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LIFE IN THE CISKEI

*A summary of the findings of the
Keiskammahoek Rural Survey
1947-51*

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KEISKAMMAHOEK RURAL SURVEY

Published in four volumes by Shuter and Shooter,
Pietermaritzburg

- Vol. I *The Natural History of the Keiskammahoek District* by Edgar D. Mountain, J. V. L. Rennie, G. Murray, R. Story, and R. Lindsay Robb
- Vol. II *The Economy of a Native Reserve* by D. Hobart Houghton and Edith M. Walton.
- Vol. III *Social Structure* by Monica Wilson, Selma Kaplan, Theresa Maki, and Edith M. Walton.
- Vol. IV *Land Tenure* by M. E. Elton Mills and Monica Wilson.

The National Council for Social Research initiated and financed a comprehensive rural survey of the Keiskammahoek district, a Native reserve in the Ciskei. The survey was conducted over a period of four years, 1947-1951, and the findings were published in the four volumes listed above. The opinions expressed and the conclusions reached are 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

The National Council for Social Research instigated and financed two investigations into African life, one urban and the other rural. The district of Keiskammahoek, in the Ciskei, was selected for the rural survey because it was regarded as representative of conditions in the Ciskei as a whole, and was a small, compact magisterial district of manageable size and easy access, consisting almost wholly of Native reserves.

The Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, of which Professor Lindsay Robb was the general director, was planned as a comprehensive series of investigations into the physical features and natural resources of the area and the social and economic life of its inhabitants. The findings were published in the four volumes listed on page iii. The object of this booklet is to make the findings of that survey available in a compact form for those unable to read the full reports. It is published by kind permission of the National Council for Social Research and Messrs Shuter and Shooter, the publishers of the Survey.

The task of compressing the contents of six hundred and fifty pages into eighty or so is not easy. As far as possible the original wording of the reports has been retained, but the description of research techniques, the supporting argument, and the statistical data upon which the conclusions were based have often had to be omitted. Readers who find the argument as here presented inadequate are, therefore, referred to the full reports. Moreover, attention has been directed mainly to the human aspect rather than to the natural resources, and this synopsis is confined almost entirely to the two volumes on the economy and social structure. Even so, large sections, such as those dealing with tribal ritual, witchcraft, and initiation, have had to be excluded.

It is hoped, however, that this booklet presents a concise and balanced statement of the principal findings of the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey. Those engaged upon that survey did not undertake it with a view to supporting or refuting any preconceived theories, and recommendations on future policy were specifically excluded from their assignment. Their aim was merely to describe, as clearly and accurately as they could, the natural environment and the social and economic conditions prevailing in the Keiskammahoek district during the years 1947-51. Although it was thus a specifically circumscribed local study, there is good reason to believe that the conditions there depicted are true of a much wider area: they certainly hold throughout the Ciskei and over large parts of the Transkei, and, with local modifications, many of the major problems are common to all Native reserves in Southern Africa.

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LIFE IN THE CISKEI

CHAPTER I

THE DISTRICT

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, towards the end of the eighteenth century the white settlers from Europe, migrating eastwards across the tip of the continent from the Cape, first came into contact with the Bantu-speaking tribes advancing down the coast from the north. Relations between them were hostile, and for the next hundred years there was conflict between white and black in that area, between the Fish and the Kei Rivers, at one time known as British Kaffraria and now as the Ciskei. In 1848 the first of the military settlements for whites were established in British Kaffraria, and five years later the Governor of Cape Colony established Keiskammahoeek 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 Cape Colony. The motives behind the "chess-board" of intermixed settlements of white and black were both military and economic, designed to effect more secure control against combinations of tribes and uprisings, and to ensure adequate labour for the European farmers between whose farms the Native reserves were located. It was also intended that close proximity to Europeans, accompanied by the establishment of Christian 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, 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.

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, administered until 1937 as part of the King William's Town magisterial district, but in that year proclaimed a separate unit for administration, the Keiskammahoek magisterial district. The chief administrative officer is the native commissioner, and he, with a small staff of Europeans and Africans, all of whom are public 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 that number, 17,243 were Bantu and only 641 Europeans and 507 Coloured.

The Keiskammahoek district comprises 15 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 addition to the 15 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.

The town of Keiskammahoek and its commonage are classed in the census as urban, and the rest of the district as rural. It is, however, misleading to think of the commonage as urban since it consists of common grazing interspersed with groups of small farm holdings occupied by Europeans, Coloured, and Africans, and is in character essentially a rural area. Even Keiskammahoek itself hardly merits the designation urban, for it is in reality only a small village with about two hundred and fifty white inhabitants, nine shops, a post office, and an hotel, while it lacks electric light and waterborne sewerage. It is, however, the administrative centre of the district.

The water-supply of the district is potentially very good. The rainfall varies between more than forty inches a year in the

mountains on the northern boundary, and about twenty inches in the lowlands towards the south. Many 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. On a small scale only, irrigation might be possible along the river banks, but little has been attempted. The Keiskammahoek district, with the rest of the Eastern Cape, is subject to periodic droughts, and as arable farming depends almost entirely upon rainfall, they have a disastrous effect upon crops. Drought prevailed during the greater part of the period of this survey. Though this should be borne in mind, it must be remembered that drought is not exceptional, but a periodic and 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.

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

European administration has ended inter-tribal warfare which had formerly been a check to population growth, and veterinary science has reduced losses of stock. The result is that the pressure of the numbers of both man and beast on the reduced land available for occupation by Africans has been intensified. "Men and beasts beget, but land does not beget", is a Xhosa proverb which epitomizes 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.

This pressure of numbers gives rise to a conflict between the use of land and its preservation. The pursuit of their short-run economic interests has led the villagers to seek additional arable and pasture land wherever it is to be found. They tend to cut out or burn the natural forest and to plough slopes that are too steep to bear cultivation without serious erosion. The result is the progressive denudation of the district, increasing loss of topsoil, and the trampling out of swamps by cattle, so that streams that were once perennial and clear, are now alternately dry river-beds or 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 realize that the consequences of the present practices will be disastrous, for there is considerable evidence of a progressive decline in the stock-carrying capacity of the district and the productivity of its arable land. It is 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 district have, by now, agreed to being proclaimed "betterment areas", and this gives the Administration considerable powers for enforcing rehabilitative 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 are relatively slender, full co-operation from the inhabitants is lacking, and the problem is likely to prove intractable as long as the present population remains dependent on the land.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

Most of the inhabitants of the Keiskammahoek district are Xhosa-speaking, and are representative of the southern section of the Nguni people. When the Europeans first arrived, the area

was occupied by the Ngqika section of the Xhosa people, but they were dispossessed after the war of 1850 and the district was settled with a small number of Europeans and a very considerable number of Mfengu. The latter were also Nguni, refugees driven from Natal by Tshaka's wars. They had entered Cape Colony and sided with the Europeans in the wars of 1846 and 1850; after the peace they were allocated land in Keiskammahoek. Many Xhosa filtered back, but the Mfengu are still the dominant group, forming about three-fourths of the population of the district.

According to the 1946 census, the Mfengu and Xhosa together numbered 17,243 and there were also 641 Europeans and 507 Coloured, making a total population in the district of 18,391.

The most striking feature of the population is the slow growth since 1921.

Population of Keiskammahoek District

	Europeans	Coloured	Bantu	Total
1921 census	898	375	15,489	16,762
1936 census	759	515	16,830	18,105
1946 census	641	507	17,243	18,391

There has been an absolute reduction in the European population, and the rate of decline has accelerated since 1936. Nearly all the natural increase of the Coloured population appears to have remained in the district up to 1936, but since then there would appear to have been a fairly rapid exodus, and between 1936 and 1946 there was a slight absolute decline in their numbers.

Although the population of Africans increased, the net increase has been no more than 1,800 in the past thirty years, and over the last decade the annual rate of increase has been 0.24 per cent. only, compared with an increase of the African population of the whole of South Africa of seven times this rate. This increase has occurred in those parts of the district where employment other than peasant farming is to be found; the peasant-farming population has remained virtually static, and the whole of the natural increase appears to have migrated elsewhere. It is calculated that, whereas the 1946 census recorded an African population of 17,243, had all those persons born in the district

remained there the population would have been 26,500. It is further estimated that some 5,000 persons have emigrated permanently, leaving a domiciled population of 21,500, of whom 20 per cent., or 4,250 workers, are temporarily away at any given time, working in the large industrial centres. The distribution of those in urban centres, their distribution is given in the table below, and the distance from Keiskammahoek indicate how far Africans from the district have to travel to seek work.

