and consequently transference of her progeny to another family is a loss for which compensation must be paid. One of the songs of the initiation ceremonies is this: -

Timan kgarebone masi Deprive the virgin of milk
Dikgomo o ntse ka don She owes her existence to cattle (bogadi)
O di gatile ka serethe She treads them down with her heels.

The inner meaning of this song has reference to the womanhood of the unmarried maiden. The cattle refer to the bogadi. "Treading on the cattle" refers to the old fashioned skirts of a Modjane woman, which was made of ox skin, and in squatting on the ground this skirt was kept in place by her feet pinning it down (ikgabetsa).

Further the betrothal of a woman was founded or established by an ox so that nobody else might take her. This head of cattle was called "Tselele" that is pledge. Sometimes this pledge pledged the intention of friends or the love affairs of mates as is the case to-day. Nevertheless those who are thus betrothed are respectable individuals, i.e. are entitled to live their own lives.

In the old days the betrothal ox was called "tepampa or tharimpen". Tempampa means to tie a difficult knot in the belly. Tharimpen means the cradle of the belly.

I submit a few examples that have come to my notice.

(a) A man named Seete, the father of makganedi, took the daughter of Monare as a wife, but did not marry her legally or pay bogadi though he took her with the permission of her father and would have paid bogadi in the natural course of events, which is frequently paid after the birth of the first child. In due course a child was born, a daughter, but the mother had not been satisfactory in the view of Seete, he sent her home with her baby to Monare. Monare died soon after this leaving Seete's divorced wife and daughter in the care of his son named Botwe. By this time Seete had taken another wife and married her legally. He was anxious to obtain possession of his daughter by his first wife and accordingly asked Botwe for her. This was refused on the ground that he had not paid bogadi for
bogadi for her mother, Seete offered a cow as compensation to Botwe and again asked for the custody of the daughter; this was not accepted by Botwe who declared that the child was not an orphan, meaning she belonged to the family by natural right of birth, and although the cow was returned again and again, Botwe refused to part with the child.

When this child grew up she was married by bogadi, but the bogadi was paid to Botwe. There was only one way in which Seete could have obtained possession of his own child in Sechuana custom and that was givingly bogadi for his first wife, the mother of the child, but being christian he could not have two wives and in any case did not want the mother back on account of her conduct; he therefore offered a present of a cow in compensation to the family for the loss of their natural progeny which was opposed to Sechuana custom, belief and practice, viz that all the children born to a family through its female members belong to that family and must be paid for in cattle by the father's family if the children are to be transferred to them.

(b) Morolong is a deacon of the L.M.S. Church. His younger brother was married to the daughter of Mokgadi, and Morolong being "in locum parentis" presented 36 animals consisting of cattle and small stock to Mokgadi's daughter as a dowry, making it quite clear that he was not paying bogadi but assisting the young couple to start well in life. Mokgadi objected to this method and said that he would not allow his daughter to accept them, nor would he kill any of the animals as they were bogadi cattle. To this Morolong objected and insisted that they were only a dowry for the young couple, whereupon Mokgadi sent the whole back to Morolong. The result was and still is that the children of that marriage, in the eyes of the Natives, belong to Mokgadi's family and not to Morolong's.

(c) X, an European many years ago took the daughter of Naoto and M and paid bogadi for her. They had five children and then the woman died. The white man went to her parents and said, "Your
Dikgomo took the daughter of a man named Seleho, both families being heathen, but at the time when legal marriage had become popular in the Kuruman District. There were ten children of the marriage, many of whom are now married themselves. The wife died in 1927, leaving several minor children in the home. According to native custom the wife’s father came to mourn with the husband (tshedisa) and at the end of his visit informed the father that he was returning to Motitom and that he was taking the children with him. The father-in-law said “you did not pay bogadi when you married my daughter and so the children are mine”. He then went off with the children; the husband is now compelled to find bogadi before he can get his children back. He is trying to do this in order to recover possession of his children, notwithstanding that he was legally married, and actually has the right to sue in court for them; but this would make trouble in the family and social ostracism is a factor to be considered in Native life.

(d) X, an European many years ago took the daughter of Mzozo and paid a bogadi for her. They had five children and then the woman died. The white man went to her parents and said “your daughter is dead and you know I paid bogadi for her! The parents replied “yes we know, but her younger sister is married, who should become the "seantlo" of your wife.” Notwithstanding the fact that this younger had been married in the church with her native husband, they took the girl forcibly from her husband and handed her over to X, with whom she XX lived the remainder of her life and only died recently, after having a number of children by him. It is maintained by the Bechuanaans themselves that this procedure was according to customary law; even if there were children of the first wife, the parents were called upon to provide another woman to fulfill the bogadi contract. If they were unable to do this they would have to return a half of the bogadi, or pay a cow in compensation, but if the younger daughter had not been married by law, i.e. without bogadi and the husband had given bogadi for her then the parents would not have been called upon to give her to the widower.

(e) Mzozo had two daughters. For the elder bogadi was paid, but the
but the younger daughter who was married before her sister did not have bogadi paid for her. The elder sister died, and left no children and the parents offered the widower the younger, but both she and her husband who was a poor man, refused to agree to this and therefore Noto returned the bogadi to the widower, though he did not repay them all.

These would hardly stand the test of appeal since Act 35 of 1937 was passed but are given to illustrate the state of mind of the Natives themselves in regard to bogadi.

(9) **No overstocking in this District.**

(10) **See reply to 7.** I favour the custom of bogadi as being suitable to Native life but it should be defined and regulated by the Native Commissioner’s Court.

(11) **See reply to 7.** Poverty is the chief cause of changes in strict adherence to the bogadi system as well as resort to marriages by Christian virgins rites.

4. **Overstocking.**

(12) **Overstocking is not a problem in the Reserves in this District.** The people are becoming poorer every year and are not likely to have an excess of stock owing to droughts and the necessity for selling stock to pay taxes.

