KEISKAMMAHOEK RURAL SURVEY

VOLUME II

THE ECONOMY OF A NATIVE RESERVE

By

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and

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PIETERMARITZBURG
SHUTER AND SHOOTER
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KEISKAMMAHOEK RURAL SURVEY

IN FOUR VOLUMES

Volume I The Natural History of the Keiskammahoek District.

Volume II The Economy of a Native Reserve.

Volume III Social Structure.

Volume IV Land Tenure.

The National Council for Social Research initiated and financed a comprehensive Rural Survey of the Keiskammahoek District, a Native Reserve in the Ciskei. This Survey, which was directed by Professor Lindsay Robb, covered a number of different aspects of which this study of the economy was but one.

Acknowledgment is made of the financial assistance given by the National Council for Social Research both in the conduct of the survey itself and in the publication of this Report. Opinions expressed and conclusions reached are, however, those of the authors, and are not to be regarded as being an expression of the views of the National Council for Social Research.

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PREFACE

In October, 1948, I was approached by Professor Lindsay Robb, Director of the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, and asked if I would undertake, in an honorary capacity, the planning, organization and supervision of an economic survey of Keiskammahoek, as an integral part of the Rural Survey of that District. Rhodes University gave permission for me to undertake this work subject to its not being allowed to interfere with my teaching and other academic duties. This has meant that the time I could devote to the economic survey has been restricted to week-ends and vacations. This fact is pleaded in extenuation of the somewhat long time this enquiry has taken.

The first task was to see what information bearing upon the economic conditions of the District, either published or in the files of the Native Affairs Department, was available. In spite of the willing co-operation of the officers of the Department, who placed the District Record Book and other material at our disposal, little that was relevant to this inquiry was to be found. There is no registration of births and deaths of the Native population, no statistics on population movement, and even the census material, except for the 1936 and 1946 censuses, was not available in detail. There was no information on family incomes and expenditures, save that in the Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission Report of 1943, and little on economic conditions in general, other than in the Native Economic Commission Report of 1932; but neither of these related specifically to the Keiskammahoek District. There was little to be found on yields from arable and pastoral farming, though figures of stock populations were available from dipping records. In fact, the picture that presented itself was one of a vast *terra incognita*.

It was clear that we would have to set about obtaining the information we required ourselves and that it would involve a considerable amount of field work. Six main field research projects were planned and carried out.

The first was an investigation of the trade and general economy of the District based upon an analysis of the books of those among the thirty traders in the District who were prepared to co-operate with us. The response from the majority of the traders was excellent and

twenty-four of them agreed to place their books at our disposal and assisted in many other ways. Mr. B. Forsdick, a post-graduate student of this University, carried out this enquiry in the first part of 1949, and the material so obtained forms the bulk of Chapter III.

The second piece of field work was a family budget survey covering the calendar year 1949. It was a task of considerable magnitude on which five field workers were employed for over a year in the collection of family incomes, expenditures and other data bearing on the standard of living from a sample of families representative of the District as a whole. For this purpose five villages were selected to cover as adequately as possible the different types of climate, of pasture and of land tenure found in the District. Material obtained from this enquiry is to be found throughout this Report and more particularly in Chapter IV.

The third piece of field research was an attempt to obtain accurate data on emigration from the District. On the suggestion of Professor Monica Wilson, genealogies were collected early in 1950 from the sample families of the income and expenditure survey, and the present location of each member of the genealogy ascertained. This work was carried out by two of the field workers of the previous survey who were assisted and instructed in the compilation of genealogies by Mr. M. Elton Mills. The results of this study are to be found in Chapter V.

The fourth field study was of cultivation and crop yields. This was undertaken by Mr. G. K. McCune and five agricultural demonstrators, all of whom were seconded by the Native Affairs Department for this purpose. For two years they measured areas sown to summer and winter crops by the families of the income and expenditure survey, and weighed the harvest yields for the 1948 to 1950 seasons. Their findings are incorporated in Chapter VI.

The fifth was an enquiry conducted in Upper Nqhumeya village into the structure of the family and the time devoted by women to farming and household tasks. The information was obtained by Mrs. T. Maki towards the end of 1950 and the material from it has been used in both the economic survey and the study of social structure. In this volume it appears chiefly in Chapters II and V.

The sixth study was on land tenure and was conducted during the latter part of 1949 and the first half of 1950 by Mr. M. Elton Mills, who was seconded by the Department of Native Affairs for this purpose. It was originally intended that his work should form a part of

this Report, but the importance of the subject and the quantity of material he obtained has led to the decision that it should stand on its own as a separate volume on *Land Tenure*. Chapter VI of this Report, however, incorporates some of his findings.

Most of the analysis and collation of the field material was done by members of the Department of Economics of Rhodes University, and the final Report has been written by Miss E. M. Walton and myself. Our aim has been to present an accurate and purely factual account of the economy of the Keiskammahoek District at the present time, and we have endeavoured to avoid speculation and the passing of any judgements other than those that can be directly deduced from information we have obtained. Perfect objectivity is difficult to attain and if, at any place, the black-and-white print is slightly tinted by personal views, we must ask the reader's indulgence and assure him that it was unintentional.

I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation to all those who have assisted in this survey and offer my sincere thanks to :

The Department of Native Affairs for seconding Mr. M. Elton Mills, Mr. G. K. McCune and the agricultural demonstrators ;

The Department of Health, for seconding three health visitors for the family budget survey, and to Dr. Rijno Smit, personally, for the interest he has shown in the whole undertaking.

Dr. P. A. Cook and Dr. P. J. Olckers, secretaries of the National Council for Social Research, and to their staff, for assistance in securing some of the information that was required;

Miss Una Long for information on the early history of British Kaffraria ;

Mr. J. P. Jansen and the National Resources Development Council for the population maps of the District facing page 9 ;

The Native Commisioners at Keiskammahoek, and their staff for their patience and assistance during this survey ;

The 24 traders, whose co-operation in making their trading accounts available for inspection and in giving the benefit of their experience and wide knowledge of the District contributed much to this Report ;

Messrs. Kobus, Sonjica, Tati, Jafta and Mbombo, who collected the income and expenditure material; to Mrs. Maki, who did the field work on family structure and women's tasks ; to Mr. G. K. McCune and Messrs. Ngomo, Dyantyi, Kangana, Mzeni, Mbange,

Magadla and Lupondo, who measured the crop yields; and to the hundreds of people who co-operated so nobly although, as one of them said, they were "awearied of answering questions";

Messrs. H. Rose, B. Forsdick, D. Philcox, H. H. Smith, F. E. Drennan and a number of senior students of Rhodes University, and other persons, all of whom helped in one way or another in analysing, correlating and cross-checking the vast quantity of material that was collected;

Mr. M. Elton Mills, for his assistance in the compilation of genealogies and for the use of some of his material on land tenure;

Miss. E. M. Walton, who has contributed Chapter II of this Report and has assisted in the writing of the whole of it: without her aid it might not have been completed for years;

Professor Monica Wilson, who has been supervising the social structure and land tenure volumes of this Survey and with whom I have worked in the closest co-operation. We have shared all our material as it became available and this survey of *The Economy of a Native Reserve*, which has benefited by her constant advice and criticism, is not intended to stand alone but to be part of a trilogy with the *Social Structure* and *Land Tenure* Reports. By many cross references we have tried to indicate that, though they are published as separate volumes, they really form a single investigation into the social and economic conditions of the Keiskammahoek District.

To all these persons I offer my sincere thanks: for the material presented and the views expressed I alone take responsibility.

Of Professor Lindsay Robb, the Director of the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, a very special word of appreciation must be recorded. His infectious enthusiasm, his cheerful energy, his singleness of purpose in his efforts to preserve the soil of South Africa, and his unfailing courtesy and consideration created an atmosphere in which it was a delight to work.

Some of the material of Chapters III and IV was published in the *South African Journal of Economics* of March and December, 1950, and I am grateful to the Editors for permission to make use of it in this book.

D. HOBART HOUGHTON.

Rhodes University,
March, 1951.

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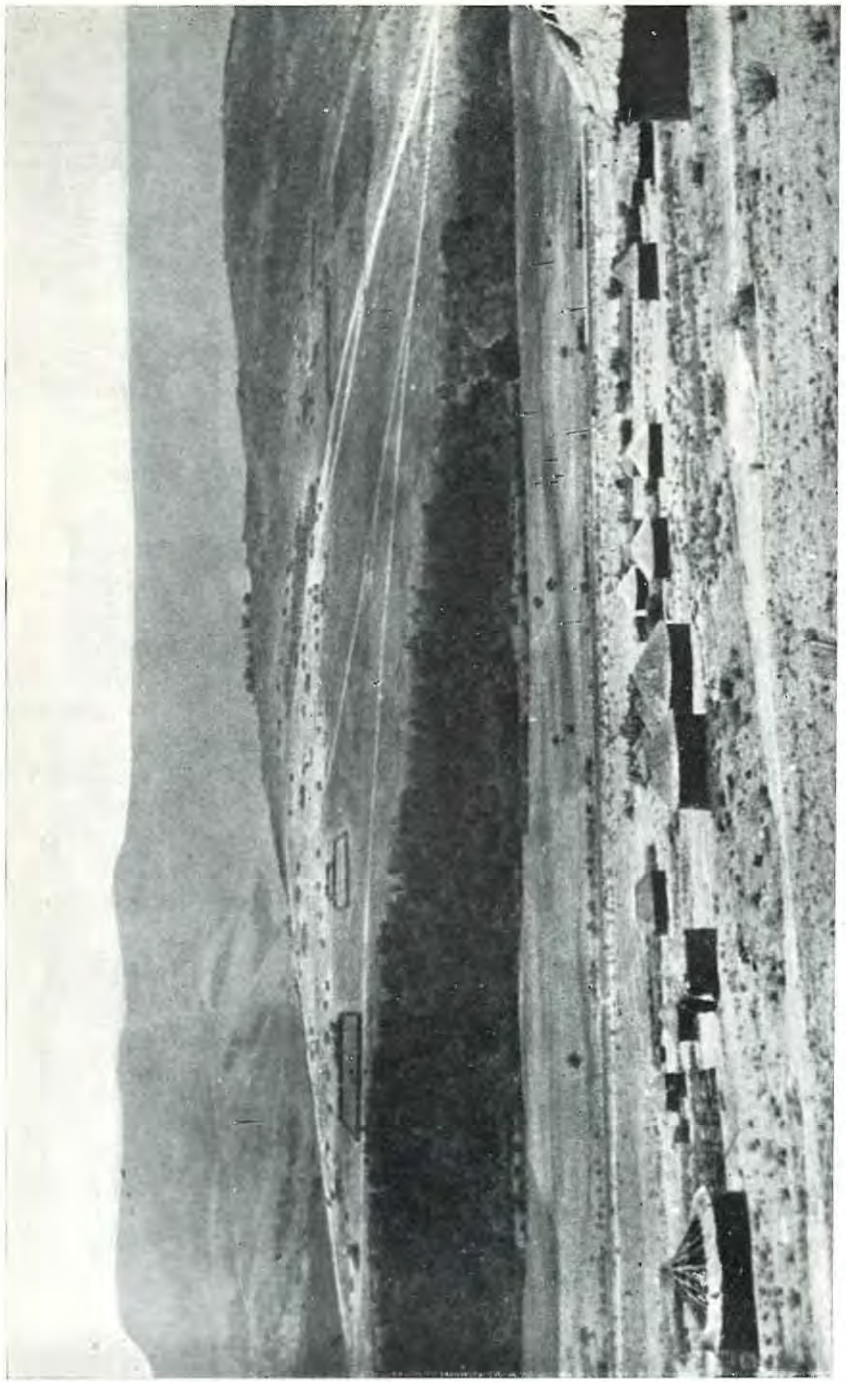


A Typical Village

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Between the eastern seaboard and the Amatole mountains, situated some fifty miles inland from East London, lies some of the best watered and most fertile grazing land in South Africa. It was in this area, in the neighbourhood of the Great Fish River, that there first came into contact towards the end of the eighteenth century the white settlers from Europe, migrating eastwards across the tip of the continent from the Cape, and the black Bantu-speaking African tribes advancing down the coast from the north. The contact was hostile, and for the next 100 years conflict between white and black was waged in that area between the Fish and the Kei Rivers which was at one time known as British Kaffraria and is now known as the Ciskei.

Land was of the utmost importance both to the African tribes and to the white settlers ; for without land the herds of cattle owned by both were valueless. Since the wealth of both white and black frontiersmen was vested in cattle, and well watered land was scarce, the need to possess and use such land was the main cause of African tribal warfare and of war between white and black. On the white side of the frontier the value of cattle was economic, and the need for adequate pasturage, as the cattle trade developed, was one of the principal motives for the expansion of the Colony. In the case of the Bantu, however, cattle had more than an economic significance for they played a vital part in tribal culture. Moreover, the traditional economy of the African tribes was a semi-nomadic pastoral economy which required an abundance of land for its successful operation; adequate grazing for their herds of cattle was essential but only subsidiary importance was attached to arable cultivation. After the arrival of the 1820 settlers from England, the difference between the European and Bantu approach to land was emphasised, for the new settlement in the Eastern Cape Colony was planned as an agricultural scheme, and land was granted accordingly. In the wars between white and black the Bantu were dispossessed of much of their land, but

substantial areas remained in their possession, and these were the foundation of the present Native Reserves.

Although British Kaffraria was under military rule, the expressed objective of the authorities was to achieve a form of government which would assist the Bantu towards the civilised values of the western world, for this was considered a necessary condition of peace on the frontier. The deliberate policy was adopted from the 1830's onward of settling groups of Mfengu (Fingoes), who were friendly towards the Europeans, on reserves or locations in the Cape frontier districts, among European areas. In 1848 the first of the military settlements for whites were established in British Kaffraria, and five years later the Governor of the Cape Colony established Keiskammahoek as a centre for the military occupation of the area. Friendly Mfengu from the locations to the south were moved into the District; officers and men of the Anglo-German Legion and German peasant immigrants were settled there; and, after 1858, land was also made available for farmers from the Cape Colony. The motives behind the "chess-board" of intermixed settlements of white and black were both military and economic, being for the attainment of more secure control against combinations of tribes and uprisings, and for ensuring adequate labour to the European farmers between whose farms the Native Reserves were located. There was also the intention that close proximity to Europeans, accompanied by the establishment of Church missions and schools, should teach the Bantu the crafts and agricultural methods of the Europeans and acquaint them generally with western culture. By the time white supremacy had been definitely secured both African tribesmen and European settlers were established in the Ciskei; the Europeans in their towns, villages and farms; the Mfengu in villages among their arable and grazing lands. It was not long before the defeated Xhosa began to return in considerable numbers and to re-occupy the land with the Mfengu.

European administration has ended inter-tribal warfare, which formerly had been a check to population growth, and veterinary science has reduced stock losses, so that the pressure of population of both men and beasts on the reduced land available for Native occupation has been intensified. "Men and beasts beget, but land does not beget" is a Xhosa proverb which epitomises the economic history of the Native Reserves; overpopulation, overstocking, denudation of the vegetation, soil erosion and poverty are the general characteristics which have developed. Failure to adapt their economy, which was

founded upon an abundance of land, to circumstances in which this condition no longer prevails is the root cause of their present distress.

Economic conditions in the Native Reserves are thus primarily determined by the ratio of land to population. In 1913 the Union Parliament passed an Act which increased rigidity in this matter. The Act scheduled most of the existing Reserves and prohibited the acquisition of land in these areas by Europeans, and at the same time it restricted the rights of the Bantu to acquire land outside these areas. It was generally recognised at the time that the land thus made available was inadequate, but no effective measures were taken to augment it until 1936. In that year an Act was passed establishing the South African Native Trust and charging this body with the responsibility for purchasing, with moneys voted by Parliament for the purpose, additional land for Native occupation in specified areas adjacent to existing Reserves, and for administering land so acquired.[1] Under this Act considerable consolidation of Native areas has already taken place in the Ciskei.

In the heart of the Ciskei is the Keiskamma River basin, encircled on the north, east and west by mountains of the Amatole range. It is predominantly a Native area which, until 1937 was administered as part of the Kingwilliamstown Magisterial District, but which in that year was proclaimed a separate unit for administration, the Keiskammahoek Magisterial District. The chief administrative officer is the Native Commissioner who, with a small staff of Europeans and Bantu all of whom are civil servants in the Department of Native Affairs, administers the whole District. The District is some 220 square miles in extent, and its population, according to the 1946 census ,was 18,391 persons of whom 17,243 were Natives and only 641 were Europeans and 507 Coloureds. Predominantly Native, its people are culturally representative of the Xhosa-speaking peoples of the whole Ciskei and Transkei. The economy of the District is also representative of these Native Reserves: soil erosion, low agricultural productivity, overstocking, poverty and large scale emigration are its striking features; and in these respects it is probably intermediate between districts such as Peddie and Middledrift, where conditions are, if anything, worse, and the Transkei, where, in parts at any rate, better conditions prevail.

Keiskammahoek is primarily a farming area but, under prevailing methods of pasture management and arable cultivation, the land is unable to support its present population. There is no effective alterna-

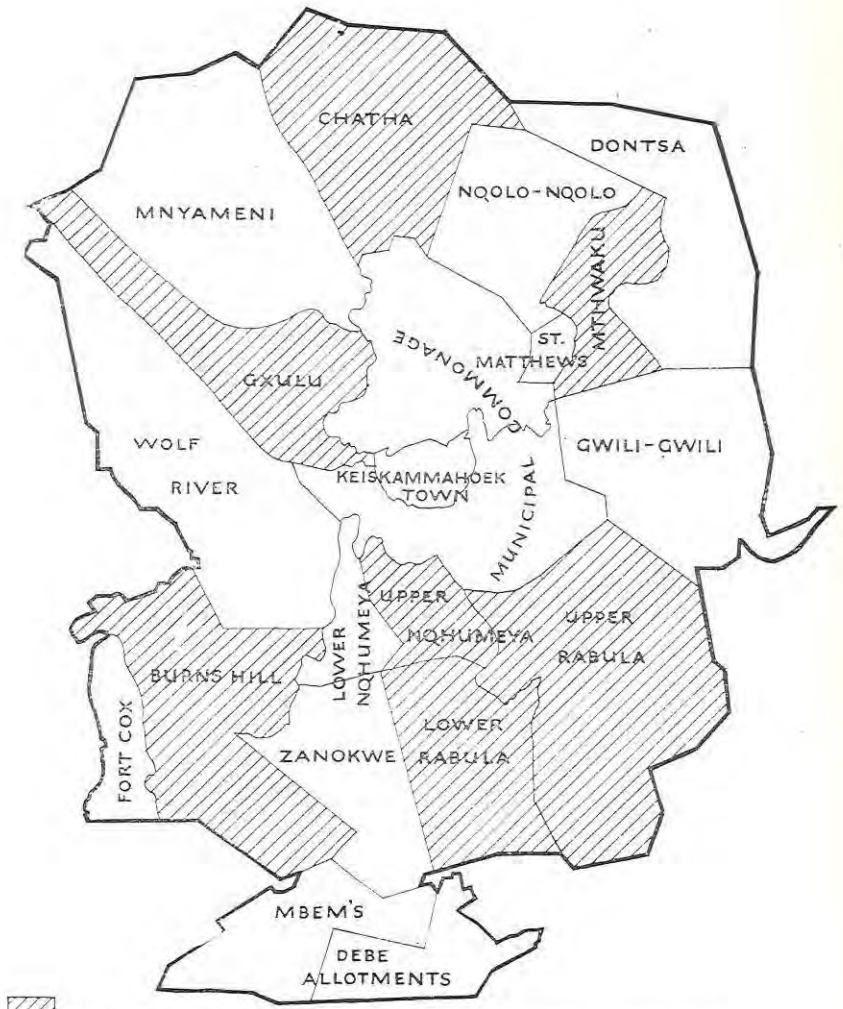
[1] In this Report such land will be referred to as "Trust land".

tive employment in the neighbourhood. Although Keiskammahoek is far removed from the major industrial centres of the Union, economic necessity drives large numbers of people, both men and women, out to earn a livelihood in such places as Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and East London. The distances by rail from Keiskammahoek to these cities are: Cape Town, 845 miles; Johannesburg, 642 miles; Port Elizabeth, 259 miles; East London, 42 miles. The majority of the people go out to work for a period of a year or so at a time, then they return home for as long as their savings will permit, and when these are exhausted they go out to work again. Some, however, emigrate to the cities, make their permanent homes there, and do not return to the Reserve.

The Keiskammahoek District comprises fifteen Native villages, or "locations" as they are commonly called. A location consists of a village of some two hundred scattered homesteads and some arable land, surrounded by a fairly large area of common grazing land. In this Report a distinction will be observed between the use of the word *village* and *location*. *Village* will refer more specifically to the group of dwellings, and *location* will express the wider concept of the village together with the whole area of land associated with it. The village is a straggling amorphous affair whose shape is generally determined by the configuration of the ground; it has no definite pattern, no streets or roads, and it provides no "essential services" such as water, lighting or sanitation. Each village has a headman, who receives a small salary from the government, and is the link between the members of his village and the Administration. The social structure of the village is the subject of a separate Report.[1] Its main economic character is that it is a group of peasant farmers attempting to subsist upon the produce of their stock and their primitive agriculture. The yield is, however, so low that they cannot produce enough food to support themselves and have to purchase considerable quantities which are imported into the District. Their purchases are paid for, in part by the export of produce such as wool, but principally by the export of the large number of workers to whom reference has already been made. The dependence of the villagers upon the earnings of the emigrant workers is so great that it would probably be more accurate to say that the economy of the District rests firstly upon the fact that it is a reservoir of labour for the mines and industries of the Union and

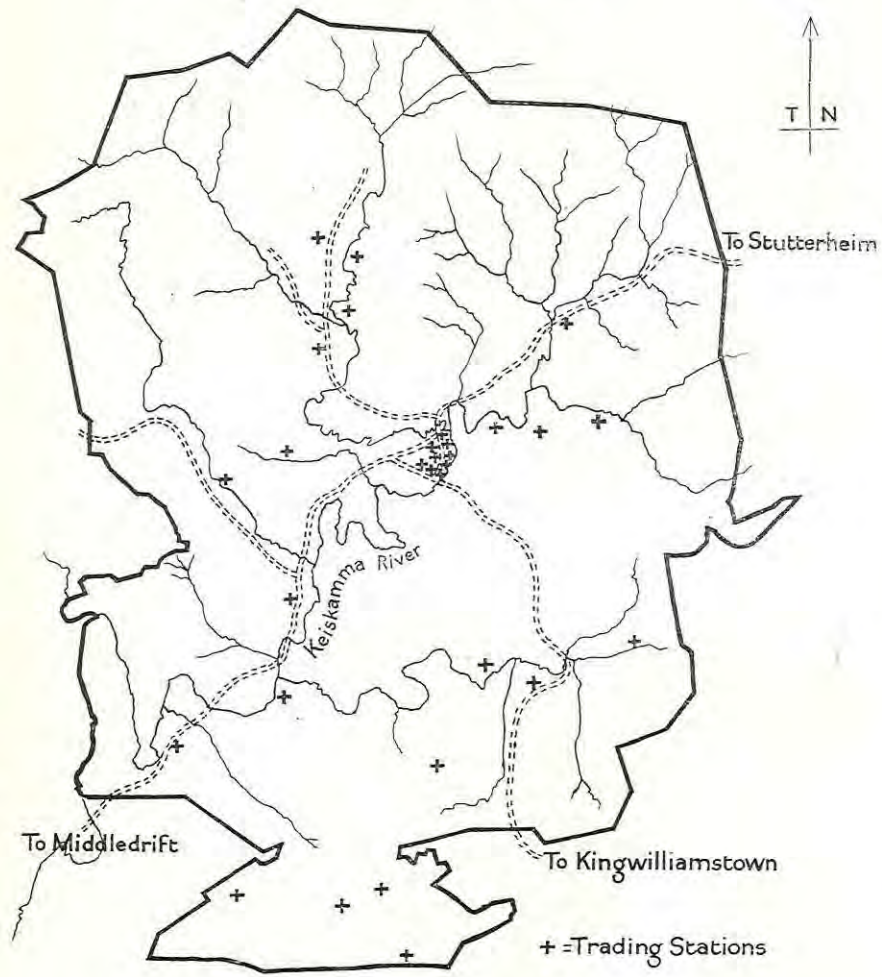
[1] *Keiskammahoek Rural Survey*, Volume III, *Social Structure*.

PRINCIPAL SUB-DISTRICTS



Locations where detailed investigations were undertaken.

RIVERS, ROADS AND TRADING STATIONS



Scale 1 inch = 3·75 miles

secondly upon the subsistence farming of those who remain behind. This whole matter will, however, be fully discussed in subsequent chapters.

In addition to the fifteen locations there is the European town of Keiskammahoek which is surrounded by a large municipal commonage. There are also three other small areas, St. Matthew's Mission, Fort Cox, and the Debe Allotments. The first is an Anglican Mission, the second a government agricultural school and the third an area in which there are a few European farmers. These three areas, the municipal area of Keiskammahoek, and the fifteen locations are shown on the first of the maps opposite. These areas correspond, or can be made to correspond, with the sub-districts used in census enumerations so that a fairly accurate figure for the population of each area can be obtained.[1] The town of Keiskammahoek and the municipal commonage are classed in the census as *urban* while the rest of the District is classed as *rural*. It is, however, misleading to think of the municipal commonage as urban since it consists of common grazing interspersed with groups of small farm holdings occupied by Europeans, Coloureds and Natives, and is in character essentially a rural area. Even the town itself hardly merits the designation urban for it is in reality only a small village with about 250 white inhabitants, nine shops, a Post Office, one hotel, and lacks both electric light and waterborne sewerage. It is, however, the administrative centre for the District.

The second map shows the three main roads converging on the town of Keiskammahoek, one from Debe Nek and Kingwilliamstown, one from Middledrift and one from Stutterheim. These provide the only links with the outside world. There are no railways in the District but a branch line from Kingwilliamstown to Cookhouse passes through Debe Nek and Middledrift on the southern side, and to the north-east the main line from East London to Johannesburg passes through Stutterheim. Buses operated by the South African Railways and Harbours, provide a freight and passenger service between the town of Keiskammahoek and the rail head at Kingwilliamstown. In addition to these three main roads there are other minor ones, of which some are no better than rough tracks which are impassable to motor traffic in wet weather. The Natives travel on foot, on horseback, on bicycles, or by bus; and their goods are transported by sledges, ox-wagons or lorries. In some parts of the

[1] *Cf.* p. 8.

District there are no roads of any sort and the very broken nature of the country makes their construction almost impossible.[1]

The water supply of the District is potentially very good. The rainfall varies between an annual precipitation of more than 40 inches in the mountains on the northern boundary, and about 20 inches in the lowlands towards the south. A large number of perennial streams flow down from the mountains and converge to form the Keiskamma River. The precipitous nature of the mountain areas and the undulating character of the lower parts of the District do not, however, lend themselves to irrigation on a large scale. Irrigation, on a small scale only, might be possible along the river banks but little of this has been attempted. The Keiskammahoek District, in common with the rest of the Eastern Cape, is subject to periodic droughts and, since arable farming depends almost entirely upon rainfall, these have a disastrous effect upon crops. Drought prevailed during the greater part of the period of this survey. While this fact should be borne in mind, it must, nevertheless, be remembered that a drought is not an exceptional occurrence in this part of the country, but is a periodic normal feature of the climate. The domestic water supply of the villages comes mostly from the streams which, owing to the lack of proper sanitary precautions, are often polluted. Furthermore, the villages are often on the high ground and many hours of the women's time is wasted in fetching water in buckets for their household needs.

The overall density of population in the District is about 84 persons to the square mile but this figure gives a misleading picture of the situation, for not all the area is available for Bantu occupation. Of the 219 square miles comprising the Keiskammahoek District, some 53½ are covered with indigenous forest and timber plantations, 23½ square miles are occupied by the town of Keiskammahoek, the municipal grazing camps and European-owned farms, and 7½ square miles by Fort Cox and St. Matthew's Mission. On the remaining 134 square miles there are 15,930 Bantu peasants and their stock; the density is thus seen to be nearly 120 persons to the square mile.

This pressure of population gives rise to a conflict between land use and land preservation. The pursuit of their short run economic interests has led the villagers to seek additional arable and pasture wherever they are to be found. They tend to cut out or burn the natural forest and to plough slopes that are too steep to bear cultivation

[1] A topographic map of the District is published in Volume I of the *Keiskammahoek Rural Survey*.

without serious erosion occurring. The result of these practices is the progressive denudation of the District, increasing loss of topsoil, the trampling out of swamps by cattle, with the inevitable consequence that streams that were once perennial and clear flowing, now alternate between dry river beds and muddy torrents. In an attempt to protect the most vital areas, the heavily forested mountain slopes were demarcated and placed under the control of the Forestry Department. More recently the Administration has been attempting to protect vital watersheds from overgrazing by fencing them off. This has aroused considerable opposition from the African villagers who have resorted to cutting and destroying fences in an attempt to secure grazing. Thinking people realise that the consequences of the present practices will be disastrous in the future, for there is considerable evidence of a progressive decline in the stock-carrying capacity of the District and in the productivity of its arable land. It is, however, difficult to persuade the mass of the people to accept present economic sacrifice for the sake of future benefits. Nevertheless, most of the villages in the Keiskammahoek District have, by now, agreed to being proclaimed "betterment areas" and this gives the Administration considerable powers for enforcing rehabilitation measures. Fully conscious of the deterioration of the land, the Administration has been attempting to combat soil erosion, to enforce stock limitation and to raise the standard of pastoral and arable farming. The task is immense and the resources relatively slender, full co-operation from the inhabitants is lacking and the problem is likely to prove very intractable so long as the present population remains dependent on the land.

These and related matters will be considered fully in the subsequent chapters. Chapter II deals with population and is an attempt at a demographic study based upon the rather limited data available. Chapter III is a study of the import, export and domestic trade, which gives an overall picture of the economy of the District; and Chapter IV deals with the family economy or the standard of living of the Bantu peasants. Chapter V is devoted to a study of labour and labour migration, or the human force in economic enterprise; and Chapter VI to the basic economic activity of farming and its associated problems. Chapter VII summarises the main conclusions and reviews the findings from this economic survey of the Keiskammahoek District.

Chapter II

POPULATION

A.—Origin, Composition and Population Trends

The population of the Union of South Africa is divided for census purposes into four ethnic groups, three of which are found in the Keiskammahoek District.[1] The 1946 District census enumeration of the three ethnic groups or races[2]—European, Coloured and Native—is shown on Table 1.[3] When referring to these figures the official designations will be used and Bantu people will be referred to as Natives.

[1]There are no Asiatics in the District; this group comprises natives of Asia and their descendants, chiefly Indians and Chinese.

[2]Common usage in South Africa has applied the term *race* to each of the ethnic groups, although the Coloured group is a mixture, and the European and Asiatic each comprises peoples of many races, as the term *race* is more generally conceived.

[3]Official Census Reports publish geographical statistics by Magisterial Districts. Not until 1937 was Keiskammahoek constituted a Magisterial District separate from the District of Kingwilliamstown. This fact has precluded the possibility of tracing the growth of the population in this area from the five general censuses which have been taken since the beginning of the century, and no breakdown of the Kingwilliamstown District could be obtained because detailed records are not retained by the Office of Census and Statistics for any length of time after publication of Census Reports. Except, therefore, for the total population of Keiskammahoek District according to the 1921 census, which was recorded in U.G. 51/1949, the statistical analysis of the population has been based on the 1936 and 1946 general censuses alone.

Unpublished details from these censuses were kindly supplied by the Office of Census and Statistics, Pretoria.

For enumeration purposes, the Keiskammahoek District is divided into 23 census sub-districts which coincide, or can be made to coincide, with the 15 locations in the District and the 4 non-location areas of St. Matthew's Mission, Fort Cox, the Debe Valley Allotments and the European town of Keiskammahoek. In addition to the latter, two census sub-districts which encompass the municipal commonage north of the Keiskamma and Gxulu rivers and that south of the Keiskamma and Qobo Qobo rivers are misleadingly included in censuses as "urban" areas. In every sense they are rural farming areas, although the property is under the jurisdiction of the Keiskammahoek municipality. The municipal area south is extensively under European farms, but particularly in the western part there are large numbers of Native peasant farmers. The municipal area north near the town is also under European farms, but further to the north is a Native occupied area, somewhat similar to the locations proper. Owing to frequent difficulty of demarcating these areas statistically, they are not included among the locations in tabular presentations. Nevertheless, the point must be borne in mind that the municipal area north does constitute, to all intents and purposes, a sixteenth Native location in the District, although it is exceptional in having so large a European and Coloured population in its midst and differs in many other respects from the locations proper.

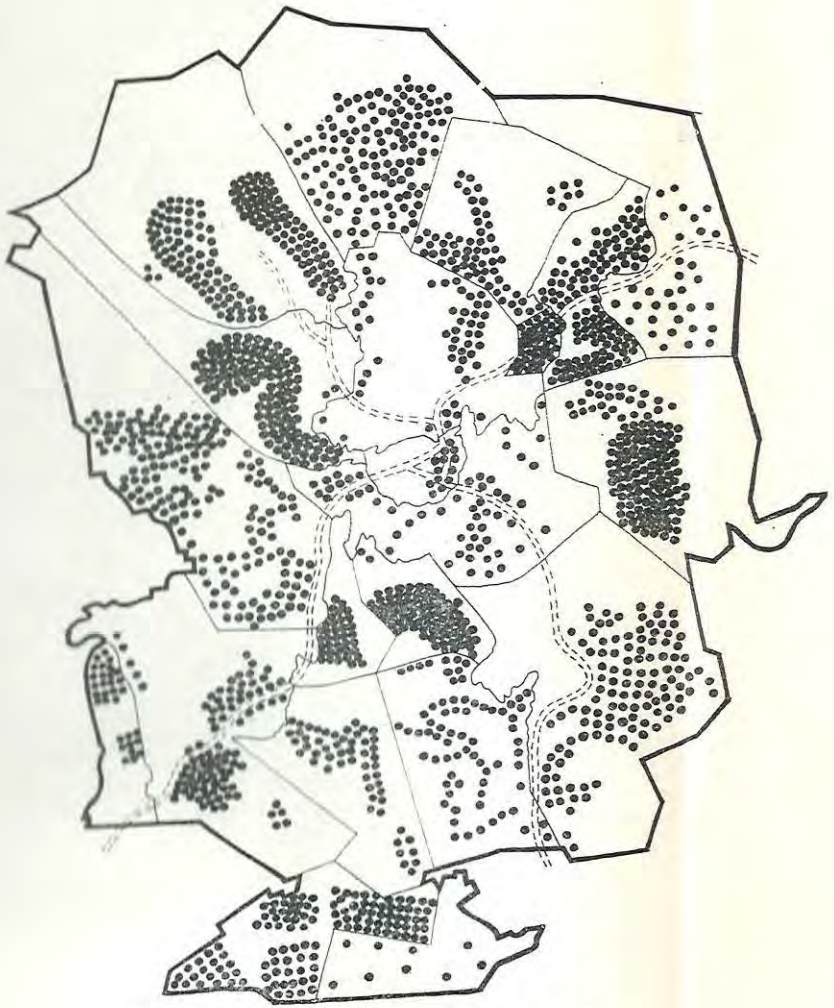
Distribution of Populations in the Keiskammahoek District, 1946

Europeans and Coloureds

o 1 Dot represents 10 European people.

■ 1 Square represents 10 Coloured people.

Natives

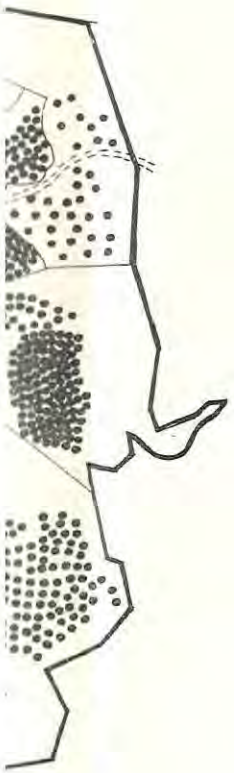


• 1 Dot represents 10 Native people.

1. Keiskammahoek
2. St. Matthew's M
3. Fort Cox
4. Debe Allotments
5. Municipal Area
6. Municipal Area

Locations:

7. Mbems
8. Burnshill
9. Zanyokwe
10. Lower Nqhume



KEY TO AREAS

1. Keiskammahoek Town
2. St. Matthew's Mission
3. Fort Cox
4. Debe Allotments
5. Municipal Area South
6. Municipal Area North

LOCATIONS :

7. Mbems
8. Burnshill
9. Zanyokwe
10. Lower Nqhumeya
11. Upper Nqhumeya
12. Lower Rabula
13. Upper Rabula
14. Gwili-Gwili
15. Mthwaku
16. Dontsa
17. Nqolo-Nqolo
18. Chatha
19. Mnyameni
20. Gxulu
21. Wolf River

Adapted from maps made by Mr. J. P. Jansen.

The European group includes all persons reputed to be of pure European descent. In Keiskammahoek there are, among the 640 total of these, the descendants of the German Legionaries and peasant immigrants who were settled in the area after 1854, and to a lesser extent missionaries and the descendants of the English military settlers and farmers from the Cape Colony who were later granted land in the area. On the whole these people have continued in farming or have established themselves as traders.[1] Some 133 Europeans of all ages live on farmlands encircling the town of Keiskammahoek, the area known ambiguously as the municipal commonage. The individual farm holdings range in size from less than 20 acres to over 300 acres. In the south of the District is another settlement of 100 Europeans on some 6 farming allotments in the Debe Valley where there are also 3 trading stations and an hotel. Isolated among the Native locations are 100 more Europeans—half a dozen farmers, some 16 traders and their families and the foresters on the Government plantations. The 250 Europeans in the town of Keiskammahoek include, in addition to the descendants of the early settlers, the more recent arrivals from other parts of the Union, chiefly civil servants in the office of the Native Commissioner, the schools, the police and Post Office, and a handful of professional and retired people. At Fort Cox and St. Matthew's are the staffs of the government agricultural school, and the Anglican Mission schools and the Mission hospital for Natives.

The Coloureds are a mixed group chiefly made up of the results of inter-racial unions, with an admixture of Hottentot. About half the Coloureds in the District live on small arable holdings, sometimes as little as 1 acre and none larger than 30 acres, in the municipal rural areas, chiefly amongst the Native landholdings in the north and south-west. Only 100 live in the town of Keiskammahoek itself, or on the Coloured settlement at St. Matthew's Mission. The remaining 150 Coloureds are almost all bushcutters and forestry workers living with their families in the Native locations.

The distribution of the European and Coloured population of the District is shown on the accompanying map. It will be seen that the concentration is in and around the town of Keiskammahoek,

[1]The very names of the present larger farm owners and traders in the District betoken their German origin ; Schenk, Pautz, Kopke, Putzier, Schmidt, Peter, Kietzmann, Peinke, Burmeister, Schwulst, etc. The original grants of land in the 1860's–1880's to Hudson, Mayberry, Nettleton, Haughton, Bradshaw, Macdonald and others of evident English origin have changed hands and are largely now under the ownership of the people of German descent.

where nearly two-thirds of the Europeans and the same proportion of the Coloureds live. The majority of the remaining Europeans in the District are at St. Matthew's, Fort Cox and the Debe Allotments.

The third population group, and far and away the most important numerically, is the Native. The Mfengu group form the largest proportion of the Native population in the District, and the remainder are Xhosa with a few Pondo and Thembu.[1]

Natives constitute more than nine-tenths of the total population. Over the past thirty years it is estimated that the population has averaged 17,900 persons, of whom 93% have been Natives, 4·5% Europeans and 2·5% Coloureds. Since the 1921 census there has been a steady decline in the proportion of Europeans and an equivalent increase in the proportion of Natives. The net increase in population is estimated to have been no more than 1,800 in the past thirty years, for even the census of 1946 showed the increase to have been only 1,629, or 9·72% since 1921.[2] The racial proportions according to the three censuses are shown on Table 2, where a comparison is also made between the rate of growth of population of the District and of the equivalent ethnic groups in the Union as a whole.[3]

There was an absolute reduction in European population of 257 during the intercensal period 1921–1946, and the rate of decline

[1]For greater detail on the origin and composition of the Native population, see *Keiskammahoek Rural Survey*, Volume III, *Social Structure*.

[2]Preliminary returns from the census of May, 1951, have been received too late for incorporation in the text. These figures, compared with the 1946 census, are given below

	May, 1951	*May*, 1946	*Increase*
Europeans	505	641	−136
Coloureds	496	507	− 11
Natives	18,015	17,243	772
All Races	19,016	18,391	625

The decline in the European and Coloured population has therefore continued. The increase in the Native population, though small, is greater than during the previous intercensal period. The increase in the rate, however, may be more apparent than real, because the 1946 census followed the severe drought of 1945 and in consequence the number of emigrant workers might be expected to have been larger than usual. The 1951 census, however, followed a relatively good season and the number of emigrants would tend to be smaller, thus augmenting the numbers in the District at the time of the enumeration. Details by age and sex are not available for the sub-districts but what information there is indicates that the trends disclosed by the analysis in this chapter have continued.

[3]The growth of the total population in the Union may be attributed to the excess of births over deaths. L. T. Badenhorst in a study, *Future Growth of the Population of South Africa and its Probable Age Distribution* (Population Studies, Vol. IV, No. 1, June, 1950), writes: "Immigration and emigration only affect negligible proportions of the Native, Coloured and Asiatic populations. Even in the case of the Europeans, immigration has not played an important part in the increase of the population since Union (1910); the excess of births over deaths has been the principal factor furnishing the Union with its rapidly growing white population."

accelerated after 1936. Allowing a rate of net reproduction equivalent to that of the European population in the rest of the Union, there would appear to have been withdrawal from the District at an average rate of nearly 3½%, or some 30 persons per year. Migration towards the industrial urban centres of the Union, to which impetus has been given through sale of European farms to the Native Trust since 1936, is a trend common to many rural areas in South Africa. Most of the Europeans' farms in the rural areas of Keiskammahoek have already been bought by the Native Trust, and ownership in the municipal area seems to have consolidated among some 40 landholders. Europeans in the Debe Allotments might sell out, but it will be some time before the European traders are replaced by Natives and these, together with administrative, school and hospital staffs constitute rather more than half the Europeans in the District.

Nearly all the natural increase of the Coloured population appears to have remained in the District up to 1936, but since then the enumerated population has declined slightly, indicating a withdrawal from the District at an average rate of about 2%, or some 10 persons a year. Greater opportunity for industrial employment in urban centres and the encroachment of Natives on Trust-purchased lands formerly owned by Europeans and occupied by Coloureds, have been the probable contributory causes of this outward trend, one which is likely to continue. There is very little alternative for the Coloureds than absorption among the Natives; cases are known of employment by Natives of Coloured labourers; their standard of living in the District is, on the whole, as low as that of the Natives and their prospects even less, since they do not come within the purview of official betterment schemes, their only educational and moral advancement being afforded by the churches and missions.

The growth and movement of the Native population will be the subject of thorough analysis in succeeding pages, but the general observation might be made at this stage that the increase of population, though steady, has been small. It is even possible that some of the increase shown in the 1936 census is due to the more complete enumeration of the Native population that year than in 1921.[1] In any case, comparison with the rate of increase of Natives in the Union as a whole indicates that the carrying capacity of the Keiskammahoek area has for some years remained at virtual saturation point, and that

[1]*Ibid.* L. T. Badenhorst makes this observation in regard to the 1936 census enumeration of Natives in the Union.

emigration of population has been at a rate almost equivalent to the rate of natural increase. That there has been an increase at all in an area known to have suffered deterioration of productivity over the past 30 years can only be interpreted as an ever advancing condition of overpopulation.

TABLE 1

Keiskammahoek District

TOTAL POPULATION—ALL RACES 1946

Area	European			Coloured			Native			All Races		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
St. Matthew's Mission ..	14	25	39	17	15	32	213	281	494	244	321	565
Fort Cox	12	6	18	—	—	—	205	112	317	217	118	335
Debe Allotments ..	53	48	101	1	—	1	51	39	90	105	87	192
Keiskammahoek town ..	115	138	253	31	43	74	59	75	134	205	256	461
Municipal area south ..	47	52	99	47	53	100	258	307	565	352	412	764
Municipal area north ..	21	13	34	71	77	148	248	280	528	340	370	710
Sub-total non-location areas	262	282	544	167	188	355	1,034	1,094	2,128	1,463	1,564	3,027
Locations :												
Mbems	6	7	13	—	—	—	503	702	1,205	509	709	1,218
Burnshill	5	6	11	7	10	17	452	604	1,056	464	620	1,084
Zanyokwe	3	2	5	1	7	8	239	309	548	243	318	561
Lower Nqhumeya ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	155	215	370	155	215	370
Upper Nqhumeya ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	342	471	813	342	471	813
Lower Rabula	1	1	2	—	—	—	315	414	729	316	415	731
Upper Rabula ..	7	4	11	11	9	20	542	630	1,172	560	643	1,203
Gwili-Gwili	1	1	2	—	—	—	582	782	1,364	583	783	1,366
Mthwaku	1	3	4	3	3	6	492	665	1,157	496	671	1,167
Dontsa	6	3	9	6	10	16	148	183	331	160	196	356
Nqolo-Nqolo	—	—	—	3	1	4	275	364	639	278	365	643
Chatha	3	2	5	—	—	—	540	733	1,273	543	735	1,278
Mnyameni	3	2	5	2	2	4	621	960	1,581	626	964	1,590
Gxulu	2	3	5	2	1	3	484	694	1,178	488	698	1,186
Wolf River	14	11	25	38	36	74	719	964	1,683	771	1,011	1,782
Sub-total locations ..	52	45	97	73	79	152	6,409	8,690	15,099	6,534	8,814	15,348
Unspecified							14	2	16	14	2	16
Total District	314	327	641	240	267	507	7,457	9,786	17,243	8,011	10,380	18,391

TABLE 2

Keiskammahoek District

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF POPULATION AND TRENDS IN GROWTH

Growth compared with total population of each equivalent race in the Union of South Africa.

Date of census	Enumerated population in Keiskammahoek	Proportion of total population in Keiskammahoek Per cent.	Average annual percentage growth rate since previous census	
			Keiskammahoek	Total Union comparative rate
EUROPEAN				
3 May, 1921	898	5·36		
5 May, 1936	759	4·19	(−1·14)	1·86
7 May, 1946	641	3·49	(−1·75)	1·70
COLOURED				
3 May, 1921	375	2·23		
5 May, 1936	515	2·85	2·08	2·32
7 May, 1946	507	2·76	(−0·16)	1·89
NATIVE				
3 May, 1921	15,489	92·41		
5 May, 1936	16,830	92·96	0·56	2·29
7 May, 1946	17,243	93·75	0·24	1·72
TOTAL ALL RACES*				
3 May, 1921	16,762	100		
5 May, 1936	18,105	100	0·52	2·20
7 May, 1946	18,391	100	0·15	1·73

*Total all Races in the Union excludes Asiatics, an ethnic group (or race) not found in Keiskammahoek. There was one Asiatic enumerated in Keiskammahoek in 1936.

B.—AREA DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES

Of the entire population in the District in 1946, Europeans and Coloureds constituted 6·3%, and it is estimated that a like proportion of the Native population lives and works among the Europeans.[1] This is principally in and around the town of Keiskammahoek, at St. Matthew's Mission and Fort Cox Agricultural School. The remaining 15,930 Natives, 86·6% of the entire population, can be designated as peasant farmers,[2] living as they do on their own private lands, in communal locations or on Trust properties. The area distribution of this peasant population is shown on Table 3, together with an indication of the proportion which they constitute of all peoples in each area.[3]

Although the increase in the Native population during 1936–46 was 2·4%, numbering 413 persons, it seems certain that the number of the peasant population has undergone no change at all for some years, unless it be a decrease. Analysis of the distribution of Natives throughout the District reveals that the intercensal increase in population occurred in the non-location areas, and that in all the locations combined the population remained virtually static. This is shown on Table 4.

