

ACCORDING TO THE Report issued by the Witswatersrand Native Labour Association for 1936 the Gold Mining Industry is at present drawing approximately 39 per cent of its Native labour force from the Cape Province. (See page 226, Table 21).

In the past, Native labourers have been forthcoming from these areas in sufficient numbers and of sufficiently good physique to meet the requirements of the industry fairly satisfactorily when taken in conjunction with those procurable elsewhere.

Even their continued availability, however, must obviously depend upon the continuance of a number of factors, and it is being increasingly realized that some of these are altering appreciably and not always for the better. In view of the steady increase in the number of labourers that have been employed during recent years, and the likelihood of further increases becoming desirable in the immediate future it is evident that the nature of these factors requires careful study. Moreover, in addition to mere availability, it is also evident that the physique, health and hence the efficiency of the labourers themselves, whilst working at the mines, must depend in no small measure on the conditions under which they were born and bred.

Amongst other factors that go to determine the supply of Native Mine labourers there can be no question that the nutritional background is of fundamental importance; indeed, in the long run it is probably of more importance, though less spectacular than the ravages of tuberculosis, syphilis and malaria, with which of course it is also intimately connected. In its turn, as is now being so widely recognized in other parts of the world, the nutritional background depends upon the agricultural situation, which again reflects the stage of civilization the customs and the opportunities of the people under consideration.

When we were invited to visit the Cape Native Territories in order to learn something about these questions at first hand we quickly became aware of their many ramifications and the perplexingly

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wide field that they open up for investigation.

Although we much appreciated the fact that our terms of reference were not too closely defined we have considered them to be approximately as follows :-

- (1) To study the problems of these areas from their agricultural and nutritional aspects with a view to obtaining 'definite suggestions for improving the nutrition of Natives, particularly of adolescents'; and to learn something about the extent and the causes of the high infant mortality which is known to exist.
- (2) To learn more precisely ' what Natives grow for their own consumption, and how they consume it. '
- (3) To consider the proposal to establish ' demonstration farms ' to teach Natives better means of food production and utilization.

In practice we found it necessary to deal with several other closely related subjects, whilst owing to the exceptional opportunities granted to us various matters came to our notice which it seemed advisable to put on record and which we hope may not be out of place.

These additional aspects considered are principally :-

- (a) The collection and arrangement of certain fundamental data about the Territories, which we obtained from various sources.
- (b) The extent and effects of the absentee males upon the agricultural, economic and hence nutritional life of these people. We have tried to restrict ourselves to the more immediate sides of this complex subject.

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(c) It was soon found impracticable to separate questions of physique, diet, deficiency diseases or other diseases in which nutrition plays a significant part as well as infant mortality from the more general medical situation, either when exploring causes or suggesting remedies. Hence as keenly interested laymen we have not hesitated to state our impressions of the situation that exists regarding doctors, nurses, hospitals and so forth.

It was realized that our visit must necessarily be a preliminary inquiry and that a more detailed survey, including the more definitely medical aspects might be necessary later.

A brief statement indicating the route taken and other details is to be found in Appendix 1. It is sufficient to mention that during our 3½ months in the Territories during which we covered over 6,000 miles mostly in small journeys, we visited several centres in the two areas the usual plan being to stay for about a week in each in order to investigate the surrounding districts. Magistrates, District Surgeons and local medical men, agriculturists and Native Recruiting Corporation officials were interviewed, and visits arranged to kraals hospitals, agricultural schools and other institutions likely to throw light on our problems. Everywhere we experienced the greatest courtesy and willingness to help from the European officials as well as the educated Native people, some of whom took a good deal of trouble to unearth or collect information which we required.

We have written frankly, giving our impressions for what they are worth without any reserve; this has been done on the definite understanding that our report will be considered a confidential one, and some of the information given to us was on the same understanding.

At the same time we became conscious that some of the data which we were privileged to be allowed to consult and arrange would be of real use to many of those with whom we came in contact; indeed,

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we were not infrequently asked whether such data might be made more generally available. It is therefore hoped that permission will be given us to publish certain of the information contained in the report at some future date.

It may be well to summarize here the main lines along which our inquiry eventually developed :-

(1) Neither of us had ever visited the Transkei previously and there was not time, nor did we desire to study the impressions gained by others before we left. Hence we came to the country and its problems with a more or less open mind and it was encouraging to find out later on that although approaching the subject from a different angle some of our more tentative conclusions were often found to be similar to those reached by other investigators.

(2) Naturally our report is mainly based on our own impressions and what we learnt from discussion in the field, but this has been supplemented by a study of some of the available literature dealing with these areas. Particular mention must be made of the Report of the Native Economic Commission (1932) and to a valuable study of the Pondio published in 1938. ('Reaction to Conquest' by Monica Hunter). Moreover we were indeed fortunate in having available the Preliminary Census Report (1936). This is the first census of the Native people since 1921, and is obviously of the greatest importance to the proper understanding of their problems.

