

REVISTA DE ANTROPOLOGIA

Volume 9.º

Junho e Dezembro de 1961

N.ºs 1 e 2

ALCOHOL AS A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR IN SOCIAL DISORGANISATION:

The South African Bantu in the nineteenth century

BERTRAM HUTCHINSON

(UNESCO)

The knowledge and use of alcoholic beverages is common to many, if not to most, primitive societies, although their alcoholic content (and hence their physiological effect) varies widely. Their consumption, however, is invariably subject to certain social conventions equally diverse in their severity whose function is that of retaining within definite limits the degree of permissible intoxication and the liberty of behaviour which is socially tolerated. These limits are normally determined, in a given society, by the light of the fundamentals of its organisation, so that while advanced states of drunkenness may be tolerated, or in some circumstances even required, secular or religious offences which might endanger social equilibrium are not generally excused merely on the grounds that the misconduct arose from the effects of alcohol.

The social control of the consumption of alcoholic beverages is first made effective at the personal level, control being manifested not only in the explicit sanctions which discourage drinking beyond what is socially approved but also, more significantly, in the subconscious restraints which society (by virtue of the values which the individual absorbs during childhood and youth) exercises tacitly. For although during alcoholic intoxication certain inhibitions of a more superficial nature may certainly be released, other forms of behaviour remain inhibited — the nature of these ultimate prohibitions being to some extent common to all societies. In consequence, while the individual is more or less free to enjoy alcohol for the temporary euphoria which it offers him, yet society in normal circumstances is protected from the danger of disorganisation which would otherwise follow uninhibited behaviour, as it is also protected against the effective loss of its members following alcoholic addiction. But even within the setting of these restraints the consumption of alcohol, unlike the consumption of other narcotics such as betel, coca and tobacco, is nevertheless not allowed to remain an entirely personal matter. Perhaps because the intoxicating effect of alcohol is more dangerous to society, "solitary" drinking in these societies is normally extremely rare: indeed, in most of them the drinking of alcoholic beverages is emphatically a group diversion.

Social control is therefore also manifested in the association of these beverages mainly with social, rather than individual life. When alcohol is regarded as essentially a means of promoting conviviality, the principal setting for its consumption is found in formal and informal meetings of kinsmen and friends; and it is clear that companionable drinking facilitates society's exercise of control in ways that would be impossible if man drank alone. Moreover, this social interpretation of alcohol's function offers the not wholly secondary advantage that the use of alcohol can be recruited as a positive agent of social stability. Thus we find a third stage in the socialisation of alcohol manifested in its association with secular and religious ceremonial. The symbolic use of alcoholic liquors with which we are familiar in the history of our own society, from the ritual libation of Hellenic religion to the rites of the Christian church and the drinking of toasts, is also widespread in primitive society. It is at this level that alcohol, in being linked to ritual, suffers the final metamorphosis, and from being a simple source of personal indulgence becomes a factor (albeit, perhaps, a minor one) in the maintenance of the social status quo.

These considerations, it must be added, are applicable only in conditions of social stability. Where this stability is lacking, as in periods of rapid acculturation, control of the use of alcohol, as of other forms of social control, are likely to become weakened. It is our purpose in this note to show how, among the Bantu tribes of Southern Africa, alcohol became a significant source of social disorganisation, instead of being, as before, an aid to or a neutral factor in social cohesion.

The traditional importance of beer and beer-drinking in Bantu culture is so familiar that it is unnecessary to make more than a general reference to it. Solitary drinking appears to have been extremely rare, although group and ritual consumption of beer took place frequently. Indeed, the convivial beer-drink played a central part in the cementing of old and the creation of new friendships, and in reinforcing the ties which linked kinsmen together. Such everyday conviviality, while it had important social functions, had no ritual meaning. Nevertheless, the conduct of the beer-drink was strictly regulated. Although brewing was itself a woman's task, women were excluded from beer-drinks, or were permitted to take part only in such as were held separately from the men. The carrying of weapons was forbidden, and intoxication was not held to justify violent or offensive behaviour, continued respect for age, status and authority being insisted upon. The beer-drink gave refinement to daily life, and a man anticipated with pleasure the opportunity which marriage would give him of offering this hospitality to his relatives and friends.