5. **Change of Soil.**

(13) The Natives, through ignorance or prejudice, do not use manure and have to rely on virgin or rested soil for the small crops they grow. They are callous in regard to trees and for that reason near most of the Reserves there are few trees. The remarks of Moffat in 1820 about the wanton destruction of trees and grass burning hold good to-day. The vast number of slow growing kameel-dorrens trees cut down throughout the country for mine props and firewood have left the country poorer in vegetation.

6. **Social and Economic Condition of Natives.**

14) They are going back socially and economically.

15) No.

16) Quite satisfactory to the simple minds of the Bechuanas.

7. **Native Migration.**
Native Immigration.

17) No increased tendency. They go from their Reserves to work on European Farms and town as servants or on the diggings and more often than not return to their Reserves to plough and reap their crops. The Bantu are at heart peasants and home birds and leave their Reserves solely for economic reasons.

18) None so far as Bantu are concerned.

19) The Bantu here in urban areas are on the whole fully employed as labourers and domestic servants.

Land Tenure by Natives.

20) I favour the communal system but the distribution of sowing lands and gardens should not be left to the arbitrary decision of a chief or headman. The head of a family should be allotted a piece of land which should be there so long as it is occupied and worked. I can mention cases where a native has been turned off his land by the Chief because he improved it to such an extent that the Chief was afraid that the white man might covet it. He had to go and the fruit trees were left to wither.

Landless Natives.

21) Servants of the Europeans. In this District the natives are not likely to increase and there is sufficient land available for them in their Reserves.

Farm Evictions.

22) No.

Natives on Farms.

23) Part cash wages and part wages in kind is the usual method here and suits both farmer and native.

24) It is not popular with Europeans nor do the Natives take to it.

Replacement of Farm Workers.

25) No.

Natives engage themselves from month to month so that they can go back to their Reserves when they please. Other terms are not understood by them.

Wages range from 8/- to 15/- per month on farms plus food and hut, wives and children may be paid direct or to the head according to the class of native employed. Farmers here do not take cognisance
cognisance of native customs in their treatment of their servants.

(28) Usually food and a hut free while working.

(29) As a rule when the head goes off to the Reserve he takes his wife and family with him.

(30) They usually get the right to plough a small piece of land or herd a few stock as part of their wages which is an inducement to a good servant to remain. The sowing lands may be from 1/4 to 2 morgen and the stock is limited to about ten cattle and 50 small stock.

(31) The Southern Lands Corporation of London owns 48 farms, Mrs Van der Post 6, and many others 1 to 2 each which are unoccupied and are illegally squatted on by natives at odd times. There are none legally occupied to my knowledge.

(32) Not worth considering. If they are occupied the Natives would go to their Reserves.

14. Farming by Natives.

(33) Cattle and small stock. Also mealies and kaffir corn on a small scale.

15. Marketing of Native Produce.

(34) Occasionally fruit and vegetables come in from two Reserves and are sold by the Natives in the town or to callers.


(35) No.

17. Employment of Europeans by Natives.

(36) No.

18. Recruited Native Workers.

(37) (a) yes, two. (b) yes. (c) 25/- farm labourers. 35/- for mines.

(d) Probably not but it is more satisfactory for the native to be employed under a proper agreement.

(8) The Bechuana prefer the Kimberley Mines otherwise the alluvial diggings. Recruiters have been able to get them to go to the coal mines in Natal, farms in the Transvaal and a few to the Rand Gold mines.

(38) A few basutos have come in to work for farmers who do not like or do not understand the Bechuana.
(39). No. As a rule the Bechuana see find their way home.

19. Recreation of Native Employees.

(40). No.

20. Effects of Absence Of Natives From Home.

(41). So far as farm work is concerned little harm is done as they work for a time and then return to the life of the Reserves. Alluvial diggings are a curse to the men and to the families who go with them to cook for the men. The former become lazy, undisciplined, and waste their earnings instead of sending money to their parents as they always did when they were employed in permanent mines. The women usually return with a fatherless baby and habits highly objectionable to their elders.

(21). Native Domestic Servants.

(42). Boys for rough work, girls for inside house work. The Cape ideas of domestic service prevalent here.

22. Organisation of Native Employees.

(43). Not at all.

23. Trade with Natives.

(44). Cash sometimes but barter or part barter or part cash as a rule. There are other stores to go to in most of the Reserves. The trader here is of a good type and carries the natives through their financial difficulties. Generally the Natives are so poor and are not by any means free from guile that it is the trader who requires protection.

(45). No.


(46). The Native who is educated usually goes back to peasant reserve at reserve life unless he is a teacher or minister—about the only vocations open to an educated man.


(47). None except for teachers and ministers. As things are I prefer to encourage the Bechuana to stick to their Reserves and improve their methods of stock breeding and sowing for their own use.


(48). None which the white man has to be provided for. Let the Bechuana
Let the Bechuana be encouraged only in his stock breeding and
meagre lands.

Laws affecting Native Workers in Towns.

Provide suitable dwellings for the Natives in urban areas, with decent houses and amusements
and lay down a reasonable minimum wage for the jobs on which they
are employed. Industrial disputes where Natives are concerned
may be decided by a conciliation and arbitration Committee consisting
of a Native Commissioner and a representative of employers.

Effect Upon Natives of Certain Legislation.

Except for the Masters and Servants Act and Native Taxation
and Development Act I am not able to say that the relations of
Bechuana and Europeans have been affected by recent legislation.

The Bechuana have large reserves secured to them from the
time of Annexation in 1885 and are very conservative and inclined
to follow their old ways and customs without worrying about the
white mans land. The Native Taxation and Development Act hit
them a hard blow by raising their 12/ tax to anything from
41 to 52. That the vast majority are unable to pay without
selling stock or pinching themselves in other ways. On the
farms their masters pay their tax to save them from gaol. So
far as the Native Administration Act is concerned its provisions
do not tend to bring the Native into closer touch with the
Government with beneficial effect to the Native. The Cape
Masters and Servants Act should be revised so as to bring its
provisions up to date, and, above all to protect Natives against a
type of master who withholds wages and practically holds him
to slavery by means of advances equivalent against wages.

Natives and Coloured Persons in Towns.

I always fear the contact of Native servants who have been
through Bogaera and Boyali Schools with European Children.

