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"THE HISTORY AND POLICY OF KAFFIR BEER  
IN SOUTH AFRICA."

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by

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Mr. President, Ladies & Gentlemen,

INTRODUCTORY:

First of all let me say that I regard it as a great honour and privilege to have been invited to give this paper.

Secondly I must apologise for the sketchy nature thereof. Not only was the notice rather short; but pressure of work, a holiday break at the coast and subsequent illness meant that there was very little time for preparation. I shall therefore only be able to speak in general terms, hoping that my address will stimulate discussion and so bring out the feeling of the Conference.

Although there has been very little time for actual work on the subject I have given a great deal of thought even when engaged upon other duties. In fact, I suffered many a twinge of conscience as I did my rounds over the beer halls and Native markets watching carefully just what was going on. While I had previously been aware of the short-comings of these institutions, and had unsuccessfully endeavoured to remedy the position, the whole problem loomed especially large in my mind now that I was faced with the task of producing a paper. While the beer halls in Pietermaritzburg are probably as good as, if not better than, most in the Union, they leave much to be desired, because they are now getting so congested that they no longer preserve the social centre atmosphere. Our beer halls must be made more attractive! Being located in a non-Native area it has not been possible to expand them to meet the ever increasing patronage - hence the unpleasant, overcrowded conditions. At this stage one cannot escape the challenge which we as administrators of

Native...../

Native Affairs must conscientiously face up to. What is the right thing from an ethical point of view? My own view is that total prohibition for all races is the ideal, and that beer halls are places where the average Native spends more than he can really afford. However, as prohibition leads to illicit trafficking with all its hazardous and harmful consequences, and as the beverage obtained from private sources is very often unhygienically prepared, overstrength and adulterated, it is clear that the lesser of the two evils is to allow the consumption of kaffir beer by Natives under fairly strict but sympathetic control. It seems therefore that this Institute is on safe ground in taking the stand that it is in the best interests of the Natives in general that his traditional brew of low-alcoholic content is made available to him under healthy, congenial and peaceful conditions.

THE PLACE OF KAFFIR BEER UNDER TRIBAL CUSTOM:

Ever since the advent of European influence alcohol has as far as the Native is concerned been a perplexing problem. Under old tribal custom it does not appear to have been a problem at all. The liquor consumed by the Natives when they gathered together for recreational or tribal ceremonies was of very low alcoholic content rarely exceeding 3% by weight. As you are aware, it is known as Tshwala in Zulu, Joala in Sotho and Tywala in Xhosa. Custom would not allow any adulteration and great precautions were taken to ensure that it was properly prepared, and certain persons who were regarded as unclean were prohibited from taking any part in the brewing process. It was never intended for sale. Men and women did not drink together, and young people were not allowed to drink.

All the evidence goes to show that the Natives generations back found tshwala essential for the building up of good health, physique and goodwill. It is said of Hubhu ka Sandanezwe that

regular...../

regular consumption of beer gave him such strength that he could wade across a boulder strewn river carrying a heifer over his shoulders. The Zulus have a saying "Utshwala buqinisa umzimba" meaning "Tshwala strengthens the body". The other day I enquired whether isishimeyana did not also have this property. The reply was "Definitely no. That only kills".

Among primitive people custom was the binding force necessary for the well-being and solidarity of a tribe, consequently the observance of such custom served some definite and useful purpose. Among the Zulus one of these customs was the "Umnyenyezo" which was the half-time drink which is served to sharpen the zeal of a work party before completing its task. Should the tribal chief require his cattle-kraal, huts or kraal fences to be built, he would order his brewers to make tshwala and instruct his messengers to make known his intentions to the regiments or young men. The latter knew that they <sup>would</sup> will not get paid for the work, but they also knew that they would be well catered for. In anticipation of this treat an enormous amount of work was done in a short time as the men were anxious to get to the catering stage - the "Umnyenyzo". After this had taken place the work was soon completed and drinking recommenced amidst much jubilation.

