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go beyond their requirements. If you take a number of other than demonstrators crops, the average production on Native land is normally 2.1 bags. That is a good normal season. The demonstrators' places work out at 5.4 bags per acre over several thousand plots. That is more than double, in fact, it is almost three times as much, but even then it is still a low yield.

MR. LUCAS: I notice in the report of the Director of Native Development in Southern Rhodesia, that he stated that the demonstrators' plots yielded five times the normal yield in the district which they worked?-- Yes, possibly that is so.

CHAIRMAN: In the figures which you quoted, you quoted this year, which was a very bad year?-- No, sir; I took last year. It was 2.1 as against 5.4, but the Transkei was a little higher.

The figures which Mr. Hughes sent to me were about 11:4,-not quite three times?-- Yes, it is not quite three times. It is nearly three, but not quite. We have taken these figures for the whole of the country. In the Ciskei, we have different figures again.

In this Western area where you are proposing to start with dairying, how is it that you have a surplus of milk there which the Natives do not seem to have anywhere else?-- They have more grazing there.

And, in relation to the carrying capacity of the land, are they less overstocked?-- Quite.

Still, they are overstocked?-- Yes, but far less. Of course, Zululand is not overstocked at all. If we can get over their conservatism, we shall be able to start dairying

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there tomorrow. That is Zululand proper, of course. Here, it is less overstocked and then they have agreed to these two schemes. The one is a limitation of cattle through the bull camp scheme. We fence off a definite piece of land, say, a thousand acres. Into that piece of land I put a certain number of bulls. Each man would be allowed to bring cows there. Just before the grass season starts, the scrub bulls will not have worked many cows. They are put there and kept for three or four months and then they will go out. The next year, we expect to get the same cattle back because we are offering rewards, and in the year after, we hope to get the progeny back. We breed these bulls to the progeny again and, in that way, we hope to build up a definite lot of good stock for the people who are sending their stock to these camps.

That is the nearest way I can work this thing under this awful communal system. They realise the benefit because I called the chiefs in and I shewed them what the result would be and they talked to the people and in that way I managed to achieve a great deal. It was at Zeerust that I started this. The man who does go in for dairying realises very quickly which cow produces more milk. The result of it all is that they are prepared to get rid of their bad stuff and to have better stuff.

How many of these bull camps have you started?-- I want to start two.

You have not started any yet?-- No, but I am starting two in Zeerust now.

Have you got any figures shewing the yield per cow, the average cow in milk in any areas of the Union?-- Yes; I taken a tremendous number of statistics in Union areas and

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in the Protectorate as well. The protectorate is the highest. I found one herd of cows there which, for 280 days, yielded one gallon of milk per cow over and above the requirements of the calf, and the calves were in good condition. There is nothing in our areas to touch that. Now, I come right away down on my figures of the food supplies of a family which I worked out. In many parts of the country, they do not get per family more than one quarter gallon of milk at the outside. Now, you must bear in mind that that is for a family of five, - one quarter gallon of milk per day. You know how many bottles go to one gallon; you can imagine how little it is, and, in the Transvaal, there are locations which do not even get that.

Could you put in any statement at your convenience, boiling down the result of such investigation?-- I have done that. I split up the Transvaal into districts because we have such a tremendous variation. I worked out these results for the Pietersburg, the Groot Spelonken district and for several other areas. For various locations, for the Rustenburg, the Pilandsberg area, for Zeerust, Moila's Reserve. There I worked them out separately. Also in the Transkei.

I want to get back to the subject of overstocking?-- Yes, that is the most vital one.

I read with a great deal of interest the statement which you put in as an annexure, and I want to congratulate you on an extremely powerful and well written statement on that subject, a statement of real literary value. In attacking it, it seems to me that one must look for a certain indirect means of attacking a thing -- that, to me, seems to be the best strategy?-- Yes, I suppose so.

