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REPORT



OF

NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION

1930-1932

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

THE GOVERNMENT PRINTER, PRETORIA
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ERRATA.

| Paragraph. | Line. | Correction. |
|---|-------|---|
| 11 | 2 | <i>For</i> diminution <i>read</i> diminution. |
| 12 | 1 | <i>For</i> primitve <i>read</i> primitive. |
| 46 | 16 | <i>For</i> diseases <i>read</i> disease. |
| 46 | 17 | <i>For</i> deseases <i>read</i> diseases. |
| 93 | 7 | <i>For</i> enegies <i>read</i> energies. |
| 151 | 11 | <i>After</i> with <i>add</i> the consent of. |
| 153 | 3 | <i>For</i> has <i>read</i> had. |
| 161 | 1 | <i>For</i> is <i>read</i> are. |
| 164 | 2 | <i>For</i> Pople <i>read</i> People. |
| 166 | 5 | <i>For</i> exceptoinal <i>read</i> exceptional. |
| 167 | 3 | <i>For</i> atlogether <i>read</i> altogether. |
| 183 | 3 | <i>For</i> relased <i>read</i> released. |
| 189 | 15 | <i>Delete</i> full stop <i>at end of line</i> . |
| 190 | 4 | <i>After</i> with <i>add</i> the. |
| 241 | 8 | <i>For</i> exclusive <i>read</i> exclusion. |
| 260 | 11 | <i>For</i> experimetnal <i>read</i> experimental. |
| 281 | 7 | <i>For</i> co-operaitve <i>read</i> co-operative. |
| 299 | 3 | <i>For</i> 80 <i>read</i> 60. |
| 305 | 1 | <i>For</i> Nongama <i>read</i> Nongoma. |
| 374 | 1 | <i>For</i> froegoing <i>read</i> foregoing. |
| 385 | 2 | <i>For</i> periad <i>read</i> period. |
| 395 | 2 | <i>Add</i> comma <i>at end of line</i> . |
| 404 | 3 | Footnote to Table. <i>For</i> increases <i>read</i> increase. |
| 409 | 1 | <i>For</i> 1925 <i>read</i> 1923. |
| 506 | 3 | <i>Delete whole line and substitute :</i> Natives doing skilled work. At present trade unions insist that standard rates should be paid on such contracts, and this in practice confines the work to |
| 525 | 5 | <i>For</i> liivng <i>read</i> living. |
| 527 | 6 | <i>For</i> simliar <i>read</i> similar. |
| 531 | 1 | <i>For</i> Eoconomically <i>read</i> Economically. |
| 547 | 2 | <i>For</i> seeks <i>read</i> seek. |
| 556 | 3 | <i>For</i> permanantly <i>read</i> permanently. |
| 558 | 1 | <i>For</i> develoment <i>read</i> development. |
| 638 | 4 | <i>For</i> read <i>substitute</i> real. |
| 662 | 9 | <i>For</i> considerabel <i>read</i> considerable. |
| 665 | — | <i>Immediately under heading</i> Direct Taxation of Natives <i>add</i> — NOTE.—Mr. Lucas does not agree with what is set forth in paragraphs 665 to 678. For his views, see Addendum, page 224. |
| 679 | 6 | <i>For</i> him <i>read</i> them. |
| 687 | 2 | <i>For</i> Euorpeans <i>read</i> Europeans. |
| 702 | 3 | <i>For</i> prestnt <i>read</i> present. |
| 714 | 1 | <i>Delete whole line and substitute :</i> Among the amaXosa and related tribes, the <i>ubulunga</i> beast, whether. |
| 771 | 3 | <i>For</i> abstainence <i>read</i> abstinence. |
| 823 | 1 | <i>For</i> Mines <i>read</i> Mine. |
| 839 | 3 | <i>For</i> include <i>read</i> includes. |
| 846 | 3 | <i>For</i> 186 <i>read</i> 180. |
| 863 | 3 | <i>For</i> certficate <i>read</i> certificate. |
| 870 | 2 | <i>For</i> a distinction <i>read</i> no distinction. |
| 919 | 4 | <i>For</i> are <i>read</i> is. |
| 931 | 7 | <i>For</i> are <i>read</i> is. |
| 1000 | 3 | <i>For</i> hat <i>read</i> that. |
| 1025 | last | <i>After</i> at <i>insert</i> the. |
| 1035 | 4 | <i>For</i> prespect <i>read</i> prospect. |
| Addendum | | |
| 11 | 5 | <i>For</i> Eupropean <i>read</i> European. |
| 12 | 1 | <i>For</i> Euorpean <i>read</i> European. |
| Annexure No. 15 Page 280 Para. 3 | 1 | <i>After</i> reasons, <i>add</i> of. |

TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF CLARENDON, A MEMBER OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF SAINT MICHAEL AND SAINT GEORGE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN AND OVER THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the undersigned, Commissioners appointed by Commission¹ issued by His Excellency the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa dated 9th June, 1930, have the honour to submit herewith our Report.

1.

The Terms of Reference to Your Excellency's Commissioners are to inquire into and report upon:

- (1) The economic and social conditions of Natives especially in the larger towns of the Union.
- (2) The application to Natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment and for dealing with industrial disputes and/or the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purposes.
- (3) The economic and social effect upon the European and Coloured population of the Union of the residence of Natives in urban areas and the measures, if any, to be adopted to deal with surplus Natives in, and to prevent the increasing migration of Natives to, such areas.
- (4) What proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the Native population directly and indirectly. What proportion of the public expenditure may be regarded as necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to, the Native population.

PROCEDURE.

2.

Accordingly, in discharging the duties entrusted to us, we held meetings² whenever it was necessary for the purpose of dealing with routine matters; and we heard evidence³ in public session at as many centres as we were able in the time available to us. Advertisements in the *Government Gazette* and in local newspapers, announcements through Magistrates and Native Commissioners, direct invitations, and letters to prospective witnesses, gave to the public notification of our sessions at various centres and of our desire to obtain evidence. Witnesses were assisted by means of printed documents,⁴ whilst State and Provincial and urban officials were assisted by means of these as well as other documents.⁵

3.

Your Commissioners placed every facility in the way of all persons, who wished to do so, to tender evidence to the Commission, or give information, oral and written. We listened attentively to all evidence, a verbatim record of which was taken. The transcript of the evidence is voluminous; with the exception of a number of quotations, it has not been printed, but has been sent to the Government Archives, Pretoria, for safekeeping. A considerable amount of original documentary evidence was also submitted to us, and this, too, has been sent for safekeeping at the Government Archives, Pretoria; extracts from these documents are included in the Report.

¹ Annexures 1 and 2. ² Annexure 3. ³ Annexure 4.

⁴ Annexures 5 and 6. ⁵ Annexures 5-10.

4. We have given all evidence very careful attention, and we have in addition studied numbers of official publications and documents. We have, further, travelled to urban and rural typical areas, in order to gain first-hand knowledge of local conditions.⁶

5. We wish to state at once that we would have been seriously handicapped in our labours if we had not received generous help wherever we went in the Union. This help was accorded to us, cheerfully, by witnesses; by the public; by State, Provincial, urban, mining organization, and other officials; and by missionaries, teachers, and others; in our travelling, by the Railways and Harbours Administration and its efficient Tourist Agents, Government garage officials, motor transport contractors, and on occasions by non-officials who placed their private motor cars at our disposal. State and urban authorities, the Transkeian Territories General Council, and private persons—European and Native—placed accommodation at our disposal for the hearing of evidence and for the doing of our routine work. The officials, organizations, and private persons who assisted us are too numerous to mention by office or by name. Through their co-operation we were able to keep every appointment we made, and we wish here, at the beginning of our Report, to state that for the valuable help given to us by each and all of them we are most grateful.

ORDER OF SUBJECTS.

6. In drafting its Report your Commission found it impracticable to discuss the first and the third Terms of Reference apart. The whole question is so interwoven that reference had to be made in various parts of the Report to the influence of the Natives on the rest of the population. To have taken these matters out of their context in order to group them under the third Term of Reference could only have been done at the cost of clearness in presenting the results of the Commission's inquiries. These two Terms of Reference are therefore treated together. The second and the fourth Terms of Reference are treated separately.

TERMINOLOGY.

7. We have thought it advisable to prepare a short statement explaining the meaning attached by us to each of certain terms used in our Report, and have included this statement in an Annexure.⁷

The Approach to the Native Educational Question

Two Conflicting Economic Systems

8. When the Europeans first came into South Africa the Native population was living under a primitive subsistence economy. The white man came in with money economy. The conflict of the two systems lies at the root of much of the Native problem in its economic aspect.

9. The former is a system which, as we try to show below, meets with the requirements of a community at a certain level of development. The latter is in entire conflict with the former, and must ultimately disorganize it completely.

10. The conflict of the two must result in either the extermination or the absorption of the former.

11. Herein the contact has not resulted in similar contact has been in most other countries lying in the temperate zone, in either the destruction of the weaker, or in the absorption of the backward race.

12. The continued existence of a primitive subsistence economy in such close contact with an advanced money economy, as the two systems are in South Africa, must be expected to result in the absorption of the former.

PART I

13. Absorption, i.e. miscegenation, is ruled out by the ideas of both races in South Africa.

14. The Native educational question is therefore how best the Native population can be led upward step by step to an orderly march to civilization.

15. The movement has already made some advances. Certain classes of Natives have made substantial progress. As a whole it has, however, not been an orderly march. The great bulk of Natives who have been influenced by European contact, has moved on in a haphazard manner, involving many definitely undesirable features. What is wanted is a gradual and substantial upliftment, of a nature in which a civilized community can take just pride.

THE RESERVES

16. It is not only the Native population that is the problem, but the steps necessary to deal with it is a national task. It is of even greater importance that the country should realize that there need be no threat to the white community in the development of the Native, but that on the contrary this offers some hope of removing some of the economic misadjustments which exist to-day. In attempting to achieve this nothing more disaster can follow from neglect to start from the fundamental facts. The Native educational question is not primarily a problem of a small

a problem of millions of uneducated tribal Natives, held in the grip of superstition and of an anti-progressive social system. The former group may be fairly considered, and ways must be found for them in the body economic. But their artificialness must not obscure the fact that they represent a less important part of the problem; that the real problem lies with the non-tribal millions, and that in many respects the approach to the problems of the former must proceed by way of the latter.

17. On its European side no useful approach can be found by allowing an undermining of the standards which the white community has built up by centuries of effort. The European is the bearer of civilization in South Africa, and anything which retards his civilization will ultimately react detrimentally on the Native as well.

18. The way in which the problem is approached is therefore of fundamental importance. Let us assume that a temporary Dictator created the Reserves of the Native in respect of many economic matters in defiance of the opposition of the European, and that his actions were irreversible.

The Approach to the Native Economic Question.

Two Conflicting Economic Systems.

8.

When the Europeans first came into South Africa the Native population was living under a primitive subsistence economy. The white man came in with money economy. The conflict of the two systems lies at the root of much of the Native problem in its economic aspect.

9.

The former is a system which, as we try to show below, meets with the requirements of a community at a certain level of development. The latter is in entire conflict with the former, and must ultimately disintegrate it completely.

10.

The conflict of the two must result in either the extermination or the absorption or the development of the backward race.

11.

Hitherto the contact has not resulted, as similar contact has done in most other countries lying in the temperate zones, in either the diminution of the number, or in the absorption, of the backward race.

12.

The continued existence of a primitive subsistence economy in such close contact with an advanced money economy, as the two systems are in South Africa, must be expected to create serious maladjustments.

13.

Absorption, i.e. miscegenation, is ruled out by the ideals of both races in South Africa.

14.

The Native economic question is therefore how best the Native population can be led onward step by step in an orderly march to civilization.

15.

The movement has already made some advance. Certain classes of Natives have made substantial progress. As a whole it has, however, not been an orderly march. The great bulk of Natives who have been influenced by European contact, has moved on in a haphazard manner, involving many definitely undesirable features. What is wanted is a gradual and substantial upliftment, of a nature in which a civilized community can take just pride.

Fundamentally the Problem Lies in the Reserves.

16.

It is important that the country should clearly visualize not only the problem, but the steps necessary to deal with it in a rational fashion. It is of even greater importance that the country should realize that there need be no threat to the white community in the development of the Native, but that on the contrary this offers some hope of removing many of the economic maladjustments which exist to-day. In attempting to achieve this nothing save disaster can follow from neglect to start from the fundamental facts. The Native economic question is not primarily a problem of a small, vocal, dissatisfied, semi-civilized group of urbanized Natives; it is primarily a problem of millions of uneducated tribal Natives, held in the grip of superstition and of an anti-progressive social system. The former group must be fairly considered, and room must be found for them in the body economic. But their articulateness must not obscure the fact that they represent a less important part of the problem; that the real problem lies with the non-vocal millions; and that in many respects the approach to the problems of the former must proceed by way of the latter.

17.

On its European side no useful approach can be found by allowing an undermining of the standards which the white community has built up by centuries of effort. The European is the bearer of civilization in South Africa, and anything which retards his civilization will ultimately react detrimentally on the Native as well.

18.

The way in which the problem is approached is therefore of fundamental importance. Let us assume that a temporary Dictator granted the demands of the Natives in respect of many contentious matters in defiance of the opposition of the Europeans, and that his actions were irrevocable.

Then as soon as the Dictatorship disappeared, the Natives would indeed have these new rights; but they would have been purchased at the price of the goodwill of the Europeans, and this would continually hamper further progress. On the other hand, continuous progress is possible on any plan which enlists the goodwill of the European population in the cause of the civilization of the Native, however much a number of the latter may dislike some of the arrangements on which the Europeans refuse to yield.

19.

Your Commissioners endeavour to indicate in this Report some of the ways in which the apparently conflicting interests of black and white may be harmonized in the cause of national progress.

The Tribal Background of the Problem.

20.

It does not fall within the scope of the duties of your Commission to attempt to give a complete explanation of the original social systems of the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa, in all their local variations, nor do we consider ourselves qualified for such a task. There are, however, certain aspects of this subject which underlie very important social and economic considerations of to-day: It becomes necessary to touch briefly on the more important of these, because they form the setting for the whole subject of the economic development of the Native.

21.

When the Natives first came into contact with the Europeans they had a well-developed social and economic organization, which it would appear met their needs in a fairly satisfactory way. It had definite ways of meeting the various emergencies with which they were faced; definite explanations for the things regarded as supernatural; definite sanctions for the proper conduct of life; definite provision for securing the material goods necessary for economic and social life.

22.

When the social organization of a primitive people has had sufficient time to develop undisturbed, there emerges a customary standard of living and an appropriate remedy for every ill, the total cost of which does not exceed the aggregate of material goods which the society normally has at its disposal. When conditions are abnormal there is either feast or famine.

23.

Normally, however, there was frequently a shortage before the new crop could be harvested. A paragraph on this subject from Bryant's "A Description of Native Foodstuffs" (Pietermaritzburg, 1907) is true generally of primitive communities:

"He" (the Zulu) "has inherited nothing of the saving instinct. No sooner are the fruits of the new season mature and permitted for general consumption, than he forthwith initiates a wholesale attack upon them. This habit so materially reduces the amount left over for harvesting, that, after a few months, his total store of food is at an end. In perhaps eight families out of ten there is a normal annual recurrence of severe dearth throughout the spring or early summer months of August, September, October, and even later. During the whole of this period, members of all such families, children as well as adults, have to be usually content with but one full meal a day, generally taken in the evening time. Very often I have known whole districts of children who got not even that. This, then, is the period when they have recourse to the *amaThebe* and the other herbs of the veld described above."

24.

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.

25.

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 sacrilegious practices. Therefore the community stops innovation and, with it, progress to greater wealth.

26.

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.

NOTE.—See observation by Mr. Lucas in paragraph 79 of Addendum.

27.

A natural corollary to the salutary maintenance of a 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.

28.

Nature is seldom so unbountiful as not to leave a surplus after the elementary needs of mankind have been supplied. In a particularly good season further desires may be satisfied: the desire for personal adornment, and for ostentation. Time and labour are spent on making articles of adornment; and particular things come to be recognized as evidence of importance and prosperity.

29.

Among our Natives cattle have come to be regarded as a mark of the importance and prosperity of the owner. Once the possession of such things has become general the society concerned has advanced a stage on the path of progress.

30.

Unless land is plentiful, the increase of population soon begins to exert pressure on the community especially in primitive society, where fecundity is high and children are regarded as an asset. The pressure may be relieved by advance in the economic utilization of tribal assets; but this is generally in conflict with tribal organization because it involves innovations which are dangerous, and are always viewed with distrust by a primitive people; or it may be relieved by war, and this conforms to tribal organization. War keeps population in bounds; it aids polygyny; it gives the men an outlet for their energies, deemed worthy of their status; and wherever scarcity of land begins to be felt, it maintains the conditions necessary for the continuance of the social system. War is therefore endemic among primitive peoples; it is a necessary condition for the permanence of their economic system. War is a cure for over-population in a primitive community—advance in the arts serves the same purpose in a civilized society. The latter is now the only course open to the Natives of South Africa.

Ancestor Worship.

31.

Ancestor-worship, though a very important—perhaps the most important—part of the religion of these peoples, was not by any means the whole of it, but only part of the general system of spirit-worship. There were spirits other than those of ancestors, both benevolent and malevolent. Witchcraft or sorcery consisted in using the influence of malevolent spirits, whether ancestral or non-ancestral, and magic consisted in using the influence of benevolent spirits.

32.

It was in the power of the spirits to visit the living with drought or storm, locusts, pestilence among men and animals, defeat in war, and other calamities, disease and death. Accordingly sorcery had to be guarded against, lest evil-minded individuals should use the power of the deceased against the living. There were therefore numerous occasions when animals, chiefly cattle, had to be slaughtered to placate the spirits of the departed. This sacrificial slaughter is of considerable economic importance and will be referred to again.

The Importance of Cattle in the Social System of the Abantu.

33.