The use of the proper ritual in the process of manufacture was of religious importance, and sacrificial offerings of beer were made for the propitiation of evil spirits when sickness occurred. The ancestral spirits could only be fully appeased if the ritual included an offering of beer.

The Zulus have an old-time saying "iqatha lehliswa ngethamo" (take a drink of tshwala after a piece of grilled meat). This would indicate that the most health-giving place of tshwala is just after a bite of beef (meat). This may be the reason for the legislature's wise provision that beer shall be supplied in no other premises than

an eating house.

Tshwala is so wholesome that the genuine old inyanga (medicine man) adds it to his mixture for curing stomach disorders. It is said that the smell of tshwala in such mixtures as Imfundama attracts the troublesome germs and renders their expulsion easy.

In tribal or even family life no ceremonial or social function could take place without tshwala - in fact, the use of this beverage touches Native life so intimately and at so many points that one cannot but accept the fact that it must have proved healthy and wholesome.

"Amadoda ayaqhwebana" is what the Zulus say when they intend to get friendly with one another over a pot of Tshwala. The highest form of expressing and establishing goodwill and peaceful relations is to do it over a pot of beer. The ukhamba lwenhlanzeko is the legendary Tshwala of purification and peacemaking. When two or more persons had quarrelled, the elders concerned talked it over. Tshwala would be brewed and the opposing parties contacted and brought together. The khamba or pot of beer would be placed before the parties, while each in turn explained his difficulties. The elders would then tactfully say their bit to help smooth out the differences. At the same time they would keep throwing covetous glances at the covered beer pot with which they were just itching to get to grips. The disputing parties soon succumb to the pressure, resulting in the khamba being uncovered and its contents partaken of by passing it around. During the course of this participation fun is made of the misunderstanding. Outbursts of laughter attract thirsty listeners and onlookers who call in on the pretext of congratulating the parties on their reconciliation. The drinking continues, the misunderstanding is over and cordial relations restored.

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The ukhamba lwenhlanzeko had done it!

Among the Natives of old, drunkenness was a very big disgrace, and, as a strong sanction of opprobrium would operate, people were careful to avoid excesses. The term isidakwa was a most derogatory term. Young people were strictly prohibited from drinking, and if they even took as much as a sip they would also be termed an "isidakwa" - the last thing that a young man or woman would like to be called.

While I have made special mention of customs found among the Zulu people, it must be emphasized that kaffir beer was also extensively used by the other Bantu tribes. Professor Monica Hunter in "Reaction to Conquest", writing about the Pondo, mentions that in a radius of five miles of one store there were 91 beer drinks and feasts in five months. All Bantu tribes to a greater or lesser extent made use of beer as a means of exchange. If a field has to be harvested, a kraal moved, or any other big task undertaken, a beer drink is arranged and the helpers are rewarded for their labours by being treated to beer.

These brief observations are sufficient to show that Tshwala was regarded as an indispensable ingredient in the community life of the Native, supplying a spiritual, social and material need. In other words the whole social system of the people was inextricably linked up with this popular beverage, which was the first essential in all its festivities, the one incentive to labour, the first thought in dispensing hospitality, the favourite tribute of subjects to their chief, and an important offering dedicated to their essential spirits. It was never used only as a food or beverage; for it was in addition necessary for the proper celebration of every ceremony from birth to death and even thereafter (the ukubuyisa ceremony.)

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With all these opportunities for drinking, one would have thought that drunkenness would have been the order of the day; but far from it! Under tribal usage the incidence of drunkenness was practically nil. Tribal sanctions and training prevented over-indulgence - the Basotho initiation schools specifically warned initiates of this disgrace and taught them the respectable use of their joala. Now that these sanctions have fallen away, some deterrent is essential - hence the very irksome but necessary statutory control measures of today.

