, his wife will not be able to bear as many children as she could if he were always at home or if he came back every year. They state also that owing to the continued absence at work of so many young men there has been a general rise in the age of marriage, with the result that women nowadays begin their child-bearing career somewhat later than formerly. Both factors, it is argued, have tended to reduce the average number of children born per woman.

On the other hand, as we have seen, married women are often unfaithful to their absent husbands, and bear children by lovers. Some Native informants, for this very reason, actually condone marital infidelity; they hold that the wife's procreative capacity should not be allowed to remain dormant during the absence of her husband, and that she is rendering a service to the tribe by cohabiting with other men who will give her children. As for the unmarried women, we have seen also that there is nowadays a good deal of sexual freedom among the young people, and that many girls become mothers before they are married. It could therefore be claimed that the production of a fair number of

illegitimate children in the community as a whole will counter-balance any decrease in the legitimate birth rate.

The only statistical data I have bearing on the question applies to a fairly small sample. Among the men into whose labour history I inquired, there were 258 over the age of thirty whose wives were still alive. On classifying these women into groups according to the length of their husband's migratory career, we get the following Table, which shows, for each group of women, the number of children they have borne and the rate of births per 1,000 women.

TABLE XLII
LABOUR MIGRATION AND THE BIRTH RATE

				<i>Husband's Migratory Career (Years)</i>			
				0	5	5-10	10+
HUSBANDS AGED 30-44							
No. of women	..	..		18	49	22	47
No. of live births	..	..		74	151	55	132
Rate per 1,000	..	..		4,111	3,082	2,500	2,809
HUSBANDS AGED 45+							
No. of women	..	..		16	36	29	41
No. of live births	..	..		78	153	146	190
Rate per 1,000	..	..		4,875	4,250	5,034	4,634
COMBINED TOTAL							
No. of women	..	..		34	85	51	88
No. of live births	..	..		152	304	201	322
Rate per 1,000	..	..		4,471	3,577	3,941	3,659

The first impression one derives from the Table is that on the whole women whose husbands have never been away have borne more children than the others. But the Table cannot be accepted unreservedly. In the age-group 45+ (and also in the combined total), women whose husbands were away for less than five years have borne fewer children than those whose husbands were away longer. One would have expected the opposite. In the same age-group, again, women whose husbands were away between five and ten years seem actually to have borne more children than those whose husbands have never been away. The sample is obviously too small to be decisive. The most one can say is that it does not disprove, and to some extent tends to confirm, the belief that labour migration has an adverse effect upon the birth rate. But we need a much more extended inquiry

along the same lines before it will be possible to regard the belief as scientifically valid.

In any event, there is no reason to fear that labour migration is likely under present conditions to bring about depopulation on the scale that has been reported for various islands in the South Seas.¹ As we saw in Chapter I, the available evidence indicates that the population of Bechuanaland is on the contrary probably increasing.² It is possible, however, in view of the material tabulated above, that even more children would be born were it not for migration. But in order to test this possibility thoroughly we need far more information than is at my disposal. We should have to compare the eastern tribes with one that has been relatively untouched (such as the Tawana), and, among the former, we should have to get adequate sample groups, at various age levels, of women whose husbands have never been away, whose husbands have been away for only one or two short spells, and so on. Until such a test has been made, the adverse effect of labour migration upon the birth rate cannot be regarded as an established fact.

The Individual Migrant

We come finally to the question: how are the individual men and women who go abroad affected by their experience? This is an extremely difficult matter about which to generalize. The number of migrants is so great, their tribal backgrounds are so diverse, the length of time for which they are away or the number of times for which they go abroad vary so much, and they are scattered so widely and over so many different occupations, that one despairs of finding any single formula to cover them adequately. There is a vast difference between, say, the illiterate Koba or Kgalagadi who goes straight from the cattlepost to the gold mines, and the relatively well-educated Kgatla or Ngwato who works in a school or office, and what we can say about one will hardly apply to the other. On this particular topic, moreover, I have had to rely mainly upon the personal impressions I gathered by talking to and observing people who had been abroad, and my impressions were obviously limited by the opportunities I had and the persons whom I met.

¹ Cf. W. H. R. Rivers (ed.), *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* (Cambridge, 1922).

² See p. 23 f.

Most Government officials, it may be noted at the outset, believe that on the whole mine labourers return in better physical condition than when they left home, despite the fact that some become infected with tuberculosis. On the mines the men have to work harder than they generally do at home, they are fed on a balanced diet, have free and immediate medical attention, and are looked after in many other ways. All this benefits them greatly, although the effect is not sustained once they have been back in the Reserves for several months. The men and women working at other occupations do not as a rule have the same care, and seldom show any improvement in physique. It is even maintained that their health sometimes suffers, especially when they have to find their own food and quarters; relatively few of them can afford, or know enough, to buy milk and fresh vegetables, and the surroundings in which they live are often unwholesome and insanitary. Medical officers, as we have seen, regard such labourers as a more dangerous source of tubercular infection than those who work on the mines.

One would expect also that the man who goes abroad will tend to acquire new modes of behaviour and thought, and will consequently drift away from the usages of tribal life. In the Union, after all, and especially on the Rand, he sees far more of Western civilization than he can in the Protectorate. On the mines, and in the factories and other great industrial undertakings, he encounters the white man's technical achievements in their most developed form; as a domestic servant he observes fairly intimately the pattern of European domestic and social life; and on the streets he finds many other aspects of material culture, social intercourse and public control. It seems almost inevitable that this array of new experiences should affect him profoundly, and send him home, as I wrote some years ago, 'dissatisfied in mind and out of love with the old order of things.'¹

But I am inclined now to think that we are apt to exaggerate the influence of new surroundings upon the mind of the Native, especially the type that goes to the mines. He seems to have remarkably little curiosity about what he sees; he does not wonder why or how these things are, but accepts them as a natural part of the environment. His letters home seldom even try to describe them, in the way that many a European would

¹ 'Labour migration from a Bechuanaland Native Reserve', *Journal of the African Society*, vol. 33 (1934), p. 54

when abroad for the first time, and though he may marvel he does not envy or desire to emulate. Judging from conversations at which I have been present, he admires the railways, motor cars, buildings, and clothing of the Europeans, although he is sometimes shocked at the way women dress; he praises the food and furniture that he sees in European households; he is astonished at the apparent callousness of the Europeans towards death, especially when a funeral procession goes through the streets; he considers that all Europeans are rich, and wonders why they pay him so little; he resents the treatment he often meets on the streets and at the hands of the police; and he wonders why the mines continue working after accidents have killed not only Natives but even Europeans. Such impressions, it is evident, afford ample material for discussion when the man goes back to his home, but they are not enough in themselves to wean him away from the life to which he is accustomed. To many of the 'raw' mine natives, in fact, the civilization of the white people is something so alien and remote that they cannot conceive the possibility of sharing equally in it, and consequently they do not go back discontented at having to return to their former life.

It is true that men who are still young and new to migration sometimes criticize conditions at home. But it is the attempts to order them about that they chiefly resent, and not the traditional mode of life. There is little to suggest that the ordinary migrant either brings back or wishes to adopt much in the way of cultural innovations. He is proud at first of his new clothes, and likes to air the English or Afrikaans phrases (generally abusive) that he picked up while abroad; he often prefers to 'walk out' with girls instead of visiting them at their homes, as is customary in the Reserves; and, very occasionally, he has become fond of gambling and drinking liquor more potent than the usual Kaffir beer. But he seems to have acquired few other new tastes or vices. He is satisfied with the same food and housing as he had before he went away, he adheres to the various rituals of domestic life, and his faith in magic has not been impaired.

In fact, the principal innovations in tribal life have resulted not from labour migration but from other influences—of which migration, itself an innovation, is also a consequence. There have been far-reaching changes in most aspects of Tswana culture, but they can almost all be ascribed directly to Government

or Mission activity, to the presence of traders, and to the growth of school education. And the people who have tended most to embrace the ways of the white man are not the labour migrants, but those who have been educated abroad at Tigerkloof, Lovedale and other institutions. Within recent years, especially, there has emerged in several tribes a small class of relatively well-educated young people, who regard it as fashionable to speak and correspond in English even among themselves, show a preference for European foodstuffs, buy books and subscribe to newspapers, run literary and debating societies, play tennis, football and card games of various kinds, indulge in ballroom dancing to the music of the gramophone, and in many other ways have become divorced from the life of their ancestors. Such innovations the ordinary migrant cannot afford or sometimes even understand, and in comparison with people like these he must be considered very conservative.

The man who stays away continuously for many years belongs to a different category. The 'deserter' need not be considered here, since he is in any case lost to tribal life. But there are men, especially those with good jobs or running their own business, who do not settle down finally at home until they are getting on in years. Such men have generally gone far towards adopting European ways of life, and they generally also have a good understanding of European institutions and modes of thought. On their return they tend to fall into what may be called the 'progressive' section of the tribe, and, while upholding tribal institutions generally, they encourage education and economic development. But here again inquiry shows that they are hardly ever illiterate. They were either at school before they left, or, occasionally, they managed to get some schooling while abroad, and it is their educational attainments, as well as what they have learned abroad, which account for their present mode of life and outlook. There are other men, completely illiterate, who have also been abroad for many years, but who seem to have gained little from the experience; they revert fairly easily to the routine of tribal life, and it sometimes comes as a shock to find that a thoroughly conservative and 'backward' old man once lived for ten years or more in Kimberley, Bulawayo or Johannesburg.

I am inclined to think, on balance, that education has much to do with the way in which the individual migrant is affected by

his stay in the Union. The illiterate who works on the mines or at some other form of unskilled manual labour seldom changes much. But the man who has had some schooling, and who in consequence is able to get a relatively good job, returns home with a broader vision and is generally a more useful member of his tribe than before he went away

Chapter Six

SOME POSSIBLE REMEDIES

TO both the Administration and the tribal authorities, labour migration in its present manifestations presents certain unsatisfactory features. The defects in the system, from the Administrative point of view, were summarized as follows in the memorandum presented to the Mine Natives' Wages Commission.¹

(a) The percentage of able-bodied men absent from the Territories is too high.

(b) Too small a proportion of the earnings of the labourers is finding its way back to the Territories.

(c) The Territories are responsible for maintaining the wives and families of the labourers, and of producing medically fit men for the mines with practically no direct and insufficient indirect contribution from the mines.

(d) The Compound System and the lack of provision of a certain number of married quarters is responsible for an influx of Basuto women to the Reef who live by illicit practices and often abandon their children to be provided for in the Territories.

(e) The present wage paid to mine labourers is uneconomic.

(f) No machinery exists for the proper representation to the authorities of the grievances of the labourers as a body.

The last four points apply specifically to conditions on the mines. They were dealt with by the Mine Natives' Wages Commission, as a result of whose recommendations several changes were made, including above all a general rise in the rates of wages paid to mine labourers. The reference in (d) to the influx of women to the Rand does not affect Bechuanaland nearly as much as it does Basutoland. The number of Tswana women on the Rand is relatively small, and there is no evidence that on the whole they live mainly by prostitution, although individual instances probably do occur. The first two points, however, can be regarded as applying more generally, not only to mine labourers but to other classes of migrants, and we shall accordingly have to discuss them more fully.

The tribal authorities also maintain that too many people

¹ Paragraph 19. (It will be remembered that the memorandum was presented on behalf of all three High Commission Territories, i.e., Basutoland, the B.P., and Swaziland.)

go abroad. But their main grievances appear to be that migrants stay away too long, that men often neglect or desert their families, and that too many youths run away from home. Other more specific complaints that we have noted are the adverse effects of migration upon the birth rate, and upon the manners and morals of the people. Since the institution of Tribal Treasuries, which derive a large part of their revenue from Native tax, there have also been renewed complaints about the difficulty of collecting tax from men working abroad at occupations other than gold mining.¹

The Problem of 'Excessive Migration'

In claiming that too many people are away from home, the Administration refers to the well-known finding of a Belgian Congo Committee of 1924-5, which 'put at between 5% and 10% the maximum (number of men) that could be absent without detriment to tribal life'.² In the light of this conclusion, the Bechuanaland figure of 40 per cent for the south-eastern tribes³ certainly seems excessive, although it is by no means unusual in South Africa; in Basutoland and the Transkei, for instance, the proportion of migrants in the adult male population is estimated at 50 per cent, and in some Ciskeian districts it is said to be as high as 70 per cent.⁴

The question arises, however, what are we to understand by the phrase 'detriment to tribal life'? In many discussions of the topic, the effects of labour migration are usually described in very general terms. The Administration's own memorandum to the Mine Natives' Wages Commission, for instance, says merely:⁵

'The emigration of labour has . . . now become excessive and at its present level is not in the best interests of the Territories or their inhabitants. . . (It) has a disruptive effect on family life and the social organization of the people and on healthy political development.'

And in another official memorandum⁶ labour migration is referred to as follows.

¹ Cf. Minutes, Native Advisory Council, 1940, pp. 85 ff.

² Memo, *op cit*, par. 25. The report of the Belgian Congo Committee is summarized in the International Labour Conference report on *The Recruiting of Labour in Colonies* (Geneva, 1935), pp. 113 ff.

³ Cf. Table XII.

⁴ Sources quoted in Schapera (ed.), *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* (London, 1937), p. 367.

⁵ Paragraph 10.

⁶ Issued by the Administration in May, 1944, under the title 'A Note on the Five-Year Post-War Development Plans of the Bechuanaland Protectorate'.

'It can be imagined what a serious effect the absence of the men from their homes and families is having on the social life of the tribes.'

In order to decide if labour migration is really 'excessive', we need, not vague generalizations or meaningless clichés about its effects, but specific instances, the relative merits of which can be clearly assessed. Such instances have been given in previous chapters. I propose to recapitulate here those which at first sight appear to be 'detrimental' to tribal life, and shall then discuss if they warrant any attempts to limit the extent of migration.