Half the net increase occurred in those areas where the schools are situated; all the people at St. Matthew's and nearly two-thirds at Fort Cox are connected with the European-run schools and hospital, either as students, staff or labourers. In the municipal area, which contains the European town and farmholdings, and where all land ownership is private, there was an increase of 191 in the Native population. An increase similarly occurred in the small farming and European settlement in the Debe Valley. Apart from school attendance, the major factor here affecting population increases would appear to be opportunity for employment by Europeans.

This factor has little bearing on population changes in the locations, however, for apart from the scantiness of avenues for em-

[1] Employment of Natives in the District is discussed in Chapter V.

[2] Whether they do, in actual fact, operate as peasant farmers in the generally accepted sense, is a matter for later discussion on "Labour in the District", pp. 136–149.

[3] The estimate of the Native peasant farmer population is given by sex as well as by area on Table 7.

ployment, forestry is the only one which offers differential employment as between one location and another. Analysis of the net changes of population among locations reveals that there is a relatively greater exodus from the most densely populated; and that less densely populated locations and those in which freehold or quitrent tenure prevail prove more attractive, in the sense that the exodus from there is less than the gross increase of population.

The crude density of the whole District is 84·1 persons per square mile, of whom 78·8 are Natives, the equivalent in the locations alone being 83·0 persons, of whom 81·5 are Natives. However these crude density figures give a very inaccurate idea of the actual effective density of the population in the inhabitable parts of the locations. That more than two-thirds of the land is too steep for cultivation or is under forest and scrub bush is suggested by superficial observation alone. Because the total extent of forest and bush is indeterminable, it is very difficult to hazard any estimate of the effective density.[1] Nevertheless, since there is no specific type of land from which Natives' grazing stock are excluded except the demarcated indigenous forest and privately owned European properties, an attempt can be made to estimate the extent of the net area remaining to the peasants and their stock. Some 84 square miles of the District are under indigenous forest or European ownership, inclusive of the grazing lands of the municipal commonage which are available to European as well as Native owned stock. Thus the 15,930 peasant peoples and their stock occupy the remaining land area of just over 134 square miles. This gives an effective density of 119 persons and at least 115 cattle-units of stock[2] on each square mile of land, whether it be arable, grass or scrub bush.

Crude densities and an estimate of effective acreages per head of the peasant population are given by locations on Table 5. Thus there is on the average one person and approximately one head of cattle on every 5·4 acres, while in one location the average is estimated as low

[1]An unofficial survey was made a few years ago of a small area within the District, which revealed that half the acreage was uninhabitable. Excluding forest, bush, precipitous slopes and rocky ground formations, the estimate was arrived at of a density of 169 persons to the square mile of inhabitable land.

[2]This estimate of stock density is minimal. Five head of small stock are taken as being the equivalent of 1 cattle-unit. Total cattle-units estimated at 15,470, based on the 1945–46 Agricultural census of African owned livestock (U.G. 77/48). Reference to Chapter VI will show that, in this particular year, 1945–46, the stock population of the District was nearly the lowest on record for the past 26 years.

as 2·2[1] and in none higher than 9·5 acres. Per peasant farming family of roughly 6 people and about 6 cattle-units, the available acreage therefore ranges from some 20 to 60 acres. The comparative average-sized European holding of arable land alone is 80 acres, and available grazing is something like twice the extent.

The map facing page 9 illustrates the distribution of the Natives in their locations, and provides superficial evidence as to why the locations of dense concentrations like Gwili-Gwili, Upper and Lower Nqhumeya, Gxulu, Mnyameni and Mbems suffer a declining population. As a rule, the Natives tend to reside among or above their arable holdings which converge along streams and rivers. This is particularly evident in Mnyameni, where they live on the slopes either side of the river, and also in Gxulu and the municipal area north, on either bank of the Gxulu River. Grazing is wheresoever it can be found, or wherever it is permitted within areas under fenced control by the Government. Withdrawal of fenced lands from grazing in the efforts to arrest the destruction of vegetation and erosion of soil has, of course, the incidental effect of reducing the acreage available per person and cattle-unit to less than the average 5·4 acres.

Analysis of the intercensal net changes of population in the locations reveals a tendency towards increasing settlement on lands which are under private ownership,[2] for, of the 9 locations and the two municipal areas where there is any appreciable private ownership, in only 4 has the population not increased since 1936. Of these exceptional locations, both Mbems and Lower Nqhumeya were already densely populated in 1936, and the decline in population by 1946 is a reflection of this saturation. In Zanyokwe, some of the property is owned by Burnshill people, and the Zanyokwe residents are largely squatters on these and on Trust lands; after 1936 a number of Zanyokwe people moved to Trust land in Lenye, across the river in Burnshill Location. Similarly, from Wolf River about a score of squatter families who were encroaching on Trust commonage near

[1]It would be more accurate to regard the lower limit of acreage per head of the population and per cattle-unit as closer to 3½ acres. The reason is that this estimate of 2·2 acres pertains to Upper Nqhumeya location in which grazing is so limited that the people have, for a long time, grazed their stock outside the boundaries of their location. Kincardine grazing farm in Upper Rabula was acquired by the Government in 1928 for the purpose of accommodating cattle evicted from the catchment area of the Pirie Dam, Kingwilliamstown's water scheme. As cattle owners of Nqhumeya were affected in the main, it has been the policy to restrict grazing on the farm for their benefit.

[2]Including both freehold and quitrent tenure.

the southern boundary, were moved between 1936 and 1946 to Fort Cox Trust lots.

There is, on the other hand, no exception[1] to the trend of declining population in the 6 locations where land is communally or insecurely held on certificates of occupation of Trust property. It is not suggested that *per se* the legal form of tenure has an attracting or repelling influence on population shifts, but, where there is already saturation in the carrying capacity of the land, it would seem that communal residents who are landless and for whom no further land can be made available must find emigration the only alternative to destitution. At any rate, during the intercensal decade the exodus was at a rate faster than the natural increase of the population through reproduction. As natural increase in all the communal locations is conservatively estimated[2] at 1,250 persons during the decade, and as population declined by 246 persons, the total exodus would appear to have been at least 1,500 people.

An analysis is given on Table 6 of changes in Native population in four broad areas of the District, and their perceptible causes. For this purpose, the division of the District is into the northern and southern parts, the line of separation being the natural barrier which runs from Mt. MacDonald north of Burnshill, through the Booma Pass to Mt. Charybdis in the east. Between the north and south there has been no relative change since 1936, each containing two-thirds and one-third respectively of the total population in both 1936 and 1946 on a land area of like proportion. In the north the intercensal increase in population was 209 persons, and in the south 188 persons.[3]

The net change of population in the south was a decrease in the central densely populated localities of Mbems and Upper and Lower Nqhumeya; and an increase in the east and west locations of private land ownership, Upper and Lower Rabula and Burnshill, and in the non-location areas of Fort Cox and the Debe Allotments. In the north, the increase occurred in the centrally located European areas of St. Matthew's and the municipal commonage and in the two north-eastern locations of freehold land tenure, Dontsa and Nqolo-Nqolo. In all the other perimeter locations in the north, from Gwili-Gwili

[1]Except, actually, for Chatha, where there was an increase of one person between the 1936 and 1946 census enumerations.

[2]Using the conservative rate of annual increase of 17 per 1,000. *Cf.* pp. 44–45.

[3]The discrepancy between the sum of these increases and the 413 increase in the enumerated District population lies in the 16 persons of unspecified location in the 1946 census.

around to Wolf River, and also in the communally held Mthwaku, the population declined.

In these northern declining locations the net decrease in population, though inconsiderable in number, being only 235 persons, is of no little significance as a phenomenon of overpopulation, since it affects only a little less than half the total land area of the District on which half the Native population live. Relatively much more of the acreage here is under indigenous forest than in the southern locations and this, taken together with the figures of crude density, confirms the impression of overpopulation evident in the stagnant or decreasing numbers of the people. These perimeter locations all bear towards the mountain watersheds at some 5,000 feet above sea level, and the inhabited areas slope steeply down from the forests to an elevation not much over 2,000 feet. When one considers that these are, therefore, the lands from which the highest rainfall drains into the Keiskamma River, their patent overpopulation and the resultant abuse to which they must be subject is all the more portentous.

It will, of course, be appreciated that although the analysis of intercensal changes in location population has pointed to a trend from areas of greater density towards those of not so great density and where land is largely under independent Native ownership, the net numbers involved are very small by comparison with the natural increase of the population. The latter can only be determined by estimate and sample evidence, a matter which is discussed later in the chapter. Reference here need only be made to the fact that, while the net intercensal increase in population was an enumerated 413 persons, the net excess of births over deaths was at least 3,500, so that emigration from the District would appear to have been no less than 3,000 during the decade. So numerically preponderant is emigration that recurrent reference to it cannot be escaped throughout this population study, although special attention is devoted to the subject in the chapter dealing with migrant labour.

To conclude this analysis of the distribution of the Native population in the District, the obvious fact might be referred to that, with the possible exceptions of Dontsa, Nqolo-Nqolo and the Municipal rural areas, in no location could there have been an intercensal gross increase in population, but rather must they have suffered a gross decline in population through emigration. The locations of extreme density of population in the south and the communal locations around the northern perimeter are the areas from which the greatest emigration

occurs. If emigration is a consequence of excessive population at home in relation to land productivity, it may be taken that these areas are the most depressed in the District in terms of overpopulation.

TABLE 3

Keiskammahoek District

Distribution of Native Peasant Farmer Population

(Based on 1946 census)

Area		Ratios		Native Peasants	
Locations and municipal rural areas	Including non-location area	Total Natives to total all Races %	Native peasants to total Natives %	Numbers	Proportionate distribution in District %
Municipal areas ..	Keiskammahoek town	63·4	60·9	747	4·6
Mbems	Debe Allotments	91·8	96·7	1,256	7·9
Burnshill	Fort Cox	96·8	85·7	1,177	7·4
Zanyokwe		97·7	100·0	548	3·5
Lower Nqhumeya ..		100·0	100·0	370	2·4
Upper Nqhumeya ..		100·0	100·0	813	5·1
Lower Rabula ..		99·7	99·5	725	4·5
Upper Rabula ..		97·4	98·9	1,160	7·3
Gwili-Gwili		99·9	100·0	1,364	8·5
Mthwaku	St. Matthew's	95·3	70·1	1,157	7·3
Dontsa		93·0	95·5	316	2·0
Nqolo-Nqolo ..		99·4	98·9	632	4·0
Chatha		99·6	98·6	1,255	7·9
Mnyameni		99·4	99·7	1,577	9·9
Gxulu		99·3	100·0	1,178	7·4
Wolf River		94·4	98·3	1,655	10·3
Total District		93·7	92·4	15,930	100·0

TABLE 4

Keiskammahoek District

Native Population—Intercensal Changes

1936–1946

Area	Total population according to censuses		Intercensal change		Percentage change	
	1936	1946	Increase	Decrease	Increase	Decrease
St. Matthew's	417	494	77		18·4	
Fort Cox	180	317	137		76·1	
Debe Allotments ..	59	90	31		52·5	
Keiskammahoek town	1,036	134	191		18·4	
Municipal area south ..		565				
Municipal area north ..		528				
Sub-total non-location areas	1,692	2,128	436		25·8	
Locations:						
Mbems	1,275	1,205		70		5·5
Burnshill	928	1,056	128		13·8	
Zanyokwe ..	598	548		50		8·4
Lower Nqhumeya ..	403	370		33		8·2
Upper Nqhumeya ..	916	813		103		11·3
Lower Rabula ..	703	729	26		3·7	
Upper Rabula ..	1,050	1,172	122		11·6	
Gwili-Gwili ..	1,442	1,364		78		5·4
Mthwaku	1,204	1,157		47		3·9
Dontsa	261	331	70		26·8	
Nqolo-Nqolo ..	533	639	106		19·9	
Chatha	1,272	1,273	1		0·1	
Mnyameni ..	1,594	1,581		13		0·9
Gxulu	1,184	1,178		6		0·6
Wolf River ..	1,775	1,683		92		5·2
Sub-total locations ..	15,138	15,099	453	492		
				net 39		net 0·3
Unspecified ..		16	16			
Total District ..	16,830	17,243	net 413		net 2·4	

TABLE 5

Keiskammahoek District

Density of Population on the Land
(Based on 1946 census)

Area	Crude Densities. Persons per square mile of gross area		*Area per head of Native peasant population with one head of cattle.
	All Races	Natives only	Acres
St. Matthew's	748·9	654·6	—
Fort Cox	95·8	90·7	2·2
Debe Allotments	49·1	23·0	10·3
Keiskammahoek town	79·9	48·5	1·3†
Municipal area south			
Municipal area north			
Sub-total non-location areas	90·6	63·7	
Locations:			
Mbems	146·3	144·7	4·4
Burnshill	67·5	65·8	8·2
Zanyokwe	84·8	82·8	5·8
Lower Nqhumeya	124·4	124·4	3·5
Upper Nqhumeya	223·5	223·5	2·2
Lower Rabula	62·2	62·1	9·5
Upper Rabula	56·0	54·5	7·2
Gwili-Gwili	90·8	90·6	5·3
Mthwaku	85·0	84·3	7·4
Dontsa	30·8	28·6	3·5
Nqolo-Nqolo	88·4	87·8	5·2
Chatha	77·3	77·0	3·5
Mnyameni	80·1	79·7	5·1
Gxulu	128·1	127·2	4·9
Wolf River	84·2	79·5	6·4
Sub-total locations	83·0	81·5	
Total District	84·1	78·8	5·4

*Area in this estimate is the total area exclusive of indigenous forest and European-owned property.

†Arable lands only.

The municipal grazing commonage available to both Europeans and Natives is excluded.

TABLE 6

Keiskammahoek District

Area Analysis of Intercensal Changes in Native Population 1936–1946

Analytical comparison between areas	Northern areas		Southern areas		Total District
	Of increasing pop.	Of decreasing pop.	Of increasing pop.	Of decreasing pop.	
Proportion of total District acreage in each area .. .. .. %	21	44	26	9	100
Proportionate distribution of population in each area:					
1936 total population .. number	2,247	8,471	2,920	3,192	16,830
1946 total population .. number	2,691	8,236	3,364	2,936	17,227*
1936 proportion of total District population .. .. .. %	13·4	50·3	17·3	19·0	100·0
1946 prop. of tot. Dist. pop. .. %	15·6	47·8	19·5	17·0	99·9*
Intercensal change in population:					
Increase.. .. .. number	444		444		397*
Percentage increase since 1936 %	19·8		15·2		2·4
Decrease .. .. number		235		256	
Percentage decrease since 1936 %		2·8		8·0	
Factors affecting population distribution in 1946:					
(i) Proportion of population in each area living and working among Europeans .. .. .. %	35·9	0·6	8·6	0·0	7·6
(ii) Prop. of pop. in ea. area living on privately owned land .. %	64·1	17·4	70·9	69·6	44·0
Totals of (i) and (ii) .. %	100·0	18·0	79·5	69·6	51·6
(iii) Crude density—tot. persons (inclu. Europeans and Coloureds) per sq. mile in each area number	78	88	62	137	84

*Enumerated in the 1946 census were 16 persons, location unspecified.

NOTE: For this analysis, the District is divided into northern and southern areas, separated by the natural barrier which roughly cuts across the District from Mt. Macdonald in the north of Burnshill through the Booma Pass to Mt. Charybdis in the east. The upper basin of the Keiskamma River lies to the north, and to the south the basin of the Rabula River and further to the south, over the watershed, Mbems and the Debe Allotments.

Characterised by increasing or decreasing Native population between 1936 and 1946, the north and south include the following areas (predominant type of land ownership is shown in brackets):—

	Increasing Population		*Decreasing Population*	
North:	Keiskammahoek town	(European)	Gwili-Gwili	(communal)
	Municipal area south	(private and European)	Mthwaku	(communal)
	Municipal area north	(private and European)	†Chatha	(communal)
	St. Matthew's	(European)	Mnyameni	(communal)
	Dontsa	(private)	Gxulu	(communal)
	Nqolo-Nqolo	(private)	Wolf River	(private)
South:	Fort Cox	(private and European)	Zanyokwe	(private)
	Debe Allotments	(private and European)	Mbems	(private)
	Burnshill	(private)	Lower Nqhumeya	(private)
	Lower Rabula	(private)	Upper Nqhumeya	(communal)
	Upper Rabula	(private)		

†There was actually an increase of 1 person in Chatha.

TABLE 7

Keiskammahoek District

Estimated Native Peasant Farmer Population by Sex

Showing comparative masculinities of total Native population and total population of all races.

(Based on 1946 census)

Area	Estimated Native Peasant Population			Maculinities—Ratio of Males to 100 Females		
	Male	Female	Total	Native Peasants (estimated)	Total Natives (1946 census)	Total all Races (1946 census)
St. Matthew's	—	—	—	—	75·8	76·0
Fort Cox	58	63	121	92·1	183·0	183·9
Debe Allotments	31	20	51	155·0	130·8	120·7
Keiskammahoek town	—	—	—	—	78·7	80·1
Municipal area south	313	434	747	72·1	84·0	85·4
Municipal area north					88·6	91·9
Sub-total non-location areas	402	517	919	77·8	94·5	93·6
Locations:						
Mbems	503	702	1,205	71·6	71·6	71·7
Burnshill	452	604	1,056	74·8	74·8	74·8
Zanyokwe	239	309	548	77·3	77·3	76·4
Lower Nqhumeya	155	215	370	72·1	72·1	72·1
Upper Nqhumeya	342	471	813	72·6	72·6	72·6
Lower Rabula	314	411	725	76·4	76·1	76·1
Upper Rabula	534	626	1,160	85·3	86·0	87·1
Gwili-Gwili	582	782	1,364	74·4	74·4	74·5
Mthwaku	492	665	1,157	74·0	74·0	73·9
Dontsa	133	183	316	78·1	80·9	81·6
Nqolo-Nqolo	274	358	632	76·5	75·5	76·2
Chatha	533	722	1,255	73·8	73·7	73·9
Mnyameni	619	958	1,577	64·6	64·7	64·9
Gxulu	484	694	1,178	69·7	69·7	69·9
Wolf River	702	953	1,655	73·7	74·6	76·3
Sub-total locations	6,358	8,653	15,011	73·5	73·8	74·1
Total District	6,760	9,170	15,930	73·7	76·2	77·2

C.—Sex-Age Distribution of Natives[1]

Census enumeration of Natives in the Union is as yet very imperfect; ages of the Native population no doubt contain many individual errors, as they are often mere approximations which may err by a few years on one side or another of the true age.[2] This shortcoming, nevertheless, applies with equal force to either sex[3], so that fair reliance can be placed on sex ratios. It also applies no more to the census in the Keiskammahoek District than to the Union as a whole, although the base is, of course, a narrower one. For this reason, comparison of age proportions in Keiskammahoek can be considered as valid if confined to those of the Native population in the Union.[4] Finally, the age statistics can be arranged in quinquennial age groups, which has the effect largely of rectifying misstatement of individual ages.[5]

Before proceeding to the analysis of the 1936 and 1946 census enumerations of the Native population in the District by sex and age, attention is drawn to the sex-ratios in each of the individual locations and areas in the District, as given on Table 7. In all the locations combined, the sex-ratio is 73·8 males to 100 females, and in the non-

[1] In most places in this Report where comparison is made with trends in sex-age distribution and in the growth of the Native population in the Union as a whole, acknowledgment is due to L. T. Badenhorst's study on *The Future Growth of the Population of South Africa and its Probable Age Distribution* (Population Studies, Vol. IV, No. 1, June 1950. Cambridge University Press).

[2] In its census reports the Department of Census and Statistics remarks on the extent to which Natives' ages are concentrated on ages ending in 0, such as 10, 20, 30, etc., and that attempts to "smooth" data by the application of interpolation formulae have met with no success. (See *Report on Sixth Census*, Vol. IX, "Natives (Bantu) and other non-European Races." U.G. 12/42 p. ix).

[3] L. T. Badenhorst (*ibid*) found, on analysis of the censuses of Native population of the Union, a minimum of 10 per cent. under-enumeration of males 0–4 years of age, and an apparently less incomplete enumeration of females. He could attempt no explanation for this phenomenon, which he found to be also present, to some extent, in the sex-age data for the Coloured population. In the censuses of Keiskammahoek District, the extent of under-enumeration of males 0–4 years was even more pronounced in 1936, but was rather less present in 1946.

[4] The census taken for this comparison of sex-age proportions is the Sixth Census of May 1936, sex-age data not yet having been published on Natives from the 1946 census. The character of the crude age distribution as enumerated in the census of Union Natives must be borne in mind before any comparisons are made with demographic data in respect of other races or peoples in other countries.

[5] Study of the Keiskammahoek District censuses revealed only a little less concentration on ages ending in 8, such as 18, 28, etc., than on ages ending in 0. The greatest under-enumeration occurs in ages ending in 1–11, 21, etc. L. T. Badenhorst (*ibid*) concluded that the age statistics of the Natives may be taken as a fairly reliable picture of the age structure and that when arranged in quinquennial age groups the more violent fluctuations in the age curves largely disappear.

location areas it is 94·5, not very much below normal.[1] Thus, although an area breakdown of age enumeration is not available from the censuses, it seems fairly clear that whatever abnormalities appear from the analysis of the sex-age distribution of total District population, these can be taken as applying with even greater force to the peasant farmer population in the locations.[2]

The most important facts[3] about the sex-age distribution and trends during the 1936–1946 intercensal period may be summarized as follows :

(*a*) The numerical margin between the numbers of females and males in the District was the same at both censuses, being a total excess of 2,330 and 2,329 females respectively. In 1936 abnormal excess of females was prevalent between the ages of 15 and 54, and in 1946 between the ages of 20 and 69. In both censuses the most extreme imbalance of the sexes occurred at age 25–29. These abnormalities in sex distribution are the result of greater emigration of males than females at these ages. The trends after 1936 indicate that the migrations of females are taking place at a relatively more rapidly increasing rate than the steadily increasing male migrations. (Table 9 and Figure 1).

(*b*) Minors constituted 59·04% and 60·36% of the total populations in 1936 and 1946 repectively, and increased during the period by 473 persons or 4·8%. Adults, on the other hand, decreased by 60 persons, or 0·9%. (Table 11).

(*c*) Although total adults declined, the proportion of persons above the age of 60 increased by 11·4%, constituting at each census respectively 7·14% and 7·76% of the total populations. (Table 12).

(*d*) If the old people of 65 years and over, and children under 15 be reckoned as dependents, they increased by 768 persons, or 9·3% between 1936 and 1946. The burden of dependency at each census was 96·1 and 109·6 per 100 persons of productive age, 15–64. (Table 13 and Figure 2).

(*e*) Persons of productive age constituted 51·0% and 47·7% respectively of the total populations in 1936 and 1946. They decreased by 4·1% or 355 persons, of whom 191 were female and 164 male. (Tables 13 and 14.)

(*f*) At the productive age groups 15–64, females exceeded males by 2,159 persons in 1936 and by 2,132 in 1946 ; the ratio of females to 100 males declined from 167·2 to 160·9 during the decade, which is indicative of relatively greater absence of emigrant women in the latter year. (Table 14).

(*g*) The age incidence of males of productive years remained virtually unchanged between 1936 and 1946. On the other hand, females of the younger ages (15–24) decreased by 224 persons, or 11·0%, and of the older ages (45–64) increased by 47 persons or 4·2%, while the middle-aged group remained very much the same. This intercensal change in age incidence is indicative of the increasing pace of female emigration at the younger ages, and immigration at the older ages of retirement. (Table 14 and Figure 2).

(*h*) The burden of child-care in 1936 was 119·3 children aged 0–9 per 100 women of childbearing years (15–44) and increased to 135·1 in 1946. (Table 16).

The 1936 and 1946 District ratios of males to 100 females at each age group are illustrated on Figure 1, together with the comparative normal sex ratios as defined in terms of the Union Native population. In the Union, females were in excess in the age group 0–4, showing relatively greater under-enumeration of males; thereafter, males outnumbered females up to age 19; male and female proportions fluctuated from year to year between the ages of 20 and 49, with a slight overall preponderance of males; and females were again in excess at ages above 50. In the District in 1936 females were even more in excess in the age group 0–4, but the disproportion in under-enumeration of males was less present in 1946. Males outnumbered females in the next age group 5–9 in both censuses. Thereafter females were in excess at all ages except 65–69 in 1936. The most extreme imbalance of the sexes in

[1] In 1936 in the Union as a whole, the ratio of males to 100 females was 100·9.

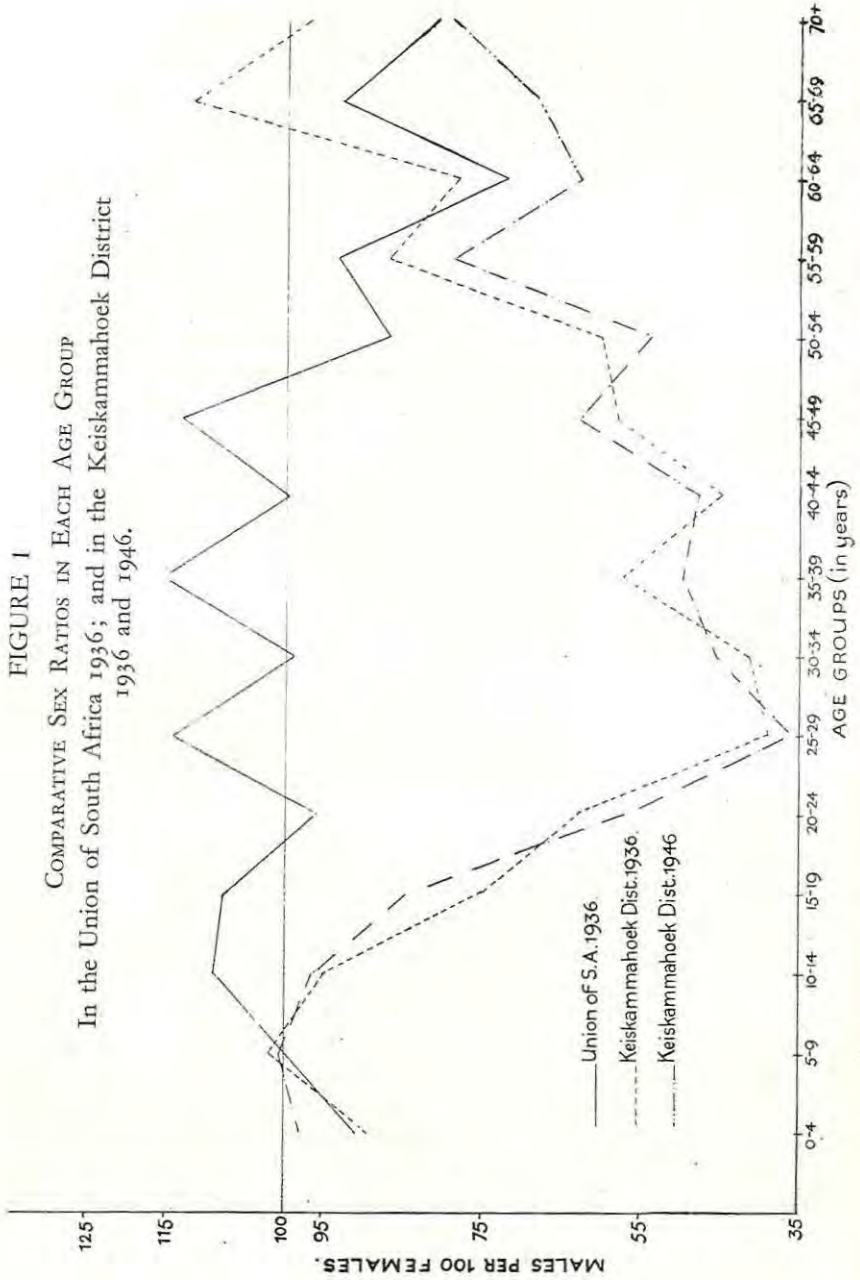
[2] From the 1946 census, separate enumeration by age is available in respect of the so-called " urban " and " rural " areas of the District. As explained in footnote 3 Ch. II, Sec. A on page 8, this census " urban " area contains the town of Keiskammahoek and the municipal commonage, which is a farming area for all races. It has nevertheless been estimated that nearly 40 per cent. of the Native population in this " urban " area is engaged in occupations other than farming on their privately owned properties, even if it be as farm labour for Europeans. From the point of view of peasant farming population, therefore, it is indeed less rural than the locations proper. Comparative sex-age proportions from the 1946 census of the " urban " and " rural " areas in Keiskammahoek are shown on Table 17. Although the base of the " urban " population is very small, being only 565 males and 662 females, a total of 1,227 (7·1 per cent. of the District population), the indication is unvarying that all abnormalities in the sex-age structure are less among this " urban " population than among the " rural " population of the District.

[3] The basic Tables for the sex-age analysis are No. 8, on which is given the 1936 and 1946 census enumerations of Native population in the District, by sex and quinquennial age groups ; No. 9 on which masculinity is shown as the ratio of males per 100 females for each age group, together with comparative sex ratios for the Native population of the Union as a whole in 1936 ; No. 10, on which age distribution is shown on a proportionate basis per 1,000 of each sex and per 1,000 total, together with comparative age proportions for the Native population of the Union; and No. 15, on which the populations by sex and decennial age groups are shown as proportions of children of both sexes aged 0–4 for the District in 1936 and 1946 and the Union in 1936.

FIGURE 1

COMPARATIVE SEX RATIOS IN EACH AGE GROUP

In the Union of South Africa 1936; and in the Keiskammahoek District 1936 and 1946.



both censuses occurred at age 25–29, at which there were respectively 39·4 and 36·1 males per 100 females. Imbalance of the sexes was, however, prevalent in 1936 at all ages between 15 and 54 whereafter sex ratios averaged about normal. In 1946 the imbalance was less marked at age 15–19, but remained up to age 69.

These abnormalities in the sex distribution result from greater emigration of males than females at these ages. The trend after 1936 would appear to indicate either a declining emigration of males aged 15–19 and a failure of retired emigrant workers to return to the District in sufficient numbers to restore the sex proportions in the older age groups 60–69 by 1946, or alternatively an increasing emigration of females aged 15–19 and a return of females in relatively larger numbers than males in the older age groups. It is believed that the sex ratio trend is chiefly attributable to the latter alternative, and that although the incidence of male migrations is increasing and is still quantitatively much in excess of the female, nevertheless migrations of females (a phenomenon of not such long practice in the Native Reserves) are taking place at a relatively more rapidly increasing rate. This is borne out by later analysis of the trends in the age structure of each sex.

Not only was the median age, *i.e.*, the age above and below which are equal numbers of persons living, extremely young in 1936, being 16·3 years compared with 19·5 for the Union, but it declined to 15·1 years in 1946.[1] There were 3,042 more persons under 21 years of age than adults in 1936 and this difference widened to 3,575 in 1946. As suggested by the figures on Table 11, per 1,000 of the populations, minors outnumbered adults by 180·8 and 207·2 in the respective years, compared with a margin of 68·2 in the Union Native population in 1936. In the District during the decade minors increased by 4·8% and adults decreased by 0·9%. Not only was this relative trend the reverse of that in the Union between 1911 and 1936 when adults increased faster than minors, but the difference in the proportional changes in Keiskammahoek was greater in ten years than in 25 years of increasing Union population. There was a very small difference in the proportional increase of minors and adults in the Union between 1911 and 1936, minors increasing by 62% and adults by 66%.

[1]Median ages (in years) of each sex separately were as follows :—

	Union 1936	*Keiskammahoek* 1936	*Keiskammahoek* 1946
Males	19·5	14·99	13·76
Females	19·5	17·85	17·65

At the same time as adults decreased by 0·9% in the District, the proportion of persons at older ages increased. On Table 12 are shown the proportions of persons at and over certain ages above 50 in each census year, and the comparative Union proportions. The higher District proportions compared with the Union reflect little more than the relatively smaller total (by reason of emigration of people of working age) on which proportions of the District population are based. More important than the comparative District and natural proportions is the trend in the District between 1936 and 1946 of increasing proportions of persons above the age of 60. Such increase lends support to the belief that the imbalance in sex ratios at ages above 60 in 1946 was due to a greater influx of retired female migrant workers rather than to a falling off in immigration of males at these ages. During the intercensal decade persons above the age of 60 increased by 11·4% and those above the age of 65 by 19·5%.

If old people of 65 years and over and children under 15 are taken as dependents, the burden of dependency, heavy in 1936, increased considerably in the next ten years. As shown on Table 13 the ratio of dependents to total population in the Union was 44·1% ; in the District it was 49·0% in 1936 and had risen to 52·3% by 1946. In the earlier year, 4·8% only of the total population was 65 years and over, while 44·2% was under 15. By 1946 the age incidence of dependency changed to 5·6% for the aged and 46·7% for young dependents.[1]

Projections are not really valid when population trends depend not on natural fertility but on economic factors resulting in worker migrations, but the rate at which the burden of dependency increased over the decade is nevertheless better appreciated by a theoretical projection of the trend. Every 100 persons of productive age, 15–64 years, had to provide for the needs of 96·1 persons in the dependent age groups in 1936, and of 109·6 persons in 1946. At this rate, in another generation and by the time the Native population of the Union will have increased to half again its present size,[2] the burden of dependency in the District will be half again as heavy as in 1936, or 144 dependents to 100 persons of productive age.

While dependents increased during 1936–46, the proportion of the population of productive age decreased from 51·0% to 47·7% of the total population in each year. These proportions were respectively

[1]The ratio of proportionate increase in age incidence of dependents was therefore, 111 old : 100 young.

[2]As projected by L. T. Badenhorst, this will occur in 1971–72.

4·9 and 8·2 lower than the corresponding proportion of 55·9% of the total Union population, so that relatively the divergence from normal almost doubled during the decade. The decrease was 355, or 4·1% of all persons of these ages. Of this decrease, 191 were females and 164 males. Because the compensating factor in census enumerations to emigration of District-born people at these ages is far greater in the case of females (immigrant wives undoubtedly outnumbering immigrant husbands) the census enumerated decrease of 27 more females than males over the decade is indicative of a much faster increasing rate of gross emigration of females than of males.

The relatively more rapidly increasing migrations of females during the decade is suggested by the comparative proportions of the young, middle-aged and older persons within these ages at each census. These are detailed on Table 14 as proportions per 1,000 of each sex aged 15–64. As between 1936 and 1946, change was slight in the distribution of productive males between these three groups ; the numbers of persons declined in all three, which can be interpreted as a generally steady loss of male population through emigration. In the case of females, however, there was a marked change in the distribution of persons of productive age between the young, middle-aged and older groups. Younger females of 15–24 years decreased by 224 persons, or 11·0% and of the older ages 45–64 increased by 4·2% or 47 persons. Migrations of females must, therefore, have speeded up considerably during the decade to cause so significant a change in the age distribution.

The reciprocal effect of basing sex-age proportions on total population, itself numerically depleted by emigration, can largely be eliminated by using as a base the age group least affected by migrations, children of 0–4 years.[1] When this is done for both the Union and District populations the abnormal demographic structure in the District becomes more evident. Shown on Table 15 are the proportions of each sex by decennial age groups per 1,000 children of both sexes aged 0–4 ; and the comparative structures are illustrated in pyramidal form on Figure 2. Although, by comparison with the Union structure, the most marked abnormality in the District was the

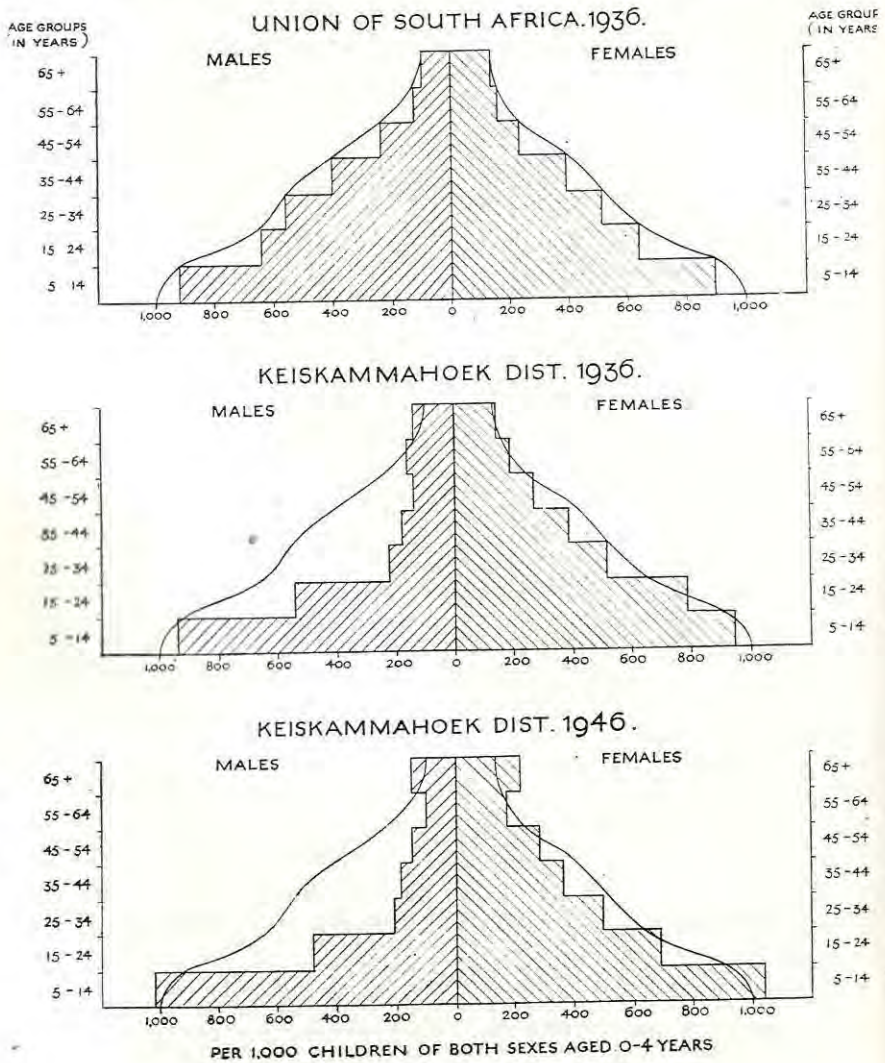
[1]Despite under-enumeration of children at ages 0–4 present in both the Union census and the narrower censuses of the District, this base cannot safely be broadened to include the next quinquennial age group because it is believed that immigration of children into the District is by no means inconsiderable, and it is more likely that the majority of these would fall into the 5–9 age-group. This matter is discussed in the next section of this chapter.

FIGURE 2

SEX-AGE STRUCTURE OF NATIVE POPULATIONS

Union of South Africa 1936; and Keiskammahoek District, 1936 and 1946.

(Base: 1,000 children of both sexes aged 0–4 years in each population).



absence from the population of males of working age, the greatest changes in the District itself between 1936 and 1946 were in the increase of dependents and in the greater absence of females of the younger child-bearing years.

Males of working age, say 19–59 years, decreased by 157 or 6·9%, but there was no age group within these limits at which the decrease in population was disproportionate. On the other hand, females of child-bearing years, say 17–44, decreased by 280 or 7·4%, but of this decrease 266 occurred at the ages 17–24, which was a 17·2% reduction in women at these younger ages. That abnormal absence of females of child-bearing years has developed more particularly since 1936 is suggested by comparison with the natural age proportions of all adult women. In the Union, of all women over 15 years of age, 25·4% had reached the age of 45, that is, passed out of the reproductive age group. In 1936 in the District the percentage was only slightly higher, namely, 26·1; but by 1946 it had increased to 29·8%.

Ratios of children to women of child-bearing years, normally an index of fertility, cannot be so construed when the women are so reduced by emigration. As an index of the burden of child-care on those women remaining behind, however, it reveals a remarkable increase during the intercensal decade. The ratios are given on Table 16. Although the matter will be more fully discussed in the succeeding section dealing with fertility, it does appear even from these ratios of children to women of reproductive age that many of the emigrating women must leave behind in the District their children over the age of 5 years. The District ratio of children 0–4 years to 1,000 women aged 15–44 was abnormally low in 1936 at 603 compared with 657 for the Union;[1] by 1946 the ratio had reached normal at 666. In the next two quinquennial age groups, however, the ratios of children to women was abnormally high by 1946. Taking as the index of the burden of child-care only the ratios of those children between the ages 0–9, there were in the Union 1,288 to 1,000 women, and in the District by 1946 there were 1,351, which was an increase of 158 over the previous census. Again projecting a theoretical trend to the year when the Native population of the Union will have increased to half again its present size, at this rate of increase in the District during the intercensal decade the burden of child-care will be half again as heavy as in 1936, or 1,762 children to 1,000 women. This would mean that

[1] This could be accounted for by the heavier incidence in the District of under-enumeration of males aged 0–4 in that census. Note the proportions on Table 9.

every 4 women of child-bearing years would have 7 children under 10 years of age to care for.

To summarize, compared with the normal structure in the Union, the population structure of the District in 1936 already revealed a most disproportionate absence of men of working age, and a heavy burden of dependency of old and young on the people of productive age remaining in the District. In the short space of ten years there was a marked increase in the emigration of younger women workers. This not only added appreciably to the burden of child-care on the women remaining behind, but, in the face of steadily declining numbers of men of working age and increasing numbers of children and of old people, the trend is leading towards a District population comprised mainly of aged and young. Already the people of 65 years and older and children under 15 comprise more than half the population, and at the rate at which trends developed during the intercensal decade, they would constitute 60% of the total population in another generation.

TABLE 8

Keiskammahoek District

SEX-AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIVE POPULATION
1936 and 1946

Age Groups	1936			1946		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0–4	1,216	1,355	2,571	1,333	1,348	2,681
5–9	1,269	1,245	2,514	1,383	1,373	2,756
10–14	1,142	1,212	2,354	1,281	1,331	2,612
15–19	880	1,170	2,050	910	1,077	1,987
20–24	545	859	1,404	428	728	1,156
25–29	276	700	976	262	725	987
30–34	251	598	849	253	557	810
35–39	264	455	719	250	503	753
40–44	221	480	701	205	434	639
45–49	192	328	520	253	400	653
50–54	182	302	484	170	313	483
55–59	228	257	485	172	214	386
60–64	172	221	393	144	228	372
65–69	172	153	325	181	264	445
70–74	118	117	235	101	131	232
75–79	63	68	131	58	57	115
80–84	40	38	78	36	49	85
85 + ...	17	22	39	35	54	89
Unspecified ..	2	—	2	2	—	2
Totals ..	7,250	9,580	16,830	7,457	9,786	17,243

TABLE 9

PROPORTIONATE SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIVE POPULATION

In the Union 1936 and Keiskammahoek District 1936 and 1946

Age Groups	Males per 100 females in each age group		
	Union 1936	Keiskammahoek 1936	Keiskammahoek 1946
0–4	91·5*	89·7	98·9
5–9	100·6	101·9	100·7
10–14	109·2	94·2	96·2
15–19	107·4	75·2	84·5
20–24	95·4	63·4	58·7
25–29	114·8	39·4	36·1
30–34	99·4	42·0	45·4
35–39	115·2	58·0	49·7
40–44	99·5	46·0	47·2
45–49	114·2	58·5	63·2
50–54	87·0	60·3	54·3
55–59	94·6	88·7	80·3
60–64	72·7	77·8	63·1
65–69	93·5	112·4	68·6
70+	81·1	97·1	79·0
All ages..	100·9	75·7	76·2

*L. T. Badenhorst found evidence of at least a 10 per cent. under-enumeration of males 0–4 years and that enumeration of females of these ages was, for no apparent reason, less incomplete.

TABLE 10

PROPORTIONATE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIVE POPULATION

In the Union 1936; and Keiskammahoek District 1936 and 1946

Age Groups	Union 1936—per 1,000			Keiskammahoek 1936—per 1,000			Keiskammahoek 1946—per 1,000		
	Of each sex		Of total Persons	Of each sex		Of total Persons	Of each sex		Of total Persons
	Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	
0–4	137·38	151·53	144·43	167·72	141·44	152·76	178·76	137·75	155·48
5–9	138·64	139·07	138·86	175·03	129·96	149·37	185·46	140·30	159·83
10–14	127·00	117·36	122·20	157·52	126·51	139·87	171·78	136·01	151·48
15–19	103·77	97·50	100·65	121·38	122·13	121·81	122·03	110·06	115·24
20–24	81·48	86·39	83·92	75·17	89·67	83·41	57·39	74·39	67·04
25–29	87·98	77·32	82·67	38·07	73·07	57·99	35·14	74·08	57·24
30–34	71·35	72·37	71·86	34·62	62·42	50·45	33·93	56·92	46·98
35–39	65·93	57·73	61·85	36·42	47·50	42·71	33·52	51·40	43·67
40–44	49·75	50·39	50·07	30·48	50·10	41·65	27·49	44·35	37·06
45–49	38·79	34·28	36·54	26·48	34·24	30·90	33·92	40·87	37·87
50–54	28·43	32·99	30·70	25·11	31·52	28·75	22·80	31·98	28·01
55–59	19·64	20·93	20·28	31·45	26·83	28·81	23·07	21·87	22·39
60–64	17·11	23·75	20·41	23·72	23·07	23·35	19·31	23·30	21·57
65–69	12·31	13·27	12·79	23·72	15·97	19·30	24·27	26·98	25·81
70–74	9·27	11·59	10·43	16·28	12·21	14·02	13·55	13·39	13·45
75–79	4·58	5·13	4·86	8·69	7·10	7·78	7·78	5·82	6·67
80–84	3·27	4·63	3·94	5·52	3·97	4·63	4·83	5·01	4·93
85+	2·77	3·41	3·09	2·35	2·29	2·32	4·70	5·52	5·16
Unspecified ..	·55	·36	·45	·27	—	·12	·27	—	·12
Totals	1,000·00	1,000·00	1,000·00	1,000·00	1,000·00	1,000·00	1,000·00	1,000·00	1,000·00

TABLE 11

PROPORTIONS OF NATIVES IN YOUNGER AGE GROUPS
Union 1936; Keiskammahoek District 1936 and 1946

At and under age —years—	Proportions of persons at and under certain ages. Per cent. of total population.		
	Union 1936	Keiskammahoek 1936	Keiskammahoek 1946
20	53·41	59·04	60·36
19	50·61	56·38	58·20
Median 19·5	50·00		
Median 16·3		50·00	
Median 15·1			50·00
14	40·55	44·20	46·68
9	28·33	30·21	31·53
4	14·44	15·28	15·55

TABLE 12

PROPORTIONS OF NATIVES IN OLDER AGE GROUPS
Union 1936; Keiskammahoek District 1936 and 1946

At and over age —years—	Proportions of persons at and over certain ages. Per cent. of total population.		
	Union 1936	Keiskammahoek 1936	Keiskammahoek 1946
50	10·65	12·90	12·80
55	7·58	10·02	10·00
60	5·55	7·14	7·76
65	3·51	4·81	5·60
70	2·23	2·87	3·02
75	1·19	1·47	1·68

TABLE 13

BURDEN OF DEPENDENCY
Union 1936; Keiskammahoek 1936 and 1946

	Selected Age Groups	Union 1936	Keiskammahoek		
			1936	1946	Percentage change 1936–46
Proportion of Total population:					
Old dependents	65+	3·5	4·8	5·6	19·5
Young „	0–14	40·6	44·2	46·7	8·1
Total dependents		44·1	49·0	52·3	9·3
Productive age	15–64	55·9	51·0	47·7	(−4·1)
					Increase per 100
Ratio of Dependents to 100 Persons of Productive age		78·9	96·1	109·6	13·5

TABLE 14

PROPORTIONATE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS OF PRODUCTIVE AGE
Keiskammahoek District 1936 and 1946

	Selected Age Groups	Males		Females	
		1936	1946	1936	1946
Numbers:					
Young	15–24	1,425	1,338	2,029	1,805
Middle aged	25–44	1,012	970	2,233	2,219
Older	45–64	774	739	1,108	1,155
Total of productive age	15–64	3,211	3,047	5,370	5,179
Proportions per 1,000:					
Young	15–24	444	439	378	349
Middle aged	25–44	315	318	415	429
Older	45–64	241	243	207	222
Total of productive age	15–64	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

TABLE 15

SEX-AGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION PER 1,000 CHILDREN AGED 0–4
Union 1936; Keiskammahoek 1936 and 1946

Decennial Age Groups	Males			Females		
	Union 1936	Keiskamma-hoek 1936	Keiskamma-hoek 1946	Union 1936	Keiskamma-hoek 1936	Keiskamma-hoek 1946
5–14	924	938	993	884	956	1,008
15–24	644	554	499	634	789	673
25–34	554	205	192	516	505	478
35–44	402	189	170	373	364	350
45–54	234	145	158	232	245	266
55–64	128	156	118	154	186	165
65+	114	153	153	132	148	207

TABLE 16

BURDEN OF CHILD-CARE
Union 1936; Keiskammahoek 1936 and 1946

Keiskammahoek—intercensal increase in children.

