

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PATTERN OF RACIAL RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. In this chapter, an attempt is made to present a factual account of the general pattern of relations between Europeans and Bantu as it has originated and developed in South Africa, and of the general background and causes which have given rise to it.

2. The contact between Europeans and Bantu referred to in the preceding chapters, with the resultant establishment of European authority over the various Bantu tribes and Bantu areas, and their inclusion within the European political structure, carried a large number of problems along with it, *inter alia*, with reference to the place of the Bantu in the political and economic structure of the country and in regard to mutual attitudes and relationships. Racial relations in South Africa are characterised by the fact that they are, to a very large extent, based on the principle of "segregation", "separation", "apartheid", as far as both general and more personal relationships are concerned. The pattern has become traditional and is accepted as self-evident by the vast majority of the European population.

3. In this connection, it must be emphasised at the outset that it would be erroneous to allege that this pattern originated solely or even in the first instance, from selfish and oppressive considerations, or only favours the European. Actually it is based on two clearly perceptible principles, namely (1) self-protection and self-preservation on the side of the Europeans, and (2) recognition and protection of the Bantu's own institutions etc., and of their needs, interests and rights. To a large extent these two principles are not mutually conflicting, but complementary, and they are frequently applied as a harmonious entity. However, as the Bantu are introduced into non-Bantu areas and become more and more detribalised and westernised, the European will be confronted with ever greater problems in regard to the maintenance of his position of authority.

4. In this connection, it is of interest to note that the European population never enslaved the indigenous inhabitants—although every opportunity for doing so existed had they so desired. This attitude is clearly exemplified in the manifesto of Piet Retief (1837), in the Constitution of the South African Republic (Article 10), and in the Sand River, Pretoria and London Conventions. Even the apprenticeship system was placed under strict control and supervision (e.g. in the "Apprentice Act" of 1851, in Transvaal Government Notice No. 77 of 1866 etc.).

5. With reference to the question how this principle of separation reveals and expresses itself, it must always be borne in mind that in the main it is concerned with the position of the Bantu in non-Bantu areas; in the Bantu Areas themselves the interests of the Bantu are generally regarded as paramount, and opportunities for them to realise their aspirations in these areas, are available.

6. In the political sphere, the function of government rests in the hands of the European population, with very limited representation of the Bantu in Parliament and the Cape Provincial Council (for particulars see Chapter 8). As a rule, the Bantu have no representation in local authorities. Except in the Bantu Areas, the administration (in its restricted sense) is exercised almost exclusively by the European population. The European share is also predominant as regards the administration of justice (save in the Bantu Areas). The services of Bantu are, however, employed on a relatively large scale in the police force.

7. In the economic sphere, the share of the Bantu is mainly that which falls to the unskilled labourer and the consumer; the managerial group, the professional group and the group of skilled workers consist almost exclusively of Europeans, while the position of the European worker is protected against possible Bantu competition in all sorts of ways. Bantu workers may not form registered trade unions (alternative machinery has been created). In this connection, reference should also be made to the "civilised labour" policy followed earlier, and to the control measures which limit the Bantu's freedom of movements, for example, in regard to entry into urban areas. By virtue of its political supremacy, the European population, acting through Parliament, decides how the income of the State shall be expended. Certain types of work are regarded by some European as being beneath their dignity (see further—Chapter 9.)

8. The principle of separation is strongly upheld especially in the social sphere; there is an almost total absence of free social intercourse, intermingling and equality, not only on account of aversion to it, but also because the points of social contact are very limited. This principle is maintained as regards sporting activities, places of amusement and public conveniences, in the various state institutions, and where residential areas, educational institutions, most ecclesiastical organisations, hospitals, transport, facilities, etc., are concerned. There is strong public opposition to miscegenation, and sexual intercourse and mixed marriages are legally prohibited.

9. The driving force behind this policy followed by the European population is its desire to preserve its identity. However, its actions are not based solely on the fact that it is white, that is on purely racial grounds. These actions are the result of a totality of factors which might collectively be regarded as the "creation" of the European population in South Africa. In the absence of "discrimination", what would happen is that the foundations on which European civilisation rests, would vanish before the European himself disappeared. It is for this reason that the European population will not tolerate any conduct which may endanger the foundations on which its continued existence depends.

10. It is evident that this pattern and way of life is not merely an accidental creation. That race relations in South Africa should be based on racial-cultural principles and distinctions, and that considerations of race or colour should play a determinant part, is intelligible when South African history and background are taken into account.

11. It is well-known that such feelings and racial consciousness did not exist in very strong measure among the Dutch Colonists in the years immediately succeeding the establishment of the settlement in 1652; though it is possible that the West European background from which the colonists had come, promoted its development. Van Riebeeck tried to maintain good relations with the Hottentots, because he was dependent on them for the procurement of cattle. Even in the first few years after the establishment of the settlement, however, relations became strained, until, as a result of their nomadic way of life, their impoverishment and the smallpox epidemic of 1713, the Hottentots ceased to be a menace to the European colonists. Contact with the Bushmen and later with the Bantu followed. A further factor affecting the population pattern, was the importation and utilisation of slaves and slave labour (from 1658); particularly after 1691, slave labour became an inseparable part of economic and social life at the Cape.

12. It is possible that even in these early years, the religious and cultural differences between the civilised European colonists and the Hottentots made their influence felt. Religious differences especially played a powerful part in the attitude towards the Hottentots and towards the slave population. For instance, legal marriages could only be contracted between Christians; because the Hottentots could not easily be Christianised and on account of the racial-cultural differences, marriages and extra-marital sexual intercourse between Europeans and Hottentots were practically unknown. Extra-marital intercourse and marriages with female slaves naturally occurred from time to time. Children of such mixed descent were looked upon as belonging to the European community and by comparison with the full-blooded children of slaves or of slaves and Hottentots, they occupied a privileged position. Acceptance of Christianity and baptism, led to liberation from the status of a slave.

13. It would appear, however, that within a few years, after the establishment of the settlement at the Cape, the views of the European population began to change. Probably the most important factor herein was the institution of the Free Burghers in 1657, that is to say, the evolution of the temporary refreshment station into a community of permanent settlers. As early as 1671, Commissioner Isbrand Goske issued instructions calculated to counteract intercourse between Europeans and slaves, and in 1678, the Council of Policy had already pronounced against extra-marital intercourse with female slaves. In 1685, marriages and extra-marital intercourse between Europeans and liberated full-blooded female slaves, were forbidden. It would thus appear that about twenty years after the establishment of the settlement, this feeling already existed and that it gradually became intensified in course of time. Probably it would also be correct to assert that the established farming population had a

relatively small share in the process of racial intermingling, and that the miscegenation that did occur, must be ascribed in much larger measure to the visiting sailors and soldiers and the temporary servants of the Company.

14. This change of attitude is reflected, among other things, by the changes that took place in connection with the baptism of slave-children. Originally, full-blooded children of slaves could be presented for baptism along with European children and those of mixed descent. In 1676, however, we find the Church Council deciding that when the children of heathen parents were presented for baptism, the ceremony must be deferred until such time as the parents were also instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, so that they could be baptised along with their child(ren). The result of this was that fewer and fewer full-blooded slave children were presented for baptism. In other ways, also, the liberation of full-blooded slaves was made more difficult; and it seems as if, especially after the beginning of the eighteenth century, it became increasingly accepted that slave children of mixed descent, should be subject to the same limitations as full-blooded slave children. And in 1792, the Church Council of Cape Town announced that it was already the practice there, to baptise slaves without incurring the obligation to liberate them, and that such conduct was prohibited neither by the State nor by the church.