The cattle, from being used in religious ceremonies came to have a religious character: for example, the laudatory phrase (*serêôtô*) of the beast in Suto is *Modimo wa nkô e meetse*, "The god with the wet nose" (Prof. Lestrade's evidence). In her evidence before the Commission, Mrs. Hoernlé gave a vivid picture of the sacrificial importance of cattle. She said:

"The cattle are a trust to the present generation from the past generation; they are a medium between the people who are here and those who are no longer here, as the Natives put it. . . . They are heirlooms; emblems of the status of the family. . . . When an animal is sacrificed, for example, they say "Father, here are your cattle; you have asked for cattle; here they are." That is why, when these cattle are used in marriage the ancestors must be appealed to to accept a transfer of the cattle to another kraal, because they are really the cattle of the ancestors. Therefore, always, in the original ceremony, an animal was sacrificed as part of the marriage ceremony, and through the groaning of the animal, or in some other way, the ancestors gave their assent to the marriage—accepted the woman into the kraal and allowed the cattle to go into another kraal."

34.

Thus the purely economic conception of cattle held by Europeans is entirely disruptive of the religious ideas of the Abantu. Their conception of cattle has become under present-day conditions one of the most far-reaching anti-economic inheritances of the Natives. It lies at the root of a great deal of the dissatisfaction about land, and will be referred to again.

The Strategic Position of the Hereditary Chief.

35.

The hereditary Chief is the link between the living and the dead. He is high priest, and with certain tribes he may become a "god" during his lifetime. He and, to a lesser extent, other persons of the blood, possess a *mana* which even a witchdoctor does not possess. The reverence for the Chief and his family is, therefore, a quality deeply ingrained in the Abantu. A number of educated Natives, and Natives who had never been ruled by Chiefs, pleaded very strongly before the Commission for some measure of restoration of the authority of Chiefs. This reverence, if properly used, is a factor of great potential importance for the good of the Native.

36.

With few exceptions, the Chief was not constitutionally an autocrat. He ruled with the help of his council, being in most instances the mouthpiece of the will of the people, expressed in public discussion of the council. Men and sometimes women of the blood were members of the council, together with certain outstanding commoners.

37.

Apart from the status which the Chief's family derived from their blood there was very general equality, and this was maintained by social custom.

38.

As it was a dangerous thing for a commoner to become ostentatiously rich, those who possessed large herds of cattle shared them under the *sisa* custom. By this custom beasts were lent to poorer relatives ("relative" has a wide connotation among the Natives), who enjoyed the benefit of their use.

Parental Authority.

39.

Parental authority was another strong feature of this society.

"The one great law that governed there" (in a Zulu home) says Bryant, "was the law of complete submission to parental authority; and that authority was drastically enforced. Unquestioning, unanswering obedience to the supreme power was demanded without distinction, of all alike, of mothers, of sons (some of them already middle-aged men with families of their own), of every child. . . . And what each inmate of the kraal saw practised by the father, he in turn practised in his own regard, demanding of all his juniors the same measure of obedience as was demanded of him by those above".—*"Olden Times in Zululand and Natal,"* p. 76.

40. What Bryant says of a Zulu home obtained generally in Native society. This strong parental authority has been seriously undermined. Under European rule, children who wish to escape from it can, by fleeing to towns, gain asylum, and even certain personal advantages which are not available to them in the kraal.

41. Bitterly do Natives throughout the Union complain of this break-up of parental authority. The flight of young people to towns is responsible for a large measure of "detrribalization", and for a great deal of immorality.

Morals.

42. In the matter of morals the Natives had worked out a very complete system. Granted that it differed from European conventional morality, it was still a self-consistent moral system which was kept intact in Native society by the sure infliction of certain definite punishments on transgressors. This system was governed largely by the idea of *lobolo* and by the cattle-cult. Owing to a wide conception of consanguinity it made sex-relationship between certain people incestuous where such relationship would not be so regarded among Europeans.

43. The breaking down of this system of morality, more particularly in European areas, is tending to loose morals, and the fact that there are no sanctions in urban areas to secure the observance of tribal morality is one of the factors making for the trek to the towns of young Natives, female as well as male. On the other hand the Native conception of consanguinity, as far as it persists in the towns, does set bounds to the practice of indiscriminate prostitution.

Food-Supply and Cattle.

44. In the matter of food the Native in his tribal state was accustomed to a very simple regimen. He grew a small quantity of grain by primitive methods of agriculture, enough for porridge and *mahewu* and beer. Pumpkins, beans, and a considerable number of lesser crops, found in different localities, gave variety to his diet. An important constituent was *imfino*, often, but not always, prepared from the succulent tops of various plants, e.g. the pumpkin and pigweed, and served as a relish or a condiment with his porridge. *Utywala* made from sprouted grain gave, in the opinion of some present-day medical practitioners, a further vitamin content.

45. Before the time of the present disastrous overstocking, milk was plentiful. Cattle, and other animals, are slaughtered on particular and usually ritual occasions, which are frequent. Then meat is plentiful, and is eaten in enormous quantities. The craving for meat would seem to be quickened by consumption of large quantities of *utywala*, which is generally abundant on ceremonial occasions. Some of the cattle paid as fines are also eaten by the members of the *mkandlu* (council) and serve as part of the Chief's entertainment allowance.

46. The use of their herds as a source of a regular meat diet is foreign to the Natives, and this is not conducive to an alleviation of the evil of overstocking.

"Meat" writes Bryant in his "A Description of Native Food-stuffs" (1907), "is partaken of only as a luxury, not as an ordinary or indispensable article of food. Hunts are rare, only occasionally occurring, not half-a-dozen times within the year in any given locality; and, when they do occur, it is only the favoured few who are blessed with a buck or pig to bring home. Beasts are slaughtered only when weddings or other ceremonial festivities require, or when the exigencies of ancestral worship or medical treatment demand. An ordinary Native of Zululand—apart from the young men gathered together for service in a military kraal, and who lived, in a great degree, on meat alone—may not let flesh pass his mouth more than half-a-dozen times in a whole year; oftentimes less: though among the wealthier "aristocracy", of course much more frequently. Animals that have died of diseases are eaten as readily as those that are healthy. Even such infectious or noxious disease as anthrax and quarter-evil are not sufficient to deter them from partaking of the flesh of the dead beasts, the meat, of course, having been first rendered

harmless by boiling and disinfecting with such germicidal plants as the Knobthorn or *umNungwane* (*Sagara capense*) and the *ubuVimba* (*Withania somnifera*). These self-same disinfectants are used again in the case of meat already in an advanced stage of putrefaction, which, like our high venison, is by some regarded as particularly delicate".

47.

The main economic advantage derived by Natives from cattle is in the use of them for a certain amount of ploughing and transport; but in addition, in consequence of the present overstocking with the resultant negligible milk yield, cattle that die also now constitute a main economic advantage: they yield a meat supply, and the skins can always be sold.

Little Diversification in Bantu Society.

48.

In the matter of their articles of consumption there was not much difference between the highest and the lowest in the land. There was little of the diversification which marks inequality of wealth and status in more civilized communities.

"We have spoken" says Bryant, "... of 'kings' and 'queens'... Lest any exaggerated impression of greatness be therefrom inferred, let us hasten to say that these are merely 'titles of courtesy' intended to convey to the European a correct idea of comparative social relationships. From our point of view a Zulu King was no whit more majestic than any other Native man of standing; a queen no more elegant or less odoriferous than an ordinary Native housewife; their place no more magnificent than any large kraal; their kingdom no more extensive than many a Dominion farm."—"Olden Times," p. 73.

49.

Social difference, apart from that due to rank, was marked by the number of a man's wives and of his cattle.

50.

Herein the European has introduced a disintegrating factor with his diversity of articles of consumption. Luxury makes for inequality. Where there is no luxury there is little incentive to social stratification. The possibility, introduced by Europeans, of converting the surplus of one commodity into ever increasing new sources of enjoyment will put a severe strain on the Native custom of sharing food, and therefore on Native social communism.

Duties of Men and Women.

51.

There was a very clear division of labour between the sexes. The main duties of the men were defence, hunting, hut-building, and the care of cattle; and of the women, the household, the care of children, and the cultivation of fields. The European has practically deprived the men of the first two of these functions, and by giving them ox-drawn agricultural implements, has transferred part of the women's work to the men. In actual practice, except in certain advanced areas, the ploughing is largely left to adolescent boys. The cultivation of growing crops, the harvesting, have largely remained in the women's sphere. The introduction of additional needs such as clothing, education, money for paying taxes, sent a large number of men into a new sphere, that of wage labour.

52.

Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts consider that, in as far as it is true that ploughing is largely left to adolescent boys, the evidence shows this in the main to be due to need for money for taxes and food and other necessaries having compelled the majority of the adult able-bodied men to go away from their homes to work in European areas. The ploughing must perforce then be done in many areas by young boys, and sometimes even by the women.

Primitive Methods of Husbandry.

53.

The cultivation of the fields was done with hoes. In some areas these were made of fire-hardened wood, and in others, where smelting was known, of iron. Every wife, with her daughters, cultivated the fields belonging to her hut, and the harvested grain went to the grain store of her household.

54. Fields were allocated to particular families, and generally speaking their boundaries were then respected by others. This was useful in preventing possible theft of crops. As a land became less fertile through overcropping it was abandoned and another applied for and given by the Chief or his deputy. That gave the soil a rest among a people who practised neither manuring nor rotation of crops: but it was a system that could only be maintained in a thinly populated country. Under present-day conditions it can no longer be maintained. Despite European influence, the use by Natives of the alternatives of manuring and rotation remains exceptional, and more extensive education in these matters is overdue. In the absence of knowledge of better agricultural methods, the limitation of area is closely connected with the universal cry of Natives for more land.

55. The "doctoring" of land was practised, and is still common in many parts. The witchdoctor pronounced incantations and scattered certain substances over the land. In some instances a tree would be given the "power" of watching over the interests of the owner, thus acting as an ever-vigilant sentry of the spirits of the ancestors, and as a safeguard against theft of crops.

56. The breaking-up and sowing could not take place until a particular field belonging to the Chief (Suto, *serapā*), had undergone the same treatment. This ensured that these operations would be performed at a time which the experienced elders of the tribe knew to be most favourable. Under modern conditions it militates against winter-fallowing; but it can be used to subserve the end of progress. A discerning demonstrator, by getting permission to work the Chief's field as a demonstration plot, could use it to overcome at least the formal objections to winter-fallowing.

57. The Chief imposed and lifted prohibitions against cutting, say, a certain kind of tree when in the opinion of his advisers indiscriminate felling of it would tend to its extermination. This also was an economic factor and may be used by a demonstrator in winning co-operation in the same way as a Chief's *serapā* can be used.

58. Harvesting could not begin until the Chief had given the sign. Where grazing is communal this has an obvious advantage in making all the fields available for the cattle at the same time. As the winter is dry no great harm can be done to the crops by delay in harvesting.

Tribal Organization of the Abantu.

59. The foregoing résumé of the main points which are still of material significance tends to show that the Native organization was reasonable for the requirements and implications of the society by which it was developed. For that society it gave a cure for every known disease; it prescribed a proper way of dealing with every common problem; it gave a definite rôle to every individual; it prescribed proper conduct for all occasions; it gave a satisfactory explanation of all phenomena, normal or supernatural; in short it gave philosophic contentment in the security that there was always a right way of doing things, which worked for order and happiness.

60. On its reverse side it was often cruel, on account of its superstitious foundation. Natural death could occur only in old age; otherwise it was "unnatural". Anything happening out of the ordinary was a thing to be feared. That is a perfectly intelligible attitude: but it implied that people getting larger crops than the normal might come under suspicion of practising witchcraft. So a case was mentioned to your Commission of a man who had learned better methods from the Europeans, and produced a larger crop than his neighbours, who was killed, in order that the soul of husbandry which had settled on him could be distributed to the benefit of all, by the witchdoctor.

The Paramount Need for Modernizing the Tribal System.

61. The system is therefore opposed to progress, is reactionary, stagnant. Problems which it was developed to solve, such as the prevention of famine, have largely been solved by the advent of the European. New problems, arising from changes introduced by the latter, show up its weakness. The cause of this weakness is the attitude towards their environment which has been created among the Natives.

62.

Unless the tribal Natives can change this attitude for one which will permit of progress, theirs will be a dark future. Their survival as a people depends on their ability to adapt themselves to the new environment created by the impact of a higher civilization. But the system is not incapable of being utilized, transformed, improved, to serve as a basis for this adaptation. Too much has it been neglected in the past, too much of it that was valuable has been cast aside as lumber, too little has the European realized the value of starting from a basis which the Natives understood and prized, and developing from that to something higher.

63.

Many of the features described above could, with a slight change of outlook, be made to serve the ends of progress. If on the other hand those features are destroyed, it will be necessary to start afresh with a confused people who have seen many things they value rejected as worthless and know not where to turn. Whether such action be regarded from an educational or only from a purely economic standpoint, it is alike wasteful, and in conflict with the true course of progress.

The Impact of Western Civilization.

64.

The effect of the impact of Western civilization on the condition of the Bantu-speaking people was in time to change all the essential conditions on which their social system was founded.

65.

Particularly was this so in regard to land. The Native system postulated plenty of land for grazing and for cultivation. The Europeans put limits to the factors which diminished the pressure of both population and animals on land. At the same time they created new conditions which increased this pressure. Tribal war was succeeded by peace, enforced by the power of the white man, better transportation relieved famine, measures against human and animal diseases increased numbers. At the same time the white man, accustomed to a higher standard of living, occupied large territories on which the Native had hitherto fallen back in case of need.

66.

Increasing numbers began to press on land. The Native explained this phenomenon by saying "Man begets, but land does not beget". The great bulk blame the European for hemming them in, and point to the Land Act of 1913 as the repressive instrument of the white man.

67.

Leaving aside for consideration elsewhere the Natives Land Act, let us consider the fact of the change in the position of the Natives. With increasing numbers both of human beings and animals the methods hitherto found sufficient no longer met the case. Nor were they all available. War was no longer tolerated. The ruthless efficiency of the white veterinarians increased the numbers of the Native cattle and quarantine regulations limited access to the market, even in the small degree to which the Native was prepared to sell. Overpopulation became an evil in the Native territories, because numbers increased and knowledge of how to make the land itself "beget" more did not increase among the Natives or was neglected.

The Under-developed Condition of the Reserves.

68.

Overstocking followed the same path, because while the application of veterinary science prevented animal diseases from taking their full toll, next to nothing was done to teach the Natives to husband their grazing resources.

69.

The result is that we have now throughout the Reserves a state of affairs in which, with few exceptions, the carrying capacity of the soil for both human beings and animals is definitely on the downgrade; a state of affairs which, unless soon remedied, will within one or at the outside two decades create in the Union an appalling problem of Native poverty.

70.

The European rapidly changed the environment of the Native; but inside the Reserves he did very little to teach the Native how to adjust himself to the new environment. It cannot be too strongly stressed that a vast change of outlook on the part of the Native is an essential condition

for this adjustment. The sort of education required to bring about this changed outlook is, however, lacking. The natural result has been that the Native continued working his lands largely as he had done before, continued practising animal husbandry after the ways of his fathers.

71.

To what has this led? To a state of affairs in which, with the exception of a few favoured parts, a Native area can be distinguished at sight, by its bareness. Overstocking is so general in the Reserves as to have become an evil of the first magnitude. Your Commissioners wish to stress the fact that unless some limit can be placed to the universal overstocking, the very existence of large numbers of Natives in the Reserves will, in the near future, be impossible.

The Threat of the Creation of Desert Conditions.

72.

While this matter is dealt with in detail elsewhere, it is necessary here to give a brief résumé of the conditions as seen in the Reserves by your Commissioners. The worst effects of overstocking may be seen in some parts of the Ciskeian area, notably Middeldrift, Herschel, and Glen Grey. In Middeldrift there are large areas where the surface soil has been entirely eroded and no grass whatever grows. In adjoining parts the grass is being speedily supplanted by *helichrysum* and similar weeds. In Herschel and Glen Grey the vegetation of the mountainsides having almost disappeared, the rainstorms send torrents down the slopes which wash away periodically large parts of very valuable and fertile soil. These two areas with fertile valleys containing great depth of soil show some of the worst *donga* erosion in the Union. The difference between these and other areas is one of degree only. In Geluks Location actual desert conditions have in twenty years been created where once good grazing existed.

73.

Unless precautionary measures are taken against overstocking the condition in the Transkei and the Native areas in the rest of the Union will be to-morrow what that of the Ciskei is to-day. The same causes are at work there, and they will inevitably produce the same effects in the near future—denudation, donga-erosion, deleterious plant succession, destruction of woods, drying up of springs, robbing the soil of its reproductive properties, *in short the creation of desert conditions*. These are strong words, and people who have not had the opportunity of seeing conditions in detail, as your Commissioners had, may perhaps consider that the picture is overdrawn. Your Commissioners must however reiterate them, and continue reiterating them, if they hope for success in bringing to the notice of those concerned the extreme seriousness of the evil of overstocking.

74.

With the exception of certain parts of Zululand and Pondoland, every Native area is overstocked, and this overstocking will continue as long as Native cattle-holding rests primarily on a religious rather than on an economic basis.

75.

In agriculture the baneful effects of primitive subsistence economy show themselves in wholesale soil-robbery, which, save in a few localities where European agricultural methods have penetrated, seems to be the only kind of field husbandry known to the Native. Bearing in mind the exceptions already mentioned, fertilization is not practised even where there are large quantities of kraal-manure. Rotation of crops is unknown. In most areas, ploughing consists of scratching the ground once, four inches being the deepest to which Natives normally go; the use of deteriorated seed is the rule; stumps are not taken out nor, in many cases, chiefly in the Northern Transvaal, are the roots killed, so that the lands are dotted with growing bushes; it is generally regarded as satisfactory to weed the mealies once only; and the improved methods learnt and practised by the Native on the European farm are soon shed when he returns to his Reserve.

The Tribal Native must be Helped to Modernize his Outlook.

76.

It would be idle to blame the Native for all this. He acts according to his lights. He knows only his traditional methods, and nothing or little has been done to teach him others. In his primitive state, his mind is held by a system of superstition and animism, which makes it dangerous to depart too freely from the habits of his ancestors; his body is held by the agreeable *dolce far niente* which, with limited material needs in an equable climate, he regards as a sufficiency for a good life.

77. It would be unwise to try to leave the Native in this fool's paradise. His light is insufficient for the new conditions of life. His mind must be freed from his animistic conceptions if he is to create worthy conditions for his descendants. He must learn to school his body to hard work, which is not only a condition to his advance in civilization, but of his final survival in a civilized environment.

