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THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PIONEER TRADERS TO
THE CISKEI:
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CHANGES THE PIONEER TRADERS
BROUGHT ABOUT IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL STRUCTURE
OF THE KHOSA PEOPLE

by

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DEDICATION

To my dear Mother, Ray Shap, and to the memory of my late Father, Louis Shap, this work is lovingly dedicated. Side by side they served, across their trading store counter, the people of the Ciskei, ensuring that the scales of measure and justice were balanced with honesty, sincerity, and kindness. Together with the many pioneer traders of the Ciskei they served the African people by bringing them not only the wares but also the humanitarian aspects of Western Civilization.

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Mary Kropman

University of Cape Town

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INTRODUCTION

Across the roof-top of the trading station at Nygwenia, in the heart of the Ciskei, is the faint outline of a name which, for almost half a century, could be seen for miles -- the name of my grandfather, Benjamin Shap. Fifteen miles away, at Debe Nek, another rooftop bears the outlined name of another Shap trader -- that of my late father, Louis Shap.

At the age of seven, I was sent as a boarder to the Kaffrarian School for Girls in King William's Town. From my first day there, I asked myself: "Why do my parents live in the country?" Throughout my childhood, I repeated this question over and over again. Five years ago, after an absence of fourteen years, I re-visited the Ciskei. I travelled through the Katberg mountains and, as I saw the village of Balfour nestling in the valley, I asked myself: "Why did the Budows settle in Balfour, the Abramowitz's in Seymour, and the Shaps in Nygwenia and Debe Nek?" I knew that my grandfather had left a wealthy home in Russia because of the pogroms, and travelled to the United States of America, only to find he could not earn sufficient for himself and his family to live on, and decided to emigrate to South Africa. After a short stay in King William's Town, he settled in Nygwenia.

In tracing back the reasons for my family settling in the Ciskei, I came to realize that they, with all the other traders living in remote trading stations in the area, had played an enormous role in the lives of the Xhosa-speaking

people they served. Wishing to understand the role of the trader, and his contribution to the Ciskei, I undertook the research of which this thesis is the outcome.

Study of the records of early shipwrecks and of how the survivors traded with the Black people they encountered on the east coast of Southern Africa during the 15th and 16th centuries, highlighted for me the fact that, even in these earliest contacts, there was a mutual interest on the part of the Black and White men to trade. This interest was maintained, in spite of all restrictions imposed upon trade. Not even the many wars between the White and Black population halted this trade.

The White trader was the torchbearer of Western civilization and played an important role in influencing the lives of the Black people he served. As a rule, there arose between White trader and Black customer strong bonds of friendship and loyalty. The White trader brought with him not only the wares of Western civilization but a whole way of life.

The day-to-day lives of contemporary White South Africans are characterized by a plethora of material possessions, readily acquired. It is no longer easy to realize the enormous role that small, everyday things can play in altering a pattern of living. It was such commodities which the trader offered -- unknown products which satisfied and

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increased the wants of men and thereby brought great changes in the living pattern of the Ama-Xhosa. Not only did the trader influence the individual lives of the Ama-Xhosa, but he influenced the development of the Ciskei as a whole. From a pre-industrial, isolated, folk society, the Ciskei has in less than two centuries become a modernizing political entity that may soon achieve independence as a separate country.

In order for a State to develop, it must provide the necessary institutions for the development of its people. With the era of White-owned trading stations coming to a close, those services offered by the trader must be replaced by organised State institutions using the most modern techniques and knowledge available.

But just as at present the names on the roof-tops of trading stores have not yet weathered away, so, both in the history of the development of the Ciskei, and in its present communal life, the role played by the pioneer traders is still clearly to be read.

NEED AND TIMELINESS OF THE STUDY

There are at present nineteen White traders and 204 Black traders trading in the magisterial districts of the Ciskei. In view of the fact that the era of the White trader is coming to a close, I felt it timely to undertake

this study.

In the process of completing this study I heard the sad news of the passing on of a dear friend, Wolf Zisman -- a man who spent a lifetime, albeit 65 years in a trading store. He was one of the many traders I was fortunate to interview thus gaining much information which would otherwise have been lost.

SOURCES

The research for this thesis was done from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources were interviews with traders which were recorded on tape, as well as questionnaires. The traders proved to be most co-operative and not only completed the questionnaires but often wrote lengthy letters with added information. The trading records of my late father which I have in my possession proved most useful.

The secondary sources included books of which many are considered "Africana" as well as Government publications, journals, pamphlets, newspaper reports and unpublished dissertations.

University of Cape Town

EXPLANATION OF TERMS USED IN THIS STUDY TO DESCRIBE
THE BLACK PEOPLE OF THE CISKEI

The Black people of the Ciskei and Transkei are the descendants of the Chief Xhosa after whom they called themselves and their language. I have used the term "Xhosa" and the plural form "Ama-Xhosa" as well as "Black people" and "Africans".

I have tried to avoid the use of the term "Bantu" which is the official term of the Republic of South Africa for Black Africans and literally means "people" and is also used to describe the languages of the Black people of Southern Africa. The word "Native" which was at one time frequently used has now become almost a term of abuse, the white, black and coloured people all claim to be native to the country.

I have only used the much hated word "kaffir" when quoting from original texts. The word "kaffir" is derived from the Arabic word kafir, meaning "unbeliever" or "infidel" and applies to anyone not of the Islamic faith. The word "kaffir" was applied to the ama-Xhosa by the British after they had occupied the Cape in 1795. They spoke of "Kaffir Wars", they formed the "Kaffrarian Rifles" and they described the territory as "Kaffraria". The words "Kaffirpot" (three legged caste iron pot), "Kaffir sheeting" (Manchester twill), and "Kaffir corn" (grain sorghum) are

still used.

The word that possibly describes best the people of the Ciskei is "Ciskeian".

CHAPTER ONE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE IN THE EASTERN
CAPE AND HOW IT AFFECTED THE AMA-XHOSA

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE AMA-XHOSA BEFORE
CONTACT WITH WESTERN CIVILIZATION

The economic life of the Ama-Xhosa has undergone a great many changes through contact with the European way of life. Before Western civilization reached them, their needs were comparatively few and they were self-sufficient.

Cattle, goats, fowls and grain provided them with most of the necessaries of life. By means of this also, they bartered for such other things as they had need of. Livestock formed the family and tribal bank. It supplied meat and milk for food, leather clothing, etc., and dowry for the bride¹.

Land was the foundation of the whole social and economic system of the Bantu. An adequate supply of land was necessary for the continuance of tribal life in which each family unit was self-supporting. Land was loaned by the chief to the families of the tribe -- there was no private ownership of land. The grazing land was regarded as a tribal common. When a field or pasture was exhausted, it was abandoned and fresh fields and pastures were found².

For the Southern Bantu, cattle are the tribal equivalent of money. They are stores of value, standards of value, and media of exchange³. As consumption goods, cattle supply meat and milk for food, hides for clothing and a dowry -- "Lobolo" -- for a bride, and the principal medium of

paying fines to the tribal authorities. The possession of cattle is also linked with the whole Bantu social and religious organisation.

Agriculture has always taken a secondary place to pastoral life. Grain (sorghum and millet) was a staple of diet. It was food, and also functioned as money. It could be stored (there was a risk of loss by rot or pest) and was a medium of exchange -- grain could be converted into small stock and cattle. The Southern Bantu also kept sheep and goats which provided meat and were also used for exchange.

The economic unit was not the tribe but the family which was able to supply all its own needs. Production was, therefore, for subsistence and not for exchange. Polygamy was extensively practised. The wives not only did the household work, but also cultivated fields. The men looked after the cattle and engaged in hunting and fighting. The relatively slight development of specialisation in other occupations was reflected in the marked absence of systematic trade. There was little production for exchange, except with pots, baskets, iron goods and similar utensils and implements; and no markets, periodical or otherwise. There was no wage-earning class dependent upon the sale of its labour and this subsistence economy gave the African no experience of an exchange system, nor of production for markets and the use of money. Lack of specialisation

implies lack of trading opportunities and the main reason for trade was to even out the distribution of surpluses between production units⁴.

THE BARTER TRADE WHICH TOOK PLACE BETWEEN THE
AMA-XHOSA AND THE SURVIVORS OF THE EARLY SHIP=
WRECKS IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

In their endeavours to find a new sea-route to India for reasons of trade, the Portuguese discovered the Cape in 1486. The survivors of wrecked trading vessels were the unwilling explorers of a great stretch of coastline of south-east Africa. They made the first extensive contacts between European and Bantu-speaking inhabitants of South Africa. It is, therefore, not surprising that the first record of trade between the Ama-Xhosa and the European was the barter trade which took place between survivors of shipwrecks and the Ama-Xhosa⁵.

The Portuguese ship "São Bento" was wrecked in April 1554 somewhere in the region west of the Keiskamma River. The survivors "were constantly followed by Kaffirs" and after 22 days travelling, they bartered for food with small pieces of iron⁶.

In 1593, another Portuguese ship, the "Santo Alberto", was wrecked somewhere in the vicinity of the Keiskamma River.

A journalist reported that the Bantu "value the most necessary metals, as iron and copper, and for very small pieces of either will barter cattle, which is what they esteem most, and with which they trade, exchanging them for other treasures"⁷. A report of the journey was made as a guide for possible future shipwrecks off the coast of Africa. Information was given on climate, necessary provisions, firearms, and the "items of metal required for trade". The beach was to be avoided and the more "prosperous inland route, where villages and cattle were to be found" should be taken⁸.

In 1622, another Portuguese trading vessel, "São João Baptiste" was wrecked, probably a little way east of the Fish River. The survivors met people "whiter than mulattoes", who gave them a present -- an ox and a leather bag of milk. They travelled for two months and met "the son of a king" who presented them with an ox. Further on they saw kraals with herds of cattle and gardens, and were offered milk and cows for sale⁹.

In 1635, the "Nossa Senhora de Belem" was grounded somewhere between the Mthabha and Mbashee Rivers and the survivors spent six months there building themselves a boat. They bought 219 cattle but, lacking leadership and discipline, they shot the Chief as well as several men¹⁰.

Crews of trading vessels provided detailed information about the coast of Africa and survivors of shipwrecks provided details of the shore and much of the inland territory and information about the Bantu-speaking people. The survivors of Portuguese shipwrecks made the first extensive contacts between Europeans and the Bantu-speaking inhabitants of South Africa. Portugal had, however, come to south-east Africa "primarily for strategic and commercial reasons". The introduction of maize by the Portuguese in the 16th century was one of the greatest contributions of the Portuguese to Africa, as maize became the staple diet of the Africans. The Portuguese policy towards the Africans was one of co-operation and administration was left to local rulers; subsidies were given to chiefs and kings. Basically, the hope of financial gain accounted for Portugal's continued presence in south-east Africa¹¹.

FIRST EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT AT THE CAPE
AND THE SUBSEQUENT PROHIBITION ON TRADE

The Dutch successfully invaded the Portuguese monopoly of trade with the East. Six Dutch Trading Companies amalgamated to form the Dutch East India Company ("D.E.I.C."). The Charter granted in 1602 by the Netherlands States-General gave the D.E.I.C. the monopoly of Dutch trade and navigation between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of

Magellan, where it was empowered to make treaties, wage war, administer stations, and appoint military and civilian officials. The D.E.I.C. was run by the Chamber of Seventeen which was subject to the States-General.

In 1651, the D.E.I.C. approved a proposal that a half-way station be established at the Cape in order to provide the Company's ships with fresh fruit, vegetables, meat, and water.

In April, 1652, Jan van Riebeeck and his expedition of about 90 men landed in Table Bay. The Cape became a remote branch of a very large business concerned primarily with profits. Van Riebeeck was employed by the D.E.I.C. and his occupation from the day he landed at the Cape until the day he left was trade, and, in particular, the cattle trade. The cattle trade with the Hottentots remained, for a long time, the chief source of the Company's meat supply. The Company was determined to reserve this trade for itself. In 1657, it approved of nine of its servants becoming freemen and they were given land to be farmed, but were allowed to sell their produce and livestock only to the Company. In 1658, they were forbidden to barter for cattle with the Hottentots. However, this prohibition was difficult to enforce. The White population slowly increased -- through allotting land to suitable employees and permitting them to end their service to the Company and by immigration, particularly by the arrival of the French Huguenots.

In 1697, the Governor of the Cape, Simon van der Stel, prohibited the bartering of cattle with Hottentots "under penalty of whipping, branding, banishment, and confiscation of property".

In 1700, however, the Company decided to relinquish its trade with the Hottentots and throw it open to the burghers, provided the Hottentots were not ill-treated. The Company would obtain its meat by tender¹².

In 1702, a cattle plundering expedition from Stellenbosch, consisting of 45 Europeans and as many Hottentots, left for the eastern parts of the interior, and fell foul of Bantu tribesmen in the neighbourhood of the Fish River. The cattle vendors then attacked the Hottentots of the area and drove away their cattle. When the criminal conduct of this party became known, free barter was suspended again, but as usual the new prohibition was ineffective¹³.

In 1726, after reports of maltreatment of Hottentots by cattle raiders, a "Placaat" (ordinance) was issued, forbidding, under most severe penalties, all dealings by private persons "with uncivilised inhabitants".

As a result of further raiding of cattle from Namaquas, another proclamation was issued in 1739 prohibiting barter for cattle with natives "on pain of bodily and capital punishment". The proclamation was followed by further

"Placaaten", but the cattle barter continued all the time, especially in the frontier and interior regions of the Colony, where the Company's control was weak or entirely absent.

The Company's officials were also guilty of injustice and violence in their dealings with the Hottentots. Thunberg describes how a corporal was sent by the officials of the Company with a few men to barter with the Hottentots for their oxen. Against arrack, glasshead, iron, and tobacco, he not only got their oxen for slaughter but their calves, cows and sheep, and this exchange was not always with the Hottentots' goodwill and consent, but by compulsion and frequently by force. The arrack was usually diluted with water. Thunberg mentions a certain Corporal Feldman who procured 500 oxen by barter by which he enriched himself, giving only 50 to the Company's slaughter-house. He suggested that the traffic should take place with the "Caffres" and Namaquas, who were possessed of a great quantity of cattle, and where land had not hitherto suffered in the least by the encroachment from the Colonists¹⁴.

THE HUNTER AND TRADER

There are few records of the many hunting and trading expeditions in the early part of the 18th century, one expedition being the expedition headed by Hermanus Hubner.

In May 1736, a party under Hubner's leadership gathered at the Cape, intending a trading expedition into the country of the Xhosas to obtain ivory. There were 13 wagons, each with a full span of oxen, and a number of Hottentot servants. The wagons were laden with provisions -- powder and shot and trade goods -- a powerful and expensive expedition.

After passing the last farm, Hagelkraal, which was at the entrance to Attaquas Kloof, the members of the expedition left civilization behind them. They made a long journey down Langekloof, to reach the coastal plain near the Gamtoos River. Passing Algoa Bay, they entered the land of the friendly Gonaquas. They then crossed into the country of the Ama-Xhosa. They were well received by a chief named Bange and later by Palo, Paramount Chief of the Ama-Xhosa. There were few elephants to be found and they pushed onward. In Tembuland, they were joined by another party of four White men who were on a similar mission and had six wagons. They were in wilder country now and elephants were more abundant, enabling them to shoot and also trade a fair quantity of

ivory. They are said to have reached Terra de Natal. They came across three Englishmen living as members of a kraal, having been shipwrecked on the coast some years earlier. The Englishmen had accumulated a considerable store of ivory and supplied five wagon-loads of ivory in return for copper, iron, and beads. Hubner did not leave sufficient trade goods to satisfy them and agreed to make a return journey. The Englishmen also helped Hubner in trading ivory from the Natives. They accumulated ten wagon-loads of elephant tusks, each load weighing about 1 900 lb. -- a fortune in ivory.

On their return, after Hubner and five burghers visited Palo, they were attacked and most were killed. The wagons were emptied and set alight as the Xhosas wanted the iron fittings. They did not know about gun powder; there was an explosion and many were killed. But of the fortune in ivory which had occasioned the murder, no word was ever heard again¹⁵.

5

FIRST GOVERNMENT COMMERCIAL EXPEDITION TO
THE EASTERN CAPE

An expedition was sent by the Cape Governor in 1752, headed by Ensign R. v.d. Beutler, the purpose of which was to see whether any articles of commercial value could be obtained from the inhabitants of the Eastern Cape and to

explore the country. The expedition followed the way of the hunters and traders. Beutler says that the Bantu were eager to barter cattle for trinkets. He reached the Keiskamma River on June 20th 1752. Millet, bread of the same grain, leaf tobacco, and dagga were for sale. The expedition bartered for cattle with Chief Bange and with Palo's son "for articles of no great value". Theale states that "these people must have been well acquainted with ivory hunters and traders as they brought an elephant tusk for sale and asked an extravagant price for it"¹⁶.

6

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EARLY WAGON ROADS
AND FURTHER GOVERNMENT PROHIBITIONS ON FREE TRADE

In 1768, the Cape Government appointed a commission to define the boundaries of the Colony. This commission not only found a road from the district of Swellendam leading "eastwards to the abode of the Kaffirs" but they were told of a narrower road running the same way. This road was "merely a track frequented only by hawkers using horses and horsecarts instead of wagons". While the "togtangers" (hunters and traders) probably traded mostly with the native tribes, there were also pedlars or hawkers who traded with the colonists. Between the Fish and the Gamtoos Rivers, the commission found colonists grazing their cattle on land not possessed on loan from the Government, and also carrying

on an illicit cattle traffic with both the Hottentots and the Bantu.

The wagon road to the frontier has profound significance. The most lucrative trade was in cattle, and these were driven to the market. Every hunting and trading party was mounted, and many of them were accompanied by ox-wagons which carried metal, beads, and tobacco to exchange, and brought back ivory. The implications of this were far-reaching. Horses and ox-wagons gave a mobility to the Colonists and made possible the development of trade without dependence on slavery. Trade 700 miles from the Cape was thus profitable, and whole families, not only single men, could move steadily¹⁷.

On April 26, 1770, Ryk Tulbagh, the Governor of the Cape Colony, issued a proclamation "that henceforward no one shall be at liberty to settle beyond the Gamtoos River"¹⁸.

In 1772, a government commission brought to light the fact that "for some time back some persons have made it their business to wander about everywhere in the interior, from one district to another, with goods and merchandise, conveyed on wagons, carts, horses or pack oxen"¹⁹. Presumably these traders were bartering their merchandise with the colonists for cattle, "native cattle" in particular, a trade which in those days the government was determined to stop²⁰.

In Donald Moodie's "Record" of 1774, there is a description of the illicit trade and smuggling which was perpetrated by Herman Lucas Crouse in partnership with Arnoldus Herring. They had bought two wagons and articles of merchandise -- "beads, iron and copper" -- with which they proceeded to "Kaffirland" to dispose of in exchange for cattle which they then sold at Salt River by public auction.

The Acting Governor, Van Plettenberg, in Council published a proclamation on 16th June 1774, stating that all trade was to be prohibited in the interior. All persons possessing so-called "Kaffir Cattle" had to submit a list of them to the Landdrost and, in one year, rid themselves of all such cattle, otherwise the cattle would be confiscated and a fine imposed²¹.

This proclamation of 1774 showed that, in the second half of the eighteenth century, pedlars or hawkers were carrying on trade not only among the Ama-Xhosa but also among the European farmers within the Colony. The prohibition was intended as a measure of combating cattle bartering, not only between the pedlars and the Ama-Xhosa, but also between the frontier farmers and the Ama-Xhosa. Many of the frontier farmers combined stock farming with cattle trading and many persons in Cape Town had kept loan farms at the frontier for the sole purpose of being able to carry on the cattle trade with the native tribes²². However,

despite prohibitions, the illegal cattle trade continued.

7

THE CATTLE TRADE AS A CAUSE OF THE FRONTIER
WARS

Both the Bantu and Boer were pastoralists whose wealth lay in their herds of cattle and whose chief object in life was the search for water and pastures. While the Europeans had been advancing from Cape Town towards the east, the Bantu had been moving southwards. The struggle for land was complicated by the fact that European and Bantu ideas on the holding of land differed fundamentally. The former was based on ownership, while, according to Bantu customary law, a Chief could neither sell nor cede land but merely grant the right of using it in a particular way. All that a Xhosa Chief meant when he ceded land to the Cape Government was that the Europeans were given the same privileges over the land as his tribesmen -- the newcomers thereby becoming his vassals. The few cattle or muskets that were exchanged were in recognition of the fact that a bargain had been made. In fact, war and conquest was the only sure way by which land could pass from one tribe to another. Tribesmen raided their neighbour's cattle and this was legitimate as long as they were not caught. This cattle raiding led to much conflict between Europeans and Xhosas. It was the cattle raiding, stealing, and other irregularities connected with the cattle trade which ultimately led to the outbreak

of the First Frontier War in 1779. It was, as Neumark states, not a war about land or frontiers, but a war about cattle. The Government's involvement was not only to prevent the Ama-Xhosa from further encroachment upon the Colony, but also to prevent the Colonists from carrying on an open cattle barter with the Bantu. From the Colonists' point of view, the Zuurveld was a more convenient place for bartering cattle than the territory on the other side of the Fish River. The following passage, contained in the instructions for the Commandant of the Eastern Country issued by the Council in 1780, is of particular interest:

There is good reason to suspect that, notwithstanding the prohibition and severe penalties of the existing laws against bartering cattle from the Kafirs or Hottentots, the practice is still carried on by some refractory and avaricious inhabitants and that on these occasions much injury and violence is done to the Kafirs, in which, however, it has seldom happened that any one could be so far detected, as to receive his well-earned punishment according to law; and that the inhabitants are as little deterred by fear of the prescribed penalties, as are the Kafirs by the injuries and violence aforesaid; but that, nevertheless, hence arises the enmity between this people and our inhabitants, of which the injurious consequences have been experienced even by those who are entirely innocent. You will, therefore, take care, agreeably to the said laws, that none of the inhabitants presume to go beyond the Great Fish River, still less enter into any cattle trade with the Kafirs there; and that the transgressors herein, be reported to the Landdrost²³.

In 1793, the Second Frontier War broke out and was caused by the same factors as the first war, as well as by

severe drought and acute grazing shortage. Maynier, Landdrost of Graaff Reinet at that time, gave the "cattle barter" as one of the causes of the Second War.

The Cape Colony was directly affected by the American Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars following on the French Revolution. The Napoleonic Wars involved France in a series of wars with European countries. The French sent a fleet to the Cape and a garrison occupied this strategic position. In 1795, a British Naval Squadron landed troops at Muizenberg and took possession of the Cape. In 1803, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, the Cape was restored to Holland, then known as the Batavian Republic. The renewal of war led to the despatch of another British fleet and the Cape was captured by the British for the second time in 1806. In 1814, by an agreement with the Netherlands, the colony was formally transferred to Britain.

For nearly a century before the British took the Cape in 1795, communication between the colonists and the Ama-Xhosa had been growing and the Company's Government had been unable to stop this communication. One of the most important reasons for this communication was trade because it was profitable. The cattle trade provided meat for passing ships. The trade in ivory was also lucrative, particularly as elephants were plentiful. The Ama-Xhosa wanted what the White man had to offer -- beads, later blankets, brandy, tobacco, muskets, and horses. Employment

too was profitable, as the farmers needed labour and the Ama-Xhosa wanted the things which service could buy, in particular horses.

Earl Macartney, on July 14th 1798, forbade all intercourse with the "Kaffirs", even the crossing of the Fish River, unless with special permission²⁴. While the Chief Ndlambe was planning to eliminate Chief Gaika, the Ama-Xhosa raided isolated homesteads, driving off cattle and killing farmers. The Hottentots joined in and the country was ravaged as far as the Gamtoos River. The Governor, General Janssens, tried to enforce a strict policy of what would today be called apartheid. In 1810, the Ndlambe hordes swept through the Zuurveld, plundering, murdering, and burning homesteads. Col. John Graham was appointed to perform the task of restoring the White man's supremacy in the Eastern Cape. Within a year, Col. Graham had cleared four to five thousand square miles of country and had driven 20 000 Xhosas across the Fish River. In August 1812, he established military headquarters at the foothills of the Zuurveld and so the City of Grahamstown came into being. The Governor, Sir John Cradock, established a chain of blockhouses along the river and appointed Deputy-Landdrosts at the new villages of Grahamstown and Cradock. He tried to increase the white population by offering permanent leasehold farms near the military posts, but very few Colonists applied for farms. Frontier guards were allowed to search for stolen cattle but no Boer was allowed to cross

the frontier²⁵.

At the time of the Fifth Frontier War (1818-1819), the Ama-Xhosa were split between Gaika, the titular Paramount Chief, and his uncle, Ndlambe, who had been his guardian. The battle of Amalinde between Ndlambe and Gaika's followers was the bloodiest and most decisive fight in Xhosa history. Gaika was defeated and became a fugitive until reinstated by the British authorities. Ndlambe and the witch-doctor, Makanna, attacked the garrison at Grahamstown, but they were beaten and their power broken.

The Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, tried to provide for future peace by making a neutral belt to divide the blacks and whites. He declared the land between the Fish River, the Keiskamma River, and the Tyumie River a neutral zone called "Nomansland". The boundary of the Cape Colony was extended, therefore, to the Keiskamma River. He built forts, including Fort Willshire. Somerset hoped to strengthen the frontier by settling European colonists on farms in the Zuurveld to provide a shield against possible Xhosa attacks.

THE 1820 BRITISH SETTLERS AND THEIR
EARLY INTEREST IN TRADE

The Industrial Revolution and the termination of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 left thousands of people in Britain without work. Dissatisfied with the European and political situation, people began to emigrate to distant countries. Pious laymen who wished to Christianise the heathen, and adventurous people who wished to explore the unknown, as well as persons who wished to extend their business enterprises by opening up new countries to trade and commerce -- these were the types of settlers who came to South Africa in 1820.

After Somerset's glowing despatches from the Cape, urging a strong colonization scheme for the Zuurveld, and after the Fifth Frontier War of 1819 had brought home the necessity of adopting that scheme to secure a safe eastern boundary by having a large civilian population on the frontier, the British Government decided to encourage emigration to the Eastern Cape. Parliament voted £50 000 for the purpose. Thus it was that the new settlement, which was to establish a sturdy and reliable human buffer between the tribes on the eastern and the European Colony on the western frontiers, came into being.

The scheme was to establish an agricultural community in the Zuurveld. The Zuurveld was, however, not an agricultural but a pastoral district, and the grant of 100 acres to an individual was insufficient for the support of a family. The previous occupations of the settlers were varied and this was in the end their salvation.

The occupations of the adult male settlers were as follows:-

Farming and country peasants	42%
Skilled Artisans and Mechanics	32%
Commerce and Trade	12%
Army, Navy	5%
Professions	4%
Unspecified and Miscellaneous	5%

Roughly 4 000 official British settlers came to South Africa in 1820. There were as well many private individuals who came to the Cape at their own expense -- merchants, traders, artisans, discharged soldiers and sailors, ministers of religion, school teachers, and other professional men. About 5 000 persons immigrated in 1820 to the Cape Colony. By the middle of 1820, these settlers had "trekked" about 7 000 miles by sea and land, from their familiar homes in Britain to the wilds of the unknown Zuurveld.

The first crops were a complete failure, being attacked by blight. There was at this time very little contact with the Bantu, as the settlers had few cattle to tempt the

natives to slip through the neutral territory for the purpose of cattle-lifting²⁶.

The newly-arrived settlers had no quarrel with the blacks. The vast majority had no idea whatever that they were on disputed ground, let alone that the Government hoped that they would, if necessary, provide a cheap means of defending the frontier. They had come out as agriculturalists; when agriculture failed them, they naturally started thinking of their previous means of livelihood, which in many cases had been trade. The English pedlars traded firstly with the Boers, because, while the trade with them was unrestricted, trade with the tribesmen was forbidden.

The first European to make a trading trip to Fort Willshire was George Southey (an 1820 settler). His venture proved so lucrative that it inspired John Ayliff, another settler to follow his example. In his diary, Ayliff recorded as follows:

Today, about noon (18th September 1820) we started for Fort Willshire. We got all the ornaments we could. A fine lot of mother-of-pearl buttons, large ones, quite as big as a shilling -- some watch chains, seals, pins. A fine lot of large shoe buckles -- a good quantity of gilt buttons; also 200 large fish hooks, a good lot of fishing lines, some fine ear-rings, some gold hat bands, rich scarlet tassels and several valuable necklaces.

Ayliff and his friends reached Fort Willshire on September 21 after encountering great difficulties. They

asked Colonel Willshire for permission to trade but he refused and they abandoned the idea.

9

"THE CLAY FAIRS"

Lord Charles Somerset, in his conference with Gaika, proposed to him a "bartering intercourse between the two nations". In 1821, while Lord Charles Somerset was in England, the Acting-Governor, Sir R.S. Donkin, issued a proclamation establishing a fair on the banks of the Keiskamma, to which the colonists and Africans might legally resort for mutual barter. However, Lord Charles Somerset returned to the Colony and the proclamation was not put into force²⁷.

For generations the Xhosa had been accustomed to visit the clay pits in the Coombs Valley. The red clay there was considered the best and was used by Xhosa warriors and Xhosa women for cosmetic purposes.

John Stubbs, an English settler, started a flourishing barter trade with the Xhosas who came to collect the clay. One day, a military patrol arrived unexpectedly on the scene and confiscated the ivory and cattle from the Ama-Xhosa. The Africans believed that Stubbs was in collaboration with the authorities in order to obtain cattle and ivory for

nothing. As soon as the soldiers' backs were turned, they assailed John Stubbs²⁸.

The Government, finding that its proclamation and even the efforts of the local authorities on the spot were alike powerless, determined upon maintaining a monopoly in their own hands, and to this end, established a fair at "the pits"²⁹. The tribesmen had to pay for clay with ivory, skins, etc. This the Xhosas were reluctant to do, as they regarded the clay as theirs by immemorial right. Tempers rose, shots were fired, further "fairs" at the clay pits were forbidden, and cattle lifting increased. What Stubbs and others had done openly and in broad daylight, they now did secretly and at night, across the frontier, at Trompetters Drift³⁰.

Smuggling became widespread and was not a matter regarded with shame, as is clear from the jocular manner in which it is referred to by the Rev. Mr. Dugmore:

There was, among the Kaffirs "over the border", ivory already collected, as well as cattle ready reared. And for those who did not mind risking "the penalty of death", which Governmental unwisdom had attached to a trade it had made contraband, there seemed to be chance of getting rich rapidly³¹.

The chief delinquents, however, were soldiers stationed along the frontier for its protection. The large quantities of ivory which were obtainable led to many expeditions for smuggling it over the border and of safely disposing of it in

the Colony. The discharged soldiers at the attempted settlement of Fredericksburg seem to have traded with impunity for a time, and after the establishment of Fort Willshire the traffic there from all accounts appears to have been brisk. The wild and sparsely populated, or almost uninhabited, country was favourable to the concealment and removal of ivory, and with the civilian confederates it was fairly easy to work on a large scale. Major Taylor, who was in command of Fort Willshire in 1822, tells of an occasion when he saw two wagons in the charge of three artillerymen and a settler named Doherty -- a tanner -- proceeding to Grahamstown from the vicinity of the Fort. Suspecting something was wrong, he sent Corporal Critchley and eight men with authority to search the wagons and, if need be, to seize them. The search resulted in finding one wagon heavily laden with ivory. "I am of the opinion", says Major Taylor, "that the whole of the artillery here are concerned in this traffic and should be exchanged from this". It is not clear how soon the settlers entered this trade. Precedent and encouragement were offered them, not only by the soldiers but by the Government itself, even while proclamations were forbidding it³².

It was illegal and uncontrollable cattle traffic with the Ama-Xhosa that prompted the government to make the cattle trade legal at Fort Willshire. Thus, Lieutenant-Colonel

Henry Somerset, in a letter to the Governor, said:

The dreadful manner in which some of the Settlers are leagued with the Kaffirs in order that they may carry on the illicit Trade in Cattle has induced me to beg I may be authorised to allow a free Trade in Cattle entirely. Cattle are brought in at night by Kaffirs to these Traders, and as the Kaffirs return they sweep up the Country of all they find, take them into the Kloofs, skin them and take the hides to the Fair, and these Traffickers watch for them so that the Patrols can scarcely ever detect them³³.

In order to stop this illicit private trading, Lord Charles Somerset decided to establish regular fairs at Fort Willshire. The first of these was officially opened on the 18th August, 1824. The fairs were to be held every Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. during the summer months and 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. during the winter months. Very strict regulations were laid down in connection with the fairs. Traders had to obtain a special licence. No trade was allowed in cattle, firearms, ammunition, spirits, wine, beer or other liquors, and the traders were not allowed to give these commodities as presents to the tribesmen.

The effect resulting from the legalising of a fair was striking. The illicit trade which had been attended with so many serious curbs came to an end at once; and there was instead a veritable rush of adventurers to the new market. Until this period, the only produce in great demand was ivory. Hides and horns were not considered of

any importance as articles of merchandise, but, when obtained in sufficient abundance at the fair, it was soon realised that they would be valuable export articles.

In the 11th clause of the proclamation, measures are set forth to "civilize the natives".

The articles most desirable to induce the Kafirs to purchase would be cloths of every description, woollen and cotton articles of any kind that they could be tempted to receive, particularly blankets, also the leather trousers of the Colony, knives, tinder-boxes, agricultural and horticultural implements; tea, coffee, sugar; hatchets, cast-iron cooking pots and kettles, etc. Buttons, beads and trinkets, are to be limited, though not entirely prohibited; that is, not a stable commodity such as ivory, hides, etc. are to be purchased solely by beads, buttons and trinkets; but beads, buttons, and trinkets, are allowed in barter combined with any of the above-mentioned articles³⁴.

Beads were sometimes used as money by the Ama-Xhosa when they traded in the far interior, but otherwise were mainly used for decorative and ornamental purposes. The women decorated their blue skin caps with tiny beads. Pea-sized beads were used for ear-rings, necklaces, small mats, and ornaments. The Xhosa maidens were very fussy about the beads they wore and the rarest were known as tamboos. In 1825, 450 hundred-weight of beads valued at £4 500 were imported into the Cape and were soon in short supply. Some beads obtainable in Grahamstown for a Rix Dollar (15c) a pound were selling for 9 Rix Dollars (R1,35) a pound in the out-lying regions. Missionary wives paid

their domestic staff wages in beads³⁵. In the 1820's, one trader sold 4 000 lb. of beads in five months. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Xhosas bartered dagga for beads and copper from the Hottentots. A string of beads was payment enough for a calf. Many traders were plunged into difficulties by a sudden change in fashion -- one merchant in Grahamstown ordered beads from Italy which depreciated in value from £8 000 to R600, merely by a delay of a few days. However, there was a good effect in that it excluded many traders ill-qualified for the trade, and the trade acquired in consequence an appearance of more steadiness and permanence. Greater efforts were made to introduce really useful articles, and thus a nearer approximation was made to that reciprocity of exchange without which it is futile to expect any trade whatever to be flourishing and stable.

Sometimes as many as 3 000 Africans assembled at the fairs -- some in primitive finery, others in shoddy European clothes and blankets instead of skin karosses. The traders would arrive with their wagons loaded with goods, unpack, and arrange the goods they had brought for bartering.

The officers at the garrison looked forward to the fairs and to entertaining Gaika, his chiefs, and the traders. The Rev. Mr. Shaw described Gaika whom he met at his kraal in Chumie in August 1882 as follows.

He is a tall, well proportioned and good-looking man. He wore around his head a band studded with white and black beads, so disposed as to form a shape of half diamonds. His cloak was of tiger skin and it seemed to be a royal garment which was thrown carelessly over his shoulders. As to ornaments, his right arm was almost covered with metal rings as were his two thumbs and the third finger of each hand. On one ring I noticed the word "Hope" inscribed.

Gaika never missed a fair if he could help it. The Xhosas would perform their war dances and sometimes Gaika would fling off his blanket and join in. When it was time for the fair to open, a gun would boom at the fort. This signalled that the bartering could begin. The tribesmen would stream across the Keiskamma drift carrying their goods which they would exchange for the white men's merchandise. The transaction was a long and deliberate affair, with much bargaining and bartering. The soldiers stood by in case the haggling might end in a free fight.

At the Fort Willshire fairs, Gaika took a personal interest in ivory sales. By tradition, the Paramount Chief received a share of profits from the sale of ivory, and also every right tusk of an elephant slain in his domain was his. A. Steedman, in his book Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa, tells of an occasion when there was an exceptionally big tusk, and there was much haggling over the price. Just as the last trumpet was to be blown to end the fair, the trader added an attractive knife and a few other objects, and the sale was concluded.

Before dividing up their spoils, the tribesmen had to wait for Gaika to select his tribute -- the finest and most valuable beads. There were never complaints until he was out of earshot because, once when an owner complained, he was almost killed by Gaika and he was lucky to lose only a thumb³⁶.

Some idea of the trade in ivory which was carried on at Fort Willshire, and indirectly the slaughter of elephants which must have taken place, may be gained from the following returns of the market master at the Fort Willshire fairs. From August 18th 1824 to January 11th 1825, 38 424 lbs. of ivory were obtained in barter, and from January 12th 1825 to March 12th 1825, 12 017 lbs. -- or, in about seven months, 50 441 lbs. Besides this, about 16 800 lbs. of gum and 15 000 hides were also obtained. The average price given for ivory (in beads, etc.) was two Rix dollars (i.e. 3s), for hides four Rix Dollars (6s) and for gum one Shilling (4½d) per pound³⁷.

That the colonists at the eastern frontier abstained, as they probably did, from trading firearms and gunpowder to the "Kaffirs" must be attributed to a keen sense of responsibility and self-preservation even among the "worst description of settler".

In January 1827, a weekly fair was started at a spot in the neutral territory near the Tyumie River, about 20 miles

south of Fort Willshire. An attempt was also made to establish one among the Bushmen at Torenberg (now Colesberg). The latter soon came to nothing. The former lasted about two years but was never very successful. The produce obtained during the whole of that time scarcely exceeded 2 000 lb. of ivory, valued at approximately £300. The Fort Willshire fair had given a "fresh impulse to the young commerce of Graham's Town, and it formed the commencement of an international trade with the Kafir tribes that acquired great importance in a short time; and, but for the ruinous wars which followed, the result of barbarian cupidity, stimulated by civilized smugglers of guns and gunpowder, would have aided more than it has done in promoting their civilization"³⁸.

10

THE COMMENCEMENT OF FREE TRADE AND
ABOLITION OF THE FAIRS

At about the time of the opening of the Tyumie Fair, a modification was made so far as to permit traders to embark in what was designated the "Interior Private Trade", but with this proviso: the boundary was to be crossed behind the Winterberg range of mountains, so as if possible not to divert the trade from the established fair at Fort Willshire.

Those who embarked on this new trade very soon found it was far more lucrative and certain than attending the fair; abundance of produce, especially hides, was obtained at the kraals of the African who, finding themselves released from a tedious and laborious journey, readily disposed of their goods on advantageous terms to the trader. The fair soon began to languish in consequence of this innovation, and whilst the interior trader was most beneficially employed, the traders at the Fort were toiling weekly over the most terrible roads in the country for little or no remuneration³⁹.

In 1830, the system of the fair was abolished. The restriction which prohibited the crossing of the boundary was removed and full liberty was permitted to traders to pass beyond the boundaries of the Colony by Ordinance 81 (signed by G. Lowry Cole). The ordinance read:

It shall and may be lawful for the Civil Commissioner of the several districts of the Colony respectively which abut upon the said boundaries, and they are hereby authorised and required, to grant a licence to trade beyond the said boundaries of the Colony to any of His Majesty's subjects who shall apply for the same, and who shall satisfy the Civil Commissioner that he is of good character and fit to be entrusted with such licence⁴⁰.

With the removal of the restriction which prohibited the crossing of the frontier boundaries and the liberty granted to the traders, trade flourished and traders moved further and further into the interior. Many traders

established permanent trading stores. Chase states that trade with the Native tribes had grown into an important branch of the frontier trade. The amount of ivory and hides was valued at £27 623 in 1824, and £40 000 in 1834; this was exchanged at first for beads, buttons and brass wire and later for duffels, blankets, iron pots, and other articles of British manufacture⁴¹.

11

THE SIXTH FRONTIER WAR, 1834, AND THE RUIN
OF THE INLAND TRADE

The Sixth Frontier War began soon after a trader, William Purcell, was murdered at his store which was near Paramount Chief Hintsa's kraal. An African went to the trading station to sell some horns. The trader refused to buy the horns, saying that it was the Sabbath, and thereupon the African stabbed him. Hintsa moved soon after the event northwards towards the source of the Kei where he was in close contact with Chiefs Magoma and Tyali. The chiefs, with 12 000 Xhosas, ravaged the Colony as far as Grahamstown.

The first victims were the traders who lived in isolated areas and were defenceless. Amongst the victims was Robert Rogers who traded not far from the Tyumie River in Tyali's country. Other traders who were murdered were George Iles, William Hogg -- who was murdered at the trading station of Mr Southey called "Buck's Kraal" -- James Edwards

at Burn's Hill, Mr. James Warren, John Stanford, James Rawlins, James Kent, R. Hodges and Albert Kirkman⁴².