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Let us assume that we get the Natives to the stage where they are prepared to sell animals. Is it not going to produce inside the local markets a position --- all they are fit for is beef extracts --- is it not going to produce a position of congestion which will bring the prices down so much that it will give a knock to the work which you have done in persuading the Natives to sell their cattle; they will get so little for their cattle when they sell it that they will say, "Well, it is not worth while anyhow" ?-- Of course, our market today for that class of stock is relatively higher than any other market in the world is today.

Yes, we will leave that point for the moment. But is not our supply of that stock even greater than the market can absorb ?-- If the Native stock came on to the market, it would be infinitely greater than the market. This is the thing -- we want an intermediate stage between the extract works and the export -- what we want are factories which can absorb those animals at reasonable prices. We want an intermediate stage between extract works and the export of quarters.

Of course, that is done to some extent at East London today ?-- They only have the extracts and the quarters. The extract brings your prices down, say, 12/6d, and your quarters run round about 25/-.

DR. ROBERTS: That is not counting the skin ?-- Oh, no, the skin is thrown in. This is per 100 lbs. weight. Now, we want something which will bring is un something between 18/- and 20/-. That is for the canned beef. At the time when we were negotiating with Leibig's, those were the quotations which we received. I want to emphasize that if we can

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get that intermediate stage, then the problem is solved. That is the canning factory. I do not know whether you have got the figures of the Transkei in this regard.

The figures which we saw there seemed to shew that a comparatively small number of the Transkeian cattle went into quarters?-- Well, it is a higher percentage than we anticipated, or than even I anticipated. The first consignment of 900 animals shewed that 40% were sold as quarters, which was much higher than I had anticipated.

And even then it is a very low percentage?-- Yes.

And, as the average price for the poorer class of stuff was rather low - it would not make it very attractive?-- No, but still, the average is infinitely better than anything we have been able to get up to the present.

It seemed to me right through the Territories that the conversion of cattle to economic value was, to a large extent, brought about by animals that were good enough to die?-- Yes.

That is the chief gain which the Native gets out of it, because then he gets food?-- Yes.

Now, on the question of getting an indirect attack on it, if a system were encouraged by which Natives in the Transkei could get licenses as butchers, so as gradually to accustom the people to buy or barter their meat in small quantities, would you not be creating a market inside the Territories for some of their meat, for more of their meat than they are using now?-- Yes, I think you would probably do so, where you are right away from the tribal system. But where you have the tribal system in force, there I am afraid that all that work must, of necessity, break down.

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Why should that be so?-- Through the chief. For instance, the chief will send down and he will say to the butcher, "I want a leg of beef". The butcher says, "I want the money first", and the chief replies "I will send you the money tomorrow". Allright; if the money is not forthcoming tomorrow, that man goes broke and, if the pace is forced, then the country becomes too hot for that butcher; the country cannot hold him and he has got to clear out. I know what happens. Any number of men have told me that that is their difficulty, but where you get away from the tribal system, it is possible and I think it would be very advantageous

If a start were made in the more advanced districts, the thing might gradually grow?-- That is so.

And, in that way, the people would gain experience of the system?-- Yes.

And it would give the Natives themselves an opportunity of entering into trade which they are asking for?-- Yes. Always provided it were laid down that all transactions must be on a cash basis and not on the bartering basis of the present time.

I agree, but why do you say that?-- You can make a comparison between the Protectorate and the Union. In the Protectorate, the Native brings in an article which the Native trader may want to have, it may be beneficial to him to have it. The trader says, "I shall give you 4/- for that"; the Native says allright and he gets a chit for it, - not cash - and that chit he uses to buy other goods in the store of that same trader. If the business is done on a cash basis, the man is paid in cash and he can use that cash in buying any other articles he wishes to. Cash is a peculiar thing in the hands

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of anyone, and particularly in the hands of the Native who will bargain for two solid days in order to save sixpence. He learns to know the value of the article he is buying and he learns the value of money. The thing which I think is really desirable to establish in cases like that is the cash basis.

Admitting all that, still, in the Transkei they are accustomed to the barter basis?-- Yes.

Should one not make use of what they are accustomed to in instances like that in order to tackle the cattle problem rather than try and teach them the value of things and thereby retard what may be the solution of the cattle problem?-- Well, they are all asking for the cash system in the Transkei today.