(3) Reliable data about these areas is, in some directions, almost entirely wanting, whilst more often than not the information which does exist is scattered and difficult of access. We felt that it was essential that an attempt should be made to collect and arrange some of this information, not only for the immediate purpose of this report, but for the future use of those who may wish to deal with questions we have opened up.

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(4) After a brief account of the historical, climatic and other factors bearing on the present agricultural development and future possibilities of the country, we have first dealt with the subject of agricultural instruction. Such problems as soil erosion and overstocking and their effects on the production of food are considered. This is followed by an account of the distribution and disposal of agricultural products. The storage of foods is also considered as well as such economic aspects of native life as the trading stores; finally the relation of agricultural production to labour supplies has been discussed.

(5) Next we have dealt with the principal foodstuffs available and the part they play in Native nutrition, with particular reference to the changes which are taking place regarding them. Then the actual way in which such foods are prepared for use is indicated by means of a collection of the more common recipes.

(6) The effect of this diet is next reviewed. Here it was found impossible to separate questions of nutrition and malnutrition, deficiency diseases and hence the health of the individual whether infant, adolescent or adult, from the more purely medical problems associated with the present lack of medical and nursing services; these were therefore briefly dealt with.

(7) The subject of infant mortality was particularly mentioned in our terms of reference and since nothing but the vaguest and often contradictory opinions as to its extent were available we were reduced to improvising a sample survey of the position as we went along. Thanks to the ready co-operation of several medical men and others we were able by questioning individual mothers to obtain an approximate idea of the position, based on some 1,500 records. We fully realize how inadequate such a survey is, but hope that it may serve to quicken interest in the subject and lead to the collection of more and better data in the future.

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(8) With a medical service which admittedly only sees a fraction of the population and with no medical inspection even of those children who attend school it was impossible to do more than gather and sift the various opinions of the doctors, nurses and others with whom we came into contact. However, this lack of a normal medical service is compensated to some extent by the unparalleled system of medical examinations of adult males carried out throughout the length and breadth of the Territories by the Native Recruiting Corporation. We have attempted to study the data available from this source from several different aspects.

(9) Lastly we have brought forward various suggestions as to ways and means whereby the present position could be improved. In submitting these suggestions it is hardly necessary to remark that in a country of such size, with so many complex problems and differing in so many ways, even from district to district, it is both dangerous and unwise to generalize, even when the observer has had far more experience than we can claim; yet it is such generalizations which we must submit if our report is to be of any practical use.

Moreover, since our return we have become aware of the extent to which progress has been made in other parts of Africa with many of the same kinds of problems as those with which the Territories are faced. Although we have heard and read of some of these experiences it has been of course impossible to study them. We are aware, however that such knowledge and experience might have an important bearing on our own suggestions and recommendations.

In conclusion we should like to express our appreciation to Dr. A.J. Orenstein, to whom is due the happy thought of combining the agricultural with the nutritional approach.

The complementary nature of these two points of view has been well recognized during the last year or two and was neatly expressed by the Prime Minister of Australia at the League of Nations Assembly

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When he pointed out that whilst the Minister of Agriculture in most countries was deploring overproduction the Minister of Health was deploring underconsumption; what was needed, he urged, was a marriage between the two Departments.

Our personal experience throughout this inquiry has been that the point of view and information contributed by each of us has been mutually stimulating. We also know that some of those whom we had the privilege of meeting also shared and appreciated the new light thrown on old problems made possible by this joint approach.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

While the term "Transkei" covers a well defined area administered by the Central Council and the Native Affairs Department of the Union Government, the term "Ciskei" is somewhat vague.

Roughly it can be said to include all the Native Reserves in the Eastern Province of the Cape outside the Transkei.

They do not necessarily adjoin and are administered by the Native Affairs Department with the assistance of local Native Councils, who in turn form the General Council of the Ciskei under the Chairmanship of the Chief Native Commissioner of the Cape.

The portion of the Ciskei visited included Queenstown, Glen Grey, Kogha, Fort Beaufort, Middelrift, Victoria East and Keiskam Hoek districts. In all of them the Native locations are scattered and often divided by large European occupied areas.

There are administrative, topographical and other differences between the Transkei and Ciskei. For instance, in the Ciskei the Native Affairs Department of the Union Government is responsible for Native agricultural development, while in the Transkei it is done by a special department of the General Council - or Bunga.

For the sake of clarity and conciseness, therefore, it was found necessary to consider the two areas separately in certain sections of this report.

The history of these areas prior to the advent of the white man is as speculative as that of other parts of Africa. But of the few facts available some that have a direct bearing on the agricultural development of the Native people must be briefly mentioned.