Godlonton states that a communication from Fort Willshire reports Magoma as declaring that the missionaries and their families should be spared, but that all traders must die⁴³. It is interesting to note that the Africans throughout the Frontier Wars also spared the lives of the women and children.

Godlonton also describes how a trader, Joseph Bourne, escaped but was crippled for life by an attack on him at his shop which was in the Tamacha between the Buffalo and Keiskamma Rivers.

Foudis, alias Kasana, son of the late Dushane, and about 400 men and women, the former armed with assegais, came to my shop, situated on the Tamacha, between the Buffalo and Keiskamma. This chief came into the house and sat down. After sitting a few moments he commanded me to open my boxes; this was done; when he said that all the property they contained belonged to him; then giving a whistle his men rushed into the shop, and those who could not get in at the door pulled down part of the wall to obtain ingress. After they had taken away all the property they stripped me naked, in which state Kasana himself forced me to carry part of my property to this kraal, significantly saying he would there dispose of me.

After putting down the goods, Bourne eluded them and escaped, and during his escape was molested a few times until he reached the safety of the Mission Station at Mount Coke⁴⁴.

From Grahamstown, mounted patrols and armed volunteers moved into the country to bring defenceless families from outlying parts into the towns and villages. Colonel Harry Smith took charge of operations in January 1835 and within a few days began to launch attacks on the Africans. By the end of March, with the assistance of Sir Benjamin D'Urban who had arrived with reinforcements, a large section of the Africans had been pushed across the Keiskamma River. Hintsas sued for peace and was kept a hostage. Later, while trying to escape, he was shot dead by George Southey. Hintsas's son, Kreli, became the new chief.

It was during the invasion of Gcalekaland by the Colonial forces that the "friendly" Fingo tribes requested protection from the Colonial Governor and they were settled in the present-day Peddie District and served as a buffer state between the Xhosas and the Colony.

Colonel Smith was established at King William's Town as the Chief Agent of the British Government and began to build numerous small forts. The territory between Keiskamma and Kei Rivers was declared British Territory and called the Province of Queen Adelaide. D'Urban proposed to settle Europeans there, but it proved impossible to drive out the tribes because the trans-Kei territories were overcrowded. D'Urban thus had to modify his policy and he allowed Magoma and his followers to return to their land.

A Memorial was sent in February 1835 by the frontier traders to the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, stating that sales in public markets in 1834 averaged £2 100 per month and that sales from itinerant traders were estimated at £6 300 per month. The Committee also stated that the trade licences, the fair at Fort Willshire, the removal of prohibition against passing the Colonial boundary, and the guaranteed protection had caused a considerable demand for British goods and the merchants had purchased a great deal of these goods, particularly woollen goods. About £100,00 was owed to the merchants. All the trade was destroyed by the War with the Ama-Xhosa and farmers' properties were destroyed. Trade was disrupted and debts could not be paid. The Memorialists asked the Government for assistance in the form of compensation and loans.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban replied on behalf of his Council that the Government would not be justified, even if it could, in assisting the frontier commercial body except for the provision made with the banks to assist with the extension of facilities. It was also pointed out that the extension of trade was an act of Government and not a "right of the trader" and the regulations were "not for the protection of the traders, but of those nations with whom they were to trade"⁴⁵.

After hearing the testimony of Dr. Philip of the London Missionary Society, who objected to the Xhosas being deprived

of their land and Europeans being allowed to live in the Province of Queen Adelaide, Lord Glenelg ordered D'Urban to abandon the Province of Queen Adelaide, and D'Urban was recalled in 1837.

Andries Stockenström was appointed Lt. Governor of the Eastern Province in February 1836. He was given authority to make treaties with chiefs across the frontier. The chiefs were to keep the peace, check thieving, and act in conjunction with the British agents who were to live in their kraals and have diplomatic powers only. The reversal of D'Urban's policy is often stated to be one of the chief causes of the Great Trek⁴⁶.

In a surprisingly short time, the visible ravages of the War were almost gone but it was many years before the finances of the settlement could be made good. Trade with the natives came to a halt, but slowly recovered and by 1842 was estimated to be worth £17 000 per annum⁴⁷.

12

THE SEVENTH FRONTIER WAR -- "WAR OF THE
AXE"

The Seventh Frontier War began with an incident which occurred at a trading store in Fort Beaufort. On the 16th March, 1846, an African called "Kleintjie" walked into the

store and stole a hatchet. Kleintjie was sent to Grahamstown to be tried there by the magistrate. The Chief Tola requested the return of Kleintjie but the request was turned down. On the road to Grahamstown, the party taking Kleintjie was attacked and the Hottentot to whom Kleintjie was handcuffed had his hand cut off. As the Hottentot was a British subject, Chiefs Tola and Sandile were asked to surrender the criminals. They refused, and the Lt. Governor decided that Sandile's kraal must be taken. The expedition was disastrous and the Colony was invaded by the Gaikas who not only attacked the Whites but the Fingoes too.

Sir Andries Stockenström was appointed Commandant-General of the burgher forces and while he cleared the area north of the Winterberg of invaders, Colonel Somerset cleared the areas around Albany, Uitenhage, and the Valley of Kowie, and saved the Lovedale Mission Station which was occupied as a fort -- it was the only position held by White men in the territory, every other mission station and trading store having been destroyed by the Ama-Xhosa. The chiefs desired peace, as drought had left the Ama-Xhosa without corn and they wished to plant in the rainy season. The Gaikas were settled in the Amatolas and Chief Maqoma at Lovedale. Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Governor, believed the war was over and abolished martial law. He also enrolled 100 Ama-Xhosa as policemen. Sir Henry Pottinger, the next Governor, forbade trade between the Whites and the Ama-Xhosa. Sir

Henry believed the traders were responsible for the supply of ammunition to the Ama-Xhosa and anyone caught trading would be found guilty of treason.

Sir Harry Smith became the new Governor in December 1847. After hearing on his arrival of the murder of five officers near Komgha, he proceeded to Grahamstown where he declared the new boundary of the Cape Colony the Keiskamma River. He next went to King William's Town, and in the presence of the chiefs, he proclaimed the territory occupied by the Rarabe Clan and the Tembus "British Kaffraria". It was not annexed to the Colony but the High Commissioner was to be the Great Chief, "inkosi enkulu". Chiefs were recognised as rulers of their respective tribes according to Bantu Customary Law, but Commissioners were to act as magistrates to whom appeals could be made. Smith called upon the chiefs to touch either his Staff of Peace or of War. They had to make an oath of allegiance to the Queen and renounce a number of African customs and practices, including violation of women, murder, robbery, buying of wives, and witchcraft. They were to obey the teachings of the missionaries and every year to bring a fat ox to the Chief Commissioner at King William's Town, thus acknowledging that they held their lands in trust from the Queen. To impress them, Smith blew up a loaded wagon saying that he would do the same to them if they disobeyed his commands and he tore up pieces of paper and said "There go the Treaties"⁴⁸.

In December 1847, the village north of the Buffalo River was named East London and the territory between the Colonial Border and British Kaffraria was named Victoria East. Farms were surveyed and sold to Europeans and the military villages of Juanasberg, Woburn, Auckland, and Ely were formed near Alice. The war of the Axe came to a close. The Ama-Xhosa engaged in the hostilities were more numerous than they had ever been and many had been supplied with firearms. Their losses were great. Many had to subsist on wild plants and thousands sought service in the Colony to obtain food. They improved their agriculture and indulged more and more in trade, by means of which they acquired European implements. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioner's report of 1850 (p. 48-9) stated:

In British Kaffraria, the natives are reported to be actively engaged in agricultural pursuits, and to be displaying unexpected steadiness and perseverance, and they are said to be stimulated to these exertions by the presence of numerous traders.

Traders were encouraged by the Colonial Government to establish themselves near Mission Stations and villages of great Xhosa families; traders were to take out annual licences of £50, and were prohibited from trading in gunpowder, arms, and liquor, the penalty being the forfeiture of the trading licences. The revenue derived from the licences was to be spent in the building of roads and other public works⁴⁹.

THE EIGHTH FRONTIER WAR AND THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE PRESENT DAY SETTLEMENT IN THE
CISKEI

Amongst the causes of the Eighth Frontier war was the fact that the military villages were situated on rich fertile lands on the banks of the Tyumie River and that this area was the favourite haunt of the disrupted Gaikas. Another cause of the war was that the chiefs could not forget their former independence and too much was expected of them. The attempts to suppress punishment of persons accused by witchdoctors of dealing in sorcery meant that the chiefs lost their principal source of revenue. Moreover, the preventing of punishment of such supposedly evil persons made the people feel that they were exposed to harmful elements. A more direct cause of the war was, however, the fact that Smith deposed Sandile and appointed Charles Brownlee in his place.

The Eighth Frontier War was also called "Umlangeni War" as the witchdoctors, led by Umlangeni, stirred up the chiefs and distributed medicines which would render the White man's bullets harmless. The war began on the 24th December 1850, when a large body of Xhosa warriors attacked a patrol under Colonel MacKinnon at Boomah Pass. The next day, all the military villages were attacked and the frontier was overrun and laid to waste.

Sir Harry Smith, after being besieged at Fort Cox, with the aid of Cape Mounted Riflemen reached King William's Town. It was impossible to bring the Xhosas into a pitched battle, but towards the end of the year 1851 the different forests and jungles were scoured and strongholds stormed. Great damage was done to crops and kraals and thousands of cattle were taken.

Sir Harry Smith may be regarded as the "father" of the present pattern of settlement in the Ciskei. The division of the territory between the east of the Fish River with reserves, mixed locations, mixed military settlements, European farms and White controlled towns led to the patchwork quilt of Blacks and Whites as it is today⁵⁰.

In January 1852 Earl Grey recalled Sir Harry Smith and he was replaced by Sir George Cathcart. He erected forts, destroyed Kreli's kraal, and cleared Magoma and his followers out of the Amatola Forests. In February 1853, the war came to an end and the Gaikas were settled on a tract of land between the Kei to the Great Northern Road. Chief Kama, who was loyal to the British, was given the fertile land east of the Keiskamma River. The territory north of the Amatola was given to European settlers and the forfeited Tembu territory was named Queenstown. A village named Seymour was named after Colonel Charles Seymour.

The loyal Fingos were settled in the Tyumie valleys of the Tyumie and upper Keiskamma. The Fingos had added to their wealth by obtaining high prices for their stock and wagons as a result of war and by buying captured cattle at low prices. The Fingos also enjoyed individual tenure in their holdings and added to their wealth by serving as labourers. Charles Brownlee tells about two Fingo families who, in 1858, settled in the Gaika district, both having served well and long their Colonial Master.

The head of one of the families was named Adonis, and was a thorough heathen. He was possessed of about 100 head of horned cattle and about 1 000 good woolled sheep, and had an annual income of between £200 and £300; he paid his hut tax punctually, but beyond this contributed nothing to the revenue, and his money was either buried or devoted to the increase of his already numerous flocks and herds. Adonis was killed in 1877, and after the conclusion of the rebellion, his son obtained a pass from me to go for his father's hidden money, and brought back £1 500 which his father had buried from time to time⁵¹.

14

THE CATTLE KILLING DELUSION AND HOW THE
ECONOMY OF THE AMA-XHOSA WAS DESTROYED

In May 1856, a young Xhosa girl (the daughter of a Councillor of Kreli), Nonqause, went to draw water from a stream near her home. On her return, she told her uncle, Umhlakaza (a well-known witchdoctor) that she had seen strange Africans at the pool. Umhlakaza began to preach a

new gospel about the resurrection of the dead. His niece, Nongausi, he said, had had conversation with the spirits of the old Xhosa warriors and heroes. "Our dead heroes will come back to us and help us against the oppressor" he said, "but only if the people are prepared to kill all their livestock, both great and small, with the exception of horses and dogs. All grain is to be thrown away, neither must there be cultivation"⁵². Kreli was overjoyed with this message (many suspected he was the chief instigator of this scheme).

Charles Brownlee wrote a warning to Colonel Maclean, and he pleaded with the Gaikas not to kill their cattle and destroy their food. Sandile hesitated to kill his cattle and destroy the fields, but the Chiefs Maqoma, Umhala, Pato and Stokwe went ahead. Kama too refused to join in the killing.

Droves of cattle were driven by the Gaikas to King William's Town where they were sold. The great day was fixed for February 18th, 1857. It passed without anything happening, and families came to the horrifying awareness that they had absolutely nothing to eat and would die of starvation. The survivors made for the border of the Cape Colony. At King William's Town and Queenstown, food had been stored by the Cape Government who had anticipated the famine. The Bantu population in the territory adjoining the Cape Colony decreased from 140 721 to 37 339⁵³.

This national suicide, "the cattle killing delusion", changed the whole White-African situation in the Cape Colony. The power of the Ama-Xhosa was broken by their own action. There was mass migration into the Colony where they were forced by necessity to participate in the economic system of the Europeans and earn their living by accepting employment from the Europeans. The cattle-killing episode had destroyed the whole economy of the Ama-Xhosa -- the very sources of their livelihood had been destroyed. Their wealth, their food, meat, milk, and grain, the raw material from which their clothing was made, these were all gone.

H.M. Robertson, writing in 1934, pointed out how the Ama-Xhosa participated in the European economy.

In 1875, it was said that the number of woollen blankets sold in Kingwilliamstown in a year was at least 60 000; that there had been a rapidly increasing demand for ploughs (of which more had been sold in the last two years than during the ten years before), wagons, saddles, tools and household requisites and clothing. The purchasing power of the Natives for the articles of the border trade was then estimated at £400 000 a year, being the marketable surplus of a production of wool, Angora hair, hides, horns, goat and sheep skins, tobacco, grain and cattle valued at £750 000⁵⁴.

SIR GEORGE GREY, HIS CIVILISING POLICY, AND
THE ANNEXATION OF BRITISH KAFFRARIA TO THE
CAPE

Sir George Grey had taken office in 1854. This extremely able and experienced man was the last Governor to play a major role in establishing the main outline of the settlement pattern of the Ciskei territories. During his seven-year tenure of office, Grey developed a frontier policy which was to determine the character of this area to the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. Grey abandoned the policies of his predecessors and especially those of Cathcart who treated the frontier entirely as a military problem, maintaining rigid segregation⁵⁵.

Sir George Grey offered the chiefs a fixed salary from the Government in return for which they had to surrender all fines; a European agent would then sit in their courts as an assessor. The magistrates at first assisted the chiefs but gradually replaced them. The chief retained his influence but lost his power.

Roads were laid out and bands of Xhosas were employed -- the labourers were given rations of beef, millet, tobacco, and paid sixpence per day. Watercourses were laid out to supply the military posts and residents of

King William's Town as well as each important chief's kraal.

A hospital was built at King William's Town -- "Grey Hospital" -- and this helped, but slowly, to overcome the belief that illness was caused by witchcraft. The natives were admitted free of charge to the hospital. Industrial and general education schools were established. Healdtown (near Fort Beaufort) and Lovedale were established by missionaries.

Sir George Grey wished to see British Kaffraria as part of the Colony. He hoped to increase the European population -- "partly to protect the trade route from East London through Queenstown to the north, and partly to encourage the Xhosas to adopt European ways by interspersing European settlers amongst them"⁵⁶.

Due to pressure from the merchants in King William's Town and Grahamstown in 1853, the Government was prevented from introducing convicts as labourers. Sir George Grey, however, settled some 6 000 Europeans in the vacant lands of British Kaffraria. The new immigrants were members of the German legion that had fought with the British army in the Crimean War, and included other German peasants and Irish girls who came out as prospective brides for the unattached settlers.

A number of small villages were formed, such as Berlin, Hamburg, Potsdam, Frankfurt, Stutterheim, and others. The immigrants had a most difficult time, and many moved to other parts of the country, but many of those who remained were eventually successful.

The German officers were at first forbidden to trade. Two soldiers who opened a store in Berlin were subsequently dismissed from their regiment. To protect the men from the shopkeepers who charged exorbitant prices, Baron von Stutterheim approached a merchant, Mr. H. B. Christian from Port Elizabeth, to supply goods on credit to enable some storekeepers to open stores in different villages and sell goods at reasonable prices, but this scheme was a failure⁵⁷.

One of the most far-reaching results of Grey's policy was the interspersal of Black and White in the Ciskei, bringing with it administrative problems of considerable magnitude which caused him to regard the "Native question" as a South African and not only an Eastern Frontier problem. The federation scheme which he so ardently championed was intended to place this problem in the hands of one Government⁵⁸. In June 1858, Grey wrote to the Colonial Secretary:

Nothing but a strong federal Government, which unites, within itself, all the European races in South Africa, can permanently maintain peace in this country and free Great Britain from constant anxiety for the peace of her possessions here⁵⁹.

Grey insisted that the African question was one and indivisible. It governed the whole situation, and peace in South Africa could be secured only by the adoption of a common policy throughout the country towards the tribes. Grey was later recalled for advocating the extension of British responsibility in South Africa.

He was succeeded by Wodehouse who realised that British Kaffraria was too poor and too small to exist any longer as a separate colony. He thus pressed in Parliament for its annexation, meeting, however, with much opposition. In 1865, after a long and stormy parliamentary session, he carried his point. British Kaffraria was annexed to the Cape in April 1866. With the Union of the four provinces in 1910 came a uniform policy and one legislative body.

SUMMARY

It is clear that, from the first contacts in the 15th century between the Black and White peoples in Southern Africa, there was a mutual interest in trade. It was in their search for a new trade route to the East that the Portuguese trading vessels first landed or were wrecked off the coast of south-east Africa. The survivors of shipwrecks needed food; in return, they offered iron and

copper to the Africans who desired and readily accepted these trade goods.

In 1652, the Dutch East India Company established a half-way station at the Cape in order to provide its passing trading vessels with necessary provisions. The Company had banned coastal shipping and so stripped the Dutch Colonists of their sea-faring traditions. The Colonists took to tented wagons and penetrated the wide interior, where they met the Ama-Xhosa.

In 1752, the Government of the Company at the Cape took an interest in bartering with the Africans, giving them trinkets of no great value in exchange for cattle. Discovering the extent of the trade between Black and White caused successive Governors to issue ordinances in order to prevent this trade. However, the illegal cattle barter continued and even the imposition of severe penalties, including the death penalty, was not a sufficient deterrent.

The British Colonial Government, during its rule at the Cape, realised that it was unable to stop the trade between the Europeans and the Ama-Xhosa and a trade fair was established. By 1830, traders were granted licences and allowed to penetrate far into the interior.

The cattle trade, however, led to friction between the Europeans and the Ama-Xhosa, and this -- and the fact that the Ama-Xhosa were no longer able to move, as they had in the past, in search of fresh pastures -- led to eight successive wars until the cattle-killing episode broke their power and they were finally defeated in 1877 in the ninth (and last) Frontier War. They were henceforth forced to settle in "reserves", most of the country being occupied by Europeans. The power of the chiefs had been undermined; the land no longer belonged to the chiefs. Men began to prefer individual tenure, not only to prevent overcrowding but because they wanted the things money could buy and because the traders were ready to purchase the produce that they had to offer.

However, the individual tenure was limited by the high cost of the land as well as the limited amount of land available, and finally by the restrictions of the 1913 Land Act.

The economic self-sufficiency of the family was destroyed by changes in consumption patterns and also by low productivity, reduced still further by overstocking and overcrowding of the reserves. Contact with Europeans, which was accelerated by the immigration of the 1820 Settlers and German settlers, altered the desires and wants of the Ama-Xhosa. The goods offered by Western civilisation could not be obtained in a subsistence economy, for they

could only be purchased with money. Moreover, the Africans needed cash to pay tax, church dues, school fees, etc. The only local source of income open to them was the sale of produce to the traders -- and often, because the amount produced was insufficient, it had to be repurchased from the trader.

The one commodity the Ama-Xhosa had to sell was their labour. The migratory labour force increased greatly as opportunities increased with the development of farming, the gold and diamond mines, and the manufacturing industries. Economically, the African peasants were dependent upon selling their labour to White industrialists and large-scale farmers. The Whites, equally, were dependent upon the peasants for labour⁶⁰.

Poverty caused men and women to seek work in urban areas. From being self-sufficient, the Ama-Xhosa became dependent upon the wages of the migrant worker. The Ama-Xhosa could no longer produce all their own needs, but had to rely upon the imports of most of the food and almost all their other requirements, which the trader was able to supply.

The wares of the trader, on the other hand, were accepted readily, even eagerly, because of their general superiority to Native products. They were more durable and efficient, and could be obtained without the effort of manufacture. The goods most sought after in the early days were almost all better substitutes for corresponding Native goods -- guns for spears and clubs,

ploughs for hoes, and metal goods generally for Native iron, clay, and wooden implements and utensils. Ornaments, too, such as glass beads and copper or wire bracelets, exercised considerable attraction and were widely adopted. This initial tendency was accentuated by the cumulative influence of missionary activity, education, labour migration, and contact with Europeans generally. By leading to a higher standard of living, they have made trade goods indispensable⁶¹.

The traders were the first representatives of Western civilisation to advance into territories hitherto unknown to the Western world, and remained to become an intrinsic part of the economic lives of the tribal communities.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADING STORES AND
THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE IN THE
CISKEI

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY IN THE MIDDLE
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the mid-nineteenth century, South Africa was almost a text-book example of a backward country. Its slow development can be explained by the presence of many inhibiting factors -- poverty, low productivity in agriculture (which was the occupation of the vast majority of the population), lack of capital, lack of skill and technical knowledge, poor transport, limited internal markets, small volume of exports, and low rate of capital formation. There was thus little to attract foreign investment.

South Africa's White population was derived from the economically advanced countries of Europe and this cultural inheritance was maintained by continued contact. The acquisition of the Cape by Britain in 1814 was a great economic advantage to South Africa because it formed a link between South Africa and the foremost industrial and commercial nations of the world at the time¹. The economy of South Africa expanded with the discovery of diamonds and gold, which attracted thousands of individuals seeking personal gain and luck. The Transvaal and surrounding areas progressed rapidly. In the Eastern Cape, however, economic progress was slow. Nonetheless, the traders,

who were the "torchbearers" of White civilization, through struggle and thrift gradually improved their position. From itinerant traders they became sedentary shopkeepers and later even wholesale distributors of significance.

2

THE ITINERANT TRADER AS THE FORERUNNER OF
TRADING STORES

An important development of the early part of the 19th century was the emergence of the itinerant trader or "smous"² who paved the way for commercial expansion. The "smous" was a merchant who would ride around with goods, more often than not a pack on his back, supplying the needs of the farmer. In the course of his travels, he gained intimate knowledge of the interior, the location of raw materials, and of the marketing prospects.

There were basically two types of pedlars. One who travelled with a tray hung from the neck was known as "penswinkel". He sold household necessities such as needles, cotton cloth, beads, sugar, gunpowder, and brandy. The other type of pedlar travelled in a wagon, and bartered luxuries for homemade soap and candles, cattle and sheep, and skins and hides³.

Henry Hare Dugmore describes the pedlar of the 1820's as:

Young men of mercantile tastes soon tired of "the location", and soon found that money was to be made by becoming commercial travellers on their own account; and so, rising from shoulder bundle to horse-pack, from horse-pack to cart-load, and from cart to waggon, did our incipient merchants carry their wares through the upper districts, and among the old established Dutch farmers, their devoted young wives being, in some instances, the companions and cheerers of their toilsome journeyings⁴.

The "smous" enabled the farmers to move further and further into the interior -- the farmer himself did not have to make the long, arduous, and expensive journey to Cape Town to replenish his needs. The cattle bought by the "smous" were grazed at intermediate places on the farms and therefore usually arrived in better condition than when the farmer drove them all the way to the market in Cape Town.

The importance of the "smous" as a business institution in the 19th century is aptly described by J.M. Southgate.

Half a century ago the majority of country inhabitants were situated hundreds of miles from their nearest village and incidentally shop, and animal drawn transport seldom made trips to the village. How ever did they manage for groceries etc? The "smous" catered for those early settlers. Whenever they ran out of groceries and other necessities it was simply a matter of doing without until a visit from some "smous"⁵.

W.E. Crout, in a letter to his parents in England in 1831, wrote:

In a few weeks I am going to trade among the Dutch farmers with all sorts of goods, about three months every year, for cattle and sheep and then sell the fat cattle and sheep to the butchers. If I have good luck I shall make about £80 in three months that I go up the country. I shall go about 400 miles from Graham's Town. I have been up one journey for Mr. J. Norton and I have made a good profit, about a £100. I was only gone three months ... Mr. J. Norton is going to let me have about £300 worth of goods on a good long credit. I am going up with waggons⁶.

Neumark points out that this letter shows there was a regular trade, about three months in every year, and that merchandise was taken from Grahamstown in wagons to farms about 400 miles distant, to be exchanged for cattle and sheep. Moreover, the "smous" trade was carried on not only by pedlars but also by traders who had by this time commenced their business in fixed trading centres⁷.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of immigrants to the Cape were Jews of East Europe, fleeing from Russian oppression. The newcomers were hardy and active, showing a remarkable capacity for adjusting themselves to the conditions of South African life. Above all, they were not work-shy and they regarded no legitimate occupation as beneath their dignity. They became pedlars, petty traders, and artisans. They ventured, like their predecessors in the 1870's, far into the interior of the platteland as "smous" or "tocher" and settled wherever they

saw a prospect of making a better living. Professor Israel Abrahams, in his chapter on Western Province Jewry, sums up this picture:

Whether they came as itinerant merchants with their store in a pack, or attained the dignity of a fixed home for their merchandise, these commercial pioneers supplied almost all the requirements of the farming population, from agricultural implements and patent medicines to low-priced furniture and oleographs⁸.

Nehemiah Dov Baer Hoffmann, in the Hebrew Newspaper "Hamelitz", gives a graphic description of the wandering pedlar.

Most of our brethren who come there (to South Africa) by the skin of their teeth, naked as on the day of their birth, are being shown mercy by the existing Jewish settlers the moment they put their foot on the shores of Africa. With the help of this generosity they acquire a few pounds' worth of goods and little trinkets and they begin to trudge round the towns and villages with their merchandise. The farmers who own the lands are by nature very human and love everybody. They are kind to these unfortunate people and buy their goods for the right price even if they do not require them. After they save a little sum they turn from peddling on back to trading on a bigger scale, travelling in wagons drawn by ten oxen, from place to place and from village to village⁹.

The "smous" helped to bridge the narrowing gap between a traditionally conservative rural civilization and a dynamic urban economy. He was often the only link between the inhabitants of the interior and the outside world -- a bringer of news and information.

John William Jagger paid tribute to the importance of commerce in developing countries when, in 1917, he wrote the following editorial in an early trade journal, the "Bulletin", house journal of the Cape Town wholesale firm, J. W. Jagger & Co.

Those who frown on the value of commerce, who see it purely as an enterprise for private gain, should ponder the opposite view: ... it is through creating needs that industry, commerce, art and civilization are promoted. The same forces are still at work today, though under completely different circumstances. Wherever a business starts or a trader carries his wares, people accustomed to primitive goods start demanding something better ... Seen in this light, a trader is thus not only a selfish pedlar following his own selfish aims. He is a civilizer, a bearer of thoughts; and in his path a new order arises -- ambition, industry, progress¹⁰.

3

TRADING STATIONS: CENTRES OF SOCIAL LIFE
IN TRIBAL AREAS

The itinerant trader gave way to the shopkeeper and wholesale distributor. Living a hard life, the traders settled far into the interior. Relying on their own resources and on their commercial contact with the tribal areas, they played a vital role, marketing the wares of Western civilization as well as marketing the wares of the Africans, and, moreover, creating goodwill amongst the Africans.

Monica Wilson states that, in the traditional tribal society, the centre of social life, as well as of Government, was the "great Place", the Capital¹¹. A chief had a number of homesteads in different parts of his country, and all of them were social and administrative centres, but the Capital was pre-eminent. Gradually, in the 19th century, the centres of activity shifted to the trading and administrative centres, and to the Mission Schools and Churches. The small market towns and the traders' stores became centres at which people gathered to gossip and see their friends as well as transact business. Godfrey Callaway, a Missionary in the Eastern Cape in the late 19th century, wrote: "Directly you cross the Great Kei River, you find that after the 'Kafir' kraal, the most prominent and most magnetic object is the trading store"¹².

The storekeeper won the confidence and respect of the African people he served¹³. There was no other European who was so closely in touch with the African as was the trader. Callaway doubted if the Government Court House or the Mission Church could claim the same share of attention in African thought as the trader could. With the Government official or the Minister, the African would be on his guard to make a good impression, but in the store it was as if he were at home, or rather in his "club". "Very little happens in a location that is not discussed openly and unreservedly in the store, and the trader, if he is a man of common sense, can interpret the minds and

actions of the Red Native in a way few others can"¹⁴.

Callaway believed that, apart from its mercantile function, the store served the following purposes. It was a "general recreation room and music hall" where the customers smoked, sang, and played primitive instruments or the mouth-organ. (The trader, too, would sometimes play records on a gramophone or else some musical instrument). The store was a debating room and a "club for free enquiry" about every subject from "bootlaces to celestial things" as well as theological subjects. The store was a "home for the weary" -- not only for the Africans who may have tramped for miles with heavy loads of firewood or baskets of grain on their heads, but also for the Missionary or traveller passing that way. Summarizing, Callaway says:

The influences passing over the counter can hardly be exaggerated. Every day is potent in a hundred directions for good or evil. Those scales, which occupy so prominent a place on the counter, are not nearly as important as the mental scales in which English character is being weighed¹⁵.

4

DESCRIPTION OF TRADING STORES

The store set up by the trader was often the first permanent structure in an area and became a vital point for trade and contact between the African and White peoples.

Thomas Baines, a painter, traveller, and writer, in his journal describes one of the early trading stores as follows.

We halted for a short time opposite the station of an English trader named Harris¹⁶ who, with his wife and family, occupied a hut similar in form but of larger dimensions than those usually inhabited by the Kafirs. The interior, which formed a room of between twenty and thirty feet in length, was lighted by a single tier of small loopholes; the roof was supported by two or three upright pillars; the guns were slung to a rough framework that occupied the place of a ceiling and served to sustain clothing, powder horns, and other articles of daily use. The furniture consisted of a couple of tables, a couch frame with a seat of leather tongs interwoven in the manner of a cane bottom, and a number of chests, barrels, and folding stools; and the rest of the apartment was filled with piles of blankets, beads, rings, and other articles in request among the Kafirs, numbers of whom were in constant attendance with no ostensible purpose but that of feasting their eyes with the sight of the treasures they could not afford to purchase¹⁷.

Old Joe Fraser was a typical trader of those bygone days. He was born in London. He had been employed in a jeweller's shop in the East End and had later joined a British Regiment. He had married in the Territories shortly before leaving the Regiment and, like so many other riflemen, had acquired a trading station in the wilds of the African Reserves.

He was not a rich man. His home was simple; like so many other trading stations it had a front door only in order to have a back door, the latter one always used, except on Sundays. The building was old and so was the adjoining store, the furniture was plain and lacking in all pretentiousness. A couple of rondavels stood in the back yard ever open to receive visitors. The washing and sanitary conveniences were not exactly up to date. In the bathroom which was some distance from the house was a cement bath over which hung, suspended by a rope,

a perforated bucket of cold water¹⁸.

A retired trader, Vincent Hagan, in a personal letter to the author, has described his maternal grandfather's store and house as follows.

The house would surely have been constructed of two native style huts with a flat roofed room connecting them and used as a dining room. Then another smaller hut outside as a kitchen. The shops would surely have been a square thatched hut with fixtures and a counter in it to contain their goods. That is until such time as they could have corrugated iron carted from King William's Town. Then they were built of a frame covered by iron and mud brick walls in between the framing. Later of course substantial homes and stores were erected of brick and iron¹⁹.

The trading stores built at the turn of the 20th century were usually well-built brick buildings attached to the trader's house. There was seldom any burglar-proofing on the large windows of the house. The house itself usually comprised a dining-room/lounge, two or three bedrooms, and kitchen. Electricity was non-existent until the 1950's, and even then lamps and candles had to be at hand because the electric plant was often faulty. Plumbing too was primitive -- water was collected in large tanks and pumped by hand. All water had to be heated on a coal stove. The sewerage facilities were of the most primitive kind and usually a fair distance from the house. In the store, space was used to the limit -- every wall was covered with shelves from the ground to the high ceiling. The counters looked like solid wood but they too had much storage room and even the ceilings were used -- buckets and baths were

suspended from hooks in the ceiling. Some trading stores had long counters, running down the middle of the store, in front of which were railings dividing red-ochred from non-red-ochred customers -- not for any reason other than to protect the clothes of the non-red-ochred customers, as red ochre adheres to anything with which it comes into contact and so would cause the Western clothing of the customers to have a pinkish hue²⁰. Adjoining the store were often storerooms for additional produce, such as bags of grain, as well as a pit within a storeroom for the drying of hides and skins. In the yard of the store, traders had cement floors and wooden barrels for the making and fermenting of "Kaffir corn" (sorghum caffrorum). With the installation of a generator came a small electric mill to replace the hand mill for the grinding of mealies into mealie meal.

The few Whites still trading in the rural areas of the Ciskei today live in modern homes (some still attached to their stores) with all modern conveniences, including electrical equipment, running water, plumbing and sewerage facilities, edge-to-edge carpeting, and even television sets.

The stores are much the same in structure as over the last 50 years. Some stores have introduced a supermarket-type display -- for example K.A.E. Collins, trading at Hobbsdrift. In many stores, a three to four foot high fence above the counter has been introduced through which African assistants take orders; when the order is complete,

the assistant takes it to the cashier, where the amount owing by the customer is paid in exchange for his goods.

A few African traders have made improvements to the homes they have recently taken over from White traders. Many, however, are tenants in buildings belonging to the South African Bantu Trust. Presumably because they do not own the premises, they have not made any improvements to their buildings and some have fallen into disrepair -- leaking roofs, lifting floors, walls sadly in need of paint, and without electricity, water, or sewerage facilities.

According to Savage, who made a study of Bantu Retail Traders in the Eastern Cape in 1966, Bantu-initiated stores are usually smaller than those built by the White trader. He describes such a store.

A typical Bantu-owned shop, in a planned area, stands on a quarter-morgen plot which according to Departmental regulations is required to be fenced. It is surrounded by huts and one or two small houses, while a road of sorts runs past it. Apart from a board which is provided by one of the large suppliers and which advertizes the name of the shop, there is little to distinguish it from the occasional rectangular dwellings. The white-washed building is approximately fifteen by thirty-five feet in area. An interior wall separates the store-room from the rest of the shop and windows provide adequate ventilation and light. The walls are of baked brick and the floor is cement. The whole shop is spotless and the shopkeeper takes great care to keep it that way. The wooden counter stretches the length of the shop and the wooden shelves are partly stocked with groceries. A roughly made display case and two small scales are the only articles on the counter. Numerous advertisements adorn the walls and dangle

from strings attached to the roof, evidence of the concentrated effort being made by factories to secure a foothold in the Bantu market. In some cases the buildings consisted of little more than huts, but in others they were most impressive²¹.

5

LOCALITY OF TRADING STORES

Trading stores were initially established on mission stations. The missionaries encouraged the Africans to obtain goods such as spades, iron pots, and European clothing in exchange for hides, skins, horns, and other goods. The missionaries frowned on the normal trading practice of bartering beads and buttons for ivory and other products. In the Ciskei, trading stores were also permitted near military forts and posts. Trading stores were probably established near mission stations and military posts because these areas offered protection as well as a market for their wares -- more likely that converts would buy and soldiers would patronise the stores. When military villages such as Keiskammahoek were established, trading was permitted in the village under stringent regulations. Most villages in the Eastern Cape, as well as the towns of Queenstown and King William's Town, owe their existence to the establishment of military posts and mission stations. Traders were, therefore, established in the Ciskei before farmers were granted land in the area²².

Stephen Kay describes one of the early missionaries to the interior of Southern Africa as a man who at one time "distinguished himself by more than ordinary zeal" -- however, his zeal diminished as his trading prospects developed, until "as numbers repaired to their place of encampment daily with ivory, skins, natural curiosities for sale, his attention as well as that of his assistant, was at length wholly engrossed". This man also assisted the Africans by doing odd jobs such as repairing spears, sharpening battle-axes, etc. He eventually deserted the mission field entirely. However, there were many missionaries who were able to trade as well as establish mission stations. Trade was found to be "a means in the hands of Providence calculated to promote that civilization for which the gospel has prepared the people, and to open a more frequent intercourse with interior tribes, which will greatly facilitate the establishment of Christian Missions among them". There were also traders who became preachers as well. Kay describes: "... a pious and valuable young man, connected with us, is living as a trader, a regular congregation of seventy hearers is collected on the Sabbath"²³.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, Grahamstown records a decision in 1832 that, as a Government Ordinance allowed trade beyond the Colony, the "storekeeper at Wesleyville (Richard Walker) shall establish a branch store at Mount Coke"²⁴.

Stephen Kay, the first Missionary at Mount Coke, states that the store was an essential service to the surrounding tribes who were then able to obtain a variety of useful articles from the store, such as "wearing apparel, iron cooking pots, knives, hatchets, implements of agriculture, etc., at prices, and in a manner best adapted to their circumstances"²⁵.

At Pirie Mission Station, the wife of the Rev. John Ross wrote a letter to a Mrs. Blackwood in August, 1832, describing the difficulties she encountered. "We have no shop where to buy candles, bread, butter. We have to make these and other things". She goes on to say:

There is a trader about three hundred yards from our house. They are all over Caffreland. The most of them behave badly, which gives the Caffres no good idea of white people; nor do we think that their trading does the natives much good. They do not seem to encourage the people to purchase useful articles. Beads, buttons brass wire & red clay are the chief articles of exchange for hides, horns & corn²⁶.

The building of Fort Willshire was commenced by Lord Charles Somerset (Governor of the Cape) in 1819. However, the Fort itself was never completed and the barracks became known as Fort Willshire. Trade Fairs were held at Fort Willshire from 1824 and it remained the most important trading station on the eastern frontier until 1830, when traders were allowed into Xhosa country. Fort Willshire was abandoned after the Sixth Frontier War when the territory was given back to the Ama-Xhosa²⁷. Maqoma sold the Fort

to a trader in exchange for two cows. The trader dismantled the Fort and took what he could of it to Fort Beaufort where he sold pieces of it to the townsfolk. Many houses in Fort Beaufort are built from the remains of Fort Willshire²⁸.

Fort Beaufort was established in 1822 by Colonel Scott, mainly for the purpose of countering continual raids by Maqoma. Adam Buck describes a visit of Maqoma to the Fort in 1844 and his visit to the local store -- "Negotie Winkel" -- where he purchased a red nightcap into which he put his money²⁹.

Some of the first places selected as trading posts are in what today is the Peddie District. One store was at Bucks-kraal owned by George Southey and another at Pato's Kraal (now called Woolridge), owned by Daniel Roberts. The founders of Peddie were all 1820 Settlers, including Frederick Charles Webb "of Trading Store fame" and Edward Driver, a farmer, big game hunter, and itinerant trader. A brisk and profitable trade was carried on until the Sixth Frontier War, when few traders escaped with their lives. After the Sixth Frontier War, in 1835, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor of the Cape, settled some 16 000 Fingos in the area and established Fort Peddie to protect the Fingos. Fort Peddie was handed to the Anglican Church in 1862. The Peddie district became heavily populated after the Eighth Frontier War as White settlers

were allowed to occupy the area as well as the German settlers in 1858³⁰. Thomas Baines, in his journal, mentions that in 1849 he slept at the house of owners of a store at Fort White³¹.

The Mission Station of St. Matthew was established in 1855 on the banks of the Keiskamma River, not far from the village and military camp of Keiskammahoek. The first building of the mission station was an "Old Kafir Trading Store" which remained in use until 1945³².

King William's Town was founded by the Missionary John Brownlee in 1825 but the mission station was destroyed in the Sixth Frontier War (1834 - 1835). Adam Buck describes King William's Town in 1847.

At that time there was only the ruins of an old Mission Station which had, I believe, been destroyed by the Kaffirs during the War of 1834-35. Now streets were already being formed; huts rising in all directions; English and Dutch traders opening places of business for the sale of all kinds of articles and were doing a great trade as there was a large campe formed here³³.

Dr. Andrew Smith, who was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Zulu Chief Dingaan in 1832 by Sir Lowry Cole, Governor of the Cape, kept a detailed account of his journey. Smith recorded that he found numerous Africans and a White trader in what was known as "Nomansland". He also found another trading store at King William's Town as well as two other traders on the eastern side of the Great Kei

River³⁴. Benjamin Norden, an 1820 Settler, was a Merchant in Grahamstown and used to go into the interior and along the coast to buy ivory. In 1831, he organised an expedition to collect elephant tusks and other produce between Grahamstown and Natal. This venture was successful and helped to establish a friendly relationship with the Africans. Norden started a business in King William's Town in 1835 managed by his son-in-law Joseph Levy³⁵.