(a) A fair proportion (roughly six per cent) of the men who go out to work stay away permanently, and are thus lost to their tribe and to the Territory.

(b) Some of the men who go abroad neglect or desert their families, which consequently find great difficulty in making ends meet.

(c) The prolonged absence of married men leads to infidelity on the part of their wives, and encourages indiscipline among women and children.

(d) The absence of marriageable young men seems to have raised the average age of marriage, thereby contributing to the growth of premarital sexual promiscuity. It has also led to the migration of young women who are unable to find husbands at home.

(e) Labour migration is possibly responsible for lowering the birth rate.

(f) Tuberculosis, and probably also syphilis, were introduced into the Territory by men returning from work in the Union.

(g) Labour migration has led to deterioration in both animal husbandry and agriculture; there are too few men and youths at home to look after the cattle properly and to see to the cultivation of all the fields, nor can there be much hope of progress in agriculture as long as men are home for the ploughing season only.

(h) Owing to migration, there is also a shortage of labour for the regimental system through which almost all public works are carried on in the tribes.

(i) Young men who have been abroad come back insolent towards their elders and seniors, and dislike taking part in

regimental labour or performing other tribal obligations. This contributes to the weakening of tribal discipline

(j) Some able and intelligent men, who by right of birth are headmen of wards and villages, go out to work and stay away a long time. Their presence at home would be a healthy influence in the political development of the tribe

The items just listed cannot be regarded as equally important. The spread of infectious diseases, for instance, is no longer a major consequence of labour migration. Both tuberculosis and syphilis are now well established in the Territory, and a reduction in the number of migrants would probably do little to check their rate of incidence. The remedy must be found in the development of local medical facilities, and in the institution of special measures for the early treatment of infected persons.

Moreover, unless the number of migrants is very substantially reduced, it is doubtful if limitation would bring about any marked drop in the actual numbers either of 'deserters' (*makgwelwa*) or of men who neglect their families. The rate of desertion certainly appears to have increased within recent years, but it is by no means a new phenomenon, and the immediate remedy would seem to be a more efficient liaison service with the men who go abroad. It is true, on the other hand, that any appreciable reduction in the number of migrants would facilitate keeping in touch with them, especially if they were concentrated as far as possible within certain areas.

The disorganization of family life, and the associated growth of sexual promiscuity, seem to be due rather to prolonged absence of the men than to sheer number of absentees—although, of course, the more men there are abroad, the greater the number who will tend to stay away a long time. Here again the more urgent problem is to ensure early repatriation. But it must be remembered in this connexion that labour migration is only one of the factors responsible for promiscuity and marital infidelity, and that there is ample scope for constructive educational work inside the Territory if a higher moral standard is desired.

The lowering of the birth rate (if it really has occurred) is probably also due primarily to length of absence from home. But the same data which suggests that the wives of men who have been away bear fewer children than others shows also that the population in general is increasing. Since the tribes concerned have been sending men abroad for over seventy years,

there is thus no reason to fear that labour migration will in the near future lead to an extensive decline in the number of births. And it is probable that far more could be done to increase the population by greatly reducing the incidence of venereal disease, establishing ante-natal clinics, and taking steps to lower the rate of infantile mortality, than could be achieved simply by keeping husbands at home or making them return more frequently from work. The aim should be not so much 'more births' as 'fewer miscarriages and more chance of survival for those who are born'. The Administration could aim at the latter without being concerned at all about the number of people who go out to work.

It is only when we consider economic production that one feels justified in placing main emphasis on the actual number of migrants. There is no doubt that under the existing methods of animal husbandry and agriculture the absence of large numbers of men tends to limit production. If more youths and men were at home, cattle could be more carefully herded, and more fields could be cultivated.

But should the existing methods of farming be retained? As I have shown elsewhere, those methods are defective in many ways, including especially the inefficient use of labour. This is due very largely to the prevailing system of land tenure.¹ If the Administration could induce the tribal authorities to embark upon a policy of developing communal cultivation and tractor ploughing,² and amalgamating very small cattleposts, the present 'shortage' of labour would be not nearly so apparent. Moreover, if several small cattleposts were merged into a single large one and placed under the supervision of a hired adult, more opportunities would be created for local employment, and at the same time the boys who are now in charge of the cattleposts would be free to go to school.³

It is possible, too, that if migration were to diminish more men would be available for regimental labour. But the system has become more and more distasteful to the people generally, and, as we have seen, is itself one of the causes of migration. Moreover, it often constitutes an inefficient use of labour: a regiment at work can usually be recognized by the lackadaisical

¹ Cf. my book *Native Land Tenure in the B.P.* (Lovedale, 1943), pp. 120 ff., 204 ff., 220 ff.

² A beginning has already been made with the system of 'tribal lands' inaugurated originally as a wartime measure to increase food production. (Cf. *Native Land Tenure in the B.P.*, pp. 157 ff.)

³ Cf. *Native Land Tenure in the B.P.*, p. 222

manner in which the task is being performed, the number of men hanging about in apparent idleness, and the marked lack of enthusiasm for what is being done. There are certainly occasions when compulsory unpaid labour would seem to be desirable (e g in times of calamity). But many of the tasks for which it is now used (such as repairing roads, scraping dams, making bricks, and clearing bush) would probably be done more rapidly and efficiently by a small body of paid workmen. Native authorities should therefore be encouraged as much as possible to build up their own 'public works' departments. This would remove many of the abuses to which regimental labour is still put, despite Government regulations for its control, and would also increase the scope of remunerative employment at home.

The indiscipline of the younger migrants is, as we have seen, a temporary phase; it is also a phenomenon that was noted long ago, before migration had attained anything like its present proportions. Reduction in the number of migrants would therefore not remove this ground for complaint, although, of course, it would lessen the extent of its incidence, and possibly permit of a firmer handling of the offenders. The loss of able ward-heads and other potential leaders would hardly be affected by limiting migration, the more obvious solution is to make it worth while for these men to stay at home.

The general argument up to this stage may be summarized as follows. Labour migration disorganizes tribal life in various ways. Some of its effects, especially in regard to economic and political life, are due primarily to the fact that large numbers of people go abroad; others, especially in the sphere of domestic life, seem to be due rather to the prolonged absence of migrants, although, as more people go out to work, so will more tend to stay away a long time. We thus have a *prima facie* case for reducing the number of migrants; this should do away largely with several of the effects now observable, and should lessen the incidence of others. But it is conceivable also that some of the adverse effects could be counterbalanced by the adoption of measures to raise levels of education and health and generally improve cultural standards within the Territory itself. The restriction of migration is therefore not the only solution for some of the problems to which the system has given rise. And others could be dealt with not so much by reducing the number

of migrants as by trying to ensure the early return of all those who go abroad.

There is a further point to be considered. Labour migration is not a purely disruptive process. On the contrary, it is of the greatest importance, both to the Native population and to the Territory generally, as a source of income; it brings far more money into the country than any other single item of revenue. It is also of psychological value in giving youths some tangible means of showing that they have reached maturity; it is a beneficial experience for men with some education; and it enables a few to acquire skills that are of subsequent value not only to themselves but to their tribes. Any attempt to deal with the problem of migration must therefore provide some alternative means of achieving the same benefits. I shall return to this aspect later.

Control of Migration

If we assume that the present rate of migration is excessive, the problem can be dealt with in two ways. The one is to restrict the number of migrants by law, i.e. to apply and enforce some sort of quota system. The other is to reduce the number of migrants by removing some of the causes that make them leave the country. It is possible also to combine the two policies, and to deal incidentally with further problems, such as the length of time for which people stay away.

Restriction of Migration

After stating that 'The percentage of able-bodied men absent from the Territories is too high', the official memorandum presented to the Mine Natives' Wages Commission goes on to say (par. 22): 'The only way in which the Territories can remedy this is by a strict control of labour emigration for which provision is made in the . . . Native Labour Proclamation.' Under this Proclamation (No. 36 of 1941), the Administration (a) has the power to fix the maximum number of adult males who may be recruited in any district or reserve, (b) has laid down that recruited workers should not be kept away from their homes for more than twenty-one consecutive months, and (c) requires employers to repatriate all labourers recruited on their behalf

As already noted,¹ a few months after the promulgation of the Proclamation a Government circular was issued stating (in regard to the first provision mentioned above) that 'No action is contemplated at present under this section unless existing figures regarding the exodus of labour to the mines increase to an alarming extent'. Since no action has subsequently been taken, one can only conclude that the Administration does not regard the present flow of labour to the mines as 'alarming', even although it may be 'too high'. And it is worth noting that this particular provision is not listed at all by the Administration among the remedies it proposed to the Mine Natives' Wages Commission for dealing with excessive migration.

It should be remembered, however, that gold-mining has been considered an essential war service, and the Administration, so far from attempting to restrict the flow of labour to the mines, has actually been encouraging men to go there. But there is perhaps another reason why no attempt has yet been made to introduce a quota system, and that is the difficulty of enforcing it. In this connexion I wish to quote again the statement made by the Resident Commissioner to the Native Advisory Council in 1940.²

'It is possible for Government to pass new laws more strictly controlling recruiting of labour within the Territory, but that does not provide a solution of the difficulty. Even if we made a law saying that only a certain number could be recruited in each year in each area, we know that the rest of the young men, who want to go, will just walk across the border. The Chiefs say they cannot stop them and frankly I do not know how Government is going to stop them either. Nor can we take powers to compel a person to come back if he does not want to come back. If he has broken a law and we want to try him in a Court then we can get him back. But these people are not criminals nor is it possible or desirable to pass a law which would make it a crime for people to leave their country. I am sorry I cannot be more helpful, but you have set me a problem to which I do not know the answer.'

This statement puts very clearly and forcefully the case against any compulsory restriction of migration. Labour agents can be excluded from the whole or part of the Territory, or they may be allowed to recruit only a limited number of men, but this will not prevent the exodus of those who wish to go away. It is only if the Union Government would co-operate actively in repatriating 'illegal' migrants that any system of local restriction could

¹ See Chap. III, p. 96

² Minutes, 21st session, p. 61

be enforced. But apart from the great expense that it would involve, there is little likelihood of such co-operation being secured or made effective, so long as the present demand for Native labour in the Union continues. The experience of the pass laws is sufficient evidence on this point.¹ And one has every sympathy with the Resident Commissioner's sentiment that it is not 'possible or desirable to pass a law which would make it a crime for people to leave their country'

Repatriation of Recruited Workers

If we concede that statutory limitation of migration is both undesirable and impossible to enforce effectively, one alternative would be to aim at securing that people who go abroad should not stay away too long. The present legal position seems to be that all employers of recruited labour must repatriate a worker within twelve to eighteen months of the time that he started to work for them. But they are liable for repatriation only if the worker wishes it; and there is nothing in the legislation compelling him to return home within a specified period, or even at all. In other words, it is still possible for him to stay away as long as he likes. The Administration is aware of this, and in the memorandum submitted to the Mine Natives' Wages Commission put forward certain proposals to cope with the situation. They included:²

(a) Strict adherence to the provision laying down 'a maximum period of service, including any re-engagement contract, of twenty-one months.'

(b) All passes issued by labour agents 'should be endorsed with the date beyond which a labourer may not extend his contract, and the co-operation of the Union Government (should be) sought to prevent the issue of passes to any labourer after that date without reference to the Administration . . .'

(c) 'Labour agents must be responsible . . . for the repatriation of all labourers recruited by them.'

(d) The mining authorities should 'assist all . . . natives to return home by buying their rail tickets for them and deducting the cost from their wages.'

(e) 'Payment of a specified proportion (say two-thirds) of the wages of every labourer shall be deferred, and . . . payment of these deferred wages shall only be made in the Territories either to the labourer himself, on his return, or to a nominated dependant or representative.' 'The fact that a man has money to draw on his return (home) . . . will be an added incentive for him to comply with the requirements . . . of a limited contract of service and a minimum period to be spent at home between contracts.'

¹ See Chap. III, p. 88 f

² Paragraphs 22(1), 22(2), 23, 26 and 27, of memo.

Certain of the proposals, especially those relating to compulsory repatriation and compulsory deferred pay, were opposed by the Gold Producers' Committee of the Chamber of Mines. Their representative (Mr. W. Gemmill) stated to the Mine Natives' Wages Commission that since these proposals affected not only the gold mines, but all employers of High Commission Territory labour in the Union, they should be dealt with by agreement between the Governments concerned. He went on to say:¹

'These points apply particularly to Basutoland,² and it seems to me that while Basutoland wishes the mines to undertake the responsibility for Compulsory Deferred Pay and compulsory repatriation of Basuto Natives, it carefully refrains from exercising internally the powers which it possesses in these directions. The reason is obvious—the Basuto, if he objected to the conditions under which he is engaged in Basutoland for the mines, would cross the border and make his own way to the Witwatersrand as he did before. This point is also of importance in considering the imposition of special conditions on the engagement of Natives by the Mining Industry in Basutoland. If these conditions are made too difficult, too onerous and too dangerous from the aspect of the other Native labour employed by the Gold Mines, it would always be open to substitute for the engagement of Natives in Basutoland the engagement of Basuto who make their own way to the Witwatersrand.'

There is considerable force in Mr. Gemmill's contention that the Administration, while anxious to make the mines responsible for compulsory repatriation, is itself reluctant to use powers it already possesses. For instance, a circular memorandum issued to District Commissioners in December, 1941 (No. 1565/5 II) states that employers may for the time being be exempted from paying for the repatriation of labourers, provided that recruits are engaged at rates of pay 'not less' than those offered by the gold mines. It adds that 'labourers must not stay away from home for more than eighteen months', but does not indicate how the labour agent is to enforce this condition.

