THE COMMUNITY OF STEINKOPF

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY AND AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN NAMAQUALAND

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PREFACE

This thesis consists mainly of an analysis of the social structure of a small community of rural Coloured people who live on a reserve surrounding the old mission station, Steinkopf, in the North-Western Cape Province. It has been written primarily as an ethnographic study of one of the constituent communities of a composite society, the Republic of South Africa, although a chapter has been devoted to the comparison of Steinkopf with the four other reserves in the Namaqualand district. I have attempted also to describe and analyse certain of the processes of social change in the North-western Cape with particular reference to these Coloured Reserves.

Modern Steinkopf provides us with an example of integration or social synthesis. Its present social structure (and culture) is largely the result of contact between and the subsequent blending of different traditions - mainly Khoi Khoin (Hottentot) and early Cape Dutch - into one relatively homogeneous community. And the influence of missionaries has been great.

I prefer to use the term Khoi Khoin because the word "Hottentot" has become a derogatory stereotype in South Africa, symbolising the undesirable characteristics attributed to people of Khoi Khoin descent. Furthermore, the origin of the word "Hottentot" is obscure. The so-called "Hottentots" referred to themselves collectively as Khoi Khoin (excellent people). They were a linguistic group, who, apart from minor variations, shared a common culture, although they were subdivided into several tribes. On the basis of minor differences and their distribution, we can

distinguish three groups of tribes before the white settlers upset their ecological equilibrium. In the north-west, occupying the territories now known as Little and Great Namaqualand, were the Namaqua; in the south were the Cape Khoi Khoin, such as the Goringhaiqua and the Hessequa; east of the Cape were tribes such as the Inqua and the Damaqua, whom we may call the Eastern Khoi Khoin.[1]

I began my field work in the Steinkopf Reserve in November, 1951, and since this first official visit of three months I have worked in the area at regular intervals for periods ranging from a few weeks to four months. A total of thirteen months was spent in the field at Steinkopf. I have also spent short periods at Concordia, Komaggas, and Leliefontein, three other Namaqualand Reserves. In 1952 I visited the fifth Reserve, Richtersveld, for a few days and during November 1960 I did intensive field work there.

Not all the detailed evidence on which my conclusions are based is being published here, but apart from the material recorded in the text, I have included additional data in appendices.

Quotations from evidence supplied by informants are sometimes written in the original Afrikaans,[2] and are sometimes translated into English. I have usually used the latter form when the Afrikaans idiom is obscure. All interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, which is the home language of the

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1. H. Vedder, "The Nama", in The Native Tribes of South West Africa, Cape Times, 1928.
I. Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, London, 1930. pp.44-50, et passim.
W. Jopp, "Die frühen Deutschen Berichte über das Kapland und die Hottentotten bis 1750". Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Göttingen, 1960.

2. Certain grammatical errors have been deliberately retained.

majority of these people except in the Richtersveld, where Nama is generally spoken. In the Richtersveld I had sometimes to employ an interpreter.

Most of the material on which the analysis of contemporary Steinkopf and other communities is based was collected by myself. The historical data was culled from various manuscripts found at the mission station, early Government Reports, travel and missionary publications, as well as from the unwritten history told by the people themselves. Certain of the statistics relating to the economy, population, and marriage were derived from official reports and documents.

The greater part of the material on kinship is based on a study of sixty-five homesteads (see Appendix G). Although these homesteads did not constitute a random sample, they do represent a cross-section of the population.[1]

In the collection of data on the income and expenditure of seventy-eight domestic families, and certain of the data on occupation and migratory labour in Chapter 5, I was assisted by Messrs. H. Cloete, J. de Klerk, and S. de Vries, all of whom are teachers at Steinkopf. The same teachers collected most of the data on sex and age ratios from a hundred families. Although a random sample of the population was attempted in obtaining information, this was not in fact possible because some families are constantly on the move, and secondly, because some families live in inaccessible parts of the Reserve.

At all times during my periods of field work (except in Komaggas and Concordia), people were friendly and co-operative, and appeared always to be interested in the problems I was attempting to solve. Occasionally, however, barriers were

1. See p. 467 ff.

raised when werwere discussing those aspects of their religious beliefs which would not be acceptable to the missionary. And certain people preferred not to disclose details regarding the numbers of their livestock. This was probably because they feared that the information they gave me would be compared with their statements to the official who compiles the annual Agricultural Census.

My visits to Komaggas and Concordia, especially the former, were extremely unsatisfactory from the point of view of carrying out field work. I was treated with suspicion by the people, and in Komaggas a Church officer accused me of subversive political activity within a few hours of my arrival.

During my periods of field work in Steinkopf and the Richtersveld I lived amongst the people and took part in as many of their social activities as possible. I attended Church services, weddings, funerals, and meetings of various kinds. And I always ate with the family I was visiting.

I am greatly indebted to the De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., the National Council for Social Research, the School of African Studies and the Staff Research Fund at the University of Cape Town, for the financial assistance which I have received from them.

W. P. Carstens.

School of African Studies,
University of Cape Town,
October, 1961.

CONTENTS

PREFACE		page i
Chapter 1.	THE SOCIAL FRAMEWORK OF CONTEMPORARY STEINKOPF	1
Chapter 2.	THE CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE	14
	LEGAL CATEGORIES	15
	SOCIAL CATEGORIES	26
Chapter 3.	NAMAQUALAND	37
	LITTLE NAMAQUALAND	39
	THE COLOURED RESERVES	54
Chapter 4.	FROM CAPTAIN TO SUPERINTENDENT	58
	THE KHOI KHOIN PERIOD (1800-1840)	58
	THE BASTER AND MISSIONARY PERIOD (1840 - 1913)	65
	THE PERIOD OF EUROPEAN RULE (1913 - 1952)	76
	DIE AFRIKANER. KINDERS (1952 -	85
Chapter 5.	THE ECONOMY	88
	POPULATION	93
	LAND TENURE	101
	MIXED FARMING	109
	MIGRATORY LABOUR	118
	TRIBUTING	127
	TRADE AND MARKETS	130
	INCOME AND EXPENDITURE	138
	CONCLUSIONS	150
Chapter 6.	KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE	154
	THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY	157
	Division of labour and the separation of the sexes	159
	Marriage	164
	Inheritance	180
	Illegitimacy	183
	Corporate nature of the elementary family	185

Chapter 6. (Contd.)

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS p. 187

General principles of kinship behaviour patterns in Steinkopf 187
Children and parents 191
Siblings 193
Uncles and aunts 196
Grandparents, great-grandparents, their siblings and siblings' spouses 198
Cousins 198
Affines 199
The use of kinship terms outside the family 204
The variability of kinship terminology 209

THE EXTENDED FAMILY 210

Chapter 7. LINEAGES 219

LINEAGE CATEGORIES 219

The Pioneer Basters 220

The Namaqua, and the short-haired Basters 228

The Kommers 232

The Bywoners 233

LINEAGE SOLIDARITY 233

Chapter 8. SOCIAL CLASSES 241

CLASS AND LINEAGE 242

THE NEW CLASS SYSTEM 249

CONCLUSIONS 258

Chapter 9. GOVERNMENT AND LAW 261

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT 261

LOCAL GOVERNMENT 263

LOCAL POLITICS AND LEADERSHIP 272

CONCLUSIONS 280

Chapter 10. THE CHURCH OF STEINKOPF 283

THE KERKRAAD 287

CHURCH ASSOCIATIONS 302

BURIAL SOCIETIES 304

SCHOOLS 305

CONCLUSIONS 312

Chapter 11. SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS 314

CHRISTIAN BELIEFS 314

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES CONCERNING DEATH 319

Ghosts 319
Death rituals 323
Graves 328

MAGIC 330

THE POWER OF MEN 335

Blessings and curses 335
The !na 336
The Tokoloshe 342

CONCLUSIONS 344

Chapter 12. THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF STEINKOPF 349

THE WEB OF INTERNAL INTERACTION 349

EXTERNAL INTERACTION 353

LEADERSHIP AND POWER 357

CONCLUSIONS 367

Chapter 13. CONCORDIA, KOMAGGAS, LELIEFONTEIN, RICHTERSVELD 369

HISTORY 370

ENVIRONMENT, POPULATION, AND ECONOMY 377

KINSHIP 384

CLASS STRUCTURE 390

LOCAL GOVERNMENT 394

CHURCHES, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, AND SCHOOLS 396

LEADERSHIP AND FOCI OF POWER 402

Chapter 14. AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL CHANGE 414

KHOI KHOIN - TREKBOER INTEGRATION 414

THE BASTERS AND THE MISSIONARIES 419

CHANGE IN THE RESERVES 429

BIBLIOGRAPHY 437

APPENDICES

A. Bibliography on the Coloured people, page 441

B. The Reverend F. Brecher's petition to the Honourable the Speaker and Members of the House of Assembly. 444

C. Short rules laid down for the Rhenish Mission Institution of Steinkopf, Namaqualand. 450

D. Resolution to the Governor-General of South Africa from the Burghers of Steinkopf (1913). 455

E. Memorandum to Native Affairs Commission (1928). 459

F. The Poverty Datum Line in Steinkopf. 462

G. Composition of homesteads. 467

H. Steinkopf kinship terminology. 471

I. Ancestral Heroes of the Engelbrecht lineage. 472

J. Main Acts and Regulations affecting the Namaqualand Reserves. 474

K. G. Cloete's memorandum. 475

TABLES

I	Ethnic composition of the Coloured population (1936)	page 24
II	Growth of Namaqualand's population (1921 - 1951)	43
III	Changes in the proportions of Namaqualand's Coloured urban-rural population (1921 - 1951).	44
IV	Changes in the proportions of Namaqualand's White urban-rural population (1921 - 1951)	45
V	Racial composition of Namaqualand Coloured Reserves (1951)	57
VI	Steinkopf population 1890 to 1953	94
VII	No. births and deaths in Steinkopf (1946 - 1957)	96
VIII	Potential Coloured population of Steinkopf, by age and sex (1959) according to sample of 100 families living in the mission village and hamlets	99
IX	Composition of Namaqualand's Coloured population by sex and age (1951 Census)	100
X	Production of grain in the Steinkopf Reserve	112
XI	No. Livestock in the Steinkopf Reserve	113
XII	Leisure activities of mine workers	124

XIII	Table showing figures relating to membership, annual turnover etc. of the NKHV (1946 - 1957).	page 135
XIV	The approximate cash values of categories of goods sold by the NKHV (1954 - 1957).	136
XV	Meat sales by the NKHV (1954 - 1957).	136
XVI	Sources of income to the Steinkopf Reserve (1957).	137
XVII	Mean average annual incomes and expenditure at the NKHV of 78 domestic families.	142
XVIII	Distribution of annual incomes of 78 domestic families (1957 - 8).	143
XIX	Distribution of annual incomes among 78 domestic families in terms of sources of income (1957 - 8).	144
XX	Sources of total annual incomes of 78 domestic families (1957 - 8).	145
XXI	Types of homesteads in Steinkopf.	155
XXII	Marrying ages of spinsters and bachelors (1939 - 1944).	173
XXIII	Widow marriages.	173
XXIV	Teachers and pupils in Steinkopf schools (1958).	307
XXV	Educational standard attained by persons over the age of 20 years (1957 - 1958).	309

XXVI Enrolment of pupils in Steinkopf schools in terms of Standards (December 1960). page 311

XXVII Structure of main primary groups in contemporary Steinkopf (1957). 350

XXVIII Structure of main intimate secondary groups in contemporary Steinkopf (1957) 351

XXIX Structure of main secondary groups (non-intimate) in contemporary Steinkopf (1957). 352

XXX Estimated income per head of population in Namaqualand Reserves. Small stock and grain only. 381

XXXI Type of homesteads in Kuboes village and environs. 386

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A GENERAL VIEW OF STEINKOPF VILLAGE.
   The church is in the centre. facing page 4.

2. ONDERSTRAAT. 5.

3. PART OF BOSTRAAT. 5.

4. REPAIRING WAGONS IN A HAMLET 6.

5. A POOR MAN'S HARVEST.
   A single bag of grain brought in to Steinkopf village from an outlying hamlet. 6.

6. A BASTER.
   A member of lineage category A. 219.

7. A NAMAQUA.
   A member of lineage category B. 219.

8. "NEW PEOPLE".
   A school teacher and her mother and brother. 256.

9. CHILDREN'S ART AND HANDWORK.
   An exhibition at the Steinkopf High School. 256.

10. A CONSERVATIVE HOUSEWIFE COLLECTING WOOD. 257.

11. BUILDING A MATHOUSE. 257.

12. GRAVES AT STEINKOPF.
   Note baby's bottle and teacups and saucers. 328.

13. A DWELLING HUT AND COOKING HUT IN STEINKOPF.
   The distance between them is approximately fifteen yards. Note shelter and preparations for new hut in the foreground. 385.

14. A DWELLING HUT AND COOKING HUT IN THE RICHTERSVELD.
   Note their proximity. This is the homestead of a <u>patrilineal</u> extended family. The husband's brother's hut is in the background. 385.

15. STEINKOPF: THE HOMESTEAD OF A PATRILINEAL EXTENDED FAMILY. 387.

16. RICHTERSVELD: THREE HOMESTEADS.
The two huts in the foreground and their (scarcely visible) adjoining kitchens constitute the homestead of a matrilineal extended family. facing page 387.

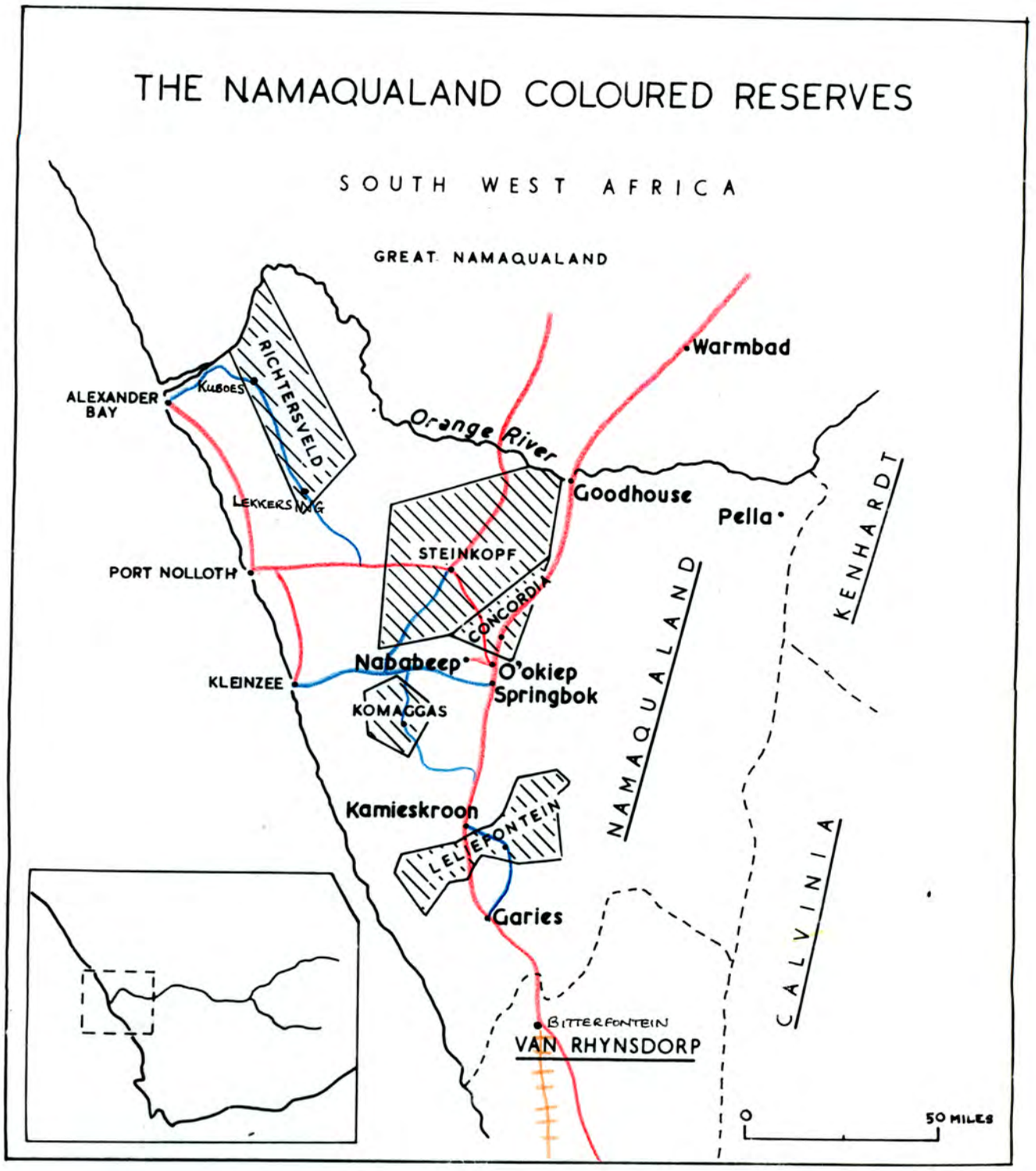
17. BROTHERS THRESHING IN STEINKOPF. 390.

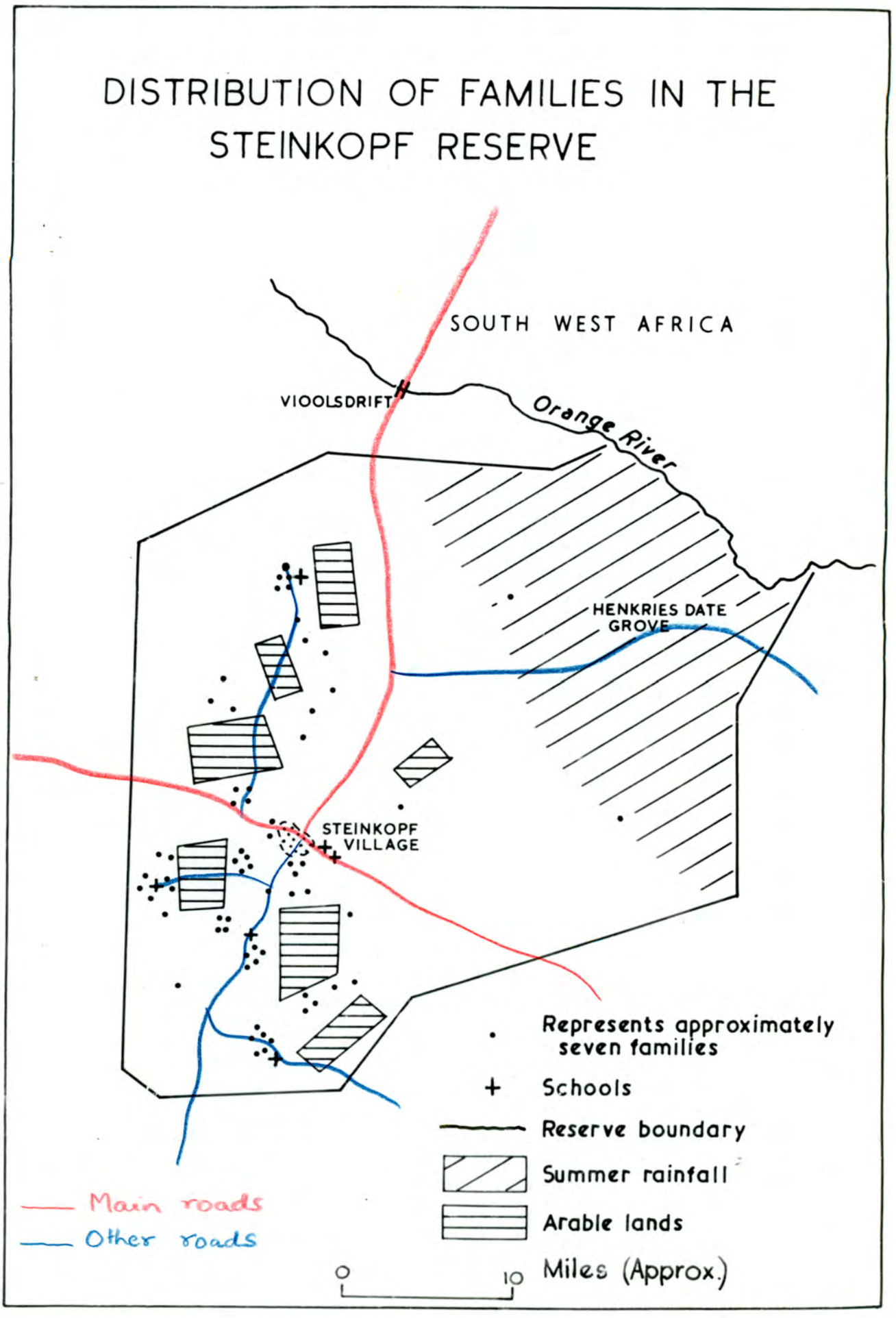
18. A YOUNG GIRL HERDING IN THE RICHTERSVELD.
Note also the proximity of the dwelling and cooking huts in the background. 390.

MAPS

THE NAMAQUALAND COLOURED RESERVES. page XV

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES IN THE STEINKOPF RESERVE. XVI


THE NAMAQUALAND COLOURED RESERVES
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
GREAT NAMAQUALAND
Warmbad
ALEXANDER BAY
KUBOES
RICHTERSVELD
Orange River
LEKKERSING
Goodhouse
Pella
KENHARDT
STEINKOPF
PORT NOLLOTH
CONCORDIA
NAMAQUALAND
Nababeep
O'okiep
Springbok
KLEINZEE
KOMAGGAS
Kamieskroon
LELIEPONTEIN
CALVINIA
Garies
BITTERFONTEIN
VAN RHYNSDORP
0
50 MILES
Magisterial boundaries
Towns
Magisterial districts
Reserves
Main roads
Other roads
Railways


DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES IN THE STEINKOPF RESERVE
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
VIOOLSDRIFT
Orange River
HENKRIES DATE GROVE
STEINKOPF VILLAGE
Main roads
Other roads
Represents approximately seven families
Schools
Reserve boundary
Summer rainfall
Arable lands
0
10
Miles (Approx.)

Chapter 1

THE SOCIAL FRAMEWORK OF CONTEMPORARY STEINKOPF

The Steinkopf Reserve is situated more or less in the centre of the northern part of the arid magisterial district of Namaqualand in the Cape Province.

Two-thirds of its surface area of approximately 400,000 morgen are within a mountain belt which receives winter rainfall. The remainder of the country lies in Bushmanland, a low summer rainfall area in the north-east.

In the winter rainfall area there is usually adequate grazing for goats and sheep from May to December. If sufficient rain falls grain is grown in the valleys and on the slopes of the hills, but even in good years seldom more than 6,000 bags are produced. The north-eastern district provides grazing from January to April if the rainfall has been adequate.

A main road passes through the central village of the Reserve and there are regular transport facilities to Port Nolloth (68 miles) and Springbok (32). There are several telephones in the village and post is collected and delivered there three times a week.

The Reserve has a population of about 4,000 people, the descendants of Khoi Khoin and Europeans. Their language is Afrikaans.[1] The majority of these people are mixed farmers, they own lands and they also keep sheep and goats and a handful of donkeys. Their success as agriculturalists depends on the annual rainfall, and it is seldom more than seven inches. If their crops fail they can usually fall

1. Some of the older people use Nama as well.

back on their flocks. The donkeys are used as draught animals. They pull the ploughs and the small carts which are the main form of transport throughout the Reserve.

Most people are poor. The great majority cannot support themselves by means of the traditional mixed farming economy, and so each family is forced to augment its income by some other means. This is most commonly achieved by sending at least one member of each elementary family to the mines or to the towns as a migrant worker, and this occupation has in recent years become a major source of income.

Almost all the inhabitants of the Reserve live in the mission village, Steinkopf, or in the small scattered hamlets of various size which are built round the better springs and waterholes. There are a few people who prefer to live in isolated homesteads near their arable lands or on the commonage with their stock. These homesteads comprise either one elementary family or a patrilineal extended family.

The majority of the population spend part of the year, when they are not ploughing, reaping, or herding, or absent as migratory workers, in the village where they have building lots on which some people have erected permanent dwellings. Apart from the very conservative people who visit the village only when it is absolutely necessary, it has in recent years become the ambition of every family to have a <u>muurhuis</u> (house with walls) in the village in addition to a mathouse which can be erected near the arable lands. Thus, in terms of residence we can distinguish between three categories of people: those who

live permanently in the village, those who live permanently in the hamlets or near their arable lands, and those who spend part of the year in each of these places. More than half of the population belong to the third category.

The mission village or the dorp, as it is called, has many of the characteristics of a small town. In the centre stand the church, the mission house, and the church hall - a cluster of fine, white-washed buildings erected during the last century by the missionary and the people of Steinkopf. North of the mission station are the two shops, the butchery, the granary, the police station, the post office and telephone, and the offices of the Management Board. South of the church, though somewhat dispersed, are the school buildings - classrooms and hostels. Scattered throughout this zone are the neat houses of the well-to-do dorpenaars (villagers): teachers, shopkeepers and shop assistants, masons and builders, police, and successful sheep farmers. In this zone too are the small dwellings of the poor dorpenaars and those people who spend only a part of their time in the village. These dwellings are usually crude constructions of rough stone or corrugated iron, each with a mat outhouse used as a kitchen.

In the outer zone of the village are the mathouses proper, the traditional dwellings of the Khoi Khoin, forming a wide circle of clusters of "brown bee-hives" around the inner zone. These are the encampments of the farmers who come and go with the seasons. We might well call them the voor-dorpenaars (pre-villagers), farmers who have not yet made the social adjustments necessary to fit in with the accepted pattern of village life. Thirty years ago nearly



1. A GENERAL VIEW OF STEINKOPF VILLAGE
The church is in the centre

all the farmers who owned lands far away from the village followed this semi-nomadic pattern, but gradually more and more families have become attracted by a new life and spend as much time as possible in the village.

In the past there was no attempt to regulate the lay-out of the mission village; as a result there are no defined streets or rows of houses, only the stony tracks which wind through the open spaces between the haphazard array of houses and huts. As the village grew, buildings were erected wherever a convenient site was found near to one of the two springs. Few houses are built close to the church, probably because an old rule forbade dancing and parties within a radius of five hundred yards from the mission station grounds.

Another factor, however, has influenced the ecological pattern of the village. When one looks at the general layout of the buildings, it is seen that most of the better residential buildings are in the southern half, while in the northern section mathouses and crudely constructed tin houses predominate. In Steinkopf there are names for these two sections of the village, <u>onderstraat</u> and <u>bostraat</u>, which are old class divisions distinguishing the Basters, early immigrants of mixed descent, from the indigenous Khoi Khoin. The interstitial area is the mission station. These divisions, however, did not refer only to the ecology of the village but applied equally to the social dichotomy found in the rest of the community. And so today, when a family descended from the old Basters comes to the village, he builds his house in <u>onderstraat</u>, while those more closely related to the Khoi Khoin build



2. ONDERSTRAAT



3. PART OF BOSTRAAT

in the bostraat zone.

The village is essentially the centre of all the activities of the Reserve. Here is the church and the missionary, the seat of local government where the law is administered and taxes paid; here are the main schools, including the only secondary school for Coloured people in Namaqualand, with its new science laboratory; here are the police station, the shops and the granary; here you will find a weekly cinema show and the clinic with its trained midwife; it is here that people are baptised, married and buried. Here is the centre of interaction with the outside world, the place where new ideas and fashions are disseminated, spreading outwards to the conservative settlements.

The true dorpenaars are those who live permanently in the mission village and co-operate in its social life - the teachers, shopkeepers and shop assistants, the few administrators, the various categories of tradesmen and workers, pensioners and others. But these constitute only about a quarter of the potential complement of the village; the remaining three-quarters cannot be classed as true villagers for, although they spend most of the year in the village, they are engaged also in other activities on their farms. Nevertheless, they do form part of the village community in that they share, if only sporadically, in the social life, making their own contribution to its form.

All people in the Steinkopf Reserve have some contact with the mission village, for here they attend church services, pay their taxes and buy their groceries.



4. REPAIRING WAGONS IN A HAMLET



5. A POOR MAN'S HARVEST

A single bag of grain brought in to Steinkopf Village from an outlying hamlet

These are, of course, the minimum contacts a person can have with the village and most people like to participate in other activities as well. But there is one section of the community which visits the village only when they have to. These are the conservative farmers proper. Usually, as we have mentioned, they live in small hamlets (some of which have farm schools) near springs and water holes, ten or twenty miles away from the mission village, or in isolated farm homesteads. They keep a few goats or sheep, a span of donkeys, and a dozen or so chickens. In winter they plough and sow and if the rain is adequate they manage to reap a few bags of grain at the beginning of the summer; and, as among the poor dorpenaars, at least one member of the family may work on the mines or in the towns to augment the family income.

In Steinkopf there are three main social classes, membership of which is determined largely by birth. Firstly there are the registered occupiers, a large class consisting of approximately ninety per cent of the total Coloured population. Registered occupiers have various privileges not enjoyed by the other two classes: they are entitled to vote for members of the local government, to grazing rights, to occupy dry lands, gardens, and building sites, in return for their taxes paid to the Management Board. Although membership of this class, as we have said, is largely hereditary, it is subject also to the approval of the Management Board.

Secondly there are the "strangers" who are a class of newcomers to Steinkopf, consisting mainly of teachers and men who have married the daughters of regis-

tered occupiers. Although "strangers" are not entitled to vote, they may be given, in exceptional cases, privileges similar to those enjoyed by the registered occupiers. But they would not be granted arable lands. Both categories nowadays call themselves collectively Bruinmense.

The third hereditary class is that of the bywoners. It consists mainly of Namaqua refugees from South-West Africa who came to Steinkopf during the Bondelswart wars, and of servants of some registered occupiers. Bywoners receive few privileges in the community other than temporary building sites in the village, and the right to be employed by the registered occupiers as servants or shepherds, provided the Management Board approves.

To these three we must add here a fourth hereditary class, the Whites, who play a part in forming the pattern of relationships which constitute the social system of Steinkopf: the police, the traders and commercial travellers who make occasional visits to Steinkopf, the neighbouring White farmers who are given annual grazing rights, and the resident missionary and his family.

Formerly the community was stratified according to lineage membership. The basic features of this system, which tends to modify the hereditary class system are still important and are reflected in the bostraat-onderstraat division already mentioned. The hereditary class system is also modified by cleavages in the community which separate groups with opposing attitudes and values. The most prominent of these cleavages is that between the conservative people and the "new people" who lean towards the cultural tradition of the white Afrikaners, rather than towards the Steinkopf tradition of the last century. Between these

groups there is a struggle for power and prestige, particularly in local government. The second major cleavage is a racial one between the light-skinned people, with their straight hair and convex profiles, and the darker-skinned people who have short korrel (peppercorn) hair, broad flat noses, and beady eyes.

Local affairs are dealt with by a Management Board which is subordinate in all its functions to the Central Government of the Republic of South Africa. The members of the Management Board fit into two categories: those elected by the registered occupiers, and those appointed by the Secretary for Coloured Affairs. The Management Board is concerned mainly with the control and distribution of land, the collection of taxes, and the general administration of local regulations, though it does have some executive functions as well. Criminal and civil cases are usually brought to the notice of the Management Board, (though they need not be), before being handed over to the South African Police and the magistrate at Springbok.

The water supply in the mission village and elsewhere in the Reserve is also the concern of the Management Board. In the village, water for domestic purposes is supplied by two concrete dams from which water can be tapped, but people who can afford the costs may apply to the Management Board for permission to lay pipes to their houses. Few families are able to take advantage of this concession for financial reasons, and the majority have to walk long distances to draw water.

At the various hamlets scattered throughout the

Reserve water is obtained from springs which have been cleaned and fenced off at the expense of the Management Board. It has also constructed dams in the north-eastern sector of the Reserve to enable stockfarmers to water their animals. It is significant that these dams have been built in the Bushmanland zone for it is in this area that the wealthy farmers, some of whom are councillors on the Management Board, graze their stock. This tendency to help the sterk boere (wealthy farmers) and neglect the poor farmer is widespread in Steinkopf today. The explanation of this relatively recent trend is that political power has shifted from the traditional leaders to the educated and better-off people who look after the interests of their own class rather than those of the whole community.

Sanitation is also the concern of the Management Board, which employs a local cartage contractor to remove garbage and clean the public and private lavatories in the village. Few people have their own lavatories and those who do are required to pay 5/- a month to the Management Board. Local health regulations are enforced in the mission village only, and not at the other settlements.

Medical aid is supplied at a Government clinic where there is a trained midwife. The district surgeon visits the clinic once a week, but his services are not free and he performs his work as a medical practitioner. Not all the inhabitants make use of the available medical services. Many of the conservative people prefer to have their children delivered by an ouma (lit: grandmother), the traditional midwife of the Namaqua. These "midwives" use the techniques which have been passed on from generation to generation, and they are extremely skilful. The trained

midwife often calls on an ouma to assist her with difficult deliveries such as breech presentations. Those people who do not consult the district surgeon when they are sick, make use of the bossies dokters[1], or treat themselves with traditional medicines prepared from herbs.

Organised entertainment in the village consists of a weekly cinema show, occasional concerts given by the school and the sustersbond, and a tennis club and two football clubs cater for the needs of those interested in sport. But the majority of the population spend their leisure time in other ways: visiting kinsmen and neighbours, gossiping, and attending funerals, weddings, and Church services.

Building and construction work is undertaken by local building contractors, carpenters and masons, of whom there are twelve in the Reserve. Their services are used by the Management Board and those people who can afford the costs of employing skilled labour. When work is not available in the Reserve these artisans find employment in the towns or undertake building operations for neighbouring European farmers.

At the beginning of the century the Church was the main force in unifying the diverse sections of the community. This is still true today, though the power and influence of the Church has declined since the Missions Stations and Communal Reserves Act of 1909 effected in theory the separation of Church powers from local government.

There is only one established Church in Steinkopf, the Nededuitse Gereformeerde Sending Kerk, although a few members of the community do belong to the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches.

1. See p. 330 ff.

The head of the established Church is a White missionary. He is assisted in his duties by deacons and elders, and together with them, he constitutes the Kerkraad (Church Council). The functions of the Kerkraad range from purely religious to secular matters: Church services, marriages, baptisms, confirmations, funerals, relief of the poor and sick, the collection of Church dues and thank offerings, and punishing members for immorality and misconduct. Primary education is also a concern of the Kerkraad. Under its jurisdiction are a number of associations, such as the sustersbond (women's association), while closely connected with the Church are five burial societies.

The elementary family is the basic social and residential unit, and ecologically the population consists largely of the villagers and clusters of elementary families surrounding the various springs and water holes. As residence is usually virilocal[1] following a period of uxorilocality immediately after marriage, these clusters are generally subdivided into groups of elementary families containing the male members of a segment of a patrilineage, their wives and unmarried daughters. The span of the segment living in one of these residential units varies throughout the community, depending inter alia on the relative distance the erfs (arable lands), lie from the settlements; but it is always considered desirable for

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1. Marriage is "virilocal" when husband and wife live in the same residential group as the husband's parents or other relatives, and "uxorilocal" when they live in the same residential group as the wife's parents or other relatives.

brothers to own adjacent lands so that they can live near to one another.

On the death of a man his property usually passes to his youngest son, or to his widow if the heir is not of age. Marriage is monogamous; close agnatic kin do not usually marry, and there is a tendency to discourage marriages between members of certain lineage categories.

Throughout the community there is a strict rule of the separation of the sexes; men keep company with men in work and play, while women co-operate in those activities laid down by custom. Within the elementary family fathers and sons herd and plough together, while mothers and daughters are concerned with housekeeping, hutbuilding, and other domestic duties. Similarly, in the residential unit of the extended family the men (brothers and their sons) assist each other if co-operation is necessary, as do the women (brothers' wives and daughters). This principle of the separation of the sexes is projected into the whole framework of society and only on certain occasions, such as funeral celebrations and marriage parties, do the sexes mix freely.

Steinkopf can no longer be regarded as an independent and isolated community since it has countless connections with the world outside. In the first place its inhabitants constitute a small section of the 'racial' category in South Africa generally referred to as the Coloured people; and second, Steinkopf is part of the magisterial district of Namaqualand which is a

geographical and political division of the Republic of South Africa. It is essential, therefore, that we see this community within the wider framework to which it belongs before we deal with its internal components, since the form of the latter is inevitably modified by association with the wider society. Moreover, in three most important institutions - religious, educational and governmental - power is invested in groups lying beyond the boundaries of this small community.

The two chapters which follow have been designed, therefore, to place Steinkopf in its sociological setting. Steinkopf and communities similar to it must be seen as communities within the framework of the social structure of the Republic of South Africa, but we must see these people also as distinct from the majority of persons legally classified as Coloured by the Central Government.

Chapter 2.

THE CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE

One of the most important problems involved in field studies in large modern societies is that of isolating communities or sub-communities of manageable size to be studied in the same way that social anthropologists have studied small-scale societies. It is not as simple as Radcliffe-Brown has suggested to take "any convenient locality of a suitable size" and "study the structural system as it appears in and from that region."[1] For the problem always arises, where does the one community end and the other begin? In the Republic of South Africa issues such as these are both magnified and complicated by legal discrimination on the basis of certain assumed biological factors, the perpetuation of various rapidly changing ethnic divisions, conflicting nationalisms, and significant religious differences.

In this chapter certain of these difficulties are raised and discussed, and an attempt has been made to classify the Cape Coloured people according to manner of life as opposed to the legal categories based on origin, "ethnic" grouping and religion.

[illegible] to [illegible] the population of the Union of

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1. A.R.Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society, Cohen and West, London, 1952, p. 193.

P. The first census to be taken simultaneously in each of the four provinces now constituting the Republic of South Africa, was in 1904.

LEGAL CATEGORIES

Prior to 1950 the population of the Union of South Africa was divided for statistical purposes into four main categories officially described as follows:-

"1. Europeans - persons of pure European descent.
2. Natives[1] - pure blooded aboriginals of the Bantu race.
3. Asiatics - Natives of Asia and their descendants; mainly Indians.
4. Mixed and other coloured - this group consists chiefly of Cape Coloured, but includes also Cape Malays, Bushmen, Hottentots, and all persons of mixed race. For considerations of space the name of this group is usually contracted to 'coloured'.

The last three groups, when combined, form the group referred to as the 'Non-European group."[2]

None of these "racial" categories, however, had any legal significance and they were used merely for statistical convenience. For legal and administrative purposes various other definitions of "racial" categories existed, and these definitions were incorporated into certain Acts passed by the South African Government from 1910 onwards. They do not always correspond since each was originally

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1. The term, African, will be used elsewhere in this thesis to refer to the Bantu-speaking peoples since the term, Native, is nowadays regarded as a term of contempt by the majority of these people. The term 'Native' will be retained when referring to Acts of Parliament or the census.

2. Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, No. 25 - 1949, p.1095.

created for a specific piece of legislation.[1]

Not only did these multifarious definitions sometimes conflict with one another, but whether they were designed for statistical, legal, or political purposes they lacked rigidity and it was possible for some people to change their "racial" categories provided their physical characteristics did not vary too widely from those characteristics associated with the average type in the category into which they were moving. This practice, known as "passing", is usually associated with Coloured people passing as White, but it was also common among Africans trying for Coloured. In a sense, an African who could pass as Coloured gained even more than a Coloured person who crossed the colour line since he became free of the whole system of passes, influx control, registration of service contracts, and the extremely restricted residential and freehold rights.[2]

Thus from many points of view this whole system of classification was unsatisfactory. Moreover, certain of the definitions of the "racial" categories created difficulties which could prove an embarrassment to the Whites. For example, a large percentage of Europeans could theoretically be classified as Coloured owing to the inclusion of the word 'pure' in the census

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1. cf. Native Labour Regulation Act (1911); Natives (Urban Areas) Act (1923); Native Service Contract Act (1932); Representation of Natives Act (1936); Native Trust and Land Act (1936); Workmen's Compensation Act (1934); Registration for Employment Act (1945); Unemployment Insurance Act (1946); Silicosis Act (1946); Disabilities Grants Act (1946); Asiatic Laws Amendment Act (1948).

2. M.Horrell, Race Classification in South Africa: its Effects on Human Beings, Fact Paper No. 2. S.A.I.R.R. 1958, p.4.

definition given earlier.[1] The genesis of these discrepancies of course lies, as we shall see later, in the technical difficulties of scientific race classification, attempts at which are nowadays generally regarded by anthropologists as arbitrary abstractions having little value apart from purely morphological interest. Thus in terms of physical features, European, Coloured and African categories are approximations only, with the middle category merging into both the others.

In 1950 an attempt to ossify the system we have described was undertaken in the form of the Population Registration Act.[2] This Act abolished the old census classification and reclassified South Africa's population into three categories: White, Native and Coloured. Provision, however, was also made for prescribing and defining the ethnic or other groups into which Coloured persons and Natives are to be classified. According to this Act a White person is defined as "a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a White person, but does not include a person who,

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1. See G. Findlay, Miscegenation, Pretoria News, Pretoria, 1936. Report Regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union, U.G.54, 1937, p.8.
I.D.MacCrone, Race Attitudes in South Africa, O.U.P., London, 1937, Part 1.
J.S.Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937, Longmans & Green, London, 1939, chapter 1.
S. Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1953.
M.K.Jeffreys, articles in Drum, 1959-60, Nos. 101-108.

2. Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950. This Act was amended on 18th June, 1956, but the amendments do not affect the present discussion.

although in appearance obviously a White person, is generally accepted as a coloured person". A Native, on the other hand is defined as "a person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa". A Coloured person is negatively defined as "a person who is not a white person or a native."

The Act also provides for the issue by the Director of Census and Statistics of identity cards to all persons who have attained the age of 16 years. These identity cards may contain inter alia information concerning the person's "racial" category and in the case of Coloureds and Natives the ethnic or other groups to which they are believed to belong.

Clearly the whole purpose of the Population Registration Act is to provide a rigid system whereby every individual's racial category is (with a few exceptions) determined for him by birth, and in so far as these categories determine status, his social position as well. A moral justification for the creation and enforcement of this Act was reported to have been put forward by the Minister of the Interior who said that many people had lived all their lives in a state of unease because it was uncertain to which racial group they belonged. But now certainty had been given, and the clouds which hovered over them had disappeared.[1]

Theoretically this new system should abolish the flexibility of the older, but in practice there are still conflicting definitions of racial categories in the existing legislation.[2] For example, a person who

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1. Cape Times, 21 February 1958.

2. see The Population Registration Act (1950), The Group Areas Act (1950), The Native Building Workers Act (1951), The Native Services Levy Act (1952), and The Natives Resettlement Act (1954).

appears to be White but is generally accepted as Coloured could be classified as Coloured under the Population Registration Act, but under the Group Areas Act as White. For in terms of the latter Act, "a person who in appearance obviously is a white person shall ..... be assumed to be a member of the white group until the contrary is proved."[1]

Thus there are still discrepancies and inconsistencies in current legislation. This is not surprising, for in spite of the emphasis on racial purity in South Africa, physical characteristics are by no means the only factors that are taken into consideration when determining in what "racial" category a person belongs, as some of the definitions we have recorded show. Thus the system of "race" classification in South Africa combines certain biological and social standards, which from the very start complicates the task of those whose business it is to compile the Population Register. The difficulties encountered in classifying people and the major and minor discrepancies in the definitions under the various Acts, must, therefore be explained in terms of the society in which they occur.