King William's Town was the administrative and commercial centre of British Kaffraria until 1891; it had a larger population and was a more important commercial centre than East London. Large commercial interests had established themselves at the military and administrative centres in the early years -- over 300 ox-wagons, loaded with merchandise, would leave in a day to trade in the Transkei. With the development of the Buffalo Harbour, East London rapidly took over from King William's Town as the leading commercial centre. Even though the main railway line to the north by-passed King William's Town, it still remained of commercial importance to the Ciskei and Transkei trade for many years, where goods were unloaded from the railway and transferred by ox-wagons. However, once the Cookhouse railway line was built in 1904 and the Transkei line eventually reached Umtata in 1916, King William's Town lost much of its commercial importance³⁶.

Thus it was that trading stores originated in the vicinity of military forts or mission stations -- often a military post became a mission station, or vice versa. The names of many mission stations and forts/military posts are synonymous with the trading stores in their vicinity, the mission stations at e.g. Mount Coke, Pirie, Peulini, St. Matthew and the military forts or posts at Fort White, Fort Willshire, Fort Murray, Fort Peddie, Tamacha Post, etc.

Once the Frontier Wars were ended, and the power of the Ama-Xhosa destroyed by their cattle killing in 1857, peace was established in the area. British Kaffraria was annexed to the Cape in 1866, and trading stores were established in or near every African location³⁷.

6

TRADING - A SPECIALISED OCCUPATION

William Scully, who had unsuccessfully tried his hand at farming and trading, in his Reminiscences of a South African Pioneer, writes about the stigma attached to trading in the 1860's.

Socially, King William's Town was in a most curious condition. The military absolutely ruled the roast [sic]. Trade, whether wholesale or retail, carried the Mark of the Beast and no one connected therewith was recognized. Neither beauty, intellect, nor wealth was allowed to count against the disgrace involved in one being in any

way connected with commerce³⁸.

With time, trading achieved its own status in society and the stigma attached to it disappeared. In reply to a question asked of traders: "Why did the traders choose this particular occupation?", nearly every answer was that it was the only occupation they knew. Retired trader, Meyer Sherman, said that in the early part of the 20th century, the life in big towns, such as Johannesburg, was difficult. Employment was hard to come by, there was an influx of immigrants looking for work, and salaries were low. In the country, on the other hand, the trading store offered a roof over one's head and a "living income". Retired trader, David Tarloff, said that he preferred to live in the country as a trader, because he would rather live as "king in the country than a mouse in town"³⁹.

Callaway admired the "philosophical calmness with which some traders stand behind their counters at times when business is very brisk and customers impatient"⁴⁰. A trader would have to have a great deal of patience, waiting often for a considerable amount of time, for example, for a customer to decide which coloured handkerchief he wished to buy. The Africans would also buy numerous articles in small amounts and pay for each item separately. Consider this following typical situation; the African having chosen his article now proceeds to find his money to pay for it. The money is usually securely bound up in a handkerchief or piece of cloth. While extracting his

money he considers the following: Is the coinage correct? How much is he in fact spending? Should he really buy the article? Is the article really necessary? All this is coupled with a feeling of hesitation to part with his money which was so hard come by. An operation like this can take anything from three to ten minutes during which time the trader is expected patiently to stand and look at the customer who does not exchange one of his ideas with anybody but himself. The trader needs a tremendous amount of patience.

Vincent Hagan, the retired trader whose correspondence with the author in connection with this study has already been quoted, has recorded that, in order for a trader to make a success of his trading, he had to have a special temperament "which showed tolerance, patience, understanding, and complete honesty in business"⁴¹. It was indeed a specialised occupation -- understanding the language, the wants and the ways of life of the Ama-Xhosa. Hagan describes the etiquette and manners of the Ama-Xhosa.

They were, in the majority, polite, gentle and kindly. Their old people were never allowed to suffer unnecessarily and were held in esteem and venerated by all of the family. Etiquette was strictly observed and any good trader soon learned to understand and respect their customs and conform when in their company.

Hagan pointed out that those traders who did not have the necessary qualifications "soon lost interest and faded

away". Forsdick, in a dissertation on the traders in the Keiskammahoek District, emphasised that the main requisite in African trade is not capital "but the creation of the confidence and trust of the Native through general treatment and the performance of goodwill creating functions"⁴².

The trader was usually given a Xhosa name by his customers, the names being suggested by some physical characteristic or by the very character of the trader, e.g. the tall man would be "ugxiba" (retired trader D. Moody), or the good-hearted "Thamsanqa" (Trader W. Zasman), mother of the people "NoBantu" (Trader's Wife Ray Shap) and so on. The Xhosa name of a trader reflected the feeling that the trader belonged in some way to the community in which he traded, and also carried a connotation of the affection of people amongst whom he lived.

There were traders who traded for short periods only but more typically they spent their whole lives at one trading station. The trading station was usually in a remote, far-flung area, away from urban life, and so it was a lonely life for the trader and his family. Children had to leave home at an early age in order to obtain an education. No great fortunes were made by traders -- in fact, in the early years, many barely eked out a living and even lost money. Trader Louis Shap began working as an assistant for trader Louis Abramowitz at Uniondale when he was still a teenager, while his father, Benjamin Shap,

communities in their vicinities.

In the 1920's, two farmers' co-operative wool selling organisations were established. By 1930, the South African Wool and Mohair Brokers Association had been formed and auctions were enforced. By this time there were nine brokers who specialised in selling wool, hides, and skins, of whom three were of the old general wholesale merchants who had pioneered the produce trade. The South African Wool and Mohair Brokers in turn formed the Agricultural Produce Brokers (Pty) Limited in East London in an attempt to cater for the special needs of the Ciskei. In 1973/74 over 6 000 bales of wool were produced, bringing in an income of R1 000 000, while the value of livestock amounted to R694 245. The market for wool, hides, and skins has continued to grow and today holds an important place in the South African economy⁴⁷.

(b) Manufacturing

Manufacturing in South Africa is a development of the twentieth century. Until 1914, most manufactured goods were imported. The Union of South Africa in 1910 created a common market, and, as imports were restricted during the First World War, local factories were established and encouraged by the South African Government. Factories were established in King William's Town and East London because of the proximity of the market -- particularly the African market which also supplied the necessary labour force.

Fritz Ginsberg arrived from Germany in 1880 and established a match factory in 1886, carrying the trade name of "The Three Stars". In 1890, he established a soap and candle factory and later a cardboard and shoe-box concern. His enterprise gave a strong impetus to local industry and employment at a time when the commodities he manufactured were largely imported. Fritz Ginsberg also established, in 1908, a "location" for Africans on sound economic and hygienic lines, known as Ginsberg's Location⁴⁸

In 1924, the brothers Moses and Morris Shapiro established King Clothing Manufacturers Limited. The local flour mills were pioneered by C. Alperston and I. Gell⁴⁹. The largest maize mills in the area are Radue's Roller Mills which also produce large quantities of vegetable oil in their extraction plant. The tanning industry in King William's Town has grown from a very small and remote beginning in 1878 to a position where it is now the town's second largest industry, employing over 600 people. Established at the turn of the century, the sweet-making industry has shown vigorous growth. Ample proof of this is the modern factory of T. Wilcox & Company whose products enjoy an ever-expanding African market.

Burgess Engineering Co. (Pty) Limited is the oldest engineering firm in King William's Town. Its roots go back to the last century when the firm started as a "wagon works". Today it has a well-equipped workshop capable of meeting all

engineering requirements for the manufacturing, agricultural, and construction industries.

The Good Hope Textile Factory was started in 1946 by the Calico Printers Association Limited of Manchester, England, and the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Limited, as equal shareholders. The factory was located at King William's Town as there was a suitable supply of water as well as a reserve of African labour in the surrounding areas. The placing of the plant in the heart of the Ciskei has given employment to over 3 000 Africans who are housed in the neighbouring Township of Zwelitsha. Good Hope Textile was one of the first major projects of the Industrial Development Corporation and is a forerunner of the Government policy of the decentralization of industry to "border areas". This policy in South Africa provides for the decentralization of industries to the homelands and also to White areas adjoining the homelands.

In the homelands, the establishment of industries is undertaken in three ways: by approved White industrialists or industrial groups that settle in terms of the agency system; secondly, by enterprises established and managed by the Bantu Investment Corporation or Xhosa Development Corporation; and thirdly, by Black businessmen. Various incentives and concessions are applied to promote decentralization, including tax concessions, initial

investment allowances, allowances for the cost of power, water, and housing for staff, railage and pierage rebates, loans at low interest rates, price preference on certain purchases, cash donations for removal fees, and the leasing of premises at low rentals. Ownership by Whites is prohibited in the homelands but land and buildings can be rented from a Development Corporation which acts as an agent. A contract is then drawn whereby, after a fixed period, the entrepreneur(s) should be willing to sell the enterprise to a Black entrepreneur.

An industrial growth point has been established at Dimbaza and several factories have been established there, with still more at the planning stage. At Sada, a carpet industry (Smyrnax Carpet Factory) has been established that competes successfully in world markets. Also at Sada, are Xanda Fashions, producing women's clothing with traditional Xhosa design and motifs, and a knitting factory. At Keiskammahoek a factory produces household fittings and furniture from the region's famous yellow-wood forests.

In the same way as the capital of the Ciskei, Zwelitsha, was built initially to house workers from the Good Hope Textile factory, so the rapidly growing town of Mdantsane, just north of East London, was, in 1963 developed to house the industrial workers of the Cyril Lord factory.

(c) The Wholesale Merchants

The wholesale merchants played a most important role in the community as importers and as distributors of local industry. It was the merchant who financed and supported the traders, giving credit to them so that they in turn were able to give credit to their customers during difficult times.

The pioneer merchants were "fully alive to the importance of the Native trade". The great merchant houses of King William's Town, East London, and Port Elizabeth, which were the pioneers of this trade, owed their prosperity to the successful development of the Xhosa market⁵⁰.

The wholesale firm which had the most far-reaching effect on the development of trade in the Eastern Cape was Mosenthals. Joseph Mosenthal came from Germany in 1839, followed by his brother Adolph. Together they set up as General Merchants in Cape Town; by 1842, they had established their headquarters in Port Elizabeth. Astute businessmen, they soon realised that the basic produce of the country -- wool, skins, and hides -- were economically wasted because of lack of transport. In the troubled years up to 1853, when the Colony advanced its borders up to the Kei River, Mosenthals was one of the first firms to operate in the area. They formed branches throughout the Eastern Province where the farmer could deliver and sell produce

which had previously found a very limited market. When not personally represented, the Mosenthals worked through a local storekeeper, furnishing the finance which enabled the trader in turn to extend credit to the farmer during bad periods. Thus Mosenthals not only improved the price of the produce but encouraged production and enlarged trade and consumption. The firm brought from Germany a considerable number of Jews who settled in various parts of the Colony, acting as their agents. In time, Mosenthal & Co. grew into one of the most important mercantile concerns in Southern Africa, participating in almost every field of economic life, and establishing a reputation for stability and integrity equal to any in the country. Through their chain of trading stations, they were in the first place able to supply the wants of widely-separated communities and isolated farmsteads. In the days when everything had to be imported into South Africa, Mosenthals -- "which was recognised as the firm with the largest ramifications"⁵¹ -- was entrusted with importing goods which were household words throughout the world, such as Nestle's Milk. No less vital was the fact that they created an organised system of commerce by means of which the produce of the individual farmer, in itself perhaps economically insignificant could profitably reach the national and world consumer market in the mass. The Mosenthals not only acted as the intermediary which bought and sold; they were also, by force of circumstances, the financiers and bankers of the first generation in which their business took root. Their

own bank notes, drawn on their Cape Town offices, began to circulate in the 1850's, at a time when there were few recognised commercial bank facilities in the Colony. The notes enjoyed unquestioned confidence and were freely negotiable until, with the development of regular banking, they were discontinued by the firm itself. In that development, the Mosenthals too had no small part, and the Mosenthal name was always represented in the directorates of the banks which arose in the Cape Colony from the 1850's onwards. In 1959, Mosenthals ceased operating as wholesale merchants.

Another prominent pioneer wholesale concern is James W. Weir & Co. James Wilson Weir (son of the Lovedale Missionary, James Weir) was born at Tyumie in 1842. After leaving school, he trained with the merchant firm Stanger Brothers in Grahamstown. In 1866, he took out a trading licence in King William's Town and established the firm of James W. Weir. Merchandise was transported to customers in far-flung areas of the Ciskei, Transkei, and Basutoland by bullock wagons which, on the return journey, would carry produce "such as wool, skins, hides, and mealies". The firm dealt mainly in goods suitable for the African trade -- wool, blankets, cotton blankets, shawls, hardware, soft goods, and groceries. The warehouse was described as being "extensive and well-ordered, the things which most catch the eye are the enormous quantities of red ochre for the Native Territories, the voluminous

galvanised iron tanks, each holding 80 bags of grain, the rat-proof storage receptacles for flour, and other rodent-resisting devices -- all peculiarly suited to that district of the country". The founder, James W. Weir, not only assisted the traders through lean periods but also during two seasons of drought. By supplying starving Africans in the King William's Town, Mount Coke, and Peddie areas with mealies on credit, he saved many lives⁵². His son, Arthur Weir, would ride on horseback over difficult and distant terrain to visit traders, assisting them with their problems and ascertaining their needs. He would inquire, for example, into the type of goods wanted by the Africans -- whether it was a certain kind of shirt, hat, or hoe.

Weir's diversified their interests to include factories for the production of African farm implements, paint, and clothing. They were also agents for Ferguson Tractors and Sun Insurance. With the development of the Bantu trader, who could not finance large purchases and wait for delivery, it became necessary to have a source of supply nearer the trade, and various branches were opened.

The firm of James W. Weir is still trading in King William's Town on the same site as the original premises (the wood and iron warehouses were demolished and rebuilt in 1940). At present, new modern premises are in the process of being built to house the firm. Mr. Henry Alperstein, the then Mayor of King William's Town, wrote

in 1966:

The service given by the firm was, and is, outstanding, and an example of courage, vision and determination, and when the occasion has demanded it, human, helpful and understanding. All the people, White and Black, have a great deal to be grateful for to the Weir family, who pioneered this territory right up to the borders of Natal⁵³.

Thus the firms of James W. Weir, and others such as Baker King & Co., Dyer & Dyer, and C. F. Radue & Co., have played an important role in the development of the Ciskei and Transkei by making goods available, and affording financial assistance from time to time to many a trader. In fact, many traders owed the existence of their stores to the merchant who lent them the initial capital to start their businesses and who helped them over the lean times.

The merchants also played a prominent role in the development of the community generally. James W. Weir was for instance co-founder with Dr. James Stewart of what is today Fort Hare University. Merchants played an important role in many public-spirited activities in King William's Town.

After the First World War, the position of the wholesale merchants, who were both produce merchants and direct importers, changed considerably. Produce firms began to specialize, and increasing numbers of commodities were

being manufactured locally, thus reducing the need for importation of goods. Moreover, manufacturers began to sell directly to the retailer, and many restrictions were placed on wholesalers with regard to import and export licences, currency regulations, etc. Wholesaling decreased, but did not however disappear. Even today, some traders, especially many of the Black traders, prefer to buy in small quantities and the major function of wholesalers is still to finance small retailers.

It is interesting to note that, at present, there is no African-owned wholesale enterprise in the Ciskei.

8

THE TRADER AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
INFRASTRUCTURE IN THE CISKEI

The development of free trade, improved farming methods, and the growth of the wool industry all led to the growth of towns and villages in the Eastern Cape, particularly the coastal towns such as Port Elizabeth and East London. The merchants of Port Elizabeth formed a company to build a jetty and this broke the Cape monopoly of contact between frontiersmen and the rest of the world. A regular coastal shipping service developed. The frontiersmen needed supplies from Cape Town -- wine, coffee, sugar, tea, flour, and wheat. In return, butter, soap, tobacco, and ostrich

feathers bought from white farmers, and ivory, hides, and skins bought by the traders from the Africans, were exported⁵⁴.

(a) Roads

A hundred years ago, the only means of transport was the ox-wagon, using roads which were often only wagon tracks -- sometimes 20 tracks could be seen, for, as one became unusable, another was made. After licences were issued by the Colonial Government in 1830 the trade with the African people increased and by 1831 fairly frequent journeys were made by traders to Natal, "to which place the roads may now be considered open and direct".

Until very recently this point could not be reached from the colony without making a tedious detour to avoid the Umzimvoobo, the precipitous banks of which presented a formidable obstacle to the progress of wheel-carriages. But on a late journey thither by some enterprising traders from Albany, this difficulty was removed. With the assistance of one hundred of the natives, a direct road has been cut leading across this river, and the journey is thereby rendered considerably less tedious and difficult⁵⁵.

Roads in British Kaffraria were probably the worst in the Colony. Andrew Baines, who constructed military roads, tells the story of a farmer who lately bringing his wool to market unloaded it at the top of the mountain and rolled

it down the precipitous face, following slowly along the so-called road with his empty wagons till he reached the bottom where he quietly loaded it up again⁵⁶.

Baines supervised many roads and passes between the years 1836 and 1864. These included the "Ouderberg Pass"; the road ordered by Sir Benjamin D'Urban from Grahamstown to his forts on the frontier; the first South African highway -- "Queen's Road" -- from Grahamstown to Ecca Valley across the Fish River to Fort Beaufort and then to Blinkwater Hill; and the highway from Grahamstown to Breakfast Vlei. Not only did these roads make the Eastern Cape more accessible and promote trade, but they meant easier and greater contact between the Eastern Cape and the rest of the Colony (and so directly with Western civilisation).

The need for further roads grew. In 1860, the Chief Commissioner of Roads in the Cape Colony, referring to the road from Grahamstown to the Keiskamma River, wrote:

The occupation of the divisions of Queenstown, Albert, Aliwal North, Victoria, Peddie and Stockenstrom, and ... Kaffraria has converted a country formerly occupied by Natives into an extensive wool producing district, to which large quantities of imported goods are conveyed. It is therefore not to be expected that the means of communication hitherto found sufficient for military trains will suffice for present trade and I suggest the desirability of adapting the roads to the traffic for which they are required⁵⁷.

With the development of East London as a port, the road to King William's Town assumed growing importance. Despite the use of military parties in effecting improvements, the Chief Inspector of Public Works for the Cape Colony, in nearly all his reports, spoke of the bad state of roads in the Cape Colony.

Owing to the absence of good metalling for road purposes the cost of maintaining the principal roads from King William's Town and East London through the Border Division and the Native territories is enormous and the result, in spite of our best efforts, is very unsatisfactory⁵⁸.

The coming of the railway line to the Border areas meant that the relative importance of roads diminished to some extent. There remained, however, a great deal of transport undertaken by ox-wagon. In an attempt to boost the importance of the railway, the Harbour Control Act (No.38) was passed, enabling the Minister to levy wharfage dues on any goods reaching the harbour by wagon or other vehicle and not by rail. This eliminated the ox-wagon except in areas where there was no rail service.

With the development of the motor vehicle in the early 20th century, the Railways made use of road motor transport to reach those areas which could not be reached by rail. Privately-owned motor transport played a large role in transporting goods, particularly petrol in drums, from coast to inland territories. On the return journey, wool, hides, skins, and other farm products -- particularly in the

Transkei but also for East London, King William's Town, Fort Beaufort, and Adelaide -- were carried. Motor transport had certain advantages over the railway -- less mileage, lower rates, and less handling of goods. Door-to-door delivery could moreover be made.

The standard of roads was greatly improved by new techniques of road engineering, and by additional spending by Provincial and Divisional Councils. From East London there are national roads which pass through the Ciskei, forming part of the Cape Town to Durban national road, and part of the national road to Bloemfontein and Johannesburg⁵⁹.

(b) Railways

With the discovery of diamonds in South Africa in 1867, a railway system became necessary to transport agricultural products to the mining centres and exports to the coast. In 1882, an Act was passed allowing private enterprise to build railway lines. J.W. Weir, E.J. Byrne, and J.C. Bradfield, with the assistance of De Beers Company, and with approval of the Cape Government, in 1896 built a line from Sterkstroom to Indwe.

The table below shows when and where new railway lines were opened.

Year	Railway Links
1874	East London to the North commenced, bypassing King William's Town
1877	King William's Town
1880	Queenstown
1885	Aliwal North
1892	Gold fields
1904	King William's Town to Cookhouse
1925	Fort Beaufort to Katberg

The Transkei remained without rail communication until the line reached Umtata in 1916. To this day it does not continue into Natal.

The Railway led to the development of trade and the commencement of a migrant labour force. Commodities conveyed by rail to and from the Border region included: petrol, oil and liquid fuels (which were imported through East London); animal foodstuffs, meal, maize, sand and stone, soap, candles, confectionery, sugar, wool, mohair, timber, kraal manure, salt, flour, citrus fruit, and general commodities⁶⁰.

There has long been a continuous circulation of men and women moving by rail from the country to towns and mines and back again. These are the breadwinners who

keep their families from starvation with what they earn in the towns and on the mines⁶¹. In 1936, 27,5 per cent of the adult male population of the Ciskei was absent, being engaged in labour elsewhere. By 1970 this figure had decreased to 14,4 per cent⁶² due to the development of industries in the Ciskei and the development, since 1960, of communications which enable men to commute to and from work⁶³.

Today there is a comprehensive national network of rail, road, and air services throughout the Republic of South Africa. In the Ciskei, there are 358 kilometres of main road, 1 175 kilometres of secondary road, and 64 kilometres of railway line, mainly between King William's Town via Dimbaza and Alice to Fort Beaufort. The Ben Schoeman Airport at East London links the Ciskei with the major commercial centres⁶⁴.

(c) Posts and Telecommunications

Representations to the authorities emanating from traders and mission workers contributed very significantly to the growth of communications in the Ciskei. It is understandable that the trader would not have wanted to live and operate in isolation; that he would have wanted to expand his business ventures; that he would have wanted to reach into distant areas of untapped resources; and that to satisfy these needs, he would have been compelled to ask

the Postmaster-General to assist him with his communications problems. The Postmaster-General, G.N. Aitcheson, in his Report in 1875, stated:

The overland mail from King William's Town to Natal via the Transkei, although it is greatly improved -- carts being employed now from King William's Town to Umtata, and a horse-post substituted for part of the remainder of the route instead of runners -- still the working of it is not altogether satisfactory, considering the improvement of the country traversed, the trade with which is only now really developing itself ...

Three years later, the Postmaster-General reported that "immense tracts of the Colony are very sparsely peopled, and the post in many parts may be said to run chiefly in the interests of trade"⁶⁵.

Post was initially despatched by passenger cart. In 1875, 102 086 lbs of mail was despatched between Grahamstown and the eastern frontier. There was also a daily post between King William's Town and East London and a twice-weekly service between Grahamstown, Fort Beaufort, and Queenstown.

The Postal Guide for the Cape Colony in 1882 distinguishes between:

P.A.	Postal Agency
S.O	Sub Post Office
M.O.O.	Money Order Office
M.T.O	Money Order and Savings Bank,

Post and Telegraph Office⁶⁶.

The Postal Agencies were usually the trading stores. Listed below are Postal Agencies and where known, the name of the Agent, as reported by the Postmaster-General in 1893.

Place	Postal Agent	Date
Amalinde		1893
Bell		1893
Blaney		1893
Bodian		1893
Breakfast Vlei	M. Watson	1880
Committees Drift	A.R. Adendorff	1883
Debe Nek		1882
Draaibosch		1893
Fallowen		1893
Fort Brown	J. Humphreys	1883
Frankfort	W. Kock	1883
Hamburg		1893
Iquibica		1893
Kwelegha		1893
Katberg	W.H. Stanton	1880
Knights		1893
Keiroad	M.I. Crosbe	1880
Keiskamma	F. Rosrosch	1880
Keiskammahoek	H. Spring	1880
Mooiplaats		1893
Macleanstown		1893
Mount Coke	G.C. Stewart	1880
Silvervale		1880
St. Mathew	Rev. C. Taborer	1883
Rhabulo		1879
Thompson		1893
Welcomewood		1893
Woolridge		1893

Money Order Offices

Alice		1853
Fort Beaufort	W.T. Hoal	1880
Fort Jackson	G. Spendey	1880
Kei Road		1883
King William's Town		
Peddie	C. Young	1880
Seymour	C. F. Rorke	1883
Stutterheim		
Whittlesea		1883

Sub Post Offices

Peelton	J. Scott	1883
Middledrift	S. Vice	1880 ⁶⁷

There are at present almost 2 000⁶⁸ telephones in the Ciskei and the following are the Post Offices⁶⁹ now existing in the Ciskei:

Name of Post Office	Date established	M.O.O.	S.O.	P.A.
Alice	Unknown	1853		
Debenek	1947			
Fort Hare	1948			
Healdtown	1945			
Hogsback	1954			
Mdantsane	1971			
Middledrift	Unknown		1880	
St. Matthew	1935			1883
Whittlesea	1935	1883		
Zwelitsha	1950			
Keiskammahoek	1935			1880
Peddie	1928	1880		

The slow but sure growth of the state South African Railways and Harbours rail and road services has played a prominent part in the expansion of postal services in the area.

(d) Water and Electricity Supply

The Maden Dam was completed in 1910 as King William's Town main reservoir, while the Rooikrantz Dam was constructed to augment the water supply of King William's Town and

provide water for the Good Hope Textile Factory and for Zwelitsha⁷⁰.

The Ciskei today has five dams in 0,25 million m³ category and one dam in 51 100 million m³. There are a great number of rivers and streams in the Ciskei, of which the chief are the Buffalo, Cat, Keiskamma, and Fish Rivers⁷¹.

The Xhosa Development Corporation controls various irrigation projects, such as the Woburn/Tyume Citrus irrigation project near Alice. In 1974, there were eight irrigation projects in the Ciskei -- Gxulu and Shiloh being the largest⁷².

Escom (the Government sponsored electricity utility commission) has supplied electricity to various parts of the Ciskei -- King William's Town, Fort Cox, Alice, Peddie, Zwelitsha, Mdantsane, and Dimbaza. Various other centres generate their own electricity⁷³.

(e) Banking

The first bank in South Africa was the Lombard Bank (Bank van Leening) which was established by the Dutch East India Company in order to put more money in circulation and to encourage trade among the Colonists. The first attempt to put private business on an organised footing was by the

establishment of the Kamer van Commerce in 1804. Later known as the Cape Chamber of Commerce, it, from 1861 onwards, opened branches in the Eastern Cape. Chambers of Commerce meant there were business houses, and these began from the "second quarter of the nineteenth century to penetrate the platteland".

The first private bank was the Cape of Good Hope Bank which was established in 1837. In 1838, the South African Bank and the Eastern Province Bank were established. By 1862, there were no less than 28 Colonial Banks in the Cape.

The expansion of credit made possible by these institutions enabled the large commercial organisations in the seaports to offload their wares in the country districts, thus bringing the farmers well into the exchange economy⁷⁴.

At this stage, banking in the Cape entered a new era with the advent of the so-called Imperial Bank. The London and S.A. Bank, the first of the Imperial Banks, opened business in 1861, and the Standard Bank of British South Africa in 1862. The Standard Bank in particular endeavoured to take over as many local Banks as possible until in 1883 there were only six Banks in the Cape Colony of which the Standard Bank was the largest with 49 branches out of a total of 65. In 1926, the Barclays and Standard Banks held 95 per cent of the total liabilities of the commercial Banks to the public. By 1968, this figure

had, however, dropped to 71 per cent⁷⁵.

The British Kaffrarian Savings Bank Society was established in King William's Town in 1860 and is one of the oldest banking institutions in South Africa. The following quotation from the original rules and regulations states the purposes for which it was established:

... and to manage the same with a view to afford every industrious and provident person in British Kaffraria or elsewhere, the means of obtaining perfect security for their savings, together with a reasonable rate of interest for the same, and thereby to enable them (with little expense of time and trouble and with the moral certainty of a steady increase of their savings) to provide a resource against the various contingencies of life, and to obtain that personal comfort and independence which arises from provident conduct⁷⁶.

The Bank started in the office of a certain Mr. Beamish, and moved in 1861 to conduct its business in the store of Mr. J. Usher. In 1870, there were 261 accounts run by Whites and 22 by Africans. In 1908, the present building of the Bank was completed. Not only was the Bank a commercial enterprise but also, since 1911, has given donations to charities.

Its town and farmer friends will still find the same sympathetic treatment as regards facilities while the growth of its resources gives increased scope for a wider plan of social welfare work⁷⁷.

Today the above situation has improved to allow banking facilities to be freely available in almost every part of the Republic of South Africa. The existing banks have sited branches in all areas to make this situation possible. There are in fact 1 500 branches of banks scattered throughout the country⁷⁸.

1974 saw the birth of the African Bank of South Africa with Sam Motsuenyane as its Chairman -- he is also President of the National Federated Chamber of Commerce. The African Bank was designed to enable Black businessmen to play their full part in the economic development of their people and to help mobilise the tremendous economic potential of the Black man -- not only as worker but also as an entrepreneur. Motsuenyane sees the Black Bank as the first step in a positive direction of self-hope and self-help. He believes that the establishment of the Bank will "prompt the African to look into his own soul, to realise that he has everything other men have and use these talents for self-upliftment"⁷⁹.

9

SUMMARY

In the mid-nineteenth century, economic development in South Africa was slow. The number of White immigrants who came from the advanced countries of Europe increased with the discovery of diamonds and gold, and economically

the Transvaal progressed rapidly. In the Eastern Cape, on the other hand, progress was slow. Initially, the itinerant trader, or "smous", ventured further and further into the interior and paved the way for the trader. The trader was in close touch with the African people he served and the store was not only a "market place" for the buying and selling of goods and produce but also a social centre.

The trading stations developed from stores and homes of wattle and daub to well-built brick buildings with all amenities. The trading stores were initially established on or near mission stations and military posts or forts. Once peace was established on the frontier, and British Kaffraria annexed to the Cape, trading stations were established throughout the Ciskei.

Although initially trading had earned a stigma, the traders, through their endeavours and endurance, through hard and honest application to their work, and through their sympathetic and understanding approach to the Black people whom they served, earned not only respect but often loyalty and friendship which lasted over a lifetime.

The growth of the wool trade -- particularly after the introduction of woolled sheep by the 1820 British Settlers, gave an impetus to trade in the Eastern Cape. The African tribes, not formerly keepers of sheep, took up the practice, and today wool plays an important part in their economy.

It was the trader who bought wool, hides, and skins from the Africans in exchange for cash or goods. The development of trade in wool, hides, and skins led to the development of wholesalers and later specialization by brokerage firms.

Factories were established in the Ciskei as far back as the late 19th century. In 1946, the Good Hope Textile Factory was established as one of the first large projects of the Industrial Development Corporation. Today there is in the Ciskei a large network of factories established as part of the state industrial decentralization policy, and this has provided employment for thousands of Blacks who would otherwise have been forced to resort to migrant labour. It has also added to the possibility that the Ciskei may eventually become economically viable. The building of factories in the Ciskei has also led to the growth of such urban areas as Zwelitsha and Mdantsane.

The wholesale merchants, such as James W. Weir and the Mosenthals -- the pioneer wholesalers -- by assisting traders with credit and supplying them with goods, enabled the traders in turn to assist their customers, particularly during difficult times. The wholesaler also played a prominent role in public-spirited activities, and, although the role of the wholesaler in South Africa has in general diminished, wholesalers today still assist Black traders who prefer to buy in small quantities rather than in larger

quantities direct from the manufacturers.

With the development of trade in the Ciskei, it became necessary to improve the infrastructure. Roads were built by Baines as early as 1836, the ox-wagon being the main means of travel. In the early 20th century, motor vehicles made their appearance. Railways were built from the 1870's onwards, and today there is a network of roads, railways, and an airfield at East London, linking the Ciskei with the rest of South Africa and the world.

The traders who lived in isolated places needed to be in contact with the outside world. Through their endeavours, a network of posts and telecommunication criss-crossed the Ciskei in the last quarter of the 19th century, laying the foundation for the present facilities in the Ciskei of almost 2 000 telephones and 12 Post Offices.

Man and beast need water in order to survive. Industry is unable to develop without the necessary water and electrical power. Apart from its natural rivers, the Ciskei has six large dams as well as a number of irrigation projects. Escom supplies the electricity to certain large centres, while smaller centres still generate their own electricity supply. The traders, in developing trade, also promoted the development of electricity and water supplies -- bringing to some modern electricity and water facilities, but to all light and heat in the form of candles

or paraffin lamps, coal/gas stoves, and even the matches used for kindling.

From the second quarter of the 19th century, Banks were established in the Eastern Cape. Today there is an extensive banking system throughout South Africa while 1974 saw the establishment of the first Black Bank. Banking pre-supposes trade -- and it was the traders who promoted commerce, necessitated banking in the Ciskei, which in turn enabled not only commerce to expand but also enabled both White and Black people to save.

Thus it can be claimed that the White trader laid the foundations of commerce, industry, and the infrastructure of the Ciskei.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF THE TRADER IN THE RURAL AREAS
OF THE Ciskei

In the wars between White and Black, the Africans were dispossessed of much of their land. European administration ended inter-tribal warfare which had checked the growth of the population. Applications of veterinary science had reduced stock losses. Therefore the ratio of men and beasts to land had been intensified, the land over-populated and over-stocked, and the soil eroded. "The characteristic of the Ciskeian reserves is poverty. There are too many people on the land for them to make a living off it"¹.

The trader was the importer of goods required by the population. The trader sold these imports and in return was paid by the inhabitants with their produce -- such as wool -- which the trader in turn exported. Thus the trader was the sole importer and exporter, and he was also the middleman, buying local produce for resale on local domestic markets. The trader was thus the main economic link between the outside world and the local population.

1

THE TRADER'S ROLE AS EXPORTER AND MIDDLEMAN

The trader was both exporter of local produce and middleman in the distribution of produce locally. The local produce consisted of such items as wool, hides and skins, maize, "kaffircorn" (sorghum caffrorum), wheat,

birdseed, peas, beans, eggs, fowls, green vegetables and such artefacts as brooms, brushes, baskets and pipes.

Exports were mainly wool, hides, skins, and birdseed.

Wool was the most important export although the yield was low and the quality poor.

Virtually the entire wool clips are sold through the traders, and from certain of their financial accounts it was estimated that in 1948 all the traders in the District bought about 50 000 lbs. of wool from Natives².

The trader, when buying the wool, sampled and weighed it and offered a price for it. Traders received regular market information from brokers to whom they sold. The majority of traders paid cash for wool. They then had to sort the wool according to Government regulations so as to make sure it contained no bellies and lox. The wool would then be sold to brokers or to a selling agency³.

Hides and skins were sold by the Africans to the trader in greater quantities during drought years when the mortality of livestock would be high.

The Bantu today make little use of the hides and skins of dead or slaughtered animals, most of which are sold through the traders⁴.

All hides and skins were sold to the trader in a wet state; the trader then salt-cured the hides and skins. Price was again determined by the ruling price on the market.

All traders paid cash for hides and skins. When cured and dried, the traders sold the hides and skins direct to a broker or selling agent⁵.

The purchase of maize from Africans by traders was regulated by the Mealie Control Board. All traders who bought maize from producers for resale had to register as agents with the Board. Sale of maize and "kaffircorn" varied with season. Only in years of abundant harvests did Africans sell maize and "kaffircorn" to the trader. In bad seasons, the traders bought the surplus of one family and would then sell it to another. Often a family would sell the maize (in small quantities) to a trader only to have to buy it back due to lack of adequate storage. "The shop is our pit" is an African saying⁶. Sometimes, because ready cash was needed urgently, a family would sell some maize. Trader Vincent Hagan states that mealies and beans were "bought, stored and resold to them. Hundreds of bags were stored in 80-bag tanks and sometimes kept up to a year until resold to them"⁷.

In bad seasons some maize is offered for sale and it is used almost as a currency. People come with a few lbs. of maize when they need to buy such things as coffee, sugar, paraffin, etc., even if parting with the maize means that they will have to buy it again later from the trader. Sometimes they even sell a portion of a bag of maize which they have previously bought from the trader"⁸.

Thus the African usually had only small quantities of produce for sale and here again the trader played an important role as he bought the small quantities which would not otherwise have been marketed.

"Kaffircorn" was sold by the Africans before the maize crop was reaped although they preferred to keep their "kaffircorn" for the making of beer. "Kaffircorn" was purchased in the same way as maize and payment made in cash or by an "I.O.U." The "kaffircorn" was stored by the trader and sold back to the Africans, either in its natural state or after it had been malted, when it was known as "Mtomba". If there was an exceptionally good harvest, which was rare, the trader would sell the surplus to merchants in larger towns.

Birdseed on the other hand was not grown as a subsistence crop and was sold in bulk to the trader who paid the highest price. Birdseed was grown by very few Africans as it could only be grown by those who had large holdings of land. Some traders bought birdseed on behalf of other traders and then sold outright to brokers in wholesale markets⁹.

According to the Wheat Control Board regulations, all wheat had to be sold to an agent of the Board. The nearest agent in the Ciskei was in Queenstown, but, as very little wheat was produced, most wheat was sold to traders who would

either re-sell it to the Africans after it had been ground, or for seed in the next planting season.

Peas and beans were grown between seasons and, as they formed an important part of the African's diet, they were only sold to the trader in small quantities when cash was needed to buy other goods. Here again, the peas and beans were then usually re-sold to another African customer.

Vegetables were generally sold to the trader for his own use or to School Feeding Schemes.

Proclamation 31 of 1939 conferred certain powers on the Native Commissioner, enabling him to limit the amount of stock. Proclamation No. 116 of 1949 gave the Native Commissioner further powers, including control of livestock and land uses, etc. Before the limitation of stock, there was a great deal of livestock speculation by traders. But with the restrictions imposed Africans were only able to purchase and sell livestock when and to whom they wanted as long as it remained in the restricted area -- known as the "Betterment Areas". A trader would buy cattle from one African who would then keep them until sold to another African. Africans only sold cattle when they were able to replace an older animal with a younger one. However, goats were bought by traders for re-sale, and a few sheep were also bought.

In the marketing of African livestock, there were three main channels: African to trader and then to the slaughter-house; African to trader who re-sold to another trader who had a farm where the animals were fattened and then were sent to the slaughter-house; and thirdly, sold by the trader to one African and then re-sold to another¹⁰.

Every African homestead possessed some fowls (and therefore eggs) and these were sold to the trader when the African needed the cash. Fowls were initially bought by the trader by "handling and feeling" the fowls, but later the price was determined by weight. However, the number of fowls offered for sale decreased so much in the 1940's that only the trader's own needs were being met. It could be that, due to fowls being increasingly sold by one African to another, the trader was by-passed¹¹. When a trader was able to buy a large number of fowls, they were fattened and then sold in the King William's Town or East London markets. In the 1930's, some traders bought more eggs than they could dispose of, but later the amount offered for sale declined, either due to reduction of fowls or because the Africans were eating more eggs. Some traders sold eggs in the King William's Town and East London markets.

The products such as maize, "kaffircorn", wheat, peas, beans, fowls and eggs were therefore classified as subsistence commodities. The African depended on them for his subsistence, but, if there was a surplus, a small amount would

be sold to satisfy other needs. However, the amount produced was generally small because the agricultural holdings of the African were small (usually less than six acres per family), the yield of the land was low, and the African stored any excess for later use. Thus the trader performed the all important functions of concentration. "The large number of small quantities which he concentrates makes it doubtful whether the importance of this function can be exaggerated"¹².

The trader facilitated exports by selling excess produce through brokers in the central markets. He also equalised demand and supply, and would store produce until it was required by the African, thus acting as wholesaler and as a retail outlet. The trader also performed the role of disseminating market news -- the price and type of product as well as improved methods, grading regulations, etc. All this would lead to higher prices, and increased quantities and quality of produce, and thus also to an improvement in the economic circumstances of the Africans.

2

THE TRADER'S ROLE AS IMPORTER

All clothing, manufactured articles, agricultural implements, and many food items had to be imported by the trader. Even in years of very good harvests, staple foods

such as maize and "kaffircorn" were imported.

Even an exceptionally good harvest produces food enough for only half the nutritional requirements of the people living at home; in a drought year scarcely one-twentieth of requirements are produced. Few families can get through the winter on their stored harvests¹³.

The trader was virtually the only channel through which goods were imported and this represented his principal function in the economy of the district. "The overwhelming majority of purchases made by the Natives in the Reserves are made through the trading stations"¹⁴.

The commodities sold at trading stations were similar. Although the traders were widely separated from one another, there was very little attempt to make monopolistic gains as the Africans were quite prepared to walk considerable distances in order to buy elsewhere.

The proportion of necessity and luxury goods sold by the trader varied with the seasons. In a good season, when there was an excess of produce, the produce would be sold to the trader and more clothing, blankets, coffee, tea and sugar than usual would be purchased. In a bad season, more would be spent on supplementing inadequate crops.

Purchases reached a peak when, for instance, wool was shorn or when migrant workers returned at Christmas time¹⁵, which was celebrated in much the same way as Whites did. Another increase in sales took place during the time when the young men were initiated -- one festivity before and one after the period of seclusion.