The W N L A, in fact, does repatriate all the men it recruits; they undertake, by their contract, to return home through the Association's agency on the conclusion of their period of service, and to allow a stipulated sum to be set aside from their earnings for the cost of the homeward journey. Similar conditions form part of the contract between the Association and its recruits

¹ Evidence of Gold Producers' Committee, *Summing Up and Argument*, p. 16.

² Most of the facts adduced in the H C Territories memo. related to Basutoland, and evidence was led on their behalf by a Basutoland representative. Nevertheless, the remarks quoted apply equally well to the B P.

from other African Territories (Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia).

There is no repatriation clause in the N.R.C. contract. Mr. Lovett, the Corporation's general manager, stated in an interview with the Resident Commissioner (1942)¹

'that on completion of their nine months' contract with the Corporation, workers could remain on voluntarily on a month to month basis. The Corporation would do its best to ensure that no workers remained on the mines for periods longer than eighteen months but pointed out that the rule might be evaded by natives leaving the mine on which they were first engaged before the expiration of this period and re-engaging with another mine.'

The statistics published by the Chamber of Mines show that in 1932 the number of Bechuanaland Natives who transferred from one mine to another on the completion of their contract was 74 (1.5 per cent of all Natives from the Territory engaged during that year). In 1937 the number was 215 (2.3 per cent), and in 1942 it had risen to no less than 1,065 (10.3 per cent).² In view of these figures, it seems desirable that the question of compulsory repatriation should be taken up with the N.R.C. Since records are apparently kept of the men who go from one mine to another, there can be no 'evasion' of the eighteen months' rule: the length of a man's service on the mines could easily be ascertained, and he should be sent home at the conclusion of the specified period.

This raises the question of the cost of repatriation. The Mine Natives' Wages Commission states on this point:³

'It is clearly to the advantage of the mines that Native labourers should be encouraged to return to their homes after the completion of the ordinary period of service. The maintenance of the system under which the mines are able to obtain unskilled labour at a rate less than that ordinarily paid in industry depends upon this, for otherwise the subsidiary means of subsistence would disappear and the labourer would tend to become a permanent resident upon the Witwatersrand, with increased requirements. . . .

'The Commission has given consideration to representations that the cost of the return fare to all native mine labourers to their homes at the conclusion of their contracts should be defrayed by the mines, or at least that some assistance should be given to the labourers to meet expenses of the journey. Having regard, however, to the recommendations which the Commission has submitted for the increase of the labourers' earnings and to the financial burden which the adoption of these recommendations would impose upon the mining industry, the

¹ Govt. Secty's circular memo 1565/5 II of 14.1.42.

² The detailed figures for these and other years are given in Appendix C(b).

³ Report (U.G. 21, 1944), paragraphs 309-10.

'Commission finds itself unable to make any recommendation in the direction indicated.'

However, it is not necessary at this stage to insist upon the cost of repatriation being borne by the mines, especially in view of the recent rise in wages resulting from the Commission's recommendations. The important point, presumably, is to secure the return of the workers, and this could be achieved by the same system as that adopted by the W.N.L.A., i.e. deducting the cost of repatriation from the man's wages. Once the principle of compulsory repatriation has been established, it should be easier on a later occasion to deal with the question of transferring the cost from the worker to the employer—just as the cost of the forward journey has been transferred from one to the other.

It may be argued that such a proposal, if put into effect, would diminish recruitment inside the Territory, and lead men to go to the Union first and then be recruited there. There is certainly the probability that some men would adopt this procedure, but I doubt if it would hold for the majority, especially those more remote from the borders. And since most of the men who go to the mines do in any case return home when their period of service expires, it should not matter very much to them whether the cost comes out of their savings or is deducted from their wages. On the other hand, some of the men who do not return in time, or who transfer from one mine to the other, would no longer be able to continue the practice. Consequently, if the Administration wishes to achieve its professed desire of having these men repatriated, it should insist on the N.R.C. and all other labour agents following the same procedure as the W.N.L.A.

As previously indicated, I doubt if much could be achieved by pressing for compulsory deferred pay. Nineteen men in every twenty already defer part of their pay voluntarily, and the vast majority draw the money after returning to the Territory. All that seems necessary at present is further and continuous propaganda with the chiefs and people to bring in the other five per cent of mine labourers who do not defer any part of their pay.

Something could possibly be done to ensure the early return of mine workers by discouraging long-term contracts (of more than 270 shifts). The W.N.L.A. contract is for a full calendar

year, but since all the Association's recruits are repatriated on completing their period of service the matter does not seem worth pursuing in this particular instance. There might have been some point a few years ago in taking it up with the N.R.C., but the figures given in Appendix C(c) show that since 1941 hardly any men have been recruited by them for more than 270 shifts. Here again local propaganda seems to be sufficient for the present. The matter might however be raised officially should the numbers in future show a tendency to increase.

The Assisted Voluntary System, which allows men to work on the mines for a shorter period than the normal 'nine months' contract', should I think be officially encouraged. It is disliked by some chiefs and Government officials, who maintain that it is used largely by men who wish to avoid deferring part of their pay.¹ The A.V.S. contract, however, does provide for the voluntary deferment of pay; and if it is true that fewer of the men who go forward under this system defer pay than is customary under the 'nine months' contract, the remedy surely is to bring pressure upon the others. If the aim is to limit the time for which men stay away, the A.V.S. has an advantage that no other type of recruiting for the mines possesses.

The Problem of the Independent Migrants

The man or woman who goes abroad independently presents a far more difficult problem than the recruited labourer. It is apparently these independent migrants, working at occupations other than mining, who tend to stay away for lengthy periods; and since the legislation and other proposals by which the Administration hopes to check prolonged absence do not apply to them, special measures have to be devised.

At present the position in regard to these people is very unsatisfactory. Some of those who go out for the first time have work awaiting them, secured generally through a friend who is already employed. But the great majority—including many who are either unwilling to work on the mines, or who have been rejected as unsuitable—make their own way abroad and look for work, often wandering about for some time before they succeed in finding it. It is often difficult for their people at home to keep in touch with them, and, as the chiefs have complained at meet-

¹ Cf. Minutes, Native Advisory Council, 1940, pp. 83 f.

ings of the Native Advisory Council, it is difficult also to get them to pay their tax.

The root of the problem, it seems to me, is the fact that these people have to go out independently to seek work in the Union. The Government does not allow recruiting for farm labour (except in the case of Zebediela), and there is no form of labour exchange or agency catering specially for industries other than mining. In view of the fact that there are several thousands of these independent migrants, the Administration might well consider the idea of helping them to find employment.

The nucleus of an organization to deal with the problem exists in the Agency maintained on the Rand by the High Commission Territories. Originally started as an office for collecting tax from Basutoland Natives working there, the Agency now also deals with the domestic affairs of people from the Territories, encourages them to save money, gives them home news, counteracts as far as possible the temptations of their environment, repatriates those who are indigent and, generally, gives advice and assistance to them whenever required.¹ There is a main office in Johannesburg, under a representative of the Basutoland Government, and two branch offices, one at Randfontein, under the Bechuanaland representative, and the other at Springs, under the Swaziland representative.

I consider that the functions of the Agency might well be extended by making it a form of labour bureau. The primary object would be to ascertain what openings exist in the Union for Protectorate Natives in occupations other than mining. The names of prospective employers, and the terms they are prepared to offer, should be recorded, and all the available information should be widely disseminated in the Territory. A start might be made by negotiating with the Rand municipalities, the Rustenburg municipality, the cement industry at Slurry, and organizations like Iscor, all of which employ many Natives from Bechuanaland. If these bodies and organizations could be induced to fill their labour wants through the Agency, much will have been done towards eliminating surreptitious migration. No attempt should be made by the Administration to influence the Native in his choice of employer, but with full information as to the positions available, and the rates of pay and other con-

¹ This description of the Agency's functions is taken from the *Annual Report on . . . Basutoland* for 1938 (Col. No. 1808), p. 31.

ditions, he would be in a far better position than he is at present to find work for himself. The Administration, in return, would know where the men were going, it could see that the terms of the contract were observed, and it would gradually be able to influence the larger employers in regard to matters like remittances, deferred pay, and the collection of tax.

For the Agency to function efficiently as a labour exchange, it should cater not only for Bechuanaland but also for the two other High Commission Territories. This would both enhance its influence and prestige, and justify the expense that the suggested extension of its activities would involve. I recommend therefore that the proposal made above should be discussed with the Administrations of the other Territories.

More effort should also be made to establish and maintain contact with people who are not employed on the gold mines. The first step should be to ascertain where those people are. The Rand Agency could secure a good deal of useful information in this direction from the various local pass offices in the Union. Another source of information lies in the Territory itself. District officers when checking the tax registers are usually able to ascertain the addresses and occupations of men who are away from home. They should be instructed to compile, after each check, a list of the men who are in the Union, together with other relevant information. Copies of the lists should then be sent to the Rand Agency, which would thus be able to build up gradually a register of Protectorate Natives working in the Union. The tribal authorities could also help. The tribal secretary of the Kgatla, for instance, has for many years kept a book in which he enters the name and address of every tribesman writing to him from abroad. Such a record is obviously very useful in keeping track of the men who have gone away, and an extension of the system to other tribes would facilitate the compilation of the central register which I have suggested.

But the register is only a means to an end. Once sufficient information is available about the main centres and occupations in which people are engaged—and this applies chiefly to areas outside the Rand—the information should be used. The Government representative on the Rand (or some other officer seconded for the purpose) could pave the way by visiting places like Brits, Zeerust, Rustenburg, and Slurry, where he would investigate conditions of work and try to arrange with employers to grant

periodical leave and other facilities to men from the Territory. Representatives of the tribes chiefly found at these centres should then visit them regularly, not so much in order to collect tax as to find out who are there and try to get those who have been away a long time to return to their homes. Before the institution of the Rand Agency, several of the chiefs made a point of visiting Johannesburg periodically, or sending responsible men there instead, in order to keep in touch with their people and so prevent them from drifting away. I suggest that the extension of this practice to the Western Transvaal and the Northern Cape would be a useful means of checking 'detribalization'. If advance notice were given of such visits, there should be little difficulty in getting most of the people to come to a meeting, and through them information could be obtained about others.

The facilities that already exist for communicating with men who are abroad should also be publicised more widely in the Territory. I doubt if the Rand Agency is used as much for this purpose as it could be, and chiefs and District Officers should be instructed to remind the people periodically of the help it can give them.

The various proposals put forward here would of course involve a fair amount of expenditure; but in view of the losses the Territory suffers through the absence of men who do not pay tax or send anything home to their families the effort would be worth while. The Colonial Development and Welfare Fund might well look favourably on the scheme of establishing a labour bureau, especially if it were put forward on behalf of the Territories generally and not merely Bechuanaland.

It is unlikely that the proposals just made will completely solve the problem of maintaining contact with free-lance migrants. But I think they will go a long way towards it, and a labour exchange, once established, would gradually prove more and more useful in this respect if it were properly organized and conducted.

A special problem is presented by youths who run away from the cattleposts. The main reason, as we have seen, is that they become bored with the life, especially as they do not often have visitors from home. As long as the present system of scattered cattleposts persists, this difficulty is likely to remain. Something could, however, be done by extending the system of cattlepost

teachers which was introduced some years ago, and the policy of amalgamating small cattleposts, which I have recommended above, should help by reducing the number of boys required to look after the cattle.

Revenue from Migrant Labour

The Administration, as already noted, considers it another defect of migrant labour that 'Too small a proportion of the earnings of the labourers is finding its way back to the Territories.' This complaint is based on the assumption that the money brought in by the average mine worker, in the form of remittances and deferred pay, amounts to 'slightly under £9' per annum, i.e. approximately 30 per cent of his cash earnings.¹ In fact, as we have seen, the Territory benefits to a much greater extent, since the returns also include advances and the goods brought or sent back by men working abroad. On the estimates given in the previous Chapter, it appears that altogether about 46 per cent of the money earned by migrant labourers comes back to the Territory directly or indirectly. This can hardly be considered 'too small' a proportion.

The remedy suggested by the Administration to the Mine Natives' Wages Commission was 'that every labour contract . . . must provide that payment of a specified proportion (say two-thirds) of the wages of every labourer shall be deferred, and that payment of these deferred wages shall only be made in the Territories either to the labourer himself, on his return, or to a nominated dependant or representative'. It points out in this connexion that men serving with the A.P.C. 'are paid one-third of their earnings, one-third is allotted to their dependants who are paid monthly, and the remaining one-third is deferred for payment to the soldier on his discharge. Far from any dissatisfaction being shown, the scheme was warmly welcomed by the soldiers and their families, and has engendered a remarkable trait of thrift amongst the people to whom it is applied'. The memorandum adds, finally, that 'The fact that a man has money to draw on his return to the Territories will be an added incentive to him to comply with the requirements . . . of a limited contract of service and a minimum period to be spent at home between contracts.'²

¹ Memo., *op. cit.*, par. 12

² Memo., *op. cit.*, pars. 26, 27

An analysis of 7,915 contracts entered into between the N.R.C. and members of the Ngwaketse tribe during the years 1938-43 yielded the following information about deferred pay.¹

TABLE XLIII
PROPORTIONS OF PAY DEFERRED BY MINE LABOURERS

<i>Proportion of pay (%)</i>	<i>No of men</i>	<i>Percentage of men</i>
0	225	2.84
8.3	2	0.03
16.7	84	1.06
25.0	15	0.19
33.3	3,227	40.77
41.7	417	5.27
50.0	3,703	46.78
58.3	8	0.10
66.7	234	2.96

The figures show, firstly, that the proportion of men deferring no pay at all is extremely small; and since the beginning of 1941 every single recruit (including those going forward under the A.V.S.) has in fact deferred part of his pay. If the same tendency exists in other districts, and the evidence suggests that it does, I do not consider that much will be gained by insisting on the principle of compulsory deferred pay for mine labourers. The more urgent problem is to secure facilities for voluntary deferred pay from other employers, like the Rand municipalities, and I suggest that the matter be discussed with them.