KEISKAMMAHOEK-BORN NATIVES IN URBAN AREAS

	Percentage of emigrants in each centre	Distance by Rail from Keiskammahoek
Cape Town	33	845 miles
Witwatersrand	25	642 miles
Port Elizabeth	17	259 miles
East London	12	42 miles
Other towns	13	

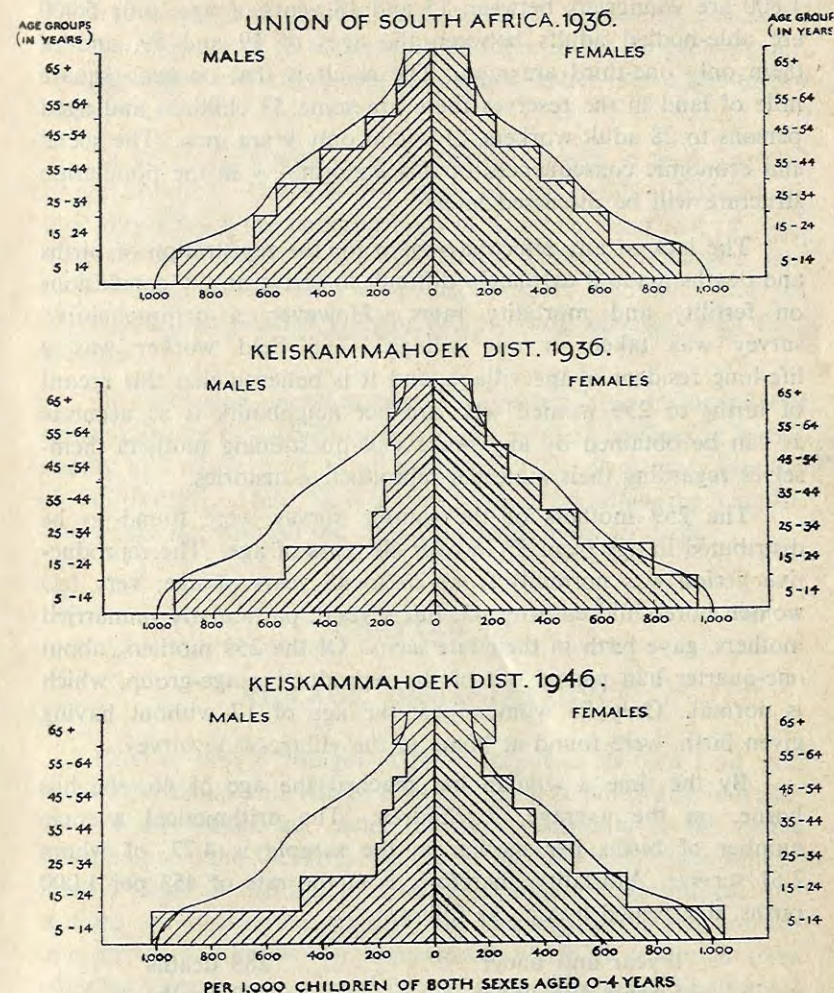
The incidence of this temporary migration is highly selective. The emigrants are for the most part men, particularly young men between the ages of 25 and 45, but there is also a relatively small but increasing exodus of young women. The result is an abnormal sex-age distribution of the resident population. The most extreme imbalance in the sexes occurs in the age-group 25-29 years, in which there were only 36 males to every 100 females, although the imbalance of the sexes was prevalent at all ages from 15 to 54.

Age group Males per 100 females in each age group — Keiskammahoek, 1946

15-19	84.5
20-24	58.7
25-29	36.1
30-34	45.4
35-39	49.7
40-44	47.2
45-49	63.2
50-54	54.3
55-59	80.3

SEX-AGE STRUCTURE OF NATIVE POPULATIONS

Union of South Africa 1936; Keiskammahoek District, 1936 and 1946
(Base: 1,000 children of both sexes aged 0-4 years in each population)



About 45 per cent. of all males over the age of 15 years are absent at any given time, as are about 15 per cent. of the women over the age of 15 years.

The absence of so many of the able-bodied adults gives rise to an abnormal age distribution of the remaining population. About 55 per cent. of the inhabitants of the locations are children under the age of 15 and aged people over 60 years. Consequently,

of the peasant-farming population, numbering 16,000, something like 8,800 are children under 15 or aged people over 60; another 1,800 are youngsters between 15 and 18 years of age; only 5,400 are able-bodied adults between the ages of 19 and 59, and of them only one-third are men. The result is that on each square mile of land in the reserves there are some 53 children and aged persons to 28 adult workers, of whom only 9 are men. The social and economic consequences of this abnormality in the population structure will be discussed later.

The lack of any effective system for the registration of births and deaths made it extremely difficult to arrive at any conclusions on fertility and mortality rates. However, a comprehensive survey was taken in one village. The field worker 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.

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. Only 25 women past the age of 17 without having given birth, were found at home in the village-wide survey.

By the time a woman has reached the age of 46, she has borne, on the average, 7 children. The arithmetical 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 year and under	288 deaths
5 years and under	382 deaths
10 years and under	412 deaths
16 years and under	426 deaths
44 years and under	453 deaths

Thus of total deaths, 63.5 per cent. were of infants 1 year of age or less, and 94 per cent. were of children 16 years of age and younger.

The chance of a child's survival diminishes with great rapidity after the mother has produced her seventh child. The first three children born to a mother have nearly a two-to-one chance of survival, the fourth to the seventh children about an even chance, and the eighth and subsequent children no better than a one-to-two chance.

In no single family of more than six births is there survival of all children. Only 35 per cent. 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 per cent. survival of all their children.

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 three cases were of childbearing couples living together with all the children already born to them.

CHAPTER III

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

Each of the 15 villages in the district has its own land, and its own headman and village council. Each is politically independent of the others, but under the direct authority of the native commissioner, the local representative of the Union Government. Each village is divided into sections under sub-headmen, and sections are further sub-divided into hamlets. A hamlet consists of a group of "kraals" or homesteads, which is separated from other such groups by a stream, or a gully, or a stretch of unoccupied land. A homestead (*umzi*) consists of several huts clustered around a cattle byre, and occupied by a kinship group — traditionally, and ideally, by a man with his wife or wives, their unmarried children, and married sons with their wives and children. Nowadays it is often occupied by a single elementary family, or a widow with her children. Each homestead has its recognized head, who is the senior male member or, if he is dead, his widow. He

(or she) organizes the economic activities of the members, and they all go to him for advice and direction; nothing which affects them should be done without his permission.

Villages vary in size from 330 to 1,700 members actually living in them, and in addition there are members away working in town.

Though each village is established on its own land, the form of tenure varies, and this affects the social structure considerably. Each village has a commonage on which its members pasture their cattle, but, in some, arable land is held on freehold tenure, in others on quitrent tenure, in yet others on "communal tenure," and in seven villages certain areas are held directly from the South African Native Trust.

Where there is freehold or quitrent tenure, families and lineages are the land-owning groups, and inheritance of land within the family or lineage is secure; on the other hand, in a "communal" village, it is the village which is the land-owning group, and acquisition of a field depends upon the support of fellow villagers, especially of the village headman and sub-headmen. Tenure on "Trust" land is much like that in a communal village, though holders are subject to more restrictions in their use of the land.

In a communal village access to land depends first and foremost on having been born in the village; and though a third of the married men have no fields, each has a chance of acquiring one if he waits long enough, paying his taxes and returning each year to the village.

In the freehold villages there are two classes, the landowners and the "squatters." In the early days, some of the freeholders and quitrenters owned more land than they could use. They brought in relatives to settle on their lands, or share-cropped, rented, or lent portions of it to settlers who built their homesteads on the commonage; or they permitted "wanderers" from the European farms to build on and use a portion of their land-holdings in return for services. Informants maintain that in the early days these squatters, share-croppers, and servants were treated by the landowners as a servile class: there was no inter-marriage, the squatters did not attend the village council or

participate in ceremonies in the same fashion as the landowners, and the landowners did not visit the homesteads of the squatters but would receive gifts of beer and food sent over by them. To-day, this class distinction is no longer so rigid: there is inter-marriage, and the landowners accept invitations to the homesteads of the squatters and permit them to participate in village council meetings. Nevertheless the squatters are regarded as inferior, even though many of them have become independent of landowners. Originally, grants of freehold land were made to Europeans as well as to Africans, but in the last fifteen years the South African Native Trust has bought out most of the European freeholders and divided their farms into allotments on which landless squatters have been settled. These people are known as "people of the Trust" (*abantu betrasti*). They are regarded as an inferior class because: "They have no rights over the land they cultivate, and most of them have no stock at all; they are *amayanyaga*, migrants from the European farms, who have no claim to this part of the country." A Trust homestead is referred to as *isitorose* rather than *umzi*, an indication that the occupants are individual wanderers rather than kinship groups. These people themselves seldom speak in village council meetings unless directly affected, being shy of entering discussions of freeholders or quitrenters.

Although people in communal villages regard themselves as superior to the people of the Trust because they have long had land rights, they are referred to derogatorily by freeholders and quitrenters. On the other hand, the people in communal villages have a strongly developed sense of community and neighbourliness, and in their turn tend to regard landowners as rude and anti-social in their individualism. Much of the superior attitude of landowners derives, however, not only from their sense of freedom from authority, engendered by their security of tenure, but also from their rather better standard of living. In the past, those who owned land could borrow money and buy more stock, becoming the wealthiest in stock, with the social status which that conferred. To-day, freeholders and quitrenters tend to have better housing, many having European-style square houses with iron roofs, and are on the whole more progressive and better educated, with more children going on to secondary schools, or training as teachers, than the people in communal villages.