In an analysis of expenditure of 260 households in the Keiskammahoek District, in 1949, the following results were obtained:

Table No 1 - Percentage distribution of expenditure of 260 households in Keiskammahoek, 1949

Food	57,6
Household requisites (soap, matches, paraffin, pots, pans and furniture)	8,4
Clothing	13,5
Other expenses (tax, farming, outlay, medical expenses, building and repairs, church, wedding and funeral contributions)	20,5
All items	100,0

As the survey was undertaken in the drought year of 1949, more food was purchased from traders than in the previous year¹⁶.

In summary, the traders performed important functions in linking the rural economy with the outside world, bringing

the merchandise required by the Africans to them, and acting as retailer. Africans were supplied with the goods they needed, when they needed them, and in the quantities needed.

3

STOCKS IN A TRADING STORE

All traders were general dealers, carrying a wide range of goods -- men's and women's clothing, patent medicines, household and farming goods. The country trader supplied the immediate needs of the Africans -- groceries, medicines, and household goods -- and also carried a small range of soft goods, mostly cheap materials and clothing. The village trader carried a wide range of groceries, household goods, and farming implements, but also a greater range of soft goods and more expensive materials and blankets. The "village trader is a combination of the high class department store and bazaar"¹⁷.

Traders bought their stocks from wholesalers. A retired trader, Vincent Hagan, in a personal communication written to the author, has recorded the following about goods imported by the wholesaler:

One could procure all items necessary for the running of a Traders business from these wholesalers, from blankets to ochre beads and all necessary commodities. Everything was imported in those days, as nothing was manufactured in South Africa. As a matter of interest, although ochre was procurable

locally, it was unacceptable as it had to be a special red, which only England could supply; the local product being slightly different in colour. You and I could swear that the colour was the same, but the purchaser knew the right colour without even comparing the two.

Hagan also stated that the "main item in any store was sugar (yellow in those days) and if one ran out of this, business fell off drastically, as it is, and was, nothing for the young ones to run the five miles or so to the next station to buy and then bought other things as well"¹⁸.

The trader penetrated every part of the country and came in contact with every section of the population. The witch-doctor bought alum from him; the naked baby begged sweets from him. He sold the products of Western industry; cloth from England and America, and from Germany, Italy and Japan; iron pots from Birmingham; ploughs and saddles; South African sugar and Indian tea; American oil and Norwegian brisling¹⁹.

The following table shows the type of goods kept by trading stores in the Transkei in 1913²⁰, in the Hershel District in 1930²¹, and in a Debe Nek Store in 1950²²:

Type of Goods	Hershel		
	Transkei Store	District Store	Debe Nek Store
Softs	Cotton and woollen blankets, Kaffir sheeting ²³ , prints, sheeting, cashmere ²⁴ , trousers, vests, boots and shoes	blankets, prints, flannellette, ready-made clothing, boots	blankets and rugs, "Kaffir" sheeting, materials, doeks, shawls, nighties, vests, sheets, cardigans, overalls, shirts, bloomers, petticoats, wool, dungarees, blouses, pillows and pillowcases, quilts, stockings, braces, coats, ties, napkins, suspenders, pyjamas, suits, boy's caps, hats, dressing-gowns, blazers, skirts, rompers, underpants, socks, lace collars, tablecloths
Domestic requirements	Paraffin, crockery, pots, soap, tinware	Paraffin, soap, floor polish, boot polish	Paraffin, chamber pots, soap, lamp "chimneys", floor polish, pots, spoons, brooms, cups and saucers, glasses, candles, matches, galvanised-iron baths and buckets
Food	Sugar, tinned food	Sugar, tea, coffee	Sugar tea (including loose tea), coffee, sweets, cocoa, canned peaches, lemonade, tinned peas, salt
Farming implements	Saddles, bridles	Ploughs and other "agricultural implements", riding-saddles	Ploughs, spades, pumps
Produce	Grain purchased from Africans and re-sold to them		Lucerne, bran, birdseed, potatoes, "kaffircorn", mealies, wheat
Building materials			Wire, grass rope, netting wire, poles, flat iron sheets, ridging, gutters, hut tops, yellowwood ²⁵
Haberdashery	beads, buttons, trinkets, braid, ochre, brass belts		Ochre, press-studs, buttons, boot laces, rings and watches, braid, flower sprays and wreaths, suitcases, sheen, cotton, hat pins
Miscellaneous	Grain-bags, twine, tobacco, musical instruments (harmonicas), medicines		tobacco, empty bags, twine, petrol, tar, medicines, lime, oil for machinery

Haines states in his article "The Transkei Trader" that traders' stock lists were much the same in 1888 as in 1932, showing "quite a high proportion of 'dressed' goods (trousers, boots and shoes, prints, etc.) as is to be found in most stores today"²⁶.

The list of stock taken from MacMillan's account of Hershel Stores is very similar, as are the stock sheets of Louis Shap, although this list shows a greater variety of soft goods in particular. All three lists give an overall picture of Western goods being supplied to the African population. Trader David Tarloff, in an interview with the writer in 1975, pointed out that before he retired (1974) the Africans were buying ready-made articles such as dresses, khaki trousers and shirts, underwear, school "gyms". Wigs too were very popular. Not only are the types of goods purchased, especially clothing, more sophisticated, and expensive, but also the days of buying in small quantities put up by the Trader are gone and goods are purchased in standardised packaging as put up by the manufacturers.

D. Hobart Houghton passes on the following information from a trader.

For some seventy-five years the type of goods demanded for the Transkei trade had remained practically unchanged. In the early 1940's, however, a marked change was noted. The demand for German prints, blankets, ochre, braid and beads declined, and the demand for the current

European fashions in dress increased markedly. Today the main difference between the demand of the rural and urban Xhosa is not a matter of taste but a matter of "purchasing power"²⁷.

4

INTRODUCTION OF A CASH SYSTEM

As early as 1836, the traders were instructed to discourage the barter system and encourage the sale of goods for cash²⁸.

Thomas Baines in his Journal (1848) tells of an African who, "having learned from Bavian at the Winkel the value of money, returned shortly after the wagons had started demanding a great white money, a shilling, in exchange"²⁹.

Traders used an "I.O.U." system of paying for produce bought from the Africans. Trader Vincent Hagan recalls:

I can remember as a child the little tin discs rusty and long out of use made round like money with the name or initials and the amount (value) stamped on them, which were issued in lieu of money for commodities bought from the customer -- mealies, beans, skins, hides and other things -- which enabled or entitled him to buy what they wanted in that store alone³⁰.

The issue of metal tokens was made illegal by the Coinage Act (No.31) of 1922. However, prior to this, token coins were issued by numerous commercial firms (from about 1860) such as the Transkei trading firm of

Strachan and Co. Their token coins were made in London and engraved on them was "S & Co.", the value of the coin such as "2/-, 1/-, 6d or 3d" and the words "in goods". There were also holes in the tokens which were used to string them together, as the traditional tribal dress did not include pockets. The Colonial Government would accept vouchers in payment of tax but the Company who issued the vouchers had to supply a bank guarantee to cover them³¹.

In terms of Proclamation No. 305 of 1947, the barter system also became illegal. Credit notes, tokens, or other non-negotiable instruments, or goods, wares, merchandise, or livestock given by traders and others to Africans in payment of or in exchange for livestock and produce offered for sale by the Africans, was prohibited. Cash had to be paid by the trader for any produce/livestock offered for sale.

Initially, cash earned as wages was used to satisfy new demands for manufactured goods. However, as the tribal areas were brought under White control, taxes were imposed and had to be paid in cash. (The first Xhosa term for money was "igosha-elingenamxuma" meaning a button without a hole). This created a further demand for cash and the means to earn it, which inevitably led to the sale of labour as there was not sufficient produce to meet the needs of the people, let alone the additional taxes, school fees, etc. Cash was used to buy essential household items, including

food, farming implements, cloth, blankets and utensils, building materials, etc. Food was related to cash.

The staple diet, such as mealies, was produced but had to be sold, not in order to make a profit, but because cash was needed to purchase other goods including other foods (tea, coffee, sugar, etc.) and often the same or other mealies, for instance, were re-purchased³².

5

SERVICES RENDERED BY TRADERS TO CUSTOMERS

(a) Credit facilities

The trader was the chief source of credit to the Africans. In providing this credit, "his motives appear to have been partly humanitarian and partly business"³³. The trader was usually sympathetic towards the Africans' difficulties. This sympathy was especially demonstrated when there was a shortage in production, particularly in times of drought and crop failure. Africans then got into debt and the trader was often motivated by his desire to assist the people who would otherwise have starved.

Trader Vincent Hagan wrote:

The trader in times of starvation or drought really came into the picture, as he had to help his customers over the lean period. Then he would have to wait sometimes years for repayment. It was seldom that he was let down³⁴.

A trader would also grant credit to a trusted customer whose savings were exhausted -- the bread winner being a migrant labourer who would send the household money at intervals. The trader not only granted credit on the sale of goods but also made cash advances when needed.

The following is a facsimile of a sample account taken from the books of Trader Louis Shap (Debe Nek) for a period of about eight months:

<u>MRS. E. MOKO</u>				
24/4/45	6 yrd B Print ³⁵	3/-	£	18 0
	Carried forward			<u>2 15 6</u>
3/5/45	By cash			3 13 6
				<u>1 0 0</u>
				2 13 6
26/5/45	3½ yrd Material	3/-		10 6
	Small a/c			1 2 0
6/5/45	Goods			<u>4 7</u>
				4 10 7
17/5/45	By Cash			<u>2 0 0</u>
	Bal			2 10 7
19/6/45	Cash Loan			<u>5 0</u>
				2 15 7
3/9/45	By Cash			<u>1 0 0</u>
				1 15 7
3/9/45	8 yds 4/- per yd.			1 12 0
10/9/45	6d sugar 3d coffee			9
21/9/45	tea 1/6			1 6
	mat 4/-			<u>4 0</u>
				3 13 10
9/10/45	By cash			<u>1 0 0</u>
				2 13 10
21/11/45	Sugar & tea			1 6
	candles			1 0
	soap 10d blue 1½d.			11½
26/11/45	2 pairs Knickers 7/8 each			15 4
	2 turbans 3/6 each			7 0
	1 pair stockings			<u>7 0</u>
				4 6 7½
30/11/45	By Cash			<u>1 0 0</u>
				3 6 7½
8/1/46	By Cash			<u>1 0 0</u>
1946				2 6 7½
Jan	To Inv. 55			17 0
				<u>1 0</u>
				3 4 7½
6/6/46	By Cash			<u>3 4 7½</u>

This granting of credit to a customer would cause the customer to be loyal in good times. Debts made by Africans seldom turned out to be bad debts. If a debt was not paid in a man's lifetime, it would be paid by his family soon after his death because the Africans believed that an unpaid debt would cause the man's spirit to be disturbed. Trader David Tarloff tells about an African who owed him six or seven pounds. The dying man sent his wife to fetch the Trader in order that he might pay his debt before he died. The debt was paid and the following day the man died. This shows how important it was to an African to settle a debt in his lifetime³⁶.

It was a tribal custom that a man's debts were passed on to his heirs but this custom has largely fallen away³⁷. In a study of Bantu Retail Traders, R.B. Savage states that the attitude towards debt has changed and that some Africans will obtain as much credit as possible from one trader and then go to another³⁸.

Trader Hagan stated that interest was charged on loans but that the rate was fixed by the Government under the Usury Act³⁹.

Mr. Drefus Fichla wrote of Trader Louis Shap: "He never sued his customer through Attorneys. Oh, not once. I knew him very well. He would rather give up the sum owing"⁴⁰.

(b) The Sale of Goods in Small Quantities

Such was the poverty of Africans that they lived basically from "hand-to-mouth" and were unable to buy in large quantities. The trader assisted the Africans by selling commodities in small standard quantities, and thus acted as a sort of "communal pantry"⁴¹.

Haines described a typical store.

This store, for instance, sold sugar in 13 and 26 oz. packets at 3d. and 6d. per packet respectively. Another sold at 27 oz. for 6d.; a third 12 oz for 3d. In each case the sugar was, so far as we could judge, of a quality which is sold at 3d. a pound in Cape Town. A Native who wanted a shilling's worth of sugar would buy two 6d. or even four 3d. packets. Tea, again, is put up in 1 and 2 oz. packets with a standard price, throughout the Transkei, of 3d. and 6d. per packet respectively. The tea consists of siftings of well-known brands, Nectar, Mazawattee, Five Roses, and the like. The Natives are said to prefer it to ordinary leaf tea. Coffee is often put up (by the trader) in 3d. packets containing 1½ - 2 oz. Candles are sold at 1d. each, (6 oz.) or sometimes two for 3d. (8 oz.) Soap (blue and yellow) is sold by the cake; a 5d. bar is cut up into six cakes, which are sold at a penny each. A bar is obtainable for 5d., but is seldom bought"⁴².

Trader Ken Elliot stated that the buying pattern of the African in recent times has changed considerably. When he first started in business, it was "tickey"⁴³ tea, tickey coffee". Traders do still sell some things in small quantities such as salt, peas, beans. However, today Africans buy in bigger quantities (12,5 kg. sugar, 250 g tea, 500 g. coffee, etc.)⁴⁴.

Traders usually gave a handful of "Colonial sweets" -- referred to as "Basella" -- if purchases of goods were of a certain value. While this custom also may have caused customers to buy frequently in small quantities, this buying pattern was usually due to a lack of sufficient money and lack of a form of budgeting and also a lack of storage facilities. However, larger purchases, particularly softs, such as blankets, were rewarded by a "Basella" in the form of a handkerchief which was highly valued by the recipient.

(c) Postal Agencies

Traders who were postal agents provided the basic services of a Post Office -- mail and parcel services, telephone and telegram services, and postal order services. Very often the trading store was in such an isolated area that it would have been almost impossible to have had any other postal arrangement. Trader E. Kopke points out the importance of the service rendered by traders as postal agents and also mentions that the trader would telephone for ambulances and police in cases of emergencies⁴⁵. Shops were also used as venues for payment of Old Age or Government pensions⁴⁶.

(d) Transport

The trader, when called upon, would transport an African in an emergency to a doctor or hospital. Trader F.A. Kopke has stated that customers were "often carted to doctors and hospitals" free of charge⁴⁷. Trader E. Kopke recalls that patients were conveyed "free gratis to visit clinics at Debe Nek or King Williams Town"⁴⁸. Trader A.N. Kopke built a bridge over the Keiskamma River to give access to his shop when the river was in flood⁴⁹.

In the 1950's, Debe Nek Trader Louis Shap was asked to help stop a run-away coach which was filled with African school children. The trader chased the coach in his motor car and was able to stop it and prevent a possible tragedy.

Traders would sometimes deliver goods for customers to their homes or to a convenient point on the road.

(e) Medical Advice and Patent Medicines

Without encroaching on the preserve of the physician, traders gave Africans the benefit of what education and knowledge they themselves might have had in prescribing patent medicines in cases where the symptoms were known. Directions, etc. were explained carefully⁵⁰. Thus traders

kept a large variety of medicines, mainly what are known as "Dutch Medicines" (e.g. "Pepermint Druppels", Paragoric, "Hoofpijn Druppels", Arnica, Chlorodyne, "Jamaica Gemmer", Mother Seigel's Syrup, "Aambij Salf", etc.) Trader A.Kopke recalls that "the sale of medicines was an important service though not a large percentage of the turnover"⁵¹. Trader M.E.E. Frauenstein stated that his wife would assist African women during childbirth.

(f) Dissemination of Information

The storekeeper was able to give helpful advice on new laws, regulations, and developments throughout the country as he was in closer contact with the outside world. The following is an example of the way in which the trader was able to pass on helpful advice. In 1952, the Native Commissioner sent a notice to all traders and Headmen advising them that all "Imported Mealies are worthless for seed purposes; apparently they are kiln dried and do not germinate"⁵². The trader then passed this information on to his customers.

A trader was also called upon to act as advisor on family and other matters and, in times of need, regarded as a friend and helper⁵³. Trader Jack Shap said that on one occasion he was asked to seek the hand of a domestic servant, Lydia, on behalf of an assistant in the shop, Cecil Manyonte, as Cecil had no father. Cecil also asked

the trader to arrange for the Lobolo⁵⁴. (Lobolo is the bride price paid to the father of the bride by the groom).

Mrs. Ethel Wild, who with her husband traded in Peddie, stated that the Africans trusted them and came for advice and help⁵⁵.

(g) Recruiting of Labour

Traders persuaded Africans to present themselves at the nearest Native Recruiting Corporation office and advanced small sums to buy necessities for the journey. The Native Recruiting Corporation was an offshoot of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association which came into being in 1904, and was a subsidiary of the Chamber of Mines. This association divided up areas into recruiting districts. The agents who actually did the recruiting were usually traders, assisted by African runners. Traders received a commission and the recruit also paid the runner⁵⁶.

Traders also advanced money for railfare to Africans who wished to migrate to a town. In this way, the trader built up goodwill and also was responsible for increasing the earning capacity of his customers, who depended greatly on the earnings received from the sale of their labour.

(h) Other Services

Some of the other services rendered by the traders to the Africans included preparing food for sick babies and supplying water in times of drought.

Traders were ably assisted by their wives. Vincent Hagan describes the traders' wives as "very brave and adventurous women"⁵⁷. The traders' wives assisted not only in the running of the stores, but, in the early days, baked the bread, made ginger beer, offered a dress-making service, particularly for wedding outfits for Christian Africans' weddings, and even made the wedding cake.

The trader was often the undertaker, providing sheeting and calico for the shroud and making coffins to order -- coffins were not made in advance and stored, for it was believed that this would be a cause of the death of the subsequent occupier⁵⁸. Trader M.E.E. Frauenstein offered the services of an undertaker and acquired a hearse. However, the Africans showed their disapproval by boycotting his store and he was forced to terminate this service.

The trader, by offering for example improved farming implements, was an educational force. Traders often hired out tractors to the African farmers.

In 1949, Snaku Nyamfu, a customer of Debe Nek Trader Louis Shap, came to him and asked him to assist him with the buying of a tractor. The trader agreed to assist his trusted customer and only later found that he did not need a loan of money but only assistance with the transaction itself. He took Nyamfu to King William's Town to the Merchant Roy Thompson & Co. and there they purchased a tractor on Nyamfu's behalf. Trader Shap realising Nyamfu kept a large amount of cash in his hut explained to him the necessity of banking his money and allowing it to accrue interest. Nyamfu agreed as long as it was in the name of his trusted White friend⁵⁹.

The trader spoke the language of the African and this too was a great asset, not only in the giving of advice but in the understanding of each other's problems. The trader was able to keep his customers (who were interested) informed of world affairs. Mr. Dreyfus Fichla, in a letter about Trader Louis Shap, wrote: "During the World War we used to gather in his lounge listening to the radio news about the war"⁶⁰. Traders also endeavoured to contact Africans in their areas and deliver messages and goods to them⁶¹.

THE INFLUENCE OF WESTERN MANUFACTURED GOODS
ON THE AMA-XHOSA

The increasing contact with the White population led to a great change in the wants and needs of the Africans.

Brownlee, whose father was a missionary in Kaffraria in 1820, writes as follows of the time when trade between the Africans and the White people, particularly at Fort Willshire (1824 - 1830) was developing.

My father came as a missionary to the Gaikas in 1820; and I was born at the Chumie in Kaffraria in 1821 ... In those early days, no article of European manufacture was seen among the Natives except a few beads, a little brass wire and buttons. Cultivation was performed by a wooden implement resembling the paddle of a canoe. Bridles were bars of wood with strips of untanned ox hide for reins; a triangular piece of iron, from one to two pounds in weight, served as an axe, and its equivalent in barter was an ox; while iron pots and tin ware vessels were nowhere to be seen, and probably all the articles sold at the periodical fairs at Fort Willshire on our border, where alone trade could be carried on with the Kaffirs, did not cost more than £200 in the year⁶².

The Tomlinson Commission (the Commission on the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa) in its report in 1954 stated that it was rare to find a Bantu person not wearing at least one or other European garment.

As regards alimentation, we find the use of field foods, the traditional porridges and kaffir corn beer alongside a liking for cool drinks and white bread in urban area. Besides the ornamented conical-roofed huts of the Xhosa, the beehive huts of the Zulu, and the pedi "lapas", we find corrugated iron lean-to's, daub-walled thatched houses and modern western dwellings even in the Bantu areas, but more especially in the urban residential areas. Where implements are concerned, we find the hoe alongside of the double furrow plough and the primitive braiding instrument alongside of the sewing machine. In the huts, we find the sleeping mat beside an iron bed, wooden bowls beside plates and wooden spoons next to knives and forks⁶³.

The Commission also ascertained that the demand for manufactured goods had increased considerably during recent years and that, with the exception of some luxury or semi-luxury goods, there were few modern manufactured goods that were not used in the Bantu areas in one form or another. The quantity and quality of the goods used differed from those purchased by Europeans, but the need for goods and knowledge of how to use them were clearly present⁶⁴.

The greatest influences of Western manufactured goods which the increasing contact between the White population and the Africans brought about were in the fields of clothing, housing, nutrition, agricultural implements, and domestic appliances.

(a) Clothing

Before the arrival of the White man, the Ama-Xhosa had traditional clothing which reflected sex, age, marital, and

social distinctions. The traditional Xhosa man, in ordinary circumstances, wore a penis sheath of calabash or palm leaf and an old kaross. In cold weather, the men wore skin cloaks, but only members of the Royal family could use leopard and lion skins. For more festive gatherings, the men and women wore a um-Nweba -- a kaross made of the skins of small wild animals which were neatly sewn together. The skin of an antelope was worn on the shoulders and back, and fastened around the neck. In time of war, this was used as an apron or loin cloth and all other clothes were discarded.

When long journeys were undertaken, men wore sandals (women were usually barefoot)⁶⁵ -- these sandals were called Izi-Hlanqu, meaning a "shield", and the term also referred to the warriors' body shield⁶⁶.

They only wear soles, or a rude description of sandals consisting of stiff pieces of hide roughly shaped to the foot, and fixed by means of two or three short thongs, that pass over the instep⁶⁷.

John Barrow in his account of travels in the years 1797 and 1798, gives a vivid description of the Chief Gaika, his wife and followers.

Like the chiefs in the colony he wore a brass chain, suspended, on the left side, from a wreath of copper beads that encircles his head: on his arm he had five large rings cut out of the solid tusks of elephants, and round his neck was a chain of beads: his cloak was faced with skins of leopards; but he threw this dress aside, and, like the rest of his people, appeared entirely naked.

The queen had nothing to distinguish her from the other women, except that her cloak seemed to have had more pains bestowed upon it in the dressing, and had three rows behind of brass buttons extending from the hood to the bottom of the skirts, and so close that they touched each other. The rest of the women were contented with a few of these straggling over different parts of the cloak. This weighty covering is never laid aside in the hottest weather; but they wear nothing whatsoever under it, except the little apron that the Hottentot women take such pains to decorate. The Kaffer ladies are not less anxious to appear smart about the head. Their skin-caps were ornamented with buttons, buckles, beads, or shells, according as fancy might suggest or their wardrobe could supply⁶⁸.

The clothing of the Ama-Xhosa was made from the skins of domestic and wild animals. The processing of the skins and hides was a difficult and lengthy process, as was the sewing of the garments with sinew, and then it was often dyed with red ochre.

The article that furnishes their dress is prepared and put together with some degree of ingenuity. Calves' skins only are used for this purpose: when taken from the animal they are fixed to the ground with wooden pegs, extended as far as they will bear, and well scraped, so that no part of the flesh remains upon them. As soon as they are sufficiently dry to have lost the power of contraction, they are beaten with stones till they become soft and pliant. In this state the interior side is scraped with sharp stones, and smeared with red ochre, till a nap, like that on cloth, is raised over the whole surface: they are then cut into proper shapes, and sewed together exactly in the same manner that the shoemakers of Europe stitch together two pieces of leather. Their bodkin is a piece of polished iron, and the thread is the fibres of the tendons of the long dorsal muscle taken from various animals; those in a wilde state are preferred, as furnishing a much stronger thread than such as are domesticated⁶⁹.

The supply of wild animals was cut off once the Africans were settled in a restricted area and, while after the cattle killing episode, there was an abundance of skins, thereafter very few skins were available, the cattle having been destroyed.

The clothing was replaced by cotton cloth and cotton and woollen blankets very soon after contact with the Whites. It was not only less laborious to buy the ready manufactured article, but it was more readily available from the traders.

In South Africa, we are accustomed to think of the blanket as the tribal dress of Africans, but until the middle of the 19th century, blankets were unknown amongst them -- they had no spinning/weaving industries. Their only covering was a skin kaross.

It was enterprising traders -- mostly Scotsmen -- who seemed to realise the potentiality of substituting blankets as prized possessions of the tribal Natives; who had blankets especially made for the Native trade in the mills around Leeds, Bradford, Densbury and Batley in Yorkshire, England, and who, in fact, saw the opportunity for "differentiating" their product and gaining exclusive markets if they could only induce the different tribes each to adopt some particular pattern as being their own and so absolutely 'de rigeur'. So the traditional tribal description of the African blankets were in fact thought out for them by enterprising merchants⁷⁰.

The Missionaries, in their civilizing process, encouraged the Ama-Xhosa to wear European-type clothing which exposed less of the body, and the wearing of Western

mode of dress became a visible symbol of civilization⁷¹. The missionaries "begged the Africans to wear more clothes"⁷² and the Government passed an Act in 1886 laying down certain regulations concerning the clothes to be worn by Africans in towns and other public places. Section 125 of Act No.24 reads as follows:

Insufficient Clothing in Towns and other Public Places.

Whoever indecently exposes his person or appears in any street or public thoroughfare without such articles of clothing as decency requires shall be punished with a fine not exceeding two pounds, and in default of payment with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one month, unless such fine be sooner paid.

Moreover, the Xhosa resorted more and more to working for Europeans in order to earn a living, and were thus forced to adopt Western clothing.

The traditionalist Xhosa people, because of the smearing of their bodies and clothes with red ochre, are called Abantu ababomvu meaning "Red people" or less politely, amaqaba meaning "smeared ones". Xhosa people who are the product of the mission and the school, i.e. people who uphold Christianity, are literate, and have Western ideals are called the "school people" or, in Xhosa, abantu basesikolweni.

The availability of Western manufactured goods has influenced clothing perhaps more than every other aspect of material culture. At first, and, except in towns, until quite recently, the tendency was to reproduce traditional styles in cloth instead of

skin, but styles have developed, especially where missionary or school influence has been strong⁷³.

Raum and de Jager give the following reasons for the change from traditional to Western dress.

1. Traditional dress is regarded as signifying backwardness, etc.
2. There are economic advantages in Western dress such as easy washing of the garments, cheaper purchases, etc.
3. Many people prefer Western dress on aesthetic grounds.
4. Western dress is said to be lighter, yet warmer and healthier⁷⁴.

The men's apparel when at home was, and still is, in the Red areas, a cotton/woollen blanket draped over the shoulder, large enough to cover the whole body. The favourite blanket for formal dress is the Whitney blanket. This blanket has six purple stripes with a large black stripe in the centre and the edge of the blanket is braided with red wool in a criss-cross fashion⁷⁵.

Boys -- amakwenkwe -- traditionally wore sheepskin penis sheaths. When they adopted Western clothing, the boys wore short trousers (khaki/black), woollen socks with the foot cut off, and, instead of a shirt, shop-bought blankets -- amafelane -- which were usually red, so that they were something like red ochre blankets. They also wore long white underpants called "Vasco da Gama" or "dagama". Once they went to work, the boys usually wore shirts and

trousers, boots, black woollen socks, a cap, and possibly a few coloured scarves for decorative purposes⁷⁶.

When a boy intended being circumcised, he would obtain blankets, khaki shirts, and trousers. Some wore shoes and socks. His girl friend usually gave the young man a black scarf.

Pre-puberty boys usually wore sheepskins or blankets made of "Kaffir" sheeting -- ingubo yebhayi -- sometimes home-made shirts or a brother's cast-off trousers.

The "Red man" usually possesses some kind of European-style dress, which he wears at home in the country for every-day purposes, consisting of long trousers, a shirt and some type of jacket. Many still wear ear-rings, bangles, traditional tobacco-bag, and woollen cap. When he went to town, the "Red man" might wear a "proper" suit or jacket, but his "best" dress at home was the "red-ochred blanket fastened over one shoulder, and a great amount of beadwork round the neck and ankles"⁷⁷.

The well-educated Xhosa man or woman who are acculturated wear Western-style clothing including accessories such as handbags, jewelry, hats, ties, etc. They are:

... professional and business men -- the so-called white collar men, or the *élite*, who reside mostly in the villages and towns of the area. These two categories are well acculturated in dress and differ only in economic status, and the quality of the clothes they buy. This applies to both males and females, both of whom are frequently sensitive to changes in European fashion, as is testified by shopkeepers of the area⁷⁸.

The traditional Xhosa women wore a skirt called isi-kaka which was made of ox-hide softened and dyed with ochre. This skirt was replaced by a skirt called um-bako which was made from a white blanket with a black stripe -- ifelan elimhlope -- black braid being sewn round the skirt in rows from the bottom upwards. A bodice bound around the breasts and hanging down to meet the skirt, called incebetha was made of "Kaffir"-sheeting and decorated with beads, braids, and buttons. A shoulder wrap, ibhayi, was also made from "Kaffir"-sheeting⁷⁹. These garments when completed and new were dipped in a solution of ochre mixed with water to form a reddish liquid and then left to dry. The garments were never washed in the conventional style, but when considered dirty, would again be dipped in the ochre liquid⁸⁰.

The headdress was made of skin -- usually bush-buck skins -- and decorated with beads and buttons. This was later made of mutton cloth and called istafu. Unmarried women wore the same clothing as married women, except for a face/bath towel which was wrapped around the waist and shoulders, and was usually a gift bought from the local

store by the boy-friend. Young girls wore no head covering and could also go with bare breasts⁸¹.

"Best" dress of the Red women was indicated by more abundant decoration of the skirt with braid/pearl buttons. There were other decorative items such as rows of brass coils on the forearm, strings of coloured beads round the neck, wrists, or ankle, cosmetic yellow/red colouring around the eyes, and scarifications on the stomach⁸².

When the Red women went to town or to a Government office, they used a home-made print dress, made from fabric called German print or ujamani. Other prints were also used and the print dress was worn over the traditional skirt.

The "School Xhosa" have combined White-derived elements with a typical dress. Conservative "School women" wear long skirts, long-sleeves and high necks, as recommended by the early missionaries. They use the German print -- "the sale of such prints by the yard is a major business of traders in these parts of the Cape"⁸³.

The "School woman" wears on her head a scarf -- "doek" -- traditionally black; and over her shoulder, for smart wear, a black shawl similar to the typical Victorian shawl, known as ilema.

Long before Europeans settled in the Cape, the Arabs and later the Portuguese traders had introduced a small quantity of glass beads. Once the beads became available from the Cape Colony traders, their use for ornaments and decoration of clothing became widespread. Anders Sparrman mentions that the Xhosa people valued a small red glass bead. Beads were scarce in the 17th and 18th centuries and the Xhosa bartered for beads -- a string of beads could pay for a calf. In the 1820's, a trader sold 4 000 lb. of beads in five months.

From the 1830's, there are many references to the Xhosa's bead ornaments, including straps studded with beads, leather items of clothing with beads stitched in and strips of beads round their necks. Gaika wore a headband studded with black and white beads in the design of diamonds and triangles. In 1855 there is reference to a Xhosa woman's anklets and armbands of black and white beads, tastefully worked. In 1848, the Xhosa near Fort Beaufort wore a great deal of beads -- beads decorated the women's breast cloth which were so strung as to form patterns of squares and triangles. The colours that were favoured were blue, red and white⁸⁴.

During last century, small beads became popular. Their availability in trading stores, "factors of easy procurability in bulk, the small size and the evenness of the beads, and, apparently, a growing appreciation of vivid

colour combinations, must have encouraged the beadwork industry to develop into the complex art it is today"⁸⁵.

Males and females of different age-groups wore different articles of beadwork. A girl would make articles from beads for the boy who attracted her. If he wore the article, this was a sign of his acceptance of her as his girl friend and, as the relationship progressed, so did the girl make him more articles of beads⁸⁶.

As in the case of men, more and more Xhosa women are buying current White fashions, using such accessories as handbags, jewelry, and wigs and cosmetics which have a distinctive African connotation.

Small girls sometimes wear the fringed string apron of tribal life, and some of the small boys wear small leather aprons, but usually small boys and especially school-going children wear khaki shirts and trousers, while the girls wear cheap print dresses. The schools too now have particular school uniforms. Shoes are a luxury. As children grow older, their demands for White-style clothing and accessories increase.

Thus it is that all the elements of dress are bought from the store, including the traditional "Red" clothing -- cloth, braid, towelling, buttons, bangles, packet dyes, or Mbolo ochre. Even some of the dresses are made up at

the store with the aid of sewing machines.

The proportion of Africans who have adopted European-styled dress is increasing, whereas "Red" people are decreasing. The "Reds" have limited demands, but once a Xhosa man adopts European styled clothing, his buying is only limited by size of income and personal ambition⁸⁷.

(b) Furniture and Housing

The early Xhosa dwelling was a round, low-roofed grass hut supported by pillars inside, such as are still built for the young boys who are to be circumcised -- known as indlu yempuku or "mouse house". Stephen Kay describes such a hut as follows.

The slight and fragile materials of which it is composed render the building but a temporary one at best. A circular frame is first set up, consisting of long straight branches, the upper extremities of which are bent and bound together with umxeba, or wooden fibres. The thatch which is on the houses of the South Sea islanders, extending from the ground to the top, is then bound on with the same sort of cordage, or otherwise with intsontelo, a small rope made of rushes, after which the inside is lined with utyabeka, a strong plaster of clay and cow-dung. When complete, the form is exactly that of a beehive; and the doorway too is shaped in the same manner as the entrée of those little insect dwellings. There being neither window nor chimney, this aperture necessarily serves for the ingress of light, as well as for the egress of smoke. The diameter of the room varies from six to twelve or fifteen feet; its floor is slightly elevated, and an umseli, gutter or drain, is generally made around the foundation to carry off the water in rainy weather. Excepting a few thorn branches which are sometimes thrown carelessly around the hut, to prevent the cattle tearing off its grassy roof, it seldom has the benefit of

a fence of any description whatever"⁸⁸.

"The traditional type of Nguni household settlement, with its cattle kraal, chief and principal house, a support of the chief home, right-hand house, support of the right-hand house, left-hand house and the meeting place"⁸⁹, has also mainly disappeared as a result of the decline of polygamy and the ever-increasing contact with Western civilization.

The hut was used for sleeping, living, and cooking -- in a European home, these aspects are usually separated. Objects not in use were usually put in a storage hut.

Traditionally, the women assisted with the building of the hut. Before the introduction of the rondavel, the women were responsible for the collecting of twigs which were then staked in the ground by the men. The binding material was made out of grass by the women, but binding the twigs was the task of the male. The women would provide the clay/mud and plaster the walls and thatch the hut. With the introduction of the rondavel, a change in the sex roles as regards the division of labour took place. The men made the mud bricks and built the walls and provided the poles for the roof, and constructed the cone of the hut. The collection of grass and thatching was left to the women to do. However, thatching soon passed into the hands of men who were specialists in that field. After

thatching, the women had to plaster the clay bricks with mud -- an occupation which was usually repeated twice annually⁹⁰.

Once the Xhosa were unable to move around, they built more permanent huts -- wattle and daub walls with a domed roof replaced the grass structures. Later, sod or brick/stone walls, sheltered with a pitched roof and thatched "Dutch" style, became common⁹¹. The European-type house is a modern innovation -- rectangular in shape, with brick walls and corrugated iron roof.

Furniture as such was not known to the Ama-Xhosa in the past when they were a wandering people, ever in search of new pastures, camping as little as possible. They only began to live a "settled life" after their contact with the early Colonists in the Cape. Moreover, the early Xhosa dwelling was not suited to Western-type furniture and was devoid of modern comforts. Cupboards and shelves were sometimes made of clay or other material built into the walls of the rondavels or square huts. Wooden blocks and backless stools⁹² served as chairs. The floors and stools were smeared regularly with cow dung.

Sleeping mats were used instead of beds. Some mats were coarse and rudely made; others were finely made with skill and care. The mat, when not in use for sleeping purposes, was rolled up, and sometimes used as a seat.

The mats were easily transportable on the head of the owner⁹³.

Every family had at least one "headrest", made usually of the bent branch of a tree⁹⁴.

Crudely made furniture was made from rough wood and boxes, such as cupboards, benches, and tables. African carpenters began to make these articles as well as wooden kists and suitcases⁹⁵. The next step was the acquisition of an iron bed, then cheap dining-room furniture and bedroom furniture.

From a survey undertaken under the Chairmanship of Professor P.J. de Vos on the socio-economic and educational conditions of the Bantu in the Victoria East, Middledrift and Zwelitsha areas, it was found that in Victoria East only 13,61 per cent of the total number of households visited had no bedroom furniture. In Middledrift the total percentage was found to be double. Bedroom furniture consisted of bedsteads, wardrobes, dressing-tables and mirrors. "This great variety of bedroom furniture, no matter how extremely diversified and meagre, is, nevertheless indicative of the African's desire to strive for the possession of Western comforts and symbols of material culture". The De Vos Survey also pointed out that settees, tables, and chairs are found in most of the households surveyed, and that clocks were in an increasing measure finding popularity in African homes.

It was also found that nearly 9 per cent of Victoria East, and 4 per cent of Middledrift householders had radios⁹⁶.

Traditionally, the Bantu prepared their food on open fires made in the hut and used wood and dried dung for this purpose. The rapid denudation of the surroundings enforced a change in cooking methods and facilities. Middledrift and Victoria East are able to obtain wood from the State-owned forestries in the Hogsback and from privately-owned sawmills in Alice. The De Vos Survey found that 14,74 per cent of the Victoria East and 17,65 per cent of Middledrift householders rely solely on open fires, and 4,76 per cent and 0,78 per cent use open hearths. As coal is an expensive item and heavy to transport, only 6,56 per cent of Victoria East and 4,95 per cent of the Middledrift householders make use of it. On the other hand, 51,95 per cent of Victoria East and 49,75 per cent of Middledrift householders use paraffin stoves. "One may conclude that the traditional Bantu method of obtaining heat for cooking facilities, although still relatively frequently observed, is giving way to Western types of cooking facilities and that these sources of energy now occur in a considerable variety of forms"⁹⁷.

The Bantu traditionally depended on fires built inside or outside the hut for artificial lighting. The De Vos Survey found that paraffin lamps were the most common source

of domestic illumination. A combination of candles and paraffin lamps was also widely used. From this "it is clear that as far as internal lighting is concerned, the African in the rural and urban areas has, on the whole, completely abandoned his traditional ways"⁹⁸.

The Xhosa did not have a large variety of household utensils. Small baskets of strong reedy grass, made very neatly with a close texture, circular in shape, were used for the serving of food⁹⁹. The cooking pots were "clumsily moulded and exceedingly inconvenient, having neither handles nor coverings" and were also porous, but could withstand the heat of the fire¹⁰⁰. Other utensils were leather milk sacks and a calabash made from a species of gourd. Milking dishes and spoons were made out of wood¹⁰¹. Some of these articles have been retained -- i.e. wooden spoons, because of their cheapness and usefulness -- but most household utensils were replaced by enamel dishes and mugs, tin spoons, and hardware buckets, and the most common utensil, the three-legged cast-iron pot "which was introduced in the Cape by traders over a hundred years ago. It is an excellent utensil, and has displaced local pottery in most areas"¹⁰².

"Traditional household equipment is being replaced by modern equipment because it is thought to meet the needs of the family more satisfactorily than the equipment of old"¹⁰³. Moreover, the possession of furniture has become a criterion of status, enhancing personal prestige. Nonetheless, the

beds, chairs, and tables are not only ornamental, but serve a useful purpose.

(c) Agricultural Implements

The Ama-Xhosa had limited resources of metals, and such iron as was available was used for the making of ornaments and spears¹⁰⁴. According to Barrow, they had "no knowledge of smelting iron from the ore, yet when it comes to their hands in a malleable state, they can shape it to their purpose with wonderful dexterity. Every man is his own artist. A piece of stone serves for his hammer, and another for the anvil, and with these alone he will finish a spear, or a chain, or a metallic bead that would not disgrace the town of Birmingham"¹⁰⁵.

The main agricultural implement up to the early 19th century was a digging stick or wooden hoe -- ikuba -- made of very hard wood. The hoe consisted of a straight shaft, pointed and hardened in the fire at each end, and had a flat blade, in the same plane, at one or both ends¹⁰⁶.

"The digging stock quickly gave place to the hoe, sold through the trading stores that soon appeared in the Native area". The European hoe has remained an approved agricultural tool until this day, as women still use it for weeding crops¹⁰⁷.

The plough, harrows, planters and cultivators are also in general use throughout the district¹⁰⁸.