A recent writer on the Coloured people, Dr. Sheila Patterson[2], in discussing the question of race classification maintains that the chief problem of definition is not between Coloureds and Africans but

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1. Group Areas Act (1950), section 2.
2. S. Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, P.16.

between Coloureds and Europeans, but she has failed to draw attention to the legal difficulties which frequently arise from Coloured-African marriages.[1] Furthermore, her contention has been proved incomplete in recent years by the numerous cases of people who regarded themselves as Coloured but found that under the Population Registration Act they had been classified as 'Native'.[2] It is true of course that as far as the Whites are concerned the main problem of classification is between them and the Coloured people because there are many Whites who are more Coloured in appearance than a large number of Coloureds. But the classification of these so-called 'racial' categories provides difficulties at all levels.

To return to Patterson's argument concerning the difficulties involved in classifying Coloureds, it is her contention, which she derives from MacCrone[3] and Marais[3], that it is the complex origin and history of the Coloured people and their lasting social consequences which have been largely responsible for the vague and negative content of the legal definitions

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1. e.g. Masholo vs. Masholo, Case No. 13 in Selected Decisions of the Native Appeal Court, Cape and O.F.S. Vol. XVI, Part I, 1944. G.P.Pretoria, 1945.
2. M. Horrell, op. cit. p.p. 57-78.
3. op. cit.

applied to these people.[1] From the sociological point of view the weakness of this formulation is that it emphasizes the perpetuation of former race attitudes in the contemporary society but fails to show clearly the important structural changes that have taken place in South Africa during the past 300 years. It is not difficult to see that in the contemporary society the legal quasi-racial categories that have been selected to classify the population do not necessarily coincide with social reality. The members of the African (Native) category, for example, do not constitute a homogeneous socio-cultural group, but are probably the most heterogeneous aggregation of people in Africa. The Coloured population, moreover, although small in comparison with the African population, is also characterized by its social heterogeneity: roughly 60% live in the urban areas in highly stratified communities and the remaining 40% are rural people living on European farms, on the outskirts of small towns and dorps, and on mission stations and reserves. Even the White population has a diversity which is far more complex than the linguistic cleavage, usually accentuated by white South Africa, betrays. Moreover, associational and other structural divisions frequently cut across the legal 'racial' categories, which illustrates that the degree of integration between the members of these 'racial' categories is greater than the would-be classifiers have realised.

Attempts have been made by the Government of the Republic of South Africa to classify the members

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1. op. cit. p.16

of the Coloured population into their various 'ethnic' groups. For example, a proclamation in 1959 issued under the Population Registration Act defined seven sub-categories (groups) as follows :-

"1. Cape Coloured Group:
In the Cape Coloured Group shall be included any person who in fact is, or is generally accepted as a member of the race or class known as the Cape Coloureds.

2. Malay Group:
In the Malay Group shall be included any person who in fact is, or is generally accepted as a member of the race or class known as the Cape Malays.

3. Griqua Group:
In the Griqua Group shall be included any person who in fact is, or is generally accepted as a member of the race or class known as the Griquas.

4. Chinese Group:
In the Chinese Group shall be included any person who in fact is, or is generally accepted as a member of a race or tribe whose national home is China.

5. Indian Group:
In the Indian Group shall be included any person who in fact is, or is generally accepted as a member of a race or tribe

whose national home is in India or Pakistan.

6. Other Asiatic Group:

In the other Asiatic Group shall be included any person who in fact is, or is generally accepted as a member of a race or tribe whose national home is in any country or area in Asia other than China, India or Pakistan.

7. Other Coloured Group:

In the other Coloured Group shall be included any person who is not included in the Cape Coloured Group, the Malay Group, the Griqua Group, the Chinese Group, the Indian Group or the Other Asiatic Group, and who is not a white person, or a native as defined in section one of the Population Registration Act, 1950 (Act No. 30 of 1950)".[1]

Prior to this Proclamation and after 1936 a distinction was made for statistical purposes only between Asiatics and all other Coloured people. In the 1936 census, however, a very detailed classification of Coloured people was given on the basis of the voluntary returns as Table I below shows.

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1. Government Gazette. 6 March 1959

TABLE I

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE COLOURED POPULATION, 1936.[1]

Ethnic Group	Cape	Transvaal	Natal	O.F.S.	Union
	%	%	%	%	%
Cape Malay	4.54	4.74	2.30	1.34	4.43
Cape Coloured	76.78	71.98	54.48	42.98	75.13
Bushman	.60	3.00	.32	4.84	.85
Griqua	3.31	7.22	4.75	24.64	4.10
Hottentot	11.99	4.38	1.04	12.48	11.24
Koranna	.40	1.47	.05	7.28	.62
Namaqua	.49	.07	.01	.10	.44
St. Helenan	.26	.83	8.25	.29	.50
Swahili & Zanzibari	.05	.46	1.14	.14	.10
All other, including 'Mixed'	1.51	5.74	26.24	5.83	2.48
Unspecified	.07	.11	1.42	.08	.11
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

It will be seen from this Table that Bushmen, Hottentot, Koranna and Namaqua are classified as Coloured. In the 1946 Census although the subdivisions were omitted, "the few pure-blooded stocks of Hottentot, Bushmen, Griqua and Namaqua" were also classified as Coloured.[2] Under the Population Registration Act of 1950, however, Bushmen and Hottentots

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1. Population Census 1936, Vol. 9. U.G. 12-1942, p. 139.
2. Population Census, 1946, Vol. I, U.G. 51-1949, p.iv

are classified as Natives.[1] All these factors add to the difficulty of attempting to select suitable criteria for describing the Coloured People, and the fact that Bushmen and Hottentots are now classified as Natives is likely to have serious repercussions when the Population Register has finally been completed. Here it is important to note that the shift of the traditional classification of Bushmen and Hottentots from Coloured to Native was proposed by Dr. I. D. du Plessis, the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs. In his first Annual Report[2] he states that at an "Inter-Departmental meeting, which examined possible definitions of the different racial groups, which would be generally acceptable", he proposed certain tentative definitions as a basis for discussion. The definition for Native, which he proposed was : "A person descended from any Native race of Southern Africa - including Bantu, Hottentots, and Bushmen - or mainly of such descent." Furthermore, he states that he suggested "that these definitions should be incorporated in some Act and be made generally applicable, preferably in conjunction with the Population Register."

It is significant that the head of the newly created Coloured Affairs Department suggested that there should be a rigid classification of "racial" groups, and especially that Bushmen and Hottentots, (who had always enjoyed Coloured status in the past), should now be classified as Natives. This change may reflect the

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1. Population Census, 1951, Vol. I, U.G.42-1955, p.v.

2. Report of the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs (1952) U.G. 45 - 1952, p.5

attitude of a certain type of Coloured person, particularly in the urban areas, but also in the rural areas, who no longer wishes to acknowledge his "primitive ancestry". In a sense, therefore, by eliminating as far as possible the aboriginal element from the Cape Coloured population, the social status usually attributed to Coloureds is increased.[1]

SOCIAL CATEGORIES

We have discussed at some length the various principles of 'race' classification as applied to the population of the Republic of South Africa for legal and administrative purposes. None of these systems of classification, however, provides a suitable basis for community studies except in so far as the members of each category share a common political and legal status, which has been bestowed on them by the Central Government. For the Coloured population, Dr. Sheila Patterson has presented an admirable picture of their political and legal status within the social structure of South Africa. In this section of the population (as in the other sections also), however, a distinction needs to be made between the various categories of people, based not on physical characteristics, origin, national home, etc., but on community or sub-community affiliation. Some of these communities are more or less discrete, but even in the most isolated regions some interaction occurs with the wider society.

Community like many other terms used by sociologists has been variously defined. Here a community refers to

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1. cf. Chapter 8
Report Regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union, pp. 13-18. Patterson, op. cit. pp. 164 - 5

... a collection of individuals occupying a common territory, held together by some form of local government (or central authority) and common sentiments, and able to be identified by the network of social relations connecting them.[1] A sub-community refers to a collection of individuals united by certain of these criteria only. The reason why some form of local government (or central authority) has been included as a criterion for a community is because it provides a convenient focus around which the network of social relations can be observed.

In this section an attempt has been made to classify the Coloured people of the western section of the Cape Province in terms of their way of life, using as a guide the definition of community offered above. I have limited myself to classifying in this manner the Coloured people of the Western Cape Province only because I wish to avoid as far as possible difficulties resulting from the influence of certain Bantu-speaking peoples on the rural Coloured population in other parts of South Africa. Of course the Bantu-speaking peoples have influenced all sections of the South African population but it is in the Western Cape Province that their influence has been least marked.

Although we are not concerned here with origins, J. S. Marais' conclusions regarding the origin of these Cape Coloured people provides us with a useful historical background.[2] We may summarise these conclusions as

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1. cf. M. Ginsberg. Sociology H.U.L. 1934, pp. 38-42
R.M.MacIver and C.H.Page, Society, MacMillan, London, 1949 pp. 8-11
Radcliffe-Brown, op.cit. p.193

2. Marais, op. cit. pp. 30 - I.

follows:-

i. There are four elements - Khoi Khoin, slave, Bushman, and White - "which by their combination produced the Coloured people of today."

ii. The "two most important elements are the slave and the Hottentot" (Khoi Khoin).

iii. The slave strain is more important than the Hottentot."

iv. In the Western Cape the slave admixture is probably of much greater importance than in the midlands and northern districts.

v. The two least important elements are the Bushman and White.

vi. The Hottentot-Dutch hybrids tended to concentrate along the Orange River.

vii. A considerable amount of new White blood has been infused into the Coloured population of the Cape Peninsula by foreigners who sporadically visited its shores. (This practice officially ceased in 1950 when the prohibition of sexual intercourse between Whites and Africans was extended to Whites and Coloureds).

Most people would agree with Marais' general conclusions regarding the origin of the Cape Coloured people though some would disagree as to the amount of White blood in this hybrid population.[1]

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1. cf. G. Findlay, Miscegenation, Pretoria News, Pretoria, 1936.

M. K. Jeffreys, op. cit.

H.P.Cruse, Die Opheffing van die Kleurlingbevolking, C.S.V.Boekhandel 1947.

Statistically and genetically of course arguments concerning the "amount of white blood" are meaningless, for even if the total number of unions between White and non-White were known over the past 300 years, no numerical evaluation of the genetic structure of the average Coloured person could be made as some people have suggested.[1] The real importance of knowing the ancestry of the Coloured people is that it provides us with an indication of the components which initially interacted during the formative periods of the various Coloured communities.

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1. eg. G. Findlay, op. cit.

The Cape Coloured people[1] who live in the metropolitan areas and large towns may be distinguished from other Cape Coloured people by the fact that they are more or less permanent urban dwellers making their contribution to economic and social life within the limits defined for them by their legal status which has been laid down both by central and local government policy. These sub-communities must be seen, therefore, as parts of their respective urban milieux. In a sense they are essentially appendages of the politically and economically dominant White urban populations, but (without taking physical characteristics into consideration) it is possible to identify a broad network of social relations connecting the members of these Coloured sub-communities in spite of the fact that some of these relations do extend inevitably also to certain members of the African and White "groups" living in these urban areas. Each urban area is made up of several Coloured sub-communities each occupying a common area (territory) and generally sharing common sentiments.

Often identified with the urban Cape Coloured population are the Cape Malays[2] numbering in 1951, 62,807 persons, the majority of whom inhabit the urban areas in and around Cape Town. In spite of the fact that a high degree of interaction takes place between them, however, the urban Cape Coloureds (Christians) and the

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1. see Appendix A for bibliography.

2. [illegible] Appendix A for bibliography.

Cape Malays (Moslems) should be treated as separate sub-communities in any sociological enquiry. The other section of the Cape Coloured urban population includes those people living in the smaller towns and dorps.[1] The distinction between this section and those in the metropolitan areas and large towns is made primarily on differences in population size and the corresponding differences in complexity of social organization. Thus we may classify a small town or a dorp as any township with a population of less than 2000 having some form of local government. The proviso, however, is made that the affairs of local government in a small town or dorp are completely dominated by the White inhabitants to avoid the inclusion of certain non-White settlements (e.g. mission stations) in this classification.

Obviously the dividing line between larger dorps and towns is rather tenuous, but broadly speaking the difference is essentially one of scale. The reason for making the distinction is to stress the fact that there are structural differences between those Coloured sub-communities that belong to towns and cities, and those that belong to the smaller towns or dorps. In the small towns and dorps a greater degree of residential separation between Whites and non-Whites appears to be found than in the cities and larger towns,[1] since the majority of Coloured people live in locations usually separated from the "White" sector by a considerable distance.

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1. [illegible] for Bibliography.

1. At any rate prior to the advent of the Group Areas Act.

[illegible][1]

According to the agricultural census of 1952 approximately 85,000 Coloured men and 7,000 Coloured women were actively employed on White-owned farms, while the total Coloured population on the farms in 1951 was roughly 200,000.

Obviously these farm labourers and their families do not collectively constitute a community or even a sub-community. Nevertheless they do constitute a category of Coloured people who share a common status in that each person or family, apart from being employed by a White farmer, is almost entirely dependent on him for the necessities of living - wages, housing, social services of various kinds including assistance in the settlement of disputes that may arise. In a sense each family or group of families and its farmer, together with the farmer's family, constitutes a little community with a rigidly enforced master-servant relationship between post adolescent Whites and Coloureds. Some of these little communities are more or less permanent, but in recent years movement to the towns (where there is more freedom and where higher wages are paid) and the utilisation of casual labourers by farmers has tended to weaken their solidarity.

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1. [illegible]

[illegible] mission stations [illegible] Cape [illegible][1]

In the Western Cape Province there are at present five mission stations each consisting of land held by a religious body such as a mission society in trust for certain Coloured people who occupy the land. These mission stations, Ebenezer, [illegible], Genadendal, Mamre, Pniel, and Zoar[1] are administered under the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act. But formerly they were managed by resident missionaries with the help of Church officials appointed from the local inhabitants. The Churches thus controlled not only the spiritual life in these communities but provided also a system of local government.

The main purpose of applying the Mission Stations Act was to separate secular and religious matters in the field of local administration and establish Boards of Management with powers and functions similar to those of Village Management Boards. Under this Act the registered male members of each community elected six representatives to their local Board, while the Central Government appointed three members (one of whom was nominated by the Church) plus a chairman-superintendent who had a casting as well as a deliberative vote.

It is of considerable importance to stress the obvious fact that, unlike the categories of Coloured people we have already discussed, the permanent inhabitants of these mission stations play an important part in local

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1. [illegible]

1. Enon, a sixth community, is in the Eastern Cape Province.

government. Furthermore, apart from contacts with missionaries and a few traders and government officials, the members of these communities have little direct contact with Whites, except when they are temporarily absent from home as many of them for economic and other reasons have occasion to be. These mission stations, therefore, must be seen as relatively isolated rural villages having a predominantly farming population held together by the bonds of Church membership, local government, and other community ties. Some of the inhabitants of these mission stations work on neighbouring European farms as casual labourers, others spend the greater part of the year in employment in the towns, and a few people from Mamre and Pniel are commuters to Cape Town and other towns.

Communal reserves.[1]

A detailed account of the communal reserves in Namaqualand is given in subsequent chapters. Here we draw attention to the fact that these communities - Concordia, Leliefontein, Komaggas, Steinkopf, and Richtersveld - are administered under the same Act as the six mission stations mentioned above. There are differences, however, in the application of this Act to communal reserves although the system of administration is virtually the same. In 1959 the contiguous mission areas of Rietpoort, Stofkraal, and Lepelfontein in the district of Van Rhynsdorp were proclaimed a reserve under the Act.

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1. See Appendix A for Bibliography.

Mission stations under church jurisdiction[1]

There are two additional categories of mission stations inhabited by Coloured people :

(a) The mission stations of Elim, Saron, and Wupperthal, which are controlled (and owned) by certain Church bodies. These communities are essentially mission communities from which the residents may be dismissed by the Church body concerned through the local Church councils if they are regarded as unsatisfactory members of their respective communities. Thus the form of local government is inextricably interwoven with Church administration and approximates to the form of local government previously found in those mission stations now administered under the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act.

(b) The second of these categories includes those communities living on Crown Land under the spiritual jurisdiction of certain Church bodies. The official status of these stations is difficult to define since they have no recognised system of local government. The Churches, however, appear to exercise a certain amount of unofficial administrative control in addition to fulfilling their spiritual duties, and in certain of these communities a traditional system of local government still exists. The communities in this category include Pella, and Rietfontein in the district of Gordonia.

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1. [illegible] for bibliography.

In addition to the categories of Cape Coloured people already listed, we must add the individual Coloured farmers and families in different parts of the country; Coloured groups living on Crown Lands under state control e.g. those at Goodhouse, Kylemore, Mier and Eksteenkuil; a number of Coloured families living on land which they inherited or received in trust from the State e.g. the Coloureds of Teslaarsdal near Caledon; and finally the remnants of a group of Griqua small-holders near Knysna.

x x x x x

From the preceding discussion it will be seen that the community of Steinkopf constitues only a very small section of the Cape Coloured people. This study, therefore, is essentially a study of one small community which is but a component of one of the categories of Coloured people we have listed, and the manner in which it has changed since it began a century and a half ago. Before we begin to describe this community, however, we must attempt to place it in its geographical and historical setting, and see also where it fits into the social structure of the composite society of which it is a part. Furthermore, it does not follow that the people of Steinkopf have more in common (apart from their legal status) with all other Coloured people than they have with certain White people. Indeed it can be shown that the customs and culture shared by the people of Steinkopf resemble more closely the customs and culture of the rural White population of Namaqualand than, for instance, the customs and culture of the urban Coloureds of the Cape Peninsula.

Chapter 3.

NAMAQUALAND

Before the period of European expansion in South and South-West Africa the area now known as Namaqualand was inhabited by that broad division of the Khoi Khoin known as the Naman or Namaqua. Geographically it was customary to distinguish between two divisions of this territory, Great and Little Namaqualand, separated from each other by the Orange River. Great Namaqualand extended from the Orange River in the south to the Swakop River in the north, and was bounded in the east and west by the Atlantic Ocean and the Kalahari Desert. Little Namaqualand coincided with what is now the magisterial district of Namaqualand in the Republic of South Africa.

The people who inhabited these two divisions of what was really a common territory were classified by the Dutch settlers as the Great and Little Namaqua.[1] The Great Namaqua are said to have been subdivided into seven tribal groups with one or two offshoots. The Little Namaqua were also made up of several tribes and were the first of the Namaqua to lose their tribal cohesion. Large numbers of these people together with other Khoin Khoin crossed the Orange River into South-West Africa during the first half of the nineteenth century to escape from the northerly migration of Europeans and people of mixed descent (the Basters). Here they were known collectively by the Great Namaqua as Oǿrlams. The origin of this name is uncertain but it seems to have been applied to those Khoin Khoin whose culture

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1. For details regarding the distribution and culture of the Namaqua see :
   I. Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa.
   A. W. Hoernle, "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of South-West Africa", in American Anthropologist, Vol. 27, 1925.
   H. Vedder, "The Nama" in The Native Tribes of South West Africa.
   See also Schapera's bibliography op. cit. p. 48

had been influenced by the colonists with whom they had come in contact.[1] Nowadays the word oorlam (sic) is used by the Coloured people of the North-West Cape to refer to sophisticated people, or as they express it, "mense wat 'n klein bietjie slim is."[1]

The other group of people living in parts of both Little and Great Namaqualand was the Bushman. Although comparatively little is known about their numbers and movements, archaeological evidence suggests that the Bushmen were scattered over the whole of South Africa before the arrival of the Khoi Khoin and Bantu-speaking peoples.[2] And in Namaqualand small bands of Bushmen seem to have occupied parts of the territory up to 1850 and even later.[3]

In South African history Little Namaqualand as a cultural area must be seen primarily as a buffer or interstitial zone between the bearers of two traditions, the Namaqua in the north and the Europeans (notably Cape Dutch) in the south. This thesis deals with some of the manifestations of contact between these two groups of people and the Bushmen, although the emphasis is on the contemporary scene rather than on the history.

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1. Schapera, op. cit. p.49, and Vedder op. cit., pp 115-118

2. Schapera, op. cit. pp. 26-31.
P.V.Tobias, "Bushman Hunter-Gatherers" to appear in Ecology in South Africa, to be published by Dr. W. Junk.

3. Report on Coloured Mission Stations, Reserves, and Settlements, U.G. 33-1947, p.79. Schapera, op.cit. p. 38-40.
See also p.68 .

LITTLE NAMAQUALAND.

Little Namaqualand[1] is the most north-westerly district of the Cape Province and has the largest surface area, 18,518 square miles. In the north, it is separated from South-West Africa by the last 200 miles of the Orange River, and to the west, the coast is washed for about 100 miles by the cold Benguela Current. The easterly and southerly extremities join the arid, thinly populated districts of Kenhardt, Calvinia, and Van Rhynsdorp.

Throughout the year the countryside has a desert appearance, although in exceptional years, when the rainfall is adequate, the desert is transformed into a paradise of wild flowers. There are no permanent rivers apart from the Orange River in the extreme north.

The population is small and scattered and its density is roughly 1.76 persons per square mile. In 1951 the total population was 32,635,[2] consisting of 8,500 (26.1%) Whites, 21,018 (64.4%) Coloureds, 3,115 (9.5%) Africans, and 2 Asiatics. 52.5% of the White and 24.2% of the Coloured population lived in small towns[3] where the majority of the African population who are migrant mine workers are employed. Just under half of the total Coloured population live permanently in reserves: Concordia, Komaggas, Leliefontein, Richtersveld and Steinkopf.[4]

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1. See also P...Kotzé, Namakwaland, 'n Sosiologiese studie van 'n Geïsoleerde Gemeenskap (1942).
and K. Dowdel, Bibliography on Namaqualand (195) University of Cape Town Library.

2. 1951 Census.

3. Approximately 36% of the total population live in these small towns - Alexander Bay, Garies, Kamieskroon, Kleinzee, Nababeep, O'okiep, Port Nolloth, Springbok.

4. The remaining 26% of the Coloured population live on white-owned farms or in the small dorps or just outside the boundaries of the small towns.

The growth of Namaqualand's population[1] between 1921 and 1951 expressed in terms of "racial" categories is shown in Table II. In Tables III and IV the changes in the proportions of the Coloured and White urban and rural populations during this period are recorded. Eliminating the possibility of immigration to the district these figures show that :

(a) There has been a very slow increase in the White population, expecially from 1936 onwards. And since the natural increase in the White population between the years 1946 and 1951 was 1342[2] whereas the actual increase was only 22 it is evident that the slow rate of increase has been due to a high rate of emigration from the magisterial district. (During the period 1946-1951 the birth rate of Whites was approximately 30.0 while the death rate was approximately 6.0).[2]

(b) The Coloured population has also increased slowly and this may be explained partly by the relatively high death rate (approximately 20.0 during the period 1946-1951; the birth rate was approximately 43.0 during the same period)[2] and emigration from the magisterial district. The natural increase in the Coloured population was 2791[2] between 1946 and 1951, whereas the actual increase was 1579 during the same period.

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1. See Kotze, op.cit., Chapter 5 for an alysis of the population between the years 1865 and 1936.

2. Calculated from figures supplied by the magistrate at Springbok.

(c) The Native (African) male population has increased rapidly since 1936. This has been due to the opening of the Copper mines which recruited labour from African territories.

In view of the fact that the 1951 census classified all Khoi Khoin and Bushmen as Natives, the number of these persons should really be deducted from the total Native population (to make the 1951 census consistent with former censuses) and added to the total Coloured population. This has not been done, but I have estimated that between 600 and 800 persons fall into this category.

(d) There are significant differences in the masculinity ratios of the various racial categories, viz:-

White rural	115.5	All these calculations are based on the 1951 census.
White urban	135.1	
Total White	125.4	
Coloured rural	103.1	
Coloured urban	96.2	
Total Coloured	101.5	
Total Natives (mainly urban)	565.6	

Apart from the Native population which consists mainly of male migratory labourers these masculinity ratios are difficult to explain. There is a suggestion, however, that among the Whites, females (particularly in the urban areas) tend to leave the district permanently, whereas among the Coloured population there is evidence to suggest that more females from the rural areas than males tend nowadays to settle permanently in the urban areas.

(e) Prior to 1946, Namaqualand's population was essentially rural. But in recent years both the White and Coloured sections (especially the former) have drifted to the expanding urban areas, or, as we have shown, left the district permanently. Change in the actual size of the Coloured rural population, however, has been small since 1921: it has increased slightly. The White rural population declined rapidly between 1936 and 1946, but showed only a small decline during the subsequent five years.

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TABLE II

GROWTH OF NAMAQUALAND'S POPULATION (1921 - 1951)

Year of Census	Whites				Asiatics			Coloureds				Natives				All Races			
	M	F	T		M	F	T	M	F	T		M	F	T		M	F	T	
			No.	%						No.	%			No.	%			No.	%
1921	3227	2907	6134	29	-	-	-	7544	7595	15139	70	100	94	194	1	10871	10596	21467	100
1936	4528	3807	8335	32	1	-	1	8781	8453	17234	67	165	112	277	1	13475	12372	25847	100
1946	4631	3847	8478	28	4	7	11	9950	9489	19439	65	2068	131	2199	7	16653	13474	30127	100
1951	4729	3771	8500	26	2	-	2	10583	10435	21018	64	2647	468	3115	10	17961	14674	32635	100

TABLE III

Changes in the proportions of Namaqualand's Coloured urban-rural population 1921-1951

	Rural				Urban			
Year of Census	M	F	T	%	M	F	T	%
1921	7446	7495	14941	98.7	98	100	198	1.3
1936	7567	7037	14604	84.7	1214	1416	2630	15.3
1946	8250	7713	15963	81.6	1700	1776	3476	18.4
1951	8093	7846	15939	75.8	2490	2589	5079	24.2

TABLE IV

Changes in the proportions of Namaqualand's White urban-rural population 1921-1951

	Rural				Urban			
Year of Census	M	F	T	%	M	F	T	%
1921	3128	2801	5929	96.7	99	106	205	3.3
1936	3779	3128	6907	82.7	749	679	1428	17.3
1946	2622	2333	4955	58.4	2009	1514	3523	41.6
1951	2164	1873	4037	47.5	2565	1898	4463	52.5

Geographically[1] Little Namaqualand may be divided into three zones: the sandveld or desert coastal belt, the mountain belt, and Bushmanland or the plateau. The social ecology of the territory is largely determined by these natural divisions, thus it is important for us to see them in relation to the people who inhabit each zone.

The sandveld stretches along the whole length of the coast, extending inland from the sea to the western slopes of the escarpment, a long narrow belt varying from 20 to 30 miles in breadth. The annual rainfall is scanty, two to five inches, falling mainly in the winter months. Apart from the strong southerly winds that blow during the summer months the climate is mild and pleasant. The mean annual temperature at Port Nolloth is 57.6°F (mean minimum 49°F, mean maximum 66°F) rising as one goes inland. As a consequence of the low rainfall and the sandy nature of the soil there is no agriculture. Small herds of sheep and goats, however, thrive on the many varieties of succulents and dry grasses in places where over-stocking has not occurred. In the winter months, after rain, all kinds of nourishing herbs, known as opslag, spring up suddenly and grow rapidly to provide good pasture. The opslag fattens animals very quickly and many farmers, notably the Trekboers, from the other zones migrate temporarily during winter to take advantage of it.

The farmers (Europeans), who live in the sandveld are all extremely poor, and have to augment their small incomes made from goats and sheep by other means, such as

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1. See Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, No. 19, 1938, Chapter 1.

employment on the mines, where they earn enough to support their families and to save considerable sums. A few Coloured people are found on certain European farms where they herd and do other work in return for very low wages. In recent years these labourers have tended to leave the farms and find permanent employment, at a better wage, in the towns.

The largest groups of people on the sandveld are found on the two diamond mines - Alexander Bay and Kleinzee, - and at Port Nolloth, Namaqualand's small sea port, where there are two fisheries.

Parallel to the sandveld is the mountain belt, somewhat narrower than the former, stretching from the town of Garies in the south to the Richtersveld in the north where barren rocky mountains cause the Orange River to make its last great curve before reaching the sea. This zone has an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level and falls also within the winter rainfall area, receiving five to twelve inches annually, except in the extreme north, which seldom has more than two inches. In summer, temperatures rise to 90°F and higher, but generally extremes are great only in the north near the Orange River. The mean annual temperature is 64°F (mean minimum 52°F, mean maximum 76°F).

Cultivation, mainly of grain, is carried out in the valleys and each farmer usually keeps a few goats, sheep, and cattle for domestic purposes. Some of the wealthy farmers keep large flocks of sheep in Bushmanland where they are herded by Coloured shepherds. The soil is rich in parts where erosion has not set in, but everywhere

the shortage of permanent water makes farming precarious. Today the mountain belt cannot adequately support its population on farming alone. As a result the Europeans living on farms, and the Coloured people living in reserves, have generally to augment their income derived from farming by migrating for short or long periods to the towns.

Although a large percentage of the population is engaged in farming of some kind, or in some related occupation, mining is the most important economic activity just as it is in the sandveld. For here are the three copper mines, Concordia, Nababeep, and O'okiep, and the numerous small outcrops of minerals such as beryllium and scheelite which are mined by tributers and small companies. Apart from the three mining towns, other towns are found in the mountain zone: Springbok, the principal town of Namaqualand, the centre of business in the district and the seat of the resident magistrate, Garies, Kamieskroom and Steinkopf, small business centres catering for the needs of the surrounding farming population.

The third zone, a summer rainfall area, is known as Bushmanland, a plateau of just over 3,000 feet above sea level, stretching eastwards from the mountains. The rainfall is erratic and seldom more than five inches fall annually - frequently less than two inches for several consecutive years. The summer months are extremely hot, with temperatures rising to

100°F. Although the days are warm in winter, low temperatures are recorded at night. The mean annual temperature is roughly 67°F.

This vast plateau is covered mostly with sandy granite soils, and apart from the typical karoo bush, the sandy plains are covered with Bushman grasses. It is these grasses which provide the nourishing food on which the sheep and goats feed. Even when dry, they are able to maintain animals in good condition provided water is also available.

Formerly inhabited by Bushman bands, Bushmanland is now the home of the nomadic Trekboers, and a few sheep farmers. The Trekboers are the descendants of the frontiersmen of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They have no fixed place of abode and spend most of the year moving from place to place in their wagon homes, following their livestock searching for fresh pasture and water holes. Today there are only a few true Trekboer families left; many have been assimilated by the Coloured population in the reserves, while others have been attracted by well-paid jobs in the towns.

In order to understand the status of the Trekboer in Namaqualand it is necessary to distinguish these people from the Afrikaner farmers who are found throughout Namaqualand. The latter may be described as a peasant community eking out a subsistence usually by mixed farming; many live in crude houses and in

remote parts of the district. Nevertheless they are a settled people, apart from the fact that individuals and families migrate temporarily to the towns when farming fails. Permanence of residence, however, is not the only characteristic which distinguishes them from the Trekboers. The latter, as we have said, are the remnants of the old frontier society, people who lived a life of independence, cut off almost entirely from the rest of the world.[1] The Trekboers have retained the customs and standards of morality of their forbears, and have no regard for authority outside the elementary family, or group of elementary families which trek together.

Culturally, Little Namaqualand is predominantly a farming community, although in terms of production, diamond and copper mining, and fishing have become dominant economic activities during the past 20 years. As a result of industrial development and consequent urban expansion more and more opportunities are being made available for the employment of both the Coloured and White rural population in the towns and mines.

Yet in spite of the contacts which urbanisation has effected with the world outside, the true Namaqualander, White and non-White, is inclined still to regard his district as an independent country and looks upon all strangers and immigrants as foreigners "wat nie ons geaardenheid (sic) ken nie". Perhaps it is not surprising that this attitude prevails because, as late as 1938, ninety-three per cent of the White

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1. I.D.MacCrone, Race Attitudes in South Africa (1937) pp 98-136.

population was Namaqualand born, while two-thirds of the remainder came from other parts of the Western Cape Province.[1] Whereas isolation is without any doubt an important factor in the explanation of the attitudes and behaviour patterns in the area, there are other factors which have contributed to the character of the North-West.

When we look into the history[2] of this part of South Africa, we find that the original occupiers were Khoi Khoin and Bushmen, and that it was pioneered by half-breed Voortrekkers (the Basters) and missionaries. The Basters drove out the Bushmen, making it safe and habitable for the Boers and later colonists who followed. Only recently have Bantu-speaking people, the majority of whom are temporary migrant mine workers, arrived in the territory. Thus it is the pattern of social relationships and culture which developed mainly out of the Boer-Khoi Khoin complex that has made Namaqualand and surrounding districts a people separate from the rest of South Africa.

Apart from the clashes with the Bushman bands, the history of the North-West is free of inter-group warfare, although conflicts and rivalries did sometimes occur. On the contrary, the tendency in this part of Southern Africa was always towards integration, a phenomenon unusual on the eastern and north-eastern frontiers. In Little Namaqualand today manifestations of this process can be clearly seen. On the one hand

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1. P. J. Kotze, op. cit. p.56.
2. cf. Chapters 4, 13 and 14

there are the Coloured communities, consisting of peoples whose racial and cultural characteristics provide an example of the form of integration which resulted mainly from the contact of Cape Dutch and Khoi Khoin. On the other hand there are the customs which the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking White peasantry have taken over from the Coloured people, and in former years from the Khoi Khoin. And, of course, there is the tremendous body of European customs that has been passed on in comparatively modern times to the non-white communities. There is no need to elaborate on the latter process, but to illustrate some of the influences which the Khoi Khoin tradition has had on the European peasantry we should realise that twenty years ago roughly 19% of the Afrikaner farmers were living in Namaqua-type mathouses[1] while today Namaqua leechcraft and magic play a very important part in the daily lives of these farmers.

These processes, which have been arrested in recent years by external forces, are more clearly stated by Dr. T. N. Hanekom in the Eeufees-Gedenkboek (1850-1950) of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, although the author probably underestimates the influence of the Khoi Khoin and Basters on the cultural tradition of white inhabitants:

> "In die noordwaartse beweging van ons volk moet die aanraking met binnelandse inboorlingstamme

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1. P. W. Kotze, op. cit. p.86.

as van besondere betekenis aangemerk word. Die blote feit dat die ontmoeting tussen die Europeaan en die Bantoe so ongeveer in 1770 by die Groot Visrivier die begin was van nie minder as agt Kafferoorloë nie, is aanduiding genoeg dat ons in hierdie verband nie net van 'n aanraking maar van 'n botsing moet praat, maar bewys ook watter betekenis die aanraking van twee kultuurstrome vir die betrokke volksgroepe kan hê. Die swakkere element moes hom noodwendig aanpas of padgee: verander or verdwyn! Maar in hierdie proses was daar uit die aard van die saak wederkerige invloede wat op mekaar ingewerk het, en dit het miskien nog baie meer betekenis as gewelddadige botsings wat op 'n bepaalde tydstip plaasvind om later weer beëindig te word.

Dit het in 'n besondere sin betekenis vir die geskiedenis van die Noordweste, waar daar wel ook bloedige botsings in ons pioniersgeskiedenis, by name met die berugte Boesmans, plaasgevind het, maar waar daar in 'n hoë mate gepraat mag word van 'n vreedsame proses van verowering - 'n natuurlike ontwikkelingsproses wat daartoe gelei het dat Europeane en inboorlinge uiteindelik in dieselfde gebied saamgewoon het. En al kan ons nie vandag baie en duidelike spore van wedersydse beïnvloeding aanwys in hierdie dele nie, dan as daar tog aanduidinge dat ook die blanke in taal en gebruike „geleer" het van die inboorlinge, terwyl „laasgenoemde oneindig baie van blankes aangeneem het."[1]

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1. T.N.Hanekom, Die Gemeente Namakwaland, 'n Eeufees-Gedenkboek (1850-1950), p. 21

THE COLOURED RESERVES

We have already shown that about half the members of the Coloured population of Little Namaqualand have their homes in the reserves. These reserves originated as mission stations during the first half of the nineteenth century. Formal recognition was given to these mission stations and the territory around them by the Government of the Cape Colony in the shape of "tickets of occupation". These "tickets of occupation" gave them a sort of guarantee of their lands. Komaggas was recognised in 1843, and the other stations shortly after the territory north of the Buffels River was annexed in 1847.[1]

A system of government developed in all these mission stations (except the Richtersveld) in the form of an alliance between the missionary and the raad or council, the members of which were elected or appointed from certain sections of the population etc. The missionary presided over the raad. Although officially under the Colonial Government after the territory was annexed these communities tended to rule themselves. Serious offences such as murder, rape, and assault, however, were supposed to be referred to the nearest Civil Commissioner, and towards the end of the nineteenth century field-cornetcies were established on certain of the mission stations.

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1. Marais, op.cit. pp. 74-84, gives a useful description of the reserves and their history. See also the Melvill Report (G. 60 - 1890) pp. 4-5, and Notes and Proceedings of Parliament, Cape of Good Hope, Appendix 2, Vol. II, A. 7 - 1896, pp. 1-4 et passim

This period of relative autonomy in local affairs came to an end in these communities (except in the Richtersveld) shortly after 1909 when the Communal Reserves and Mission Stations Act was enforced. This Act which abolished the secular authority of the missionaries but retained certain features of the old raad was, as Marais has pointed out, framed on the analogy of the Glen Grey Act of 1894 (and its amendments) applicable to the Bantu-speaking peoples in the eastern part of the Colony.

The 'racial' composition of the five reserves in 1951 is set out in Table V below. These figures, it must be remembered, reflect the number of people in these areas on the day on which the census was taken, i.e. 8 May 1951. Thus, as regards the Coloured population we would have to add the number of migrant workers and other people absent from home on this day if we wished to arrive at the potential size of the population.[1] The 1,207 Whites are difficult to account for as the total number of missionaries, police, traders, prospectors, road-gang overseers and farmers grazing livestock on reserve commonage do not appear to be as numerous as this figure suggests. It is conceivable, therefore, that White farmers and their families living on the fringes of these reserves were included in the census returns for these areas.

As regards the 729 Natives, all except the 141 males recorded in the Concordia Reserve, who were African migrants working on the copper mine, appear to

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1. cf. p.93 ff.

be people of Khoi Khoi or Bushman descent who are now classified as Natives. It is strange, however, that only the Steinkopf and Richtersveld census figures reflect 'Natives' of this category when it is known that similar people live in the other reserves. Perhaps this anomaly can be explained by the fact that the different officials who assisted in the administration of the census had different criteria whereby they judged the racial categories of the people they enumerated.

TABLE V

Racial Composition of Namaqualand Coloured Reserves (1951)

Reserve	Whites			Coloureds			Natives			All Races			Density
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	persons per sq. mile
Steinkopf	36	19	55	1402	1484	2886	63	56	119	1501	1559	3060	2.4
Concordia	83	71	154	894	962	1856	141	-	141	1118	1033	2151	10.7
Komaggas	57	46	103	697	735	1432	-	-	-	754	781	1535	6.6
Leliefontein	139	113	252	1510	1449	2959	-	-	-	1649	1562	3211	4.3
Richtersveld	349	294	643	424	377	801	240	229	469	1013	900	1913	1.6
	664	543	1207	4927	5007	9934	444	285	729	6035	5835	11870	

Chapter 4.

FROM CAPTAIN TO SUPERINTENDENT[1]

The history of the Steinkopf Reserve may be divided into four periods: The Khoi Khoin period (1800 - 1840) when the territory was inhabited by a Khoi Khoin tribe and a few bands of Bushmen; the Baster and missionary period (1840 - 1913) when a more defined area was ruled by a Baster council presided over by a missionary-president; the period of European rule (1913 - 1952); and a fourth period which began a few years ago, characterised also by European rule though in a new form. This period we call Die Afrikaner Kinders (1952 -).

THE KHOI KHOIN PERIOD (1800 - 1840).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century most of the territory known as Little Namaqualand was claimed by Kupido Witbooi, kaptein[2] of the /Hobesen tribe. But his

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1. cf. G. Meyer, "Die Gemeente te Steinkopf", ms. (1927?).

2. The use of the word Kaptein by the Khoi Khoin for their chiefs is very old. Ten Rhyne (1686) tells us that: "Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains. They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross." - Willem Ten Rhyne, "A short Account of the Cape of Good Hope and of the Hottentots who inhabit that Region", in The Early Cape Hottentots, Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. No. 14, 1933, p. 135. In a footnote I. Schapera states: "This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority."

land was too large for him to manage alone, and while he occupied the eastern section of the territory he appointed the heads of two other tribes as <u>onder-kapteins</u> (assistant captains) to look after his interests in the central and western sections. The former he placed under the jurisdiction of <u>Kaptein</u> Vigiland Oorlam (who was later known as Abraham Vigiland) head of an off-shoot of the Gei//Khauan[1] tribe. The western section he put under Paul Links, an immigrant from the south who was acting-captain for a branch of the Swartboois.[2] Later these two areas became known as Steinkopf and the Richtersveld. All these Khoi Khoin living in Little Namaqualand at this time were known to the northern tribes as the Oorlams.

In addition to these Khoi Khoin tribes, small bands of Bushman plunderers roamed the territory. They found the Khoi Khoin easier prey than the Basters and the Dutch (both of whom possessed guns) in the south. There were few white men in Little Namaqualand at this time apart from a few hunters and explorers who occasionally passed through the territory.[3]

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1. The Gei//Khauan was formerly the senior tribe of the Great Namaqua. (Hoernlé' <u>op.cit.</u> p.5)

2. See p.374.

3. V.S.Forbes. "The Expanding Horizon: a Geographical Commentary upon routes, records, observations and opinions contained in selected documents concerning Travel at the Cape, 1750-1800". Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Rhodes University, 1958.

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century two important events took place in Little Namaqualand, events which were responsible for remoulding the former pattern of social relationships. The first was the northerly migration of Easter families who had hitherto lived mainly in the southern half of the north-western Cape Colony. The Basters were the descendants of Dutch colonist and frontiersman fathers, and Namaqua and Cape Khoi Khoin mothers.[1] Their culture was neither Khoi Khoin nor Dutch but is best described as a synthesis of the two traditions. They considered themselves superior to their maternal ancestors and tended to marry amongst themselves, although some did marry Khoi Khoin women while others again were absorbed back into the ranks of the Dutch. These Basters, who were the Voortrekkers of Little Namaqualand[2] were largely responsible for defeating and driving out the Bushman and in certain communities they also usurped the power of the Khoi Khoin. The vanguard of the trek in that part of the territory under the jurisdiction of Abraham Vigiland settled at Besondermeid, a few miles south of the present village of Steinkopf.