THE PLACE OF KAFFIR BEER TODAY:

Having dealt with the use of kaffir beer under tribal custom, it behoves us to consider its position today - a question which touches us as Administrators of Native Affairs so vitally. While beer was used in payment of services rendered or as a means of exchange, under tribal custom it was never sold. Today, however, the illicit sale of this beverage, with its adulterations, is the main source of income of thousands of Native women and men in the urban and peri-urban areas. Even in the reserves beer brewing has assumed a commercial flavour. It is a common thing in Pondoland to have "timiti" parties where entrance fees are charged and the people drink and dance. The word, "timiti" is presumably derived from the English words "tea meeting" but the beverage on sale is never tea but tywala. This custom has spread to the urbanised Zulus who refer to it as isitokofela, the word previously used for the notorious "banks" which were in evidence some ten years ago.

But even in the case of the westernised Native of today tshwala plays an important part in his ceremonial life. The customs may alter slightly or even considerably; but the rite cannot be fulfilled without the ever necessary tshwala. Just as the traditional Native marriages could not take place without

tshwala...../

tshwala so today the average Christian marriage requires tshwala to be served. It would be an unforgivable omission on the part of the responsible kraal head were this not provided, notwithstanding the fact that such kraalhead may be a total abstainer. Of course in certain instances the tshwala would only be used behind closed doors. Actually all modern ceremonies require tshwala for their proper celebration, even though many people would refrain from drinking it. Out of courtesy, however, they would merely put the ukhamba to their lips pretending to have a drink and then pass it on. Some of the sophisticated Natives find it below their dignity to adopt the uncivilised method of using the ukhamba so they have it poured out to them from a teapot utilising the modern cup and saucer or tumbler, yet it is the same old tshwala from the umphongolo (beer barrel)!

Among the more remarkable of the new customs which have come into being is the beer party to celebrate one's release from gaol. Today no stigma attaches to one who has gone to prison, because so many have had to go there for trivial offences.

In view of the large number of unattached males in our cities a great deal of illicit beer traffic takes place, often accompanied by prostitution. We are all well acquainted with the fact that children, riding round on bicycles, are extensively used as touts for customers and as look-outs for the Police. What an education for a child! Because tshwala takes so long to prepare, the risk of being caught by the Police is great, and, as there is always a big demand for alcohol in the urban locations, the Natives started brewing quick-fermenting concoctions such as isishimeyana and isikokiyana which were not only more profitable but also not so easily detected by the Police. It is understood that in Pietermaritzburg and its environs



the illicit traffickers sell kaffir beer which costs them less than 1/- a gallon to brew at 1/- a quart, isishimeyana being sold at 2/- a quart. No wonder these vendors are able to pay the heavy fines which are imposed upon them from time to time! As you all know, Isishimeyana is an adulterated form of tshwala, usually with yeast and sugar added, and this "killer of men" has several disguised or laudatory names, eg. isiqedaviki, isiqatha, umfanogqokisaka, nkawu, izingodo, isikhilimkhwikhi, izinkankatho, umngqamula juqu!

The tribal Native, however, can never be fooled by these mischievous appellations intended to disguise the poisonous "scorpion" (isikokiyana) which is quick to kick and kill. He sticks to his good old tshwala which he knows kills no-one.

#### POLICY IN REGARD TO KAFFIR BEER.

The International Conference which sat at Brussels in 1889, and which adopted the Brussels General Act, 1890, set out the law of Africa in these words:-

"Justly anxious about the moral and material consequences which the abuse of spirituous liquors entails on the Native population the signatory powers have agreed to prohibit the sale of distilled liquors to Natives, except under most stringent control."

At this time kaffir beer was not regarded as an intoxicating liquor and no restrictions were imposed on its use until the turn of last century.

