

there seemed to be more rain. I can tell you this, we certainly did not have three years of drought, as we recently had here, and generally speaking I think the veld was very much better.

It is possible to estimate how many head of cattle $14\frac{1}{2}$ morgen would have been able to carry then ? - Three; that is what the Eastern Transvaal Commission estimated. They said three head of large stock and nine head of small stock for the $14\frac{1}{2}$ morgen. It would be 3 morgen per head of great stock and one-half morgen per head of small stock. That I think is how they worked it out.

But that country which we saw yesterday could not carry that at present ? - No, I am afraid it certainly could not carry that now.

How is it that it has got reduced to that position in which it is now ? - I should say by over-stocking and by lack of water. The cattle grazes on the side of the hills and they have to trek to the water a long way. This is what happens. They trek to water one day. Then they trek back home the next day. They remain grazing the third day, and the fourth day they go back to water again, and so on. And some of them have to trek for seven or eight miles for water, and then they have got to go back all that distance again.

MR. LUCAS: Does that mean that they get water every alternate day ? - Yes, that is what it means.

THE CHAIRMAN: I should say that the trekking to the water must be very bad; the road must be very bad and there cannot be much grazing there ? - No, as a matter of fact the road has ceased to exist. There is no grass. They have stamped out the roots of the grass, and they have

reduced the whole place practically to a desert here and there. That is what you find in the northern parts to the east of the Lulu and the northern part of the location. It is very serious indeed.

Do you ascribe that largely to over-stocking ? - Yes, I ascribe that to over-stocking and the lack of water combined. If we have the water near-by it would not be necessary to trek seven or eight miles there and seven or eight miles back.

You say that for cattle in excess of ten there is a fee of how much ? - That is for Crown Lands which I am referring to. We have about 24 Crown Land farms there.

So that is not in the reserve actually is it ? - No. We have 24 Crown Land farms outside Geluk's location. The first animals are free.

And then, after the first ten ? - After the first ten a complete group of five pay 2/6.

Are you sure that the first ten are free ? - Yes, I was at the Sub-Commissioner's Conference which decided that.

Now you said that some cattle were sold at various times. Can you tell us what prices such cattle would realise ? - Well, of course they were mostly scrub cattle and the prices would vary from £3 to £5.

Could we say that it is exceptional for an animal to be sold for more than £5 ? - I have heard of it, but it certainly is very exceptional.

Would your cattle on the whole be of better quality than the cattle of other natives in the Transvaal ? - Yes, I think so; I should say that ours are slightly better than those in Pokwani Area, and about the same as those in the Pilandsberg area, in the North-Western Transvaal, along the

Crocodile River and the Marico.

They seem to me to be better than the cattle in the Zoutpansberg district, where we have just been? - Well, I do not know that area. I know the whole of the Transvaal, excepting the Zoutpansberg, and I also know Bechuanaland.

Now, in regard to this charge on grazing for cattle in excess of ten, do the natives regard that as a reasonable charge? - I could not tell you. I really have not asked them whether they regard it as reasonable or not, but I suppose they are like other people. They naturally dislike all taxes. Still, this charge is more reasonable than they have to pay on companies farms, and I think they realise that. On companies farms they charge 3/- per beast for the first and from the first and 6d. per head of small stock, plus the £2 rent which they pay.

Do they regard this as a tax? - Yes, the Crown Landers regard this as a tax.

Do they not regard it as rental for the land? - No, they do not. All they know is that they have to pay it into the Government and they think it is a tax. I am the Government, so far as they are concerned, and they have to pay it to me.

Is it their view that if the Government has land that it should be given to them? - They do not look upon it in that light. You see, we are rather a backward lot here and we do not reason very much.

Is it a practice with them at all to use their kraal manure for their lands? - Well, I have know them to do it but as a rule it is not done. You see, directly the crops are taken off the lands the cattle are allowed to run into the lands in large numbers. The manure is there then. I have known in one or two cases that they have used the kraal manure for fertilising their lands, but as a rule they do not

do it.