The second event was the arrival in 1805 of the London Missionary Society[3] (L. M. S.). Operating both north and south of the Orange River, they began convertin the heathern and carrying out those secular duties usually associated with mission work. Between 1810 and 1816 they

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1. cf. Chapter 7 and
   E. Fischer, Die Rehobother Bastards und das Bastardierungsproblem beim Menschen (1913) P.41, et passim.

2. J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, p. 11.
   P.J. van der Merwe, Trek. Kaapstad. 1945. P.207.

3. cf. J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, (1911), pp. 112 - 19.
   J.A. Heese, "Onderwys in Namakwaland", (1942), pp. 132 - 3, et passim.

established a station at Besondermeid where the Basters had settled. It is probable that they chose this site because the Basters had guns and they could protect them from the sorties of the Bushmen, and also because these "half breeds" would have been familiar with at least some of the tenets of Christian teaching; and they spoke Dutch.

The immediate problem that the eary missionaries had to solve was not introducing Christian beliefs to a pagan people, but keeping in touch with a scattered nomadic population. Conversion appears in fact to have been effected relatively easily. One of the explanations of this phenomenon may be that the Khoi Khoin's traditional conceptions of God and the Devil were close enough to Christian ideas to enable these pagans to grasp the new religious concepts easily. But we should stress the most important factor that traditionally Khoi Khoin chiefs and captains had few ritual functions, so that in the field of religion the possibility of rivalry was unlikely.[1] There were other factors as well. In the first place the Basters and many of the Khoi Khoin had been in contact with the Dutch tradition in former years when they lived in the southern part of the western Cape. Secondly, the Khoi Khoin tribes had lost a great deal of their former cohesion in the conflicts of the frontier society, and the Baster families were without any form of central authority. Thus the London Mission-

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1. I.Schapera, Government and Politics in Tribal Societies, p.83

aries did not have to compete with powerful leaders as did their colleagues in other parts of Africa.

The L.M.S. preached the Gospel periodically in Little Namaqualand until 1838, "but gave it up as they thought this dry and barren land was not fit for erecting fixed stations in it. And .....as the Rhenish Mission Society intended to commence mission work in Great Namaqua, Damara and Ovamboland, etc., they (the L.M.S.) left this land and gave it to the Rhenish Society."[1] This was how the Rhenish Mission Society (R.M.S.) took over the work of the L.M.S.

When the R.M.S. began its work in Steinkopf in 1840 the seeds of a Christian community had already been sown by their predecessors: a scattered "congregation" existed, but no church, in the sense that there was no cohesive religious institution. Not every inhabitant of the territory was a baptised Christian but the impression given by the early missionaries is that many were active converts.[2]

At this time there were three distinct groups of people living in the territory now known as Steinkopf: the original Khoi Khoin, the Basters, and a few Bushman bands.

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1. The Reverend F. Brecher's petition to the Honourable the Speaker and Members of the House of Assembly (1891).
   See Appendix "B".

2. James Backhouse, A Narrative of a visit to Mauritius and South Africa (1844).
   "Diary of James Kitchingman" (1820), missionary at Steinkopf.

The Khoi Khoin were united under the leadership of Kaptein Abraham Vigiland, who, with the aid of his council ruled the territory. Witbooi does not appear to have interfered with the internal government of Steinkopf although when he heard that Basters had settled at Besondermeid he visited Kobus Engelbrecht, the leader of these Basters, and made it quite clear that Vigiland was his (Witbooi's) official representative in this part of the territory. Vigiland's council consisted of the senior male of each clan, and each clan appears also to have had its own council. Thus in Little Namaqualand at this time there appear to have been three main Oorlam tribes, and although one of them claimed seniority over the others, each seems in practice to have been a separate political community. Witbooi may have claimed to control the whole territory, but in fact he did not, mainly because the area was too large for him to administer, but also because the traditional tribal affiliations south of the Orange River had been reorganised. In Steinkopf, Vigiland was the acknowledged political leader of the Oorlam Khoi Khoin who lived in the central part of Little Namaqualand north of the Buffel's River. This territory was considered as belonging to the political community (the tribe), though each clan usually had claim to a spring or water-hole. Little is known of Vigiland's powers and duties as Kaptein, but they appear, according to local historians,[1] to have been limited to

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1. See also Meyer, op. cit. p.4
"Rhenish Mission Society Notes", at Steinkopf

matters which affect the community as a whole: he presided over the tribal council and mobilised the men during Bushman raids. The headmen of the clans were responsible for matters affecting the members of their clans: they settled disputes with the assistance of other senior men, and organised the cleaning of water-holes and springs.[1]

When the missionaries arrived at Steinkopf the Oorlam Khoi Khoin were still a semi-nomadic pastoral people, keeping cattle, sheep, and goats, and their staple diet was meat and milk augmented by veldkost. The social structure of the community in general also appears to have resembled very closely the pattern described by Schapera for the Khoi Khoin as a whole.

The Basters too were a semi-nomadic pastoral people, but they also grew wheat, a practice which they had learnt from the London missionaries.[2]

The ranks of the Bushmen had by this time been greatly depleted by the Basters, but they were still a constant source of danger to the latter and the Khoi Khoin.

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1. For a discussion of the powers and duties of other Khoi Khoi chiefs, see: I. Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, pp. 328-36, and Government and Politics in Tribal Societies, pp.82-5.

2. "Diary of James Kitchinman," 1820.

THE BASTER AND MISSIONARY PERIOD (1840-1913)

Probably the turning point in the history of Steinkopf at this time was the arrival, in 1843, of a very young and energetic missionary, Ferdinand Brecher, who was to play a major role in the social life of the community up to the time of his death in 1902. One of the first things that Brecher did was to move the station's headquarters from Besondermeid to an uninhabited area between the Baster and Khoi Khoin settlements where there were two good springs. Here he built a church and a mission house with the help of the Christians. He established a proper school and encouraged more extensive agriculture. Here at Kookfontein (later called Steinkopf, after Dr. Steinkopf, the great spiritual leader of the R.M.S.) were the beginnings of a settled community and village life. Religion and education, which had formerly tended to be confined to the family, now became communal activities. And not only were different lineages brought together but Khoi Khoin and Baster (and a few Bushmen) worshipped in the newly constructed church and attended school together. Thus, largely through the establishment of these two institutions, a school and a church, the way was paved for two separate communities, Khoi Khoin and Baster, to become fused together in a common society. Another factor which helped to unite these two groups was their common enemy the Bushmen. But the process of fusion was not without conflicts and jealousies. The Khoi Khoin on the one hand, resented the presence of the Basters whom they saw as political rivals, while the latter were not prepared to remain subservient to an "inferior" people.

One of the results of the tension was that Kaptein Vigiland left Steinkopf with a large section of his people to search for a new tract of country in South West Africa. It is probable also, although he was a Christian, that he resented the growing power of the missionary as a secular leader in the community.

In his absence, Vigiland was obliged to entrust the territory to the care of Jacobus Engelbrecht who had risen to senior position on the council. In this connection there is a legend which illustrates very clearly the attitude of the Basters to the Khoi Khoin. We are told that, as Vigiland's wagon moved off in the direction of South West Africa, Engelbrecht turned his back, and tearing up the document authorising him to act as kaptein, muttered, "Ek sal nie onder 'n Hottentot staan nie!"

Vigiland returned some years later with only a few of the families that had gone with him. He died the same day after drinking a cup of very strong tea, a luxury he was never able to resist. We discussed the cause of the old kaptein's death many times while I was at Steinkopf and the conclusion I have come to is that someone put poison in his tea. This was never actually mentioned, but an old man who has the reputation for being a good and reliable historian, said to me one day during my last visit while we were having tea together, "You know, there is one thing I have not told you: tea alone has never killed anybody yet!"

After Vigiland's death in (1840) Jacobus Engelbrecht became kaptein as the former had no son to succeed him, and

the latter had acted in this capacity during his absence. With the passing of the kapteinskap to the Basters, the Khoi Khoin lost not only their power, but also their representation on the community's council. Political power was now in the hands of the Basters and the missionary, who became president of the council.

Four years after Brecher's arrival at Kookfontein, now called Steinkopf, the boundary of the Cape Colony was extended from the Buffel's River to the Orange, and the Captains of Little Namaqualand became British subjects. This is how Brecher describes the annexation.[1] "The natives of the land were a freed people and were against the extension of the Colony from the Buffel's to the Orange River, but when, in 1846, the Government intended to extend the boundary, the natives were requested by the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Mr. Ryneveld of Clanwilliam, whether they would like to become British subjects or not. I advised them to give their consent to this request on account that the British Government was a good Christian Government which would do them no harm but protect them against anyone who might like to do them wrong.[2] So the Captains of Steinkopf[3] and the Orange River[4] gave their consent to the proposition of the Government, and my Captain at Steinkopf said, 'Wat de groote Baas wil doen, daar kunnen wy niet voor, wy met ons volk onderwerpen ons aan de koningin met deze condisie, dat Harer Majestyds Gouvernement voor ons en ons volk onzen

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1. Appendix "B".
2. cf. Report on Coloured Mission Stations, Reserves and Settlements, U.G. 33-1947, p.77.
3. Jakobus Engelbrecht.
4. Paul Links. Kupido Witbooi had crossed the Orange River with his tribe earlier.

van ouds af bewoonden grond moet beschermen tegen Boeren en anderen die niet van ons zijn, opdat wy een gerust stil en eerlyk leven voerer kannen.' These words I told His Excellency, Governor Barkly, when His Excellency paid us a visit in August 1873, and which words to hear pleased His Excellency very much. By this opportunity His Excellency, the Governor, said to me, 'Mr. Brecher, you must have a good community, as Mr. Boyes, the Magistrate at Springbok, told me that as long as he has been magistrate at Springbok, never a case has come before him from Steinkopf.' "

Annexation was proclaimed on December 17, 1847, and Steinkopf as part of Little Namaqualand fell under the sovereignty of Great Britain. But for ten years little if any contact was established between the Government of the Cape Colony and the community of Steinkopf where kaptein Jacobus Engelbrecht, assisted by the missionary, still ruled. In 1856, however, a Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate was appointed to take charge of the newly created fiscal division of Little Namaqualand, and from his headquarters at Springbokfontein (now Springbok) this official administered the Khoi Khoin, Basters, Dutch and Bushmen inhabiting the territory. Field cornetcies were established, and as far as Steinkopf and other "native" areas were concerned, a period of indirect rule began.

Jacobus Engelbrecht, who had held the position of kaptein in his community, was officially appointed field cornet and received a salary of £12 per year from the Colonial Secretary.[1] This appointment abolished the title of

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1. Letter dated December 10, 1857, from the Colonial Secretary to Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate at Springbokfontein, Namaqualand. (Cape Archives.)

kaptein and with it, in theory, if not in practice, the traditional authority of its holder. Through this method of administration the Civil Commissioner was of the opinion that the "natives" would gradually "become subservient to our laws and customs."[1]

There does not appear to have been much interference in local affairs by the Colonial Government, except that all regulations for the management of the community were subject to its approval, and the right to search for and mine ores, metals, other minerals, and precious stones was reserved for persons authorised by it. Act 10 of 1870 gave the regulations the force of law, but Act 29 of 1881 repealed it and the regulations officially fell away with it. Thus from 1881 to 1913, when the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act No. 29 of 1909 was enforced, local regulations existed without the legal backing of any outside authority. Nevertheless, all cases of "murder, rape, and theft" were required by law to be brought before the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate.

1850s Copper

Although Steinkopf, which at this time included Concordia, was proclaimed a reserve in 1874, boundary disputes have never been satisfactorily settled owing to the fact that the proposals of the numerous surveyors were never accepted by Parliament. Even today the inhabitants of Steinkopf look at their shrunken boundaries as a reminder of disputes which were never settled

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1. Letter dated August 19, 1857, from Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate at Springbokfontein, Namaqualand, to Colonial Secretary. (Cape Archives).

in their favour.

A separate volume could be devoted entirely to boundary disputes and the period of indirect rule which followed the annexation of Little Namaqualand, but for our purposes we should regard the years between 1847 and 1913 as the period during which the present boundaries of the Steinkopf Reserve were determined, and the then Central Government prepared the way for the enforcement of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act and its subsequent amendments. This Act, as we shall see later, places a community which was originally independent, under the full authority, though in a disguised form, of the Government of the Union of South Africa. Thus the aspirations of the first Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in the area have in fact been fulfilled.

During the years following Kaptein Vigiland's death and the Basters' sudden rise to power, a system of government developed which was characterised by the close co-operation between the Church and the community's council or raad. The missionary, in addition to being the head of the Church, became President of the raad and carried out his work in this dual capacity until the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act effected the separation of power between Church and "State". This system of government is of great importance in understanding not only the political system of contemporary Steinkopf but many other aspects of its social structure. Further, a large number of the tensions which occur today are the result of enforced legislation which conflicts

with established practices and values.

In 1870 some of the laws and regulations enforced by the raad were written down by the missionary-president for the approval of the Civil Commissioner, under the title of "Short rules laid down for the Rhenish Mission Institution of Steinkopf, Namaqualand".[1]

The raad consisted of eight people, the missionary-president, the field cornet or veldkornet (the former kaptein) and six councillors, styled corporals or korporaals. It ruled the whole community and all other people living in the territory of Steinkopf in all matters, having judicial, legislative and executive powers. "For this object (they chose) the best Law Book in the whole world as (their) advisor and guide, namely the Holy Scripture or Holy Bible, which is the revealed word of God. According to this book (were) judged and decided all cases and differences between parties of the community, however, with the understanding that if any person or persons (were not) satisfied with the decision of the council, such person or persons (were) at liberty to seek their right at the local court of the magistrate or Supreme Court."[2]

The missionary-president's position on the raad must be seen as the complement to that of the veldkornet. He performed the role of advisor to the latter, but never interfered with any of his decisions or the decisions of the raad. He does not appear to have had a vote on the raad, but always acted as chairman at meetings.

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1. Appendix C.

2. See Appendix C.

When the Colonial Government interfered or attempted to interfere with local affairs, the missionary-president advised the raad how best to cope with the difficulty. Hence we find a regular correspondence between him and the Colonial Secretary in Cape Town over questions such as boundary disputes and Boer encroachment. Further, it was he who initiated the agitation and wrote a petition[1] to the Governor after the second assistant surveyor-general had recommended without consulting the raad that a system of individual land tenure should replace the old communal system.[2]

The missionary-president was essentially an integrated member of Steinkopf society and his only face-to-face contacts with members of his own cultural tradition were occasional meetings with other missionaries. Thus, as a member of the community, and as a person who had had experience of the European tradition, he was well-equipped both socially and intellectually for his special role in the political field.

The veldkornet was the senior member of the raad and the traditional leader of the community. His title, as we have already pointed out, was given to him by the Colonial Government, and replaced the former title of kaptein. His position as senior councillor was an hereditary office but was supposed to be confirmed by a popular vote. This confirmation was required by the Colonial Government, but it is unlikely that it ever

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1. Appendix "B".
2. S.Melvill, Report on the Lands in Little Namaqualand. (G. 60-1890).

took place. His activities in political affairs were of a dual nature. As veldkornet he was responsible to the Civil Commissioner to whom he was supposed to refer all cases of murder, rape and theft, and he had power of arrest, a power which he seldom used on his own people. As senior councillor in Steinkopf he commanded great respect and wielded great authority; he was one man whom everyone, old and young, obeyed, and a legend has it that he used to forbid the Civil Commissioner to interfere with his people. The veldkornet's power, therefore, came from two sources, the Colonial Government and the community of Steinkopf. He retained only some of the power of the traditional kaptein, but the fact that he belonged to the Engelbrecht lineage gave him added prestige. The Engelbrechts resemble in physical type their Dutch rather than their Khoi Khoin forbears; they were the first of the Baster Voortrekkers to reach Steinkopf, and, as we have said, they were largely responsible for killing off or driving away the wild Bushmen with the aid of their guns.

The rest of the raad consisted of six councillors, known as korporaals, who sat on the council with the veldkornet and the president. Each of these councillors was nominated by the members of a wyk (ward), a territorial division, and elected at a general meeting of burghers.[1] Korporaals once elected held office for life.

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1. The burghers consisted of the male heads of those elementary families who had full status as members of the community. New comers to the community were called 'strangers' (see Appendix "E") and had to apply to the raad for burgher status.

Electoral procedure began with general talk among the members of the wyk. This was followed shortly afterwards by an informal local meeting at which a senior burgher would be nominated, but his appointment as korporaal was always subject to confirmation at a general meeting where he would be automatically elected.

Conflicts, we are told, did sometimes arise in the nomination of korporaals where the burghers of a wyk were divided in the selection of their nominee. But these conflicts were always resolved locally and no case is reported of an opposing candidate being proposed at a general meeting, which merely gave its formal approval to nominations. It is probable that the election stage was introduced by the missionary to satisfy the Civil Commissioner that the raad was not a self-appointed body.

The Church-State alliance was not characterised merely by the fact that the missionary sat on both the raad and the Kerkraad (Church council). Apart from its religious functions, the latter body did also have clearly defined judicial functions which were subordinate to the raad. The Kerkraad in fact used also to be known as the sagteraad (lenient council) because cases were often brought before it instead of going to the higher court. Of course, when it failed to find a satisfactory solution the matter was automatically referred to the raad. This principle of different levels of authority may be extended still further when we consider the fact that all offences were dealt with first in the family or lineage, before being handed over to a higher authority. An illustration of the close connection between Church and community affairs

is clearly seen in the law which applied to the offences of fornication and adultery.[1]

Although the Kerkraad and the raad carried out their duties separately, they were not really separate bodies, for the missionary was chairman of both, and familiar with all their activities. Thus he merely changed his role depending on which council he was presiding over: he was one individual but two persons. Further, there was always a duplication of members on both councils. It was customary, as it is today, for one member of the Kerkraad to be represented on the raad, although in practice there were always two or three. Those individuals who served on both councils merely changed their roles like the missionary.

The functions of the raad were numerous. Its local duties consisted of the administration of the law, control of land and grazing, the organisation of public services, taxation , finance and welfare. A great deal of its time was taken up with external affairs: settling disputes with the Dutch farmers, who grazed their animals illegally on Steinkopf territory, dealing with boundary disputes, and watching the movements of prospectors who had no regard for private or public property.

Although it had certain obligations towards the Colonial Government the raad was really an autonomous body, governing an isolated community whose members believed blindly that the Queen would protect them for all time tegen boeren en anderen. But they could not

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1. Appendix "C".

know that towards the end of the century their future would be determined for them by the Cape Parliament.[1]

THE PERIOD OF EUROPEAN RULE (1913 - 1952)

The Baster-missionary period came to an end in 1913 when the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act No. 29 of 1909 was enforced, and today the Steinkopf Reserve is administered in accordance with this Act and its subsequent amendments. Even before 1913 the Central Government began to assert its authority. In 1911 the Civil Commissioner, Mr. D. C. Giddy, received a deputation from the raad concerning his refusal to approve their action of granting Solomon Rabinowitz permission to trade at Steinkopf. Mr. Giddy was requested to withdraw his decision, but he refused.[2]

The provisions of this legislation were the outcome of a number of special reports and proposals which had been submitted to the Colonial Office. The Act was officially designed to "provide for the better management and control of certain mission stations and certain lands reserved for the occupation of certain tribes or communities and for the granting of titles to the inhabitants of such stations and reserves." In practice the immediate effects of the Act were to abolish the former autonomy of the raad, and to recognise boundaries which had never been agreed to by the inhabitants.

New immigrants into Namaqualand in the twentieth

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1. Cape of Good Hope, Appendix 2, Volume II to Votes and Proceedings of Parliament. (A. 7 - 1896).

2. Civil Commissioner's Minutes, 21 March 1911. (Management Board Office, Steinkopf.)

century were not interested in farming in semi-desert, but in mining and prospecting. As early as 1873 Professor Noble had said that O'okiep was "beyond doubt the richest copper mine in the world". Companies had been formed and prospectors and miners had come from all parts of the world in search of new copper deposits and other base metals. The discovery of diamonds in South West Africa had aroused the curiosity of prospectors in Namaqualand. This interest in mining made it necessary for the Government to control the territory more effectively in the interests of the mineral hunters. The Act settled for all time the right of outsiders to mine or prospect in any part of the territory provided they had the permission of the Central Government. Thus it prohibited the"natives" of the territory from any legal claim to mineral rights on the land which was reserved for them.

The main effect of the Act in Steinkopf, however, was that it separated the powers of the Church and the raad. The political status and power of the missionary was transferred to the Resident Magistrate, who became chairman of the Management Board which now superseded the raad. Nevertheless, in spite of this particular loss of political power, the Church did retain some connection with local government through the fact that the mission society was required to nominate one of the members for appointment to the Management Board.

The composition of the Management Board was similar to that of the former raad in that six councillors were elected by the people, but in addition to these elected members the Minister appointed three members,

two of which were regarded as Government representatives, and one was nominated by the mission society. Further, the Management Board was to meet under the chairmanship of the magistrate who had a deliberative as well as a casting vote.

The powers and duties of the Management Board and the procedure for its election, were based on the provisions of the Villages Management Act, 1881, and the Health Amendment Act, 1897, in addition to special regulations laid down in the main Act. Briefly these powers and duties were the distribution of land, the control of grazing, the collection of taxes, public services, trading, public health, prohibition of beer drinks and the suppression of "heathenish practices" (sic)!

The broader sociological effects of the Act of 1909 in Steinkopf can be seen from the events leading up to its enforcement. When the report reached the community that the Act was to be introduced a message was sent to the Civil Commissioner at Springbok making it quite clear to him that the burghers of Steinkopf were unwilling even to consider the new Act because they felt that it would interfere with the rights they had inherited from their ancestors. The Civil Commissioner did not reply, but he called a meeting on November 15, 1910, for the purpose of explaining the Act. On the day appointed he arrived at the mission village with a body-guard of twelve armed policemen and we are told that before the meeting began the police were ordered out of the hall by Jacobus Engelbrecht, the veldkornet. The

meeting was attended by the missionary, all the raad members and 250 burghers. The Act was explained in the Dutch language, questions put and answered, and the Civil Commissioner, Mr. Giddy, was thanked by the burghers for his visit and for explaining the Act to them. "Now that they understood the effect which the Act would have on Steinkopf Reserve, they would meet again shortly and then request their raad to communicate with the Civil Commissioner."[1]

This meeting was an important one for it showed that there was a tendency in Steinkopf to co-operate with the Central Government in spite of their former adamant refusal even to consider the Act. But more important than this, was the effect which the meeting had on the Khoi Khoin. Steinkopf, it will be remembered, had been ruled by a Khoi Khoin tribe before the Basters gained power, and the 1909 Act gave the Khoi Khoin an opportunity to regain some of their lost power. Within six weeks of this meeting they had sent a deputation to the Civil Commissioner which he records in his minutes:

"C. Jantjies, J. Balie, G. Jantjies, J. Balie and H. Engelbrecht, Burghers of Steinkopf, visited me this day and expressed their dissatisfaction at the state of affairs at Steinkopf. They state that they are the original Namaqua[2] or so-called Hottentots and have no one to represent them on the raad, that the raad is letting the communal ground for grazing to outsiders and also certain plough-lands to farmers.

"The Namaqua request that the Civil Commissioner

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1. Raad minutes, November 15, 1910 (Management Board Office, Steinkopf.)

2. i.e. The descendants of those people who were once united under Kaptein Vigiland.

be their chairman of council and that the missionary be chairman of the Church affairs only, but they do not want the 1909 Act proclaimed."[1]

This deputation was a success for we find that when a temporary raad was formed to make arrangements for the enforcement of the 1909 Act, C. Jantjies was appointed by the Civil Commissioner as a Government representative; and when the Management Board was constituted on November 14, 1913, J. Balie was elected by the society as the Namaqua Korporaal.

What really united the Namaqua with the Basters was their agreement over the principle that the Church should not interfere in local government. Already in 1907 we find some members of the raad objecting to the missionary having similar privileges to burghers, privileges to which he had always been accustomed in the past. It appears, therefore, that the only reason why the burghers of Steinkopf accepted the Act (although they did so under protest), was because it made provision for the separation of the powers of the Church and the raad. This interpretation is supported by the fact that at a general meeting of burghers in July 1911 Jacobus Engelbrecht and Nikolas Vries proposed that the new Act not be accepted. This proposal was unanimously agreed to mainly on the grounds that the burghers were not in favour of the transfer of property to the Rhenish Mission Society.[2] In other words, at this stage of development,

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1. Quoted in Civil Commissioner's minutes, January 4, 1911 (Management Board Office, Steinkopf.)

2. Civil Commissioner's minutes 18 July 1911 (Management Board Office, Steinkopf.)

the society was ripe to accept the formal separation of Church from "State", though the Namaqua and the Basters did so for different reasons.

The desire on the part of the Basters to separate the Church from the raad was motivated by their desire for more independence and power. The community had become better integrated, and through the process of social adaptation more developed; and the Basters no longer felt it necessary to rely on missionary and Church support to maintain their dominant position. They were in fact wrong because thereafter their power in the community declined. On the other hand the Namaqua burghers desired the separation of powers for a different reason; they wanted to have the Civil Commissioner as their leader and chairman because they had been subjected to Baster domination for nearly 70 years and they saw him as a sympathetic outsider who would deal with all groups impartially.

Thus the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act marked the beginnings of a new era in Steinkopf. It marked the positive interference of the Central Government in the affairs of Steinkopf and it largely effected the separation of the powers of Church and State. It also helped to place the Namaqua on an equal political footing with the Basters, and marked the end of the Baster regime and the Engelbrechts's leadership. Finally, it created fresh conflicts and tensions between lineages: formerly each large lineage or group of lineages could have only one representative on the raad. Now Government appointments,

[illegible], in addition to the elected members, made it possible for certain lineages to have more than one member and as a result to wield more power than before. Further manifestations of this redistribution of power is reflected in the class structure of the present-day community.

We should add here that the tendency of the burghers to support the separation of the powers of Church and State was partly reversed on August, 4th, 1913 (a few months before the Act was enforced) by which time they had begun to understand fully the implications of the new legislation. At a general meeting of the burghers of Steinkopf a resolution was unanimously passed stating that they saw "no chance to adopt any new Management unless the Government of the Union of South Africa" met their wishes, which they laid down. The first of these was "to appoint no Superintendent over Steinkopf and Richtersveld Territory, but to allow the Communities to appoint or elect their own Superintendent or Local Chairman in the person of their Missionary at the time being, as it was the case hitherto since 1842". Later, however, it is made clear in the resolution that any future Board will have no right to interfere with Church property which belonged to the congregation.[1]

This resolution, which was a protest against outside interference with traditional rights, was sent to the Governor-General of South Africa. Many of the points raised were reformulated fifteen years later when a memorandum was submitted to the Native Affairs Commission,[2] which

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1. Appendix D.
2. Appendix E.

was visiting the Namaqualand reserves. The Commission reported its findings later, pointing out, inter alia, "that the system of government brought into operation under Act No. 29 of 1909 had not been a success".[1]

Few significant changes were made in the legislation affecting Steinkopf between the years 1913 and 1952, although there were subsequent amendments to the original Act. One amendment, however, did effect the replacement of the magistrate as chairman of the Management Board by a European superintendent.

The R.M.S. continued its religious work in Steinkopf until 1934 when, owing to the fact that it was unable to draw funds from Germany, it had either to find a successor or leave the community without a minister. The first alternative was chosen and the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk agreed to take over the religious work in the Reserve, for this Church adhered to the same theological principles as did the Rhenish missionaries.

The transition from one Church to another was not effected smoothly. There was considerable opposition from the congregation to being under the religious jurisdiction of the "Boere Kerk" (Dutchman's Church) in spite of the doctrinal similarities. As an alternative, a few people were in favour of joining the Anglican Church and some the Roman Catholic, but the bulk of the congregation were too emotionally bound to the Church, even to think of alternatives; they were merely opposed on principle to the N.G.Kerk for political reasons.

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1. Report of the Native Affairs Commission (U.G.26-1932).

While matters were being debated, the moving spirit of the Griqua Independent Church, the Rev. Mr. le Fleur, described as 'n bruinman met 'n agterstevoor koller, appeared at Steinkopf with new promises of eternal salvation and ways of recovering from the Government land which had been expropriated.[1] In spite of the suspicion with which le Fleur was regarded, he attracted a large number of followers from whom he collected considerable sums of money and livestock, but his influence was not strong enough to break down the Rhenish Calvinist tradition. And those people whom he did attract soon rejected his Church and his teaching, not merely because they had lost money and livestock, but, as one man told me, "because he wanted us to be too familiar with one another: we were not used to his kissing and embracing". A further deterrent appears to have been that several of his followers died, one suddenly became blind and many sick. The man who went blind and the sick people recovered only after they had rejected le Fleur altogether!

Le Fleur's visit did, however, have one very important effect. It inspired a number of people to become active political agitators by giving impetus to the ill-feeling and antagonism towards the Central Government which had already been brought about by the 1909 Act, and he made people more conscious of, the land that had been expropriated in former years.

Those who wished to have the Roman Catholic Church in preference to the N.G.Kerk were soon deterred by

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1. cf. Report into the Rebellion of the Bondelzwarts, U.G.16-1923, p.26.

recollections of their Church training which had always warned them of the dangers and evils of the Roman Catholics.

Although there was this opposition to the N.G. Kerk the transition from the Rhenish to the N.G.Kerk was eventually successful. The Church has flourished and there are more confirmed members in proportion to the total population than ever before. Most people except a few who still regard themselves as "Rhenish", have overcome their antagonism towards the Boere Kerk by their belief that it is not the man who preaches, but God working through him.

DIE AFRIKANER KINDERS (1952-).

On April 1, 1952, Steinkopf entered a new historical period. From this day its control and administration together with that of the other Namaqualand reserves fell under the Division of Coloured affairs.[1] This tranfer from its former controlling bodies, the Department of Native Affairs (1913-1944) and the Department of Social Welfare (1944-1954) placed the members of the community among the ranks of the other Coloured people who inhabit various other parts of South Africa, notably the Western Cape Province.

The same day that this change in administration took place one of the registered occupiers, a former principal of the Steinkopf Primary School, was appointed superintendent in place of the European who had held the post before him. To the conservative people who still cherish

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1. Report of the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs (U.G. 45-1952).

the traditions of the last century (period 2) this appointment was symbolic of a trend which developed after the enforcement of the Act of 1909, namely the growth of a class of "new people" who have rejected their former heritage and become "Europeanised". These "new people" are known as "die Afrikaner kinders" because they aspire to associate themselves with the Afrikaans tradition of the Republic of South Africa.

The "new people" dominate nearly every aspect of social life at the present time. They are a power group that has emerged as the former mission village has developed the characteristics of a small town, where associations based on common interests have superseded the former bonds of kinship. Not only has this most recent period in Steinkopf's history helped to crystallise the trends implicit in a former period, but it has also brought with it more rigid laws and regulations which stem from the Central Government of the country and which receive the tacit approval of the power group of "new people" through the Management Board. Thus the phrase "die Afrikaner kinders" coined by the conservative sages, provides a very apt description of modern Steinkopf.

On October 25, 1957, the Act of 1909 was superseded by the Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act, No. 35 of 1955. The new Act retains the form of the earlier legislation, but one of the subjoined regulations, which is at present being enforced by the Management Board has curtailed the political and religious freedom of all people in the community. No political meeting of more than five persons can now

take place in the Reserve unless special permission is given in writing by the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs or the magistrate. Nor, under the same conditions, can any religious service be held by any person or body, other than those connected with the established Church, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sending Kerk.[1]

1. cf. Appendix J.

Chapter 5.

THE ECONOMY.

The chief economic activity of the early inhabitants of Steinkopf was, as we have seen, herding. The staple diet was meat and milk, augmented with various kinds of veldkost, and locusts during famine. In winter the families were scattered over the western section of the territory, moving east in summer.

Nomadic husbandry in this dry country was a full-time occupation. Moreover, in addition to the normal activities of herding and the hazards of nature, the early inhabitants were faced with regular attacks from the wild Bushmen, and the encroachment of the northerly migration of Boers who were in search of fresh grazing for their cattle. These Boers, unlike their Trekboer "cousins", were migrants, rather than nomads, since, in addition to fresh grazing lands, they were also searching for permanent abodes near good water. As a result of the movements and aspirations of these two groups, the regular users of the territory's water holes adopted the practice of leaving the older members of their families to guard their cherished rights against any intruders, while they moved about in search of fresh pastures for their herds.

The advent of the early missionaries was responsible for many of the changes in the economy in subsequent years. The general nature of this change was that a nomadic pastoral population began rapidly to take on some of the characteristics of a settled community made up of

mixed farmers: the establishment of a church and a school by the missionaries stimulated the growth of a village community, while the introductions of the plough and cultivation made it possible for people to live more permanently in one place than had been possible before.

The influence of the missionaries, however, must be regarded only as a contributory factor in bringing about the present-day economic pattern. Amongst the other factors, we must include : (a) the diffusion of new ideas through contact with traders and other Europeans, (b) the effects of the opening up of the copper, and later, the diamond mines, i.e. migratory wage-earning labour, (c) natural increase of the population and immigration, (d) impoverishment of the soil due to bad methods of agriculture and over-stocking, (e) the disappearance of cattle and introduction of donkeys at the beginning of the century and in subsequent years, (f) the effects of legislation, notably the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act No. 29 of 1909 and its subsequent amendments.

Reporting on the changes in the economic and social life in the Namaqualand Reserves, the Native Affairs Commission which visited Steinkopf in 1928 made the following comments: -

> ".....The Anglo-Boer War brought about disturbing factors. The residents of the Reserves were employed as transport riders, their oxen, wagons and stock were purchased for military needs, money became plentiful and with a people practically unversed in handling cash, the money received was frittered away. Thus at the close of the war the natural assets of the Reserves - cattle, sheep and goats - had greatly de-

creased and the cash for them was spent. Then in 1904-1906 came the Hottentot-Rebellion in German South-West Africa, where there was money in transport riding. Cattle and small stock were sold to purchase mules and wagons, money again became plentiful and was easily spent. On the sudden conclusion of hostilities the people were saddled with wagons and mules to them now practically valueless with the resultant effect of greater poverty. This was the common testimony of all the leading residents.

New needs had been created by this contact with the outside world, new ideas had entered the Reserves, and naturally the patriarchal system began to fail. Poverty also began to appear, so the wants of the people increased and their ability to meet these needs decreased."[1]

Certain writers and government officials have given a great deal of prominence to the indolent habits of the Basters of Steinkopf and other communities during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[2] The main originator[3] of these ideas appears to have been Mr. S. Melvill, Second Assistant Surveyor-General, who presented the Report on the Lands in Namaqualand set apart for the occupation of Natives and others, (G.60 - 1890). In this report Melvill states : -

"The bulk of (these Hottentots and Bastards of Hottentot descent) are notoriously lazy and improvident in their habits. These characteristics are doubtless inherited, but are also due, partly, to the nature and conditions of the country they inhabit, which make a nomadic, pastoral life, with its consequent idle habits, a necessity with most of them. Few of them, therefore, care to do any work beyond tending their flocks, and even this is done badly. To agricultural or other labour, requiring real hard work, most of them have a rooted aversion, and will resort to it only when pressed by want, and often not even then, living on their neigh-

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1. Report of the Native Affairs Commission (U. G. 26 - 1932). p. 5.

2. e.g. J.S.Marais, The Cape Coloured People, pp. 78-84
L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, pp.115-33
Report on the Lands in Namaqualand (G.60-1890)
Select Committee on Namaqualand (A7-1896).
Report Regarding the Cape Coloured Population (U.G.54-1937) pp. 73-4

3. See also letter to Rev. F. Brecher from Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, 25 April, 1877 (Melvill, op.cit., p.23)

bours being easier."[1]

And later he says : -

"The communistic kind of life prevailing at these institutions (i.e. mission stations) tends to increase and intensify the indolent and improvident habits inherent in the race. People too lazy to work for wages, or to cultivate their ground, can always make sure of getting enough to eat, by sponging on their more industrious neighbours, or by begging food from the Missionaries, and, as is quite natural, people of this stamp abound."[2]

It is difficult to assess the reliability of Melvill's Report; but the Reverend Mr. Brecher denied the allegations regarding the laziness of his Steinkopf people,[3] and later in his Report when referring to Steinkopf, Melvill contradicts his sweeping assertions. For he states that the mission institution is self-supporting as far as the payment of the missionary and the keeping up of the mission property are concerned; and adds, moreover, that the 1900 members of the community possess about 300 horses, 2,550 horned cattle, and 18,300 sheep and goats, and that about 1,800 morgen is under cultivation.[4]

Certainly bad methods of agriculture and overstocking have contributed a great deal to the poverty of the Reserve, but the Report gives the impression that its author exaggerated the conditions he found to justify his proposal that the traditional system of communal land tenure be abolished and replaced by one of individual tenure.

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1. op. cit. p. 6
2. ibid. p. 6
3. See Appendix B.
4. op. cit. p. 9

In the contemporary community the economic system may be described as mixed. Some families plough and reap, herd goats and sheep, while one or more of the members of each family may go to work on the mines or in the towns to augment the meagre profits derived from mixed farming; others keep only a few goats and rely largely on the wages earned by their migrant workers; others rely entirely on the earnings derived from migratory labour. As an alternative to the latter occupations, some people find permanent employment in the village as schoolteachers, shopkeepers and shop assistants, administrative assistants, and labourers, while a few are self-employed as builders, masons, carpenters and transport contractors. In addition to the occupations mentioned above, some people mine the small outcrops of minerals, such as scheelite and beryllium, in the northerly sector of the Reserve. Nevertheless, in spite of these various occupations, Steinkopf must be regarded culturally as a mixed farming community. Mixed farming constitutes the main occupation for the majority of the population and even those who follow other occupations usually have some interest in stock farming.

During the period 1957-8 I estimated from a sample of 78 domestic families[1] that 21.9% of these families derived their income from mixed farming only, 56.4% from mixed farming plus other sources (migratory labour, local employment, pensions, etc.), 10.2% from migratory labour only, 5.1% from local employment only, 3.8% from local employment plus other sources (migratory labour, pensions, etc.), and 2.5% from pensions and disability grants only.[2]

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1. A domestic family is used here to refer to kinsmen who usually eat together and generally live under one roof.

2. See Table XXI on p. 144.

Apart from mixed farming and tributing, I found during the same period that 21 men and 7 women were employed as teachers, 5 men as administrators or policemen, 22 men and 3 women as shopkeepers or shop-assistants, 12 men were self-employed as builders, masons, carpenters, or painters, 4 men in local transport, one woman in medical services, and one man, the missionary, in religion. There were also 24 men and 10 women employed in unskilled work, i.e. labourers, shepherds, and domestic servants. Approximately 630 men and 370 women were absent from the Reserve as migratory labourers.

POPULATION.

The absence of reliable official statistical material hampers considerably the writing of an accurate and detailed analysis of the population of Steinkopf. Consequently I have drawn on several sources of information, including a sample of 703 persons from 100 elementary, residual, rejuvenated and extended families, and the sample of 78 domestic families already mentioned.

According to the Coloured Affairs Department the population of Steinkopf in 1953 was 4,400. Judging from the 1951 census returns, however, it is clear that this figure of 4,400 reflects the potential and not the actual size of the population. It appears to include temporary migratory labourers and possibly some of those young men and women who have left home to take up permanent or semi-permanent residence elsewhere in the Cape Province. Furthermore, the natural increase in the population during the

years 1946-1953 was only 545, whereas the population according to Table VI appears to have increased by 900, and there is no evidence to suggest that 355 immigrants settled in Steinkopf during this period.

TABLE VI.

Steinkopf Population 1890 to 1953.

Year	Population	Source
1890	1,900	G.60-1890 (Melvill's Report)
1913	2,839	Magistrate's minutes (Springbok).
1945 (October)	3,500	U.G. 33-1947.
1951	3,060 x	Census
1953	4,400	U.G. 13-1954.

x includes 55 Whites.

During the period July 1957 to June 1958 approximately 1,000 men and women appear to have been absent from the Reserve as migrant workers.[1] It seems more likely, therefore, that the size of the population resident in Steinkopf in 1953 was only 3,400, although it must always be borne in mind that the majority of people who leave the Reserve as migrant workers do so mainly to earn money for their families, and are therefore in a sense still part of the Steinkopf community. In 1957 I estimated that the potential population was only 4,000.

The estimate that approximately 1,000 migrant workers were absent from the Reserve was based on a sample of seventy eight domestic families (average size about 5.6).

1. See also p. 118 ff.

In this sample it was found that 58% of the families interviewed had at least one member absent during the year as a migrant worker, but some families had more than one person absent, thus the total number of regular migrant workers was actually 89 (men 56, women 33). In addition about 30 other persons in these families appear to have been absent for part of the year.

If we assume that the potential Coloured population in Steinkopf in 1957 was 4,000 (males 2,087, females 1,913)[1], and use the small sample as an index, it appears that approximately 50% of the male population and 19% of the female population were absent from the Reserve as migratory labourers for most of the year.

According to this sample 34% went to work at the Anglo-American diamond mine, Kleinzee, and 26% to the State Diggings at Alexander Bay; 12% went to O'okiep, Nababeep or Springbok; 10% went to South West Africa; 6% to Cape Town; 6% to Port Nolloth; of the remaining 6% two persons went to European farms and three to small dorps outside the magisterial district.

It is not possible to comment on the nature of population growth owing to meagre data relating to the number of permanent emigrants and also the number of immigrants. But the previous Table indicates that there has been a steady increase in the potential population since 1890. Table VII shows the natural increase of the population between the years 1946 and 1957, and indicates a steady increase in the number of births, and a striking decrease in the number of deaths.

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1. Based on 1951 sex ratios of the assumed potential population.

Owing to the unreliability of the figures relating to the population resident in Steinkopf at any particular time, the crude birth and death rates for the community are best left uncalculated. In 1950, however, the Namaqualand Coloured people had a lower crude birth rate (43.3) than the Cape Province (48.0), while the crude death rates were about equal (Namaqualand 20.3, Cape Province 20.7).

TABLE VII.

No. Births and Deaths (1946 to 1957) in Steinkopf.[1]

Year	Births	Deaths	Natural increase
1946	92	68	24
1947	121	50	71
1948	101	61	40
1949	103	59	44
1950	126	73	53
1951	130	50	80
1952	159	46	113
1953	155	35	120
1954	168	43	125
1955	165	34	131
1956	155	31	124
1957	160	32	128

Although the density of the population is low (roughly 2.4 persons per square mile), large tracts of country are not fit for habitation or even for grazing and cultivation.[2] The majority of the population spends most of the year either in the mission village or in the hamlets near springs and water holes at various places in the reserve. The demographic map on page XVI gives a general impression of the distribution of families, but people do not remain permanently in one place,

1. Figures obtained from the Steinkopf postmaster who is the local registration officer in the Reserve.

2. cf. Report on Coloured Mission Stations, U.G.33-1947, pp. 51-3.
Report Regarding the Cape Coloured Population, U.G.54-1937, p. 73.

and the map merely reflects the distribution of families in terms of the places where they reside for the longest periods.