Children aged	Percentage Increase 1936–46
0–4	4·28
0–9	6·92
0–14	8·10

Ratios of children to 1,000 women aged 15—44.

Age Groups	Union 1936	Keiskammahoek 1936	Keiskammahoek 1946
0–4	657	603	666
5–9	631	590	685
Total 0–9	1,288	1,193	1,351
10–14	556	552	649
Total 0–14	1,844	1,745	2,000

TABLE 17

Keiskammahoek District

COMPARATIVE SEX-AGE RATIOS IN THE URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1946
(as defined by the census)

Age Groups	Urban		Rural	
Ratios per 1,000 of each sex:	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
0–14	520·4	374·6	537·3	416·9
15–24	155·8	225·1	181·4	181·5
25–34	81·4	152·6	68·0	129·4
35–44	92·0	96·7	58·5	95·7
45–54	77·9	63·4	55·0	73·5
55–64	26·5	30·2	43·7	46·3
65+	42·5	57·4	56·1	56·7
Unspecified	3·5			
Totals	1,000·0	1,000·0	1,000·0	1,000·0
Dependents (age 0–14 and 65+) per 1,000 of Productive age (15–64)	973		1,106	
Children (age 0–14) per 1,000 women of childbearing years (15–44)	1,726		2,023	
Males per 100 females in each age group:				
0–14	118·5		97·3	
15–24	59·1		75·5*	
25–34	45·5		39·7	
35–44	81·3		46·2	
45–54	104·8		56·5	
55–64	75·0		71·3	
65+	63·1		74·8	
All ages	85·3		75·5	

*Taken as being indicative of greater absence of women rather than lesser absence of men. N.B.—Age ratios.

D.—Fertility and Mortality

The Native population, though numerically the most important in the Union is also the group most lacking in population data. In the absence of any vital statistics based on a system of compulsory births and deaths registration, it is possible to arrive at estimates of the growth of the whole population of the Union from the increase rate between the various censuses, since the margin of error caused by migration is not more than 2–3%.[1] The non-existence of internal migration statistics is, however, the factor which entirely invalidates this source of information when it comes to analysing the population of a single locality within the Union. Very nearly the whole natural increase in the population of the Keiskammahoek District has, for a generation past, been counterbalanced by emigration, and the total numbers of such emigrants can only be estimated from sample surveys; information on their sex-age distribution is most unreliable for the purpose of vital statistics, since it can only be elicited from their relatives and friends who remain behind.

An attempt was made during 1949 and 1950 to obtain current information on births and deaths among the 1,500 people in the 260 sample families of the budget survey.[2] This proved a complete failure, owing to the continual comings and goings of people in the sample families, and had to be abandoned.[3] Another attempt was made to extract vital statistics from the genealogy survey, which was undertaken for the purpose of determining the extent of migration among the people through several generations of the same 260 sample families.[4] There was, however, clear evidence of deficient record of children who had died as infants—a point of no statistical significance

[1]L. T. Badenhorst, *Ibid.*

[2]This survey is discussed in Chapter IV.

[3]Visiting relatives would give birth to children in the homesteads under survey; daughters-in-law would leave to have their babies in the homes of their parents elsewhere; people would emigrate from the District, and whether they died or gave birth to children while away was not a matter of record. It was found, on analysing the returns sent in by the fieldworkers, that by June 1950 no less than 16 infants were on record as having died at various ages younger than 18 months, and no record could be found of their corresponding birth since January 1949 among the 160 births recorded; of the 35 infants who could be thus cross checked, only 10 were accurately recorded as to dates of birth and death and age at death, and as to sex. By the same token, no reliance could be placed on the record of 266 deaths, for those at home in January 1949, or born during the period, may well have died unrecorded elsewhere.

[4]This survey is discussed in Chapter V.

in analysing migration, but invalidating this source of information for fertility and mortality rates.

Finally, a survey was undertaken of all families in Upper Nqhumeya village, which had as its main objective the recording of details of births. The fieldworker was a life-long resident of the village, and it is believed that this record of births to 259 women who are her neighbours is as accurate as can be obtained by any process of questioning mothers themselves regarding their maternal reproductive histories.[1] However, the analysis of births and child mortality[2] is offered as a good estimate only, for reliance on personal impression and memory cannot have the accuracy of statistics based on a system of births and deaths registration.

Before presenting the limited findings[3] from that survey, attention might be drawn to some most revealing facts which emerge from

[1]This survey was conducted towards the end of 1950 and the locale was subordinate, in this case, to the selection of a field worker; an educated middle-aged woman was appointed to conduct the survey among her own neighbours; she was thus uniquely fitted as an accurate recorder of such details on births and deaths as could never have been ascertained by questioning alone.

After she had completed the returns for the first 110 mothers, these were analysed and re-checked with the field worker. It was found that, while 9 births among the 485 recorded had been miscarriages, the remainder when analysed into sex and year of birth, indicated a very high degree of plausibility. (*Vide* Table 22) Unfortunately, owing to the closing down of all field work on the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey at the end of November 1950, it was not possible to give the same careful check to the returns on the remainder of the families in the village. The alternatives were to base the fertility and mortality estimates on the 476 births which had been checked, or on a broader base incorporating those of less reliable accuracy. The latter alternative was selected, and only those returns were rejected which evidenced uncertainty or improbability. This was done for the very good reason that the field worker admitted having initiated her survey chiefly among her younger neighbours, tending to postpone the more tedious questioning of the older women. This was borne out by the statistics, for relatively twice as many old women, well past the reproductive years, were found among the second group; among the first 110 mothers recorded, the arithmetic average per mother was 4·33 births, and among 149 mothers of the second group they averaged 5·08.

[2]The record is incomplete on deaths among adults, for only offspring of living mothers or fathers are recorded by year of birth and death; age at death is in no case on record as over 44 years. (One woman of some 85–90 years of age herself had declared deaths of her older children in their 60's, but this was one of the returns rejected as unreliable). Therefore, figures for this survey are indicative only of child mortality, and no attempt can be made to estimate the death rate of the population.

[3]There were two regrettable deficiencies in the forms which could not be made up by re-checking with the field worker before the closing down of the Keiskammhoek Rural Survey. There was occasional omission of the sex of the child, and after hazarding some guess work from the names given, the attempt to analyse births by sex was abandoned, for even names were incomplete. Secondly, the record was deficient on the year of birth; where death was also involved, the form was rejected, but if the child is still living the form has been incorporated in the analysis. Thus, while there is a complete record of the numbers of births and deaths and the age at death, there is a rather limited analysis of sex and none on year of birth except among the first 476 births analysed. For what they are worth, which is very little on so narrow a base, the sex distribution of births and survivors during the past 25 years is appended as the last table to this section, Table 22.

analysis of the 1936 and 1946 censuses of population. Estimate of births in the Keiskammahoek District is of no value in calculating a net reproduction rate, since the reduction of population through emigration, though not accurately determinable, is undoubtedly of a magnitude no less than through death. Nevertheless, a calculation can be made by applying the mortality rates for the Coloured population of the Union.[1] Mr. L. T. Badenhorst, in a study of the growth of the population of South Africa, adopted, after careful analysis, the assumption that the mortality of the Natives was about the same as that of the Coloured population, while their fertility was somewhat lower. He did point out that both birth and death rates for the Native population vary considerably in different parts of the country particularly in urban and rural areas. However, he said of the Coloureds: "If there are few countries in the world with a known birth rate as high as that of the Coloured population, there are fewer still with as high a death rate." The birth rate remained fairly constant at a very high level from 1937 to 1944. It decreased slightly from 47·22 per 1,000 to 42·63 in 1942 and then increased in the following two years to 43·46 in 1944. The death rate varied less, declining from 23·46 per 1,000 in 1937 to 22·86 in 1940 and fluctuating between 24 and 25 in the period 1941–44. These have been quoted in some detail to show that the highest birth rate was 47·22 and the highest death rate 25 per 1,000.

The 1936–37 Coloured mortality rates for each year of age,[2] if applied retrospectively to the children enumerated at 0–9 years of age in the 1946 census in the Keiskammahoek District, results in an estimate of births during the preceding 10 years of 8,417. Assuming the total population of the District to have grown at a steady annual pace between the two census enumerations, these births were at the extraordinarily high average annual rate of 49·42 per 1,000 during the decade.[3] Such a birth rate would suggest a population reproducing at virtually maximum fertility. However, a two-fold explanation would seem to offer: firstly, that some of the children enumerated in the 1946 census were not born in the District at all, but were children sent by their parents from the cities to live with relatives; and, secondly, that some of the mothers who gave birth to children during this decade

[1]Compulsory registration of births and deaths of the Coloured population has been in effect for a considerable time, though official rates were not published until 1937.

[2]Coloured Life Table C.1. U.G. 49/1939.

[3]As estimated, the highest birth rate in any one year was 52·15 per 1,000 in 1940, the lowest 44·54 in 1937.

emigrated from the District before the 1946 census, leaving those children behind them in the Reserve.

Coupling the average 1937 Coloured death rate of 23·46 per 1,000 with this birth and child immigration rate of 49·42, the very high net increase of 25·96 is derived. As the average annual rate of growth during the intercensal decade was, in fact, 2·43 per 1,000, it would appear that the rate of net emigration from the District was 23·53, in other words of the same order as the assumed death rate. The numbers of immigrant children and children left by their emigrant mothers in the care of others in the District would appear to be at an annual rate of about 9 per 1,000, if the rate of reproduction in the Keiskammahoek District is assumed to be no greater than the average for the Union as a whole.[1] This seems entirely plausible, in view of the evidence from all sample surveys that there is living with the Native families in the District one such child to every four living with their own mothers.

The 259 mothers of the sample survey were found to be distributed in age from 17 to over 60 years of age. The reproductive period was normally from 20 to 45 years of age; very few women bore children after 45, but several, particularly unmarried mothers, gave birth in their late teens. Of the 259 mothers, about one-quarter had passed out of the reproductive age group, which is normal.[2] Only 23 women were found at home in the village-wide survey, who were past the age of 17 without having given birth.[3]

By the time a woman has reached the age of 46, she has borne, on the average, 7 children. The arithmetic average number of births per mother in the sample is 4·77 of whom 2·61 survive. Mortality, therefore, is at the rate of 453 per 1,000 births, distributed by age as follows:

[1]L. T. Badenhorst estimates the present natural increase of total Native population of the Union at an annual rate of 17 per 1,000.

[2]It must be pointed out that not all the sample mothers were living in the District at the time of the survey; unmarried daughters, for instance, who had given birth might have been reported by their mothers in Nqhumeya village, though the daughters themselves were away. To have excluded such cases would have given a distorted picture, with undue weight of old mothers past the reproductive years, since it is normally the young women who go out to work in the cities, and the old women who remain behind in charge of the grandchildren. It will be noted, however, that for this reason the proportions of mothers who have passed out of the reproductive age group cannot be taken as representative of the resident population of the District. It has been mentioned only to establish the fact that the sample of 259 mothers is a fair cross section of surviving mothers and children. On the 1936 census of the total Native population of the Union, of all women over 15 years of age 25·4 per cent. had reached the age of 45, i.e., had passed out of the reproductive age group.

[3]Of these 10 were aged 17–19 years.

1 year and under	..	288 deaths
5 years and under	..	382 ,,
10 years and under	..	412 ,,
16 years and under	..	426 ,,
44 years and under	..	453 ,,

Thus of total deaths, 63·5% were of infants 1 year of age or less, and 94% were of children 16 years of age and younger. Child mortality rates at various ages, per 1,000 of each sex and per 1,000 total deaths, are shown on Table 18.

The chance of a child's survival diminishes with great rapidity after the mother has produced her seventh child. The first 3 children born to a mother have nearly a 2 : 1 chance of survival, the 4th to the 7th children about an even chance, and the 8th and subsequent children no better than a 1 : 2 chance of survival. Excessive child-bearing, above the average, could be the cause for the sudden drop from 52% survival of the 7th child to 32% for the 8th. Mortality per 1,000 births of each successive child is shown on Table 19.

In no single family of more than 6 births is there survival of all children. Only 35% of the families suffered no mortality among the children born to a mother, and half of these were in the families of a single child. This would suggest that only among the children of young mothers who have not yet completed their families is there 100% survival of all her children. The incidence of mortality in families of each size is shown on Table 20. It will be noticed that it is in the families of 9 and more births that the high mortality occurs. Although there were only 33 families on which to base this finding, it is significant that in only 8 of them was the mortality among the children in one family less than 50%.

On Table 21 is recorded the sample detail of the numbers of deaths among successive children in families of each size.

In conclusion, mention might be made of the incidental but rather startling fact which came to light in a full analysis of births, deaths and whereabouts of all members of 110 elementary families in this sample. Only 3 cases were of child-bearing couples living together with all the children already born to them, and in only 8 more cases were they living together with all their surviving children at home.

TABLE 18

SEX-AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL CHILD MORTALITY
(Based on a sample of 523 deaths)*

Age at death	Per 1,000 of each sex and per 1,000 total deaths		
	Male	Female	Total
1 year and under	668	600	635
2 years	108	90	99
3–5 years	97	125	110
6–10 years	61	74	66
11–16 years	19	36	30
17–44 years	47	75	60
	1,000	1,000	1,000

*Sex distribution is based on only 523 deaths, since the reporting of sex of the remaining 34 deaths in the whole sample was deficient.

TABLE 19

AVERAGE MORTALITY RATE FOR EACH SUCCESSIVE CHILD
(Based on a sample of 1,233 births in 259 families)

Child born to a mother	Deaths per 1,000 births of each successive child
1st child	390
2nd ,, ...	365
3rd ,, ...	394
4th ,, ...	442
5th ,, ...	520
6th ,, ...	500
7th ,, ...	480
8th ,, ...	680
9th ,, ...	667
10th ,, ...	714
11th and subsequent children ..	667

NOTE: Twins are counted as successive births.

TABLE 20

Average Mortality Rate in Families of Each Size
(Based on a sample of 259 families)

Size of family born to each mother	Deaths per 1,000 births in each sized family
1 child	98
2 children	182
3 „	444*
4 „	250
5 „	362
6 „	434
7 „	460
8 „	434
9 „	592
10 „	600
11 „	681
12 „	771
13 „	744
15 „	800

*There seems to be no obvious explanation for the phenomenon of such high mortality in families of three children. Reference to Table 19 shows that in all families of whatsoever size, the first, second and third child have the highest chance of survival. Nevertheless, in the 21 families of only 3 births, among the 63 children, deaths numbered 28, resulting in this irregular death rate.

TABLE 21

Deaths of Successive Children in Families of Each Size
(259 families—1,233 births—557 deaths)

Births in each family	No. of families	Deaths of Successive Children													Totals
		1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	
1	51	5															5
2	33	6	6														12
3	21	9	11	8													28
4	27	11	8	4	4												27
5	21	10	7	4	8	9											38
6	33	18	11	17	12	16	12										86
7	23	11	6	13	15	14	10	5									74
8	17	8	9	6	7	9	6	6	8								59
9	12	8	6	8	7	7	8	8	7	5							64
10	8	4	4	4	4	3	6	5	7	7	4						48
11	5	4	4	1	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	2					38
12	4	3	2	2	3	2	4	4	4	3	4	4	2				37
13	3	3	2	1	3	1	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2			29
15	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	12
Totals	259	101	76	69	68	66	53	35	34	22	15	10	4	3	1	0	557

NOTE: Twins are counted as successive births. There were 23 sets of twins, born to 20 mothers, in which deaths occured to:—
both twins in 14 sets
one twin in 3 sets
neither twin in 6 sets
In cases of one death in a set of twins it has been counted as the first of the two successive births.

TABLE 22

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS
(Children born to 110 mothers of all ages during the past 25 years)

Year of Birth	Males			Females			Total		
	Born	Died	Survived	Born	Died	Survived	Born	Died	Survived
1950	8	2	6	5	—	5	13	2	11
1949	6	3	3	8	2	6	14	5	9
1948	3	1	2	10	—	10	13	1	12
1947	5	1	4	7	3	4	12	4	8
1946	4	2	2	14	4	10	18	6	12
1945	8	1	7	3	1	2	11	2	9
1944	6	2	4	4	—	4	10	2	8
1943	8	1	7	7	1	6	15	2	13
1942	8	4	4	2	—	2	10	4	6
1941	8	5	3	2	1	1	10	6	4
1940	3	1	2	8	2	6	11	3	8
1939	5	1	4	3	2	1	8	3	5
1938	5	3	2	6	2	4	11	5	6
1937	8	5	3	9	2	7	17	7	10
1936	5	2	3	3	1	2	8	3	5
1935	10	5	5	9	3	6	19	8	11
1934	9	1	8	5	3	2	14	4	10
1933	7	6	1	10	5	5	17	11	6
1932	2	—	2	8	—	8	10	—	10
1931	5	3	2	4	2	2	9	5	4
1930	6	2	4	9	3	6	15	5	10
1929	8	4	4	5	2	3	13	6	7
1928	2	1	1	5	1	4	7	2	5
1927	6	3	3	4	4	—	10	7	3
1926	10	5	5	6	1	5	16	6	10
25 years	155	64	91	156	45	111	311	109	202

NOTE: Total births, including those prior to 1926, among these 110 mothers were 476 and deaths 209. The Table covers a little more than one reproductive cycle, and has not been extended to earlier years owing to the thinning out of recorded births.

E.—THE FAMILY

In the Native Reserves the domestic family, or the group sharing common housekeeping, does not consist only of a husband, wife and children, but may comprise several elementary families, widows or unmarried mothers with children, and other relatives all living together in the homestead, kraal or *umzi*.

The head of the homestead is normally a man who is or has been married, or a widow who has remained in the homestead of her late husband. In view of the importance of the male head of a family in most societies and the very vital role he plays in tribal society, it is of considerable economic and social significance to note how few homesteads have a male head at home. In Table 23 are set forth details of the heads of 285 families as found from a census taken in December, 1948, of sample families in five villages, Gxulu, Chatha, Mthwaku, Rabula and Burnshill,[1] together with similar details from a survey of all 176 families in Nqhumeya village in November, 1950.[2] All these families together constitute approximately a one-in-seven sample of the entire District. In the five-village sample, only 59% of the homesteads had a male head at home, and the proportion was found to be even less, 43%, in Nqhumeya. In 7% and 13% of the homesteads respectively, though the head was a male, he was away working outside the District. In the remainder, 34% in the five-village sample and 44% in Nqhumeya, the head of the homestead was, with few exceptions, a widow. It is believed that this relative preponderence of widows is general throughout the District. This situation is one of considerable economic and social importance, for the absence of the male cannot fail to have an adverse effect upon the organization of the economic

[1] This was the first census taken of sample families in these villages, preparatory to the survey on family budgets conducted during 1949 (*Vide* p. 91).

[2] The survey in Upper Nqhumeya village conducted towards the end of 1950, produced, in addition to full details of 54 families, partial details on every one of the 176 families in the village. Such partial details covered the marital status of the head of the homestead, the numbers of people living at home or away working, and also the labour of all women and girls, which is discussed in Chapter V.

Owing to the closing down of all field work on the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey at the end of November, 1950, insufficient accurate details concerning births, deaths and relationships of all persons in the remaining 122 homesteads were collected for the sample of 54 to be extended, in these matters, to the whole village. This explains why statistical reference is sometimes to 54 sample families and at others to the whole village.

The 54 homesteads contained 275 persons, and in the remaining 122 there were 572 persons, making a total for the village of 847 at home in November, 1950.

efforts of the household and upon parental authority and the discipline of children.

The average numbers of persons belonging to a homestead is difficult to determine, but there is distinct evidence that the family tends to be larger in villages where the tenure of land is freehold, than in communal villages.[1] An equally important variable in the size of the family group is the extent of migration between the towns and the District. In some villages the average numbers of people who emigrate from each family is greater than in others, since the factor compelling emigration is economic poverty at home and this is not altogether uniform throughout the District.[2]

The estimated numbers of persons attaching to each mother living in the District averages 2·35 persons, as shown on Table 24 based on a sample of 110 mothers. As so many mothers are without husbands, and so many emigrate from the District leaving their children behind, or place their children in other families, this method of estimating the size of a unit consisting of parents or guardians and children has been found to give the most probable degree of accuracy. On this basis of 3·35 persons per unit, there would be 5,150 such units in the District on the 1946 census enumeration of total population. Since there were 5,223 women of 17 years of age and older enumerated in the census, and as very few women above that age remain childless, whether they have husbands or not, this seems a reasonable estimate.

A homestead may contain several such units. Estimates made on various samples and also on a census enumeration in 1948 of 3,273 total homesteads in the District[3] all point to there being an average of just over one-and-a-half such units in each homestead. This, as already suggested, varies between villages. An indication of the degree of variations is given in Table 25 with the listing of the average numbers of persons in a homestead, as found in several sample surveys made in the District. Details of individual homesteads are given on Table 27, in respect of 54 homesteads in Upper Nqhumeya village in November, 1950. It will be noted how greatly the sizes of the individual homesteads vary, from a single individual to 13 persons, the average being 5·1 people. Including those who are away from the District, the numbers vary from 2 to 16 persons, and average 7·65 people. In-

[1]The reasons for this are presented in the *Land Tenure* Report, Vol. IV, of the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey.

[2]Variations between villages in emigration intensity have been mentioned in Section B of this chapter; migration of workers is the subject of full discussion in Chapter V.

[3]This enumeration was made during a District-wide vaccination of the people in 1948.

Scene at a Peasant Homestead.

cluding all deceased spouses and children of those persons who, in November, 1950, were surviving members of the 54 homesteads, the numbers per homestead vary from 3 to 30 persons and average 12·3 people. Thus, on the average per homestead, 4·65 persons died, 2·55 are away as emigrant workers, 5·1 people remain at home and these belong to 1·52 distinct units of parents or guardians and children, each numbering 3·35 persons.

Any attempt to classify the members of homesteads living in the District by consanguinity with the head of the homestead is largely specious, owing to the marked instability in the families. Attention was first drawn to this fact when the family budget survey was being undertaken. A census of the number of persons in the sample families was undertaken in December, 1948, another in October, 1949, and a third census in January, 1950. It was found that the composition of many families had changed almost out of recognition from one census to another.[1] In Table 28 some examples, taken at random, are given to illustrate the nature of the changes. While there were a few cases where the composition of the family did not change at all within the year, in the vast majority of cases there was some change and in many cases the change in composition was great. In the second example on Table 28 there is only one person who was a member of the household at all three dates.

When it is remembered that the three counts of the population took place within a period of only just over one year, the instability of the population of the families is seen to be very great. It arises as a secondary result of emigration of workers from the District. Some of the families emigrate from the District *en bloc* but the majority of the emigrant workers leave their families behind in the Reserve. Most of these emigrants go for relatively short periods, and when they return their place, as an emigrant breadwinner, is taken by some other member of the family. There is thus a constant coming and going of people, since the greater part of the adult male population is continuously circulating between the Reserve and the cities. About half of the men are fathers (and some of the women are mothers) of families, and when they go off the women and children are often placed in the home of the man's parents; when he returns and has his own home again his wife and children go back to live with him. The result is

[1]The change was found to be so great that the reliability of the figures had to be questioned. Careful checking of name and enquiry from selected families revealed that the information obtained by the field workers and recorded in their census returns was correct, and that the composition of the families had, in fact, changed as the figures would indicate.

that the composition of the homestead is in a perpetual state of flux.

Bearing in mind this continual change, a broad idea of the composition of the homestead families can be obtained from Table 26, which classifies very generally the persons enumerated in 285 sample families in December, 1948. It is to be noted that about one-third of the persons were not members of the family of the head of the homestead, though the great majority of these were fairly close relatives, and that of the adults among these relatives there were nearly three times as many women as men.

Even this simplified classification is far from portraying the full picture of the categories of all persons by consanguinity with the head of the homestead,[1] but it suffices as an indication of the composition of the operating economic unit—that domestic family group which shares common economic resources and obligations. Members of the homestead who are away working are expected to contribute to family income, and those at home will take their shares in the work, including the farming of crops, and will eat together from the same cooking-pot, or fire. Occasionally, however, there will be two or more fires operated in one homestead.[2] In such cases, certain tasks related to the cooking, such as fetching wood and water and raising crops, will then be performed for each fire separately by the members of each group eating together. It will be noted from Table 27 that, among 54 homesteads in Upper Nqhumeya village, there were 8 in which two separate fires were operated and one homestead in which there were three fires. Normally, therefore, the operating economic unit is the homestead, but where there are two or more fires in a homestead certain of the economic efforts revolve about the separate fires.[3]

As an illustration of the composition of the family and the variety of economic obligations which may be imposed upon the family group, a description is given below of 6 actual families, which are a

[1]Such classification is not essential to an understanding of the family as an operating economic unit, but, for a detailed study of the subject, reference is made to Volume III, *Social Structure*.

[2]Reference is made to the *Social Structure* Report for an explanation of *ukaziphekela*, which has to do with this matter of cooking from one fire.

[3]In Chapter IV, where family incomes and expenditures are discussed, the economic unit is the homestead. In Chapter V, Section D, the economic unit is the fire because discussion is on women's household tasks, such as repairing of huts, fetching wood and water and stamping and grinding mealies, and also on work in raising the crops, such as ploughing and cultivating the fields. The sample used in the latter survey was Upper Nqhumeya village, in which there were 193 separate fires found in the 176 total homesteads.

fair representation of homesteads in general.[1] In character they

[1]Because the actual description of these families makes so graphic the appalling instability of the homestead, with adults away, children taken into the home or sent to other homes, large numbers of illegitimates, high mortality, etc., statistical evidence is presented hereunder that the claim is not exaggerated that these families are representative. Comparison is with averages from various survey findings, as analysed throughout Chapters II and V of this Report, or in Volume III, *Social Structure*.

	6-family sample	*Average*
Heads of homesteads:		
Husbands, living at home	50%	47%
Husbands, working elsewhere	—	9%
Other males	17%	6%
Widows	33%	38%
	100%	100%
Composition of homesteads (Persons living at home):		
Family of head of homestead	68%	69%
Relatives	32%	31%
	100%	100%
Ratio of male adults to female adults	40%	54%
Ratio of able-bodied adults to all persons	33%	33%
Number of persons belonging to homesteads:		
Living at home	5·50	5·10
Away	1·33	2·55
	6·83	7·65
Persons living in homesteads, attached to each mother:		
Mother	1·00	1·00
Husband	·37	·35
Offspring and orphans	2·62	1·82
Old people and childless adults	·12	·18
	4·11	3·35
Births and surviving children, per mother:		
Births	4·00	4·77
Survivors	3·00	2·61
Whereabouts of surviving children:		
Dependents, with mothers	57%	56%
Dependents, away from mothers	20%	17%
Independents, with spouses or in town	23%	27%
	100%	100%
Illegitimacy:		
Proportion of total mothers who gave birth to illegitimates	50%	49%
as unmarried mothers	20%	28%
premaritally	10%	7%
in adultery	10%	4%
as widows	10%	10%
Proportion of total surviving children who are illegitimate	30%	30%

represent 6 distinct types[1]: the first is a normal, well-to-do family and a home for orphaned relatives; the second is a homestead which has assumed responsibility for a deceased brother's widow; the third is a haven for the family of a relative who is away working outside the District; the fourth is a refuge for a retired migrant worker returned from the city; the fifth is a repository for grandchildren whose parents are working in the city; and the last is a home for unmarried women and their illegitimate offspring.[2]

1. *Normal Family*

Total members of homestead: 10.
At home: 2 adults, 2 young people, 4 children.
Away at school: 1 adult.
Away working: 1 adult woman.

Sylvia, 36 years of age, lives with her fairly well-to-do and industrious husband, Goli. The six children who were born to them all survived and live at home, two boys of 16 and 10 years of age, Violet, a 13-year-old daughter, and three little daughters, aged 7, 4 and 2 years. Two orphans have been taken into this homestead: one the daughter of Goli's late uncle, aged 19, who now has a job in Kingwilliamstown; the other, Goli's 20-year-old niece, daughter of his late sister, who attends school in St. Matthew's Mission, returning to her uncle's home on week-ends and holidays and helping with the farm work.

These nine people live in two huts, sufficiently spacious for them to be able to rent out to another family a third hut which Goli has built; in addition, there is a store hut. They own livestock and farm fairly extensive fields in which all but the children lend a hand.

2. *Responsibility for a Brother's Widow*

Total members of homestead: 9.
At home: 1 old woman, 4 adults, 4 children.
Away in another homestead: 1 girl.

Maxwell was living at home at the time of the survey with his wife, Regina, aged 26, his old widowed mother and his two little daughters, aged 6 and 2 years. One other daughter died in infancy. They live in one hut and eat from the same fire.

Living in one other hut and cooking at a separate fire is Ruth, the 41-year-old widow of Maxwell's older brother, together with three of her four surviving children, an unmarried daughter of 20, who is pregnant, and two sons aged 11 and 7 years. One daughter died in 1937 at the age of 3.

As these people are poor, Maxwell has frequently had to go out to work, and Ruth has sent her 13-year-old daughter to live with another family in the village. Last year, however, they managed to subsist on the crops from their small fields, Maxwell doing the ploughing with his own oxen in both Regina's and Ruth's fields, in return for which Ruth gave assistance in weeding and harvesting.

3. *Haven for the Family of an Emigrant Worker Relative*

Total members of homestead: 5.
At home: 1 old man, 2 adult women, 1 child.
Away working: 1 adult man.
Away in another homestead: 1 youth.

Nomani, aged 53, is so poor as to have been destitute during the 1949 drought. She was widowed several years ago in Fort Beaufort, after having one son, now 16 years of age. She remarried, and came to live in the District with her husband, Elder, who is old, almost indigent, and childless. Her 16-year-old son lives with another family in the village.

Elder's deceased brother's son, William, who works near Kingwilliamstown, leaves his wife, Mnandi, at home with his uncle and Nomani. Mnandi now 26 years of age, had one child who died in infancy, by William and two subsequent adulterine children, the first of whom died and the second, a baby son, living with her. Her husband has forgiven her adulteries and frequently returns home for week-ends.

All these people live together in one small hut, they own no livestock and work but a small piece of land.

4. *Refuge for a Retired Migrant Worker*

Total members of homestead: 3.
At home: 1 adult woman, 1 adult son, 1 girl.
Away in another homestead: 1 adult woman.

Nolast was widowed more than twenty years ago, after giving

[1] One other type of homestead found in communal villages in the District, but not represented here, is a declining family of one or more old people who have passed the reproductive age, and whose children have all left and set up permanent homes elsewhere in the District or in the cities. In freehold villages there are the additional types of a patrilineal family of several generations, and also of an accumulation of families who have immigrated from the cities or elsewhere, and settled on the land of the head of the homestead, or farm owner.

[2] The mutual assistance given in farming by members of the first, third and sixth homesteads here is the subject of a sample description given in Chapter V, Section D., p. 143.

birth to one son, Matthew, who is now 25 years of age, a bachelor and the head of this homestead. Shortly after losing her husband, Nolast went to work in East London, leaving Matthew with her late husband's brother and his wife, both of whom are now dead.

In East London Nolast had four children by a married man. The second and the youngest of these died; the oldest, a daughter now 20 years of age, was sent to live with Nolast's sister near Kingwilliamstown. The father of these children and his wife died in close succession, and Nolast returned from East London with her 14-year-old daughter to live with Matthew, who by now had his own hut and small field. Nolast is 47 years of age and, with the help of her daughter, she works in Matthew's field and keeps his home.

5. *Repository for Grandchildren from the Cities*
   Total members of homestead: 6.
   At home: 1 old woman, 1 youth, 1 girl, 2 children.
   Away working: 1 adult son.
   Away with their husbands: 3 married daughters.

Mercy, a 60-year-old widow, has given birth to ten children, of whom four died. Her oldest daughter was widowed, after bearing two children, and remarried a man from the Transkei, leaving her one surviving child with Mercy. That child, as well as the two children born of her second marriage, all died. Mercy's two other adult daughters, now in their late 20's, married and went with their respective husbands to Cape Town. Their two older children, a son of 7 and a daughter of 4 respectively, have been sent back to Keiskammahoek District to live with their grandmother, Mercy. The parents of the 4-year-old girl were expected back shortly, and would remove their child from Mercy's homestead.

In addition to her married daughters, Mercy has a son of 32 who is working in Cape Town and very occasionally sends money to his mother. Her two younger surviving children, Elsie a girl of 18 and a boy of 13 years, live with her and the grandchildren in three comfortable, well-built huts. There is a spare hut standing empty and also a store hut. Elsie helps in all the household and farm tasks. Mercy's field was ploughed last year by her 13-year-old son, with the help of friends. In return, the boy assisted in the ploughing and Mercy in the weeding and reaping of the friends' fields.

6. *Home for Unmarried Women and their Children*
   Total members of homestead: 8.

   At home: 1 adult woman, 2 girls, 1 child.
   Away: 2 adult women working, and their 2 babies.
   Away in another homestead: 1 girl.

Charlotte had an illegitimate daughter in 1935, who remained with her parents when Charlotte married James. Shortly after giving birth to another daughter, now 10 years old, she lost her husband. She is now a 35-year-old widow, head of her late husband's home.

Lucy, a 40-year-old daughter of James's uncle, has had four children out of wedlock, the second and third by the same man who " took her " for a time and then deserted to town, leaving her to return to her people. All of Lucy's four children have survived, and two of them, a daughter of 13 and a baby son of 2 years, live with Charlotte. Lucy is away working in East London and has her youngest child with her. Also working in East London is her oldest daughter of 20, who has just given birth there to an illegitimate child.

Lucy sends money to Charlotte to help in the maintenance of her two children, and sometimes returns home for visits. Charlotte, the two girls and the baby live in one hut. They work a fair-sized field, but own no livestock.

TABLE 23

Classification of Heads of Homesteads

Based upon:

(i) A survey of 176 families in Upper Nqhumeya village in November, 1950.

(ii) A census taken in December, 1948, of 285 sample families in five villages—Gxulu, Chatha, Mthwaku, Rabula and Burnshill.

Heads of Homesteads	(i) 176 families in Nqhumeya	(ii) 285 sample families in 5 villages
Males living at home. .. .. .. Total ..	75	168
Married men with wives	69	149
Widowers	4	19
Bachelors	2	
Males working outside District: Total ..	23	20
Married men, with wives at home ..	21	
Married men, accompanied by wives ..	2	
Females: .. .. Total ..	78	97
Wife deserted by husband	1	
Widows of late heads of homesteads ..	75	
Unmarried daughters of late heads of homesteads	2	

Note on Nqhumeya: It is to be noted how few widowers there are, in comparison with widows. Not only do men more rarely survive their wives, being older than them and having a shorter expectation of life, but they usually re-marry if they do. This is to be expected when a woman's work in the homestead is almost essential to the survival of the entire family. (See Chapter V, Section D). To the women, husbands are less essential, especially if there are other adult members of the family, of either sex, who can work for wages to help in supporting the family. Four of the 75 widows and 8 of the wives had remarried after previously losing husbands. By contrast, 14 of the male heads of homesteads had lost their wives by death or desertion, and 10 had remarried. Of the remaining widowers, 2 had daughters (1 deserted by her husband) and 2 had widowed mothers to fulfil the essential tasks of women in the home. For a fuller discussion on this topic, see Vol. III, *Social Structure*

Each of the 2 bachelors had respectively a widowed mother and a widowed sister in his homestead, each with illegitimate children.

The 2 married men who had taken their wives with them to town had, respectively, left behind in the homestead a daughter and a female cousin.

The 2 unmarried daughters, mothers of illegitimate children, had inherited their own homesteads as the only surviving children of their late fathers.

TABLE 24

Number of Persons Attaching to Each Mother
(Based on 54 homesteads in Upper Nqhumeya village)

	Total numbers	Number per mother
Parents, and children born to 110 mothers:		
Mothers	110	1·00
Husbands	87	·79
Offspring, not themselves parents	393	3·57
Total originals	590	5·36
Survivors among parents, and children born to 110 mothers:		
Mothers	100	1·00
Husbands	49	·49
Offspring, not themselves parents	229	2·29
Total survivors	378	3·78
Not all survivors were in the District in November, 1950. Only 82 per cent. of the mothers themselves were at home. In addition to the above survivors, there were in the homesteads childless and old people not recorded as parents, and also orphans and other children whose parents were unrecorded.		
All people at home in the homesteads:		
Mothers	82	1·00
Husbands	29	·35
Offspring, not themselves parents, orphans and children detached from parents	149	1·82
Childless and old people not recorded as parents ..	15	·18..
Total at home in the homestead	275	3·35

TABLE 25

AVERAGE NUMBERS OF PERSONS PER HOMESTEAD
(Based on various samples)

Village	Major type of land tenure	Date of sample census	No. of homesteads in sample	Average numbers of persons at home per homestead
Upper Nqhumeya ..	Communal	Nov., 1950	54	5·1
Gxulu	Communal	Average of Dec., 1948 and Jan., 1950	47	4·6
Mthwaku	Communal		49	5·5
Burnshill	Quitrent		47	5·9
Chatha	Communal		74	6·1
Rabula	Freehold		43	6·8

TABLE 26

CLASSIFICATION OF MEMBERS OF HOMESTEADS
(Based on 285 sample families in Gxulu, Chatha, Mthwaku, Rabula and Burnshill as at December, 1948)

Status in family	Numbers of people in homesteads		
	Male	Female	Total
Heads of homesteads:			
Husbands at home with wives	149	149	
Widowers and bachelors	19		
Absent husbands, leaving wives at home..		20	
Widows		97	
Children of above, all ages	397	342	
Total members of elementary families			1,173
Other adults, usually relatives	53	141	
Children under 16, usually relatives ..	157	172	
Total of other persons			523
Total at home Dec., 1948			1,696

TABLE 27

NUMBERS OF PERSONS BELONGING TO INDIVIDUAL HOMESTEADS
(Based on 54 homesteads in Upper Nqhumeya in November, 1950)

* represents one homestead.
† represents a homestead in which one additional fire is operated.
‡ represents a homestead in which two additional fires are operated.

Number of persons per homestead	Persons inclusive of deceased spouses and children	Surviving persons at home and away	Persons living at home
30	†		
29			
28			
27	†		
26			
25	‡		
24			
23	*		
22	*		
21			
20			
19	*		
18	**		
17	***		
16	†*	*	
15	†*	‡†	
14	†****	†*	
13	†	†	‡
12	†****	†*	
11	†*****	*	
10	***	††****	††
9	***	††*****	†††††**
8	******	******	†****
7	*****	***	*
6	*	*****	
5	*	******	**********
4	*	*******	********
3	**	***	**********
2		**	****
1			****
Total persons all homesteads ..	665	415	275
Average persons per 54 homesteads ..	12·3	7·65	5·1
Average persons per 64 operating fires in the homesteads ..	10·4	6·5	4·3
Average persons per 82 units of parents or guardians and children at home			3·35

TABLE 28

COMPOSITION OF SELECTED FAMILIES AT THREE SUCCESSIVE DATES

m represents males.
f represents females.
Figures indicate the individual's age.

Family	Date	Individuals in the homestead	No. of Persons
A	Dec., 1948	44*f* 24*m* 16*m* 2*f* 12*f*	5
	Oct., 1949	45*f* 24*m* 16*m* 18*m* 2*f*	5
	Jan., 1950	54*m* 45*f* 18*m* 3*f* 20*m*	5
B	Dec., 1948	60*f* 15*m* 16*m*	3
	Oct., 1949	60*f* 16*m* 20*m* 1*f*	4
	Jan., 1950	60*f* 20*m* 1*f*	3
C	Dec., 1948	73*m* 49*m* 42*f* 38*f* 36*m* 23*m* 20*f* 16*m* 13*f* 11*f* 9*m* 5*f*	12
	Oct., 1949	73*m* 42*f* 23*m* 20*f* 16*m* 11*f* 9*m*	7
	Jan., 1950	d. 50*m* 43*f* 24*m* 17*m* 14*f* 21*m* 14*m*	7
D	Dec., 1948	42*m* 38*f* 20*m* 12*m* 6*m* 5*f*	6
	Oct., 1949	42*m* 39*f* 6*f* 64*f* 16*f* 12*f* 4*f*	7
	Jan., 1950	43*m* 39*f* 6*f* 64*f* 16*f* 12*f* 4*f*	7
E	Dec., 1948	90*m* 58*f* 38*m* 29*f* 23*m* 15*m* 9*m* 6*m*	8
	Oct., 1949	90*m* 59*f* 29*f* 15*m* 6*m*	5
	Jan., 1950	91*m* 59*f* 16*m*	3
F	Dec., 1948	37*m* 27*f* 35*f* 13*m* 2*f*	5
	Oct., 1949	38*m* 28*f* 35*f* 13*m* 3*f* 24*f* 18*m* 12*m*	8
	Jan., 1950	38*m* 28*f* 14*m* 3*f*	4
G	Dec., 1948	49*f* 15*f* 11*f* 11*f* 7*m*	5
	Oct., 1949	49*f* 15*f* 12*f* 11*f* 7*m*	5
	Jan., 1950	50*f* 16*f* 12*f* 12*f* 8*m*	5
H	Dec., 1948	67*m* 63*f* 27*m* 23*f* 15*f*	5
	Oct., 1949	67*m* 64*f* 27*m* 16*f* 20*m* 23*f*	6
	Jan., 1950	68*m* 64*f* 28*m* 16*f* 20*m* 23*f* 32*f* 3*f* 1*f*	9

These families were selected at random from the villages of Gxulu, Chatha, Mthwaku, Rabula or Burnshill.

Chapter III

TRADE

A.—GENERAL REVIEW OF TRADE AND THE CHANNELS OF TRADE

Before the penetration of Europeans, the Native community in the Keiskammahoek area, in common with all tribal communities in British Kaffraria and the Transkei, subsisted in a largely self-sufficient agrarian economy. Trade as such amounted to no more than local or inter-tribal barter in such things as corn, salt and medicines, with occasional capital transfers resulting from hostile raids and seizure of cattle. White penetration of the Ciskei and Transkei led to the discovery of an overland trading route between Grahamstown and Port Natal (Durban) in 1828, and an increasing number of European traders took waggon loads of goods into Kaffraria. At that time, ivory was the most extensive and valuable raw material produced by the Native territories, although hides and skins were becoming increasingly important.

Frontier friction militated against the success of initial attempts, on the part of the Cape administration, to encourage the barter trade between the Bantu and the white colonists in order to secure from the Native Territories raw materials of value to Britain's increasing industrial activity. Some churches and religious societies developed trade at their mission stations in Kaffraria, the policy being to encourage the Bantu to obtain useful goods, such as spades, iron pots and European clothing, in exchange for hides, skins, horns and other goods. While the missionaries deplored the normal trading practice of bartering beads and buttons for ivory and other products, beads were nevertheless most eagerly sought, and records suggest that the frontier tribes used beads to obtain cattle from tribes further inland.

In the Ciskei, trading stations were permitted only near military forts or missions, until military villages such as Keiskammahoek were established in 1858, when trading was permitted in the villages under stringent regulations. Traders were thus established in the Ciskei before farmers were granted land in the territory. As early as 1836, traders were instructed to discourage the barter system and to

encourage the sale of goods for cash. In recognition of the increasing revenue derived from traders' licences and from customs dues on goods passing through the port of East London destined for the Ciskei, the first constitution of the Cape Government contained provision for the expenditure of £5,000 annually for the benefit of Natives in the frontier districts. Men working on roads, bridges and other European construction projects in and around Kingwilliamstown and East London were paid in cash from 1856 onwards. Public sentiment caused them to wear European clothes, and women hawking eggs and vegetables in the towns were considered dirty, and their wares rejected, unless they dressed like Europeans. Such economic sanctions introduced a new element into tribal life. At the same time, industrial schools were established, where the Bantu could be trained as artisans, an idea in line with the policy of certain missionary societies. After the middle of the nineteenth century an increasing number of young men and women went out to work in the Cape Colony, as domestic servants, apprentices, herds and so forth.

Commercial activity in this area decreased abruptly, after a period of temporary prosperity occasioned largely by Government expenditure and the sale of thousands of hides from cattle slaughtered during the 1857 Cattle-killing. Before the Ciskei and Transkei had fully recovered from this disaster, diamonds were discovered in the northern Cape, and labourers left the area in large numbers to work for diamond diggers. The staple export of ivory disappeared with the annihilation of the elephant. The discovery of gold on the Rand still further deflected prosperity from the Ciskei and Transkei, since lines of overland communication were laid direct from the ports. Moreover, with the replacement of sail by steam, coastal trade developed and the overland route from the Cape to Natal fell into disuse. Thereafter, these areas of the Ciskei and Transkei were left to become progressively overpopulated and overstocked without any corresponding increase in their productivity, until their chief use was as a reservoir of labour for the industries and farms in the more prosperous parts of South Africa.

Today in the Keiskammahoek District, the export of labour balances about half the import trade of the District. How important the remittances from emigrant workers are in maintaining the cash incomes of Reserve families will emerge in later chapters. Of but little less importance in balancing the trade is Government recurring expenditure which, apart from pensions, social welfare and health

services, is mainly on salaries and wages of employees in the Departments of Native Affairs, Forestry and Education. Lastly, and least important in balancing the trade of the District is the limited export of farm produce. The total value of the District's trade and the main items of export and import are suggested in the estimates given on Table 29 of the aggregate cash income and expenditure of the Native population of the District for the year 1949. These estimates[1] are based on a combination of information obtained from a detailed study of the sales of all traders in the District in the year 1947–1948[2] and a budget survey of 260 sample families in 1949.[3]

Not only are the traders the channel through which practically all goods are imported into the District, but it is through them that almost all local produce is exported. Then, also, the trader acts as a middleman, buying local produce for resale on the local domestic market. Fourthly, the trader is the chief source of credit to the Natives in the Reserves. At the same time as the trading station fills so comprehensive a role in the economy of the District, it is also an important social centre in the life of the local community.