That may be so, they may ask for it, but, in practise, they do the other thing?-- I grant you that, but that is because they are forced to.

Why should you force the Native trader to a system to which you do not force the European trader?-- The European trader today does not barter in among the Europeans --- it must be made universal. I think that would give a small outlet to start with in areas where the tribal system is not too strong.

In an indirect way -- as a way of indirect approach, the system would be to encourage everything which gradually tends to go over from pastoral to arable?-- Yes, Doctor Holloway, and there we meet with a very great difficulty at present. Because of the overstocking, the animal is too weak today to work. If we could insist on ploughing an average of 8 acres, let us say in the Transkei -- if we could divide the Transkei up, its four million morgen would work out at 40 acres per

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family unit of five. Instead of working 8 acres of that land, if you could work 20 acres of it, every acre would produce more foodstuffs.

The animal is too weak to work you say?-- Yes, that is so.

There is nothing to raise the wind?-- No, nothing to raise the wind. They have approximately 800,000 acres under cultivation; that is, 8 acres per family unit of five, but that just produces the grain for the family and a few mealie stalks for the beast.

DR. ROBERTS: Does it produce the quantity that is required to feed the whole population?-- In a normal year, the Transkei meets its own requirements and perhaps a little over.

I understood that it was slightly under, -- I understood that they had to bring in a little?-- Yes, Dr. Roberts, they bring in, but they do send out first. It is really a bad piece of trade.

CHAIRMAN: The amount which they bring in almost balances what they send out?-- Yes. We have all the returns from the Railways and we know what the position is.

DR. ROBERTS: That has not always been the case, has it?-- No, it has not.

CHAIRMAN: On what basis was the estimate of 800,000 acres arrived at?-- We have the allotments, plus a vast number of others in the districts and then we averaged them out per family unit. I did that all over. I go into a district and measure up a number of those. In Zululand they will work out at 2 or 3 acres and then I say, "This district contains so many family heads"-----

MAJOR ANDERSON: What is the area in Zululand?--

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I have it roughly worked out, but I have not taken enough to average it. Where I have taken it, it works out at round about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 acres per family.

CHAIRMAN: Is similar work done in any other part?-- Yes, it is done all over the Transvaal. I may say that I have quoted many of these figures in my reports. There are a number of figures which the Secretary did not want me to make available to the Commission. I have taken the P'P'Rust district and I have taken the average of that. I have taken the details and it works out at 22 acres or 11 morgen of land per family unit, and approximately 4 acres under cultivation.

DR. ROBERTS: That is larger than Zululand?-- Yes, And it is equal to the Transkei?-- No, Doctor, it is half the Transkei. Now, I have some details here in regard to Pietersburg District. There are 17 locations there I have treated each one separately. The lowest of them is the Matock Location, where it works out at 4 acres of land per family unit of five. They own about half a head of cattle each. Then I have Louis Trichardt here, which works out at 20 acres of land per family unit and it shews approximately 4 acres of land under cultivation.

CHAIRMAN: What is the 20 acres?-- The total land is 20 acres per family -- that is, dry country.

Is that grazing and arable?-- Yes, grazing and arable of which 4 acres are under cultivation.

MR. LUCAS: What report are you quoting from?-- I am quoting from my Transvaal report shewing the exact conditions in each location, the number of livestock, the number of livestock per family unit of five, etc.

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CHAIRMAN: Has a similar report been made for each Province ?-- Yes.

MR. LUCAS: Were these reports made recently ?-- They have been made for the full period of time, and I have taken Province by Province.

CHAIRMAN: I think, in principle, you will agree that steps which will change over from a pure pastoralism to arable should be encouraged, bearing in mind the difficulty which you have already mentioned of the weak cattle ?-- I would say, rather, to change over to full diversified farming. The thing is that you must keep that land if you are growing the food to feed an animal, you must keep the land employed throughout the year. You must do that as much as possible. Through your animals that are fed on the land, you maintain the fertility of that land. There you have three objects in view. If we want to maintain the people on the land, we must work in that direction.