Prior to 1952, Whites were permitted to reside permanently in the Reserve provided they had obtained permission from the Management Board. But in this year all Whites (with the exception of the missionary and the two White policemen and their families), were required to leave the territory as a result of apartheid legislation. Whites, however, may visit the area if they have written permission from the Management Board or the Secretary for Coloured Affairs, and today a handful of prospectors and miners spend short periods in the Reserve during the year. In 1951 there were 55 Whites in Steinkopf but today there are less than 20.

Local regulations do not debar Whites from passing through the Reserve without a permit, nor do they prohibit the representatives of commercial firms from carrying out their work.

Variations in the physical characteristics of the Coloured inhabitants are discussed in subsequent chapters.

The sex and age ratios in the community of Steinkopf vary with the time of year and the climate and we have already shown that approximately a quarter of the population is absent from the Reserve each year. According to the 1951 May census, 1,402 Coloured males and 1,484 Coloured females were living in the Reserve reflecting a masculinity ratio of 94.5 , but if we take into consideration that

there were approximately 1,000 persons (630 males and 370 females) absent at this time the potential masculinity ratio increases to 109.1. Figures culled from the local Agricultural Census for the period 1956-7 tend to verify this estimate since they indicate that the potential masculinity ratio was 111.3. But whereas 111.3 was the potential masculinity ratio for all groups taken together in this period, the Agricultural Census also shows that the masculinity ratio of persons under the age of 16 years is 92.15, but 125.4 for persons over the age of 16 years. The tendencies reflected in these figures are largely in agreement with those reflected in Table VIII which consists of an analysis of the potential population in 1959 based on a sample of 100 families although the masculinity ratios are lower. According to this sample the potential masculinity ratio for all age groups taken together is 104.3, but 95.5 for persons under 20 and 120.0 for persons over 20. The corresponding figures for Coloured persons in the district of Namaqualand in 1951 were 104.5, 95.2 and 109.2.[1]

No complete and accurate statistics are available to carry out a detailed analysis of the composition of the potential population by age and sex and it is unfortunate that the Director of Census and Statistics was unable to supply this information for the 1951 May Census. Table VIII below, however, provides an analysis of the population for 1959 based on a sample of 703 people. The reliability of this sample must, however, be queried since the constantly moving population made it difficult to obtain a representative cross section. Consequently the statistics cover certain families living in the mission village and the ham-

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1. cf. p.

lets only. Moreover, the individuals who supplied the information about others absent from home inevitably made serious errors regarding ages. I have given the equivalent figures for Coloured people in the whole district of Namaqualand for comparison (Table IX).

TABLE VIII.

Potential Coloured population of Steinkopf, by age and sex (1959) according to sample of 100 families living in the mission village and hamlets.

Age Group	M	F	M + F No.	M + F %
0-9	107	107	214	30.44
10-19	102	112	214	30.44
20-29	56	46	102	14.51
30-39	26	21	47	6.68
40-49	22	36	58	8.25
50	46	22	68	9.67
	359	344	703	

TABLE IX.

Composition of Namaqualand's Coloured population by sex and age (1951 Census).

Age Group	M	F	M+F No.	M+F %
0-10	3,163	3,409	6,572	31.27
10-19	2,362	2,393	4,755	22.62
20-29	1,447	1,395	2,842	13.52
30-39	1,221	1,117	2,338	11.13
40-49	894	820	1,714	8.15
50-59	663	542	1,205	5.73
60-69	517	452	969	4.61
70†	316	306	622	2.95
	10,583	10,434	21,017	

However, in spite of the obvious discrepancies in these figures, the high percentage of people in the 10-19 age group indicates the tendency for children of school-going age to live in the village and hamlets so as to be near the schools. The relatively small percentage of people in the 30-39 age group can be explained first by the fact that this group contains some married couples both of whom are migratory workers and were consequently not represented in the sample. And second, certain married couples in this age group have children who are not yet of school-going age, thus if they are farmers they spend most of the year near their arable lands or with their stock on the commonage, although on the basis of this argument it is difficult to account for the high percentage of children in the 0-9 age

group. I found the identical phenomenon in the Richtersveld Reserve in 1960 and the explanation for it is the same as I have given for Steinkopf.

LAND TENURE

Throughout the history of Steinkopf, land has always been of great importance to the community. During the early periods a large tract of country was necessary to carry out effectively the system of nomadic pastoralism, and in later years the territory of Steinkopf became, as it is today, a symbol of the community's unity. Land is symbolic not merely of "nationality" but also of the past achievements in building up a community life. As Barnabas Cloete once pointed out to me, "Ons het die land oopgemaak, die wilde Boesmans en diere uitgedryf, die Kerk, die skole, en ook die Christelike lewe gebou."

The group attitude towards land is reflected also in the traditional system of communal tenure which persists to the present day in a slightly modified form. Furthermore, the collective sentiment associated with land is clearly illustrated by the general complaints of the registered occupiers that in the past the whole community has been deprived of land, even though many families have never been directly affected by the expropriation. For example, at the end of the last century, the raad agreed to sell a portion of land in the south-western sector of the Reserve to a European farmer to build a school for his and other children; but it is alleged that the surveyor was bribed, and Steinkopf lost a larger portion of

land than was agreed to; the additional piece of land contained a valuable spring.[1] The loss of this land affected only a small section of the community, but as much agitation came from the burghers, who had no use for the spring or the land, as came from those directly affected. The whole community felt that it had lost common property, property which was in addition to its material value, a symbol of social unity. As an old resident of Steinkopf once put it: "The land is our flag and the church is like the little red pattern (i.e. the Union Jack) in the centre of the flag that flies at the police station."

Although the history of Steinkopf reveals many changes in the economic system since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the traditional principle of communal land tenure has remained unaltered, except in administrative detail. The essence of this type of tenure is that a group of registered occupiers share certain rights in the land attached to the section of the Reserve in which they reside. Part of the land, the commonage, is set aside for the grazing of stock and the gathering of fire-wood, while another part is subdivided into erfs which are allocated to individuals to cultivate, and over which they have defined rights provided they fulfil all their obligations to the Management Board. But all land, commonage, and private erfs, is controlled by the latter, and no land may be sold. Formerly, the control which the raad had over private land was nominal, but today the Management Board, which represents

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1. Report on Coloured Mission Stations, Reserves and Settlements, p. 52.

the Central Government of South Africa as well as the people of Steinkopf, plays a large part in regulating the use of land. And in many instances the Management Board's regulations conflict with the customs and wishes of the majority of people.

In addition to the demarcation of commonage and the distributions of erfs, the Management Board also allocates allotments on which buildings (including huts) may be erected in the mission village, and if people wish to have them, dry garden allotments also. The size and shape of erfs and other allotments, especially the former, vary considerably, but an erf is seldom larger than 8 morgen, and the average area of both building allotments and dry gardens is roughly 600 square yards. There is no discernible pattern in the layout of erfs, although they are sometimes separated by narrow strips of uncultivated ground: some are contiguous with no discernible boundary between them. Only a few people have dry gardens which are used for growing vegetables such as pumpkins and watermelons. Those who do have these dry gardens usually fence off their allotments to protect them from donkeys and other animals. Gardens are normally situated close to, but separate from, the dwellings, although in the mission village they are usually included in the building allotment. Erfs, on the other hand, may be several miles away from the dwellings since it is not always possible to obtain arable lands near the springs and water holes around which people usually settle. Building allotments are only allocated in the mission village. Thus people who live permanently

or seasonally near their arable lands have no defined lots on which to erect their huts.

During the early periods sons of burghers had no difficulty in obtaining arable lands, since land was plentiful and the population small. Further, the procedure for obtaining rights was relatively simple: a person requiring an erf had merely to approach the raad member in his area and ask for a piece of land that was adjacent to his father's. His application would then be referred to the raad who would authorise two of its korporaals to point out beacons, and the request was granted. Newcomers to the territory had to make similar applications for land, and after their requests had been considered by the raad they were usually granted land, and later admitted to the status of burghers, provided they were not of pure Khoi Khoin descent. In more recent times, however, the kommers (newcomers) found it more difficult to obtain land, and those who were granted land rights and burgherskap had sometimes to wait several years before land was available or until they had served a probationary period of residence, during which time they were granted only grazing rights on the commonage. In the admission of new burghers preference was usually given to those kommers who had married daughters of burghers. Today the allocation of arable lands is reserved almost exclusively for the sons of registered occupiers, although a newcomer who has resided many years in the Reserve, and is considered by the Management Board to have "earned his right", may be granted an erf and admitted to full status. In all periods Church membership (i.e. membership of the mission Church) has been considered a most favourable recommendation towards being admitted to the ranks of the registered occupiers.

During the nineteenth century, erfs were considerably larger than they are today. Each burgher was allocated up to "five bags of land" (about 40 morgen) which was generally a larger tract of land than could be ploughed in any one season, and consequently part of the erf lay fallow each year. These large allotments made it possible for a man to subdivide his land among his sons when he died, if additional land was not available for them. But as the population increased above the optimum size which enabled each burgher to have 40 morgen of arable land, erfs became smaller due to the sub-division of holdings. Today "one bag" (8 morgen) is considered a reasonable holding. The enforcement of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act of 1909, made further subdivision illegal and erfs have not decreased in size since the Act was applied, except in cases where holdings were considered by the Management Board to be too large by present-day standards for one person.

In spite of the increase in the population in recent years and the consequent shortage of land, there is no evidence to suggest that internal land disputes among the members of the community are increasing; in fact the evidence suggests that they are decreasing. During the period 1911 to 1937 internal land disputes were dealt with at nearly every meeting of the Management Board. Nowadays internal quarrels over land are rare. There is a strong suggestion, therefore, that migratory labour which has been increasing rapidly has tended to reduce the competition for land by providing an additional source of income.[1]

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1. cf. G.M.Foster, "Interpersonal Relations in Peasant Society" in Human Organization, Vol. 19, No. 4, 1960-1, p. 174

The traditional system of land tenure has in the past been commented on by the authors of various government reports who investigated the Namaqualand reserves with a view to recommending changes.[1]

Although the possibility of a change to individual land tenure was mentioned in the earlier reports, that question was not immediately pursued, and a "Ticket of Occupation" was issued on 9 December, 1874, twenty_seven years after the extension of the boundary of the Cape Colony from the Buffels to the Orange River. This "Ticket of Occupation" or deed of reservation certified that the territory of Steinkopf (which was defined), "shall not for the present be alienated or leased, but shall be held for use jointly of the duly admitted occupants (being Aborigines or Bastards of Aboriginal descent) of Kookfontein alias Steinkopf Missionary Institution, now duly admitted occupants of the said Steinkopf Missionary Institution..... "[2] Thus, in spite of the earlier suggestions that a new form of land tenure be introduced, the traditional communal system was retained. But further discussions took place in subsequent years and in 1889, Mr. S. Melvill, Second Assistant Surveyor-General, was sent to investigate and report on the conditions of the occupants of the mission institutions and the best way of dealing with "unoccupied" land without interfering with the rights and requirements of the

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1. See Report on Coloured Mission Stations, U.G. 33-1947, Annexure S.

2. Report on Coloured Mission Stations, pp. 81-2

occupiers or their descendants. The Melvill Report (which has already been referred to in another context) was submitted in the middle of 1890.

In his report Melvill recommended that in order to secure development of land together with advancement in the prosperity and civilisation of the occupants of land, a change in the mode of occupation was essential. To his mind this change should be in the direction of individual tenure as certain other officials had suggested. Melvill states : -

> "The tenure contemplated by me would mean the issue of a title in favour of each adult inhabitant to such lot or lots of agricultural ground or building site, or both, as he may, on enquiry, be found to be entitled to (together with commonage and rights), with the right of the grantee of selling his land to others, whether residents of the Institution or not, subject only to the approval by the Governor of the purchaser in each case. If it be thought expedient not to allow any sale taking place till the expiration of a certain time after the issue of title I would suggest that this period should not exceed five years."[1]

In 1896 a Select Committee[2] was appointed to review the whole question of the Namaqualand reserves. This committee considered inter alia Melvill's and other proposals regarding the system of land tenure. Some seem to have agreed that individual tenure was unsuited to the type of country and the temperament of the people, the majority of whom, it was felt, would soon be tempted

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1. op. cit. p. 7

2. Report of the Select Committee on Namaqualand Mission Lands and Reserves. (A. 7 - 1896).

to sell their holdings to Whites. Others (including Mr. Melvill) advocated individual tenure with the right of alienation either to Coloured people or Whites.

Although no immediate action was taken to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee, its findings (including a draft Bill by Mr. W. C. Scully, a former Resident Magistrate of Namaqualand) provided the background to the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act of 1909. No attention, however, was paid to the proposals concerning individual land tenure.

The Cape Coloured Commission of 1937 agreed that the communal system of land ownership in the reserves has prevented alienation of the land and were opposed to the suggestions of Melvill and others during the last century. Yet they recommended -

> "that a system of individual tenure of portions of the land be introduced, with the right of nominating an approved Coloured successor but without the right of alienating except to approved Coloured persons. The portions for individual tenure should be selected according to their suitability for agriculture, as opposed to pastoral stock farming."[1]

These proposals, however, have never been introduced, probably because it was realised that such a system might interfere with "the powers of the strict form of government" recommended by the Commission and accepted in later years by the Central Government. [2]

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1. Report Regarding the Cape Coloured Population, p. 74.
2. ibid. footnote on p. 74

MIXED FARMING

Mixed farming is the economic activity to which most people aspire. The explanation for this ideal, however, is not that mixed farming is materially beneficial to the majority of these farmers but because the pattern of mixed farming is a function[1] of the total network of social activities which occur in the community of Steinkopf. The analysis of the other institutions in subsequent chapters shows how inextricably mixed farming is bound up with all the facets of social life. The people (even those who have no livestock and do not plough and reap) see themselves as belonging to a family tradition: they talk about animals and herding, about the quality of grain and the soil just as men in the city talk about their work. To them farming is 'shop' even though the majority make more money out of other things.

Accurate figures are not available to show the distribution of small stock and the number of bags of grain produced annually among the population. This is due partly to the unreliability of the annual Agricultural Census in the area but especially to the reluctance on the part of the inhabitants to disclose these details, particularly regarding their livestock.

The preliminary Agricultural Census figures, however, shown to me by the secretary of the Management

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1. The word function is used here to mean a pattern of activities whose nature depends on the varying patterns of other activities. Thus its use corresponds closely to its use in mathematics.

Board based on a sample of 390 families for the period 1953-4 which was a good year showed that: -

59% of the families produced 10 or fewer bags of grain or none at all;

26% of the families produced 11 to 20 bags;

12% of the families produced 21 to 50 bags;

3% of the families produced more than 50 bags.

Statistics relating to the distribution of small stock among the population appear less reliable. For example, the authors of the Report on Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves state : - "There are about 400 families who have less than 50 head of small stock or none at all; 17 possess from 500 to 1,000, 36 from 250 to 500, 87 from 100 to 250 and 77 from 50 to 100."[1] Unfortunately this statement refers only to 667 of the 848 families which the members of the Commission report to be living in Steinkopf; the source of the information is not given, nor is any date mentioned, but the figures probably refer either to 1945 when the Commission visited the area, or the agricultural census of 1938

For the period 1956-7 (a good year) the secretary of the Management Board supplied the following figures which refer mainly to the families living in hamlets and farms :-

12 families possessed more than 500 small stock.
30 families possessed 200 to 500 small stock.
49 families possessed 100 to 200 small stock.
88 families possessed 50 to 100 small stock.
226 families possessed 1 to 50 small stock.

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1. Report on Coloured Mission Stations, p. 51.

No reliable figure for the number of families not possessing any small stock during this period was available though there is a suggestion that it may be a fifth of the total.[1] In addition to these 'rural' families just mentioned, it is well known that a large percentage of the villagers and pre-villagers also own small stock but statistics were not available for these people.

Apart from donkeys (which are used as draught animals) and chickens, the number of other domestic animals are too insignificant to mention when discussing the economic position of the average Steinkopf family. These are generally owned by the more successful farmers who do not need to augment their incomes by other means of employment. (See Table XI.).

The production of grain in Steinkopf varies considerably from year to year depending on the climatic conditions, notably rain. But according to the Report on Coloured Mission Stations, Reserves and Settlements (1947) an average of 5,000 bags are produced annually.[2] This figure is in agreement with those provided in Table XI.

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1. See p.144, Table XIX

2. op. cit. p. 52

TABLE XI.

Production of Grain in the Steinkopf Reserve

Year	No. Bags.				
	Corn	Rye	Oats	Barley	Total Grain
1951	8,600	300	500	200	9,600
1953	3,950	50	400	150	4,550
1954	x	x	x	x	9,500
1955	x	x	x	x	1,500
1956	x	x	x	x	350
1957	x	x	x	x	5,000

x figures not available

All information supplied by the manager of the co-operative store.

The number of livestock owned by the members of the community is more difficult to discern owing to the irregular and wide fluctuations in the Agricultural Census figures, and the discrepancies between these figures and those given in certain official reports. All the available information is given in Table XII.

TABLE XI .

No. Livestock in the Steinkopf Reserve

Year	Sheep	Goats	Cattle	Donkeys	Horses	Mules	Chickens
1937-8[1]	19,099	25,783	226	5000	28		-
1951-2[2]	6,201	7,311	115	1,078	41	21	1480
1953-4[3]	10,108	11,865	93	1,251	61	32	1605
1954-5[4]	16,497	18,156	83	2,190	120	57	-
1956-7[5]	15,403	24,126	237	1,764	265	42	1391
?[6]	48,455		-	-	-	-	-
1953-4?[7]	17,941	21,604					
1956[8]	17,941	21,604					
1957[9]	18,953	23,851					
1958[10]	12,900	18,050					

1. U.G.33-1947, p 66 which quotes agricultural censes 1937-8.
2. Agricultural Census forms supplied by the Management Board.
3. Agricultural Census forms supplied by the Management Board.
4. Superintendent of Steinkopf Reserve.
5. Agricultural Census forms supplied by the Management Board.
6. Commissioner for Coloured Affairs Report 1953
7. Commissioner for Coloured Affairs Report 1955.
8. 9. 10. Commissioner for Coloured Affairs Report 1960.

It is difficult to comment on the discrepancies and fluctuations in these figures ~~since neither the Report on Coloured Mission Stations, Reserves and Settlements nor~~ especially as the Reports of the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs do not give the sources of their figures. It is probable, however, that the ~~1945~~ 1937-8 figures include sheep and goats belonging to Whites living in the Reserve or on its borders. And it is possible that the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs included the number of sheep and goats belonging to Whites believed to be grazing on Reserve commonage in his estimates. Moreover, the stock quota system which was introduced in 1952 undoubtedly affects the numbers of sheep, goats and donkeys declared annually to the Management Board for the purpose of the Agricultural Census. And it is possible that the figures are adjusted by officials to correct the low returns submitted by persons whose stock numbers are believed to be greater. But this is mere conjecture.

Losses of small stock are considerable judging from the figures available. In 1957, for example, fifteen hundred sheep died of some sickness, seventeen hundred and seventeen as result of drought, and eight hundred and forty two were killed by wild animals. During the same period one hundred and thirty two goats died of some sickness, three thousand one hundred and seventy seven as a result of drought, and nine hundred and fifty three were killed by wild animals.[1] H. A. Kotze of the University of the Orange Free State estimated that 15% of the total number of small stock died as the result of the drought in

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1. Agricultural Census 1956-7.

1958.[1]

Taking the population as a whole there is a strong suggestion that at least three quarters of all families are unable to make a living out of mixed farming alone and must therefore find other work to acquire earnings to augment the family budget. Kotzè has estimated that the net annual income derived from one small stock unit was approximately £0.375, and £1.1.- for cattle.[2] Grain is normally sold for £2.12.6 per bag.

A few registered occupiers do have small dry gardens in which they attempt to grow vegetables, but horticulture is not really a characteristic of local farming. The reasons for this are two-fold. First, the shortage of water, especially fresh water, and a low rainfall provide neither incentive nor satisfactory means for growing any kind of garden produce. Secondly, none of the inhabitants of Steinkopf have come from a tradition which had developed techniques of horticulture. This can be seen only too clearly at Klipfontein, a settlement to the west of Steinkopf village, where there is a good supply of fresh water and fertile soil. Here the Vries lineage, which has occupied the spring and surrounding country for five generations have never attempted any form of horticulture apart from pumpkins and watermelons for domestic use.

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1. H. A. Kotzè, "Verslag oor Ekonomiese Ondersoek na die Ontwikkeling van 'n Voerbank op Goodhouse vir die Kleurlinggebiede in Namakwaland", unpublished report, University of the Orange Free State, 1960, p. 7.

2. op. cit. pp. 11-12

In the north-eastern corner of the Reserve, however, at Henkries, there is a date grove[1] which promises to be of great economic importance to the people of Steinkopf. Henkries is situated close to the Orange River at a distance of about 32 miles from Steinkopf village in the !oa valley (brack valley). The area is desert-like, with an annual rainfall of less than two inches, while the temperature rises to 120°F and seldom falls below 100°F during the summer season. Subterranean water, however, is plentiful and at some places occurs at a depth of one foot. But it is extremely brackish, and only dates will thrive on it.

We are told that the date grove owes its origin to the World War I (1914 - 1918) when soldiers who were encamped there dropped date stones which subsequently germinated. In 1943 it was decided to fence in the area to protect the palms against livestock, and cultivate the 100 full-grown date palms. The experiment was successful and the following year 1,500 lbs. of dates were harvested. Since 1943 numerous additional trees have been planted and, under the guidance of the Department of Agriculture, encouraging developments have taken place. In the 1954 season dates were harvested from 203 palms which included 133 grown from suckers planted in 1948. The total crop consisted of 8,800 lbs. of dates, i.e., an average of 43 lbs. per tree. The quality and size of the dates are superior, and the demand for them in Namaqualand alone far exceeds the supply, despite the fact that the selling

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1. cf. H.S.Smit and D. du Prees: "The Henkries Date Grove", in Farming in South Africa. Vol. 30, No. 350, May 1955. Report of the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs (1953) (U.G.13-1954 p. 12).

price is 1/6d. per lb., as compared with 1/2 per lb. for imported seedless dates.

It has been estimated that there is approximately 60 morgen of additional land on which palms can be planted and grown at a very low cost. In the near future 6,000 selected female palms are to be planted. If development takes place at the present rate, within the next ten or fifteen years an income of between £25,000 and £30,000 can be expected annually from the sale of dates at present prices.

"The scheme is managed and controlled by the Department of Coloured Affairs on behalf of the Steinkopf Board of Management. A Coloured foreman is stationed at the plantation to operate the scheme under the guidance of head office which undertakes monthly inspections.

"As part of the rehabilitation schemes for the Reserves a £5,000 State loan, free of interest, was granted to the Board of Management for a period of 15 years. This fund is utilised for the development of the plantation, which may, however, eventually be taken over by the Board, subject to the redemption of the loan, and with the approval of the Minister. At present all revenue derived from the plantation is credited against the loan. After redemption of the loan the proceeds from the scheme will be devoted to educational purposes, and general improvement of the Reserve."[1]

At present, however, the date plantation is regarded by the inhabitants of Steinkopf as a Government

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1. U. G. 13-1954, p. 12.

farm from which they will never derive any benefit. In general people are antagonistic towards its establishment, notably the conservative people and the stock farmers: the former because they may enter the area by permit only, and when they require rushes for mat-making (Henkries is the main source of these rushes); the latter because they can no longer water their animals at the springs.

Unfortunately the possibility of growing dates in other parts of the Reserve is entirely dependent on the discovery of new sources of water because the existing springs and boreholes cannot even cope adequately with domestic and stock needs at the present moment. It seems certain, therefore, that nothing short of irrigating suitable land with water from the Orange River can make possible the establishment of additional date groves and the expansion of other forms of cultivation.

MIGRATORY LABOUR[1]

The migration of at least one person in each elementary family to the mines and towns outside the Steinkopf Reserve is, as we have shown, an economic necessity for a large section of the community. This section consists of those people who do not make a living out of mixed farming and are unable to find employment locally in the mission village. Thus, it must be stressed that migration of some sort is an essential feature of the Steinkopf economy. Apart from the salaried and wage-earning people in the mission village

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1. See earlier discussion, pp. 92-101

and settlements no family can survive unless it, or members of it, spend some part of the year away from home. Even those engaged entirely in mixed farming have to move after their herds in search of pasture and migrate to their arable lands during the ploughing and reaping seasons, while the tributers who work small claims have also to migrate to the northerly mountains where the minerals are found. Migration to the towns and mines, therefore, is merely another form of migration that has become an accepted and integral part of the social system.

In the contemporary community it is necessary to distinguish between three categories of migratory labourers. The first category, which includes roughly 60% of the total migratory labour force, (estimated to be about 1,000 workers) find employment on the two main diamond mines in the area, Kleinzee and Alexander Bay. Both the Church and the Management Board approve of, and encourage, migration to these two mining towns for the reason that: "Their people are properly cared for; the food is good and the compounds clean and well organised". There is considerable freedom, adequate and desirable entertainment, and approved measures of social control.

The second category of migratory labourers is of a different order. There is no recruitment by an official body: men and women merely inform the Management Board that they are leaving the Reserve in search of work, or that a job has been secured for them in one of the towns. These people go to various parts of the Western Cape and South West Africa in search of work; some go to the fisheries at Port Nolloth, some to Springbok, Windhoek or Cape Town, and some to the copper mines at O'okiep and Nababeep. It is important to stress here that even when nine or ten people leave the Reserve together, they do so as individuals and not as a recruited group. Wherever they go they must find their own accommodation which is not easy in urban areas.

Public opinion in the Reserve is usually opposed to this type of migration. The families of these migrants complain that often their children do not return, and, when they do, they bring all the undesirable habits of the town with them, and town wives; and further, that when they are away they never send money home as they would do from Kleinzee and Alexander Bay. The Church and the Management Board also stress the evils of the towns and both bodies try to discourage people from this kind of migration, recommending

instead the former type. My analysis of kinship genealogies shows that a significant number of these migrants become integrated members of urban communities and return to Steinkopf only to visit their kinsmen. Some never return.

Reference must be made to a third type of migration, though it attracts relatively few people today. European farmers recruit men (sometimes women or elementary families) to work for them as shepherds and domestic servants. Remuneration for their services is always very low - the maximum wage is 10/- per month, plus the scraps from the kitchen and no housing. Generally these farm servants are treated badly, floggings are common and there are rumours of murders. Today with the increasing demand for labour in the towns and on the mines, where better wages are paid, very few people are prepared to work for European farmers but some individuals choose farm work because they prefer a rural life to the noise of the mines or the bustle of the towns.

A study done during the period 1951 to 1952 of Namaqualand Coloured mine workers, most of whom were recruits enlisted at Steinkopf, illustrates that the first type of migration which is not only the most common, but also the most favourable to communities such as Steinkopf. It is favourable, in the sense that the workers maintain a maximum amount of contact with their homes, and that, in the compounds where they are housed, authority is vested in people who are senior also in their Reserve. The brief account which follows is based largely on research work undertaken at the Kleinzee mine. This mine, which is small but rapidly increasing in size, had a population in 1951 consisting of just over 200

Coloured labourers and 100 Europeans, and is situated on the coast 85 miles away from Steinkopf village.

Coloured mine workers from Steinkopf are recruited by the mine authorities through the Management Board, although the latter is not strictly a labour bureau. Contracts expire after six months when they may be renewed immediately, or after a short holiday, usually two weeks in duration, at Steinkopf. In answer to a questionnaire, 90% of the workers stated that a six month contract was the only satisfactory one for them, since it enabled them to return home when their contract expired, either permanently, or for a short holiday to attend to their farms and to visit their families.

The project showed that three quarters of the mine workers were single having a modal average age of 21 years. The married men, constituting a quarter of the total number of workers, were considerably older, having a modal average age of 33 years.

The modal average monthly wage including overtime paid to these workers in 1952 was £5.14.0.[1] In addition to cash wages, free accommodation and food was supplied. It is significant to mention here that all the single men, with one exception, reported that they had come to the mine to earn money not merely for themselves but also for their parents. Similarly, all the married men reported that they had come to earn money for their families and, of course, also for themselves. The average amount sent home by all people was £3.10.0 each month per person. Money not sent home was spent mainly on clothing. Only two people saved.

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1. The following year an increase in the daily wage of 6d. per day was granted. In subsequent years further increases have been introduced. By September 1958 the mean average monthly wage had increased to £12.2.2 (including overtime). In this year the Coloured labour force, including women, was approximately 400

Strong group solidarity was found amongst workers coming from the same area. This was particularly evident among the people of Steinkopf, over 70% of whom stated that they mixed only with people from their own reserve. This category, consisting mainly of conservative people, displayed also an even narrower preference for their associates. In addition to mixing only with people from Steinkopf, they tended to prefer associating with members of their own age groups, people of their marital status, and sometimes members of their own lineage.

Table XIII below illustrates some of the leisure activities in which Steinkopf mine workers participate. The figures speak for themselves except the percentage referring to dancing which requires elaboration. The group of people who attend the weekly dances held on Saturday nights (partners are invited from among the women employed by Europeans as domestic servants), correlates very highly with the members of the group who mix freely with workers from other reserves and parts of the country. In Steinkopf these people belong to the class which we have called the "new people". The significance of this correlation is that it shows how a group of people, ("the new people") who have rebelled against the authority of the Church in this regard (the Church does not permit dancing) and have rejected the "in-group" attitudes of their parents, tend to take on the new pattern of behaviour, to which they aspire, as soon as an opportunity arises. Conversely, it also illustrates how people who are wedded to their traditional customs tend to retain them even when placed in situations which offer alternative or new patterns of behaviour.

TABLE XIII.

Leisure Activities of Mine Workers.

Leisure Activity.	Percentage participating.
Cinema	81%
Reading	51%
Music, mainly singing	45%
Football	42%
Dancing	27%

The conduct of mine workers on the Kleinzee mine was described as exemplary. During the two year period 1950 to 1951, only eight cases of "misconduct" required disciplinary action. All these cases, which included offences such as fisticuffs, petty thefts, and absence from the compound at night, were dealt with by the compound manager and his staff. In 1954, however, there were two cases of illicit diamond buying and legal action was taken against the offenders.

The labour turnover for all labourers during the period January 1950 to October 1951 was roughly 90%, with single men tending to renew their contracts more readily than married men. As a result of the high labour turnover, operations on the mine suffer greatly from the exodus of workers in June and July, and from the end of December to the end of January, particularly in the latter period. Labourers who begin their contracts in January like to leave in June for a few weeks to plough or to make arrangements for other people to plough for them if the rains are late. Many return as soon as their business has been settled. At the end of December there is a mass exodus over the Christmas and New Year period when the mine has to close down completely

or work with a greatly reduced labour complement. Some of the workers who renew their contracts do so only at the end of January. There are two reasons for this exodus. First, people return to the reserves for the harvest, and second, Christmas and New Year, especially the latter, are traditional occasions for feasting and merry-making, occasions for family re-unions, parties, and dancing even amongst some of the conservative people: the carnival of New Year carries with it a licence to enjoy pleasures which are normally frowned upon as godless and wicked, a licence which neither the missionary nor his Kerkraad are able to alter. Commenting on the New Year festivities, a missionary once remarked, "The dancing and the parties are not so bad: it is the result of all these things which is so terrible." The missionary was referring to the number of recorded October births which are more than twice as numerous as in any other month!

The religious life on the mine falls under the jurisdiction of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sending Kerk at Steinkopf. Deacons and elders, who are elected in Steinkopf, represent the members of the congregation working at Kleinzee. These Church officers who are also migrant workers fulfil much the same functions as they do in the Reserve. Moreover, the missionary visits the mine twice a year to celebrate Nagmaal (Communion) and to deal with problems with which his deacons and elders are unable to cope.

From the material collected on the Kleinzee mine, which applies also to Alexander Bay, we can draw certain conclusions regarding this type of migration. The most important of these is the fact that while workers are in employment, contact is maintained between them and the Reserve

through the mine authorities. The recruitment of labour is effected by the co-operation of the mine authorities with the Management Board, so that once the contracts have been agreed to, the former body assumes responsibility for, and control of, the migrant workers. Moreover, contact is always maintained between the Management Board and the mine management, and in the event, for example, of a kinsman of one of the workers dying or becoming dangerously ill, it is always possible for the Management Board to negotiate with the mine management and obtain special leave for the person concerned.

A further manifestation of contact, which migratory labourers maintain with their families in the Reserve can be seen from the fact that the majority of workers send a large portion of their earnings home each month (see p.122). Investigations carried out in the Steinkopf Reserve during the period 1957-8 verified this conclusion. A study of 78 families showed that a total of £4202 was sent home between July 1957 and June 1958 by the 89 migrant workers from these families, an average of approximately £54 per family. The amount sent home by each migrant worker on the other hand was approximately £47 which does not differ significantly from the average amount found to have been sent home by the average migrant on the Kleinzee mine in 1951. There is a suggestion, therefore, that the general increase in wages on the Kleinzee (and Alexander Bay) mines in subsequent years has not resulted in a corresponding increase in the amount of money sent home to the Reserve.

TRIBUTING

As a result of the development of the mineral wealth of Namaqualand, the inhabitants of Steinkopf have acquired, through their contact with Europeans, a considerable knowledge of certain minerals and mining techniques: some have been prospector's guides and labourers, while many have been employed by the mining companies. We must not forget, moreover, that the Namaqua themselves were the first to prospect and exploit the copper deposits of Little and Great Namaqualand.[1]

The type of mining with which we are concerned in this section is the working on a small scale of the patches of mineral deposits, chiefly beryllium and scheelite, that are found in the granite mountains in the remote northern sector of the Reserve. The knowledge of these minerals has been derived mainly from contact with European prospectors during the last century.

Tributers work these claims to augment their meagre profits made from mixed farming, as an alternative to joining the ranks of the migrant workers who go to the towns and European-owned mines. The work is arduous and the profits uncertain, but the life is free: there are no contracts or compound regulations or "white bosses", and a man can return to his lands immediately the first rains begin, to plough, or to reap, when the crops are ripe.

It is extremely difficult to estimate the propor-

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1. A.J.H.Goodwin, "Metal working among the early Hottentots" in South African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. XI. No. 42, June, 1956.

tion of the population that does this type of mining, since those people who do, always "hush up" their activities. Tributers are very careful not to disclose the whereabouts of their claims, how long they spend there, or what their profits are. Their secrecy is justified because mineral deposits may be mined by any person who carries a prospector's licence. Consequently competition is feared, expecially from those Europeans who have the capital and equipment to extract large quantities of ore by following the veins in the rock. Steinkopf tributers rely on donkey-cart transport which cannot compete with the trucks and jeeps used by Europeans. Their equipment too is crude - generally only picks and crowbars are used to extricate the ore; occasionally, however, the services of a qualified blaster are employed when the traditional methods of excavation prove inadequate.

Very little work is done during the hot months, December to February, when the mercury rises on occasions to 110°F.

Normally men go to their claims without their families, but some are accompanied by their sons who are not at school. The usual pattern is for two adult brothers to set off alone and return when they have excavated enough to keep their families for several months. We do not know what profits are made, although it is certain that they vary considerably owing to the fact that deposits occur in patches. Some people claim to make as much as £60 in a month when rich veins are struck. In 1950 and 1951 when the price of beryllium was high the European shopkeeper who bought the ore estimated that the average tributer made more money out

of mining than the most successful farmer made out of grain. This estimate was probably true for this period but it is unlikely that it applies to every year owing to the fluctuation of prices.[1]

Owners of claims do not necessarily work them themselves, but hire them to neighbours who are remunerated in proportion to the amount of ore produced. The procedure being that the employee "sells" the ore to the owner who decides the price. The system, however, does not operate smoothly as there are usually disputes over the price paid for the ore by the owners.

Information regarding the purely economic aspect of this type of mining is extremely deficient. But it is evident that mining is most popular when mineral prices are high and when the harvest has failed.

Contact with, and reports of, tributers show that there is a high correlation between people who resort to this type of mining and t... poorly adjusted members of the community. It is probable, therefore, that there is a tendency for those who deviate from the accepted standards of behaviour to escape the group pressures of the community by retiring to the barren mountains where they are free to live their own lives. As one man, an elder in the Church, put it, "Mining attracts the godless people", and then added, "drinkers and Roman Catholics"!

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1. "Namaqualand's Mineral Wealth" in S.A.Mining and Engineering Journal, Vol. LXIV, part 2, 1954, pp. 889-91.

TRADE AND MARKETS

The transition from a subsistence and barter economy to a monetary economy has been a slow process. During the first half of the nineteenth century the people of Steinkopf lived mainly on the meat and milk of their cattle and other livestock, augmented by veldkost. Coffee, tea, and sugar were obtained from smouse (pedlars) in exchange for livestock and hides. Money appears to have been introduced about 1855 with the opening up of the copper mines where people migrated for work, although it is probable that before this date some were already selling livestock to the Boers and other colonists. But the real change from a semi-subsistence and barter economy to a semi-subsistence and money economy only began in 1887 when trading licences were issued for the first time to "strangers."[1] According to local historians this event was the main factor responsible for the break with the subsistence-barter tradition, and we are told that the veldkornet, Moses Engelbrecht, admitted on his death-bed that the granting of this concession was the greatest mistake he had made during his period of office.[2] The effect which it had, was, of course, to create a permanent business centre in the mission village and to encourage the members of the community to adopt the practice of buying luxuries. As a result, many people landed themselves heavily in debt and

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1. Rules Regarding Trading Licences to Stransgers. Steinkopf Mission Rules, December 1887. (Appendix C)

2. He is reputed to have said, "Die grootste fout wat ek gemaak het was om die Jode van die waens aftehaal".

this had usually to be repaid with livestock and grain.

Today barter is practically unknown and apart from a few items such as water, firewood, building material for huts, a little goatsmilk, all families purchase their commodities from the local shops. Some families do slaughter their own animals for meat, and grind their own corn. The former practice is common on the farms and settlements, while the latter is found only among a few conservative families. There are many other factors which have contributed towards, or helped to accelerate this change in the economic system and we have drawn attention to them in an earlier section.

Nearly all local trade is centred in the Nemakwase Ko-operatiewe Handelsvereniging (NKHV), a consumers' co-operative society, registered under the Co-operative Societies Act No. 29 of 1939. Formerly, two European-owned stores served the needs of the people of Steinkopf. In December 1945, however, one of these stores was bought by a group of Steinkopf people, the founders of the present co-operative society, and in 1952 the Management Board refused to renew the trading licence of the other store and granted exclusive trading rights to the NKHV which had proved itself successfully during the first seven years of its existence.

The reaction to the NKHV's monopoly of local trade was at first unfavourable. Most people preferred the European shopkeepers with whom they had dealt for more than half a century and disliked seeing " 'n bruinman agter die toonbank". Nevertheless, with no other

shops in the Reserve from 1952 to 1956, they were obliged, in spite of their attitudes, to patronise the NKHV. Today, notwithstanding the initial opposition, membership is large and business flourishing,[1] for apart from their conservative attitudes towards the shopkeepers their only other main objection appears to have been based on a misunderstanding of the principle of the new system. For example, people objected to paying a higher price for commodities than they had formerly in spite of the fact that it was explained to them that by joining the co-operative society they would benefit at the end of each financial year when they received their bonuses. Not only is the measure of its success reflected in its annual turnover and large membership, but also by the fact that a recently established grocery shop and cafe organised by private enterprise has made an unsatisfactory start. No figures are available concerning its turnover, but the owners have acknowledged their inability to compete with the co-operative society.

The NKHV sells nearly all of the commodities which are in demand - groceries, drapery and footwear, hardware (including building materials) and meat.[2] Membership is open to <u>any</u> individual or co-operative society provided application is made to, and approved by, the board of directors.[3] In addition, each member must buy at least one £1 share, but he is entitled to buy an unlimited

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1. See Table XIV p. 135
2. See Tables XV and XVI on page 136
3. <u>Statuut van Namakwase Ko-operatiewe Handelsvereniging Bpk.</u> (1949) pp. 4-5.

number. Annual dividends and bonuses are paid on shares and cash purchases.[1] Comparatively high wages and salaries are paid to the twenty-five employees. In 1957 they totalled £5570.

Apart from its purely economic functions, the NKHV (as did the European shops in former years) provides an important informal rendezvous in the village. At all times of the day it is crowded with people, young and old. Not all are customers, some, notably old men, congregate to gossip and cadge a cigarette or a piece of plug from a friend or relation. Not only local gossip is disseminated at the shops, but here also news of the "outside world" is passed on from motorists, sales representatives, and neighbouring European farmers.

The NKHV must also be regarded as a large association with a membership that includes the majority of the elementary families in the Reserve. Whereas it is doubtful whether all members are at the present time moved by a spirit of co-operation, nevertheless, the existence of an institution of this kind has provided the basis for the development of such sentiments.

We have seen that the Reserve has to import nearly all the material commodities required by the members of the community. We have now to ask from where does the capital come to pay for these imported commodities?

In Table XVI. on page 137 I have shown the various sources of income and, where the statistics are available, the revenue derived from each source in 1957. From these

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1. See Table XVII on page 135

figures two important phenomena should be noted. The first is the relative importance of migratory labour and the teaching profession to the income of the Reserve, and secondly, there are the benefits derived from the NKHV in the form of salaries paid to its employees, and bonuses and dividends paid out to its members. Bonuses and dividends have been included as sources of income since the recipients visualize them as such.

Unfortunately it is not possible to indicate exactly the degree to which the Reserve is financially dependent on institutions outside its boundaries. But it seems to me that we can safely state that approximately 60% of the Reserve's income is derived from external sources, viz: migratory labour, teaching and other Government-paid occupations, old age pensions, disability grants, and services rendered to Europeans living outside Steinkopf by builders, masons and carpenters.

All grain is marketed at Springbok, 40 miles from Steinkopf; and apart from goats and sheep which are sold to the NKHV for slaughter, livestock, hides, and wool are usually taken there to be sold, although neighbouring European farmers do buy livestock from the people at Steinkopf. Base metals used formerly to be sold to the local European storekeepers, but today, in their absence, tributers usually sell to an agent in Springbok.

TABLE XIII

Table showing figures relating to membership, annual turnover etc. of the NKHV (1946-1957)

Year	No. of Members	Value of Shares	Turnover	Total value of bonuses	Dividends (approx.)
		£	£	£	£
1946	484	-	13,000	-	-
1950	518	-	16,000	373	-
1954	843	2,951	53,276	1,290	109
1955	882	3,255	86,739	2,410	122
1956	897	6,459	87,605	6,794	152
1957	937	8,620	92,359	7,362	314

TABLE XIV

The approximate cash values of categories of goods sold by the NKHV (1954 to 1957)

Year	Groceries	Drapery and footwear	Hardware
1954	£24,937	£18,646	£13,319
1955	£34,695	£30,358	£21,684
1956	£35,042	£30,661	£21,901
1957	£36,943	£32,325	£23,089

TABLE XVI

Meat sales by the NKHV (1954 to 1957)

Year	No. Sheep	No. Goats	Goats and Sheep Approx. Cash Val.
1954	480	720	£2,700
1955	540	900	£3,240
1956	600	960	£3,510
1957	660	1080	£3,915

Table XVII.