They were semi-nomadic people, predominantly pastoral, depending for food mainly on milk, meat, and "mfino" (a spinach made from the green leaves of various wild plants,) and to a much less extent on cereals such as maize and kaffir corn. There is no doubt that from their extensive herds of cattle they were able to obtain an adequate

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supply of milk, which was their staple diet, while their supplies of meat were augmented by hunting the small and large antelope as well as birds which existed in large numbers.

Cattle formed the family and tribal bank, and in all important transactions, such as lobola, they were the only means of barter. Quantity and not quality was always the dominating principle. There was probably very little disease among their cattle and any excessive increase in numbers was checked by the natural weeding out of the less hardy animals. By this means a breed, well suited to the conditions which prevailed at the time, was evolved. It was not until comparatively recent times, when compulsory dipping was introduced, and this natural weeding out thereby prevented without any compensating selection by man, that the stock began to deteriorate rapidly.

While the men were responsible for the cattle and the hunting of game, the women cultivated the small patches of cereals. Their methods were at first very primitive. The ground was prepared and weeded with a short piece of "untati" (sneezewood) roughly shaped like a spade, so short that the worker was obliged to squat on the ground while using the implement, consequently only a very little grain was grown. Later the metal hoe replaced the wooden spade, which in turn was superseded first by the wooden and then the steel plough. As the implements used improved, so maize and kaffir corn, became an increasingly important part of the diet, until today they are the staple foods.

It is significant that, although the first plough was introduced nearly 150 years ago, it is only during the last few years that it superseded the hoe to any large extent, and even today the hoe is still used in various parts of the country.

At first the plough was strongly objected to because it involved the use of cattle and the labour of the men in an occupation which had previously only been carried out by women.

By the time cereals became an important part of the diet the habit of storing certain quantities of grain either in pits or by

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some other means such as baskets or cribs, had become fairly common. After a time practically every kraal had some such storage place, and the custom lasted for as long as the people were entirely dependent for food on their own produce, and were unable to barter for European goods or seek work away from their homes.

The coming of the white man and the subsequent arrival of traders and missionaries put an end to such simple self-subsistence and later history points to an ever increasing dependence on employment by Europeans as a means of livelihood. Among primitive people the most common method of growing crops is that known as "shifting cultivation" i.e., a small piece of ground having been cleared of bush, was hoed to a depth of a few inches and planted with the same crop for two, or possibly three successive years and then abandoned. The same process was repeated again and again on a different piece of land each time, the original piece of ground not being used for a number of years by which time it had accumulated a certain amount of fertility. This method was practised by all the South Eastern Bantu tribes. Crude as it may seem it probably served their purpose, and retained the fertility of the soil to a certain extent, provided ample new land was always available.

A similar process went on with regard to the grazing of cattle. When the grass became thin and scarce the cattle were moved to new pastures, not returning to the old grazing until it had ample time to recover. Such a system required enormous areas of pasture.

It is not surprising therefore, that even in the early history of the Cape constant reference is made to the Natives' complaint that they had insufficient land, a complaint that became more clamorous as the area they occupied was steadily restricted until they were confined to the present areas. Their complaint was, and still is, fully justified as long as they continue to practise the system of "shifting cultivation" and communal grazing which requires

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unlimited agricultural land and pasture.

There is no doubt that at one time the country was thickly wooded over large areas. As recently as 1860 large numbers of permits were issued to Europeans granting them permission to cut timber in the forests of the Transkei, until the denudation caused by their extensive cutting had to be stringently controlled.

The Natives knew that the soil on which trees and bush were growing was often the most fertile and their constant search for new "lands" made necessary by their primitive methods of cultivation no doubt added to the destruction of virgin forest and bush. Furthermore, the frequent burning of the veld, and above all the constant need for fuel and building material reduced the forests to a few isolated areas on hill sides.

Early travellers refer to the abundance of springs, the magnificent and extensive forests, and the many rivers. But the denuding of the forests caused many of the springs and rivers to dry up, and today there is far less surface water than there was in the past.

Overstocking of the pasture, which is at present so marked a feature of life in the reserves, would no doubt have become critical at a far earlier date had it not been for an outbreak of Rinderpest in 1896. Practically all the cattle were destroyed, but according to some observers there were just as many Native owned cattle in 1911 as there were before 1896. Again in 1912 large numbers of stock died, this time due to a serious outbreak of East Coast Fever.

A little later compulsory dipping was introduced, and from that time the numbers of cattle increased steadily. In 1919 there were over half a million in the Transkei, and by 1936 this figure was nearly trebled. Sheep, which were common in the Ciskei long before, began to increase in the Transkei after dipping was introduced. The breeding of woolled sheep was encouraged by the agricultural department of the Bunga, and has increased to such an

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extent that they now outnumber the cattle by nearly one million. (see Appendix 3, Table E.)