The importance of beer in the daily life of the community had its parallel on more formal occasions. Beer was offered, for example, as a recompense to members of work-teams, to potential relatives-in-law at the conclusion of marriage arrangements, and on similar occasions. Ceremonies

such as marriage or funeral feasts were scenes of abundance, their success being largely measured by the quantity and the strength of the beer offered to the guests. The investment of beer drinking with symbolic value is seen even more clearly, not only in its use as a form of tribute or taxation offered to the chief, but also in its ritual function in initiation ceremonies, harvest festivals and religious propitiatory rites. At almost all times of its consumption, therefore, beer had a significance beyond that of mere personal indulgence, and Bantu traditional culture illustrated rather strikingly how alcohol may be made subservient to the strengthening, rather than the weakening, of group cohesion.

II

The coming of Europeans to Southern Africa severely disturbed this equilibrium by changing the manner in which beer was produced and consumed, and by introducing wine and ardent spirits hitherto unknown to the Bantu people, and to whose unfamiliar potency they fell victim. There is little reason to doubt that the introduction of the new liquors was primary both in time and in the severity of its consequences for Bantu society. Nevertheless, these alcoholic beverages of European origin did not begin seriously to affect the Bantu tribes until the middle of the nineteenth century — or about two centuries after the first Europeans had settled in the Cape. On the other hand, by the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Western Cape and elsewhere the Coloured population (that is, persons of mixed racial origin) were already suffering severely¹. But while missionary reports from Bantu regions rarely mention the matter in the first half of the nineteenth century, we know that throughout this period European traders were introducing brandy, together with other less harmful trade-goods, to the Bantu people². The missionaries themselves foresaw the consequences of this trade, and in an attempt to avert them established among the tribes during the years 1830-50 a number of trading stations where European goods, with the exception of alcoholic liquors, could be purchased by tribesmen who wanted them³. It is clear to us now that these attempts to isolate the Bantu people from a major and growing feature of the South African economy were almost certain to fail. For not only was the country, under European rule, producing yearly large quantities of both wine and distilled liquors, but these products, being of an extremely poor quality, were largely unmarketable in Europe. The Cape producers were consequently obliged to seek a means of disposing of their goods in the domestic market, small though this was. As a result, it became customary on many European farms by the middle of the century for labourers to be given as part of their wages "tots" of wine five or six times a day⁴, and by 1885 a missionary from the Berea district of the Cape wrote, "The neighbouring farmers, who are the only employers of

labour in the neighbourhood, produce a very cheap wine, which will hardly pay for carriage to Cape Town. They, therefore, endeavour to dispose of it in one way or another to our people, and are thankful for every penny gained by the sale of it, or are saved by giving it instead of tea or coffee to those who are at work for them. In these times of scarcity, the latter feel the need of something before they go out to the fields, and are often taken unawares by the effects of drinking on an empty stomach.”⁵

Meanwhile, although the sale of European liquor within the reserves had been legally prohibited, widespread smuggling rapidly made this regulation ineffective. Brandy and other liquors were readily obtained from canteens set up on the boundaries of Native areas, and many of the Bantu people, including women and children, not uncommonly traded profitably in this way⁶. In some parts of the country the results were disastrous. In the Tamacha District, it was reported, men, women and children became “degraded and demoralised by their inordinate appetite for strong drink”, and many died from the deleterious effects of alcohol, or committed criminal offences which had their origin in drunkenness⁷. In the district in which the Moravian mission at Goshen, Kaffraria, was established drinking became “to a terrible extent a national vice among the whole tribe”⁸; and among the Tembu of the Wodehouse Division in 1874 “a passion for intoxicating liquors (was) spreading slowly but surely... a large trade (being) illicitly carried on in the wildest and most abominable adulteration of Cape spirits”⁹.