As the number of unattached native males in the towns increased, particularly in the mining areas, drunkenness and immorality assumed large proportions and it became evident that stricter control was necessary. In Natal a move to prevent the brewing of kaffir beer in Pietermaritzburg and Durban resulted in the passing of the Native Beer Act, No. 23 of 1908. In terms of this measure these towns were in 1909 granted the monopoly in respect of the manufacture and sale of Native beer in their respective areas.

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The effect of this step in Native Administration in Pietermaritzburg may be judged by the statements contained in the Mayor's minute for the year ending 31st July 1909 which read:-

"the sole object of the Council in adopting the Monopoly System is to have full control of the manufacture and sale of Native beer within the Borough, thereby ensuring that the Natives will be supplied with good, wholesome and unadulterated Native beer made from kaffir corn. Reports received from the Police and the Natives themselves show that the Council's object has been attained, and the town is now free from Native drunkenness and immorality, which was becoming a serious danger to the citizens. From a financial point of view the venture is also a success."

The Mayor's minute for the following year also contains reference to this subject in the following terms:-

"So far as the Municipality is concerned the Monopoly System has proved successful in the stamping out of shebeens and drunkenness, and immorality amongst the Natives; but the evil has been transferred to the confines of the Municipality."

At the time when consideration was being given to the extension of the provisions of the Natal Native Beer Act to the proposed Urban Areas Act (subsequently known as Act No. 21 of 1923) the following opinion was found in the Mayor's minute for the year ending 31st July, 1922:-

"This Province is content with the existing legislation in regard to Native Beer and control in local authorities. If other Provinces do not wish this control to be in the hands of local bodies this is

not...../

not sufficient reason for interfering with the system in Natal. In spite of all that may be said to the contrary, the monopoly system has resulted in a very marked decrease in crime, and shebeening - once the greatest trouble confronting the Police - has, in towns, practically ceased. Until this condition can be improved upon, it should not be interfered with."

In 1941 when this Department tendered evidence to the Native Affairs Commission of Enquiry into the working of the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act relating to the use and supply of kaffir beer, the same opinion was expressed, namely that the monopoly system operated in the best interests of the Natives. In fact, it was then predicted that the introduction of a dual system of domestic brewing in the Native Village and a municipal monopoly in the non-Native area would be a retrogressive step.

It might be mentioned here that as the result of a report of the Native Economic Commission of 1930-1932 and the recommendations of a subsequent departmental committee, the Native Laws Amendment Act No. 46 of 1937 was passed. This amended the Native (Urban Areas) Act to make it lawful for Natives to brew and consume their own beer in locations or native villages in urban areas in which the municipal authorities did not choose to erect a beer hall or licence natives to sell beer. In 1938, rather than submit to the alternative of domestic brewing, many of the local authorities, particularly those on the Reef, applied for the monopoly system. It was no doubt felt that the system of home brewing would give rise to very serious problems were it to be allowed in industrial areas or contiguous areas where a large proportion.../

proportion of the Native working population consisted of unattached males.

DOMESTIC BREWING OF KAFFIR BEER.

As has just been mentioned, this system has been strongly opposed by the big Transvaal towns, presumably because of the abuses and consequent lawlessness which may result therefrom, and the inadequacy of machinery whereby to control the position. When domestic brewing without the permit system was first introduced in the Sobantu Village (Pietermaritzburg) matters became so bad that even the Native Advisory Board came to the unanimous conclusion that it had proved a failure. This was an extraordinary conclusion to reach particularly as public Native opinion is solidly in favour of domestic brewing. If domestic brewing was a failure in a small township like the Sobantu Village, how much worse would it not be in the large Transvaal townships! However, public opinion prevailed and domestic brewing facilities were allowed to continue but with the permit system. It was unfortunate that the opportunity was not then taken to introduce a beer hall which could have operated concurrently with domestic brewing. Once domestic brewing has been allowed it is very difficult to introduce beer halls, as has been the case at Welkom. Actually domestic brewing facilities are a very good thing for the residents, provided that the beer is used according to tradition and not commercialised. Legal machinery exists for withdrawing these facilities (Section 33(3) of the Act), but the practical difficulties of implementing this machinery are enormous.