The South Eastern Bantu, as far back as is known, have held their land communally. Although the land was held by the chief on behalf of his tribe it in no sense belonged to him. The chief's power was by no means unlimited and he was restricted by a council drawn from the elder and more influential members of the tribe. Within the tribe there were a number of smaller units under the control of the headmen who in turn were responsible to the chief.

All grazing was, and still is, held communally, the arable land being distributed according to the individual needs of the heads of families. Under the present method of European administration the system has been continued with only slight modifications, although the economic life which justified it has been largely destroyed and the strictly limited area available for the constantly increasing population renders it more and more impractical.

The first change of importance effected by European administration in the old tribal system came with the passing of the Glen Grey Act of 1894, under which individual tenure of arable allotments, but not of pasture, was made possible, first in the Glen Grey district and later in other parts of the Ciskei. It was extended, by proclamation to the Transkei, but only to those districts who desired it, voluntary application which met with a good deal of opposition, and led to seven of the twenty seven districts being surveyed and a certain security of tenure being provided where it was applied.

The fact that it can only apply to arable land and not to grazing, and the difficulties of maintaining the principle of "one man one arable allotment" leads us to conclude that a drastic alteration of the present system of land tenure is necessary before any great progress in agricultural development is possible.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

Transkei.

The Transkei Territories have been described as one of the best parts of the Cape Province. Speaking generally the country gives the impression of being well-watered, and of considerable natural fertility compared with most parts of South Africa.

The bulk of the country lies east of the escarpment which divides it from the interior plateau, and in common with other parts of South Africa similarly situated, has richer natural vegetation and a better rainfall than the country west of the escarpment.

The annual rainfall ranges from 50 inches on parts of the narrow coastal belt to 25 inches in the interior. (see Appendix 1. Table C).

In common with most other parts of South Africa it is subject to periods of drought, the importance of which may be realized if we consider the effects this has on food supplies. i.e., in 1925 a normal year, the maize yield throughout the Union of South Africa amounted to 25 million bags, while in the drought year of 1933 the yield was only 8 million bags.

A general description of any area is apt to be misleading. Within the 16,554 square miles of the Territories the variations in altitude, rainfall, soil, pasture, and the natural features of the country are considerable. The district of Mount Fletcher, for instance, is situated on the eastern slopes of the escarpment at an altitude of 4,000 feet, has an annual rainfall of about 24 inches so short and badly distributed that the inhabitants seldom manage to raise a crop of maize; on the other hand a very narrow coastal strip has a rainfall of close on 50 inches and a richness of vegetation which is almost tropical.

Variations must also be taken into account when considering the density of population. (see Appendix 3, Table B.). A district

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like Umata; consisting of undulating plains, a very high percentage of which are capable of use either as arable land or grazing may not be so overcrowded with a population density of 92 to the square mile, as, for example Fort St. Johns consisting of thickly wooded and hilly country, a comparatively small percentage of which can be utilized; the density of population being 85 to the square mile.

The soils though light are good, but in common with light soils the world over, lose their fertility very quickly if not well treated. In the districts with a high rainfall the grazing is not of such good quality and the soil poorer than the districts with a low rainfall which usually have "sweeter" pastures and a greater depth of soil. On the whole it is a good cereal growing country as well as being excellent for cattle. East Griqualand which partly covers the Northern Transkei, but is largely occupied by Europeans, consists of some of the finest dairying country in South Africa.

Probably what is first noticed by the traveller is the complete absence of fences and, except for the narrow coastal belt, the lack of trees in most of the districts. Another noticeable feature is the absence of game and birds, which at one time were very plentiful.

For water the inhabitants depend almost entirely on surface supplies such as rivers and springs. There are practically no boreholes and very few wells. Stock depend on the same supplies except in a few districts where the Bunga have constructed small dams.

Along the coastal belt the rivers are frequent and seldom dry up, but travelling from the coast towards the western border of the Territories, they become less dependable for winter supplies, until the district on the edge of the escarpment are reached where surface water is very scarce and both human beings and stock are obliged to travel, in some instances, many miles to obtain supplies. There is no irrigation and for crop growing the people depend entirely on the rainfall, except for the small gardens which a few families

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possess, and for which they cart water from the nearest river or spring.

Unlike some other tribes the Native of the Transkei do not concentrate in villages but build their huts in scattered units of four or five. These groups of huts are usually situated on hillsides - or the most elevated site that can be found. Consequently they are more often than not some distance from the owner's allotment. There is one cattle kraal to each unit of huts, as a rule, although some possess a separate kraal for sheep and goats, and these adjoin the huts. Both cattle and human beings are therefore obliged to trek some distance for water supplies.

Both huts and kraals are constructed with whatever material is most easily obtained. In the western districts where there is a certain quantity of stone and scrub bush they are often constructed with poles and dagga, while the kraals are of stone or poles. Where both timber and stone is scarce the huts are built of large unburnt bricks. All are thatched, although grass for this purpose is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain.