How can you account for their not doing it ? - I should put it down to ignorance, and besides there is this, I have heard women grumble at the land being manured because, although it brings out a remarkably fine crop, it also means that a remarkably fine crop of weeds is produced, and, as you know, the weeds and the mealies come up together and it means extra work for the women. The women have to do the skoffeling and it really means that instead of simply being able to take off the crop they have double the amount of work to do.

Now, can you tell us, is there a shortage of native labour here for agriculture ? - Yes, I have know that to be the case too. There have been times when it has been very difficult to raise the necessary labour to work the lands. It has been very difficult to raise the necessary labour to do the skoffeling of the lands. I have known all the males to be away, at least the young ones, and I have known that even the young piccanins have been away; they go away in large numbers to Witbank and there have been cases where I have been big girls herding the cattle and small girls doing the herding of the sheep and the goats.

So it really would be a boon in this area to introduce labour-saving machinery ? They would welcome that, would they not ? - I do not know. If we could have a little more light thrown on agriculture and on modern methods through our demonstrators, it would make a tremendous difference, and I must say that I am very glad to see it started.

With regard to the castration of cattle, did I understand you to say that your Council were unanimously against it; what is the reason ? - Well, they are a very backward and a very suspicious people and they seem to have

it at the back of their minds that we want to deprive them of their cattle. You must not forget this. As it is, the number of our cattle only works out at one per head of population. Here in Sekukuniland we have 50,000 people and we have 50,000 head of cattle, and our wives naturally want to increase the numbers of the herd. They like to have large numbers in their kraals. She would be quite willing that their neighbours should castrate their cattle, but so far as their own is concerned she does not want that to be touched, she wants that to be increased as much as possible.

The idea of improving the quality of the cattle has not occurred to them? - No, they are more concerned with quantity. I have put it to them and some time ago I saw Senator Kerr about getting some bulls out from Airlie. I had this matter in my mind and I had all the prices fixed and everything was arranged, but when I put it to the Council they turned it down. They told me that they are quite content with their own bulls and they do not want anything else. They really are a very suspicious lot, and we have to work very carefully with them. I can give you another instance. I put to my Council the matter of planting trees, and a missionary at the northern end of my location wanted to plant trees just inside the location border. One of my Councillors - he is here to-day to give evidence before you - strongly objected to that, and he looked upon the proposal with profound suspicion. He put it to the Council that they should not allow the missionary to plant any trees inside the location, even though it might be ^{to} the benefit of the location. That shows how backward and ignorant we are.

MAJOR ANDERSON: You say that the district is not self-supporting. Now, could it be made self-supporting by improved methods of agriculture; what do you think? - We could do a great deal towards it, but I do not know if we could make it entirely self-supporting. I do not know of any outside district like mine in the Transvaal which is self-contained, but supposing such a thing were possible, I do not say it is possible, but supposing an order were to be given that all natives were to leave the Reef and were to go to their own homes - I do not think it at all possible, but if that were done then it would be extremely difficult to make them pay the £1 tax and supply themselves with food. During the whole of the period 1926, 1927, 1928 and 1929 we were buying food as hard as we could.

The food which you bought, the mealies and the kaffir corn and those things, what sort of prices were they sold at? How many stores are there in the location? - We have three main storekeepers in Geluk's Location. There is one firm, they have a large store, and they have about half a dozen sub-stores. Then we have another firm by the name of Gluckman & Co., in the northern half of the location. They have one big store and about five other stores in other parts. We have another firm who have lately come into the location. They have one store and they do a great deal of business, because they undercut the others and they attract the natives. There is a little competition there.

What is the average price of mealies, can you tell us; is it a fair price? - The price of mealies varies each year, but I should say it went up to about £1 once and on one occasion it went up as high as 27/6.

Is it generally in fair relation to the ordinary market price of mealies ? - Well, I do not know. This is what it is, it is the Johannesburg price plus the cost of transport to the nearest station plus the price of waggon transport to our place, plus the profits.

Now, in regard to the number of cattle: you spoke of 1343 European-owned cattle. Now those European cattle, are they owned by the storekeepers ? - No, they are owned by farmers on the eastern side of the Lulu Mountains.