Does not the present system of surveyed districts in the Transkei rather militate against that? You see, you are keeping a cast iron boundary between arable and grazing land ?-- Yes, it does.

And, therefore, it has really got to the end of its usefulness as it has been applied?-- Yes, that is so.

It has to be modified to meet the newer needs in agriculture ?-- Yes. In these surveyed allotments --- say, a surrounding area were always maintained for grazing, then the thing would have been quite sound, because each man would have the grazing alongside of his arable land. The thing that I am asking for is that they will take definite pieces of land as at Hartebeestpoort and work these with Native families and I think that would prove what can be done under a diversified

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system.

MR. LUCAS: Then you must get away from communal grazing ?-- Yes, and you must get permanency in land tenure. If you have individual land tenure, you will have everything. Overstocking and everything you will be able to cope with.

For the grazing land as well as for the arable ?-- Even if the grazing is communal up to a point, and if it is laid down that each individual can only have so much stock on it, you will arrive at the same and you will have definite improvement.

That is what you have under your Middelton scheme ?--Yes.

DR. ROBERTS: You think now that under this system of diversified farming, each family could produce sufficient to make them independent, so that they would not have to send out men to the mines and elsewhere to work, in order that they may supplement their income?-- No, I do not think that. I do not think that we shall get that independence any more than we get it in a European country or in Egypt or in India. You see, the young people will always want to go out.

The position today is that they have to go out, is it not ?--- It is not so much that they want to go out. The point is, would they still go out when the family can be self-sustaining?-- The family would be self-sustaining, but I think they will still go out.

MAJOR ANDERSON: The point is that you could remove the economic pressure which today is forcing them to go out ?-- Yes, I think so.

MR. LUCAS: And leave just an opening for those who wish to go out ?-- Yes, a free labour market. You would find that they would go out even more so. That has been the experience all over the world. They would go out more than they

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do under the economic pressure of today, because it is the enlightenment which makes them go out.

Your point is that it gives them greater desires ?- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: In actual practice, it will take a long time before the Natives will have reached that standard of agriculture which will make them self-sufficing ?-- Yes, it will take a long time.

The most one can look for at present is to reduce the economic pressure ?-- Yes, that is the best way. If you had the cattle in the Transkei, if it were possible to reduce those cattle tomorrow to half their present number, and improve them to double their present standard, you would already remove the greater portion of the economic pressure, because you would have huge milk supplies both for the family and for export, and you would be able to work your land. I think that is a very important factor in the whole position - reduce the number and improve the quality.

MAJOR ANDERSON: That is all very well, but you have to consider the question of markets for a largely increased dairy supply ?-- I always work on overseas markets -- I keep them in view and not so much the local market.

You must bear in mind that the world's market is not too promising at the present time ?-- No, that may be, but the factor which is overlooked is this (1) The land bears no value. It is their own land and so it has no value and, (2) The work is done by the family themselves - so there is no cost of labour. If you follow what I mean, they can market that animal in the world's market at a tremendous profit.

DR. ROBERTS: But is it not the case that there is over-production ?-- For dairy products --- not at the price

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at which these people could produce. They could make a handsome profit.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Yes, they can replace some of the present suppliers ?-- Yes.

They can compete with New Zealand, for instance ?-- Yes and make a big profit. If you take the relative value of the land in New Zealand and down in Marico, for instance, compare the land in New Zealand and Denmark and in this country. Take Denmark - take a man who works there on an area of from two to 60 acres. It is a very big piece of land which he has to work and he has to maintain his family and compare that with the no value for land here, plus the family doing everything and then take into consideration as well that the requirements of the man's family here are small, take all these factors together and you will realise at what a big profit they can produce that product.

Provided, always, that you can get them to produce the quality as well ?-- Well, they have 198 creameries today producing as good stuff as they produce in any part of Europe.

That is in Bechuanaland ?-- Yes.

And is that being exported now ?-- Yes, and they are shewing there what can be done.