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO USE OF KAFFIR BEER:

In 1941 the whole problem of kaffir beer in urban areas assumed such large proportions that the Government decided to appoint a commission to enquire into the working of the provisions of the Native (Urban Areas) Act relating to the use and

supply of kaffir beer, whose terms of reference were as follows:

1. The success or otherwise of the grant to local authorities of the exclusive right to manufacture, sell and supply kaffir beer as it affects:-
  - (a) the suppression of the illicit traffic;
  - (b) the prevention of crime generally;
  - (c) the supply of beer to those who desire it in circumstances which are hygienic and convenient;
  - (d) the general well-being of the Natives in the urban areas.
2. The alleged preference of Natives for the system of domestic brewing, the reason therefor and the possibility of securing adequate control under such a system.
3. The feasibility of a dual system of municipal supply and domestic brewing.
4. The disposal of the profits derived from the sale of kaffir beer by local authorities.
5. The advisability of permitting the sale by local authorities of kaffir beer to non-Natives.
6. The exercise of the powers of search for kaffir beer made or kept in contravention of the laws or regulations.
7. The necessity or otherwise of regulations for the control of the traffic in sprouted grain under one or other system or under a dual system and the effect of such regulations on the trade in grains; and

8. Generally the working of the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act relating to the use and supply of kaffir beer.

The more important findings and recommendations recorded by this Commission were as follows:-

- (1) (a) The Commission believes that beer halls have had very little, if any effect on the suppression of illicit Native concoctions, but they have undoubtedly had some effect in suppressing the sale of illicit kaffir beer. (In the light of our experience there are many of us who will disagree with the view expressed in the first part of this opinion. In Pietermaritzburg since we adopted a new brewing process and consistently produced good, fresh beer our beer sales have more than quadrupled, and the Native patrons say openly that there is no longer any need to get their supplies from traffickers because they can get reasonably good beer from the beer halls, (even if it is not as strong as isishimayana), which they can consume under safe and peaceful conditions. The Police too have reported that there has been a marked decrease in trafficking in concoctions in the City proper.),
- (b) The Commission is of opinion that in providing an hygienic and pure beverage under conditions of control, the beer halls are fulfilling a necessary and useful function.
- (c) Commission considers that the wellbeing of the urban Natives would best be served by:-
- (i) The cultivation of a social atmosphere in beer halls, coupled with health giving attractions which would sustain the

interests...../

interests of the Natives during their leisure hours.

(ii) The increase of sympathetic and efficient control of the urban Natives by the employment of competent and experienced municipal officials.

(iii) The elimination of the bar atmosphere in the beer halls.

(2) In regard to domestic brewing the Commission is of the opinion that while there is an expressed preference by Natives for the system of domestic brewing, such a system cannot meet the requirements of all Natives in the municipal areas. My own view is that if domestic brewing is to be permitted, the beer hall system should run concurrently with domestic brewing, so that the unattached Native, and the busy and lazy householders can get beer easily and legally. There is of course much to commend the Springs and Vereeniging systems of off-sales, and for new townships municipal monopoly with off-sales facilities would possibly be the best arrangement.

(3) I have already touched on the dual system; but in this regard the Commission favoured the idea that the local authority, subject to the approval of the Minister, should be endowed with discretion to adopt a system or combination of systems most suited to the areas concerned. (As has been mentioned before, once domestic brewing alone has been practised, grave difficulty will be experienced in introducing beer halls).