Can they graze them in the location ? - No. When I speak of the 15,000 cattle, Geluk's Location is only one-quarter of Sekukuniland. The other three-quarters are company and Crown Land farms. There are also some private farms with farmers on them. High up there is a farm named Mecklenburg, where there is a missionary's son farming and there is also a man who used to be a storekeeper. He has a native wife, he is married to her legally. There are about fifteen farmers along the Steelpoort and between them those farmers inside Sekukuniland and along the Steelpoort own 1,343 head of cattle.

And those cattle are grazed on their own lands ? - Yes.

Is the whole amount of available arable land used now ? - In the location it is very largely taken up. Inside Geluk's Location it is largely taken up. But outside Geluk's location to the east of the Lulu Mountains, there is still land that is available.

Would that be arable land ? - Yes, the land outside and to the east of the Lulu is arable.

How many years can they grow crops on one piece of land ? - To my knowledge they have been growing crops on their land for 22 years. They tried to grow their crops on

the same land every year, regardless of the future. A few of them fallow and a few of them leave the land unsown for a year or so, and sometimes a boy will disappear for some time. He will go to Johannesburg or Pretoria for seven or eight years and the land will be lying there. He will come back and he will reclaim his own land. A number of them have two or three lands, and some will leave a land unused for a year or two.

I thought I saw a land yesterday, potentially arable land, which appeared not to have been broken up. Is there much of that? - No; it is getting less and less and I may say that that is partly due to me. You have those lands which are left lying fallow for perhaps ten or twelve years and not used during that time. Well, we have always got people coming into the locations. We always have people trekking in from the farms, and there are very few ever going out to the farms. Those people coming in demand new lands. Well, there is none to give them, so I have told my chiefs and headmen that they simply have to use some of these lands which are lying deserted. There was a case this year which was brought before me in which I gave a definite judgment that deserted land should be dished out again to a new man. I may say that that created quite a stir and the result was that everyone began to plough immediately. One of the effects was that our crop was increased this year and in addition the rainfall came to help.

Do you think that they will take kindly to irrigation? - Yes, I think they will take to it very kindly. They are very keen on irrigation, and it is quite a mistake to say that they are not keen.

MR. LUCAS: Have you had instances of irrigation? -

All the natives living in a portion of Geluk's Location are very keen on irrigation and they took out so many furrows and used so much water I had to stop it. Furthermore, the first person who took out a furrow on the Moolsi River was a native and he ran it over a farm named Mecklenburg, with the result that the farm was subsequently taken up by a White person and the native was given notice to quit. He was rather fed up about that. Furthermore, at a drift near the bridge where you crossed several natives have come to me and asked me to be allowed to take out a furrow on a farm nearby and put up a storage dam on the other side of the bridge under water, and I have told them that it was a matter for the Lands Department to decide and that it must be held over. There has been a considerable amount of correspondence about that, as that piece of land is rather like a Nabob's Vineyard.

How many recruiters have you got in the district? - We have one labour recruiter from the Native Labour Recruiting Corporation. Then we have another man from the Premier Mine. We have another one working more or less intermittently on the eastern side of the Lulu Mountains. The two main ones, that is, the N.R.C. one and the Premier Mine one, work in Geluk's Location. I said there was another one, but there are two more, and they work in the rest of the country. There are four altogether. Two are working regularly and on a large scale, but the two others are working intermittently.

Are you generally satisfied with their methods? - Well, I am perfectly satisfied with the two who work regularly and on a large scale. But in regard to the two who work on a small scale, I had the licence of one cancelled last year. I had him prosecuted here in the Magistrate's Court and the result was that his licence was cancelled.

MR. LUCAS: What was he convicted for ? - He was convicted of illegal recruiting. I forget exactly what the section was under which he was charged, but he was recruiting boys without attesting them. He was recruiting on private farms illegally and we had to stop it.

Whom was he recruiting for ? - He was recruiting for the Asbestos Mine, for David Erskine of Pietersburg, and his licence was cancelled. Of course, I want to say that it was not Erskine's licence that was cancelled, but the recruiter's licence.

MAJOR ANDERSON: The condition of the cattle we saw yesterday was pretty good, is that normal ? - During the three years previous to this the condition had been generally good, but there have been cases that we have had cattle dying here owing to drought and other circumstances.