Are they exporting first grade butter from these parts ?-- It depends on your cream. They have a higher proportion of second and third grade cream than the European produces under the same conditions in the Protectorate, but that is due to the transport difficulties and not to anything else. In Zeerust, where we have two bus routes, we never meet with that difficulty at all and there we shall produce all first rate stuff.

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DR. ROBERTS: Is the difficulty of transport not another economic consideration?-- We have good roads all over. In the Protectorate, they are practically roadless to a large extent. I do not want to say that they have no roads at all -- no main roads. They have one railway, but they have practically no roads except the one main road which follows that railway; so the people have to cart their stuff on donkeys backs for 40 miles. Now, we do not meet with these difficulties.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Is the Bechuanaland dairy product competing in the Union markets?--m Yes.

And are they being controlled?-- Yes, they are under the same Proclamation as we are. The same Proclamation under the Act on both sides.

CHAIRMAN: On page 4 of your statement, you refer to China, Nigeria, Belgium, France, etc. You say there, "Improvement, in stead of destruction of the land, (for this result see China, Nigeria, Belgium France, Denmark, etc.) Permanent improvement will be carried out on the land (See Middelton Estate Native Settlement, France versus England, etc.) It will mean improved stock raising and agricultural methods, which means a land can carry far more people. Far greater production will result and the commodities exported will bring outside money into the country, i.e., increased trade with resulting benefits." I would like you to be a little more explicit on Nigeria and tell us what you have in mind there?-- In Nigeria, the system of individual land tenure is very evident.

Pre-European?-- Yes, long pre-European. They started under a system of their own. They all hedged off and that is why I am experimenting with hedge plants in the Union

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at present. Their land descends from father to son and that has been happening for the past 900 years. The consequence is that the land is well cared for and well fertilized. Each man has only one field.

What size are the fields?-- The fields are small, because the area which is capable of cultivation, particularly in Northern Nigeria, is small. Generally, about four acres. In some of the still dryer parts, they go as low as one acre out of which the family is making its living, and that land is perfectly cultivated and has been in the family for generations.

DR. ROBERTS: The land has been subdivided, has it?-- That is the way in which the land has come down to these small holdings during the course of these many years. From what I can gather, the holdings were much larger many years ago and they have come down to these small holdings of an acre or two in the present generation. The population today is practically stationary. The land could carry no more people. That sort of thing always happens in any country.

CHAIRMAN: On the same page, in paragraph 2, you deal with squatting and its effects on farming and on urban industries and you say there, "The limited form of squatting permitted under the law today is one of the worst factors we have in the Native question. It is subject within the law to various abuses by landowners. It restricts labour supplies for agriculture and urban industries, it retards progressive European farming, encourages laziness, bad and unprogressive methods of life, industry and agriculture in the Native." Are you referring to squatting there in the sense of labour tenancy?-- Yes. They have tried everything

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- all forms of squatting, but they are all really the same. I am referring now to the farmers in the Transvaal or Natal, who have people squatting on their farms.

MR. LUCAS: This squatting in Natal is squatting in a different sense?-- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: But here you mean labour tenants, do you not?-- Yes.

Will you explain more fully what you intend to say by that sentence, - in what way is it one of the worst factors?-- First of all, I think it is subject to various abuses by landowners. Take a case like this, for instance. Say I am running a farm somewhere near Pretoria or say in the Northern Transvaal. I have a certain number of people squatting on my land in the Northern Transvaal somewhere. One of the boys who is not required on the farm, comes along to Pretoria and seeks employment and secures it with you in town. He works for you for a while and then I find that he is there and I say to him, "Come away, you have no right there". Well, he has to go. Now, that sort of thing hampers that individual to a great extent in his movements, so far as producing a living for himself and his family is concerned. Secondly - perhaps not so much in the Transvaal as in Natal, --- while a man has to put in so many days work, in some instances they also have an arrangement by which the individual is paid so much on paper. That individual is not really paid so much, it is a question of crops between the owner and himself. But there is no legal way of catching the individual out.

CHAIRMAN: You mean that that is a way of getting round the Land Act?-- Exactly.

The Native is paid a wage, nominally he is paid a wage

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