Good Feeling Between Europeans and Natives.

The Bechuana by reason of their physical and mental infirmity
have, especially since 1897 when they were broken by rinderpest
and rebellion, been treated with tolerance, if not contempt, by
the Europeans. The Bechuana are essentially good natured and
good natured and bear no ill will even when harshly treated. Perhaps disease has a great deal to do with their physical state as the following comparative figures in regard to syphilitic treatment by the District Surgeon will show.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1927</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Hospital</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>91</td>
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<tr>
<td>Outdoor</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>126</td>
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Native Commissioner.

Vryburg, Bechuanaland.
 Replies to Questionnaire : Native Economic Commission
Dealing with the district of Taung in my capacity as
Magistrate and Native Commissioner, and which office I
am holding since 1/9/1929.

--------------------------------------------------

LAND TRANSACTIONS AFFECTING NATIVES.

There is no land held by natives in freehold in this
District. Taung Native Reserve is held by communal tenure
and has a population of approximately 22,000.

USE OF LAND HELD BY NATIVES.

They eke out an existence as peasants. Crops are
invariably a failure. Last year they reaped about 100 bags
maises and 300 bags Kafir corn.

The reserve approximately 642 sq. Miles or 157,000
Morgen in extent, grazing the following:-

26,000 Cattle
200 Horses
2,500 Donkeys
1,000 Figs
120,000 Small stock

150,300 approximate total.
Donkeys are being killed to provide more grazing.

RECRUITED NATIVE LABOURERS.

Very little recruiting is done in this district.
The Batlapin prefer to work on the alluvial diamond fields
in the Transvaal for short intervals. Those natives who
are recruited for the Gold Mines usually contract for SIX
months and they rarely overstay their time. A Government
Labour Bureau is not likely to affect Native Labourers in
this district.

MASTER AND SERVANTS ACT:

8. (a) Cases against employers
    (b)  do. Natives

9. (a) No remarks to make
    (b)  do.

CRIME

.......

\[\text{\textit{99}}\]
Crime Committed by Natives.

II. Very little crime in this district. The Batlapin are very law-abiding on the whole.

POOR RELIEF FOR NATIVES.

II. Yes only by way of pauper rations for which the Cape Provincial Administration has allocated Eighty Pounds (£80) per quarter. This is inadequate for an impoverished native population of 22,000. Genuine cases have to be turned away. Additional Poor Relief has to be rendered by the Divisional Council of Vryburg which is 45 miles away. This is most unsatisfactory, especially in urgent cases where indigent natives have to be sent to hospital etc. The Divisional Council, as the responsible local authority, has about 50,000 natives in its area and is naturally reluctant in shouldering responsibility.

The grant of £80 abovementioned has now been reduced to £65 for the quarter ending 31.3.31.

The Dept. of Interior spends about £13 per month on Probationally discharged lepers and their dependents and about £2 to £3 per month on syphilitic paupers.

SANITATION.

II. Natives avail themselves of the privacy provided by the many thorn trees etc. surrounding the Court House. This is a rural area and I think this natural accommodation adequate.

SHELTER FOR NATIVES AT COURTS.

II. No waiting shelter provided other than that afforded by trees.

GENERAL.

N. G. R. A. L.

[Signature]

MAGISTRATE
MAGISTRAAT
NATIVE COMMISSIONER
NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

ANSWERS TO GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE.

Statement by Native Commissioner - I.B.Goldschmidt Esq.,
P.O.Box 21, Kuruman.

1. SCOPE OF STATEMENT.

1. Kuruman District.
2. (a) Bechuana; Botirare; and Batlahapin Tribes
   (b) Five years; 4½ years at Kuruman; 5 years at Mafeking; 5 years at Stutterheim; 5 years at Kingwilliamstown; and one year at Zululand.
3. (a) Eleven years
   (b) Nine years
   (c) Do so

2. TRIBAL SYSTEM.

4(a) Is a good one for Natives, as they as they able to manage their own affairs to a great extent, and progress on their own lines.

(b) 5(a) Yes to some extent.
   (b) Education and Missionary Work tends to lead them more on European lines of living, hence their wants are more.
   (c) Allow to develop on their lines.
   (d) Allow to continue unimpeded.
   (e) 6(a) There are no Chiefs in this District, which is to be regretted, only Native Headmen.
   (f) Yes Chiefs only.
   (g) They should be given Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction in their respective Reserves.
   (h) None—there being no Chiefs in this District only paid Headmen.
   (i) If one or two Chiefs were appointed I am satisfied that they would rule wisely, and nothing would give me greater pleasure than to see the Natives taken out of the pale of the European laws.

3. NATIVE CUSTOMS

7(a) Good influences, as it keeps the young men and girls straight.
   (b) Industry quite good, on their own lines.
   (c) i. Polygamy is gradually dying out. (ii) Lobolo is still carried on by both Christian and Heathen in a less extent by the Christians.

8(a) In many instances where Christian Rites take place the Natives refuse to pay Lobolo, and they are upheld by the Churches.
   (b) The same takes place.
   (c) They are induced to keep inferior cattle, as a beast of any breed is used for lobolo, and the greater the number the better.

9(a) Five to seven cattle, or twenty to thirty sheep, are accepted according to the wants of the people concerned.
   (b) Yes.
   (c) Yes. (d) Yes.

11(a) Cattle and sheep.
   (b) a. some also accept goats and horses.
   (c) Rinderpest and Gallamanskte.
   (d) Bad effects, as long as bread is not given it tends to lower the status of the women, folk, and are therefore
4. OVERSTOCKING

12(a) No.
(b) None
(c) Does not exist in this District as yet.
(d) Limited land set apart for natives who are on the increase every year.
(e) More land grants to natives who are increasing or limit their herds of stock by improving the breed, possessed by them at present.

5. CHANGE IN QUALITY OF SOIL.

13(a) No change in soil. Yes in vegetation, it is gradually getting less, by the cultivation of swamps and droughts are also a factor, as springs are not as strong as they were 25 years ago, so I am told by Mr. Hayes an old resident. Another factor is the damming of the country for agricultural purposes.

6. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF NATIVES.