78.

Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts do not agree with the assumptions which are made in paragraphs 76 and 77. They think that already experience, as testified to by many competent witnesses, has shown that there has been among the Natives a considerable loosening of the bonds of "superstition and animism" and that their power to restrict the Natives' progress can be easily exaggerated. As to their bodies being held by an "agreeable *dolce far niente*", the facts appear from the evidence to be that the food the Natives are able to get in their Reserves is not adequate to enable them continuously to perform hard physical work; when they go to work in European industries they must first be well fed before they can undertake hard work; otherwise they run the risk of getting scurvy. As nearly all adult able-bodied male Natives go out from the Reserves to do manual labour for Europeans for some period, at least every two years, their bodies may be said to be very effectively "schooled to hard work"; the need appears to be not so much for a greater amount of hard work when they are working as a fuller development and use of their inherent ability and intelligence so that better use can be made of the hard work they are, when properly fed, capable of doing.

79.

As regards the outlook for the rural Native, this is the position. As regards the ideal of a well-organized State, it is essential to put a stop to the ruination which is taking place on all sides, to introduce among the Natives a leaven of social education which will gradually, step by step, free the masses from their anti-progressive social heritage; and to create the economic conditions for their adjustment to the environment brought by civilization.

The Threat of Under-developed Reserves to the European Community.

80.

There is almost universal complaint among the European population of the impact of the Native on their civilization. This is only to be expected from the way in which two social systems, diametrically opposed in their outlook, and inconsistent with each other, have been allowed to continue side by side without a proper understanding among each section of the possibilities of the social system of the other.

81.

The white man has developed his own area, but he has done very little for the development of the Reserves. The Natives are not able to help themselves in this respect, because they are too backward as a race, too firmly held in the grip of primitive superstition and fear; nor do they, when freed from these obstacles, see the way clearly, as does the white man. But individuals can and do break loose from the dead hand of tribalism, and aspire to something better. Where can this be found? Only in the developed areas of the European. So year after year large numbers of the more advanced Natives break away from their tribal Reserves and stream into European areas. Possessed of a desire for better things, which they have learnt from the European, urged on by aspirations which they cannot fulfil in their own areas, they yet find the lot which falls to them among the Europeans a very meagre fulfilment of their hopes. With this they are discontented, while the European is displeased at their presence and has misgivings as to the influence of their competition on his own livelihood, and regards them as a "problem".

The True Orientation of the Advanced Native.

82.

The inevitable effect of the under-development of the Reserves is that the orientation of most advanced Natives has been towards the European. Instead of finding in their own area a fruitful field for using their energies and their knowledge to uplift their own people, they have been forced out from among them and have become "exiles" elsewhere. To develop the Natives, and the Reserves; to make the dead hand of tribalism relax its grip; to convert tribalism into a progressive force; to set the Native mass

in motion on the upward path of civilization, and to enable them to shoulder the burden of their own advancement—such must be, in the opinion of your Commissioners, the main approach to the solution of the Native problem in its economic aspect.

83.

This matter is of prime importance. The free resources given by nature are not so plentiful anywhere, and particularly not in the Union, that the community can afford to leave undeveloped such a large portion as is represented by the Reserves. The most promising factor in the whole economic position is the availability for development of such large potential sources of wealth as the Reserves undoubtedly possess. In the economic development of the Reserves must inevitably be sought the main solution for the Native economic problem.

84.

Here your Commissioners wish to sound a very earnest note of warning, namely, that unless this is undertaken soon, and on a large scale, the country must assuredly expect certain serious results:

(1) The rapid extension of the process of ruination which is now almost everywhere in evidence, where excellent areas are being worked according to the very backward methods of a primitive subsistence economy.

(2) The resulting rapid diminution of the carrying capacity of the Native areas for both human beings and animals.

(3) The rapid increase in the drift to the towns which has already assumed such a magnitude as seriously to disturb the European mind, and to create grave problems of urban housing, administration, and Native morality.

85.

The economic development of the Reserves—which postulates social educational development, as hereinafter defined, of the Natives in those areas—transcends in importance every other phase of the Native economic policy. It affects directly a very large proportion of the Native population. Indirectly it is at the root of the whole Native economic question. The undeveloped state of the Reserves, with the consequent pressure of the population on the land, is largely the cause of the universal Native demand for more land. It is directly one of the important causes of the steady drift to towns: the dead uniformity of life in the Reserves results in an emigration of a large number of Natives who desire to follow occupations other than primitive pastoralism and peasant farming. This includes many of the more advanced Natives. The Reserve Natives are thus continually being deprived of many of their people who, by following more advanced methods, would gradually work like a leaven throughout Reserve communities. "The exodus of Natives with brain and education," said one witness, "is having a terrible effect on the territories."

86.

These more advanced Natives come into European areas. There they, the more ambitious, the more progressive, the more energetic members of their race, inevitably come into conflict with the white population in the industrial sphere. Who of the white race are opposed to them? Not the most vigorous, the most able, the most skilled, but the weakest members of the white race. Those in the forefront of the battle are the men who through lack of skill, ability or training, have to be satisfied with the less lucrative occupations. Moreover, if any of these show signs of developing, they are withdrawn from the line of battle, and other and weaker members of their race pushed into the breach.

87.

The effect of this state of affairs has been a growing impenetration of Natives into occupations which were formerly filled by whites, accompanied by a growing white unemployment problem.

88.

Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts do not agree that there is "a growing impenetration of Natives into occupations which were formerly filled by whites" and hold that the analogy in paragraph 86 presents a misleading picture. That there is serious unemployment among Europeans is true but it is not to any appreciable extent due to Natives working in posts formerly filled by Europeans. The number of Natives doing or trained to do skilled work in occupations which the Europeans regard as their preserve is negligible. Unemployment among Europeans appears to be due in the main to the increase in the number of Europeans who have been driven by economic causes from

the land. They have not the skill or training to enable them to engage in skilled work. The only work of which in their present position they are capable is labourer's work, but they cannot maintain a European standard of living on the wage paid to labourers. Thus in practice such work, while open to Natives with their lower standard of living, is not available to Europeans. Until recently Europeans have not engaged at all in work of this kind but under Government subsidy, which makes the wage two or three times that usually paid to Natives, a number of Europeans is now being employed by public or Government-aided bodies on unskilled work, thus causing, for example on the Railways, a reduction in the number of posts open to and formerly filled by Natives.

89.

Owing to his virtual exclusion from unskilled work the European has not been able to find his way into certain higher classes of work. Through employment in labourer's work many labourers acquire the skill necessary for various kinds of semi-skilled work. Thus the European, being excluded from labourer's work, has been prevented from becoming qualified for such semi-skilled work, while Natives through working as labourers have become qualified for it. This handicap on the European has been aggravated by the fact that Natives when they are so qualified and actually do such semi-skilled work seldom get a wage higher than that which is customary for labourer's work. As the European did not undertake unskilled or become qualified for such semi-skilled work he cannot be said to have been driven out of it.

90.

Through the under-development of the Reserves Natives are driven to European areas and there the low wages paid for labouring work confine it to Natives while there is a serious and growing problem of unemployment among Europeans.

91.

Apart from specific urban problems which this immigration has caused, it has had a profound effect in creating in the minds of the majority of the European community serious misgivings as to the future of the white race in this country, for which we feel there is only too much justification if the economic position of Natives in the Reserves is not speedily improved.

92.

Your Commissioners have given long and serious thought to this question, which lies at the root of the whole Native economic problem, and in a wider sense, of the South African economic problem. We wish to express our conviction that in the past the Native has been given an entirely mistaken economic orientation. Through failure on the part of both Europeans and Natives to visualise the problem of the development of the Reserves, their carrying capacity has remained low. The maintenance of peace has encouraged the growth of population. European medical facilities, although meagre in relation to the large Native population, have tended the same way. Measures for combating animal diseases have largely increased the number of cattle. Normally, this should have increased the capacity of the country for carrying population; but the Natives' non-economic cattle outlook caused it to have an opposite effect. Overstocking even reduced the milk yield in spite of a large increase in the number of cattle. The recruiting of Natives for European industries and the need for cash had before this brought out large numbers to the European areas. As these factors gained in intensity and were reinforced by the filling up of the Reserves, the direction from which more income could be obtained was clear. The developed European areas began to support part of the Native population of the underdeveloped Reserves. As long as the Native was "raw", fit only for the crudest manual labour—which was wanted in plenty by the mines—the flow was looked upon by the European as a necessity, was even encouraged. We can go further and state that while this stage lasted it was beneficial to the European, in giving him labour, always scarce in a new country; and to the Native, in giving him an income and accustoming him to European methods of industry.

93.

But inevitably the same factors produced a further development. Education and contact with civilization gave a proportion of the Natives a taste for things better than could be obtained with the wages of the lowest form of manual labour. Where could these higher wages be obtained?

The undeveloped state of the Reserves limited them as a potential field. The most natural thing for the more progressive Natives would have been to use their energies in the advance of their own people. This indeed is their true orientation. But the Reserves offered a limited field for them. The alternative was to go to the towns.

94.

And so the process goes on. While there is lying fallow a great field of development of civilization in the Reserves, a large proportion of the Natives who have shown most progress are being drawn away from their own areas to compete with a section of the Europeans who are already struggling hard to maintain their own standards.

95.

Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts do not agree that the more advanced Natives come out to European areas to obtain employment there. The more advanced of the Native people, without exception, find employment as teachers, ministers, doctors, clerks, agricultural demonstrators among their own people. The movement of Natives to the towns is controlled by their need for money and not by any desire to oust the white man. The fact should be stressed that they must have money to meet the obligations of themselves and their families. This they cannot obtain in the Reserves.

The Proper Economic Synthesis of our Wealth-producing Factors.

96.

The cure, the proper economic synthesis of our wealth producing factors, lies in a wise, courageous, forward policy of development of the Reserves. A large proportion of the Reserves possesses agricultural potentialities which are not exceeded elsewhere in the Union. It would be wise to develop the wealth producing capacity of these excellent areas and thus secure a larger amount to go round, rather than to allow a continuance of the present struggle between black and white for a larger share in the wealth being produced from the developed areas. With these areas developed to a reasonably productive level there should be enough to make possible friendly co-operation between the races.

97.

It is manifestly impossible and, even if it were possible, undesirable for the European population of the Union to shoulder the material burden of raising to a civilized level a Native population outnumbering them by three to one. The Natives, however, require the guidance of the Europeans; they also require the initiation of the upward move to come from without. But the necessary energy and the effort must be supplied by them. How can this initiation best be given?

98.

Your Commissioners consider that it should be given by the inauguration of more progressive methods, particularly in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, as these still form the basis of subsistence for the great bulk of the Natives. As they produce more and more so will they have successive increments available for advancing themselves.

99.

The present level of efficiency of the Natives in European industry, and to an even greater extent in their own agricultural and pastoral activities, is low, and there is here a vast field for improvement.

Agricultural Demonstrators.

100.

Your Commissioners were impressed by the almost unanimous testimony of witnesses to the progressive influence exerted by the work of Native agricultural demonstrators. Progress in work of this nature must necessarily be slow at first. It involves overcoming not only the prejudices of a backward people but also many ideas rooted in their whole religious conception. In this respect it is encouraging to observe that some of the least progressive tribes have become enthusiastic supporters of the demonstrators.

101.

There is such extensive scope for progress in this direction that your Commission feels that money should be made available for training and employing as many demonstrators as can be usefully placed in the various Reserves. This will give young educated Natives, a class now apt to be

dissatisfied with their prospects, an excellent field of work for the improvement of their own people, while the results in the saving and husbanding of valuable soil, increasing the production of the Reserves, and improving the efficiency of the Natives generally will, we feel assured, be such as to make the expenditure very profitable.

102.

There are now 155 Native demonstrators at work in the Union. The Director of Native Agriculture informed us that he had plotted out the whole country in accordance with area and density of population, and that on this basis about 400 demonstrators would be the minimum required to make any real impression during the next ten years. Your Commissioners are of opinion that this number is a conservative estimate of requirements, and consider that no stone should be left unturned to reach this total in as short a period as is consistent with proper training.

Overstocking is a Pressing Danger to the Natives and to the Country.

103.

The appalling seriousness of the evil of overstocking has been described above. Your Commissioners have taken much evidence on the question whether educative measures will in a reasonable time be sufficient to cope with the evil. At the rate at which it is developing in the Reserves, it bids fair to convert many of these into deserts. It is well on the way to do this in the Middeldrift area, and it has already done it in other parts of Africa, e.g. parts of Kenya. Describing such conditions in that Colony, the Agricultural Commission of 1929, presided over by Sir Daniel Hall, reported:

“ No space would be big enough for the Wakamba so long as they only aim at increasing the number of their stock without utilising them ”.—Report, p. 29.

Our problem is therefore not only, as it is in agriculture, to teach the Natives how to use their land more economically, but it is also a race against time, to prevent the destruction of large grazing areas, the erosion and denudation of the soil, and the drying-up of springs.

104.

Your Commission considers that while education of the Natives on the evil of overstocking should be pressed forward as widely and intensively as possible, this alone will not suffice to save the Reserves. The evil should be attacked in every practicable way, and all avenues should be explored which might lead to a reduction in the number of cattle, and to the maintenance of better methods for the future.

105.

Even if the Natives' conception of cattle is sufficiently modified to allow them to trade freely with their cattle there will still remain a serious cause of overstocking in the communal system of grazing, as it is at present applied. Under this system, although many or even a majority of the Natives in a location may be fully convinced of the folly and danger of overstocking, it is not possible by the voluntary act of individual owners to bring about any necessary limitation of the number of cattle grazing on the commonage. If one owner reduces the number of his cattle any other owner is free correspondingly to increase his number.

106.

At the root of the whole evil, as already pointed out, is the outlook of the great bulk of the Natives in the Reserves, the religious rather than the economic way of regarding cattle. It is difficult for a Native to sell cattle in cold blood. Education must accordingly be directed towards modernizing his outlook; otherwise all other measures will be purely temporary in their good effects.

Demonstration Locations and Overstocking.

107.

It would be of great benefit to have demonstration locations at various points to serve as an object-lesson in the benefits of farming with good stock. Wherever in Reserves the people are prepared to limit the number of their stock, special measures of encouragement should be given. In such cases boundary fencing, and a certain amount of paddocking, are essential prerequisites. Locations which desire to adopt these improvements should receive fencing loans on liberal terms. Such locations should be provided with specially trained demonstrators, to guide the people in the economic utilization of their stock. They should be assisted as far as possible to sell their scrub stock and buy better animals. But at this point a word of warning is necessary. It is useless to introduce better stock if they are to

be left to struggle for their existence under the conditions obtaining in the Reserves to-day. Better feeding, either by hand or by grazing, is essential if improvement of breed is to be maintained. The present scrub stock has at least a high survival value under the strenuous conditions it is called upon to meet, and the danger of ill-considered attempts at improvement would lie in the possibility of merely exchanging it for pure bred scrubs which would have no such advantage. The Director of Native Agriculture drew the attention of your Commission to certain valuable qualities possessed by some of the Zulu strains of cattle, particularly the white, and in our opinion every effort should be made to preserve this strain and extend its development. Facilities for the marketing of dairy produce, and for the sale of surplus cattle, are essential to the success of such demonstration locations. Limitation to the carrying capacity of the land should of course be a strict condition of the grant of these special facilities. The Natives in Vryburg, Mafeking, and elsewhere, have already commenced dairy farming. Natives in Glen Grey have, under the pressure of economic stress, voluntarily approached their Native Commissioner with requests for assistance to fence.

108.

Another factor in the problem of overstocking is represented by donkeys and goats, which are very destructive of vegetation. It is most desirable that steps should be taken to limit the number of these animals in Reserves. Horned cattle as we show elsewhere in our Report fill an important part in the religious life of tribal Natives; but not so donkeys, and there seems to be no reason why any particular difficulty should be experienced in reducing these animals in Reserves where such action would be to the economic advantage of the local Natives; moreover, we think it might be possible to enlist the co-operation of the leaders of the Natives in this respect.

Stock Markets and Overstocking.

109.

Any scheme to deal with the problem of overstocking will have to face the question of marketing the present surplus stock. It is of no use transferring animals from one overstocked area to another. It is imperative that large numbers be slaughtered and converted to the best economic use. While the Native is generally averse to selling, circumstances will force a large number of cattle into a market, if such can be found. The Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories estimated that the Natives owe the traders an amount which if paid in cattle would represent about 20 per cent. of the cattle in the Territories. Much the same state of affairs obtains in most Native areas. This represents a point at which the evil can be profitably attacked, if markets are made available.

110.

Your Commissioners are much impressed by the extreme importance of finding such markets, if the grazing in the Reserves is to be saved. The question of how and where markets can be found is a matter for experts in this field. We should however be failing in the charge entrusted to us if we did not draw attention to the most pressing urgency and danger of the present state of affairs, and to the necessity of finding some outlet.

111.

Even when present numbers are reduced to reasonable proportions the problem of preventing the evil from recurring will be with us still.

112.

The Native, as we have explained, is not in the habit of slaughtering regularly for food. In any case there is the difficulty that the slaughter of a beast makes available a large quantity of meat which cannot be consumed economically by the family. If, by the organization of a trade in meat, the Native population could be persuaded to introduce this into their regular diet, a large local market would become available to the benefit of all. If the Natives will eat their cattle, it will help materially in preventing the cattle from eating out the Natives.

113.

There is a clamant demand on the part of the Natives for trading rights. The difficulties associated with this are dealt with elsewhere. We would at this stage, however, draw attention to the desirability of allowing Natives to have butchers' licences in the Reserves on the payment of a nominal fee for registration.

NOTE.—See observation by Mr. Lucas in paragraph 80 of Addendum.

Land Purchase by Natives and Overstocking.

114.

Another point at which pressure can be brought to bear, always assuming the existence of a market, is in the matter of land purchase. An organization to receive cattle when Natives wish to raise cash to buy land would provide another way in which Natives might be prepared to part with cattle. The possibility of success of such a scheme is shown by the fact that in 1926 the Additional Native Commissioner of Sekukuniland persuaded the Natives in that area to agree to sell 10,000 head of cattle, for which they were expected to receive an average of £3 per head. He was, however, not allowed to carry out the scheme, which was therefore dropped, although the Natives were willing to proceed with it.