Everywhere there are indications of erosion. In the Western districts it is most prevalent, becoming less so the further East one travels, until on reaching the coastal districts it is confined to isolated spots such as old road sites, and on the steeper hillsides which have been cultivated. In no part of the country is it entirely absent and a number of districts are beginning to take on the appearance of Ciskei areas such as Glen Grey and Middledrift.

Ciskei.

While distribution of huts and cattle kraals, the means of obtaining water supplies, and the types of soil are broadly speaking, very much the same as in the Transkei there are many factors which render the Ciskei fundamentally different in other respects.

The bulk of the country is situated in the dry bushy zone which lies between the coastal belt, south of the Kei River and the Highveld proper. Some districts, such as Herschel, are on the Highveld and to the West of the escarpment.

In most districts the rainfall is scanty and badly distributed. In the Middelrift area, for instance, during the last twenty years the annual rainfall has averaged only 17.85 inches. The rivers are few and often run dry during the winter months. On the whole the rainfall is far less than in the Transkei (see Appendix 2, Table C) and over large areas insufficient to ensure good crops.

According to Henderson records of the rainfall for Victoria East district, which go back as far as 1880, show that for the last forty-four years of complete records, sixteen were seasons of severe drought, and seven more were unfavourable, leaving only twenty years of assured food crops.

Timber supplies for fuel and hut building are available, much of the country being covered with scrubby bush, but considerable inroads have been made upon these supplies, which in some districts are fast disappearing, increasing the already extensive eroded areas which are a common sight in this country.

Conditions as a whole can best be described as semi-desert. Stony hills on which little grows but aloes and bush, more closely resembling the Karroo than any other part of South Africa, are typical of these areas; while elsewhere there is hardly any edible vegetation at all during the winter months.

Where grass exists it is excellent for cattle and sheep, and the

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districts nearer the coast, where the nature of the country changes considerably, possess excellent land both for agricultural and pastoral production.

To conclude this section we cannot do better than quote the Native Economic Commission Report of 1930-32. Referring to the Kaituma Hook, Middlecreef, and Glen Garry Districts on page 32, the Report reads - " The damage which overstocking has wrought in the land constitutes one of the most effective object lessons of the fate which awaits all the Reserves of the Union if the conditions under which that damage has been brought about are allowed to continue. The area through which the Commission motored presents a desolate picture of denudation and erosion.

Donges cut up the land in every direction and considerable stretches are bare of any vegetation, except scrub bush, the whole of the top soil having disappeared in what is known as sheet erosion."

There has hardly been time for any noticeable change to have taken place since the Commission published its report, but we are assured by observers who live in these areas that if anything the change is for the worse.

HOW CONDITIONS ARE CHANGING.

One of the outstanding impressions that we carried away from our visit was a realization of the extent to which life in the Territories is changing. This impression was brought home to us on many occasions and became more and more clear as we became better acquainted with the position.

The following brief notes may serve to indicate some of the more obvious of the changes which are taking place, but their full significance can only be left to the imagination.

(1) Steady deterioration of the land is leading rapidly to conditions which can best be described as semi-desert. Such conditions actually exist in parts of the Ciskei to-day and are an indication of the fate that awaits the Territories as a whole in the not too distant future.

To the inexperienced traveller this may seem an exaggeration, but any trained agriculturist visiting the Transkei for the first time cannot but be impressed by the first indications of desert conditions to be seen even in the coastal districts as well as in other parts of the country which have frequently been described as rich and fertile.

Indeed it may be said that from an agricultural point of view the country has undoubtedly been living on its capital for some time past and in our opinion it is no exaggeration to state that at the present time it is heading for bankruptcy.

(2) The population is steadily increasing: thus between 1921 and 1936 the population of the Transkei was increased by 330,000 representing an annual increase of 1.5 per cent, whilst the increase in the Ciskei over the same period was 1.4 per cent. (See Appendix 2 Table A). An increase of over 20 per cent in 15 years must be regarded as considerable, whilst in actual fact it is appreciably larger than this since the absentees, who are not included in the Census report must be much more numerous than they were in 1921.

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As pointed out elsewhere overcrowding is a vague term depending for its significance upon the agricultural methods employed, but it is obvious that a mainly pastoral people will be the first to feel any appreciable change in the density of the population. The Natives in the Territories are being made aware of this overcrowding by the fact that there are already quite a large class 'landless' Natives coming into existence; a comparatively new phenomenon to the Native mind.

(3) The effects of contact with European civilization are of course responsible for the most profound changes, though other Bantu tribes have not been without their influence in altering details of habit and custom. The main directions in which changes are being brought about by the impact of Western ideas may be summarized as follows.