14. Becoming more European in their mode of living, as their wants are more these days, they are degraded both male and female morally and economically.

15. Yes, but not to any alarming extent, as the Tribes here are of a very low type.

16(a) I should it helps, as it makes them more contented both men and women.
(b) No it does not hinder.(1) Helps (ii) Helps.

7. NATIVE MIGRATION.

17 (a) No this has not been the case in this District
(b) (c), (1), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v) only when seeking employment.
(c) vii only when seeking employment. (c) viii- and (ix)-

(b) From the social and economical point of view it is better for the natives to be under Tribal System, and remain in Reserves.

(19) Place them peculiar Reserves in their own District.
(b) By putting on a very heavy, personal tax(urban)

8. LAND TENURE BY NATIVES.

20(a) Yes communal in this District.
(b) No: Yes for the Basuto Race the individual tenure because the Basuto is a born farmer, and is very thrifty and hard-working. (i) ditto and (ii) ditto.

9. LANDLESS NATIVES.

21 These are absorbed by the farms and Town Locations at present. They either drift to towns or unto farms.

10. FARM EVICTIONS.

22(a) None to my knowledge this District.
(b) Nil
(c) Nil
(d) Nil (They usually drift back to the Reserves, when unable to get employment on the farms, or the towns)

11. NATIVES ON FARMS.

23(a) This is quite a good system if the right Natives are employed.
(b) Yes. If restricted to a quota, say five to ten.
(c) ...........
12. NATIVE LABOUR TENANTS ON FARMS.
24(a) Does not apply in this district.

13. REPLACEMENT OF FARM WORKERS.
25(a) No.
26(a) Poor white labour has entirely replaced Native labour on Road making, in Rural and Urban Areas.
27(a) In most cases no.
26(b) Quite a number of local Natives have been thrown out of employment.
(c) Most of the Natives on Mines receive no wages but work under contract.
27(b) In this district in kind to all.
(d) Do.
28 to 32 not applicable to this district.

14. FARMING BY NATIVES.
33. Stock and a little agriculture.

15. MARKETING OF NATIVE PRODUCE.
34(a) None. Very little is produced, not enough for their own consumption.
(b) Ditto.

16. NATIVES LEASING LAND TO NON-NATIVES.
35. None.

17. EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEANS BY NATIVES.
36. None here.

18. RECRUITED NATIVE WORKERS.
37(a) None.
(b) No, (c) and (d) no. (e) no.
38(a) None to my knowledge.
(b) None to my knowledge.

19. RECRUITMENT OF NATIVE EMPLOYEES.
40(a) None.
(b) Do.

20. EFFECTS OF ABSENCE OF NATIVES FROM HOME.
41(a) The effects are that if a man is away more than 9 months he neglects and afterwards forgets his family ties. The result wife and children suffer, as very often the man remits little or no money home.
(b) This applies to females as well.
(i) The wives and children are often left to fend for themselves.
(ii) The marriage ties are often broken and the family suffers.
(iv) This often suffers as the women carry on in the manner of the children in a half-hearted way, consequently there is very little development in this line.

21. NATIVE DOMESTIC SERVANTS.
42(a) Yes.

(b) / .................
42(b) Yes. Females are cheaper, better trained and cleaner in their habits than the males.

22. ORGANIZATION OF NATIVE EMPLOYERS.
    43. None to my knowledge.

23. TRADE WITH NATIVES.
    44(a) Yes.
    (b) Yes or both.
    (c) Yes. (iii) Both.
    (d) Yes.
    (e) Yes. (i) Very little credit is given.
    (ii) Yes. Good-fors are taken by the Trader from the Asbestos workers.
    (f) Ditto.
    (g) Very bad. They should be taught to pay cash, and not accept good-fors for their work.
    45(a) No.

24. EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON NATIVES.
    46(a) Good.
    (b) Very Well.
    (c) Is better, pay too low, to keep up standard of living at present.

25. OPENINGS FOR EDUCATED NATIVES.
    47(a) A few teachers and a few Clerks.
    (b) None.
    (c) This district is mostly a stock and a little agriculture is also carried on.
    (d) This district is poverty stricken.

26. NATIVE INDUSTRIES IN NATIVE AREAS.
    48. A little tanning of leather is done, stock and agricultural farming a little. Wheat, maize and kaffir-corn is grown in a primitive way, but the Natives are eager and ready to accept better methods if help is offered them.

27. LAWS AFFECTING NATIVE WORKERS IN TOWNS.
    49(a) Wages are too low to keep up the standard of living required by Town conditions.
    (b) Quite Satisfactory.
    (c)  

28. EFFECT UPON NATIVES OF CERTAIN LEGISLATION.
    50(a) Bad.
    (b) Bad.
    (c) Bad.
    (i) Native Land Act. The European is not allowed to sell to other than the Native within a Native Scheduled Area.
    (ii) Prevents a large number of Natives from obtaining employment.
    (iii) and (iv) 
    (v) They find it very hard to pay this tax and keep their families as well.
    (vi)  
    (vii) Consider a consolidated Master and Servant's Act should be passed for the Union as in the Cape Province. The Master and Servant's Act is only useful to the Master.
    (viii) This should be continued, it serves a useful purpose in the control of Natives.
    (ix) Should be abolished.
    (x)  
    (xi) This in my opinion is a wise measure.
    (xii) Time is not ripe for such an Act.

29. NATIVE AND COLOURED PERSONS IN TOWNS.
29. NATIVES AND COLOURED PERSONS IN TOWNS.

51(a) Bad Influences.
(b) ditto. As it inclines them to idleness and they are more susceptible to crime.

30. GOOD FEELING BETWEEN EUROPEAN AND NATIVES.

52(a) Yes.
(b) Inclined to be suspicious of any measure brought into force for their benefit, otherwise the feeling generally is good.
(c) Bad influences of European, the unfair distribution of land, as they say a farmer, has a farm to himself whereas they are expected to live in Reserves very often no better in extent than that possessed by one farmer.
(d) None.
(e) Fair treatment and guarantee a fair living wage for both male and female is all they want.
(1) Segregation in Native Reserves.
(2) do. do. do.