Another implement used in agriculture is the axe with which trees and bushes are chopped down in clearing the land. Nowadays, axes are bought from stores¹⁰⁹.

The introduction of Western agricultural implements has influenced the customary division of labour of the Africans. The main division of labour was between the sexes. Women were traditionally responsible for the sowing, weeding and reaping of the field but it was taboo for women to work with cattle. Thus the metal plough created a difficult set of circumstances -- on the one hand, women were not allowed to work with cattle, and on the other hand men do not work in the fields. However, the economic gain and the possibility of greater prosperity as well as the inability on behalf of the women to handle the plough and oxen then compelled the men to do the ploughing¹¹⁰.

(d) Food

Milk, in particular sour-milk, Amasi, was, and still is, an important component of the diet of the Ama-Xhosa -- as it is so sustaining, it alone can maintain life "for an indefinite period"¹¹¹. The milk is fermented in a calabash. It is eaten on its own or with ground maize. Sweet milk, ubisi, was only given to children.

Another principal food is beer -- which is brewed from "Kaffircorn" and contains a fair amount of solid matter, is both nourishing and stimulating. Beer is regarded by the African as an essential food¹¹².

Meat from domestic animals (beef and mutton), was only used on special occasions such as circumcision or marriage feasts. Meat was seldom eaten but, when available, was eaten in large quantities. Poultry was eaten mainly by women but they were not allowed to eat eggs. A variety of wild animals were eaten and also wild greens and roots which were an important part of children and women's diet, and were cooked to form a vegetable stew. Wild fruits and berries were eaten raw.

The Xhosa women also cultivate beans, peas, pumpkins, watermelon, calabashes, sweet potatoes, potatoes and wheat. The traditional crops are, however amazimba (sorghum, also known as "Kaffir corn"); imfe (sweet cane); and maize which has since become the most important crop. The principal daily dish is maize, either boiled or roasted on the cob, or shelled and boiled, or stamped and then boiled, known as stamp-mealies. The milled maize, known as mealie-meal, is used to make a stiff porridge, as is the "Kaffir-corn".

The rapid disappearance of game in the nineteenth century increased the dependence of the Ama-Xhosa on other

foods. The cattle-killing delusion of 1857 caused about a fifth of the Xhosa population to die of starvation. Seasonal havoc, weeds, erosion and over-cropping has caused the Ama-Xhosa to buy even maize at times from the storekeeper. Moreover, Western civilization has introduced Africans to a host of new foods hitherto unknown to them, such as tea, coffee, sugar, and canned foods, to name but a few.

According to Stephen Kay, the Ama-Xhosa in the early nineteenth century had a "diet complete of a strong and able-bodied people... Few indeed are the wants of nature, while the appetite remains unenthralled by the vitiating influence of luxury"¹¹³.

However, the food needs and wants of the African today are not only luxuries but necessities, and if he were to live only on what he obtained from his natural surroundings, he would not be able to exist, for the surroundings are no longer wild and uninhabited where he could move freely, ever seeking new grazing and hunting fields. Improved agricultural methods, stock control, and elimination of soil erosion has improved conditions, but the land still does not yield an optimum output and, even if it did, the eating habits of the Ama-Xhosa have changed and the storekeeper is there to supply and distribute the commodities required by them.

(e) Tobacco

Tobacco is said to have been introduced into Southern Africa by the Portuguese¹¹⁴. Tobacco was formerly cultivated extensively by Africans in gardens near their homesteads. It was freely used by both men and women. The women in particular used such long pipes that they were able to rest them between their toes. The pipes used for smoking were carved out of wood, ornamented with beadwork or with patterns inlaid in lead¹¹⁵.

Tobacco was in great demand by the Ama-Xhosa in their early trading contacts with the Europeans -- "Tusks might be bought for tobacco"¹¹⁶.

Adam Buck, a private in the British Cavalry Regiment stationed on the Eastern Cape frontier during the War of the Axe (1846 - 1847), describes a visit to an African village.

They began begging for tobacco, and before they had done with us, they had got all the tobacco we possessed¹¹⁷.

Trading stores sold tobacco loose or ready packed by the manufacturers in drawstring bags. Roll tobacco (chew tobacco) as well as pipes were sold.

Today, the demand for cigarettes has greatly increased, due to the influence of the Europeans and the availability of cigarettes in the trading stores¹¹⁸.

7

THE WHITE TRADER PAVES THE WAY FOR THE AFRICAN
TRADER

The emergence of the African trader is most significant and is in sharp contrast to the traditional subsistence economy of the Africans. In the subsistence economy:

There was little production for exchange, except with pots, baskets, iron goods and similar utensils and implements, and no markets, periodical or otherwise¹¹⁹.

Thus, there was no tradition of commerce amongst the Africans. By 1910, a few Africans owned shops¹²⁰:

1936 -- 119 African dealers in Bantu areas

1946 -- 433 African dealers in Bantu areas

1959 -- 2 373 General Dealer Licences issued to
Africans

In the Bantu areas studied by Savage (East London, Fort Beaufort, Keiskammahoek, King William's Town, Middledrift,

Peddie, and Victoria East) in 1965, there were 82 African traders to 67 White traders¹²¹. At present there are 19 White traders and 204 Black traders trading in the magisterial districts of the Ciskei. The following is a table of the distribution of the traders:

Trading Stores in Magisterial Districts of the Ciskei
in 1976

Magisterial District	Black Traders	White traders	
Alice	14		
Hewu	35		
Keiskammahoek	16		
Mdantsane	36		
Middledrift	27	4	
Zwelitsha	55	15	
Peddie	21		
Totals	204	19	122

Since 1934, official encouragement has been given to Africans to open businesses in Bantu areas. The South African Bantu Trust with the State President as trustee was established in terms of the Native Trust and Land Act No. 18 of 1936. At present, the trust is managed and administered by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. The funds, which are obtained mainly from the Treasury of the Republic, are used for the purchase of land for the Bantu Homelands and the development of

such land. As a result of a recommendation of the Tomlinson Commission, the Bantu Investment Corporation of South Africa Limited was established in 1959. In terms of Act 34 of 1959, the aims of this Corporation are "to promote and encourage the economic development of Bantu territories". In 1961, the Act was amended to include the following:

- (a) The taking over of business or industrial ventures from Non-Bantu persons, partnerships or companies in Bantu areas;
- (b) the establishment of businesses or industries in the Bantu areas.

In 1965, the Xhosa Development Corporation was established in terms of Act No. 86, to promote the economic development of the Transkei and Ciskei. This Corporation has basically the same objectives as the Bantu Investment Corporation and thus in 1966 it transferred all its activities in the Transkei and Ciskei to the Xhosa Development Corporation¹²³.

In terms of Act 18 of 1936, no Whites were granted new trading sites in Bantu areas, and shops were leased to Africans by the South African Bantu Trust. The Xhosa Development Corporation has bought White-owned shops and White-owned land for purposes of Bantu occupation¹²⁴. The Xhosa Development Corporation is prepared, under certain conditions, to assist Bantu traders financially and to give advice on business methods.

Although there is an increasing number of African traders, there are few who are prosperous. There are many reasons for this, the main problem being lack of capital, training, and experience. Due to lack of capital, African traders are unable to keep sufficient stocks, particularly of "soft goods"; they cannot buy on the best market; the wholesalers will not give them credit terms; and they in turn are unable to give their customers credit. There is also a lack of training and experience in business methods. Few are able to keep records correctly, nor do they all understand the difference between trading revenue and profits. Also, some buy vehicles prematurely when the money invested could have been put to better use by investing it in stocks. On the other hand, White traders were well-established, having sufficient experience and capital to buy on the best market, and accordingly were granted credit facilities by wholesalers and factories. The traders could, therefore, grant extended credit facilities to their customers and offered a wide range of goods. The White traders, unlike their African counterparts, were ready to purchase produce and livestock from their customers.

Xhosa Development Corporation shops will allow no bartering and no credit -- even for a coffin. Since many White traders virtually carried the families of migrants during the bread winner's absence, this has caused much resentment and very great hardship, especially during droughts¹²⁵.

White traders were able to give medical advice to customers and often gave free transport in case of emergency or in order to deliver goods purchased. The African trader is generally limited in his medical knowledge and charges for his transport¹²⁶.

Knowledge Guzana, former leader of the Transkei opposition who has a law practice in Mqanduli (Transkei), in a newspaper interview has summed up the position in the words quoted below.

The White traders were patriarchal rulers and some of them bled our people dry. But an over-riding number of them were good men. They would lend us money against our mealie crops and wool clips, and feed us through lean years. They'd even drive us miles to a doctor when we were ill. But the Black traders who have taken over can't begin to fulfil that sort of need in the community. Many don't even try. They're in the business for the cash and they insist on being paid in cash. A lot of tribesmen only used to get through the year because they could buy on credit. Now that facility has all but gone. And most of the Black traders aren't interested if people get sick¹²⁷.

The Bantu traders are, however, developing business acumen and the people are beginning to accept them, but it will take time for them to assume the role played by the White trader for so many years¹²⁸.

SUMMARY

Loss of land, the subsequent over-stocking of the land, over-population, and contact with the European system of economy led to a breakdown in the tribal economy, which changed from a subsistence economy to a money economy. The domestic industries of the Africans were virtually destroyed. Iron work died out, leather work was no longer important, and pottery, basket and wood work was restricted.

The potter is no longer so active where the trader has tin-ware for sale: the Native adzes and axes are everywhere giving way to the European article. The traditional arrangement for storing foodstuffs come to be upset by the practice of sale to the Europeans immediately after the harvest for cash or chits giving the right to purchase goods. Imitation of the Europeans gives rise to wants, unbeknown before, for clothing and utensils of all kinds¹²⁹

As the range of possessions and their requirements increased, the Africans bought far more goods from the traders than they made themselves.

Upon the life of the natives rested also the weight of the benefits and burdens of civilization. Each greasy blanket and torn pair of trousers they wore, each hoe or length of copper wire they bought, each bottle of Cape 'Smoke' they drank, was a charge upon their frail economic resources. Poor though they were, the consumption of salt and sugar, tea and coffee, soap and candles, the use of buckets and spades ultimately became habits. Amongst the agencies which transformed the life of the natives the trader was most influential: for it may freely be said that by 1870 there was scarcely a man or woman who was not in some degree a consumer of manufactured goods¹³⁰

NOTES

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4. D. Hobart Houghton & E.M. Walton (Ed.), loc.cit.
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12. Ibid., p. 45.
13. D.Hobart Houghton & E.M. Walton (Ed.), op.cit., p. 177.
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16. D. Hobart Houghton & D. Philcox, "Family Income and Expenditure in a Ciskei Native Reserve", The South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 18, No. 4, December, 1950, p. 433.
17. A.B. Forsdick, op.cit., p. 78.
18. Vincent Hagan, personal letter to the author.
19. E.S. Haines, op.cit., p. 202.
20. Ibid., p. 216.
21. W.M. MacMillan, Complex South Africa (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1930, p. 171).

22. Louis Shap, Trader. Stock Sheets 1950 in author's possession.
23. Off-white twill (manufactured in Manchester).
24. Material containing a percentage of cashmere was available and inexpensive. However, today it is scarce and expensive but, however, still in demand particularly by the Abakwetha who like to wear scarves made of black cashmere.
25. Yellow wood is available in the Keiskamma Forests but it is possible that the trader referred to pinewood.
26. E.S. Haines, op.cit., p.201.
27. D. Hobart Houghton (Ed.), Economic Development in a Plural Society (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1960) p. 287.
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29. Thomas, Baines, Journal of Residence in Africa 1842-1853, Vol. I. Edited by R.F. Kennedy (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, No. 42, 1961) p. 81.
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CHAPTER FOUR

THE POLITICAL, AGRICULTURAL, AND
EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE
CISKEI

The mid-twentieth century has been dominated by the struggle by the so-called "Third World" -- first for liberation from colonial powers and then for development and for entry into the modern world. Many of the new States were political artefacts, lacking institutional structures which make a nation "a viable and effective socio-political and economic enterprise". Economic and technical dependence on colonial powers had to be replaced by indigenous activities. Institutions of government had to be adapted or created anew, school systems changed, health and social services established, and all the other tasks undertaken that are implied in the modern notion of social development.

Nation and institution building are only "empty exercises unless the attitudes of the people keep pace with other forms of development" -- it is impossible for a State to try to keep pace with the developed nations of the twentieth century if its people live as they did in an earlier era.

A modern nation needs participating citizens, men and women who take an active interest in public affairs and who exercise their rights and perform their duties as members of a community larger than that of the kinship network and the immediate geographical locality... not readily forthcoming for people rooted in a traditional village agriculture, locked in near-feudal landholding patterns dominated by self-serving élites, desperate to preserve their power, dependent on inadequate and antiquated public institutions and cut off from the benefits of modern science and technology as well as the stimulation of modern mass communication.

A modern nation refers to a form of civilization characterized by the current historical epoch -- mass education, urbanization, industrialisation, bureaucracy, rapid communication and transportation. A nation is not modern unless its people are modern -- its economy cannot be highly productive nor its political and administrative institutions effective unless the people who work in the economy and staff the institutions are modern.

Men are not born modern, but are made so by life's experience. Through the breakdown in the traditional subsistence economy of the Ciskei, the people have been drawn into a modern market economy and, together with the economic development, has come political and educational development with the necessary institutions which are part of a modern nation.

Alongside the struggle for national liberation and development is the struggle for personal liberation. Some men and women, tied by binding obligations of powerful extended kinship systems, have sought to assert their rights as individuals -- freedom in choice of residence, occupation, political affiliations, religion, marriage partner, friend and enemy. They have sought to replace a closed world with a more open system offering more alternatives and less predestination. From a clinging to fixed ways of doing things, some have moved to readiness for change, replacing fear and hostility of strangers to trust and tolerance of

human diversity. They are also more flexible and open, taking greater charge of individual lives and collective destiny¹.

1

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CISKEI

Before the arrival of the Whites, the Ama-Xhosa of the Ciskei were politically highly organised. Each tribe was ruled by a Paramount Chief, who was assisted by a tribal council, "Nkundla", without whose advice he was not supposed to make a decision. Under him were lesser chiefs, captains, and headmen. In the administration of government, custom and precedence played a leading part.

The first wife of the Great Chief was his right-hand wife; the second his left-hand wife; after which he might possess a number of consorts depending on his wealth and position. Each wife knew her position and the rights and privileges that accompanied it. A chief's early marriage was usually a love match but, as he aged, he was expected to contract a political union with a daughter of some powerful potentate to enhance his power and prestige. His newest bride became his great wife and their first male child was the heir to the throne. This often led to civil war, because the heir was likely to be a young boy when the father died whereas the sons of the right-hand and left-hand wives were adults.

The Bantu were ancestor worshippers and they had an over-all belief in a Divine Being who had in the beginning drawn all living things out of the earth. There were also lesser deities and spirits who interfered directly in everyday activities. The evil deities were blamed for a wide range of phenomena, from national calamities, such as droughts, to individual troubles such as sickness. Their evil power was said to be worked through members of the tribe whom they bewitched. It was one of the chief functions of the witch-doctor to root out the trouble by "smelling-out" the witches. Death was the penalty for witchcraft and the doomed male's property was confiscated by the Chief. The witch-doctor worked closely with the Chief; in this way rivals were disposed of and the Chief could add to his riches. Another prominent official in the Chief's court was the "Mbongo" or official praiser whose function was to proclaim his master's fame.

The Bantu military system was organised on a regimental basis. Warriors who had killed their man in battle wore plumes made from the feathers of the blue crane or other birds. In some regiments, only they were allowed to marry -- thus many young men were eager to fight.

The changes which took place in the traditional political tribal structure are summarized in the following citation:

The Bantu in the Ciskei has been placed in the position that his traditional form of Government through the Chief and his "Nkundla" (tribal council) was broken down in the past through various annexation enactments by the Cape Government. These measures were dictated by the numerous wars and their aim was to deprive chiefs of their traditional authority and to place many of their powers in the hands of officials with a view to minimising the organisation of wars and tribal rebellions. The result was that the powers and authority of the Chief and his "Nkundla" or council were undermined and the individual was left without the social structure and security which he inherited through the ages.

The Bantu community developed into lost individuals in a changing world, lost from the security of tradition and the staunch Bantu democracy which ranged from the kraal where the kraal-head was a respected local head to the induna or headman over a section or clan, to the chief-in-council who, in turn, was guided by the tribal "Nkundla". Gradually even the authority of the kraal-head was unintentionally undermined and the social and high moral code of the Bantu disappeared because the whole tribal structure had fallen into disorder².

Once the Cape received responsible Government in 1872, the Ciskei became subject to the laws of the Cape Province. No legal distinction was made between White and Black and all were subject to Roman Dutch Law. However, the Magistrates, in practice, applied Native Law. With the Union of South Africa in 1910, there came into being a uniform policy with one legislative body. Soon after Union, the Native Land Act of 1913 was passed. According to this Act, the areas occupied by the Africans at that time were listed and became known as "scheduled" areas. No African was allowed to acquire land or an interest therein outside these "scheduled" areas. The Beaumont Commission was appointed to recommend which further areas should be

released for African occupation. The recommendation of this Commission was brought into effect by the formation of the Native Trust and Land Act No. 18 of 1936 which provided for an increase in the scheduled areas from 10,4 million to 17,6 million morgen. A Trust Fund was established and the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was appointed Trustee with the object of purchasing land in released areas and holding it in Trust for occupation by Africans³.

The Glen Grey District Council was established as early as 1895 under the Glen Grey Act⁴ but it was not until the passing of the Bantu Affairs Act (Act 23 of 1920) that further local councils were instituted -- Tamacha (King William's Town) and Middeldrift areas in 1926, Feddie and Victoria East districts in 1927, Keiskammahoe district in 1928, Hershel in 1930, and East London district in 1932. These Councils had authority to pass measures to regulate such matters as roads, water, infectious diseases, weed eradication, hospitals and schools.

The organisation of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development was brought about chiefly by the Bantu Administration Act of 1927. This Act provided for the Governor-general (now the State President) to be the Supreme Chief of the Africans in their homelands. The State President may recognise and appoint anyone to be a Chief/Headman, with authority over a tribe or location. The Act recognised Bantu laws and customs and granted limited

on 1st June, 1971, establishing the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, and in August, 1972, the Ciskei became a self-governing territory.

Constitutionally the Ciskei has thus advanced to a stage where it has its own land, with its own Government for its citizens -- and has reached the last stage in constitutional development before it becomes independent. The self-governing territory of the Ciskei consists of the following districts: Mdantsane, Zwelindinga, Ntabetheba, Zwelitsha, Hewu, Victoria East, Keiskammahoek, Peddie, and Middledrift. The Ciskeian Legislative Assembly consists of 50 members -- the Paramount Chief of the Rarabe tribe, 20 chiefs representing the tribal or regional authorities, and 20 elected members. At least one member is to be elected from each of the magisterial districts. The rest of the seats are determined on the basis of population distribution. All Ciskeians over the age of 18 are entitled to vote, whether they reside in or out of the homeland. Members of the Legislative Assembly are usually appointed for five years. The Ciskei is due to have an election towards the end of 1977. Sessions of the Assembly are held in the capital, Zwelitsha, but plans are under way to establish a new capital at Alice⁷.

With the excision of Glen Grey and Hershel from the Ciskei, provision was made for those people from these two districts wishing to retain their Ciskeian citizenship to opt out of the Transkei and therefore two new districts were

created by the buying of White farms adjoining the Hewu district, viz. the districts of Zwelindinga and Ntabetheba. Three chiefs also decided to retain Ciskeian citizenship. In order to bring a better balance between the number of chiefs and the elected members, application has been made to the State President to increase the number of elected members. The present Ciskeian Cabinet has been elected from two parties, namely the Ciskei National Independent Party led by Chief Lennox L.W. Sebe (the Chief Minister) and the Ciskei National Party led by Chief J. Mabandla. The Executive Authority is invested in the hands of a Cabinet consisting of the Chief Minister (who is elected by secret ballot) and six Ministers appointed by the Chief Minister to form the Legislative Assembly⁸. The Cabinet decided to create a new Chieftainship by conferring on the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Lennox Sebe, the position of Chief (with the approval of the State President of the Republic of South Africa) and he therefore will resign as an elected member of the legislative assembly and become a member automatically through his Chieftainship. The Administration is divided into the following Government Departments: Finance, Justice, Education, Interior, Works, Agriculture and Forestry, and Health and Welfare⁹.

The Ciskeian Territorial Authority now has its own Civil Service with its own Pension Scheme. All the posts are African posts, and gradually the seconded White Civil servants will be replaced. The Territorial Authority is

also responsible for its own finance. All Trust income in the Ciskei is now accruing to the Territorial Authority, it has to prepare its own estimates and any necessary shortfall is met by the South African Government. Certain functions under the Aged Persons Act, Blind Persons Act, Disability Grants Act, and Children's Act have also now been transferred to the Ciskeian Authority¹⁰. In addition to its other powers, the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly can now amend or even repeal Acts of the central South African Parliament in regard to matters that fall within the Ciskei's jurisdiction¹¹.

The Constitutional Act of Bantu Homelands, 1971, makes provision for a national flag, a coat-of-arms, and a national anthem. On the 1st August, 1972, the Xhosa language was recognised, with Afrikaans and English, as an official language of the Ciskei.

In an address to the South African Institute of Race Relations on 14th May, 1974, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said:

Today I would, however, like to state emphatically that constitutional development would be of very little value to us if it does not go hand in hand with economic development. I think we should be aware of this fact and concentrate all our energies on economic development. In this statement are enshrined the objectives of the Ciskei Government¹².

The Ciskeian Government has chosen the road of development and ultimate independence, not only political but also economic independence, as well as overcoming ignorance and combating disease. As Chief Minister Sebe said:

The goal is beautiful and worthwhile, but the road towards it is steep and difficult. We have chosen the road and we cannot now turn back. If we do turn back, or don't make our contributions, we will remain where we are, and will have only ourselves to blame¹³.

Chief Minister Sebe went on to say that to talk about the political and economic future of the Homelands is to talk about the political and economic future of South Africa. Moreover, survival is rooted in the interdependence of the Homelands and Republic of South Africa:

Be it independent homelands or not, be it whatever formula one cares to put forward, the fact is that Blacks and Whites in South Africa are crowded together in one little boat and this frail boat is being tossed by wild unpredictable waves on the ocean of history. Do we realise that we have only each other to rely on in the life and death struggle, economically and politically to reach the safety of a distant port? Do we realise that we will either reach that port together or failing which we will perish together?¹⁴

2

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE CISKEI

In the folk culture of the Bantu, land belonged to the tribe and the right to use the land was determined by the tribal chief. The tribesmen were allowed certain privileges,

e.g. they could graze and water their cattle, gather timber, and hunt for game. However, if a man was given a piece of ground to cultivate, it became his private possession until the crops had been reaped, when it again reverted to the tribe. Farming in the Ciskei was a subsistence-type of farming.

Cattle played an important role in family and tribal life -- cattle are a symbol of status and wealth among the Ama-Xhosa and cattle are only eaten at special ceremonies, e.g. a wedding or sacrificial feast. They also constituted the "lobolo" or bride-price that had to be paid to the father of the bride. Xhosa cattle farmers were traditionally migratory pastoralists. Once, however, they were confined to certain areas, they became sedentary pastoralists, and they therefore relied on the veld for the nutrition of their livestock. The nutritional level of the veld fluctuates drastically within and between seasons.

The principle of quantity of stock and not quality still prevails in the Ciskei. This has led to overstocking and subsequent erosion of the land, as well as damage to the land by over-cropping. Oxen, used formerly for draught purposes, comprise nearly 38 per cent of the total cattle population, and, as they receive preferential feeding, are the cause of the low cattle production in the Ciskei.

Merino-type sheep dominate the Ciskei. With the practice of late castration and inbreeding and a low level of nutrition, there is a low yield and sheep are small. The farmer favours sheep as they provide a mobile "bank" in that wool can be shorn at almost any time and sold to the trader for cash. The goat, especially the white goat, plays a secondary, but nevertheless important role in ritual life of the Ama-Xhosa. It is, however, usually the first animal to be sold in times of financial stress.

Traditionally, pigs and poultry belong to the women, although this concept is also undergoing change due to acculturation. In terms of production, pigs are as yet of little consequence. The most dominant type of poultry in the Ciskei is the hut-fowl and dark fowls are preferred to white fowls as dark fowls are not as easily seen by hawks during the day or by humans at night. Poultry contributes greatly to the meat and egg supply of the homesteads as well as being a source of pocket money for the womenfolk.

Horses play a small role in the economic life of the Ama-Xhosa. While they are occasionally used in harness in the field, it is as riding animals that they are important, although bus, trains, and privately-owned vehicles are now playing a part in reducing the number of horses owned. There are, however, several race-tracks in the Ciskei, where regular race meetings are held and large sums of money

change hands¹⁵.

Agricultural development in the Ciskei has meant a constant tug-of-war between the advocates of new scientific farming methods and those advocating traditional farming practices.

The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has said: "My people cannot eat flags. Constitutions will not fill their stomachs"¹⁶. In order for a people to "eat", they must have a sound and ample agricultural industry so as to ensure that there are adequate human food resources and raw materials for industrial processing which would lead to increased purchasing power. Nutritional deficiency diseases, such as pellagra and kwashiorkor, have a comparatively high incidence throughout the Ciskei, especially during times of drought. In order to purchase maize-meal, the Ama-Xhosa will dispose of their crops of beans and peas which, unlike maize-meal, are rich in amino-acids and niacin¹⁷.

The Ciskei has plenty of rain and water -- an annual average of 635 mm -- but the rainfall is erratic and makes crop production a gamble.

The average dryland cropping potential of the Ciskei is low; areas that have high or medium potential for dryland cropping are limited in extent. Only 62,6 per cent of the arable land in the Ciskei is utilized, of

which 12,8 per cent is utilized for the cultivation of dryland crops. The following are the most important dryland crops produced in 1975:

Maize	39 000 ha	13 600 tons
Grain sorghum	750 ha	400 tons
Wheat	2 500 ha	1 000 tons ¹⁸

Beans, rootcrops, pumpkins, and squashes are some of the other crops grown in the summer occupying, however, less than two per cent of the arable land. Winter crops are mainly wheat, grown on 8 per cent of the arable land in 1967 and 9,1 per cent in 1968; and peas, grown on less than 2 per cent of the arable land in 1968. Of the irrigable land available in 1968, nearly 44 per cent was planted with maize, 38 per cent with wheat, 24 per cent with peas, and 31 per cent with lucerne. Fibre crops, phormium tenax, furcrala, and agave sisalane are grown on a commercial basis by the South African Bantu Trust¹⁹. 1 800 Tons of vegetables were grown in the Ciskei during 1974-1975, while fruit is grown on a small scale. The Tyume Citrus Farm near Alice was taken over in 1972 and Woburn Citrus Farm in 1974 by the Xhosa Development Corporation. The 42 500 citrus trees on these two estates ensure a large quantity of first grade quality oranges for the valuable export market²⁰.

Little chemical fertiliser is used. However, there are, according to E. Bircholtz, formerly a butcher at Debe Nek, enormous untapped sources of manure -- as every homestead has a kraal which could be used by the farmers of the Ciskei. Until all licences were cancelled, Mr. Bircholtz exported manure in great quantities to the farmers of the Western Cape²¹. Manure is an available cheap fertiliser which could be redistributed and used to great advantage by the farmers in their lands. Ploughing is mainly done by ox-drawn single-furrow ploughs although tractor ploughing is increasing, especially as the agricultural section of the Xhosa Development Corporation provides tractors on loan and provides a planting service to the Xhosa farmers²². Ploughing is done by the men, and, as many are away because they are migrant labourers, this has caused a deterioration in the agriculture. Cultivation (or "skoffeling" as it is known) is the duty of the women.

Over 81 per cent of the total area of the Ciskei consists of veld and bushveld and only 6,5 per cent of this grazing consists of sourveld. However, the grazing areas in the Ciskei are grossly overstocked²³. In 1975, the total stock consisted of 147 200 cattle, 193 500 sheep, and 144 000 goats. Twelve auction pens for marketing of stock had been erected by 1975 and 24 co-operative dairy schemes were functioning²⁴.

Soil conservation works are widely in evidence and up to the end of March, 1975, more than 10 326 kilometres of grass strips had been planted and 2 734 contour walls built in the Ciskei lands²⁵.

The protection of indigenous forest was actually started during the second half of the 19th century in the Ciskei, while the establishment of plantations in the Ciskei was pursued by the Cape Colonial Government from the 1880's in order to prevent the destruction of indigenous forest and to create an alternative source of wood²⁶.

Chief Minister Sebe in an address to the South African Bureau of Race Relations in 1974, reported:

Time and effort had to be devoted to the physical development of the Ciskei. The eradication of the jointed cactus, blue bush, and harpins had to be done in the districts of Middledrift, Mdantsane, Victoria East, and Peddie while soil conservation and reclamation had to be undertaken in the districts of Peddie, Middledrift, Keiskammahoek, Zwelitsha, Mdantsane, and Sterkspruit. R25 000 was spent on reclamation.

Interesting developments have taken place in forestry. Two major contracts were concluded. In the first instance a twenty-year contract has been concluded with the Ciskei Sawmills on the terms that the Ciskeian Government undertakes to supply the mills with 80 000m³ of softwood sawlogs during the first ten years of the contract. This contract will equip the Ciskeians with the skills of sawmilling besides providing employment to them. A sawmill site has been made available at Keiskammahoek. The Xhosa Development Corporation will hire the site and erect the necessary buildings. At the end of the twenty-year contract the Ciskeian Government will take over the fully-trained Bantu Staff and the sawmilling complex.

This venture will create for about 500 Ciskeians employment opportunities. The sale of the sawwoods is expected to yield a revenue of R40 000 per annum. A five-year contract has been signed with the Stuttkor Timber Industries (Pty.) Limited, on the terms that the Ciskeian Government undertakes to supply 20 000m³ of hardwood sawlogs (eucalyptus, blackwood, and oak). This contract is expected to yield a revenue of R1 300 per annum. Contracts are being negotiated for the right to purchase and to collect aloe juice by the Ciskeian Government and private enterprise, in respect of the Magisterial Districts of Zwelitsha, Mdantsane, Peddie, Victoria East, Middledrift, Keiskammahoeck, Lesseyton location and adjoining Trust properties Reibon, Xuma, and Tabata. This project yielding a projected R3 850 to the coffers of the Ciskeian Government. The aloe industry is also flourishing quite well in the Glen Grey and Peddie areas²⁷.

By 1975, 1 162 ha. were under commercial plantations in the Ciskei, while indigenous forests covered 18 703 ha. The biggest plantations are in the vicinity of Keiskammahoeck and Victoria East. Great potential exists for the expansion of the forest industry in sound economic terms²⁸.

Agricultural co-operatives have been formed and Ciskeians are instructed in their functioning. Through the co-operatives, surpluses are exported. However, the trading store still plays an important role in the buying and selling of produce.

Training in Agriculture is available to Ciskeians at the Agricultural Faculty at the University of Fort Hare, the Fort Cox Agricultural School, and the new Agricultural High School in Victoria East. The training of students in various agricultural fields is one of the first steps in revolutionising agriculture in the developing area. The

production by individual farmers must be stimulated to encourage the market mechanism to take root. Soil conservation and reclamation projects, agricultural guidance and training, the creation of infra-structure, the supply of water, and the provision of assistance such as credit in the form of seed and fertiliser, marketing facilities, and veterinary services are all necessary.

In 1972, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave his approval for the Xhosa Development Corporation to establish an agricultural division to undertake agricultural projects at the request of the Homeland Government. Land is leased from the South African Bantu Trust with the approval of the Ciskeian Government by the Corporation or its agents and is used for intensive cattle farming, or intensive agronomic, horticultural, or industrial crop production. The idea is to stimulate commercial agricultural production and also to train Blacks in management. White farms purchased by the South African Bantu Trust are farmed by the Corporation until they can be transferred to a suitable Black entrepreneur. Other means of promoting farming is by the formation of companies by Blacks or Whites.

Since 1972, the emphasis has shifted from individual farming to project farming and this has led to increasing pressure to transform the subsistence nature of agriculture to an agriculture which is market-oriented. In an attempt

to make private farmers in the homeland realise the possibilities of producing marketing products, fibrous crops such as sisal, phormum tenex, and tea were planted with varying measures of success²⁹.

Thus agriculture and forestry play an important role in the development of the Ciskei. With the necessary training and guidance, the inhabitants must be motivated to meet the demands by effective and purposeful agricultural production.

3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMAN POTENTIAL

"Seen from an economic point of view, human development or education is the accumulation of human expertise". The school is an integral part of the culture of the community and is indispensable in enabling the youth to attain mental maturity and to prepare themselves for their participation in the economy. Education thus serves an economic need by providing the required skills, knowledge, and competence, but its functions go much further than this. A wide range of societal and cultural needs are also met via education, and the psycho-social development of the individual adds in incalculable ways to the quality of life.

In the traditional tribal society, there was no formal education, except for the initiation rites. Education was

conveyed to the children through life itself -- the personal relationships and real situations of everyday life³⁰. This type of education in the Ciskei was shaken to its very roots by the introduction, by Christian Missionaries, of Western-type school education. The aim of the missionaries was to teach Christianity and to give a general type of education with the accent on reading, writing, and basic arithmetic. Initially, there was a certain reluctance on the part of the Ama-Xhosa to attend the schools and missionaries tried to arouse interest in education through bribes in the form of food, clothing, and money. Gradually there was an acceptance of this new education which was combined with a rejection of the traditions of the tribe and this gave rise to a distinction between the "School people" and the "Red people". The educated man wished to separate himself from the pagan and unschooled tribesman. However, there is now a realisation that the Black people have a cultural heritage of which to be proud. Herskovits explains acculturation as follows:

In essence it means that whenever peoples having different customs come together, they modify their ways by taking over from those with whom they newly meet. They may take over much or little, according to the nature and intensity of the contact, or the degree to which the two cultures have elements in common, or differ in basic orientations. But they never take over or ignore all; some change is inevitable³¹.

The first school for the Blacks in South Africa was opened in the Ciskei by Dr. Johannes Theodosius van der Kemp

(of the London Missionary Society) in Chief Gaika's territory near the Tyumie River, in 1799. In 1816, the Rev. Joseph Williams crossed the Fish River and founded the Kat River Mission about three miles from Fort Beaufort. Later, the Rev. John Ayliff started a mission there and he founded one of the famous Ciskeian schools, Healdtown Institution. In 1824, Messrs. Bennet and Ross (Glasgow Missionary Society) started a mission station on the Ncera River; by 1828, a school had been completed there, called Lovedale. These first Lovedale buildings were destroyed during the Sixth Frontier War (1834 - 1835); thereafter Lovedale was rebuilt on the banks of the Tyumie River, reopening in 1841. From the beginning, a type of higher education was visualized to include forms of technical training -- farming, brickmaking, building, carpentry, wagon-making, and printing. The first written Xhosa work was printed by the Lovedale Mission Press and the first Xhosa Bible was produced in 1859 by Rev. J.W. Appleyard³².

In January, 1855, the Bishop of Grahamstown leased land from Chief Socishe in the Keiskammahoek area for the purpose of building a church and school, known as St. Mathew. (The first building was an old trading store which remained in use until 1945). The people were encouraged by the Chief to attend the school and in 1856 there were 91 scholars. Boys were also taught trades, including carpentry, wagon-building, printing, and tin work.

In addition to the three "R's", girls were taught homecrafts. At St. Mathews, the first boarding establishment for African girls was established in 1880. In 1895, 27 teachers sat for the Teachers' Certificate examination and this was the beginning of what was later known as the St. Mathew's Teachers' Training School. Teachers are also trained today at Lovedale and Zwelitsha Training Schools³³.

The number of schools, teachers, and pupils in the Ciskei for 1975 were as follows:

Primary schools	402
Secondary schools	49
Teachers	3 979
Primary school pupils	134 385
Secondary school pupils	14 821
Technical/Trade/Industrial schools	3
Teacher training colleges ³⁴	3
Commercial training school	1

According to the Bureau for Economic Research re Bantu Development, primary education was provided for 92,2 per cent of the pupils attending schools in the Ciskei in 1974, secondary education for 6,8 per cent, and teachers' training for,08 per cent³⁵.

Fort Hare was originally the name of the fort built in 1847 on the site where the first school was built by Dr. Van der Kemp in 1799. In 1905, a group of mission churches started a college for Blacks which was the nucleus for the University College established there in 1916.

Fort Hare College initially filled the double role of secondary school and University College, but as from 1937 it concentrated on higher education. In 1960, the University of Fort Hare was, by a Statute passed by the South African Parliament, transferred to the control of the Department of Bantu Education. In 1970, the University College was awarded full University status. Its degrees are recognised throughout the world. During 1975, there were 372 students from the Ciskei registered at Fort Hare, while the total student enrolment was 1 330.

The Zwelitsha Trade School was established in 1972 and trains bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters, fitters, turners, and cabinet makers. The Mdanstane Textile School trains weavers, spinners, and winders for the local textile industry. The school resembles a textile mill and has a monthly cloth production of 10 000 metres³⁶.

An in-service training centre for teachers was opened at Mdantsane in 1975 where intensive refresher courses are offered to teachers on the latest teaching techniques³⁷.

With the Act of Union in 1910, the administration and financing of Black schools became the responsibility of the four Provincial Administrations. In 1925, the financing of Black education was transferred from the provincial authorities to the Union Government. The Bantu Development Fund was established into which a portion of the direct

taxes paid by Blacks was deposited annually, as well as a grant from the South African Government of R680 000 per annum. Since 1945, joint control over Black education was exercised by the Department of Education, Arts and Sciences and the provincial authorities. With the proclamation of the Bantu Education Act (Act 47 of 1953), the control and administration was transferred to the executive authority of the then Department of Bantu Affairs Education Division. On 20th October, 1958, Bantu Education became an independent department and the South African Government undertook to pay into Bantu Education an annual amount of R13 million, as well as a share of the direct taxation which would be levied on Africans. The 1959 Act on the Advancement of Bantu Self-Government inaugurated the present independent phase. Together with the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act (Act 21 of 1971), these Acts have made it possible for each homeland to administer and control its own independent Department of Education³⁸. One of the six departments of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly is the Department of Education and Culture, under its own Executive Councillor.

The Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha, said in a statement on Black education that the Government endorsed the principle of compulsory education. In January, 1977, a new regulation was introduced that a parent seeking admission of a child into Substandard A (the first year of primary school) must give a written undertaking to keep the child in school until he/she has completed Standard Two.

By 1978, all classes from Standard Three to Matriculation will be supplied with free text books and by 1979 this will be extended to Standards One and Two. Since August, 1975, the Department has given attention to adult education in the form of night schools. The goal of the Department is "to make the most of the potential of the children entrusted to its care, both as individuals and as members of society". In academic terms, the standards established are the same as for all national groups and Black students write the same Senior Certificate or Matriculation examination as White students³⁹.

It has become a necessity for Black parents to have some say in the education of their children and this is now being granted. New regulations affecting the practical functioning of school committees has been approved, which means all committee members are parent-elected and that the Chairman and Vice-Chairman are elected from them. These steps have brought to South Africa's Blacks a tremendous challenge to be involved in the education of their children⁴⁰.

4

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES

Health services in a developing country have various social aspects, as well as contributing towards the economic and, in turn, the national development of a country or people.

Job achievements are closely related to physical and spiritual welfare.

The Department of Public Health was established by the Public Health Act (Act 36 of 1919) which instituted it as a Central Authority. This Department provided advice and assistance to provincial and local authorities, combatted contagious and other diseases, and provided environmental health. This led to a decentralization of health services and placed the responsibility on local authorities (or on the magistrate) to combat contagious diseases and provide for environmental health. The Provincial Administrations provided general hospital services, including out-patient services, while the State Health Department managed services in institutions in rural areas.

However, pioneering medical and welfare work was done by the various missionary societies. The Victoria Hospital, opened at Lovedale in the Ciskei in 1898, was the first hospital for Blacks established in South Africa, and it pioneered the training of Black nurses⁴¹. The first Black nurse to qualify in South Africa, Nurse Cecilia Makiwane, was trained at this hospital. She passed the nursing examination of the then Cape Colony Medical Council in 1907⁴².

In 1923, a small hospital was started at the Mission Station at St. Mathew by Sister D. Kingspark. "Travelling

mile after mile on horseback and on foot, she gradually broke down the African prejudice to medical treatment"⁴³.

In 1928, medical work was commenced at Mount Coke Mission. By 1933, a hospital was established there, followed by a training school for registered nurses. There are at present five hospitals in the Ciskei -- the Pioneer Hospital of Lovedale, Mount Coke, St. Mathew, and also Ncmpamele (Peddie), and the Mdantsane Hospital (1 400 beds) which, now almost complete, is the largest hospital in the Ciskei. In addition to these hospitals, there is a network of clinics covering the Ciskei; the number of these in 1973 was 53⁴⁴.