Fencing and Overstocking.

115.

Education will have to shoulder a large part of the burden of preventing a relapse into the evils of the present system of Native stockholding; but by itself this can hardly achieve the object. The European farmer cannot farm with a good class of stock unless he has the advantage of fencing, and the Native, even more than the European, will require this aid. Fencing is an aid to the more economical use of grazing, but in Reserves it is essential for the very maintenance of the available grazing. Over large parts of the Reserves the good grasses no longer get an opportunity of seeding. The mixed grazing of cattle, donkeys, sheep, and goats leads to the destruction, down to the roots, of much of the good grass. Deleterious plant succession is rapidly reducing the carrying capacity of the veld. On the other hand wherever ground is fenced in, for example in the anti-soil-erosion camps, the good grass re-establishes itself in a short time. It is essential to make provision to rest the grazing. Under the present conditions even should an advanced location desire to adopt limitation of stock, it is at the mercy of all the surrounding locations.

116.

The magnitude of the problem is appalling. But the problem which will present itself, if the Reserves continue at their present rapid pace towards desert conditions, will be even greater and more appalling. A start should be made with location boundary fencing wherever possible. But even this would only be a start. The division of the location into at least two paddocks is almost as essential.

117.

The maintenance of these fences would at first present some difficulty. Natives have yet to learn the proper use and care of fences; and their love of their cattle is so great that many, faced with imminent starvation of their overcrowded herds, would at first not scruple to break through during the night if good grazing were available on the other side. The application of the spoor law has been recommended to deal with such cases. It is a method known to, and approved by, the Natives. Its application would have to be left largely in the hands of the Natives themselves, and this would fit into the system of administration recommended elsewhere in this Report.

Lobolo and Overstocking.

118.

Your Commission has considered very fully the question of lobolo in as far as it affects the evil of overstocking. A large number of witnesses expressed the view that the lobolo custom is the chief cause of overstocking. The argument is: the Native requires cattle for lobolo and must accumulate enough; there is therefore regular hoarding of cattle; this is accentuated by the fact that "lobolo cattle never die"; as number, and not quality, counts, the effect on cattle breeding is the reverse of progressive.

119.

Substitutes for cattle are known all over the country, a big impetus having been given to their use by rinderpest, and by East Coast Fever with the accompanying quarantine regulations. The fiction that cattle pass in lobolo transactions is, however, always observed, so that the link with the religious background is maintained. Except where money is used, substitution does not seem to reduce the overstocking, but by extending the mixing of flocks and herds on the same pasturage it probably has an even worse effect. Where money is used it is frequently converted into stock on the first suitable occasion.

120.

Other witnesses of at least equal competence deny the proposition that lobolo is the cause of overstocking. They admit that a large number of cattle is required to maintain the system, but they point out that there is something even more fundamental and far-reaching in its effect, viz.: the rôle that cattle play in the Native conception of life, the cattle-cult or cattle complex. This being what it is, cattle are used in all important relations, and of these the most important in Native society is marriage. Your Commissioners are of opinion that this view is based on a more penetrating analysis of Native life, than that which links overstocking purely to lobolo.

121.

Consideration must also be given to the fundamental importance of lobolo in Native life. Without it Native society would be like a ship without a rudder. The subject is further explored elsewhere in this Report, but at this point your Commission wishes to express its conviction that no useful approach to the problem of overstocking is possible at this stage by the path of modification of the lobolo custom.

122.

The agricultural development of the Reserves will in all cases bring to the fore the question of manuring. The use even of kraal manure is at present the exception rather than the rule. This is due largely to—

- (1) lack of knowledge, or to
- (2) "its not being the custom", or to
- (3) the additional labour entailed both in carting the manure on to the lands and to the extra cultivation which it involves.

But even if all these causes were removed there would still be the fuel question in large areas, notably in the Transkei and adjoining districts. The Transkeian Bunga, and the Forestry Department, have done some useful work in this respect, but a great deal remains to be done. The question of poles and laths for hut-building is also involved. Until there are enough plantations to supply fuel it is idle to expect that kraal-manure will be widely used as fertilizer. Yet this would be the cheapest and most useful fertilizer available to the Natives.

European-owned Stock in Reserves.

123.

The attention of your Commission was drawn to the fact that European-owned stock is grazed in various parts of Reserves. In view of the already overstocked condition of the Reserves this is very undesirable. It would appear that this practice is not in conflict with the provisions of the Natives Land Act. On the other hand it is certainly in conflict with the spirit of the Act, and it should be prohibited.

124.

In view of the ever-increasing overstocking in the Native areas, a statement has been obtained from the Department of Native Affairs showing what the present position is in regard to the holding of stock in Reserves by non-resident Natives and by non-Natives (Annexure 12). The holding of such stock in the Reserves for a limited period after the ravages of rinderpest and East Coast fever was undoubtedly a great boon to Native residents. Then it harmonised with the Native idea of the sharing of benefits. To-day it cannot be justified on that ground; indeed, the practice may be said to be now definitely in conflict with the Native system of communal grazing, since it no longer confers any benefit on Native residents but, on the contrary, is positively harmful. Your Commissioners would accordingly urge the desirability of active steps being taken to have such stock removed from the Reserves as soon as possible, and to the strictest limitation being imposed on the holding of stock in Reserves by persons other than Natives.

125.

We are of the opinion that the accepting of stock in Reserves as security for credit is in existing circumstances an objectionable practice, and that it can cease to be objectionable only if such stock is converted into money within a specified short time-limit.

126.

We consider that if proper warning is given to Natives and others concerned that the State intends to take these steps, any minor hardship which might result would be more than compensated by the benefit which would follow.

Communal Grazing and Inequality in Stockholding.

127.

Communal grazing presupposes a large measure of equality in stockholding among tribesmen. Among the Natives the *sis*a custom has the effect of reducing the worst evils of inequality. None the less, Natives who own large numbers of stock get an altogether undue share of the grazing and of the money spent on dipping in areas like Zululand where this is paid out of the Local Tax. An instance was quoted to the Commission where the cattle of one Native cost £32 per annum in dipping fees, toward which he himself contributed 10s.

128.

Perhaps the worst forms of this inequality were reported in the Queens-town Reserves where a European holding a four morgen lot (the Land Act does not apply in the Cape Province) runs 1,000 sheep, and a Native no fewer than 2,000 sheep, on the commonage. On all sides there is evidence that inequality in stockholding is considerable and on the increase. The very basis of communal grazing is therefore being seriously undermined. While this system lasts the inequality is reacting unfairly on the interests of the community as a whole.

129.

Mr. Lucas suggests that in these circumstances it should be practicable to persuade the Natives in Reserves to restore equality of rights in communal grazing. The tribe, by requiring each member to pay into the tribal fund—that fund being under the control of the tribe for its own exclusive use and benefit—a charge for each head of his stock grazing on the commonage, would restore that equality and make grazing land really the common property of the tribe. This system would have the added advantages of encouraging owners to keep fewer and better cattle than are being kept at present, and of preventing Natives or Europeans who live outside the Reserves from sending their cattle on to the commonage, unless they pay the grazing charge to the tribe to which the land belongs.

130.

In both ways overstocking would be reduced. In respect of land acquired by Natives in any "released areas," it should be stipulated that the total number of cattle must not exceed a certain figure, and that such a grazing charge must be made in respect of all stock.

131.

Many witnesses suggested a limitation of the number of cattle which might be held by one person on tribal land. Any form of limitation of stock by prescribing such a maximum number would not be practicable. It could not be effectively administered, because, to prevent overstocking, the limit would have to be so low as to preclude the more progressive Native from having enough oxen for his ploughing or transport needs while under the *sis*a custom many Natives would still be able to continue the inequality in stockholding which has been referred to in paragraphs 127 and 128.

Water Supply.

132.

In certain areas measures for the provision of a surface water supply are urgently needed. Considerable areas, e.g. in Sekukuniland, Potgietersrust, Rustenburg, and Matatiele, could be more profitably employed if drinking water were available for cattle within a reasonable radius. At present a great deal of land is being entirely denuded by cattle movements to the few water centres, and even then in some cases the animals drink only every alternate day. In some areas during dry periods they have to trek from eight to ten miles to water.

133.

There are certain areas throughout the Reserves which can, with a suitable scheme, be advantageously irrigated, and in some areas this is being done.

134.

Provided sufficient safeguards are observed against over-capitalization, there are certain advantages in irrigation in Native areas above European areas. As the land is communal all the advantages are shared by the community which provides the funds, in contradistinction to European areas where vested rights frequently derive an unearned increment from expenditure on irrigation works. As the Natives are already small-holders, irrigation

plots suit their form of organization. On the other hand irrigation water in the hands of people who are ignorant of its proper use constitutes a danger to the soil. Progress in this direction should therefore be carefully watched from the point of view of over-capitalization and of suitable agricultural education of the plottolders.

135.

Under the Native Taxation and Development Act provision is made whereunder a "community" may tax itself for an approved purpose. Unfortunately the legal ruling is that "community" means a location. In some cases a small number of plottolders would benefit by irrigation works, but it is obviously futile to expect that the whole location will agree to a levy to provide this differential advantage to a few. The Act is therefore not sufficiently elastic to meet the needs described, and should be amended in this particular.

*Erosion and Soil-reclamation.***136.**

Much valuable work is being done in certain areas in anti-erosion and soil reclamation work. Erosion is the result of a species of living on one's capital. By overstocking more is demanded from the soil than it can yield, and this results in a state of affairs which can only be remedied by the expenditure of a great deal of fresh capital. Many areas are so badly eroded that the cost of reclamation would considerably exceed the value of the soil. Particularly is this the case in the fertile valleys of Herschel, with its deep soil, and in Glen Grey. Where existing dongas threaten other areas, it is wise expenditure to stop them.

137.

Where the evil is attacked in good time, and the Natives are willing to do the work themselves, it can be cured with very little cost.

*Afforestation is a Condition of Agricultural Progress.***138.**

Provision for the establishment of numerous small forests should therefore be made. Each location should have its plantation or plantations, properly fenced and properly controlled as regards the right to cut wood. At present Natives frequently object to the enclosing of land for this purpose, because it involves a limitation of grazing. A Bunga delegate, at the 1931 session, said characteristically in regard to a proposal to fence off areas for thatching grass: "The mover of the motion takes pity on the grass, but he has no pity for the cattle."

139.

This is a problem which largely concerns the Transkei. It should become one of the duties of district councils to lay down and maintain a sufficient number of location plantations to meet the needs of their area.

*Scope must be Given for Advanced Natives in Reserves.***140.**

The development of the Reserves as areas where the advanced Native may find wider scope for his abilities involves a question of land policy of outstanding importance. At present the general rule in the Transkei is "One man one lot". In actual practice this means, with the scarcity of arable land, and the extensive use of excellent arable soil as grazing, that individual holdings are from three to five morgen in extent and sometimes even smaller. On the top of this there are many married men who have only residential sites, and no lands whatever. In the seven surveyed districts of the Transkei it was estimated from the tax records that, in 1928-1929, 11,000 married hut owners had no arable plots. In Victoria East there were 1,700 surveyed allotments in 1928, as against 2,776 adult male Natives.

141.

It has been the policy hitherto to give each family head as far as possible a land to work. This has meant that with certain exceptions, no one may have two lands. The rule is strictly enforced in the surveyed districts, and is common elsewhere.

142.

In these circumstances there is little scope for differentiation of functions. Every man must be a small farmer, whether he has any ability that way or not. Moreover as he cannot concentrate on one job he cannot become an employer of labour. He is his own builder, painter, shoemaker, smith. There is next to no scope in the Reserves for Natives trained in these handicrafts. There is no division of labour and everybody remains at a low level of skill in all the occupations. Those who have learnt some trade or other either go into the European areas, or revert to small peasant farming and in time lose much of what they had learnt.

143.

It seems to us that the Union has come to the parting of the ways in this matter. If the country is to go forward on the assumption that every Native in the Reserves, with the exception of a few employees of Government or of missionary societies or of traders, must be a peasant, the rule of one man one lot must needs continue. But your Commission is of opinion that this involves the maintenance of a system which cannot continue except on a very low economic level. It confines the development of special gifts in individuals within very narrow bounds, and deprives the individual and the community of the immense economic value which the development of such gifts under the influence of the division of labour has had in the progress of civilization. If scope is not given for this development that system will drain the Reserves of all the abler and more enterprising individuals who are not satisfied with such a narrow basis of existence, and drive them to the European areas where they are unwelcome.

144.

There is reasonable ground for doubt whether the standard of agriculture in the Reserves would have remained so uniformly low if more scope had been given to individual Natives to secure and work larger lands. In its tours the Commission came across instances of Natives who, profiting from the opportunity of securing more land, had bent their energies to the task of developing this, and had made a marked success of their undertaking. Bearing in mind the ease with which the tribal Native is satisfied and decides that greater effort is not worth while, these instances appeal to us as cases where substantial progress towards civilization has been achieved. The system now obtaining in the Reserves militates against such progress. Your Commission while bearing in mind the advantage to the Native of always being assured of a holding, considers that this system can only be maintained at the cost of progress, and that the time has come when the limitation of land-holding should be somewhat relaxed in the surveyed districts of the Transkei.

145.

It is not the view of the Commission that this should encourage non-beneficial occupation of the land, nor that it should open the door for land speculation. There should still be an upper limit, not to exceed, say, 50 morgen of dry land. For the present the proposal is necessarily confined to surveyed areas. It is suggested that in such areas individual Natives may be allowed to secure additional lands (not building sites) up to the prescribed limit.

146.

Mr. Lucas suggests that non-beneficial occupation would be discouraged, if not totally prevented, by the substitution for quit rent and taxation, in the areas to which the foregoing proposal is to apply, of a rent charge based on the unimproved value of the land and re-assessed at reasonable intervals. Such a rent, while providing the revenue necessary for the area, would make it unprofitable for a present or absentee plot-holder to hold land idle and would make land speculation impossible, while it would also make contributions to the tribal revenue depend on the benefits conferred on the payer by the tribe in the form of a right to use tribal land. It would conform to the tribal concept that land is the common property of the tribe.

147.

The limitation of such a right to seven districts in the Transkei and a few in the Ciskei will give an excellent opportunity for a study to be made of the economic progress under the system. It will be easy to stop the experiment if the results expected from it, in a quickening of economic progress, do not follow.

The Effect of Survey.

148.

The principle of extending European ideas in land-holding to Native areas was adopted as early as the grant of the so-called Sir George Grey titles, and was applied on a large scale under the Glen Grey Act in the district of that name, and subsequently in the seven surveyed districts of the Transkei. Your Commission made careful inquiries to ascertain whether the survey by giving individual title had had the effect in improvement of methods, which the scheme was intended to bring about. The opinion of witnesses best qualified to judge is that while the possession of the title gives the Native a large measure of personal satisfaction, there is very little difference to be noticed in the way in which land is worked as between

surveyed and unsurveyed districts. The work of the demonstrators has in this respect borne much more fruit. The nett economic effect up to the present would seem to be that the Natives paid out a large sum of money in survey fees, while any increase in production has been negligible and high land values have been created.

149.

Your Commission, however, hesitates to condemn survey on these grounds. It is more inclined to criticize the system under which is was granted. Either the survey should not have been introduced, or it should have gone further than it did. If the idea was to secure the added interest of private ownership of land, this should have been consistently applied. The granting of a title deed and the beaconing off of plots is not enough to secure economic progress. There is no magic in individual title to overcome the inertia of custom. Survey introduced the setting for progress, but instruction in better methods was required to enable advantage to be taken of it. Most of the Natives did not know how to set about improving their holdings. Many were satisfied if they got from them what they got before. But our chief criticism is that the holdings were not big enough to make agriculture a whole-time job for those who had the energy, the desire, and the skill so to make it, and the system made no provision for development to meet the needs of such men. On these grounds we consider that the change recommended above is a logical sequence of the survey and that it should be given a fair and reasonable trial.

150.

There are other matters in regard to the survey which your Commission also considers open to criticism. The object was to enlist the force of personal interest in the cause of progress. This should have developed to proper peasant farming. Under the conditions of the surveyed areas it cannot, however, attain any degree of success except on a basis by which the peasant can derive the fullest value not only of his soil, but also out of his stock. The latter he must keep both for his milk supply and for ploughing. Communal grazing must necessarily be controlled, if it is to be allowed at all before any good return is to be obtained from stock. But, until recently there was not a single fence on all the commonages of the surveyed areas, and even now there are very few. A much more instructed peasantry than the Native is could not make a success of small farming under such conditions. The district of Glen Grey in which this system has been longest in force is today going backward, and has been going backward for many years.

The Transition from Pastoralism to Agriculture should be Facilitated.

151.

The development of areas such as Glen Grey and the surveyed districts of the Transkei in particular and the Reserves in general must, wherever agricultural conditions make this possible, take the line of the change over from pastoralism to agriculture. This means that more and more land must come under the plough as time goes on. Even from the point of view of increasing the stock-carrying capacity of the land this is desirable, since cultivated land can be worked so as to yield grazing while the veld is non-productive. When the surveys were made, however, certain lands then in use were surveyed and the rest declared commonage. In Glen Grey very few separate building sites were surveyed, so that the bulk of the people are now squatting on the commonage. It was provided that with two-thirds of the plot-holders more lands might be surveyed. As the survey of new lands further restricts commonage, and as the Native considers that this reduces his grazing, he is naturally loath to agree to it. Consent has been granted in a few cases. It is, however, difficult to get more land for the plough, although a great deal that is now grazing is of as good quality as the surveyed arable. Your Commission considers that the provision requiring the consent of two-thirds of the plot-holders before more land may be surveyed, militates against the most economical use of the land, and that it should be abolished.

Certain Arable Lands in the Reserves should be made Available for Allocation.

152.

Our attention has also been drawn to the fact that in Glen Grey the surveyors, in marking off arable lots, left numerous plots unsurveyed which were not large enough for a normal holding. These lands are dispersed between the various arable plots. They serve a useful purpose at present in leaving some land on which the grass can seed during the summer when the animals are kept away from the cultivated lands. They could, however,

be more usefully employed as garden lots. As they are not surveyed it is at present not possible to give them out with Glen Grey title. A certain number was at one time given out by the Native Commissioner under certificate of occupation, but it was found that this was not legal and the issue of certificates was stopped. We are informed that there are about 2,000 morgen of such lands in the district. As there are about 4,000 landless Local Tax payers, some of whom are now sharing the surveyed plots with their owners, the giving out of these lands would relieve the pressure considerably. Your Commission is of opinion that the necessary steps should be taken to make this possible.