- (4) Beer hall profits should be reserved for Native social welfare, and it is expected that the advantages derived from the sale of kaffir beer should be exercised for the improvement of the eating house part of the beer hall.
- (5) The Commission recommends delegation of powers of search to specific individuals.
- (6) The Commission is of the opinion that, irrespective of the system of kaffir beer supply, control of sprouted grain will only become possible by local authorities themselves assuming responsibility for the distribution and sale of sprouted grain.
- (7) It is the considered opinion of the Commission that any Native or coloured location resident convicted for the second time of selling liquor, other than kaffir beer, should as a matter of policy, suffer detention at a farm colony or other such institution.

Several of the above recommendations resulted in the introduction of further amendments to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, e.g. legislation was introduced in 1945 making possible the simultaneous operation of domestic brewing and municipal supply, or of domestic brewing and the issuing of permits to male Native householders to manufacture and sell kaffir beer for consumption on their premises. These clauses were however permissive and most local authorities that possessed a municipal monopoly decided to retain it.

In terms of section 37, Act No. 54 of 1952, (now section 34 (6)(bis) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act), the

Minister...../



Minister of Native Affairs may fix the selling price of kaffir beer sold by an urban authority. This piece of legislation was no doubt introduced to ensure that local authorities did not make excessive profits.

DISPOSAL OF PROFITS FROM THE SALE OF KAFFIR BEER:

Section 19 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act provides that all moneys derived by an urban local authority from the sale of kaffir beer must be credited to a sub-account of the Native Revenue Account called the "Kaffir Beer Account". This sub-account is chargeable only with:-

- (i) Expenditure incurred by the urban local authority in connection with the manufacture, sale and supply of kaffir beer;
- (ii) Expenditure on any services or grant which may be certified by the Minister as being calculated to improve the social or recreational amenities available for the Native residents within the area of the local authority, or otherwise to promote their social welfare;
- (iii) an amount equal to two-thirds of the balance standing to the credit of the Kaffir Beer Account at the end of the financial year of the local authority which commenced after the 31st December, 1949, plus two-thirds of the profits derived from the sale of kaffir beer during every subsequent financial year and not used during that financial year for any of the purposes mentioned in paragraph (i), which amounts shall revert to the main revenue account and against which

may...../

may be charged:-

- (a) the losses on housing schemes for Natives in a location, native village or hostel;
- (b) any amount required to offset the loss to the Native Revenue Account resulting in the reduction of rentals in force in any location village or hostel;
- (c) the capital expenditure on housing schemes or works or services for or in connection with any location, village or hostel; and
- (d) interest and redemption charges and maintenance costs for or in connection with a location, village or hostel: provided that the Governor-General may, by proclamation and under certain circumstances, suspend for a period the provisions of this paragraph or he may withdraw its provisions altogether.

It might be of interest to mention that my Council unsuccessfully endeavoured to secure permission to charge Police services to this account; as it was felt that the duties of the municipal police were mainly to ensure the security and safety of the residents - an important social benefit. The Native Affairs Department, however, did not share this view.

Another interesting point here is that the Department of Native Affairs has forbidden all local authorities the use of kaffir beer profits for the building of schools in Native townships. In a circular letter to all local authorities the Department stated that the tendency of local authorities to use profits in this way was deprecated, as Natives, by such usage, were in fact encouraged

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to consume more beer to increase profits so that more schools could be provided, and so justify "what actually is an evil".

"It is the policy of the Department to restrict kaffir beer profits to a minimum or to see that profits vanished completely. The only reason for allowing local authorities to sell kaffir beer was to combat the evils incidental to uncontrolled brewing and not to make a profit."

ADVANTAGES OF MUNICIPAL MONOPOLY:

If profits are to be heavily curtailed there is a grave danger that the margin of profit will be so low that the smallest increase in the cost of ingredients might result in the kaffir beer account sustaining serious losses. As we all know the price of kaffir corn fluctuates considerably from year to year. Moreover, it would never do to change the price of beer from year to year.

Furthermore, where would the funds come from for such amenities as social centres, sports grounds, clinics, health services, old age homes, grants-in-aid to charitable organisations etc.?