[Signature]
Native Commissioner/Magistrate.
The Magistrate,
Kuruman.

Re Syphilis amongst Natives in Kuruman District.

1. The following Natives received anti syphilis treatment during:

- 1928 -- 634.
- 1929 -- 515.
- 1930 -- 723.

2. These seem to be an increase in the number of Natives suffering from syphilis. This is probably due to the fact that the natives,

(a) do not receive an adequately efficient system of treatment,

(b) the natives are ignorant and unwilling to submit themselves to anti syphilitic treatment in its early stages, but in most cases do so when the disease is far advanced producing disfiguring lesions, on account of this lateness in commencing the necessary treatment, others are infected through sexual intercourse. A vicious circle thus arises.

3. No definite figures can be given owing to the peculiar nature of the problem as to the number of syphilitics amongst natives in this district, the impression I have after being in close contact with the problem during the last seven years is that about 50% are infected and will probably give a positive Wassermann reaction.

4. The present system is in my opinion inadequate. It certainly keeps a certain check on the spread of the disease but is unlikely to gradually eliminate it. The whole problem is financial, more money should be made available so the the District Surgeon should be in a position to visit more Native Reserves at much more frequent intervals. The present system in this District just touches the edge of the problem, and only scratches on the surface.

Signed, M. Cohen,
District Surgeon.
EXTRACT FROM STATEMENT RECEIVED, UNDER COVER OF A
LETTER DATED 29.4.1931, FROM REV. A.E. JENNINGS,
LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY, TIGER KLOOF, P.O. VRYBURG,
BECHUANALAND.

---

Monhakala's Statement on Bogadi.

I ought to write again about Bogadi notwithstanding the fact that it is now 45 years since the matter was adjudicated upon. But it still lifts its head up, like the bad Spirit of which Jesus spoke. It has already stolen the heart of some churches, as apparently Bogadi cattle are to be found at some of the Christians' cattle-posts, and it is already betraying some others.

For 44 years Bogadi behaved itself nicely without dissimulation, the Missionaries and the Church members observing it, and it observing them. Thus it was in the second stage of the needle. But in 1883, there arose a very great dispute about it, going so far as to be the subject of discussion by the chiefs, as in the case of Montshiwa, the chief of the Mafeking Barolongs. Both the Christians and the people of the tribe went into the subject of Bogadi, from the point of view of those who still held to the views of Dr. Moffat, and it became manifestly clear, after careful enquiry and sifting what was the nature of Bogadi. It became law in 1884. Bogadi was shown to be in deed and truth a purchase.

And if Bogadi be again reverted to let it not be disputed that it is a purchase. If not what is it? We are your people and the masters of Bogadi. If a Machuana be reminded that Bogadi is a purchase he will object saying it is not a purchase, because the spirit of Christianity denies his peculiar form of righteousness, for the righteousness of Christianity war against the righteousness of heathenism.

There have already been many big disputes in the past between our fathers concerning our mothers, when the owners of the women's children spoke with the givers of Bogadi, of which I will give instances:

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Excerpt from the Sechuana version of "Abide with me". His younger brother was married to the daughter of Mokgadi, and Morolofe being "in loco parentis", presented 36 animals consisting of cattle and small stock to Mokgadi's daughter as a dowry, making it quite clear that he was not paying Bogadi but assisting the young couple to start in life well. Mokgadi objected to this method and said that he would not allow his daughter to accept them, nor would he kill any of the animals as they were Bogadi cattle. To this Morolofe objected and insisted that they were only a dowry for the young couple;
whereupon Hokgadi sent the whole lot back to Morolo. The result was, and still is, that the children of that marriage belong to Hokgadi's family and not to Morolo's. This shows that Bogadi is a purchase which obtains possession of children.

The church strongly disapproved of Bogadi, maintaining truly that it is a purchase and not a gift or thanksgiving for it has no regard in any way for the bride.

The case of Mr. F.

This man is an European and many years ago he took the daughter of Mooto of Gasagonyana and paid Bogadi for her. They had several children about 5, and then the woman died. The man went to her parents and said "your daughter is dead, and you know that I paid Bogadi for her". The parents replied "Yes we know, but her younger sister is married, who should become the "Geantlo" of your wife". Notwithstanding the fact that this younger sister had been married in the church with her native husband, they took the girl forcibly from her husband and handed her over to Mr. F., with whom she lived the remainder of her life and only died recently, after having a number of children by him. It is maintained by the Bechauna that this procedure was according to customary law; even if there were children of the first wife, the parents were called upon to provide another woman to fulfill the Bogadi contract. If they were unable to do this they would have to return a half of the Bogadi, or pay a cow in compensation. But if the younger daughter had not been married by law, i.e. without Bogadi, and her husband had given the Bogadi for her, then the parents would not have been called upon to give her to the widower.

Chief Khama and Bogadi.

G. The father of Chief Khama was named Sekgoma the son of Kgari who was killed in warfare when a young man. Sekgoma was his eldest son, but his mother was not the principal wife as Kgari had been betrothed to young girl and Bogadi had been paid for her, as the head wife. When Kgari died his son Sekgoma ruled the tribe for some years before this girl grew up and according to the Bogadi law had a son by the relatives of Kgari. But this child, who was called Machef, was not born till twelve years after the death of his reputed father. But he was in no way prejudiced in his claim to the chieftainship of the Bamakwato tribe by this fact. When Sekgoma was annoyed by him or his claim to the chieftainship, he used to say that his only claim was that he was a "child of cattle", but this was enough to give him the undivided support of the tribe; and actually he ruled by this virtue alone when Sekgoma tried to prevent his own son Khama from enjoying the chieftainship, at the time of the strife between the father and son. It is not etiquette amongst the natives to refer to the actual father who has thus raised up seed to his brother, they are not his children, but he for whom the Bogadi was paid.