In 1955, the Tomlinson Commission⁴⁵ recommended that, to meet the demand for health services in the homelands, a single authority should be instituted to provide all the facilities required for a complete service. In 1963, the South African Cabinet approved the recommendation. Moreover, where private and missionary hospitals were formerly self-supporting, they were to be financed by the South African Bantu Trust. From 1st April, 1976, the Ciskeian Government assumed full responsibility for its health service.

The acculturation of the Black peoples in South Africa has brought about a radical change in the pattern of welfare services. Traditionally, welfare services were provided

according to tribal customs. Orphans were cared for by families and the aged were supported by their offspring. As the influence of Western civilization increased, so the tribal traditions crumbled and the need for welfare services increased.

According to the Homelands Constitution Act (Act 21 of 1971), the Ciskei Government (like all homeland Governments) has full control of welfare institutions⁴⁶. The following table (see page 203) lists the various institutions and rehabilitation centres in the Ciskei.

The more the Ciskei develops, the more its people are drawn into a modern market economy, and the more the process of civilization intensifies, the greater the demand for welfare services will be.

5

SUMMARY

Before contact with the White people, the Ama-Xhosa had a form of government whereby the Chief ruled, assisted by his Nkundla or tribal council. However, once the power of the Ama-Xhosa was broken through the tribal wars and the cattle-killing delusion, the chiefs and their councils were deprived of their traditional authority.

Type of institution	Name	Place	Administrated by	Number of persons accommodated
Children's home	Khayaletumba	Mdantsane	D.R.Church	180
	Woodhouse Mission Institute	King William's Town	Roman Catholic Church	98
	St. Mathew	Keiskammahoeck	St. Mathew's Mission	-
Crafts centre		Sada	XDC	200
		Ilinge	Ciskei Government	180
		Dimbaza	XDC	-
Crèche	Ekonwabeni Day Care Centre	Zwelitsha	Private	60
	Mdantsane Crèche	Mdantsane	Private	200
Home for physically handicapped	Mdantsane Hospital	Mdantsane	Ciskei Government	- 47
Hostel for cerebral palsied		Mdantsane	Ciskei Government	210
Hostel for physically ill	Nompamele	Peddie	D.R.C. Mission Society	70
Place of safety	Khayaletumba	Mdantsane	Ciskei Government	145
Old age home	Ekupumleni	Peddie	Ciskei Government	350
Workshop for the blind	Thembelihle	Fort Murray	Ciskei Government	14
Youth camp	Bekruipkop	Zwelitsha	Ciskei Government	300 ⁴⁸

Moreover, the Xhosa were no longer able to move around freely in search of new pastures but were forced to remain in land allotted to them, viz. "scheduled areas". Bantu Law and Customs were recognised by the South African Government in 1927. The Supreme Chief (the Governor-General/State President), head of the South African Government, was, however, given the power to legislate for the Bantu areas. In 1951, tribal, community, regional and territorial authorities were established in what were thereafter to be known as the "homelands". By 1971, the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly was established so that the Ciskei now has its own Government. The next step, if the intended pattern is to be fulfilled, would be the granting of independence.

Once the Ama-Xhosa were obliged to remain in "scheduled areas", the land became over-stocked, and eroded. The yield of the cultivated land became extremely low. Government action and the work of Agricultural Colleges have introduced scientific farming methods and positive improvements in agriculture have been achieved. Forestry has also been developed. Nonetheless, there remains a great deal to be done in educating the farmers of the Ciskei, and in providing them with facilities needed for modern farming. The agricultural potential of the Ciskei is great, and through systematic development, including of course the development of commerce and industry, the territory could become economically viable.

The first educational institutions (including schools, colleges, and the first University) for African people in Southern Africa were established by missionaries in the Ciskei -- and, although there has been an increase in the numbers of "School" as opposed to individuals in the Ciskei, it is a long road to the ultimate of any modern state.

The national development of a country depends not only on its political and economic development but also on the development of its health and welfare services. Missionaries pioneered the first health and welfare institution for Blacks in Southern Africa in the Ciskei. In 1971, control of welfare and health services was handed over to the Ciskeian Government.

The need for increased facilities will grow with the development, and only by giving the people all the facilities made possible by scientific and technical advancement of modern man will the individual needs of the Ciskeian people be met and contribute to the national development of the Ciskei.

Development is a self-generating process, once the initial "take-off" is achieved. Provided that economic development is not disproportionately stressed at the cost of "human needs" development, each new achievement makes the next possible. South Africa itself has followed a road along which, from primary industrialization (such as the

processing of agricultural products), it has travelled through ever more complex and sophisticated processes until now it has not only reached the stage of advanced heavy industry but also for instance claims to lead the world in the enrichment of uranium.

Whatever form the political future of the Ciskei may take, two things are clear: First, that enough has already been achieved for "take off", and, second, that the example and the influence of the Republic of South Africa will continue to be a powerful impetus.

In this new phase of modernization there is no longer room for the old Ciskei trader in his trading store. But the need for a nucleus of development in each community, such as the trading store once was, will still be there, albeit in another form. Good community planning might well seek to base the development centres of the future on the associations of the past. The store will still be the place where the paths meet and the roads reach. Could its site not now become the site of the new comprehensive community centre, where the new wider-ranging needs are met by new wider-ranging services?

The motto of the Ciskei is siyakungandwa Ziinkwenkwezi -- "we will be stopped by the stars" -- so may it be.

NOTES

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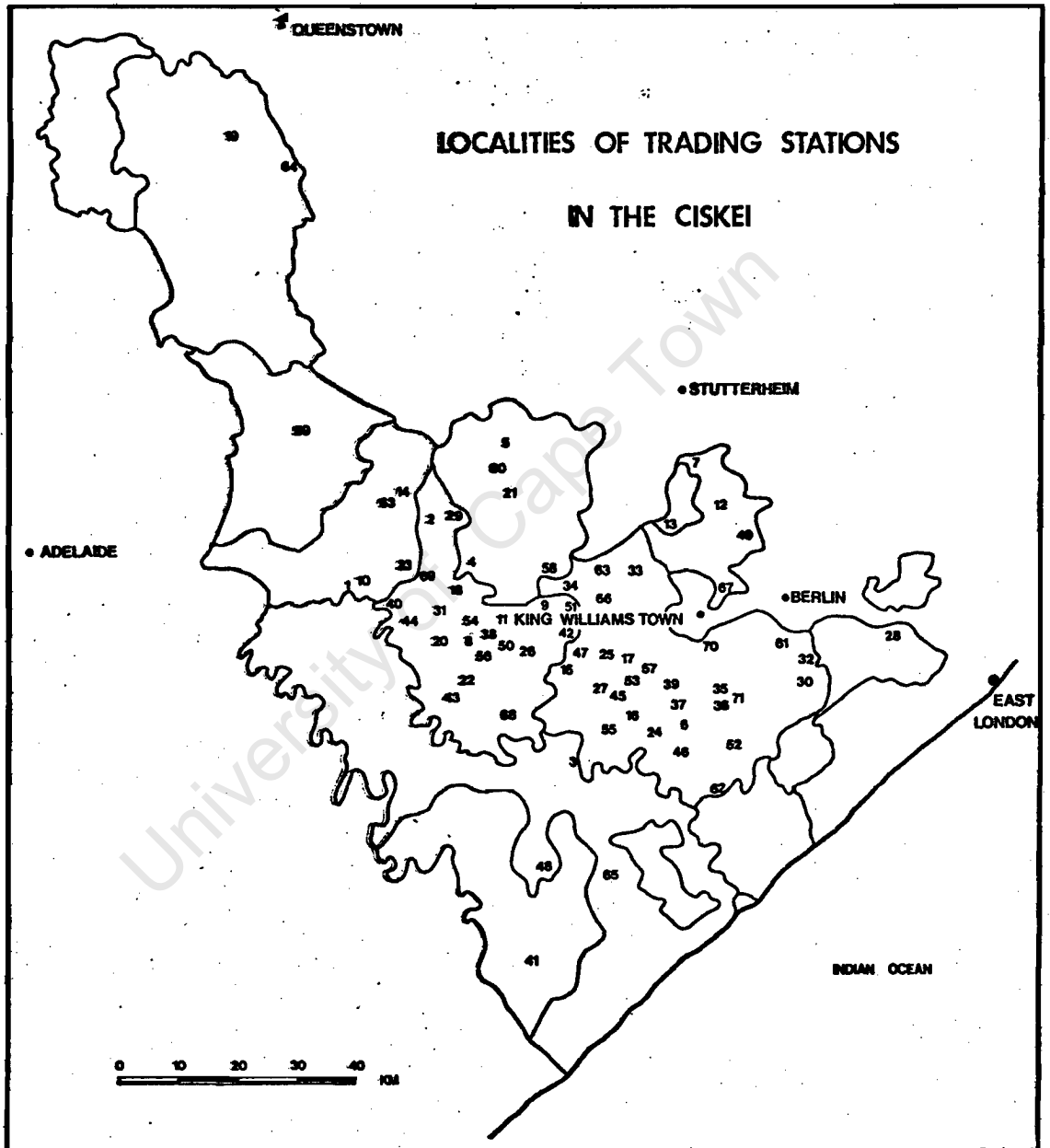
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24. T. Malan and P.S. Hattingh, op.cit., p.135.
25. Ciskeian Government, op.cit., p.36.
26. R.G. Barry, et al, op.cit., p.85.
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A P P E N D I X



PIONEER TRADERS OF THE CISKEL

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
1	Alice	Ballantyne & Sons Gray, John Kirsten, Alex F. Lundie & Co. Matheus, Bros. McLeod, D.J. Schmidt, A.E. Schmidt, R.M.	1925	S.A.C.D
2	Amatole Basin (Mhlambisos Location)	Wiltshire, P.W. Thompson, T.A. Schwulst, L. Radue, W.J. Trow, L.S.H. Mitchley, B.J. Wrede, E.A.G. Weiss, H.F. Ballack, H.H. Weiss, H.E. (present owner)	1900 1906 1911 1913 1924 1929 1930 1947 1955 1975	Deeds Office
3	Buck-kraal	Southey, G. Hogg, W. Illes, G. Hodges, R.	1834 1834 1834 1834	R.Godlon= ton
4	Burnshill	Edwards, J. Köpke, F.A.	1834 1942 1954	R.Godlon= ton F.A.Köpke
5	Cata: Store 1 Store 2	Peter, E. Kietzman, A.	1925 1925	S.A.C.D.
6	Chalumma "Sittingbourne Outspan"	Bonds, R. and Wright, R. Wright, G. S.A.B.T. Frauenstein, E.W.	1927 1962 1969 1948	C.T.S.A.D.

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
7	Cwencwe Valley	Haynes, W. Sage, J. Sage, C.H. Haynes, C.H. Haynes, H. Co-operative Exchange Yard Thompson, E.B. (closed down)	1869 1876 1888 1909 1922	Revenue Office
8	Debe Marela	Kretzmann, E.A. Kretzmann, R.		B. Ackerman
9	Debe Nek: Trading Station 1 Trading Station 2	Tarloff, A. Tarloff, D. Shap, L. Phillips, G. S.A.B.T.	1915 1930 1958	D. Tarloff J. Shap
10	Fort Hare	Levy, R. Levy, C. Munroe, D.	1885 1873 1880	Revenue Office
11	Fort White	Unknown - Thomas. Baines slept at "Trader's home" Bircholtz Bircholtz, E.	1849 1903 1919-1937	T. Baines V. Frauenstein E. Bircholtz
12	Frankfort Trading store 1 2 3 4 5	Belchetz, W. Benkensie, J. W. Egelhof, F. Lentz, F.W. Schultz, H.J. F.	1925	S.A.C.D.

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
13	Izelini 1. Lily Valley 2. Upper Ize= lini (Don= ington lots)	Rudolph, H.F. W. Rudolph (widow of H.F.W.) S.A.B.T. Wittstock M.E. (present owner)	1927 1949 1970	Deeds Office " " Ciskeian Government
14	Gilton (Yantalo's Location)	Moody, D. Glass, S.G. Schwultst, V.C. S.A.B.T.	1903 1923 1938 1974	Deeds Office
15	Gobozana (Xengxe Loca= tion)	Nel, G.J.M. (present owner)	1934	G.J.N. Nel
16	Gqodi "Prospect" (Loc. 41)	Wrede, H.H.A. S.A.B.T.	1927 1969	Deeds Office
17	Gwaba	Van Quick= elberge, E. Aronowitz, M. Schwults, A. Kirchoff, H. F. Weiss, R.F. (present owner)	1927 1928 1934 1948	Deeds Office
18	Hobbsdrift	Bircholtz, C.F. Bircholtz, L. Collins, N. Collins, K. A.E. (present owner)	1934 1966	K.A.E. Col= lins

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
19	Kamastone	Barnes, E. Jeffrey, G.A. Milne, J. Milne, W. Woode, E.T.	1927 " " " "	S.A.D.
20	Knapp's Hope	Warren, J. Stanford, J. Rawlins, J. Balzer, J.R. S.A.B.T.	1834 " " - "	R. Godlonton " " B. Ackerman
21	Keiskammahoek	Pepler, S.M. Brown, J.W.H Hickman, G.H. Hood Montgomery Spring Munday Hartwig Sternberg Kietzman Heimann, T.O. Hagemann, C. Kopke, A. Kopke, R. Mercer, R. Nettleton & Co. Peter, W.F.C. Radlof, E. Scholtz & Co. Schwultz, J.	1870 1900 1907 +1900 +1900 " " " " " 1927 " " " " " " " " "	Revenue Office A. Radloff S.A.C.D.
22	Kwapita "Mbizana"	Bolden - (received ground from Chief Kama) Schwulst Peter Kopke, A.N. Kopke, F.D. Kopke, W. S.A.B.T.	- - 1944 1954 1972 1975	F.A. Kopke

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
23	Mabandla's Loc.	Willmer, K. Willmer, E.A. Jack, C.N. Breetzke, E.H.A. S.A.B.T.	1900 1909 1923 1943 1971	Deeds Office
24	Mabonga Loc. "High View Trading Station"	Goldberg, J. Bottcher, P.C.R. Collins, R.F.J. S.A.B.T.	1927 1928 1943	Deeds Office
25	Mayipase (Loc. 26)	Luck, A.H. Gottsch, V.E.R. S.A.B.T.	1931 1952 1969	Deeds Office
26	Mama's Location (Loc. 24) "Mamas"	Peinke, A.A. Oosthuizen, T. Schwulst, M. Winkelman, E. Peinke, E. S.A.B.T.	1931 - - - - 1971	Deeds Office B.Ackerman Deeds Office
27	Matabese Location "Good Hope Trading Station" Tamacha	Butt, F.F. Collins, J.J. Spars, J.F.W. (present owner)	1927 1938 1965	Deeds Office
28	Mdantsane Halt "Smiling Valley"	Frauenstein, H.	1940 - 1950	V.Frauenstein

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
29	Matala (Amatola Basin)	Aggett, T. Moss, R. Durrheim, F. Wiltshire, P.W. Thompson, T.A. Schwulst, L. Lentz, F.W. Wrede, E.A.G. Hartman, J.W. Dalbock, S.S. S.A.B.T.	1892 1894 1897 1902 1904 1911 1912 1933 1939 1952 1973	Deeds Office
30	Mhlabata (Loc.60)	Pape, F.A. Korte, H.E. Korte, G.E.B. (widow of H.E.)	1927 1948 1962	Deeds Office
31	Middeldrift	Alperstein Bros. Devantier, B. E. Grunewald, E.T.J. Bentz, Z.J. Fetting, N.N. (present owner)	1924 1924 1927 - -	S.A.C.D. B.Ackerman
32	Mncotsho (Coyeni Loca= tion, Berlin)	Kietzmann, H.F. Kietzmann, B.H.F. S.A.B.T.	1927 1955 1974	Deeds Office
33	MnQaba (Loc.29 - Jaftas Loc.)	Whitfield, H.W. Whitfield, E.A.P Butt, A.F. Peinke, E.F. S.A.B.T.	1930 1934 1943 1948 1969	Deeds Office C.T.S.A.D. Deeds Office

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
34	Mnxesha	Sherman, M. Bircholtz, Kockjeu, J.W. Durrheim, C.C. (present owner)	1905 - 1925 1958	M. Sherman C.C. Durrheim
35	Mount Coke	Walker, R. Sieve, Zasman, W. Luck, (Closed down)	1832 1912 1912 1939	Una Long, W. Zasman
36	Mtwaku (Loc. 17) "Mount Prospect"	Peter, A.M. Schmidt, A.F.W. Gernetsky, G. Weiss, A.L. S.A.B.T.	1924 1927 1946 1947 1970	S.A.C.D. Deeds Office
37	Mtyolo (Loc. 34) "Schmidts Hope"	Schmidt, A.F.W. Schmidt, F.H. Kieck, J.F. S.A.B.T.	1927 1946 1947 1973	Deeds Office
38	Mxumbu	Gernetsky, E.F. Krausch, E.T. Shap, L. Kwatsha, T.O.	1932 1934 1949 1975	Deeds Office
39	Ncabasa (Loc. 34)	Ordemann, H.G. Durrheim, F.W. Tarloff, D. Balzer, H.F. S.A.B.T.	1930 1931 1948 1952 1970	Deeds Office
40	Ncera (Loc. 14)	Schwulst, R.A. Schwulst, A.E. (widow of R.A.) Seeber, E.B. Peter, E.F.J. S.A.B.T.	1930 1945 1957 1972	Deeds Office

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
41	Newtondale	Abramowitz, J. Abramowitz, L.	1908 1908-1939	H.Abramowitz
42	Ngcamgeni (Old Green River)	Quickelberg, von E. Nel, B.J. (present owner)	-	Receiver of Revenue
43	Ngolowa	Egelhof, B. Kreusch, R. Weinmann, Bros. Kietzmann, J. S.A.B.T.	1948 1948 - -	C.T.S.A.D. B.Ackerman
44	Ngwenia (Loc. 16)	Kopke, Shap, C. Shap, B.) Shap, L.) Shap, J. S.A.B.T.	1908 1913 1918 1942 1971	J. Shap
45	Njwaxa (Loc. 18)	Schwulst, E. Bircholtz, R. Bircholtz, W.B.W. Schenk, F. Bentz, E. Hoft, W. S.A.B.T.	1930 1948 1949 - - -	Deeds Office B.Ackermann
46	Ntombi (Jalis Location)	Wright, J. Wright, G.N.) Wright, E.W.) Wright, E.J.) Wright, E.W. Wright, E.J. Wright, E.J. Frauenstein, E.W.J. Frauenstein, P.H.L.	1891 1893 1903 1906 1928 1957	Deeds Office

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
46	Ntombi (Cont)	Frauenstein, E.W.A. Frauenstein, H.M.E. (present owner)	1961 1973	Deeds Office
47	Ntsikizini	Andrecka, J. Muir, D. (grand daughter of J. Andrecka, and present owner)	1878	D. Muir
48	Peddie	Webb, F.C. Driver, E. Jarvis, Brent & Son Booth, J.U. Gibson, P.) Pederson,) Mentz, N. Heuper, G. Rasovsky, J. Sim, D.B. Wesson, A.V. Wild, D. Wild, E.E. Elliot, K. This store managed by K. Elliot from 1946 - present owner	1820-1834 +1820-1834 1900-1973 1924 1924 1924 1924 1924 1924 1924 1924 1924 1928	D. Kirby E. Wild S.A.C.D. E. Wild K. Elliot
49	Peelton	Bahlman, E.C. Belchetz, W. Bottcher, H. Bottcher, J.C. Deutschmann, P. Keightley, S. Karshagens, S. (present owner)	1924 1927 " " "	S.A.C.D. Ciskeian Government

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
50	Peuleni	Pletnick, Ogus, Ehrke, J.J. Durrheim, A.F. Brandt, F.C. (present owner)	- - - 1948	B. Ackerman C.T.S.A.D.
51	Pirie	Unknown Schwultz, A.	1832 1946- 1962	Una Long A. Schwultz
52	Pusana "Schultz's"	Schwultz, A.G. W. Schwultz, L.J. (widow of A.G.W.) Keth, A.H. Keth, E.C. Naude, T.C. Naude, M.J. (widow of T.C.) Sparge, H.C.A. Closed down	1927 1934 1940 1945 1955- 1965	Deeds Office
53	Oaka Location "Orange Grove"	Cohen, M.B. Goldberg, H.B. Decker, C.E. Leibach, T.E. S.A.B.T.	1927 1944 1946 1949 1975	Deeds Office
54	Qanda	Blackbeard, H.C. Blackbeard, A.A. (widow of H.C.) Schenk, J.F.W. Schenk, (widow of J.F.W.) Manxola, A.	1930 1938 1945 1958 1965	Deeds Office

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
55	Qankeni (Loc. 45) "Fairview" Tamacha	Bourne, J. Collins, J.H. Collins, D.J. S.A.B.T.	1834 1927 1949 1971	R. Godlonton Deeds Office
56	Quibira 1. "Dead End Store" 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	Hessel, W. Hoft, W. Lentz, L. Ordeman, Pahl, E.A. S.A.B.T.	1948 " " N.D. " "	C.T.S.A.D. B. Ackerman
57	Umtali Siwani Location "Progress"	Bourne, J. Butt, F.F. Karshagen, O.F. Karshagen, A. E.E. Balzer, E.F. (present owner)	1934 1927 1945 1948 1955	R. Godlonton Deeds Office
58	Rabula - 1. 2. 3.	Peter, A. Schenk, J. Peter, R.F. Haselau, W.H. Pahl, E.A.	1927 " 1948	S.A.C.D. C.T.S.A.D.
59	Seymour	Ingelthorpe, Abramowitz, J. Arnold, H.D. Cassan, P.M.	1908 1927 " "	J.W. Weir & Co. S.A.C.D.
60	St. Matthews	The first mission station building was a trading store Kopke, V.O.	Before 1855 1948	W.S. Hall C.T.S.A.D.

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
61	Tshabo (Loc.63) "Hillcrest"	Deutshmann, H.J. Boucher, S.J.	1927 1945	Revenue Office
62	Twecu (Loc.10) "Hilltop"	Kreusch, B.J. Kreusch, E.M. (widow of B.J.) Frauenstein, H. Sparg, H.C.A. (present owner)	1927 1933 1936 1940	Deeds Office V. Frauenstein
63	Tyumie Post	Rogers, R. Moody, I (received ground from Chief Maba= ndla) Moody, W. S.A.B.T.	1834 1886 1924 1972	R. Godlonton W. Moody
64	Whittlesea	Duncan Bros. Pirie, D. Bond Chas & Co. Schaffer, H.L.	1924 1927	S.A.C.D.
65	Woolridge (Pato's Kraal)	Roberts, D.	1834	R. Godlonton
66	Xukwana (Loc. 28) Dimbaza (present name)	Long, R.J.O. Kopke, F. Kopke, E.A. Kopke, E.W.R. Tarloff, D. S.A.B.T.	1914- 1918 1925 1931 1941 1972	B. Long S.A.C.D. Deeds Office D. Tarloff Deeds Office
67	Yellowwoods "Outspan"	Tessendorf, P.H. (present owner)		Ciskeian Government

Map No	Trading Station	Trader	Recorded trading year	Source of information (See notes)
68	Zigodlo	Bircholtz, W.F. Bircholtz, T. Rudolf, S.J. (present owner)	1931 1934 1966	Deeds Office
69	Zali's Loc. "Seven Kloofs"	Dewey, H. Wiltshire, P.W. Marx, T.I. Wrede, B.O. Henley, E.W. Neuper, R.T. S.A.B.T.	1904 1913 1921 1930 1942 1954 1970	Deeds Office
70	Zwelitsha Grandstand Station	Good Hope Textiles (present owner)	1948	Ciskeian Government
71	Zwelitsha District "Farm 24"	Tessendorf, V.E. (present owner)		Ciskeian Government

QUESTIONNAIRE ON "PIONEER TRADERS" OF THE
CISKEI.

Name and address of Informant

From What Date Were You Resident in the Ciskei?

Where Were You Born and Date of Birth

The Trading Store/Wholesaler/Manufacturer or Connected with it in the Ciskei Which You Know Most About

1. Name of Business:
2. Address of Business:
3. Name of Owner:
4. Years of Ownership?

How did the business come into being?

Why did the owner Choose this Type of Business?

Why Did the Owner Settle in This Particular Place?

Did owner ever trade else where? if so,
where

What Services did the Owner Render to the People in the Vicinity of His Business

Describe Briefly any Outstanding or Remarkable Event or Events Connected with Your Business in the Ciskei

What Type of Goods Were Sold and Bought?

What are the Chief Changes you have Observed in the Time You have been Doing Business?

Were any Particular Forms of Assistance Offered to Customers such as: Loans, Medical Aid, Explanations Regarding Government Regulations, Recruiting for the Mines, etc.?

Who were the Other Traders in the Ciskei You knew?

Name of Trader	Address	Years of Business

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF RECORDED INTERVIEWSHYMIE ABRAMOWITZ

- Int. : Mr. Abramowitz, where were your parents born?
- H.A. : They were born in Lithuania.
- Int. : And when did they come to this country?
- H.A. : My father came to this country round about 1896. He came with his father when he was a young boy of 13. The gold mines -- the industry had just started developing, and they came with the influx of refugees who came from Eastern Europe at that time.
- Int. : And did they settle in the Transvaal?
- H.A. : They first settled in the Transvaal, they worked on the mines.
- Int. : Doing what?
- H.A. : I don't know what my grandfather did -- my father worked in the cafeteria for a salary of £3 per quarter.
- Int. : And how long did they stay?
- H.A. : They stayed in the Transvaal -- my grandfather didn't like the life out here and he went back to Lithuania -- he accumulated a certain amount of money and he went back after about 6 years -- but during the time of the Boer War -- there was an influx -- there was an immigration from the Transvaal to the Cape, people getting away from the war area, and these people weren't men of wealth or anything, and when they got to the Eastern Cape, the easiest way of earning a living was trading, they got credit from the big wholesale merchants of King William's Town and East London at that time, and they started off by peddling, becoming pedlars.
- Int. : Was your father also a pedlar?
- H.A. : My father was also a pedlar, yes.
- Int. : What did he sell?
- H.A. : Well, all sorts of soft goods, mainly clothing I think, they used to go from farm to farm selling things and in this way they became associated with the wholesale firms. So when the time came to open and look for business, they had already established certain credit

ratings, firms had trust in them, and would give them goods, and that's how they got into trading, in these little trading stores.

- Int. : Where was their first trading store?
- H.A. : They started their trading stores in a place called Newtondale about 12 miles from Peddie near the Fish River.
- Int. : Were you born there?
- H.A. : No, that was about 1908.
- Int. : Did they trade mainly with the farmers?
- H.A. : No, it was a Native Reserve, a Fingo Reserve and there was a population of hundreds of Fingos and this was the only one trading station within a radius of 12 miles.
- Int. : Did your Father run the store on his own?
- H.A. : No, there were two brothers.
- Int. : Were they both single?
- H.A. : They were both single at the time.
- Int. : What was the name of your father?
- H.A. : My father was Joseph Abramowitz and his brother who worked with him was Louis Abramowitz.
- Int. : And how long did they stay at Newtondale?
- H.A. : Well, they had control of that store for many years, right up to about 1939.
- Int. : Didn't my father work for them?
- H.A. : Your father worked for them there, yes.
- Int. : What sort of goods did they sell?
- H.A. : They handled everything, all types of groceries, a certain amount of clothing was sold, but the amount of clothing was limited because the garb of the native at that time was the blanket. They wore blankets, they used to buy these blankets, and they used to dye them red with ochre powder.

Their staple food was maize, there was very little meat available, they had their herds, but that was their wealth, they would only

slaughter those for special occasions such as a wedding, or they'd consume the meat if an animal died, but otherwise maize, kaffircorn, coffee, tea, sugar, were the commodities they bought.

Int. : What else did they sell in the store?

H.A. : They sold them seeds for plants, all the agricultural equipment for planting, harrows, ploughs. They used to sell everything, even cotton was sold by the trading store.

Int. : Did your family ever trade elsewhere?

H.A. : The family permit expanded and they acquired another shop in Seymour.

Int. : And who ran that shop?

H.A. : My father ran that shop.

Int. : Was that the same shop as my Uncle Jacob Abramowitz later owned?

H.A. : Yes, he took this over in 1925, he initially traded on his own in Alice.

Int. : When did he come out?

H.A. : He came out shortly after my father, about two or three years after my father, just before the Boer War.

Int. : Did he come from Europe to Alice?

H.A. : No, he came out to the Transvaal and then went round to East London and started there. But he traded on his own in Alice. He also started peddling and made a little bit of money.

Int. : And did he have the same sort of store?

H.A. : He had the same sort of little store in Alice.

Int. : Did he deal only with the Africans?

H.A. : Largely with the natives, but Alice had a white population as well.

Int. : Was he married?

H.A. : No, he got married quite late in life. In 1925 he went back to Lithuania and there he met his wife and came back to Alice and got married.

- Int. : And when did he move?
- H.A. : He moved to Seymour just after that.
- Int. : Did he start the store?
- H.A. : No, the store had belonged to my father. He took it over from my father.
- Int. : Can you describe the type of life you led on the trading station?
- H.A. : The typical life on a trading station. You'd wake up in the morning, we'd probably open at six o'clock in the morning, you'd find customers waiting outside already, to buy. So one's work started very early, and you were busy all day, all types of trading, there'd be a certain amount of bartering done. At times, the price for mealies would be so low, that it wouldn't warrant giving any money, so they used to barter it for salt, and they used to sell eggs, and what produce the native produced was traded through the store. He sold to the store and he bought from the store. It was his sole communication, it was his Post Office. He posted his letters there, he came there to receive his mail, so it was the centre of a communal life, really.
- Housekeeping was quite a big job on its own, because the woman of the house had to do the housekeeping. All your assistants lived with you, it was the only residence, you probably had four or five people apart from your own family that you had to cater for.
- Int. : So the woman was mainly in the house.
- H.A. : The woman was mainly in the house. It was a bit more civilised, it was more a village trade. It was not a real trading store like you had in Ngwenie where you had only the raw natives buying, trading, bartering their wares and buying their beads and whatever had to be done.
- Int. : So you feel the trader played an important role in the lives of the Africans.
- H.A. : That's right. He was the connecting link between Western civilization and the absolutely raw native.
- Int. : And do you remember any instances where you assisted the Africans?

H.A. : The traders gave them credit from the shops and of course in drought years they virtually kept them alive. Because if it wouldn't be for the mealies they could buy from the trader, they'd have starved. So in the drought years they played an important part in keeping them alive. Quite an interesting part was when they gave them credit. Actually the natives used to buy a few bags of mealies on credit and for security they'd pledge their cows, and the trader would look after the cows, and keep them in his care, in his possession, until the debt was paid, then he would release them.

The roads were very bad and the Natives lived in very desolate areas. Very few natives possessed wagons, they used mostly sledges. They'd take a tree, and cut a fork, and where the fork was, they used to put a piece of wood across it and whatever mealies they had to bring to the trading store, they used to be loaded onto this sledge and drawn along.

Int. : And what did they draw it with?

H.A. : With oxen, four oxen pulling one of these things, on which they would have four or five bags of mealies. Well, as they accumulated wealth they could afford a wagon, so they would buy a wagon.

Int. : And the change in their way of living ...?

H.A. : Well, the main change in their habits -- they retained all their tribal customs, as I think they still do to this day but in their attire, in their dress, they started wearing trousers and shirts. Also a lot of labour from these parts that recruited for the mines, this was also done by the trader. You recruited natives for the mines, and you were paid so much by the mining company. As soon as you had recruited a boy, the recruiting officer would send a certain amount of money to the boy, that he could spend in your shop before he left for work, and this was quite a good source of income for the trader and of course these chaps, when they came back from there, they brought back the idea of wearing trousers and shirts and shoes and so on.

Int. : Can you describe the trading store?

H.A. : Well, I remember it. I don't know if I could describe it, a big rectangular building, the counter was along the three sides and on the

one side the entrance.

- Int. : Why did your parents move to a town?
- H.A. : Well, once the children grew up and in order to give them the type of education you wanted to give them it was necessary to go to more convenient places to live.
- Int. : Where did they go to?
- H.A. : Well, from there they went to Grahamstown. They brought brothers and sisters out from Russia and they opened trading stores for them.
- Int. : All Abramowitzs.
- H.A. : Yes.
- Int. : And they all had trading stores?
- H.A. : All had trading stores. The average Jew started off as a hawker, then he'd become a trader, then he'd move into one of the bigger centres where there was a bigger Jewish community.

But for the trader, the African wouldn't have developed at all because that was his sole communication with civilisation. The trader actually showed him how to dress, how to live, showed him the Western way of life, gave him the privileges of western facilities such as posting services, credit when he traded, things like that.

At the trading store all these commodities were sold in very small quantities. We were selling to the poor, they used to come and buy 1d worth of sugar, and 1/2d worth of salt, and to trade with these, one used to spend many hours making up tiny little packets ready for the next day's trading. Weighing bags of sugar and bags of salt, these little packets so they could get them for a small amount of money that they could spend. They would come and say they want 1d worth of sugar and 2d worth of coffee.

They'd gather there in the morning with no intention of buying at all. There'd be benches for them to sit on, and the senior men would sit and smoke their pipes and discuss all their problems, the younger men'd have their mock fights, it was like a civic centre a centre of living, was the shop. They'd come there irrespective of whether they wanted to buy or not, that wasn't the main purpose. They'd come for the whole day, chatting, it was a social centre.

EDDIE BIRCHOLTZ OF DEBE NEK

- Int. : When were you born, Mr. Bircholtz?
- E.B. : Well, I'll be 80 now next birthday.
- Int. : 1897?
- E.B. : Yes.
- Int. : And where were you born?
- E.B. : At Fort White.
- Int. : And you went to school at Fort White?
- E.B. : Yes.
- Int. : And when you had finished school, what did you do?
- E.B. : I was there on the farm for a while and then we hired a place, my uncle's place.
- Int. : What was it called?
- E.B. : The native name is Ncamgeni.
- Int. : How old were you then?
- E.B. : I must have been about - say, about 22, round about there.
- Int. : And you traded there?
- E.B. : We traded there for about 5 years.
- Int. : Can you tell me something about the store, what it looked like, what you sold?
- E.B. : Well, we sold everything, a General Dealer's licence - sold everything.
- Int. : But what did the Africans specially like to buy?
- E.B. : Well, what they bought, a lot is clothing, you know, like the women used to wear long dresses, and they used to use about 7 yards of material for each.
- Int. : Was it the sheeting?
- E.B. : The sheeting was sold a lot to the Red Natives -- but the others didn't buy much sheeting.
- Int. : They bought what they call the German print?

- E.B. : Yes, that's right.
- Int. : It came from Germany?
- E.B. : Yes, well, we used to get it from the store, some was from Germany, some was from different parts, you know, anyhow, we used to buy a lot from Mr. Edelstein. We used to get bales of stuff from him.
- Int. : Edelstein -- where were they?
- E.B. : In King William's Town.
- Int. : Did he have a wholesale business?
- E.B. : Yes, he had a wholesale business and a retail business.
- Int. : And what else did they buy from you?
- E.B. : Well, they bought their groceries. If they didn't have cash, they used to sell their mealies they grew on the lands, you know.
- Int. : Did you find they sometimes had to buy back mealies?
- E.B. : They used to buy the mealies back, if we kept them long enough. They used to buy all the mealies back again.
- Int. : And what else did you buy from them?
- E.B. : "Kaffircorn", sometimes birdseed. Wheat they never sold. They used to have that milled.
- Int. : Where did they mill it?
- E.B. : There used to be a miller at Debe Nek.
- Int. : Who owned that?
- E.B. : It believe it was a Mr Peter. That was some years ago already.
- Int. : And it was in Debe Nek?
- E.B. : Yes, just in front of the hotel there, you know, on the side near the railway line.
- Int. : Is that all he used to do, to mill the wheat?
- E.B. : And mealies and stuff -- he used to mill everything.

- Int. : But he didn't have a store — he was just a miller?
- E.B. : He was a miller, yes.
- Int. : Were there others like him?
- E.B. : Not at Debe Nek.
- Int. : But in other places, did you hear of any?
- E.B. : Yes, I believe at Keiskammahcek there used to be a mill too, and my uncle had a mill at a place called Mnexsha, and then very often, those that didn't have mills, they'd buy mealie-meal and they'd exchange -- they'd take mealies for mealie-meal -- so that was just as well as having a mill.
- Int. : Did you ever have those little tokens, you know, where they used to pay them instead of giving them money?
- E.B. : Oh yes, when they used to bring them back they'd each get a slip, you know, and then they could buy for it any time, if they sent a child with a slip.
- Int. : And did you ever give on credit?
- E.B. : Very little -- if you gave on credit, then you had to chase the customer.
- Int. : And when you left there, did you go to Debe Nek to the butcher shop? In 1937, your wife said?
- E.B. : Yes.
- Int. : And where did you get the animals?
- E.B. : We bought them locally from the Natives mostly, and we also got sheep from different parts, you know, sometimes from Seymour. They were plentiful at that time.
- Int. : And would you slaughter them and the Africans would buy them back again?
- E.B. : The Africans'd buy them back again and the traders used to come and buy their meat there.
- Int. : And then you also did recruiting?
- E.B. : Then we started recruiting -- we got a licence for recruiting, and of course the first year we didn't send many boys, but every year it was more and more. We would send 50 boys a year, to get a free licence. But I used to send away in January -- we used to send away over 100 boys.

- Int. : So you always had a free licence?
- E.B. : Always.
- Int. : And then you said you went into the manure business?
- E.B. : We bought a lorry and started in the manure business.
- Int. : And where did you get the manure?
- E.B. : From the Natives.
- Int. : And what happened? Did you send it to Cape Town?
- E.B. : We sent it to Cape Town to the agent there, who used to buy for the farmers you see. I suppose he made his profit too. And then there would be a certain time during the year, it would be very slack, no orders, and then we would continue carting. We would dump it -- big dumps of manure -- and when the season came and they needed it after they'd reaped the fruit, then we had everything ready for them.
- Int. : And what did you pay the Africans for a ton of manure?
- E.B. : Well, we didn't buy it per ton, we bought it per load -- we used to pay them just a £1, then from that I think the last go off we would pay them about £2.
- Int. : And you said at one stage there were as many as 13 people buying the manure and sending it off?
- E.B. : Yes, in the same business. They used to come along -- they actually wanted places from us to dump, but we didn't give it to them.
- Int. : You needed it yourself!
- E.B. : Yes.
- Int. : What happened to the manure business?
- E.B. : Manure business -- they stopped us. They said that they wouldn't sell the manure, the Natives must sell the manure.
- Int. : To whom?
- E.B. : The magistrate would see that they got orders, you see.

- Int. : But apparently it s not been very successful?
- E.B. : Now then, they didn't work it the way we worked it. We used to pay the boys per load and we used to pay them every day. The boy used to take the money with for the load as he carted it, and of course they, after a while, the magistrate said we mustn't buy any more manure there. They must send it away. Now they come along with lorry-loads of manure and say to the stationmaster "Where can we dump?" and the stationmaster says "You can't dump anything in my yard". Then of course they had to cart it right down to Qande which is about four miles -- there was a place they could dump there.
- Int. : So it didn't pay them any more to do it?
- E.B. : It didn't pay them and the boys had to wait for their money, sometimes for a month, up to two months, and when they worked it out they were working at a loss.
- Int. : And in the meantime the manure was waiting to be taken, piling up in the kraal?
- E.B. : Yes.
- Int. : When did you retire, Mr. Bircholtz?
- E.B. : 1970.
- Int. : Are you enjoying your retirement?
- E.B. : Very much.

K.A.E. COLLINS OF HOBBS' DRIFT

- Int. : What are your impression of the Black traders?
- Collins: I mean they'd support their own kind if they had the stock, but most of them seem to concentrate on motor cars and things like that. As soon as they build up a bit of money instead of stock, you know, like this one chap up here at Burnshill, he comes down twice a day you know, and he loads five of this and five of that, sort of thing, and then he goes back and then afterwards he comes back and buys as a few pennies come in, you know.
- Int. : They haven't got the capital and what they've got they're not using as they should.
- C. : Yes, you know, they do get an allowance from the government, they get R4 000 a year stock or something like that or they've got say R4 000,00 stock in the shop, but then instead of replenishing stocks they usually buy a truck and a car and all that sort of thing and in two two's they're riding around and then they leave somebody else to run the shop while they ride around in the car and they're always going to town, that sort of thing, you know. But there are a few of them that are quite good.
- Int. : And the assistants -- I see that most of the shops have African assistants.
- C. : Yes -- I've got a European lady helping me here at the moment, but she's leaving at the end of the month.
- Int. : It must be hard to get staff.
- C. : Yes, well I won't be able to, I'll have to get a black one for the cash register.
- Int. : But I suppose they cope well.
- C. : Well, generally -- I don't know, I hope -- I'm just worried about honesty. You know, handling money and that.

Well, with the increased earnings, with the money they've got, they're going to better things. I would say that possibly even more than the European, you know, I believe that there's a friend of ours who's got a shop in East London, and he's got shoes and things that sell for R20 - R30 and its only the blacks that

buy them. The Europeans usually go for the cheaper ones.