The Table shows also that the great majority of men defer either half or one-third of their pay. I consider that deferment of one-half of the pay is as much as could reasonably be expected. It must be remembered that men who work abroad spend a good deal of money on goods that they send or bring back to the Territory; and there is considerable force in the point, made by Chief Isang in 1929, that goods are cheaper on the Rand than at home.² It would be a mistake to limit unduly the purchasing power of the Native while he is working in the Union and thus compel him to get less value for his money at home.

I am not prepared to suggest that deferment of even one-half of the pay should be made compulsory. The Administration should instead ask chiefs and attesting officers to persuade

¹ I am indebted for these figures to Mr. A. W. Spienger, N.R.C. representative at Kanye.

² Minutes, Native Advisory Council, 1929, p. 26.

recruits to defer the desired proportion. The possibility of substituting monthly allotments for irregular remittances to dependants might however be discussed with the recruiting organizations and the tribal authorities. If the system adopted with the A P C has been so 'warmly welcomed' by the people, there should be relatively little difficulty in securing its extension to labour contracts, and this would help to eliminate the complaints about men who fail to support their families.

A further point made in the memorandum presented to the Mine Natives' Wages Commission is that 'The revenues of the Territories benefit directly only by the payment of a two shilling fee by Labour Agents', whereas 'the Northern Rhodesian and Nyasaland Governments are paid a fee of 6d per head per month up to a maximum of eighteen months'. 'It is proposed,' the memorandum continues, 'that the Administrations of the High Commission Territories should in future be paid a capita-tion fee at the latter rate in place of the present fee of 2/-'.¹ This is of course a matter for direct negotiation between the Adminis-tration and all labour agents, not merely those recruiting for the gold mines.

There is still another way in which Government revenue could be augmented. The Administration insists on the medical examination of all recruited workers, but allows medical officers to take as a private perquisite the fees paid by the labour agencies for such examinations. Since all the medical practitioners in the Territory are either full-time Government officers, or medical missionaries attached to institutions partly subsidized by the Government, we have the position of men being allowed to benefit financially from doing what should be part of their routine duty. As Major Orde Browne has stated in reference to a similar custom in Northern Rhodesia. 'The general principle of government officials augmenting their emoluments owing to a requirement of the law seems doubtfully desirable'.² At the present time, medical officers living at centres like Francistown and Serowe earn far more from the examination of recruits than do those say at Gaborones or Lobatsi, and transfer from one station to another may make a considerable difference in a man's income. This is clearly undesirable in a public service, and I suggest that the fees should in future be claimed by the Adminis-

¹ Memo, *op cit*, par 28

² Report on *Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia* (Col No. 150, 1938), p. 19.

•tration itself, medical officers being compensated, if thought necessary, by a general increase in their salaries

Improvement of Conditions in the Territory

In the foregoing discussion, I have expressed the view that compulsory restriction of migration is undesirable and impracticable, and I have suggested instead that various steps should be taken to maintain close contact with migrants and to ensure as far as possible that they do not stay away too long. I feel, however, that the most useful approach to the problem of 'excessive migration' is to counteract as far as possible the influences that cause people to leave the Territory; conditions at home should be made sufficiently attractive to keep them there, and to make it worth while their remaining behind

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Development of Social Amenities

We have seen that one reason why people go abroad and often continue to stay away is that they find life at home boring and distasteful. This factor will probably continue to operate, especially with youths anxious to show that they have reached manhood, and one can never hope to eliminate it completely. But a good deal could be done to make life in the Reserves more attractive, and thereby reduce the lure of the towns

An initial step should be to regulate more closely the use of free labour for public purposes or the chief's personal benefit. The ideal, as I have indicated, is the employment of paid labour by the tribal authorities. This, however, is unlikely to come about in the near future, and certainly few, if any, of the Tribal Treasuries could afford it at the present time. But there should be stricter adherence to the terms of the Proclamation defining the conditions under which tribal labour may be employed. In some tribes, at least, the regulation that 'the Kgōtla shall have the right to be consulted in regard to the need for such services'¹ is hardly ever observed: the chief merely announces that he wishes such and such regiments to do a specified piece of work. People complain openly that they are being harried, and this causes some of them to go away. If the Administration were to investigate closely the uses to which tribal labour has been put

¹ Native Administration Proclamation, 1943, section 33.

during the past few years it would find several instances that are no longer desirable. I refer, for example, to the ploughing, weeding and reaping, of the chief's fields, and to other personal services that he occasionally demands. Now that the chief is paid a salary out of tribal revenues, services of this kind are not necessary to enable him 'to maintain his position and discharge the duties of his office' ¹

On the purely social side, much could be done by providing more in the way of entertainment and amusement. For instance, village or community halls could be erected in the main centres of settlement, and wireless and cinema entertainments could gradually be made available both here and in some of the larger outlying villages. The Ngwato experiment of having two members of the tribe trained in Johannesburg as social workers could also be followed elsewhere if the results so far are promising. The Administration does in fact plan 'to make village life more attractive through the employment of qualified Welfare Officers who can encourage the establishment of agricultural societies, choral societies, football clubs, the development of local arts and crafts, etc., etc.' ² There are also some useful suggestions in a recent article by Captain A. G. Dickson on 'The African Village after the War', ³ which might be brought to the notice of the responsible Department.

Revision of Taxation

In the long run, however, migration could most effectively be counterbalanced by relieving the Natives of the economic pressure that is mainly responsible for their leaving home. Taxation is not at present the most important factor, and to many of the people the prevailing rate of tax is no burden at all; but others are often hard pressed to find the money, and this in itself is sufficient to provide a motive for migration. The ideal should be to replace the present flat rate for Native tax and tribal levy by a simple form of income tax based on the individual's capacity to pay. This could be achieved without great loss to the public revenue. A start has already been made with the War Levy, and, now that the tribal administrations have had time to

¹ Native Administration Proclamation, 1943, section 33

² Memo on 'The Five-Year Post-War Development Plans of the B.P.', p. 2.

³ *Race Relations*, vol. xi (1944), pp. 56-60

get used to the principle, its extension to other forms of direct taxation should be considered.

Wage-Labour in the Protectorate

Unless there is a considerable influx of Europeans after the war, it seems unlikely that there will be scope for the employment of many more Natives than are now at work in the Territory. The only prospect, in fact, seems to be in the various branches of Government service and tribal administration, which should gradually absorb more and more people as the various plans already made for post-war development come into operation. But at best the opportunities for remunerative employment inside the Territory must remain limited, and it is doubtful if more than a small proportion of the people now going abroad could be absorbed in this way.

In the circumstances, and assuming that the Administration wishes to embark on a policy of keeping as many people at home as possible, some thought might be given to the possibility of substituting Protectorate Natives wherever possible for those of alien origin. At the present time, approximately 17½ per cent of all the adult males (900 out of 5,138) employed in the Territory were born outside its borders, the great majority coming from the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. About half of these men are employed on the Tati mines and on the railways, but there are a fair number in Government service, especially as teachers and policemen, and they provide nearly a third of the domestic servants. The policy should be adopted of giving preference wherever possible to people of local origin. This would not greatly affect the numbers, but would be of some importance financially when it comes to filling the better-paid posts in Government or tribal service.

Consideration should also be given to the rates of wages paid in the Territory. As we have seen, they are generally lower than those prevailing in the Union, and this is one of the reasons given by Native informants for labour migration. The matter was raised at the Native Advisory Council in 1943 by Chief Tshokedi on behalf of a recently-formed body calling itself 'The Bangwato Labourers Association' ¹ The suggestion was then put forward that a general survey should be made of Native standards

¹ Minutes, 24th session, pp. 61 ff.

and cost of living in the Protectorate, and that in the light of its findings a Wage Board should subsequently be appointed to recommend minimum wage rates for various occupations. At the moment of writing, such an economic survey is actually being carried out at Kanye in connexion with the nutrition experiment, but it should be extended to cover the whole of the Territory. We know extremely little that is of any value about the income and expenditure of Native families in the Territory, and without information of this kind we lack an important basis for planning economic development. I recommend that the Colonial Research Fund be asked for a grant with which to carry out the necessary investigation.

I understand that the Administration itself is at the present time considering the question of regrading its African staff and revising salary scales. The proposals that I have seen do not discuss in detail the rates of wages to be paid to casual labourers, although in this respect the Administration's rate of 1s. 6d. per day compares very unfavourably with that, for instance, of the South African Railways (1s. 9d. to 2s. 9d. per day). This is a matter that also calls for attention.

Agricultural and Industrial Development

In the long run, a marked decrease in the number of migrants can be achieved only by making it possible for people to find within the Territory the means of earning an adequate income to pay taxes and to buy food, clothes and other wants. Since there seems little immediate prospect that much can be done in this direction by extending the opportunities for wage-labour, the only alternative is to embark on a policy of agricultural and industrial development. This was clearly visualized by the Resident Commissioner in a minute written in December, 1942, in the course of which he said:¹

'We are fortunate in having ample living room and with the proper development of our agricultural and industrial resources I believe we can keep our young men happy and contented in their own country. . . .

'Preliminary investigation has shown that the possibilities of irrigation and "pan"-cultivation are good, and I can see no reason why in our climate various cash crops such as sesame, wheat, raisins, rice, ground-nuts and date palms, etc., in addition to maize, kafir corn and beans should not be grown with success. The present very doubtful system of buying milk from natives at

¹ Mafeking Registry, J. 8313/2.

cream depots can be substituted by dairying run conjointly with irrigation, and the development of the evaporated milk industry . . . ? With an adequate water supply certain industries might be started—e g , meat canning, clothing factories, furniture making, etc—but these matters require expert investigation. Above all our cattle industry can be greatly improved.

‘Give us the money and we will keep most if not all of our young men (and consequently women) and develop our own country’

Most of these ideas were subsequently embodied in the post-war development plans of the Territory. The memorandum summarizing the plans states that the aims of agricultural and veterinary policy should be :

- ‘A. The preservation of the country by :
 - i. anti-erosion measures, and
 - ii. maintenance and improvement of soil fertility.
- B. The preservation of life and the improvement and maintenance of the health of the people by :
 - i. improving the quantity, variety, quality and distribution of essential foods. This implies the general improvement in crop production and the use of more vegetables, fruit and animal products,
 - ii. increasing the purchasing power of the people so that they can secure the other necessities of life which they cannot provide themselves
- C. The provision of cash for the discharge of their obligations to the State by the people and for the provision of the amenities of life by :
 - i. developing those branches of farming well-suited to the Protectorate, and likely to give the greatest monetary return to the producer over a number of years,
 - ii. encouraging and developing industries founded on such products as the country can produce, and for which there is a market.’

The memorandum then proceeds to discuss in detail the various ways in which these aims can be achieved

As far as I am able to judge, the specific proposals put forward should be of great benefit to the country if they are carried out properly. But the memorandum makes no reference at all to the many changes in the present system of land tenure that will be required to ensure the successful execution of such projects as irrigation farming and livestock improvement, nor has it considered adequately the question of marketing the new products it advocates. A good deal can be done to foster local demand for manufactured goods like furniture and wagons, and possibly also for fruit and vegetables, but past experience with export markets, especially in regard to cattle, suggests that caution should be exercised before any ambitious scheme is undertaken.

The main difficulty I find in regard to the proposals is that they do not visualize clearly enough the type of Native society at which development should aim. At the present time, the great majority of people in the eastern zone have their homes at one place, their fields some distance away, and their cattle (if any) in yet another locality. Such a mode of settlement is incompatible with some of the proposals put forward. Intensive cultivation, with rotation of crops, winter ploughing, etc., would require the almost continuous presence of the land-holder, and more efficient management of cattle, or the development of dairying, is again a full-time occupation. Similarly, a man engaged in making furniture can hardly be expected at the same time to pay proper attention to his cattle or his fields. The ideal, consequently, should be the creation of a differentiated society, in which some people are engaged mainly in raising cattle, others in cultivating crops, and still others in making useful goods. I think that much more would be achieved by trying to introduce specialization of this kind than by aiming at making the people as a whole more efficient peasant farmers. I would suggest therefore that more attention be paid to the possible social and economic repercussions of the proposals embodied in the 'five-year' plans, and recommend that they be discussed with a competent economist or sociologist before they are finally put into operation.

Nor can I share the easy optimism of the Administration when it states (in the memorandum on post-war plans):

'There would seem to be good possibilities for the cultivation of crops under irrigation, not only in sufficient quantity to make the people self-supporting—at present large quantities of maize and maize-meal are annually imported from the Union and Southern Rhodesia—but to supply an income by the sale of cash crops which should to a large extent make unnecessary the annual exodus of the young men to neighbouring Territories.'

If only one-tenth of the people now going abroad stayed at home, the annual income from labour migration would drop by over £30,000; and, since the Territory is not yet even self-supporting in regard to food production, it will require a great extension of activity and many years of effort before enough is produced to yield an exportable surplus of the same value. I mention this merely as another instance of the need for discussing the plans with an economist. The Territory cannot afford to embark upon grandiose schemes and find subsequently that they are far less effective than had been hoped.