In the course of the eighteenth century, the pattern of race relations as we know it today, assumed its final shape. The Commission on Mixed Marriages in South Africa (1939) stated in regard to the feeling against racial intermingling:—

“By the middle of the eighteenth century it had become marked and by the beginning of the nineteenth century, public opinion had evidently long become strongly adverse to it..... In 1817 the Dutch Church at Cape Town made an official declaration against the inter-marriage of whites and natives.”

15. Contact with the Bantu since the beginning of the nineteenth century led to the further development and strengthening of the pattern which had already assumed shape in the course of the eighteenth century. Disregard of this pattern by the British authorities at the Cape provoked a strong reaction as appeared, for example, from the opposition to Ordinance No. 50 of 1828, the Great Trek and so on. In the course of time, the pattern was applied in an increasing number of spheres, for instance in education, church and politics.

16. The origin of this pattern and the strong racial feeling which lies at its foundation, must be ascribed to a large complex of factors of which the following are the most important:—

(i) *The Differences in regard to Religion.*—Reference has already been made above to the importance of the religious factor. The colonists had a strong and active Christian Protestant faith strengthened still further by the Calvinistic outlook derived from the Huguenots. The essential religious differences between the Europeans on the one hand, and the non-Christian or heathen non-European groups by whom they were encircled on the other, not only promoted

European solidarity and group unity, but also exerted its influence in other spheres (for example the social sphere, since social intermingling on a large scale would have endangered the continued existence of the Christian religion). But their Christian outlook brought it about that steps were taken to Christianise the heathen, and that a policy of extermination of the indigenous population was never followed.

- (ii) *The Differences in Civilisation.*—From the nature of the case, these differences played a very powerful part in the origination of the pattern and the mutual relations and attitudes.
- (iii) *The Racial (Biological) Differences.*—The physical differences and dissimilarities especially between European and Bantu, led to a feeling of aloofness and physical aversion.
- (iv) *The Differences in Economic and Social Status.*—The institution of slavery strengthened the opinion that the non-European is in effect socially and economically subordinate to the European.
- (v) *The Combatant Relationship.*—The combatant relationship and its intensity necessarily gave rise to an unshakable resolve on the part of the Europeans, to maintain themselves.
- (vi) *The Difference in Numbers.*—From an early date, the European was numerically in an unfavourable position, and was thus continually involved in a struggle for self-preservation and self-protection; and, therefore, he was compelled to take the measures necessary to ensure his own survival as member of a minority group.

17. These various aspects explain to a large extent, the origin of the pattern. Two alternatives were available to the European population during the 18th and 19th centuries. They could have followed a policy of assimilation and thus eventually have vanished as a separate European population group and as bearers of the Christian Religion and Western Civilisation; or, they could have taken steps to safeguard their existence and their separate identity. From an historic point of view, it is understandable why they chose the second alternative.

18. The passage of years brought about no noticeable relaxation either in the policy itself, or in the views of the European community.

This must be attributed to the fact that the differences referred to above, continued to exist to a large extent. In addition a number of supplementary factors emerged; as e.g. the fact that the policy and attitudes had become traditional, that the military struggle had been decided in favour of the European, that the European could establish his undisputed political supremacy over the Bantu, the existence of economic differences and differences in living standards as between the two groups etc. In the course of time, the racial factor became the symbol of all these differences and the struggle for self-preservation and survival. Recently also, the growing consciousness of the Europeans' position as members of a numerical minority not only in South Africa, but also on the African continent, has led to a greater realisation of the dangers threatening the continued existence of the Europeans as a separate entity.

CHAPTER 5

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AMONG THE BANTU IN SOUTH AFRICA

I. A SHORT HISTORICAL SURVEY.

1. From the start of their settlement at the Cape in 1652, the Christianity of the Europeans exercised a Christian missionary influence over the heathen part of the population. With the passage of years, this influence increased in extent and intensity, so that the European became a powerful factor in the process of civilising and converting the non-Europeans. This was the unofficial part of the missionary work done in South Africa. It is almost impossible to determine the value of this precisely.

2. Over and above this unsystematic missionary work, the South African Churches such as the Dutch Reformed Church, the Methodists, Anglicans, Lutherans and others have made a tremendous contribution to the Christianisation of the original inhabitants of South Africa.

3. A great deal, however, has also been done by foreign churches and missionary societies. The commencement of their work dates from 1774, when George Schmidt of the Moravian Missionary Society began his labours at Genadendal as pioneer and forerunner of the long line of men and women who have offered their lives on the altar of Missions in South Africa.

4. It is noteworthy that the establishment of European authority in South Africa not only contributed to the physical and material welfare of the aborigines, but especially promoted the progress of Missions, so that the flourishing period of Missions in South Africa really dates from that time.

5. With few exceptions, the Europeans in South Africa, who were for the most part Christians and at the same time Protestants, were favourably inclined

towards the missionary cause, so that in this favourable atmosphere, Missions could thrive as they did in few other countries of the world.

6. On the other hand, it must be stated that the rash and misguided conduct of some missionaries did not advance the cause, but on the contrary damaged it to such an extent that the repercussions of this have gone down in history, a fact which must be deeply deplored.

7. As a result of the fact that South Africa presented such ideal missionary circumstances and opportunities as compared with other parts of the continent, there has been virtually a rush of overseas missionary bodies to this country during the past 100 years. At the end of 1951, no fewer than 78 recognised churches and societies were active on the South African missionary scene. This state of affairs is unique in the entire history of Missions. The Missionary activities of the Churches reveal a wide geographical distribution covering the entire Union, the High Commission Territories and South West Africa.

8. Without mutual consultation and without previous strategic planning, everyone tried to advance on the missionary front on his own initiative. The consequence was that on the one hand, gaps were left, while on the other hand, overlapping of activities and areas occupied took place to such an extent that in the case of the Bantu Areas, the State was compelled to apply a radius rule, thus introducing order into the wild rush by administrative means.

9. Meanwhile, ecclesiastical separatism and sectarianism had occurred among the Bantu on an unprecedented scale, so that at the end of 1951, no fewer than 1,286 applications by churches for State recognition, were to be found on the waiting list of the Department of Native Affairs. This sectarianism among the Bantu reveals two main tendencies, namely the Ethiopian and the Zionist which each has its own particular characteristics. Although the Department is very strict in regard to granting government recognition, there is not one of these sectarian movements which is exposed to persecution from the official side. In fact, the South African Government upholds the principle of religious toleration like few other states in the world.

10. It is a striking fact that the Churches have made much use of auxiliary services in connection with their work, as for example: welfare, medical and educational services. These auxiliary services have expanded considerably as a result of ecclesiastical zeal and exertion and the generous contributions which have come from the side of the State in ever-increasing measure, so that most Bantu hospitals and schools are controlled by the churches.

11. From 1944 to 1947, for example, phenomenal growth took place in connection with Mission hospitals. In 1944, there were 62 Mission hospitals with 2,805 beds, while by 1949 the number had risen to 75 hospitals with 3,986 beds.

12. The same is true in regard to Education. Out of a grand total of 5,870 Bantu schools in the Union at the end of 1951, there were—

(i) Purely Church Schools: 427 i.e. 7·3 per cent.

(ii) Subsidised Church Schools: 4,534 i.e. 77·2 per cent.

(iii) Departmental Schools: 663 i.e. 11·3 per cent.

(iv) Community Schools: 0 i.e. 0·0 per cent.

(v) Subsidised Community Schools: 246 i.e. 4·2 per cent.