There is little reason to doubt that these developments and others like them fostered the social disorganisation which other forces had already begun; and even the political organisation of certain tribes was affected where the chief or the members of his council were frequently or, as happened among the Tembu, were habitually drunk. Speaking of conditions in this tribe in the year 1883, a European special magistrate stated in evidence to the Cape Native Laws and Customs Commission, “when I was in Emigrant Tembuland, where brandy was smuggled, I would sometimes send for the chief, and he would be drunk, and remain so for a week. When at last he came, he would be in a ‘boozy’ and muddled condition, his head men being in the same condition. Wherever this fellow went he wanted brandy. The consequence was that nothing could be done in the location, where all depends upon the headmen.”¹⁰ In such circumstances the business of the tribe was necessarily brought to a standstill, for reasons which weakened if they did not entirely disable the prestige of the chieftainship. This disorder was naturally and increasingly reflected in personal behaviour among the tribe generally. While it is true that some groups suffered more than others, nevertheless wherever the place of the traditionally regulated beer-drink was taken by irregular drinking parties the conduct, especially the sexual conduct, of the participants became, in

terms of the tribe's traditional values, quite outrageous. "Our wives go to the canteen and drink", complained one Bantu witness before the same Commission. "They throw away their clothes and are naked. They are becoming lost to all sense of decency."¹¹ Children were said to be learning to drink from their mothers. The desire for alcohol was sometimes so compelling that Bantu families sold all their assets in order to obtain it and, thus reduced to indigence, suffered further degradation when they were deserted by their menfolk who were obliged subsequently to seek paid employment in the cities. In 1893 there were in Victoria West considerable numbers of both men and women living in conditions of extreme poverty and degradation which a missionary witness before the Cape Labour Commission attributed, perhaps with some pardonable exaggeration, to the prevalence of drunkenness among them¹².

How widespread such conditions were in the rural areas of the country is difficult to discover. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that matters eventually reached such a critical stage that there arose among the Bantu people themselves an opposition to the unregulated supply of the new beverages that became increasingly articulate, especially among the older generation. Bantu witnesses before the Native Laws and Customs Commission of 1883 were unanimous in their desire to see canteen owners expelled from Native areas. Even tribesmen who were themselves eager to obtain alcohol were sometimes aware of their undesirable consequences and were ready to support some form of Government control¹³. A group of tribal councillors thought it necessary to ask a missionary to urge in the appropriate quarters the desirability of some form of control of the sale of brandy in the Native Reserves because "they did not wish to drink in the presence of their wives and children". Men who wished to drink, they added, could ride to the nearest town — a procedure which, they foresaw, would have the dual advantage of isolating their womenfolk from the new liquors, and of preventing men appearing drunk in the tribal setting¹⁴. Indeed, it appears that in some districts (as in the King Williams Town Division in 1875¹⁵) a temporary diminution in the incidence of drunkenness occurred through the force of Bantu public opinion alone.

But for a number of reasons it proved difficult for the Administration to put such controls into operation, however desirable they appeared in theory. The South African wine producing interests especially were opposed to control, for as we have seen the cheap supply of wine and spirits to canteens and the free issue of wine to Native labourers was a convenient means of disposing of their surplus produce for which they found no market abroad. If prohibition were introduced, said one wine farmer in evidence to the Cape Labour Commission¹⁶, "then you can take a pick-axe and commence uprooting vines". Moreover, in the conditions existing in South Africa during the nineteenth century any control was easily evaded, for demand was heavy and the sources of supply very numerous. The prospect