The headman is the only official of the village political system recognized by the government; he is a paid official of the Native Affairs Department, and at the same time the leader and representative of his people. The conflict which exists between the Administration and the people renders his position very difficult. His duties are numerous. They include registration of taxpayers and assistance in tax collection, policing and the enforcement of law, reporting on people who settle in or remove from the village, reporting occurrences such as disease and death and the presence in his village of unauthorized persons and stock, assistance in such matters as stock dipping and preservation of fences and eradication of noxious weeds, obtaining permits for his people when they require access to saplings and poles and thatching grass from areas controlled by the government, and, subject to the control of the Administration, the allotment of land in communal villages. A headman may not absent himself from the village for more than seven days without the permission of the native commissioner, or for more than a month without the authority of the chief native commissioner and without providing an approved substitute. A headman's privileges are few. He is entitled to a travelling allowance when he travels in the performance of his duties, and is paid a bonus for assisting in the collection of taxes. For his services to the state, he is paid a commencing salary of £24 per annum, which rises, subject to good behaviour, by £6 every six years until the top of the scale is reached at £42 after 18 years' service. On retirement he is entitled to a pension of £5 per annum after 15 years' continuous good service, or £10 per annum after 25 years' service.

Each quarter the native commissioner meets with all headmen of the district, to notify them of any new regulations and to discuss matters relevant to administration. The headmen must make the regulations and instructions known to their villages and call special meetings of their people whenever required to do so by the Administration. Headmen also go informally to see the native commissioner on business concerning their villages, and the people of the villages are free to approach him directly.

The earliest conditions of village settlement in the area laid down that a village should consist of not less than twenty "dwellings" and that the headman was to be chosen by the people.

However, the appointment of a headman who has been selected by a majority decision of the men of the village is not valid unless approved by the native commissioner and confirmed by the Administration. In practice, the native commissioner usually appoints the man chosen by the people, but may punish or dismiss him for neglect of duty.

An heir does not automatically assume office as his father's successor. He must have his right to succeed confirmed by a majority decision of the men of the village and be formally appointed by the native commissioner. If an heir is rejected by the men of the village as unsuitable, as has happened, or if no heir survives, or if he is not acceptable to the Administration, then another man of the village is chosen. If the heir is too young to assume office, another may be appointed to act (*ukubambela*) for him.

The headman's official advisers (*amaphakathi*) are the sub-headmen (*izibonda ezincinci*), the traditionally constituted local authorities especially responsible for bringing to his attention matters relating to their own village sections. The position of sub-headman is not necessarily inherited, although in some cases it does remain within the senior agnatic family of the village section. Where the position is hereditary, the heir's right to succeed must be confirmed by a majority decision of the men of the village section.

When administrative instructions concerning the village have to be made known, and matters and disputes concerning the village or its people have to be discussed, and when fields in a communal village become available for allocation, a meeting of its men is called. The meetings take place in the open space above the cattle byre, the courtyard (*inkundla*) of the headman's homestead, which gives to the gathering its name of *inkundla*, i.e. council or court. The council is a place for men, any initiated male member of the village being allowed to participate. Women have nothing to do with it unless they are personally concerned in the matter under discussion, but they do evince interest in the proceedings and will cross-question anyone willing to give them information. Many disputes are brought before the *inkundla* for arbitration, though the headman has not legal power to enforce

his decisions; and in cases which are not settled by him and go on to the native commissioner's court, no cognizance is taken of proceedings in the *inkundla*. Older men who are regarded as particularly well versed in the law and customs of the people, and renowned for their skill in "talking cases" (*iinduna*, *amaphakathi*, *amajwilise*), lead the investigation and assist the headman in the arbitration of disputes before his court. They are not formally appointed to hold office, but their identity is usually known to the village.

The village council occasionally elects committees to assist and advise the headman on certain matters. Betterment-scheme committees, established at the behest of the Administration in villages which have accepted the scheme, advise on all matters relating to its application and are sometimes used by the headmen in communal villages to advise them on the allocation of arable land. School committees are appointed to deal with village school education. That the village council is jealous of its authority as a body was shown recently in Burnshill, where the headman had appointed a committee to deal with complaints from villagers because there was such delay in getting the complaints before the village council at its irregular meetings. The scheme operated successfully until the men of the village council objected, claiming that all matters concerning the village had to be brought before them as a body, and insisted on the committee being disbanded.

CHAPTER IV

KINSHIP GROUPS, MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Kinship Groups

The basic form of kinship grouping in the village is the monogamous family, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their unmarried child or children, either their own or adopted. Polygynous families in which one husband marries more than one wife, each of whom, together with her children, forms a separate unit in the homestead, are very rare to-day. The homestead (*umzi*) in which the family lives forms the nucleus of the local or territorial grouping.

The monogamous family when it coincides with the homestead is the simplest form of domestic family. Very rarely, however, does an elementary family live alone in a homestead. Traditionally, the people lived in patrilineal kinship groups (*mizi*), and when danger from marauders made concentration necessary for defence, a number of married men, with their wives and children, would live in one *umzi*. Although brothers or sons are never ordered to leave a homestead unless they or their wives are repeatedly quarrelsome or are believed to be witches, the tendency now is towards the breaking up of *imizi* very soon after the brothers or sons get married. Fission may arise because of friction between wives and brothers, but is chiefly influenced to-day by the sense of economic individualism acquired by the younger generation in the course of their labour migration experiences; and wives are anxious to have their own homesteads in order to be free of a mother-in-law's tutelage.

On the other hand, two major factors, both economic and inter-related, work against the breaking-up process and cause families to live gregariously in the one homestead. There is too little arable land in the district relative to the population. Not only are married men unable, therefore, to acquire landholdings and establish independent homesteads as they would wish, but the agricultural produce of the area is inadequate to feed the population. Remunerative employment outside the district is therefore imperative in order to meet the subsistence requirements of the family. During long periods of absence, a man may prefer to let his wife and children remain in the homestead of his relatives; if both man and wife are labour migrants, they certainly cannot leave young children alone; and if unmarried mothers or deserted wives or widows go out to earn their children's support, they are obliged to leave those children in the care of other women at home. The absence of able-bodied adults in itself causes those remaining behind to favour living in a homestead with other adults, in order to receive some co-operation in domestic and economic routine.

A son or brother who leaves the homestead peacefully usually prefers to establish his new homestead near his close paternal relatives; in villages of freehold and quitrent tenure he is, in any case, confined nowadays to the land belonging to his lineage

group. Consequently, the homesteads of male members of one agnatic group are usually found in the same locality. The lineage group consists of all the surviving agnatic kinsmen with whom relationship can be traced through a common grandfather, great-grandfather, or great-great-grandfather, but they are seldom all found residing in the locality.

Marriage

The choice of marriage partner is limited by the rules of clan exogamy. To-day, among Christians and pagans, marriage between members of the same patrilineal clan is regarded as inexcusable, and pagans believe that it incurs the irrevocable displeasure of the ancestors. Only one instance was encountered in the course of the survey.

Intermarriage between Mfengu and Xhosa has taken place fairly frequently, though Xhosa men are said to prefer marrying Xhosa girls. In the villages of freehold and quitrent land tenure, intermarriage of landowners and squatters takes place nowadays, although in earlier generations they did not mix readily. Intermarriage of Christians and pagans and of educated and illiterate people is also general, the only exception usually being the relatively better educated and staunch Christians who tend to select spouses from their own group.

A woman who marries, as permitted, into an unrelated clan, is never fully absorbed into her husband's clan, but is always regarded partly as a stranger. As a stranger, the bride may not drink the milk of her husband's clan until a goat has been sacrificed for her and she has been given milk of her husband's cows to drink. This ceremony, known as *ukudliswa amasi*, though it may not take place for some months or even years after her marriage, is essential for the wife since it "introduces her to her husband's ancestors", under whose influence she comes from the time of her marriage. Although Christians deny the connection, pagans claim that the "bride's dinner", held after a Christian marriage, has a similar function to the *ukudliswa amasi* ritual of the pagans. Many church members, too, are strict about not drinking milk at their husband's homes until a goat has been slaughtered for them.

While the *ukudliswa amasi* ceremony establishes a ritual bond between a wife and her husband's ancestors, it is in the passage of cattle (*ukulobola*) from the groom's kinship group to the bride's that the union is legalized and the husband's right to the children established. Even though marriage contracted by European statute law gives the man legal right to the children, the custom of giving cattle is nevertheless retained in practically all marriages in church or the native commissioner's office. The sanctions of the union by civil rites are still much less strong than the sanctions of a customary union, and the passage of cattle is still regarded by the vast majority as the *sine qua non* of a legal union. When a man has given cattle for his wife he stands to lose the cattle if ever he deserts her; and any home that has benefited from a woman's *ikhazi* (cattle given for her) is bound to give her support and protection, which means that she has a second home in which she can take refuge when ill-used by her husband or to which she and her children can go if deserted.