In all, therefore, there were 4,961 schools under control of churches or 84·5 per cent of the total number of Bantu schools in the Union of South Africa. In the Bantu Areas, the churches control 85·7 per cent of the schools i.e. 2,419 of the grand total of 2,822 schools.

13. The State has contributed to the support of the above-mentioned schools on a considerable scale, so that during 1951, the sum of £5,762,907 was expended on Bantu Education by the Government. The South African State is extremely liberal towards the cause of Christian Missions.

14. Parallel with the influence flowing directly from the Europeans, the missionary activities of the churches have exerted a deep and widespread influence on the life of the Bantu of South Africa. The Commission was, therefore, greatly privileged to be able to make the acquaintance of 128 official representatives of 44 of the churches and societies carrying on missionary work among the Bantu of South Africa. These persons appeared before the Commission as witnesses. The content of their evidence, the personal impressions they made and the extent of their work, convinced the Commission that they are factors of great significance in connection with the matters with which the Commission is charged, especially because they promised their whole-hearted support to any efforts that may be made from the side of the Government to develop the Bantu Areas as a whole.

II. THE BROAD ECCLESIASTICAL-RELIGIOUS NEXUS OF MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.—AN ANALYSIS OF THE CENSUS RETURNS OF 1946.

A. FAITHS AND CHURCH SOCIETIES.

15. The indigenous religions of South Africa are those of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Bantu. The religions of the two first-named have virtually vanished from the scene, while that of the last-mentioned national group still forms a considerable bloc within the broader religious framework of the Union of South Africa.

16. New forms of religion have come to South Africa from both the East and the West. From the West: The Christian religion with all its varieties. From the East: Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Parseeism, and others of less importance.

17. The Christian religion, mainly propagated by Europeans (by laymen but especially by missionaries), has experienced a much wider diffusion among the indigenes than the religions of the East. As regards numbers, among the Eastern Religions, Mohammedanism has gathered the largest harvest; but speaking relatively, i.e. in ratio to their numbers from abroad, Parseeism has spread most.

18. The Christian religion is represented by two groups, namely the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. The Protestant group is split up into a great variety of churches and sects. According to the Department of Native Affairs, there are altogether 78 recognised churches which may be conveniently classified under the following three heads:—

- (i) Churches having a South African orientation:—
 - (a) of European origin; and
 - (b) of Bantu origin;
- (ii) Protestant Churches having a foreign orientation; and
- (iii) The Roman Catholic Church.

19. It is a striking fact that Asiatics have been affected by the Christian Religion only in a very minor degree—scarcely 5·7 per cent of the total. This also holds for the Jews. The Asiatics and the Jews therefore present the most difficult missionary field for the Christian Religion in South Africa.

20. From the foregoing, it is evident that the position is such that it is possible to speak in regard to the South African population—

- (i) of a Christian Bloc (65·2 per cent); and
- (ii) of a Non-Christian Bloc (34·8 per cent).

B. STRENGTH OF CHURCHES AND FAITHS IN THE UNION.

21. The “Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk” is the strongest church in South Africa (1,609,000 or 14·09 per cent of the total population) with the Methodists second (1,281,000 or 11·22 per cent), the Anglicans third (1,116,000 or 9·77 per cent), the Bantu Separatists fourth (761,000 or 6·66 per cent), the Roman Catholics fifth (553,000 or 4·84 per cent), the Lutherans sixth (465,000 or 4·07 per cent), the Presbyterians seventh (263,000 or 2·30 per cent), the Apostolic Faith Mission eighth (260,000 or 2·25 per cent), the Congregationalists ninth (225,000 or 1·97 per cent) and the “Nederduits Hervormde Kerk” tenth (144,000 or 1·26 per cent) in order of rank. Then follows a number of smaller churches and denominations.

22. The three Dutch Reformed Churches together with the Methodists, Anglicans and Lutherans form 41·12 per cent of the total population of the Union, and the rest of the churches constitutes 22·18 per cent, i.e. little more than half of the first-mentioned group. Furthermore, the Protestant Bloc constitutes 58·46 per cent and the Roman Catholics 4·84 per cent of the total population, so that in fact South Africa is a Protestant country.

23. The heathens (chiefly adherents of the Bantu religion) are the largest consolidated religious group, namely 32·5 per cent of the total population of the Union. The rest of the non-Christians constitutes only 4·3 per cent, so that the real mission field for Christianity still lies among the Bantu. On the other hand, the Bantu are the strongest group in most of the Churches of South Africa.

C. CLASSIFICATION OF CHURCHES AND FAITHS IN THE UNION ACCORDING TO PROVINCES.

24. Classifying the churches and faiths according to the provinces of the Union, we find that the Transvaal constitutes the centre of gravity for most Christian

Churches and faiths. This also holds good for the non-Christian faiths. The Bantu Separatists are also mainly concentrated in the Transvaal, namely 48 per cent of the grand total while 23·4 per cent are found in Natal, and only 20 per cent and 8·6 per cent in the Cape Province and Orange Free State respectively. The concentration point of Christian Missions is also in the Transvaal. On the other hand, it should be stated that, taken proportionally, the Christians of Natal have the responsibility for the largest quota of non-Christians: more than twice as many as the Cape, twice as many as the Transvaal, and more than four times as many as the Orange Free State. From the point of view of mission strategy, therefore, it would appear that the Christians of the Transvaal, the Cape Province and especially the Orange Free State, might well assist the Christians of Natal in connection with their missionary endeavour.

D. RELATIVE STRENGTH OF CHURCHES AND FAITHS BY RACIAL GROUPS TAKEN AS A WHOLE.

25. The diffusion of the churches among the different racial groups has been very unequal, as a result of which the strength of the churches in relation to the four racial groups has varied markedly:—

Among the Europeans, the “Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk” is the strongest (45·3 per cent).

Among the Coloureds, the “Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk” is the strongest (30·6 per cent).

Among the Asiatics, the Roman Catholic Church is the strongest (0·6 per cent).

Among the Bantu, the Methodist Church is the strongest (12·9 per cent).

Adherents of the three Dutch Reformed Churches taken together constitute 53·8 per cent of the total European population.

E. TENDENCIES OF GROWTH AMONG THE CHURCHES: 1911-1946.

26. On a comparison of the rates of growth among the Churches from 1911 to 1946, it appears that some churches reveal a declining tendency in their relative numerical strength among the *Europeans*, as for example, the “Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk,” Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans and Congregationalists, while others again show a rising tendency, as for example the “Gereformeerdes,” “Hervormers,” Methodists, Roman Catholics, the Apostolic Faith Mission (in an exceptional degree) and others.

27. Heathens and Separatists show a declining tendency in their relative numerical strength among the *Bantu*. Heathens decreased from 50·4 per cent in 1936 to 42·2 per cent in 1946; and Separatists from 16·5 per cent to 9·6 per cent during the same period. On the other hand, all the European Missions showed a tendency towards increase, especially the Presbyterians, Apostolic Faith Mission, Seventh Day Adventists, Roman Catholics and the smaller missions. The last-mentioned phenomenon is due firstly, to the enormous increase in missionary activities during the period from 1911 to 1946, which in the case of the Roman Catholic

Church, was simply phenomenal; and secondly, to a large increase of Bantu missionary workers. The results of missions are directly related to the number of missionary workers. From this, the State can learn—

- (i) that all labour for the betterment of the Bantu does produce results;
- (ii) that all this type of labour must be done by the Europeans who provide leadership, and by the Bantu who act as the real points of contact with the masses;
- (iii) that the Bantu must be systematically trained and also employed in the higher posts; and
- (iv) that this procedure is acceptable to the Bantu themselves.