(a) A process of steady detribalization is commonly recognized; this has many results, some satisfactory, others not. Amongst the former, from our standpoint, may be mentioned the tendency to break away from customary methods of agriculture and a gradual willingness to accept European ideas regarding the prevention and treatment of disease. On the other hand the loss of respect for Chiefs, headmen, the head of the kraal and even of parental authority is having a disintegrating effect upon much that was most stable in the Native culture.

(b) Changing standards with regard to housing, furniture, clothing and food are most noticeable.

Interesting details regarding the rapid change over from the bee-hive shaped huts of the past to those with upright walls built of wattle and daub, reeds, or stones has been described in some detail by Pim (1933). Such a fundamental change in the everyday life of a people carried out so swiftly is surely a significant commentary on those who insist on the hopeless conservatism and lack of adaptability of the raw Native. Other developments are following, such as the use by a few of properly made inside fireplaces and larger windows which

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may even be glazed.

European furniture is evidently much coveted by the more sophisticated, and one poor homestead we visited contained a complete suite of table, chairs and settees for which the owner said he had paid £37. It seemed somewhat significant to us that the paper wrappings were still retained round the legs of the chairs, as if such splendour was realized to be on a somewhat precarious footing. One suspects that in such houses there must be a good deal of shift of emphasis on the way available money is spent and in consequence the supply of good food will be liable to suffer.

(c) European dress, which has been so very largely adopted by some tribes, though not to the same extent by all, is another mixed blessing. The more thoughtful Natives are well aware of the disadvantages of cheap shoes and of clothes which cannot, like blankets, be dried in the sun when they get wet and are often of doubtful second-hand origin, even when 'new'. One such Native remarked that 'at present European clothes are a curse to us Natives!' whilst a District Surgeon has reported that in his experience lice are both more common and more numerous amongst his 'Dressed' than his 'Red' patients!

(d) With regard to food there is a growing tendency to imitate the European as far as knowledge and means permits; thus machine-ground mealie-meal makes a strong appeal in some districts, though still regarded as distinctly inferior to the freshly prepared stone-ground product elsewhere. Whitebread, tea and tinned goods, including sardines and condensed milk are all finding an increasing sale in the average store, though the extent of this change must not be exaggerated. Sugar, is however, very popular and we even heard of 'Red' Natives who will buy a pocket at a time.

Equally important from the nutritional point of view is the complementary tendency to despise the traditional dishes, more especially the valuable wild spinaches, which are far less commonly eaten now, at any rate by the 'Dressed' people. Unfortunately

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the growing for consumption of European vegetables, though taking place to some extent, does not as yet make good this deficiency.

As might be expected these tendencies are being hastened by European commercial enterprise and the evident success attended by the advertising activities of some of these organisations is a striking indication of what could be done amongst Natives by suitably directed propaganda.

(e) The growing familiarity with the money system is leading to a growth of individualism and hence a more marked distribution of wealth is taking place with the production of a definitely rich and poor class; such a division in the social structure did not formerly exist.

(f) That very many other changes in outlook and habits must be taking place as a result even of the most superficial contact with European civilization must be sufficiently obvious. The opening up of the country owing to the yearly improvement of the roads, the construction of new bridges, the railway and the buses, the activities of the Bunga, including the work of the agricultural demonstrators; the contact with magistrates, police, trading stores, mission stations, schools, hospitals and above all the period of labour spent at the mines or elsewhere by the large majority of the males, must have a cumulative effect which it is impossible to disregard, although the immediate effects may not always be outwardly visible.

(g) The more direct effects of the education given in the several training colleges must also be taken into account. As a result of these and similar influences an 'educated' class of a distinctly academic type is growing up who find it difficult to maintain effective contact with their fellow countrymen, even if they are able to resist the temptation to avoid such contact. There is no doubt that book learning is regarded with intense respect by many of those who have been unable to obtain it for themselves. We made the acquaintance of one peasant, who, by going out to work himself, was managing to pay no less than £62 per annum for the education of several

of his children at school and training college.

Unfortunately the idea of a simpler type of education designed more to equip for everyday life under present conditions appears to be regarded with a good deal of suspicion by all concerned. It is the 'best' they want, even if it may be pathetically unsuited to their real needs.

(h) The whole economic life of the people is centred on the trading store and this brings us to the question of the extension of credit which is increasing steadily throughout the Territories. From simple and no doubt satisfactory beginnings this mysterious method of obtaining something for nothing has proved an irresistible attraction to the naturally improvident Native mind; trader has vied with trader in offering more and more attractive terms on less and less substantial security, until a situation is arising which is neither in the interests of Native or Trader. It is worth mentioning here that in Basutoland a Proclamation making provision to regulate and restrict credit to Natives has recently been issued as well as a circular calling attention to fraudulent and irregular methods affecting the Native seller of produce etc. (See Appendix 3 Annexure 2.)