Int. : And here, do you find that as well, to that extent?

C. : Not to that extent, I don't stock very expensive things, but you know if you put two things in front of them, most times they'll take the more expensive one. They definitely have found that it's more economical to buy better quality.

When I was still small, they used to wrap sugar, tobacco, the whole lot, but it's much easier these days, although I'd say we probably work on a lower profit margin, with the pre-packed stuff, but then it's so much easier. We lost a lot of weight, weighing it, the box standing open, it'd dry out -- that sort of thing.

Int. : I believe they still buy this chew tobacco -- the roll tobacco but I suppose you're selling more cigarettes than actual tobacco.

C. : At the moment it's about a 50-50 basis -- long ago we used to sell about 90% tobacco to cigarettes, but now it's come up to about 50-50, specially over Christmas, when the chaps come back from work, when all the men are back here, then they buy cigarettes. You know, generally, the line that we sell a lot of now are for the children and the women.

VERONICA FRAUENSTEIN née BIRCHOLTZ

Int. : What is your name?

V.F. : Veronica Bircholtz I was, and married Hugo Frauenstein.

Int. : Where were you born?

V.F. : Debe Nek.

Int. : Do you mind me asking what year?

V.F. : 1912.

Int. : And where did you go to school?

V.F. : Fort White.

Int. : I also went to Fort White! And when you finished school you married?

V.F. : I went into the trading store.

Int. : Were your parents in the trading store - where was their shop?

V.F. : At Debe Nek.

Int. : Which shop was it?

V.F. : Close to the school - actually, you know where the police station was at Fort White? Well, that is just a little way - about 200 to 300 yards away from the police station.

Int. : And how long were your parents there?

V.F. : My dad was born there.

Int. : In what year?

V.F. : My dad was born in 1883 in Debe Nek.

Int. : Gosh, that goes back. So when did your parents come out, at the time of the Crimean War?

V.F. : No, it was the settlers.

Int. : The 1820 Settlers?

- V.F. : No, that was the British Settlers. You know, we've got a monument to the German Settlers here in East London. Actually they weren't on the first boat - they were on the second.
- Int. : And were they married before they came?
- V.F. : No - either way one lost a father and one lost a mother on the high seas and those in turn married. The Kochjeus and the Bircholtz married a Kochjeu. So my grandfather was Willem Bircholtz and my gran was Johanna Kochjeu.
- Okay, they married and my dad is the youngest son in the family and we were brought up on the farm, and that was the trading store.
- Int. : And your grandparents, where did they settle?
- V.F. : First at Breidbach and then they went through to Debe Nek.
- Int. : And what did they do at Breidbach?
- V.F. : They farmed.
- Int. : And at Debe Nek?
- V.F. : They farmed and they had the trading station.
- Int. : So how long - in what year do you think they opened the trading store, about?
- V.F. : My dad was about 20, 19 - my grandfather died - my dad was about 19 when they opened the little shop.
- Int. : What year do you think your dad was born?
- V.F. : 1883.
- Int. : That's right, so that'll give us the date.
- V.F. : And from then on when my grandfather passed away, my dad took over the store.
- Int. : So you grew up virtually in the store?
- V.F. : Yes.
- Int. : And what do you remember of the store as a child?
- V.F. : Well, at that time we used to buy mealies, we used to buy "kaffir-corn" we used to buy wheat, we used to buy all the things that they grew - birdseed, beans, peas, anything that they grew - wool, we bought from them

and as children we used to help get into the bales of wool and it used to be fun for us. Dad used to get this all loaded on the ox wagon and go to market, to King William's Town. Sometimes twice a month, sometimes three times a month.

- Int. : It must have been quite a long journey in those days, by ox wagon.
- V.F. : It was. Well, you know, dad used to go with the wagon - not only the native boys. He had a driver and he had a Kwedini and a span of about 14 - 16 oxen.
- Int. : And what did he actually sell to these Africans? What did you sell in the shop?
- V.F. : All kinds of things. Food, materials - my mom used to sew for them and my mom used to help them with their wedding dresses - she used to make their wedding cakes - mom used to bake for the shop - we weren't always able to get bread from the baker so we used to do that. We used to stand behind the counter, Mom, Dad, and myself. I was the eldest - there were 9 in the family and then I got married and then these took over, took my place. I got married also to a farmer, and a trader - that was at Twecu at Keiskamma.
- Int. : And what year was that?
- V.F. : That was in 1936 we got married, and I also went straight behind the counter and I served there. We were on the Peddie and East London boundary. And then when our eldest was born in '37, the following year, the Native Affairs bought the farm. My late father and mother-in-law they farmed citrus. It wasn't mealies or anything any more, it was just the big orchard and we were at the shop, my husband and I.
- Int. : And did you keep the shop on?
- V.F. : No - when they sold we also had to sell. So then we went farming at Fort Jackson. We weren't there very long, we went down to Mdantsane and there we applied for a licence. We built a shop and we traded there right on the Nahoon Dam location, let me think of the name, St. Luke's was below us. They've still got a station at St. Luke's now.
- Int. : Who's got that now?
- V.F. : Oh, it's changed hands so much. Kienk used to have it. But anyway we had the trading station. There was another one at the point of the location and there was another one in the middle of the location. Well, from there on - we left there on account of schooling for our children, we came here to Berlin and we took over this place. Which way did you come?

- Int. : From East London.
- V.F. : Oh. Well, it's the next place. Well, the Native Affairs bought that again from us, it was also a trading station - and that came about, the farmers had quite a number of boys working for them, and you know the village is far, so they always said "Ooh Baas, why don't you open a shop, it's halfway Breidbach/Berlin". So we applied and we got a licence, that's how we came to get that trading store.
- Int. : So how long is it since you've sold the shop?
- V.F. : In 1948.
- Int. : And since then you've been out of trading?
- V.F. : We've been out of trading.
- Int. : You've had a long record of trading.
- V.F. : Yes.
- Int. : And what did you notice over the years about the changes that took place in trading?
- V.F. : The pricing of goods - every time you'd go this had gone up, that'd gone up.
- Int. : And the actual changes in the demands of the Africans?
- V.F. : More in the food line, it wasn't so much mealies as mealie-meal.
- Int. : Did you mill as well?
- V.F. : No, we used to mill at Mdantsane and of course from there on it was more wheat, bread flour, sugar and bread - the baker's bread, that was how it went. Always more and more. Then there was a call for margarine. There was a call for butter. There was a call for anything in the food line.
- Int. : And clothing?
- V.F. : Oh, of course. From tackies it went to shoes and we used to keep quite a range of shoes, and we used to keep better clothing. From the sheeting of course it went to materials; we used to keep rolls of it.
- Int. : And what do you think, in what way did you actually help the people around you?

- V.F. : Well, we helped them in this way, that they didn't have to walk so far, they didn't need the bus service so much. Actually there was a bus service once a week and when they had the shop they didn't worry. Then we used to help them take their stuff to the gate in the location, so they didn't have to carry. We helped them in this way that we trusted them. We used to give them credit monthly, you know. We had our monthly accounts open, 30 days - and then the headman used to come and say "Well, help these boys, I'll see that you get paid".
- Int. : And did it work?
- V.F. : It worked out beautifully. I myself can say in this location -
- Int. : What do you call this location?
- V.F. : Tshabo. If we've lost R20,00
- Int. : In all those years
- V.F. : We traded from, let me see - we got here in, ooh, I can't remember, but we were 17 years in the trade here, that was here in Berlin.
- Int. : And if you count all the years you had previously
- V.F. : Well, I was in the shop from the age of 12 and it's only the last 8 years that we haven't had a trading store.
- Int. : Did you sew for your customers?
- V.F. : I did sewing for them, do all their doeks, do all their skirts, braid all their skirts. And we used to make them aprons, get their children on the way to school, show them what clothing they needed, they'd say, oh they don't need a vest, they'd get a piece of sheeting but we'd say no, a vest is more protective for them, it keeps the cold out, so we got them to get into the way of dressing and living.
- Int. : You worked with your husband?
- V.F. : Exactly. Well, you know here at Mdantsane we used to get up at four in the morning. We used to go on the tractor into the land. I used to prepare the breakfast and then into the shop. All the school children used to pass there, the farm school children to go to school. They all wanted perhaps buns or bread -- something to take with.

Int. : Nourishment.

V.F. : And if they had an egg or two they'd come for the buns. Well of course an egg then was about half a cent. We used to perhaps buy the eggs in the shop and take to market. We didn't even get as much at the market as we used to give out for the eggs, but that didn't matter.

Int. : Just to help them?

V.F. : Yes.

Int. : And I'm sure in the early years you even baked the bread and made the ginger beer?

V.F. : We did.

It used to be a tickey, it even used to be a penny, half a penny, salt, well for a sixpence they could buy a lot. Ha'penny this, ha'penny that, ha'penny something else.

The money -- a call for an article, give the money and you'd give them the change, they'd call for something else, and that's how -- you running backwards and forwards.

Int. : You had to have so much patience.

V.F. : Well, of course.

Int. : But they were also very loyal to you.

V.F. : Oh yes. I wouldn't like to go back to the trade now, because I don't think you'd get the same type of person. At that time, you could say to them, "Look, that is not right, don't do it" and they'd listen. We had very little trouble with them.

They are not at all happy because they've compared, you know, the price that is laid down, the trader should charge that and now when they've got their own shops of course, they can't abide by this, you know what I mean -- that price to them is nothing, they make their own prices. Well, there is nothing wrong in that.

Int. : But you felt sorry for them as well?

V.F. : Exactly. Because you feel that you must be fair to them. I mean the wages. Of course now they're getting good wages; then, when we traded, they didn't. They got very little money. And you always thought that, well, even if your article was marked 6d, you'll give it to them for 5d.

When we first started with the shop we sold very few candles. We sold them paraffin and as the years went on, we sold more paraffin, more candles. Eventually the candles sort of lay low and the lamps were sold. They used to use their own little tins, Brasso tins, or anything like that, you know, had a sort of a little -- what would I say -- a screw top. And they used to plait these little ends of rag you know and make a wick and as soon as the lamp was introduced, you know, we sold the lamps and they didn't even worry about their tins any more.

They jumped to tea.

Int. : Is that so? Why was that?

V.F. : I don't know -- we sold more tea and more tea. Now to the latter end they were taking to coffee and tea. I don't know why tea was so in demand at one time.

Int. : What about tobacco?

V.F. : Well, the tobacco we used to sell -- they used to make their own you know, they chew their own tobacco. But then we used to sell this Katriver.

Int. : That's the name.

V.F. : And Xhosa tobacco.

Int. : Chew tobacco?

V.F. : Yes, oh yes -- they used to buy quite a lot -- in different places you sell more chew. At Mdantsane we never sold much but here we sold more again. Because we had Coloureds here on the farms you know and the Coloured is more for the chew tobacco.

Int. : I don't suppose they'd sell it any more?

V.F. : Yes, they still love it.

Int. : And do they still smoke the long pipes?

V.F. : Yes -- there are quite a few. That is when they have their -- what must I say? -- the different traditions they've got. The Xhosa's got his and the Fingo's got his -- at different times they have these festivals and then they dress up in national dress.

- Int. : How does the Fingo differ from the Xhosa?
- V.F. : The Fingo rolls his blankets in fat, with ochres, and this one doesn't.
- Int. : The Xhosa doesn't - with water?
- V.F. : They just lay it down you know and sort of rub it in and then they sort of get the dust out and they wear it like that. Some like the red ochre, others like the yellow, but the Fingo likes his fat.
- Int. : And what other sort of difference is there in their dress and in their habits, and the things they bought?
- V.F. : Well, the Fingo liked the "kaffircorn" more than the mealies. Oh, of course the beans had to go with the "kaffircorn" to the latter end, the Xhosa he liked the samp more than the mealies. They used to buy mealies but they even used to stamp them in their own huts. But you know since the mills came in they even forgot to stamp it.
- Int. : They bought the ready mealies?
- V.F. : We used to sell the big stamp blocks at one time, the big blocks of wood that were hollowed out and then they got these two little hammers that they hold in their hands and they stamped the mealies.
- Int. : So in fact you even sold them the stamp blocks?
- V.F. : Yes, yes.
- Int. : Because I thought that they made them themselves.
- V.F. : No, we used to buy from these different boys that used to cut the trees in the forest, you know. Then they used to come and sell these un-made ones and then my Dad used to get the boy to hollow them out.
- They bought the primus, and they bought the pots like we use on the coal stove.
- Int. : No more three-legged pots?
- V.F. : No, they do, but not as much. You know they cook more on the primus and on stoves but ocoh, at one time there were no stoves, there were no primuses, no nothing -- they didn't want those. They just wanted the three-legged pot.

ARTHUR SCHULTZ

- Int. : Where were you born?
- A.S. : In King William's Town.
- Int. : And where did you live? Did you live in King William's Town for some time?
- A.S. : Yes, for quite a time, for schooling in King William's Town, and from there, in 1930-1931, I started as an assistant in the Middeldrift area.
- Int. : For whom did you work?
- A.S. : For Mr. Kreush in the Middeldrift area and from there I moved up -- I worked there till about 1935 and from there I went up to Transkei and worked there till the outbreak of war. After that, when I came back from the Army in 1945 (I was demobbed in 1946) we purchased a place close to Pirie Dam and we stayed there for 16 years. As a matter of fact, I still have the place; it still belongs to me.
- Int. : Is there still a store there?
- A.S. : There's still a store there and it's being occupied by a Bantu. I had a European tenant but it's now being occupied by a Bantu.
- Int. : So have you hired it out directly, not through the Trust?
- A.S. : No, I hired it directly to the Bantu. I think it is one of the only stores at present which is owned by a European in that area, stretching from the Pirie right through to Middeldrift which is all a Native Reserve area now, at present.
- Int. : And how long has he had the store?
- A.S. : Two years.
- Int. : And how do you find he's managing?
- A.S. : Very well. He's doing very well, and also with the upkeep of the homestead, and that. He's looking after it very well; he's a very capable man.
- Int. : Where does he come from?
- A.S. : From -- I think Mnexsha, around Debe Nek way.

- Int. : Was he trained in a store?
- A.S. : No, I don't know. But he did have a store before he came here, before he took this one over, and he most probably must have had some experience as far as business was concerned, you know.
- Int. : And the stocks, what are they like?
- A.S. : Well, you know, out there where we were, the store he has, it's not a very big shop and one is able to replenish the stocks every week as you go in. So I think he's working on that basis from buying for cash and then replenishing it every week, the same as I did. I used to go in every Wednesday and get as much as I wanted to and by the next week we were sold out already. As a matter of fact, we were rather close to town where the shop is and so we did not sell too much softs. Our main trade was groceries and grains.
- Int. : Did you buy from the Africans?
- A.S. : Yes, we bought wool, we bought hides, skins, and whenever they had a good crop we used to buy mealies. I also invested in a mill -- in a hammer mill -- and we did a lot of milling for them. They used to bring their mealies along and we'd mill it.
- Int. : And then how did you charge them?
- A.S. : I charged them so much by weight, you know.
- Int. : Did you ever find you had to sell back mealies to them -- that they were buying because they needed it for other things?
- A.S. : Yes -- that is their trouble, you know, we found that out so well -- When they've got a bumper crop, they are not inclined to think of the lean years that lie ahead. They sell, and then later on they've got to buy back again.
- Int. : Did you ever advance them credit?
- A.S. : Yes, we did. We worked on quite a big credit system. I found in all my dealings with Africans that they are honest. I've also now in the latter years since I've been here in Berlin. I've dealt with Europeans and my candid opinion is that I would rather deal with "Natives" over and over again than with Europeans.

- Int. : That's very interesting.
- A.S. : If you are a trader in a location, you know what their assets are, you know everything that they own, you're sort of part and parcel of the community, and I found that the majority of them were honest. I believe they're more honest than the Europeans. The part I liked about it, if he was dishonest, you could give him a good talking to, but a European, you can't do that to him, he'll most probably sue you or something to that effect, you know.
- Int. : And what changes have you found over the years, in their needs and their wants?
- A.S. : Well, in the last couple of years, there's been a complete change as far as their buying is concerned and they've become more -- what could you say ...?
- Int. : Westernized?
- A.S. : Westernized than they were before.
- Int. : Do you still find Red Natives there?
- A.S. : Few, very few, not many, not many at all. You find these Natives that are more Europeanized, more civilized, more educated -- in fashion. They sort of wear the tribal dress again but actually they're not dressed as the old ones were at all. No, their customs and that, they've also changed and replaced their different customs too. One has found out, you know, they're becoming more Westernized, very much, like for instance we used to sell so much sheeting -- you hardly see that -- there's red ochre -- bead trade has gone out -- that's very seldom -- I'm speaking in this area -- bead trade has gone -- there's ochre, there's sheeting and oh so many of these things which we used to sell before, they've forgotten.
- Int. : I was going to ask you -- in what way as a trader do you feel you've helped them? What sort of thing?
- A.S. : Well, my policy has always been and I've found that the trader has been a means of bringing in their food -- he's been the adviser. Whenever there's been a complaint, he's been there. You've had to help them with their family problems, everything in general. They turned to the trader. And one thing, if they trust you, you can give -- they'll accept whatever advice you can give.

If they find out you've broken faith with them, it takes a very long time before they trust you, but once they trust you. Out there in the location, just after we were married -- just the wife and I -- I was not afraid at all to leave her there in the location there all alone and to come into town. We trusted them wholly and they accepted us as part of their community.

Int. : Did they ever show this in any other way?

A.S. : Yes, little gifts that were given to us in appreciation and even now, when I've helped out in King William's Town sometimes at different stores, and met these folk, they remember me. They're very friendly, they're very loyal.

My days spent amongst the "Natives" as a trader have been very happy days and I'm quite prepared if I should have my life over again, I still would go trading, I enjoyed it so much. Up in the Transkei, when I was up there, that was in 1935, we were only youngsters then, I was very young, yet, I was not afraid to ride through the locations at night, and that you know, on horseback and that, unarmed. You never thought of any trouble.

Int. : No fear?

A.S. : No, no fear whatsoever.

Int. : And where did you go -- was Pirie your last sort of store or did you go from there ...?

A.S. : From Pirie -- we came here to Berlin.

Int. : So how long have you been retired?

A.S. : We retired -- I think it's about going on for four years.

Int. : What did your dad do in Debe Nek?

A.S. : He was a blacksmith out there.

Mrs. Schultz : -- putting rims onto wagon wheels --

A.S. : Mending ploughshares.

A.S. : When did Selma die?

Mrs Schultz : In 1959.

Int. : And then did you move to Berlin?

- A.S. : Yes, in the village, Berlin Cash Store.
- Int. : And was that more European trade?
- A.S. : No, more "Native" -- 75% "Native" and 25% European.
- Int. : Is it still like that?
- A.S. : Yes, I think so but it's the "Natives" in the village. In the town there is a different type of "Native" to the one in the location altogether. And I expected them to be more cheeky, but I've found them very civil, but they're not as trustworthy. The thing is, you've got no idea where they stay in a village. In a location you know every family, every child and every fowl and every dog and everything they own -- now here you don't again and that's what the big difference is. They come to you for whatever help, and that's what amazes me now. I often wonder what is going to happen up in the Transkei when starvation sets in. Because up there it was quite a natural thing for the trader to carry his customer for three or four years, to see him through a bad period, you know, and then he would send him off to the mines and he would gradually work off his debt that way.
- Int. : But here they don't give any credit?
- A.S. : No, they really can't afford, with that type of "Native".

The Bantu trader has not got the means to carry them over and that is a big thing -- they don't trust one another. But the big thing is their finance -- they are not able to carry them over a period. For instance, I had one case of a family there whose son was circumcised and I gave them credit and they never paid. About eight years later he came back from the mines (he had gone up after being circumcised.) He went up to the mines and he came back only eight years later and so his mother came and paid the debt for the circumcision. She didn't think it was anything out of the ordinary that she had kept the money for eight years, so she was quite prepared to ask for further credit. So you could never say that your debt -- bad debt -- a certain amount, all the time, we were there I'm certain after how many years we were there -- 16 -- there wasn't much bad debt which I had to write off there. One always traced it up, as a matter of fact after I had left there, some even came and paid here, at Berlin.

Int. : Do you think they still -- the child or the son going to work -- does he still come back and worry to pay up the debts?

A.S. : No -- well if they've got a family, because there are many stores that exist upon registered post -- they send the money back. But I'm certain of one thing and that is that the younger generation when they come back, they come back with all the different things, you know, clothing and things like that -- they're inclined to waste their money.

Fingo locations -- they would consist mostly of Fingos and I found out in my experience that the Fingos are more industrious than the Xhosa. He's not as lazy as the Xhosa. Yet, he is looked down upon, the Fingo -- we've found that out. They were the tribe that sided together with the British at the time when there was trouble -- and there's still that feeling. As a matter of fact a couple of weeks ago I had some work to do here and I was working with some "Natives" and listening to their talk and they were running down the Fingo -- the Fingo to them is sort of an underdog -- he's not of the same status as the Xhosa because he helped the European at the time when they had different wars here.

They had beautiful crops out where we were there. As for their lands -- they work them better. When you looked at their lands you know, they worked them ever so much better.

Once upon a time many years ago the Bantu was judged by his stock, by his cattle. Now he's become conscious of accumulating -- of banking his money, a thing which he did not do. He didn't trust the bank first -- now we find that they're running banking accounts. I think that has also been put down to stock reduction since the trust has taken over -- we find now that they're running banking accounts.

Int. : That's interesting.

A.S. : My family came out with the German settlers on my mother's and on my father's side.

Int. : What was your mother's maiden name?

A.S. : Neumann.

Int. : And when did they come out? -- You don't know -- but was it the time of the Crimean War? Did it go back as far as that?

A.S. : No -- I think it was later than that they must've
come out -- My great-grandfather that settled
here in Breidbach he had land there.

Int. : On your father's side?

A.S. : On my father's side. Mom's family settled
out at Hanover.

University of Cape Town

JACK SHAP OF NGWENIA

- J.S. : I arrived here with my mother in June 1916.
- Int. : When did your Father come to South Africa?
- J.S. : He arrived in 1913. There weren't very many opportunities for a man to make a living in America and he decided to join his younger brother in South Africa. He had a trading station and my father and your Father joined Uncle Charlie.
- Int. : Where was the trading station?
- J.S. : At Ngwenia. I was eight years old at the time he emigrated to South Africa. My father had by that time left his brother and joined a storekeeper in King William's Town, where we remained for two years. In 1918 my uncle decided that he wanted to open up another business in the Middel drift district and my father bought the shop that my uncle had vacated, and the same year we made our home at Ngwenia.
- Int. : What were your first impression?
- J.S. : You know, as a child I don't remember what my impressions were, but it seemed to be a good trading station and my people were very happy.
- Int. : Who were your nearest neighbours?
- J.S. : Mr. Schultz had a trading station four miles away at Keiskamma River. When they arrived there all the natives wore red dress. Later on they became dress conscious and bought dress material and we called them the "dressed native".
- Int. : Did you supply them with any of the original clothing they wore?
- J.S. : Yes -- we sold blankets and also "kaffir" sheeting which they dyed with yellow and red ochre.
- Int. : Were they fussy about the kind of blanket they wore?
- J.S. : Yes, the women bought a particular type of blanket, a white blanket with a black stripe. They also bought "kaffir" sheeting from us which they made into blankets to put over their clothing.

- Int. : What did the men wear?
- J.S. : The men wore blankets, the particular type of blanket, inquba indoda. These were white. They were made of wool with a thin black and blue design on it. These they took home and dyed as well, also with the red and yellow ochre.
- Int. : Where did they get the ochre?
- J.S. : We supplied them -- the red ochre stone was a fine consistency and together with the yellow ochre stone was turned to powder and they used it as their dye.
- Int. : But what did they wear before they wore blankets?
- J.S. : Before the blanket era, they had skirts made out of hides -- they tanned these themselves.
- Int. : Where did you get the red and yellow ochre?
- J.S. : We got it from Peddie. The farmers there used to bring round an ox wagon load of red ochre.
- Int. : How did their dress habits change?
- J.S. : Well, they became very dress conscious. First they bought the blue print, and made themselves skirts and blouses, they also wore a headdress made out of Melton cloth.
- Int. : I also remember they smoked long pipes.
- J.S. : Both the men and women smoked pipes with very long stems. These pipes were made out of a certain wood, all hand-made and hand-carved.
- Int. : I suppose the tobacco you supplied.
- J.S. : Yes, we supplied them "kaffir" tobacco and cut up tobacco.
- Int. : Weren't they fond of the chew tobacco?
- J.S. : Well, another item which was sold in great quantities was called the Boer tobacco, in other words the twist tobacco.
- Int. : They didn't smoke this?
- J.S. : No, they just chewed it.

- Int. : We forgot about the men -- how did their clothing habits change?
- J.S. : The men, after they had divested themselves of blankets, wore trousers, mainly khaki, and khaki shirts.
- Int. : And where did you get all your supplies from?
- J.S. : Well, we were supplied by a firm called James W. Weir, with the blueprints, the trousers, the shirts and the shoes. Another thing they never wore when we came there, was shoes. They walked barefeet.
- Int. : How did they get the supplies to you?
- J.S. : We were 300 yards from Ngwenia siding and all the goods were shipped from King William's Town and offloaded at Ngwenia.
- Int. : Wasn't it known as the pumpkin train?
- J.S. : Yes, this was what was known as the pumpkin train.
- Int. : Wasn't that in 1906?
- J.S. : Long before, the train line between King William's Town and Somerset East was laid in about 1900.
- Int. : As early as that? And foodstuffs, what sort of food did you supply?
- J.S. : They bought mostly bread flour, sugar, tea, coffee. Their basic diet was mealies and mealie meal, which they bought either by the bag or in smaller quantities.
- Int. : How did the Africans grind their mealies?
- J.S. : They had a flat stone and a round stone with which they would grind the mealies into mealie meal. Another great thing was the "kaffir beer" which was made by the womefolk from "kaffircorn" and mealie meal.
- Int. : And did they grow the "kaffircorn" themselves?
- J.S. : They grew the "kaffircorn" themselves, it was a very fertile area at that time, and we bought hundreds of bags of "kaffircorn" and mealie meal from them on the barter system.

- Int. : When did the barter system stop and the cash system start?
- J.S. : ... Around about 1929, we received a letter from the magistrate of Middeldrift requesting us, that instead of bartering their products and exchange them for clothing, etc., we should pay them with cash. I think most of the traders fell in with the idea and started paying cash for their fowls, eggs, wool, mealies, hides and skins ... Gradually they began to buy tinned foods and the mealies were manufactured by a miller into mealie meal, samp and mealie rice. Their utensils were a three-legged iron pot referred to as a "kaffir" pot.
- Int. : In the beginning they only had the "kaffir" pot. What did they use to mix their food with?
- J.S. : A stick, and then later on they bought big spoons.
- J.S. : The native lived in circular kaffir huts.
- Int. : What were they made of?
- J.S. : They were made of mud bricks -- they baked them in the sun. We used to supply them with a circular conical galvanised top and the rest was made of thatch from the grass which they cut in the mountains. The floors were stamped down hard and on top of this they smeared cow dung.
- Int. : What did they sleep on?
- J.S. : They slept on a rushes. They used to buy ordinary Jasper blankets, which were grey and blue, for sleeping.
- Int. : And later did you sell them beds?
- J.S. : Yes, beds and mattresses.
- Int. : Pots and kettles and kitchen utensils?
- J.S. : Yes.
- Int. : And radios?
- J.S. : Eventually they had portable radios but that was not until 1936.

- Int. : Did you have any assistants?
- J.S. : Yes, a Bantu by the name of Cecil joined me in 1930. We had donkeys and he used to herd them for me, or my parents I should say, and later when he became an um-khwetha he left them for a year, and came back and actually when we left, he had worked for us for 35 years.
- Int. : When did you leave?
- J.S. : In 1971.
- J.S. : In 1970, I took him to the Xhosa Development Corporation and I recommended that they buy the shop for him.
- Int. : Did they actually buy the shop.
- J.S. : Yes, they paid me out for the shop and the goods that I had.

University of Cape Town

MORRIS SHAPIRO

- Int. : Where were you born?
- M.S. : I was born in Lithuania in 1898. I grew up there until the age of 16, and then I emigrated to South Africa. That's quite a unique story, because I had a sister in South Africa and I had a sister in America. Both wanted me to come to them. I told them - "Whoever sends me the money first, I will go to". So I got the money from Merrill, from South Africa, on a Saturday and the week after I got the money from America. Now I promised myself to go to where I got the money first, so I had to send the other money back. So I came out to South Africa. Of course, we were not registered in Lithuania, because of the Military Service - they used to leave the children un-registered so they are not known about. I had no passport, so I had to cross the border illegally. Eventually I came to South Africa and I came to the Trading Station about 8 miles outside Middledrift - called "Gaga".
- Int. : Who was on the trading station?
- M.S. : My sister and her husband, and the children.
- Int. : What was their name?
- M.S. : Philip Cohen.
- Int. : Is that Mendel's father?
- M.S. : Yes.
- Int. : Did you work there?
- M.S. : I worked there in the shop. My first language I learned was Xhosa, and in the house we used to speak Yiddish. After about a year, Merrill felt that I should learn to speak English. So I went to work for my cousin (Philip's brother) in King William's Town.
- Int. : Did he also have a trading store?
- M.S. : He had a shop in town. There I mixed with the European boys and so on and there I learned to speak English.
- Int. : What sort of trade were they doing?
- M.S. : They were doing just the general dealer's trade, but it was in town, it wasn't like a trading store. I'd been with them for about two years, and then I went to work for another firm. I worked there for a while and then my cousin came to see me. We were both from Lithuania - the whole family -

there were two families, our family and their family. They were in Johannesburg and we were in East London, and we never knew each other until one day we met one of the family. Then we started corresponding and visiting each other and when I was in Johannesburg, I met my late wife - she was a cousin of mine.

Int. : What was her maiden name?

M.S. : Nechamma Slayne. I worked until we decided to get married. I had no money so Philip lent me £70 and with that I got married and I bought a business in the Transkei - a trading station.

Int. : What was the name of the shop?

M.S. : It was called Sefulundela.

Int. : Has that got a meaning?

M.S. : I don't know - it was just some name. It was a tiny little shop, a tiny little house. It had a small kitchen, a small dining room and a small bedroom and a shop and a store, and we were very happy there, because we were busy and doing fairly well. I managed to pay my debts and save up some money. When Benny was born, accommodation was very restricted - we had to put a cot in and we had no room to put a cot in. But the main reason for us leaving there was because of conditions - we were afraid of anything happening to the child.

Int. : You also said you couldn't get there?

M.S. : We couldn't get there by anything but horseback or ox-wagon - when we bought goods they had to come by ox-wagon - there was no other transport.

Int. : How long did it take you to get to King William's Town by ox-wagon?

M.S. : No, no, we went as far as the station, it's only about 8 miles - to King William's Town. I used to go by train. We didn't know exactly what to do when we got into town. I mean, I had no trade or anything like that. I would say, out of a mistake, I was in King William's Town and I bought 3 bales of material, and I paid 2½d a yard, and I brought it out to our trading station and we found we could not sell it - nobody would buy it. We didn't know what to do with it, we could not afford to speculate with it - we had to have the money. So my wife had experience in sewing and so on, so we decided we were going to make shirts out of it. Of course, we started to make shirts,

and we managed to sell it, and then we cut it all up. We had poor whites living next door and I used to pay them to make up the shirts and give them to travellers to sell. And that gave us the idea that we were going to open a clothing factory. So we managed to get a buyer for the business and we came to East London, and I went to Cape Town and I bought machinery and we started our clothing factory. But the capital we had was not enough to run a factory and we were in big trouble until one of my friends came to me and said "Look, I've sold my business, do you think I can join you in this factory?" I said, "Well, you can if you have money" and eventually about three or four other friends joined me and we formed a company and we started manufacturing clothing. Of course, we had very little experience, and we had to kind of learn to do it. But eventually we worked up a very good name for our clothing because we were making full sizes and people liked our goods.

- Int. : Is it mainly the African trade?
- M.S. : Mainly the African trade, but Europeans as well. Shirts, trousers and boiler suits and sports coats, all kinds of clothing.
- Int. : And do you sell them to the traders?
- M.S. : We sell them to the traders, but we had to compete with the overseas market because there are no clothing manufacturers, or very few, in South Africa. We had no Manufacturers' Association so that we could claim some protection. But after a few years, other manufacturers started making clothing and we applied for a protection, which is a duty protection. It made things better. But our best time we had was during the war when we had Government contracts and competition was not so severe, and that's when we started to make a bit of money. But because of our boys not entering the business, we had to decide whether we were going to enlarge it or give it up. Because we had to spend a lot of money on it and we were both elderly, we thought well, we won't spend any money because we might have to get rid of it in a few years' time and we won't get our money back. And we decided there and then (that was 1959) and we sold our business at the end of 1959 on condition that I stayed for a few years with the new fellow just to help and re-organise. And after three years we decided to settle in East London and to retire. So my wife and I went overseas and I opened a small business in East London.

- Int. : What sort of business?
- M.S. : I opened a wholesale business, very small one, selling mostly clothing, but I didn't make the clothing. I used to buy the clothing from my other factory. I had a friend managing Pacamac - I think it's a well-known name and they had a small clothing factory and they used to always ask me to come and help him with "this machine, and this and that" and eventually he took me to join him full time - so I was back in the factory but not actually manufacturing, I was on the development section - my duty was to create new things and make new things and think of new things and so on.
- Int. : It must have been very stimulating.
- M.S. : Yes, it was, very - I enjoyed those 11 years very much because I made a lot of gadgets and methods -
- Int. : Like what?
- M.S. : Time saving devices, and I travelled around a lot, because I used to go every year overseas and I only left them at the end of the year and now I have developed a medical stretcher.

MEYER SHERMAN

- Int. : What is your name?
- M.S. : My name is Sherman.
- Int. : When were you in the Ciskei?
- M.S. : The Ciskei today consists of King William's Town, Mount Coke area, and Debe Nek, Middledrift and all those areas.
- Int. : Where did you live?
- M.S. : I lived in Kei Road which is not part of the Ciskei - I don't think so.
- Int. : When did you come to Kei Road?
- M.S. : To Kei Road I came in 1913 - straight from overseas.
- Int. : Where were you born?
- M.S. : I was born in Lithuania, in a town called Zenelis.
- Int. : Am I rude if I ask you what year you were born?
- M.S. : Not at all - I was born in 1900. I was 13 when I got here. I came with my late mother, my brother, and my late sister.
- Int. : Where was your father?
- M.S. : He was at Kei Road. My father came to this country in 1905.
- Int. : Did he go straight to Kei Road?
- M.S. : No, he was near Keiskammahoek, at a place called Mnxesha.
- Int. : Did he have a store there?
- M.S. : Yes, he had a store.
- Int. : Did he go to somebody or what made him go there?
- M.S. : The store just became available.
- Int. : What made him leave Lithuania?
- M.S. : That's a long story - I don't know if we can go into that.
- Int. : Just give me an inkling of it.
- M.S. : The wars that were then pending between Russia and Japan or something like that - he didn't want

to go to war and he thought he had better go away.

- Int. : What made him decide to come to South Africa?
- M.S. : Because he had a brother-in-law here, a man by the name of Gell.
- Int. : Where did he live?
- M.S. : In Kingwilliamstown.
- Int. : Did he also have a store?
- M.S. : No, he was a produce merchant - buying and selling produce, mealies, eggs and stuff like that. He was a miller - he bought a mill.
- Int. : How did Mr. Gell go about his business - buying his produce?
- M.S. : I don't know how he went about his business but I know he sold to merchants and to shops -- the produce he was milling and the malt.
- Int. : And your father?
- M.S. : My father was a pure shopkeeper.
- Int. : You said that he started in Mnxesha?
- M.S. : I don't know where he started, but he was at Kei Road, and he went away from Kei Road. He went to Mnxesha for a short while and he came back to Kei Road.
- Int. : Your first memories of the shop are at Kei Road?
- M.S. : Kei Road - I don't know any other places.
- Int. : Can you tell me a little bit about what the shop looked like, what he sold?
- M.S. : What the shop looked like is impossible to describe. It was a wood and iron building. He sold blankets, sugar, coffee and tea and all the different native articles and all that sort of thing.
- Int. : Did you buy from the natives as well?
- M.S. : We bought a little produce from them, such as skins, hides, mealies. You re-sell it again.
- Int. : Do you remember, apart from the buying and selling, any incident which makes you feel that

that your father contributed something to the area?

- M.S. : Well, the little village was a very small one. The only thing that kept the village alive was a wagon-building factory, run by R.G. Ristow and Company.
- Int. : Was there any incident which you can recall where you felt you were of particular assistance to the Africans?
- M.S. : To the Africans, no - there weren't many Africans in the village. Mainly farmers, and the "natives" who were working on the farms. That was the business that came into the shop. There was nothing in the village itself.
- Int. : In their dealings with you, didn't they ever come because they were ill?
- M.S. : Yes, they used to come in because their child was coughing and they wanted cough mixtures or - "my child was sneezing - can I get some sneezing drops" - or something like that. We would sell it to them and tell them it was good, it would help. It used to help and they were very thankful.
- Int. : How long was your father at Kei Road?
- M.S. : He was there for many years - I can't remember the actual years he was there. He gave up business in 1938 or '39.
- Int. : And then did he go to East London?
- M.S. : Then he went to settle in East London. He came to live with me for a little while and then he went to live on his own.
- Int. : Did he work?
- M.S. : No, he retired.
- Int. : And you, Mr. Sherman?
- M.S. : I was a rolling stone - I was all over the show.
- Int. : What was your interest?
- M.S. : I was a shopkeeper, pure and simple. I didn't have a shop then and there; I used to work there and all over the show.
- Int. : At which trading stores?

- M.S. : I can't remember. I worked at Kei Road.
- Int. : Did you work in the shop at Kei Road as well?
- M.S. : Yes, I helped my dad work in the shop.
- Int. : And your brother?
- M.S. : My brother ran the hotel at Kei Road. He was looking after that. He was working for a person by the name of Mrs. King.
- Int. : Did you ever assist your African customers in any way?
- M.S. : They would like me to keep some of their money - not for interest purposes because they wanted to put it away to buy something. They used to do that, but it was very seldom.
- Int. : Was there any recruiting of natives - for the mines?
- M.S. : No, we never had any recruiting. Purely the natives in the shop. They would come and buy. We lived in a village which had a Village Management Board and my father was on the Village Management Board.
- Int. : What was the purpose of the Management Board?
- M.S. : To run the village. It was like a Municipality and that's about all, but there was no recruiting. It wasn't Trust Land. It wasn't settlements where you could go and say - "you aren't doing anything - go and join up and go to the mines".
- Int. : Were there any other shops?
- M.S. : Yes, there were three other shops apart from ours.
- Int. : Do you remember the names?
- M.S. : Yes, I can give you the names. A Mr. Moll, a Mr. Durrheim - I don't remember the other shop where my brother and I used to be. It changed - a lot of people came and a lot of people went.
- Int. : Do you remember anything about this Mr. Durrheim and Mr. Moll?
- M.S. : Mr. Moll was a very nice man. He was also on the Village Management Board. He was Chairman of the Village Management Board.
- Int. : Where did he come from originally?

- M.S. : I think he was born at Kei Road.
- Int. : Do you think his parents came with the 1820 Settlers?
- M.S. : No, no - they're local born people. I knew his late father. Mind you, Mr. W. Moll is also late now. I remember his father - he died a few years after he got to Kei Road - a very big fat man. He was also a baker and we also started baking afterwards. We used to bake our own bread and sell the bread.
- Int. : It wasn't an easy life.
- M.S. : It wasn't an easy life. Get up at four o'clock in the morning to bake the bread.
- Int. : And ginger beer?
- M.S. : And ginger beer plenty - we used to make our own ginger beer also. We used to make our own malt- Mtomba. We used to do that ourselves, put it in boxes, cover it over with wet bags, and see that it grew - ferment. It was a lonely life. We used to enjoy it nevertheless. We were happy because we didn't know any better. When we went to King William's Town, what did we see? Nothing very much except for a bioscope, a football match, a cricket match, but nothing any more than that. We were quite happy with the life we lived at Kei Road.
- Int. : Did you often go into King William's Town?
- M.S. : Every second weekend.
- Int. : You must have known some of the traders there as well.
- M.S. : The shopkeepers, plenty - you want the names - Mr. Childekerl, Mr. Navra, Mr. Sam Wilken - the Edelsteins - a Mr. Zelman, who had a shop at Mount Coke - and the late Mr. I. Wilkens.
- Int. : Did they all have shops?
- M.S. : Yes, they all had shops.
- Int. : What did they mainly deal with?
- M.S. : They dealt with the natives who came to town, they also used to do a little wholesaling to the shops in the country.
- Int. : Did you have to come into town to get your goods?