153.

In the unsurveyed Native areas the lands are in many cases wastefully dispersed. Instead of land adjoining land in an orderly way they lie scattered over the countryside higgledy-piggledy, as if a giant gambler has thrown them out of a dice pot. Much valuable arable soil is wasted in this way. The Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories informed the Commission that a certain amount of order had been brought about by a re-allocation of the lands which was carried out under his authority. Owing to lack of staff it could not be done generally. He estimated that an amount of £2,000 per district on the average would suffice to complete the work. In this way much idle land could be brought into use. Bearing in mind that sooner or later the work will have to be done, it seems to us that the shortage of land for Natives makes the present an opportune time to carry it out. The Chief Magistrate stated that there would be no practical difficulty in making any such re-allocation, but that the district councils could not bear the expense.

154.

In other areas of the Union the Commission found the same general state of affairs. Outside the Transkei the position is more complicated. The Chief is still generally the power that allocates lands. In addition the matter is mixed up with Native custom of landownership as explained in the next paragraph. Your Commission considers that this could suitably be dealt with by tribal councils of the type recommended elsewhere in this Report.

155.

In certain areas land lies idle for long periods on account of the custom attaching it to a particular family. In Sekukuniland the Additional Native Commissioner managed to bring a good deal of such land under cultivation by intimating that if the owners left it derelict the land would be re-allocated. This is however exceptional. In many parts the attention of the Commission was drawn to this type of idle land. A plot is given to a family and no one else dare work it without that family's consent, even if it is lying idle.

156.

It is theirs to use, by right of Native law, although this right may be curtailed. When the land is worked out, or is considered to be too far away from a kraal, the kraal head applies for another plot, and may or may not relinquish the old one. If he does not relinquish it, it is allowed to lie fallow so long as may be needed, perhaps for some years. The owner is not deprived of his right even if he goes away from his kraal for a long period: in such instances it is customary that someone is left in charge during his absence. It is possible to deal with such cases under Native custom, but this should be rationalized and applied as a matter of course by the Native Commissioner, through the tribal council.

157.

In some Reserves the Natives have under their custom a reasonably secure right to the arable plots allotted to them. In others their holdings may be at the mercy of a grasping Chief or headman; there were quoted to us numerous instances of enlightened Natives who, having made better use than the average of their plots, were on some pretext or other deprived of them.

Title in Surveyed Areas.

158.

In the surveyed areas the title given has hitherto been subject to forfeiture in certain circumstances such as conviction for certain crimes. In Glen Grey the title may by proclamation be altered from time to time, which means that it is far from being a secure title.

159.

Under the Native Administration Act of 1927, Native law is to govern succession to land held under quit rent title—the title generally applicable to most, if not all, surveyed areas. Although this does not actually affect the security of the title it has the same effect as an insecure title in the mind of Native owners who have become accustomed to European ideas. Such an owner will maintain that there is no security for him for any improvements he may make, if on his death they must go with the land to his male heirs under Native law. Such an heir, if the owner has daughters only, may be a "red" Native and a total stranger, in which event the daughters may get no benefit from their father's labour and expenditure on the land. In these circumstances there is certainly no security for the family of an owner, whose only children are girls.

The Need for Good Seed.

160.

In the opinion of the Commission it is important that Natives should have the encouragement to industry which flows from securing to the occupier the fruits of his labour on the land and protection in the possession of the improvements he makes on it.

161.

Facilities for the provision of good seed is essential to Native agricultural progress. At present deteriorated seed is being very widely used with understandably poor results on the crop. The rawest Native soon realizes the benefit of good seed, and he has no customs militating against its use.

NOTE.—See observation by Mr. Lucas in paragraph 79 of Addendum.

Concentration of Building Sites.

162.

Your Commission heard a good deal of evidence on the subject of concentration of building sites. The custom in this respect differs in various parts. Among the Suto-Chuana-Venda tribes one finds considerable villages, while among the Zulu-Xosa-Pondo tribes the huts are broadcast over the countryside.

163.

The advantage of this latter arrangement lies partly in satisfying the desire for privacy, but it has also its advantages from a health point of view in a community where sanitary arrangements are left to the sun, the pigs, dogs, and fowls. The system further overcomes the difficulty of water supply, and one does not see, as in some parts of the Transvaal, the same pool serving as cattle drinking-pool and as the source of supply of domestic water for the human population. On the other hand there are manifest disadvantages from the point of view of the most economical use of the land. The setting aside of "spaarveld", or indeed any arrangement for resting any part of the grazing becomes well-nigh impossible. When fencing becomes general this dispersion of huts will introduce serious difficulties. As things are now, since cattle are brought home to the kraal at night (the lands being unfenced) the countryside is covered with innumerable stock-paths, which further reduce the grass-covered area. All of them are potential sources of erosion. This evil is increased by the number of footpaths made by human beings.

164.

From both a social and an economic point of view there are advantages in the concentration of building sites. People living together form a better basis for the development of social life, and the provision of education and medical facilities is made easier. Isolation tends to breed an anti-social type, while contact makes for progress. On the economic side the absence of proper sanitation militates against the development of pig and poultry industries. The absence of villages also means an absence of centres from which industrial and commercial developments can proceed, and in which amusements can be organized—useful aids in keeping the people on the land. In the sugar belt the danger of fire where homesteads are scattered makes grouping into villages essential.

165.

The path of progress will be on the line of concentration of building sites, and while the pace will naturally be slow, the ultimate goal should be kept in view in all land arrangements which have a bearing on this subject.

*Agricultural Credit Facilities.***166.**

Agricultural advancement has brought to the fore in certain areas, and for certain more advanced Natives, the question of credit facilities. This, however, is a subject which must be treated with great care and foresight. Several members of the Transkeian Bunga expressed the view that the individual Native can only in exceptional circumstances be trusted with the borrowing of money. Their great fear is that such money will not be used for productive purposes, but will soon be wasted, leaving the borrower in a worse position.

167.

There are undoubtedly strong grounds for this view. Where Natives have held their lands on a title which could be pledged as security for loans they have in a very large percentage of cases lost the ground altogether. It is therefore not the Commission's view that credit facilities should be easy. It is only in the case of more advanced Natives that a reasonable system of rural credit is at all practicable at this stage. The Commission is satisfied that the need does exist in certain areas, and that provision should be made in some way for advances for fencing surveyed or private land, and for the purchase of implements and fertilizers.

168.

The main difficulty is that of security. The Natives being still largely on the basis of subsistence-farming, and even of "subsistence-earning", have very little capital except in the shape of stock. This they are generally averse to selling. Those who have money are not accustomed to giving loans. Moreover there is no machinery to facilitate this, and in its absence the more advanced Natives prefer the security offered by European investment agencies. The principle of segregation in land-holding excludes European private capital. The prohibition against mortgage excludes what little Native capital there is. The withdrawal of this prohibition in favour of Natives would yet not meet the case as long as the principle of "one man, one lot" continues.

169.

A start has however been made with the organization of Native credit. There is in existence a considerable number of very small societies with investments of a few hundred pounds or even less. Two of the larger ones are the Mariannahill Peoples' Bank with deposits of £2,300 (April, 1931) and a Co-operative Society at Qumbu with deposits of £2,000 (November, 1930).

170.

Such efforts, while eminently praiseworthy, cannot be expected to make adequate provision for the credit needs of the Natives. In view of the virtual exclusion of European private capital the only other satisfactory way of meeting the demand would be by the creation of a Native Agricultural Bank.

171.

Unless the provision of credit facilities is to be a curse instead of a blessing to the Natives, very close watch should be kept on the use made of borrowed money. It must be remembered that to the Abantu money-economy is a new thing. "We Natives," said one witness, "regard money as something that should be taken to the store as quickly as possible." Provision of credit is therefore not enough. It should be accompanied by some measure of education on the use of credit. This can best be done by imposing very strict limits on the purposes for which money may be borrowed, and employing existing Native agencies, such as Councils and Chiefs to supervise this.

172.

An organization of this nature should offer facilities to Natives for investments in small amounts. The feeling that it is partly their own money which is being lent to them will do a great deal to strengthen the Bank. It will be an additional safeguard against abuse if they begin to take pride in the Bank as an institution of their own. It will also provide an alternative to the vicious method of putting all their savings into stock.

*Native Home Industries.***173.**

We have thus far discussed various methods of making more economical use of the existing Reserves. It seems inevitable that progress for a long time must be predominantly along the line of agricultural and pastoral improvement. At the same time it may be hoped that as development progresses opportunities will arise for the establishment of purely Native industries within the Reserves, and all possible encouragement and facilities should be given by the Government to that end.

174.

In the meantime efforts are being made by various missionary bodies to teach the rudiments of handicrafts, such as weaving, and carpet, basket, and chair making, with the object of starting minor home industries among Natives. Such home industries should not attempt to compete with machine-made products, in which competition they will be bound to fail. There should however be possibilities for sale, outside Reserves, of home-made articles possessing features of distinctive Native character and artistic merit; and we would suggest that efforts to establish home industries among Natives might best be directed to that object.

175.

Most of the missionary institutions maintain trade schools for teaching such work as carpentry, masonry, building, bootmaking, and smithing. As the Reserves develop, more and more need for such trades to serve Native society will be felt, and the training which is being given will serve a useful purpose.

176.

We now come to the universal demand of the Natives for more land. Before discussing this, it is necessary to consider the Natives Land Act.

The Implications of the Natives Land Act.

177.

The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913, lays down the principle of segregation in land-ownership as between Natives and other races. The implication of this principle which prohibits leasing of land to Natives and share-farming by them (what is generally referred to as "Kaffir-farming") is strongly resented by the Natives.

178.

The main principle of the Act secures the right of individuals or communities to hold land, not on any economic ground, but on the basis of their race. This principle is therefore non-economic, and may in practice be very uneconomic. Competition normally sets free the forces which tend to secure the most beneficial use of land. Under the Land Act, however, an individual may be prevented from becoming the owner of a particular farm, if he does not conform to the racial qualifications demanded in respect thereof. Thus the best use of that land can only be made by the person inside that race who knows how to make the best use of it. This is therefore a definite limitation of the beneficial use of the land. It does not matter whether a person of the other race can produce several times as much from the land. On account of his race, he is precluded from trying. Accordingly, if a condition exists by which, say, a European could produce a great deal more from a given Native area than its owners, the effect of the Land Act is definitely uneconomic.

179.

It can hardly be doubted that the total yield of an area like the Transkei could be many times increased if it were worked according to the methods of European agriculture, with sufficient capital and proper management. Demonstrators working only with the less efficient animals and implements of the Native owners, and without the aid of manure or fertiliser, have, by better cultivation, obtained on the average nearly three times the yield of the raw Native. Moreover, European methods would largely avoid the capital losses through extensive soil-robbery and overstocking which are so typical of Native farming.

180.

While in this respect therefore the Land Act is uneconomic, it may be possible to justify the subjection of economic to other considerations, regarded as having greater weight. The desire to safeguard land held by the Natives to persons of their own race is undoubtedly one of these, and few persons will today advocate that this protection should be withdrawn.

181.

That it is a protection there can be no doubt. Some witnesses were inclined to the view that if the Natives are allowed to buy freely they would, by joining together, be able to outbid the European for land. While this may result for a time from the present shortage of land for Natives, in the long run with increasing population the land will go to the people who can use it most productively. Your Commission found that in actual practice where Natives were at liberty to sell their ground to Europeans, the land did in a very large number of cases pass away from them. Improvidence and lack of knowledge of the dangers of credit were generally the causes.

182.

On the other hand the Act is also a protection of the European area against the universally admitted evil of "Kaffir-farming", resorted to by Europeans who have not the energy, ability, or desire to work their own land. There can be no doubt that "Kaffir-farming" ruins a great deal of land. It was the unanimous opinion of witnesses who appeared before your Commission that it is doing an immense amount of harm on company farms and Crown Lands, where it is still permitted.

183.

While therefore the necessity for a certain measure of interference with the most economical utilisation of the soil will be generally admitted, the point must not be lost sight of in regard to released areas. The necessity for the releasing of new areas for Native occupation, and the reasons therefor, are set out in paragraphs 192 *sqq.* Your Commission wishes to stress the point, however, that unless this process is accompanied by a sufficient measure of instruction to Natives in improved agricultural methods, the releasing of more ground will involve a potential diminution of the national wealth.

184.

At this point we must, however, draw attention to the fact that the Natives outside scheduled areas in the Cape Province have not the benefit of this protection. In the case of *Thompson and Stilwell vs. Kama* the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court held "that pending a change in the franchise laws in force in the Cape Province the effect of section 8 (2) of the Natives Land Act is to exempt that Province from the operation of the restrictive provisions contained in section one."

Purchase of Land by Natives.

185.

Prior to 1913 a certain amount of land was purchased by Natives, occasionally as individuals, but more frequently in groups or syndicates. Since the passing of the Land Act such purchases outside scheduled areas have, except in the Cape Province, been made subject to the consent of the Governor-General; with that consent purchases in released areas have continued to be made from time to time by tribes or syndicates of Natives.

186.

The Native Affairs Department has endeavoured to protect Natives against paying exorbitant prices for land, but it is found that frequently they have paid much more than Europeans would have been prepared to pay. This is due partly to a scarcity of land for Native occupation in European areas, and partly to a tendency on the part of Natives to give little regard to the price of a farm which they wish to buy. In a number of instances inability to continue paying instalments has led to forfeiture of the land and loss of the money already paid.

187.

Serious complications arise from the system of group purchase. Transfer of land bought by a syndicate has to be made in the names of all the members, and when a member dies or sells his interest the names of the new owners have to be inserted in the title deed. All the evils of co-ownership with undivided title are brought about by this system. Often the payment of the purchase price is not completed. Some members of the group cannot meet their share in the instalments and then the other members must make additional payments, or the rights of all will be lost under foreclosure of the mortgage bond. The Native Affairs Department has for some time adopted the policy of not recommending approval of a purchase of land by a group which comprises more than six members, unless the group can be regarded as a tribe in the name of which the title to the land can be registered. This limitation of the original purchase to groups of not more than six members, makes transfer easier than when large numbers are involved, but it is no protection against large numbers subsequently becoming members by purchase or succession. The Commission considers that where land is not held by a tribe, the system of undivided ownership should not be allowed to develop any further among Natives, and that where it already exists it should wherever practicable and with as little hardship as possible to those concerned be substituted by individual title.

Land Question.

188.

To a people knowing only extensive methods in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, more land appears to be the natural and only cure for increasing economic pressure. In their primitive life they know of no other. When their lands lose their fertility they apply to the Chief for new ground. When grazing fails they trek to other areas. If this brings them into conflict with other tribes the dispute is settled by the arbitrament of war. A reasonable balance is therefore maintained between population and land.

189.

The European has come in and put a stop to the use of primitive remedies. He has also limited the Native area, and he has introduced new things, like taxes, and articles of consumption which the Native desires. He has therefore increased economic pressure and the Native blames him for it. The old tribal Native deplures the passing of the "good old times", and his view is that he should be able to enjoy all the sweets of his old system, and also such of the European innovation as he desires, without being worried by the cost. The more advanced Native wants to share in a large number of the new things, introduced by the white man, and is seriously worried at the cost. Why does not the European, who can do such marvellous things in other directions—who can "pick his path through the Milky Way and can tell the day and the moment when a certain star will cast its shadow over the moon and the sun"—create conditions wherein the Native may be happy in his own mode of life, while enjoying a reasonable share of the good things which the white man has introduced into the country? Many Natives are apt to jump to the conclusion that it is purely ill-will, and a desire for oppressing him which actuate the white man.

190.

Others again realise that "man begets but land does not beget", and appreciate the fact that economic pressure has become greater for the white man as well as for the Native. But they see in the promises of more land made in connection with Natives Land Act as far back as 1913, still unfulfilled, an outstanding obligation on the part of the white man, which, if redeemed, will at least for a time ease the burden on their race.

191.

Your Commission, engaged as it is on an economic analysis of the situation, is not concerned with political undertakings. It is, however, incumbent on us to stress the point that growth of population must be accompanied by a more economical utilization of the limited quantity of land available. This can be achieved only on the basis of the knowledge of improved agricultural methods which the European possesses and the Native does not. If the Land Act had been accompanied by an intensive campaign of Native agricultural education the cry of the Native for more land would, at this stage, have been less insistent and less urgent. As the Native could only be expected to make the use of land best known to him, the carrying capacity of the Reserves set aside in 1913 was naturally limited by his very primitive agricultural technique. Overpopulation is a purely relative term. But in relation to the main determinant, the way in which man uses the soil, the majority of the Native areas are now overpopulated.

The Provision of More Land is Essential.

192.

It follows therefore that, as a necessary corollary to the policy of agricultural development recommended by your Commission as a first essential, the provision of more land is also essential. The present yield of Native agriculture and stock-farming is so low that the Native areas will, with proper farming, be able to support a much bigger population than they actually do at present. But the introduction of better farming methods will be hampered in many parts by the congestion now existing, and it will be necessary to relieve the congestion.

Need for Safeguards in Provision of More Land.

193.

The mere provision of more land for Native occupation would be a serious error; to yield to the demand for more land to allow the Native to remain in his backward state would be to put back the wheels of progress; without better methods, new areas would inevitably follow the same downward path on which the Native areas are now moving at an accelerated pace. Unless the Union is prepared to undertake the responsibility for large scale education in better methods, the permanent interests of the Natives, or of

the country as a whole, will not be served by releasing further land for Natives. This would at least preserve these lands for proper development to maintain the large mass of Natives who will have to be employed by Europeans when the present destructive process of soil-robbery and scrub-stock farming has run its course. But the longer view requires the creation now of conditions under which a large rural Native population could support itself on a reasonable basis of agricultural production. And this postulates more land, and a great deal more agricultural education, both inside and outside the present Reserves.

194.