It is rather unusual for this time of the year to see them look so well ? - Yes, it is very unusual. Ordinarily at this time of the year the cattle here live on the prickly pears and let me tell you that we could not do without the prickly pear here.

MR. MOSTERT: Will you tell me your method of allocating land to the different people ? - The lands are allocated by the chief and headmen. This is what is done - the chief allocates a certain area of land to his various headmen and they deal with it. The headmen have a councillor who actually dishes out the land to the individuals within his own area. That is how it is actually done.

Is that always found satisfactory ? - Yes, it has been found satisfactory and I may tell you that there are marvellously few complaints. The only complaints are in cases where one headman encroaches on the area of another headman. Those are the only complaints, but so far as

individual complaints are concerned, they are very few indeed, extraordinarily few. Now and then you find an old woman ploughing over the corner of some other old woman's land or just trying to pick a little bit, a little corner, of some other old woman's ground, and then you get a complaint, but it is very rare indeed.

The area which we went over yesterday from the store to the hospital had no demarcations. I was rather struck by that ? - Yes, it looked like one continuous garden, didn't it ?

Quite. How is that ? - I could not tell you. Each old woman knows her land, and it is really most extraordinary to me. I often wonder who they know where their own lands end. They seem to know it instinctively.

Yes, I was wondering how that was ? - Yes, every old woman knows her land. They are marked out say 100 yards x 100 yards, I do not know how many acres each.

I do not know what we shall see in future, but this was the first occasion on which we saw these continuous lands ? - Yes, they are square miles with nothing in ~~between~~ between them. It really is very wonderful.

And you find that quite satisfactory ? - I do. I think that is how it should be.

I suppose there would be a possibility in time to come when your arable land would be set aside and your grazing land would be set aside, with proper fencing ? - Well, that is to a certain extent now. When the crops are in the ground and are coming up all the cattle go to the side of the hill and they remain there for a time, and I can assure you that they get remarkably thin, but just when the crops are getting ripe - when the crops are reaped all

the cattle come from the hills and they are allowed to go into the lands and they very soon get fat again, and they remain there until they have wiped out all the old stronks.

MR. LUCAS: How long have you been in this district ? - I came here in 1908. I was away from the middle of 1923 to the end of 1925. I was transferred to the Rustenburg district. Prior to that I had been Sub-Native Commissioner in Pilandsberg from 1904 to 1907. Prior to that I was Sub-Native Commissioner from 1902 to 1904 in Lichtenburg, and prior to that I was on the Reef as an Inspector. From 1896 to 1899 I was in Pondoland and Fingoland. I was there at the time of the rinderpest under a magistrate named Scully, working under veterinary surgeons Hutchins, Soga and Edington. That is my native experience from 1896 to this day.

You must have seen very great changes in the native's way of living and in his habits generally during that period ? - Yes, undoubtedly I have seen very great changes. Shall I tell you about them ? When I first came here most of my headmen wore the loin-cloth; I think they all wore them, as a matter of fact. But now I can only think of about one or two headmen who still stick to the loin-cloth.

That is a change in respect of their clothing ? - Yes, and it is just the same in respect of the women. They are all beginning to wear clothes. ^{then} And/when I first came here there were very few ploughs, whereas now there are very many. Waggon's there were very few in those days, and now they have increased tremendously, and so it is all the way through.

Now, about the lobola system, has that remained unchanged through all those years ? - Yes, that has remained

unchanged and even to-day we have practically no marriages by Christian rites. As I told you, our total revenue from Christian rite marriages, is £2. 3. 6, whereas in Rustenburg we have got about 800 marriages.

Is lobola always paid in cattle here ? - At the time of the East Coast fever it was paid in goats, and even in money.

And after the cattle were restored ? - Then it began to be paid in cattle again, and also in goats, but generally in stock.

Is it not known now to pay lobola in money ? - Well, it is known, but it is mainly paid in stock. One native will pay his dowry of say perhaps seven head of cattle. He will pay perhaps a dozen goats and he will pay £5, making it up to the ten head. But cattle are the main thing. Money does exist, but they eliminate it as far as possible.