Education

I have already shown that in general men who have been to school are able to find more remunerative posts than those who are illiterate; and also that proportionately fewer of them go abroad, since there is greater scope for them at home. It should accordingly be the policy of the Education Department to bring as many boys as possible to school. This is fully appreciated by the Administration, but the fact remains that approximately three-quarters of the pupils enrolled in the schools are guls. This is due largely to the present system of cattle management, under which boys have to spend the greater part of their youth at cattleposts that are often many miles from the villages. Something has been done, and more is planned, to take education to them 'by means of itinerant teachers who will give regular instruction at groups of cattle-posts situated close together'.¹ But the policy of amalgamating small cattleposts, to which I have already referred, should also be considered as a means of releasing boys for school. There is also great need for organized effort and sustained propaganda to get parents to send their sons to school; neither the Administration nor the tribal authorities appear to have done as much in this direction as they should.

I suggest also that special consideration be given to increasing the facilities for vocational training. The post-war development plans contemplate the establishment of a technical school within the Territory. This would be an extremely useful step, and should be taken as soon as funds can be obtained. The training should have to aim primarily at providing suitably qualified people for the Territory's own needs, but the value of special qualifications for men seeking work abroad should not be overlooked. The labour bureau that I have advocated would in due course be able to advise the Education Department about the openings that are available in the Union, and this would help the planning of courses of instructions.

Summary of Main Recommendations and Suggestions

I do not consider it possible that anything can be done at the present time to reduce very substantially the number of people

¹ Memo. on Post-War Development Plans, p. 3.

who leave the Territory to work in the Union. The only hope¹ of ultimately keeping many more at home lies in a long-term policy of economic and cultural development such as is already under consideration; but to be effective this policy must not only make the Territory more attractive to live in, but should provide the people with sources of income that will make it unnecessary for them to go abroad. The existing plans for development do not appear to have gone into this aspect sufficiently thoroughly, and I suggest that they be discussed with a competent economist before they are put into operation. His task would be to advise on the possibility of finding and maintaining markets, and on the financial returns that can be expected to accrue from the various schemes to which the Administration is about to commit itself. (Pp. 217 f.¹)

I am not prepared to recommend any attempt to restrict the number of migrants by statute (p. 201 f.).

Several of the factors responsible for migration can be made less effective if the Administration were prepared to take the necessary action. This would involve.

- (a) revising the basis of taxation (p. 214);
- (b) regulating more closely the use of regimental labour (pp. 198 f., 213 f.);
- (c) discouraging the tendency of some chiefs to sentence men to seek work abroad (pp. 154 f.);
- (d) giving preference to local Natives for work within the Territory (p. 215); and
- (e) alleviating the land shortage in the Tati, Tlôkwa and Maletse Reserves (pp. 134 ff.)²

The most urgent problem is presented by the people who go abroad independently to seek for work, and who tend to stay away a long time. The steps I recommend for dealing with them include the following:

- (a) the establishment of a labour bureau at the Government Agency on the Rand (pp. 207 f.);
- (b) the compilation of a register of all people known to be in the Union (p. 208);
- (c) periodical visits by Government or tribal representatives

¹ The page references following each recommendation or suggestion are to the passages where it is more fully discussed.

² Specific recommendations on this particular point have already been submitted to the Administration and are now under consideration.

to centres in the Western Transvaal and Northern Cape where many Natives from the Territory are employed (pp. 208 f.);

(d) greater publicity for the facilities that exist for getting in touch with people in the Union (p. 209).

Recruited labourers can be traced more easily and on the whole do not stay away very long. The following points require attention as far as they are concerned:

(a) The provisions in the Native Labour Proclamation that relate to compulsory repatriation should be enforced, especially in regard to men recruited by the N.R.C. (pp. 203 f.);

(b) the A.V.S. should be encouraged officially (p. 206);

(c) the charges made by the W.N.L.A. for food and clothing issued to recruits seem to be a contravention of the law (p. 83).

I do not consider it necessary to recommend the introduction of compulsory deferred pay (p. 211). Recruits should however be encouraged to defer half of their pay, and the possibility of introducing a system of monthly allotments to dependants should be explored (pp. 211 f.). Large employers of non-recruited labour, like the Rand municipalities, should be asked to provide facilities for voluntary deferred pay, remittances, and periodical leave (pp. 208, 211).

Fees paid by labour agencies for the medical examination of recruits should go into general revenue and not be a perquisite of private practice (p. 212 f.).

Every effort should be made to increase the number of boys going to school, and to provide further facilities for vocational training (p. 219).

Two special investigations need to be made, (a) into Native standards and cost of living in the Territory (pp. 215 f.), and (b) into the biological aspects of the population problem, with special reference to the rate of reproduction (pp. 189 f.). The statistical information on both topics is very inadequate. I recommend that grants be sought for the purpose from the Colonial Research Fund.

APPENDIX A

BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE NATIVES EMPLOYED IN PROCLAIMED LABOUR DISTRICTS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1910-1940

Year	No. employed on December 31st			Average number employed
	Mines and Works	Other	Total	
1910	1,191	1,075	2,266	2,891
1911	1,461	1,131	2,592	2,952
1912	1,862	991	2,853	3,572
1913	2,766	452	3,218	4,083
1914	4,015	466	4,481	4,815
1915	3,927	541	4,468	5,020
1916	3,895	576	4,471	4,558
1917	2,646	541	3,187	4,154
1918	2,082	632	2,714	3,518
1919	2,052	700	2,752	3,118
1920	1,754	824	2,578	3,388
1921	2,378	967	3,345	3,673
1922	3,319	907	4,226	4,631
1923	3,775	961	4,736	4,506
1924	3,038	985	4,023	4,756
1925	2,770	1,050	3,820	4,323
1926	2,605	(1,110)	3,715	4,591
1927	2,070	(1,078)	3,148	3,699
1928	2,397	(1,193)	3,590	3,904
1929	2,857	(1,408)	4,265	4,675
1930	3,481	(1,231)	4,712	5,675
1931	3,650	(1,158)	4,806	4,907
1932	5,166	(926)	6,092	5,672
1933	5,582	(1,439)	7,021	6,709
1934	7,005	(2,160)	9,165	7,929
1935	7,387	(2,927)	10,314	10,193
1936	7,521	(2,920)	10,441	10,784
1937	8,972	(3,670)	12,642	12,356
1938	12,605	(4,819)	17,424	16,456
1939	12,315	(4,928)	17,243	18,153
1940	14,609	(3,802)	18,411	18,898

NOTES:

1. Figures prior to 1922 relate to Transvaal labour districts only; subsequent figures relate to labour districts throughout the Union (excluding alluvial diamond diggings) and Kimberley.
2. Figures for Natives employed in 'Works' are included in the figures for 'Mines & Works' up to 1928. From 1929 onward they are excluded from that column and appear only as part of the general total.

SOURCES.

Columns 1, 3, 4 from Official Year-Books of the Union of S. Africa, checking with Annual Reports of the Native Affairs Dept. until latter cease in 1924. Column 2, for 1910-24 from Territorial Analysis Table in Reports of Native Affairs Dept., for 1926 onward, by subtraction.

APPENDIX B

ANNUAL RETURNS OF PASSES ISSUED TO B.P. NATIVES
TO LEAVE THE TERRITORY

Year	MINES		OTHER LABOUR			GRAND	
	Gold	Diamonds	Farms	Misc.	TOTAL	Visiting	TOTAL
1928	1,952	2,153	604	644	5,353	2,632	7,985
1929	2,539	2,188	363	1,141	6,231	1,031	7,262
1930	2,997	1,731	394	983	6,105	1,194	7,299
1931	2,983	253	474	565	4,275	671	4,946
1932	2,777	142	97	467	3,483	918	4,401
1933	3,515	1,201	730	2,367	7,813	5,809	13,622
1934	4,487	—	28	1,061	5,576	1,093	6,769
1935	6,188	10	98	1,890	8,186	2,729	10,915
1936	6,609	30	30	690	7,359	2,186	9,545
1937	9,398	3	2	1,224	10,627	1,982	12,609
1938	11,183	—	—	1,242	12,425	2,196	14,621
1939	11,897	—	—	596	12,493	1,810	14,303
1940	13,834	—	—	615	14,449	2,360	16,809
1941	11,114	—	—	290	11,404	1,284	12,688
1942	8,640	—	—	361	9,001	916	9,917

NOTES.

(a) The figures for 1934 are incomplete.

(b) The figures for 1932-40 were also published in *Official Year-Book of the Union of S. Africa*, Nos 18-22, Chap. on the Bechuanaland Protectorate, except that 'Gold Mines' and 'Diamond Mines' are merged together under the common heading 'Miners'.

The Year Book gives no figures for 1934, stating that they are 'not available'. The figures for 1939 and 1940 published in the Year-Book differ slightly from those given above, and read as follows:

Year	Mines	Agr.	Misc.	Total	Visiting	Grand Total
1939	11,686	—	616	12,302	1,744	14,046
1940	13,834	—	615	14,449	2,363	16,812

(c) In both the B.P. Annual Reports and the Union Year-Books, the returns are headed, 'Passes issued to Natives of the B.P. to enter the Union of S. Africa' (or 'to proceed to the Union'). They should more appropriately read, 'to leave the Territory', since the diamond mines listed in the Tables were in South-West Africa and not in the Union.

SOURCES OF FIGURES :

- (a) 1928-32 *Pim Report* (Cmd. 4368, 1933), p. 31 The Report adds, 'During the same period, 2,891 passes were issued at Mafeking to Natives of the Protectorate 'seeking work' (unspecified) and 555 passes to others wishing to visit the Union' (p. 32).
- (b) 1933-34, 1939 onwards records filed in the Government offices at Mafeking.
- (c) 1935-38. published in the *Annual Reports on the . . . Progress . . . of the B.P.* (Section on 'Labour')

APPENDIX C

B.P. NATIVES EMPLOYED ON WITWATERSRAND GOLD MINES

(a) MONTHLY EMPLOYMENT FIGURES, 1929-43¹

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
January .	1,777	2,677	3,140	3,482	5,066	5,661	7,869	7,645
February ..	2,306	3,070	3,100	3,442	5,079	5,937	7,782	7,623
March .	2,634	3,327	3,018	3,474	4,960	6,140	7,602	7,568
April ..	2,834	3,532	3,001	3,930	5,091	6,237	7,575	7,547
May ..	2,843	3,539	3,030	4,257	5,137	6,394	7,591	7,576
June .	2,824	3,564	3,181	4,573	5,192	6,577	7,728	7,887
July .	2,830	3,621	3,411	4,766	5,302	6,738	7,628	7,979
August ..	2,814	3,265	3,330	4,900	5,218	6,824	7,404	8,133
September ..	2,526	3,101	3,279	4,935	5,177	6,718	7,234	8,136
October	2,268	2,945	3,177	4,847	5,216	6,947	7,107	8,001
November .	2,080	2,803	3,108	4,938	5,225	7,123	7,170	7,872
December .	1,994	2,750	3,276	4,937	5,326	7,553	7,473	7,782
AVERAGE	2,477	3,183	3,171	4,373	5,166	6,571	7,514	7,812

	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
January ..	7,895	10,103	11,949	11,957	13,527	11,910	8,643
February ..	7,939	10,830	12,680	13,176	13,826	12,533	9,580
March .	8,382	11,191	12,631	14,151	14,042	12,530	10,093
April ..	8,880	11,342	12,492	15,005	14,799	12,181	10,362
May ..	9,110	11,507	12,310	15,496	15,204	12,110	10,290
June ..	9,226	11,468	12,046	15,600	15,233	12,367	10,354
July ..	9,357	11,442	11,696	15,579	14,623	12,156	10,372
August .	9,532	11,772	11,599	15,424	13,821	11,631	10,483
September ..	9,565	11,983	11,735	15,113	13,010	11,086	10,509
October .	9,456	12,105	11,858	14,733	12,273	10,340	10,243
November .	9,576	12,120	11,994	14,369	11,935	9,624	9,704
December ..	9,495	11,565	11,351	13,697	11,282	8,839	8,651
AVERAGE	9,034	11,452	12,029	14,525	13,631	11,442	9,940

¹ I am indebted for these figures to the Secretary, Transvaal Chamber of Mines, they include both non-tropicals and tropicals (i.e., Natives from south and north of lat. 22° S respectively)

APPENDIX C (continued)

(b) SOURCES OF LABOUR, 1902-1943¹

Year	RECRUITED		NON-RECRUITED				GRAND TOTAL
	NRC	WNLA	Territory AVS Other	Locals (a) (b)		Total	
1902		357					357
1903		2,730					2,730
1904		1,723					1,723
1905		2,352				592	2,944
1906	10	867				516	1,333
1907	39	1				259	299
1908	1,876					504	2,380
1909	1,267					271	1,538
1910	1,376					489	1,865
1911	1,123					456	1,579
1912	2,234					831	3,065
1913	4,680					767	5,447
1914	7,362					1,624	8,986
1915	5,898					1,724	7,622
1916	3,023					1,972	4,995
1917	2,328					1,536	3,864
1918	1,917					1,069	3,086
1919	2,005					1,001	3,006
1920	1,540		309	80	247	836	2,376
1921	3,193		420	94	273	787	3,980
1922	3,508		449	153	298	900	4,408
1923	2,736		674	90	324	1,088	3,824
1924	2,935		562	82	314	958	3,893
1925	1,460		609	93	233	935	2,395
1926	2,429		705	38	221	964	3,393
1927	1,788		384	46	163	593	2,381
1928	2,236		403	32	190	625	2,861
1929	3,264		474	53	213	740	4,004
1930	5,601		515	84	311	910	6,511
1931	3,339		649	64	217	930	4,269
1932	4,062		642	43	74	759	4,821
1933	4,306		304 137	16	49	506	4,812
1934	5,950	1,066	95 103	26	52	276	7,292
1935	6,613	49	32 85	23	79	219	6,881
1936	6,495	656	24 109	33	193	359	7,510
1937	7,568	1,294	124 152	75	215	566	9,428
1938	9,531	1,650	427 175	107	338	1,047	12,228
1939	8,445	1,687	916 106	108	371	1,501	11,633
1940	10,113	2,648	1,894 165	132	558	2,749	15,510
1941	7,498	1,961	1,638 130	110	866	2,744	12,202
1942	6,390	1,735	896 147	91	1,065	2,199	10,324
1943	6,353	1,117	1,247 139	121	794	2,301	9,771