When the dispute was at its height between Sekgoma and Khama, and the old man was doing his best to put down his Christian sons, he remembered that he had once paid Bogadi for the daughter of Pelotona one of his head councillors and a strong supporter of the heathen party. He therefore
ordered Khama to take her home and make her his chief wife, notwithstanding that he had previously agreed to his legal marriage with Nma-Bessie and had concurred in the breaking of the original Bogadi transaction, in connection with Pelotona's daughter. Khama would not do this, taking the stand that he was a Christian and therefore unable to countenance polygamy, and he could not consent to his married wife taking second place to another, and his children born of Nma-Bessie losing their birthright of the chieftainship by children born of a subsequent marriage. Though his action involved him in years of strife with his own father, he manfully carried out his purpose and was faithful to his marriage vows to Nma-Bessie. He was a past master of the customs of his people and knew as few others the true inwardsness of the Bogadi obligations; yet when he came into the chieftainship he did away with all heathen ceremonies, including Bogadi, Bogwera and Boyali, and maintained throughout his long life that they were opposed in principle to the teaching and practice of Christianity. And for more than fifty years during which he ruled the Bamadhato tribe, he insisted upon Christian marriage, and refused to sanction the Bogadi procedure. And who shall say that he was less able to judge the needs of the Natives in this matter than Natives or Europeans of this later time?

1. Bogadi is the reciprocal giving of the parents of the bride and bridegroom by contract. It confers the proper status on a man and woman and gives legal stability to their co-possession of each other. It gives a child the assurance that it does not belong to its grandparents.

2. That is to say that although it may not be a purchase of the woman nor of her children, the cradle is dependent on Bogadi. But whether Bogadi is given or not, does not affect the man and wife; but if there is a child of the union then Bogadi gives the family its proper status.

3. Bogadi is conditioned by the position of the contracting parties; sometimes it consists of a single animal, and may reach up to a hundred, and is payable throughout a number of years. It may consist of cattle, sheep, goats and iron implements.

4. But if Bogadi has been paid and no child blesses the union, and the wife dies, or is barren, the whole of the Bogadi must be returned.

5. The Bogadi belongs especially to the family from whom she came, that is to her maternal uncle, which means that it is conditioned by the original Bogadi which was given for her mother, called "first cattle" or "the first cradle" and the inheritor of the Bogadi is the maternal uncle of the family of the bride.

6. The women strive after a large number of Bogadi animals and the expression "our woman" centres round the cattle given for her; and she herself is glad because of them especially when she has borne a child. The barren woman is called a "virgin" and it is apparent that Bogadi is given for fertility and that is the reproductive ability of a woman, for the name of a fruitful wife is "mosadigadi" which is "the feminine woman" and the word is made up of the word for woman with the feminine suffix added! It is worthy of note that the word for woman is "mosadi" which is derived from the verb "go sola" which means "to remain behind when the others have gone". This will explain the underlying ideas of paying Bogadi to the woman's mother's family, as the daughter is looked upon as the agent for the continuation of her departed relatives, or progenitors, and consequently transference of her progeny to another family is a loss for which compensation must be paid.
One of the songs of the Initiation ceremonies is this:

"Timan' kgarebame mashi
Dikgomo o ntse ka côna
Se owes her existence to
cattle (Bogadi)"

"O di gatile ka serêthô
She treads them down with
her heels."

And the inner meaning of this song has reference to the womanhood of the unmarried maiden. The cattle refer to the Bogadi. "Treading on the cattle" refers to the old fashioned skirts of a Mochuana woman, which was made of ox skin, and in squatting on the ground this skirt was kept in place by her feet pinning it down (lkohetsa).

By this song we see that this feast - Bogadi - has reference to the generative ability of womanhood. And everything connected with it showed the same idea, for the cattle were mostly cows, the iron implements were native ploughs, and other goods were beads; that is to say all of them were feminine things.

7. Further the betrothal of a woman was founded or established by an ox so that nobody else might take her. And this head of cattle was named "Pëllëi" that is "pledge". Sometimes this pledge pledged the intentions of friends or the love affairs of mates, as is the case today. Nevertheless those who are these betrothed are respectable individuals, i.e. are entitled to live their own lives.

In the olden days the betrothal ox was called "Tepampa" or "Tharimpâmè. Tepampa means "to tie a difficult know in the belly". Tharimpâmè means "the cradle in the belly".

The following points become evident:

1. Bogadi is shown to be a purchase of woman. Because she is called "a woman of cattle". That is to say when her husband is dead she is inherited for child-bearing. It is a terrible thing even to mention.

2. If she bears no children it is a fault; her younger sister must come to her assistance for this purpose; and if this also fails to produce children, then the whole of the Bogadi cattle must be returned, and any that have died must be paid for. Children are the property of the man who paid the Bogadi, the cattle being the evidence, even today.

3. Bogadi is only once paid for a woman, even though she be taken by numerous husbands. Those who are in favour of Bogadi are in the habit of saying it is merely a "thanksgiving". If this be so how is it that she may be taken by many men, and only one of them gives thanks? And why is it maintained that a proper "Seantlo" (i.e. a man's elder brother's widow, to whom he must raise up seed by Saeuana custom) is of the "cattle woman"?

4. The children are cared for because they are "cattle children", but their mother is of no account and is despised; she is called "mosaMwa" that is a person to be ruthlessly treated; spoiled, insulted or loved by other men, specially those of the family who contributed to the Bogadi cattle paid for her.

5. In the olden days Bogadi was very useful to our fathers, because they had great regard for their cattle; the mother was passed by, but the children were obtained by means of the
cattle. The mother was at the service of all the men of the family, and endured their despicable conduct on account of the Bogadi. But this promiscuous intercourse with the male members of the husband's family created great jealousy amongst them, regarding the paternity of the woman's children.

6. A man is free and unrestrained. It is said "a hashoga le mephaTO eotiehe".

Even though a husband dies and the wife is taken by another man, her womb has been redeemed by the Bogadi, therefore all her children belong to the family who paid the Bogadi.