An investigation was made of some 2,000 marriages in the lineages of approximately 220 families in the villages of Gxulu, Chatha, Burnshill, and Mthwaku. In 1,704 marriages in which information regarding *lobola* was available, it was found that in 1,517 marriages *lobola* was with cattle only, in 45 cases in cattle and sheep, in 77 cases both cattle and money were given, in 42 cases money only passed, and in only 23 cases was there no *lobola* whatever. Over the whole period from before 1890 to 1949 the average number of cattle given as *ikhazi* was found to be 7.4. It has scarcely changed at all over the years, in spite of the fluctuating monetary exchange value of the beasts. The economic consequences of this quantitative attitude towards marriage cattle is discussed in the section on farming. One social consequence should, however, be noted here. As nowadays men tend to depend less on their families and more on their own wage earnings to *lobola*, and as the price of cattle has risen considerably, it might be expected that they would take longer to save, and therefore wed later in life than they used to. Investigation into the ages of bridegrooms since the last century proved this to be so. Before 1890 the average age of men at first marriage was 24.3 years, by the 1930s it had advanced to 28.6 years, and in the past decade it reached 30.1 years. At the turn of the century women were, on

the average, five years younger than their husbands, and this difference in age has recently increased to six or seven years. Nevertheless the age of women at marriage has also advanced, from 19.3 years before 1890 to 23.6 years in the 1940s, reflecting both the delayed ability of young men to afford *lobola* and the modern tendency for girls to go out to work in the towns for a few years before settling down to marriage.

There are four types of marriages to be found: the two formal are the customary marriage of pagan society and the church marriage of the Christians; the two informal are *ukuthwala* or elopement and marriage under statute in the native commissioner's office. An exhaustive analysis of 1,512 marriages from before 1890 to 1949 shows them to have been distributed between the various types as follows:

Church	Customary	Office	Ukuthwala
773	449	41	249

Since 1910 the proportion of church and office marriage to others has increased, and it reached 65 per cent. of all marriages in the 1930s. It was also found that the average number of stock which pass as *ikhazi* is greater in the formal marriages (church and customary) than in the informal (office and *ukuthwala*), being 8.2 for church, 7.2 for customary, 6.0 for office and 5.4 for *ukuthwala*.

The Family

The social and economic unit is the domestic family or the people living in a single homestead or *umzi*. This, however, does not consist only of the elementary family of husband, wife, and their children, but was often found to comprise several elementary families or the remnants of them, unmarried mothers with children, and other relatives, all living together in the one homestead.

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. An equally important variable in the size of the family group is the extent of migration. 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.

There is great variation in the size of individual homesteads. Including those who are away from the district, the numbers vary from 2 to 16 persons, and average 7.65. Including all deceased spouses and children and 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.

Any attempt to classify the members of homesteads living in the district by consanguinity with the head of the homestead is complicated by 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 in January 1950. It was found that the composition of many families had changed almost out of recognition from one census to another.

When it is remembered that the three counts of the population took place within a period of little more than 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 go for relatively short periods, and when each returns his 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 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 the

analysis of 285 homesteads in which there were found to be 1,696 persons as follows:

Male adults	Female adults	Male children	Female children
221	407	554	514

Moreover, almost one-third of the persons in the homesteads were not members of the elementary family of the head of the homestead.

The head of each homestead is usually the man senior by age and descent, and if his widow survives him she normally succeeds as head of the homestead. In view of the importance of the male head of a family in most societies and the vital rôle 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 a survey of 285 families from five villages, 41 per cent. of the families were without a male head, because he was either away or dead. In a later survey in Nqhumeya village of 176 families the proportion was even higher, as 57 per cent. were without a male head. This situation is one of considerable economic and social importance, for the absence of the male head cannot fail to have an adverse effect upon the organization of the economic efforts of the household and upon parental authority and the discipline of children.

The constant movement of men, and recently also of women, from their homes in the reserves to the industrial centres and back again, has led to some severance of family ties. The bonds which still unite members of the family are, however, strong, as shown by the way most of those who are away send back money for the support of their folks at home and the way they continue to return home after each spell of work in town. Domestic life is, however, far from normal, and the disparity in the sexes of adults and the constantly shifting composition of the family group show their effect in many ways, one of which is the large proportion of births which are illegitimate. Analysis of 476 births to 110 mothers reveals that nearly half the mothers have borne one or more illegitimate children, and that one-quarter of all births are illegitimate. It was also found that of the women who go to work in the urban areas, one out of two returns with an illegitimate child conceived in town.

It is difficult to describe family life without giving concrete examples. Therefore, six actual families are portrayed below. These families have been so selected that in the aggregate they represent a statistically normal sample of the family structure in the Keiskammahoek district as a whole. 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.

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 survive and live at home:— two boys of 16 and 10 years of age, Violet, a 13-year-old girl, and three little girls aged 7, 4 and 2 years. Two orphans have been taken into this homestead: one, the daughter of Goli's late uncle, is now aged 19 and has a job in King William's Town; the other, Goli's 20-year-old niece, daughter of his late sister, attends school in St Matthew's Mission, returning to her uncle's home at 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 are 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 King William's Town, leaves his wife, Mnandi, at home with his uncle and Nomani. Mnandi, now 26 years of age, had by William one child who died in infancy, and two subsequent adulterine children, the first of whom is dead 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, 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 birth to one son, Matthew, who is now 25 years of age, a bachelor and the head of his 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 fourth of these died; the oldest, a daughter now 20 years of age, was sent to live with Nolast's sister near King William's Town. 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 10 children, of whom four died. Her oldest daughter was widowed after bearing two children, and remarried a man from the Transkei, leaving with Mercy her one surviving child. That child, as well as the two children born of her second marriage, all died. Mercy's two other adult daughters, then in their late twenties, married and went with their husbands to Cape Town. Their two older children, a son of 7 and a daughter of 4, have been sent back to the 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 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 of 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.

CHAPTER V

STANDARDS OF LIVING

The material for this chapter was obtained from a survey of the actual income of 213 families (drawn from four villages) and expenditure of 260 families (drawn from five villages), selected

so as to cover the different types of climate, pasture, and land tenure in the district. The 260 families number 1,506 persons, or an average of 5.8 per family. 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.

The collection of income and expenditure data proper commenced on 1 January 1949 and covered the whole period to 31 December 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.

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. 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.

Before analysing the material, three points must be made clear.

- (i) The number of persons in the family includes only those at home and excludes those away working in the urban centres.
- (ii) The family income consists of the earnings of members of the family within the Keiskammahoe district plus that part only 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.

The informants were in general most co-operative, but there was a reluctance to disclose the whole of their income, especially during the first few months of the survey when the field workers

Average Family Cash Income and Expenditure per Annum

Village	Income from within the district excluding 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)

were strangers. Accordingly in the table below, income (except "farming income") is an estimate based upon the more reliable data from the second half-year. Expenditure is the actual recorded expenditure for the whole year.

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. was increased by 10 per cent. 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 consumed by the family itself and other income in kind which is about £7. Therefore, £50 may be taken as representing about the average income, in cash and kind, of a family of six persons for the year 1949.

One of the most interesting facts that has emerged from this survey is the great difference between the lowest and highest family incomes and expenditures. An interesting correlation between the educational standard of the head of the family and the standard of living emerged.

It is sometimes thought that there is a fairly uniform standard of living for all in the reserves. 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. and nothing. 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 income and expenditure, it appears that it is the generosity of their neighbours that enables them to survive. Real charity is a virtue which still shines brightly in the reserves.

Below are three actual cases selected to represent a well-to-do family, an average family, and a poor 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.

Well-to-do family

(This is the wealthiest family in the sample: only three families, or 1.4 per cent., 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 lives in seven huts, including the teacher's house, and owns seven head of cattle, one horse, 40 sheep, two pigs and 10 fowls. It cultivates three acres of land.

The total family income for the year was £355 18s. 0d. in cash and £11 5s. 9d. in kind. No member of the family was 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 5s. and 20s. per week represent 53.6 per cent. 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 maize 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 sympathized 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 5s. per week represent 9.2 per cent. 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. His 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. 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."

Sources of Income

Income from farming activities constitutes a relatively small fraction of the total cash income: 6.8 per cent. for the sample as

whole and not more than 10.4 per cent. in any village. A little maize, kaffir corn, birdseed, some fowls and eggs were sold to the traders, but wool 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.

Wages and salaries from employment within the reserve are clearly of major importance, representing 42.6 per cent. of the total cash income of the sample as a whole, or 66 per cent. 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 £3 15s. 2d. only in Rabula. Both Burnshill and Chatha are close to labour markets: Burnshill is near Fort Cox Agricultural School which provides work for many of the village residents, 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 local cash income per family (Burnshill) was the least dependent on income derived from outside the district. (21.8 per cent.)
- (ii) The area that revealed the lowest average local cash income per family (Rabula) was most dependent on the earnings of emigrant workers. (49.3 per cent.)