APPENDIX C (continued)

NOTE:

'Non-recruited' Natives, from 1920 onwards, are classified into (i) 'Territory', i.e. those engaged on travelling passes from the B.P. (from 1933 onwards these are sub-divided into A.V.S. and others), and (ii) 'Locals', i.e. those engaged in Johannesburg, they are subdivided into (a) those who transferred from other employment to that of the mines, and (b) those who transferred from one mine to another

(c) NUMBERS ENGAGED BY N.R.C.
UNDER DIFFERENT TYPES OF CONTRACT¹

Year	For surface work	RECRUITED NATIVES For underground work				A V.S.	TOTAL
		No. of shifts					
		180	270	360	Total		
1935	202	—	4,753	1,285	6,038	40	6,370
1936	204	—	4,719	1,258	5,977	24	6,205
1937	251	—	6,060	933	6,993	125	7,369
1938	543	3	8,231	175	8,409	70	8,482
1939	566		7,339	37	7,376	771	8,713
1940	427	8	9,140	62	9,210	1,719	11,356
1941	250	—	6,419	4	6,423	1,390	8,063
1942	315	—	5,633	—	5,633	791	6,742
1943	255	—	5,916	2	5,918	1,089	7,262

NOTE

On comparing these figures with those given in Appendix C (b), it will be seen that the latter (for both recruited Natives and men going forward under the A.V.S.) are somewhat higher. This is because the figures given above apply only to Natives engaged within the Bechuanaland Protectorate, whereas those published in the Annual Reports of the W.N.L.A. (and reproduced in Appendix C (b)) include also B.P. Natives engaged in the Union of South Africa (e.g. at centres like Mafeking and Zeerust)

¹ Figures supplied annually to the Administration by the N.R.C. (Mafeking Registry J 7172/1).

APPENDIX D

ADVANCES AND OTHER PAYMENTS MADE TO
OR ON BEHALF OF MEN EMPLOYED BY THE GOLD MINES(a) ENGAGED BY THE N.R.C.¹

Year	Taxes food, etc.	Rail and bus fares	Remittances	Deferred pay paid
1935	£14,816	£ 8,912	£ 7,762	£30,672
1936	14,347	7,283	9,880	38,519
1937	18,187	8,791	12,042	38,144
1938	25,843	11,280	11,742	46,108
1939	25,968	9,762	8,557	57,342
1940	27,941	12,715	12,068	54,370
1941	21,937	8,726	16,781	58,790
1942	24,008	6,950	13,316	41,425
1943	25,563	6,241	9,957	35,640

(b) ENGAGED BY THE W.N.L.A.²

Year	Taxes	Feeding	Rail and bus fares	Remittances	Deferred pay paid
1935	£ 28	£ 11	£ 86	—	—
1936	375	168	1,013	—	—
1937	980	350	1,797	—	—
1938	1,471	463	2,763	—	—
1939	2,023	163	2,638	£ 890	£19,288
1940	2,046	769	3,718	3,752	39,743
1941	2,321	480	3,117	1,495	40,796
1942	3,540	513	3,138	1,247	44,518
1943	3,435	325	2,572	1,970	44,424

¹ Figures supplied annually by the N.R.C. to the Administration (Mafeking Registry J 7172/1.)
Amounts in respect of taxes, feeding, etc., include advances to men engaged under the A.V.S.

² Figures supplied by the Secretary, Transvaal Chamber of Mines.

APPENDIX E

STOCKS CARRIED BY TRADERS IN NATIVE RESERVES

I MOCHUDI (KGATLA RESERVE)¹

In the following list, column A gives an inventory of the stock carried by a trading firm in Mochudi in October, 1932, with the prices then prevailing; column B gives an inventory of the stock carried by the same firm in July, 1943.

1932	1943
<i>Cotton blankets</i> , white with red or fancy patterns, @ 1s 6d, 2s. 6d., 3s., 4s. (for children); 5s., 6s 7s, 8s, 9s, 10s (for adults), fancy patterns @ 7s, 8s., 10s	<i>Cotton blankets</i> , white, 40 × 44, 7s, 44 × 48, 8s; 50 × 52, 9s.; 54 × 60, 10s; 60 × 64, 11s, 64 × 68, 12s. 6d., 68 × 72, 15s.
<i>Woollen blankets</i> , mostly grey shades, @ 10s, 15s, 20s, 25s., bush rugs, mostly grey shades, with fancy borders, @ 10s., 15s., 20s, diamond rugs, woollen, fancy colours, 64 × 68 for girls @ 25s, 70 × 90 for couples @ 40s All these are for sleeping use generally.	<i>Woollen blankets</i> , big demand, all sizes, prices from 30s. to 80s.; stocks difficult to get.
<i>Travelling rugs</i> , @ 8s, 10s, 15s, 20s., generally in bright colours.	<i>Rugs and shawls</i> : diamond rugs, bush rugs, travelling rugs, shawls (woollen, honeycomb, black cashmere, also in assorted shades) still in big demand (stocks unobtainable).
<i>Shawls</i> , black cashmere, @ 15s., 20s., for older women; woollen, maroon, @ 15s-25s., fawn and grey checks, 10s.; cream cashmere (for weddings), 20s, heavy embroidered, 20s-30s	<i>Prints</i> , blue, still about 75% of demand; stocks depleted; prices 2s.-2s 6d. per yard
<i>Prints</i> , blue (indigo) @ 6d., 9d., 1s per yard (represents 75% of the trade in prints, and up to about two years ago 90%); light fancy prints @ 6d. to 1s. per yard;	<i>Shirtings</i> : Indian shirtings, 1s. 6d -2s. 6d. Cambrics . 1s. 6d.-2s. 6d. Cottonades 2s. 6d -3s 6d. Khaki . . 2s 6d.-4s. blue denim 3s. 6d.-4s drills . 2s. 6d.-3s 6d.
blue spot twills, for head doeks, very popular;	<i>Fancy dress material</i> : this item has changed very considerably since 1932.
black cashmere and white calico for confirmation dresses, etc.	Serges . 5s.-7s 6d. (dress lengths 20s.-35s)
black print for lining coffins (flooring-board-sold for coffins).	fancy prints 2s -4s.
<i>Footwear</i> : very little sold up to 1930, now leather sandals and sandshoes largely sold, and high-heeled shoes for weddings.	poplins . . 3s -3s. 6d. crepe-de-chine 6s.-10s.
<i>Umbrellas</i> , sold for sun, and protection of babies carried on back;	green serge 3s.-3s. 6d. morocains 6s.-8s. Ready-made dresses, 12s. 6d. to 20s Ladies' underwear (bloomers and vests) in big demand Doeks: black cashmere, pin spot twill, silk doeks ready-made,

¹ I am indebted to Mr. R B M Sullivan (District Commissioner, Mochudi) for getting me the 1943 revision of the 1932 list.

1932

APPENDIX E (continued)

1943

white sunshades for wedding ceremonies only

Men's wear

Khaki jackets (8s, 10s, and 15s.) khaki trousers (6s, 8s, 10s, 15s), and khaki shirts (4s-10s) mostly worn
Cotton undervests, 1s to 3s, much used
Felt hats, 5s, 7s 6d, 10s, and 12s.

Boots and shoes, 12s-30s., not in general use.

Socks, ties, etc., worn only by younger men of educated type

Groceries

Much sugar used (5d per lb.) also tea (3s. per lb.), little coffee, jam, tinned fish etc.,

boer and mealie meal,

caustic soda much used for soap-making, fair quantity of soap sold for washing and toilet use,

patent medicines,

paraffin largely sold in 3d, 6d, and 9d quantities.

Hardware, etc

Kafir pots @ 5s to 12s.

Hatchets @ 5s

Axes @ 10s and 15s, good qualities only bought

Wagon grease, 1s. and 6s. tins,

Well ropes and hand-baling ropes sold from July to October:

trek chains, 7s 6d. to 35s.;

buckets, 4s., 5s.;

grain bags sold in season, also wool bales for storing corn.

Wooden ploughs sold in fair quantity until about 1931, @ 90s., now iron ploughs (£5, £6) mostly used, also spare parts sold

Spades @ 7s.

Sewing machines mostly bought by men in towns and sent home.

Meat and bread not largely bought

Tobacco, roll and leaf, largely sold for snuff, smoking tobacco, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb bags @ 6d.; pipes @ 6d, 1s.

Coarse salt much used (8 lb for 1s), bought by bag to pay for labour in fields.

36 x 36, big demand, but no stocks.

Footwear both men's and women's: good leather shoes, demand increased about 40% since 1932, ladies', 12s 6d to 30s, men's, 20s-40s

Umbrellas, no stocks

Men's wear

Not much changed since 1932

Khaki trousers, 15s-30s., khaki jackets, no stocks, khaki shirts, 8s. to 15s.

Good sports jackets, 30s to 80s, and flannel trousers, 20s. to 60s., both in good demand; stocks scarce.

Groceries.

Demand much increased since 1932, approximately 35%, stocks almost unprocureable.

Potatoes and onions in big demand.

Patent medicines increased about 30% since 1932, especially popular remedies

Hardware, etc.

Stocked prices as in 1932 whenever stocks available

Double-furrow ploughs in increased demand.

APPENDIX E (continued)

2 KANYE (NGWAKETSE RESERVE)¹

CLOTHING

Cotton blankets:

white, with red or fancy patterns. for children, out of stock, big ones halved, for adults, 50 × 52, 8s.; 52 × 58, 10s.; 70 × 80, 17s 6d. Difficult to get, some just coming. Fancy patterns 50 × 52, 8s., 52 × 58, 10s (popular price); 60 × 62, 10s. (very popular, but unobtainable).

Woollen blankets, grey, 60 × 80, @ 23s. 6d (Government release, not popular, but nothing else available)

Half wool, half cotton, 60 × 80, at 20s. (Old Government issue, popular but unobtainable)

Bush rugs, diamond rugs, travelling rugs unobtainable

Shawls: black cashmere, 25s-42s. 6d, woollen maroon, 30s. (scarce), fawn and grey checks (unobtainable but popular); cream cashmere (none, don't sell locally), heavy embroidered, £3-£4 (none, and unobtainable, not popular as too expensive); light, 45s (popular, rationed)

Prints, blue (indigo), 2s-2s 6d. per yd. (75% of the trade),

light fancy, @ 1s. 6d-3s per yd

blue spot twills (don't sell locally)

black cashmere, @ 2s.-3s. per yr.

white calico, @ 1s 6d-2s. 6d.

black (for coffins), 1s 6d.

Suitings gaberdines, 2s 6d. 3s 6d. per yd. (very popular, bought mostly by older women for heavy wear, e.g. at fields, younger women go for 'fancy' materials);

khaki, @ 2s 6d.-4s. (popular for heavy wear)

denim, 3s.-3s. 6d. (very strong, medium popularity)

poplin, plain shades, 3s. (very popular).

Footwear: leather sandals, no sale;

sandshoes, 4s.-8s., medium popularity;

high-heeled women's shoes, 20s-26s, hardly any sale; medium-heeled, 18s to 30s, very popular since beginning of war.

Umbrellas, 4s. 6d, white sunshades, 2s. 6d, not popular

Bloomers, 3s 6d. to 5s., old line, but increasing in favour; stockings, 1s.-2s 6d, very popular, sales increasing, knitting silk for headwear, 2s 6d. skein.

¹ I am indebted for this list to Dr E. H. Ashton, it is based upon the 1932 Mochudi list, with which it should be compared

APPENDIX E (continued)

Men's wear:

khaki jackets, 15s. to 30s, little sale,
 khaki trousers, 11s to 25s, better sale;
 khaki shirts, 10s to 20s, better sale,
 cotton vests, 3s 6d to 7s, popular,
 felt hats, 4s. 6d. to 10s, slow,
 boots and shoes, 15s. to 32s. 6d, slow,
 socks, 9d. to 2s 6d, medium sales,
 ties, 1s to 1s.*6d, slow;
 short underpants, 5s to 7s., popular,
 jerseys and pull-overs, 2s. to 30s., old line, popular, but prices increase, keeping sales stationary,
 suits, £3, very few,
 white suits, 23s, slow;
 overcoats, 60s to 70s.

GROCERIES:

Sugar, brown, 25s. bag, 3½d lb., plenty sold; refined, 37s. 6d. bag, 4½d. lb., plenty sold.
 Tea, ¼ lb, 9d -1s.; ½ lb., 1s. 6d -1s 9d., 1 lb, 3s.-3s. 6d.; plenty sold; rationed latterly.
 Coffee, 2s 9d. lb, plenty sold, sales increased tenfold during last few years
 Jam, 1s.-1s 9d lb, very little.
 Tinned fish: none, very little ever sold
 Tinned meat (bully), 1s. 6d. lb.; little sold
 Boer meal, and mealie meal (22s. 6d bag), sales vary with harvest, but overall increase in recent years.
 Caustic soda, 1s 6d lb.
 Soap, 3d.-1s. cake or bar, sales growing.
 Paraffin, 6d bottle, 2s 6d gallon, etc; sales increasing considerably
 Matches, 6d -9d. packet.
 Condensed milk, 1s tin, sales increasing greatly.
 Powdered milk, 3s 6d lb, new line (since war), growing very popular.
 Candles, 16 oz 1s. 3d, 14 oz 1s., 10 oz. 10d. Old line.
 Boot polish, 9d tin, old line, unobtainable
 Pastrine, 1s. 9d. packet, new line, since supplies of fat from Union have been restricted.
 Patent medicines, not much except for Kyalam heart tonic, 2s. 6d. bottle (sales increasing) and headache powders, 1s. 6d packet
 Baking powder, 2 oz 6d., ½ lb tin 1s, fair, increasing.
 Potatoes, 3d lb., fair.