In 1948 there were thirty traders in the Keiskammahoek District of whom nine were in the town of Keiskammahoek and twenty-one scattered throughout the District, generally located several miles from one another and often separated by valleys, mountains and forests. The situation of these thirty traders is shown on the map facing page 5. Of these traders, only one was a Native, the other twenty-nine being Europeans.[4] The failure of a larger number of the Bantu people to enter the business of trading is surprising in view of the official encouragement given to them to do so and the widespread opinion

[1]Estimates were supplemented by information about taxation receipts and Government expenditure in the District, and also expenditure by St. Matthew's Anglican Mission.

[2]The principal source from which information was obtained for this survey was from the traders' books. The majority of the traders were most co-operative and helpful in every way; twenty-four of them gave access to their final accounts, from which their income tax returns were compiled; and some devoted considerable time and thought to assisting the field worker, contributing greatly to the value of this study. Estimate had to be made of the sales of the six traders who did not permit inspection of their accounts. But as the estimate in each case was made after very careful enquiry and comparison with the sales of those traders who had made their books available, there is good reason to believe that the estimates are not far from the actual figures. The returns cover the period 1st July, 1947, to 30th June, 1948, in the majority of cases, but eight traders' returns are for the period 1st June, 1947, to 31st May, 1948. No material difference is likely to arise as a result of combining these figures without adjustment and the advantage of using data from the traders' final accounts is obvious.

[3]*Vide* Chapter IV.

[4]Since the time of this survey one additional Native has been installed as lessee of a trading station formerly leased by the Trust to a European.

that large profits are to be made. It is to be attributed, in part, to lack of training for business and to the difficulty of finding sufficient capital and, in part, to the attitude of some wholesalers towards non-European retailers and perhaps also to a conservative attitude of the people in a rural district towards commercial dealings with a member of their own race.

Separated from one another by several miles, the country trading stations would appear, *prima facie*, to present an opportunity of making monopoly gains, but there was little evidence of this and prices generally seemed to be competitive. The reason is probably that any attempt to make monopoly gains[1] is frustrated by the readiness of people to walk considerable distances to buy elsewhere. The volume of business done varies greatly from trading station to trading station, as the classification of traders by the volume of their annual sales in Table 30 indicates. One-third of the traders have turnovers of £6,000 or more and the aggregate trade of these ten traders forms nearly 60 per cent. of the total trade. One-third of the traders have turnovers of less than £3,000, their aggregate trade being only 13 per cent. of the total. The difference in the volume of business done may be attributed partly to the location of the trading station and the density of population in its area ; partly to the quantity and variety of the stock carried ; and, perhaps the most important, to the personality of the trader, whether his manner is pleasant and whether he has a reputation for fair dealing.

The aggregate annual sales of the thirty traders, as shown in their trading accounts for the year 1947-48, was found to be £171,063. Much the larger part of this sum represented the sale of goods imported into the District, only a small fraction being re-sale of local produce. The figure of £171,063 represents sales to all races : deducting sales to Europeans and Coloureds, estimated at £31,978,[2] and goods for the traders' own use, valued at £2,262, aggregate sales to the Native population of the District during the year amounted to £136,823. The analyses of commodity demand and trade fluctuations

[1]Objective investigation confirms Professor W. H. MacMillan's finding of 20 years ago, that " there is no evidence whatever that large fortunes are often made by native trade " (*Complex South Africa*, Faber and Faber, 1930). The profit and loss accounts of twenty traders were studied and in 13 cases the gross profit was under 20%, in six it was between 20% and 30%, and in only one case was it above 30%.

[2]The European and Coloured population of the District is concentrated in the town of Keiskammahoek. Sales to non-Natives are therefore significant only in the case of the nine traders in the town. These traders were asked to estimate the volume of their trade with Europeans and Coloureds, and the result was a total of £31,978.

which follow in the succeeding sections will be confined to this Native trade. Before entering into this detailed discussion, however, the principal functions performed by the traders will be considered in greater detail.

The amount of £136,823 represents fairly accurately the total purchases by the Native population of the District through recognised trade channels. It does not include purchases from mail order houses in the larger towns, but the volume of such purchases is unlikely to be of any significant size. Nor does it include purchases by Natives of the District from trading stations in neighbouring districts but these may be offset against purchases within the District by non-residents ; such inter-district trade is only significant on the southern boundary of the Keiskammahoek District. Most of the goods bought from the trading stations come from outside the District. All clothing, manufactured articles and agricultural implements, and many items of food are always imported, and, except in years of exceptionally good harvests, a large quantity of such staple foods as maize and kaffircorn is normally derived from outside. The trader is virtually the only channel through which these goods are imported and this represents his principal function in the economy of the District. Of the £136,823 purchased it is estimated that at least £133,000 was spent on imported goods.

As channel for disposal of local produce, the trader performs two important functions as exporter of District produce or as middleman in the domestic market. Most traders deal in local products to some extent but there are great differences in the dealings between one trader and another: those in the town of Keiskammahoek buy less produce than country traders. A study of the eleven traders who kept separate local produce accounts, revealed total purchases of approximately £3,500 for the year 1947–48. It is estimated that the total value of local produce sold to the traders of the District in that year did not exceed £8,000. Local produce, including both that bought by the traders for export and that bought for resale locally, is of considerable variety. It comprises major items such as wool, hides and skins and less important items such as maize, kaffircorn, wheat, birdseed, peas, beans, eggs, fowls, green vegetables, and such handicrafts as brooms, brushes, baskets and pipes. Local produce sold to the traders falls into two main classes: those goods the whole, or major portion of which are normally sold for cash; and those which are habitually consumed in the home and of which only

a surplus is sold. In general, it is the former goods which are exported and the latter which are resold by the trader, acting as middleman, to local customers.

Goods in the category constituting exports are wool, hides and skins, and birdseed, of which wool is the most important. It is estimated that the value of wool sold to traders in the year 1947–48 was £3,750 but the increase in price since then has raised the importance of this commodity. Sales of hides and skins fluctuate greatly, rising in years of drought when stock mortality is high. Birdseed, though not extensively grown, fetches a high price and is a useful cash crop. Most traders used to deal in livestock; the lack of regular stock markets placed the traders in the strong position of being able to pay a poor price for stock which, when fattened, would be sold at a handsome profit. Such stock speculation has, however, been considerably reduced by Keiskammahoek having recently been proclaimed a Betterment Area, for a limit is imposed on the number of stock that may be grazed in the area and the movement of stock is restricted.

Most important goods in the second category are maize and kaffircorn, with peas and beans of subsidiary importance. Offers of maize and kaffircorn vary greatly with the season. One trader stated that his annual purchases over the last ten years had varied from as much as 500 bags to as few as four and five bags in a season. The District is not self-supporting in food and in most years maize and kaffircorn are imported in considerable quantity, so that it is only in years of abundant harvests that these are offered for sale in any quantity. Even in bad seasons when maize is being extensively imported some maize is offered for sale to the traders. In some such cases the trader is acting as a middleman, buying the surplus of one family and selling it to another. However, it often happens that families, who have no real surplus to dispose of, sell small quantities of maize even though it means that they will have to buy maize back from the trader later in the year; the reasons for this are the lack of adequate storage for their produce in most villages, and the fact that ready cash must sometimes be raised for some urgent need.

The charge that there is a lack of effective channels for the disposal of local produce has more substance to it than the occasional complaint that the traders are profiteering. It should be noted, however, that the peasant farmer sells in very small quantities, that the total saleable output of the District is not great, and that it fluc-

A Trading Station

tuates violently from season to season. These facts make the setting up of marketing organizations expensive and unlikely to be justified under the present circumstances. The traders undertake this business as a side line to their principal function of selling imported goods. The only other organized channels for the sale of produce are occasional small produce markets held in some villages under the auspices of the Department of Native Affairs. No produce for export is sold there. Except for the market at Mthwaku, moreover, such produce markets are held in less than half-a-dozen villages on barely a score of days during the whole year. Even at the weekly market, conducted in Mthwaku by the Agricultural Demonstrator, total turnover for the year 1947–48 from the sale of meat, vegetables and produce amounted to only £241.[1]

In addition to his commercial functions as the principal channel for import and export and his role as middleman in domestic trade, the typical trader plays an important part in providing almost the only credit facilities for the people of the Native Reserves. In so doing, his motives appear to be partly humanitarian and partly business: a trusted customer, when his savings from a period of work in urban centres are exhausted, is granted credit to tide him over until he goes out to work again, and this practice undoubtedly promotes the trader's business; in times of drought and crop failure, the granting of credit may be motivated by a desire to assist people who otherwise would starve, but a reputation for benevolent treatment of his customers will undoubtedly attract custom when times improve. Although the payment of a debt may sometimes be deferred for several years, the general consensus seems to be that there are few bad debts. At one time, the granting of credit was fairly extensive, though it varied from year to year, being generally more liberal in bad harvests. The practice of granting credit is nevertheless unpopular with some of the traders, especially those with small capital, and the traders of the Keiskammahoek District recently decided by majority vote that they would grant no more credit to Natives. Despite this agreement,

[1] In some years, the total turnover from all markets held in the District is barely half as much. The following are the official records of annual sales at these markets during the preceding five years.

	Markets	*Annual turnover*
1946–47	Mthwaku, Gxulu, Rabula	£287 12 10
1945–46	Mthwaku, Gxulu, Rabula, Zanyokwe	£124 19 4
1944–45	Mthwaku, Mnyameni, Mbem's, Zanyokwe	£244 14 1
1943–44	Mthwaku, Mnyameni, Mbem's, Zanyokwe	£266 10 7
1942–43	Mthwaku, Mnyameni, Mbem's	£148 12 6

there is reason to believe that credit is still being given by the majority of traders, particularly after the almost complete failure of the 1949 harvest. However, those who are doing so are reluctant to admit the fact or to give information about it.[1] Some indication of the volume of credit extended was obtained from the family budget survey, for the sample families were found to have an average indebtedness of £2 5s. 6d. per family, which would make the debts of the District as a whole about £7,000. Practically the whole of these debts were owed to traders.

The country trading station, in addition to being of great economic importance is also of importance as a social centre. At every trading station there is generally to be found a group of people standing or sitting about gossiping and exchanging news. It is here that many of the villagers come to collect their mail, to post letters, to purchase imported goods and to sell their own produce. For many of them, the trader is the only European with whom they come into intimate contact, and the trading station, together with the church and village school are their main links with world cultural influences. Men and women, young and old, all pay frequent visits to the trading station.

The following is a typical scene. Two elderly women are examining some print material suitable for a new dress. A young man, recently returned from the mines comes in with a girl friend and buys her a present of threepence worth of sugar which they eat together out of their hands. A small girl comes in with two fowls on her head. She waits quietly till the trader asks her what she wants. With hardly a word spoken, the trader takes the fowls and weighs them and gives the girl the money. She starts buying with what she finds in her hand. Suppose it to be three shillings. She first asks for 1/– worth of mealies. The trader weighs the mealies and puts them into a container provided by the girl, and returns her change. Next she orders 3d. sugar, 3d. coffee and 3d. tea. The trader puts the three packages on the counter and hands over her change. She now looks at the money she has left and produces a bottle for 1d. worth of paraffin. Again she is given change and the trader asks if she has finished. This question solicits the next order, 1d. chewing tobacco and 1d. matches. At this stage

[1] Three traders volunteered the information that the debts outstanding in their debtors' ledgers were :—

Trader " d "	£1,016
Trader " e "	£436
Trader " k "	£337

she finds that she has 1/– left. Her next order is for 6d. flour and 2d. salt. She ties the salt in the corner of the cloth in which she has already tied the flour. She still has 4d. left and orders another 3d. sugar and with the remaining 1d. buys sweets for herself. She answers " Yes " to the trader's " Have you finished ? " and he gives her a few " colonial " sweets as a *basela* and she departs home with her purchases.

TABLE 29

ESTIMATE OF AGGREGATE CASH INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE NATIVE POPULATION OF THE KEISKAMMAHOEK DISTRICT FOR THE YEAR 1949

EXPENDITURE	£		INCOME	£	
(1) Goods purchased from traders (mostly imported goods)	*137,000*	(93·0%)	(1) Sale of local produce to traders (chiefly wool, hides, skins and birdseed)	*8,000*	(5·4%)
(*a*) Food 85,000 (57·8%)			(2) Salaries and wages from Government employment within the District, pensions and relief works	43,933	(29·9%)
(*b*) Clothing 31,000 (21·1%)			Native Affairs Department 7,730		
(*c*) Household goods 6,000 (4·0%)			Trust Development 3,729		
(*d*) Other goods 15,000 (10·1%)			Education Department 19,731		
137,000 (93·0%)			Forestry Department 4,952		
			Pensions 5,522		
			Relief work 2,269		
			43,933		
(2) Doctors' fees, school fees, church contributions, litigation, travel	*4,000*	(2·7%)			
(3) Taxation (paid within the District)	1,300	(0·9%)	(3) Wages and salaries from employment at Fort Cox and St. Matthew's	12,331	(8·3%)
(4) Purchases of stock, produce and other goods from Natives of the District. (See contra entry)	*5,000*	(3·4%)	(4) Wages from private employment by Europeans in the District	*5,400*	(3·6%)
			(5) Sale of produce, stock, etc., to other Natives of the District. (See contra entry)	*5,000*	(3·4%)
			(6) Remittances from emigrant workers (including sums brought home by those returning)	*72,636*	(49·4%)
Total expenditure	147,300	(100%)	Total income	147,300	(100%)

N.B.—Figures printed in italics are estimates.

EXPENDITURE

Notes :—

(1) The total figure is the same as that for purchases from traders in the previous year, but as a result of drought, food purchases are higher and other items lower. The family budget survey of 1949 shows an expenditure as follows:—Food, 57·6%; Clothing 13·5%; Household requisites, 8·4%; All other expenditure, 20·5%. In 1947–48, proportionate purchases of goods from traders were:—Food, 48·2%; Clothing, 29·6%. Household and other goods, 15·2%. (Total 93%).

(2) Estimated from family budgets.

(3) Supplied by Department of Native Affairs.

(4) A rough estimate little better than a guess.

INCOME

(1) This estimate is the same as the sale of produce to traders in the previous year. Although the drought may have reduced agricultural produce this is compensated for by the higher price of wool and the increased sales of hides and skins of animals that died in the drought.

(2) Figures kindly supplied by the Departments concerned. Education Department salaries are inclusive of the Native teaching staffs at St. Matthew's and the town of Keiskammahoek.

(3) Figures kindly supplied by the authorities of these two institutions.

(4) Estimate based on 225 × £24 p.a.

(5) See note (4) opposite.

(6) This is a residual item, income not otherwise accounted for being assumed to come from this source. This figure tallies fairly well with the findings of the family budget survey : viz., quotation from Chapter IV, Section B.

> "For the sample as a whole, extra-Reserve earnings are recorded as being 35·5% of the total cash income, but there is reason to believe that in 1949 they actually constituted nearer one-half than one-third of the total cash income."

TABLE 30

CLASSIFICATION OF TRADERS BY VOLUME OF ANNUAL SALES

Sales per annum £1,000	No. of Traders	Total sales £	Average sales for group £
0–1	3	1,764	588
1–2	2	3,220	1,610
2–3	5	12,615	2,523
3–4	6	21,663	3,610
4–5	4	18,374	4,593
5–6	—	—	—
6–7	4	25,674	6,418
7–8	3	22,895	7,632
8–9	1	8,451	8,451
9–10	—	—	—
Over 10	2	22,167	11,083
Totals	30	136,823	4,561

B.—COMMODITY DEMAND

Since the overwhelming majority of the purchases by Natives in the Reserves are made through the trading stations, an analysis of the proportions in which different commodities are sold by them will give an approximately accurate picture of the commodity demand of the District. Few traders keep accounts which lend themselves to an analysis of this kind, and the classification of sales into different commodity groupings is confined to three traders only.[1] However, these three may be regarded as representative of the traders as a whole : except for the statistically immaterial fact that none of them conducts a butchery business, there is no reason for regarding any of the three as atypical ; all trading stations in fact are remarkably similar in the lines of goods they carry. The business of all three traders is almost wholly with Natives ; one is in the town of Keiskammahoek and two are out in the country ; all three are substantial, well-established businesses. Together they handle nearly one-fifth of the District's trade.

The classification of commodities purchased at these three stations is in accordance with a set of recognised commodity groupings, based upon the groups used in the Census of Distribution and Service Establishments,[2] and the analysis is of sales during the year 1947–48. Traders' profits are excluded, commodities being valued at cost. The result of this analysis is shown on Table 31 for each trader separately and for the total of the three. Save for the three groups *Produce*, *Tobacco* and *Building Materials*, all the commodities are imported into the District ; even in these three groups the proportion of locally-produced goods is small. The group *Produce* includes maize, mealie

[1]Although eight trading stations were selected for this study, adequate information was found to be available in only three cases. Even in these three, insufficient records made a classification of commodity sales impossible by means of a direct attack. No invoices are given for cash sales, which form the bulk of the sales, and even credit sales seldom indicate the type of goods. An indirect method of classifying sales into commodity groups had to be used, based on the formula :

$$(Sb + P + Ti) - (To + Se) = C$$

where Sb = the stock at the beginning of the year as obtained from the stock lists for each group of commodities.
P = purchases during the year as obtained from invoices.
Ti = transfers in
To = transfers out
transfers in and out of the business to branch stores or other closely affiliated stores were obtained from detailed records of these transactions.
Se = stock on hand at the end of the year, as obtained from stock lists.
C = value of the commodity sold during the year, at cost price.

[2]The sequence of commodity groupings is re-arranged, and the group titles amplified ; but in every other particular they conform to the groupings as given in the 1946–47 Census.

meal, samp, wheat, meal, flour, kaffircorn, dry peas and beans. Of these foodstuffs, wheat, meal, flour, samp are invariably imported, and in most years some proportion also of the maize products and kaffircorn. A very small quantity of locally-grown tobacco and of local timber is included in the other two groups.

It will be noted that the first five groups of commodities are the only ones comprising individually anything more than 2% of total purchases and that together they account for 89·85% of the total. There is a high concentration in the first three groups, *Produce*, *Clothing* and *Groceries*, commodities which are the necessaries of life since *Produce* and *Groceries* are almost wholly food for human consumption. Together these three groups constitute 83·69% of the total purchases from the three traders:—

	Food and clothing as a percentage of total purchases.
Trader "A" (country) ..	82·99
Trader " B " (country) ..	88·00
Trader " C " (town) ..	78·65
Total	83·69

It will be noted that purchases from the town trader are less concentrated than those from the country traders. The villagers rely on their local trader for their day-to-day requirements but, when they go to town, where the stores carry a greater range of goods, they buy things which are not obtainable in the country stores.

The commodity demand from these three traders reveals that half is food, and one-third clothing, mostly of the cheapest kind. The remaining one-sixth is by no means " luxury " demand, for even the most austere would not regard such articles as pots, pans, soap and salt as luxuries. It would probably be correct to regard 85% to 90% of the expenditure of a family at the trading stations as being spent upon basic necessaries of life.

In Table 32, an attempt is made to show the value of the commodity demand of the District as a whole, by dividing the 1947–48 total sales of the thirty traders in the proportions obtained from the three sample traders. Of the £137,000 worth of purchases at the trading stations that year, £71,100 was spent on food, £43,600 on clothing, and these two items together with other basic necessaries of life accounted for purchases of £120,000. The remaining £17,000,

averaging less than £1 per head of the population, covered all purchases of such things as tobacco, farm implements, books, patent medicines, building materials, musical instruments and trinkets.

These figures, although they illustrate the pattern of consumer demand in the District, relate only to purchases through the trading stations and omit purchases from other sources as well as expenditure on such things as medical attention, taxes, church contributions and school fees. Figures for such expenditure are generally not available, but some idea of their proportion to total expenditure was obtained from the family budget survey. The resultant estimates are included on Table 29.

TABLE 31

Commodity Demand from Traders

(Based upon sales at cost price in 1947–48 of three traders. Sales of goods in each commodity group, expressed as a percentage of the total sales of each trader, and as a percentage of total aggregate sales of all three).

Commodity Group	Country Traders		Town Trader "C"	Aggregate
	Trader "A"	Trader "B"		
Produce	37·26	33·71	24·90	32·69
Clothing	26·75	32·33	38·20	31·83
Food—Groceries	18·98	21·96	15·55	19·17
Tobacco	5·01	1·30	4·28	3·45
Washing materials	3·06	2·83	2·04	2·71
Furniture and household appliances	1·99	1·65	2·38	1·94
Fuel and lubricants, paraffin	·76	·20	4·86	1·64
Medicines and toilet requisites	1·67	1·22	1·62	1·49
Machinery and farm implements	1·78	1·09	1·30	1·40
Building materials	·43	1·05	1·02	·81
Packing materials, bags, bottles	·71	·90	·66	·77
Books and stationery	·57	·35	·53	·48
Vehicles, wagons, bicycles, harness	·17	·36	·41	·30
Salt, chemicals and fertilisers	·27	·41	·17	·30
Metals and wire	·05	·02	·83	·25
Liquor and beverages	·31	·24	·14	·24
Musical and sports goods	·04	·18	·44	·20
Jewellery, beads and trinkets	·01	·10	·51	·18
Scientific supplies, optical, photographic	·18	·10	·16	·15
Animals	—	—	—	—
Totals	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00

Following is a more detailed description of the items in each of the first six groups :—

Produce. The chief items are maize, mealie meal, wheat meal, flour, kaffircorn, dry peas and beans. Flour, mealies, mealie meal, samp and kaffircorn formed 89% of Trader "B" 's stock in this group at the end of the year.

Food. Groceries, including tinned meats, fruits and fish ; tea, coffee, sugar, sweets (mainly of the cheap variety) are the main goods in this class. The most important are tea, coffee, sugar. These formed 66% of the stocks of goods in this group in Trader "B" 's stock list at the end of the year.

Clothing, textiles and furnishings. The most important items in the group are :— Men's clothing—trousers, shirts, jackets and jerseys ; women's clothing—vests, dresses, bloomers and stockings ; materials—dress materials, blankets, rugs and shawls ; boots and shoes.

Most of these goods are of the cheap type. Some expensive materials are stocked which are in demand for weddings.

Tobacco. Loose tobacco, cigarettes and matches form the bulk of this group of which loose tobacco of the strong kind is the main item.

Washing and disinfecting materials. Soaps, dips and insect sprays.

Furniture and household appliances. The chief items are pots, pans, crockery, cutlery, paraffin lamps. Very little furniture is sold except utility type iron bedsteads on which coir mattresses are used.

TABLE 32

Classification of Commodity Purchases

(Based on total traders' sales and proportions derived from analysis of sales of three traders)

Commodity Group	Purchases during 1947–48
	£
Produce	44,800
Clothing	43,600
Food—Groceries	26,300
Tobacco	4,700
Washing materials	3,700
Furniture and household appliances	2,700
Fuel and lubricants, paraffin	2,300
Medicines and toilet requisites	2,100
Machinery, farm implements	1,900
Building materials	1,100
Packing materials, bags, bottles	1,000
Books and stationery	650
Vehicles, wagons, bicycles, harness	400
Salt, chemicals and fertilisers	400
Metals and wire	350
Liquor and beverages	300
Musical and sports goods	250
Jewellery, beads, trinkets	250
Scientific supplies, optical, photographic supplies	200
Total	137,000

C.—Fluctuations in Trade

The principal determinant of the volume of trade is the size of the cash income of the population. The propensity to consume would appear to be very high since most expenditure is on necessaries; therefore, as long as there is money to spend, even a general rise of prices will have little effect in contracting demand. The Native is a discriminating purchaser and if one commodity rises in price he will switch to others, and if one trader raises his prices he will walk miles to purchase elsewhere. A general rise in prices or a crop failure in the District cannot, however, be circumvented in either of these ways and an attempt has to be made to increase the cash income. As shown on Table 29 cash incomes are derived from three main sources. Income from employment within the District is fairly constant, being derived largely from Government employment. More elastic are the earnings of exported labour and the margins are relatively wide, both for the numbers of workers emigrating, and the proportion of their earnings sent home to help maintain their families. Cash incomes from farming, while certainly elastic, are less subject to control: in the short term they fluctuate with good and bad seasons; in the longer term they are affected by improvement or deterioration of cultivation and husbandry.

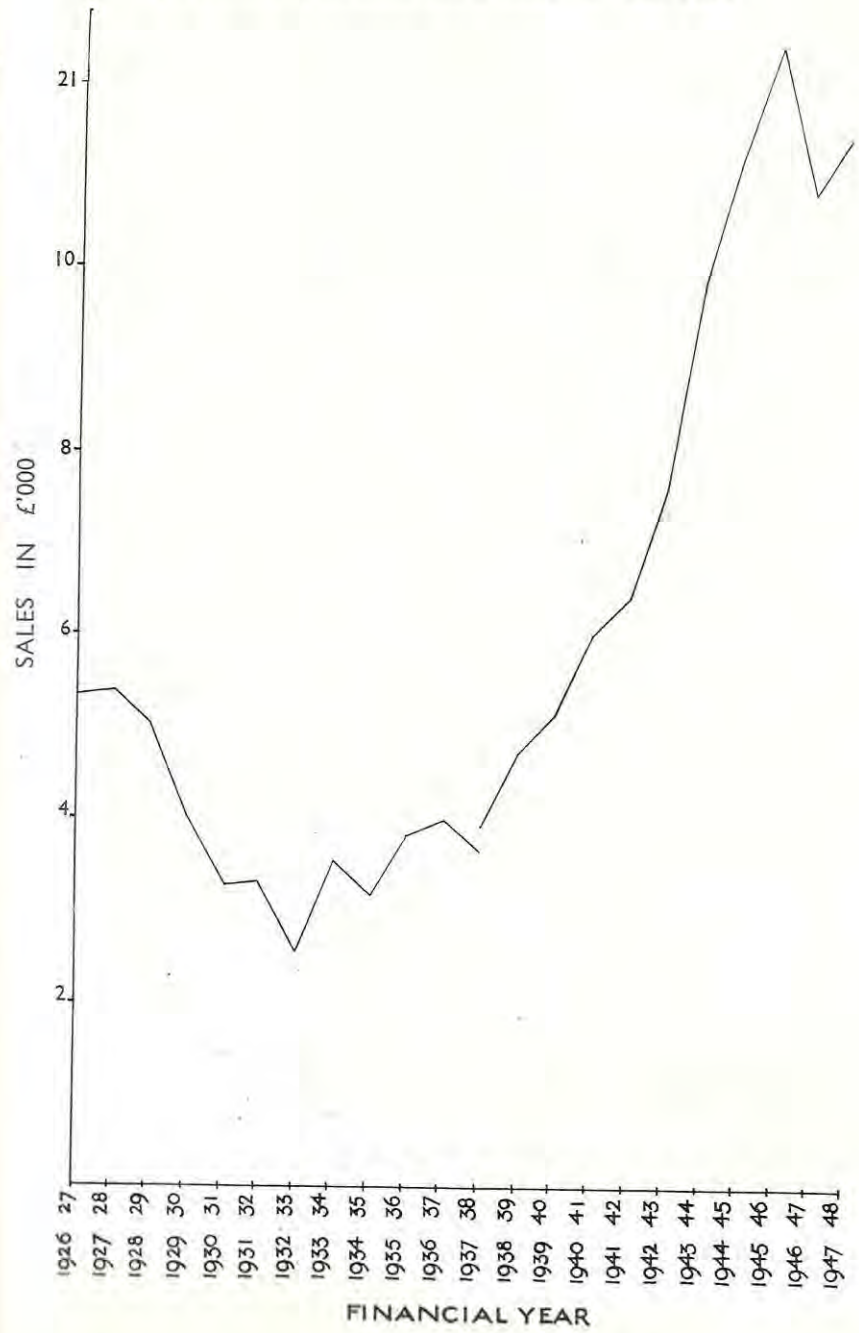
On subjective reasoning alone, one would expect the two latter sources of income to be mutually exclusive: if men and women leave the District to work, they cannot devote the labour necessary to increasing the long term productivity of their land; if they remain at home to improve production, they forego the income from more remunerative employment in the cities. Objective analysis and careful study of the economy confirms this reasoning, and has led to the conclusion that, as income from the export of labour has increased of recent years, so the productivity of the District as an agricultural area has declined; similarly in the short term, seasons of bad harvest result in an additional efflux of migrant workers.

Long term trends and seasonal fluctuations in total cash income of the Natives of the District can, by reason of its close approximation to total expenditure, be drawn from an analysis of expenditure on purchases from the traders. As an indication of the long term trend of cash incomes, the annual sales of Trader " Z " since 1926 are shown

FIGURE 3

Long-term Trend in Cash Income

(As measured by the annual sales of Trader " Z " 1926–1948).



graphically on Figure 3.[1] Although he is only one of thirty, he is nevertheless one of the larger traders, handling nearly one-twelfth of the District's trading, and his experience in fluctuating sales is probably fairly typical of all traders in the District. The falling-off of sales during the depression of 1929–33 and the rapid increase since 1939 have undoubtedly been experienced by the great majority, and the peak year of 1945–46 is a verified general experience.

From sales figures which were made available by varying numbers of traders, an estimate has been possible of total annual purchases from the traders since 1940.[2] This is shown on Table 33. Considerable rise in prices during the period would account in some measure for the increase in the value of aggregate purchases. Consequently, the price factor has been abstracted on the basis of the Retail Food Price Index, and an index of the estimated volume of real trade is shown in the same Table. As the Price Index rose by only 48·3% between 1940 and 1947, while purchases increased by 169·8%, the volume of real trade is seen to have expanded by nearly 82%. Increase of population during this period was so immaterial as to be discounted as a cause of expanding purchases. The reason must be sought in an expanding purchasing power of the virtually static population.

At first sight, this might suggest rising prosperity. However, the peak year of purchases, 1945–46, evident in all available accounts of traders' sales and in the index of real trade, is to be attributed primarily to the severe drought that year, although it may also have been somewhat affected by the discharge of men from the Army. With drought in the land, but with money from the Army and money sent home

[1]Figures for the years 1926 to 1937 are the sum of the trader's cash and credit sales; those for the years 1937 to 1948 are taken from the final accounts rendered for income tax purposes. Hence the two figures for 1937-38.

[2]Unfortunately, the majority of traders were unable to supply figures for sales in former years. The following numbers of traders were able to supply final accounts.

19	Traders	1946–47 Accounts
11	,, ...	1945–46 ,,
5	,, ...	1944–45 ,,
5	,, ...	1943–44 ,,
4	,, ...	1942–43 ,,
3	,, ...	1941–42 ,,
2	,, ...	1940–41 ,,

The estimates for 1946–47 and 1945–46 are probably fairly reliable, but the estimates become progressively less accurate in each preceding year. In addition to the available data being admittedly unsubstantial, the following assumptions were made, which become progressively worse founded with the lengthening of the period prior to the base year, 1947–48 :—

(*a*) that each of the 30 traders' share of the total trade was always the same ;

(*b*) that the proportion of Native trade to total sales to all races was always the same.

to their distressed families by emigrant workers, the population was able in some measure to make good the deficiency in local production by purchasing additional supplies of food from the traders. This observation from the peak year of purchases points to the general conclusion which has been reached in regard to the progressively expanding volume of purchases in recent years, that it is indeed the result of larger cash incomes, derived in the main from the earnings of emigrant workers, but that it is at the same time a reflection of the progressive impoverishment of the District as an agricultural area. Food which formerly was grown on the land has now to be imported, and the money to pay for it is obtained from increasing the export of labour.

It seems probable, however, that in explaining the increase in cash incomes in recent years, rather greater importance should be attached to an increase in earnings than to a larger number of emigrant workers. Higher earnings are the result of higher wages generally, and partly of a switch from employment in mining to manufacturing industry, where remuneration is higher. However, the numbers of emigrant workers certainly fluctuate seasonally with agricultural conditions, more going away after years of bad harvest than after years of good, as the figures of workers forwarded to the Rand gold mines by the Native Recruiting Corporation confirm.[1] Proportionately to the whole number of workers forwarded by the Recruiting Corporation to the gold mines in any one year, a much greater concentration leaves in the January and February following a summer crop failure, than leaves after a year of good or fair harvest. Thus, the annual exports of labour are in inverse trend to crop production.

Sales of farm produce to the traders fluctuate directly with good and bad seasons. Sales of hides and skins increase in bad seasons, as a

[1]Workers forwarded to the gold mines by the Native Recruiting Corporation during the past 30 years averaged approximately one-fourth of total male workers who emigrated from the District. Recruiting Corporation figures for the years 1921–1950 show that, of total recruits forwarded in any one year, the largest departures of workers are always in the first and third quarters of the year. Of average annual recruits during the years 1921–1950, the following were the proportions of workers who emigrated in each quarter:—

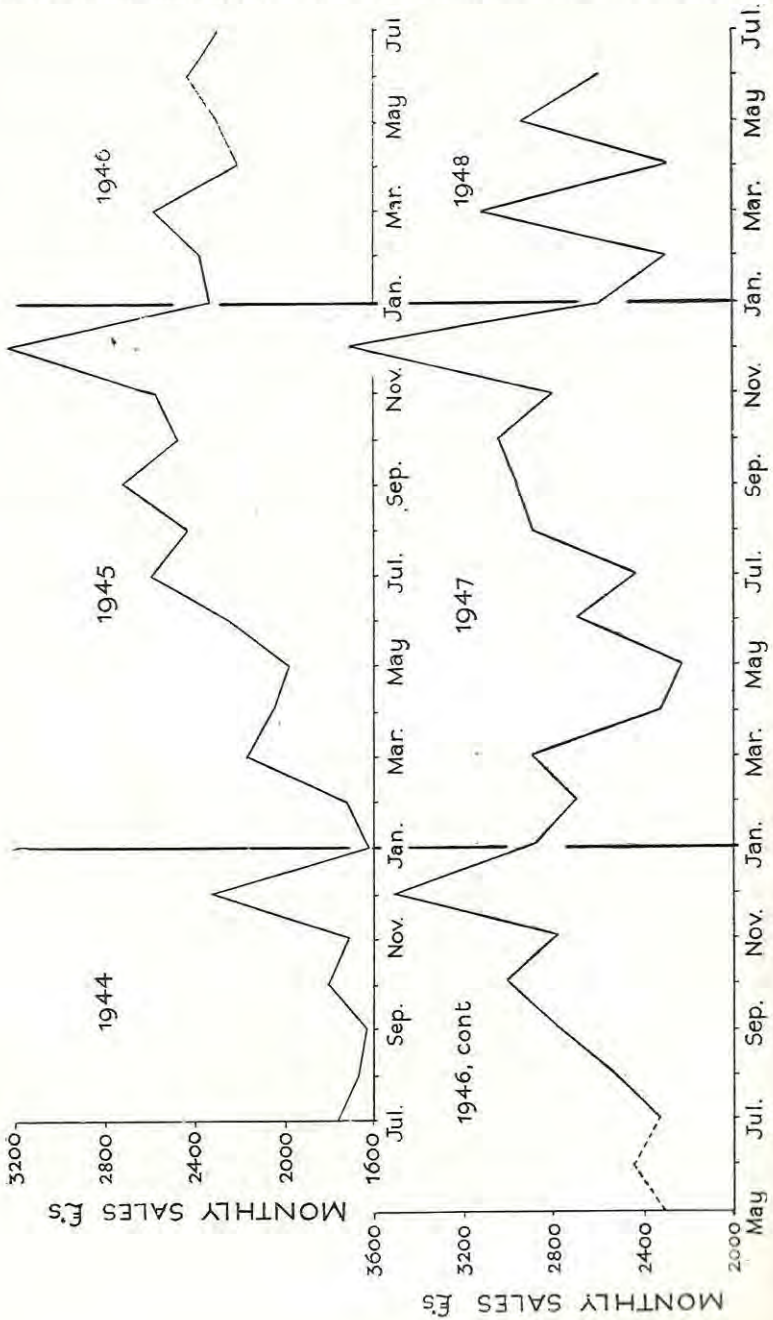
Jan.–Mar. ..	.. 30·5%
Apr.–June ..	.. 20·8%
July–Sept. ..	.. 30·5%
Oct.–Dec. ..	.. 18·2%
	100·0%

The average proportion of annual recruits who emigrated in the months of January–February was 23·5 per cent. After bad crop seasons the proportions who emi-

FIGURE 4

MONTHLY FLUCTUATIONS IN PURCHASES FROM TRADERS

(Based on the total monthly sales of four traders—two town and two country).



result of the death of animals. The staple products of the District are, however, maize and kaffircorn and the position with regard to these is somewhat complicated. It would seem to be the case that either exceptionally good harvests or exceptionally bad harvests tend to increase total purchases from the traders. The reason for this is that in a normal season the harvest of maize and kaffircorn is consumed by the population. In exceptionally good seasons there is a surplus among some families over and above their domestic requirements, which is sold to the traders for cash. This increase in cash income leads to larger purchases of clothing, blankets or semi-luxury foods such as tea, coffee or sugar. In bad seasons, when the yield is insufficient for domestic needs, the people supplement their inadequate crops by buying food from the traders. There were no really good harvests for several years prior to 1950 and traders reported that they had bought scarcely any maize since 1943.

In addition to the fluctuations from year to year in purchases from the traders, there are also marked seasonal variations within the year. The total monthly purchases from four trading stations over the years 1944 to 1948 are shown on Figure 4. The trends and variations are very similar in each year. Most significant is the rising trend in purchases during the second half of the year, from midwinter through to December. This is attributable to the fact that the grain harvested the previous autumn has been consumed, and is a clear reflection of the peoples' need for food. In the late summer and autumn the availability of the new crop makes possible a slackening

grate the following January and February are greater than after fair or good harvests, as the following proportions of total recruits in each year show :—

Years of drought, crop failure or bad harvest	Years of fair or good harvest	Recruits emigrating the following Jan.–Feb. as percentage of total annual recruits	
		Recruits % of annual total	Year
1940		35·8	1941
1941		32·7	1942
	1942	16·0	1943
	1943	19·8	1944
	1944	22·2	1945
1945		25·2	1946
1946		26·4	1947
	1947	19·1	1948
	1948	13·8	1949
1949		31·3	1950

off in food purchases from traders. Apart from this seasonal trend there are three marked seasonal peaks. Two are associated with the export of wool, one occurring when the sheep are shorn in March, and the other after the shearing in October. Associated with the return of emigrant workers is the most pronounced seasonal peak of the year, around Christmas,[1] a time of general festivities.

In Figure 5, the monthly purchases from traders, averaged over the four years, are shown separately for the two town and the two country stations in the sample. It will be noted that the rise of sales in October is more marked in the country stores than in the town. The reason for this is that the proceeds from the October wool clip are mainly spent on food purchased from the local country trader. In autumn, when home grown food is more plentiful, the proceeds from the March clip can be devoted, in part at any rate, to the purchase of clothing and blankets for the coming winter—for these items, many people would journey to town because of the wider selection there than at their local country trading station.

Remembering the close correlation between the income of the people and their purchases from traders, the various trends can be broadly reviewed. The depression during 1929–33 was followed by intermittent recovery during the next six years and a sharp increase since 1939, the peak year being in 1945–46, immediately after the War. Since 1940 the value of purchases has nearly tripled, due in the main to the increasing value of exported labour. Although rising prices have resulted in increasing value of agricultural produce, and the prevailing high price of wool will certainly have greatly increased the value of this export, there has nevertheless been a progressive long-term decline in the volume of food production in the District. From year to year sales of farm produce fluctuate with good and bad seasons, and for several years prior to 1950 the food harvests were generally bad, the worst drought years being 1949, 1946 and 1945. Exports of hides and skins increase in drought years and exports of labour fluctuate from year to year in inverse trend to crop production. Within the year, the rising trend in food requirements during the winter is met either by mounting indebtness to the traders or by increasing the export of labour.

[1]It is interesting to note that the festivities of Christmas and New Year, of European introduction, are associated with the most marked rise in spending in the whole year.

FIGURE 5

MONTHLY FLUCTUATIONS IN PURCHASES FROM TOWN AND COUNTRY TRADERS

(Based on average sales for each month over the years 1944–1948 of two town and two country trading stations).

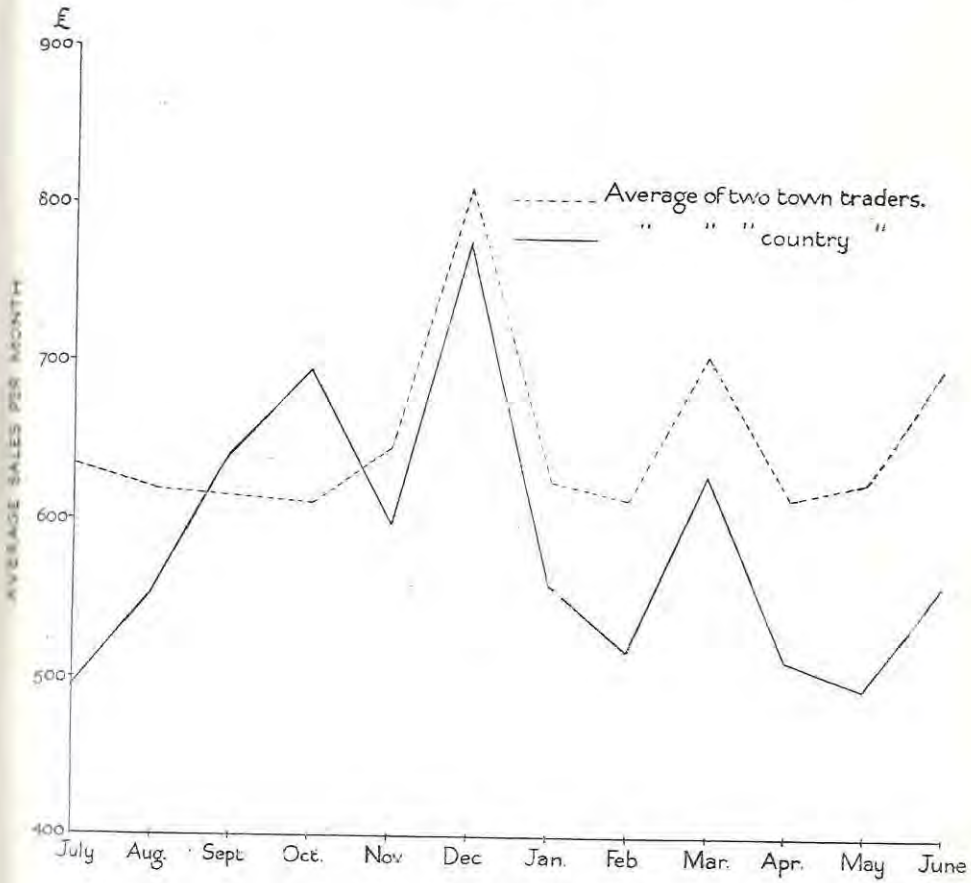


TABLE 33

ESTIMATED ANNUAL PURCHASES FROM TRADERS

1940–1948

(Based on sales of a limited number of traders)

Year	Total purchases	Purchases per head of Native population	Index of the Volume of goods purchased
	£	£	
1940–41	50,700	2·98	1,000
1941–42	57,700	3·38	1,040
1942–43	66,500	3·88	1,109
1943–44	95,400	5·56	1,465
1944–45	103,600	6·02	1,524
1945–46	132,500	7·68	1,902
1946–47	128,900	7·46	1,807
1947–48	136,800	7·90	1,819

The Index is based on estimated annual purchases, adjusted for rise in prices on the basis of the official Union Retail Price Index for Food.

Chapter IV

STANDARDS OF LIVING

A.—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF SAMPLE FAMILIES

The material for this chapter was obtained from a survey of the actual income and expenditure of 260 families.[1] The following five villages were selected, in order to cover as adequately as possible the different types of climate, of pasture, and of land tenure in the District:

Chatha
Burnshill
Rabula
Mthwaku
Gxulu.

The position of these locations in relation to the District as a whole can be seen on the map facing page 5. The population of the 260 families is 1,506, or an average of 5·8 persons per family.[2] The family unit is not the elementary family but the domestic family—the household, kraal or *umzi*—which forms the normal economic unit. It consists of those people who usually eat together and who do their housekeeping in common.[3]

Field work commenced in November, 1948, when the selected families were visited, confidence established and initial data about the

[1]The general level of education of the people was such that they could not be expected to fill in questionnaire forms and the method adopted for the collection of data was that of weekly visits to each family by field workers who entered the information on previously prepared forms. There were five field workers, all of whom were Xhosa-speaking: three were trained health visitors, kindly seconded for this survey by the Department of Health; the fourth was a retired agricultural demonstrator, formerly on the staff of Fort Cox; the fifth was a local resident with a wide knowledge of the District. One field worker was sent to each of the five selected villages and in each a random sample was obtained by taking each fifth homestead. A minimum of 50 homesteads was taken in each village. This gave a sample for the five villages taken together of approximately one in five. Initially the sample consisted of 285 families but, owing to death, departure from the village, or refusal to co-operate, some of these had to be abandoned and the final sample was reduced to 260.

[2]The number of persons in a family is taken as being the average of the number at the beginning and the number at the end of the year. *Vide* Table 25. Analysis of family *incomes* in this chapter excludes the families in Gxulu and pertains therefore to 213 families only, with a total population of 1,286 or an average of 6 persons per family.

[3]For definition of the family *vide* Chapter II, Section E.

families obtained. The collection of income and expenditure data proper commenced on 1st January, 1949, and covered the whole period to December 31st of the same year. Each family was visited once a week, and asked to state all income received from all sources by members of the family and all expenditure by members of the family during the preceding week.

Although considerable thought and care were expended upon this survey, no claim is made that the results obtained possess a high degree of accuracy : though the field workers were, in general, conscientious and diligent, they were not highly skilled in their job ; most of the families visited were friendly and co-operative, but many were reticent about disclosing their incomes ; moreover, the majority were busy people who begrudged the time spent in answering questions and whose aim may sometimes have been to get rid of the field worker as speedily as possible. Nevertheless the information, imperfect as it is, is offered in the hope that it may add something to our scanty knowledge of the economic conditions of the people in the Reserves.

The year in which this survey was conducted (1949) was a year of severe drought which undoubtedly had an effect upon the output from farming in the District. It also had some influence on the pattern of expenditure, for the low crop yields necessitated increased purchases of food from the traders. Drought and crop failures are nevertheless recurrent phenomena in this country so that the findings of this survey may be taken as reflecting conditions not altogether exceptional although rather below average.[1]

Before proceeding to an analysis of the material, three points must be made clear.

(i) The number of persons in the family includes only those who were resident at home and excludes members of the family who were away working in the urban centres.

(ii) The family income consists of the earnings of members of the family within the Keiskammahoek District plus *only that part* of the earnings of migrant workers which was sent home or brought back with them on their return.

(iii) Family expenditure includes all family outlay (other than *lobola* payments) by members of the family resident in the District, but excludes expenditure by migrant workers while they were away.

[1]It was hoped to extend the survey for another year, but financial stringency made this impossible.

In calculating income and expenditure, *lobola* payments, whether in cash or cattle, have been excluded because it was held that these fall more properly into the category of capital transfers than items of income or expenditure. Traditionally, cattle were passed from the bridegroom to the father of the bride but nowadays this is sometimes commuted to a cash payment. Cattle appear to be valued at £5 per head for this purpose, and some indication of the volume of *lobola* transactions may be obtained from the figure of £540 as the recorded value of *lobola* received by the 260 families during the year 1949. This gives an average per family of about £2. The greater part of this payment is recorded as having been made in cattle.