Can you tell us some of the effects of this system? What is its effect on over-stocking ? - Well, it is a cause of over-stocking.

In how far is it a cause of over-stocking ? - It is one of the causes. An ordinary Mapedi likes to have three wives. Each have their own kraal or hut. Each of these huts has cattle assigned to it by the husband. A Mapedi marries three wives and he has three huts. Now each hut has a certain number of cattle assigned to it. That man finds it extremely difficult, if he has to pay out cattle for any purpose other than for lobola for his son of that house. If he has to pay out for any other purpose, for a fine, or anything else, he finds it extremely difficult to get a beast out of any of his wives. Supposing he should go to No. 2 hut and say, "I want one of your beasts." That wife

will say to him, "Why do you want one of mine; go to No. 1 or to No. 3. Coming to me for one of my beasts shows that you are not liking me any more." The Mapedi are very hen-pecked; at the same time he beats his wife, and quite right too! Yet, at the same time he is afraid of his wife.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are all the cattle given to the wives? - Yes, I think so, to each establishment. Say a man has thirty head of cattle, he will give ten to No. 1 hut, ten to No. 2 and ten to No. 3. Of course, he will not necessarily give an equal number to each.

MR. LUCAS: Are those that are assigned to a particular hut regarded as the source from which lobola is to be paid for the sons in that hut? - Yes.

So that theoretically the desire would be to have the requisite number of cattle in each hut for the number of sons there are in that hut? - Yes, that is so.

We are very much interested in the question of detribalisation. I personally at the moment am rather vague as to what is meant by that phrase. Have you any views on the meaning of that phrase? - Well, I too am rather vague on it. You see, I have been living among a rather highly tribalised lot and even in the Rustenburg district that was the case. I have been living among the Bapedi here, and they are highly tribalised, and also among the Bakgadla, and they are also highly tribalised, and they are under the strict discipline of their chiefs in the district, and our people here are still very keenly tribalised. Let me tell you that they resent it enormously if you were to try and depose any of their chiefs.

I was not suggesting encouraging detribalisation. We have been told that natives were detribalised, but still they recognise the authority of their chief. Those

natives call themselves detribalised. You have a number of natives in town who seem to have cut themselves entirely away from any tribe. Further, there are a section who are descended from natives who were carried off during native wars, they have never known what tribe they belong to. My difficulty is to know what phrase to use to cover those people, and at the same time to distinguish those who remain away from their tribe and yet recognise the authority of their chiefs. Can you help us there ? - No, I am afraid not, unless you say semi-detribalised. I have known very many individuals who have been away for years from their tribes and then they come back and they claim the rights of their tribes; they claim their land, they claim protection, and they claim the assistance of their chief.

In the ordinary way those people before coming back would be detribalised ? - Yes, and they will recognise no one.

THE CHAIRMAN: Would those people have their families away from their tribe as well ? - I have known a man with his family in Cape Town.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Did he bring them back ? - Yes, he brought them back altogether. Of course the women do not like it.

MR. LUCAS: In the Louis Trichardt areawe were told by one witness that the women would not go away, although some of the men wanted their wives to go with them ? - Yes, that is so. The women remain at home and the men go out and stay away as long as they like.

We have had complaints frequently that the young men lose their respect for their parents: the parents have no authority over them. They go away and do not come back. Have you had much of that ? - Yes, lots of it. I have had

complaints in the last month from about six or seven headmen on that score.

Is that sort of thing growing in your area ? - I think it is. I think it is a very serious thing.

What do you attribute it to ? - I should say that it is due to the absence of the young men and to the attractions of the town. When the young man comes back he disregards his old-fashioned headman and he has no respect for him.

Would you say that the absence of the fathers has anything to do with that, the absence of the fathers for long periods in the towns ? - Well, the old fathers remain at home. Do you mean the younger ones ?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the able-bodied men who have gone to labour centres. Would their absence from their home be a factor in the desire of the young men to go away as well ? - I suppose so.

Are not the children of the men who are away too small to think of going away ? - Well, the children are all herd-boys when they are small and they know that such and such a house, or such and such a hut is their home, and that their mother lives there, and that is all they know.