Sources of Income to the Steinkopf Reserve (1957).
(Where statistics are lacking symbols have been inserted for convenience),

Source	Estimated Amount	%
EXPORTS:-		
Migrant labour	£47,000 (approx.)	42.0
Grain (5000 bags)	£13,125	11.7
Livestock 39,529 small stock 237 cattle	£15,278[1]	13.7
Minerals	£a	
	£75,403 + a	
GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS:-		%
Teachers	£16,000 (approx.)	14.3
Other Government occupations	2,500 (approx.)	2.2
Old Age pensions and disability grants	4,800[2]	4.3
	£23,300	
LOCAL TRADE PROFITS:-[3]		%
Salaries paid to NKHV employees	£5,570	5.0
Bonuses and dividends paid by NKHV	7,675	6.9
	£13,245	
MISCELLANEOUS:-		
Services rendered to Europeans outside the Reserve by builders, masons, carpenters, etc	£b	
	£b	
TOTAL	£111,948 + a + b	

1. This figure includes income derived from local sales of livestock.

2. In 1951. Information from Social Welfare Officer, Springbok.

3. These figures are slightly affected by sales to people living outside the Reserve, and exclude benefits derived from the privately-owned shop.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

We have already shown that culturally Steinkopf is essentially a farming community even though this activity is by no means the most rewarding for the majority of the population. The basic unit in the realm of mixed farming is the elementary family, which although it may obtain external assistance in this connection, carries out much of its work as an independent group. But its economic activities do not end with

herding, ploughing, reaping and selling its produce. We must include also the concomitant activities which form part of the working routine. Huts and houses have to be built and repaired; water fetched from the dam or spring; firewood collected; wagons made and repaired; clothes made, if they are not bought, and mended; and of course there are the long hours spent preparing and cooking food and doing the household chores. A few conservative families still grind their corn, and collect veldkost and honey to augment their diet, while a large number slaughter their own animals.

The elementary family, however, is not the only economic unit found amongst these farmers. We shall see in the next chapter the extent to which groups of elementary families co-operate in their work as extended families, and the extent to which hired labour is used.

In the light of what we have said in earlier sections it is clear that the majority of families are unable to subsist on the profits derived from mixed farming alone, and pay their taxes, fulfil their financial obligations to the Church, and spend money on "luxuries". We see, therefore, how essential it is for them to augment these meagre earnings. Even in the absence of any statistics whatsoever, the fact that people so wedded to mixed farming leave the Reserve sporadically to work in the towns and on the mines, furnishes us with evidence to suggest that traditional economic activities do not provide sufficient income for all the needs of the people. There may be other factors which encourage people to migrate, but none is comparable with that of economic necessity.

For the unsuccessful farmer the other ways of making a living are to leave the Reserve permanently and settle in a town, or to abandon farming (perhaps continuing to keep livestock and employing a shepherd to do the herding) and take up a profession such as teaching, or a trade such as building, or start a business, or find permanent employment as a shop-assistant or labourer in the mission village. Teaching is extremely popular and ndarly all pupils who receive secondary education aspire to qualify in this profession.

An analysis based on an estimate of the incomes of 78 domestic families (average size 5.6 persons) and the amount spent at the co-operative store was made for the period July 1957 to June 1958. (See Tables XVII to XXII). The occupations of the heads of these families at the time of investigation were given as :-

Mixed farmers	61.5%
Migrant labourers.....	16.6%
Pensioners.....	8.9%
Locally employed (teacher, clerk, painter, lorry driver, labourer)	7.9%
Housewives (widows).....	5.1%

The following conclusions may be drawn from the information contained in these Tables:-

(a) That during that year the gross income of the average family was approximately £143. Just under £54 of this money came from the earnings of migrant workers, while nearly £90 was derived

locally from salaries, farming, old age pensions and disability grants, etc. (Table XVII).

(b) People living permanently in the Steinkopf village were better off than those living in the hamlets and on the farms. (Tables XVII and XVIII).

(c) Although the average family in Steinkopf village obtained more money from migratory labour than the average family in the hamlets and farms, a higher proportion of the latter's gross income was derived from migratory labour than the former's earnings from this source. (Table XVII).

(d) The average family in the Steinkopf village with its higher income spent considerably more money at the co-operative store than the average hamlet and farm family did. But the average village family spent only a slightly higher proportion of its gross income at the store than the average hamlet and farm family did. (Table XVII).

(e) The distribution of the annual incomes among these 78 families is set out in Table XVIII. This analysis suggests that approximately 60% of the families in the community earned £140 (or less) per annum, while only 9% earned more than £220 per annum.

(f) According to the sample of 78 families, the families with the highest income are those who are locally employed (see Table XIX). This Table shows, moreover, that apart from the families who live entirely on Government aid, the poorest section of the community are the mixed farmers who do not rely on other sources of income. And by comparing the incomes of these

mixed farmers with those families who devote all their time to migratory labour it can be seen how much more rewarding migratory labour is. This sample of the population suggests also that when mixed farming is combined with other occupations as the majority do, the result is financially less rewarding than the pursuit of one of the other occupations or a combination of them.

(g) Table XXI shows that migratory labour was the main single source of income for the families as a whole. "Source uncertain," as the phrase suggests, refers to income whose source could not be accounted for with reasonable certainty. A portion of this money appears to have come from casual migrant workers, some of it may have come from tributing, from stock in excess of the quota, from services rendered to other people, or from dividends and bonuses from the co-operative store. And we must not rule out the possibility of inaccurate information given by the people interviewed. Compare Table XXII with Table XVI on page 137.

TABLE XVII.

Mean average annual incomes and expenditure at the NKHV of 78 domestic families (1957-8).

Locality	Average annual income per family			Average annual amount spent at NKHV per family
	Total Income	From Migratory Labour	From other sources	
Steinkopf Village	£169.7	£58.8	£110.9	£131.5
Hamlets & Farms	116.	48.7	67.3	94.4
Both localities	143.5	53.9	89.6	113.1

TABLE XVIII

Distribution of annual incomes of 78 domestic families (1957-8)

Annual income £	A Steinkopf Village No.	%	B Hamlets & Farms No.	%	A + B No.	%
60 or less	3	7.5	8	21.0	11	14.1
100 or less	9	22.5	9	23.7	18	23.1
140 or less	8	20.0	10	26.6	18	23.1
180 or less	8	20.0	7	18.4	15	19.2
220 or less	5	12.5	4	10.5	9	11.5
more than £220	7	17.5	0	0.0	7	9.0
	40	100.0	38	100.2	78	100.0

TABLE XIX

Distribution of annual incomes among 78 domestic families in terms of sources of income (1957-8).

Source of Income	Families No.	Families %	Total annual income £	Average annual income per family £
Mixed farming only.	17	21.9	1,757	103.3
Mixed farming plus other sources (migratory labour, local employment, pensions, etc.)	44	56.4	6,003	127.3
Migratory labour only	8	10.2	1,356	172
Local employment only	4	5.1	1,312	328
Local employment plus other sources (migratory labour, pensions, etc.)	3	3.8	640	213.3
Pensions and disability grants only	2	2.5	129	64.5
All sources	78	99.9	11,197	143.5

TABLE XXII.

Sources of total annual incomes of 78 domestic families (1957-8).

Source	£ Total Income	%
Migratory labour	4,202	37.5
Mixed farming	2,413	21.5
Local Employment	1,852	16.5
Pensions and disability grants	345	3.1
Source uncertain	2,385	21.3
All sources	11,197	99.9

It is not known just how the average family manages to balance its household budget, but there is evidence to suggest it is extremely difficult since the income of most families falls below the Poverty Datum Line (PDL) or very close to it. The PDL is "an estimate of the income needed by any individual household if it is to attain a defined minimum level of health and decency."[1] In 1957, I calculated that any family consisting of five persons, (husband, wife and three children aged 5, 7 and 15 years respectively), needed an annual income of approximately £169 to be just above the PDL, when the husband was absent from home, and £230 when he was not.[2]

These figures were based on the assumed minimum needs of a family which purchased all its commodities locally, and makes no allowance for the use of home-grown

1. Edward Batson, The Poverty Line in Salisbury, 1945.
2. See Appendix F.

vegetables, veldkost, or wild honey which is plentiful after a good flower season. The income of the majority of families appears to be less than £140 in a good farming year.

Moreover, in addition to money spent on food and clothing, we must also add £4.10.0 a year to the family's expenses for taxes (£2.10.0), Church dues (30/-), excluding the dankfees (thanksoffering) which is also expected, and school books (10/-), plus all the other expenses excluded in the calculation of the Poverty Datum Line.

We may now ask how do families whose annual incomes fall in the vicinity of the PDL manage their domestic economies, especially as the incomes derived from mixed farming are frequently less than in 1957 which was considered a good year. The logical answer is that they have to eat less, and spend less on clothes, lighting material, fuel, and "luxuries". But this is not an entirely satisfactory answer since it does not explain how people live when their crops fail, or how nominally destitute families survive. Part of the answer lies nowadays in the opportunities that are open for migratory labour though I am not able to demonstrate statistically that migratory labour increases when farming fails. In theory as Table XXI suggests, resorting to migratory labour in favour of mixed farming could increase the income of the average family.

But there are other factors which must be taken into consideration. In the first place no information regarding the income derived from the tributing was obtained, and this may be more significant than is generally realised. Second, we must include the bonuses and dividends received

from the co-operative store. Thirdly, we must also take into consideration the fact that part of the wheat harvest is sometimes stored for domestic consumption, though most families are forced to sell the whole of their crop because they need cash; and meat and milk may be obtained from the family herd. Fourthly, other factors which help people to bridge the gap between destitution and poverty are the collection of veldkost, home-grown vegetables, domestic chickens and eggs, presents and tips from Whites, sharing food with kinsmen and sometimes neighbours, and doing odd jobs such as collecting firewood and rushes for better-off neighbours. And finally we must draw attention to the fact that in former years share-cropping with Whites (which is now illegal) was an important source of income for many families. This practice used to take two forms. In the first a White farmer would supply the seed, the plough, and draught animals, and cultivate with his Steinkopf partner who would receive half of the harvest. In the second, a registered occupier would agree to herd a White farmer's livestock on the commonage in return for a number of animals and a specified percentage of the lambs born during the year. The latter type of share-cropping is reported to have been extremely profitable to the inhabitants of Steinkopf, and many well-off registered occupiers are said to have been "made" by the system; and it is possible that it is still continued illegally by certain persons when conditions are favourable.

On the basis of the data collected I am able to state some general principles regarding the home economy of

Steinkopf. By placing these principles in a sociological setting some light is cast also on the values attached to "luxuries" in a changing community.

The basic requirements are, of course, food and shelter. Thus, assuming that a hut has been constructed, consideration is given first to food, but not necessarily to sufficient food, or good food, because there are other essentials to be provided for out of the family income. The first of these additional essentials is the annual tax which must be paid to the Management Board. If the tax is not paid, a person may be evicted from the Reserve, or have some of his property seized by a government official. Among the very poor, therefore, a balance has to be found between food and the annual tax of £2.10.0 which is almost enough money to feed two adults and a young child for a week. The basic diet (if you are very poor) is home-made bread[1] and tea with sugar, and perhaps a little goat's milk. To the basic requirements of living, therefore, we must add tax money.

It is, of course, paradoxical that one of the most important components of a poor man's diet should be tea, an extremely expensive item. Nevertheless, tea is regarded as an essential commodity, and with bread has, for many years, been regarded as one of the symbols of the post Khoi Khoin era. This was very neatly phrased by one of the few remaining Namaqua who joined the community of Steinkopf as a bywoner at the beginning of the century. Comparing the new life he found at Steinkopf with the old Nama tra-

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1. Generally made of unsifted meal.

dition existing at that time in South West Africa whence he came, he said : "Toe ek die vleis en die melk gelos het, en by die brood en die tee ingekom het, het ek geweet dat die ou lewe klaar was."

A family's income varies with the seasons and rainfall, but when it rises above the amount which is needed for the minimum requirements of day to day living, the additional sum does not go towards food but to the Church, in the form of membership fees and Sunday collections. Church fees and donations are high, and a large family with five or six confirmed members will pay a minimumof £2 to the Church annually or be ostracised by the missionary, Kerkraad and devout church-goers.

Next in importance after the Church dues have been paid are the education (primary) of the children, clothing, and better food, the order of preference varying from family to family. But the conservative people tend to attach least importance to the education of their children, while clothes are becoming more and more of an important item amongst all people. Those, for instance, who go to work on the mines and the towns spend what is left of their wages on clothing after they have sent money home. And even amongst the conservative people one good set of clothing is considered essential for Sundays, weddings and funerals. These are known as the kispak (coffin clothes) because after death, the body is usually dressed in them before being placed in the coffin.

Next we may rank the owning of a proper house, a muurhuis. The simplest type that is constructed when money is available, is made of corrugated iron and erected adjacent to the mathouse.

Tin houses are unsuited to the heat of summer and the cold of winter, and are, therefore, seldom used as dwellings, but rather as store rooms. A tin house is regarded as a symbol of advancement and is not built to provide a more comfortable abode. Muurhuise are usually erected on the family's building plot in the mission village even though the owners may spend most of the year on their farms. Professional people and well-to-do farmers usually build comfortable houses, similar in design to European homes found in the small rural towns of South Africa. There is a tendency, however, for some farmers to provide for the higher education of at least one child before building a European-type house; and there is evidence to suggest that the parents are influenced and aided by their children (after they have qualified) to build better type houses as symbols of high status.

The relation between needs and income is important in every society and it is only by looking at the utility of commodities in their social setting that family budgets have any significance for the sociologist. Thus, in Steinkopf, the relationship between size of income and the order of preference given to the purchase of commodities, does not merely reflect individual tastes but gives us a good idea of the responses that the members of groups make to the social forces acting upon them.

CONCLUSIONS

There are three general conclusions which can be made about the economy of the Steinkopf Reserve. First, the territory is not at present economically self-sufficient and is unable to support the whole of its potential population.

Furthermore, it seems unlikely, even if better techniques of stock keeping and grain farming were adopted, that the potential population would be able to exist without the practice of migratory labour. On the other hand, if the Henkries date grove is fully developed, and the mineral resources of the Reserve exploited in the interests of the community, the present economic pattern may be completely transformed.

H.A.Kotzé's suggestion that the establishment of a lucerne fodder bank at Goodhouse could, if properly planned, place animal husbandry in Steinkopf and the other reserves on a healthy footing, is theoretically interesting[1]. But for this scheme to be effective, lucerne production at Goodhouse will have to be increased and loans will have to be made available to stock farmers in these reserves.

Secondly, although mixed farming as at present practised is economically unprofitable when compared with the semi-skilled jobs available in the towns and on the mines, most people consider it desirable to maintain their interest in the land. To say that they do so merely because it is traditional, is to disregard the fact that living in a reserve gives them greater security, especially in old age, than other Coloured people in the district or in the Republic of South Africa. If a person is unemployed in a town, it is difficult for him and his family to survive; but in the Reserve, housing and land are free (apart from taxes), and mixed farming does provide some income even if it is erratic, and local employment is open to a few people. Further, there is always the <u>possibility</u> of making a living out of tributing.

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1. H. A. Kotzé, <u>op. cit.</u>

Not only do people in the Reserve augment their incomes derived from mixed farming by finding employment in the towns, but some urban Coloured people have in the past augmented their wages by keeping goats and sheep on the reserves, after paying grazing fees. In recent years, however, Management Boards have either refused to grant them this privilege or charged exorbitant grazing fees,[1] and as a result an association known as the Grondelose Kleurlingewas formed at O'okiep in 1955. The purpose of the association is to negotiate with the various Management Boards in the reserves and with the Government in an attempt either to regain their former grazing privileges, or to obtain rights on the tract of crown land, known as the "Corridor", between Steinkopf and Richtersveld Reserves. Membership is open to all Coloured people in Namaqualand who are not registered occupiers of any reserve. Although most of the support comes from the urban population, some bywoners and "strangers"[2] in the reserves have joined Grondelose Kleurlinge. These bywoners and "strangers" are also interested in obtaining permanent grazing rights, but they are using the association mainly as a possible means of gaining admission to the ranks of registered occupiers in their respective reserves.

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1. Grazing rights in Steinkopf are sometimes granted to people outside the Reserve. But fees are high nowadays and few people can afford the costs. The usual rates are £2 to £4 per month for every hundred small stock or part thereof. Thus a non-resident wanting to graze 50 sheep for a year on Steinkopf commonage may be required to pay nearly £1 for each animal.

2. See Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Finally, we should not underestimate the growing importance of the NKHV which marks a new phase in the economic life of the community. Apart from the benefits which the members of the NKHV and Steinkopf as a whole enjoy, it has provided a focus for the greater part of local trade, and through it stronger links have been created with the outside world.

Chapter 6.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

In the community of Steinkopf we can distinguish five main kinds of kinship groups:[1] elementary families, residual families, rejuvenated families, extended families of various types, and lineages. The first three belong to one category since residual and rejuvenated families are really modifications of the elementary family pattern. With the exception of a few residual families and the inclusion of a few extended families, the families constituting this category are the nuclei of the social structure. They may be termed nuclei, not merely because they comprise the simplest groups into which the community can be divided for convenience of analysis, but because each of these groups is the kernel of family life, economic activities, Church membership, and local politics.

There are two broad kinds of homesteads in Steinkopf: the elementary family type and its variations, and the extended family type, usually consisting of a number of elementary families, but not always.

In Table XXII a comparison is made of these types of homesteads drawing attention to important variations in their form. The differences between the homesteads in Steinkopf village and its environs and those found in the hamlets and on the farms are also shown. The

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1. See Appendix G for definitions.

TABLE XXI

Types of Homesteads in Steinkopf
(See Appendix G)

Type of Homestead	A Steinkopf Village and environs				B Hamlets and farms				A plus B			
	Number of home-steads	% home-steads	Total persons	Av. size of home-steads	Number of home-steads	% home-steads	Total persons	Av. size of home-steads	Number of home-steads	% home-steads	Total persons	Av. size of home-steads
Elementary families	22	50%	145	6.6	9	42.8%	63	7	31	47.7%	208	6.7
Residual families	9	20.5%	23	2.5	1	4.8%	2	2	10	15.4%	25	2.5
Rejuvenated families	3	6.8%	12	4.0	-	-	-	-	3	4.6	12	4.0
Patrilineal extended families	7	15.9%	64	9.1	11	52.4%	136	12.3	18	27.7%	200	11.1
Extended families containing affines	3	6.8%	34	11.3	-	-	-	-	3	4.6%	34	11.3
All types	44	100.0	278	6.3	21	100.0	201	9.6	65	100.0	479	7.4
	13.6% of homesteads contain some affinal kin				No homestead contains affinal kin				9.1% of homesteads contain some affinal kin			

most important feature reflected in this Table is the high percentage of patrilineal extended families found in the hamlets and on the farms, as compared with the village and its environs. Second, there is the fact that no family of any type living in the hamlets or on the farms contains affinal kin (apart from the wives of agnates), whereas certain families living in the village and its environs do. Thirdly, we must stress the fact that there is a higher percentage of residual and rejuvenated families in the Steinkopf village and its environs than in the hamlets and on the farms. And finally we should note that there is a greater variety of family type in the village and its environs.

The contemporary kinship system is by no means homogeneous, and we can observe a number of kinship types ranging from a modified form of the Nama type to the Afrikaner type[1] found amongst whites in many of the dorps and farms in South Africa, particularly in the Cape Province. The differences in these kinship types are due to the impact of distinguishable cultural traditions and the processes of social change. In this thesis, however, we are concerned mainly with the Baster system although we do refer also to the variations.

Marriage is monogamous and often virilocal after a short period of uxorilocality; descent is patrilineal, though status is modified by that of the maternal patrilineage; inheritance is mainly patrilineal with a tendency

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1. C. Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, pp. 147-51, 303-5.
———, The Last Trek, pp. 189-90, 216-7, 239-50, 260-2.
P.W. Kotzé, op. cit., pp 62-77, et passim.
H.G. Oxley, "Wyksdorp", unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1961.

towards ultimogeniture. The largest residential unit of kinsmen is the patrilineal extended family usually consisting of a husband and his wife and their unmarried children, and the elementary families of their married sons. Each elementary family lives in its own hut or house.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY[1]

The traditional dwelling and residential unit of the elementary family and residual and rejuvenated families is the mathouse. Here food is prepared and eaten, and from it members of the elementary family group co-operate with one another and with other kinsmen in various economic and social activities.

Today roughly two-thirds of the population still live in the traditional type of dwelling, while the remaining third occupy muurhuise which vary from rudely constructed tin shanties to comfortable cottages. But whether an elementary family lives in a Nama hut or in an attractive Dutch cottage, it has much the same degree of independence as one of the nuclei of the community, even though the type of architecture may symbolise certain important social differences.

Each elementary family has its own hut or house, and usually its own erf and livestock, manages its own household budget, and to a certain extent plays its part independently in political and religious affairs. But in certain aspects of these activities members of the elementary family co-operate with members of wider kinship

1. I have avoided using the term 'domestic family' here because a few domestic families can also be classified as extended families in terms of their members. See p. 92 and appendix G

groups to which they also belong. This is of course most marked among those elementary families which form part of extended families, sharing a common homestead.

Food is prepared by the wife with the help of her daughters. At breakfast and the midday meal the husband and those older sons who are helping in his work eat separately, before the others, but in the evening the whole family congregates in the kookhuis (cooking hut) or kitchen for its food. When an important male guest is present his meal is served in the living hut (or room) and only the husband eats with him.

The solidarity of the elementary family is always evident at night when the customary pattern of the separation of the sexes is relaxed; we have already seen that the evening meal is eaten together, and to this we must add family prayers and the fact that all the members sleep together in one mathouse. In those families where an elderly relative, such as a widowed grandparent, has meals at a son's mathouse, he always retires shortly after evening prayers and supper to his own hut which is normally close by.

The main activities in the elementary family for women are : housekeeping and its ramifactions throughout the year[1]; and ploughing, reaping, herding, and periodical visits to the mines and towns as migratory workers for men. Thus the common dwelling of each elementary family is not indicative of mutual co-operation among its members in all activities. When a man marries, he does not aim to give his wife a home (tuis) but a house

1. In recent years migratory labour has become common among young women (See p.93)

(huis): a place where women work and enjoy the company of women and which he can use when he is not doing other things.

Division of labour and the separation of the sexes.

As in most other peasant communities there is sexual division of labour and it is important to be acquainted with local ideas underlying this division in order to understand the behaviour patterns within the elementary family. There are three fundamental factors which determine a person's socio-economic position in the family: sex, seniority of birth, and marital status. Sex determines the nature of one's work, while the latter two factors determine the role one performs. Most important in family affairs is the contribution made towards its economy, and it is not until a person has actually done the work laid down for him by custom that he becomes an integrated part of the family system. Young children form separate groups and are seldom seen with either of their parents when the latter are working. Work which begins at an early age is a requirement not necessarily based on the economic value of the service it renders, since much of the labour carried out produces uneconomic results. The cultivation of grain, for instance, results more frequently than not in a total failure of the crop or an annual yield of less than one bag. Yet, in spite of this knowledge, several months are wasted each year in unfruitful pursuits. Such "economic" practices, therefore, cannot be regarded as having any significant material value for the elementary family and must be seen rather

as highly socialised responses to the demands of tradition. We find also that some children are taken out of school, as soon as they can read and write, so that they can assume the roles laid down for them by custom.

In the elementary family the father and his unmarried sons are regarded as the breadwinners. Ideally this should be achieved by stockraising and agriculture. But overstocking, bad methods of cultivation, and change in the standard of living, precludes a family from subsisting on farming alone. As a result, the other sources of income are utilized; but mixed farming is the ideal. Herding is carried out by the sons, usually in rotation, while all the sons help the father during the ploughing and reaping seasons. During the year, however, one or more of the male members of the family may migrate to the mines or towns, ~~usually on a six months contract~~. At some time during his life a married man will have cultivated, herded, worked as a migrant labourer and, in some cases, carried out local small-scale mining; and it is part of a young man's general education to acquire all these "skills" and to learn to adapt himself to a life of occupational alternatives.

The most approved way of finishing major economic activities, such as ploughing, threshing and reaping, quickly is for closely related male agnates to co-operate with one another, moving as a team from erf to erf. But even when an agnatic plough team has been organised, father and sons still retain their family unity, in spite of the fact that they may be

under the leadership of a more senior kinsman. Today, agnatic plough teamsare rare owing to the absence of so many men in the towns, and their place has been taken by hired labour - individuals who work for a wage. However, the males of many elementary families still offer their services collectively to people who are unable to complete their work alone. These men have retained the old practice of working in kinship groups but operate within the framework of the local wage economy. The wages paid vary, but the average is two shillings and sixpence per day per person with the midday meal supplied. In the contemporary community, groups of neighbours or affines sometimes constitute a team, but most commonly teams consist of agnates only.

It is a full-time job to be a wife in Steinkopf even though a woman is helped in her daily chores by her unmarried daughters, and in some of her tasks by her husband's brothers' wives, and sometimes by her mother-in-law. Her duties are many; she has to cook, fetch water, collect firewood, weave mats for hut repairs, make clothes, and do all the other chores of housekeeping. In addition to these duties she is responsible for weaving mats and constructing mat-houses for her sons when they marry. All these activities are known as women's work. Normally, as we have said, she is assisted only by her unmarried daughters, but in bigger tasks such as hut-building she is helped by her mother-in-law, and her husband's brothers' wives.

Unlike the economic co-operation of fathers

and sons, a far more uniform pattern is found among mothers and daughters. We have seen that the stability of the father-sons group depends on co-operating in numerous activities, and conforming to a pattern of allegiance outside the home, whereas cohesion and co-operation between mother and daughters stems from the common activities centred in household duties.

Women are essentially hut-builders and hut-keepers, and in her home a wife has very definite rights and privileges and it is proper always to display great respect towards a woman in her own hut or house. Wives not only get a housekeeping allowance from their husbands but are also entitled to any money that a son or daughter working away from home sends to the family. Women are very quick to complain if their privileges are not respected by their husbands.

Milk and meat used to be the basic elements of the diet, but with the deterioration of pasture during the past sixty years fresh milk has become an occasional luxury and meat is eaten only a few times a week. Nevertheless when milk is available, its supply is still controlled by the women who do the milking of the animals although the herding is done by men. Generally a family which has cow's or goat's milk has only enough for its own needs, but should a housewife have milk to spare after she has catered for her own family's requirements, she is expected to give away the surplus to some other family which has none. Failure to observe this custom is thoroughly disapproved, and greedy people who

hoard milk are generally looked down on. A case which illustrates very clearly the sanction imposed on people who keep more milk than they require can be cited. I was waiting one morning for my breakfast to be served at the house where I was boarding when the milk boiled over. My hostess removed the pot and said to herself as she looked out of the window, "Huh! wie het vandag nie melk nie?" When I enquired about the significance of her remark, she explained that whenever milk boils over it is believed that someone who is in need of milk caused it to do so. And she added that the person responsible could not have known that she had a guest who took milk with his porridge!

The control of the crops and livestock is the prerogative of the head of the household who, with the help of his sons, slaughters the animals needed for meat, while the carcass is handed over to his wife. Chickens belong to the wife who has control of the eggs.

Once these principles of division of labour and property have been understood, it is easier to grasp the basic behaviour patterns of the elementary family, for it is the proper participation in family economic affairs that gives form to social relationships within the family.

It is not true to say that a wife occupies an inferior status in the elementary family, but it does not follow that husbands and wives are equals since each occupies a different status: husbands and wives are complementary. A wife, however, must always obey her husband,

but it is seldom necessary for her to act against her will because custom demands that each should do his own work. A husband can merely insist that his wife does her own work properly. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that tensions between husbands and wives very rarely occur, and that divorce is practically unknown. Temporary separations do sometimes take place, but there has been only one divorce during the past ninety years. This was an unusual marriage between a registered occupier and a Cape Town girl who deserted him after six months and refused to return.

We have stressed the importance of the separation of the sexes in the elementary family, but the principle applies to all other social relationships in the community. The general rule is that boys play with boys, girls with girls, men work and keep company with men, women with women. On formal occasions, in church, at funerals, at meetings, there is always rigid separation of the sexes. The only time husbands and wives are seen together in public is on their wedding day and when they are travelling.

Marriage.

The relationship between husband and wife is made clearer by examining the process of getting married.

Marriage begins with courtship (vryery) and a young man wanting to court a girl must first obtain the permission of her parents (normally her father). It is not until permission has been granted that he

can visit her, or "take her out". The young man must also inform his own parents of his intentions; this he does out of courtesy and respect, and also to test their reactions to his choice of a lover. Should the parents of the girl disapprove of the young man or even of his family, they will not normally consent to the courtship. On the other hand, if the parents of the young man disapprove of the girl or her family they will not forbid him to visit his lover but will make it quite clear that they will never consent to his marrying her. Formerly a young man would never have visited his lover openly unless his parents had expressed their approval first. Even today this practice is observed by the conservative people, but conflicts frequently occur between young men who reject the old custom, and their parents because they wish to be free to select their own lovers. In the traditional community these conflicts between parents and their children were less likely to occur, not merely because young men and women were more obedient and respectful, but also because the attitude of the parents of one party towards the proposed courtship generally received the support of the other, since they always discussed the matter beforehand.

It may be asked why is it necessary for young men and women to obtain special courting sanctions from their parents? In the first place, it may be argued, that intimate association between people of the opposite sex is inconsistent with the custom of the separation of the sexes, and that a special licence

has, therefore, first to be obtained to permit a breach of custom. This explanation is probably true but it is based on inference only. The popular explanation, on the other hand, is that should a girl become pregnant it is easy for parents to establish who the genitor is and arrange a marriage between the couple or mete out suitable punishment for their sin. This explanation is certainly consistent with the facts. We find, for example, that during the period 1947 to 1954 more than ninety percent of all first babies born after marriage were conceived out of wedlock.[1]

But when we compare these figures with the reports of premarital intercourse in the traditional community, it seems unlikely that the present-day explanation of the courting licence applied also in former times. Formerly premarital sexual intercourse was rigidly controlled by the family, Church, and local government, and if a girl became pregnant she and her lover were severely flogged by their parents or members of the raad. As a further punishment the couple were made to attend Church and sit in the sondebank (sinner's pew) for a specified period of time. We do not know what the illegitimacy rate or the premarital conception rate was at this time but we do know that, 'n ongetroude paar mag nie onder die komberse saam klim nie, according to the old customs.

A reliable informant who is well acquainted

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1. Statistics obtained from the missionary and members of the Kerkraad and confirmed by reliable informants, some of whom said all first born children were conceived out of wedlock.

with old law and custom informed me that, when he was a young man, nobody dared sleep with a girl before marriage and that the courting licence in those days had nothing to do with pre-marital conception. His explanation was that "No marriage can be successful unless it is preceded by a proper courtship for it is during courtship that a couple get to know each other. When a couple get to know each other they either fall in love and stay together, or they find that they are incompatible and separate. It is not good for people to fall in love and learn to understand each other and then find that one or other pair of parents, or both pairs, disapprove of a marriage between them. For this reason we parents like to approve or disapprove of our daughter's and son's lovers before they get emotionally involved (te goed mekaar verstaan). It saves a great deal of unhappiness and trouble later on."

When a couple decide to marry they must again inform their parents, who will give the suggestion considerable thought before official negotiations begin. Should there be no objections at this stage, the young man must select a vrou-vraer (go-between) from his father's lineage, preferably one of his father's elder brothers, but his paternal aunt may be chosen if she is a good spokeswoman. The duty of the vrou-vraer is to act as spokesman for the young man and the young man's family at the first formal meeting with his future wife's family. On this occasion the young man and his vrou-vraer are accompanied by his parents

and some other senior members of his family. The event takes the form of a party, and the young man is expected to provide food and tea, as a symbol of his ability and intention to look after the girl he wishes to marry. As soon as the gathering has assembled the vrou-vraer says to the parents of the girl: "Oom en tante,[1] die man" (here he gives the man's full name) "en julle meisie is verloof. Ek vra nou of julle haar sal afgee."

If the parents of the girl agree to the marriage they will, before giving their consent, ask the members of the young man's family to help their daughter with any difficulties she may encounter during her married life, particularly those problems concerned with house-keeping and the family budget. In some conservative families the girl's parents may refuse on principle to consent to the marriage the first time to test the enthusiasm of the young man who may have to wait several months before he can arrange or afford another visitation.

There is no "bride-price" in the community of Steinkopf and not even the oldest inhabitants can recall the Nama custom of the gift of a cow by the spouses to their respective mothers-in-law.[2]

It is for organising the building of a house (for his wife and himself) that a man owes his mother the

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1. Oom and Tante (uncle and aunt) used in this context are formal terms of address and are more or less the equivalent of "Sir" and "Madam" in English society.

2. I. Schapera, "The Khoisan peoples of South Africa (1930) page 246.

the greatest affection and thanks during his married years. Similarly a wife must love and recognise her mother-in-law as the senior woman among her new relatives. So a man, although he is said to be head of his own household (tuis) can never be said to be head of his house (huis) for this is the property of his wife which she holds through the women of her husband's lineage and to a certain extent through the wives of her husband's agnates, who helped build it for her.

After the marriage has finally been consented to by the parents of both the young man and his future wife, the banns of marriage are published in the mission church and the wedding takes place according to Christian rites.

Immediately after the ceremony the couple go to the house of the husband's parents where they are formally congratulated by the members of both their families. There is a small celebration and a meal is eaten. This is the first formal meeting of the young wife with her in-laws, but as soon as the meal is over the couple depart to the wife's parents' house where the wedding feast is held. At this celebration there is much revelry and it is considered to be a time of great rejoicing.

After the celebration is over, the husband is alone with his wife amongst her kinsmen, and residence is uxorilocal for a period lasting from a few days to a few months, sometimes until the first

child is born. Only at the end of this period does marriage become permanently virilocal. If the period of uxorilocality is a short one, the newly married couple will sleep in the mathouse together with the girl's former elementary family, but should it last for several weeks or months, their new hut will be erected next to the wife's parents' hut and removed again when residence is finally changed. We should draw attention to the fact here that the practice of uxorilocal residence is dying out; today it is found only amongst the conservative people although the "new people" often spend one night with the wife's parents. Uxorilocality is essentially a practice confined to the people who still live in mathouses which can be easily moved.

The temporary changes in residence, the patrilocal meal, uxorilocal before virilocal residence, help to confirm the new status of the couple as married people and to establish a new pattern of relationships between the kinships groups. The couple visit the house of the husband's parents immediately after the marriage ceremony to acknowledge their allegiance to the group to which they will ultimately belong. The meal is given by the members of the man's family who are to be the guardians of the new member, the girl, in her position as a married woman; it symbolises, if we may offer this interpretation, the promise of protection, the guarantee that was given by the young man's family to the family of the girl when the vrou-vraer asked for their consent to the marriage and their agreement to transfer the girl to his own kinship

group.

Formerly, neither the religious ceremony nor the first meal with the man's family constituted the full recognition of the marriage. This is still true today amongst the conservative people who regard the period of uxorilocality as an essential part of the process of getting married. In Steinkopf everyone is agreed that the purpose of uxorilocality is threefold. First, it is said to be the way in which a man gets to know and understand his wife's family. Secondly, it is said to be a way in which a man shows his respect for his wife's people: the longer the period of uxorilocality, the greater is his respect for them. Thirdly, it is said to help the wife to adjust herself to married life since her parents are able to advise her should any difficulties arise in her relationship with her husband.

A good husband will always do his utmost to please his wife's family, especially his father-in-law, for whom he does odd jobs, and whom he tries to impress. We are told that many of the difficulties and tensions which inevitably arise in marriage are prevented by the custom of uxorilocality. The conservative people say that the complete process of getting married must be observed if proper and healthy relationships are to exist in kinship contacts. As one informant said, "Our community is good and stable only where there is good fellowship and love; both these essentials are lacking in marriage among these modern people who maintain that a Church service or a civil

marriage is sufficient for a successful marriage."

The process of marriage, as in all societies, must be looked upon as a transitional rite or a series of transitional rites, whereby two individuals from different groups change status. Any change in status necessarily involves a dislocation of former social relationships and it is one of the functions of marriage rites to restore social equilibrium. In Steinkopf this is achieved not merely by a Church service and a reception, but by the whole process we have described, that is to say, from the day that the courting sanction has been obtained until permanent virilocal residence is assumed. Thus it is not until the couple finally move to take up virilocal residence that each receives the full status of a married person. The process of marriage makes a vrou (wife) out of a meisie (girl) and a grootman (adult man) out of a jongman (bachelor). When virilocal residence is established, the wife is admitted to the ranks of another group of women (the wives of her husband's male agnates), with whom she will be in regular close association, but she is mistress in her own house and is free to entertain her family at any time without the consent of her husband. The husband, on the other hand, returns with his new status to the company of his menfolk.

The majority of men marry in the mid-twenties, while 85% are married by the time they are thirty-five. Women usually marry four or five years earlier; 83% are married by the time they are thirty, with the majority marrying in the early twenties.[1] Closely connected

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1. See Table XXII on page 173

with marriage age are the factors related to the selection of spouses.

Table XXII

Marrying ages of Spinsters and Bachelors (1939-1944).

Percentage of marriages in each age-group.

Age	Males	Females
Below 21	0%	15%
21-25	31%	42%
26-30	34%	26%
31-35	20%	8%
36-40	10%	5%
41-45	3%	2%
46 +	2%	2%
	100%	100% Total 209 marriages.

NOTE: A total of 395 marriages were registered during the period (1939-1944). This group (of 209 marriages) represents 60% of all first marriages but may not be an accurate sample as only where the ages of both couples were given in the register was the case recorded. More recent statistics were not available.

Table XXIII

Widow Marriages.

Among the 395 marriages 13% were widow marriages.

Widower marrying Spinster ..... 5.5% of all marriages.

Widower marrying Widow ..... 4.3% of all marriages.

Bachelor marrying Widow ..... 3.2% of all marriages.

Total .....13% of all marriages.

Men do not marry until they reach the age of twenty-one and become registered occupiers, or in the case of bywoners and "strangers", achieve similar status in their respective classes. They must also be in a financial position to support a wife, which, as we have seen, means providing her with a hut and ensuring her, in theory if not in practice, an allowance to manage her household. Amongst those entitled to arable land, an erf is considered essential for marriage which may be delayed if land is not available. These are economic factors which apply to all men, though not necessarily equally. But just as important perhaps in determining the age of marriage are the social factors which operate on a man when he begins to consider matrimony.

First, a man is not free to marry whom he pleases, and when he chooses, since all marriages are subject to the parental approval of both families as well as the rules of endogamy and exogamy (see p.177ff). But even when a man's choice of a wife does not violate the community's rules of preferential marriage, he has still to consider his parent's personal attitudes towards his prospective spouse. Older informants tell us that their fathers used to say to them, "My seun vry daardie meisie vir my! Fathers do not say this today and sons are able to select a wife from a much wider circle of girls than in former years. Nevertheless, when parents express their disapproval of a son's choice of a wife, they usually say, "Don't marry that

girl, she is no good for us", implying first of all that she is not worthy to be associated with their family, and secondly that she will not fit in with the circle of women in their family, on whose members she will have to rely for company. Today many sons complain that their parents abuse their authority in this regard by threatening to leave them out of their wills if they disobey. On the other hand parents argue that this is the only way to get their sons to help them with their farming since a son whose wife is unable to adjust to her new circle of women when marriage is virilocal, leaves his extended family and sets up neolocal[1] residence. Once a son has established himself away from his father most forms of co-operation between them are impossible.

Secondly, there is the emotional and physical maturity of the man; parents never allow a son to marry unless they are confident that he will be able to carry the full responsibilities of married life, for it is through a successfully married son that they may achieve prestige (especially if their son marries "up") and lose prestige if the marriage proves a failure. A marriage, in which a man fails in his obligations, means that the promises which the vrou-vraer made to the girl's family have been broken, and this, in addition to being an unpardonable breach of etiquette, creates tensions and bad relationships between two kinship groups.

Thirdly, no respectable person is considered fit for marriage until he has been confirmed, because a

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1. Marriage is neolocal when husband and wife (and their unmarried children) form a residential group which is unattached to any other elementary family.

fully integrated member of the community must also be a full member of the Church. We shall see later that common Church membership is the main factor which unites people with conflicting allegiances into a common community.

Generally it is the ambition of every man to marry as soon as he can, for marriage confirms a status, that of maturity and the right to mix with the company of adults, die grootmense. Old age without marital status is viewed with ambivalent feelings, pathos and ridicule, and an old bachelor is still regarded as a child and has no alternative but to submit passively to the authority of his senior siblings and other relations. I known one old bachelor aged 86 years who is forbidden to take part in adult conversation by his elder brother, aged 89 years. He is allowed to listen to adult conversation, but always remains seated on the ground holding his hand over his mouth and looking at the ground. This posture, I was told, is characteristic of a well brought up child of the last century. The old bachelor is quite normal physically and has a clear mind; his elder brother attributes his continence to selfishness.

Women marry four or five years younger than men, and their marriage age is governed by most of the same factors. They are trained at home to be good wives and are not permitted to marry unless their parents approve of their prospective spouses. The difference in the marriage ages of men and women can be attributed to the fact that in order to marry, women do not require the economic backing that men do, although nowadays brides are expected

to provide kitchen utensils and other articles needed for housekeeping. Formerly, a husband provided everything, including the wedding clothes for his wife.

Rules of exogamy and endogamy may be based on either the principles of kinship or on the principles of class, and in some societies both these factors may have to be taken into consideration when a spouse is selected. The people of Stoinkopf base their rule of exogamy on kinship, while endogamy is essentially class endogamy.

In the contemporary community, custom prohibits marriages between siblings, first cousins, and brothers- and sisters-in-law. These prohibitions are based on the belief that such marriages produce physical deformities and intellectual deficiencies in the off-spring, and create tensions in the kinship system. Throughout the ranks of the "new people", the former belief is stressed as being the more important reason for the practice of exogamy, while the conservative people tend to attach equal importance to both.

In the old community of a century ago, the law prohibited marriage between people of the same lineage, while fifty years ago it extended only to members of the same major lineage segment.[1] In both these periods, marriages between first cousins were prohibited by custom and law;[2] today they are

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1. This generalisation is based on the evidence contained in the genealogies of the four major lineages: Engelbrecht, Vries, Marais Cloete, and Van Dyk.

2. i.e. the road supported the custom.

strongly disapproved by custom only.