Figures for the average cash income[1] and expenditure for each village[2] and for the sample as a whole are shown in Table 34. It will be noted that, in all villages, average family expenditure exceeded average family income : in one, Mthwaku, the deficit was small but in Chatha it was as large as £15 19s. 0d. and for the total of 213 families it was £9 6s. 0d. per family for the year. In other words, recorded income amounted to only three-quarters of the recorded expenditure. As 1949 was a year of severe drought it was thought at first that the deficit might be accounted for, in part at any rate, by an increase in indebtedness to the traders ; but the available information revealed no such increase. Some small part of the deficit may have been met by drawings on savings but there seems to be little doubt that the principal explanation for the apparent excess of expenditure over income is a failure of the families to reveal their full incomes. In particular, field workers reported a marked reluctance to disclose the full amount of remittances from the urban centres and the amount of money brought back by returning labourers.[3] In the higher income groups, which consist mainly of salary-earners such as teachers, incomes appear to have been accurately stated, and in many cases income exceeded

[1]Incomes in kind are not included in any tables showing cash incomes but are recorded separately on Table 39.

[2]It is to be noted that the income data from Gxulu village had to be rejected as unreliable.

[3]An illustration of this is provided by the case in which a field worker interviewing, in the presence of his father, a young man, who had just returned from Cape Town, was informed that he had brought so much back with him. When they had finished the young man came up to the field worker and admitted that he had really brought back more money than he had said, but that he did not want his father to know how much he had, lest he should take it all from him.

In all fairness, however, it should be recorded that in the income returns there was one startlingly frank entry, " Money stolen, £4 10s. 0d."

FIGURE 6

Average Recorded Family Income and Expenditure

(Shown by four-weekly periods during the year 1949)

Cash income recorded for the period July to December was found to exceed that recorded during the period January to June by 40%. Both income earned within the Keiskammahoek District and extra-Reserve income were greater in the second half of the year: the former by 32% and the latter by 53%.

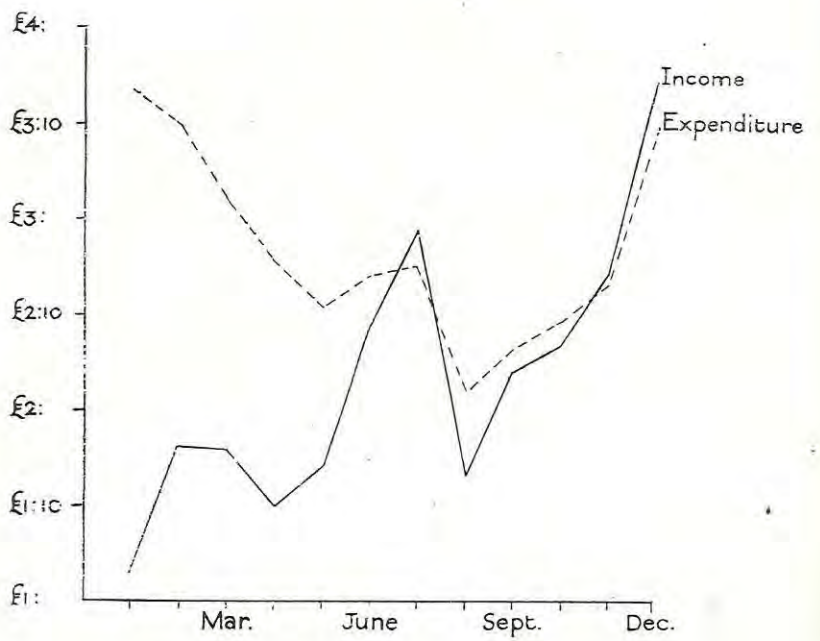
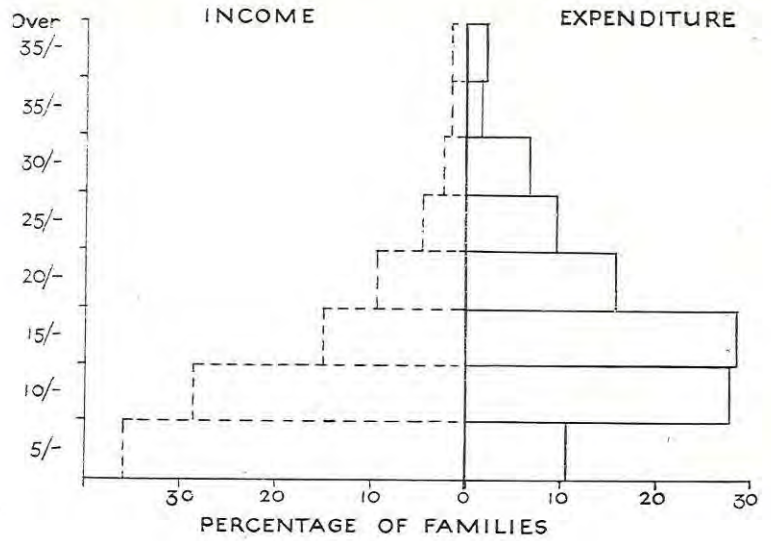


FIGURE 7

Classification of Families According to Average Weekly Income and Expenditure

Showing, on the horizontal axis, the percentage of families falling in each class; and, on the vertical axis, income and expenditure in shillings per week, with a class interval of five shillings.



expenditure; but in the middle and lower income groups suspicion probably led to considerable concealment.

Reference to Figure 6 will reveal that there is much greater correspondence between income and expenditure in the second half of the year than in the first half: by the second half the families had come to know and trust the field worker and their suspicions had been somewhat allayed. In Table 35 the average family income has been estimated by doubling the income (other than income from farming) recorded for the second six months of the year; farming income was thought to be so dependent upon the seasons that to double the income of half the year was held to be inadmissible. Even estimating income on the data of the second half of the year still leaves an income deficit of £5 5s. 5d. per family for the sample as a whole, and this can be explained only by failure to reveal the full amount of the income.

Although expenditure was, in general, disclosed more accurately than income, there is reason to believe that here, too, there were omissions and that if the average family expenditure of £36 13s. 0d. were increased by 10% it would more nearly reflect the actual outlay.

As a rough estimate, it would probably not be incorrect to say that the cash income and expenditure of the average family was between £40 and £45 for the year. To this must be added the value of produce from the land consumed by the family itself and other income in kind which, as will be seen from Table 39, is in the neighbourhood of £7. Therefore, £50 may be taken as representing approximately the average income, in cash and kind, of a family of six persons for the year 1949.[1]

One of the most interesting facts that has emerged from this survey is the very wide range between the lowest and highest family incomes and expenditures. It is sometimes thought that in the Reserves there is a fairly uniform standard of living for all. Family expenditure for the year varied between £251 5s. 4d. and £2 15s. 4d. while the highest and lowest family cash incomes recorded were £355 18s. 0d.[2] and nil respectively. On Figure 7 are depicted the proportions of families who fall into various classes of income and of expenditure, ranging from 5/- and under per week to the class in excess of 35/- per week. These matters will be more fully presented in the

[1]Nothing is included for the rent of the hut in which the family lives.

[2]The highest recorded family cash income for the year was actually £384, but this family was in Gxulu and, as stated earlier, income data from this village had to be rejected.

Round Hut With Primitive Thatching

Rectangular House With Superior Thatching

Tables given in the following sections, but one aspect might perhaps be touched upon now. How, it will be asked, could an individual, let alone a whole family, subsist on an annual expenditure of only £2 15s. 4d.? From investigation of some of the families with very low incomes and expenditures, the answer would appear to be that it is the generosity of their neighbours that enables these people to survive. Real charity is a virtue which still shines brightly in the Reserves.

Since the analysis in this chapter will be largely statistical, it might be as well to precede it by depicting the flesh and blood which cover the dry bones of the statistics. An attempt to do this is made by giving brief histories of the fortunes of three actual families during the year of the survey. They have been selected from the samples to illustrate the lives of a well-to-do family, of a typical average family and of a poor family.

Well-to-do family

(This is the wealthiest family in the sample: only three families, or 1·4%, had an income of over £100 per annum).

There are 11 people in this household. The head of the family is a teacher of about 60 years of age who draws a salary of £25 a month. There are also his wife (age 50 years); a daughter of 21, who in the course of the year was appointed to a teaching post in a neighbouring village; three younger sons and two daughters; the 17-year-old daughter of a friend; a nephew; and a boy of 17 who was employed as a herd-boy for the teacher's cattle and sheep.

The family live in seven huts including the teacher's house, and they own seven head of cattle, one horse, forty sheep, two pigs and ten fowls. They cultivate three acres of land.

The total family income for the year was £355 18s. 0d. in cash and £11 5s. 9d. in kind. No members of the family were away working outside the Reserve. At the end of the year the teacher had £40 in the Post Office Savings Bank and owed £7 10s. 0d. to the local trader.

Family of average means

(The income of this family is somewhat above the average. Those with incomes between 5/– and 20/– per week represent 53·6% of the families).

At the beginning of the year there were five people in the homestead which consisted of two huts. The head of the family (aged 54) was away working in Johannesburg the whole time. His wife (aged 45) was for a time working at St. Matthew's Mission. The home was being run by a sister of the head of the family, and consisted of two of her children and two of his children. Two of his elder sons were away working in Johannesburg. At the beginning of the year the family owned five head of cattle and two fowls.

In March, one of the cattle was sold to pay for a circumcision feast for one of the boys. For the feast they purchased " two bags of mealies, two ninety-pounds weight of mealie meal, twenty-five pounds weight of wheatmeal and the like." The cost of the feast was about £6, but many friends brought gifts.

There was little harvest and they had to start buying mealies in June. The head of the family sent £5 from Johannesburg with orders to buy sheep : so four sheep were bought. One cow died in August, leaving them with three, two of which calved. " Famine now grew so rapidly that the son who had been circumcised was sent to Johannesburg where he soon had work in the mines but he never sent any money home." The woman then drew relief from the Government. Her nephew, the son of the head of the homestead, then returned from Johannesburg to plough for his father and " this boy sympathised with his aunt so much that he bought her the food she required." The income of this family for the year was £44 of which £18 came from within the District and £26 from outside (chiefly Johannesburg). Their income in kind was £3 17s. 0d.

Poor family

(Those with expenditure of under 5/- per week represent 9·2% of the families).

This is a widow of 57 years of age with five children, two of whom are away working, the one in Johannesburg and the other in Cape Town. There are three children at home and living in one hut, a daughter of 15 and two sons of 13 and 11. The eldest son went to Johannesburg in 1946 and has now stopped sending any money home. The younger brother in Cape Town sent £1 during the year and a dress for his mother and one for his sister. The family income was £3 15s. 0d. from sources within the District and £1 from outside. Their expenditure for the year was £10 18s. 4d. and they harvested

produce to the value of £1 7s. 11d. The widow complained that her land stood in the middle of the grazing and that stock damaged the crops every year. She owns two cows, two goats and four fowls. At the end of the year she was in debt to the amount of £8. Commenting on her situation she said : "All last year is very hard through no food. I can only say that if my Lord God had not opened the hearts of my neighbours we would have been in a very bad condition. They always gave us something to eat."

TABLE 34

Average Recorded Family Cash Income and Expenditure

Village	No. of Families	No. of Persons	Cash Income derived from sources: inside the District	Cash Income derived from sources: outside the District	Total cash income	Total expenditure	Income less Expenditure
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Chatha	74	456	18 6 10	7 5 2	25 12 0	41 11 0	(−15 19 0)
Burnshill ..	47	277	24 13 5	6 18 0	31 11 5	37 9 6	(− 5 18 1)
Rabula	43	282	11 1 10	11 9 5	22 11 3	34 6 0	(−11 14 9)
Mthwaku ..	49	271	14 8 9	13 19 6	28 8 3	28 16 0	(− 0 7 9)
Gxulu*	47	220	—	—	—	38 12 4	—
All Villages ..	260	1,506	17 7 7†	9 11 5†	26 19 0†	36 13 0	(− 9 6 0)

*The income data from this village had to be rejected as unreliable.

†First four villages only.

Column 1 is the number of families in each village included in the sample.

Column 2 gives the number of persons: the number of persons in a family is taken as being the average of the number of persons at the beginning and at the end of the period.

The cash income received has been divided into two main parts, that which was earned or obtained within the Keiskammahoek District (Column 3), and that which was earned outside the District and sent home or brought back by migrant workers returning home (Column 4).

Column 5 is the sum of Columns 3 and 4.

Column 6 gives the average family expenditure for the year.

Column 7 is Column 5, Total cash income, less Column 6, Total expenditure, and in brackets is shown as a minus amount.

TABLE 35

Average Estimated Family Cash Income and Recorded Family Expenditure

Village	Income from within the District ex farming	Farming income	Income from outside the District	Total income	Total expenditure	Income less expenditure
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Chatha ..	20 0 3	1 18 0	7 13 2	29 11 5	41 11 0	(−11 19 7)
Burnshill ..	24 17 1	15 7	7 1 2	32 13 10	37 9 6	(− 4 15 8)
Rabula ..	9 7 3	2 7 2	16 5 7	28 0 0	34 6 0	(− 6 6 0)
Mthwaku ..	14 5 10	2 7 5	17 9 5	34 2 8	28 16 0	5 6 8
All Villages	17 12 2	1 17 0	11 10 5	30 19 7	36 5 0	(− 5 5 5)

Column 1 is obtained by taking the income from sources within the District, other than farming, recorded for the second half of the year and doubling it to give an estimate for the year.

Column 2 is the recorded income from farming for the whole year.

Column 3 is the income from sources outside the District recorded for the second half of the year doubled to give an estimate for the year.

Column 4 is the sum of Columns 1, 2 and 3.

Column 5 is the recorded expenditure for the year.

B.—Income

The great diversity in the size of family incomes has been mentioned as a striking feature of this survey and an analysis of this will now be undertaken. The incomes are the actual recorded incomes of the families for the whole year and readers are asked to bear in mind the remarks made earlier about the inadequacy of the income data.

It can be seen from Table 36 that two out of every three families had a recorded income of 10/– or under per week and only six families received over 30/– per week. It may be of interest to note that the standard of education of the heads of the families in this latter group was considerably higher than the average :[1] all but one of them had passed Standard VI ; this one had only reached Standard II but he was employed in the Chatha forest and earned about £10 per month. Three of these families earned the whole of their income from sources within the Keiskammahoek District, while in the other three cases taken together all but 6% of their income was from within the District.

Since family income is not fully significant unless the number of persons in the family is known, the distribution of income per head of the population is shown in Table 37. Nearly 75% of the population are seen to have an average income of under 2/– per week, more than half of these receiving between 1/– and no income at all. Only 4% of the population had incomes of more than 5/– per week ; and among these only 19 persons, or 1·6% of the population received over 10/–.

In Table 38, income has been divided up according to the sources from which it was derived. For the sample as a whole, extra-Reserve earnings are recorded as being 35·5% of the total cash income, but there is reason to believe that in 1949 they actually constituted nearer one-half than one-third of the total cash income.

[1] *Education and earning capacity.* One would have liked to attempt a correlation between the standard of education and the income earned, but since the income data were regarded as unreliable it was decided to take family expenditure as a measure of income rather than the income figures themselves. Educational standards are available only for the head of the family. In the following table the families are classed by the educational standard of the head of the family.

Educational standard of head of family	Nil	Sub-standards to Standard III	Standard IV to VII	Standard VIII and above
No. of families ..	108	70	74	8
Average family expenditure	£28 1s. 1d.	£36 19s. 9d.	£38 19s. 8d.	£104 10s. 9d.

Income from farming activities constitutes a relatively small fraction of the total cash income: 6·8% for the sample as whole and not more than 10·4% in any village. A little maize, kaffircorn, bird-seed, fowls and eggs were sold to the traders but wool sales made up the greater part of this source of income. In Burnshill, where the average number of sheep per family was lowest, the cash income from farming was only 15s. 7d. per family.[1]

Wages and salaries from employment within the Reserve are clearly of major importance representing, as they do, 42·6% of the total cash income of the sample as a whole, or 66·0% of the cash income earned within the District. Income from this source also showed marked variation from village to village: from £20 0s. 5d. in Burnshill to only £3 15s. 2d. in Rabula. Both Burnshill and Chatha are close to labour markets: Burnshill is very near Fort Cox Agricultural School and this institution provides work for many of the village residents,[2] Chatha adjoins the Chatha Forest Station which employed a number of the male population. At Rabula there was little opportunity for similar employment.

Another contrast stands out clearly:—

(i) The area that revealed the highest average cash income per family (Burnshill) was the least dependent on income derived from outside the District. (21·8%.)

(ii) The area that revealed the lowest average cash income per family (Rabula) was most dependent on the earnings of emigrant workers. (49.3%.)

This marked difference led to a desire to distinguish the characteristics of those families largely dependent on migrant labour. For this purpose all the families in the sample were divided into two classes.

Group "I"—Families more than half of whose recorded income was derived from sources *inside* the District.

Group "O"—Families more than half of whose recorded income was derived from *outside* the District.

[1]Average number of sheep per family in January, 1950, was Chatha, 9·0; Burnshill, 0·7; Rabula, 4·1; Mthwaku, 11·0.

[2]The following comment by a worker in the District is of interest.

"From a casual observation of the Keiskammahoek villages, Burnshill seems to be the most progressive. The people have a higher standard of living than the other villages—better housing and better clothing and on the whole seem to be better educated."

Some information about each group is shown in Table 40. From Column 5 thereon it will be noticed that the number of migrant workers is more for the families in Group "O": this is particularly true of Burnshill where the number of those away working in Group "O" is two-and-a-half times as many as in Group "I". Families in the highest income groups have scarcely any members away working. The average number away working does not differ between the two groups as widely as might have been expected, but the amount of money sent back by those from Group "O" is very much greater than that sent back by those from Group "I".

It might have been expected that ownership of land and stock would have played a more important part in determining whether a family fell into the group deriving major cash income from inside the District or the group principally dependent on extra-Reserve earnings. However, the number of livestock appears to be of relative insignificance. The difference in the average number of cattle is only 0·3 for the groups as a whole, while in one village, Mthwaku, the families in Group "O" are better off in this respect than those in Group "I". Differences in sheep owned are more significant, since wool is a source of cash income. Group "I" have, on the whole, more than twice as many sheep per family as Group "O", and in Mthwaku, where wool sales were large, they have six times as many.

The most striking feature is the enormous difference between the two groups in average wages and salaries derived from employment inside the District. This item in Group "I" as a whole was about fourteen times as large as in Group "O"; in no village was it less than five times as large in Group "I", and in Burnshill it was as much as thirty-three times as large. A stable job within the District, for at least one member of the family, is of paramount importance in determining the ability of the family to subsist upon their earnings from within the Reserve.[1]

[1]The Witwatersrand Mine Natives' Wages Commission remarks upon the wide range of incomes of Natives in the Reserves but makes no mention of wages and salaries as a major factor contributing to this range. In fact, it quotes the Assistant Director of Native Agriculture: "It must be borne in mind that while figures are based on averages, the range of wealth is very great. At one end there are families which own no stock and have no land to work. At the other end, there are families which own many cattle, a thousand or more sheep, and work thirty or more acres of land." (U.G. 21/1944). In the Keiskammahoek District, however, ownership of stock and land appear to be of less importance than a steady wage or salary, in determining whether a family can support itself within the Reserve.

Income in Kind

In addition to the cash incomes of the families, which have been considered in the preceding pages, there was a certain amount of income in kind, both from within the Reserve and from outside. Estimates of average family income in kind are shown on Table 39. Sources of such income comprised home grown crops and the produce from livestock consumed by the families: maize, kaffircorn, wheat, vegetables, milk, eggs and meat. Evaluation has been made at current prices of such products at the trading stations. For the sample as a whole, such income averaged £5 5s. 3d. per family. It must be remembered, however, that drought in 1949 caused abnormally low yields from farming operations. Income in kind from outside the Reserve consisted of gifts sent home from the towns or brought back by migrant workers who made purchases in the urban centres before returning home. From the nature of the information acquired, covering small quantities of different unstandardized commodities, and the subsequent conversion of these into money values, no great reliance can be placed upon these figures. For the sample as a whole, income in kind from outside the Reserve averaged £1 11s. 7d. per family.

The recorded income in kind from the sample as a whole of £6 16s. 10d. was about 20% of the combined cash and kind income. It should be pointed out, however, that the two villages of Chatha and Mthwaku, with the highest figures of £10 15s. 4d. and £7 18s. 7d. respectively, were less affected by the drought while Burnshill and Rabula were severely stricken.[1] Combined family cash and kind income in Chatha was £36 7s. 4d. and in Mthwaku, £36 6s. 10d., of which income in kind comprised 30% and 22% respectively.

[1]See Chapter VI, Table 50.

TABLE 36

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AVERAGE WEEKLY CASH INCOME OF FAMILIES (213 families only)

Average Income per week (shillings)	Chatha	Burnshill	Rabula	Mthwaku	Total
0–5	34	17	17	9	77 (36·1%)
5–10	22	13	12	14	61 (28·7%)
10–15	6	5	7	14	32 (15·1%)
15–20	5	3	5	8	21 (9·8%)
20–25	2	4	2	2	10 (4·7%)
25–30	2	2		2	6 (2·8%)
30–35	1	2			3 (1·4%)
Over 35 ..	2	1			3 (1·4%)
Total families ..	74	47	43	49	213 (100%)

The above figures give the frequency distribution of the average weekly cash income of the families in the sample, expressed in shillings, on a class interval of five shillings. The income distribution is shown for each village and, in the last column, for the sample as a whole.

TABLE 37

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AVERAGE WEEKLY CASH INCOME PER HEAD

Average Weekly Income per Head (shillings)	Chatha	Burnshill	Rabula	Mthwaku	Total
0–1	257	117	104	55	533 (41·5%)
1–2	95	86	121	113	415 (32·4%)
2–3	47	27	57	61	192 (14·3%)
3–4	23	20		29	72 (5·7%)
4–5	7	5		11	23 (2·0%)
5–6	6	9			15 (1·2%)
6–7	6				6 (0·5%)
7–8		2		2	4 (0·3%)
8–9		3			3 (0·2%)
9–10	4				4 (0·3%)
Over 10 ..	11	8			19 (1·6%)
Total persons ..	456	277	282	271	1,286 (100%)

The number of persons in each family is taken to be the average of the number of persons in the family at the beginning and at the end of the survey.

TABLE 38

Sources of Family Cash Income

Village	Reserve Income from: Farming 1	Wages and Salaries 2	Other Sources 3	Extra-Reserve Earnings 4	Total Cash Income 5
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Chatha	1 18 0 (7·4%)	13 15 5 (53·5%)	2 13 5 (10·7%)	7 5 2 (28·4%)	25 12 0 (100%)
Burnshill	0 15 7 (2·4%)	20 0 5 (63·4%)	3 17 5 (12·4%)	6 18 0 (21·8%)	31 11 5 (100%)
Rabula	2 7 2 (10·4%)	3 15 2 (16·7%)	4 19 6 (22·1%)	11 9 5 (50·8%)	22 11 3 (100%)
Mthwaku	2 7 5 (8·3%)	6 11 7 (23·3%)	5 9 9 (19·1%)	13 19 6 (49·3%)	28 8 3 (100%)
All villages	1 17 0 (6·8%)	11 9 7 (42·6%)	4 1 0 (15·1%)	9 11 5 (35·5%)	26 19 0 (100%)

The figures in each column represent the average of the families in each village and the average of the sample as a whole.

Column 1 shows the income derived from the sale of crops and produce of livestock, but does not include the sale of stock. Recorded stock sales and purchases are surprisingly small. This is probably due to the lack of an organised market and the poor condition of the stock as a result of the drought. Sale of stock often represented consumption of capital rather than genuine income, but has nevertheless been included in " other sources " of income, Column 3.

Column 2 shows the income derived as salaries or wages from employment inside the District.

Column 3 (" Other Sources ") includes all other income earned within the Keiskammahoek District such as the earnings of independent craftsmen, pensions, receipts from the hire of wagons and stock sales.

Column 4 is the average of all extra-Reserve income.

Column 5 is the total cash income, sum of the previous columns.

TABLE 39

Sources of Family Income in Kind

Village	Average Family Income in Kind: From Crops 1	From Stock 2	Total from within the District 3	From outside the District 4	Total from all Sources 5
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Chatha	5 17 2	1 8 7	7 5 9	3 9 7	10 15 4
Burnshill	2 5 7	Nil	2 5 7	6 2	2 11 9
Rabula	16 5	1 19 7	2 16 0	12 2	3 8 2
Mthwaku	2 3 9	4 19 0	7 2 9	15 10	7 18 7
All villages	3 4 5	2 0 10	5 5 3	1 11 7	6 16 10

TABLE 40

Comparative Information Relating to Families Grouped in Accordance with Their Source of Cash Income

Group " I "—Families deriving more than half their cash income inside Keiskammahoek.

Group " O "—Families deriving more than half their cash income from outside Keiskammahoek.

Villages	No. of families 1	Average per Family: Annual wages and salaries 2	No. of cattle 3	No. of sheep 4	No. of migrant bread-winners 5	Annual Cash Income 6
		£ s. d.				£ s. d.
Group " I "						
Chatha ..	48	20 3 5	5·1	10·0	1·31	27 17 7
Burnshill ..	33	27 14 5	3·5	0·9	0·73	35 16 2
Rabula ..	19	6 15 7	5·0	7·0	1·42	20 8 0
Mthwaku ..	24	11 19 2	3·9	18·1	1·08	26 19 2
All villages ..	124	18 10 5	4·4	8·8	1·13	28 13 5
Group " O "						
Chatha ..	26	1 14 5	4·0	6·6	1·58	20 15 0
Burnshill ..	14	16 7	3·1	0·3	1·72	19 5 10
Rabula ..	24	1 7 0	4·0	4·4	1·50	23 13 0
Mthwaku ..	25	1 8 0	4·8	3·0	1·28	29 11 10
All villages ..	89	1 7 0	4·1	4·0	1·49	23 15 10

Note : Column 2 is income derived as salaries or wages from employment inside the District.
Column 6 is the sum of Column 2 and Reserve income derived from farming and other sources, together with extra-Reserve earnings.

C.—Expenditure

In analysing the data on expenditure the same pattern is followed as in the income analysis: in the first place, the range of family expenditures, and expenditure per head of the population is discussed; and secondly the main items of expenditure are classified.

It is noteworthy that the structure of expenditure in each village was reasonably similar. The large majority of families had an average weekly expenditure of between 5/– and 15/–, while the proportions above or below these figures were much the same in each village. The details are given in Table 41 by villages, and this distribution has been illustrated on Figure 7.

It can be seen that only nine families (or 3·5% of the sample) spent on the average 30/– or more a week. In only two of those was expenditure above £2, one being £3 5s. 0d. and one £4 16s. 7d. The great majority of families spent very much less than this: in 210 cases (80·8% of the sample) average weekly expenditure was £1 or less, while for 24 the figure was under 5/–. In fact, the great majority of these cases spent well below the £1 limit, and the average for this group was only just over 10/–.

The method of deriving expenditure per head of the population from family expenditure was exactly the same as that employed in calculating *per capita* incomes, and the results are shown in Table 42 as a frequency distribution of average weekly expenditure per head. About half the people of the sample families are seen to have spent on the average 2/– and under a week (£5 4s. 0d. or less a year), while in only 84 cases out of 1,506 (5·6%) was the figure above 5/– per head (£13 or more a year).

Expenditure, placed in four main categories, is shown on Table 43. Save for Gxulu, there is a remarkable similarity in the general pattern of expenditure.[1] The percentage spent on food in the first four villages was almost exactly the same: for these four it was about 62% and, for the sample as a whole, 57·6% of total outlay. Household requisites, constituting 8·4% of total expenditure, consisted of paraffin, pots and pans and such furniture as was bought. Clothing amounted to 13·5% of total outlay. Expenditure on everything else, such as farming outlay, medical expenses, building and repairs, church contributions and contributions at weddings and funerals, and taxation, amounted to 20·5% of total expenditure.

[1]The income data from this village had to be discarded as it was unreliable and too much weight should not be attached to the expenditure figures either.

TABLE 41

Frequency Distribution of Average Weekly Expenditure of Families

Average Expenditure per week (shillings)	Chatha	Burnshill	Rabula	Mthwaku	Gxulu	Total
0–5	6	6	5	6	1	24 (9·2%)
5–10	14	11	13	18	16	72 (27·7%)
10–15	21	12	11	12	17	73 (28·1%)
15–20	13	5	6	10	7	41 (15·8%)
20–25	12	5	3	1	3	24 (9·2%)
25–30	5	6	4	1	1	17 (6·5%)
30–35	1	1	1	1	—	4 (1·6%)
35–40	1	1	—	—	1	3 (1·1%)
Over 40	1	—	—	—	1	2 (0·8%)
Total families	74	47	43	49	47	260 (100·0%)

The above figures give the frequency distribution of the average weekly expenditure of the families in the sample, expressed in shillings, on a class interval of five shillings. The expenditure distribution is shown for each village and, in the last column, for the sample as a whole.

TABLE 42

Frequency Distribution of Average Weekly Expenditure per Head

Average Weekly Expenditure per head (shillings)	Chatha	Burnshill	Rabula	Mthwaku	Gxulu	Total
0–1	24	39	28	52	7	150 (9·9%)
1–2	166	80	154	99	68	567 (37·7%)
2–3	143	79	56	64	70	412 (27·3%)
3–4	58	36	42	37	42	215 (14·2%)
4–5	25	22	—	15	16	78 (5·3%)
5–6	31	15	—	2	4	52 (3·5%)
6–7	7	3	—	2	2	14 (1·0%)
7–8	2	3	—	—	—	5 (0·3%)
8–9	—	—	—	—	—	—
9–10	—	—	2	—	—	2 (0·1%)
Over 10	—	—	—	—	11	11 (0·7%)
Total persons	456	277	282	271	220	1,506 (100·0%)

The number of persons in each family is taken to be the average of the number of persons in the family at the beginning and at the end of the survey.

TABLE 43

PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF FAMILY EXPENDITURE

Village	Average Family Outlay on: Food 1	Household Requisites 2	Clothing 3	Other Items 4	Total Expenditure 5
Chatha	£ s. d. 25 15 0 (61·9%)	£ s. d. 3 13 10 (8·9%)	£ s. d. 5 13 5 (13·6%)	£ s. d. 6 8 9 (15·6%)	£ s. d. 41 11 0 (100%)
Burnshill ..	22 19 0 (61·2%)	3 1 5 (8·2%)	6 0 2 (16·6%)	5 8 11 (14·0%)	37 9 6 (100%)
Rabula	21 6 9 (62·2%)	3 5 7 (9·6%)	2 16 6 (8·2%)	6 17 2 (20·0%)	34 6 0 (100%)
Mthwaku ..	17 15 0 (61·6%)	2 4 5 (7·7%)	1 16 3 (6·2%)	7 0 4 (24·5%)	28 16 0 (100%)
Gxulu	17 8 0 (45·1%)	2 16 5 (7·2%)	7 18 0 (20·4%)	10 9 11 (27·3%)	38 12 4 (100%)
All Villages ..	21 2 4 (57·6%)	3 1 7 (8·4%)	4 18 10 (13·5%)	7 10 3 (20·5%)	36 13 0 (100%)

The figures in each column represent the average of the families in each village and the average of the sample as a whole.

The items of expenditure are divided into four main categories.

Column 4 includes all other items of expenditure, such as farming outlay, medical expenses, building and repairs, church contributions and contributions at weddings and funerals, and taxation.

Chapter V

LABOUR

A.—IMPORTANCE OF LABOUR MIGRATION

In discussing labour one might, perhaps, be expected to begin by an account of the labour available in the District but, owing to the peculiar situation which prevails, it seems more logical to adopt the somewhat Irish course and begin by a consideration of the labour which is not there. The first part of this chapter will therefore be devoted to labour emigration and only at the end of it will the supply of labour remaining in the Keiskammahoek District be reviewed.

Though it is generally recognised that the emigration of workers from Native Reserves is one of the major forces affecting the social and economic development of these areas, large scale migration is so common in Southern Africa that the striking contrast with the relatively settled character of the rural population in most parts of the world is often overlooked. It is not uncommon to meet a young man in the mountains of the Keiskammahoek District and to hear him speak of " when I was in Benoni " or " after I left Cape Town " and to find on investigation that though only thirty years of age he has visited and worked in three or four of the major cities of the Union. The Natives of this District would seem to travel more frequently and more widely than the average white South African. Almost every man and a large, increasing number of women spend a considerable part of their lives in the cities : many of them never return but become permanent urban dwellers ; others work intermittently in the towns, returning to their families every year or two.

The absence of so many of the adult members of the community has a marked effect upon the social and economic life of the Reserve ; and the new ideas with which they return affect the social life of the villages deeply, and profoundly modify tribal customs. The prolonged absence of menfolk shows itself in the break-up of normal family life, in marital infidelity and a large number of illegitimate children. It has been revealed that one child in every four is illegitimate and that approximately every other family is without a male head.[1] The

[1] *Cf.* p. 55.

absence of so many fathers gives rise to indiscipline and is probably a potent cause of juvenile delinquency.

The economic consequences of these labour migrations are no less important than the social consequences. It is members of families in Reserves such as Keiskammahoek who provide a very large number of those who work in mines, factories, shops and domestic service in the large industrial cities of the Union. At any given time over half the men, and a considerable proportion of the women of working age, are away from Keiskammahoek and are to be found in Cape Town, the Witwatersrand, Port Elizabeth, East London and other towns. This great influx has given rise to housing problems and the growth of slums in most cities. Moreover, the employment of intermittent workers results in high labour turnovers and relatively low productivity.

It is not possible to do more than touch upon these latter topics, however interesting they may be, for our attention must be concentrated upon the Reserve end of the migrations. Here the emigration of so many adult workers is a matter of the greatest economic concern. It appears to be at one and the same time both the result and the cause of the poverty of the Reserve. Poverty and economic necessity drive people out of the District to sell their labour in the urban centres where remuneration is higher and opportunities of employment greater than in the Reserve. There may be subsidiary reasons, such as the desire of young men to prove their manhood, or the lure of city life for young people of both sexes, but the principal reason is to be found in the failure of the Reserve to provide an adequate living for its population.

The family budget survey revealed the fact that between one-third and one-half of the aggregate cash income was derived from sources outside the District, and that over two-fifths of the families drew the greater part of their income from remittances by emigrant workers. The general standard of living is low and the average income in cash and kind of a family of six persons was estimated to be no more than £50 for the year 1949. All the clothing and manufactured goods consumed by the population have to be imported and even in the production of food the District is normally far from self-supporting.[1] The people of this District are therefore seen to be dependent upon the earnings of emigrants for their very existence, and it is poverty which forces them out to work.

But this very exodus is itself a potent cause of the perpetuation

[1] *Vide* Chapter III, Table 29.

of the poverty at home, for the absence of so many in the prime of life inhibits economic progress and certainly accounts in no small measure for the low agricultural productivity of the District. In many cases land is not ploughed for the simple reason that there is no one to do the ploughing. Of that which is ploughed, one field in three is not ploughed by the menfolk of the homestead but, in their absence, by relatives or friends. *Prima facie* it might be supposed that large emigration from the Reserve would be of benefit in easing the pressure of population; the emigrants, however, are not a cross-section of the community but consist mostly of the active and able-bodied members; while those that remain are the infirm, the aged and the children.

Many schemes are at present being put forward for the rehabilitation of the Reserves in which improved farming and the establishment of industries are to play a part: but if labour migrations to the towns continue on their present scale, schemes are likely to founder owing to the difficulty of finding the labour to carry them through. Although the density of population in the Reserves appears great, there is a dearth of able-bodied workers and many of those who are there do not want work because they are enjoying a holiday after a spell of work in town.

Though labour migration is a matter of such great importance, it is difficult to obtain any accurate figures even of the total number who are away, and no analysis of the emigrants by age, sex and marital state has up to now been attempted. Estimates have been based upon Native Recruiting Corporation figures, but this organization covers only a fraction of those who go out to work.[1] Estimates have also been based upon the domicile of those paying their general tax in urban areas:[2] these, however, are far from comprehensive as they exclude women, boys under 18 years of age, and those who succeed in evading their tax payments. Likewise, estimates have been based upon the domicile of persons registered under the Urban Areas Act. All these methods are, however, open to the objection that they include only those people who still regard Keiskammahoek as their domicile, and they exclude those who have taken up their permanent abode in urban areas.

[1] The annual average number of Natives forwarded to the gold mines by the Native Recruiting Corporation from Keiskammahoek over the last 8 years has been 445. If these recruits serve a term on the mines of 13–14 months, as generally estimated, then some 500 adult males are away from the District at any given time.

[2] Keiskammahoek domiciled Natives, who paid this General Tax at centres outside the Keiskammahoek District, numbered 3,034 in 1949 and 3,084 in 1950.

In the 1936 Census Report[1] it is estimated that absentees from the District at the time of the census numbered 2,419 males and 359 females, or a total of 2,778. Thus, absentees represented 14·1% of the total population (or 16·5% of the population in the District at the time of the census).[2] No equivalent estimate of absentees was made in the 1946 Census Report.[3]

A general vaccination of the people of the Keiskammahoek District was undertaken in 1948 and the officer in charge of it enquired, *inter alia*, the number of persons away working outside the District. He reported 5,017 away representing 25% of the total population.[4] Even with the exercise of the utmost care in soliciting the information, this method is unlikely to produce accurate results because people can be expected to give reliable information only about the members of their own families. Where whole families are away, as is sometimes the case, there is no one to supply the information or, on the other hand, several neighbours may report their absence and double counting will result.

Labour migration was, however, considered to be a matter of such great national importance that a determined effort was made in this survey to obtain comprehensive and accurate information about it. The method used was that of obtaining complete genealogies of a selected number of families[5] and then enquiring into the whereabouts of each member at the present time. The Bantu have a strong sense

[1]U.G. 21:1938, Table 13.

[2]It is clear that the proportion of emigrants can be expressed either :

(*a*) as the proportion of emigrants to total population, inclusive of the emigrants themselves ; or

(*b*) as the ratio of emigrants to the population remaining in the District.

To secure uniformity and to facilitate comparisons, alternative (*a*) will be the general practice and emigrants will always, except where it is explicitly stated to the contrary, be expressed as a proportion of the total population inclusive of the emigrants themselves.

[3]U.G. 51:1949. Table 10.

[4]No great reliance can be placed upon these figures because the number in the District falls short of the 1946 census figure by about 2,000.
His figures were:—

Persons vaccinated	14,467
Persons in the District who did not appear for vaccination	843
Total in District	15,310
Persons away from the District	5,017
Total, including emigrants	20,327

[5]The use of this method was suggested by Professor Monica Wilson. The sample families were the same 260 used in the collection of family budgets. *Cf.* pp. 91 and 125.

of kinship and, though it was a laborious task, it proved possible to compile genealogies of all the families in the sample.

Based on this information, as will be seen later, it is estimated that some 9,250 persons now living outside the District have emigrated, either temporarily or permanently, from the Keiskammahoek District. This is 35% of the total population (including emigrants). The marked difference between this and other estimates of emigration calls for further attention, and a detailed analysis of the findings from these genealogies will be given later. Before doing this, however, it is necessary to consider in more detail the reasons why people emigrate and to distinguish between different classes of emigrants.

B—Types of Emigrants

Economic necessity drives people out of the Keiskammahoek District but different individuals and different families react in different ways to the economic situation which confronts them. A careful classification of the different categories of emigrants is essential to a clear understanding of the problem. There appear to be three main types of reaction to the prevailing pressure of increasing population upon the limited and deteriorating land of the Reserve. These three all give rise to emigration. A fourth possible reaction would, of course, be more intensive use of the available land and the increase of productivity by the introduction of scientific farming practice; there is, unfortunately, little evidence of this and, instead of increasing, the agricultural output of the District would appear to be declining. The reaction to the economic pressure may be classified in three main types.

TYPE I

There are those who leave their families behind in the Reserve and go out to work in the cities or in the mines where they can earn sufficient both to support themselves in the urban centres and to provide a surplus which they can send home to their families. These are the people generally referred to as migrant labourers but to give greater precision they will here be described as *emigrant breadwinners.*

The characteristics of this class are that most of the members of their families remain in the Reserve; that they are actively supporting their families by remittances or by bringing home sufficient savings to keep the family going for some time; and that they themselves have every intention of eventually returning to the Reserve to live there. Although long absence may have the effect of weakening family ties, it is important to recognise that emigration of this type has its origin in family loyalty and the laudable desire to provide financial support for the family group.

The advantages of this type of solution are that the family group can continue to live in its home village and that the children can be brought up in a rural environment. But the disadvantages are many. The emigrant breadwinners are often husbands and fathers and their absence gives rise to the social evils already mentioned. Increasing

economic pressure requires more and more members of the family to join the ranks of the emigrant breadwinners. Even daughters have to go out to work and half of these women who go to town return with illegitimate children conceived in the cities.[1] The young men, away from family influence and tribal restraint, acquire habits of lawlessness and vice.

At the urban end this type of solution involves living in compounds or in poor lodgings without the amenities of home life. Moreover, the call of home and family is strong and there is the very natural desire to return to the Reserve as soon as sufficient money has been earned. This raises problems of providing a satisfactory wage incentive, for it is possible that higher wages in towns for this class of labourer may lead to a smaller total volume of labour of this kind offering itself for employment since the emigrant breadwinners will require to spend less time away to earn a given sum of money.[2] The quality of their labour is also unsatisfactory because they do not provide a steady supply of continuous labour: from their very character, they are temporary, or at best, intermittent workers only, and are less able to attain proficiency in the tasks they are called upon to perform. The labour turnover of firms employing workers of this type is necessarily high, and economic waste occurs as a result of continuously having to train new people. This is a real burden on the community as a whole, and undoubtedly tends to depress the wages of the emigrant breadwinners.

Though the instability of the African family in the Reserve has been dealt with more fully in Chapter II there is one further consequence of the emigration of the breadwinners which should, perhaps, be reiterated briefly. The migration of the breadwinners gives rise to a continuous stream of emigrants from the Reserve to the towns and a reverse flow of those returning from the towns to the Reserve. This primary migration gives rise to secondary movements of population within the Reserve itself, for when a man goes out to work he often places his wife and children with a relative, and when he comes back he sets up a home of his own once again. The result is widespread movement of the population within the Reserve, analogous to

[1] See *Social Structure*, Volume III Keiskammahoek Rural Survey.

[2] The argument of a backward sloping curve for labour of this type, advanced as a justification for resisting wage increases is, however, valid only on the assumption that the standard of living, and the cost of providing that standard of living, has not risen in the Reserves.

what happened during the war when the father of the family enlisted and his wife and children went from one relative to another. A large part of the population of the District is in this way constantly on the move.

TYPE II

This type is composed of those who try to meet the economic pressure in the Reserve by emigrating *with their families*. They set up permanent homes in the urban centres and sever all, or most of their connections with the Reserve. The difference between Type I and Type II is that in the former case the breadwinners alone migrate whereas in the latter it is the whole family that moves to town. It is proposed to refer to those of Type II as *emigrant families* to distinguish them from the *emigrant breadwinners*.

The emigration of families has both advantages and disadvantages when contrasted with the emigration of the breadwinners only. The advantage is that it avoids the disruption of family life which is a necessary concomitant of the emigration of breadwinners. But on the other hand, it is generally believed that the towns are less suitable places in which to bring up a family; the housing problem is acute and slum conditions are held to have a corrupting influence upon the young. Moreover, the cost of supporting a family in town is greater than in the Reserve; but against this may be set the fact that the permanent town dweller is likely to earn a higher wage than the temporary migrant.

The dividing line between Type I and Type II cannot be drawn with any great certainty because the two types tend to merge into one another. Some of the emigrant breadwinners send for their wives to come and visit them in town and in the course of time the whole family may be transported from the Reserve to the city; while some of the emigrant families send their children back to live with grandparents in the Reserve. In communal villages the emigrant families surrender their rights in the village if they cease to pay local tax. But in cases of quitrent or freehold tenure some emigrant families retain their land in the Reserve as absentee landlords, because of their sense of insecurity in the towns, and in order that they will have somewhere to go if there should be a change in policy forcing them to leave the town.

It should be stressed that the reactions of Type I and Type II to the economic pressure in the Reserve are both attempts to maintain the family unit and to fulfil their social obligations.

TYPE III

A third type of emigrant is one who finds the economic and social obligations imposed by tribal tradition in the Reserve so burdensome that he goes to town to avoid them. This individual abandons his family to their fate and goes to town to seek his fortune. He does not send money home to assist those who remain behind. This practice is described in the District as *ukutshipa*, which means *to abscond*, and it is proposed to refer to this type of emigrant as the *absconders*.

The absconders are usually unmarried men and women who revolt against the social obligation of contributing towards the maintenance of the family unit. They go to town where they can keep the whole of their earnings for themselves. It is remarkable how little absconding there appears to be among the married population and how conscientiously the majority of them endeavour, under the most difficult circumstances, to shoulder their family obligations.

For young men and women the temptation to abscond is strong. Why, they ask, should they continue to pay all their earnings over to their parents when it is so easy to escape by going to town? This raises special economic problems in connection with proposals to establish industries in the Reserves. At the Good Hope Textile Factory at Zwelitsha (near Kingwilliamstown) conditions of work and remuneration compare most favourably with anything to be found in the cities. Boys and young men there earn more than they could reasonably expect to earn in urban centres but, nevertheless, the factory has a high labour turnover. The explanation may, perhaps, be that as Zwelitsha is in close proximity to the Reserves the boys are required by their parents to hand over the bulk of their earnings for the support of the family. If they go to work in Cape Town or Johannesburg, though they may not receive as high a wage, they need send home only as much, or as little, as they feel inclined. In the cities they are out of reach of parental and tribal sanctions.

There are thus three types of emigrants : the *emigrant breadwinners*, the *emigrant families* and the *absconders*. The first are temporary migrants, intermittent workers circulating between the Reserve and the cities. The second and third are permanent emigrants from the Reserve. But the classification is not hard and fast : emigrant breadwinners may spend ever longer periods in town and eventually bring their families to join them; emigrant families may spend many years in town but eventually return to the Reserve when they are old; even the absconder, like the Prodigal Son, may some day return home unexpectedly.

In an attempt to obtain a fuller picture of the system of migrant labour in operation, labour histories were obtained from 148 male and 124 female members of the sample families. These histories throw a remarkable light upon the working life of a man or woman from this District. A few labour histories, selected to be as representative as possible of different types of workers, are here presented.

Sex : Male.
Born : 1890.
Education[1] *:* Standard IV.
First went out to work 1908 (age 18).

Jul. 1908 *to May* 1910 :	Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
May 1910 *to Mar.* 1912 :	At home.
Mar. 1912 *to May* 1914 :	Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
May 1914 *to Aug.* 1916 :	Servant, Dynamite Works, Somerset West.
Aug. 1916 *to Jun.* 1917 :	At home.
Jun. 1917 *to Jul.* 1918 :	Servant, Dynamite Works, Somerset West.
Jul. 1918 *to Jul.* 1919 :	At home.
Jul. 1919 *to Dec.* 1934 :	Packer, Jewellery Wholesale Stores. He was married in 1922 to a woman who was employed as a cook in Johannesburg.

[1]Note on educational standards in these examples :
Standard I is just above the kindergarten level, Standard VI is the end of the primary school and Standard X is the matriculation year. Standard IV is, therefore, two years below the normal end of the primary school. N.P.L.2 (Native Primary Lower 2) is a teacher's qualification indicating two years of study after Standard VI, and N.P.L.3 indicates three years of study after Standard VI.
The normal time taken to achieve the educational standards shown in the labour histories from the time of enrolment at school are, therefore :—

Std. I	3 years
Std. IV	6 „
Std. V	7 „
N.P.L.2	10 „
N.P.L.3	11 „

Dec. 1934 *to Feb.* 1936 :	At home.
Feb. 1936 *to Nov.* 1936 :	Noxious-weed Inspector, Local Council, Keiskammahoek.
Nov. 1936 *to Jan.* 1939 :	At home.
Jan. 1939 *to date :*	Dipping Supervisor, Local Council, Keiskammahoek.