HARDWARE

Kafir pots, from ½ gal (4s. 6d) to 12 gal (38s.), with few larger, popular sizes = 2½ gal. (10s 6d.), 6 gal. (18s 6d.), 7 gal. (23s), 8 gal. (25s). Big sales; Union made not as durable as pre-war stocks.
 Hatchets, 9s, getting too expensive.

APPENDIX E (*continued*)

Axes, 18s. 6d., very few sold.

Wagon grease, 1s. 6d. lb., very popular.

Well ropes (chain), 67s. 6d., practically no sale.

Hand-bailing ropes, not stocked.

Trek chains, 11s. 6d., very good line when obtainable.

Buckets, 6s. very good line when obtainable.

Grain bags, 1s., 1s. 6d., 2s., good demand in good season.

Wool bales, 13s. (secondhand 7s.), usually fairly popular.

Wooden ploughs, not stocked.

Iron ploughs. Thakadu 12", 145s., 14", 150s., popular.

Union ploughs, 90s., not so good.

Plough parts, 12" share 16s., 16" share 17s., lot sold.

Spades, 10s. 6d., very few sold.

Sewing machines: never sold locally.

Lanterns, 5s., very popular, now unobtainable.

Razor blades, two for 3d., popular

Twine, 3s. 6d. for 5 lb. ball.

Casement windows, 4-light 13s. 6d., 6-light 16s. 6d., very popular, increasing demand.

Doors, 52s. 6d.; very popular, increasing demand.

Door frames, timber @ 10d.-1s. foot; popular, increasing demand

Zinc hut tops, 20s., big sale, increasing demand.

Corrugated iron sheeting, very little demand.

Boards for coffins, 9d. foot.

Wagon tyres: 12' $\times$ $\frac{3}{4}$ ", 28s., 16' $\times$ $\frac{1}{2}$ ", 37s.; 12' $\times$ $\frac{5}{8}$ ", 22s. 6d., 16' $\times$ $\frac{5}{8}$ " 35s.

Spokes, 1s. 9d.

Felloes, 5s. 6d.

Meat mutton, 9d. lb.; beef, 6d. lb. (butchery).

Bread 3d. and 1s. loaves (butchery).

Tobacco: leaf, 4s. lb., good quality Rhodesian mostly sold; pipe 4s. lb.

Few cigarettes sold.

Pipes, 6d.-2s., very few sold.

Coarse salt, 1d. lb., 16s. bag

APPENDIX F

NATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUBLIC REVENUE

	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
<i>GOVERNMENT</i>					
Native Tax ..	£62,354	61,655	69,055	70,357	70,000*
War Levy ..				18,030	20,688
†Posts, etc. .	19,157	17,358	15,487	19,053	17,000*
†Licences ..	10,018	11,897	10,355	10,688	9,800*
†Judicial fines ..	827	1,108	1,137	1,356	1,100*
†Hospital fees ..	1,600*	1,700*	1,529	1,972	1,245*
†Pound fees ..	70*	110*	26	45	75*
†Dipping fees .	900*	850*	385	394	600*
†Sale of vaccines	500*	600*	963	1,173	2,400*
†Sale of pigs ..	250*	400*	515	922	800*
†Sale of poultry	200*	200*	294	415	500*
†Sale of Government property ..	400*	700*	274	555	220*
†Sundries ..	700*	900*	1,446	1,190	250*
<i>TRIBAL TREASURIES</i>					
Tribal Levies ..	£6,540	7,004	6,730	8,609	8,899
Court fines ..	436	471	494	572	648
School fees and books ..	169	1,061	1,156	1,319	1,387
Water rates ..	247	359	486	1,105	775
Sundries ..	221*	769	203	573	519
§Sales of livestock .		15	442	1,208	2,964
§Miscellaneous ..	162	412	564	1,593	1,232

MISCELLANEOUS

Contributions to
War Funds ..

£14,423

NOTES

* = Revised estimates (exact figures not available at time of writing).

† = Full amounts are given, but the Native contribution was only a portion of the total (for estimates of the proportion, see text, Chapter IV, p. 128).

§ = Native share estimated at one-half (full amounts are given here).

SOURCES

Figures for Government Revenue (excluding War Levy) taken from printed annual Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure; all others supplied by the Financial Secretary, B.P. Government.

APPENDIX G

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, 1938-42

	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
IMPORTS:					
General merchandise	£299,767	346,973	384,488	437,253	436,961
Kafir corn	13,979	1,311	2,566	11,756	3,600
Maize	4,589	2,313	947	5,462	28,558
Maize meal .. .	22,122	20,264	19,844	36,226	38,331
EXPORTS:					
Cattle . . .	£172,730	195,575	248,080	238,550	430,240
Sheep and goats ..	9,678	4,660	6,086	7,640	13,218
Pigs .. .	3,882	3,571	4,222	3,410	6,403
Hides and skins ..	16,014	13,919	14,797	17,785	18,431
Butter and butteifat	26,630	27,521	15,220	13,290	16,639
Poultry	358	864	15*	811	1,116
Eggs	115	138	70	189	95
Kafir corn .. .	1,081	6,155	4,389	6,002	3,661
Maize . . .	125	107	113	122	—
Beans	569	7,411	5,158	—	—
Skins and karosses..	3,340	3,539	4,008	4,137	6,365
Ostrich feathers .	365	132	89	174	219
Ivory	331	115	—	—	—

NOTE.

Only those imports and exports have been listed here which directly affected the Native population. Figures for 1938 are taken from the published *Annual Report on the Progress, etc of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1938* (Col. No. 1911), all those for later years supplied by the Government Secretary, B P. Administration.

APPENDIX H

DIRECT IMPORTS BY NATIVES

In order to illustrate the range and varieties of goods imported directly into the Territory by Natives, I list here (a) the goods consigned by rail to Natives in the Kgatla Reserve during 1932, and (b) the contents of boxes brought home by men returning from the Union. The details given in (a) were extracted by myself (in 1933) from the waybills filed at Pilane station; those given in (b) were obtained partly by the inspection of some boxes at Francistown (July, 1943) and partly in reply to a questionnaire circulated among men who had just returned from working abroad.

APPENDIX H (continued)

(a) GOODS CONSIGNED BY RAIL TO NATIVES IN THE
KGATLA RESERVE, 1932*January*

1 mattress, 2 bags mealie meal, 1 box clothing; 1 bag trek chains, 1 box clothing; 1 bundle galvanized flat iron; 1 bag lime, 1 case various goods, 1 gramophone, 1 4-gallon drum of paraffin, 2 empty barrels, 1 case empty tins; 1 plough with trek chain attached, 1 package glassware, 1 kitchen dresser, 1 lot toys (unprotected); 1 bed, mattress, spring, and side irons, 1 bundle mats, 1 plough with sparners attached.

February

1 box clothing, 1 box clothing, 1 small table, 1 bag mealie meal; 4 chairs, 1 basket clothing, 2 empty oil drums, 1 bag mealie meal; 2 bags mealies; 1 case blankets, 1 empty keg, 1 bed, mattress, spring, and side irons; 1 bed, mattress, etc., 1 empty steel drum (40 gallons), 1 box fruit; 1 bed, mattress, etc., 1 kitchen dresser, 1 spring bed, mattress, etc., 1 kitchen dresser, table, chair, glassware, 10 bags bone meal (for chief).

March

1 chair, 1 deal rough timber, 2 bags mealie meal; 1 Victory plough; 1 empty drum, 1 case soap, 1 case blankets, 1 box dripping, 1 bag personal effects, $\frac{1}{2}$ bag Boer meal, 1 bag sugar, 1 tin paraffin, 2 bags mealie meal; 5 packages fencing wire; 1 plough, 1 bag empty tins; 1 travelling rug, 1 bed, etc., 1 empty iron drum, 1 crowbar; 1 pocket sugar, 1 bag mealie meal; 1 wagon wheel, 1 table, 2 chairs, bed, dressing table, desk, 2 chairs; 1 empty drum; 1 package crockery, 1 bag sugar, 1 bag clothing, 2 chairs, 1 chest of drawers, 1 case yellow washing soap, 1 package blankets and clothing

April

1 bed, etc.; 1 parcel motor parts (for chief); 1 box personal effects, 1 bed; 1 package blankets, 1 empty drum, 1 box soap, 2 cases clothing, 1 bundle clothing; 1 box personal effects, 1 bag mealie meal; 1 box clothing; 1 drum petrol, 1 case motor oil, 4 bags mealie meal, 1 bag Boer meal, 1 bag sugar, 1 bale shovels (for chief); 1 box clothing; 1 trek chain; 1 Kafir pot, 1 bag blankets; 1 case tools, 1 plough; 1 box personal effects, 1 box personal effects, 1 bag flour, 1 drum paraffin (chief), 1 bag salt; 3 chairs, 1 package chains, 1 kitchen dresser, 1 empty drum, 1 plough, 1 Kafir pot, 1 plough, 1 box clothing; 1 parcel soft goods, 1 axe, 1 pocket sugar, 2 chairs; 4 drums petrol, 1 petrol pump (chief), 1 kitchen dresser, 4 chairs, 1 plough, 1 bag mealie meal; 1 suitcase; 1 trunk blankets, 1 bale empty bags, 1 tin in sacking; 2 parcels personal effects, 2 pockets sugar; 6 bags salt, 1 gallon dip.

May

8 bags mealie meal, 1 pocket sugar (chief); 1 bag Kafir corn, 1 roll bush wire fencing, 1 bale galvanized iron; 1 bag clothing; 1 box clothing, 2 bags empty tins and shovels; 1 bag mealie meal; 2 bags mealie meal (chief), 1 bed, etc.;

APPENDIX H (continued)

1 dressing chest; 1 trek chain; 1 parcel clothing, 1 case paraffin, 1 case clothing, 1 case pillows, 1 package picks; 1 bag blankets, 1 case blankets; 2 empty drums; 1 roll plain fencing wire (for chief), 1 case groceries, 1 case soap, 1 bag sugar, 4-gallon drum of petrol, 2 bags salt, 1 box blankets, 4 bags mealie meal (chief); 1 bale empty bags, 2 tins, 6 galvanized iron buckets, 1 bale empty grain bags.

June

1 mattress, 2 drums petrol (chief), 2 empty drums, 1 bed,* etc., 1 empty drum; 1 parcel blankets, 1 empty drum, 1 case soap, 1 bag rope, 4 scrap rails, 20 scrap metal sleepers (for chief); 1 bed, 1 mattress, 1 parcel blankets, 1 bale blankets, 1 table, 1 bag tobacco, 2 bags of grain bags; 2 drums petrol (chief); 1 plough with trek chains, 2 Kafir clay pots, 3 boxes sundries; 1 box personal effects, 1 box clothing, 1 parcel picks with handles and rope; 2 beds, etc.; 4 mattresses, 2 chairs, bedding, 1 bag empty tins; 1 bed, etc., 2 chairs; 1 bag empty grain bags

July

1 bag sugar, 1 tin coffee; 1 parcel blankets; 2 chairs, 1 empty drum; 1 parcel blankets; 1 door and casement, 1 bag empty grain bags; 6 empty tins, 1 trek chain, 1 package plough parts (shares, bolts), 2 bags Kafir corn, 1 door and frame, 1 door and casement, 1 sideboard, 1 packet picks, 1 saw, 1 case brick forms; 2 drums paraffin (chief); 1 bag grain bags, 1 case sundries, 1 bag workman's tools, 1 tin do., 1 length angle iron, 2 empty drums; 1 case clothing, 1 bag sugar, 3 bags unmanufactured tobacco, 2 chairs; 1 door.

August

1 box clothing; 1 case clothing, 1 trunk clothing; 1 case paraffin (chief); 1 parcel trek chains, 3 packages timber (for well), 1 wooden door, 1 bag mealie meal, 1 bale empty bags and woolpacks; 2 pigs (chief), 1 case household soap, 1 pocket sugar, 1 suitcase; 1 box clothing, 1 pocket sugar; 15 empty grain bags; 1 bellows and part, 1 drum paraffin (chief); 2 chairs; 1 bale soft goods; 2 bags Kafir corn; 1 plough, 1 bed, mattress, etc., 1 parcel clothing, 2 chairs, 1 package buckets and pans, 1 bale grain bags, 1 box clothing; 6 bags Kafir corn, 2 bags mealies, 3 bags Kafir corn.

September

3 double furrow ploughs (chief's uncle), 1 package empty tins, 1 box clothing; 1 plough, etc.; 2 ploughs, 1 bale shares; 1 case clothing; 1 case books; 1 case clothing, 1 empty drum, 1 parcel riems; 1 pocket sugar; 1 bag blankets, 1 crowbar; 1 bag clothing; 1 table, 2 chairs, 1 door; 4 chairs; 1 empty drum; 1 box slates, 4 sheets galvanized iron; 1 bag mealie meal, 1 bag Boer meal; 1 bag grain bags, 1 door and frames; 1 casement; 1 tin kerosene; 1 Kafir pot and lid, 8 boxes tobacco; 1 package engine belt (chief's uncle), 1 bag grain bags, 1 bag clothing; 1 box personal effects; 1 box personal effects, 1 bale sundries; 1 bale coir matting, 1 plough; 2 chairs; 1 plough; 1 empty drum, 1 chair, 1 bag Kafir corn; 4 rolls tobacco, 1 bag oranges; 2 bales galvanized iron, 1 deal timber; 7 sheets flat galvanized iron, 1 bag sugar, 1 bag soap, 1 box clothing.