In view of the fact that the Government in providing more land will have the power to impose conditions, this power should be used by insisting firmly on the limitation of stock to the numbers that the land can reasonably carry. Your Commission must emphasise, even at the risk of repetition, that the Native conception of cattle represents a serious danger to the welfare of the Native himself, and of the whole country, and that no opportunity should be lost of bringing about a change in his outlook.

195.

In this connection your Commission desires to draw attention to the possibility of using the new land made available as a means of bringing pressure to bear on overstocking. This can be done by receiving cattle in payment of land. But where tribal entities are concerned, the release of new land may also be made subject to their accepting restriction of numbers in their present holdings. In this way the additional areas could be used to exercise a large and salutary influence on what is now the most perplexing problem of the Reserves.

Progress must be Grafted on Well-rooted Stock of Bantu Institutions.

196.

In pursuing the policy of developing the Native Reserves, it is essential to proceed from institutions which are known to the Abantu, and to evolve from these something which will suit the needs of the present.

197.

In the early contacts between Europeans and Natives, military needs and missionary endeavour played a large part—a part which led to the breaking down of much in the institutions of the Abantu. From a military point of view the Chief was always a potential source of trouble, and it was part of the policy of early days to weaken his authority. The considerations which led to the adoption of this policy lost their force when the subjugation of Native tribes was complete. The policy however continued, and gradually destroyed much of what might have been a valuable asset in ruling the Natives, namely their veneration for their Chiefs.

198.

The missionary found his progress hampered by barbarous practices based on witchcraft. His just condemnation of such practices frequently overshot the mark, and led to opposition to Native customs, like lobolo, which have a valuable social aspect. In many quarters there arose a tendency to condemn and to attempt to break down Bantu institutions, in order to clear the ground for the introduction of the more advanced institutions of a civilized people.

Adaptation—not Assimilation.

199.

The object was the laudable one of civilizing the Native. The method disregarded the fact that institutions are centred in the thoughts and customs of a people. It may be possible entirely to wipe out the customs of one race and substitute those of another. But your Commission is doubtful whether it is possible, and convinced that it is highly undesirable, and very uneconomical. Granted that it is essential to change much in the social system of a primitive people before they can be civilized, such change is brought about more easily, and with least harm to them, if the advanced ideas of the civilized race are grafted to the deep-rooted stock which already exists. This course saves much that is valuable in carrying out a task which is difficult enough even with the best of methods. The process of Europeanising the Native by destroying all his institutions as a preliminary, deprives him of the sheet-anchor of self-confidence, and substitutes for it an inferiority complex, engendered by the acquired belief that everything which is peculiarly his own is worthless and a hindrance in the path of progress.

200.

Professor Lestrade in his evidence classified the various schools of thought on the Native question as *repressionist*—tying down the Native or driving him back to barbarism; *assimilationist*—trying to make him a black European; and *adaptationist*—taking out of the Bantu past what is good, and even what is merely neutral, and together with what is good of European culture for the Abantu, building up a Bantu future. Your Commission unhesitatingly affirms its adherence to the last-mentioned standpoint, and considers that this is not only the most reasonable, but also the most economical approach to the Native question.

201.

Dr. Roberts finds himself unable to accept the conclusion that a mixed European and Native culture or civilization is full of hope for the future of the Native people. In his judgment there cannot be two civilizations in South Africa. And the way of progress for the Native people lies along the path of the Native assimilating as rapidly as possible the European civilization and culture.

202.

The European can, by assisting the Natives to transform and revitalise their institutions, introduce a leaven of progress which will work through the whole community. By trying on the other hand to introduce that leaven by means of institutions which they do not understand and appreciate he will meet with the inertia of conservatism, or even in cases with active opposition. The object should therefore be to use their institutions as far as this is possible.

203.

Your Commission has been very strongly impressed with the harm which was done in the past by a disregard of the Native in dealing with Native problems. Many of the actions of European Governments in South Africa can only be explained on the apparent assumption that the Native is in his outlook in every way the same as a European. The fact that the Native had a religious conception differing fundamentally from that of the European, found no place in actual administration. The fact that there can be such a thing as a non-capitalist non-individualist economic organization hardly seems to have been recognized. Of course the facts were known. But they were known as facts having no relation or very little influence on action. The more your Commissioners tried to get at the root causes of the actions of the Europeans in their dealings with Natives, the clearer it became that the difference in the outlook of the Native was hardly recognized as a factor in the problem of the good government of the latter.

204.

Your Commission considers that this is not only wrong in the matter of the scientific approach to the problem, but that it is also extremely uneconomic. Whether we look at the question from the point of view of utilising existing institutions as the stock on which to graft the scion of progress, or whether we are merely concerned with the task of carrying out the measures thought necessary for the welfare of the Natives in the least costly manner possible, it is uneconomical to disregard the institutions which they understand, which they prize, which can be used with the least friction and cost to achieve this end. Where the Native Chief carries out the commands of the Supreme Chief, he is honouring himself by so doing; where the white man carries them out he is often regarded merely as the instrument of a frequently unwanted rule. By using Native institutions as part of the administration of the country, we shall give the Native a pride in the administration. By rejecting his institutions as worthless, or by giving them a European complexion even if we use them, we create in the mind of the Native the feeling that he is an outsider. Instead of enlisting the co-operation of the Natives such action leaves them indifferent to what the European is trying to accomplish, though it be for their own good. By disregarding their point of view, it even at times stirs up their active opposition.

205.

Thus far we have looked at the matter purely from the point of view of logical and economical administration. There is, however, another and possibly even more important side. If recognition is accorded to institutions in the administration of the Reserves, a great deal will have been accomplished towards meeting the aspirations of Natives to have a share in their own government. This must inevitably have a favourable influence in their whole outlook in regard to the European.

206.

Your Commission received frequent complaints from tribal Natives concerning the impingement of European institutions on theirs, particularly in the matter of the administration of justice, but also generally. The effect created on their minds was one of utter confusion, not unmixed with wonderment that the European, otherwise so clever, could sometimes do things which to their minds appeared very strange.

207.

Whether therefore we look for the soundest scientific approach to a problem, whether we consider the most economical way of achieving our purpose, whether we seek a means of giving a measure of contentment to a large part of the population of the Union, your Commissioners have come to the conclusion that it is desirable to associate Native institutions to a much larger extent than has been done in the past, with the administration of the Native areas.

208.

Before we proceed to details, however, it is necessary to point out that this policy is no longer possible in all areas. Where Native institutions have ceased to be living dynamic forces, where the rule of the European has broken them down to such an extent that they are no longer understood, it would be as foolish to insist on re-imposing them as it is desirable to develop them where they still flourish.

The Position of the Transkeian Territories.

209.

In the Transkeian Territories a system has been evolved which, while based on European institutions, has contributed materially to the advancement of that area. This system should be maintained and allowed to develop in any reasonable manner which will bring it more into line with Native sentiment and tradition. Amendments suggested by the Transkeian Territories United General Council to their own constitution and that of District Councils should therefore be given sympathetic consideration. The Transkei has benefited much from the able European administrators who have guided it through a long series of years, both in the General Council and in the District Councils. Such guidance, and also a certain measure of control, will continue to be required, but the achievement of the European officials will be greatest if by wise guidance, supervision, direction, education, they make it unnecessary to exercise their power of control.

210.

In certain parts of the Ciskei the Natives declared that they were ignorant of many of the customs of their ancestors, and preferred to continue under the administrative system of the European, to which they had adjusted themselves. In such cases it would be futile to attempt to restore Native institutions, and the Natives should be assisted to evolve, from the institutions which they know, a system of local government that will satisfy their own aspirations.

211.

The objection might be raised that this will disturb the uniformity which could be attained if all Native councils were shaped on the same pattern. Your Commission is, however, strongly convinced that it would be a mistake to expect uniformity. There are very considerable differences between Natives in different parts of the Union and standardisation of their institutions could be achieved only at the cost of a portion of their vital force.

212.

In areas where the tribal institutions are still a vital force—and this applies to the greatest part of the Reserves outside the Cape Province—the policy should be to strengthen these, and to make them centres of progress from within.

The Position of Chief and Council.

213.

The practical application of this principle leads us to a consideration of the position of the Chief and his council.

214.

As we have indicated before, the religious character of the Chieftainship makes it an asset of very great importance if properly utilised in the cause of progress and good government. One of the outstanding impressions left on the mind of your Commissioners by the evidence of Natives is their

very keen desire to have their Chiefs accorded greater recognition. This demand was strongly expressed from the Bavenda in the North, throughout all the Native areas, including the Transkei, areas in the Ciskei where the Chief belongs to the past, and even among the urbanized Natives who have never been to the Reserves. When the rôle of the Chief in the religious system is borne in mind, this demand can be fully understood, and must be treated with the respect due to a sentiment which is enshrined in the deepest feelings of a people.

215.

In view therefore of the position of the Chief in Bantu psychology he can become a strategic point in the Government's dealings with the Natives.

216.

It is well, however, to consider at this stage certain objections which have been raised against investing Chiefs with greater power.

217.

At present the majority of Chiefs are uneducated and therefore reactionary and a brake on progress. This is admitted. It is a result of the neglect in the past to associate them adequately with the administration of their tribes. Your Commissioners do not recommend that additional powers should be given at once to all Chiefs. There are however some Chiefs who are fully qualified to play a large part in the administration and advancement of their own areas—men of ability, in many cases of considerable education, men of intelligence, possessed of a desire for progress.

218.

Some distinction will, however, require to be made for some time to come between the more advanced and the more backward Chiefs. Greater powers should be entrusted to the Chief and his council wherever the Government considers that they are fitted for it. This, in itself, will give a strong impetus to improvement.

219.

In all tribal areas the system of government through the Chief and council should be recognized, power, however, being retained by the Government to add, on the advice of the Native Commissioner, some members to the council, if necessary, to represent educated Natives. All reasonable means should be adopted to provide for prospective Chiefs being well educated for their position.

220.

A further objection is that in certain areas, e.g. in Northern Natal, some hereditary Chiefs have no land, and this prevents them from keeping their tribes together, and exercising a salutary influence on them. Your Commission is of opinion that this matter should receive early attention in connection with the provision of more land, referred to in paragraphs 192 *sqq.*

221.

It follows that if the Chiefs are to play a considerable rôle in the administration of their tribes, they must be guaranteed a position in which they can maintain the dignity attaching thereto. It has always been customary for the people to pay tribute to the Chief in various forms, and in many parts this custom still obtains. In addition the Government pays certain stipendia. A minimum income should be assured to the Chief, partly from the Government, partly from his people, on a determined basis. The tribe should be permitted to augment this, subject to the approval of the Government, in order to provide a safeguard against abuse.

222.

Mr. Lucas is of the opinion that Chiefs and headmen should have a fixed income, instead of their having to rely for any portion of it on tribute from their people. A careful estimate of the value of such tribute should be made, as was done a few years ago in Tanganyika, and as was done there the tribute should be commuted at that value. The sum so arrived at should be paid out of a tribal treasury to the Chief, the tribute being then abolished. (See paragraph 242.)

223.

Before considering in detail the functions which should be entrusted to Chiefs, it is necessary to lay stress on the point that in Native society the Chief is not a despot. He governs with the aid and advice of his council, and the council is generally powerful enough to check any arbitrary and despotic tendencies on his part. It is not constituted as are European councils, by popular suffrage, and it has no fixed personnel and constitution, but it comes into being in a way generally sufficiently elastic to ensure its being representative of the tribe.

Tribal Courts.

224.

Native tribes developed their own system of courts for the application of their own law and custom and there can be no doubt that the system was one which met their needs and was capable of natural development to meet new tribal circumstances. The policy of the Union, however, has in the main until recently been to subject the Natives to European tribunals, which, although their members attempted to apply Native law and custom in so far as they were not contrary to what were considered as elementary ideas of justice and humanity, yet interpreted that law and custom in the capacity of aliens.

225.

Since the passing of the Native Administration Act of 1927 a number of Native courts have been recognized, and where there exists a properly constituted council, there is a safeguard that Native law is administered by people who have a full knowledge of its principles, and implications, as a dynamic system, irrespective of the character, knowledge, or age of the Chief. This is generally a better system than administration of Native law by European officials who in many cases know it only from books and are ignorant of its subtle implications. Moreover in a Native court the facts of the case are much more easily verified than in a European court. Competent witnesses agree that substantial justice, according to Native conceptions, can generally be obtained in a Native court. European procedure is wholly strange to Natives, and is certainly not adapted to bring out the true facts when applied to a primitive people.

226.

Criminal jurisdiction has hitherto been entrusted to Native courts in exceptional instances only. To the Native mind there is no sharp distinction between civil and criminal law. Many cases which European justice would regard as criminal, would be dealt with in a Native court as civil cases. Your Commission considers that many petty cases, turning on Native law, in which Natives alone are concerned, could be advantageously transferred to recognized Native courts, irrespective of whether they are civil or criminal.

227.

That the right to hold these courts and have their decisions recognized is highly valued has lately been shown in one of the Reserves where the right was given to some Chiefs, but withheld from others on the ground that their general conduct was considered unsatisfactory. In two of the latter instances a speedy improvement took place and in them the right has been given and is being exercised to the satisfaction of the authorities.

228.

The Commission considers that in Native Reserves where Native courts are possible, the policy should be to recognize them and to allow them to deal with all classes of cases other than certain specific crimes such as, for example, murder, or witchcraft, with a limit on the punishment which may be inflicted. All proceedings of a Native court should be open to the Native Commissioner who should have the right to review any of them and to whom an appeal should lie, such appeal being taken, wherever possible, in the same place as the original trial. He should insist on proper records being kept of all cases and decisions.

Administrative Duties of Chiefs.

229.

In addition to civil and criminal jurisdiction, Chiefs could perform certain administrative duties. It would be invaluable in connection with a population census to have available the services of a large number of intelligent and educated Chiefs. Moreover, they could also be employed in bringing to the notice of their people matters which from time to time the Government wants to disseminate among them, such as veterinary and medical regulations, and also in helping to carry them out.

230.

Your Commission considers that the converting of Chiefs' courts into courts of record, wherever Chiefs are able to keep records, will tend to raise wholesome Native laws and customs to a higher status than is the case at present, and is fully justified. We wish to emphasize the urgent desirability of Chiefs being permitted to keep such records in their own language.

231.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the practice of the luring away of youths to labour fields, which has taken place in certain areas. There are administrative difficulties in the way of the enforcement of the law. These could readily be overcome by imposing on the Chief or his deputy the duty of certifying that the consent of the actual parent or guardian has been duly obtained.

232.

Moreover in the larger matter of youths absconding from their homes and going to towns, against which the Natives complain bitterly all over the Union, the Chief could again fulfil a similar useful purpose. Your Commission is much impressed both by the complaints of parents of the breakdown of parental authority, and by the harmful effects which this absconding has on the young Natives themselves. It is certainly not in the interest of the Native population that the parental authority should thus be set at nought, and this evil can only be cured by co-operation between the administration and the Native Chief and his council.

233.

There is a further matter in which the Chiefs can be usefully employed. Up to 1923 the registration of births and deaths of Natives was compulsory in the whole of the Cape Province and in parts of Natal and Transvaal: while a large number of these events was never registered the requirement had a useful effect in educating Natives to the need for reporting them. By the Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act No. 17 of 1923, registration was made optional in respect of Natives in rural areas. The result has been an absolute diminution of the number of events registered, as is shown by the following figures:

| | 1923. | 1930. |
|---|--------|--------|
| No. of Native Births Registered (Union) ... | 26,695 | 18,125 |
| No. of Native Deaths Registered (Union) ... | 34,702 | 26,582 |

234.

All civilized States have found that the registration of vital events is necessary for efficient administration.

235.

In the Union partial registration makes it impossible to determine what vital changes are taking place in the constitution of the Native population, except in so far as this can be done at censuses of the total population—the last of which was taken in 1921. It is admittedly difficult to obtain complete registration among an illiterate people. This can only be achieved in the long run by the educative effect of compulsory registration. The longer the start of this process is postponed the longer the culmination of total registration will be delayed.

236.

In Native society the Chief is entitled to know what happens among his subjects, and it is therefore customary to report to him the births and deaths at least of important persons. It should be quite an easy matter to organize a fairly general system of registration through him, and in time this would cover the whole of the country. In this connection your Commission would like to point out that in his recent report on malaria in the Union, Dr. Swellengrebel drew attention to the need for registration of deaths of Natives. He referred to systems, similar to those proposed by your Commission, which exist in India and the Dutch East Indies, and concluded: "In view of the high importance attached even to a numerical registration, the least I can do is to recommend this matter to the serious consideration of the authorities"—(Annual Report of the Department of Public Health for 1931, U.G. 28-31, page 36.)

237.

While therefore the Chief and his council could be usefully employed in many minor duties, the main benefit to be expected from recognizing them would be that of governing the Natives according to a method well understood by them and thereby gaining their good will and co-operation in the work for the advancement of the Reserves.

238.

The question of the creation of Native courts to deal with matters of Native law will have to be specially considered in areas in the Transkei, and Ciskei, where Native institutions have partly disappeared but Native law is still in force. Your Commission is convinced of the advantage of having Native law interpreted by the people to whom it is still a living system, and we consider it desirable that wherever necessary special arrangements should be made in consultation with the existing councils, for the extension of Native courts in those areas.

239.

In the matter of fines and fees the Native practice is indirectly referred to in paragraph 221. Your Commission feels that there are objections to this, but that it will be impossible to abolish it with a stroke of the pen. The ideal of having all fines and fees paid into revenue should be borne in mind and introduced gradually as opportunity offers.

240.

Messrs. Anderson and Lucas consider that, provided the Chief is allowed a reasonable income, there need be little difficulty in making the change here discussed, without much delay. The dangers of a system in which the judicial officer has a pecuniary interest in the fines he imposes are obvious, and they should be removed as soon as possible. No difficulty seems to have been met with in Tanganyika in making that change. There it is laid down by statute that all fees and fines shall be paid into the treasury of the tribe in the court of which the proceedings are taken.

241.

There is a very natural desire on the part of Natives that there should be more scope for educated men of their race in Government posts in purely Native areas. As against this, many competent witnesses, who cannot be suspected of anti-Native bias, put forward the view that the European official being generally a man of greater culture and education serves a useful purpose in advancing the standard of civilization in the Reserves. Both points of view have some substance in them, and neither should be pressed to the entire exclusive of the other. The greater use of Native institutions should provide a widening scope for educated Natives, especially as these institutions develop. On the other hand a certain number of European officials must necessarily continue to form the connecting link between the Government and the Native institutions.