He has had eight children of whom six died in infancy and two, a son now married and working in Port Elizabeth and a daughter who is at home, are still alive. His wife is still living.

His family expenditure was £42 7s. 0d. for the year 1949.

Here is another showing greater variety of occupations :
Sex : Male.
Born : 1892.
Education : Standard I.
First went out to work 1908 (age 16).

Feb. 1908 *to Mar.* 1909 :	Worked for German West African Railways, S.W. Africa.
Mar. 1909 *to Sep.* 1911 :	At home.
Sep. 1911 *to Apr.* 1912 :	Mine worker, Premier Mine, Pretoria.
Apr. 1912 *to Dec.* 1912 :	At home.
Dec. 1912 *to Sep.* 1913 :	Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
Sep. 1913 *to Nov.* 1913 :	At home.
Nov. 1913 *to Sep.* 1916 :	Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
Sep. 1916 *to Mar.* 1917 :	At home.
Mar. 1917 *to Sep.* 1917 :	Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
Sep. 1917 *to Nov.* 1917 :	At home.
Nov. 1917 *to Nov.* 1919 :	Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
Nov. 1919 *to Feb.* 1921 :	At home. He was married during this period.
Feb. 1921 *to Jul.* 1921 :	Domestic servant, Convent, Cape Town.
Jul. 1921 *to Sep.* 1923 :	At home.
Sep. 1923 *to Jun.* 1924 :	Worked for building contractor, Cape Town.
Jun. 1924 *to Nov.* 1924 :	At home.
Nov. 1924 *to Nov.* 1925 :	Milk delivery boy, Royal Dairy, Cape Town.
Nov. 1925 *to Feb.* 1928 :	At home.
Feb. 1928 *to Nov.* 1930 :	Worked at Dunswart Steel Works, Benoni.

Nov. 1930 *to Oct.* 1931 : Worked at Silverwright Electric Works, Johannesburg.
Oct. 1931 *to Sep.* 1932 : Domestic servant, Drill Hall, Johannesburg.
Sep. 1932 *to Feb.* 1937 : At home.
Feb. 1937 *to Mar.* 1938 : Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
Mar. 1938 *to Nov.* 1939 : At home.
Nov. 1939 *to May* 1940 : Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
May 1940 *to Nov.* 1943 : Mine worker, Johannesburg.
Nov. 1943 *to May* 1945 : At home.
May 1945 *to Nov.* 1945 : Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
Nov. 1945 *to date :* At home.

He had five sons, one of whom died in infancy. The surviving sons are Jonson (age 26) who has passed Standard VI and who is at present at home ; Ruben (age 20) who has passed Standard VIII and is now in Johannesburg; Dugmore (age 17) who has passed Standard VI and is now in Cape Town ; and John (age 14) who is still at school in the District. His wife is still alive, but was away at the time of the survey in East London.

Their family expenditure in 1949 was £24.

This labour history is one of the longer and more detailed ones but is typical of many. The features that strike one are the length of his working life as a migrant worker from the age of 16 to the age of 53, the variety of employment he has had, and the number of different places in which he has worked. He has succeeded in giving his sons a much better education than he himself enjoyed.

Here is a labour history of a younger and unmarried man :

Sex : Male.
Born : 1920.
Education : Nil.
First went out to work in 1942 (age 22).

Mar. 1942 *to Aug.* 1943 : Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
Aug. 1943 *to Jul.* 1944 : At home.
Jul. 1944 *to Nov.* 1946 : Mine worker, Witwatersrand.
Nov. 1946 *to Feb.* 1947 : At home.
Feb. 1947 *to Dec.* 1947 : Worked for dairy, Kingwilliamstown.
Dec. 1947 *to Jan.* 1948 : At home.
Jan. 1948 *to Jun.* 1950 : Domestic servant, Port Elizabeth.
Jun. 1950 *to date :* At home.

Here is yet another which deserves a place because of the versatility of the man :

Sex : Male.
Born : 1898.
Education : N.P.L.2.
First went to work 1917 (age 19).

Mar. 1917 *to Jun.* 1917 : Domestic servant to Mine Captain, Springs.
Jun. 1917 *to Dec.* 1917 : Clerk, on mine at Springs.
Dec. 1917 *to Aug.* 1920 : At home.
Aug. 1920 *to Oct.* 1920 : Cook at Bellevue Hotel, Port Elizabeth.
Oct. 1920 *to Feb.* 1921 : Storeman at Herald Office, Port Elizabeth.
Feb. 1921 *to Jun.* 1921 : Domestic servant to wool merchant, Port Elizabeth.
Jun. 1921 *to Nov.* 1921 : At home.
Nov. 1921 *to Dec.* 1924 : Clerk on mine, Witwatersrand.
Dec. 1924 *to Sep.* 1925 : Assistant commercial traveller for firm of blanket manufacturers, Johannesburg. Married in 1925.
Sep. 1925 *to Dec.* 1926 : Blacksmith, Union Collieries, Greytown.
Dec. 1926 *to Aug.* 1932 : Assistant commercial traveller for firm of blanket manufacturers, Johannesburg.
Aug. 1932 *to Nov.* 1933 : At home.
Nov. 1933 *to Jul.* 1937 : Noxious-weed Inspector, Keiskammahoek.
Jul. 1937 *to Aug.* 1940 : Headman in Keiskammahoek District.
Aug. 1940 *to Mar.* 1946 : A soldier in the army.
Mar. 1946 *to date :* Headman in Keiskammahoek District.

He has seven children, five of whom are still living. They were all at home at the time of the survey.

Domestic servant, clerk, cook, storeman, commercial traveller, blacksmith, weed inspector, headman and soldier !

Here is a labour history of a woman :

Sex : Female.
Born : 1912.
Education : Standard V.
First went out to work 1928 (age 16).

Jan. 1928 *to Jun.* 1928 : Domestic service, Engcobo.
Jun. 1928 *to May* 1929 : Domestic service, Idutywa.

May 1929 *to Jun.* 1940 : At home.
She was married in 1930 and has two children, one born in 1931 and one in 1934.
Jun. 1940 *to Feb.* 1941 : Domestic service, East London.
Feb. 1941 *to date :* At home.

This is a somewhat surprising one of a well-educated woman turned cook and nurse's aid :
Sex: Female.
Born : 1920.
Education : N.P.L.3.
First went out to work 1940 (age 20).
Jan. 1940 *to Jun.* 1944 : Teacher under Cape Education Department, Naaupoort.
Jun. 1944 *to Dec.* 1945 : Teacher under Cape Education Department, Langa Location, Cape Town.
Dec. 1945 *to Dec.* 1946 : Cook for Mrs. D. Cape Town.
Dec. 1946 *to Mar.* 1947 : At home.
Mar. 1947 *to Oct.* 1947 : Cook for Mrs. M., Cape Town.
Oct. 1947 *to Jan.* 1948 : Cook for Mrs. D., Cape Town.
Jan. 1948 *to Jan.* 1949 : Cook for Mrs. B., Cape Town.
Feb. 1949 *to Nov.* 1949 : Nurse aid to Doctor H., Cape Town.
Nov. 1949 *to date :* At home.

Lastly, one that is typical of many labour histories of older women :
Sex : Female.
Born : 1882.
Education : Nil.
First went out to work 1899 (age 17).
Feb. 1899 *to Jan.* 1901 : Cook to Mrs. P., Port Elizabeth.
Jan. 1901 *to Feb.* 1902 : Cook to Mr. L., Port Elizabeth.
Feb. 1902 *to Dec.* 1902 : Cook to Mrs. Z., Port Elizabeth.
Dec. 1902 *to date :* Returned home in December, 1902, was married, and has not been out to work since.

C.—Migrant Labour

The primary aim in collecting the genealogies was to obtain a complete list of all persons in the sample families. Each genealogy started from the father of the present head of the household and was brought down to the youngest living member of the family.[1] They cover, therefore, three (sometimes four) generations. When the genealogy had been completed, and sexes and marital state determined, information was solicited about each person on the list concerning : date of birth and whether living or dead at the present time ; present location, if living, and when last in the Keiskammahoek District ; of each married man, the query as to whether his wife is at present with her husband ; and of children under 16, the query as to whether they are with their mothers. It is believed that this method has produced a comprehensive survey including all members of the families over the last three, four or five generations and has enabled those who have been absent from the District for a long time to be recorded and their present location traced in most cases. There may be a few omissions, particularly of children who died in infancy, but each genealogy gives a fairly complete list of all members of the family still living.

Table 44 presents an analysis of the data obtained from the sample as a whole. The total number of persons in the genealogies was found to be 5,232, of whom, 3,184 were still living in 1950. Of these, 2,064, or approximately 65% were living in the Keiskammahoek District,

[1]The method of compilation of the genealogies was as follows :
Field workers visited the sample homesteads and interrogated the head of the household. If the head of the household was a man he was asked who his father was, if a wife or widow, she was asked who her husband's father was. This man " X ", and his wife or wives, constitute the first generation. The second generation consists of all the children of " X ". Spouses of members of the second generation are excluded. The third generation consists of all the children of the males in the second generation. (The children of females were excluded for two reasons: first, daughters sometimes marry away from the District and details of their children are difficult to obtain ; second, females may marry males of another genealogy and, if so, their offspring would have been counted twice). The fourth generation, if any, consists of the children of all the males in the third generation. The genealogy was set out in the form of a family tree with the name of each person, whether living or dead, who was a descendant of " X " in the male line, the date of birth and marital state. The 260 families yielded 240 such genealogies because there were cases where the heads of two households in our sample were brothers and thus had identical genealogies. The " genealogies " and the " families " of the budget survey are not, however, identical. The " genealogies " include a man's brothers and their families who may not happen to be included in the sample " families " ; but they exclude members of the " family " households who are not direct descendants in the male line from " X " though these persons are included in the family budget survey.

and 1,120 or 35% were outside the District at the time of the survey.

Of those outside the District, 292 were living in other Native Reserves: the bulk of these were daughters of Keiskammahoek families who had married men from neighbouring Reserves. Figures of women away in other Reserves is highest for the villages of Burnshill and Rabula, which is to be expected since the former borders on the Middledrift District and the latter on Kingwilliamstown, and inter-district marriages are more likely to occur. Though there are no figures to prove it, it seems likely that emigration from Keiskammahoek District to other Native Reserves is compensated for by a corresponding influx when men of Keiskammahoek take wives from other Reserves.

The main flow of emigration from Keiskammahoek is, however, to the urban centres of the Union: 805 persons, or 25% of the living members of the genealogies were found to be in towns at the time of the survey. This is an astonishingly high percentage of the total population, for the great majority of the children have remained in the District. It means that for every 1,000 persons in the District there are 543 outside it and 390 of these are in the urban centres: thus, if we take the population of the District in 1950 as approximately 17,400 there will be 6,790 persons in the towns who have their origin in the Keiskammahoek District.

Among adults only, the proportion that have emigrated is considerably larger. Taking adults to mean persons over the age of 16, it will be seen that there were 1,090 male adult members of the genealogies still living in 1950; 512 of these were in the Keiskammahoek District and 578 were outside it. There were 955 adult women still living of whom 579 were in the District and 376 outside. In the following table the information is expressed per 1,000 living adults of each sex and per 1,000 persons of all ages in the genealogies:—

	Male adults (over 16)	*Female adults (over 16)*	*Total persons (all ages)*
In the District	470	606	648
Less than 5 years away ..	311	178	160
Five years and more away	219	216	192
	1,000	1,000	1,000
Total emigrants	530	394	352
In towns	449	213	252
In other Native Reserves	74	167	92
Unknown	7	14	8

It is found that 53% of emigrant males, and 68·5% of emigrant females are married. It is also interesting to note in Table 44 that 59% of the emigrant males have been absent from the District for less than five years and that as many as 41% have been away for five years or over. It is not correct to assume that all these latter are permanent emigrants, for the labour histories of individuals show many instances of persons who have been away for many years returning to the Reserve in old age. The relatively high proportion of the women who have been away for a long time is to be explained by the fact that they have married men from another district and have taken up their permanent residence at their husbands' homes. Most of the unmarried women have been away from home for a relatively short time, the majority being in domestic service.

The distribution of male emigrants between the principal towns was a matter of some surprise, for it was expected that the majority would be found to be in the Witwatersrand area.[1] The position was, however, found to be as follows:

Cape Town	33%
Witwatersrand	25%
Port Elizabeth	17%
East London	12%
Other towns	13%
	100%

It was also expected that the younger men would be on the Witwaters-

[1]The official District Tax Registers (which cannot be regarded as accurate indication because of tax evasion, which is probably higher in the case of those going into industry or domestic service than in the case of those officially recruited for the mines) gives the proportions of those in the Witwatersrand and Cape Town as:

Year	*Witwatersrand*	*Cape Town*
1938–39	78%	7%
1944–45	60%	14%

It would appear that from the 1929 depression up to the industrial expansion with the outbreak of war in 1939, the gold mines were a "selection of necessity" as a market for Keiskammahoek labour but that since then an increasing number have chosen to go into other occupations.

This is borne out by the number forwarded by the Native Recruiting Corporation from Keiskammahoek to the gold mines.

	Average number per annum
1921–31	500
1932–41	1,071
1942–50	455

rand, working on the gold mines, but the average age of emigrant male workers in the principal towns belied this[1].

A classification of the males in urban areas into the categories of *emigrant breadwinners*, *emigrant families* and *absconders* would be most instructive; but it is not an easy task. Their fellow members in the villages usually have a clear idea in their own minds as to the category into which any given individual should be placed, but this is their subjective judgment, and it would be better if some objective criterion could be found. This has been attempted in the classification on Table 45 of the male emigrants. Perhaps the four categories of men who have with them in town their wives only, their wives and children or their motherless children only, and of elderly widowers in town may be classed as *emigrant families*, although the first is doubtful and might be equally well regarded as a Reserve family with both father and mother as emigrant breadwinners. The two definite classes of *emigrant breadwinners* are the married men with families in the Reserve, and single men who were known, from the family budget survey, to have sent home money during 1949. One might be inclined to regard both single men and married men with families in the Reserve, who did not send home money during 1949 as *absconders*, but to class them all as such would be a mistake. The local definition of an absconder is one who no longer communicates with those at home. Many married men do not send money back but wait until they return home when they bring their savings with them. Others may have every intention of sending money home but, as a result of unemployment, misfortune or the high cost of living in the towns, may not have been able to do so. General experience would seem to indicate that comparatively few married men *abscond* and the vast majority, even if they have been absent for a long time, return eventually to their families.[2] The relative proportions of these three categories is estimated as follows:

	Percentage of male emigrants
Emigrant breadwinners ..	62
Emigrant families	28
Absconders	10

[1]The average age of male emigrants was:

Cape Town	30·4	years
Witwatersrand	30·8	„
Port Elizabeth	31·7	„
East London	31·9	„

[2]One man in Cape Town who had not been home for over ten years was still sending remittances fairly regularly.

Though based on what information was available, this estimate should be regarded as little more than a well-informed guess.[1]

Information obtained about 117 adult women in towns is given below:

	Percentage of female emigrants
Living with their husbands and children in town ..	31·5
Living with their husbands, but without their children ..	5·0
Widows, or women separated from or abandoned by their husbands	14·0
Unmarried mothers	13·0
Unmarried women	36·5
	100·0

It might seem that analysis of the census enumerations of resident population in Keiskammahoek District could not reveal, with much degree of accuracy, the number of persons away from the District, since it is necessarily based on assumed natural rates of population growth. However, this and the application of Coloured mortality rates at various ages do result in estimates which corroborate very closely the findings of the genealogy survey.

Net emigration from the District during the period 1921–1946 is estimated at an average of 263 persons leaving the District annually, or a total of 6,575 during the period. This estimate is based on intercensal changes in population in Keiskammahoek District, assuming the natural increase, or the excess of births over deaths, to have been at the same rate as in the Union as a whole. Such net emigration is, in the main, exclusive of *emigrant breadwinners*, who continually circulate between the Reserve and the cities, and reflects only the net total of permanent emigrants, or those classified in the genealogy survey as *emigrant families* and *absconders* plus any net increase in emigrant breadwinners. On the not unreasonable hypothesis that persons who

[1]An estimate made by Mr. M. Elton Mills (who worked on Land Tenure) was that, of 261 permanent emigrant males, 40 (or 15·3%) are absconders.

emigrate permanently are between the ages of 25 and 50, the 25 year period covered by this estimate can be taken as approximately one generation of permanent emigrants. These permanent emigrants, together with their natural increase, represent one-third of the total population estimated to be both in the District and away by 1946. This proportion is similar to the overall estimate from the genealogy survey of total absentees, both temporary and permanent, as constituting 35% of the total population (including emigrants); the proportion is considerably higher than the 19·2% of permanent emigrants shown in the genealogy survey, but it does serve to suggest that the latter finding is, if anything, conservative.[1]

An indication of the rate at which fresh emigration of males and females takes place from the District can be obtained from an analysis of the 1936 and 1946 censuses, making allowance for mortality during the intercensal period.[2] The results of such analysis reduced to the base of 1,000 population of each sex in the District in 1946, are given in Table 46.

Of those between the inclusive ages of 5 and 14 years in 1936 (and therefore not yet of working or marriageable age), 39·3% of males and 20·0% of females had emigrated by 1946 (on attaining the ages of 15–24 years). (The balance of 5·2% males and 6·4% females had died during the decade.) Thus of the males aged 15–24 in 1946, for each 100 remaining in the District there were 71 who had either emigrated permanently or gone out to work; and of females, for each 100 in the District there were 27 who had emigrated or gone out to work.

The estimate of gross emigration cannot be extended into the older age groups, as there is no means of calculating how many of these older age groups had already left the District by 1936. However, estimates of *additional* emigration have been made, for each age group, of those who have emigrated over and above those away at the time of the 1936 census. These are shown on Table 46.

The figures are particularly interesting in pointing to a sharp exodus of young male adults up to the age of 34, and a net influx of males returning home after reaching the age of 45 years. The net

[1]The disproportion between this estimate and the genealogy survey is accounted for, in part by the probable inclusion in this estimate of a number of temporary emigrants in 1946 in excess of those away in 1921.

[2]Allowance has been made for mortality by applying the life tables for the Coloured population.

exodus of females is at a slower rate, but continues into the much older age groups. The actual numbers of net emigrants, as estimated, were 1,698 males and 1,302 females, making a total of 3,000, or 17·4% of the 1946 enumerated population of the District.

It has already been stated that the population of the District is comprised largely of children and aged, and that the result of the emigration of so many of working age is less beneficial in relieving the density of population than detrimental in depriving the farming economy of able-bodied workers. The 1946 census gives the following numbers of Natives in the District, of what might be classed as pre-working age, working age and retirement:

	Males	*Females*	*Total*
Aged 0–18 years ..	4,791	4,971	9,762
19–59 years ..	2,109	4,032	6,141
60 years and over	555	783	1,338
Unspecified	2		2
Totals	7,457	9,786	17,243

Thus 11,100 persons, constituting 64·4% or nearly two-thirds of the population, are of pre-working and retirement ages. The natural proportions of persons in these age groups is 54·8%. Comparison of proportions in the working age groups in the District, with natural proportions in the Union as a whole, reveals that 53·9% of males of working age were absent from the District at the time of the census, and 8·6% of females of working age, or a total of 31·5% of both sexes.[1]

[1] "Natural proportions" are derived from the total Native population of the Union in 1936.

Proportions in the Keiskammahoek District are related, on a comparative basis, to "natural proportions" by using as a common base the respective numbers of children aged 0–14 years in the District and in the Union as a whole. This base is a fairly reliable one since emigration from the District of children under 15 years is very slight.

The proportions involved are given hereunder:

Column (*a*) Contains the proportions in Keiskammahoek District according to the 1946 census.

Column (*b*) Contains the "natural proportions" (those of the total Native population of the Union in 1936).

Column (*c*) Contains the calculation of comparative proportions for the Keiskammahoek District, based on equivalent relative numbers of children aged 0–14 years in the District and in the Union as a whole.

[*continued*:—

This estimate of absent males of working age corroborates most closely the findings from the genealogy survey, which gave 53% of adult males away from the District. The survey gave 39·4% as the total of female adults away, but spouses were omitted from the genealogies. However, as far as the census enumeration is concerned, on which the above estimate of 8·6% net emigrant women is based, the emigration of District women is compensated by immigrant wives marrying men in the District and being included in the census. The young District men, who emigrate in such numbers, have greater opportunity of meeting spouses from elsewhere than do the young women in the District. It is not unreasonable to expect, therefore, that the immigration of women as wives of District-born men might more than counterbalance the permanent emigration of married women from the District.

[1] (*continued*).

Age Group Years	Male			Female			Total		
	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)
0–18 ..	27·8	24·7	24·2	28·8	24·5	25·0	56·6	49·2	49·2
19–59 ..	12·2	23·0	10·6	23·4	22·2	20·3	35·6	45·2	30·9
60+ ..	3·2	2·5	2·8	4·6	3·1	4·0	7·8	5·6	6·8
Totals ..	43·2	50·2	37·6	56·8	49·8	49·3	100	100	86·9

The ratio of the age groupings in Column (*c*) to those in Column (*b*) gives the comparative proportions of Keiskammahoek District in relation to natural proportions of 100 for each sex-age group.

	Male	*Female*	*Total*
0–18	97·6	101·1	99·9
19–59	46·1	91·4	68·5
60+	112·4	127·5	120·7

TABLE 44

ANALYSIS OF GENEALOGIES
(240 genealogies from five villages)

	Male adults (over 16 years) *	Female adults (over 16 years) *	Male children (under 16 years) †	Female children (under 16 years) †	Total persons
Total number in genealogies	2,037	1,807	670	718	5,232
Number dead	947	852	132	117	2,048
Number living (1950) ..	1,090	955	538	601	3,184
At present in Keiskammahoek District	512	579	473	500	2,064
At present outside Keiskammahoek District	578	376	65	101	1,120
Present location					
Unknown	8	13	1	1	23
Other Native Reserves	81	160	15	36	292
Urban Areas ..	489	203	49	64	805
Cape Town ..	161	28	16	20	225
Witwatersrand ..	123	33	7	2	165
Port Elizabeth ..	83	35	7	23	148
East London ..	57	41	7	4	109
Other towns‡ ..	65	66	12	15	158
Number of years since last in Keiskammahoek District					
0–4	339 (59%)	170 (45%)			
5–9	48	15			
10 and over	147 (41%)	148 (55%)			
Unknown	44	43			

*More accurately " born before 1934 ".
†More accurately " born in 1934 or after ".
‡Mainly small towns in the Eastern Cape, such as Kingwilliamstown, Grahamstown, Queenstown, Cathcart, etc.

TABLE 45

Classification of Adult Male Emigrants to Urban Areas

Classification by the location of their wives and children and by whether or not they send money home

(Based on genealogies from four villages)

	Number	Percentage
Married Men:		
(*a*) Men who have their *wives and children* under 16 with them in town	75	19
(*b*) Men who have their *wives only* with them in town	9	2
(*c*) Men, mostly widowers, who have their *children* (*under* 16) with them in town	4	1
(*d*) Widowers in town (mostly in the 60's and often living with grown-up children)	26	6
(*e*) Married men with families in the Reserve who sent home money during 1949	61	15
(*f*) Married men with families in the Reserve who did not send home money during 1949	39	10
Total married men	214	53
Single Men:		
(*g*) Single men who sent back money to their families during 1949	83	20
(*h*) Single men who have gone to town since the end of 1949	68	17
(*i*) Single men who were in town in 1949 but did not send any money to their families in the Reserve	40	10
Total single men	191	47
Total emigrant male workers	405	100

TABLE 46

Estimate of Net Migrations 1936–1946

Age in 1936. Years	In the District in 1936	Net Migration by end of decade: Outwards	Net Migration by end of decade: Inwards	In the District in 1946	Age in 1946. Years
Males					
0–4	163			536	0–14
5–14	323	127		179	15–24
15–24	191	106		69	25–34
25–34	71	2		61	35–44
35–44	65		2	57	45–54
45–54	50		4	42	55–64
55 and over	109		1	56	65 and over
	972	235	7	1,000	
Females					
0–4	139			414	0–14
5–14	251	50		185	15–24
15–24	207	55		131	25–34
25–34	133	21		96	35–44
35–44	96	9		73	45–54
45–54	64	6		45	55–64
55 and over	89		8	56	65 and over
	979	141	8	1,000	

Note.—Application on this estimate of mortality rates is in accordance with the official life tables for the Coloured population of the Union, 1936–37. All figures on the above Table are reduced to a base of 1,000 total population of each sex enumerated in the 1946 census. As there were, at the time, 7·5 males to 8 females, it must be noted that the figures are not comparable, except in these proportions, as between the sexes. Shown on the Table, or included in the calculations are :—

(i) The populations, by age groups, according to the May, 1936, census.

(ii) An estimate of births during the intercensal decade of 4,309 males and 4,108 females. (Reduced to the base used in the Table, these births are 578 males and 419 females). This estimate was made by taking the enumerated population in the May 1946 census at each year of age from 0 to 9, and applying the mortality rates retrospectively to give an estimate of births.

By the very nature of the estimate, these births during the intercensal decade, less mortality of 1,593 males and 1,387 females, give the persons aged 0 to 9 in the 1946 enumeration of the population.

(iii) An estimate of mortality, during the intercensal decade, of each sex enumerated at all ages in 1936.

(iv) The resultant estimate of excess of births over deaths during the decade gives the number of survivors in each sex-age group at the time of the 1946 census. The total is 9,155 males and 11,088 females. (Reduced to the base used in the Table these are 1,228 males and 1,133 females).

(v) Of these survivors in 1946, 3,997 males and 4,052 females were aged 0–14 years at that time, having been aged 0–4 years at the time of the 1936 census, or born during the intercensal decade. (Reduced to the base used in the Table these numbers are 536 males and 414 females).

The assumption was incorporated in the estimate that all of these children were in the District at the time of the 1946 census, none having emigrated.

(vi) In the older age groups, the excess (or dearth) of survivors over the number enumerated in the 1946 census of population, gives the estimate of those away at the time of the census. The total is 1,698 males and 1,302 females. (Reduced to the base used in the Table these are :

	Males	*Females*
Total	228	133
Emigrants	235	141
Immigrants	7	8

D.—Labour in the District

The present effective labour force in the Keiskammahoek District numbers no more than some 6,200 persons, or just over one-third of the total population.[1] Of course, in common with very poor peasant communities everywhere, the age at which children are withdrawn from their play and set to helping in the work of their elders is determined only by the family's poverty or prosperity and has little relation to their capacity for able-bodied labour; and similarly the age of retirement is usually determined only by total physical incapacity or death.[2]

However, those of 18 years and younger or 60 years and older cannot, by any progressive standard, be considered as economically effective labour. Their labour contribution is given from compulsion of economic necessity; it is the effect of depressed economic conditions, and can certainly never cause production levels to rise.

With only one-third of the total population in Keiskammahoek District available as a labour force, the dependence for survival on ineffective juvenile and senile labour assumes an importance not usually common among peasant communities however poor. Peasant communities are normally notoriously immobile, and the effective adult labour force would therefore constitute nearly half the total population. In Keiskammahoek, with half the able-bodied men away and a not inconsiderable proportion of the able-bodied women as well, ineffective juvenile and senile labour takes on the nature of a substitute, rather than an auxiliary peasant labour force. If it were possible to measure

[1]The persons enumerated in the 1946 census as 19–59 years of age inclusive, total 6,141. It is to be noted that the preliminary returns from the May 1951 census of the District show an increase of 772 in the total Native population since 1946. As no breakdown by ages is available from the recent census, it is not possible to say how many are of working age. As sex-age and area distributions of the population are essential to an analysis of labour in the District, the 1946 census enumeration must be used. For all practical purposes, it can be taken as reflecting the labour position of the present day, for although the population is increased, sex-age ratios are not likely to have altered at all materially.

[2]In a survey of Upper Nqhumeya village, to which reference is made later in the chapter, of some 255 adult women, 14 were reported as blind, totally paralysed, crippled or invalid, and only 9 as "too old to work". There were nevertheless many women of great age who continue to work, and even a few cases of hunchbacked or semi-paralysed women having to do so. The youngest child reported as performing "with the help of friends" all the tasks of women, including the weeding and reaping in the fields, was a motherless girl of 8 years, the oldest of a family of three. Her father, after he had heard of his bereavement, returned from Johannesburg "to get a new wife"; presumably, when he succeeds in thus providing for his children and farm, he will go back to his remunerative employment abroad.

work-units, it would undoubtedly be found that even the substitution is inadequate, for the replacement of 4,000 absentee able-bodied adults by all the aged and all the children over 9 years of age in the District would give a ratio of replacement of rather less than three substitute workers to every two absentee able-bodied workers. No reference to peasant communities elsewhere is needed to dispose of the supposition that a child of 10, or even 16 years of age, and a 90-year-old sage, or even a 70-year-old grandparent worn out by a life of toil, can effectively accomplish two-thirds of the work of an able-bodied adult. And it must be remembered that, not only are the substitute workers thus obviously inadequate in work-units, but that these children and aged, if working in replacement of absent adults, cannot at the same time furnish the auxiliary labour with which peasant communities normally strive to overcome poverty.

Consequently, although the absence of 4,000 adult emigrant breadwinners from the District serves to relieve the density of population on land which is of such poor productivity that it is overpopulated, abuse of the land by those remaining behind is hardly likely to lessen when so many of them are inexperienced youngsters or tired old people. This thought is even more strikingly highlighted by an analysis of the able-bodied labour force which *is* resident in the District, for by no means all of them are engaged in peasant farming, but those who are have the proportionately larger bulk of children and aged dependent upon them.

In Table 47 is given a detailed estimate[1] of the distribution in the District of male and female able-bodied labour between the inclusive ages of 19 and 59, and of total children up to 18 years together with all aged of 60 years and older.

Of the total of 2,109 males and 4,032 females of working age, it is estimated that 400 males and 320 females are engaged in occupations other than peasant farming, the majority but by no means all of them in remunerative employment.[2] The bulk of these, or 330 males and 255 females, are in the non-location areas of the Municipal Commonage, the Debe Valley Allotments, Fort Cox and St. Matthew's Mission. These constitute some two-thirds of the total able-bodied

[1]Figures for total males and females in each location or other area were obtained from the census, but the breakdown of total District age-enumeration into area detail was not made available by the Department of Census and Statistics. Therefore estimate is introduced in this computation, as explained in the Note to Table 47.

[2]Many adult students attend St. Matthew's Mission schools and the Fort Cox Agricultural School; they are estimated to number about 200.

labour in these areas. In the locations, only some 70 males and 65 females are estimated to be engaged exclusively in remunerative employment.

These non-peasant peoples include all in the town of Keiskammahoek, where employment is in the usual non-industrial urban activities such as domestic servants, office clerks, store assistants, craftsmen, handymen and gardeners. Included also are all those in St. Matthew's Mission, where there are many adults among the students and where paid jobs are available on the mission school and hospital staffs. A large proportion of those in Fort Cox are included, being the proportion in that area who do not live on their own property and are therefore engaged in the capacity of teachers, demonstrators, or labourers by, or are students at the Fort Cox Agricultural School. The remainder[1] includes those working in construction gangs; engaged by the Government on forest plantations, principally in Dontsa, Chatha and Wolf River, or in full-time Native Affairs Department occupations; employed as store assistants and domestic servants of country traders, or as visiting teachers in the various village schools. Finally, there are those living on European farms in the Municipal Commonage and Debe Allotments, and a handful on the four or five European farms scattered in the locations. These are engaged as agricultural labourers, herds or domestic servants. Although in many cases these people do actually farm their own crops and even keep a few stock on land furnished by the European property owner, they do not come within a definition of a peasant farmer.

Peasant farmers own or occupy[2] lands in the locations, on the Municipal Commonage, and a few in the Debe Allotments and the Fort Cox area, and are estimated to number approximately 1,700 males and 3,700 females of working age.

In a few instances they may have auxiliary remunerative employment locally, as Native Affairs Department appointees, such as Village Headmen, noxious weed inspectors, dipping tank inspectors, etc., or as local school teachers, forest rangers, preachers, or in such miscellaneous occupations as tractor and lorry drivers. A not inconsiderable number of them would appear to wander afar off in the District, seeking casual employment among the Europeans in the

[1]Included among these are some who are not even domiciled in the District, and who are therefore certainly not peasant farmers.

[2]Occupation being of land owned by the S.A. Native Trust, not the private properties, as already noted, of European farmers, nor as squatters occupying the property of the Fort Cox Agricultural School where they are engaged as labour on the school farms.

town of Keiskammahoek, or St. Matthew's Mission, or working in the mountain forests or on soil conservation work or road construction gangs and, as a rule, returning to their farms at weekends or periodically when laid off work. In the main, however, the peasant farmers have nothing to depend upon but their crops and livestock for the livelihood of themselves and the 10,500 children and aged in their care. The fact that such livelihood is, in the vast majority of cases, insufficient to support even a bare subsistence standard of living has already been evidenced in the degree to which they and members of their families who are presently away are compelled to supplement the livelihood by selling their labour outside the District as emigrant wage earners.

From Table 47 it can be noted that only in the town of Keiskammahoek, the Debe Allotments and Fort Cox do the numbers of adult workers exceed the total of children and aged in their care. The totals for all non-location areas show rather less than a normal ratio of adult workers to children and aged.[1] It is, however, in the locations that the disproportion is striking. Here, on each square mile of land there are some 53 children and aged to 28 adult workers, of whom only nine are males.[2] This is the average, and although a ratio of one male adult worker to eight other people is sufficiently discouraging to any prospect for the introduction of improved methods of farming or rehabilitation of the abused land, it is not the worst. Amongst the northern locations, which on the whole are more exclusively peasant farming areas than the southern, are the two worst, Mnyameni with one male adult worker to fifteen other people and Gxulu with a ratio of 1 : 10. In Gwili-Gwili, Chatha, Mthwaku and Wolf River the ratios are about average, 1 : 8. Only in Nqolo-Nqolo and Dontsa are the ratios better than average, being 1 : 7 and 1 : 6 respectively.[3] Among the southern locations, in the three with extreme density of population, Mbems and Upper and Lower Nqhumeya, the ratio is 1 : 9. The other locations in the south are better than average : Burnshill and Lower Rabula with 1 : 7, Zanyokwe with 1 : 6, and

[1]The normal ratio is 45 : 55 as revealed in the previous section of this chapter; in these non-location areas, the ratio is 38 : 55.

[2]As figures of density on the lands, these must be interpreted with caution, since they give the number of people on each square mile of gross land, including all uninhabitable areas covered with forests, scrub bush, rock formations and areas too steep for cultivation. *Cf.* p. 16.

[3]It is perhaps significant that, of all the northern locations, only in these two, Nqolo-Nqolo and Dontsa did the population increase during the last intercensal period (*vide* pp. 18–19). In these locations, moreover, there is work for able-bodied men offering on the 590 acre forest plantation; this might have the effect of keeping some male adults at home, though their service would be taken up in forestry more than in peasant farming.

lastly, Upper Rabula with a ratio which might be considered almost economic of one male adult worker to just less than five other people.[1]

It is true that, included among the other people in these ratios there are some two able-bodied female workers and that traditionally the Mfengu and Xhosa regarded women as the tillers of the soil.[2] But women are burdened with child-bearing and household tasks to an extent which makes their work as peasant farmers take on the nature almost of residual effort, the bare minimum necessary to raise crops to feed their families.

By the time a woman has passed the reproductive years she has borne, on the average, seven children, which means that at any given time one in five of the youngest and strongest of the female workers is pregnant, and as many have suckling infants. Before the normal housekeeping tasks of cooking, washing and cleaning even begin, the women have usually long distances to go to fetch water in buckets from the rivers; wood is collected and carried in large bundles from the forests; and then the mealies must be stamped and ground, preparatory to their cooking. The trading stations are sometimes miles away from their homes, and the women must take their baskets and walk the distance, bringing back the small quantities of tea, coffee, sugar and groceries which their available cash enables them to afford on one shopping expedition. The huts in which they live are sometimes poorly constructed and always require a certain amount of upkeep. The thatch on the roofs must be renovated by women once or twice a year, unless it is of the permanent type laid by men; the mud walls require periodical re-plastering, more frequently in a wet season when rain causes disintegration; the mud floors require a complete re-setting two or three times a year, and smearing twice, or as many as four times a week, depending on the numbers of restless children living in the hut. On an actual timing of the tasks of 355 women and girls, they were each on the average found to spend one-quarter of a 56-hour week on the wastefully uneconomic tasks of

[1]The ratio which is natural to a population undenuded by emigration is one able bodied male adult to about four other people. There appears to be less emigration from Upper Rabula than from other locations; it is the location with the highest masculinity of total population, 86 total males to 100 females (*vide* Ch. II p. 24). As one reason for this lesser emigration one might consider the relatively larger lands they have for farming: with a crude density of only 54·5 persons per square mile, its effective density on arable and pastoral areas alone is estimated to be some 88 persons per square mile, hardly more people per square mile than the crude density of the District as a whole.

[2]This was when the staple diet was milk, meat and wild vegetables, grain being subsidiary. Grain, however, is now the staple.

Fetching Firewood

fetching water and wood and stamping and grinding mealies ; attention to huts required a concentrated 12½ women-days a year, and that was in a dry year when less time than usual had to be given to the mudding of walls and repairing of thatch.[1] Because of these wastefully time-consuming but imperative tasks of the able-bodied women, the absence of able-bodied men among the peasant farmers is the more disastrous to any prospect for improvement in agricultural methods. Upper Nqhumeya, which is a little worse than average in this respect,[2] was the subject of a location-wide survey on peasant farming labour.

There were barely a score of cases in the whole location where evidence pointed to active participation of the menfolk in all phases of cultivation, from ploughing to harvesting. But, unless the field is too stony or on too steep a slope, so that it can only be turned with a hoe, the usual practice is for men and boys to do the ploughing. Two cases were nevertheless reported of women ploughing their own fields, one with the help of a youth. Normally, however, it is recognised as a man's task, and if there are no men whatsoever in her homestead a woman must find some relative or friend to plough her field, in return for which she gives either a share in the crops or commensurate service in weeding and harvesting the other's field.

Weeding and reaping in her own field is normally done by herself and the other women and girls who eat from her fire. Youths, traditionally the tribal herds absolved from work in the fields, assist there more frequently than one would expect. However, this is usually in cases where the woman is totally void of other help and unable to perform the work by herself. The emigration of able-bodied women as well as men to the towns leaves the lands so denuded of peasant workers that economic necessity supersedes tradition, and many youths, as well as most girls over 10 years of age, must help the women and old people to raise the crops.

In 176 homesteads in Upper Nqhumeya there are 193 separate fires. Since work in raising the crops and preparing for their cooking revolves about the separate fire, data on work units are shown per fire,

[1]This survey in Upper Nqhumeya, conducted towards the end of 1950, was combined with the one on family structure which has been discussed in Chapter II. The field worker, a resident of the village, supplemented her knowledge of her neighbours by questioning, observation and actual timing of women and girls at their daily tasks.

More detailed reference to the survey is made in the discussion immediately following on farm work, and data on the average time spent on each of these uneconomic household tasks are incorporated with the details of time spent on the lands, in Table 49.

[2]The ratio being 1 : 9 but, in the ratio of able-bodied male adults to total other people, there are two locations just as bad and two even worse than Upper Nqhumeya.

rather than per homestead. Eating from these 193 fires are 847 persons, or 4·4 persons per fire. Of these, however, 23 men, women and young people are home only at weekends or even less frequently, the men being engaged in remunerative employment as far away as Kingwilliamstown, some women in work elsewhere in the District and a few adults and young people away at school in St. Matthew's Mission or " job picking " in the town of Keiskammahoek. Including these people, who normally spend their weekends helping with the work, the division of the population into old, able-bodied and young workers of each sex and total children is shown on Table 48. It will be noted that, of the 4·4 people who eat from the fire, some 2·8 persons are available to work for it. The majority of the work is, in fact, done by the 1·3 adult and old women, although the 0·5 young girls contribute as much as they are capable of, which is indeed sometimes more than the very old or indigent women.

Ploughing the fields, which are something like 700 acres in all, occupied the men and some of the youths for an aggregate of 1,042 days.[1] As a rule, the plough team would consist of at least one member of the family, but very seldom would it be independent of the mutual help of relatives or friends. Some 76, or more than one-third, of the fire owners had no men whatsoever to plough their fields. Then relatives or friends would plough, normally in return for the labour of the women later in the season in weeding and reaping, but sometimes for shares in her crops. An aggregate of 266 days were spent by men ploughing the fields of such women, and a total of 410 women-days were devoted to weeding and reaping the fields of others, though not all of it was in return for ploughing. So ramified is the practice of mutual aid in peasant farming, that it is virtually incapable of being reduced to statistics.

An example[2] may help to illustrate the normal practice. Close neighbours are Nomani, who is very poor and with but a small patch of land, Charlotte with a fair sized field, and Sylvia, well-to-do and with large fields. Nomani has a nephew, William, who returns home at weekends and an almost indigent husband, Elder, living at home.

[1]This figure is of " plough-team days ", not " man-days ". Not only were the numbers of men or youths on each team not accurately determinable, but there is little meaning to an estimate of man-days devoted to ploughing in relation to the number of men living at home at the time of the survey, since some men who are normally away working in town return annually for the ploughing, others who are recorded as having been at home at the time of the survey (near Christmas) were not so at the ploughing season.

[2]Details of the families' compositions can be ascertained from the examples on pages 56–59.

Going to Fetch Water

Living with Sylvia are her industrious young husband, Goli, and their oldest son, David, who attends the village school. Charlotte is a young widow who has no menfolk whatsoever in her homestead. Goli and Elder, with the occasional help of William and David, ploughed all three fields. The oxen belong to Goli, and in return for the use of them for two days' ploughing in Nomani's field, Elder helped Goli with his 14-day ploughing. Nomani's field was weeded and harvested by herself and William's wife in 14 women-days, and Nomani assisted in Sylvia's field for six days, in return for crop gleanings. The widow Charlotte, in return for her four days' ploughing, worked four days in Sylvia's land. Her own fields required 60 women-days, her 10-year-old daughter and a 13-year-old cousin helping her. Sylvia and her womenfolk worked 100 women-days in her land, and received a total of some 20 women-days assistance from Nomani, Charlotte and other friends to whom Goli had lent his oxen at ploughing time. Weeding Sylvia's land alone required 90 women-days ; Goli assisted in the harvesting. In addition, Sylvia cultivated a vegetable garden, in which Goli also tended some tobacco. Between the three homesteads, Goli is the only able-bodied man permanently at home, and even he picks up casual employment in the District, but apparently not so as to interfere with his farming. Ploughing took 20 days, weeding the fields 146 women-days, and reaping 47 women-days. In all, the crops fed 16 people normally at home, two week-enders (William and a niece of Goli's) and a couple of other people who were home part of the year.[1]

[1]The total of those at home in the three homesteads may be summarized :—

	Male	*Female*	*Total*
Old people	1		1
Able-bodied adults	1	4	5
Youths	1	3	4
	3	7	10
Children			6
Total			16

Away from home are five potential helpers :
1 male adult working near Kingwilliamstown.
2 female adults working in East London.
1 female adult recently gone to work in Kingwilliamstown.
1 female adult at school at St. Matthew's Mission.
Also away are two infants with their mothers, in East London.

Among these three families, therefore, able-bodied adults are in the quite usual proportion in the District of one-third of total population at home. With the five absent able-bodied adults (and their children) back at home, the ratio of 10 able-bodied adults to 15 youths, children and aged would be very nearly normal. (Normal being 45 : 55 and the ratio is these homesteads just over 42 : 55).

In Table 49 are set forth the summarized aggregate times spent in the entire village of Upper Nqhumeya by men and boys on ploughing, and by women and girls on cultivating and on uneconomic household tasks. The average times spent on the latter would appear to take up a quarter of each woman's day, and when added to the normal tasks of cooking, cleaning and caring for children there might seem to be very little time left over to spend in the fields. In actual practice, however, when the harvesting is on the women lay up stocks of wood beforehand and sometimes even of cooked food; they might do the same when planning a heavy day's weeding. It must be realised, therefore, that the times shown on Table 49 are representative only of averages, that they also incorporate the times of the less hard-working girls and old people as well. It is none the less remarkable that the women manage to put in 6–8 hour days in the fields, with so much other work to be done about the home. Babies will usually be left in the care of girls too young to help in the fields; water will be fetched in small cans and wood in little bundles by 10–13-year-old girls making two or three times as many trips as their elders would do. And if the work, say at harvesting, is more than the people of the homestead can manage, they will call together a "work party" (*ilima*) of their neighbours. Such a group will spend a day or two assisting, in return for food and beer while working and also the social obligation of the women who are helped to respond to a similar call for a work party by their neighbours.[1]

One interesting point revealed by the average statistics is the shorter time the men take to plough the fields of those women who have no menfolk or only youths at home, than they spend in their own fields. The reporting of accurate acreages of each field could not be included as part of this survey,[2] but the impression given is that the fields of the women without menfolk are either smaller or less carefully ploughed. It is probably a case of smaller fields, for in a communal village, with arable land at a premium, each fire owner would be allowed no more than she could manage to cultivate.

In general, one cannot escape the pessimistic conclusion that Native peasant farming in the District is operated very similarly to the way the European suburbanite would raise home-grown vegetables, and indeed it is very often on as small a piece of ground. Instead of

[1]For fuller explanation of such practices *vide Social Structure*.
[2]For a detailed study of acreages in relation to land use and tenure, *vide Land Tenure*.

Stamping Mealies

Plastering Walls

travelling daily between their homes and work, the menfolk of the District, and many employable women as well, return home at the weekend, or annually for ploughing or holidays, leaving the unemployables at home to raise the crops to help in feeding their families. A study of the trade of the District has already shown to what extent those inadequate supplies of crops are supplemented by imported food; and a study of family expenditure has revealed the extraordinarily high proportion of the family budget which goes towards buying food to supplement home-grown produce.

The actual effect of the substitution in peasant farming of able-bodied adult workers by the residue of family left behind in the District when they emigrate to the cities, might be more readily appreciated by a review of the work-a-day lives of some actual families in Upper Nqhumeya:

Substitution of male adults by females

Homestead 1. Away: 1 able-bodied man.
At home: 2 able-bodied women and 6 children.

The head of this homestead is Jackson who works in Johannesburg, and returns home annually to plough. Living at home and eating from the same fire are his 35-year-old wife and 22-year-old unmarried sister, his four surviving children and two illegitimate children of his sister. The oldest child in this homestead is a boy of 10, the youngest are infants.

Last season, Jackson took six days over the ploughing, and the two women spent altogether 64 women-days cultivating their sizeable vegetable garden and weeding and reaping the field. Two days help were given in the field of another who assisted Jackson in the ploughing. Each week 25½ women-hours are spent collecting water and wood and stamping and grinding mealies. The two living and one store huts, which are permanently thatched, take 25 women-days to keep in repair.

Homestead 2. Away: 2 able-bodied men.
At home: 3 adult women (1 hunchback and 1 away most of the time), 5 girls, 3 children.

The head of this homestead, Wilcox, works in Kingwilliamstown and returns home for the weekends. His 25-year-old son works in

Johannesburg, occasionally sending money to his parents. Living in the homestead are three women of between 40 and 49 years of age, five girls aged 11 to 18 and three children. These are: Wilcox's hunchbacked wife, Rhoda, of whose eleven children only the one son in Johannesburg and a baby survive; a young orphaned cousin; Wilcox's unmarried sister, Sophia, who works in the District, returning home for the weekends where her two illegitimate daughters live with Rhoda; and, feeding from a separate fire, Annah, the widow of Wilcox's brother, with her three surviving legitimate daughters and an illegitimate baby.