F. THE EXPANSIVE URGE OF THE CHURCHES.

28. On investigation, it appears that the expansive urge of the different churches in South Africa varies in a marked degree. In the case of some churches, it is exceptionally high, while in that of others, it is so small as to be virtually non-existent. The English Churches have displayed a greater urge to expand than the Dutch Reformed Churches, if the fact that the first-mentioned churches draw a certain amount of their funds and some of their workers from overseas, is left out of account. Furthermore, it appears that, with the exception of the three Dutch Reformed Churches, all the churches concentrate mainly on the Bantu in their missionary expansion, so it is evident that the Bantu offer the most attractive field of labour to Christian Missions.

G. RELATIVE STRENGTH OF CHURCHES WITH A SOUTH AFRICAN ORIENTATION AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF OVERSEAS CHURCHES AMONG THE BANTU.

29. A survey of the relative strength of churches with a South African orientation as compared with that of overseas churches among the Bantu, reveals that the first-named churches have nearly two and a half times as many adherents among the Bantu as the overseas churches. Furthermore, it is clear that South Africa does not need more missionary societies. The South African churches, together with their Coloured and Bantu members, are fully capable of converting the remaining heathens to Christianity, provided they accept their missionary calling completely and fulfil it properly.

H. RELATIVE STRENGTH: CHURCHES WITH SEPARATE MISSION CHURCHES AS COMPARED WITH CHURCHES IN WHICH EUROPEANS AND NON-EUROPEANS ARE UNDER THE SAME ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT.

30. The missions of the churches with a joint or integrated church connection have gained a greater hold over the Bantu and Asiatics than those churches which wish to bring separate but independent churches into existence among them, namely 57 per cent as against 42·5 per cent. Among the Europeans and Coloureds, however, the opposite was the case, namely 30·7 per cent : 69·3 per cent and 40·8 per cent : 59·2 per cent, respectively. As regards the total population of the Union, the group of churches which envisages separate or independent missionary churches is the strongest, namely 53·8 per cent : 46·2 per cent.

I. RELATIVE STRENGTH: CHRISTIANITY AS COMPARED WITH NON-CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

31. From an analysis of the relative strength of Christianity as compared with non-Christianity in South Africa, it appears that South Africa can already to a great extent be classified as a Christian, and more specifically as a Protestant Christian, country. (Christianity: Non-Christianity is as 63·2 per cent : 36·8 per cent). Moreover, it appears that the Bantu Christians are by far the dominant factor in the South African population structure, namely 36·1 per cent of the total population, and that Bantu heathendom is second on the list, namely 32·5 per cent thereof. It can, therefore, be stated that the responsibility for missions has to a great extent shifted from the shoulders of the Europeans to those of the non-Europeans. This is particularly true as regards the Coloureds, because taken on a percentage basis, they are christianised to a much greater extent than the Bantu, namely 91·3 per cent.

32. This 63·2 per cent of Christians among the South African population must accept responsibility for the speedy conversion of the remaining 36·8 per cent of non-Christians in the Union. Moreover, it is the duty of the 63·2 per cent to see to it that the ethical principles of the Christian Religion are lived up to in practice in South Africa. Finally, the 63·2 per cent (Christians) must contemplate launching a joint missionary campaign among the heathen beyond the borders of the Union.

J. THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE REST OF AFRICA IN THE RELIGIOUS SPHERE.

33. When South Africa is compared with the rest of Africa in the religious sphere, the following facts are revealed:—

- (i) that South Africa forms the key to the rest of Africa and that Africa is a buffer area between the West and the East. If Christian civilisation establishes itself in Africa, then Africa can eventually become a buffer between democracy and communism, as well as between Christianity and non-Christianity. This depends on the South African Christendom to a great extent;
- (ii) that of the total number of Europeans in Africa, no less than 49·16 per cent live in the Union, so that South Africa constitutes the cradle of Europeanism in Africa. At the same time, the greatest concentration of Indians is also found here, namely 47·5 per cent of the grand total of Indians in Africa;
- (iii) that according to Map 4, Africa may be roughly divided into three chief Religious regions, namely:—
 - (a) a North African Islamic block,
 - (b) a Central African Pagan block, and
 - (c) a South African Christian block, with patches of all three religious groups appearing here and there in all three blocks respectively;
- (iv) that the ratios of the three religious groups are as follows: 85 million (54·33 per cent) Heathens, 50 million (31·64 per cent) Mohammedans, 22 million (14·03 per cent) Christians, so that less than one-seventh of the population of Africa is Christianised, contrasted with the fact that one-third of the total population of the world nominally adheres to Christianity;

- (v) that the 22 million Christians are constituted as follows: 9 million (40·6 per cent) Protestants, 7 million (30·9 per cent) Roman Catholics and 6 million (28·5 per cent) Copts; and
- (vi) that of the 22 million Christians, 32·8 per cent live in the Union so that South Africa forms the cradle of Christianity in Africa particularly of the Protestant section (see paragraph 21 above), and that South Africa is the stronghold of the people with reformed convictions.

This state of affairs is a further challenge to South African Christianity. Moreover, it is also clear that World Christianity still has an enormous task in Africa and that in this respect the centre of gravity of foreign missionary action should be shifted from South Africa to the rest of Africa, so that both South African and Overseas Christianity can launch a joint and widespread missionary action. This action ought to prove a strong cohesive force among the different church sections as well as among the various racial groups.

CHAPTER 6

BANTU EDUCATION

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. The origin, development, constituent elements, financing, administration and future guiding lines of Bantu Education have been described in detail in the Report of the Native Education Commission, better known as the Eiselen Report (U.G. 53/1951). For this reason, only a few of the main points are mentioned here and some statistical data furnished up to and including 1951.

2. On the basis of the aforementioned report, the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953, was passed and came into effect in 1954 under the Division of Bantu Education of the Department of Native Affairs, with an Under-Secretary at its head. Since this point in the development of Bantu Education was reached during the time that the investigation undertaken by the Commission was drawing to a close, it is considered sufficient merely to mention this fact here, and to sketch the development of Bantu Education up to and including the attainment of this point.

3. Before 1954, Bantu Education was under the guidance of the Education Departments of the four provincial administrations, which in turn derived their funds for this purpose from the Union Government. In all four provinces, the initiative as regards the establishment of schools was originally taken by Missionary Societies, to whom the education of the Bantu was an indispensable auxiliary service for the advancement of missions as such, since it is evident that literacy was necessary to acquire knowledge of the Bible.

II. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

4. In the *Cape Colony*, the first school specially for Bantu children was opened by missionaries without any state aid in 1779. In 1841, subsidies commenced and after 1865, there was first a gradual and then a more rapid increase in school attendance directly related to the increase in state assistance. Thus the number of children rose from 2,872 in 1865 to 121,661 in 1925 and to 287,070 in 1951, and the state grants from £284,419 in 1925 to £2,313,359 in 1951.

5. In the other provinces, the course of events was broadly similar. Thus in Natal, the number of children rose from 145 in 1865 to 155,388 in 1951, and the state grant from £90 to £1,223,500. In the Free State, state assistance was first granted in 1878. In 1905, the number of children was 9,296 and it rose to 75,970 in 1951, while state grants rose from £1,300, to £539,767, in the same period. In the Transvaal, state assistance was granted in 1903, and the allowance rose from £7,190 in 1905 to £1,805,367 in 1951, while the number of children increased from 9,951 to 258,767.