MR. LUCAS: Take boys of 14 and 15 in the location. Are many of their fathers away at work ? - Yes, they must be by now. A good few must be away.

Then there is no control by the father over such boys ? - No, by the fathers, but the control passes to the grandfathers. That is the general position.

Does the control pass to the grandfather while the father is away ? - Yes, that is the position.

Does the absence of the father at work constitute a

factor in the breaking up of the family obedience and authority ? - Well, the old grandfather would be in the place of the father. He will be in loco parentis.

DR. ROBERTS: He always is ? - Yes, he is the head of the family.

He is the head of the family, even when the father is there, even if the boys are brought up by the father; the grandfather has the control ? - Yes.

MR. LUCAS: Have you followed up any of these cases to find the reason why natives have stayed away when once they have gone ? - I cannot say, I cannot give you any concrete cases at the moment. I have the case of my own house-boy. He remained for eight years away and worked in one house in Pretoria. He was very comfortable there and then he came back.

Presumably he always had the intention of coming back? - Yes, I suppose so.

I was thinking more of the natives who had definitely gone away, definitely with the intention of never coming back. They have given up tribal rights and they have become town natives ? - Yes, it is difficult to say that any native definitely does that. You see, no native will deny his tribe. No native will do that, but he likes to live away and to be free and to recognise his chief in so far as he wants to, or in so far as it is useful to him. Sometimes a boy will send a present of a pound to his Chief after he has been away five or six years, just to keep in touch. He likes to keep up the connection, but at the same time he wants to be free. I have known that among the Bakgadla. They like to be altogether separate from their chief, while they are just keeping up a narrow thread of a connection. That is all.

It is more sentiment than anything else ? - That is so.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is more than sentiment in some cases, because they may want to take up their tribal rights again ? - Yes, in some cases.

MAJOR ANDERSON: How are the morals in your location? - The morals are not our morals, by any manner of means.

All the husbands are away, and they remain away for years, and they come back again and they find that the family has increased and multiplied, and a matter like that has to be rather winked at.

They are quite satisfied ? - Well, I have a case the other day where the husband certainly objected, but we pointed out to him that this was bound to happen and eventually his headman compromised. They came to an agreement and the husband and wife lived happily ever after ! That does happen. Of course, their morals are extremely loose from our point of view.

MR. LUCAS: But judging from their standpoint, do they live up to their own standard of morality ? - I doubt it very much if they live up to even their own moral standpoint.

This point which you have just dealt with is the result of large numbers of the males being away from the tribe ? - Naturally.

Can you point to any other results ? In some instances you mentioned the fact that the women did the herding of the cattle. Are there any other results to which you can point, any other results of the men being away ? - There are certainly.

MR. MOSTERT: Now, years ago were they pretty good as far as their morals were concerned, when they lived in their own locations ? Have not they gone down owing to the

absence of the husband in the towns ? - I should say that that is so. The deterioration of morals is owing to the natives being away and it is only since then, and it is also due to the fact that we rather undermined the authority of the chiefs and the headmen.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of the husband, is not it the duty of certain members of his family to see that children are raised to his family ? - It is more or less winked at, but according to true native custom that is not so, so long as he is alive. The ordinary system is that a widow is taken over by the next younger brother of the dead man, and the children resulting from that union are the children of the dead man. As a matter of fact, you will find exactly the same thing in Biblical history.

Is the custom of the Bapedi different from that of other natives ? - No. They are the same as the customs of other members of the Bantu tribes.

We were told in respect to this matter that when the husband is away it is the duty of one of the brothers to see that the family goes on; we were told that there was no question of waiting for the return of the husband ? - I do not think it is their custom; it is winked at, but it is not their custom and they do not like it.

DR. ROBERTS: You are inclined to put the cause of lack of morality down to the absence of the husbands. Is it not the case that it is winked at too, if a man has four or five wives that the younger ones can have their own sweethearts ? - Yes.

And that is understood ? - Yes, that is known to be the case. Nominally the husband does not know about it, but in actual fact he does.

And he agrees to it apparently ? - Yes.

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