of greater and more accessible supplies of liquor was, indeed, an incentive which drew many young Bantu tribesmen away to the cities and the mine-fields: by 1876 there was a large African population living in the vicinity of the Kimberley diamond fields because liquor as well as employment could be easily obtained in the locality¹⁷. In Port Elizabeth a few years later weekend "orgies" had become customary among the Bantu population living there, and at such times "nude, drunken, frantic Kafirs fight, yell and frantically gesticulate until the scene is disgraceful in the extreme"¹⁸. And although in this city the authorities subsequently undertook the control of all alcoholic liquor, the result appears to have been negligible: ten years later, in 1893, the Resident Magistrate there described conditions among Bantu migrants in the following terms. The Bantu migrants, he said in evidence, "mix Kaffir beer with honey, and then it is more maddening than brandy. I think it drives them mad. You know what they are when in that state. They will think nothing of four or five of them beating one to death. I had a case of six setting on one man. They did not kill, but injured him. . . . Out of seventy inquests held last year (1892), thirty were from drink, and one was directly killed by it. The deceased drank off a breakfast cup of brandy and fell down dead. I suppose the brandy was adulterated so we could not touch it. They put tobacco and bluestone into it. The Kaffir does not like it if it is not adulterated and does not cut like a saw all the way down his throat."¹⁹

It was also reported during the same period that in Cape Town workers leaving home in a chilly dawn went first to the canteens for a glass of brandy. Many remained there for the rest of the day and at last emerged intoxicated. The loss of labour resulting from this habit became so great that European employers sought a legal restriction on canteen opening hours in the hope that absenteeism might be thereby reduced²⁰.

The Boer War at the turn of the century appears to have brought about a temporary decrease in the incidence of drunkenness among migrant Bantu, but with the return of peace former habits were resumed. Local administrative officers making their annual reports (later published in the Cape of Good Hope Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1904) once more strongly urged the need for new legislation to check African consumption of alcoholic liquor²¹. A Liquor Licensing Act was already in existence by this time, but it had been only moderately successful even in the limited localities where it had been applied. The loopholes in the legislation were such that an African who resided in a "restricted" area could obtain unlimited supplies of liquor from adjoining districts where the sale was unrestricted. In the Cape registered voters, being specifically exempted from the provisions of the Licensing Act, served as middlemen supplying liquor to the African population²².

Such attempts to control the liquor traffic, however, did much to undermine the status of the relatively harmless traditional beer-drink among

both rural and urban Bantu. In the European farming areas where many Bantu were employed the beer-drink, often regarded by the whites as "nothing less than a drinking bout"²³, was censured as it had been in the cities largely because it interfered with a reliable supply of labour. While it proved a difficult matter to control directly a custom so deeply embedded in the traditional life of the Bantu people, other factors (such as the persistent tendency for Europeans to confuse the regulated traditional beer-drink with the disorderly drinking of liquors of European origin) were leading to the same conclusion. Although, as we know, the brewing of beer was traditionally a family matter, by the end of the nineteenth century shopkeepers were selling ready-prepared sprouted or malted grain for brewing, and in so doing began a process which ultimately brought about the separation of brewing from the domestic setting it had hitherto occupied. Hence, by 1908 commercial beer-drinks were organised, which "guests" could attend on the payment of a fixed sum²⁴. In this way the beer-drink changed its character from a convivial meeting of relatives and friends to a heterogeneous gathering of people who had in common perhaps only a liking for beer and the ability to pay for it. Personal behaviour at such meetings was not easily controlled since, having paid to come, everybody present sought their money's worth in beer and enjoyment. In Natal the commercial beer-drink was the setting in which the old traditional ways of regulating sexual behaviour were defied, for, although beer-drinks were not formerly attended by both sexes together, it rapidly became common for young men and women to spend their evenings together drinking beer in a hut from which older people were excluded²⁵. By 1914 such parties had become commonly noisy and violent since (again contrary to tradition) weapons were now taken to these diversions, fighting occurred, women and girls were assaulted. A Bantu Councillor from the Transkeian Territories describing these meetings said, "Nowadays, when a man went to a beer-drink... he took his sticks with him. A spectator at a beer-drink would probably observe the young men standing in groups here and there, and perhaps a little distance apart there would be a young fellow and a girl. If these young men in the group observed that the girl was in love with the young fellow, they would pick a quarrel with (him), and then a fight would follow. There were some people who dispersed their beer-drinks at sunset, but evils occurred in the dark, for some one would start a disturbance and everybody would join in and there would be quite an affray"²⁶. But while such developments as these were becoming widespread, in many tribes social control still remained sufficiently potent to prevent the most violent outbreaks of drunkenness and the irregular behaviour which accompanied them. It was in the cities and the mining compounds that the effects of liquor were most profound, and towards which the various efforts at legal control were chiefly directed.