6. Until 1925, the four provinces each made separate provision from their own resources for Bantu Education. In 1925, the Union Government undertook the responsibility of making grants to the provinces for Bantu Education, on the ground that the provinces could not tax the Bantu directly. According to Act 21 of 1925 (The Native Taxation and Development Act), Bantu Education was to be financed from a Native Development Fund, and developed beyond the level attained in 1921/22 from direct taxes contributed by the Bantu.

7. By 1945, four-fifths of the general taxes paid by the Bantu, were already being devoted to Bantu Education. In 1945, however, a deviation from the principle laid down in 1925 took place, when it was provided by Act No. 29 of 1945, that Parliament would annually vote funds for Bantu Education. As a result of this, expenditure speedily rose from £2·2 million in 1945 to £5·8 million in 1951.

8. This phase ended with the commencement of the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953, which provides for the transfer of the administration and control of Bantu Education from the four provinces to the Union Government and more specifically, to its Department of Native Affairs.

9. Bantu Education was thus begun by missionaries and gradually received state assistance to an increasing extent, first from the provinces and then from the Union Government, until the last mentioned body was carrying practically the whole burden and consequently assumed control.

III. CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS AND SYLLABUSES.

10. From the nature of the case, the missionaries who initiated education as an auxiliary to their mission work, laid the main emphasis on this object, namely promotion of literacy and religious education. By degrees as the responsibility of the provinces increased, a measure of uniformity was brought about in each province and attention was paid to the special needs of the Bantu, in the syllabuses. Thus Natal introduced adapted syllabuses as early as 1886, the Transvaal and the Cape Province in 1904 and 1921 respectively, and the Free State in 1924.

11. By far the most important educational institutions were the primary schools which offered an eight year continuous course with two years for the sub-standards, and six years for Std. I to VI, except in Natal which fixed its terminal point at Standard VII. In the main, the syllabuses of the four provinces comprised the following: Religious Education, a Bantu language, English and Afrikaans, a little Manual Training, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Nature Study, Music, Physical Drill and Games. This education was provided free of charge, in state-subsidised schools.

12. In the four provinces in 1951, no less than 97·3 per cent of the total number of school children, were in the primary schools, while 72·4 per cent were in Sub-A and B and in Standards I and II. This is an indication of the enormously high rate of depletion which actually took place within the framework of this system. Another striking fact is that in 1946, school attendance taken by age groups, gradually rose from 9·4 per cent for the age group 6 years, to 39·1 per cent for the age group 12 years, and thereafter rapidly fell to 5·7 per cent for the age group 18 years. It is also a notable fact that in 1951, no fewer than 13,310 children in the age group 12 to 13 were in Sub-A and 17,467 in Sub-B and that even in the age group 19 + there were 260 in Sub-A and 198 in Sub-B.

13. The percentage of school-going children per standard in 1951, shows that 45·5 per cent. of the total number of school children was in Sub-A and B, 9·3 per cent. in Std. III, 4·2 per cent. in Std. VI, 0·7 per cent. in Std. VIII and only 0·1 per cent. in Standard X.

14. In addition to primary schools, there were in 1951, a few kindergartens, 37 crèches and a number of high schools with a pupil strength of 20,286 in receipt of state subsidies, as well as 42 teachers training institutions, 38 of which received state support. Furthermore, 42 industrial schools and 25 schools with industrial sections attended by 1,640 male pupils and 1,257 female pupils, were also state-supported.

15. As regards agricultural education, a little attention was paid to its elementary principles in the primary schools, but the effectiveness of this teaching was limited by lack of suitable ground, water, etc. In all the provinces, a start was made in 1945, with the appointment of organisers of agricultural education. Special efforts were made in certain schools to provide education with an agricultural bias, but without much success. As early as 1930 the Department of Native Affairs opened an agricultural school offering diploma courses at Fort Cox.

16. Besides the aforementioned educational institutions, the following teaching is provided on a small scale—

- (i) training in Social Work at a centre in the Transkei, the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work in Johannesburg and the Strydom School in Bloemfontein;
- (ii) training of female and male nurses at the hospitals;
- (iii) training of police at two depots;
- (iv) training of deaf and dumb persons at three centres;
- (v) training of the blind at two schools;
- (vi) teaching of youthful delinquents at two reformatories; and
- (vii) university education at Fort Hare, as well as at a division of the Natal University, at the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town, the Kolege Ya Bana ba Afrika and the Medical Faculty for non-Europeans at the University of Natal.

17. The following statistics for 1951, present a picture of progress in the educational sphere as a whole:—

| | |
|---|------------|
| Number of schools | 5,346 |
| Number of children at School | 775,839 |
| Number of teachers | 18,695 |
| Number of pupil-teachers | 5,783 |
| Total expenditure (provinces) | £5,883,000 |
| Number of teachers' training institutions | 41 |
| Number of Industrial schools and divisions | 46 |
| Number of matriculated students at Fort Hare | 364 |

18. It was characteristic of the system as practised by the Provinces, that there was, *inter alia*, a total absence of differentiation between the education provided in urban schools for instance, and in rural schools—all merely followed the same syllabus. Furthermore, perhaps as a result of this very tendency, a certificate complex arose among the Bantu themselves—all they desired was written evidence that they had passed a certain standard at school in order to realise their greatest ambition, to wit, appointment more especially to office posts.

IV. EDUCATION IN THE BANTU AREAS.

19. The Bantu Areas consist of approximately 300 separate geographical units varying in size from single farms to a block like the Transkei which is 16,352 square miles in extent. The availability of educational facilities varies from area to area and even within the same continuous area.

20. In the Transkei as a whole, there are facilities for 48 per cent. of the children between the ages of 7 and 16 years. In Nqamakwe, the percentage rises to 85 while in Elliotdale it sinks to 11. In 1951, there were in the Bantu Areas 12 nursery schools with 806 children, 2,679 primary schools with 321,622 pupils, 87 secondary schools with 15,239 pupils, 23 teachers' training schools with 2,804 students, 6 domestic economy schools with an enrolment of 354 and 15 industrial schools attended by 591 students.

21. An analysis of the state of affairs in 1951, reveals that the number of children attending school for every 1,000 of the Bantu population, did so nearly in the following proportions in the various areas:—

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Urban Areas | 101 |
| Bantu Areas | 94 |
| European Rural Areas | 80 |

Compared with the other areas, therefore, the Bantu Areas are by no means badly furnished with educational facilities.

22. As far as control over schools is concerned, the primary schools present a clear picture of the state of affairs in 1951. There were then 158 private schools receiving no state support, 2,142 subsidised mission schools, 152 departmental schools and 227 subsidised community schools. The extent attained by this form

of control in the different areas, varies considerably. In the Transkei, 100 per cent of the primary schools' pupils attended subsidised mission schools, while in Natal 32·7 per cent attended state schools and in the Transvaal 34 per cent attended community schools.

23. The aforementioned control factor is not of decisive importance if the following considerations are attended to: In the subsidised mission schools and in the state and community schools education was provided free; the teachers were trained in the same institutions, their salaries were the same, the curricula and examinations were identical. As regards the community schools, indeed, the school buildings were often provided by the community, but this was also very often the case with the mission schools. In the same way, the community was often made responsible for the upkeep of state schools.