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 its earnings from within the reserve.

Income in Kind

In addition to the cash incomes of the families, there was a certain amount of income in kind, both from within the reserve and from outside. Sources of such income comprised home-grown crops and the produce from livestock consumed by the families: maize, kaffir corn, wheat, vegetables, milk, eggs, and meat. Evaluation has been made at current prices at the trading stations.

For the sample as a whole, such income averaged £5 5s. 3d. per family. It must be remembered that in 1949 drought caused abnormally low yields from farming operations.

Expenditure

Expenditure, placed in four main categories, is shown below. Save for Gxulu, there is a remarkable similarity in the general pattern of expenditure. The percentage spent on food in the first four villages was almost exactly the same: for them it was about 62 per cent. and for the sample as a whole, 57.6 per cent. of total outlay. Household requisites, constituting 8.4 per cent. of total expenditure, consisted of paraffin, pots and pans, and such furniture as was bought. Clothing amounted to 13.5 per cent. 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 per cent. of total expenditure.

Confirmatory evidence of the pattern of expenditure was obtained from a study of the 30 trading stations in the district.

As the overwhelming majority of the purchases by Africans in the reserves are made through the trading stations, an analysis of the proportions in which different commodities are sold by them will give quite an 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. However, these three may be regarded as representative of the traders as a whole. 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 Africans; 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.

PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF FAMILY EXPENDITURE

Village	Average Family Outlay on:				Total Expenditure
	Food 1	Household Requisites 2	Clothing 3	Other Items 4	
	£ s. d. 25 15 0 (61.9%) 22 19 0 (61.2%) 21 6 9 (62.2%) 17 15 0 (61.6%) 17 8 0 (45.1%)	£ s. d. 3 13 10 (8.9%) 3 1 5 (8.2%) 3 5 7 (9.6%) 2 4 5 (7.7%) 2 16 5 (7.2%)	£ s. d. 5 13 5 (13.6%) 6 0 2 (16.6%) 2 16 6 (8.2%) 1 16 3 (6.2%) 7 18 0 (20.4%)	£ s. d. 6 8 9 (15.6%) 5 8 11 (14.0%) 6 17 2 (20.0%) 7 0 4 (24.5%) 10 9 11 (27.3%)	£ s. d. 41 11 0 (100%) 37 9 6 (100%) 34 6 0 (100%) 28 16 0 (100%) 38 12 4 (100%)
Chatha					
Burnshill					
Rabula					
Mthwaku					
Gxulu					
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%)

CLASSIFICATION OF COMMODITY PURCHASES

(Based on total traders' sales and proportion 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 fertilizers	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

The classification of commodities purchased at these three stations is in accordance with a set of recognized commodity groupings, based upon the groups in the census of distribution and service establishments, and the analysis is of sales during the year 1947-48. Traders' profits are excluded, commodities being valued at cost. 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 meal, samp, wheat, meal, flour, kaffir corn, dry peas and beans. Of these

foodstuffs, wheat, meal, flour, and samp are invariably imported, and in most years some proportion also of the maize products and kaffir corn. 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 per cent. of total purchases and that together they account for 89.85 per cent of the total. There is a high concentration in the first three groups, *Produce*, *Clothing*, and *Groceries*, commodities which are the necessities of life, for *Produce* and *Groceries* are almost wholly food for human consumption. Together these three groups constitute 83.69 per cent. 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

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 per cent. of the expenditure of a family at the trading stations as being upon basic necessities of life.

Overall Picture of the Economy

By combining the data from the family budget survey with that from the study of the traders and with additional material

from other sources, an attempt was made to give an overall picture of the economy of the district as a whole.

It is clearly economic necessity which drives men out to work, for the family income survey revealed that the average cash income was only about £40 to £45 per annum. To this must be added local produce consumed, to the value of about £7 per annum. The total income of a family of six is, therefore, on the average, only £50 per annum, or less than £1 per week. An estimate of the total cash income of the African population of the Keiskammahoek district for the year 1949 shows it to be derived as follows:

	£	Per cent.
Sale of local produce (chiefly wool)	8,000	5.4
Government employment, pensions and relief	43,933	29.9
Other employment within the district	22,731	15.3
Remittances from emigrant workers	72,636	49.4
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total cash income	147,300	100.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Productivity is generally so low that the population is wholly unable to support itself from activities within the district. It is dependent upon imports to the area for all its clothing and manufactured articles, and a very large part of its food. Apart from a small quantity of wool, it is only *labour* that can be exported to pay for the imports. Remittances from emigrant workers in the industrial centres support the economy of the reserve to the extent of almost 50 per cent. of its total cash income. Without the earnings of the emigrants the population of the district would starve.

CHAPTER VI

EMIGRATION

Though it is generally recognized 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 say: "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. Almost every man and a large and increasing number of women spend a considerable part of their lives in the cities. Many 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 its social and economic life; 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, marital infidelity, and a large number of illegitimate children. One child in every four is illegitimate, and approximately every other family is without a male head. The 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. It is members of families in reserves such as Keiskammahoek who provide a large number of those who work in mines, factories, shops, and domestic service in the large industrial cities. At any given time over half the men, and a considerable proportion of the women of working age, are away from Keiskammahoek and on the Witwatersrand, in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, and other towns. This 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.

For the reserve the emigration of so many adult workers is a matter of the greatest economic concern. It appears to be both the result and the cause of its poverty. 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. 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 the failure of the reserve to provide an adequate living for its population.

This very exodus is itself a potent cause of the perpetuation of the poverty at home, for the absence of so many in the prime of life inhibits economic progress and accounts in no small measure for the district's low agricultural productivity. In many cases land is not ploughed because there is no one to do the ploughing. Of what 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 mostly its active and able-bodied members. Those that remain are the infirm, the aged, and the children.

Many schemes are being put forward for the rehabilitation of the reserves, and in them improved farming and the establishment of industries are to play a part. But if labour migrations to the towns continue on their present scale, the schemes are likely to founder for lack of labour to carry them through. Though 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.

Labour migration was considered to be a matter of such 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 and then enquiring into the present whereabouts of each member. The Bantu have a strong sense 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 it is estimated that some 9,250 persons now living outside the district have emigrated, either temporarily or permanently. This is 35 per cent. of the total population (including emigrants), and more than half the number who have remained behind.

Economic necessity drives people out of the Keiskammahoek district, but individuals and families react in different ways to the economic situation confronting them. A careful classification of the 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, and each causes 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 would appear to be declining. The reaction to the economic pressure may be classified in three main types.

Type I — The Emigrant Breadwinners

These leave their families in the reserve and go out to work in the cities or mines where they can earn sufficient to support themselves and to provide a surplus to send home to their families. These are generally referred to as migrant labourers, but for greater precision will be described here 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 them going for some time, and that they themselves have every intention of eventually returning to the reserve to live. Although long absence may weaken family ties, it is important to recognize 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 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 there. 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 poor lodgings without the amenities of home life. Moreover, the call of home and family is strong and there is the 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 emigrant breadwinners will require to spend less time away to earn a given sum of money. 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 less able to attain proficiency in their tasks. 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 tends to depress the wages of the emigrant breadwinners.

Type II — Emigrant Families

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 the breadwinners alone migrate, whereas in the latter the whole family moves to town. Type II will be referred to as *emigrant families* to distinguish it from the emigrant breadwinners.

The emigration of families has both advantages and disadvantages when compared with the emigration of breadwinners only. The advantage is that it avoids the disruption of family life, which is a necessary concomitant of the emigration of breadwinners. 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. 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 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, and 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 so 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 — The Absconders

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. He 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 which means *ukutshipa*, *to abscond*, and this type of emigrant will be referred to 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 connec-

tion with proposals to establish industries in the reserves. If factories are established near the reserves, the boys will be 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, 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. The classification is not hard and fast: emigrant breadwinners may spend even 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 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. Two of these are here presented.

Sex: Male.

Born: 1892.

Education: Standard I.

First went out to work in 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 July 1921: Domestic servant, Convent, Cape Town.
 July 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 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 at the time of the survey was away in East London.

Their family expenditure in 1949 was £24.

This labour history is one of the longer and more detailed, but typical of many. What strikes one is 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 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 in 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, 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 July 1937: Noxious-weed inspector, Keiskammahoek.

July 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 them 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!

It may be of interest to give some of the results of the analysis of the genealogies.

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 per cent., were living in the Keiskammahoek district, and 1,120, or 35 per cent., were outside the district at the time of the survey.

Of those outside, 292 were living in other Native reserves: the bulk of these were daughters of Keiskammahoek families who had married men from neighbouring reserves.

The main flow of emigration from Keiskammahoek is, however, to the urban centres of the Union: 805 persons, or 25 per cent., of the living members of the genealogies, were in towns at the time of the survey. This is a 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 inside the district at any one time, 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 has 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 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)
In the district		
Less than five years away	470	606
Five years and more away	311	178
	219	216
	—	—
Total emigrants	1,000	1,000
	530	394
	—	—
In towns		
In other Native reserves	449	213
Unknown	74	167
	7	14

It is found that 53 per cent. of emigrant males, and 68.5 per cent. of emigrant females are married. Of the emigrant males, 59 per cent. have been absent from the district for less than five years and 41 per cent. for five years or over. Not that all the 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 taken up permanent residence at their husbands' homes.