In 1897 the Transvaal Mining Industry Commission sent to South African mining companies a questionnaire on labour conditions and related matters. Of the seventy-four mine managers from whom replies were received, all stated that alcoholic liquor continued to be sold to their Bantu employees despite the legislation designed to prevent it. Moreover, added a majority, the deleterious effects of this trade were such that for considerable periods many of their workers were incapable of carrying out their functions²⁷. Eating houses and trading establishments made a large part of their profit from the sale of liquor. It was stated in evidence that of the ten such establishments existing in 1897 on the boundaries of the East Rand Proprietary Mines alone, all depended so heavily on the liquor trade that its prohibition would force them to close down²⁸. In 1899 from twelve to fourteen per cent. of the African employees in the Crown Reef compound in Johannesburg were said to be absent because of intoxication, and the "number quite drunk sodden was very great"²⁹. The general manager of another mine on the Witwatersrand, describing conditions there during the weekends, said, "On Sunday night our compound was a simple hell, to put it even mildly. Liquor was being sold all over the place yesterday. Hundreds of boys could be seen sitting and drinking in groups everywhere. Two police were once seen and nothing was attempted by them in any way. The whole thing ended in a serious row in the compound, and the compound police were badly mauled."³⁰ On the diamond diggings the situation was similar. In 1898 there were in the Barkly West Division thirty-five canteens whose sales of alcoholic liquor to Bantu migrants were such, according to the Civil Commissioner, as to reduce them to "drunk-sodden, hopeless wrecks of humanity."³¹

The degree to which the liquor traffic rapidly became associated with prostitution is noteworthy, for this association had significant consequences for the traditional forms of Bantu social organisation. In the mine compounds themselves the problem was largely avoided by a total prohibition of women within the areas reserved for male Bantu workers. Elsewhere, however, such restrictions did not apply, with the result that during and after the last quarter of the nineteenth century prostitution became a normal accompaniment in the cities and the labour centres to the provision of liquor. Many mineworkers, at the expiration of their contract, no longer returned to their families in the rural areas, but preferred to stay in a beer-house in the company of a temporary concubine. A similar position was noted in Natal³², where men returning from working in the mines were "speedily relieved of their earnings, and, after an orgy of a week or tendays' duration, re-engage themselves for another term of service and go off without even visiting their homes." In the city of Durban itself a system of temporary "five-day passes" for Bantu women was established, officially in order that they might visit their relatives in the city, but rapidly modified by the women as a convenient means of bringing beer into the urban area. During

the year 1907 some 40,000 women came into Durban in this way, and many of them remained there as prostitutes or concubines as long as they escaped detection. Describing the conditions in which these women lived in his evidence to the Transvaal Liquor Commission of 1910, the Durban Chief Magistrate said, "...in the majority of cases they lodged under all sorts of unfavourable conditions, in 'ricksha sheds, back kitchens, compounds and the like, under no adequate control. During the time they were in the town they were provided by their male relatives and others with all kinds of luxuries, meat, sweets, sugar, etc. The demoralization of the women and girls was going on at a very great pace; the allurements of the town also were so great that as soon as a fresh brew could be made, women would come back again under any pretext that could be invented, and, in many cases, this resulted in women staying in town altogether and taking to a loose life."³³ There is also other evidence that throughout South Africa at this time indigent Europeans played a large part in the illicit liquor trade, employing European women and children as agents — the white women not uncommonly being prostitutes with a clientèle among the African population ³⁴.