The six people who eat from Rhoda's fire live in two huts, the five who eat from Annah's fire live in one hut and have also a store hut. None of the huts is permanently thatched, and together they require annually 50 women-days attention, the floors having to be smeared frequently owing to the presence of so many young people and children. The ploughing was done by Wilcox in both Rhoda's and Annah's fields, taking 11 days in all. Rhoda with her two young helpers and Sophia, when she was home at the weekends, spent 73 women-days in the field; they also cultivated a small vegetable garden. Annah and her three older daughters spent 60 women-days in her field, and Annah worked one day in Rhoda's field in return for the ploughing done by Wilcox. Between the two fires, which feed a total of ten people and two weekenders, 62 women-hours a week are spent in fetching wood and water and stamping and grinding mealies.

Homesteads 3 and 4. Two homesteads, each with an able-bodied son away and a widowed mother alone at home.

Nomabase (aged 48) and Jane (aged 52) each lives entirely alone and has a son in his 20's working in town, but seldom sending money home. Jane also has a 30-year-old unmarried daughter in Port Elizabeth, where she has an illegitimate child to support.

Nomabase lives in a single hut, in a state of ill repair, on which she devotes only 10 days in the year. Jane was left well provided for by her late husband, in that she lives in a rectangular hut consisting of three rooms, and has in addition a rondavel kitchen; although these huts have permanent thatch, she nevertheless spends 20 days a year on their upkeep. Friends in seven days ploughed Nomabase's field, in return for shares in her crops. She spent 36 days weeding and reaping. A friend of Jane's late husband ploughed her field in four days, getting in return seven days' service from Jane in his field. Weeding and reaping her own field took her 30 days. She has a garden, but it lies fallow for want of time to cultivate it. She has such a considerable distance to walk for water that she wastes 28 hours a week on this task alone; altogether, tasks preparatory to cooking for herself take 36½ hours a week. Nomabase has less distance to go for water, and spends only 14 hours a week on the same household tasks.

Substitution of the able-bodied by the old and infirm

Homestead 5. Away: 3 adult men and 3 adult women, two of whom have a child to support in town.
At home: 1 old widow, 1 youth, 1 girl.

Nomase is a 67-year-old widow whose five surviving children are all grown up and away working. Her two younger sons, who are illegitimate, have gone to Queenstown and Johannesburg; her oldest legitimate son is in Natal; her younger daughter was widowed in East London and remained there with her surviving child; her elder daughter, Maria, was widowed after having three children by her husband, and had two illegitimate children subsequently at his mother's home. Maria is now in Cape Town with her daughter who has in turn given birth there to two illegitimate children. Maria's only other surviving child, an illegitimate son, lives with his grandmother, Nomase, in the homestead and attends school. There has also been "given" to Nomase to help her with the work, a 12-year-old grand-niece.

Nomase, her grandson and grand-niece live alone in one hut which requires 16 women-days a year maintenance. Her field was ploughed in three days by her young grandson, with the help of the relatives who have given their 12-year-old child to this homestead. Nomase, in return, worked 11 days in the fields of these relatives and, together with her grand-niece spent 28 women-days in cultivating her own field. Tasks preparatory to cooking take 14½ women-hours a week.

Homestead 6. Away: 2 adult men and 1 adult woman.
At home: 1 old woman and 1 youth.

Agnes, a 69-year-old widow, has only three of her nine children surviving. Her two adult sons have gone to town and never been heard of again. Her sole support is her daughter, Manise (aged 43),

who married in 1925 but, after bearing five children, committed adultery. Turned out by her husband, Manise returned to her mother's home where she gave birth to a son now 16 years of age.

Manise works in East London as a domestic servant and her son, John, lives alone with his grandmother, Agnes, in one hut. Agnes is too old to work; she cannot carry water and must buy it at 3d. a bucket; she spends only one hour a week collecting brushwood nearby and three hours a week stamping and grinding mealies; the hut is neglected, only seven days a year being devoted to its maintenance; she does not attempt much work in her small field, having recorded a total of only eight days spent in weeding and reaping last year. Friends help John to plough, sow, weed and reap, in return for which he lends a hand in their ploughing. Manise returns home occasionally for a visit, but she always has to go back, as her earnings in town are vital to the support of her mother and son in buying water and food.

Homestead 7. Away: 1 able-bodied man and 1 youth.
At home: 2 infirm women and a baby.

Esther, a blind widow of 53 had seven children, of whom only two survive, a son aged 23 working in Cape Town and another of 17 in East London. Both send money to their mother. Living with Esther is her half-paralysed sister, unmarried and aged 34, with one surviving illegitimate child.

Help was hired for ploughing and harvesting, and the half-paralysed woman worked in the field for 62 days. Fetching wood and water and stamping and grinding mealies for the three of them takes her 23½ hours a week; keeping one living hut and one store hut in repair, 23 days a year.

Homestead 8. Away: 4 adult men.
At home: 2 infirm old women, 1 youth, 2 children and 1 adult woman who works in Keiskammahoek.

A man, now dead, had two wives who are both now living as widows in this homestead; the first (aged 91) is totally blind, the second (aged 68) is becoming paralysed in the arms. Between them they bore sixteen children, of whom the only survivors are two married daughters and three younger sons, now in their 30's, who are

working in East London and Johannesburg. An orphaned 20-year-old grandson also works in Johannesburg.

The sole support of the old women is Mary, a widowed daughter-in-law (aged 41) who works part of the week in the town of Keiskammahoek and regularly walks five miles home to help the old people. Her son, Albert (aged 18), ploughs and does most of the work in the fields and around the homestead, in which his two little brothers also live. Small cans of water and small bundles of wood are fetched by Albert and the half-paralysed old woman, and Mary stamps and grinds a supply of mealies whenever she is at home; 42 hours a week are spent on these tasks. The three living huts take 26 days annually to keep in repair. Albert spent ten days ploughing the two fields, with the help of his mother, and 60 days weeding and reaping, with the help of a work party arranged for the harvesting.

Substitution of the adult by the young

Homestead 9. Away: 2 able-bodied adults and their baby.
At home: 2 girls and 1 child.

A father and his 40-year-old wife both work in East London, having with them their youngest child aged 3. Left in charge of the homestead is their oldest daughter, 15 years of age, with her younger sisters.

The father returned for the three days' ploughing, and a work party was arranged by friends to help the children at harvesting. They themselves worked for 48 women-days at weeding the field. Fetching water and wood and stamping and grinding mealies takes 10 hours a week. Keeping the floors and walls of the one living and one store hut in repair takes the children 17 days a year, and their mother does the thatching whenever she returns home.

TABLE 47

Keiskammahoek District

Estimated Distribution of Native Labour

Showing the numbers, in 1946, of males and females of working age and total children and aged; and the density of these in locations.

Area	Number of Persons in each Area				Number of Persons per Sq. Mile			
	Persons of working age 19–59		Children and aged	Total according to 1946 Census	Persons of working age 19–59		Children and aged	Total persons
	Male	Female			Male	Female		
Keiskammahoek town	25	48	61	134				
Municipal area south	75	121	369	565				
Municipal area north	80	110	338	528				
Debe Allotments ..	30	16	44	90				
Fort Cox	144	46	127	317				
St. Matthew's ..	60	116	318	494				
Sub-total non-location areas	414	457	1,257	2,128	12·4	13·7	37·6	63·7
Locations:								
Mbems	122	289	794	1,205	14·6	34·7	95·4	144·7
Burnshill	124	249	683	1,056	7·7	15·5	42·6	65·8
Zanyokwe ..	72	127	349	548	10·9	19·2	52·7	82·8
Lower Nqhumeya	40	89	241	370	13·4	30·0	81·0	124·4
Upper Nqhumeya	86	193	534	813	23·6	53·1	146·8	223·5
Lower Rabula ..	91	171	467	729	7·7	14·5	39·9	62·1
Upper Rabula ..	201	260	711	1,172	9·4	12·1	33·0	54·5
Gwili-Gwili ..	156	321	887	1,364	10·4	21·3	58·9	90·6
Mthwaku	130	273	754	1,157	9·5	19·9	54·9	84·3
Dontsa	49	74	208	331	4·2	6·4	18·0	28·6
Nqolo-Nqolo ..	77	149	413	639	10·6	20·4	56·8	87·8
Chatha	142	302	829	1,273	8·6	18·3	50·1	77·0
Mnyameni ..	99	395	1,087	1,581	5·0	19·9	54·8	79·7
Gxulu	107	285	786	1,178	11·5	30·8	84·9	127·2
Wolf River ..	195	397	1,091	1,683	9·2	18·7	51·6	79·3
Sub-total—Locations	1,691	3,574	9,834	15,099	9·1	19·3	53·1	81·5
Unspecified	4	1	11	16				
Total District (1946)	2,109	4,032	11,102	17,243	9·6	18·4	50·8	78·8

The following framework of this computation is taken from the 1946 census of Natives:

(i) Total males and females in each Location, or area.

(ii) Males and females in each age group for the total area comprising Keiskammahoek town and municipal areas south and north. These are included in the Census as "Urban population."

(iii) Males and females in each age group for the remaining areas of the District, being included in the Census as "Rural population."

More detailed enumeration of ages, that is, by each separate location or area listed in this Table, was not made available by the Department of Census and Statistics, and had to be estimated. Such estimates of males and females of working age (19–59 years) and of total children and aged (0–18 years and 60 years and over) were based on the following principles:

Females: Equal ratios in all areas of the three female age groups—workers, children and aged. Equal age distribution in all areas incorporates an assumption of proportionately equal net emigration of females (who are mainly of the working age group), from all areas.

Males: Equal ratios in each area of male children and aged to total *female* population. Since the proportion of male adults away from the District so far exceeds the proportion of net emigrant female adults (estimated on pp. 131-132 as 54% and 8% respectively) the margin for statistical error would be that much greater if ratios were based on total *male* population.

Implied in the estimates, of course, is the assumption of relative stability, *as between one location and another*, of all children and aged and of females of working age.

TABLE 48

Labour Available for Farming and Total Persons at Home

(In Upper Nqhumeya in November 1950)

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
Total persons recorded:			
Old people	24	67	91
Able-bodied adults	83	188	271
Young people	74	100	174
Total workers	181	355	536
Children			311
Total persons eating from fires ..			847
Average persons per individual fire:			
Old people	0·1	0·3	0·4
Able-bodied adults	0·5	1·0	1·5
Young people	0·4	0·5	0·9
Average workers	1·0	1·8	2·8
Children			1·6
Average persons eating from fire ..			4·4

TABLE 49

WORK TIME SPENT ON FARMING AND BY WOMEN ON UNPRODUCTIVE HOUSEHOLD TASKS

(As recorded in Upper Nqhumeya for 1950)

Category of Work	Time units	Time Recorded		
		Aggregate	Average per family fire	Average per woman or girl
Ploughing by men and boys :				
Among the 96 fields of women who have menfolk at home	Plough-team days per year	728	7·6	
In the 14 fields of women who have only youths at home		48	3·5	
In the 76 fields of women who have no menfolk at home		266	3·5	
Total ploughing		1,042	5·4	
Cultivation by women and girls :				
Weeding in own fields	Woman-days per year	9,373	48·6	26·4
„ „ others' fields		175	0·9	0·5
Total weeding		9,548	49·5	26·9
Reaping own fields		2,805	14·6	7·9
„ fields of others		235	1·2	0·7
Total reaping		3,040	15·8	8·6
Hoeing and cultivating vegetable gardens		456	2·2	1·2
Total cultivation by women ..		13,044	67·5	36·7
Unproductive household tasks of women and girls.				
Preparation for cooking :				
Fetching water	Woman-hours per week	2,304	11·9	6·5
„ wood		1,534	7·9	4·3
Stamping and grinding of mealies..		1,037	5·4	2·9
Total preparation for cooking		4,875	25·2	13·7
Keeping huts in repair :				
Smearing floors	Woman-days per year	1,584	8·2	4·5
Pounding or resetting floors ..		1,563	8·1	4·4
Plastering walls with mud.. ..		1,073	5·6	3·0
Thatching		202	1·0	0·6
Total on huts		4,422	22·9	12·5

Chapter VI

PRODUCTION

In the previous chapter it was shown that a large part of the effective labour of the District emigrates to find employment in the industrial cities, and that the remnant of the labour force within the District is employed almost entirely in farming activities of one sort or another. It was earlier estimated that 15,930 out of the total Native population of 17,243 are peasant farmers. One-fourth of adults not classified as peasants are students at St. Matthew's and Fort Cox. Even many of those not classified as peasants—people such as employees on European farms or the squatters at Fort Cox—own cattle and cultivate some land. When, therefore, an attempt is made to assess the production of the District, it is found that there is little to be considered other than the activities of stock farming and crop production. Apart from the production of timber in the forests and plantations of the Department of Forestry, the building of huts and houses and the provision of limited educational and administrative services, the only productive output is that from arable and stock farming. Traditionally, stock ownership was the dominant characteristic of Bantu tribal economy, arable farming being of subsidiary importance; now, however, under economic pressure, grain has replaced meat and milk as the staple diet, and the relative importance of agriculture has consequently increased.

A detailed study of the farming methods and of land use was to have formed part of this Report but the subject was of such importance and so much material had been obtained that it was decided to publish it separately. The report on *Land Tenure*, Volume IV of the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, discusses the various forms of land tenure and land use, and describes the aims, methods and organization of arable and stock farming. Discussion here will be confined, therefore, to a brief outline of these features, and will concentrate upon the measurement of the output of farming and upon the economic implications of these agricultural practices.

A.—Arable Farming

Every Bantu family aspires to own some cattle and to have a piece of land, but the increasing pressure of population has given rise to a situation in which it is impossible to supply every family with land to cultivate, though the policy of the Native Affairs Department is to do this as far as possible. The increasing pressure of population has furthermore led to most unsuitable land being brought under the plough: steep slopes, formerly forest-covered, have been cleared and ploughed; this rich forest loam yields a good crop for some years but such land is highly vulnerable to soil erosion. Repeated planting of maize with little or no attempt to put anything back into the soil leads to its rapid impoverishment. Abandoned arable land, scarred by eroded gullies, is evidence of the consequences of attempting to cultivate in violation of the natural controls. Even on land topographically better suited to be put under the plough, repeated monoculture of maize and inadequate care for the maintenance of fertility is steadily reducing the productive capacity. In earlier days when land was relatively plentiful, tribal agricultural practice was one of shifting cultivation, for when the fertility of a piece of arable land was exhausted it was abandoned and a new piece was brought under cultivation. Now, however, the pressure of population is such that this is no longer possible; and failure to adopt new agricultural techniques which would build up soil fertility and aim at producing a sustained yield from the land, is the reason for the progressive decline in agricultural productivity.

The peasant farmer in the Reserves does not aim at production for markets but cultivates food for the support of the family group. It is essentially a subsistence economy, and the attitude of the African towards farming is coloured by this point of view. The staple diet is maize and this crop is cultivated to the virtual exclusion of everything else, except a little kaffircorn (sorghum), regardless of whether the soil and climate are favourable for this crop. A field worker[1] reports that, having asked why the people cultivate mealies (maize) to such an extent instead of planting beans, peas or producing cash crops, he was informed, *umntu omnyama akanakuphila ngaphandle kombona* (a black man cannot live without mealies). He was further informed that the people do not cultivate mealies to sell : they sell mealies only because they are

[1]S. Skosana in a preliminary report on Land Tenure.

Young Thorn Bush Coming on Severely Eroded Land

Abandoned Arable Land Scarred by Gully Erosion

in need of cash at the moment but they never sell mealies in large quantities. If they need money they go out to earn it in the towns—they do not sell their crops; they cultivate the land for their subsistence, and if there is a surplus it is stored for future use. This attitude explains why maize production dominates the cropping policy. There is no rotation of crops, and the number of holdings in the District where any attempt at scientific farming is practised is negligible. The whole farming policy is determined by the immediate human need for maize, and twice as much land is devoted to maize as is devoted to all other crops. From Tables 50 and 51 it will be seen that, in 1948–49, 401 acres were devoted to maize and 260 acres to everything else, in 1949–50 the acreages were 967 under maize and 230 under other crops.

The sizes of individual arable holdings are so small that it is indeed difficult to see how crop rotation could be effectively introduced. The average size of a family's holding of arable land is only 3·25 acres in a communal location, and 82% of the fields are less than 5 acres. In locations where there is freehold or quitrent tenure, holdings vary more in size and there are a number which reach about 20 to 40 acres while some few are over 100 acres, but sub-division, share-cropping and hiring of land[1] make, in practice, for a more equitable distribution of the land in actual cultivation. However, even on the larger holdings little attempt at a planned rotation of crops is to be found. On Trust land some attempt has been made to improve farming practice, and the sowing of cowpeas is enforced, but no effective rotation has yet been introduced.

The Keiskammahoek District falls within the summer rainfall area, and by far the greater part of crop production takes place during that season. The principal summer crops are maize and kaffircorn, but small quantities of beans, peas and cowpeas are also raised. Some vegetables and a little tobacco are grown in gardens for home consumption, while pumpkins and melons are produced generally as a ground crop under the maize. Winter crops are limited to a little wheat which is grown in certain areas in good seasons, and to a very small quantity of birdseed (*phalaris canariensis*) which is sold to the traders as a cash crop. Almost nothing in the way of winter feed for cattle is produced: barley, oats and lucerne are seldom sown, and the only plantings of fodder grasses are on Trust land under the supervision of the Native Affairs Department. After the maize has been

[1] *Vide Land Tenure*, Chapters II, III and IV for a full discussion of these practices.

harvested, the cattle are customarily allowed into the lands to eat the standing stalks, though the practice of cutting the stover and feeding it to the animals is gaining ground in some places.

Maize and kaffircorn are planted in about October and harvested in April and May, but times are found to vary greatly from season to season. The area planted also varies greatly, for the acreage ploughed in any year depends upon three things—the rainfall, the condition of the stock, and the labour available. Ploughing is normally done with oxen, and at the end of winter the ground is too hard to plough until the spring rains. If these are inadequate or delayed, the acreage is correspondingly reduced. Even if adequate rain falls early in the season, ploughing is not always possible because the condition of the stock may be such that they are too weak to pull the ploughs. It is then necessary to wait until the new grass has improved their condition; but by that time, unless further rain has fallen, the ground may again be too hard to plough. Even if the oxen are relatively fit, their generally poor condition makes ploughing a slow business, and only a limited acreage can be ploughed while suitable conditions prevail. Many people who own no stock have to take their turn in borrowing the spans of neighbours. They may even have to wait until they can borrow implements, for by no means all the landholders own ploughs, and very few indeed own harrows and planters; among something over 3,000 landholders in the District there were recorded in 1946 only 1,583 ploughs, 445 harrows and 64 planters. The ploughing, moreover, is shallow, for the Bantu object to deep ploughing because as they say, "deep ploughing makes the oxen thin." The inefficiency of having to rely upon oxen, particularly in bad seasons, is obvious. In order to assist in overcoming the difficulty, the Administration has provided tractors which may be hired at a charge of 8/9 per acre for ploughing, and many people in communal locations and on Trust land have availed themselves of the service. The third limiting factor affecting acreage is the availability of labour. The large emigration of workers often leaves insufficient labour behind in the family group to cope with the ploughing. Although many of the emigrants attempt to return to their homes at ploughing time, this is not always easy, and even if they do succeed their return may not coincide with the rains. The difficulty of the labour shortage is obviated to some extent by mutual assistance between neighbours,[1]

[1]Mutual assistance in farming has been touched upon in the previous chapter, but for a more detailed discussion, reference is made to *Land Tenure*, Chapter VI.

but it is nevertheless not uncommon to find that some of the available arable land has remained uncultivated because there was no one to do the ploughing.

It is generally recognised that the yield from African cultivation is low, but few reliable figures of crop yields exist. In an attempt to secure accurate information on this matter a survey was carried out in the Keiskammahoek District during the two summer and winter seasons from 1948 to 1950. The area sown to various crops was measured for a sample of 253 families in five separate locations and the yield in each case was measured.[1] A summary of the findings is given on Tables 50, 51 and 52.

The most striking feature is the very marked difference in yield between the two seasons. For instance, the total yield of maize, including green mealies consumed, from the acreage sown each season by the families was as follows :—

	1948–49 *(severe drought)*	1949–50 *(good rains)*
Total yield (200 bags)	250	2,452
Area sown (acres)	401	967
Yield per acre (200 lb. bags) approx.	$\frac{2}{3}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$

Thus the total yield was nearly ten times as large in the latter season, and the yield per acre about four times as great, which shows how largely climatic conditions determine the agricultural output in any season.[2] In two locations, Burnshill and Rabula, the maize crop in

[1]The crop yield survey was undertaken by Mr. G. K. McCune and five agricultural demonstrators seconded for this purpose by the Native Affairs Department. The sample families were the same as those selected for the budget and the migration surveys (see pp. 91 and 125). The sample initially comprised 285 families; during this survey 32 were abandoned, and the number remaining in the sample is, therefore, 253 families; 74 in Chatha, 42 in Burnshill, 38 in Rabula, 50 in Mthwaku and 49 in Gxulu.

The task involved the measurement of areas sown to various crops during the two summer and winter seasons of 1948 through 1950 on the families' individual land holdings. Throughout the two years, harvest yields from these areas were weighed.

[2]The variations in annual rainfall are indicated by the following recordings in the town of Keiskammahoek :—

1940	24·43 inches	
1941	19·33 „	
1942	27·50 „	
1943	30·63 „	
1944	20·76 „	
1945	13·81 „	(severe drought)
1946	20·05 „	
1947	19·40 „	
1948	25·04 „	(latter half of '48 and
1949	13·54 „	first half of '49 very dry)
1950	28·78 „	

1948–49 was virtually nil, less in fact than the quantity of seed sown; in Mthwaku it was one-third of a bag per acre, in Gxulu about two-thirds and in Chatha one bag. The difference in the yield of kaffircorn in the two seasons exhibits the same trend, but the difference is not as great as in the case of maize, which is evidence that kaffircorn is better able to withstand drought. As a result of drought, there were no winter crops whatsoever in 1949; in the following year a small quantity of wheat and birdseed was produced.

Another interesting feature of the detailed figures is the wide range in the yields from individual holdings. In the 1948–49 season, maize yields from individual holdings varied from absolutely nil to 2 bags per acre; in 1949–50 from less than 1 bag to 7 bags. If the yield from all holdings could be raised to the level of the better ones, there would be a very substantial increase in total productivity, and it may be argued that this should be possible, since what one family can do others ought also to be capable of doing. However, some of the causes of the better yields are not easily applicable to the poorer yield holdings. Some soils are better than others: some are rich forest loam not yet destroyed by persistent monoculture of maize, some are in a moisture area. Then too, much depends upon the initiative, skill and knowledge of the cultivator, upon whether manure is applied to the field, and upon the labour, ploughing facilities and capital available. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that with better methods of cultivation and sounder agricultural practice the yield could be increased very substantially. At Fort Cox Agricultural School the average yield of maize over the last 14 years has been 7 bags to the acre,[1] compared with an average yield by Native peasants of about 2½ bags in the good year and only two-thirds of a bag in the drought.

Since the aim of Bantu peasant cultivation is the provision of food for the family, the yield from agriculture must be considered in relation to the needs of the population of the area. The 253 families in the sample have a total population resident at home of 1,473 persons, an average of 5·8 persons per family. In considering the adequacy of agricultural production of the Reserve, the yield must be viewed in relation to the whole population which it is required to support. Therefore, although only 185 families in 1948–49 and 242 families

[1]Yield of maize at Fort Cox Agricultural School.

1948–49	1·8 (200 lb. bags)
1949–50	6·8 („)
Average over last 14 years	7 bags (200 lbs.) per acre.

in 1949–50 attempted to grow mealies, their total production is averaged among all 253 to show the quantity of maize available per family. This amounted to one 200 lb. bag of maize per family in 1948–49 and 9⅔ bags in 1949–50. The consumption of maize in a family of 5·8 persons has been estimated at 20 bags per annum.[1] It is thus seen that production in the drought year was only one-twentieth of the consumption, and that even in the relatively good season of 1949–50 production amounted to less than half the needs of the population. The shortfall in production relative to consumption was 19 bags per family in 1948–49 and 10⅓ bags in 1949–50. Even if a minimal estimate be made of the consumption needs of 5·8 people as one 200 lb. bag of maize per month, the production in the good season was only about four-fifths of average consumption.

It may be of interest to make a rough calculation of the maize production of the African peasant population of the Keiskammahoek District on the basis of the results obtained from the sample survey. The total population of the 253 sample families is 1,473 and the estimated African peasant population of the District is 15,930 which is approximately 10·8 times that of the sample. Calculated thus, the yield of the District is found to be 2,695 bags in 1948–49 and 26,480 bags in 1949–50. Comparing these figures with the estimates hereunder of maize production of the Native Reserves in the Keiskammahoek District as given in the annual Agricultural Censuses,[2] it is seen that the season 1948–49 was one of the worst seasons of recent years and 1949–50 one of the best:—

	200 lb. bags	
	Agricultural Census	*Sample Survey (including green mealies)*
1938–39	12,650	
1945–46	4,172	
1946–47	3,800	
1947–48	11,500	
1948–49	794	2,695
1949–50	Not available	26,480

[1]A recent report by the Division of Nutrition and Health Education estimates the average consumption of maize by a family of seven persons at 24·3 bags. The average size of the families in this sample is 5·8 persons. Therefore average consumption per family

$$= \frac{24{\cdot}3 \times 5{\cdot}8}{7} = 20{\cdot}2 \text{ bags.}$$

[2]1938–39, 1945–46, 1946–47 figures from annual Agricultural Census.
1947–48, 1948–49 figures kindly supplied by the Office of Census and Statistics. The Agricultural Census does not include mealies eaten green, whereas these are included in this survey.

Although maize is the staple diet, there are other foodstuffs produced to supplement it in small measure. The production of foodstuffs per family of 5·8 persons is set out hereunder for each of the two seasons :—

	1948–49	1949–50
Maize (200 lb. bags)	1 bag	9⅔ bags
Kaffircorn (200 lb. bags) ..	⅓ bag	1⅙ bags
Peas	½ lb.	16 lbs.
Beans	1 lb.	4 lbs.
Cowpeas	6 lbs.	21 lbs.
Wheat (200 lb. bags)	nil	⅔ bag

To these crops must be added a small quantity of potatoes, pumpkins, melons and garden vegetables. In addition, wild fruits and greens are eaten. In 1948–49 the total production of grain of all kinds was less than 2 bags per family and in 1949–50 it was about 12 bags. It is therefore clear that, even in a good season such as 1949–50, the production of the area is totally inadequate to support the population for a whole year, and that a considerable quantity of food has normally to be imported.

TABLE 50

SUMMER CROP PRODUCTION, 1948–49 SEASON

	Chatha	Burnshill	Rabula	Mthwaku	Gxulu	All Locations
No. of families in sample ..	74	42	38	50	49	253
No. of persons in sample families	455·5	254	257·5	277	229	1,473
Rainfall (8 months, Sept. to April) ins.	17·38	11·80	10·54	15·64	18·36	
MAIZE :						
No. of families who sowed	62	38	20	22	33	175
Area sown (acres) ..	151·9	60·9	46·9	58·9	82·4	401
Yield in lbs.	34,908	778	470	3,775	9,986	49,917
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	230	13	10	64	121	124
KAFFIRCORN :						
No. of families who sowed	44	22	15	15	16	112
Area sown (acres) ..	52·5	41·3	33·7	15·4	13·7	156·6
Yield in lbs.	13,721	577	192	1,944	1,091	17,525
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	261	14	5	126	79	111
PEAS :						
No. of families who sowed	5	12	—	6	9	32
Area sown (acres ..	1·8	16·3	—	4·4	7	29·5
Yield in lbs.	nil	nil	—	75	53	128
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	nil	nil	—	17	8	4
COWPEAS :						
No. of families who sowed	—	10	—	—	16	26
Area sown (acres) ..	—	15·2	—	—	17·4	32·6
Yield in lbs.	—	nil	—	—	1,500	1,500
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	—	nil	—	—	86	46
BEANS :						
No. of families who sowed	2	15	16	—	9	42
Area sown (acres) ..	·7	21·2	12·1	—	7	41
Yield in lbs.	nil	57	nil	—	218	275
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	nil	2	nil	—	31	7

TABLE 51

Summer Crop Production, 1949–50 season

	Chatha	Burnshill	Rabula	Mthwaku	Gxulu	All Locations
No. of families in sample ..	74	42	38	50	49	253
No. of persons in sample families	455·5	254	257·5	277	229	1,473
Rainfall (8 months, Sept. to April) ins.	27·73	20·15	17·66	22·40	21·55	
Maize :						
No. of families who sowed	74	41	36	48	43	242
Area sown (acres) ..	256·3	169·5	218·5	181·9	140·5	966·7
Yield in lbs.	134,447	70,372	109,193	103,110	73,255	490,377
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	524	415	499	566	521	507
Kaffircorn :						
No. of families who sowed	60	16	7	36	11	130
Area sown (acres) ..	75·3	24·1	8·1	51·4	14·1	173
Yield in lbs.	18,303	7,697	5,325	19,500	9,080	59,905
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	243	319	657	379	644	346
Peas :						
No. of families who sowed	4	7	6	7	13	37
Area sown (acres) ..	1·7	3·4	4·4	5·5	8·8	23·8
Yield in lbs.	160	202	1,176	987	1,557	4,084
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	94	59	267	179	177	171
Cowpeas :						
No. of families who sowed	—	10	—	—	16	26
Area sown (acres) ..	—	7·7	—	—	14·9	22·6
Yield in lbs.	—	3,860	—	—	1,492	5,352
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	—	501	—	—	100	237
Beans :						
No. of families who sowed	—	3	4	1	4	12
Area sown (acres) ..	—	2·9	4·5	1·2	·8	9·4
Yield in lbs.	—	131	281	392	146	950
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	—	45	62	326	182	101

TABLE 52

Winter Crop Production, 1949 and 1950

Winter 1949

	Chatha	Burnshill	Rabula	Mthwaku	Gxulu	All Locations
Rainfall (8 months, Mar. to Oct.) ins.	9·49	5·28	4·64	7·55	7·58	

Owing to drought, no winter crops whatsoever.

Winter 1950

	Chatha	Burnshill	Rabula	Mthwaku	Gxulu	All Locations
No. of families in sample ..	74	42	38	50	49	253
No. of persons in sample families	455·5	254	257·5	277	229	1,473
Rainfall (8 months, Mar. to Oct.) ins.	25·34	16·14	21·71	20·54	18·68 ·	
Wheat :						
No. of families who sowed	2	19	21	4	5	51
Area sown (acres) ..	1·6	35·1	51·8	5·3	9·4	103·2
Yield in lbs.	505	8,409	17,612	2,599	3,595	32,220
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	315	239	340	490	382	312
Birdseed :						
No. of families who sowed	1	7	10	2	—	20
Area sown (acres) ..	1·0	10·2	43·7	3·0	—	57·9
Yield in lbs.	55	1,471	15,066	953	—	17,545
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	55	145	345	317	—	303
Oats :						
No. of families who sowed	—	—	—	1	—	1
Area sown (acres) ..	—	—	—	1	—	1
Yield in lbs.	—	—	—	325	—	325
Yield per acre (lbs.) ..	—	—	—	325	—	325

B.—Stock Farming

Stock farming is a misnomer if it be taken to imply that stock is acquired and bred with the object of producing an economic return, because the Bantu peasant makes no attempt, except possibly in the case of wool, to direct his stock farming activities so as to yield marketable products. The majority regard ownership of stock in a very different light from that of the European stock farmer. Undoubtedly he acquires stock in the hope of some return in the form of milk and meat for the subsistence of himself and his family, but the average yield of these products is so low that his ownership of stock cannot logically be justified on these grounds. It is to the peculiar significance of cattle in the social structure of the Bantu that one must look for an explanation of the intense desire to acquire stock. Ownership of cattle is desired *per se*, regardless of any return they may yield, because of their importance in ritual and the social status that large herds confer upon their owner.

The numbers of stock are excessive in relation to the available pasture, as at present managed, and there is a close analogy between the overpopulation of the District by human beings, and the overpopulation of the veld by stock; when the pressure of man and beast upon the land becomes too great the men emigrate and the beasts die. On Table 53 the stock population of the District in each year since 1925 is given. At the end of this period, in 1950, the stock population was almost identical with the beginning, thus :—

	Cattle	*Sheep*	*Goats*
1925	9,522	19,547	10,680
1950	9,438	18,460	12,634

However, there have been marked fluctuations over the period, the number of cattle, for instance, reaching its highest figure in 1942 (14,504) and its lowest in 1949 (8,845), but there is no general trend. The fluctuations in numbers can in most cases be clearly related to rainfall. This would seem to indicate that the land is carrying the maximum number of stock of which it is capable under the prevailing system of pasture management (or, more accurately, lack of management). If the rains fail, there is heavy mortality and stock numbers are temporarily reduced; but natural increase leads to the gradual rise in numbers once more to their maximum; and there they remain until

the next drought again decimates them. The drastic reductions in the cattle population between the years 1944 and 1945 and between 1948 and 1949 are noteworthy. In 1944 there were about 12,500 Native-owned cattle in the District but by the next year severe drought had reduced the number to only 9,345, a decrease of 3,155. To this fall in the net number of cattle must be added natural increase, if the full toll taken by the drought in that year is to be measured; the gross losses have been estimated at 4,696,[1] or 38% of the number of cattle in 1944. By 1948 the cattle population had again increased to 11,345, but drought once more reduced it, so that by the following year the cattle population was only 8,845, a decrease of 2,500 or 22%; the total cattle losses in that year have been estimated at 3,500.

The reason for these huge stock losses is that the veld is called upon to support a stock population beyond its normal carrying capacity. In 1948, before the stock population had been reduced by drought, there were the following stock in the District on an area of approximately 40,000 morgen of grazing land :—[2]

Cattle	11,345
Sheep	17,820
Goats	12,600 (estimated)
Horses	400 (estimated)
Donkeys	148

These stock represent about 18,000 cattle-units,[3] so that the average stock density is about 2·2 morgen of grazing per cattle-unit. It has been estimated[4] that the carrying capacity of land in this area is such that 3·5 or 4 morgen are required to support one cattle-unit. Thus the

[1]Report on Agricultural and Pastoral Production U.G. 77/1948.

[2]Taking the area of the District as 66,000 morgen and subtracting 18,000 morgen of Forest and European-owned land, one is left with about 48,000 morgen of which about 8,000 is cultivated, leaving 40,000 for grazing. Some of this land is very precipitous and rocky. The Native Affairs Department, in the Annual Report for the year ending 30th June, 1947, however, estimates the extent of grazing at only about 20,000 morgen. On this figure the effective stock density would be 1·1 morgen per cattle-unit and overstocking figures would accordingly be greatly increased. (1 morgen equals 2·11654 acres).

[3]A cattle-unit equals one large head of stock (cattle, horses and donkeys) or five small head of stock (sheep or goats).

[4]Social and Economic Planning Council Report (U.G. 32/1946) gives 3·4 morgen per cattle-unit as the carrying capacity in the Ciskei. R. R. Baker (Chief Agricultural Officer, Native Affairs Department, Kingwilliamstown) in an article on the Rehabilitation of the Native Reserves in *Man and His Environment*: "From experience gained it is considered that in the Ciskei grazing assessments generally speaking should not exceed one cattle-unit to four morgen of grazing, though this may be increased at a later stage during the process of rehabilitation."

carrying capacity of the available grazing in the District would permit of a stock population of only 11,400 units, instead of the 18,000 which there were in 1948. Overstocking in that year was, therefore, about 60% above the estimated carrying capacity of the land. Even in 1949, after the drought had taken its heavy toll, the stock population was as follows :—

Cattle	8,845
Sheep	17,509
Goats	12,173
Horses	355
Donkeys	128

These stock represent a total of about 15,250 cattle-units, which is still about 3,850 cattle-units in excess of the estimated carrying capacity. Even in this year, therefore, when there were the lowest recorded number of cattle in the District in 26 years, overstocking was about 30% above the estimated carrying capacity of the land.

The result of persistent overstocking is an extremely low yield from stock farming, whether for market or for domestic consumption. The majority of the cattle are perpetually undernourished. They receive little supplementary feeding even in winter, and have to rely for their food upon what they can get from the severely overgrazed veld. Even as draught animals, Native cattle are far from satisfactory, being frequently too weak to plough when the spring rains come. In addition to acting as draught animals, the same cattle are expected to produce milk and meat. Under conditions of communal grazing, breeding for specialised purposes is impossible.

Less than half the cattle in the District are cows and heifers. Milk production in winter is practically negligible, and in summer is in very small quantity, almost entirely for immediate family consumption. At a small dairy established in Gxulu by the Native Affairs Department, the average daily yield from 12 Native-owned cows fluctuated between 1½ and 3 lbs. per head. Very little meat is produced commercially, for sale through the few local produce markets in the District or to those traders who operate butcheries. An indication of the amount of meat produced commercially is the volume of sales through the only regular produce market in the District, the weekly market in Mthwaku : there were in 1947–48 an average of only five offerings monthly, and the total value of the meat sold during the year amounted to only £227 ; most striking, however, is the fact that, of the 96 animals sold,

only six were cattle, the remainder being hammels (sheep) and pigs. The normal daily diet of the people includes very little meat ; as a rule it is only on occasions of pagan ritual that cattle or goats are sacrificed, or on festive occasions, such as initiation ceremonies, baptisms, weddings or church revival meetings, that animals, including an occasional sheep, are slaughtered for consumption by all the kinsmen and neighbours present. Such slaughter on specific occasions is heedless of the condition of the stock. There is never any thought of slaughtering stock in their prime ; gains in weight made during favourable grazing seasons are invariably lost later when the grass is scarce, and many animals which would have yielded a fair quantity of meat if killed in their prime are retained until they eventually die of starvation. The Bantu today make little domestic use of the hides and skins of dead or slaughtered animals, most of which are sold through the traders. Quite the largest sales are made in times of drought, when the animals perish in thousands. In an average season, for instance 1936–37 when the livestock actually increased by about 1,000 head, there were sold in the District 1,570 hides of cattle and 3,650 skins of small stock. After the drought of 1945 when an estimated 4,700 cattle and 6,500 sheep and goats died, the sales recorded for 1945–46 were 3,430 hides of cattle and 4,680 skins of small stock.

The quality of Native-owned sheep is even poorer than the cattle, for the rams are very inferior types. It has been estimated that four to five Native sheep yield approximately the same quantity of wool as one average European-owned sheep, and in quality the wool is usually much inferior. Of the herds of goats to be seen in the District it is a striking phenomenon that so many of them are males and nearly all of them are white. Production of milk is purely incidental, and goats are owned chiefly for the purpose of their slaughter on ceremonial occasions and their sacrifice in pagan ritual, for which a white goat is sometimes essential.

Wool production, because of the poor quality of the flocks, is at a very low level of efficiency. Recorded sales of Native wool in the District in 1937 and 1946 were 60,270 lbs. and 51,390 lbs., in which respective years the sheep numbered 19,800 and 17,720. Thus the overall yield per sheep is about 3 lbs. of wool a year. Virtually the entire wool clips are sold through the traders, and from certain of their financial accounts it was estimated that in 1948 all the traders in the District bought about 50,000 lbs. of wool from Natives. This reveals a similar average yield of 3 lbs. of wool per sheep, since there were

17,820 Native-owned sheep in the District that year. The prices paid by the traders varied between 15d. and 20d. a lb., so that the average return per sheep in that year was little more than 4/–, and the wool production of the whole District worth about £3,750. The marked rise in the price of wool in recent years has increased the value of this product considerably, and brought relative wealth to those who owned flocks. This has encouraged many more to purchase sheep. However, unless the quality of Native-owned sheep is greatly improved, wool production in the District will take a much heavier toll of the pasture than is justified by the yield of wool obtained.

It is generally conceded that the aim of animal husbandry is to increase material welfare and to yield products, such as milk and meat, which directly satisfy human needs. Looked at from this point of view, the Bantu attitude towards ownership of cattle and goats is manifestly absurd. Living in dire poverty, the majority of people would starve were it not for the income received from those men and women in the family who go out to work in the cities. While a part of the money earned in the cities is spent on consumption by the family group, considerable sums are also spent on the purchase of cattle. These cattle yield next to nothing in milk or meat, and large numbers die in the next drought. The death of cattle in the drought of 1945 represented a loss to the people of the District of about £23,500;[1] and four years later, in 1949 there was a further loss of about £17,500. In the last five years, therefore, the poverty-stricken people of Keiskammahoek have lost the equivalent of about £40,000 by investing in cattle. The money earned by the sweat and toil of labourers in mines and factories is continuously being poured into the bottomless pit created by their cattle complex. It would seem much more rational to devote their earnings to increased consumption when the majority are at a bare subsistence level, or to investment in such a way as to raise the productive capacity of the Reserve where capital outlay upon fencing, irrigation, ploughing implements, tractors and fertilisers would increase the yield from arable farming: above all it would be more rational to sell their stock in their prime instead of clinging to them until they die of starvation.

The explanation for this apparently irrational conduct is to be found in the peculiar significance of cattle in tribal society. This

[1]In that year it has been estimated that 4,700 cattle died. The customary price of £5 per head is here used to value the cattle, although at present the average price is higher than this.

significance is fully revealed in *Social Structure*, so that only passing reference need to be made to it here. The following quotation from an account of the Pondo by a South African anthropologist[1] gives an indication of the importance of cattle in tribal society.

> " Cattle are of primary economic importance. . . . Meat and milk are prized foods and are considered much more savoury than grain. Before contact with the Europeans, clothing was made of hide, supplemented by skins of goats and wild animals, and cattle were the principal medium of exchange and the medium in which court fines were levied. Wealth was accumulated mainly in cattle. Further, cattle are the means of keeping on good terms with the ancestral spirits, and of securing health and prosperity, because the maintenance of good relations with the ancestral spirits depends upon making the proper ritual killings of cattle at various stages in the life of the individual and in sickness. In folk-tales the hero is often saved by a miraculous ox. Cattle are also the means of obtaining sexual satisfaction, since a legal marriage cannot take place without the passage of cattle; the right to limited sexual relations is legalised by the passage of a beast, and fines for illegal relations were levied in cattle. The possession of cattle gives social importance, for they are the means of securing many wives and adherents, and of dispensing hospitality and showing generosity, on which virtues status largely depends. Also the possession of cattle in itself gives weight and dignity to the owner."

If cattle were valued primarily for their yield of milk and meat, the problem of overstocking would not be so intractable, because the advantages of a smaller number of cattle of high quality could easily be demonstrated. It is the use of cattle as a money[2] that makes the situation so difficult, for when the " bride price " (*ikhazi*, noun, dowry, cattle given in marriage; verb, *lobola*, to pay cattle for) is fixed at, let us say, eight head of cattle, the emphasis is necessarily upon mere number of cattle and not upon quality. A young man, who has to

[1]Monica Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*.

[2]" Cattle have been prized largely for their ' monetary ' character, and not as commodities in themselves. But they form a currency in which variations in quality are very marked, and a currency which is costly to maintain. As a result, the operation of Gresham's Law has been reinforced in an individual manner. The lean kine have indeed eaten up the fat kine, they have eaten up the grazing, and there is insufficient left for the Natives' cattle to be fat." H. M. Robertson, " 150 Years of Economic Contact between Black and White," *South African Journal of Economics*, 1935.

lobola, will try to secure eight head of cattle at the least cost to himself, and will buy the poorest animals, so long as they will be accepted as " a beast " by the girl's father ; anything which is strong enough to be driven to its destination will serve the purpose.

There has been a movement towards commuting *lobola* payments of cattle to money payments, for emigrant workers find it more convenient to send £40 from Johannesburg to the bride's father than to attempt to secure and deliver eight head of cattle ; and commutation has been reinforced by the restrictions upon the movement of cattle from one area to another. In the Keiskammahoek District a beast for *lobola* purposes is generally valued at £5. In recent years, however, the rise in the price of cattle has tended to work against commutation, for the bride's father is often reluctant to accept a money payment, at the conventional valuation of £5, in lieu of cattle whose current price in the District is considerably higher. In the family budget survey it was found that at the conventional valuation, *lobola* received during 1949 averaged about £2 per family, and that the greater part of this payment was in kind, not in money. In at least 80% of marriages, cattle still pass as *lobola*[1] and they number about 1,240 head per annum for the District as a whole. There would seem to be little doubt that the commutation of *lobola* transactions to a cash payment would materially assist in raising the quality of the stock by removing this annual demand for cattle of the lowest type.

There would still remain the problem of finding an alternative outlet for the savings of the people which are traditionally put into cattle. Acquisition of cattle has been, and still is, the customary method of amassing wealth. It is interesting to note that, when boys in the District are instructed at initiation ceremonies on the duties and obligations of manhood, they are exhorted to buy cattle and not to spend their money on houses, clothes or European novelties.[2] There is nothing essentially unsound about investment in stock, provided the stock are of good quality and the purchaser is in a position to feed and care for the stock adequately so that they will yield an economic return ; it is the excessive investment in stock of poor quality, which from their very numbers must perpetually remain in a semi-starved condition and from which little yield can be expected, that is so economically wasteful. Even if *lobola* payments were to be commuted

[1] *Vide* the account of marriage in *Social Structure*.

[2] *Vide* Appendix on Male Initiation in *Social Structure*.

to cash transactions, it seems probable that for a considerable time to come the greater part of the cash received would be spent upon the purchase of cattle. Even so, however, it would represent a marked advance, because it would remove the " monetary " aspect of the demand for cattle. Cattle would then be demanded *per se* as an investment, and it would be easier to instruct the Bantu peasants in the manifest economic advantage of having fewer cattle of better quality. So long as cattle are a currency, the monetary demand for mere numbers outweighs consideration of quality. In the past and in comparison with European evaluations, the Bantu tended to undervalue the better stock and to overvalue the poorer types. Traders were able to take advantage of the disparity in the markets by buying old poor-quality stock at European stock fairs and selling them in the Reserves at a profit ; at the same time they would buy young better class beasts from the Bantu and, after fattening them up, would sell them at a profit to European butchers. Restriction imposed upon the importation of stock into the Native Reserves has, however, greatly reduced this trade,[1] but the mere fact that it was a highly profitable business indicates that the Bantu would have gained economically had they not persistently sacrificed quality for number.

Stock limitation has long been advocated by the Native Affairs Department, which has attempted particularly to dissuade Natives from keeping small stock, because of the harm they do to the pasture and because their yield is so uneconomic. The response, however, has been disappointing. In no other aspect of economic adjustment has resistance and conservatism been so tenacious as in the matter of cattle and goats. An African resident of the District[2] has written : "Although the people do not usually come out and say it, they object to the limitation of stock because they use their stock in ceremonies connected with birth, initiation, marriage, sickness and death. This is their real objection to reducing the number of stock." The same writer has portrayed the kind of conservative argument usually advanced against the Administration's advocacy of stock limitation. Outlining a Memorandum placed before the Ministers of Native Affairs and of Agriculture and Forestry by a deputation of Natives from Keiskammahoek in 1939, he commented : " They fully understand that the country is being destroyed and eroded. But they do not

[1] It is, however, generally believed that a considerable number of cattle still find their way into the Reserves in spite of this being illegal.