During the past hundred years there have been two changes in the rules of exogamy. First, the range of agnates with whom a person may not marry has been reduced, although some conservative people still maintain that it is improper for a person to marry another belonging to the same major lineage segment as himself. Second, the incest taboos prohibiting marriage between brothers- and sisters-in-law and first cousins, are no longer enforced by law, with the result that some "new people" have begun to marry cross and maternal parallel cousins. In all these marriages neolocal residence is assumed directly after marriage. The reason why neolocal, and not virilocal residence is assumed when the traditional incest taboos have been violated, requires an explanation. The conservative people say "Those people who marry their 'brothers' and 'sisters' (cousins) have no respect either for their parents or for our old customs (ou tyd se goed), and they prefer to build their houses apart in order to sever all ties with their parents and with the past" (see pages 174–5).

The rules of endogamy are not as precise as the rules of exogamy, but are implicit in the class structure which is reflected in the four lineage categories described later. The principles of endogamy are fully discussed in Chapter 8 when we analyse the class structure. Here we merely list some of the generalisations which emerge from this

material.

(i) The most preferred marriages are between those of the same lineage category.[1]

(ii) All other factors being favourable, a potential spouse with European features will be selected for marriage in preference to a person with Khoi Khoin features. This generalisation is less true for members of category B than for categories A and C. There is no evidence to suggest that it applies to category D.

(iii) Active Church members tend to marry one another.

(iv) When a person in lineage category C marries a person in lineage category B, the former's siblings "lose caste", and would, for example, be unlikely to marry into category A.

One of the main functions of marriage is economic partnership. A single man is unable to participate in the mixed economy unless he has someone to look after his farming interest when he is absent from the Reserve as a migrant worker. Thus, apart from the fact that marital status gives prestige to the spouse, it is an economic necessity, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that remarriage is common; in fact, there are very few widowers who do not remarry. A widower who does not remarry cannot be said to be head of an elementary family, for, if there are no children the family has ceased to exist; if there are young children they are distributed amongst members of the late wife's and husband's families; if all the children are

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1. See pp. 219-20 for definitions of lineage categories.

married they are members of other elementary families. However, if there is a daughter old enough to keep house she will do so, but only until she marries, when she is expected to leave, although occasionally her husband may adopt uxorilocal residence to enable the father to remain under the domestic care of his daughter. Most commonly, the only practical solution is for the man to remarry. If he is still young he will probably look for a suitable spinster; if he is an older man, it is considered proper for him to find a widow.

Statistics suggest (see Table XXIII on page 173) that widows do not remarry as frequently as widowers. This conclusion seems also to be verified by Appendix G on page 467 which shows the higher proportion of widows as heads of families as compared with widowers. Apart from the obvious factor that, except perhaps in the eyes of elderly widowers, widows are less attractive than spinsters, it is easier for a widow to remain unmarried than it is for a widower to do so. A widow has a household which is her work place, and it is practicable for her to carry on her former duties and be head of the household (her new status), provided that she has sons who are old enough to support her.

Inheritance.

The rules of inheritance are extremely flexible, and the procedure followed by any one family in the transmission of property from one generation to another depends largely on the size of the family and the age and marital status of each member. Generally, however, provided there are both sons and daughters, and the parents do not die

before their children marry, the youngest son inherits his father's stock, tools, lands[1] and the family mat-house, while the daughters receive equal portions of their mother's property (cooking utensils, etc.). Male ultimogeniture is explained by the fact that "the other sons are helped materially by their father before he dies." A.E., for example, is a widower, and has five sons and three daughters. All are married except the youngest son who is the heir to all his father's property including his lands. In this case male ultimogeniture is the rule because older sons have already received livestock from their father, and have been granted lands by the Management Board. The "Benjamin" is 30 years of age, and, although he would like to marry, has not yet received his father's permission to do so. Nevertheless, he knows that he will be rewarded for looking after his old father by the inheritance he will receive. Should he marry against his father's wishes, it is likely (and his father has told him so) that he will have to share his inheritance with his brothers.

It will be seen from this system that, although the youngest son is the heir to his father's property, the other sons have in fact also received property. Thus ultimogeniture is not an accepted rule but merely the logical manifestation of particular circumstances. Primo-, secundo-, or tertio-geniture would be quite normal, depending on the age, maturity and marital status of the sons at the

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1. The inheritance of arable lands has, of course, to be approved by the Management Board.

time of their father's death. In the event of the father dying before the eldest son is old or mature enough to receive property, it is customary for his widow to "look after" his possessions as nominal head of the elementary family, until the son marries and sets up his own household.

In recent years there has been a tendency to modify the pattern we have described. It is said by some people that "Elke seun, van die oudste tot die jongste, moet gelyk oorerf"; and it is usual for a married man to decide with the help of his family how his property will be divided when he dies. Equal subdivision is sometimes difficult especially when a house (muurhuis) is owned, and in these cases it is usual for one son to acquire the property and pay in cash each of the others their share.

Disputes are common today and this is attributed to the fact that the Management Board has no powers of arbitration in these matters, whereas the old raad did. Legally recognised wills are seldom made and most agreements are verbal. A recent case provides an example of some of the difficulties which can arise. D.B. owned a large five-roomed house, and it was agreed that when he died his eldest son J. (son of his first wife) would inherit the house and pay each of his brothers (sons of a second wife) their shares. The agreement was fulfilled and J. occupied the house until he was an old man when he "gave" it to his youngest son who paid his older brothers their shares of the property. But no sooner had the new owner moved into the house than his father's half-brothers

claimed that they had never received their shares of the value of the property when it was first sold, and threatened legal action unless they were given compensation immediately. The owner wanted to keep the house at all costs, and had the means to pay the additional sum, and, therefore, complied with his uncles' demands. The informant who described the case explained to me that this verneukery (humbugging) would never have taken place in the days when verbal contracts (toe mense net met die mond gepraat het were valid because a few witnesses would have satisfied the raad that the initial payment had been made. But, since there was nothing in writing, the Management Board refused to interest themselves in the case, and for the same reason legal assistance could not be sought.

Illegitimacy.

Statistics are not available to assess the number of children born out of wedlock but in 65 homesteads studied approximately 4% of the children under 20 were illegitimate in the sense that their biological mothers were either unmarried or, although married, had not kept their illegitimate children.

In Steinkopf there is no formal arrangement by means of which legitimate status is bestowed upon such children. Although the official adoption laws applying to Europeans apply also to the community of Steinkopf, they are never utilised, nor are there customs involving the payment of material considerations such as are found, for instance, among the Bantu-speaking people.

But in spite of the absence of any legal ramifications in the practice of adoption or the granting of legitimate status to children born out of wedlock, all such children nowadays eventually have social "parents". This is achieved by private arrangements either between individuals, or between families. Probably the most common way in which illegitimate children acquire legitimate stature, is through the marriage of the mother to another man. Such children are known as voorkinders. Though they are generally treated without prejudice by their fathers and siblings, they never enjoy the same status as first-born children in other families. On the other hand, should the mother when she marries, or her husband, decide against incorporating the child into their elementary family, the child will normally be adopted by some other family (usually closely related) that has no children, or, in the case of elderly foster parents, no unmarried children. This practice may be regarded as adoption, while the former is not, since the mother always remains the same. Frequently the child will be adopted by its "grandparents" (i.e. the parents of its mother.) In these cases the child is taught to regard its foster-parents as parents proper[1] (even though genealogically they are grandparents), and to use the term of address ma instead of ouma, but to retain the term oupa. In cases of adoption by people other than grandparents, the

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1. Several of my informants maintained that the child fell naturally into this pattern.

terms of addres, ma and pa, are always used.

Most adopted children know who their biological parents are, and their attitude towards them is familiar, rather than deferential, especially with regard to the genitor who is sometimes known as boeta. The biological mother is usually called antie or tante or nana.[1] I can not give any explanation for this relationship, but two alternative possibilities may be suggested. First, the tendency towards familiarity may be a joking relationship fulfilling the function of easing the tension between a person and his biological parents; or, alternatively, the fact that so many illegitimate children are adopted by their maternal "grandparents", or families belonging to their grandparents' generation, means that through adoption they "move up" a generation. This, therefore, places them in the same generation as their biological mothers, and in all probability in that of their genitors as well.

Formerly, when illegitimacy was extremely rare, and greatly disapproved of, both parties responsible for illegitimate children were severely thrashed by their respective parents or in special cases by members of the raad. Today, however, corporal punishment is not inflicted nor do children born out of wedlock arouse much social disapproval.

Corporate nature of the elementary family.

To summarise the nature of the elementary family, in terms of its corporate characteristics, we can isolate five factors which weld its members together. First, the

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1. A term sometimes used for a sister.

elementary family is the smallest residential unit in the society. All its members live together in a mathouse, except those who leave the Reserve temporarily as migrant workers, and those who are stationed at the vee posts. Second, it is the unit of procreation and informal education of the offspring. Thirdly, it is a unit of economic co-operation in accordance with the principles of division of labour by sex. Fourthly, it is a political unit, the head of which is the father. Formerly, only the father had political rights, but recent legislation extends political rights to all male registered occupiers, which includes a number of single men. Fifthly, it is a religious group. Baptism and confirmation are not individual, but family matters, since they are privileges which can be refused by the Kerkraad if the conduct of the parents is unsatisfactory. Similarly, fathers are held responsible for sons' and daughters' conduct by the Kerkraad, which may in certain circumstances summons both father and erring child to its "court". Church dues are paid by the family and not by individuals. Prayers are "family" prayers offered by individuals when the family is assembled in the mathouse. Occasionally an oudeling may be invited to say special prayers if the family, or one of its members, is in great danger or difficulty - when the crops fail, when there is sickness, or in the event of a deceased relative's appearance at night in the guise of an evil spirit. In all family activities, co-operation, mutual respect and love among its members, are demanded by custom, and failure to practise these demands is strongly deprecated.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS[1]

Before we begin our analysis of the extended family and other kinship groups, it is necessary to examine the nature of the kinship terminology and the behaviour patterns which are implicit in the terms.

Any system of kinship terminology is the formula which expresses an institutionalised pattern of behaviour amongst people who claim family relationships. That is to say, kinship terms are the set forms of address used by people when speaking to or about their relatives. But kinship terminology provides no reliable index as to the nature of the residential grouping of kin, nor does a classificatory term necessarily indicate that the kinsmen, to whom it is applied, constitute a corporate group.

General principles of kinship behaviour in Steinkopf.

In Steinkopf there are four interacting factors on which the general principles of kinship behaviour depend: sex (see p.159 ff), marital status (see p.164 ff), parental authority and respect, seniority and age.

In Steinkopf it is generally held that there is only one way to behave towards another person (whether he be a kinsman or a stranger) and that is respectfully. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ideal in all kinship relationships is mutual respect, a condition which is largely achieved, although to a lesser degree in recent years than in the past. The degree of respect, of course, varies, some people being afforded more than others, but custom demands that all should be shown it.

1. See Appendix H for table of Kinship terminology.

One of the first lessons given by parents to their children is instruction in the proper modes of respect.

Respect in Steinkopf is not merely the expression of deferential esteem towards one's kinsmen and neighbours. It must be shown to others for the sake of one's parents, who are to be honoured and obeyed. Thus disrespect towards a person is not simply an indication of bad manners, but one of the most unseemly ways of insulting one's parents. Traditionally, a child who failed to respect one of his father's contemporaries would be thrashed by the person he had insulted, and again by his father when he returned home for the dishonour his misconduct had brought to his family. But if the initial thrashing was unjustified the child's father would demand an apology, failing which he could bring a case against the person, not for beating the child, but for insulting the father and his family.

Authority in the family, although linked with respect, implies also obedience and honour (eer). Like respect, obedience and honour are parentally determined. Thus a man must honour and obey his mother's eldest brother in the same way as his mother does, but in addition he must also show his maternal uncle the deference he already displays towards his mother. On the other hand, although he will respect his mother's youngest paternal uncle's son, he will not be expected to honour and obey him because that person (especially if his mother was the daughter of an eldest sibling) would be considerably junior in status to his mother.

In all relationships with kinsmen the rule is, "Take your cue from your parents' behaviour", and it is

customary for children to ask their parents how they must behave towards a relative if they have not previously had an opportunity of observing their parents' behaviour towards him. Today difficulties often arise because a section of a family may have developed a different set of kinship terms and the corresponding behaviour patterns. In order to overcome these difficulties some parents advise their children to ask their most distant kin how they wish to be addressed.

Bearing in mind the principles we have already established, seniority and age, especially the former, are the factors which determine an individual's actual social position in the family. In each sibling group, order of birth (i.e. seniority) is expressed in the kinship terminology, the eldest son (ou boetie) and the eldest sister (ousis) being considered senior to their junior siblings. Thus the seniority of siblings varies according to the order of birth: the greatest difference in status occurs where there is the greatest difference in age.

The principle of seniority applies generally to kinship behaviour patters, so that the relation between two people of different sibling groups is the synthesis of their respective sibling statuses as linked through their parents; this relationship is also modified by age. For example, a man's behaviour towards his father's eldest brother's son (when his father is the youngest sibling of his group) is always one of deference: (a) because his parallel cousin is the senior sibling in his

group and (b) because the parallel cousin's father is the senior parallel cousin through his own father, who is junior to the father of his cousin. On the other hand father's eldest brother's youngest son is treated as an equal.

The importance of differences in age and seniority became clear from the very first days of field work, as the greatest difficulty was always experienced in obtaining any kind of information from junior kinsmen when their seniors were present in the area, or even in the Reserve. Indeed, many young people stated quite emphatically that they were too stupid (te dom) to answer even the simplest question. The usual reply to a question from a young kinsman was, "Ek wil se, maar ek mag nie se nie, ek is nog te dom." He would then suggest that I went to see his father who might be able to answer the question. Father would reply in much the same terms as his son, adding that his understanding of the problem was not as good as his elder brother's. Consequently a great deal of time was wasted until the most senior relative in the lineage could be found. On some occasions I went to as many as six different people, members of three generations, before a definite answer to a problem would be given. Then, while the senior man spoke, the others sat round quietly, seldom venturing to make a comment unless asked directly by their senior kinsman. Even then their replies would be apologetically given only after considerable hesitation.

Moreover, when asked for information about the past, many very senior men evaded the answer, because,

they said, they had not received their "understanding" (verstand) at that time. In many cases it was quite obvious that they knew the answer but were not prepared to give it because they had been minors when the event took place.

Children and parents. (see also pp.157-86)

Children address their fathers by the terms pa or tata, and their mothers by the terms ma or mama (sometimes moeder). They also use these terms when referring to them individually. The term ouers (parents) is sometimes used when referring to parents jointly, but it is more common to use the phrase ma en pa, which I suggest, reflects the fact that they perform very different roles in the elementary family, and cannot therefore be referred to jointly.

In all matters pa's or ma's word is considered final: there should never be any argument with them or questioning of their orders. Pa does not normally have to interfere with the discipline of his daughters who are in close contact with ma, but he is very strict with his sons. The bonds of love are always extremely close between a mother and her young children: and it is only a mother (or a foster mother) who may display overt affection for her children. As one informant put it: "Dit is net die moeder wat 'n kind moet soen".

Today, amongst the "new people", disobedience to parental authority is common, and corporal punishment,

which is not as severe as it was in former times, has ceased to be an effective means of instilling discipline. Parents attribute this to school education which they maintain has undermined their authority, encouraging children to show more respect for their teachers than for their parents. As alternatives to the traditional forms of punishment, children are sometimes taken to an oudeling or the missionary, and older children may even be brought before the Kerkraad. The inability of some parents to discipline their children effectively on their own is demonstrated by the fact that unruly children are often threatened by their parents that they will be taken to the schoolteacher; but these threats are never carried out.

Although parents insist that their children are deferential to the point of being obsequious, it does not follow that their attitude towards them is lacking in affection. We have already mentioned how close the bonds are between the mother and her young children, but both parents behave informally to all their children when the day's work is completed and the elementary family is "off-duty." It is difficult to describe precisely all the facets of parent-child relationships. We may say, however, that the relationship is formal only when there is work to be done, and when there are other people present; on such occasions children should be neither seen nor heard.

During the first part of a child's life, up

to the age of four or five years, his main parental contact is with his mother, but soon after, the boys are admitted into the ranks of men, and the girls into the ranks of women, for the purpose of sexual division of labour.

The bonds between parents and their children are retained throughout childhood and adolescence into maturity, although the relationships are modified at marriage: daughters leave home to join their husbands; men take up virilocal residence as heads of new elementary families. After marriage, enforced parental authority is not so evident, but respect and honour remain. Unmarried adults are treated as though they were still children.

Siblings.

To complete our analysis of behaviour patterns in the elementary family we turn to a discussion of the terminology used to distinguish between siblings. The eldest siblings of each sex are honoured by the titles ou boetie (eldest brother) and ousis (eldest sister), the latter sometimes being called adda, (literally, the person who carried her brothers and sisters on her back) if she was old enough to look after her siblings when they were very small. Ou boetie and ousis are treated with great deference by their younger siblings. When parents are absent from home, ou boetie and ousis take charge of the family, performing the roles of ma and pa among their younger siblings. Nowadays after

the death of both parents, ou boetie is sometimes responsible for dividing the family property amongst his siblings.

Respect must also be shown to the other brothers and sisters and not only the second but even the third eldest may be honoured. For example, in a sibling group consisting of three brothers and three sisters each will be given a title indicative of his social position: ou boetie, boeta and klein boetie; ousis, sussie and kleinsus. Ou boetie, boeta, ousis, and sussie are terms of honour (eer) and respect, while klein boetie and kleinsus are terms of respect only.

Sibling terminology in Steinkopf can best be described as a substitute for personal names indicating the order of birth and status of the members in each sibling group. In some families personal names are never used either by the parents or the siblings, and in all families a child will be rebuked or punished if he fails to honour his eldest brother and sister with their descriptive titles. Thus, if kleinboetie is told by mama to call ousis, he must say to his eldest sister, "Ousis, mama het gese dat ousis moet mama toe gaan." In giving the command mama would have said "Kleinboetie" (or used his Christian name), "roep vir ousis."

The fundamental rule in sibling relationships, therefore, is that, although all siblings must respect one another, the first and second born must always be honoured, honour being greatest where there is the

greatest difference in age.

The position of the youngest son in the family must receive further elaboration. As an alternative term of address to kleinboetie, the youngest son is sometimes called kleinpa (little father) though normally this term is not used until he is married. Kleinboetie is given a great deal of attention and is treated with much affection by his siblings and parents, who nowadays often call him by the English term "darling". ("Darling" is a new word in Steinkopf vocabulary and I have never heard it used as a term of affection for anyone besides the youngest son.) One woman explained to me that her youngest son was called kleinpa because he is "really a small edition of his father. We love him and treat him just like father, except that he hasn't got father's position and authority." Kleinboetie is a sort of Benjamin: he remains in the mathouse with his parents until his brothers have married (he is normally the last to marry) and, as we have seen, in some families is the heir to his father's property.

The closest and most permanent bonds in all kinship relationships are those between brothers. As children they are playmates, and as they grow up they work together with their father. All brothers are said to "ape their fathers" (heg na hul vaders). Even when, for practical purposes, the potential extended family unit is divided, brothers try to live in the

same district or ward because they need each other not only for economic co-operation but especially for companionship.

Sisters, on the other hand, do not display the same fellowship after marriage, although the bonds of companionship between them before marriage are probably stronger than those between brothers. This is because virilocal residence separates them geographically, making regular companionship impossible.

Uncles and Aunts.

Two very important categories of kinsmen are parents' siblings and their spouses. Both categories are afforded the same degree of respect and no terminological distinction is made between paternal and maternal siblings. Where terms overlap, Christian names are used as well to distinguish between them. Mother's and father's eldest brothers are addressed as groot oom, oompa or grootpa, the last term being used mainly by the conservative people. Mother's and father's youngest brothers are usually known as klein oom or kleinpa although many nephews nowadays use Christian names or the term boeta. The siblings in between these two extremes are most commonly called oom plus their Christian names, but in many families terms such as oometjies, oompie, middel oom, oompietjies are used to give a more accurate description of their kinship positions. The wives of all these kinsmen are given the corresponding feminine forms of the terms used for their husbands, namely: grootma or groot tante, kleinma. The conservative people

always use this system of terminology, but in recent years the "new people" tend not to honour all their uncles and aunts, and we find that where age differences are slight Christian names are used in place of terms such as oompietjies and klein tante.

Terms for father's and mother's sisters follow the same terminological scheme as those used for the parents' brothers' wives, while their husbands are classified as though they were father's and mother's brothers.

The most important characteristic of these categories of kinsmen is that no distinction, other than those based on age and sex, is made in the terminology between maternal and paternal siblings, and their spouses.

Other bilateral kinsmen in this generation (sons and daughters of grandparents' siblings) may also be addressed as oom or tante, but they are not regarded as belonging to the same category as paternal and maternal siblings. Thus, this use of the terms oom and tante is only made to honour senior kinsmen who are much older than oneself. Where the difference in age is insignificant, Christian names are used.

In comparison with modern English terminology and behaviour patterns, we may say that the conservative members of the community have no uncles and aunts. Mother's and father's siblings are uncles and aunts (junior and senior) with a tendency towards being regarded as parents; hence terms such as oompa, kleinpa, antie ma and kleinma in the terminology.

Grandparents, great grandparents, their siblings and siblings spouses.

The classifactory term oupa is applied to both maternal and paternal grandfathers and their brothers. Similarly ouma is used for maternal and paternal grandmothers and their sisters. Further, the spouses of all those called oupa and ouma are known respectively as ouma and oupa. The term also applies to all old people whether they are related or not.

The same principles apply to great grandparents and to people of their generation. The men are called oupa grootjies or ou grootjies, the women ouma grootjies. Collectively they are referred to as grootjies, but onse ou grootjies refers only to agnates. Ancestors above the third ascending generation are referred to as oor grootjies, a term which also applies only to agnates.

Grandparents and great grandparents are always greatly honoured and admired for their wisdown (verstand), experience and knowledge. But they are far more indulgent towards their grandchildren than parents are towards their children, and as senility sets in parents usually overlook the horseplay which high-spirited children indulge in towards their grandparents provided they do not overstep the mark of respect.

Cousins.

Just as both paternal and maternal uncles and aunts tend to be regarded as quasi-parents, so also are cousins regarded as quasi-brothers and -sisters. To marry a cousin, either cross or parallel, is said to be the same

as marrying a brother or a sister. Very similar terminology is used for addressing cousins to that used for siblings, but since cousins derive their status from their parents, not all are treated in the same way. It is the practice for cousins to use Christian names when addressing each other except in the case of children of a junior brother or sister addressing the children of a senior brother or sister. In this case the junior cousins will use titles of honour such as ou boetie or ousis.

There are two factors which determine relationships among cousins. First, as we have already shown, is the status of their parents: the children of senior siblings being afforded more respect than those of junior siblings except where age differences are slight. Secondly, there is the kinship category of the cousins: agnatic ortho-cousins are considered to be closer kin (that is, more like brothers and sisters) than other types of cousins. The reason for this is due partly to the fact that there is a tendency towards father-right, but more especially because agnatic ortho-cousins are welded together through the extended family by common residence and common participation in economic and other activities.

Affines.

Parents-in-law are addressed by the same terms as ordinary parents, i.e.: pa and ma. The relationship of a man with his parents-in-law, differs considerably from his wife's relationship with hers. In the first place a man's formal and regular contact with his wife's parents ceases after the period of uxorilocality. For a woman,

though, the position is different; after virilocal residence has been taken up she enters into regular association, formal and informal, with her husband's parents. At marriage a woman is said to "marry out her surname" (trou haar familie naam uit); that is to say, she relinquishes a considerable part of her former ties with her own family. This makes it possible for her husband (and his kin) to have certain privileged rights over her and the children she bears.[1]

A married woman takes her husband's surname and falls under his power and authority (with certain important limitations which we shall discuss later); in family religious life she prays and worships with her husband and children, and on some occasions with other members of her husband's family.[2] The degree to which she becomes integrated with her husband's family is shown by the fact that on the death of her husband she automatically becomes the legal head of the elementary family; if she is still young and her sons still minors, she retains her husband's property until she dies or until the sons (sometimes daughters as well) are eligible to receive their portions of the inheritance.

On the other hand the legal position of a woman after marriage does not separate her completely from her own kinsmen, who still retain a certain jurisdiction over her. For example, it is customary for a wife to take her grievances to her husband's kinsmen. Thus, if she or her children are ill-treated by, or have any complaint against her husband, she is expected to complain to her

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1. cf. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, p. 50.

2. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, op. cit. Page 76.

father-in-law (or his senior brother.) But should she not receive the hearing and sympathy she deserves, she is entitled to complain to her own parents that she has been ill-treated by her husband and neglected by her in-laws (the people who promised through the vrou-vraer to look after all her interests). When a father receives a complaint of this nature, he immediately goes to his daughter's father-in-law or some other senior man in his lineage to complain. Should he be unable to solve the problem alone he will take the matter to the Kerkraad, sometimes even to the police.

Thus we see that marriage does not deprive the members of the woman's family of the whole of their jurisdiction over the girl they are losing. Custom demands that a married woman should obey her husband and his senior agnates, but the authority which they have over her is a privilege, which, if abused, entitles her to complain to her own kin. Hence the process and rituals of marriage described earlier are designed mainly to promote co-operation and good fellowship between two groups of kinsmen.

No adequate explanation of the absence of bride-price can be offered, but there is a suggestion that the promises made by the vrou-vraer before marriage on behalf of the suitor and his family, to the family of the prospective bride, are necessary because there is no bride-price; or, stated the other way, bride-price is unnecessary to effect stable marriages because promises are made instead. The rights, in the sense of privileges, which a man has over his wife are therefore conditional

on his keeping the promises that his vrou-vreer made before the marriage.

The form of address for brothers and sisters-in-law varies from family to family: either a sibling term is used, or the ~~Afrikaans~~ terms swaer (brother-in-law) and skoons (sister-in-law) are used. The former terms are generally used by the conservative people, but not always. The difference between the two sets of terms is mainly a linguistic one, yet it has other significance too.

In the first place swaer and skoons are extended classifactory terms, which include as brothers- and sisters-in-law the spouses of husband's and wife's siblings, whereas the sibling terms refer only to husband's and wife's siblings. Secondly, the fact that the conservative people generally use the sibling terms, and the "new people" the extended terms, suggests that the swaer-skoons terminology is of recent development. Nevertheless, in spite of these differences in terminology, the behaviour patterns of the conservative and the "new people" towards their brothers- and sisters-in-law are very similar: both groups regard them as quasi-brothers and sisters, and marriage with quasi-siblings of deceased spouses is regarded as incestuous.

The brother-and sister-in-law relationships and the difference in the terminology used are best understood by examining the historical development of this aspect of the kinship system. Although the historical data is meagre, it gives us a clue as to the origin of these changes in the system, as well as a better understanding of its sociological significance.

Mrs. Hoernlé, in a study of the Namaqua,[1] tells

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1. A.W.Hoernlé, "The Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots", in American Anthropologist Vol. 27, No. 1, 1925, page 23.

us that a man behaved towards his wife's sisters "much as he would towards his own wife" and that "a woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands and used, in the old days to be inherited by one of them". She points out that in the Rheinische Missions Berichte (1856 and 1860) there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his eldest brother's widow. Mrs. Hoernlé does not tell us whether a man ever married (or was allowed to marry) his deceased wife's sister, but two old Namaquas,living in Steinkopf agreed that this was allowed in the traditional Nama society. Mrs. Hoernlé tells us that the practice was condemned by the missionaries who report it, and there is a strong suggestion, therefore, that it was partly due to missionary influence that the practice of the sororate and the levirate became regarded as incestuous.

The terms of address for brother and sister-in-law in Nama society were /uisap and /uisas respectively (from the verb /ui, to become related by marriage). A person's own siblings, and the children of his father's brothers and his mother's sisters, however, were called .'gab (my brother) and !gas (my sister). Thus a clear distinction was made between brothers and sisters-in-law and siblings, real and classificatory, and a man could marry his /uisas but not his .'gas, while a woman could marry her /uisap but not her!gab.[1]

After the missionaries had established themselves as religious and political leaders in Steinkopf and other communities, we find that the relationships between people and their brothers and sisters-in-law changed considerably. What had

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1. Hoernlé, op. cit. p. 19.

formerly been a potential husband-wife relationship now became a sort of sibling relationship, with marriage between them regarded as incestuous. Accompanying this change in relationships there was a corresponding change in the terminology: brothers- and sisters-in-law were now addressed by appropriate sibling terms. Thus my eldest brother's (ou boetie's) wife was called sussie[1]; my second eldest brother's wife was also called sussie, or perhaps called by her Christian name if she was the same age as myself or younger than I; my youngest brother's wife (kleinboetie's or kleinpa's wife) was called kleinma. The terms for brothers-in-law also followed this pattern but the rule was even more complicated by the factors of age and seniority. Thus, when my eldest sister married, her husband was usually older than any of her brothers (and, of course, older than she), and would normally be addressed as ou boetie too. Occasionally, however, if he was much older and belonged to the first ascending generation he could be addressed as oom to acknowledge his more senior status.

Nowadays the pattern we have just described is still found amongst some conservative people, although most people use the Afrikaans classifactory terms swaer and skoons. The terms ou swaer, swaerie and ou skoons are sometimes used to distinguish between people of different ages. The preference for these Afrikaans terms is, as we have already pointed out, mainly linguistic.

The use of kinship terms outside the family.

A study of kinship terminology and behaviour patterns would be incomplete if mention was not made of the use of kinship terms outside the family. For, in spite of the exist-

1. Not ousis because she was normally younger than the sibling who was called by that term.

ence and development of class divisions, the people of Steinkopf regard their society as one big family (een groot familie). The older generation insist that this fellowship used to be stronger than it is today: "In die vroeë tyd was die liefde volop, en almal het saam uit een pot geëet."

The fact that these sentiments, which are still found at the present time, exist side by side with rules and customs which keep families apart, is merely an example of one of the common paradoxes of social life: conflicting allegiances may help ultimately to produce social cohesion. Cleavages between groups need not necessarily produce social disequilibrium in society as a whole, in fact in many instances they may help to effect solidarity.[1] T. S. Eliot in his Notes Towards a Definition of Culture says, "The more (conflicts and jealousies) the better: so that everyone should be an ally of everyone else in some respects, and an opponent in several others, and no one conflict, envy or fear will predominate ....."

In Steinkopf there are many examples of jealousies, conflicts and cleavages in the various social institutions, but in the wider framework of society bonds exist which override, as it were, these differences and unite people in een groot familie. In fact, we find that terms of address used within the family are extended outside it also.

Male registered occupiers[2] or sons of registered

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1. cf. M. Gluckman: "Custom and Conflict in Africa" (1955)

2. Bywoners are excluded from this discussions. See Chapter 8 I.

occupiers of the same age-groups, when addressing one another, unless they use Christian names or nicknames (the latter are very common), will call each other broer (brother) or ou broer (old chap). Children, however, always use Christian names and nicknames. The terms boet and boeta are seldom used when addressing non-relatives, since, as we have shown earlier, these are essentially descriptive terms used among family members.

Older men to whom respect must be shown are normally addressed as oom (uncle), or oupa (grandfather) when the difference in age is great, and they address younger men and boys as seun (son) or my seun (my son).

With a few important differences, women follow much the same pattern as men do when speaking to members of their own sex. But generally women are more formal and distant than men in their manner of address and behaviour. Christian names are common amongst friends of the same age-group, but strangers and acquaintances always behave towards one another more respectfully; married women in particular are always afforded respect by acquaintances and are addressed by their surnames with the prefix Missis (Mrs.). Sometimes they are called antie.

Older married women are addressed as ouma though they may be referred to as "ou Missis A". Older women call girls and young women dogter (daughter). If two women friends have the same Christian name they will usually avoid it and call each other mieta[1], although sometimes only one will be termed mieta and the other will retain her own name. In Steinkopf mieta is no more than a nickname used to avoid the

1. Cf. N. Mansvelt, Proeve van een Kaapsch-Hollandsch Idioticon, 1884, p. 103. Meta = naamgenoot

embarrassment of calling somebody else by one's own name. In Afrikaans Mieta is a Christian name.

We have discussed elsewhere the principle of the separation of the sexes, but it is important to realise that this separation does not necessarily imply mutual avoidance. Young people of a different sex use Christian names freely and occasionally outside the family the terms broer and suster are used.

Adult men call all young girls dogter (unless they are relatives), who reciprocate with oom and oupa depending on the difference of age between the two people. Married women call all young boys seun, who reciprocate with Missis A (sometimes antie) or ouma.

Married women are usually addressed by men as Missis (more commonly without their surnames) or ouma: conversely, women use the terms oom and oupa. Christian names are, of course, used among intimate friends.

In our discussion of the use of kinship terms outside the family we have seen that nearly all the terms used are classifactory ones, each referring to particular categories of pseudo relatives. Broadly speaking there are four categories of pseudo relatives when we eliminate differences in sex:-

(a) Pseudo siblings:

Those whose age and generation coincide more or less with my own age and generation.

(b) Pseudo uncles and aunts:

Those whose age and generation coincide more or less with my parent's age and generation.

(iii) Pseudo grandparents:

Those whose age and generation coincide more or less with my grandparents' and great-grandparents' age and generation.

(iv) Pseudo children:

Those whose age and generation coincide with my children's, grandchildren's, and great grandchildren's age and generation.

When we examine all the terms used for both relatives and pseudo relatives, we find that they reflect a general principle in the relationships that they indicate. Stated briefly, the principle is that the tendency to classify certain groups of relatives and certain groups of pseudo relatives varies in inverse proportion to the nearness of their relationships. In other words, the closer people are related, the greater is the tendency for them to distinguish between minor differences in their relationship. For example, in the elementary family, each member is usually addressed by a separate descriptive term; they are closely related. On the other hand grandparents, their siblings, and their sibling's spouses are classified together; they are more distantly related.

In addition to these terms of address used among unrelated people, various titles are given to people holding special positions in the community. All teachers and former teachers are addressed as Meester, the postmaster is called Posmeester, and all elders and former elders of the Church are called Oudeling, while the various members of the Management Board are addressed by the titles corresponding to the

office which they hold: Superintendent (sometimes called Meneer), Sekretaris, Korporaal (nowadays called Raadslid, i.e. Councillor.) The manager of the co-operative store is known as Bestuurder.

It is customary for these people to reciprocate the respect shown them with terms of address such as oom and oupa for older men and missis and ouma for married women. Contemporaries are merely addressed by their Christian names, surnames or nicknames.

The variability of kinship terminology.

In all societies, kinship terms do show some degree of variability. By that I mean an alternative or alternative forms of address are sometimes used for the same categories of kin. In some societies these alternative forms of address indicate different behaviour patterns while in others they do not. In contemporary Western society, for example, a boy may call his father pa in ordinary conversation, but when he asks his father for extra pocket money may address him by the more affectionate term daddy.[1]

The Steinkopf kinship system provides us with examples of variations in kinship terminology which reflect not only different behaviour patterns but also indicate the existence of minor differences in kinship types. We have already drawn attention to these variations but for the purposes of the present discussion we need merely bear in mind that these differences do exist, in order to avoid the misconception that the kinship pattern is uniform throughout the society.

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1. cf. D. M. Schneider and G. C. Homans "Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System", in American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, No. 6, Dec. 1955.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

In contemporary Steinkopf the largest residential family unit ever achieved is the patrilineal extended family, generally comprising a husband and wife, their unmarried children, and the elementary families of their married sons. In former times much larger residential units were found; for instance in the Khoi Khoin period, and to a certain extent in the Baster-missionary period, residential groups consisting of all the members of a major lineage segment, minus married females, plus the spouses of the married men were found. In more recent times, however, shortage of land, due to population increase, impoverishment of the soil, and expropriation of land, has made it necessary for large extended families to fragment so that each family can live close to its arable lands. Nevertheless, male agnates do try to secure adjacent lands in order to make some degree of economic co-operation possible. Elsewhere we have seen how rivalry between brothers also led to residential fragmentation.

During recent years two additional factors have influenced residential grouping: the growth of a village community and a new system of administration. Amongst other things the village community is characterised by association and co-operation among people, not on the basis of kinship, but on that of class, occupation, and of common interests. Closely linked with the growth of the village (which resembles a small town) are the changes which have taken place in local government. The present day admini-

stration recognises only the elementary family as a kinship group, and discourages by its legislation, co-operation among a wider circle of kinsmen, (see pp.269-72). Further, the steady change in the economy from mixed farming to wage earning in the Steinkopf village, and outside the Reserve, has led to the greater economic independence of each elementary family, which tends to make large residential units functionally superfluous. Nevertheless, the extended family persists strongly amongst the conservative people and exists to a certain extent among the "new people."

Homesteads consisting of patrilineal extended families are found mainly in the hamlets and the farming districts which are scattered throughout the Reserve, and on the periphery of the mission village, where their presence is marked by clusters of mathouses which stand out clearly against the haphazard array of white-washed cottages and corrugated iron dwellings. The huts in each homestead are usually arranged in a straight line facing the east, and are separated from one another by a distance of fifteen or twenty yards. On the left (facing outwards) of the main hut (the hut of the father and his elementary family), stands the hut of the eldest son, while on the right, arranged in order of descending seniority from the main hut, are the huts of the other sons.

In the description which follows of the corporate activities of the extended family, the independence of each elementary family must be borne in mind in order to distinguish clearly between the functions of each group.

The differences in these functions are of degree rather than of kind.

The most important activities of the extended family are economic, and are usually complementary to those of the elementary family. Thus, when the elementary family is unable to achieve a task alone, the extended family comes into operation. Ploughing, reaping, and threshing, for instance, call for the co-operation of all available male agnates. In the contemporary community this means, in practice, all the male members of the extended families, and often neighbours and other kinsmen when help is needed for major tasks. Earlier we discussed this type of co-operation in our account of the agnatic plough teams, (see pp.160-1). Herding, too, sometimes calls for co-operation amongst extended family members, especially among families who send some of their members regularly to the mines and towns. Thus, one agnate, or a pair of agnates, will look after the livestock of several elementary families while the other men are absent from the Reserve, and after a period of six months of a year will themselves go out as migrant workers while the herding is committed to the charge of other members of the extended family. When the crops are ripening it is always considered the mutual obligation of all members, men and women, of the extended family to guard the lands and protect them from livestock and donkeys.[1]

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1. In 1957, however, an old law of 1870 was revived by the Management Board whereby all animals have to be kept at least two miles away from the arable lands, from June until after the harvest. See Appendix C.

Brothers and their sons sometimes pool their resources and carry out small scale mining activities on the base mineral deposits in the remote parts of the Reserve. Although there are a few families only who take part in tributing, the existence of this type of co-operation is indicative of solidarity amongst the members of the extended family.

Women members of extended families do not co-operate as actively as men because their work is of a different nature. Yet, whenever a new mathouse has to be built or an old one repaired, it is customary for all the women to co-operate in the extremely arduous task of weaving new mats. Nowadays neighbours tend also to co-operate in these tasks.

Although each elementary family prepares its own food, eats together and manages its own budget, in times of need, after a drought or blight or unemployment, it is customary for each family to assist the other in every possible way. Thus, a family which is penniless can always rely on assistance from the other members of its extended family group, and sometimes from other kinsmen.

As tokens of affection and mutual respect "reciprocal meals"[1] are occasionally sent by women to some member of another elementary family. In fact, in former times the sending of this "reciprocal meal" used to be a regular practice. The meal consists of a plateful

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1. There is no special name for these meals today but one informant reported that they used to be known as liefde male (meals to show affection).

of choice, carefully prepared food, usually delivered in the middle of the day. When a person receives one of these meals he is not expected to thank the sender, but merely to enjoy it, expressing his approval to members of his own family. After a time the gesture will be returned. Most commonly these meals are initiated by a daughter-in-law who sends a plate of food to her mother-in-law, but there are instances of their being sent to other relatives and even to neighbours. It is clear that the function of these meals is to create good fellowship and friendship between individuals and families, although the "new people" maintain rather cynically that they are just excuses to show off good cooking. The conservative people, on the other hand, insist that "reciprocal meals" are symbols of love and respect, and they draw attention to the fact that the infrequency with which they are sent today is but one of the many examples of the lack of charity evident in the new tradition.

We pointed out that the sending of "reciprocal meals" was most common between mothers and daughters-in-law; the absence of tension between these two groups of kin among the conservative people, and the marked existence of tensions between them amongst some of the villagers (especially teachers) seems to suggest that these meals are correlated with existing friendly relations between mother and daughter-in-law.

Early Government officials and travellers who visited the territory drew attention to these customs of sharing and distributing food. Mr. S. Melvill, second

assistant Surveyor-General in 1890, disapproved greatly of them and describes these customs as part of the "communistic kind of life" responsible for the laziness and thriftlessness of the people.[1]

A recent development in the method of buying food and provisions also reflects the corporate nature of these extended family groups. Some extended families have adopted the practice of buying from the co-operative store as a group. For instance, an extended family, consisting of four elementary families will buy all its provisions on the private account of one of the elementary families for one month, on the account of another the following month, and so on. The payment for all the goods in any one month is made only by the family on whose account the goods were bought. There is no evidence to suggest that this practice of collective buying exists among neighbours who are not relatives. A similar practice is found on the mines, where one of two brothers (or friends) hands over all his earnings to the other every alternate month. In the first of these cases it is argued that during the months when another family pays the accounts more money is available for luxuries and to cover special expenses such as Church dues. In the second case it allows an individual a fairly large sum of money to spend every other month, and the importance of this can be appreciated when one considers the low wages paid to Coloured labourers.[2]

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1. cf. p.90f.

2. These practices are, of course, found amongst poor people in many other communities.

Leadership amongst the members of an extended family rests with the senior male, who is normally the father of a group of married brothers. In common tasks, however, which affect only women, his wife, the senior woman, is regarded as leader.

As senior male, the father is often called upon to settle disputes which arise between members of his extended family, and, after his death, although his wife becomes head of his elementary family, his position of authority over the other members passes to his eldest son. Formerly, and amongst some conservative people today, the eldest son was afforded all the respect his father enjoyed; but nowadays, with the weakening of authority in the family, the extended family disintegrates or fragments soon after the death of the father, because ou boetie's leadership is not effective.

Earlier we pointed out that it was usual for members of the elementary family to meet for prayers. But on Sundays, if circumstances or distance prevents worship in the mission church, the extended family may meet for corporate worship and prayer in the hut of the senior male, if the father is very old, or if one of the sons is an elder or deacon in the Church, the service will be led by the person most competent to do so.

To summarise, it may be said that the functions of the extended family are auxiliary to the functions of the elementary family. The larger family group has no special functions of its own other than providing a more effective system of social control, and a wider range of kinsmen for companionship than the elementary family.

In the mission village, where extended family relationships have weakened as a result of the growth of a village community, the mechanisms of social control, which formerly stemmed from extended family ties, have been taken over by other groups of people. These groups consist of associations such as the Kerkraad, the sustersbond, the kinderbond, etc. Not only must these associations be regarded as institutions for the maintenance of good conduct, but also as groups which provide for companionship and good fellowship, characteristics which are implicit also in the extended family.