Some ten years after the interval of the First World War the general position had changed very little, the unpublished evidence of the Native Economic Commission (1932) and the conclusions of the South African Institute of Race Relations leaving little doubt that prostitution continued to be closely allied with the liquor traffic ³⁵. In a study made at the same period in the Rooiyard slums of Johannesburg, Ellen Hellmann comments, "The Native beer customer after drinking his fill, will make advances to the women around him; nor will he fail to find a woman who, for 2/6, will accede to his request."³⁶ Indeed, this writer continues, many single Africans or those whose wives remained in the country, formed temporary alliances with these women: widows, deserted wives, young girls, tired of working, or the merely dissolute who, married or single, earned a livelihood passing from one man to another as circumstances dictated. To facilitate the provision of liquor in combination with prostitution commercial dance halls were established ³⁷. Children and adolescents drank heavily at location entertainments, as at other times, and it became not uncommon for pupils to come to school in a state of semi-intoxication³⁸; while teachers themselves were known to drink excessively and to be intoxicated in class ³⁹.

In an attempt to bring order into the liquor trade among the African population many local urban authorities established municipal beer-halls, where the brewing and sale of beer took place under close supervision. Administratively this system had some success, although Africans themselves objected to it on the grounds that the beer was expensive and that the amenities of the halls were so limited that to go there was like "drinking in a cage" ⁴⁰. Moreover, private brewing still went on, even though illegal, and Monica Hunter states that in the 'thirties in an East London

location⁴¹ she observed brewing taking place in a large number of homes in preparation for weekend festivities. But in place of the atmosphere of convivial relaxation which traditionally had surrounded the consumption of beer, the need for secrecy now drove men to solitary drinking, or to drinking with one or two friends, in a closed room or secluded backyard. Beer was now rarely provided free. Indeed, beer-brewing had come to be regarded as a means of augmenting a family income, or of providing economic independence for single, widowed and deserted women⁴².

Meanwhile the liquor laws became one of the principal causes of criminal offence in South Africa. The number of persons, African and European, convicted of liquor offences in the Union⁴³ rose from about 10,000 in 1913 to nearly 83,000 in 1936. Of these offences the majority occurred in the cities, especially on the Witwatersrand (which alone accounted for 81 per cent. of all liquor offences in 1935) and drunkenness was significantly more common among the African population there than in other urban areas⁴⁴. Intoxication was frequently followed by violence, the incidence of physical assault growing as the cities themselves expanded. "Johannesburg is a place for business: that is why you see people killing one another", an African councillor from the Transkei remarked with some bitterness⁴⁵. And in the general dissolution of traditional standards of behaviour among the Bantu living in the cities, it was not difficult for the police to find Africans ready to be employed as informers on their fellows; and these informers themselves, as they became known to the suppliers and consumers of liquor and hence no longer of use to the police, drifted into crime. The liquor traffic, it may be said, together with the often brutal⁴⁶ police activity which accompanied it, brought or helped to bring the new system of European law into contempt among the Bantu people. Lawbreakers were shielded, crime continued, and with final and perhaps unconscious irony beer resumed its ritual function — as thanksgiving offering after release from prison⁴⁷.

III

We suggested that the social control of personal behaviour during the consumption of alcoholic liquors was exercised by society in three ways: through the subconscious inhibitions implanted in childhood; by the requirement that drinking take place in company and not alone, and by the linking of alcoholic beverages with ritual observances. In the traditional life of the Bantu people all three means of control were exercised. Moreover, since beer was the only alcoholic beverage with which they were familiar, to control its use was to control all the circumstances in which, traditionally, alcohol could be consumed. The advent of the Europeans weakened the old regulations that guided beer-drinking, and led to the rapid introduction of novel drinks which it lay outside the competence of tradition to control.

A variety of other factors, not directly connected with alcohol, also weakened the traditional use of beer. These were factors which attacked the fundamental sources of authority in the tribe, and which consequently led to the disintegration of sectors of social organisation which were far more crucial than the beer-drink, although this suffered as well. Just as behaviour in other sectors of social life were becoming increasingly individualised as the processes of culture-contact continued, so beer itself was gradually transformed into a means of merely personal enjoyment. The social dangers which former controls had sought to repel began to manifest themselves, in this new situation, in the form of personal violence, transgressions of the sexual code and disregard of authority. Where this happened, social disorganisation was accelerated.