Already there is a tendency on the part of the more educated Native to substitute furniture or other goods for cattle in the lobola transaction and it is easy to imagine the complexities that may arise when the lobola is seized by the only partially paid vendor.

OPPOSITION TO CHANGE.

It may however be objected that the foregoing applies to a mere handful only of the more enlightened Natives and that the imperturbable conservatism of the typical rural Native is more than proof against all these disturbing factors. Such a critic will maintain that the outlook of the average Native upon all that is really fundamental to his life remains much the same to-day as before the coming of the white man, witness his persistence in antiquated and entirely

.../ inadequate

inadequate agricultural methods even when others are demonstrated to him, his improvidence and laziness after a good harvest, his superstition and so on.

We were given convincing evidence of the disheartening amount of truth that lies in such assertions and we wish to take this opportunity of emphasizing that we have endeavoured not to under-rate its importance and significance throughout our inquiry. At the same time we were compelled to come to the conclusion that this very real difficulty can easily be exaggerated, if not intentionally, into a convenient excuse either for doing nothing, or of resting content with slow progress in the face of urgent need. We need not suppose that the Natives in these Territories are essentially less capable of responding than those in other parts of Africa, in fact we gather that sometimes the reverse is the case. As far as we could judge there usually appears to be a small and progressive minority who are prepared to listen to new ideas and even to try them out; when the contrary is asserted our experience seemed to be that there were other reasons for the absence of results, such for example as the way in which the ideas were presented, or the hampering effects of lack of equipment, or opposition from local opinion, including that of the headman or chief.

In trying to understand what lies behind this conservatism, amounting not infrequently to manifest opposition to change, which seems to be such a characteristic feature of primitive peoples we found a good deal of help in the particularly clear statement quoted below from the introductory pages of the Native Economic Commission Report 1930-32. (Page 4. Par. 24-6).

" Famine is the great danger to every primitive community. The economic system must therefore have the prevention of famine as a main function. Accordingly it aims at the maintenance of a minimum standard of production. No family must be allowed to fall below this line, and so impose a strain on the resources of the community. Therefore the time honoured methods of the tribe are consolidated into a series of rules of conduct; the disapproval of the community is generally enough to prevent individuals from transgressing these rules. Moreover there are generally ritual sanctions for the carrying out of the rules, and the fear of the unknown is - with rare exceptions - enough to keep even the boldest spirits in check.

.../ These

These rules disapprove of 'dangerous' innovations. Considered on a purely rational basis, the individual who tries a new method of cultivation may fail, and secure no crops at all, and may therefore become a burden on the community until the next season. As the matter appears to primitive man, one never knows whether tribal spirits will not be outraged by the new method; and outraged spirits may even give vent to their anger on the whole community, which allowed one of its members to engage in sacriligious practices. Therefore the community stops innovation and, with it, progress to greater wealth. Moreover in a society in which kinship to the Chief's house is a principal source of distinction, it would be unwise for a commoner to have greater wealth than those above him. If a man became too rich, this was ascribed to witchcraft, against which 'smelling out' proved to be an effective remedy. Even to-day the feeling that such wealth conflicts with the proprieties is still a strong factor. This probably largely explains the circumstance, noticed by us throughout the Reserves, that Natives who have learnt up-to-date methods on the European farms seldom practice them in their own area.

A natural corollary to the salutary maintenance of the lower limit to safeguard against starvation is the emergence of an upper limit, which inhibits the growth of what is regarded as undue individual wealth."

Against this disheartening insight into the forces which have to be contended with let us set the following encouraging example of what has actually been accomplished during the last few years by Dr. Park Ross in the neighbouring area of Natal and Zululand in his campaign against malaria. Describing this work Dr. Ross said 'at the beginning they (i.e. the Public Health Department) were opposed by every obstacle which superstition, prejudice, witchcraft, apathy and active opposition could muster. They had broken this down, and the work of prevention was now carried out largely by Natives and partly paid for by them. Their malaria work had proved that the approach to the black man was by black men, supervised by the white, and also that the main attack must be education, and that it must be made from kraal to kraal.'

Taking all the circumstances into consideration we cannot help agreeing with Mr. Lucas when he concludes (N.E.C. Addendum p. 184. par. 77.) that 'although the Native is conservative in his methods the evidence shows clearly that he is ready and willing to change them, when he has had the reason for the change explained to him so that he can understand it.'

In conclusion it will be evident that by manipulating the facts it is possible to emphasize on the one hand a rapid rate of change,

.../ or

or on the other a stubborn conservatism which resents and prevents change taking place.