242.

Messrs. Anderson and Lucas think that an important part of the development of Native institutions, as contemplated in this portion of the Report, would be the setting up of what may be called tribal treasuries into which would be paid local taxation, rent for land, grazing charges, and fines and fees of courts. These treasuries should be administered by the tribal council through the necessary officials. Such a system would provide openings for a number of advanced and educated Natives as clerks and record keepers, and would afford a good means of training the tribe in the administration of its own local affairs and developing a sense of responsibility in public money matters. Careful control of expenditure by the Native Commissioner and a thorough audit would be necessary, which for some time would need to be by Europeans. The Natives have hitherto been given very little opportunity of accustoming themselves to methods of public finance. (Cf. paragraph 222.)

243.

It will be evident from the general tenor of this Report that your Commission lays great stress on basing all action in regard to the Natives on an intimate knowledge of these people, of their languages, their mode of thought, their manners, and particularly of their social and economic systems. It was made abundantly clear to us how frequently misunderstanding arose and ill-feeling was generated owing to a lack of comprehension of these factors. We wish also to stress the need for Government officials being able to speak the local Natives' own languages. The general advantage to the State, in many ways, of a knowledge of the vernacular on the part of European officials, and police, is self-evident. Your Commission has also stressed the point at intervals in its Report that the failure on the part of the European to give due weight to the difference in the social heritage of White and Black has not contributed to the maintenance of good feeling between the two.

Implications in Regard to European Administration.

244.

In no matter is this more striking than in administration. The Native suffers from the suspicion of a primitive people in regard to any new things. The European has introduced many new things and particularly new ideas in the administration generally and the administration of justice in particular. In these matters it is of very great value to the Native to be able to speak to an official who has gained his confidence. This frequently takes years to achieve, and once achieved it is an asset of the very greatest importance.

245.

It is therefore very unfortunate that the system of appointment and transfer of officials in the Native Affairs Department does not always lead to the best possible use of this asset. Very valuable "goodwill" is frequently lost by the transfer of officials from an area where they have gained the confidence of the Natives, to another where this goodwill has not only to be acquired anew, but where the official may have to learn the language and customs of an entirely different tribe. Transfers of prominent officials also take place from predominantly European to predominantly Native areas, and *vice versa*.

246.

The question of the organization of the Native Affairs Department does not fall within our Terms of Reference and we therefore offer no suggestions for remedying this anomaly. We realize also that there are other considerations in the matter, to which due weight must be given.

247.

Your Commission would, however, be failing in its duty if it neglected to indicate that from the point of view from which it has approached the whole question, such transfers involve the loss of some of the most valuable material available for securing reasonable progress of the Natives. The Native Commissioner must frequently take the lead in economic development. In many cases marked success has been achieved by officials who remained sufficiently long in one area to accomplish something. If the policy of the development of Native areas which is recommended by the Commission is to be given effect to, it will be essential that there should be continuity of policy in those areas. Sustained effort which, by using all the forces available, succeeds in getting the Natives in a particular locality to shed the anti-progressive methods of subsistence economy, and substitute therefor methods more in conformity with their present-day needs, has a value far in excess of the achievement itself. It serves as an example for other localities, where such progress is rendered easier of accomplishment.

248.

This sort of work is so important, and so difficult, that the Government should, in the opinion of your Commission, do everything in its power to retain an officer in a post where he is in a position to modernize the outlook of even a small section of the Natives. Transfers frequently involve the loss of much valuable work. Among Natives the new incumbent of a post is not necessarily in the position that he can take up a task where his predecessor left off. By the time he has gained the confidence of the Natives he may have to start all over again, elsewhere.

Implications in Regard to Scientific Research.

249.

If the method of dealing with Natives in the Reserves which your Commission has outlined in the foregoing paragraphs is adopted, it will be necessary to devote more attention to the scientific study of the Natives than has hitherto taken place. The Universities have for some time devoted their attention to this subject, and a good deal of investigation has taken place by private research. Your Commission considers that greater encouragement should be given to such work, and that steps should be taken to facilitate co-operation between officials dealing with Natives and scientific investigators, to enable the results of such work to be used to assist in dealing with administrative questions dependent on a knowledge of Native customs.

Present Condition and Productive Capacity of Native Reserves.

250.

Though it was not practicable for the Commission to inspect in detail every Reserve in the Union, it visited the majority of them in each Province and endeavoured to form a general impression of the conditions in and the productive capacity of each area. The subjoined statement gives the Commission's impressions of the conditions in the areas visited.

Ciskei.

MIDDLEDRIFT AREA.

251.

The damage which overstocking has wrought in the land here 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.

252.

Dongas 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.

253.

The Reserve has of course been greatly reduced in its stock carrying-capacity. This is probably one of the most striking examples in the Reserves of the effects of overstocking and consequent damage to land.

254.

Considerable areas of the Reserve where denudation has not gone so far appear to be reasonably fertile and, if the numbers of stock were reduced, could produce much more by way of agriculture than they are doing at present. But if the disastrous destruction of land continues, there can be no doubt that the Reserve will in the near future be quite incapable of supporting anything like its present population.

255.

These remarks apply with almost equal force to the Keiskamahoe area.

256.

The Commission visited the Experimental Station and Agricultural School at Fort Cox. This institution has been established under the guidance of the Director of Native Agriculture, to serve Cape Province areas outside the Transkei, its cost being met out of the Native Development Fund.

257.

It had only recently commenced operations at the date of the Commission's visit, but there can be little doubt that it will be of great value for the improvement and development of Native agriculture.

GLEN GREY.

258.

In this District was established the first Native Council, the Glen Grey District Council, under Act No. 25 of 1894.

259.

The Commission visited the District and inspected the Experimental Farm maintained by the Council. We were impressed by the energy and progressiveness of the Council, under the chairmanship of the Native Commissioner, which is shown by extensive anti-erosion works, as well as by a number of small irrigation works utilizing water from the river and streams of the District by means of small and inexpensive weirs.

260.

We obtained from the Native Commissioner some figures of the cost of reclamation of eroded land which are of interest as examples of what can be done:

- " 1. About 4 morgen of badly eroded land on portion of the Council Farm near the commonage gate This land had been abandoned as useless and has now been entirely reclaimed at a cost of £140. The cost was high as it was largely of an experimental nature.
- " 2. About 5 morgen of the Matyantya location which was also very badly eroded, at a cost of £120. This was also in the nature of experimental and demonstration work and it is recovering very well.
- " 3. About 2½ morgen of the Bolotwa location—fenced, but not including cost of fence—as yet only part reclaimed, £8.
- " 4. Eight morgen—two arable lands which were saved just in time—£10 for supervisor, free labour supplied by the owners. A very useful illustration of what can be done if the work is undertaken in time.
- " 5. There are several other smaller works done by the Natives at no cost except their own labour."

261.

In spite of this good work, however, the overstocking evil appears to be as serious here as elsewhere, the measures taken against its effects not having removed the root of the trouble.

262.

According to Census figures a reduction in the Native population of the District from 1911 to 1921, from 49,629 to 41,836 is disclosed. The Director of Native Agriculture attributes this reduction to the effects of erosion due in the first place to overstocking.

Herschel District.**263.**

This District falls within the belt of the 20-35 in. annual rainfall, but when visited by the Commission in January, 1931, was dry and generally bare of grass. Erosion everywhere was severe and the figures of stock for the year ending 30th June, 1930, to a total Native area of 680 square miles, are sufficient to account for the shortage of grazing which was apparent. The details are:

| | |
|--------------------------|--------|
| Cattle | 32,234 |
| Horses | 3,129 |
| Pigs | 3,276 |
| Donkeys | 1,710 |
| Woolled sheep | 83,107 |
| Non-woolled sheep | 10,426 |
| Angora goats | 22,011 |
| Other goats | 20,826 |

264.

The Commission was informed that a natural resource of certain Cape Native areas was being exploited by the collection of the latex of an indigenous tree known as *Euphorbia Adyheri* (Linn.). The trees are common in several Districts, and the latex from them is bought by a concessionaire operating from East London, who pays Natives at 6d. per gallon of the fluid brought in by them. The centres of collection are Breakfastvlei, Line Drift, Brighton Drift, and Healdtown. The average quantity collected by each Native is said to be between four and six gallons per day.

265.

The total amount collected was stated to the Commission by the Chief Native Commissioner, Ciskei, to be 2,185 gallons during June and July, 1931.

266.

It was reported to the Commission that difficulty was experienced in getting sufficient Natives to collect the latex.

Transkeian Territories.**267.**

Your Commission carried out an inspection tour in a large number of Districts of the Transkeian Territories and heard evidence at Matatiele, Mount Fletcher, Kokstad, Flagstaff, Port St. Johns, Umtata, Engcobo, Cofimvaba, and Butterworth.

268.

Conditions over so large an area naturally vary, but speaking generally a favourable impression was formed by us of the natural fertility of the Territories. The annual rainfall ranges from 40 to 50 inches on parts of the coast and from 25 to 30 inches further inland, which may be said to provide unusually good moisture conditions, judged by general South African standards.

269.

The higher veld inland comprises large stretches of open rolling and generally well-watered country. As the coast is approached, bush is found varying from light thorn scrub to heavily wooded kloofs and valleys.

270.

Very large areas are potentially arable, and the agricultural production of the Territories could undoubtedly be very greatly increased. But everywhere the effects of overstocking are apparent though not to the same degree as in the Ciskeian Reserves.

271.

In Annexure 13 will be found a comparative statement by the Office of Statistics showing the numbers of livestock of various kinds carried by the Territories for the years 1904, 1911, and 1918 to 1930.

272. The following increases are shown as between the years 1918 and 1930:

| | 1918. | 1930. |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Cattle | 707,315 | 1,716,836 |
| Woolled and other sheep ... | 2,272,326 | 3,931,661 |
| Goats (Angora and other) ... | 1,026,653 | 1,203,942 |
| Donkeys | 4,719 | 10,575 |
| Horses | 80,382 | 138,343 |

273. The increase in cattle was steady from 1918, following a large reduction between 1911 and that year. The increase coincides with the introduction of dipping. The effectiveness of dipping as a protection for cattle is thus strikingly shown and it is an unhappy by-product of what should have been a purely beneficial veterinary measure, that it should have contributed largely to the overstocking of the country and all the problems which have followed therefrom.

274. One responsible witness before the Commission was led by the irony of these facts to suggest that the quickest cure for the overstocking of Native areas would be to abandon the enforcement of dipping. Complaints to the Commission from Native witnesses, stigmatising dipping measures as acts of tyranny against their people, show that even now many Natives oppose compulsory dipping, despite the fact that it has been demonstrated to them, beyond any doubt, to be efficacious in combating all tick-borne diseases. The abandonment of its enforcement would evidently not lack Native support, but the consequences of such a step to the country as a whole, as well as to the Native, rule it out from consideration.

275. In addition to the usual damage from overstocking represented by various forms of erosion, an effect immediately noticeable by the traveller in the Territories is the spreading over enormous areas of a yellow flowering weed, known by the Natives as *inkanga* (*Senecio juniperinus*, L.). This plant largely takes the place of the edible grasses of the veld and is valueless as food for stock, though when dry and withered it has a use among the Natives as fuel.

276. The effect of the spreading of this weed is cumulative and disastrous for the grazing capacity of the veld. It may serve to some extent as a counter agent against erosion, by holding up the soil, but good husbandry would not allow conditions to arise under which this service would be needed. We are informed that its spread can be controlled, and its eventual elimination secured by stoppage of grazing for a season or two. Suitable measures of control of grazing, which can only be adopted when the land has been fenced into camps or paddocks, are clearly indicated. If failure to take such measures is allowed to continue, the Territories must resign themselves to further extensive deterioration of their stock carrying-capacity.

277. The Commission were glad to note that in various parts of the Territories steps are being taken under direction of the Bunga to arrest erosion. As evidence of an awakening to the seriousness of the position, they are welcome, but by themselves they are pitifully inadequate to cope with the danger. Here and there it is possible to undertake small works, such as damming up and fencing off areas of threatened donga formation; but there are large areas where the evil has gone too long unchecked to allow of remedial measures now except at an uneconomic cost.

278. On this point we may quote from a report by the Director of Native Agriculture on one Reserve: "The Native Commissioner and Council backed up by the people are with great energy endeavouring to check or delay the ever more rapidly approaching desert conditions. They may, and probably will, retard awhile the hand of the moving clock, yet it will be but a little while, for in the end inexorable nature will prevail and the energy and money expended to-day will be largely lost. To overcome this peril, the people of the district and every other district must seriously consider the cause of this trouble. Remove the cause without delay and the effect will disappear; or, at least, man's ingenuity, aided by nature, will, over a term of years, restore the fertility of the country. The cause is OVERSTOCKING. Leave it untouched and no matter how hard we strive, outraged nature will exact her penalty and drive us off the land."

279.

There is no doubt in the mind of the Commission that, in spite of the ameliorative measures referred to, the Transkei is doomed to rival the unhappy condition of parts of the Ciskei at no distant date, unless the overstocking which now exists can be ended.

280.

That such a fate should befall a country so favourably endowed by nature for production and prosperity, would be a national tragedy.

281.

It was encouraging to find in the Transkei that a number of co-operative agricultural and credit organizations had come into existence and were doing useful work. Twenty-seven such societies were in existence in September, 1931, the total membership being 2,986. They had received deposits from their members amounting to £8,941, and had loans outstanding amounting to £4,911. The constitution of these societies was not covered by any law or regulations as in the case of European agricultural co-operative societies. Indeed, it seems to be doubtful whether they were not actually in conflict with the legislation of the Union on co-operation. Action is being taken to regularize the position of Native co-operation. The movement is one holding much promise for Native economic welfare, and it is to be hoped that every encouragement will be given to its development. The history of peasant agricultural co-operation in some European countries is striking, and the lessons to be learnt from it may prove to be of great value, if indeed not indispensable to the development of Native agriculture, which is so important an objective.

282.

Native agricultural shows are being held regularly in parts of the Transkei and should form a valuable means of awakening a desire for adopting better agricultural methods. Though their influence may not yet have reached the general mass of tribal Natives, there is no reason why it should not in time do so.

283.

The Commission visited the schools of Agriculture at Tsolo, Teko, and Flagstaff, and were much impressed by the excellent work being done by these institutions. These schools are maintained under the authority of the Bunga which votes monies for the purpose. The Tsolo School was established in 1913, and was the pioneer of agricultural education for Natives in South Africa.

284.

It was claimed that the policy of agricultural education and demonstration, developed during the past twenty years, had pointed the way to economic progress among the Natives of the Transkei. It was stated that certain definite indications of this progress were apparent and could be summarized as follows:

- (1) The Transkei has begun to export grain, after being an importing country for many years;
- (2) there is a demand for better agricultural implements, shown by the variety and number of these stocked at practically every trader's store;
- (3) fertilizers are now imported into the area;
- (4) there is evidence of better methods in every district, e.g. winter fallowing of land, use of maize planters and other machinery, manuring;
- (5) there is a demand for better class rams. Until the recent drop in price of wool, the Bunga institutions were unable to meet this demand, and rams were being imported;
- (6) there is a growth of interest in better agricultural methods, shown by support given to the Bunga's agricultural journal which has approximately 2,000 subscribers; agricultural and thrift societies are being formed;
- (7) there is a gradual change to a more intensive system of farming shown by the growing demand for seeds of various crops, and for poultry and pigs at the Agricultural Schools.

285.

The area in the Territories normally under crops is estimated at 820,000 morgen. The present average yield of maize from Native cultivation in the Transkei is estimated at 4 bags to the morgen—a very low figure.

286. The significance of the work done by Native agricultural demonstrators in the Territories is strikingly illustrated by the following figures:

On 1,524 acres of ground worked by the demonstrators in 1929-1930 8,350 bags of mealies were reaped, or 11 *bags to the morgen*. On adjoining plots worked by the owners of the plots, from 1,904 acres of ground, 3,993 bags were reaped, or approximately 4 *bags to the morgen*.

287. On these figures it would seem that the doubling at least of the present maize production of the Territories should be well within the reach of its inhabitants.

288. In establishing Native Agricultural Schools which train and supply Native agricultural demonstrators, the Bunga has, in the opinion of the Commission, taken an important step towards making such an increase of production possible.

289. At East London the Commission visited a factory established by the Imperial Cold Storage Co., Ltd., to produce meat extract and other products from cattle drawn mainly from the Transkeian Territories. We have since been informed that the meat extract side of the factory has suspended operations owing, it is understood, to difficulties about marketing the product.

290. Such factories provide one of the most important practicable outlets for the surplus cattle of the Natives and consideration should be given to the granting of all possible facilities for their working.

291. The total number of cattle from the Transkei in Native areas received at the factory referred to, during the twelve months ended June, 1931, was given to the Commission as 3,434. During the same period, 3,355 cattle were exported from the Transkei to border districts in the Cape proper, and 707 to the Durban abattoir. This gives a total of 7,496 cattle during the year. It is evident that a much larger outlet will have to be found than now exists if an appreciable reduction is to be made in the number of cattle in these Territories.

292. The Senior Veterinary Officer at East London stated that the meat factory could use far more beasts than it was getting, but that apparently the prices paid were not attractive to the Natives, who could not understand the comparative worthlessness of the bulk of their scrub cattle.

293. At Umtata and elsewhere in the Territories, much was heard by the Commission on the difficulties created by the East Coast Fever regulations governing the movement of cattle. It was stated by several witnesses that restrictions were needlessly drastic and were preventing the sale of cattle and consequently accentuating the overstocking of the country, that for twenty years the whole area of the Transkeian Territories and Pondoland had been closed against export of cattle, and that no movement of cattle was allowed without a permit.

294. At the time of the Commission's visit to the Transkei in November, 1930, of the twenty-seven districts eighteen were and had for over two years been entirely free of East Coast Fever and nine were affected, but all were subject to the prohibition of the movement of cattle.