APPENDIX H (continued)

October

1 box clothing; 4 boxes tobacco; 4 cases tobacco; 1 parcel picks and rakes; 1 pcl clothes, 1 pcl clothes, 1 bag Kafir corn, 1 pcl blankets, 1 pcl caps, 1 pcl blankets; 1 pcl plough shares, 1 empty drum, 2 cases paraffin, 1 case petrol (chief), 1 sideboard, 1 pcl bags, 1 pcl bags, 1 Kafir pot; 1 package picks, 2 empty barrels, 2 empty drums, 1 bed, etc., 1 saddle, 1 drum paraffin (chief); 1 pcl denum, 1 case softs, 1 bench, 1 chair, 1 bag dishes, 1 bundle planks, 1 mattress, 1 wheelbarrow; 1 pcl empty tins, 10 pcls grain bags (200), 1 empty drum; 1 package sugar cane, 1 pcl picks; 1 bag mealie meal; 2 bales plough shares, 1 bag Kafir corn, 1 plough, 1 parcel meat; 1 package chains, 1 door and frame; 2 bags Kafir corn, 1 wooden door frame; 1 pcl plough shares.

November

2 bags mealie meal; 1 pcl bags, 1 bag malt, 1 bag Kafir corn, 1 bag mealie meal; 1 bag mealie meal; 1 bag Kafir corn, 1 bag mealie meal, 1 bag salt; 1 bag plough shares, 1 bag blankets; 1 parcel twine; 1 case clothes, 1 empty drum; 1 package chains, 1 bag Kafir corn; 1 pcl clothing; 1 pcl clothing, 1 pcl chains; 1 bag sugar; 1 bag clothing; 2 sewing machines, 1 bag clothing and blankets, 1 bag pots and pans, 1 bed, etc., 1 chair; 1 pcl thatching twine, 1 plough; 1 bag mealie meal, 1 bag mealies, 1 bale buckets; 1 pcl groceries, 1 saw, 1 bag dishes, 1 pcl grain bags; 4 chairs, 1 bag blankets, 6 bags mealies, 1 bag Kafir corn; 2 gates (chief); 3 empty drums, 1 case blankets, 1 case soap, 1 empty drum; 1 bag mealie meal, 1 bag Kafir corn; 2 plough wheels, 1 door, 1 plough.

December

1 plough, 1 bed, etc., 1 bag mealie meal, 1 bag groceries, 4 wagon wheels; 2 bags mealies; 1 bag mealie meal, 1 bag Boer meal, 1 bag grain bags, 1 bed, etc.; 2 ploughs, 1 pcl grease; 1 case clothing, 1 empty drum; 1 plough, 1 case paraffin; 1 case picks; 2 bags Kafir corn, 1 pocket sugar, 1 bag Boer meal; 1 bag mealies; 2 bags Kafir corn, 1 case clothing, 1 bag grain bags, 1 case empty tins, 1 case hatchets (3), 1 case trek chains (6); 1 bed, etc., 1 empty drum, 3½ bags Kafir corn; 1 bag Kafir corn; 1 case trek chains; 1 bag mealies, 2 bags Kafir corn; 1 plough; 4 bags Kafir corn; 1 bag mealie meal, 1 bag mealies; 1 plough, 1 bag grain bags, chains; 1 door; 1 plough, etc., 2 bags mealies, 1 bag mealie meal; 1 bag meal, 1 bed, etc., 1 case clothing.

(b) GOODS BROUGHT HOME BY MEN RETURNING FROM WORK

A. *Mme Repatriates (W.N.L.A.), Francistown*

1. K.D. 1 suitcase, 1 pr men's shoes, 1 grey blanket, 1 pr black trousers; 1 pr grey trousers, 1 pr khaki trousers, 1 black jacket, 1 khaki jacket, 1 white shirt; 1 khaki shirt; 1 black hat, 1 tie, 2 collars, 1 bottle lavender water, 4 cakes toilet soap.

2. N.D. 4 dresses, 1 khaki shirt, 1 grey blanket; 1 pillow, 1 towel, 1 woollen cap, 1 pr shorts; 1 knife, 1 suitcase.

APPENDIX H (continued)

3 E.K. 1 blue overall, 1 pillow; 1 pr khaki trousers; 1 brown overcoat; 2 exercise books, 1 plate, 3 cakes toilet soap, 1 pr sun glasses; 1 tin boot polish; 2 prs armlets

4 G.N. 1 wooden box; 1 grey blanket, 1 pr shoes; 1 bottle lavender water; 1 set safety pins; 1 tin boot polish, 1 pr sun glasses, 1 tin jam, 1 table spoon; 1 knife; 1 vest, 1 box matches

5 M.N. 1 wooden box, 9 rolls wool; 4 yds calico, 1 pr grey trousers; 1 bar blue soap, 1 pr ladies' shoes, 1 cycle handlebar; 2 reels cotton, 2 bottles lavender water, 4 yds dress material, 1 summer vest, 1 pr ladies' stockings, 1 pr ladies' shoes (white), 1 pr blanket straps

6 M.M. 1 wooden box; 1 pr men's shoes; 1 cream shirt, 1 reel cotton; 1 bar blue soap, 1 bottle vaseline; 1 book.

7 K.D. 1 felt hat; 1 khaki shirt; 1 jersey, 1 vest, 1 pr shorts, 1 belt; 1 reel cotton, 1 handkerchief, 1 set shaving machine, 3 bars blue soap.

8 S.N. 1 sewing machine; 1 jersey, 2 dresses, 1 pr khaki trousers, 3 caps, 1 Bible, 2 reels cotton, 2 purses, 1 pr armlets; 1 handkerchief; 1 vest; 1 jacket; 1 bottle embrocation, 1 pr socks

9 B.S. 1 wooden box; 2 grey blankets, 1 white blanket, 1 jacket; 1 pr trousers, 1 pr shorts, 1 quilt; 2 dresses; 1 white shirt; 2 jerseys, 1 vest, 2 doels; 1 handkerchief, 1 cap; 2 boxes blue soap; 3 cakes toilet soap, 2 bottles lavender water, 1 looking glass, 1 pr bangles, 1 pr scissors, 1 bow tie, 1 set safety pins; 1 packet powder; 1 scarf

10 B.S. 1 wooden box; 4 yds calico, 4 yds khaki, 1 grey blanket, 2 jerseys; 1 shirt; 1 black jacket; 1 tie; 2 reels cotton, 1 Bible, 5 notebooks, 2 bottles lavender water, 4 bottles medicine; 2 purses; 1 watch chain; 12 yds calico; 4 yds khaki.

11 R.M. 1 wooden box, 1 grey blanket, 1 pr black trousers; 1 pr brown trousers, 1 pr khaki shorts, 1 brown shirt, 1 white shirt, 1 khaki shirt; 1 black hat; 1 torch (3 cells); 3 cakes toilet soap, 1 tooth brush, 1 bottle lavender water; 1 looking glass, 1 knife; 1 table spoon, 3 batteries (for torch); 1 picture; 1 jersey.

B. Mixed Repatriates (N.R.C.), Palapye¹

1. H.L. 3 prs trousers £3 10s, shoes 25s, vest 9s., shirt 9s., socks 2s. 6d.; blanket 25s., blanket 30s; hat 3s; belt 4s., dress 20s., dress 6s., dress 10s, cotton 1s, towel 3s., suitcase 19s Total £11 16s. 6d.

2. J.M. 1 pr shoes 15s, 1 pr trousers 25s., jacket 35s; blanket 25s; shirt 12s.; shirt 12s. 6d; hat 17s, socks 2s 6d Total £7 4s. 0d.

3. P.C. Gramophone £7, blanket £2, shoes 30s, shirt 22s 6d; tie 4s. 6d.; pullover 4s.; socks 2s. 6d., belt 1s. 6d. Total £12 5s. 0d.

4. L.S. Trunk £1, 2 prs trousers 39s., jacket 25s; 2 shirts £1; vest 8s.; shoes 19s, tie 2s. 6d.; socks 2s., overcoat 35s. Total £8 10s 6d.

5 O.M. 1 pr trousers 22s., jacket 29s., scarf 4s, shirt 3s. 6d, cap 5s, shoes 28s, blanket 22s, 2 shirts 22s Total: £6 15s. 6d.

6 M.B. Jacket 29s., lumber jacket 8s, scarf 3s., shirt 13s., cap 6s. 8d., shoes 16s., blanket £1. Total. £4 15s. 8d.

¹ For these details I am indebted to the N.R.C representative at Palapye (Mr. Bradshaw).

APPENDIX H (continued)

7. G.S. 1 pr shoes 27s, 1 pi. trousers 30s, overcoat £2 15s, beret 4s 6d.
Total £5 16s 6d
8. M.S. 1 pr shoes 25s., overcoat £2 15s., beret 4s 6d, 1 pr Ladies' shoes £1 15s
Total £5 19s. 6d.
9. T.M. 2 blankets £5 5s, jacket £2 18s, shirt 15s, pullover 8s, hat 7s, boots 27s., 2 prs socks 3s., tie 6s. 6d.
Total £11 10s od.
10. G.M. 2 prs trousers £3 15s, 2 shirts £1, jacket £1 15s.
Total £6 10s od.
11. S.J. 2 prs trousers £3 5s, shirt 8s, boots 25s, jacket £2
Total £6 18s. od.
12. M.L. 2 prs trousers £2 10s, 4 blankets £4 2s, 2 shirts 15s
Total £7 7s od.
13. M.T. 3 prs trousers £4, 2 shirts 14s
Total £4 14s. od.
14. K.K. 2 prs trousers, 2 shirts
Total £3 15s od.
15. O.M. 2 blankets £1 16s, shirt 6s, pullover 3s, trunk 10s
Total £2 15s od.
16. L.M. Blanket £5, pullover 18s., trousers 17s.
Total £2 15s. od.
17. L.M. 2 prs trousers 39s, hat 12s 6d, shirt 12s. 6d., vest 3s., 3s., boots 18s, suitcase 19s
Total £4 13s od.
18. O.S. Pr trousers 30s, shirt 12s, hat 10s 6d, jacket £1 7s, pullover 5s. shirt 11s., boots £1
Total £5 15s 6d.
19. T.J. Jacket 22s. 6d., blanket 42s 6d., 2 prs trousers 45s., shirt 10s, khaki trousers 17s
Total £6 17s od.
20. R.S. Jacket £1, 2 prs trousers 30s., socks 2s, belt 4s, shirt 5s., vest 3s, hat 2s 6d, shoes 7s., blanket straps 7s, quilt 10s, blanket £1
Total £5 10s 6d
21. S.M. 2 blankets £3, 2 trousers 70s., jacket and waistcoat 70s, pullover 10s, shoes 30s., hat 10s., tie 2s. 6d, shirt 10s, shirt 10s.
Total £13 12s. 6d.
22. B.S. Pullover 6s., tie 2s., shirt 16s., khaki trousers £1, 2 vests 6s. 6d., hat 4s., eye-glasses 2s. 6d., boots 30s, 1 blanket 30s, 1 blanket £2, trousers 12s. 6d., trunk 32s 6d.
Total £10 2s od.
23. A.M. 4 prs trousers £6 13s. 6d., 2 prs shoes £2 17s. 6d, socks 2s. 6d, shirts 12s. 6d., overcoat 25s., hat 25s, belt 3s. 6d., blanket £1 19s. 6d, suitcase 10s. 6d.
Total £15 9s. 6d.
24. K.G. Blanket £1, rug £1, quilt £1, shoes 22s 6d, shirt 15s, trousers £1, shirt 7s, shirt 6s, socks 1s, hat 1s. 6d
Total £6 13s. od.
- C. Kanye: Mine repatriates and others. (Information collected by chief's office).
1. N.K. 2 pr trousers £2, 3 shirts 19s. 6d, 1 jacket 25s, 1 pr shoes £1, 1 hat 2s 6d, 1 box 15s.
Total £6 2s od.
2. N.K. 1 suit £7 15s, 2 pr trousers £4, 1 hat 32s. 6d, 1 blanket £1 18s., 1 pr. shoes £1 15s
Total £17 0s. 6d.
3. K.M. 2 blankets £4, 2 pr trousers 50s, 2 shirts 15s
Total £7 5s. od.
4. K.S. 2 blankets £2 15s, box 22s 6d.
Total £3 17s. 6d.
5. M.M. 2 blankets £2.
Total £2 0s. od.
6. T.M. 3 blankets £4 5s od.
Total £4 5s od.

APPENDIX H (continued)

7. M M. 1 pr boots 12s., 1 blanket 10s, 1 pr. trousers 15s., 1 shirt 10s.,
1 hat 14s Total £2 11s. 0d.
8. L B. 4 blankets 70s., 2 pr. trousers 27s. 6d., shirt 5s. Total £5 2s 6d.
9. W.O. Blanket £1, jacket £1, trousers £4, shirt 15s. Total £6 15s 0d.
10. M.M. 3 prs trousers £4 5s, blankets £5 11s, boots 30s, hat 7s
Total: £11 13s. 0d.
11. B M. 2 blankets £2, 3 prs trousers 70s. Total £5 10s. 0d.
12. D.L. Suit £7 15s., suit £5 5s., 4 blankets £7 12s 6d., pr^s shoes £1 15s.,
shirt 12s. 6d. Total £24 2s. 0d
13. M.B. Suit £9, 3 blankets £4 10s., 2 shirts 21s., 4 prs shoes £2 10s.
Total £17 1s. 0d.
14. M B. 2 blankets £2 7s. 6d. Total £2 7s. 6d.
15. T.J. Blanket 39s., pr shoes 30s., shirt 10s, cap 5s. Total £4 4s. 0d.

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