Either estimate is only partially correct and what we wish to emphasize is that the predominating feature of the situation is the way in which the Native, whether he welcomes or opposes change and whether he is alert or apathetic is being swept along by economic and other forces which are beyond either his comprehension or his control. Hence the problem of improving his method of food production and his health is fundamentally an educational one. But his education must be of such a nature that it will teach him to adapt his method of food production and his mode of life to the constantly changing conditions, and it must be backed by an administrative policy which takes all such changes as we have indicated into consideration.

.../ POSSIBILITIES

POSSIBILITIES.

Transkei and Ciskei.

No survey has ever been undertaken to ascertain the agricultural possibilities of these Territories. It is therefore difficult to estimate the potential productivity or the possible carrying capacity of the country.

At present the average density of population is 91 per square mile and this is increasing steadily. Overcrowding and overstocking are relative terms, which may be realized if we consider the above density of population with that of, for instance, parts of Kenya where the soil and pasture maintains over two hundred people to the square mile, or even China, where certain rural districts have a density of nearly 1,200 with this enormous population depending on the land as a means of living. On the other hand many areas with a population of only ten to the square mile are impoverished, the people finding it impossible to produce enough to keep them adequately supplied with food.

Such factors as, a traditional type of farming failing to adjust itself to changing conditions, or a change in the nature of the country due to bad use, can only be overcome by instruction in improved methods adapted to the new circumstances. The amount of capital available for such essential development as irrigation, fencing, machinery etc., also limits the productivity of any area irrespective of its natural features.

There are economic factors which influence the rate of development. A population depending entirely on their own produce will adapt their methods to changed conditions far more rapidly than a community which is only partly dependent on the land as a means of subsistence.

Even compared with the unprogressive European farming community in South Africa, the Natives in the Reserves have remained quite undeveloped, and the land as a source of food supplies has only been

.../ exploited

exploited in a haphazard and totally unscientific manner.

Although considerable capital has been going into the Territories in the form of wages earned chiefly at the mines, as far as we can ascertain, a very small proportion has been utilized for agricultural development.

According to Fim (1933) analysis of the sales of 90 stores show that only 8 per cent of the total consists of agricultural implements and fencing.

Although the amount of capital necessary to increase the carrying capacity of these areas to any large extent is not likely to be forthcoming for some time, by instruction and better organization on the part of the administration, as well as the Natives, there is no doubt that the arable land could be made to produce at least five times the amount it does at present, and the pastures made to carry treble the number of cattle (but not sheep) without any appreciable increase in capital investment.

There is no doubt that the country has great possibilities for the conservation of water for irrigation purposes. But irrigation farming requires the most careful supervision and much more skill than dry-land farming, and it would hardly be advisable to introduce irrigation until the Natives knowledge of agricultural methods has been considerably improved. Nevertheless its application is worth considering, particularly where dams could be constructed to prevent the heavy run-off in areas with a scanty and ill-distributed rainfall.

The Southern Rhodesian government is applying irrigation in various semi-arid Native Reserves where the rainfall is inadequate to produce crops, and in the near future about 4,250 acres will be irrigated. This project is concentrated in one area and it is questionable whether, should the same idea be applied to the Territories, it would not be better to commence with various small schemes in thickly populated and semi-arid areas where they are most needed. It is interesting to note that for these Rhodesian schemes

.../ labour

labour for the construction of furrows etc., was given by local Natives without pay, but they were compensated by being given water rights in the completed scheme. A white irrigation supervisor and five Native demonstrators have been appointed, and will devote the whole of their time to the supervision of the area. Without such supervision irrigation would do more harm than good.

Undoubtedly the most important single factor on which increased production depends, is not so much the nature of the country or the increase in capital investment, but the native's ability to utilize to the full all that the country has to offer, instead of as at present, the continual waste of the natural resources which are readily available. But the greatest need is a system of agricultural instruction based on the simple needs of the people, which is at present almost entirely lacking.

In parts of the Ciskei erosion and denudation of the land has reached such a stage over wide areas that it is questionable whether, even if all the resources of modern science were brought to bear with a total disregard for expenditure, it would be possible for the land to be brought back to a productive stage within a lifetime. This applies particularly, to parts of Herschel, Glen Grey, Middle-drift, Keiskame Hoek and Victoria East, but may apply equally well to the whole of the Transkei and Ciskei, or any other Native Reserve in the Union within the next 50 or 100 years if the present conditions are allowed to continue.

All over the Territories the same forces are at work and it can only be a matter of time before they must produce the same results. A few thousand pounds spent on simple agricultural instruction combined with administrative pressure might save the country many millions in the future.

On the whole these areas are potentially rich from an agricultural point of view, capable if given the right treatment, not only of carrying the present numbers of people and cattle, but even larger numbers.

On the other hand we are forced to the conclusion that if the present drift is allowed to continue it will only be a matter of time before they become comparatively uninhabitable.

Collection Number: A920

Collection Name: Francis William Fox, Report of preliminary survey, 1938

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive

Location: Johannesburg

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