295. At the date of this evidence we were informed that East Coast Fever was in existence at Willowvale, Engcobo, Libode, Tsolo, Umzimkulu, and all the eastern districts of Pondoland. Great progress had been made in freeing the country of ticks but in the warmer parts of Pondoland, particularly, it was unlikely that the country could ever be entirely freed of them.

296. The Commission questioned the Senior Veterinary Officer at East London on this subject. He stated that it was impossible to meet the wish of the Transkei to declare the whole of the Territories an open area. Owing

to the complete lack of fencing, it would be a very dangerous thing to do. Even the supposed clean areas are such that cases of East Coast Fever are liable to occur at any time. A difficulty arose through illicit movements of cattle by Natives from one district to another, which, owing to the exchange of beasts, could not be checked by the ordinary system of tallies of numbers.

297.

There had, however, been certain relaxation of the regulations recently and cattle could be sent from clean areas of the Transkei to the abattoirs in Capetown, Durban, and East London, but before they could be moved anywhere else they would have to undergo thirty days quarantine on a fenced and tanked farm, a provision which is said by the Transkei officials to be, in effect, because of the absence of fenced areas for such quarantine, an almost total prohibition of movement of cattle for export.

Natal Native Reserves.

298.

The Commission visited in Natal the Adams and Umtwalumi Mission Reserves, and motored through Native Reserves in the Inanda, Pinetown, Umzinto, Port Shepstone, Harding, Ixopo, Bulwer, Richmond, and Pietermaritzburg Magisterial Districts.

299.

On Mission Reserves in the coastal area some sugar cane is being grown by Natives, and the Commission visited one Native cane grower of exceptional ability and industry who owned about 80 acres of cane from which he appeared to be making a very good living. 60

300.

On other coastal Native Reserves in Natal an effort is being made by the Native Affairs Department, under the direction of the Director of Native Agriculture, to encourage the growing of cane on small holdings of 10 to 15 acres. The scheme is regulated by a Government Proclamation, No. 42 of 1931. The scheme was brought into force during 1931, and promises to add a considerable amount to the volume of Native production.

301.

The Director of Native Agriculture informed the Commission that in his opinion 10 acres of cane is sufficient to provide a Native with a good living, and that the scheme is capable of large extension in Reserves in Natal and Zululand. Provision should be made for varying of rents for lots of different fertility and suitability for cane. Close supervision of the cultivation by European representatives of the Department is contemplated, and is an essential if the scheme as a whole is to succeed. In the Director's opinion there are approximately 100,000 acres of land suitable for cane growing within the Zululand Native areas. The total area allotted up to the present for cane growing under the Proclamation amounts to about 7,293 acres.

302.

Erosion and loss of good grass, by replacement with useless weed growth, is very bad in all the Native areas in Natal. The Director of Native Agriculture stated that, in many parts of these Reserves, conditions due to overstocking were as bad as in the worst parts of the Ciskei; experiments at Cedara Experimental Station had shown that in twelve years the good grasses could be completely killed and replaced by bad grasses. This condition is better than complete denudation of vegetation as it at least prevents entire erosion of the soil, but the grazing capacity of the land is heavily reduced.

303.

Fencing is entirely absent, as in nearly all Native areas, and is an essential, together with limitation of stock, for re-establishment of the pastoral value of the country. Efforts are being made to introduce alooe plants to serve as fences.

304.

Agricultural plots cultivated by individual Natives in Natal Reserves are scattered; they are seldom found in compact blocks. In the absence of fencing this arrangement is wasteful of land and grazing, though it can in many cases be attributed to the desire or need to select fertile patches, the country, generally speaking, being by no means of uniform quality.

Zululand.

305.

The Commission visited the Nongama, Ubombo, Hlabisa, Lower Umfolozi, Eshowe, Emtongweni, and Mtunzini Magisterial Districts in Zululand, travelling through the country by motor car.

more land
in
Natal

306.

Generally speaking it was evident to the Commission that Zululand is much less crowded than any of the other Native areas visited, this observation being confirmed by the Director of Native Agriculture.

307.

We were informed, however, that there was local congestion in the Eshowe, Nkandhla, and Nqutu Districts. Overstocking and its effects are noticeable only here and there. It is probable that in considerable parts of the area, particularly nearer the coast, the nature of the soil and natural scrub render the land less liable to damage by erosion than in the Native areas to which we have already referred.

308.

Throughout the Zululand Reserves there has been no departure from the system of communal land tenure, allotments for crop growing being made by the Chiefs to individuals. As regards fertility, the soil is variable and uneven, areas of high fertility being interspersed with poorer soil. There are large areas on the middle veld and coast heavily wooded, particularly in the alluvial valleys.

309.

Factors of great importance militating against the economic as well as the social progress of the country, are the presence along the coastal belt and for some distance inland of malaria and tsetse fly.

310.

Malaria is probably responsible for a more backward state of the Native population in the lower lying lands than on the higher veld. There were severe outbreaks of malaria amongst the Native population two years ago, spreading from the areas where it is endemic to others where it is epidemic only or where it is in ordinary years entirely absent. The outbreak led to the organization of an anti-malarial service with specially trained Natives acting as inspectors and health instructors. The Commission were informed by the Department of Public Health that these Native inspectors were doing valuable work.

311.

The presence of tsetse fly, carrying the trypanosome of Nagana in domestic stock over large areas of Zululand, is responsible for heavy losses of cattle among Natives bordering the large Zululand Game Reserves. It also prevents the use of much land valuable for pastoral and in some parts for agricultural production. It is undoubtedly a very serious obstacle to the economic progress of the country and its conquest by scientific and other means would ensure a much brighter future for Zululand.

312.

There are four Game Reserves in Zululand, namely Mfolozi, 63,000 acres; Hluhluwe, 40,000 acres; Mkuze, 62,000 acres; and Ndumo, 24,000 acres.

313.

In Zululand, as in other Native areas, the introduction of dipping as a preventive of East Coast Fever is effectively combating most other tick-borne diseases, and has been the cause of increase in the cattle to an embarrassing extent. In parts of Zululand, we were informed, overstocking is already becoming serious and there can be no doubt whatever that unless something is done to stay the process, Zululand is set upon the same downward path of erosion and destruction as many other Native areas of the Union.

314.

Generally speaking, agricultural methods are considerably more advanced in the higher inland parts of Zululand than in the coastal area. In the thorn bush districts the cultivation is done in small isolated patches, the hoe being still commonly used as the principal means of soil tillage. The use of ploughs however is extending year by year. Where bush clearing is necessary before cultivation, the stumps of the trees are more often left in the ground than otherwise, causing broken and uneven cultivation and restriction of fields.

315.

Your Commissioners are satisfied that better progress than is now made could be achieved in Zululand, and in other areas where the tribal system is firmly rooted, if local Natives could be trained for employment there as agricultural demonstrators, in preference to Natives from other territories.

316.

In the meantime Native demonstrators trained at one or other of the Cape Agricultural Schools are doing valuable work. Results obtained by them in respect of the 1930-31 season, are shown in the subjoined statement obtained through the Director of Native Agriculture:

" 1. Average the whole of the Natal results, excluding No. 5 plot, for each type of fertilizer:

" (a) The eight Standard Mixture plots yielded at the rate of 3.8 bags per acre better than the unfertilized controls;

" (b) The eight Superphosphate plots yielded at the rate of 3.9 per acre better than the unfertilized controls.

" 2. (a) Taking the 4 plots (Nos. 3, 4, 6, and 7) which did best with Standard Mixture, the average extra yield per acre here was 4.6 bags per acre.

" (b) The average extra yield on the 4 plots with best results from Superphosphates was 5.5 bags per acre.

" These results are so good that one almost doubts their possibility. As the highest total yield recorded for the Standard Mixture plots is $5\frac{1}{2}$ per half acre or 11 per acre and that for the Superphosphate plots $4\frac{1}{2}$ bags per half acre or 9 per acre, the results do not seem to be at all impossible."

317.

We were informed that over a large part of the coastal area of Zululand a palm, known as the *lala* (*Hyphocne crinita*), is extensively found and is used by the Natives for making baskets and for other purposes. It is believed that its fibre, as well as that from sisal and furcraea, offer possibilities of an industry suitable to Native needs, which might be encouraged.

Orange Free State.

318.

The only Reserves in the Orange Free State are Witzieshoek in Harrismith District, approximately 50,000 morgen, and Thabanchu and Seliba Reserves, totalling 24,289 morgen. Your Commission visited the Witzieshoek and Thabanchu Reserves.

WITZIESHOEK.

319.

About 6,000-7,000 morgen of this Reserve are arable and may be considered good mealie land, the whole of which has been allotted. The yield is very low, apparently—from figures quoted—less than one bag to the morgen. At one time the Reserve was able to export mealies, but now it has to import every year.

320.

The Commission was assured by competent witnesses that with better methods of cultivation the Reserve could support its present population, but with present methods it cannot. One demonstrator has been working in the Reserve since 1930 and is said to be obtaining good results. The water supply is plentiful but no irrigation is being carried on.

321.

The following figures show the numbers of stock carried in the Reserve in 1926 and 1930:

| | 1926. | 1930. |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Cattle | 8,026 | 7,790 |
| Horses | 1,759 | 1,798 |
| Sheep | 6,602 | 8,210 |
| Goats | 10,067 | 11,055 |
| TOTAL | <u>26,454</u> | <u>28,853</u> |

From these figures it appears that numbers have been more or less stationary in that period. The cattle are of the usual scrub variety. While the numbers are not disproportionate to the area under sound methods of control of grazing, under existing methods they are said to overtax the land. Erosion is taking place to some degree.

322.

Very little manuring of the land is done, especially as cattle dung is collected and used as fuel. Fertilizer is very little used, if at all. The cultivated plots are more or less grouped, with the exception of those on the mountain sides. Trees, particularly poplars, are being planted in dongas, with useful results. Small portions of ground about the huts are frequently fenced and good cultivation is being carried on inside these fences.

THABANCHU.

323.

The Commission visited and took evidence at Thabanchu, but circumstances did not allow of more than a cursory inspection of part of the Native areas in the District, one adjoining the town and another known as the Seliba Reserve a little way outside. The Seliba Reserve (17,658 morgen) is said to be very fertile, but the Thabanchu Location (6,631 morgen) is less fertile.

324.

The Reserves are occupied by the Barolong tribe, whose territory was annexed by the Orange Free State in 1834, the area which they now have being then allocated to them. Several Commissions appointed by the Orange Free State Government have inquired into the conditions of land tenure in the Reserves, and in 1887 the Government defined by regulation the right of Native owners and occupiers of farms in the District. A Commission which was appointed in 1884 reported a need for additional land being set aside for Native occupation in the Thabanchu area, but their recommendation in this matter has not been acted upon.

325.

Many Natives in the Thabanchu District have lost freehold land through foreclosure of bonds given by the Native owners to Europeans. There are still some farms held in freehold by Natives.

326.

There are at present (1932) forty-three farms leased by Europeans from Native owners in Thabanchu District. We were informed that these Native areas are much overstocked, and that soil erosion is serious. There is one agricultural demonstrator in the District, who is reported to be doing good work.

Transvaal.

327.

Your Commission visited Native areas in the Magisterial Districts of Potgietersrust, Zoutpansberg, Pietersburg, Letaba, Barberton, Lydenburg, Middelburg, and Rustenburg, in the Transvaal.

328.

The outstanding impression gained by the Commission from its tour of the Native areas visited was that there is general congestion, particularly of stock, and in some areas also of population.

329.

The evil effects of overstocking were not so marked here as in the Cape areas already described, partly because the numbers of stock have not yet become so disproportionate to the grazing and partly because the nature of the soil and vegetation in most of the Transvaal areas is not quite so much subject to erosion as are certain areas in some parts of the other Provinces.

330.

There can be no doubt that the problem of overstocking and destruction of the land is becoming here, as elsewhere, more acute year by year and that the evils already described are becoming more and more felt.

331.

Your Commission formed a favourable impression of the general fertility of the soil in the areas visited, but, generally speaking, the smallness of the rainfall is a limiting factor. In fertility it may be said to be rather above the average of South African soil, and in some of the Reserves, notably that of Sibasa in the Zoutpansberg District, where the rainfall is also high, the fertility is exceptionally good.

332.

Nowhere could it be said that full advantage is being taken of this fertility. The use of ploughs in place of the hoe is becoming commoner and will probably soon be universal, but cultivation is, generally speaking, too shallow. As in the bush areas of Zululand, where cultivation takes place, the ground is imperfectly cleared, stumps being nearly always left standing which cause patchy and uneven tillage. Poor and degenerate seed is in almost universal use, the advantage of seed selection and improvement having yet to be learnt.

333.

Fencing is entirely absent, and, as elsewhere, its introduction will be an essential for the control and management of grazing.

334.

The class of cattle kept is of the usual undersized scrub variety. Though hardy and possessing a high survival value under the strenuous conditions of its existence, it is very low in productive capacity.

335.

In Sekukuniland your Commission was interested to observe that the arable lands were grouped together in large blocks. One such block comprised several hundred morgen of very fertile red loam, which should be capable of good production. The rainfall, however, is frequently deficient and commonly limits the return severely. In this area the spread of prickly pear was very noticeable, but it is said to be of value as a source of food both for the Natives and for their stock.

General Features of the Reserves.

336.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have given in outline a picture from the agricultural and pastoral points of view of the Native Reserves of the Union as they impressed themselves upon the Commission in the course of their inquiry. It will be convenient to sum up the position as it presents itself to the Commission.

337.

But at this point we think it well to sound a note of warning. The best laid plans for material improvements of Reserves will be only too apt to go awry, if they fail to carry the Native with them or if they ignore outstanding facts of Native mentality and tradition. In saying this, we wish to make it clear at once that such an axiom does not imply stagnation and must not be employed as an excuse for relapsing into a comfortable doctrine of laissez-faire.

338.

The outstanding feature of the Native Reserves, common to all of them in varying degrees, is the overstocking which exists to-day. The seriousness of the position can hardly be overstated. It was emphasized to the Commission by witness after witness, and their evidence was amply borne out by its own investigations, as well as towards the end of the inquiry by an authoritative exposition on the subject given to us by the Director of Native Agriculture.

339.

Your Commission believes that the tribal councils under their Chiefs could be made the most important avenue for the enlightenment of the people generally upon the over-stocking question. The cattle cult of the Abantu is far too deeply rooted a thing to allow us to look for quick or early results. But perseverance, together with sympathetic understanding of Native mentality and considerately applied persuasion, may help to achieve the desired end at a less distant date than might otherwise be expected.

340.

We have already described the promising results which are being achieved by Native demonstrators in raising the level of Native agriculture. The degree of success thus attained should encourage the application of a similar idea to the pastoral methods of the Native.

341.

Simple demonstration farms fenced and suitably paddocked but stocked in the first place with typical Native cattle might be established. The aim would be to show clearly and without too abrupt a departure from existing Native methods, what can be done towards grazing improvement and consequent betterment of stock by fencing and limitation of numbers to available feed. Beginning on the simplest possible lines such demonstration might be extended to showing the return to be gained from dairy produce, the sale of bullocks for meat and the improvement of breed by introduction of better class bulls. The existing agricultural colleges no doubt aim at something of the sort, but their object is probably to work on more advanced lines than are here contemplated. Care should be taken to advance in such a project step by step with the people themselves. To make this possible it would be important to enlist the Native interest through the medium of their own tribal institutions. Indeed the Commission feels that little result could be expected from such demonstrations—however admirable the spirit and execution of the idea—in the absence of tribal interest and approval. And if we are correct in thinking this it is but one more illustration of the vital importance of basing Native administration upon the known and familiar institutions of Native life.

342.

The next outstanding impression of the Reserves gained by the Commission was the general undeveloped condition in which they stand. The Commission saw for themselves that the Reserves include some of the richest land to be found in the Union. A comparison of a map of South Africa distinguishing the Native areas, with a rainfall chart, shows that the Natives as a whole have no reason to complain on the score of the moisture conditions of their lands judged by the general rainfall distribution of South Africa. This, together with that of comparative soil fertility, is a factor which is often left unmentioned when criticisms are made of the inadequate allotment of South African land to the Natives. Any comparison of the extent of the European area with that of the Native area which omits to take this factor into account, is only a partial presentation of the facts.

343.

Dr. Roberts desires to add to this paragraph the qualification that rainfall charts are usually misleading. To-day in Zululand, in the Transkei, in the Ciskei, there are large tracts of land coloured dark on the rainfall charts, where the land is held in an iron-bound drought, and famine broods over these unfortunate areas.

344.

The Commission has made it clear elsewhere in this Report that it believes the necessity for provision of further land for Native occupation to be established. But it is far from accepting the view that this necessity arises because a limit of development of the existing Native areas has been reached.

345.

The Commission is satisfied that there is room for very large development of the present Reserves, and it wishes to emphasize, with all the power it can, the desirability and the necessity in the interest of the country, European and Native alike, of placing a well planned scheme of improvement and development in the forefront of the national objectives.

346.

But it does imply that at the root of the problem lies a necessity for education, in the broadest sense of the word. The Commission has already suggested the need for a propagandist campaign against the overstocking evil, and it would give this as an instance of what it means by its use in this context of the term "education."

347.

The valuable work now being done by the Director of Native Agriculture would fall within the Commission's conception of what is required for development of the Reserves. In the short time in which this division of the Native Affairs Department has been at work, important results have been secured and the Commission feels that its aims and enterprizes hold out hope of great advancement in the material welfare of the Native people. The extension and further development of such work should be a most important object of the Native Affairs Department.

348.

At the risk of repetition the Commission would like to urge again that all schemes of improvement in the Reserves should be worked out in the closest possible harmony with the tribal institutions of Chief and council.

349.

But the problem is much too serious to permit of any shelving of it. As it was put to the Commission, it is now a race between the enlightenment of the Native and the complete destruction of his land. If "destruction" is allowed to draw much further ahead than it is now, the race will have been definitely lost, with irreparable consequences to the nation, white as well as black.

Family Budgets of Reserve Natives.

350.

A number of attempts were made by witnesses to show in detail the economic position of a Native family in the Reserves. Although the results arrived at could be only approximate they yet gave a picture more vivid than can be presented by a general descriptive statement. Two of the most valuable and interesting of these attempts, made by the Director of Native Agriculture and by the late Mr. S. G. Butler, then Principal of the Tsolo School of Agriculture, are given in Annexure 14—Statements I and II.