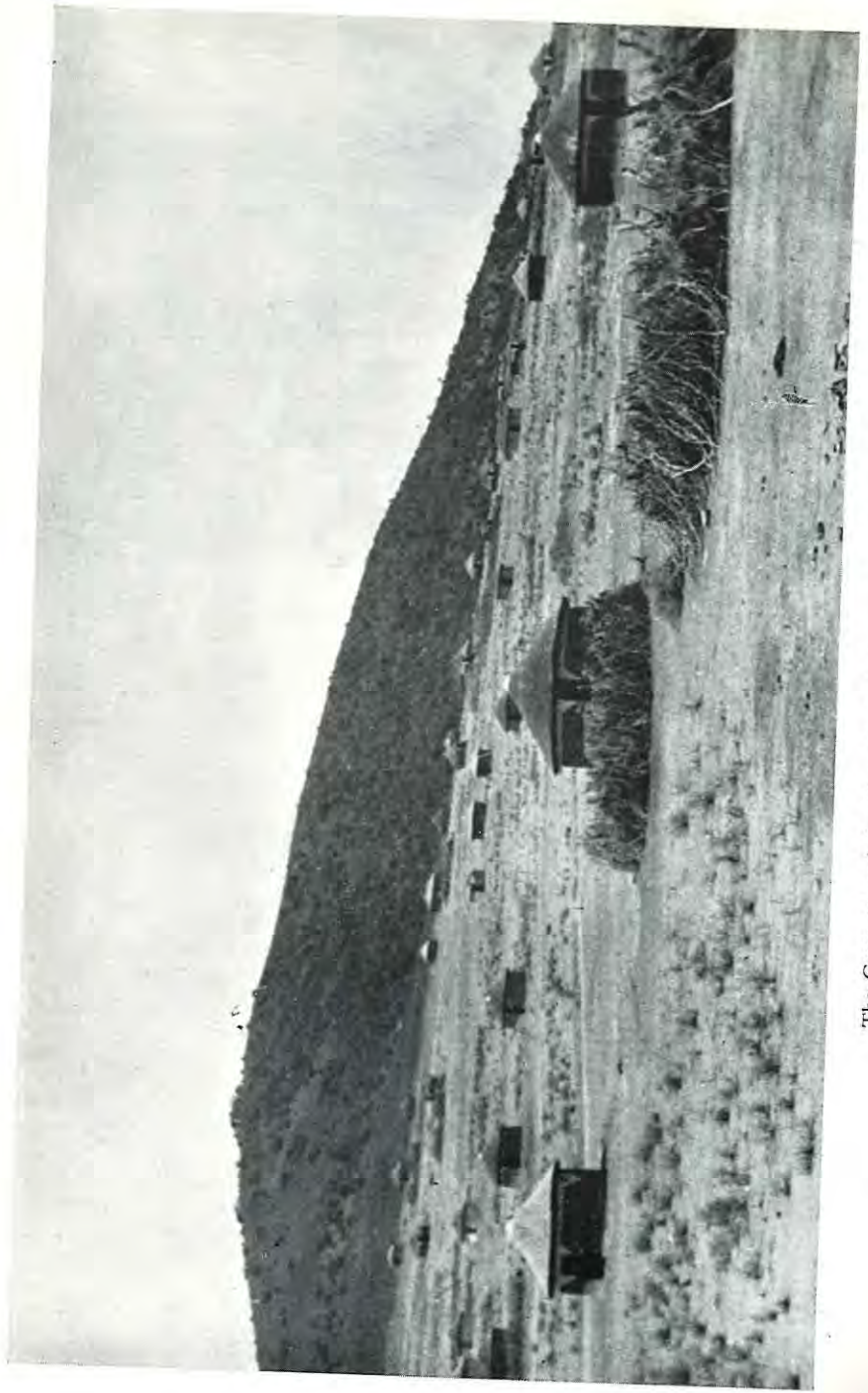
[2] S. Skosana in a preliminary report on Land Tenure.

think stock limitation is the solution to the problem, but the provision of more land. The residents of this District want nothing more than was given them in 1853." The latter statement refers to the general resentment in the District against demarcation of forest areas which, in their opinion, has been unduly extended to the fencing off of scrub bush and grassland, formerly available as commonage grazing. "If the stock was allowed to move freely as before, no such evil as erosion due to overstocking would have arisen. The Keiskammahoek people consider their troubles to have started with the demarcation of the forest areas (in 1885). Their forefathers had many cattle, but since the demarcation of the forest areas this stock has died. These forest areas were referred to as 'cattle posts' (*amathanza*) and young men and boys used to stay up there and milk the cows and send milk home daily. But since then they have kept their stock 'on their chests' (*ezifubeni*), that is, next to their homesteads. That is why their cattle die, because, apart from the fact that their grazing areas are small, they cross the paths of the evil snake (*inyoka*), which comes from neighbours' homesteads."

There is evidence to suggest that a hundred years ago the average family had considerably more stock that it has today, but what is not realised by those who express the conservative opinions just quoted, is that the number of families has increased greatly while the grazing has deteriorated. Admittedly, the demarcation of the forests has restricted the grazing area but it was a necessary and wise step without which denudation and soil erosion would certainly be even worse than they are today.

The Bantu peasant tends to resist all attempts at stock limitation and, taking into account his need of stock for cultivation and ceremonial purposes, it would seem to be the case that the stock owned are, indeed, insufficient. A survey of stock ownership in a sample of 253 families from five locations revealed that in the last two months of 1948,[1] before the severe drought had taken its toll, the average family owned 4·0 cattle, 7·1 sheep and 5·3 goats. Sheep yield a cash return but play no fundamental role in the tribal economy. Cattle are required for ploughing, for milk, for *lobola*, and for feasts and sacrifices; goats are required to be killed on a variety of occasions. Remembering

[1]The sample was the same as that used for the family budget survey although information was not obtainable from all the 260 families. A second stock survey, made in January, 1950, after the drought, showed considerable reduction in stock. The figures given here are taken from the 1948 survey as representing more normal conditions.



The Grass around the Homesteads is destroyed by Over-grazing

that calves are included in the number of cattle, one might estimate that the number of cattle required by a family is not less than five[1] and that at least the same number of goats are needed. On these estimates it will be seen that, from the point of view of the needs of the people, the stock population of the District, even if it were evenly distributed, is barely adequate, though in that year it has been shown to have been 60% in excess of the carrying capacity of the land.

The distribution of stock is, however, very unequal as is shown on Table 54. No less than 14·2% of the families owned no stock whatsoever, 31·6% owned no cattle, 69·2% no sheep and 47·4% no goats. At the other extreme, one family was found with 33 cattle and 267 sheep. Just over 45% of the families had only two head of cattle or less per family. Only 27·7% of the families had more than five head of cattle, and only 32·8% more than five goats.

There is a fundamental conflict between what the peasant in the Reserve regards as his minimum requirements of stock and what the Administration estimates to be the maximum carrying capacity of the pasture. Efforts to enforce limitation of stock are bitterly opposed, for limitation inflicts great hardship upon individuals ; on the other hand it is essential if the Native Reserves are to be saved from total destruction. There are two ways in which stock limitation may be applied. The first is to set a limit to the total stock in a location and to cull inferior animals, regardless of the number of stock a man may have, until the total number has been reduced to this figure. This method has the great advantage that it will leave only the better quality beasts but it may prove very inequitable, since a poor man with only one ox may lose his all, while his rich neighbour with twenty-five good animals may suffer no reduction. The second method is to limit the number of stock that any one family is entitled to own. This would secure equality at the expense of the wealthier and presumably more industrious and progressive members of the community, and from an economic point of view it would be a retrogressive step. The number of stock is both the most important and also the most intractable of the economic problems of the Reserves and it is doubtful whether any solution is to be found so long as communal grazing continues. Only with enclosure of pastures and a fundamental change in the peasants' attitude towards stock can selective breeding be introduced, and until that time little real progress is to be expected.

[1]Say, two oxen for ploughing, one cow for milk, and two calves.

TABLE 53

STOCK OWNED BY NATIVES IN THE KEISKAMMAHOEK DISTRICT 1925–1950
(Excluding stock on the Municipal Commonage and European Farms)

Year	Cattle	Horses	Sheep	Goats	Donkeys	Pigs
1925	9,522		19,547	10,680		
1926	10,523		21,267	12,089		
1927	11,470		24,266	15,298		
1928	10,780		22,600*	12,300*		
1929	12,083		25,142	14,243		
1930	12,250*		25,000*	14,000*		
1931	12,500*		24,500*	13,500*		
1932	13,000*		23,500*	13,500*		
1933	12,447		22,290	15,630		
1934	12,000*		22,500*	12.500*		
1935	11,461		23,004	11,680		
1936	10,316		19,745	9,668	88	1,791
1937	11,266		19,800*	9,650*		
1938	12,052		19,829	9,618		
1939	10,299		19,722	9,647		
1940	11,981		20,320	9,828		
1941	11,000*		21,400*	10,600*		
1942	14,504		19,739	10,050		3,340
1943	14,000*		17,300*	9,000*		
1944	12,500*		18,300*	9,000*		
1945	9,345	409	16,495	10,722	276	1,559
1946	10,750		17,720	10,100*		
1947	10,654		17,790	12,500*		
1948	11,345		17,820	12,600*	148	
1949	8,845	355	17,509	12,173*	128	1,636
1950	9,438	564	18,460	12,634	244	2,144

*Estimated.

Note.—These figures are based on information supplied by the Native Affairs Department supplemented by data from the Veterinary Department.

TABLE 54

DISTRIBUTION OF STOCK IN A SAMPLE OF 253 FAMILIES
(November/December, 1948)

	Number of Families in					
	Chatha	Burnshill	Rabula	Mthwaku	Gxulu	All Locations
NUMBER OF CATTLE:						
Nil	20	10	11	14	25	80
1 or 2	14	5	7	6	3	35
3 to 5	25	11	7	14	11	68
6 to 10	10	13	11	13	7	54
11 to 20	3	3	1	3	2	12
21 to 30	1	0	1	0	0	2
Over 30	1	0	0	0	1	2
Total number of families	74	42	38	50	49	253
Total cattle owned ..	284	197	153	205	171	1,010
Average per family ..	3·8	4·7	4·0	4·1	3·5	4·0
NUMBER OF SHEEP:						
Nil	43	38	23	33	38	175
1 or 2	1	0	1	2	0	4
3 to 5	7	2	4	1	2	16
6 to 10	8	2	1	6	3	20
11 to 20	6	0	6	3	2	17
21 to 30	4	0	1	0	3	8
31 to 50	2	0	1	3	0	6
Over 50	3	0	1	2	1	7
Total number of families..	74	42	38	50	49	253
Total sheep owned ..	648	24	237	491	403	1,803
Average per family ..	8·7	0·6	6·2	9·8	8·2	7·1
NUMBER OF GOATS:						
Nil	44	17	16	21	22	120
1 or 2	10	1	4	3	2	20
3 to 5	7	6	1	8	8	30
6 to 10	8	8	6	12	11	45
11 to 20	3	6	6	3	3	21
21 to 30	1	4	2	2	2	11
31 to 50	0	0	0	1	1	2
Over 50	1	0	3	0	0	4
Total number of families..	74	42	38	50	49	253
Total goats owned ..	179	284	368	264	251	1,346
Average per family ..	2·4	6·8	9·7	5·3	5·1	5·3

Chapter VII

CONCLUSIONS

Following on from the previous chapter in which was discussed the very low productive output of the two main economic activities in the District, arable and stock farming, the main conclusions of this Report will centre upon the question of whether productivity can be increased. It is the present low productivity of the District which lies at the root of all the economic conditions analysed throughout this Report.

Because of low productivity, the land cannot support a dense population. Had all the people today living remained in the District, the crude density alone would have been about 120 persons to the square mile; since nearly 40% of the land area is under forest or is owned by Europeans, however, the effective density in the areas of Native occupation would have averaged nearly 200 persons and in some locations would have approximated 300 persons to the square mile.[1] Only under conditions of intensive arable cultivation can land support such a population; under the conditions existing in the District of primitive agricultural methods and the majority of the area being pasture, much of it mere scrub bush, the land is entirely incapable of supporting so dense a population. Consequently, something like 19% of the people have left the District,[2] a total of 5,000 out of the 26,500 people today living.

Despite this permanent emigration, the pressure of population on the land has been increasing steadily, for the natural increase through reproduction, even among those 21,500 people presently domiciled in the District, has been well in excess of the permanent emigration.[3] Today, were all these people living in their homes in the District, the population density in the locations would average almost 150 persons to the square mile. So great has been the increasing pressure of population on the land, however, that over the past ten years, at least,

[1]Ref. Chapter II–B for area analysis, and Chapter V–C for estimate of total emigrants among the people today living.

[2]Ref. Chapter V–C for estimate of permanent emigration.

[3]Ref. Chapters II–A and D and V–C for analysis of natural increase of the population. Natural increase between 1921 and 1946 estimated at about 63% of the 1921 population, or constituting 39% of the 1946 population.

there has been a net exodus of something like 1,500 additional people who have temporarily left their homes to work in the urban centres.[1] Of all the 21,500 people domiciled in Keiskammahoek, about 20% or 4,250 workers are presently away in the cities.[2]

The absence of one-fifth of the population temporarily away working leaves the resident population in the locations of the District averaging a density of almost 120 persons to the square mile, though in three or four locations the density is as high as 180 persons to the square mile. This appears to be bordering the upper limit of saturation, for there has been no increase at all in the overall population of the locations for the past ten years, all the additional population of the locations having either left the District, gone out to work in the cities or moved into the areas of the District which are under European ownership.[3] Nevertheless, of the present 17,250 inhabitants in all areas of the District, 10% represent the increase compared with thirty years ago;[4] and despite the recent unchanging average density of population in the locations, the pressure of that population on the land has not remained unchanged but has increased considerably over the long term in the face of the progressive decline in the agricultural productivity of the District.[5]

Today, even an exceptionally good harvest produces food enough for only half the nutritional requirements of the people living at home; in a drought year scarcely one-twentieth of requirements are produced.[6] Few families can get through the winter on their stored harvests.[7] On the average, the value of home-grown crops together with the produce from livestock consumed by each person in the locations amounts to scarcely £1 per annum when the harvests are poor.[8]

[1]Ref. Chapter V–C: additional net emigration during 1936–1946 estimated at 3,000. Of 35% total emigration, 19% estimated as permanent and 16% as temporary worker emigration. Therefore, only about half the 3,000 additional net emigration during the intercensal decade can be certainly estimated as being workers who intend to return to their homes in the District.

[2]Ref. Chapter V–C: temporary emigrants constitute 16% of the total population inclusive of permanent emigrants. The latter are here excluded from the total population which is of people domiciled in Keiskammahoek.

[3]These conclusions were based on the analysis of the 1936 and 1946 censuses of the District. According to preliminary returns from the 1951 census, it would appear that there has been an overall increase of about 3% in the Native population resident in the locations since 1946.

[4]Ref. Chapter II–A, analysis of 1921–1946 censuses of Native populations.

[5]Ref. Chapter III–C.

[6]Ref. Chapter VI–A: drought season 1948–49, exceptionally good season 1949–50.

[7]Ref. Chapter III–C and Figure 4.

[8]Ref. Chapter IV–B, Table 39. The year of the family budget survey was the calendar year 1949. Income in kind shown for a family of 6·0 persons = £5 5s. 3d.

Additional imported food has to be purchased from the traders. Even in a year of fairly good harvest, purchases of food alone in the District amount to about £70,000, or something like £4 2s. od. *per capita* for the District as a whole.[1] But in the locations alone, such is the poverty of the people that even in years of drought and poor harvest an average of only £4 *per capita* can be spent on food purchases. For the average sized family of about 6 persons, this expenditure amounts to little more than £23 a year.[2]

It is in order to meet this bare subsistence requirement for food alone, quite apart from requirements in clothing, shelter and for farming operations, that so large a proportion of the people have to seek remunerative employment. Cash income from their farming operations is entirely inadequate. The only products of farming that yield any appreciable income are wool, hides and skins and birdseed. So poor, however, is the quality of the flocks that the annual yield per sheep is only about 3 lbs. of inferior wool.[3] Even after a drought, when sales of hides and skins are abnormally high, due to the perishing of animals from starvation, the average family in the locations derives an income from these farm products of barely £4 10s. od. a year.[4] Cash income from farm products, even under such conditions, amounts to no more than income derived from various other miscellaneous sources, such as stock sales, hire of farm equipment, pensions and earnings of independent craftsmen.[5] Therefore, even in the more prosperous years the annual income derived from these two sources, chiefly local farm produce and operations, amounts to scarcely £9 per family, which still leaves something over £14 per family to be earned in remunerative employment in order to cover food purchases alone.

Although there is relatively little remunerative employment offering in the District, it nevertheless constitutes, on the average, a

[1]Ref. Chapter III–B, Table 32. Purchases from traders are applicable to the year 1947–48; these were inclusive of purchases by those working in the areas under European ownership, where earnings are greater and there is therefore more money to spend on food, and where there are no peasant farming operations to provide home-grown produce to the *per capita* value of about £1 a year.

[2]Ref. Chapter IV–C, Table 43. Average expenditure on food by a family of 5·8 persons=£21 2s. 4d.; adjustment of 10% for understatement=£23 4s. od.

[3]Ref. Chapter VI–B.

[4]Ref Chapter III–A, Table 29, where total sales in the District of farm produce is estimated at £13,000, about 16s. od. per head of the farmer population.

[5]Ref. Chapter IV. On Table 38 cash income from "other sources" is shown as £4 1s. od. per family of six persons.

c.f. Table 35 on which cash income from this source has been adjusted for error to an estimated £4 10s. od. per family.

large proportion of the income of the location residents. There are regular jobs in the European-owned areas for only about 500 people,[1] and many of these are filled by people who have their families with them and have no landholdings in the locations. Nevertheless, many from the locations have regular employment in domestic or farming service with Europeans, or as clerks with some Government Department, or as labourers in the forests and plantations or at Fort Cox. Apart from a few administrative appointments in the locations by the Native Affairs Department or professional appointments as ministers and school teachers by the church missions, the bulk of remunerative employment offering in the locations is as casual labour engaged by the Native Affairs Department in its rehabilitation work in the District. Altogether, wages and salaries earned by people from the locations average about £13 per family annually.[2]

Thus, so low is the productivity of farming in the locations that additional requirements in food purchases alone of the inhabitants are barely covered by income from all sources within the District; and of these sources, remunerative local employment constitutes a far more substantial proportion than cash crops and farming operations.[3] This, it must be reiterated, is on the average. As it is, over 40% of the families derive an average of less than £2 a year in wages and salaries earned within the District,[4] and the range of annual family incomes from all local sources is from nil to one of nearly £350.[5] Under conditions of such manifest poverty in the vast majority of the families, it is obviously imperative for at least one member of the family to engage in remunerative employment outside the District with a view to meeting the family's barest subsistence requirements.

[1]Ref. Chapter V–D, and note that of those 720 adults estimated to be engaged in occupations other than peasant farming in the District, many are students at St. Matthew's and Fort Cox.

[2]Ref. Chapter IV. On Table 38 average income from wages and salaries is shown as £11 9s. 7d. per family of six persons.

c.f. Table 35 on which an adjustment for understatement has been made to an estimated £13 2s. od. per family.

[3]Ref. Chapter IV. On Table 35 average family cash income from all sources within the District is estimated at £19 9s. 2d., adjusted for understatement. On Table 43 average family expenditure on food purchases in that year of drought, 1949, was £21 2s. 4d., or £23 4s. od. adjusted.

[4]Ref. Chapter IV–B, Table 40. The average for Group "O" is £1 7s. od.; adjustment upwards for understatement would bring this average to no more than an estimated £2.

[5]In Chapter IV–A the upper limit to the range of total cash incomes is stated as £355 18s. od., which includes £12 0s. od. from sources outside the District. Ref. Chapter IV–B, Table 36: only 6 sample families (2·8%) receive an income in excess of £78. Among the inhabitants of the locations, such incomes are usually enjoyed only by those families which have some member working in the District as a teacher, clerk or as a more highly paid forest worker.

The vast majority of the male breadwinners find employment in industry or mining in Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Port Elizabeth and East London, and the women usually engage in domestic service. Cost of living in the cities is high relative to the wages earned, so that frequently the emigrant breadwinner cannot and sometimes he will not send money home to the family in the location. Remittances sent from the cities or money brought back by a migrant when he returns from a term of work average something like £20 a year in a family.[1] However, some families receive nothing. Some have no cash income whatsoever from any source. One-third of the families have a total cash income from all sources of less than £13 a year,[2] which falls far short of the average expenditure on food alone. Total annual expenditure on food, as well as on anything else, may be as low as £3 for an entire family.[3] The most acute distress is, however, usually alleviated by the charity of neighbours nurtured in the tradition that, so long as there is food available, no member of the community should be allowed to starve.

Although numbers vary greatly from one family to another,[4] in the average-sized homestead of about 7·3 people, at least 1·3 adults are away working in the cities at any one time.[5] Of all the 12,000 adults of the District between the ages of approximately 15 and 60, there are at any one time about 4,000 away working in the industrial centres, about 500 in regular employment among the Europeans and Government Departments in the District, and some 7,500 engaged in peasant farming at home. About 45% of the men and 15% of the women are away from the District at any one time,[6] though the emigrations of women are a more recent phenomenon and have

[1]Ref. Chapter IV. Estimated cash income, including an adjustment for understatement, is said to be £40 to £45 per annum, of which one-third to one-half comes from emigrant workers' remittances.

[2]Ref. Chapter IV–B, Table 36. The proportion of families with an income of less than 5/– a week is shown as 36·1%. Allowing for unrecorded income, some 3% are estimated to have received incomes in excess of this.

[3]Ref. Chapter IV–A. Lowest recorded expenditure was £2 15s. 4d.—adjustment of 10% for understatement.

[4]Ref. Chapter II–E, Table 27.

[5]Ref. Chapter IV–B, Table 40, showing the number of migrant breadwinners away from a family of 6·0 persons in the locations. These numbers of breadwinners, averaging 1·3 persons, were recorded from the budget survey before thorough analysis of the genealogies had been made. On the basis of the genealogy survey findings, 20% of the family would be away, *i.e.*, in a family of 7·5 persons, 1·5 would be away and 6·0 at home.

[6]Ref. Chapter V–C. This estimate is made by excluding from the total population today living and also from the total emigrants, those who have emigrated permanently. The resultant proportions of temporary emigrants are proportions of only that population which is today domiciled in Keiskammahoek.

probably reached such a proportion only within the past few years.[1] The majority of the migrant workers stay away from home for only a year or two at a time, and when they return home their place as an emigrant breadwinner is taken by some other member of the family.[2] Although most of the women settle down in the locations after they have married, the men circulate for most of their working lives between the locations and the industrial centres, their occupations changing periodically from peasant farmer to industrial or other urban worker and back to peasant farmer again. The great diversity of occupations undertaken in the course of their working lives is entirely detrimental to their efficiency in any one of them.[3] Their efficiency as peasant farmers probably suffers most, because, that being the least lucrative of their occupations, they frequently regard their visits home as mere rest periods between spells of work in town.

It is not normally the head of the homestead who goes away, but there is nevertheless one away at a time out of every six married male heads of homesteads. Since there are another four homesteads in which there is no male head living, and in which the head of the family is a widow, five out of every ten homesteads are without a male head to organize the peasant farming and other economic efforts of the household.[4] The people who are sent out from the families to work are usually the sons, daughters and other relatives in the homestead. Half the male breadwinners are married,[5] leaving behind in the locations their wives and children, though a very few do take their wives with them to town. Nearly three-fourths of the female breadwinners are unmarried, and it is these younger women who have, of recent years, begun to go to the towns in such increasing numbers, and there almost half of them concieve illegitimate children.[6] The remaining one-fourth of the female breadwinners are either married or leave fatherless or illegitimate children behind in the locations.

The result of this absence in the towns of the married men and other younger and more active members of the community is that the inhabitants of the locations consist to an abnormal degree of children

[1]Ref. Chapter II–C, analysis of trends which developed during 1936–1946 intercensal decade.

[2]Ref. Chapter II–E, Table 28.

[3]Ref. Chapter V–B, examples of Labour Histories.

[4]Ref. Chapter II–E, Table 23. Statistics on heads of homesteads given here are averages of the families in all six villages.

[5]Ref. Chapter V–C. Estimates of the marital state of males and females here given are exclusive of permanent emigrants.

[6]Ref. Chapter II–C, sex-age analysis of trends which developed during 1936–46 intercensal decade. Analysis of illegitimacy is contained in *Social Structure*.

and the old and infirm, together with young married women separated from their husbands.[1] About 55% of the inhabitants of the locations are children under 15 or old people over 60. Consequently, of the 16,000 peasant farmer population in the District, something like 8,800 are children under 15 and aged people over 60; another 1,800 are youngsters between 15 and 18 years of age; and only 5,400 are able-bodied adults between the ages of 19 and 59. Since scarcely one-third of these able-bodied adults are men, the ratio in this peasant farming community averages no more than 1 able-bodied man to 8 other people, and in one or two locations is as low as 1 man to 10 or 15 other people.[2]

The women inhabitants of the locations have not only their own children to look after, but for every four of their own there is one child in the homestead who is either orphaned or whose mother is away in town or elsewhere in the District.[3] Every 5 mothers of whatever age have about 9 children and teen-age youngsters to look after,[4] and every 3 of those still of child-bearing age have 4 little children under 10 years of age to care for.[5] One in every five of these younger women is pregnant at any one time, for the average woman gives birth to 7 children in the course of her reproductive years; yet so high is child mortality among these poverty stricken people that 40% of these children die before reaching the age of 10.[6] Not only are the younger and more active women among the peasant farming community thus excessively pre-occupied with child-bearing and child-care, but uneconomic household tasks occupy the major portion of their working day, reducing still further the amount of labour they are able to devote to productive agricultural operations. Nearly 30% of their time is taken up in fetching wood and water for household needs, stamping and grinding mealies by hand for cooking, and in keeping the thatch, walls and floors of their living huts in a state of repair. Averaged out over the year, only 10% of women's time is devoted to the cultivation of the fields and the harvesting of crops.[7]

[1]Ref. Chapter II–C. Note particularly the analysis in respect of sex ratios shown on Table 9; the greatest disproportion of the sexes occurs at age group 25–29 in which there are 36·1 males to 100 females; in the three age groups between 30 and 44 none of the sex ratios is above 50 males to 100 females. Proportionate age distribution is given on Table 10.
[2]Ref. Chapter V–D, Table 47.
[3]Ref. Chapter II–D.
[4]Ref. Chapter II–E, Table 24.
[5]Ref. Chapter II–C, Table 16.
[6]Ref. Chapter II–D.
[7]Ref. Chapter V–D, Table 49.

Thus, owing to the abnormal structure of the population, the District is at one and the same time both overpopulated and lacking in sufficient labour to make even normal use of the available resources; and the increasing labour emigration intensifies rather than relieves the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence from the land, for it results in deterioration of productivity.

Yet, without the income from migrant labour, the vast majority of the families would starve. Cash surpluses from migrant labour earnings in the cities constitute from one-third to half the average family's total annual cash income of about £45.[1] That lesser half of the total cash income which is left over after buying food is about 80% devoted to the purchase of other basic necessaries of life, such as clothing, blankets, household requisites and payment of taxes.[2] Barely £6 per family is spent annually on farming equipment, fertilisers and building and packing materials, together with semi-luxury items such as books, tobacco, trinkets and medicines.[3] All these consumer goods have to be imported into the District by the traders. The only appreciable consumer items which are acquired locally and without cost, or at nominal cost if taken from Trust properties, are firewood, poles, thatch and mud for hut building, and manure for agriculture. So little of the cash income is expended on farming equipment that although most families own hoes it is only every other family that owns a plough, and no more than one family in five owns any other kind of cultivating implements.[4]

Apart from this cash income from migrant labour which is spent on family consumption, savings of workers are devoted to the purchase of stock. The emphasis is upon quantity, upon the number of beasts instead of upon their quality. Overstocking is universal, and net losses of stock from starvation may be anything up to a quarter of the stock population in each drought. In the two droughts of the past five years, the poverty stricken peasants have lost the equivalent of £40,000 by investing in cattle, an average of about £14 10s. per family in the locations. Yet even after a drought, when the stock population is at its lowest, stocking is still about 30% in excess of the estimated carrying capacity of the pasture. When the stock population reaches its peaks through natural increase during years of good rains, overstocking

[1]Ref. Chapter IV–A.
[2]Ref. Chapter III–B, Table 29.
[3]Ref. Chapter III–B. Expenditure on these items estimated at barely £1 per head of the population.
[4]Ref. Chapter VI–A.

gets as high as 60% in excess of the carrying capacity of the land.[1]

Thus the present low productivity of the District is both the cause and effect of the prevailing economic conditions. It is estimated that all economic enterprise of the Bantu in the District, including work for Europeans, yields just over half the consumer requirements of a people living on a bare subsistence standard. The productivity of arable and stock farming alone in the District is estimated to fluctuate between 15% and 30% of total consumer requirements, depending on the season.

All productive output is determined, on the one hand, by the resources, or factors of production available; and, on the other, by the use that is made of them, by the techniques employed and the skill with which they are combined. Is the low productivity in Keiskammahoek caused by poor factor endowment of the District, or is it caused by inefficient utilization of the available resources? If the former is the case there is little that can be done about it, and the only escape from the prevailing poverty is increased emigration. If, however, the low productivity is due, even in part, to faulty economy and mismanagement of resources, then the introduction of more efficient methods of arable and pastoral husbandry may be expected to increase output. To formulate the answer, the economic resources of the District may be briefly reviewed under the headings of land, labour, capital and enterprise.

There are some 220 square miles of land much of which is precipitous and broken country. There would appear to be no economically exploitable mineral deposits. A considerable portion of the land is under indigenous forest and, on the higher ground, plantations of pines and other soft woods appear to thrive. The rainfall is high, particularly in the northern part, and a number of perennial streams run down from the mountains to converge into the Keiskamma River. Generally speaking, the land is of poor agricultural quality, and the incidence of periodic droughts makes agriculture, except under irrigation, a highly precarious venture. The topography makes irrigation on a large scale impossible, but limited irrigation along the rivers and streams could certainly be undertaken. Though poor agriculturally, the District is potentially well suited to pastoral farming, and under a system of controlled grazing and scientific pasture management could undoubtedly support considerable numbers of livestock. There can be little doubt that the economic productivity

[1]Ref. Chapter VI–B.

would be many times its present level if the available natural resources were being exploited by a race of skilled peasant farmers, such as those common in continental Europe, and people uninhibited by tribal attitudes towards stock. It is, however, unrealistic to take one of the factors of production out of its economic context and surmise what might be produced under totally different circumstances. The problem to be faced is the potential productivity of the District with its existing factor endowment.

Out of a total peasant population of nearly 16,000 in the District, the able-bodied adult labour force numbers only about 1,700 men and 3,700 women available to undertake the farming operations in all the locations in the District. Although assisted by some 5,500 children and old people, there is nevertheless an obvious dire shortage of effective workers. Moreover, the quality even of the able-bodied labour leaves much to be desired, since few are skilled cultivators of the soil, and the majority of the men, and many of the women, are not regularly engaged in farming, but circulate between the Reserve and the industrial cities, to the great detriment of their efficiency as farmers. Their migrations are inevitable, however, as long as the returns from labour applied to farming in the Reserve remain, as under the present conditions, so many times less remunerative than employment in the cities. This fact must be borne in mind when any suggestions are made that the inefficiency of labour can be overcome by sound training in agriculture; experience shows that few, if any, of those trained at agricultural schools, such as Fort Cox, return to farm in the District.

Agricultural capital, except that which is represented by investment in stock, is limited to such things as ploughs, harrows, cultivators, hoes, wagons and sledges and in a few isolated instances a tractor. There appear to be many lines in which investment in farming would produce a return in increased output; for example, expenditure upon tractors would overcome many of the difficulties of ploughing; outlay upon irrigation furrows would counteract the devastation of periodic droughts; provision of adequate storage facilities for the grain harvested would reduce the loss at present occasioned through storing in pits and dilapidated huts; fencing of arable lands would prevent stock depredations; and fencing of pasture would control grazing and permit of stock breeding. Such capital investments would all add considerably to the productivity of farming. The limited savings are, however, seldom directed to these ends, but are persistently devoted to the purchase of excessive stock.

It is, however, in the matter of entrepreneural ability that the Bantu peasant shows the greatest deficiency; economic enterprise and initiative are most noticeably lacking. This fact presents the greatest obstacle to any improvement in the situation. Even under the present conditions there is so much that could be done if they were able to take effective action in such matters as the building of dams, irrigation from the rivers, contour ploughing, experimentation in crop rotation, or in the planting of fruit trees. However, the general attitude is one of stagnation, and one even finds that contour banks built by the Native Affairs Department are ploughed across, or that an irrigation furrow built by European initiative has been allowed to fall into disuse since the land has come into Native possession. With only one or two notable exceptions, all the improvements that have been made have been carried out by the Native Affairs Department, often in the face of distrust or positive opposition by the people. Lack of enterprise is very understandable in the more conservative locations, where initiative is inhibited by the full weight of tribal custom and where better crop production resulting from individual enterprise may create suspicion among neighbours that methods of witchcraft and sorcery are being used.[1] Common grazing makes it impossible for any individual to follow more enlightened methods of animal husbandry than his fellows, and the whole community is dragged down to the level of the lowest. In communal locations, moreover, the system of land tenure together with the Departmental policy of attempting to provide each family with a piece of arable land has resulted in such small holdings that they offer no scope for sound farming by even the most enterprising of individuals. On the freehold and quitrent farms it might have been hoped that methods would have been better, for on some of the larger holdings there would seem to be an opportunity for an individual, secure in his tenure of the land, to farm much more efficiently. There is, however, little evidence of methods any different from those used in the communal locations.[2] No matter what the type of tenure, there is little natural selection in determining who shall own land. The successful farmer in European society will tend to buy more land and extend his activities, while the unsuccessful will be forced to sell his farm and seek employment in some other sphere. In the Native Reserves, on the contrary, little land is acquired by purchase,

[1]These beliefs, which are a very real deterrant to any display of initiative, are discussed in *Social Structure*.

[2]See Chapters III and IV of *Land Tenure*.

in the communal locations it is allotted free of charge when it is available, and in the freehold and quitrent it is usually acquired by inheritance. There is, therefore, little opportunity for an individual of ability and initiative to extend his operations or to find a full outlet for his abilities in farming in the Reserve. Indeed, there would seem to be a tendency for men of ability to emigrate to the cities and for the less enterprising to be left at home in the District.

Lack of enterprise, lack of capital and lack of effective labour, together with a large population of children and aged people to support, have made the District what it is, a depressed area. Poverty perpetuates poverty, and lack of initiative drives initiative away. Left to itself, the economic future of the District would seem inevitably to be one of increasing poverty, denudation of pasture, dessication of the veld and population decline. Only if initiative and capital are provided from without, is the present trend likely to be reversed and rehabilitation achieved.

The attention of authorities in the Union of South Africa has of recent years been drawn to the grave state of affairs in the Native Reserves,[1] and the Native Affairs Department has been concentrating upon rehabilitation measures.[2] Operations in the Keiskammahoek District have only recently commenced, but almost the whole District has now been declared a betterment area, and considerable sums of money have been spent on measures to arrest the deterioration. Soil conservation has included the building of many miles of contour banks in the arable lands and the making of thousands of silt traps in eroded water courses. Attempts are being made to restrict the number of cattle, to improve their quality by the importation of high-grade

[1]Native Economic Commission Report U.G. 22/1932; Social and Economic Planning Council, Report Number 9, *The Native Reserves and their place in the Economy of the Union of South Africa*, U.G. 32/1946.

[2]The following brief summary of some of the work that has been undertaken by the Native Affairs Department during the last two years in the Keiskammahoek District is taken from an article by R. R. Baker (Chief Agricultural Officer, Native Affairs Department, Kingwilliamstown) in *Man and His Environment*:—

Mountain grazing fencing	48	miles
Indigenous forests fencing	35	miles
Diversion banks	17	miles
Contour strips set out	1,211	miles
Contour strips planted	125	miles
Silt traps made in eroded water courses	4,216	
Fodderplots	88	acres
Dairies established in locations	1	
Silage made	70	tons
Manure carted	7,926	tons

bulls of good milking strain, and to protect the vital water sources from being trampled out by stock, by means of fencing the forests and springs. These rehabilitation measures involve considerable capital outlay, and they have been financed by the central government. Lack of funds and shortage of personnel, however, have restricted the scale of operations, and it is generally conceded that, excellent though the measures that have been taken may be, they only touch the fringe of the problem.[1]

It may well be that no purely agricultural solution is to be found, because the situation demands much more radical treatment. It is pertinent to remind ourselves that the present situation in the District has arisen under white administration and that this area has been governed by Europeans for close on a hundred years. It is also pertinent to inquire whether the present position is not the result of an attempt by the Administration to bolster up the old tribal system, which must inevitably succumb to the impact of modern economic forces. It may well be that the whole system of land tenure will have to be revised, the practice of common grazing abolished, the repeated monoculture of maize prohibited, and alternative employment found for those in excess of the number who could reasonably be expected to earn a livelihood from the land. This, however, would involve a fundamental change in the social habits of the people, since it would necessitate the abolition of many tribal practices and traditions. The present *lobola* practices, the policy of attempting to provide every family with a piece of arable land, however small, regardless of the ability of the individual to make good use of it, and the notion that grazing for stock should be common to all the inhabitants of the location are relics of a tribal economy which are incompatible with effective development of the potential resources of the District.

The social and political consequences of such changes fall outside the scope of this Report but, perhaps, it may be permitted to draw attention to some of the fundamental principles which must form the core of any policy of economic rehabilitation of the area :—

1. The natural resources of the area should be put to that use in which they will yield the maximum economic return compatible with

[1]A member of the Native Affairs Department, whose sincere concern for the welfare of the African cannot be doubted, remarked : " It really is heartbreaking ; the little we do makes no appreciable difference to the situation. Perhaps we are checking the deterioration but we are making no positive advance. If only we could get rid of half the people and two-thirds of the cattle we should be in a position to do something worth-while."

their preservation for future generations. At present the yield is far below what it might be and at the same time the pasture and soil are rapidly being destroyed. In order to secure the maximum sustained yield, research should be undertaken to determine the best system of pasture management and crop rotation for this area.

2. The optimum size of a farm for the successful introduction of these improved methods must be determined and the land tenure system amended to make actual holdings correspond as closely as possible to this optimum. On the present small holdings it is manifestly impossible to adopt modern methods of farming. Farms of an economic size must be substituted for them, even though the consequence be that many families will have to be dispossessed of their land.

3. A system of land tenure must be so devised that the successful farmer would be free to acquire additional land, while the unsuccessful man should not be kept upon the land by being protected from the consequences of his own incompetence. This principle should apply whether farming be carried on by individual enterprise or by producers' co-operative societies.

4. The aim should be to foster the growth of a body of permanent agricultural workers trained in modern farming methods, to replace the migrant worker who spends only limited periods on the land in between spells of industrial work ; but this will only be successful if productivity in agriculture is raised, so that their earnings will be commensurate with the earnings of those engaged in industry.

5. Every encouragement should be given to the people to put their savings into working capital for agriculture, other than the purchase of poor quality stock ; and additional facilities for the provision of the necessary agricultural credit will have to be developed.

6. Alternative employment will have to be found for those who will be displaced from the land, either by encouraging them to make their permanent homes in the industrial centres where, with their families, they must be given security of tenure to form a settled industrial proletariate, or by the development of light industry and commercial activities in the Reserve. The Keiskammahoek District has no mineral resources to be exploited and is unfavourably situated in relation to raw materials and markets for most industrial undertakings. Locally-grown timber, however, might be the foundation

for an industry producing building materials, such as doors, windows, beams and flooring ; wagons and parts of farm implements ; furniture of a simple character for local consumption ; and fencing poles and firewood. If farming becomes more efficient there might be openings for employment in processing farm products such as butter and cheese factories ; canning of fruit and vegetables ; scouring and baling of wool ; and making bone fertilizer and glue. Greater division of labour should be encouraged, and instead, for instance, of each family building its own indifferent house, numbers of men might earn a livelihood as skilled builders ; others might be employed is producing much-needed transport facilities. Finally, there should be openings for men and women in retail trade.

In brief, the aim should be to encourage a more diversified economy, in place of the present monoculture of maize and ownership of an excessive number of unproductive cattle and goats. The tradition that it is the right of every family in the Reserve to possess land and to own cattle will have to be abandoned.

These, then, are the fundamental principles which must underlie any policy of economic rehabilitation, not alone of the Keiskammahoek District but of all the Native Reserves in the Union where present economic conditions parallel those in Keiskammahoek. Practically all the Native Reserves in the Union exhibit some of the features that have been revealed in this survey of Keiskammahoek. However, those in the Transvaal and Natal differ materially from Keiskammahoek in being considerably nearer to large labour markets. Keiskammahoek may, however, be regarded as generally representative, both economically and culturally, of most of the Ciskei and the Transkeian Territories. It is obvious that individual differences between districts will exist, and some even differ in one or two major respects from Keiskammahoek. In the Ciskei there are some districts, for instance, which have a much larger proportion of European inhabitants and therefore of local European economic enterprise ; of the Transkeian Territories, Griqualand, although 96% Native populated, borders to the north on the Natal Reserves and the neighbouring labour markets. Cursory analysis of economic conditions in the remaining twenty-five districts in the Ciskei, Pondoland, Themuland and the Transkei suggests that the picture which has emerged from this economic survey of Keiskammahoek, a picture of overpopulation, overstocking, poverty, mass emigration, inefficient farming and destruction of the pasture and soil is, with only minor modifications, true of a vast area

of 14,000 square miles inhabited by over a million persons. This is an area larger than that of Holland and the people affected, including all those presently away from their homes working in the cities, must number nearly one-and-a-half million, or about one-fifth of the total Native population in the Union of South Africa.

Nearly all the districts in this area have a topography similar to Keiskammahoek, bordering on the afforested mountains and within the 20-inch rainfall belt. In all of them the Native population comprises something over 93% of the total, and the small European populations have, with few exceptions, been declining steadily over the past three decades. As these facts indicate, and as is common knowledge, economic enterprise in these districts is no more diversified than in Keiskammahoek, almost the sole activity being the same kind of peasant farming. As in Keiskammahoek, the pressure of population on the land appears to have reached virtual saturation, for increases in the resident populations in the districts over the past thirty years have been very small compared with the rate of natural increase of the Union's Native population ; between 1936 and 1946 there were seven districts with a rate of population increase even slower than in Keiskammahoek. The crude density of the population, as has been revealed in the analysis of Keiskammahoek, is a very imperfect index to the pressure of population on the land when soil fertility and rainfall vary so greatly within a small radius and when varying portions of the area are taken up in forest and European-owned land. Nevertheless, comparison of crude densities, which are set out on Table 55, shows that there are sixteen districts with a greater population density than in Keiskammahoek and only nine with less. Masculinity rates revealed, in the Keiskammahoek analysis, a greater emigration of males than females, and an abnormal demographic structure in the locations which means a dearth of able-bodied labour for farming operations at home. Such conditions, as indicated by the masculinity rates which are also given on Table 55, would appear to be worse in sixteen districts than in Keiskammahoek and to be better in only nine. However, a relatively high masculinity rate, as in Victoria East of 82·1%, does not necessarily portend a more normal demographic structure, but may well be due to greater emigration of able-bodied females together with a large emigration of males. On the analysis of conditions in Keiskammahoek, such criteria as the crude density and the masculinity rate of the population indicated population pressure on the land and low productivity, leading to increasing emigration of bread-

winners, which in turn perpetuated the conditions of poverty at home by depriving the farming economy of an adequate supply of labour. On the criteria selected, these economic conditions in Keiskammahoek would appear to be a little better than average but fairly representative of the twenty-five districts with which this comparison is made.

The Keiskammahoek District, in common with neighbouring Reserves in the Ciskei and the Transkeian Territories, is economically a backward area. To all these areas the following quotation from a recent book[1] on the industrialisation of backward areas applies in full measure: "The progressive transfer of working population from agriculture to industry and services has been going on for a long time. This process is in line with certain basic economic trends. As technical advance raises incomes beyond a certain minimum, the proportion spent on food falls; the share of agriculture in total output is therefore bound to decline. Moreover, with increasing efficiency in agriculture, fewer hands are needed to produce a given output. Rural income levels can in these conditions only be maintained or raised in step with industrial incomes, if the proportion of the population which is engaged in agriculture is reduced. . . . Measured by economic standards the shift away from the land has not yet gone far enough for there is still a large discrepancy between *per capita* incomes earned in industry and agriculture." Owing to the lack of industrial establishments in Keiskammahoek and neighbouring Reserves, this adjustment has only been able to take place through the emigration of workers from the rural Reserves to the industrialised urban centres. In the case of the permanent emigrant who takes his family with him to the city this adjustment is fully made; but in the case of the large number of temporary migrants, whose families remain behind when the breadwinners go out to work, the adjustment is incomplete. These migrants do not become full-time industrial workers but, to the detriment of their efficiency in each sphere, divide their time between industrial employment and peasant farming. Moreover, it is the able-bodied and more productive members of the community who emigrate, with adverse effects upon farming productivity.

So long as the Native Reserves are regarded as reservoirs from which industry can draw a constant supply of intermittent labourers, they will remain little more than dormitory suburbs, crèches, infirmaries, and holiday resorts for the industrial workers in the city.

[1] *The Industrialisation of Backward Areas*, K. Mandelbaum.

Only if there is regional planning of the Reserves *per se* can a more diversified economy be built up in these areas. It must be remembered, however, that effective industrialisation of the Reserves will reduce, and finally put an end to, the flow of workers who at present circulate between the rural and the urban areas and on whose labour the mining and manufacturing industries of the Union have in the past so largely depended.

TABLE 55

Statistical Comparisons with other Districts

(Predominantly Native districts in the Ciskei and all districts in the Transkei, Thembuland and Pondoland)

MASCULINITY RATES (Number of non-European males per 100 non-European females)		POPULATION DENSITY (Number of persons of all races per square mile)	
Victoria East	82·1	*Peddie	41·1
Hershel	80·3	Victoria East	49·2
Peddie	78·8	Xalanga	61·4
Lusikisiki	78·8	*Engcobo	68·6
Port St. Johns	78·1	Hershel	70·8
Umtata	77·6	Glen Grey	71·8
Libode	77·2	Libode	78·7
Xalanga	77·2	Port St. Johns	79·2
Kingwilliamstown	76·8	*Bizana	79·3
Keiskammahoek	76·5	*Keiskammahoek*	82·0
Elliotdale	74·9	Kingwilliamstown	83·3
Butterworth	74·5	Idutywa	84·0
Flagstaff	74·5	*Tsomo	84·1
Mqanduli	73·8	Lusikisiki	90·9
Ngqeleni	73·6	*Middledrift	94·5
Glen Grey	73·5	*St. Marks	95·7
Engcobo	73·3	Tabankulu	97·2
Bizana	72·8	Umtata	98·3
Tabankulu	72·8	Nqamakwe	100·1
Nqamakwe	72·1	Ngqeleni	100·8
Kentane	71·4	Mqanduli	102·9
Idutywa	71·0	*Flagstaff	103·0
St. Marks	70·9	Butterworth	105·0
Willowvale	70·9	Willowvale	117·2
Tsomo	69·7	Kentane	119·7
Middledrift	69·7	Elliotdale	130·7

Total area of the districts listed, 13,918 square miles.

Total Native population of the districts listed, 1,159,000 (1946 census).

*Districts with a smaller rate of increase in Native population than in Keiskammahoek between 1936–1946.

* * * *

The figures are taken from the Population Census, 7th May, 1946; Vol. I, U.G. 51—1949.

The population density of Keiskammahoek is less here than the 84·1 persons as calculated in this Report (Chapter II). Unaccountably, the Census Report gives the area of the District as five square miles greater than it is.