- M.S. : No, we used to get travellers coming out to us. For instance, suits we wore, the same probably as we wear now, the styles were different, of course, but we dressed the same way.
- Int. : What about the clothing you sold to the Africans?
- M.S. : There were the Red Natives - they wore mostly red dress - it was made out of linen - "ibhayi" they called it. They'd paint it and dye it, with red ochre - that we used to sell a lot of. And blankets, they used to wear the ordinary blankets.
- Int. : What about German Print?
- M.S. : That was for the women who were more educated - they used to buy the print and make dresses out of it.
- Int. : And foods?
- M.S. : Their main staple diet was mealies, supplemented by not much bread, mainly sugar, coffee, tea.
- Int. : You said you were millers also.
- M.S. : Not me, my late uncle was a miller in King William's Town. The people used to bring mealies to him to grind. Or he used to buy maize from the farmers, and he would grind it and sell the mealie-meal.
- Int. : And medicines? What sort of medicines did you have in the shop?
- M.S. : Mainly patent medicines made by Lennons Ltd. and somebody else, who made it in the same style. Lennons had a very large variety and the natives used to go in for that and Chamberlain's Cough Mixture, Chamberlain's Diarrhoea Mixture - Wood's Peppermint Cure - what you would fancy.
- Int. : I also remember the Chew Tobacco.
- M.S. : Chew Tobacco - yes, yes, that in my time was beginning to fade out. As I grew older they stopped taking this Chewing Tobacco - it became a thing of the past. Although there are a lot of them that still use it, but not many. A lot of them used it for drying and making smoking tobacco and snuff, because it is very strong. The women used to smoke long pipes - they used to rest on their toes - as long as that - and the barrel - the bowl - of the pipe was round about 6" - 9" high. They used to sit and smoke and spit and make a mess of the floor, and what could you do?

- Int. : Did your Dad have any assistants?
- M.S. : No, he worked all on his own. My late Mother used to help a little bit, look after the place when he was out. I used to be there, but mainly he was by himself.
- Int. : To whom did he sell it?
- M.S. : Actually, he didn't sell it, my brother took it over and he sold it and when my Father passed away it became an estate and it was sold.
- Int. : You don't know who bought it?
- M.S. : I can't remember the name.
- Int. : Were there any other trading store in the vicinity?
- M.S. : There used to be a shop at Peelton about nine miles away from Kei Road.
- Int. : Who ran it?
- M.S. : I can't remember, there were so many different people - a German chap. Then there was one very near Yellowwood, near King William's Town, that used to be run by a relation of ours, Cohen. Do you realise, in Johannesburg, in the early years, there were people walking about practically penniless, Yiddishe boys -
- Int. : Was that why they looked elsewhere?
- M.S. : A lot of them came here and went elsewhere, because there wasn't anything they could do. They worked in "Kaffir eating houses" - what did they earn? £5 for three months, and if they started to speak, to ask for more - "I have a wife and children and I have to feed them - I have to have money to send away" - "There is a ship coming into Cape Town next week with a lot of immigrants" - they used to threaten them and they quietened down. A lot of them said "All right, to hell with you, take others, we'll look for something else" and they went, and found things.
- It was a hard life in Johannesburg in the early years, in the early century.
- We used to have two people in the early years in Johannesburg - a man by the name of Diamond - they would sit down to discuss the olden days - "how they lived, how they managed, how they ate, here a little, there a little", picking up stubs and stompies to smoke - they didn't have to buy cigarettes.

In King William's Town and East London, people at least had something to eat. Here some of them didn't have anything to eat, if their friends didn't give them. A hard life, in this respect, no entertainment, no enjoyment, loneliness. You stayed in the shop the whole day, went into the house in the evening, ate your supper, perhaps sat and read a paper, if you managed to get one, and went to bed and the same thing -- and that was "ad infinitum" as they say -- never ending. Always the same. All right, in Johannesburg we would go and see the bioscope, also not very much in the early century -- it wasn't much.

Int. : But they had each other.

M.S. : They knew each other. Some came from the same little town and they would sit and play cards and entertain each other. But there they didn't have that sort of business. Still, we had a little chance because it was a little village. You could get a few people coming in to speak to you. But you in Debe Nek, you had nobody. I knew Debe Nek, what was Debe Nek? A hotel, a station, a shop, that's all. A very lonely life. In the early years it was very hard. There were little townships in the Free State. There were five or six families in the countryside -- why did they run away? Only because of the children -- if it wasn't for the fact that the children were growing up they might have stayed.

SOLLY SHERMAN

- Int. : When were you first resident in the Ciskei, Mr. Sherman?
- S.S. : Well, I should say from 1913.
- Int. : And how long were you there for?
- S.S. : I was there off and on until 1956.
- Int. : Did you have a trading store?
- S.S. : We had a trading store. I was in partnership with my brother for a short time -- we traded as Sherman Bros., in Kei Road you see. Then he left and I carried on alone 'till 1926. 1926 I sold out -- and I went and worked in Berlin.
- Int. : Also a trading store?
- S.S. : Also a trading store -- a man by the name of Schwartz. I was there for five months and then I came back to Kei Road and went to manage a hotel for an old elderly widow, and I was there 'till the end of 1937, and then I went to the Transkei.
- Int. : Also trading?
- S.S. : Also trading, and I traded in the Transkei until 1944. Then my father left to retire and I took over.
- Int. : Where? In Kei Road?
- S.S. : In Kei Road. I took his business over -- I stayed there until the end of 1956, when I went to East London, and I worked in East London for 11 years.
- Int. : So you've had long experience in trading?
- S.S. : No, I wasn't trading then, I was selling motor cars.
- Int. : No, but in Kei Road -- you had a long time of trading experience. Can you give me a picture of the shop in Kei Road, the sort of things you sold, what it looked like --

- S.S. : When we first came to Kei Road there was a trader Schmidt. He was a general dealer and baker, and my father of course. There were four shops altogether.
- Int. : What did your shop look like?
- S.S. : Well, it wasn't much to look at. The house and shop were all wood and iron.
- Int. : Attached to each other?
- S.S. : Oh yes, the door opened into the dining room, where the shop could be watched while the shopkeeper was eating.
- Int. : Yes, and what sort of things did you buy and sell?
- S.S. : Everything, foodstuffs, you know, mealie meal, mealies, and of course general merchandise, matches, paraffin, and tobacco.
- Int. : In what way did the things you sold change over the years?
- S.S. : I don't think there were was any change, really.
- Int. : But at the time you came, the sort of thing the African bought what he spent, how he spent it.
- S.S. : Well, in that respect I can tell you -- when we first came, the Native, the Xhosa, he was more uneducated, they wore red blankets and things like that. As time went on, you know, with schooling and all that, they gradually started to change to prints, and dresses. German print, yes, Tudor print it was called in those days. It was German print before the first World War. But after the war it was all English. It was still called German print but it mostly came from England and was called Tudor -- the best was Tudor.
- Int. : And the type of blanket they bought?
- S.S. : The type of blanket they bought -- they bought ordinary white blankets and painted them with red ochre -- what they called Cape Whitney blankets.
- Int. : And what was the difference -- did they use them for different things?
- S.S. : Yes, yes -- they had to wear a blanket with a black stripe, pure wool it had to be.

- Int. : Was there any reason for this?
- S.S. : I really can't say, but it was part of their custom and the Cape Whitney blanket of course was used for wearing generally.
- Int. : As a cloak?
- S.S. : Yes, over the shoulders, you know or to sleep under -- they also bought cotton blankets, red, white cotton blankets -- they came red from the factory.
- Int. : And what did the women wear?
- S.S. : The women wore dresses made of -- well, it depends. In the Ciskei they wore a sheeting -- what they called "Kaffir" sheeting, and they wore it with braid, you know, black braid.
- Int. : And they also dyed it?
- S.S. : Yes, those they dyed red, you see and over the shoulders they wore the blanket. Now in Pondo=land, it was the reverse -- they wore the blanket as a dress and the ibhayi over the shoulders.
- Int. : Oh, very interesting -- and what else, beads, bangles --
- S.S. : Yes, all sorts of beads, all sorts of handkerchiefs.
- Int. : The handkerchiefs were used for what? Ornamental?
- S.S. : Well, ornamental -- you know it would really take weeks to tell you all the different kinds of "doeks" they wore, the red and the blue, the big handkerchiefs they were about 24" square. They bought black, red, green --
- Int. : What was the ilema for?
- S.S. : Only the mature woman wore that -- they wore that for going to church. For them it was a ceremonial dress, you see, as far as I know, I'm not an expert.
- Int. : And by the time you left? I mean they must've been buying different things?
- S.S. : Oh yes, well they gradually changed, from time to time, the "red" ones on the farms, of course they remained and there are even today quite a few "reds".

- Int. : Now you once mentioned to me that you knew Chief Matanzima, the Paramount Chief of the Transkei?
- S.S. : Yes.
- Int. : What are your early memories of him?
- S.S. : Well, I remember him as a boy, he was still at school when I first got to the Transkei, either at Lovedale or Fort Hare, taking his B.A. or something like that, and then I was there when he was installed as Chief in 1940. He was installed by the chief magistrate of the Transkei.
- Int. : Tell me about the time when they tried to abduct a Xhosa girl.
- S.S. : What do you want to know that for? All I can tell you is -- oh, this is a long story -- you know in the Transkei they were all still very red when I was there, that is to say they were not dressed Natives, they were not "school Natives". But there was a school and several attended. This girl happened to be coming from school you see when she was abducted, that is ukuthwala. Well, of course I wasn't used to their customs, you know, I was a new-comer to the Transkei and I thought it was terrible, and I called on them to release the girl -- the father wasn't very willing as he'd got cattle and sheep for her but eventually I prevailed upon the magistrate (I can't remember the name of the magistrate). He eventually got the girl released. I sent for Chief Matanzima and told him what I thought of it and at first he was quite reluctant to interfere, he said it was part of the custom of his people.
- Int. : And what happened?
- S.S. : But eventually I prevailed upon them to release her.
- Int. : How old was she?
- S.S. : I don't think she was more than about 16.
- Int. : And can you remember any other incident where you feel as traders you helped the people?
- S.S. : Well, we did our best for them of course, commensurate with our financial ability you know, to give them the credit they required and lend them the money they wanted or something like that.

- Int. : But can you remember any incidents?
- S.S. : We always kept medicine, you know, and if someone came and said somebody was very ill and this was wrong and that was wrong, we gave them medicine. I can remember a medicine called Boss. It was sold in big brandy bottles, you know the size of brandy bottles, and that was supposed to be a cure for everything, it was made by a Mr. Richards, a chemist in Idutywa, he was the manufacturer. All the traders sold it, and I tell you, it was considered to be a cure for all ills.
- Int. : Do you remember any pedlars?
- S.S. : Yes, Franz Ginsberg. He started as a pedlar.
- Int. : Is that so? Peddling what?
- S.S. : Peddling paraffin boxes, eggs, they used to buy it on the market and hawk it, you know, from house to house. Also Mr. Malcomess was a pedlar.
- Int. : Mr. Ginsberg had a factory, didn't he, a candle factory?
- S.S. : Yes, soap and candles.
- Int. : And Mr. Malcomess?
- S.S. : Malcomess is still in existence, selling agricultural machinery; they all started more or less as pedlars.
- Int. : Did they peddle in the towns or did they go to the farmers in the country?
- S.S. : I don't think they went to the farmers as far as I know. They were mostly in towns. Quite a lot of them started that way, there were the Katz's and Rabinowitz's in East London, they started also that way. Bags, bottles, they bought, paraffin tins and things like that -- and eventually became wholesale merchants in quite a big way.
- Int. : Can you describe the life as you saw it, in Kei Road, your own life, how did you feel about it?
- S.S. : Well, of course, we were children when we came there, we couldn't speak English.
- Int. : Did you speak Yiddish?

- S.S. : Yiddish, yes, very well and German very well.
- Int. : And then I suppose you learned Xhosa?
- S.S. : Xhosa we learned before we could speak English. You know the village was quite gay in those days, you know, it was quite a handsome village, you see, and the farmers were very prosperous.
- Int. : And the travellers who called on you? Do you remember any of them?
- S.S. : I don't remember much about them, there used to be, yes, but I can't remember their names. There was one particular one from J.W. Weir and Co. was a very great friend of mine but I cannot think of his name.
- Int. : And I believe you played a big part in the village management board, is that right?
- S.S. : Yes, well, my father before me of course.
- Int. : What was he?
- S.S. : We were just ordinary members, we didn't take any executive positions.
- Int. : But you helped in the running of the place.
- S.S. : Yes, everyone did their bit you know, my dad was on the board, for many many years, I was on the board from 1944 to 1969.
- There was a clinic at Kei Road.
- Int. : For the Africans?
- S.S. : Yes, mostly for Africans, they attended to whites as well but mainly it was meant to be for Africans. We had living in Kei Road in those days a man by the name of Rose Innes, Col. Rose Innes, you know, and he was a retired surgeon. He practised at Oxford at one time. He came to South Africa because he had TB. And he retired to Kei Road and we were very great friends. And then he had a great friend, Lord Nuffield, the late Lord Nuffield and he got a grant from Lord Nuffield for the clinic of £2 500.
- Int. : Isn't that wonderful?

- S.S. : Yes, and we collected the balance and we established it and it's still there and Sister Tolmay is now in charge of the clinic. The clinic runs a van for TB testing, which goes out to the various farms. I still subscribe to it you know.
- Int. : Very nice. Was the Library also started by your management board?
- S.S. : Yes, well it became compulsory you know, all village managements had to provide a library.
- Int. : Do you want to describe any of the shops or were they all the same?
- S.S. : Yes, they were the usual trading stations you know, and houses next to them, some attached, some un-attached, some semi-detached you know, they all had their homesteads.
- Int. : And what about staff for the shops, who helped you?
- S.S. : Assistants, we generally had assistants, my father never had an assistant, I had an assistant after he left -- a small business --
- Int. : Did your mother ever help in the shop?
- S.S. : No, very little. She was never well enough, really.
- Int. : But the other traders -- did their wives play an important role.
- S.S. : Yes, quite a lot of them did -- they still do.
- Int. : And who runs your shop today?
- S.S. : Today it's run by Mr. Webster.
- Int. : Is he still a General Dealer?
- S.S. : Yes, he is still a General Dealer as far as I know. There's also a butcher at Kei Road.
- Int. : How long has he been there?
- S.S. : Oh, many years, I should say from about 1915 or '16. A Mr. Moll started it.
- Int. : Do you remember when the railway line was laid?
- S.S. : The train was there when we got to Kei Road. It was laid in about 1875 or '78 or something like that.

- Int. : And where did it go to?
- S.S. : It went as far as Amabele and of course on towards the north, the branch line from the Transkei to Amabele was opened, I think only in 1912, as far as I can remember. The late Prime Minister, Louis Botha, I think, opened that line. In its early days Kei Road was the rail head for the Transkei. The trains used to come from East London you see and bring the goods as far as Kei Road or in wagons from King William's Town and from then on there was also the post cart. The post cart ran from Kei Road to the Transkei. Kei Road was a very busy place in the early days, that's before we came to Kei Road. In those days the post cart ran from Kei Road right on to Umtata.

We used to have a thing called dula-dula. You gave for three weeks credit a bag of mealies to a native woman and she made beer out of it, and she sold it and kept the profit and paid for the bag of mealies. It was called dula-dula. Now the trader couldn't normally go round collecting the money and some of them couldn't be relied upon to pay it themselves so we appointed agents.

- Int. : What other incidents do you remember?
- S.S. : A man owed my dad about £26. I was a youngster, going to school in those days. This Native jumped off an ox wagon and he fell and the wagon ran over him and killed him, and my father thought, that was the end of his money. And one day, a young native dressed, so that you could see he came straight from the mines, came and said to my dad "Open the book". So my father said "You've got a darn cheek, I'll give you a hiding" and he took the sjambok and wanted to give him a hiding, and he said "No, I want to pay my father's debt" and he told him who he was and he paid the £26. This custom has died out now to some extent but in those days, they believed that the dead wouldn't rest properly unless their debts were squared you see -- Oh, there were numerous incidents, I wish I could think of them.

DAVID TARLOFF

- Int. : When did you first come to this country?
- D.T. : I arrived at the end of December, 1921.
- Int. : How old were you then?
- D.T. : I was ten years of age.
- Int. : And with whom did you come?
- D.T. : I came with my late mother and two sisters.
- Int. : And where was your father then?
- D.T. : My late father was already in Debe Nek.
- Int. : When did he arrive?
- D.T. : He arrived in 1914 - '13 or '14.
- Int. : And did he go straight to Debe Nek?
- D.T. : No, he first traded in King William's Town.
- Int. : In a similar type of trading store?
- D.T. : In a similar type of trading, until he got this business in Debe.
- Int. : Where was he born?
- D.T. : He was born in Russia, in a place called Shebish.
- Int. : From whom did he buy the store?
- D.T. : He didn't buy it: it was hired to him. Actually, it was more of a stable than a shop, attached to a house.
- Int. : What were your first impressions when you came out?
- D.T. : Well, when I first came out and saw my father for the first time, I was ten years - seven years old. We were fetched at Blaney, a stop just before King. I suppose the excitement was so great - I'll never forget when I sat on my father's lap - he said "One day you'll drive a motor car as well" - and it came to pass.
- Int. : You probably went to school in King William's Town.
- D.T. : I went as far as Standard Six.

- Int. : And then did you go straight into the store?
- D.T. : No, I went to work for 30/- a month - for M.B. Cohen at Ntsikizini.
- Int. : How long were you with Mr. Cohen?
- D.T. : I was with him for two years.
- Int. : How old were you then?
- D.T. : I was 16 - I left when I was 18.
- Int. : And you were working at the trading store?
- D.T. : Yes -- and then I went to Pondoland, until 1935. Then I more or less knew what I was doing.
- Int. : And when did you join your Dad?
- D.T. : When my Dad became sick, in 1936 -- I just left everything I had, my portion of the business --
- Int. : Oh, did you own --
- D.T. : No, my Uncle owned it, and I gave him all the shares, the profits and went home. My Dad was very sick. I never lived with him otherwise.
- Int. : I'm very interested about the trading in the store -- can you tell me about it -- give me a picture of it?
- D.T. : Well, the trading store in those days -- things weren't as bright as they were today, because the articles that were bought by the natives were in the penny/ha'penny line -- a penny sugar, ha'penny matches, a penny tobacco -- life was very hard. Competition was very great.
- Int. : And what did you buy from them?
- D.T. : We bought everything they produced -- mealies, all grains, hides and skins, wool -- we bought anything they produced. We were not just traders with the natives -- we were everything to them. We used to take the sick to the hospital -- fetch them. We used to see to the burials, that they got the equipment to bury them, like the planks which they used to make the coffin out of. We used to see that they got the food for the feast after the burial, some were grateful, others took it as if it should be done for them -- everything we had to do for them. They couldn't help themselves to anything in those days. They were very raw. Not like today, where they get ready-made coffins, and things like that.

They used to come along and tell you a long story, that the daughter was going to be married. They wanted cloth, shawls -- it used to be the shawls that they liked -- it was one of the great things when they got married. They would come along, the father and mother of the bride, and they would bring sometimes the bridegroom to arrange how much lobola they should get, and he would give them the cattle. If he didn't have enough cattle, then when the woman had her first child, they would take the child over until he would give the complete lobola, the balance of the lobola. He was asked for eight head of cattle, which was normally the amount, and if he had only four, well, when the child was born, they would take the child home and when he gave the other four beasts, then the child would be returned to the mother and father.

The article that they used to be very fond of, the first thing they would buy -- I'm talking now about the wedding would be the "Kaffir pot", which was very necessary. Then the axe, and the sickle, and the hoe, so when they grew crops they would go and hoe, and they had always that in their huts. Of course, the women were the real workers. They used to see that there was plenty of wood carried into the kraal, they used to see that the huts were the proper shape -- the mud walls - they used to see that the thatch on the roof didn't leak, and they were always busy -- a woman is always busy.

- Int. : And what did the men do?
- D.T. : The men -- they used to get a bit of a crop -- 10-15 bags of mealies. They would come home to reap from work, and they would sit at home until that food was diminished and then they would go back to the shop, where they would get credit on mealies.
- Int. : There you played an important role, in that you had helped them over a bad time.
- D.T. : Yes -- until they went back to work, and if the wife wasn't too honest they would send money in a registered letter to the trader himself. He had to call the wife to show that there was a letter for her, which must be opened in the business. If she owed any money for food, she had to pay then and there.

There was an old African man, by the name of Tzatzezo -- he came to me and said "Baas Tarloff, I'm getting old now -- I've got one daughter, and I would like you to make a will for me". I had a letter written, which was kept by the daughter, which was signed by the father -- not actually signed, it was more crosses than signature. He had married a second wife, and this daughter of his, didn't trust her. So he came and made the will for his daughter. Everything he possessed -- he had an amount in the Post Office -- how many head of cattle and how many head of sheep, how many horses -- was all written down on this piece of paper. The old man signed it, actually a cross, with myself and my wife as witnesses, and we gave the girl this letter, sealed. When he died, which wasn't long after, she received everything her father had owned.

Another instance which I will never forget, concerned a man, who lived about 6 miles away. He owed me, I think it was between £6 and £7. He was dying, and he sent his wife to say I must come to the hut. I put his wife in the lorry and went to this hut. He said "Baas Tarloff, I'm dying" and "Before I die I would like my wife to pay you so that I can settle my account". The following day they fetched his coffin -- and yes, that is Gospel truth.

When I bought my first new motor car, one of the Africans (as we call them today), came along and said "You know, Mr. Tarloff, that front wheel, I paid for".

Int. : You spoke the language very well?

D.T. : Very well, yes, yes.

Int. : When did you sell the shop?

D.T. : Well, Dimbaza grew up very quickly, it's where Green River was, my dear, we had that place as well, and then we had to move out of there. We had to go out of there because they built an enormous dam, and what they bought from us then is till under water -- its never been touched. There came a big rain and they built a 25 foot high wall and it's an enormous dam today for Dimbaza. Everybody sold out and we were left alone.

- Int. : There are no other European traders?
- D.T. : There are, one is at Big End where Ted Bircholtz used to trade, at Keiskamma - do you remember Bennie Goldberg? He traded there. Well, now it's a fellow by the name of Rudolf - he's a young man and he says he can't sell it, he's too young, he's got to work, and his father-in-law is trading where Mr Durrheim used to trade at Peuleni. Just those two - they're about 7 miles apart.
- Int. : Who bought your shop?
- D.T. : The XDC.
- Int. : Who runs the shop now, do you know?
- D.T. : An African, his name is Mr. Mapelo.
- Int. : And where was he trading?
- D.T. : He was trading in Butterworth and when he heard that our trading station was going to be bought by the XDC, he went to see the man that is in the office of buying these trading stations.
- Int. : Do you think he will manage well?
- D.T. : Well, I don't think he will be there by the time I get back to King William's Town. When I started, it was hard in respect that there was no capital, banks were very hard, they wouldn't give you an overdraft. When you could have made a living you didn't have the money to finance it.
- Int. : Yet I've been told that it was easier to live there than in Johannesburg or Cape Town.
- D.T. : Well, I lived in Debe like a king. In a town I would have lived like a mouse. I would have sat in my room and that's all. At least I could walk outside, be free, I've always said I'd rather live in the country like a king, than like a mouse in town.
- Int. : Who helped you to start your business?
- D.T. : Late Mr Radue, Radue & Co and today of course the sons have become very, very big in King William's Town. They've got a most fantastic mill, second to none and of course they rule King, in merchand=ise, food, mealie meal, samp, mealie rice, which they produce there. They are a very, very enormous firm. Well their father lent me £25 to start in Debe Nek. The customers were very difficult, always begging for credit, I

lost fortunes, but I just gave them.

- Int. : But in return they supported you, and you had loyalty?
- D.T. : Well, in their manner they supported me, when it suited them, they weren't true customers.
- Int. : And to think back of how the goods you'd had in the shop when you started, how their needs had changed?
- D.T. : Their whole life changed in the last -- don't let me tell you a lie -- their life changed in the last 15 years. The customs - a lot of customs changed - they didn't buy any of the original custom blankets, when they became an Aba-khwetha.
- Int. : What was the original blanket?
- D.T. : The original blanket used to be what they called "iblanquet", it used to be a beautiful white Waverley with a black stripe. And they had a white Waverley with a purple stripe in it and usually one other stripe in it. The real Xhosa, when he used to become a man after the circumcision, would have to have the white woollen blanket with a black stripe. That was the real Xhosa. The Mfengus used to buy these white blankets with the purple stripe. Each blanket was weighed - if they wanted a big blanket, it was say, a four pound blanket and had four stripes on the edge of the blanket. If they wanted a five and half pound blanket - there were five and a half stripes.
- Int. : What made them want the different sizes?
- D.T. : The height of the person.
- Int. : Why did they change this?
- D.T. : The price of the blankets became so colossal. They used to sell in those days (in today's money) for R3 or R4 -- today a blanket like this can cost up to R20. Whereas a rug -- rugs came in, a cheap rug, a cotton rug, not really woollen rugs --
- Int. : And the colours?
- D.T. : The colours used to be more or less the same, no stripe, just the ordinary colours, just an ordinary rug. The size was a 79 size, for an Aba-khwetha, and that we took on -- the blanket was completely out.

- Int. : What do the women wear?
- D.T. : They wear mostly dresses now. We used to sell ordinary German print, now its called a panel print. Europeans wear it too and that came into fashion. Flannel, flannel, flannel -- they don't buy flannelette any more. Their dresses used to be of calico. We used to sell enormous amounts but today its hardly bought. Everything they like to buy ready made, their panties; their bloomers they used to make themselves, but there's no such thing -- their skirts are ready made, their petticoats, bra's, which we sell a lot -- which before they never used to wear. Children's wear sells very well today. The schools have uniforms of different colours. Around Debe Nek used to be maroon, a royal blue, a sort of light pink and a yellow.
- Int. : And you had to cater for all their needs?
- D.T. : Yes -- then of course the wig came. And that became a master piece for the girls, the young women, the young lady teachers. The price was no obstacle. The longer the hair, the better they suited. And they'd pay R5, R6, R7, R8 for a wig. Of course there were cheaper wigs for the ordinary girls.
- Int. : And the men?
- D.T. : The men wear the same, still the same khaki trousers, khaki shirts.
- Int. : Not a better sports jacket?
- D.T. : No, well you see, for this type of business King was too close and they would go there because of the variety and the price was no object, but the country African he didn't need it.
- Int. : And in food -- did you find a big difference over the years?
- D.T. : Over the years the food changed. They used to buy a lot of fish. Beef too was bought a lot -- it's called bully beef -- of course, bread is what's being bought very much at the moment. Two of three loaves and a lot of milk.
- Int. : Soidid you supply milk as well?
- D.T. : Yes -- we had an enormous fridge.

- Int. : Shopping has changed.
- D.T. : Oh mamma mia -- but they bought the best -- their food habits are changing. The mealie is eaten, but not as it used to be. You know, they used to store away the mealies in the kraal under the kraal manure, well that's been done away with. The food has changed -- they eat better. They buy bigger quantities, there's no more sugar (or 10c sugar) its 25lb and 50lb sugar -- there are no more tickey lines. It's entirely different, and we cater for their needs.
- Int. : And their utensils -- their kitchen utensils?
- D.T. : The "kaffirpot" is still bought for the young woman who gets married but of course a lot of enamelware -- there are no more tin dishes -- you know, we used to sell tin dishes like we used to sell matches. Aluminium pots are bought also, and they buy a better class of spoon -- you know the old spoon used to be of tin that used to rust -- now they buy the nickel-plated that doesn't rust. They buy a better cup -- you know, they don't mind paying 30c, 40c, 50c a cup specially when a girl gets married. Oh, life of the Africans has changed. They don't need each other any more. They buy the best.
- Int. : How else has Debe Nek changed?
- D.T. : Well, the hotel was taken over by an African. This fellow used to be actually an African Lay Preacher and he improved this hotel that it can stand any where in South Africa. He's sort of partly rebuilt the rooms with bathrooms which it never had and changed the whole atmosphere of the hotel.
- Int. : So he made a success of it?
- D.T. : A terrific success. As a European one can really feel proud of that fellow.

WOLF ZASMAN

- Int. : What is your name?
- W.Z. : Wolf Zasman.
- Int. : Where were you born?
- W.Z. : I was born in Lithuania.
- Int. : And when did you come to South Africa?
- W.Z. : I came in 1910.
- Int. : And about how old were you then?
- W.Z. : I was about 12.
- Int. : And where did you come to?
- W.Z. : To my late father.
- Int. : Where was that?
- W.Z. : In East London.
- Int. : And who did you come with?
- W.Z. : I came on my own.
- Int. : Was your mother here already?
- W.Z. : My mother was left at home. The economy was so hard, in Russia -- worse than the natives, we could not get work, we lived in a small place, and we heard of a place, South Africa, where people could earn -- £5 or £10 a month -- there that would have been £5 000. We used to live there on £1 a month -- was a lot of money if you could earn it. It cost £10 to go to South Africa -- if you had £10 you could come here -- there were no permits -- you could just take a ticket and go, but the thing is, who had £10.
- Int. : So where did you get the £10.
- W.Z. : I want to explain -- in my town, I don't think you could find £10 in the whole town.
- Int. : But how did you come here -- how did you get the £10.
- W.Z. : Well, you always find the poor people got big families. So we were the same, we had eight children and you know, eight children, to keep,

it wasn't easy, so we had a friend of ours, he was a bit advanced, and he managed to go to South Africa. Of course being here, he managed to send out our £10 -- it wasn't much you see. So my late mother wrote to him and he sent £10 for my later father to come to East London.

- Int. : And what did he do in East London?
- W.Z. : He opened a shop but what he knew about the shop was as much as I knew about the moon.
- Int. : So what sort of a shop did he have, do you remember?
- W.Z. : He earned a few pounds a month. Of course in those days there was no competition.
- Int. : What did he sell?
- W.Z. : You know, it was a small place, today you find that natives have got bigger shops -- he had a little shop, sugar and coffee and tea, no fancy things, he would take I suppose £100 a month and he would make £30 -- it was a lot of money in those days.
- Int. : So did you go and work in the shop? What did you do when you got here?
- W.Z. : When I got here, I stayed with my late father for a few months and then I wasn't happy, and in those days, to get work was also difficult -- they used to tell us that overseas people are very efficient, not like the South Africans. They are too fancy, they like the football and 10 o'clock their tea. The overseas boys are hard workers. So when I came here, people from King wanted to employ somebody, so somebody recommended me and they got me.
- Int. : Who was the firm?
- W.Z. : Sive. I think they've got some relatives in Johannesburg. I earned £4 a month and everything free -- well to me in those days it was like getting £1 000 a day. £2 I sent home and £1 I saved and £1 I kept for my own expenses. You could buy a nice pair of trousers for 5/-, you could buy a jacket for 10/- and the economy was very strict and we weren't playing with money in those days.
- Int. : So how long did you stay with him?

- W.Z. : I stayed with him for 2 years.
- Int. : And then?
- W.Z. : And I said -- I'm not happy. I want to start on my own, so he said that he had a place -- you must know Mount Coke -- he could hire and he wanted me to be a partner. I said no, I'd rather he paid me a bigger wage and I'd work for him. He said, that he'd prefer a partnership, so I agreed and we opened up as partners. "Sive and Zelman" and I stayed with him for three years, and we made about £600 a year profit.
- Int. : What did you sell there?
- W.Z. : Sugar, and tea and a bit of drapery.
- Int. : And your customers, were they all Africans?
- W.Z. : Oh yes, there were no Europeans in those days. I wasn't comfortable there, I stayed with the owner of that place. I used to pay him rent, £4 a month and I had to stay there and eat there and I wasn't satisfied -- the food didn't agree with me, and the accommodation was uncomfortable. I said "look here, I'm not happy", I said, "if I'm on my own I could build a house but now I can do nothing, I'm handicapped". So he said, "all right, if I pay him", I think it was about £900, "if I pay him out he's prepared to give it to me".
- Int. : So you bought it.
- W.Z. : I didn't have £900 for it. James W. Weir was a very nice man, and a business man -- I used to do a lot business with him. I said "The position is this -- for this I need £900, what can I do?" He said, "You can have it". And he didn't ask for a signature, nothing -- he just said you can have the money.
- Int. : They helped many traders that way.
- W.Z. : So once I found out I could have the money, I went to Mr. Sive and said "listen, I can pay you out". So I paid him £900. It was not an easy task. You see, I couldn't write, I couldn't read, I couldn't speak the language, the only language I picked up was Xhosa. But English I couldn't speak as I had no schooling. In three years time I paid him that loan and I put up a little room for myself and then I bought the place from him and £1 000 I paid for the building and I took over. Then I was

free, I could do what I wanted to, I could build, and that's what I did.

- Int. : What did the building look like?
- W.Z. : There was nothing, I put up some buildings, but I did not intend to remain there. Like all of us, I thought well, if I could work myself up, I'll come into town and that's what I did.
- Int. : So how long did you stay there?
- W.Z. : I stayed there from 1913 to 1939 -- 26 years.
- Int. : A long time.
- W.Z. : In fact I thought when I sell the place, I want to retire, I worked enough, and I worked out I had sufficient to keep going. But you know after I was idle for 2 weeks, I thought no.
- Int. : So what happened, did you start again?
- W.Z. : I bought the store I am in now for £300, just to keep me occupied a bit. We used to play cards from 3 o'clock -- Klabejas.
- Int. : Didn't you buy a lot of produce and so on?
- W.Z. : At that time when I started I used to buy wool and produce but things have changed a bit.
- Int. : But what did you buy from the Africans?
- W.Z. : Oh I used to buy wool and mealies. They used to produce more in those days -- they used to produce grain and so on. The big wages spoilt them especially the younger generation. You have no idea how efficient the old type of native was.
- Int. : In what way?
- W.Z. : They would kill themselves for me, you know. To give you an idea -- I lost a fowl once at my place -- I don't remember one or two.

I didn't even worry about it because in those days fowls cost nine pence. So I just told my boys there are two fowls missing. So he went and called the headman. You've no idea -- they come to me and talked to me as though I'd lost £1 000. He called a meeting and he told them if this happens again there's going to be tremendous trouble.

- Int. : They must have been very loyal to you. Did you help them?
- W.Z. : Oh yes, you see I never sued a native. Once I sued a native for £2 and it cost the poor native three head of cattle. So I said in my life I'll never sue a native. I made up my mind I will never sue a native, even if I had to lose hundreds. £2 cost him, two head of cattle. In those days about £20, and £20 to a native was a fortune.
- Int. : You must have given a lot of them credit and helped them.
- W.Z. : Oh sure, to give you an idea when I left the country, I had £8 000 outstanding amongst them and I told them I said, "I'm coming to King, I don't know if I'll open a place, that that's where I'm going", and I said "I'm not going to sue any of you", and if I tell you they paid, I haven't lost £5, you wouldn't believe me. Any trader I told laughed at me and said that it's impossible.
- Int. : But you must have treated them well, that's why.
- W.Z. : Oh yes, they used to come, the children and the grand-children to pay me, I had even forgotten they owed. Now that proves to you, if you treat the people fair, it pays, it comes back to you.
- Int. : Is there any other way that you feel that you helped them?
- W.Z. : Well, you know, if you help them you help yourself. I've tried my best you see. To give you an idea, I knew very little about business. Well, I knew nothing. Because I had never been to school and I had never been in business. In fact I learned from the customers themselves, the natives said this, and buy that -- so I got ideas what to buy.
- Int. : What did you buy? What did you keep in the shop?
- W.Z. : Well, some soft goods, like blankets and trousers, they did not wear fancy stuff like they do now. There were always several lines like prints, and not like nowadays, shoes, we never even stocked shoes. But still some of them progressed, they did go to town and buy a pair of shoes. But most of them were barefoot.

Int. : What else did they wear?

W.Z. : Well, some of them wore red blankets. They used to buy a piece of cloth and dye it red and they used to wear it. The red clay, ochre, we used to sell it in the shop and they used to wear it and they were all very happy and they used to smear it on their faces too.

If you did them a good turn, they were very appreciative. Oh, this was what I was going to tell you. When I came out here, of course when I started trading most of the natives in the country, at least 99% they used to rely on the trader. You see the trader used to support them, used to look after them. Now every second or third year there was a drought -- if there was a drought they couldn't produce enough food. So they used to rely on the trader to help them. So the trader used to give them mealies. When there was a drought they used to send their children to the mines. The mines used to give them £3 - £4 a month. So they used to stay there for 6 months, they used to come home with £15 - £20 -- there wasn't such a thing as spending. They wouldn't touch a penny, they used to come and give it to their father and the father used to give the son £1 or £2 to buy himself something.

Int. : I don't think it's like that any more.

W.Z. : No, no, I'm talking about old days. He had no say over his money. So he used to come home. So when I found out that a bag of mealies cost 10/- -- R1. Now if they would sell for cash, they would make 2/-, which is 20% profit. Now if he takes on credit, the traders used to sell a bag for £1-10/- or £2. Now that's his staple food. He had no other food. So I thought myself, it's a crime. The poor native, he's got to pay because he hasn't got the money. You have got to wait about 2 or 3 months, you charge them ten bob a lb. extra, I thought it's murder. I thought to myself, how hard we have to struggle. So I thought, a bag of mealies for cash is R1,20 -- I'll charge them R1,30, a shilling extra. They came from everywhere, but I could not finance them as I did not have enough money.

They thought of me as Jesus Christ. You know a poor native, he used to send his son to the mines, they used to pay them £4 a month, and they used to stay there 6 months to bring home £15 or £20. You know a bag of mealies, to

them it's like a cake, they chewed it up in one week, they were so hungry. So he had to pay -- instead of paying for a bag of mealies 13/- or 14/- he paid R3, £1-10/-, six bags of mealies, it's £9, it's all his 6 month's wages. So I worked up for myself such a name, that they thought I was Jesus Christ. Actually they called me Thamsanga, which means "good hearted".

My heart used to to break, I used to feel so annoyed -- there were occasions when natives used to be hard up and needed £1 for tax and you know the tax collector wasn't very good. To them the native was worse than a dog, so if a native owed for tax, £1 or £2 which he couldn't pay, he couldn't afford it and his sons were away, the collector would come and attach his cattle. You know how many cattle he would have -- 3 or 4 head of cattle and if they attached the cattle he's got to sell three for expenses, he's left with nothing and the cattle is all his income. When he's got a beast he gets a bit of milk, he ploughs the land with it, that's all his assets. So one native was telling me, he was behind in tax so he went to a farmer who lent him £3 to pay tax and they charged him 5/- a month interest. 5/- a month, imagine, and so £3 he lent him for two months -- that'd be another 15/- so when the time was up, the farmer said he must pay. So he went to another farmer and borrowed £5. So the £5 interest cost him 25/- a month. So by the time he was finished he had to sell 18 head of cattle. When I heard the story my blood was boiling. When I said to him how can you do such a thing he said "what can I do?" So that's the story. That fellow lost 18 head of cattle for £3.

- Int. : Did you ever lend them money?
- W.Z. : I used to but I never charged them interest. Those I knew I used to lend £1 and they used to pay it back. Every one paid me, without ever sueing them. Hardships makes a man out of you. You see the whole trouble today, the younger generation have got it too easy and the easier they've got it, the easier they want it.

The government, by giving the natives independence, is only looking for trouble. In 1924 I think it was Jabotinsky was in East London. I went to listen to him and he said, "Friends do you think England is going to give us Israel. Forget about it. No country is going to give you land because you are a nice

looking chap. If you want the land you must fight for it". He said you can't give a person the land there you are. There were no motor cars, when I started I had only £5 expenses per month. Today the poorest native can start a business. His expenses are R100 per month. How can they manage? You see for our time it was all right, the business was small and we were small. But today the business is big and they are small. So how can they carry on, it's impossible -- a car alone cost R6 a month. The rent cost them at least another R50 and they have no knowledge of business. The beginners that came to this country, they had no knowledge and they had no capital and they could never survive in the big city, where there were people who were established and had the capital. So for the new immigrants the answer was to get a trading station. There were a few here and they've all done well.

SOURCES OF INFORMATIONNOTES

1. Personal interview or reply to Questionnaire in which case name of person is stated.
2. Deeds Office, King William's town - referred to as "Deeds Office".
3. Receiver of Revenue, King William's Town - referred to as "Revenue Office".
4. Department of Information, Ciskeian Government - referred to as "Ciskeian Government".
5. Books:
 - (a) South African Commercial Directory - A.C. Braby (Durban: 1924-1925; 1926-1927) referred to as S.A.C.D.
 - (b) Cape Times South African Directory, 1948-1949, referred to as C.T.S.A.D. (Cape Town: Cape Times, 1948).
 - (c) R. Godlonton, The Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes (Cape Town: Struik, 1965) - All traders mentioned were murdered in the Sixth Frontier War.
 - (d) Una Long, An Index to Authors of Unofficial, Privately-owned Manuscripts (London: Humphries, 1947), pp.258, 236.

- (e) Thomas Baines, Journal of Residence in Africa 1842-1853, Vol. I, edited by R.F. Kennedy (Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1961) p.143.
- (f) Donald Kirby, Peddie - Settler's Outpost, edited by J.B. Bullock (Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry, 1960) p.29.
- (g) W.S. Hall, "St. Mathews 1855-1955".

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