Attention must be drawn to the major effect of this emigration on the productivity of 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 population. 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.

But 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. 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 auxiliary, peasant labour force. Consequently, although the absence of 4,000 adult emigrant bread-winners 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.

CHAPTER VII

FARMING

A. Arable Farming

Every African family aspires to own some cattle and 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 also led to most unsuitable land being brought under the plough: steep slopes, formerly covered by forest, 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 for the plough, repeated monoculture of maize and inadequate care for the maintenance of fertility are steadily reducing the productive capacity. In earlier days, when land was relatively plentiful, tribal agricultural practice was one of shifting cultivation, and when the fertility of a piece of arable land was exhausted it was abandoned and a new piece brought under cultivation. Now 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 produce a sustained yield from the land, is the reason for the progressive decline in 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 kaffir corn (sorghum), regardless of the suitability of soil and climate for this crop. A field worker reports that, having asked why the people cultivate maize to such an extent instead of planting beans, peas, or cash crops, he was informed, *umntu omnyama akanakuphila ngapandle kombona* (a black man cannot live without maize). He was further informed that the people do not cultivate maize to sell: they sell maize only because they are in need of cash at the moment, but never sell it 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. In 1948-49, 401 acres were devoted to maize and 260 acres to everything else, and in 1949-50 the acreages were 967 under maize and 230 under other crops.

Individual arable holdings are so small that it is difficult to see how rotation of crops 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 per cent. 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 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 kaffir corn, but small quantities of beans, peas, and cowpeas are 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 grown in certain areas in good seasons, and to a very small quantity of birdseed (*phalaris canariensis*) 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 harvested, the cattle are 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 kaffir corn are planted about October and harvested in April and May, but times 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 due to reliance upon oxen, particularly in bad seasons, is obvious. To assist in overcoming the difficulty, the Administration has provided tractors which may be hired at a charge of 8s. 9d. 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 emigrants try and 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.

Labour shortage is obviated to some extent by mutual assistance between neighbours, but it is 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 recognized 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.

A summary of the findings is:

	Maize	
	1948-9 (severe drought)	1949-50 (good rains)
Total yield (200-lb. bags)	250	2,452
Area sown (acres)	401	967
Yield per acre (200-lb. bags)	$\frac{2}{3}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$

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. In two locations, Burnshill and Rabula, the maize crop in 1948-9 was virtually nil, less in fact than the quantity of seed sown.

	Kaffir corn	
	1948-9 (severe drought)	1949-50 (good rains)
Total yield (200-lb. bags)	88	300
Area sown (acres)	157	173
Yield per acre (200-lb. bags)	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$

The difference in the yield of kaffir corn in the two seasons exhibits the same trend, but is not as great as in the case of maize, which is evidence that kaffir corn is better able to withstand drought. As a result of drought, there were no winter crops whatever 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 1948-9 season, maize yields from individual holdings varied from absolutely nil to two bags per acre, in 1949-50 from less than one bag to seven bags. If the yield from all holdings could be raised to the level of the better ones, there would be a 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. There can be little doubt that with better methods of cultivation and sounder agricultural practice the yield could be increased substantially. At Fort Cox Agricultural School the average yield of maize over the last 14 years has been seven bags to the acre, compared with an average yield by African peasants of about two and a half bags in the good year and only two-thirds of a bag in the drought.

Since the aim of African 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 must be supported. Therefore, although only 185 families in 1948-49 and 242 families in 1949-50 attempted to grow maize, their total production is averaged among all 253 to show the quantity of maize available per family. This amounted to one 200-lb. bag per family in 1948-9 and nine and two-thirds bags in 1949-50. The consumption of maize in a family of 5.8 persons has been estimated at twenty bags per annum. 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 nineteen bags per family in 1948-9 and ten and one-third in 1949-50.

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:—

	1948-9	1949-50
Maize (200-lb. bags)	1 bag	9 $\frac{2}{3}$ bags
Kaffir corn (200-lb. bags)	$\frac{1}{3}$ bag	1 $\frac{1}{18}$ bags
Peas	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	16 lb.
Beans	1 lb.	4 lb.
Cowpeas	6 lb.	21 lb.
Wheat (200-lb. bags)	nil	$\frac{2}{3}$ 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 1948-9 the total production of grain of all kinds was less than two bags per family, and in 1949-50 it was about twelve 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.

B. Stock Farming

Stock farming is a misnomer if it be taken to imply that stock is acquired and bred for an economic return, because the African peasant makes no attempt, except possibly in the case of wool, to direct his stock-farming activities to the yield of marketable products. The majority regard ownership of stock in a light different from that of the European stock farmer. Undoubtedly they acquire stock in the hope of some return in the form of milk and meat for the subsistence of themselves and their families, but the average yield is so low that their ownership cannot logically be justified on these grounds. It is to the peculiar significance of cattle in their social structure 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 owners.

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. In 1950, the stock population of the district was almost the same as it had been 25 years before:—

	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, being the greatest in 1942 (14,504) and the least in 1949 (8,845), but there is no general trend. The fluctuation 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 numbers of stock are temporarily reduced; but natural increase leads to the gradual rise in numbers to their maximum once more; and there they remain until the next drought decimates them again. In 1944 there were about 12,500 African-owned cattle in the district, but

by the year following 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 that drought is to be measured; the gross losses have been estimated at 4,696, or 38 per cent. 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 per cent. The total cattle losses in that year have been estimated at 3,500.

The reason for these huge losses is that the veld is called upon to support numbers of animals beyond its normal carrying capacity. In 1948, before it had been reduced by drought, there was the following stock in the district on approximately 40,000 morgen of grazing land:—

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

This represents about 18,000 cattle-units, so that the average stock density is about 2.2 morgen of grazing per cattle-unit. It has been estimated 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 carrying capacity of the available grazing in the district would permit only 11,400 units, instead of the 18,000 which there were in 1948. Overstocking in that year was, therefore, about 60 per cent. 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

This represents a total of about 15,250 cattle-units, which is still about 3,850 cattle-units more than the estimated carrying capacity.

Even in that year, when there was the lowest recorded number of cattle in the district in 26 years, over-stocking was about 30 per cent. 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 domestic consumption. Most cattle are perpetually undernourished. They receive little supplementary feeding even in winter, and have to rely upon what they can get from the severely overgrazed veld. Even as draught animals, African 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. With communal grazing, breeding for specialized 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 very small and almost entirely for immediate family consumption. At a small dairy established in Gxulu by the Native Affairs Department, the average daily yield from 12 African-owned cows fluctuated between 1½ and 3 lb. 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. The normal daily diet of the people includes very little meat; as monies, baptisms, weddings, or church revival meetings, that a rule it is only on occasions of pagan ritual that cattle or goats are sacrificed, or on festive occasions, such as initiation ceremonies, including an occasional sheep, are slaughtered for consumption by the kinsmen and neighbours present. Such slaughter on specific occasions is regardless of the condition of the stock. There is never any thought of slaughtering stock in their prime; weight gained when grazing is good is invariably lost later when grass is scarce, and many animals which would have yielded a fair quantity of meat in their prime are retained until they die of starvation.

The quality of African-owned sheep is even poorer than that of the cattle, for the rams are very inferior. It has been estimated that four to five African sheep yield approximately the same quantity of wool as one average European-owned sheep, and the wool is usually much inferior. Of the goats, many are males

and nearly all are white. Production of milk is purely incidental, and goats are owned chiefly for slaughter on ceremonial occasions and 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 low level of efficiency. Recorded sales of African wool in the district in 1937 and 1946 were 60,270 lb. and 51,390 lb., in which years the sheep numbered 19,800 and 17,720 respectively. Thus the overall yield per sheep is about 3 lb. of wool a year. Virtually the entire 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 lb. of wool from Africans. This reveals a similar average yield of 3 lb. of wool per sheep, since there were 17,820 African-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 4s., and the wool production of the whole district worth about £3,750. The marked rise in its price in recent years has increased the value of wool considerably, and brought relative wealth to owners of flocks. This has encouraged many more to purchase sheep. However, unless the quality of African-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.

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. From this point of view, the African attitude towards ownership of cattle and goats is manifestly absurd. Living in dire poverty, the majority 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 there is spent on consumption by the family group, considerable sums are spent on the purchase of cattle. These cattle yield next to nothing in milk or meat, and large numbers die in each drought. The death of cattle in the drought of 1945 represented a loss to the people of the district of about £23,500; 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 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 more rational to devote their earnings to increased consumption when the majority are at a bare subsistence level, or to investment so as to raise the productive capacity of the reserve where capital outlay upon fencing, irrigation, ploughing implements, tractors, and fertilizers would increase the yield from arable farming. Above all it would be more rational to sell stock in their prime instead of clinging to them until they die of starvation.