CHAPTER 7

THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

I. GROWTH OF POPULATION.

1. According to the census of 1951, the population of the Union of South Africa consists of 2,643,000 Europeans, 8,535,000 Bantu, 367,000 Asiatics, and 1,103,000 Coloured persons. The total population increased by 144 per cent, namely from 5,176,000 to 12,646,000, between 1904 and 1951. In consequence of their greater absolute numbers, the Bantu have contributed most to this increase, to wit, 5,044,000 in comparison with 1,526,000 in the case of Europeans, and 657,000 and 243,000 in the case of Coloured persons and Asiatics respectively. Of the four groups, only the Asiatics have increased in relative importance to any considerable degree. The numbers of Bantu and Coloured persons today represent more or less the same percentage of the total population as at the beginning of the century, 67·5 per cent and 8·7 per cent respectively. The European section has diminished slightly in numerical importance and forms 20·9 per cent of the total today in comparison with 21·6 per cent in 1904. There are about 3,229 Bantu, or taken as a whole 3,785 non-Europeans, for every 1,000 Europeans.

II. MIGRATION.

2. Immigration has had very little share in the growth of the European group since the establishment of Union. After a large-scale influx of immigrants between the years 1890 and 1904, which was responsible for about 50 per cent of the increase in the European population, the flow diminished to such an extent, that the average annual contribution did not exceed 2,000, until in the years 1947 and 1948, taken together, it was again responsible for a net gain of 48,000 persons. The most important countries of origin are the British Isles, the Netherlands and Germany. The majority of the Europeans who leave the Union permanently, emigrate to the territories of our northern neighbours, particularly to the Rhodesias.

The most important reason for the limited scope of European immigration is the presence in South Africa of large numbers of non-Europeans employed as unskilled labourers, with whom potential unskilled European immigrants cannot compete. The Union requires skilled labourers.

3. The Indian population of South Africa originated as a result of the importation of labourers for the sugar plantations in Natal. Their numbers were also augmented by Indians who migrated to this country on their own initiative. After an Act of 1915 had limited Indian immigration to the wives and children of Indians domiciled here and a state-subsidised repatriation scheme was introduced, the outward flow was larger than the inward movement, with a consequent net loss of 9,000 for the years 1924 to 1948. Since 1935, however, the number of immigrants has again exceeded that of emigrants in consequence of the policy followed by South African Indian males of going to India to get married. To judge by the census and vital statistics, it is also possible that approximately 33,000 have entered the country illegally.

4. In the absence of population migration statistics for Bantu, we have to rely on data relating to the birth-places of the Bantu population. According to these, there were 229,000 foreign-born Natives in the Union in 1911, and by 1945 there were 539,000. For 1951, the number has been estimated as 650,000. At least one-third of them must be regarded as permanent residents, while the remainder represent temporary migrant labourers. This immigration contributes to a considerable extent to the increase of the Bantu population. In the chapter dealing with the extra-Union Native, it has been shown that if the Bantu population had not been strengthened by immigration, it would not have amounted to 8,535,000 in 1951, but would have been almost 1,000,000 less.

5. In the case of the Coloured people, immigration has made no direct contribution to the increase in numbers.

III. MORTALITY.

6. On a comparison of mortality conditions among the four population groups, the Europeans appear to be in the most favourable position, with a crude death-rate of less than 9 per 1,000 in 1952. This compares with 10·9 for Asiatics and 19·9 for Coloured persons. In the case of the Bantu for whom vital statistics are not available, it is estimated at between 27 and 32 per 1,000. The death-rates for the three first-named population groups all show a long term decline, while those for the Bantu probably only began to decrease in the most recent period.

7. The decline in mortality must be attributed mainly to a decline in deaths among children during their first year of life. Thus, the European infant mortality rate declined from 52·9 on an average during 1936-1941, to 34·6 in 1952, and that of Asiatics and Coloured persons from 93·1 to 71·3 and from 164·9 to 140·6 per 1,000 live births respectively. Among the Bantu, nearly one-fifth of the children born alive die before they reach their first birthday, as a result of the unhygienic customs and conditions under which they are born and grow up. Socio-economic progress thus reveals itself particularly in the saving of children lives, a process which aggravates the burden of dependency in an under-developed community.

8. The average expectation of life at birth, obtained from life-tables, affords a more accurate indication of health conditions than the ordinary death-rate, which is influenced by the particular age and sex composition of a population. Such life-tables, based on the experience of the period 1945 to 1947, indicate that at birth the average European child has a probable duration of life of 66 years and an Asiatic, Coloured and Bantu child 50·3, 42·8 and 36·4 years respectively.

9. In comparison with the urban areas, living in the rural areas appears to be a cause of longer life, in the light of the lower mortality rates prevailing among rural Europeans, Asiatics and Coloured persons. This urban-rural differential is, however, diminishing. It is not impossible that the process of urbanisation could have caused increased mortality—among Bantu at the beginning, but that the increasing utilisation of medical facilities and improved living conditions, may have altered the differential in favour of the city.

IV. FERTILITY.

10. The Coloured community, with an ordinary birth-rate of 45·5 per 1,000 on the average, for the period 1936 to 1952, is the most fertile. Among the Bantu, for whom vital statistics are not available, it has been determined indirectly that the rate, with a lower and upper limit of 43 and 47 per 1,000 respectively, probably does not differ much from that of the Coloured people. Then follow the Asiatics (Indians) with an average rate of 38·6 births per 1,000 during the period 1936 to 1952, while the Europeans reveal the lowest fertility rate; their birth-rate is lower than that of Asiatics by more than 12 per 1,000. Of all the ethnic groups, only the Europeans have experienced a secular decline in their birth-rate.

11. Because the Asiatics have a relatively low death-rate, their net natural increase over the entire period 1936-1952, at a rate of 25 per 1,000 on the average, was the highest. Then follow the Coloured people with a rate of 23·2 per 1,000 and the Europeans with 16·9. Since 1951, however, the Coloureds surpass all other groups. In spite of their high fertility, the rate of natural increase of the Bantu is only 15 per 1,000 as a result of the high mortality among them. The Net Reproduction Rate, which allows of a more accurate comparison of potential population growth, amounts to approximately 1·45 for Bantu, 1·54 for Europeans, 2·03 for Coloured persons and 2·12 for Asiatics.

12. An analysis of the age distribution of married women, indicates that the Asiatic population includes the largest relative number of potential mothers at the most fertile phase of life. In this respect, the Europeans are the worst off, while the Bantu and the Coloured people occupy an intermediate position. Moreover, marriage does not play so important a part in the process of propagation among the two last-named groups as among Europeans and Asiatics. Illegitimate births seldom constitute less than one-third of the total Coloured births, and it may be expected that the relative figure will also be comparatively high among urban Bantu.

13. Fertility differentials are found in respect of urban and rural communities and socio-economic classes. The European rural community is more fertile than the urban dwellers, while the opposite tendency has been found among Coloured people and Asiatics. Although, in consequence of the excess of males, the birth-rate of the Bantu will be lower in the cities than in the rural areas, it may be doubted whether the fertility of urban women is lower. The contrary appears to be more probable.

14. While the size of the European family is negatively correlated with the social status of the father, measured, *inter alia*, by income and occupation, we find that Bantu and Asiatic families are larger in proportion to income. In contrast with the Europeans, the size of families in the last-mentioned cases is not necessarily a consequence of the economic status, but may also be a cause thereof.

V. AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION.

15. In South Africa, as in the rest of the world, more boys than girls are born. While, however, an average of 105·7 European boys are born for every 100 girls, the ratio is much lower among non-Europeans, namely less than 103:100 in the case of Coloured people and Asiatics. It appears to be still lower among the Bantu. However, boys are subject to a higher mortality with the result that the excess of males disappears at about the age of 45 to 50, so that at the higher age levels there is an excess of females. The Asiatic population represents an exception to this, inasmuch as the expectation of life of their girls at birth is lower than that of their boys, a phenomenon which must be mainly attributed to the early marriages and high fertility of the females.