But although the disruption of the traditional use of beer was important and widespread (although not universal), the events which followed the introduction of new European liquors were far more potent in their social effect. Because of their novelty these were neither associated with ritual nor with the group drinking which had been so characteristic a feature of Bantu life. Since these forms of control were lacking it followed that only one remained operative — that exercised by the inhibitions imposed in upbringing. Had Bantu society in other respects remained stable it is quite possible that the new liquors would have been brought under social control earlier by this means, and through their gradual adaptation to the other forms of regulation. Unfortunately, disequilibrium had been created already by other and more powerful factors, with the result that, especially among the Bantu urban and mining populations that grew up, the inhibitions traditionally imposed were severely weakened. The new liquors were therefore used as a means of personal indulgence, untrammelled by group or ritual associations, and decreasingly inhibited by values imparted in childhood. The conditions in which the liquors were obtained also did much to encourage their being looked upon as a matter of merely personal and individual concern. They were paid for from individual earnings, obtained through devious and often illegal means, and consumed either in isolation or in a group intent, not on conviviality, but on the personal enjoyment of its individual members; while the state of separation from tribal influences and of relative personal anonymity in which the urban Bantu lived left unchecked disorderly behaviour which traditionally would not have been tolerated. Liquor, in becoming associated with unrestrained intoxication, followed by violence, theft and imprisonment, and with prostitution, became a significant and positive factor in social disorganisation, and not merely its symptom.

The European community in South Africa became aware, like any society, of the necessity of controlling the use of alcohol. The control they sought to impose, however, attempted no more than to deny access to the new liquors — a short-sighted policy which ignored the equally important

necessity of linking control with a general system of social values. Such a prohibition, since it did not emerge from the use of alcohol in a community or a ritual context, nor from a set of personal values, had little meaning for the Bantu. It was consequently evaded whenever possible, and the effective social regulation of the consumption of liquor was postponed until such time as a new value system more relevant to the changing social environment emerged from the Bantu people themselves.

NOTES

1) See, for example, J. Fawcett, *An Account of an 18 Months' Residence at the Cape of Good Hope in 1835-6*, Cape Town, 1836.

2) Cf. B. Hutchinson, Early European trade among the South African Bantu, *Revista de Antropologia*, iv, 1956.

3) Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, xiv, (635), 1851, *Report from the Select Committee on Kafir Tribes*, paras. 669-70, and 718-19; B. Hutchinson, Some social consequences of nineteenth century missionary activity among the South African Bantu, *Africa*, xxvii, 1957.

4) Cf. E. A. Walker, *A History of Southern Africa*, 3rd Edition, London, 1957, p. 169. Writing of conditions obtaining as recently as 1936 he says: "... many of those upon the farms led a squalid existence that was made more squalid by the tot system, whereby white farmers insisted in paying them part of their wages in so many tots of wine a day, a practice which drove them to the shebeens at the weekends when no free wine was to be had." *Ibid.*, p. 650.

5) *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren*, xxxiii, 1885, p. 583.

6) Cape of Good Hope, House of Assembly Papers, G. 4-1883, *Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Commission on Native Laws and Customs*, paras. 2,381-2,384.

7) Cape of Good Hope, *Blue Book on Native Affairs*, G. 13-1880, p. 173.

8) United Brethren, *op. cit.*, xxx, p. 67.

9) Cape of Good Hope, *Blue Book on Native Affairs*, G. 27-1874, pp. 16, 59; G. 21-1875, p. 40; G. 3-1884, p. 31, etc. Cf. Sheila van der Horst, *Native Labour in South Africa*, London, 1942, pp. 106-7.

10) Cape of Good Hope, *Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Commission on Native Laws and Customs*, para. 5,096.

11) *Ibid.*, paras. 4,322-4,324.