We speak thus being children of Bogadi, and we cannot spoil ourselves or our own reputation, that would be disgraceful. Nor do we besmudge the condition in which we were born. We know that we are children of cattle ourselves which was an honourable condition in those times, and which preserved us until the coming of the Light. But for all that we know what our fathers thought about it. Moreover we also are fathers of grown up daughters, and we should welcome thanksgiving. In 1910 the Advisory Council of the L.M.S. churches met at the town of Molepolole together with Sebele the chief of the Bakwena, and Bathoef the chief of the Bakwahetse. The question of Bogadi was fully discussed with the chiefs and representatives of the churches, and it was resolved that "Bogadi of the church members is the Christian marriage service, and the desire of the parents to slaughter the whole of the cattle provided for the marriage feast is wanton extravagance. Let some of the cattle be slaughtered for the feast, and some be reserved and presented to the young married couple, to assist them in setting up house for themselves."

If Bogadi is a "thanksgiving" it is a very crooked one. It is not either the mother's or the father's. If a Christian desires Bogadi and eats it, he steals its only virtue. For the essence of Bogadi is this. It has six customary proprietors only. They are the grandparents of the bride and groom, their maternal uncles and their fathers' sisters; the maternal uncle of the bride is not thanked, he has bought with a cow, and if he fails to provide it, he is not allowed to assist in the killing of the ox by chopping off a horn, which is his prerogative. And the "Barathamashori" (i.e. the Moshiri Choppers) are those who have the "ox of slaughter" called "talphisho", who are not the real parents of the bride. It is the first womb.

We are not examining Bogadi as though it were on trial, for it is outside the church - rejected. But we warn new members and strangers who are liable to return to the things that Christianity has rejected. As also new forms of Christianity which are attempting to establish Christianity by heathen methods which are untrustworthy. These say that the methods of the first missionaries and native Christians were unwise, because in the first contact between heathenism they threw away opportunities of riches and profit in discarding Bogadi. But we would strengthen you, brothers; and we affirm that the first Christians fought a noble warfare when they strove for righteousness and a worthy temple of the soul in which the Spirit of God dwells, which is our bodies, that the righteousness of faith might dwell in them with freedom. They were indeed great men; but we must remember that we are but of yesterday!

We are aware that in some tribes at the time of, or on the day of handing over the Bogadi, there was the custom of "thanksgiving" which was called "telekelob". This consisted of two cattle, a bull and a cow; the bull was for the father of the bride, and the cow for her mother. And they were meant to express...
express fertility. Some tribes called them "sehololoho" of motherhood; that is "the suckling breast". These were sent to the bride's parents before the cattle of the Bogadi, and care was taken that those who took them should not meet those who took the Bogadi cattle on the road, in the time of our fathers. This "seleleklela" was indeed a thanksgiving to the parents of the bride.

But Bogadi is a double form of looting, the bridegroom's people loot a woman, and the bride's family loot cattle. That is why, when the bride is adorned in the sweetbread, after the feast of the ox, the friends of the bridegroom come with rejoicing singing the war song of victory, with the words "White ox you, haven't we captured her"! And the bride's people sing in answer "And haven't we captured the cattle"? The songs of the Bogadi are songs of war.

Why, even in the "Mokwele" (that is the ceremony of betrothal, accompanied by the giving of a slaughter animal) the ox did not bring any peace. It ratified a vow of the parents which gave the woman no freedom or self-determination. Consistent Christians do not say that "Mokwele" is right. It is like a plough, or the things called needles. These things are not fitting to make a road for a marriage for Christian people; because they buy their prerogatives at the cost of a woman.

In the same way the "tempama" is a bet on the fruit of a woman's womb, and in addition Bogadi leads a man into idolatry. And we hear it said that even in the case of legal marriages similar doctoring takes place. But if this is so it is because the Christian marriage feast is conditioned by the practice of Bogadi. That is why we see instead of Christian marriage, followed by, or accompanied with, a gift to the bride's parents, church members are considering the question of paying Bogadi, as they fear that the heathen will refuse to be defrauded of their customary rights.

Signed M. Lekalake.
**Comparison of Bogadi and Christian Home-life.**

Christianity makes no allowance for a break-away from the beneficent circle of its family from generation to generation and ardently works for the success of the children to the godly inheritance of their parents. Indeed the Christian view of the home can be summed up in the statement that it is a picture of the Kingdom of God in miniature and that every Christian grace and virtue pregnant in the ideal of Christianity should find its scope and theatre in the Christian home.

Christianity is the most tolerant system of Religion in the world, and has looked in pity and compassion throughout the centuries upon the misbeliefs and disabilities of the worshipers of other Religion; but it has never been tolerant of heathenism or heathen practices within its own border, nor submitted its high standard of the home and family to the interference and degradation of the low ideals of the world.

And we who control its affairs in these modern days, to whose defence and protection the Christian standard and high ideals have been committed in trust for the peoples of Africa, cannot give place to the standards of un-morality as evidenced by the theory and practice of Bogadi, without betraying both the Kingdom of God and the infant indigenous Church, which is our inheritance from previous generations of Christian missionaries, and our sacred trust and charge.

Should the Christian Church sanction the Bogadi status of its male and female members, it would be well to write "Ichabod" over the doors of our Christian assemblies, and to return to the land of our birth and upbringing to re-learn the basic principles of our Faith and practice, for Bogadi is the negation of the essence of the Christian teaching on the fundamental requirements of the Christian home.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MAGISTRATES AND NATIVE COMMISSIONERS.

SCOPE OF STATEMENT:
1. Statement applies to District of Mafeking and is rendered in my capacity as Magistrate of the District where I have been stationed for 12 months.

LAND TRANSACTIONS AFFECTING NATIVES:
2. (a) Not in this District
   (b) vide (a)
   (c) vide (a)
3. None as far as is known.
4. (a) No tendency in this District.
   (b) vide (a).

USE OF LAND HELD BY NATIVES:
5(a) Normally the only use made by natives of land held in individual tenure in this district is to graze their stock thereon and once each year to "scratch" the ground with their ploughs to sow mealies and kaffir-corn. As much as possible is taken out of the ground with hardly a thought of returning anything to it.
   (b) There are no syndicates in this district.
   (c) With few exceptions, no steps are taken to prevent overcrowding of stock in this district which is principally large stock producing where natives have an inherent weakness for numbers regardless of their value.
   (d) With few exceptions all native land-owners welcome labour tenants and squatters to their land and give little thought to improving their land. They make no better use of their land than squatters, labour tenants or natives in native areas.