Thus, conduct is "good" in the village; there are no delinquent gangs, practically no drunkenness (except on days when people return from the mines and the towns), only an occasional theft, and there were only two assault cases during the years 1951 - 1956. In the elementary family, however, discipline (according to conservative standards) is considered "bad". Children no longer obey their parents all the time - boys sometimes refuse to leave school to herd for their fathers, and schoolgirls refuse to learn the art of mat-making from their mothers, because "educated people do not do this kind of work". But, viewed sociologically, this disobedience and failure of discipline is merely the manifestation of the fact that the functions of parents have been taken over by other individuals, such as teachers, and modified accordingly.

In the changing community of Steinkopf, therefore, we find two systems of social control and association: the extended family of the conservative people found mainly in

the farming districts, and the new associations in the mission village. Although their structures differ, they cater for similar needs and fulfil similar functions. Each system works efficiently in its own sphere, though during the process of change from one system to the other, conflicts sometimes occur between the leaders of each system. Hence, in the conflicts that exist between teachers and parents, parents who have not yet adapted themselves to the new traditions, despair at the values and aspirations of their children, whom they refer to cynically as the "Afrikaner kinders." The teachers and their followers, on the other hand, who are the champions of learning and change, reject the old values and traditions and tell their pupils that "outyd is dom tyd" (old customs are stupid customs). Although the conflicts between parents and teachers are strong, they are always openly expressed, and their manifestations are generally harmless: arguments are good humoured and though they end with the conservative parents issuing dire warnings that everyone who challenges the values of the old order is likely, sooner or later, to fall out of favour with the Almighty, neither party takes the other seriously, and respect is always shown to older people and those with "position".



6. A BASTER

A member of lineage category A.



7. A NAMAQUA

A member of lineage category B.

Chapter 7.

LINEAGES

"Ons geslagte is die afstammelinge van
Hollandse Vaders en Namaqua moeders."

- Gert Engelbrecht.

LINEAGE CATEGORIES.

In Steinkopf there are ten major lineages of varying size, and roughly thirty to forty smaller ones. Today, lineage organisation varies considerably since not all people attach the same importance to lineage membership. We may, however, classify the population into four broad lineage categories on the basis of their origin:

Category A: The Baster Pioneers or Voortrekkers, who can trace descent back for six or seven generations.

Category B: The Namaqua, and short-haired Basters, some of whom can trace descent back to the period before the Baster Pioneers entered the territory. The people of this category consist mainly of the descendants of the Gei//Khauan and ~~Kdaiu~~ Oorlam tribes.

Category C: The kommers (new comers), Basters who joined the community after the Baster Pioneers, some comparatively recently. The majority of the kommers are able to trace descent back for three or four generations only.

Category D: The bywoners who are a small group of people,

consisting mainly of Bondelswart refugees, who joined the community after the wars in South West Africa.

Categories A and B coincide more or less with the class division known as onderstraat and bostraat (See Chapter 8), while the members of Category C overlap with each of these class divisions.

In terms of kinship, the distinguishing feature of these lineage categories is endogamy: members of category A should never marry members of category B; a person from category A may marry certain persons from category C, but not others, while a few people in category C marry persons from category B; and members of category D tend to marry persons in their own category.

The Pioneer Basters (Category A).

Elsewhere we have described the part played by the Baster families in the development of Steinkopf. The first of these families to settle permanently in the territory were the Engelbrechts who established themselves to the south-east of the present mission village. The founding ancestor of these Engelbrecht Basters[1] was a Hollander who had married a Namaqua woman from South West Africa. Engelbrecht was a trader whose business covered the stretch of country known as the Bokkeveld. From time to time members of his wife's clan used to visit him to barter giraffe and gemsbok karosses for tobacco, coffee, sugar and other provisions. During

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1. See genealogy in Appendix I.

one of these visits, Engelbrecht disobeyed the laws of the Colony; instead of his usual goods, he exchanged a gun and ammunition for the karosses brought by the Namaqua clansmen. Later he was arrested by a Field Cornet and found guilty and imprisoned by the Landdrost at Clanwilliam. He died while he was in gaol, and, as a result of these events his three sons, wishing to escape from the "unjust" laws of the Colony, crossed the boundary (the Buffels River) into Little Namaqualand. Little Namaqualand was at this time ruled by Kaptein Kupido Witbooi. When they reached the territory, the three brothers parted and each selected his own tract of country. Paul chose part of the Pella district near to the kraal of Kupido Witbooi; Jan went westward to the sandveld; and Gert set up his mathouse at Karakhoes, now called Besondermeid and situated near Steinkopf village.

We are told that Witbooi objected strongly to the presence of these strangers but was unable to take any action against them since they were in possession of fire-arms. On the other hand, it is certain that the Engelbrechts, who were Basters and considered themselves superior to the Namaqua, were not prepared to submit to the jurisdiction of the Khoi Khoin ruler, or his captains.

Gert had two wives, each of whom had a son. Willem was the younger of the two sons, but was the son of the first wife, who was also a Baster like her husband. The second wife, however, was a Namaqua, and although her son, Pieter, was older than Willem, he was not accorded the respect usually shown to a first-born son in Baster society.

After a period of time, our historians[1] tell us, "Gert Engelbrecht het van familie hoof tot die Kapteinskap oor sy mense en ander wat daar ingetrek het, opgeklim." When he died his son, Willem, succeeded him as Kaptein of the Basters. At this point in the history of the lineage, as a result of the rivalry which had occurred between the two brothers, Pieter and his family left Karakhoes and settled ten miles south, at Witwater, where his descendants live to this day. Here they form a major segment of the Engelbrecht lineage, a segment which still retains the family jealousy which had its origin during the generation of Willem and Pieter.

Willem had only one son, Jacobus (or Gous), who succeeded him, and five daughters. Jacobus married the famous Ryk Jasper Cloete's father's sister, a Baster from Springbok, while the five daughters married other Basters who had joined the Engelbrechts at Steinkopf.

The first daughter married one of the Cloete Haals from the Bokkeveld. They were so called because they were fetched (gehaal) by the Engelbrechts to strengthen the ranks of the Basters who feared that they would be overpowered by the Khoi Khoin. The second daughter married Willem Meyer, a Komaggas Baster, and a nephew of the Reverend J. H. Schmelen of the London Missionary Society. The third married a Klaase, a Baster who had also joined the Engelbrechts. The fourth married Jacobus Cloete // abba, a Baster from Springbok; and the youngest married Nicholas Cloete Teekappa, also a Baster from Springbok.

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1. G. Meyer, MS, "Die Gemeente te Steinkopf" (undated, but probably 1927). Gert Engelbrecht, an elder of the N.G.Kerk, confirmed the statement.

When Jacobus Engelbrecht died, he was succeeded, not by his eldest son Willem, but by Gert, the third eldest. The second son had trekked to South West Africa before he married and did not return. This, as could be expected, complicated the lineage structure still further. Under normal circumstances, as we have said, it was the custom for the eldest son to succeed his father, but the father was at liberty, after consultation with his family (or, as in this case, the raad) to choose another person as his heir. Our historians tell us that Jacobus chose Gert as his successor because "Willem se verstand was nie so goed nie." This may be true; but when we inquire into Willem's history we find information which allows an alternative explanation; before his father's death, Willem married Lydia Claase whose mother was closely related to the Kaptein of the Bondelswarts, Willem Chrisjan, with whom Willem Engelbrecht was on friendly terms. Willem used to spend a great deal of his time in South West Africa on hunting expeditions with, and bartering cattle from, the old Kaptein. Socially, the marriage was an acceptable one for Lydia Klaase was a respectable Baster. For political reasons, however, it was a bad match, and it is highly probable that Jacobus and his advisors saw danger in Willem's association with the Bondelswarts. In other wods, it was not in the interests of the Baster supremacy to have a political leader who was so clearly connected by marriage and friendly association with a tribe of the Namaqua. This would have been a violation of the traditional attitude of the Basters towards their inferiors.

In other ways too Gert was the more desirable leader. He looked more like a European than his elder brother: he had straight hair, a long nose, green eyes and a fair skin. Willem was dark and had Khoi Khoin features. Moreover, Gert had married Anna Cloete from Springbok, a Baster whose family, like the Engelbrechts, regarded theselves as infinitely superior to people of pure Namaqua descent. Further, Gert was an active member of the newly formed Church, one of the Missionary's right hand men, and he had adapted himself well to the new pattern of mixed farming. Willem was still essentially a pastoralist, and a hunter by nature.

When Gert, instead of Willem, was selected to succeed their father the latter's descendants moved eastwards to a farm now known as Klein Besondermeid. Today these Engelbrechts form a major segment of the maximal lineage retaining the old jealousy that originated in this breach of tradition.

When Gert died his elder son, Jacobus, was too young and inexperienced to succeed him. Moses Engelbrecht, therefore, Gert's younger brother, was appointed as regent. Some years before, Moses had married a Van Niekerk girl, the daughter of a Kamiesberg Dutch farmer and a Baster woman. We are told that Moses had a strong personality and was a strict disciplinarian, characteristics which earned him great respect among his own people, the Baster, and the Khoi Khoin over whom he also ruled. Moses carried the title of veld-kornet, not kaptein, for, during his period of office, the latter title was abolished by the Colonial Government. He held office until his death in 1891, when Jacobus succeeded

him and retained the title of veldkornet until 1913. In this year, though, the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act was enforced and the veldkornetskap was abolished. Jacobus was now styled hoofkorporaal by his people to distinguish him from the other councillors who were known as korporaals.[1] Also a disciplinarian, he followed in the steps of his uncle and was greatly respected by both his people and the white officials (magistrates and superintendents), under whose authority he and his people were placed. He died in 1932.

Although the political leadership of the Engelbrechts had ceased altogether to be recognised by the Central Government and by many people in Steinkopf, Joseph Engelbrecht, Jacobus' son and heir, was styled hoofkorporaal too by his supporters.[2] Joseph's new position, for reasons we shall discuss now, was responsible for a further cleavage in the Engelbrecht lineage.

Jacobus' first wife was a Losper. She was a Baster from Bushmanland, and she died after bearing him two sons, Gert and Jacobus, and two daughters. He then took a second wife, a Brits woman whose lineage came originally from Buchuberg near the coast. She bore him one son, Joseph, the last of the hoofkorporaals. The explanation of Joseph's succeeding to his father's office instead of Gert or Jacobus is two-fold. First, Joseph's physical

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1. Management Board minutes 14 November, 1913.

2. The term hoofkorporaal was seldom used in 1957, the last year in which the Engelbrechts were represented on the Management Board. And occasionally it was used in jest by the "new people."

characteristics were more European than those of his two half-brothers. Secondly, both Gert and Jacobus married women from the //arris Cloete lineage, while one of their sisters married David //arris Cloete, the senior male of his lineage segment. These kinship ties would have placed the Engelbrechts in an even more unfavourable position in the field of local government, had either Gert or Jacobus succeeded their father, for, in Steinkopf, the status of lineages, and especially small segments of them, is modified by marriage. Several informants pointed out, in fact, that had Joseph not succeeded his father, the //arris Cloetes, through marriage, may have assumed a superior position in the political hierarchy of the community. Nevertheless, the recognition in 1932 of Joseph as hoofkorporaal by his followers weakened the unity of the lineage still further: not only are there rivalries between the Groot Besondermeid, Klein Besondermeid and Witwater segments, but a new conflict has been created in the Groot Besondermeid segment as well.

We may now turn to a brief discussion of the Cloete Pioneer Basters of whom there are four main lineages. We saw that in the Engelbrecht lineage, descent was traced agnatically from the founding male ancestor, but we observed how important marriage was in influencing lineage segments. We saw, for example, how the status of

a wife's lineage could disrupt the customary rules of succession. These factors apply also to the Cloete lineages, but, as we shall see later, each Cloete lineage differs from the Engelbrechts' in that they acknowledge a founding ancestress as well as a founding ancestor.

The origin of the Cloete lineage goes back to the eighteenth century, when, we are told, three Cloetes, Jan, Pieter and Hendrik, arrived in Cape Town from Holland. Shortly afterwards Hendrik left Cape Town and trekked north to Little Namaqualand. There he married four Namaqua women and had a number of Namaqua concubines, who, like his wives, bore him children. In order to distinguish them on the basis of their maternal parentage, the children of each Namaqua mother took in addition to their father's surname, Cloete, their mother's name as well. Today the Cloetes have four main lineages and a number of lesser ones, which may be distinguished from one another by the name of the founding maternal ancestor. Thus, each Cloete has three names: a Christian name, the surname Cloete, and the name of the Namaqua ancestress, e.g. Jan Cloete //abba.

Although the Cloete lineages recognise a common ancestor, each lineage is quite separate from, and independent of, the others. Three of these lineages, the //arris, //abba, and the Tseyma Cloetes, came to Steinkopf shortly after the Engelbrechts and are also recognised as Baster Pioneers of the community. The four Cloete lineages who came later are regarded as Kommers (lineage category C), and two Cloete lineages are classed with category B because the physical characteristics and of their founders members approximated more to that category than to category C.

The Namaqua, and the short-haired Basters (Category B).

The Namaqua and the short-haired Basters live mainly in the north-western zone of the Reserve. The distinction between categories A and B in the contemporary community, is one of strict class, verging on racial endogamy. The members of category B differ not only in physical characteristics from the Baster pioneers, but many have also retained those Namaqua customs long ago rejected by the Basters.

The origin of these people is more difficult to trace than the origin of the Baster pioneers. We can, however, make three generalisations about them. First, some are direct descendants of the original Khoi Khoin, united under Kaptein Vigiland. Second, those who do have white blood are largely the descendants of a few isolated Baster men and a Trekboer, who came as individuals to Namaqualand virtually unattached to any tradition of their own, and since they settled in the north-western part of the territory they did not immediately come in contact with the Baster pioneers or the missionaries. Men of this sort soon became completely integrated with their new community, and marriage was uxorilocal. In these situations, then, the Nama language and tradition was dominant over the alien. Thirdly, the members of lineage category B were not concerned and, to a certain extent, still are not concerned with "breeding out" their Khoi Khoin features. In that respect, therefore, they also differ from members of category A who pride themselves on having "bred out" their Khoi Khoin features and say, "Ons het die Hottentot bloed uitgebaster."

In category B there are three lineages of largely Khoi Khoin descent: the Balies, Jantjies and Gertzes. The remaining lineages may be classified as short-haired Basters: the de Klerks, Vries, Saals, !onnop and !ëp Cloetes, !urup Engelbrechts and others.

The Vries lineage provides us with a good example of a lineage category B. Descent can be traced back five generations to a Koq̃tjie Vries who was an elder in the Church, but local historians point out that the first Vries was the <u>touleier</u> of a wagon of one of the early missionaries. They say, moreover, that "<u>touleier</u>" Vries "had Bushman blood in his veins that is why so many Vrieses nowadays have a reddish tint in their hair!"

As far as the Vrieses themselves (and most other people) are concerned the Vries lineage began with <u>Ouderling</u> Koq̃tjie (nobody appears to know whom he married) who, as a result of his services to the Church, achieved a relatively high status in the community. He was greatly opposed to the intrusion of Whites in the territory and refused to give his consent to the laying of the railway line over the Klipfontein area of Steinkopf by the Cape Copper Company in 1869. And he was not prepared to support the Company's application to use the water at Klipfontein since the Vries lineage claimed usufruct of the springs and arable lands in this area. Unfortunately for Koq̃tjie the Vries lineage had no representative on the <u>Raad</u> at the time and documents granting permission to the Company were signed without his knowledge.

Koentjie's eldest son, Jacob, who married the daughter of Ryk Jasper Cloete of Richtersveld, taught at the Mission school as an unqualified teacher. His other three sons married women largely of Khoi Khoin descent, one of whom came from Great Namaqualand. He had one daughter but nothing is remembered of her.

Certain features of the lineage established in the first and second generation were retained in the third generation. The men tended to marry women with Khoi Khoin physical characteristics, the second senior man and one other became elders in the Church, and the sons of Dawid who had married a woman of Great Namaqualand also found their wives across the Orange River. Later Dawid's sons left Steinkopf and settled in Great Namaqualand with their wives. One of the men in the third generation of Vrieses became a korporaal on the Raad due probably to the fact that he married a kinswoman of the Witwater segment of the Engelbrecht Baster pioneer lineage. In theory this was an unusual marriage at this time but it was condoned in practice because his wife's mother was a Nama from Great Namaqualand.

The fourth and fifth generations of Vrieses have tended in the main to retain the practice of marrying in lineage category B, and in the low status section of lineage category C. But a section of the new generations have become very class conscious and have tried, some with success, to marry up. These Vrieses are progressive "new people". Some have become teachers and clerks in the village, while others have left the Reserve to escape from class pressures and have married town girls. The "leader" of the local progressive Vrieses is a big man in the community. He is principal of a farm school and a member of both the Kerkraad and Management Board, and a few

years ago legally changed his name to de Vries to symbolise his new position. He is married to a woman whose lineage has high status in category C.

The de Klerk lineage has also tended to follow the Vries pattern, and a section of the last two generations has acquired high status among the "new people." This has been achieved by education, hypergamy, the acquisition of wealth, and in two cases through membership of the Management Board. The "leader" of the progressive de Klerks is the principal of the Steinkopf primary school and one of the Government-appointed members of the Management Board.

The !onno Cloetes are also classified as belonging to lineage category B although in terms of their origin they should really be kommers (lineage category C). The founding ancestor of this lineage in Steinkopf was Klaas Cloete who came to Steinkopf from Kommaggas as an evangelist in 1840 (?) to assist in the mission work. Klaas Sendeling, as he was called, was probably more Khoi Khoin than Baster and for this reason was considered to be of inferior stock by the Basters. Neither he nor his descendants married into lineage category A, and the majority tended to marry into lineage category B. But just as certain of the Vrieses and the de Klerks have in recent years acquired high status in the community as "new people" so also have the !onno Cloetes. Gert Cloete is the present superintendent of the Reserve and before he was appointed to this post he was principal of the Steinkopf primary school. He is an elder in the Church, a director of the consumer's co-operative store, and he has other sources of income. One of his brothers was secretary of the Management Board until his death in 1957, another brother is an elected member of the Management Board, and the late secretary's son took over his father's position.

years ago legally changed his name to de Vries to symbolise his new position. He is married to a woman whose lineage has high status in category C.

Kommers (the new comers). Category C.

Contrasted with the former two lineage categories are the Kommers, so called because in comparison with the early pioneers they are new comers to Steinkopf, or as the Engelbrechts say, "Hulle is mense wat van 'n kant afgekom het."

The Kommers are by no means an homogeneous group of people in origin, social status or physical characteristics. Some are considered to belong to a higher class than others and when they marry outside their own lineage category, tend to marry into category A. A few marry into category B.

As regards origins, there are five types of Kommers: those descended from English pedlars (smouse) who had concubines in Steinkopf (the Youngs, Fieldings, and Dixons); those Cape Basters who migrated slowly from the south near Cape Town (the Van Wyks, Opels, and Karstens), those Basters who came from Bushmanland (the Boks), and those unmarried Basters who gained admission to, and rights at, Steinkopf by marrying local women (the Klaase and Haal Cloetes). The fifth type is made up of a miscellaneous collection of people whose origin in uncertain, but who bear well-known Dutch and English names - the Van der Byls, Watermeyers, Boyes, and Coopers. The social status of these lineages in category C does not necessarily coincide with their type of origin.

The van Wyks constitute the largest Kommer lineage. Their founding ancestor, Cornelius, came to Steinkopf with his wife from the "direction of Cape Town" about the middle of the nineteenth century. He appears to have spoken good Dutch and had some knowledge of the Khoi Khoiŋlanguage. It is said, moreover, that his father was a Dutchman and his mother was of slave stock. His wife was probably a Baster. Cornelius was a carpenter by trade and was one of the builders of the new mission house. He had seven sons and three daughters all of whom married either Kommers or the descendants of the Baster pioneers. His eldest son, Jakobus, became a member of the raad.

The van Wyks acquired arable lands in the district known as Annenous and have largely retained these lands to the present day. They have high status in the community and tend to marry either in lineage category A or in the high status section of their own category.

The Bywoners. (Category D).

The majority of bywoners came to Steinkopf as refugees from South West Africa during the Bondelswart wars,[1] when they were permitted to join the community on condition that they worked for the burghers in the capacity of servants. This category is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

LINEAGE SOLIDARITY

In the preceding section we stated that the origin of the lineage to which a person belongs was the main factor

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1. cf. Report of the Administrator on the Bondelzwarts Rising 1922 (U.G. 30 - 1922).

H. Veddar, South West Africa in Early Times (1938).

in determining his social class. Nevertheless, although there is this connection between lineage and class, the correlation is irrelevant to our analysis of the kinship system, except in so far as members of some lineages stress their lineal relationships in order to increase their social prestige; and by using this technique to boost their personal esteem tend also to strengthen existing lineage bonds.

We turn now to lineage groupings as a phenomenon of kinship, emphasising the factors which make for group solidarity. Broadly, we may describe these factors as leadership and membership, collective ownership and control of property, and collective action among lineage members.

One of the most important features of the unilineal principle in kinship systems is that provision is made for kinship groups to extend beyond the life of an individual or family. Thus, instead of a group consisting only of living people, most lineage systems also include deceased members, and by implication, those not yet born. Offenull, an ancestor cult is a concomitant of [illegible] lineage systems, but in Steinkopf lineage extension is characterised by a line of heroes of varying importance, heroes who are not ancestral spirits. Ancestral spirits do exist, but their ranks are made up only of people who lived wicked unrepentant lives; of people who resisted death on their death beds; and of people who died suddenly before they had prepared themselves for death. Active ancestral spirits are, therefore, always evil spirits and, as we shall see in Chapter II, they are few in number and are

seldom active for more than a generation after death. The idea that a great and revered ancestor can influence another person's life is abhorrent to the people of Steinkopf, and it is the aspiration of every man and woman "to die peacefully, to remain in the grave, and never to trouble anybody again."

The ancestors who are acknowledged are essentially lineage heroes, that is to say, former leaders who are remembered for their noble qualities and great deeds. Although the only memorial to them is the narratives and legends told about their lives, we must look upon these heroes as the personalities who symbolise the unity of their respective lineages or lineage segments in particular historical periods. In Appendix I we record the main ancestral heroes of the Engelbrecht lineage and mention briefly some of the deeds and qualities for which they are remembered. I have produced the generations in the charts to the present day so as to stress the fact that agnatic groups are extended beyond the life-span of individuals and families.

A further illustration of the unilineal principle is the rule of succession to senior positions in each lineage or lineage segment. The rule, which is fairly flexible, follows the usual agnatic principle, that is to say, office or rank passed from father to senior[1] son or to father's younger brother, if the senior son is very young or unmarried. In practice, however, the rule is not strictly adhered to; this flexibility is made possible because a father always has the right to nominate any one of his sons to succeed him, if he considers his senior son incompetent

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1. I have used the term senior instead of eldest to avoid the confusion of including a <u>voorkind</u> as a potential heir (see pp.183-5).

or unworthy to hold the position. The fact that senior sons do not always succeed their fathers, is important to the lineage organisation for, as we have seen, the rivalries that have been created by deviations from the standard rule, have been responsible for the formation of new lineage segments. This segmentation is no violation of the unilineal principle, since the cleavages are necessary to preserve the cohesion and equilibrium of the lineage. Without them the rivalries and jealousies, which are minimised by partial residential separation, would be greatly exaggerated. On the other hand, however, the existing tensions between lineage segments does help them to achieve a large measure of unity. For it is a well-known sociological principle that social cohesion is often achieved by one group uniting against another which is considered to possess undersirable characteristics. The same principle operates also in these cleavages between lineage segments, though in a slightly modified context.

During the mid-nineteenth century, leadership in the major lineages coincided with political leadership because the senior male member of each lineage automatically represented his people on the raad. In later years, when members of the raad were elected for the first time, these major lineages were similarly represented, since the electoral divisions (wyke) usually coincided with areas, each of which was inhabited by members of the same lineage. Today, however, owing to the fact that the larger lineages have segmented and become spread out, it has become possible for a member of a minor lineage to be elected to the Management Board. Such people are chosen, not necessarily

because they hold senior positions in their lineages or families, but because they possess qualities such as wealth or education. We should add, however, that this modification of the former patterns of political representation is not due only to the fragmentation of lineages, but also to the fact that people are nowadays looking for new qualities in their leaders.

In Steinkopf, lineage solidarity is greatly reinforced by collective ownership and control of property. Here I use the term ownership to mean "the sum total of rights which various persons or groups of persons have over things owned."[1] All land and water in the Reserve is officially controlled by the Management Board which is responsible for allocating arable lands to the registered occupiers, defining commonage, and making provision for the upkeep of water holes and springs. But some tracts of land, and water holes and springs have always been regarded as "belonging to" certain lineages, although the registered occupiers of these lineages pay the usual tax levied by the Management Board. These "privileged" lineages claim their stamregte (lineage rights) from the fact that their ancestors were the original occupiers of the areas, which they now inhabit, before the community of Steinkopf existed. Their claim to these areas has, however, never been one of exclusive ownership, for, in all periods, other families have been

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1. Notes and Queries on Anthropology (sixth edition) p. 148.

granted usufruct to springs and waterholes, commonage, and any arable land that is available. Today it is still customary to regard these areas as "belonging to" the lineages who claim jurisdiction in them, but in recent years the Management Board has to a large extent ignored their claims. An indication of the rights that these lineages used to enjoy in their "own" section of the territory can be illustrated by the fact that the Van Wyk lineage used to receive £12 per year from the Cape Copper Company in return for the use of a certain spring to fill their locomotives with water on their journeys to Port Nolloth and O'okiep. During the period (1869 to 1913) that the Van Wyks received payment from the Cape Copper Company for the use of their water, the money was paid to the raad who in turn paid it to the Van Wyks.

The claim to land and water by certain lineages is the most important illustration of lineage collective ownership, but we must bear in mind the fact that lineage solidarity is also maintained by the rules of inheritance. As we have seen earlier (pages 180–3), the unilineal principle in each minor lineage segment is reinforced by these rules, though they do not directly unite the members of major lineage segments.

In the lineage organisation there is almost a complete absence of ritual objects - heirlooms which have no economic value - except on the Engelbrecht lineage. The Engelbrechts have preserved three muzzle - loading guns, Sterloop, Uitersman and Sierland. These weapons were used by their early ancestors during their pioneering days in Steinkopf to kill off dangerous animals and to drive the wild Bushmen out of the territory. In short,

these guns are regarded as symbols of the power and sophistication of the Engelbrechts, who consider themselves superior to their neighbours, through the authority which they commanded during the formative period of the community. The importance of these symbols to the members of the contemporary generations is evident whenever a dispute or argument develops between the Engelbrechts and other Pioneers as to whose ancestors contributed most towards the making of Steinkopf. On one occasion, when I was present, some members of the //arris Cloete lineage were insisting that the evidence for their contribution towards the community lay in the number of their ancestors who had lost their lives in sorties with the Bushmen. "Go to the Orange River or to Henkries and you will find the graves of our ancestors who were murdered by the Bushmen", said a //arris Cloete spokesman. "Can you (pointing to his Engelbrecht audience) show me the graves of any one of your ancestors who were killed by the Bushmen?" "No", replied the Engelbrecht's spokesman, "our ancestors were much stronger and more civilised than yours. We Engelbrechts, who had guns, shot the Bushmen before they shot us."

The corporate activities of lineage members are few in the contemporary society. Some form of economic co-operation does take place during the ploughing and reaping seasons in those areas where the arable lands are adjacent or near enough for agnatic plough-teams to operate. The greatest amount of formal co-operation takes place between the male members of minor lineage segments. But this co-operation is really

based on the co-operation of several extended families and is not necessarily a function of the lineage.

When a senior member of a lineage dies, it is considered important, though not essential, for his agnates to attend the funeral. Those who attend these (and other) funerals do so for several reasons. First, they come to hear the details of the deceased person's death, so that they will know whether he suffered great pain while he was dying, or died peacefully. Secondly, people attend funerals to hear the sermon and addresses which deal mainly with the life of the deceased person. The details of these obituaries are long remembered and handed down from generation to generation. Thirdly, people come to pay homage to the dead whom they will never see again, if the deceased has been a good man.

Some of the smaller lineages, or lineage segments, are characterised by the fact that they tend to constitute occupational groups. For example, the Oorlam lineage, before it became extinct, used to be makers of serpentine pipes, the Oppels are mason and builders, as are the Jacobs, while a segment of the Van Wyks have been carpenters for four generations.

Chapter 8

SOCIAL CLASSES

The term social class is a loose one and has been variously defined. Here we use it broadly to mean an aggregate of individuals having more or less the same status in a community. By status is meant the prestige enjoyed by a person, not because of any individual peculiarities but by virtue of the social roles which he performs.[1] It is true that some social classes may be characterised by the fact that membership is determined largely by birth, but to stress this factor only in a sociological analysis and to ignore the status of the individuals, who constitute each class, is of little value, and even misleading. Hereditary social classes are sometimes confused with castes.[2] But castes are essentially occupational groups, each enforcing strict rules of endogamy among its members. There are similarities between hereditary social classes and castes, but to include both under the same definition is to oversimplify the concept of the latter.[3]

The reason why the concept 'social class' has defied precise definition is implicit in the nature of social classes. In every class system is reflected the main facets of the social structure of the community or the society in which the class system occurs. We may say therefore that any class system provides sociologists with a system which is really the synthesis of the various social groupings found in that society; and it follows that each class system reflects to a large extent the

1. cf. S. Andrezjewski, Military Organization and Society, 1954, p.20.
2. C.H. Cooley, Social Process, 1927, p.57.
3. J.H. Hutton, Caste in India, 1946.

attitudes (concordant and discordant) and the values, which emanate from the various social groups which constitute the social structure.

CLASS AND LINEAGE

Fifty years ago the class structure of Steinkopf was relatively easy to define because status was largely determined by the lineage category into which a person was born. Men always remained members of the parent's lineage category, although it was possible for a woman after marriage to change her status if she married out of her lineage category, and joined her husband's extended family. But today, as the importance of lineage decreases, and the village community develops, a new class hierarchy is emerging.

In the last chapter we have described the main features of the old class system in terms of lineage membership. In each of the four lineage categories, however, other factors - physical characteristics, lineage and family reputation, legitimacy of birth, wealth, occupation, and standard of education - tend to modify the status of individuals, families, and sometimes lineages. Thus, instead of seeing the old class system merely as a hierarchy of lineage categories, today we must see each category as containing sub-strata, which, although not always clearly defined, provide the bases of the new class hierarchy.

We have already seen that European characteristics are linked with high status; and in the Engelbrecht lineage, we saw that the status of each segment coincided very largely with the physical characteristics of its members. Since "white" physical characteristics are symbolic of superiority, and, in a sense good character in an individual, it is the idea of each family,

notably those belonging to lineage categories A and C, to breed out (uit baster) Khoi Khoin features through selecting spouses with European features. A man from lineage category C once refused to allow his son to marry a girl from lineage category B because of her Khoi Khoin features, and when he was approached by the girl's father to comment on his decision he stated: "I am sorry, but we never trust people with peppercorn hair, because, like their hair they always talk in circles. We people (with straight hair) speak straight (praat reguit) and honestly". To which the girl's father replied: "That's not at all true, but I'll tell you something about you people with straight hair; you don't know how to keep things to yourselves; you are always talking out of turn. We, with short curly hair, know how to keep things to ourselves!"

As the above illustration shows, it is not necessarily a person's skin colour which influences his status, but also hair form and shape of the nose, colour and shape of the eyes, and other bodily characteristics. The most desirable physical characteristics, however, are a combination of fair skin, straight hair, and straight nose, light oval eyes, and the absence of such traits as steatopygia and wrinkled skin, both of which are typically Khoi Khoin. Whereas dark pigmentation is considered a disadvantage, it does not necessarily lower a person's status if his other physical characteristics conform to the ideal type. The Van Wyks, for example, carry a relatively high status, in spite of the fact that they tend to be dark, because their "hair and noses are good". Conversely a lightly coloured person who has typically Khoi Khoin features tends to carry a lower status.

A person's status may also be affected by the reputation of his lineage and family. For example, a family may acquire a bad name because a significant number of its members

are drunkards or antagonistic towards the Church or have become Roman Catholics. On the other hand, a lineage, or a segment of it, may gain a good reputation through the virtues of a section of its members. The Vries's, for instance, are greatly respected, not only by the members of lineage category B, to which they belong, but by the whole community because of their devotion to, and active membership in, the Church.

Related to family and lineage reputation is legitimacy of birth of the founding and subsequent ancestors. The Youngs and the Fieldings, for example, have European features (many resemble Europeans very closely), and other qualities which give them high status in their lineage category, but the fact that they are descended from the illegitimate sons of two White pedlars, who had Baster concubines in Steinkopf, has a damaging effect on their status. As the people say, "Dit tel teen hulle in die gemeenskap". I once heard an argument between an Engelbrecht and a Young over some petty affair. The Engelbrecht was losing the argument when suddenly he struck a winning blow, saying: "Wat weet jy in die besigheid, jy wie die afstammeling is van 'n hoer-kind wat gebore is in my ouma grootjie se kombuis".[1]

In addition to these factors we must also consider wealth, occupation, and education. During the Baster-missionary period and earlier, very little importance appears to have been attached to wealth, and a common occupation (mixed farming) was shared by all. Formal education was underdeveloped, elementary instruction in the three R's being given to those who wanted it by the missionary's wife with the help of a few untrained teachers.

1. It is doubtful whether the marriages of the Engelbrechts, Cloetes, and other early Basters were formally sanctioned by Church and State, but in the formative period of Steinkopf permanent cohabitation seems to have constituted an approved and recognised marriage.

But the growth of a village community, and the change to a money economy, gave rise to new activities and values, and provided opportunities for new kinds of people farmers working for personal gain rather than for collective subsistence, and people with trades and professions. It is these factors that are moulding the class structure of contemporary Steinkopf, by modifying the system which grew up during the last century.

When we look at the ecology of the mission village, we can see very clearly the broad features of the old class system reflected in the population grouping. South-east of the mission station is a zone commonly known as onderstraat in which the members of lineage category A, and the upper stratum of lineage category C, reside; while north-west of the mission station is the zone inhabited by the rest of the population. This zone is known as bostraat. Traditionally marriage within each zone tended to be strictly endogamous, but today individuals do sometimes marry across the line.

In terms of the old class structure people from onderstraat paradoxically have a higher status than those in bostraat. Thus onderstraters look down on bostraters and are always ready to assert their superiority. The relationship, however, is by no means perfectly symmetrical since a bostrater will never admit his inferiority in this connection. In fact their general opinions concerning onderstraters tend to be facetious and uncomplimentary. As one informant expressed it: "Onderstraters think they are more human than us, but as far as I can see all they have to commend them is the fact that they talk more - and their straight hair!" Yet in spite of their refusal to admit their inferior status the majority do in fact accept it in practice; and those individuals from bostraat who nowadays

reject their traditional status are well known for their boisterousness, forwardness, and general disregard for convention. These overt gestures can, I think, be interpreted as compensatory activities felt necessary by those who display them because of their unconscious feelings of inferiority in relation to onderstraters.

In the previous chapter we mentioned that a teacher from a well-known bostraat family added a prefix to his surname to symbolise his break with his lineage category and the conservative people. Viewed in the present context the complementary interpretation to the former interpretation is that the advent of a Mr. de Vries (formerly Mr. Vries of bostraat) coincided with his appointment as principal of a farm school attended by children belonging to lineage category A, who, when in the mission village, are classed as onderstraters.

A further illustration that may help to explain the present attitude of bostraters to onderstraters is the reaction of the former to seeing one of its men talking to a girl from onderstraat. On several occasions I heard onderstraters say to one of these young men: "O, ek sien jy vry nou met 'n meisie van onderstraat". The full meaning of this sentence is difficult to convey since the tone of voice and facial expression play almost as important a part as the words themselves. The nearest English equivalent, however, would be the reaction of lower class people to a social climber: "Oh, I see you are hobnobbing with the uppity ups."

Serious conflicts seldom occur between onderstraters and bostraters, and usually the tensions are amicably resolved in the manner which I have shown. Many said that the reason why Steinkopf people seldom have serious quarrels is because

in the event of a disagreement, it is customary for the one party to "cool down as soon as the other gets heated". But it is unlikely that this is the complete explanation, since our discussion has suggested that there is an institutionalised way of averting the result of serious tension and conflict in the form of joking relationships, the safety valves which help to let off steam in situations of social disjunction.

During my period of field work I did not observe violent aggression arising out of the tensions existing between onderstraters and bostraters, but my informants did provide me with information regarding a few such instances. For example, it is said that some years ago at a Christmas eve Church service, B.J. (a bostrater), deliberately sat in F.W.'s (an onderstrater's) place, whereupon the latter muttered: "Kyk hierso! 'n bostraat se Hottentot sit in my plek". B.J. (who was drunk) replied audibly; "Ek het gedink daar was net Basters in onderstraat". After the service there was an argument outside the Church between the two men, each of whom received support from certain of his relatives and friends.

Later that night F.W. assaulted C.J. (a bostrater who had taken B.J.'s side in the argument outside the church) in a fit of anger, hitting him in the face with a bicycle chain.

Why, we may now ask, did this unusual and violent situation develop? The reason offered here is that a bostrater (probably because he was drunk) publicly and in church, the institution which in Steinkopf expresses the unity of the community, overstepped the limits of his class, not just by sitting in an onderstrater's pew but by the insulting reply he had made: for a bostrater to imply that an onderstrater was not a Baster (i.e. was a "Hottentot") is an unpardonable insinuation which could not be settled by an approved means.

When we look at the main components of onderstraat and bostraat in terms of their origin, it is seen that the former consists of Baster pioneers plus those kommers whose physical characteristics lean towards the European type and whose cultural background resembles that of the Baster Pioneers. Bostraat, on the other hand, consists of Namaqua and short-haired Basters, bywoners, and those kommers who, in earlier periods, owing to their "inferior" physical characteristics and leaning towards the Khoi Khoin tradition were afforded a lower status than the other members of their lineage category. Thus the nucleus (or elite) of bostraat consists of the descendants of those people who were united under Kaptein Abraham Vigiland during the Khoi Khoin period, while the nucleus of onderstraat is made of the descendants of the Baster Pioneers, who, under the leadership of the Engelbrechts usurped the power of the former, and later, together with the missionary, tended to dominate the political life of the community from 1840 to 1913.

A further subdivision of the village constituting part of the bostraat zone known as Boesmansdraai is also spoken of sometimes, but its real significance is lost for most people. Boesmansdraai refers to that sector of the village where a few descendants of the "tame" Bushmen and some other families (who may well have Bushman ancestory) live. The residents of Boesmansdraai have the reputation of being rather crafty. A well-known legend indicating a joking relationship between Basters and Bushman is told of a certain Piet Prins whose grandfather is said to have been a pure Bushman who was captured as a child by the Basters during a Bushman hunt. In his younger days Piet Prins was employed by the raad as cook and honey beer-brewer on occasions when the korporaals went out to visit the distant hamlets. At night when they had eaten and drunk, the korporaals

would remind Piet that he was a Bushman whose stock had once been their enemies in Steinkopf:

Korporaal: "Piet Prins jy vreet ons minerale op". (meaning, you Bushmen have been stealing our Scheelite and Beryllium).

Piet Prins: "Ek vreet my eie minerale". (meaning, this is my country I was here first).

Korporaal: "Piet Prins, jy steel ons heuning".

Piet Prins: "Ek vreet my eie heuning".

Korporaal: "Piet Prins, jy vreet ons vleis".

Piet Prins: "Wie het al die gemsbokke dood gemaak?"

And so the repartee would continue until Piet Prins relieved the mounting tension with a clever and humorous verse by which he would argue that although he is only a Bushman, he is pretty smart, adding with his tongue in his cheek that only Basters are fair-minded:

"Skraal mannetjie van Brakfontein: (i.e. Piet Prins)
Een wonder van Leliefontein; (i.e. The Basters)
Oulik:
Lelik;
Basters vir billik".

THE NEW CLASS SYSTEM

In contemporary Steinkopf we can distinguish also four hereditary social classes: registered occupiers, "strangers" or permanente inwoners, bywoners, and Whites who live in, or visit the Reserve from time to time. In 1957 the secretary of the Management Board supplied the following statistics:

Registered Occupiers	801 families	89%
Strangers	36 "	4%
Bywoners	54 "	6%
Whites	9 "	1%

These hereditary divisions are structurally significant because of the legal rights which the members of each class share, although the basis on which they have been formed depends largely on the old class system we have already described.

Registered occupiers, both in terms of their numbers and the privileges which they enjoy, comprise the dominant hereditary social class. All the members of lineage categories A and B, and the majority of members of lineage category C, are registered occupiers. Those members of lineage category C, who are not registered occupiers, are classed as "strangers", but are eligible to become registered occupiers.

When the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, was enforced, the Resident Magistrate of Namaqualand was required to determine which persons were entitled to be occupiers of land within the Steinkopf and other reserves. In terms of the Act, he had also to draw up a register of these persons, and of the number and extent of the holdings and lots, which they occupied. These persons were then regarded as registered occupiers, and in Steinkopf they corresponded to the burghers of the Baster-missionary period.

Each registered occupier is entitled to the following privileges provided he pays his taxes: (a) an allotment on which buildings may be erected (b) a dry garden allotment (c) arable lands (d) the right to graze his livestock on the commonage (e) the right to vote for new members of the Management Board, provided he has reached the age of 21 years. Al-

though it is customary for the sons of registered occupiers to acquire similar legal status to their fathers when they marry, in terms of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, and subsequent amendments, no person can become a registered occupier unless his status is approved by the Management Board. New regulations promulgated in 1957 make it possible for unmarried men who have reached the age of 18 years to become registered occupiers. Marriage, as a requirement for registered occupancy, has never been legally necessary, though in practice, prior to 1957, married men were not normally admitted to this status. Widows, provided they do not re-marry may, subject to the approval of the Management Board, take over their late husbands' positions as registered occupiers, but relinquish their positions when their eldest sons are eligible to succeed their fathers.

This class of registered occupiers are in effect the "citizens proper" of the community of Steinkopf. As with the other hereditary classes, it may be regarded legally as a homogenous aggregation of people, but, as we have seen, each hereditary social class has a composite structure. The status of registered occupiers is implicit in the privileges which distinguish them, as a legal group, from the other hereditary social classes in the Reserve.

The second hereditary social class consists of people, who, although they may have the personal qualities of many registered occupiers, have not been granted the legal status of the latter because they have not resided in the Reserve long enough. Thus they form part of the kommers (lineage category C). During the Baster-missionary period, all new comers to the Reserve, before they became burghers, were described as "strangers" in the written laws of 1870, and we shall use this term to distinguish

the second hereditary social class from the bywoners which we discuss later. "Strangers" nowadays are called permanente inwoners by the Management Board.