12) Cape of Good Hope, House of Assembly Papers, G. 3-1894, *Further Minutes of Evidence and Report of the Labour Commission*, para. 14,708.

13) Commission on Native Laws, *op. cit.*, paras. 4,322-4,324.

14) *Ibid.*, paras. 2,381-2,384.

15) Cape of Good Hope, *Blue Book on Native Affairs*, G. 21-1875, p. 58.

16) Cape of Good Hope, *Minutes of Evidence of the Labour Commission*, G. 39-1893, paras. 5,092-5,094. Some legislation designed to control the consumption of liquor had already been introduced in the diamond fields some twenty years earlier: Proclamation No. 64, 1871. This imposed penalties for the sale of liquor to "Native" servants, but like other similar measures proved impossible to administer.

17) Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Government Surveyor*, lii, (C. 1401), 1876, p. 60.

- 18) Cape of Good Hope, *Report of the Select Committee on the Port Elizabeth Native Strangers Location Bill*, A. 10-1883, para. 144.
- 19) Cape of Good Hope, *Further Minutes of Evidence and Report of the Labour Commission*, G. 3-1894, paras. 20, 800-20, 805.
- 20) Cape of Good Hope, *Minutes of Evidence of the Labour Commission*, G. 39-1893, paras. 1,150-1,151.
- 21) Cape of Good Hope, *Blue Book on Native Affairs*, G. 12-1904, p. xii.
- 22) *Ibid.*, G. 29-1903, p. 4.
- 23) *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 24) Cape of Good Hope, *Report on the occupation of land by Natives in areas not set apart for them*, G. 46-1908, p. 20.
- 25) Natal, *Blue Book on Native Affairs*, 1909, pp. 25-26.
- 26) Transkeian Territories General Council, *Proceedings and Reports*, 1914, p. 109.
- 27) Transvaal, *Minutes of Evidence of the Mining Industry Commission*, 1897, pp. 44, 114-115. See similar reports of widespread drunkenness in the *Reports of the Inspectors of Diamond Mines*, G. 40-1886; G. 11-1890.
- 28) Transvaal, *op. cit.*, p. 96. Also Appendix XV, pp. 473-474.
- 29) Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, *Minutes of Evidence of the Transvaal Labour Commission*, (Cd. 1897), 1904, para. 10,552.
- 30) Transvaal Chamber of Mines, *Annual Report*, 1898, p. 135.
- 31) Cape of Good Hope, *Blue Book on Native Affairs*, G. 42-1898, p. 13.
- 32) Natal, *Blue Book on Native Affairs*, 1909, p.xlvii.
- 33) Transvaal, *Report of the Liquor Commission*, 1910, Annexure N.^o 10.
- 34) Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission on Assaults on Women*, U. G. 39-1913, paras. 57-58.
- 35) Unpublished evidence before the Native Economic Commission, 1932 quoted in *The Illicit Liquor Problem on the Witwatersrand*, Johannesburg, 1935.
- 36) E. Hellmann, The importance of beer-brewing in an urban Native yard, *Bantu Studies*, viii, 1934, p. 58.
- 37) *The Illicit Liquor Problem*, *op. cit.*, paras. 28-29.
- 38) *Ibid.*, para. 105.
- 39) E. Hellmann, *Problems of Bantu Urban Youth*, Johannesburg, 1940.
- 40) Union of South Africa, *Report of the Native Economic Commission*, U. G. 22-1932, para. 761.
- 41) M. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, London, 1936, p. 443.
- 42) E. Hellmann, 1934, *op. cit.*, p. 60. See also her account of the "stockfair", a cooperative enterprise for the disposal of surplus beer to "members", *ibid.*, pp. 50 et seq.
- 43) Union of S. Africa Official Year Books.
- 44) Union Reports on the Statistics of Crime.
- 45) Transkei: *Proceedings and Reports*, 1935, p. 176.
- 46) Union of South Africa, *Report of the Police Commission of Inquiry*, U. G. 50-1937, para. 276.
- 47) M. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 466.