The reason for this apparently irrational conduct is to be found in the peculiar significance of cattle in tribal society. Acquisition of cattle has been, and still is, the customary method of amassing wealth. When, at initiation ceremonies, boys in the district are instructed in the duties and obligations of manhood, they are exhorted to buy cattle and not to spend their money on houses, clothes, or European novelties. There is nothing essentially unsound about investment in stock, provided the animals are of good quality and the purchaser is in a position to feed and care for them 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 semi-starved and from which little yield can be expected, that is so wasteful.

If cattle were valued primarily for their 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" that makes the situation so difficult, for when the "bride-price" (*ikhazi*) is fixed at, let us say, eight head of cattle, the emphasis is necessarily upon mere number of cattle and not upon quality.

Stock limitation has long been advocated by the Native Affairs Department, which has attempted to dissuade Africans from keeping small stock, because of the harm they do to the pasture and their uneconomic yield. The response has been disappointing. In no other aspect of economic adjustment have resistance and conservatism been so hard to overcome as in the matter of cattle and goats. An African resident of the district 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 African 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 that the stock owned are, indeed, insufficient. A survey of ownership in a sample of 253 families from five locations revealed that in the last two months of 1948, 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, milk, *lobola*, and feasts and sacrifices; goats must be killed on a variety of occasions. Remembering 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 (say, two oxen for ploughing, one cow, and two calves) and that at least the same number of goats is needed. On these estimates, the stock population, even if it were evenly distributed, is barely adequate for the needs of the people, though in that year it has been shown to have been 60 per cent. in excess of the carrying capacity of the land.

The distribution of stock is very unequal. No less than 14.2 per cent. of the families owned no stock at all, 31.6 per cent. owned no cattle, 69.2 per cent., no sheep, and 47.4 per cent. no goats. At the other extreme, one family had 33 cattle and 267 sheep. Just over 45 per cent. of the families had only two head of cattle or less per family. Only 27.7 per cent. of the families had more than five head of cattle, and only 32.8 per cent. more than five goats.

There is a fundamental conflict between what the peasant in the reserve regards as his minimum requirement 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 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 numbers 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 most 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 that any one family may 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 retrogressive. 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 can selective breeding be introduced, and until that time little real progress is to be expected.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW AND THE OLD

The Keiskammahoek district has been under European influences for a hundred and twenty years and has been governed by a European administration for nearly a century, but the picture that emerges from the investigations is one of poverty, mass emigration, disrupted family life, and progressive destruction of pasture and soil.

Although the area is described as a Native reserve, this does not imply that the traditional mode of life has persisted without modification. Missionaries, traders, and government officials on the one hand, and economic pressure on the other, have wrought fundamental changes in the traditional way of life. The present study of the social structure and economy gives many evidences of innovations and new institutions of European origin, but there is also much evidence of the persistence of traditional institutions and modes of thought and behaviour. These co-exist and react upon one another: sometimes an uneasy accommodation is reached,

sometimes co-existence is a cause of social conflict and economic maladjustment. In this concluding chapter an attempt will be made to present the salient features of this state of affairs, in the social relations and in the economy.

Social Tensions

In the earlier chapters on Village Organization, Kinship Groups, Marriage and the Family, the persistence of many traditional institutions and customs was noted. Mention must now be made of some recently introduced voluntary associations, connected largely with church and school.

Before traders were granted licences to open stores in British Kaffraria, and well before European farmers were granted land there, the missionaries were at work. In the area which is now the Keiskammahoek district, the first school was opened by the Glasgow Society at its Burnshill Mission Station in 1831, when the Ngqika-Xhosa were still in occupation. Very shortly after the expulsion of the Xhosa and the settling of Mfengu in the area, the Anglican Mission of St Matthew was established, and there the first hospital, still the only one in the district, was built.

The missionaries brought with them not only the doctrines of Christianity, but the standards and modes of European civilization. The influence of the latter has been widespread, and in the Keiskammahoek district has extended among pagans almost as generally as among Christian converts. In some Xhosa-speaking areas there is a sharp distinction between the pagan and conservative "blanket" or "red" people and the Christian or "school" people; but in Keiskammahoek district there are virtually no "red" people at all. Pagan and Christian homesteads are built alike and equipped with European furnishings as extensively as individual incomes permit. Pagan and Christian men dress alike in European style. Most pagan women wear the long-sleeved, blue, print dresses and the sombre, black doeks of their Christian neighbours; women in the traditional pagan costume of ochre-dyed skirts, heavy with braid trimmings, and breastcloths or red-blanket cloaks, are seldom seen in the district, although a common sight in the neighbouring districts of King William's Town and Middledrift. School education is no longer the prerogative of Christians, although they tend to go to school in relatively larger numbers, and for longer periods, than pagans.

Many of the Mfengu had been exposed to missionary influence before they were settled in the Keiskammahoek area, and in the villages the work of converting pagans continued throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Elderly informants repeatedly claimed that the early converts always stood staunchly by the rules and teachings of their churches, their behaviour generally distinguishing them as adherents of the new faith. To act against established tradition and in opposition to kinsmen, in order to embrace a new faith and an unaccustomed way of living, no doubt required greater sincerity of belief in former days. By contrast, many of the second or third generation of converts, though baptised in infancy, have never sought confirmation.

Unless the individual baptised in infancy later experiences a sincere conversion, he is deterred from confirmation by the rules which the churches impose upon their communicants. Full church membership requires not only acceptance of Christian doctrines, regular church attendance, participation in church activities, and financial contribution, but also severance from pagan beliefs and customs. Converts are forbidden to hold or attend ritual killings connected with the ancestor cult, or to subscribe to any of the procedures connected with the appeasement of ancestors or the warding off of attacks by supposed witches and sorcerers. They are also excluded from participation in traditional dances. Christian standards of sexual morality are expected of them: monogamy is demanded, pre-marital sex relations are forbidden, husband and wife are expected to be faithful to each other, and widows are not allowed to follow the traditionally acceptable custom of bearing children who are treated as children of their deceased husbands. The practice of initiating sons to manhood by having them circumcised is discouraged, and the traditional initiation ceremonies are forbidden. Beer brewing and drinking, around which so much of the social life of the pagan revolves, are strictly forbidden to all church members, except the Anglicans who are permitted to brew beer for domestic consumption, and except in the case of a wife whose husband is a pagan and who is usually permitted to brew beer for him, though not to partake of it herself. Church members are further expected to refrain from the use of profane language, gambling, or contracting debt.

Religion	Males		Females		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Mission churches:						
Methodist	1,905		2,507		4,412	
Anglican	1,695		2,357		4,052	
Presbyterian	668		958		1,626	
Baptist	78		105		183	
Congregational	23		15		38	
Roman Catholic	18		19		37	
Lutheran	14		1		15	
Dutch Reformed	6		5		11	
Other	6		4		10	
Total mission churches (excluding Bantu Pres- byterian Church)	4,413	59.0	5,971	61.1	10,384	60.2
Native separatist churches (including Bantu Pres- byterian Church)	2,030	27.2	2,613	26.7	4,643	26.9
Pagan	1,001	13.6	1,187	12.1	2,188	12.7
Unspecified	13		15		28	
	7,457		9,786		17,243	

These limitations on behaviour are more than many baptised Christians, particularly men, are prepared to accept. One informant explained: "As long as these people are not confirmed, they feel that they can attend church and also go to beer drinks, take lovers, use bad language, and attend pagan customs. When you are confirmed, your church expects you to give up all these bad habits." Notwithstanding the rules, there is considerable laxity, even among church members.

The religious affiliations of the population of the district, as given in the 1946 census, are shown in the table below.

These figures cannot be accepted as altogether accurate: it seems likely that entire families have been stated to be affiliated to the church in which, in fact, only one or more of the family may actually have been baptised or confirmed. Evidence is available from two sources which shows that the numbers of Christians are overstated in the census.

The outward forms of Christianity hold no mysteries for pagans in the villages. Evangelists and preachers often go amongst the homesteads expounding their faith. Some pagans attend revival meetings and concerts in aid of church or school funds. When pagans and Christians live in the same homestead, grace before meals and evening prayers are an accepted part of daily routine. Sunday is a day of rest for all in the village: the village council does not meet, nor do agricultural and building activities take place. Pagans celebrate Christmas by beer drinks, ask for Christmas boxes (*ikilisimesi*) from well-to-do Christians and are usually given some small gift of food, and are as active as Christians in smartening up their huts with new plaster and decoration before the festive season. Pagan men marrying Christian girls frequently marry according to Christian rites, and the funeral of a pagan is presided over by an official of the church to which members of his agnatic group belong. Pagans attend the marriages, baptismal feasts, and funeral services of Christians, and even join in the hymn-singing on such occasions. The action of Christianity on pagan belief and practice has been profound.