RECRUITED NATIVE LABOURERS:
6(a) The average period is 4½ months
   (1) Economic pressure;
   (b) (11) Attractive work bringing in reasonable remuneration
   (111) Good treatment by the employers i.e. food accommodation
(c) Deducting rail fares and incidental expenses to work on the way which a native is expected to refund, the average monthly earning would be in the vicinity of £2.5-0.

7 (a) The native, who owing to economic pressure, is forced to work which would guarantee better remuneration for his work no matter in what manner it is achieved. It would of course take some time before the natives become familiar with the change.

(b) More natives would go forward, naturally, to each class of centre( but always subject to economic pressure i.e. bad seasons etc) A native loves his kraal and the social life in the reserve (or relocation) especially during a good season and whilst his wants and those of his dependants can be reasonably satisfied he will not stir from his kraal.

(c) A native labour bureau is supposed to be conducted at each native commissioners office. In this district frequent inquiries have been received for native labour from farmers but in no case has it been possible to induce natives to accept work. However, if a comprehensive scheme is organised under the aegis of the Government a better response is visualised.

Masters AND SERVANTS ACT.

3 (a) 4 (b) 28.

9. (a) The act satisfies the reasonable requirements of employers and employees and (b) does not in my opinion need amending.

CRIME COMMITTED BY NATIVES.

10 (a) Considering the large native population of the district estimated at 34,000 and judging by the number of cases brought before the courts crime amongst natives is not prevalent in this district. The Chiefs in this district, however, have jurisdiction to try cases in respect of crimes committed by their tribesmen but of these cases no record exists. The principal factor that has contributed to the commission of the more serious crimes is the
over-indulgence in intoxicating liquor.

POOR RELIEF FOR NATIVES.

11. Yes to a very limited extent rations chargeable
to the Provincial Administration are being supplied
in so far as funds permit. There are only three families
on the pauper register at the present time.

SANITATION.

12(a) Urinals and closets (b) adequate.

Shelter for Natives at Courts.

13. Yes.

General.

14. I have not replied to the General Questionnaire owing to
my knowledge and experience of natives extending over a
period of 12 months only. The Questionnaire was, however,
completed by the Superintendent of Natives of my Staff
and forwarded to the Commission on the 30th April, 1931.

15. No.

Magistrate and
Native Commissioner.
The Secretary,
Native Economic Commission,
P.O. Box 384,
Pretoria.

Native Economic Commission,

with reference to Native Affairs

Identical Minute No 64/276 (4) of the 21st January last,

upon the above subject, I beg to forward a report furnished at my request by the superintendent of natives, dated the 11th instant.

This deals, as far as possible

with all the points raised in the questionnaires - and

meets with my concurrence - having been prepared in consultation with me - and there is no necessity to

amplify.

As will be noted the officer

in question has been stationed here for over five years -

and I have been in charge of the district for over six.

A. W. Roberts

Registrar & Native Commissioner,
Griqualand West District,
12th March 31
Office of the Superintendent of Natives,
Native Affairs Department,
P.O. Box 7,
Griqualand West,
District,
11th March 1931.

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To the
Registrar,
Griqualand West,
District.

With reference to identical minute no 64/276 (4) dated the 21st January last, on the above subject I have the honour to report:-

SCOPE OF STATEMENT.

1. (a) I propose only to report on the Roy District.
(b) As Superintendent of Natives for the Roy District.
(c) I have been stationed at Griqualand West in the Roy District, since the 1st February 1926 (6 years).

LAND TRANSACTIONS AFFECTING NATIVES.

2. (a) There have been stationed in this District, no proposals have come forth from natives to purchase land, nor has there been in the past as far as I can ascertain.
(b) On no occasion have natives purchased land in this District, which they eventually lost.

3. (a) There is no tendency amongst natives that own ground, to dispose of same to Europeans.

4. (a) No syndicates exist in this District.

5. (a) Natives owning land by individual tenure, generally speaking do not make full use of their ground.
(b) No syndicates exist in this District.

6. (a) One of the main factors which tend to prolong the tenures of recruited natives is generally the condition of work which he is on. Natives do not like deep mine work.
(b) The highest average earnings of a recruited native is about 63 per month, food and quarters provided.
7. (a) I consider natives would favour the idea of adding
recruiters' capitulation fees to their wages and it
would make the government labour more very
popular.

(b) (i) The tendency amongst natives, going forward
voluntarily, is increasing year by year, so
much so, in this district, that the principal
mining industry, has ceased recruiting. The
voluntary supply of labour being sufficient,
it is difficult to remark what the effect will
be on natives going onto farms. The present
general rate of pay on the farms is very small
and there is no incentive for natives to
(ii) seek such labour.

(ii) But it will certainly increase the popularity
of the larger native centres. This district
cannot be regarded as one of such.

7. (c) I will not give any information under this
head.

MASTERS AND SERVANTS ACT

8. (a) There have been 65 employers of natives charged
during 1933.

(b) There have been 45 natives charged during 1935.

9. (a) I do not consider the master and servants Act is on
too sound a basis for both employer and labourer.
All employers and native labourers should be
compelled to enter into written contracts. This
would do away with much obvious difficulties and
misunderstandings - especially on the part of the
natives.

(b) The Act does not affect this district to such an
extent as enable me to suggest any further
amendment to that indicated above. (vide under (a)).

CRIME COMMITTED BY NATIVES.

10. (a) Taking on the whole, there is not much crime
amongst natives in the country areas of the
district except stock thefts which occur from
time to time. On the banana area yields recently
there have been several cases of assault etc due to
the effect of liquor (kaffir beer), but
considering the large number of natives employed,
these cannot be regarded as excessive in number.

(b) I attribute the crime, that is committed in the
rural areas to laziness and also the fact that
the wages paid are very small.

POOR RELIEF FOR NATIVES.

11. (a) There is no special provision made for poor
relief for natives in this district necessitous
cases are dealt with in the ordinary way by
rationing under the authority of the Magistrate of
the district from funds supplied by the
provincial government.