The Natives themselves certainly cannot pay for them, and I doubt whether any local authority would be prepared to contribute to such amenities from its general rates.

In this connection I would like to quote from a statement made by Mr. Bourquin, Manager, Native Administration Department, Durban, at the Institute's meeting last June. He stated, and I heartily agree with him, that apart from the material benefits accruing to Natives through the Municipal supply of kaffir beer, there were the indirect benefits such as:-

- (1) Ensures manufacture of a standard quality under hygienic conditions, control of uniform food value and alcoholic content. Latest developments in kaffir beer research become available.

(2)...../

- (2) Profit incentive is not first consideration, therefore consumer gets his beverage at a price well within his means.
- (3) Control over supply and consumption prevents excessive over-indulgence with the resultant benefit to the peace of the community.
- (4) Prevents a deterioration in health, morals and crime by minimising illicit brewing and the consumptions of concoctions. Instead of concoctions a nutritive drink is supplied at a reasonable price.
- (5) Beer halls provide places where Natives can meet to eat and drink together in conformity with their social customs. Natives have somewhere to go and something to do during lunch hours and spare time, and are kept off the streets. Beer halls become social centres.
- (6) Kaffir beer off-sales in locations will strengthen family life by minimizing the attractions of shebeens.
- (7) Profits are ploughed back to the benefit of the Native community in the shape of health, welfare and social amenities.

There is of course also the very material benefit which has been mentioned earlier, i.e. the two-thirds portion of the kaffir beer profits which is permitted to off-set losses on housing, losses in the case of reduction of rentals and expenditure on works or services.../

services connected with a location, native village or hostel. It would be a terrific hardship on the great majority of Natives were they required to pay a fully economic rent on the existing type of housing in many locations. In Pietermaritzburg the corresponding economic rents for sub-economic housing in one of the recent schemes is as follows:-

One-bedroom type, sub-economic 18. 6d p.m. Economic £2.16.2. p.m.

Two-bedroom type, sub-economic 1. 6. 0d p.m. Economic £3.19. 0.p.m.

In the Economic scheme the rentals are £2.14.6. per month for a one-bedroom cottage, £3.17.9. per month for a two-bedroom cottage and £5. 0. 0. per month for a three-bedroom cottage. As many residents will not be able to keep up with their payments, and as there is no alternative sub-economic housing available, one cannot avoid losses. The question is can these losses be met from kaffir beer profits? It seems only right that they should be.

A municipal monopoly would do away with a great deal of unpleasantness and would create better relations between the residents and the Police. Domestic brewing cannot be left uncontrolled, and it is a constant source of annoyance to the residents to be visited by Police who come to check on quantities etc. This friction would be avoided if there were no domestic brewing but a municipal off-sales supply. So often it is the case that a resident's reputation rests mainly on his generosity, so it is very hard on him if he is to get into trouble merely because of overbrewing. The experience gained in Pietermaritzburg is that it is the unattached Native male visitor from the town proper who invariably is the cause of incidents in the village. Under the cloak of domestic brewing concoctions are brewed which often have the effect of putting the patrons in a fighting mood. I do not think that illicit trafficking can ever be stopped, but where there are no domestic brewing facilities but a municipal off-sales supply, the position...../

position would certainly be better. Mr. de Jager, Manager, Non-European Affairs, Springs, maintains that this system is working very well and is one of the main instruments in fighting shebeens. This view is shared by Mr. I.P. Ferreira, Manager of Non-European Affairs, Vereeniging, where the same position applies. Where there is a large number of unattached males, it is considered that the municipal monopoly system is in the best interests of the Natives as well as the local authority concerned. It is considered, therefore that where the monopoly system is established, no change should be made unless very cogent reasons can be advanced.

POLICY IN REGARD TO SITING OF BEER HALLS.