Nevertheless, the formation of voluntary associations based on mutual acceptance of the doctrines of Christianity potentially undermines the principles on which the kinship structure and

to a lesser extent the local structure are founded. The teachings of orthodox Christianity are a negation of the ancestor cult which is bound up with the kinship structure. But the degree to which the ancestor cult persists in the beliefs of the people is evidenced not only in the reluctance, even of many members of mission churches, to sever themselves completely from the rites associated with it, but also in the comparatively large following of the numerous Native separatist churches, which, to varying extents, combine the old cult with the new evangelism. The principle of political allegiance to headmen and sub-headmen, upon which the local structure is founded, is subject to the threat of realignment of loyalties when there exist in the locality two groups of opposing religious affiliation.

All the churches have their voluntary associations: usually a women's association, a girls' association, a men's association, and a young men's association. They hold prayer meetings and raise funds for church purposes by arranging concerts. There are also 27 primary schools in the district operated by one church or another: every village, save one, has its school, and some have two or three. Although the schools had their origin in the churches, pagans, far from being excluded, are often found to be as enthusiastic in their support of education as the Christians.

Side by side with the activities of the Christian churches and the schools, the ancestor cult and belief in witches and sorcery are still widespread. In the past, once a diviner had invoked witchcraft or sorcery to account for illness or death and had established the identity of the culprit, the witch or sorcerer was put to death, the body being impaled and secretly buried on the veld. This gave inordinate power to the diviner and put people in such fear of being smelt out as witches that their natural precaution was to avoid any deviation from the norm of social behaviour or anything conspicuous in economic effort. To-day, the killing of witches or sorcerers is treated by the European authorities as murder, and accusations of witchcraft against people are punishable. Although their power is thus greatly diminished, diviners continue to invoke witchcraft and sorcery to account for death or disease. Villagers complain that witchcraft and sorcery are more prevalent to-day than in the past, because of the culprit's immunity from punishment. Those who have better crops, more

stock, more furniture, or better equipment than others are believed to be in danger of arousing the jealousies of witches, and thus falling ill, dying, or otherwise becoming victims of their malpractices. To-day, however, belief in witchcraft and sorcery is more important in hampering the acceptance of scientific knowledge. Men who have better and bigger crops than their neighbours risk the accusation of resorting to magic. A teacher told indignantly how, after he had bought good seed at some cost and taken the trouble to plough his field twice, he had heard people attributing his outstanding success to the use of medicines.

It is the ancestors who are believed to protect their descendants from the attacks of witches. The wearing of a necklet, sometimes accompanied by the sacrificial offering of a goat when the necklet is put on, is a method of appealing for the intercession of the ancestors: even Christians are known to wear such a necklet, sometimes sewn into a piece of black cloth.

In any but the perfect society there are intra-family tensions and conflicts between neighbours. In Keiskammahoeck there are these and many more: Mfengu and Xhosa, Christian and pagan, traditional and modern, black and white. Intra-family conflicts and disputes between neighbours, whether open or repressed, often give rise to accusations of witchcraft and sorcery. The belief that these forces are being used to cause illness or death gives rise to new tensions, as does the resentment of the one against whom the accusation of being a witch or sorcerer is levelled. In an analysis of accusations of witchcraft, these were found to arise from economic conflicts, sexual conflicts, conflicts over status, political conflicts, and conflicts between Christians and pagans in the same homestead. These are all tensions between individuals and families.

There is also tension between larger groups. The belief that the Mfengu were ill-treated by certain of the Xhosa in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is still widely held. Most people know that the Mfengu fought on the side of the Europeans against the Xhosa in the last century, but to-day hostility is only expressed in a few individual cases.

Except for such isolated cases of friction between the Mfengu and Xhosa, the African people of the district form a homogeneous

group when it comes to inter-racial tensions. The greatest conflict arises out of the cleavage between black and white, the existence of the colour bar in employment and other spheres in South Africa, and the authority which the European administration exercises over the Africans.

The period before European contact is regarded as the golden age. "Before the white man came, we had plenty of land and stock. Our children were obedient to us, as were their children to them. We lived according to our customs, and were healthy and strong." "It is only since the white men came to rule over us that things have changed, that everything is death for us now. We speak of the dead as those who have run away from the poll tax."

Although they recognize individual Europeans who are both kind and wise in their dealings with them, the people have evolved, and tend to respond to, a stereotype of Europeans. The European is the bogymen with whom parents threaten their recalcitrant children. Individual tales of ill-treatment and victimization of Africans by Europeans, usually brought back from the towns, are quite common; even though sometimes fanciful, they help to spread the distrust with which all Europeans are regarded.

This conflict over black-white relations might be expected to instil into the African a sense of unity. However, this sense of unity is as yet not strong enough, in the reserve, to overcome the cleavages within the black group. From many quarters such sentiments were heard as: "White people prosper because they know how to rule and to organize; one man is appointed and everyone defers to him." "There is no unity amongst us: we are like a homestead divided." "Help from the oppression of the white man can only come from the towns." "Here the people do nothing to help themselves. They always say yes to the native commissioner."

On the whole, conflict takes the form of passive resistance to European authority and the voicing of desires for greater advantages and opportunities for Africans, without any concerted effort to secure them. Members of the Ciskeian General Council have asked that the principles of the Atlantic Charter be applied

to Africans, and scattered through the reports of Council proceedings are requests for increased advantages or amelioration of existing conditions for Africans. Many of these requests are voiced by all sections of the African population in the district. They include increased political representation; compulsory education on European lines, with Afrikaans as a required subject; higher wages; and the employment in the reserves of Africans in as many skilled occupations as possible, for example as veterinary surgeons, agricultural demonstrators, nurses, and doctors.

In the political sphere, conflict with Europeans is manifested in the people's disregard for the Local Council, instituted and controlled by Government, and their desire for more effective representation through their own headman.

Economic maladjustments

The general account of the economy of Keiskammahoek contained in the chapters on Standards of Living, Emigration, and Farming makes depressing reading. The traditional tribal economy of shifting cultivation and communal grazing, in which every man was entitled to graze cattle and to a field for his wife to cultivate, was appropriate only to a situation in which land was abundant, or could be acquired by dispossessing weaker neighbours. This situation no longer prevails and the persistence of many features of the traditional economy is disastrous. To-day there is overpopulation, and overstocking of the pastures, low productivity resulting from primitive methods of land utilization, acute poverty, and mass emigration. There has been a failure to modify the economy and introduce more efficient and productive methods of land use.

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 productivity would be many times its present level if the natural resources were being exploited by skilled peasant farmers and people uninhibited by tribal attitudes towards stock. The quality and efficiency of labour leave 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 must be borne in mind when 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 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; adequate storage facilities for grain harvested would reduce the loss occasioned through storing in pits and dilapidated huts; fencing arable lands would prevent depredation by stock; fencing of pasture would control grazing and permit 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 persistently devoted to purchasing excessive stock.

It is in the matter of entrepreneurial ability that the African peasant shows the greatest deficiency; economic enterprise and initiative are noticeably lacking. This presents the greatest obstacle to any improvement in the situation. Even under 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 after 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. Lack of enterprise is 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 witchcraft and sorcery are being used. 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 holdings being so small that they offer no scope for sound farming by even the most enterprising. 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 more efficiently. There is, however, little evidence of methods any different from those used in the communal locations. 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: in the communal locations it is allotted free of charge when available, and freehold and quitrent land is usually acquired by inheritance. There is, therefore, little opportunity for an individual of ability and initiative to extend his operations or to find 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. The economic future of the district, left to itself,

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, and the Native Affairs Department has been concentrating upon rehabilitation measures. 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 bulls of good milking strain, and by fencing forests and springs, to protect the vital water sources from being trampled out by stock. These rehabilitative measures involve considerable capital outlay, and have been financed by the central government. Lack of funds and shortage of personnel, however, have restricted the scale of operations, and excellent though the measures that have been taken may be, they only touch the fringe of the problem.

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 and 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, attention may be drawn 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 their preservation for future generations. At present the yield is far below what it might be, and the pasture and soil are rapidly being destroyed. 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 system of land tenure amended to make actual holdings correspond as closely as possible to this optimum. On the present small holdings it is impossible to adopt modern methods of farming. For them farms of an economic size must be substituted, even though the consequence be that many families will have to be dispossessed.

3. A system of land tenure must be so devised that the successful farmer will be free to acquire additional land, while the unsuccessful man will not be kept upon the land by protection against the consequences of his 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, and to replace the migrant worker who spends only limited periods on the land between spells of industrial work. This will only be achieved if agricultural productivity is raised,

so that earnings will be commensurate with the earnings of those in industry.

5. Every encouragement should be given to the people to put their savings into working capital for agriculture, other than stock of poor quality; and additional facilities for 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 proletariat, or by the development of light industry and commercial activities in the reserve. The Keiskammahoek district has no mineral resources 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 use, and fencing-poles and firewood. If farming becomes more efficient there might be openings for employment in processing farm products, as in butter and cheese factories, canning fruit and vegetables, scouring and baling wool, and making bone fertilizer and glue. Greater division of labour should be encouraged; for instance, instead of each family building its own indifferent house, numbers of men might earn a livelihood as skilled builders, and others might be employed in 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 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.