16. The masculinity ratio of the total population in 1946, was 101·4, 104·2, 109·7 and 100·7 for Europeans, Bantu, Asiatics and Coloured persons respectively. This represents a diminution since the beginning

of Union, save in the case of the Bantu. The causes of the decline are the decrease, after 1904, in European immigration—the majority of whom were males, the sex-selective emigration of Indians and the greater decline in mortality among female Coloured persons than among males. The masculinity ratio of the Bantu, on the contrary, has been raised by increasing immigration of Foreign Natives, among whom males predominate numerically. The exclusion of the latter lowers the masculinity ratio from 104·2 to 95·5.

17. Among the four ethnic groups, only the Europeans have “aged” as a result of the lowering of the birth-rate and decreased immigration, that is to say, the relative number of children has diminished while older persons have increased in numerical importance. The small measure of “aging” apparently experienced by the Bantu group has been artificially induced by the reinforcement of those at the productive period of life, by temporary migrant labourers. When these alien-born elements are eliminated, it appears that the age distribution of the Bantu has remained almost stationary. The Coloured and Asiatic populations have even become “younger”; that is to say, the number of children has increased relatively. This is a consequence of the maintenance of a high birth-rate, while mortality has diminished, and as already mentioned, the saving of lives is largely concentrated at the first year of life. An accessory factor in the case of Asiatics is the age-selective effect of emigration, in so far as it was especially men in the middle age groups who emigrated to India.

18. As in the case of any other under-developed population which has a high birth-rate and whose death-rate has not yet reached the low level of Western countries, our non-European population is weighed down by the burden of a high dependency ratio, that is to say, there is a large number of children under 15, who may be regarded as non-productive. Although the number of old persons of 65 and older, who do not normally perform productive work, is small, this does not compensate for the large percentage of dependent children. The total number of persons in these two age groups expressed as a percentage of those in the ages 15 to 64, amounts to only 58 in the case of Europeans, but to 74 among the Bantu and to 85 and 95 among Coloured persons and Asiatics respectively. When only the indigenous Bantu population is taken into account, their dependency ratio amounts to 82 instead of 74 as stated above.

In simpler terms, this burden of dependency implies a greater number of dependent children per family; a factor which renders the attainment of a higher level of material welfare more difficult.

VI. URBANISATION.

19. The urbanisation of the South African population is a consequence of economic development, especially of the secondary industries which for the most part are established in urban areas. The rural areas do not offer sufficient opportunities for work or opportunities which are sufficiently remunerative. The Bantu Areas are an outstanding example of such rural areas.

20. While at the time of the census of 1904, fewer than one-quarter of the total population of the Union lived in the urban areas, the proportion in 1951 was 42·6 per cent. The absolute numbers rose from 1,222,000 in 1904 to 5,374,000 in 1951. To this increase the Bantu contributed 1,954,000 in comparison with 1,469,000 by the Europeans. The latter are the most urbanised group with 78·4 per cent of its members resident in towns, as compared with 77·5 per cent and 64·4 per cent in the case of Asiatics and Coloured persons respectively. Although the 1951 census only registered 27·1 per cent of the Bantu population, or 2,312,000, as living in the urban areas, this, compared to an initial percentage of 10·4 per cent in 1904, represents a much more rapid increase during the past half century than is found among any of the other groups. In 1904, they constituted less than 30 per cent of the urban inhabitants. Today their share is 43 per cent. Notwithstanding this, the increase of the rural population of the Union must be largely ascribed to the growth of the Bantu population, in view of the fact that the Asiatic and Coloured inhabitants of the rural areas have not increased to any significant extent and that the number of European rural dwellers has remained practically unchanged.

21. In order to determine the intensity of the urbanisation process, the increase in urban inhabitants may be expressed as a percentage of the increase of the total population. In the case of Coloured persons and Asiatics, the proportion in question was sometimes considerably higher than 100 per cent in earlier years, but in recent times it appears to have declined to 90 per cent and lower. The intensity of European urbanisation has increased with the years, to reach 115 per cent during the decade 1936 to 1946, after which it declined slightly. Among the Bantu, there was a secular rise in the rate of urbanisation, until during the years 1946 to 1951 the Bantu urban dwellers were increasing at a rate of 60 per cent of their total population increase, or by 85,000 persons per year on the average. However, the position of the Bantu differs from that of the other groups inasmuch as a large number of the former who are counted in the urban areas at the time of census, are not permanent inhabitants, but temporary migrant labourers from the Bantu Areas or from outside the Union. There are probably not more than 2,000,000 indigenous Bantu resident in urban areas, instead of the 2,312,000 mentioned above.

22. A large measure of concentration of urban inhabitants has been taking place in the four industrial areas of the Western Cape, Southern Transvaal, Durban—Pinetown, and Port Elizabeth. Out of a total of 5,374,000 urban dwellers, 3,451,000 were living in these four areas in 1951. Almost two-thirds of the urban Bantu were concentrated here in 1951, after a numerical increase in the course of three decades at a much faster tempo than in the case of the other three groups. Striking evidence of this movement is the influx into the Western Cape Region where the Bantu was almost an unknown figure in earlier years.

23. The age distribution of the urban population groups, reveals the usual pattern of a concentration of large numbers in the middle ages, a consequence of the fact that it is more especially persons of working age who migrate to the cities. Among Europeans

there are 1.9 persons of working age for every 1 person in the "unproductive" ages. Among Bantu the ratio is 3.3 persons, and while there is an excess of women in the case of Europeans and Coloured persons, we find a numerical preponderance of Bantu males in the towns. This is associated with the custom among the Bantu males of periodically seeking work outside their reserves, and with the large-scale temporary immigration from our neighbouring territories in which, in the nature of things, women cannot participate so easily. Nevertheless, it is a characteristic of this urbanisation that Bantu women are taking part in it to an increasing extent.

VII. HOW MANY BANTU ARE PERMANENTLY SETTLED IN THE URBAN AREAS?

24. When it is desired to determine how many of the Bantu are already "permanently" settled in the towns and cities, we are confronted with the problem that the interpretation of the term "permanent" presents many difficulties in itself, and that probably a number of degrees of "permanency" can be distinguished. Various methods have been applied to determine the extent of the established Bantu urban population. The conclusion has been drawn that there may have been a minimum of 1,036,000 and a maximum of 1,618,000 of such Bantu in 1951, and that the actual number cannot differ much from 1,500,000. On the basis of data relating to family dwellings for the Bantu, it may be assumed that 314,000 families have already accepted the urban areas as their abode. Migration of Bantu women to the towns is usually of a permanent nature. At the end of 1951, there was a shortage of 167,000 family dwellings, and provision for this need will require the expenditure of approximately £35,000,000.

VIII. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

25. As regards the geographical distribution of the population among the four provinces, the 1951 census disclosed that the largest number of persons, namely 38 per cent, and also the largest number of Europeans and Bantu, 45.6 per cent and 40.7 per cent of the two groups respectively, were living in the Transvaal. The large majority of Coloured persons and Asiatics is concentrated in the Cape Province and Natal respectively. Until 1936, the Cape was the most populous province. The fact that the Transvaal has now assumed this position, must be attributed particularly to the industrial development on the Witwatersrand, to which not only Europeans but also Bantu from the Cape and Natal reserves have migrated either temporarily or permanently.

26. The distribution of the Bantu between the Bantu Areas and the rest of the country is of importance. According to the data of 1951, 27.1 per cent of them were resident in urban areas, 42.6 per cent in the Bantu Areas and 30.3 per cent on European farms and in the remaining rural areas. The last-named portion, the remaining rural areas, did not contain more than about 6 per cent of the total. These figures include persons of foreign birth, of whom most are only temporary inhabitants. If they are excluded, the share of the urban areas in the distribution of the settled population decreases to less than 25 per cent, and that of the Bantu Areas rises to more than 45 per cent.