I have no information on this aspect but in view of the various incidents which have taken place, it is clear that the Native Affairs Department would want to lay down certain requirements which I understand they have. No doubt these include provisions that a beer hall must not be near a highway and outside a non-native area. My own view is that a beer hall should be segregated as far as possible from married quarters. Rather than one large beer hall there should be several small ones, suitably sited in proximity to single quarters.

STAFFING OF BEER HALLS:

In Pietermaritzburg the Advisory Board is urging that Native cashiers be employed at the beer halls. While I am satisfied that suitable Natives can be found to do the work, it is considered that the time is not yet ripe for Natives to take over such duties especially where there is congestion. The Native in a beer queue is usually somewhat impatient and it is doubtful whether he will accord his fellowman the same respect as a European. For the sake of the security of the patrons and the safety of municipal property, it would appear inadvisable at this stage to replace

European...../

European cashiers by Natives, except perhaps in the smaller beer halls.

EUROPEAN LIQUOR.

In considering kaffir beer, the national beverage of the tribal Native, one cannot get away from the fact that there is an ever-increasing tendency for the sophisticated Native to use European liquor. In order to cater for the better class of Native in Pietermaritzburg, a special hall fitted with better furniture and pictures was set aside for them. Over the past four or five years this hall has not been patronised, from which one can infer that the better class of Native is not interested in kaffir beer.

In terms of the Liquor Act certain Natives may obtain permits to purchase and possess liquor, yet in terms of Section 32 of the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act we read:

"Notwithstanding anything in any law contained, no person shall introduce into a location, native village or native hostel any liquor and no person shall be in possession of any liquor within a location, native village or native hostel unless such introduction or possession:-

- (a) is supported by the written order of a duly qualified medical practitioner certifying that the liquor is required for medicinal purposes by the person specified therein; or
- (b) is, in the opinion of the officer in charge of the location, native village or native hostel, for sacramental purposes."

W Surely this is not reasonable!

The question of liquor in locations is of course a very delicate problem. If certain Natives were permitted to introduce liquor, this privilege could be open to abuse. On the other hand...../

hand many Natives who at present cannot qualify for liquor permits spend large sums of money purchasing it illegally, e.g. a nip of cane costs 5/- while a nip of brandy costs 6/- when purchased from "Mailers" - illicit vendors. This is certainly a hardship for the ordinary law-abiding Native who merely because of his colour becomes a "criminal." I am certainly not advocating that the door should be opened to all and sundry, but a slight relaxation of the law does appear to be indicated.

As I appear to have got on to dangerous ground I must extricate myself before I am more deeply involved.

Again, thank you Mr. President for this honour, and thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for listening to me so patiently!



Kaffe Beer

Program

1. 2nd night or more - K.B. profits - 5th
2. Embroidery liquor - naturalness - E. liquor trails
- 3.

Knansha - juv E beer - wine

Brent

was great K.B. - a traditional, daily part of diet  
if no should be sold at near int - justify in v. 8  
the intuitive value

70% - UN revealed income - from sale of K.B.

see July + Africa, Jordan = from K.B.

all income → N.H. a/c

K.B. of - should be provided from financing  
honey

Brent left up depressed people by making them do so  
by their own three laws

Fayyza

7.20  
7.40

Angel  
Bequedichat

- K.B. - not immoral - like 2 + spirit  
- this time - Pasanes - breakfast  
V. gray then liquor - Africa - want strong liquor  
naturalness liquor trails

Burkoff  
Solobny

Some of the most reactionary of members - Solobny  
Nelson Fay for themselves on schools - why not  
Rubbish but not fearful for K.B.  
Councilors - experienced men - let them deal.

Miss Schwartz

- Her father on important work in the Kaffe Beer  
fellowship worked up by IATA for CSIR. -  
very good.

B. camp  
1stly

Class of nature - who wants E. liquor.  
should cater for this class.  
Set. African page re g. 3 profits.

Defeat  
(agitated)

Arkiana  
to Tom from  
Bruf

Teal type  
July papers  
we come Tom from

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