Viewing the matter historically, the urban areas have increased in importance as temporary or permanent dwelling-places for the Bantu, and the Bantu Areas, European farms and other rural areas have diminished in importance. To the increase in the number of Bantu urban residents since 1936, the European farms and other rural areas contributed 40 per cent, the Bantu Areas 8 per cent, foreign countries 23 per cent and the natural increase of the towns themselves 29 per cent.

27. It should be emphasised that these conclusions are based on census data which indicate the *de facto* distribution at a given period. In Chapter 13, for instance, it is shown that the *de jure* population of the Bantu Areas—that is to say, those who regard these areas as their home, and some of whom were only temporarily absent when the census was taken—amount to more than half of the total.

IX. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE.

28. The future growth and size of a population cannot be predicted. Only estimates of the size can be given, assuming that certain conditions are fulfilled. Nevertheless, by making these conditions as realistic as possible, an indication may be given of the probable limits within which the size of the future population will fall. To this end, the stage of demographic development which each group has attained can be determined, and with reference to historical analogy and relevant facts, assumptions may be made in regard to the probable course of the birth and death-rates. The future migration tendencies are veiled in so much obscurity that they have been left out of account, except in the case of one estimate only, namely that for the Europeans, in whose case it has been assumed that the population will be strengthened by an annual net increase of immigrants numbering 5,000. This also implies a maximum estimate of the European population at the close of the century.

29. From the long term point of view, we may roughly distinguish four phases in the demographic development of a people. In the first phase, the birth-rate is near the biological maximum, while the death-rate begins to decline in consequence of economic and medical progress—the rate at which population grows, increases. In the second phase, socio-economic development asserts itself, especially as a result of industrialisation and urbanisation, and the birth-rate now begins to decline. The mortality rate, however, declines equally fast or even faster, so that the natural increase of the previous period is maintained or even raised. During the third phase, the decline in the death-rate is surpassed by that of the birth-rate, with the result that the rate of growth diminishes. The fourth phase would commence when the population no longer grew, because the number of deaths more or less equalled the number of births.

With the necessary qualifications, this pattern may serve as a clue to possible future demographic developments. While the Europeans have already reached the third demographic phase, the Coloured people are still in the middle of the first phase and the Asiatics near the last stage of this phase. The Bantu are now only in the initial stages of the first phase. Although it cannot be stated with certainty, especially in consequence of their contact with the habits and customs

of the Europeans, everything indicates that the potential growth of the Bantu, as well as that of the other two non-European groups, is much greater than that of the Europeans.

30. Consequently, two sets of population projections or extrapolations can be prepared. In the case of projection A, it is supposed that the four population groups would continue to grow from 1946 at the respective rates of increase which prevailed during 1936 to 1946, but that in addition, the European population would be supplemented by an annual number of 5,000 immigrants net.

According to these assumptions (projection A), there would be 6,150,000 Europeans, 16,337,000 Bantu, 2,560,000 Coloured persons and 1,120,000 Asiatics living in South Africa by the year 2,000; and their respective shares in the total population of 26,167,000 would then be 23.5 per cent, 62.4 per cent, 9.8 per cent and 4.3 per cent, taking them in the above-named order. This concedes to the Europeans a larger numerical share in the total population than they had in 1951, and represents a picture of the future which flatters this group. Nevertheless, the excess of Bantu over Europeans in absolute numbers increases from 5,459,000 in 1946 to 10,187,000 at the close of the century. It may be added that on account of certain factors, projection A completely underestimates the future numbers of the Coloured and Asiatic populations.

The second set of extrapolations (projection B) makes provision for a steady decline in the birth and death-rates. Migration after 1951 is left out of account. The projections based on these assumptions give us the following probable population in 2,000: 4,588,000 Europeans, 21,361,000 Bantu, 3,917,000 Coloured persons and 1,382,000 Asiatics (total 31,248,000). In this case the Europeans will constitute only 14.7 per cent of the total in comparison with 20.9 per cent in 1951. This second projection appears to be a more acceptable representation of the future course of the growth of the non-European population. It may, however, be anticipated that the numbers of the European population will still be supplemented by migration in greater or lesser degree, so that their numerical strength will be at a level between 4,588,000 and 6,150,000.

31. Equal in importance to the absolute magnitudes is the anticipated age composition.

In accordance with our assumption that fertility will decline in the long run, the burden of dependency will diminish, that is to say, the average family will become smaller. But the age distributions of the Coloured people and the Bantu for 1966, also indicate that if the decline in birth does not take place quickly enough, the dependency ratio will in reality increase.

X. PROSPECTS AS REGARDS URBANISATION.

32. Future increases in population, in conjunction with further economic development, will result in an increasing urban population, unless this is forestalled by government policy. The anticipated size of this population at the close of the century, will depend upon the assumptions on which the estimates are based. On the basis of present tendencies, the numerical share of the Bantu population in the urban population will gradually increase. If the tempo of urbanisation

experienced during 1946-1951 is continued to the close of the century and the projected figure of more than 21,000,000 for the Bantu population in the year 2,000 is realised, then more than 10,000,000 Bantu will be established in urban areas in the non-Bantu areas. Moreover, if the present absorbent capacity of the Bantu Areas, European farms and other rural areas is not raised to such an extent that they can sustain more than the present 6,223,000 Bantu, more than 15,000,000 of the above-mentioned 21 million Bantu will be living in the urban areas outside the Bantu Areas.

Unless economic development can be diverted from its present geographical concentration, no other result can be expected than that the relative share of the Bantu in the composition of the urban population will increase. Even if this share should remain constant, their absolute numerical preponderance will increase. It may be anticipated also that the vast majority of these Bantu will be concentrated at the four existing industrial complexes. The social, economic and political implications of this are discussed in more detail on a subsequent occasion.

XI. POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF ANTICIPATED TENDENCIES.

33. The tendencies noticed in the previous sections, characterise the dilemma of the economic development of under-developed peoples. Economic development leads to a lowering of mortality, a diminution which is largely concentrated at the first two or three years of life, and which not only causes the population's rate of growth to rise but also increases the burden of dependency, that is, it leads to an increase in the number of non-workers as compared with the number of workers. In the result, the advantages which may flow from economic development are entirely or partly absorbed by a rise in the number of people and especially an increasing number of dependent children, instead of being enjoyed in the form of a higher standard of living.

Eventually, the industrialisation and urbanisation which accompany economic development will actually diminish natality, but in the transition period, the so-called demographic "gap" reveals itself in the form of an increasing difference between the birth-rate and the death-rate. Or, to put it in another way, the actual death-rate is higher than the figure which would be reached if the population increased less rapidly. From the standpoint of economic progress, therefore, a large-scale wastage or misapplication of human resources is taking place here. A small part of those born, reaches the age at which they can compensate by the application of their labour power, for the use of economic resources which have been expended in connection with their birth, nutrition, housing, education and training.

This is the dilemma in which the South African non-Europeans and above all the Bantu (in the light of their numerical predominance) find themselves. Thus far, the phenomenon has been less obvious, because the death-rate of the Bantu has not declined on a considerable scale and the population of working age has been provided with profitable employment opportunities to an increasing degree.

Collection Number: A1906

Collection Name: Reverend Douglas Chadwick Thompson Papers, 1871-1985

Collection Item: An1 – Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa, U.G.61/1955

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

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