The privileges which "strangers" enjoy are limited. They may be granted temporary building allotments where they can construct houses if they wish, but generally they rent a dwelling or, if single, a room from either the Management Board or a registered occupier. They are not entitled to arable lands but may be granted grazing rights on the commonage for a limited number of stock in return for fees laid down by the Management Board. The privileges which they enjoy are superior to those granted to bywoners, and in general the registered occupiers and the Management Board are tolerant of their presence in the Reserve, and the latter is prepared to condone anti-social behaviour for which a bywoner may be evicted. The key to the understanding of this tolerance lies in the fact that many "strangers" are teachers and are endowed with European-type physical characteristics. "Strangers" are occasionally admitted to the status of registered occupier. Those eligible, however, must be married to the daughters of registered occupiers, be active members of the Church, and conform generally to the Steinkopf "way of life".

Within this hereditary social class we must also include a handful of Europeans who, although not regarded as permanente inwoners, are permitted to enter the Reserve where they are granted grazing rights for a part of the year, but no building site. In recent years, owing to the stricter administration of the Reserve their numbers have decreased, but there are still a number of families who constitute an integral part of the social structure. These people mix freely with the inhabitants of

Steinkopf and are thus to be distinguished from those other Europeans whom we discuss later. These white "strangers" are an off-shoot of the Trekboers of the old frontier society, and are probably the modern counterpart of those individuals who intermarried with the Khoi Khoin during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to produce the Baster Pioneers we have already described. Some have legally married the daughters of registered occupiers while others have a European wife and a bruin vrou as a second wife.

As an example of these white "strangers" we can take the case of X who, prior to 1951, had lived the greater part of 25 years in the Reserve. Provided grazing was good, he used sometimes to spend several consecutive years as an internal trekboer, but when rains fell in Bushmanland he would trek with his livestock in search of better pasture. At present he lives at Vioolsdrift on the border of the Reserve because under local apartheid regulations he may not reside in Steinkopf. X is a polygynist. He is legally married to a white woman who has borne him five children, but he has also a bruin vrou, the daughter of a registered occupier of Steinkopf. The latter has borne him four children. His wives live in separate but adjacent mathouses, each with her own children. Both are treated equally and all his children have received a good education. His first wife, to whom he is legally married, is apparently agreeable to being a member of a compound family and says that her husband "still treats her as he did before he took the second wife". Two of his White daughters are married to registered occupiers of Steinkopf, as is one of his Coloured daughters. His Coloured son is married to a Coloured woman in the Cape Peninsula. Whenever X visits Steinkopf he stays with his Coloured father-in-law

with whom he unofficially co-operates in farming.

The bywoners, sometimes known as hottenots (sic) or bediendes (servants), constitute the hereditary social class whose members enjoy the least privileges in the community. Although formally they enjoyed a number of privileges, today they are granted only building sites for their huts in the mission village, and rely almost entirely on employment as domestic servants and veewagters (shepherds) by the better-off registered occupiers for their livelihood. Bywoners may also join the ranks of the migrant labourers if they wish. But this is often difficult; first, because the Management Board tends to recruit only from the registered occupiers, and, secondly, should they leave the Reserve as individuals, they run the risk of losing their building sites when they return.

The status of the bywoners is best illustrated by a case which is typical of the majority of people in this hereditary social class. Gert Chrisjan was the son of Willem Chrisjan, a Bondelswart Kaptein of Warmbad, South West Africa. He came to Steinkopf shortly after the first Bondelswart war and worked for a member of the //arris Cloete lineage. As remuneration for his services, he received a few goats and for some years was allowed to plough part of his master's (baas) land from which he reaped the crops for his own use. But today he owns no livestock for he does not have grazing rights, nor has he any land. Although he has applied for the status of registered occupier, this has always been refused. He is too old to work full-time, but his family subsists on the money which his son, a migrant labourer, sends home, and on the casual earnings he and other members of his family derive from the odd jobs they do for the registered occupiers.

Chrisjan explains that the reason why he cannot acquire registered occupancy is because of his Khoi Khoin name and

ancestry. "Dit is die Hottentot naam wat die gevaar is". He says that his son was lucky to have been selected by the Management Board to go to Alexanderbay, but fortunately there was little competition for employment at the time. The fact that his son is employed is the only real security that Chrisjan has, but should he and his family be evicted from the Reserve he will have to migrate to a town where, owing to the higher cost of living, he will find it difficult to exist on his small income.

The position of bywoners in Steinkopf at the present time is characterised by social and economic insecurity. In the first place they lack the security of a permanent building allotment, quite apart from the absence of other privileges granted to registered occupiers and "strangers". Secondly, they lack the security of being accepted members of a community, owing to the prejudice - race prejudice - which exists against them because they are Khoi Khoin. Thirdly, the fact that they are essentially conservative rural people makes it difficult for them to leave the Reserve to join an urban or semi-urban community. Earlier, in the chapter on the economy, we saw the expression of their general insecurity reflected in their allegiance to the association, Grondelose Kleurlinge.

The fourth hereditary social class is a somewhat nebulous aggregation of Europeans who live in, or visit Steinkopf from time to time. These Europeans hold various positions in European society outside the Reserve. Thus their only significance as an hereditary social class in the community of Steinkopf is the fact that they are integrated members of the White racial group of South Africa, who, for periods of varying length, interact according to their respective professional roles. The roles which they perform in Steinkopf are secondary, in the



8. "NEW PEOPLE"

A school teacher and her mother and brother



9. CHILDREN'S ART AND HANDWORK

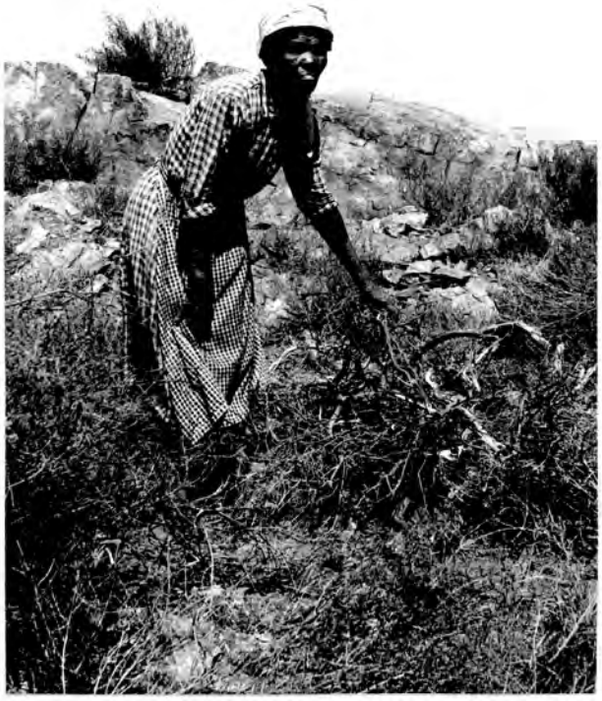
An exhibition at the Steinkopf High School

sense that they are not fully integrated members of the community. The members of this hereditary social class include the missionary[1] and members of the South African Police, and their families, who live in the Reserve, and the various medical practitioners, sales representatives, prospectors, and Government Officials, who sporadically visit the area.

The process of assimilation of new ideas and customs, and their impact on existing traditions is a common feature of social change in Africa and other parts of the world where two or more cultures have come into close contact. In Steinkopf this process has manifested itself broadly in two different ways. On the one hand it has resulted in the blending or synthesising of various ideas and customs; on the other hand it has resulted in one section of the population consciously grafting itself on to the contemporary Afrikaner tradition of the Republic of South Africa. As a consequence of this latter tendency, a social cleavage, which has the characteristics of a dichotomous class structure, has developed. The two main elements which constitute the cleavage are the conservative people who cling to the synthetic cultural tradition of the Baster-missionary period, and the "new people" known cynically as die Afrikaner Kinders, by the conservatives. The "new people" tend to reject the old way of life (ou tyd se goed).

In terms of occupation and wealth the conservatives are mixed-farmers and generally poor, while the élite of the "new people" consist of teachers, Government Officials, shopkeepers, shop assistants, tradesmen, and well-off capitalist farmers.

1. In Chapter X we discuss the status of the missionary in the community of Steinkopf.



10. A CONSERVATIVE HOUSEWIFE COLLECTING WOOD.



11. BUILDING A MATHOUSE

Thus the cleavage can be seen as constituting a conflict between incompatible customs and ideologies. The conservative people look back on the old days as characteristic of their notion of the ideal society. The "new people" are progressive. They are trying to sever their ties with the past, openly rejecting the "ideal" society revered by the conservatives. They are champions of wealth, education, better housing, and are even favourably disposed to the new form of government which they consider typically European and civilised.

In Steinkopf today, political, economic, educational, and, to a certain extent, religious power, are in the hands of the "new people". They derive their group solidarity not from the fact that they belong to any particular hereditary social class or lineage, but because they share the same aspirations of becoming "like the Afrikaner", though separate from them. Physical characteristics are important to them, but provided a person does not lean too much towards the Khoi Khoin type he will be recognised as a "new person" if his social characteristics and aspirations are in the "right" direction. In fact many of the leaders of the "new people" are members of lineage category B.

No one factor alone can explain the emergence of the "new people" as the group that wields the most power in the community, but the dominant factor is their acceptance of and willingness to co-operate with the Central Government. In the next chapter we discuss this relationship in the realm of local politics. Here we need only add that whereas the early Baster Pioneers achieved their political dominance through their close association and co-operation with the missionary, coupled with the fact that they had guns, and confidence in their assumed superiority, the "new people" have achieved power through their

co-operation with the Central Government and a positive desire to emulate the Afrikaner. This power, moreover, is strengthened by the part which they play in the schools and in the Church, and the support which they receive from these institutions.

CONCLUSIONS

In our discussion of the class structure of Steinkopf we have seen that no one set of criteria provides us with a complete picture reflecting the manner in which the community is stratified. We have analysed differences in status based on lineage membership (the old class system which is still present though in a modified form): we have described the stratified components (hereditary social classes) based on differences in legal status; and we have drawn attention to the cleavage between the "new people" and the conservatives. Thus there may be said to be three different class systems in existence[1], depending on the criteria selected to evaluate the status of the individuals constituting each class. In other words in terms of class affiliation the majority of the population perform at least three roles, corresponding to the prestige they enjoy in each class. For example, one registered occupier may be a member of lineage category A, and a conservative person, while another may be a member of lineage category C and a "new person". Thus, apart from the bywoners all of whom belong to lineage category D, and are conservative, there are numerous combinations of roles. We must, however, stress (a) that all "strangers"

1. cf. J. Pitt-Rivers, "Social Class in a French Village", in the Anthropological Quarterly, Vol.33, No.1, January, 1960.

belong to the lineage category C and are "new people", (b) that the majority of the members of lineage category B are conservatives, although this category contains some of the most prominent leaders of the "new people", (c) that lineage categories A and C each appear to have slightly more "new people" than conservatives.

In conclusion let us attempt to answer the question, what combination of characteristics attributed to an individual gives him high status in contemporary Steinkopf? First, he must be a registered occupier (or a member of a registered occupier's elementary family) because this entitles him to full citizenship in the legal sense; this is the basic requirement. Second, he must come from good stock, that is to say, he should be a member of an old and respected family that has lived in Steinkopf for at least four generations. I use the term family and not lineage because the latter implies that lineage membership in itself is important. Thirdly, he should have received secondary education. Fourthly, he should be a professional person (i.e. a teacher), or a tradesman, or a wealthy farmer; that is to say he should have money, and display the hallmarks of a wealthy person; he should live in a European-type house and own a motor car or lorry. Fifthly, he should be an active member of the Church and at sometime in his life should hold, or have held, the office of <u>oudeling</u> (elder) or <u>diaken</u> (deacon). Finally, he should have European physical features and stature. All these characteristics typify the <u>ideal</u> "new person" in modern Steinkopf. Of course the conservative people should, in theory, look down upon such a person, but whatever attitudes they may express about the <u>Afrikaner kinders</u>, a "new person" with prestige in his own circles is always treated with respect

by the majority of the population. Thus, although the old class pattern is still clearly present, social forces, foreign to the golden age of the conservatives, are moulding a new class hierarchy in which those conforming most closely to the ideal type we have described will constitute the dominant stratum. As one conservative Baster Pioneer put it, "Ons het nou oorgegaan na die Afrikaanse tyd".

Chapter 9

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

The government of modern Steinkopf must be seen against the historical background outlined in Chapter IV, where we described the transition from a tribal council to a Management Board. The tribal council was an autonomous body; the Management Board is subordinate to the central government of South Africa.

The Management Board was first constituted in 1913 when the Communal Reserves and Mission Stations Act (1909) was enforced. It thus superseded the raad of the Baster-missionary period, and although there are certain similarities between the structures of the raad and the Management Board their functions are vastly different. Theoretically, of course, the raad was also subordinate to a higher political authority, the Colonial Government of the Cape, but, as we have already shown, it operated largely as an autonomous body.

Apart from the differences and similarities between the raad and the Management Board, we must emphasize the fact that the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act (1909) was accepted by the burghers of Steinkopf under protest. Nevertheless, in spite of the opposition to the Act in 1913 and subsequent years, today a large part of the community, especially the "new people", not only tolerate, but openly support the Management Board which administers the law.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Contemporary Steinkopf is a community within the social structure of the South African and in this section we are con-

cerned with its direct relationship to the Central Government, bearing in mind, as we shall see later, that all the activities of the local government are indirectly connected with the Central Government through the Coloured Affairs Department. In this latter respect Steinkopf must be regarded as a colony within the framework of the Republic of South Africa.[1]

The legal institutions representing the Central Government in respect of laws and regulations not handled by the Management Board are the magistracy and the South African Police, which has a station in the mission village. In practice the police have to deal with only a small range of offences and most breaches of the law are uncommon. For example, during the period 1955 to 1956 there were only three cases of petty theft and one case of assault, and a few people are convicted each year for not being in possession of dog or bicycle licenses. Murder and rape appear to be unknown. But there are two offences which need regular attention by the police; they are contraventions of the Immorality Amendment Act (1950) and the Children's Act. Under the Immorality Amendment Act it is an offence for a White person to have sexual intercourse with a non-White person. The police, stationed at Steinkopf, devote a great deal of their time and energy attempting to convict people of this offence and to prevent cohabitation. During the first two years after the Act was enforced these police investigated 134 cases. Most of the allegations concerned White males from Vioolsdrift, a neighbouring White farming community, and Coloured females, many of whom were inhabitants of Steinkopf.

1. cf. Leo Marquard, South Africa's Colonial Policy (1957).

The practice of cohabitation, and to a certain extent intermarriage, has been a common characteristic of race contacts in the Cape Province since 1652. In Namaqualand the extent to which it has occurred in the past has been shown in early chapters. The extent to which it still occurs today in spite of legislation forbidding it, is shown in the police records. We have an example, therefore, of a law which is incompatible with existing social tendencies.

Violation of the Children's Act is the second major problem with which the police have to deal. The parents of unmarried mothers frequently complain that the illegitimate children of their daughters are not receiving the support of their genitors. These men, however, are generally townsmen who seduce girls while they are away from home and refuse to take responsibility for their actions. The reason why legal action is seldom resorted to when girls fall pregnant by local men is because the parents are said to be "too proud" to accept money to support a child, the genitor of whom they know. Further, of course, there is always the probability that the couple will marry, but even when the parents of the girl refuse an offer of marriage by their daughter's lover, they prefer to support the child themselves rather than receive the man's assistance.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local government is centred in a Management Board which, as we have said, is subordinate to the Central Government of the Republic of South Africa, but is immediately responsible to the Coloured Affairs Department. The community is administered under the Communal Reserves and Mission Stations Act No.29 of 1909 as amended. The following are the main regulations

subjoining the Act: (a) Those promulgated under Government Notice No.461 of 13th March, 1913, (b) Those promulgated under Government Notice No.2601 of 3rd December, 1948. (c) Those promulgated under Government Notice No.R.1866 of 18th November, 1960.[1]

The Management Board consists of nine ordinary members, known as raadslede or unofficially as korporaals, a non-voting secretary, and a chairman, a registered occupier, who is also the Superintendent of the Reserve and a well-paid government official. Meetings are held once a month in the council room of the Management Board offices, but the chairman may convene special meetings provided he gives previous notice within seven days of his intention to do so. Minutes, copies of which are sent to the Coloured Affairs Department in Cape Town, are kept at all meetings. Of the nine ordinary members, six are elected by those registered occupiers who are over 21 years of age, while three are appointed by the Secretary of Coloured Affairs. Two of the appointed members are nominated by the superintendent while one is nominated by the Kerkraad, with which the superintendent is closely associated.

Each of the six elected members represents a wyk (ward), but these are voted for by registered occupiers who have the franchise. Elections are held during the second half of July each year when two of the ordinary members go out of office. Prior to 1957 the ordinary members were re-elected and re-appointed every twelve months. Extraordinary elections may be held to replace members who, for various reasons, have ceased to hold office before their term expires. There are numerous conditions under which a member is required to vacate his seat. These

1. See Appendix J.

include insolvency, failure to pay taxes, absence from three consecutive monthly meetings without leave of the chairman etc. But perhaps the most significant of these is that a man may be forced to vacate his seat on the Management Board if, in the opinion of the Minister, he "refuses to subject himself to the provisions of the Communal Reserves and Mission Stations Act or any regulation promulgated under it or to comply therewith". The significance of this clause is that it reveals very clearly the extent to which the Management Board is subjected to the control of the Central Government. A further manifestation of this fact is reflected in the composition of the Management Board. Although the majority of members are elected by the voters, it is nevertheless possible for a minority opinion to have a majority vote in the Management Board. Four members are appointed by the Central Government, but the chairman who is one of these members has a deliberative as well as a casting vote. This means that only one of the six elected members need vote with the appointed members to carry a motion designed to further Government interests. Thus one of the chief reasons why the "new people" are so strong politically in contemporary Steinkopf is because the Government appointed members are normally selected from the "new people" who also return about half (sometimes less than half) of the elected members to office. As a result of their inability to gain power many conservative voters have tended not to vote at elections because it is realised that the opinions of their representatives on the Management Board are seldom of any consequence; some successful conservative candidates have resigned their seats.

In spite of the limitations imposed on the Management Board by the Central Government it does have some of the characteristics of a legislative body. It has authority to frame

certain local regulations to assist it in its administrative duties, but the Central Government always has the right to alter or revoke them. The Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act states that the Management Board may, "subject to the approval of the Minister, make regulations in the prescribed manner" for forty eight purposes ranging from the prevention and suppression of all nuisances to providing for licences or permits for making bricks.

Traditionally, when the raad was an autonomous body which exercised its powers in accordance with the local customs, new laws and regulations, unacceptable to the majority of burghers do not appear to have been made. Hence, today many of the conservative registered occupiers still regard the Management Board in the light of the old raad, and direct their attacks for all unpopular legislation not against the central government but against the Management Board which is held responsible for violating the wishes of the "people".

Strictly speaking the Management Board has no judicial functions; it is not a court of law and has no power to punish offenders, but it does have some of the features of a judiciary. First, any individual who contravenes any local regulation or fails to fulfil any obligation under these regulations commits an offence. Such a person is liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £25, or, in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding 30 days. Offenders are tried at the magistrate's court at Springbok, but usually appear before the Management Board before a charge is made. In practice not all those who appear before the Management Board are committed for trial, since many receive only a warning from the superintendent. It must be pointed out, however, that the new regulations issued in 1957 omit the clause

whereby the Management Board has the right to call upon a registered occupier (or other person) to appear in person at a meeting. This is an important omission for it reduces the possibility of settling cases without a formal trial by a magistrate.

Secondly, should a registered occupier fail to pay his taxes, the Management Board can request the resident magistrate to issue a warrant for their recovery. In the event of the person concerned being unable to pay the required amount or refusing to pay, the court messenger is entitled to seize his property. In 1955, Barnabas Cloete objected to the increase in taxation and refused to pay his dues. As a result the Management Board applied to the resident magistrate to issue a warrant to enable a messenger of the Court to seize some of his furniture.

Thirdly, bywoners and "strangers", who are not in Government employ in the Reserve may be given notice by the Management Board to leave the Reserve if they undermine its authority, or misbehave, or violate local regulations. A few years ago an African[1] who was married to a registered occupier's daughter and had been granted permission to reside in the Reserve, was ordered to leave within twenty-four hours. No reasons were given to him but when the girl's father asked for an explanation he was told: "Ons gaan voorentoe, nie agteruit nie. Ons is besig om die primitiewe bloed uit te baster. Die Kaffer is vir ons nie goed nie; hy moet weggaan". So the couple left the Reserve and settled at Port Nolloth.

Fourthly, there is always the power of a threat, which the Management Board uses to enforce regulations. With the police station next door to the Management Board offices, and the magistrate's court only an hour's journey by car, threats by

1. To my knowledge this is the only African who has ever been permitted to reside in the Reserve.

the Management Board carry a great deal of authority and provide an effective means of social control.

In spite of the judicial elements present in the Management Board the tendency in recent years, notably since 1951, has been for the local government to concern itself merely with the administration of the Reserve and to some extent to the framing of regulations in accordance with its subordinate legislative powers. As a result civil cases are seldom brought before the Management Board as was the practice under the Baster-missionary regime when both criminal and civil cases received the attention of the raad. Even before 1951, during the period of European control, civil disputes were handled by the Management Board, but nowadays little time is devoted to the settlement of disputes, correcting disobedient children, drunkards and adulterers. Any interest that the Management Board does take in civil disputes is purely a cultural retention, for it is under no legal obligations to concern itself with matters outside its official jurisdiction. As a result civil cases are usually handled by the Kerkraad, but if no solution is reached the Management Board or some of its councillors may be asked to arbitrate. When they fail the police may be called in and the cases may be referred to the magistrate.

The main function of the Management Board, therefore, is the general administration of the Reserve in accordance with the Communal Reserves and Mission Stations Act, and as such it is the mouth-piece of the Central Government through the Coloured Affairs Department. The main conflicts which exist between the Management Board and the conservative people are found in these executive activities. When the superintendent of the Management Board says, "Ons plig is om die Wet uittevoer", the reply is, "Ons ken nie daardie Wet nie, hoe kan ons dit dan erken". Nevertheless in spite of their opposition only a few conservative people, such

as Barnabas Cloete, have blatantly defied the Law, and in practice people are subservient to its demands. Here we deal only with the general principles of the local regulations and their sociological significance.[1]

The control of farming activities, the distribution of land, the granting of building sites, the collection of taxes, the organisation of public services, health, the admission of registered occupiers to their status, and the control of labour and migration, are the main executive duties of the Management Board.[2] When we examine these regulations in their broad sociological perspective it becomes clear that they acknowledge the elementary family as the only form of kinship grouping, and in doing so tend to contribute towards the dissolution of wider kinship groups.

In the first place every male reaching the age of 21 years is required to obtain written permission from the Management Board to remain in his father's house, and must also apply for registered occupier's rights. Whereas, the purpose of this regulation is to increase the revenue of the Reserve through the additional taxes paid, its function is to hasten the creation of independent elementary families.

Further, registered occupiers and other people are not allowed to have visitors (from outside the Reserve), or their dependants, as lodgers or guests in their homes without written permission of the Management Board; nor may they employ domestic servants or shepherds without first obtaining the consent of the Management Board; and residents of Steinkopf may be compelled to make improvements on their buildings should these buildings be considered to disfigure the mission village.

1. See Appendix J for main regulations.

2. See also pp. 8-11

All these restrictive regulations are new to Steinkopf and are symbolic and indicative of the development towards a village community. In a sense they are designed to enable the Management Board to administer the affairs of the inhabitants of the Reserve through the individual family without consideration of wider associations of kinsmen. The view that these regulations are functions of recent social developments is borne out by the fact that where the lineage is strongest and the range of kinsmen greatest, there is the most marked conflict between the individual members of kinship groups and the Management Board. Thus the people most antagonistic towards the modern trends in local government are the conservatives. Conversely, we find that co-operation between individuals and the Management Board is most marked where the elementary family, rather than the extended family, is stressed in kinship relationships.

In terms of their functions, therefore, local regulations, notably those we have mentioned, tend to lay stress on the elementary family by strengthening its bonds and weakening kinship ties outside it. A registered occupier is legally obliged in certain matters to concern himself with his own personal rights and those of his elementary family, but not in the affairs of his wider circle of kin. A man may inherit his father's lands and building plot, but he must first be legally acknowledged as a registered occupier and have his inheritance approved by the Management Board, before he takes possession of them. Further a young man, as we have said, must, on reaching 21 years of age, apply for permission to remain in his father's house and must also (if he is the son of a registered occupier) apply for a similar legal status to that of his father. This means that fathers and sons are regarded as equals by the Management Board. As a result of this legal equality, young

men are beginning to claim social equality also, a claim which contributes towards the rebellion of the younger generation against parental authority, and provides the basis for the break down of extended family ties.

In 1957 the Management Board tried to make it compulsory for donkeys, horses, and cattle to be branded with the numbers shown on their owner's certificate of occupation. The purpose of this regulation was to assist the Management Board to control the stock quota of each registered occupier and also to enable it to recognise animals belonging to outsiders grazing illegally on the commonage. Farmers, especially the conservative members of the community, objected to branding their animals on three different grounds. First, it was claimed that the Management Board had no right to make such a law, because it would never have been made by the old raad. Secondly they maintained that it would be inconvenient especially when animals were sold, exchanged, inherited or given as a present. The third objection, which was given to me independently by two different informants, was astutely sociological. One of these informants said: "By branding our animals we are breaking away from our old tradition of good-fellowship and love (saamwerking en liefde). Everyone knows his animals by their markings, and it is very seldom that disputes occur. Now we are being told to brand our animals, and to brand them with the same number by which we occupy our lands which no longer belong to us. First they took our land away, now they are trying to steal our animals". To which he added, "Die nommer het die geslagte gedeel, en nou vat hulle ons diere weg met daardie selfde nommer".

The first two objections to the branding of animals are natural enough and the sort of reactions that could be expected in any community. The third objection, however, is of a different order for it explains the disrupting effect which

certain regulations are felt to have on wider kinship relationships. Thus we must infer that branding (and the quota system) tend also to fulfil the function of stressing the importance of the elementary family to the detriment of certain wider kinship ties.

LOCAL POLITICS AND LEADERSHIP

During my periods of field work in Steinkopf I experienced two major difficulties. The first, to which I have already drawn attention, was to persuade younger men to talk freely in the presence of older men. The second was to get people to stop talking politics. Local politicians - everyone in Steinkopf is a politician - are divided into two camps; those who support the Management Board on most issues, and those who oppose it in principle. The former category consists mainly of "new people", while the latter consists mainly of conservatives.

Political power is at present in the hands of the "new people", because their leaders constitute a majority on the Management Board. These leaders, five of whom belong to lineage category B, have derived their power from two sources. First, through winning the support of the Central Government, and secondly by giving expression to those aspirations implicit in their followers. The leaders of the conservative people on the other hand derive their power only from one source - their followers.

Leaders and their followers are the basic components of every group. In fact when we speak of a group we necessarily imply these two categories of people (leaders and followers) fulfilling complementary roles. As Homans, referring to small primary groups, points out:

> "The leader is the man who comes closest to realizing the norms the group values highest. The norms may be queer ones, but so long as they are genuinely accepted by the group, the leader, in that group, must embody them. His embodiment of the norms gives him his high rank, and his rank attracts people: the leader is the man people come to; the scheme of interaction focuses on him. At the same time, his high rank carries with it the implied right to assume control of the group, and the exercise of control itself helps maintain the leader's prestige. This control he is peculiarly well equipped to wield by reason of his position at the top of the pyramid of interaction. He is better informed than other men, and he has more channels for the issuing of orders. He controls the group, yet he is in a sense more controlled by it than others are, since it is a condition of his leadership that his actions and decisions shall conform more closely than those of others to an abstract norm. Moreover, all these elements, and not just one or two of them, come into leadership; all are related to one another and reinforce one another for good or ill." [1]

The chief political leaders of the "new people" in Steinkopf are, amongst other things, products of higher secondary education. That is to say they are teachers or former teachers. It is not surprising, therefore, that they derive most of their support from the younger men and women, die Afrikaner Kinders, who have passed through their hands at school. Earlier, we have shown how important school - teachers are as leaders in the community where they have superseded, as it were, traditional leadership in the family.

As a result of the material benefits of their profession, teachers are economically better off than the majority of people. Thus they are able to display the hall-marks of wealth in their dress, the type of dwellings in which they live, the food they eat, and the mode of transport they use. Not only are they economically superior but through their knowledge (deur

1. G.C. Homans, The Human Group (1951), pp. 188 - 9.

die boeke) they are better able to command the respect of those who attach a high premium to Western learning and its concomitant values.

The "new people" as a political group first began to crystallize in 1945 when the present superintendent, then principal of the primary school, was appointed to an advisory council by the Central Government. In this year he presented a memorandum[1] to the Inter-Departmental Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of Coloured Reserves. Although, the memorandum is devoted largely to a general description of the administration of the Reserve he concludes by stating that, "With the help and stricter, yet sympathetic supervision, of our respected Government, the economic conditions in the Reserve ought to improve".[2] This was his first attempt to ingratiate himself and his followers with the Central Government. A year later, in a letter to the Secretary of the Management Board he drew attention to the poverty and backwardness of the people, and made some suggestions as to the way in which these conditions could be improved. It was this letter that stamped him as the leader of the "new people", and made him the obvious candidate to fill the post of superintendent in 1952. It is quoted here in full:-

> "Alle koerante, tydeskrifte en Kerkblaaie (Engels en Afrikaans) berig met alle erns en onophoudelik van die skaarsheid van voedsel dwarsdeur die hele wêreld en van die daaropvolgende rampe. Daar word in alle lande gewaarsku teen onverskilligheid met en verkwisting van voedsel, en die verskillende Regerings tref voorsorgsmaatreëls. Ons Departement beraam b.v. skemas om vir alle klasse en stande voorsiening te maak.
>
> Sal net ons dan onverskillig bly? Nee, ons mag nie, ons kan nie. Ons mense is reeds verarm tot in die merg van ons bestaan en sal sekerlik nie bestand

1. See Appendix K.
2. This sentence was omitted from the memorandum when it was published.

wees teenoor die gevare van hongersnood, pestelinsies en wat dies meer sy waarvan ons so baie lees.

Wat kan ons doen om die ellende en onheile te probeer vermy? Ons kan wel baie doen.

1. Daar is reeds gesaai en geploeg, maar, die graan is nog nie beskerm nie en party lande skyn al mooi groen. Kan die skut nie ope verklaar word nie, om die kosbare graan te beskerm?

2. Die weiding kan beskerm en bespaar word vir ons eie burgers se vee, deur dit nie te verhuur nie. As ander voedselsoorte opraak kan ons tog vleis en melk hê. Elke distrik of land moet vir hom self sorg; ons kan dus nie verwag dat hulle vir ons ook moet sorg nie.

3. Al is dit gevaarlik om die misdade van misdadigers wat nie op heter daad betrap is nie te noem, tog is ons daarvan bewus dat baie van ons mense, hoewel hulle reeds arm is, nog meer verarm raak, (geldelik, geestelik, moreel en na die gesondeheid) deur die misbruik van (i) Hotnosbier (ii) Bedwelmende Patente Medisyne en (iii) ander sterke drank. Kan en mag ons dit langer verswyg?

Dit sal tog seker in belang van ons mense wees as die kommende rampe probeer bestry word deur (i) die brou van Hotnos-bier te verbied, met die hulp van die Regering, (ii) deur reelings te tref om liewer nie bedwelmende Medisyne te bestel, in voorraad te hou, en te verkoop nie. As sulke medisyne dan werklik onontbeerlik is vir patiënte, kan daar liewer voorsiening gemaak word om dit in die plaaslike Kliniek aan te hou.

Die Hotnosbier is 'n verkwister van tyd, geld, huislike vrede, selfrespek en 'n bevoorderaar van armoede; dis demoraliserend, net soos die misbruik van patente medisyne en gewone sterke drank. Die misbruik van drank het al veroorsaak dat aanstootlike taal gebesig en onverantwoordelike dade verrig is, teenoor verantwoordelike persone, 'n feit wat sekerlik nie ons mense tot eer en voordeel kan strek nie; ons kan dit eenvoudig nie bekostig nie.

Wat staan ons dan te doen? Sal ons nie die Regering se hulp inroep om die brou van Hotnosbier stop te sit? In plaas van die goeters waarmee so baie kostelike tyd en kragte verspil word en geld verkwis word, kan ons dan liewer iets beters aanvang.

Ons Raad kan, naamlik, dien as 'n Arbeidsburo, wat al ons beskikbare arbeidskragte organiseer, sodat ons alle werk - aangeleenthede in Namakwaland in beslag kan neem.

> Ek sou daarteen wees dat ons mense uit Namakwaland uitgevoer sal word, omdat ek oordeel dat hier genoegsaam werk in die land is. Die koopermaatskappy gee voorkeur aan ons plaaslike Kleurlinge mits hulle die werk in die regte gees opneem, teen 3/3 tot 15/6d p.d. plus Lewenskoste. Sal ons nie ons mense aanmoedig om die aanbod aan te neem en die Maatskappy daarvan te oortuig, dat hulle op ons beskikbare arbeidskragte kan steun nie? As die werkgewers eers oortuig word van die vertroubaarheid van ons mense sal hulle nie Naturelle van elders laat kom nie. Dan verhoed ons miskien ook nog, dat ons mense weer soos voorheen is onderstandswerke opgeneem word teen 1/6 of 9d per dag. Volgens die skemas van die Regering blyk dit, dat daar voorsiening gemaak word vir: (1) Ouderdomspensioene (2) Ongeskikheidstoelaes (3) Pensioene vir blindes (Militêre en Oudstryders pensioene) (5) Toelaes vir hulpbehoewende kinders (6) Hospitale.
>
> Vir diegene wat nie onder die bowevermelde groupe val nie, is daar net een uitweg en dit is werk, d.w.s. of Boerdery of Mynery ens.
>
> Vir diegene wat nie wil werk nie, word daar ook voorsiening gemaak, naamlik, Work Colonies. Daarheen kan die onwilliges gedwing word. Gaan ons nou wag totdat die Regering deur ons ellende en nood verplig word om ons mense te dwing of gaan ons liewer vroegtydig en uit eie beweging begin en ons mense oproep en van hart tot hart met hulle gesels en handelend optree? Kom asseblief en laat ons nie meer tyd verspil nie. Die saak van die behoud van ons mense is baie ernstig en hulle sien op ons, as voorstanders vir leiding en raad. Hulle sal van ons hand geëis word."

The power and prestige of the "new people" as a political group and as a quasi-social class, can best be seen from the part they play in various institutions. Firstly, for reasons we have already given, the "new people" dominate the activities of the Management Board. Secondly, they are linked through their leaders with the Central Government. Thirdly, they have close connections with the teaching profession. Fourthly, they have a powerful influence in Church affairs both through their representation on the Kerkraad and through the missionary who supports not only their aspirations but also the activities of the Management Board and the Central Government. Fifthly, they receive also the support of the wealthy stock farmers who, although

they may have conservative tendencies, find it in their material interests to ally themselves with the "new people" in order to derive benefits, such as additional bore holes, from the Management Board. To these we must add also the fact that their main leader, the superintendent, and their subordinate leaders, other Management Board members and school teachers, hold positions in the community, which are favourable to effective leadership. They use established channels to give their "orders" and to fulfil their roles. These channels are the Law, which is respected by the "new people", and their authority as respected members of the community. Finally, their unity as a group is achieved not only by the common sentiments which they share, but also by the fact that the actions and norms of behaviour of the conservatives are regularly criticised by their leaders. In a sense, therefore, the conservatives, the "out" group, are regarded as a common enemy who are a danger to the power of the "new people" and the progress of the community.

The conservative people are in a less favourable position to maintain their solidarity. In the first place their numbers are gradually decreasing as the processes of social change remould the community. In the second place their leaders carry little weight in local government and they do not have the support or the sympathy of the Coloured Affairs Department. Their political activities are, as a result, negative. They attack the Management Board, the members of which they call traitors, and some refer to the superintendent as <u>ons Judas</u>, and his wife as <u>die groot heks van Steinkopf</u>. Thus they too regard their political opponents as enemies.

The leaders of the conservative people are members of two old and respected lineages in Steinkopf, the //arris Cloetes and the Van Wyks. They are "new people" in the sense that they have wealth, more than the average amount of education, desirable

physical characteristics, and live in European type houses. But they differ from the leaders of "new people" in that with one exception, none are teachers. Further, Barnabas Cloete, their chief leader is antagonistic towards the Boere Kerk and says that he will not enter the church building until the N.G. Kerk leaves the Reserve or some other denomination is established. Both the //arris Cloetes and the Van Wyks were the chief opponents of the N.G. Kerk's appointment as the established Church when the Rhenish Mission Society was forced to abandon its work in 1934. It is significant also that both the //arris Cloetes and the Van Wyks, notably the latter, have tended to become tradesmen and not enter the teaching profession.

No adequate explanation can be offered as to why these two families have reacted against the "new people" and assumed leadership among the conservatives. But there is a suggestion that the //arris Cloete leaders have hoped to revive the traditional pattern of leadership which the Engelbrechts have gradually lost. The evidence for this assumption is the fact that in recent years the //arris Cloetes have tried to prove to the community that their ancestors, and not those of the Engelbrechts, were the first Baster Pioneers to establish themselves in the territory now known as Steinkopf. In order to strengthen their ranks the //arris Cloetes through their leader, Barnabas, have set themselves up as champions not only of the conservative registered occupiers but also of the bywoners.

Having realised that they will never achieve power through the Management Board the leaders of the conservative people have attempted to by-pass the local government and appeal to the Central Government to restore the system of administration which existed prior to the enforcement of the 1909 Act. A large sum of money has been collected, legal advice has been

sought, and letters have been written to the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, and to a former leader of the United Party.

On the 7th February 1955, Barnabas Cloete wrote a letter to the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs complaining about the 1909 Act. This letter illustrates the approach which the conservative people have adopted through their leaders to assert themselves in the political arena of contemporary Steinkopf. It shows too that the protests[1] which the Management Board used to make against the enforcement of the 1909 Act before the advent of the "new people" to power, are being carried on by the conservative people today:-

> "Ek die ondertekende verklaar hiermee as volg:
>
> "Vanaf 1700 het my Oor groot Vader en sy broers hier gewoon op die plek Kookfontein later Steinkopf; hulle het die wilde Boesman hieruitgedryf; hulle was die Baanbrekers hier in Klein Namakwaland en so het die grond van hulle behoort tot hulle dood, toe hulle kinders dit weer van hulle ge-erf het.
>
> In 1812 het die eerste Blanke sy opwagting hier gemaak, die sekere Londonse Sendeling, en hulle het later in 1838 aan die Rhenish-Mission Society oorgemaak, en hulle het hulle werk hier voortgesit in 1840; toe het die basters en Hottentotte hier saam gewoon en die Kerk opgebou.
>
> Tot 1840 het ons aan geen regering behoort nie. In 1842 het die Britse Regering ons genader om oor te gee as Britse onderdane soos u sal sien in Rev. Brecher se Petiesie. In daardie tydperk is 'n Raad saamgestel om die gemeente se huishoudelike sake te behartig en 'n belasting is toe ingestel; eers was dit bydrae genoem en later, Burgher Belasting.
>
> In 1912 het ons hier in kennis gekom dat die Regering van plan is om 'n verandering van Wet hier te stel. Ons mense wou die Wet nie aanneem nie; toe raadpleeg hulle 'n prokureur op Springbok, J. Frank. Sy advies was dat as die wet op ons forseer word, ons dit moet aanneem onder protest.
>
> In 1913 op die 14de November het die magistraat met 12 gewapende poliste gekom, en die magistraat het gesê dat as ons ons nie wil laat kies vir Raadslede nie, hulle vreemde mense sou kies. Onder die geval moes ons maar begewe met die woorde onder protest. Vanaf 1913 het die belasting nog altyd Burgher belasting gebly tot 1949, toe die Kwitansie verander as volgens: Lot, later perseel, later woonreg en droë lande. In 1954 belasting en ons weet waarom

1. See Appendices D and E.

nie. Ander weer kry woonreg en droëland vir 1954. Dit alles word aangegee as volgens Wet.

Ons eiendoms reg word vervreemd deur hierdie kwitansies. Dit is waarom daar altyd sterk geprotesteer was teen die wet.

Deur die wet is ons kerk en skole gemeet deur 'n landmeter sonder ons toestemming.

Ons het meer as 100 jaar met die Blanke Boer in vrede gelewe en hulle het die ou Rade altyd respekteur, maar vandag is dit nie die geval nie. Deur die Wet is hier al van grondeienaars weggeja van sy eie grond af en sy grond is aan iemand anders gegee, daars meer sulke gevalle. En dit alles onder 'n Demokratiese en Christelike Regering. Die Wet is nie hier in ons land van nut nie - natuurlike omstandighede soos droogtes ens.

Ons kan bewys dat ons meer dan 100 jr. wet gehoorsame burghers was. Binne die genoemde tydperk het die Regering geen moeilikhede met ons gehad nie. Nou word ons regte deur wetgewing gevat en dan word gese ons wil nie onder wet staan nie. Dit is onsin, niemand kan bewys nie. Ons wil net Reg en Geregtigheid hê wat aan ons behoort.

Deur die Wet is die Raad wat nou aan bewind is nie deur die meerderheid van die gemeenskap gekies maar deur 'n klein groepie deur sekere Regulacies van die wet.

Ons grond was meer as honderd jaar nooit kroongrond of reserve genoem nie. Ons was ook nie Okkupeerders genoem nie maar Burghers. Dit is alles name wat ons vervreemd. Dit is tyd dat die regering besef hoe onbelik ons onder hierdie wet behandel word.

Driekwart van ons grond het ons verloor, en nou word nog deur wetgewing ons laaste regte probeer afvat.

Ons respekteer ons Regering wat ons regte moet beskerm en hoop en vertrou dat dit nooit vir ons nodig sal wees ons elders gaan kla nie.

Enige inligting wat mag kort kom of nodig is, is ek gewillig om skriftelik of persoonlik te gee."

CONCLUSIONS

In spite of the opposition and antagonism towards the local government by certain sections of the community, we must see the Management Board, as at present constituted, as a firmly established institution. On the one hand it is unlikely that

the existing opposition forces will be able to break the solidarity of the "new people" under their powerful leadership. Moreover, a regulation enforced in 1957 forbids all political meetings, not convened by the Management Board, from being held in the Reserve if more than five people are present. On the other hand there does not seem to be any possibility that the Central Government will modify the present composition and organisation of the Management Board.[1]

At the present time the main functions of the Management Board may be stated as follows:- First, it is an instrument of the Central Government used to enforce the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act and its subjoining regulations. Secondly, it provides an outlet for leadership particularly among the "new people", but also for those conservatives who, after election, are able to withstand being opposed and outvoted on nearly all major issues. It is significant that in 1954 two conservative councillors resigned because they realised that they could not hold their own against the "new people". Finally, the Management Board provides the official link with the mines, the neighbouring reserves, the Coloured people in general, and the rest of the outside world. Nearly all external contacts, both formal and informal, have first to be sanctioned by it. When one leaves the Reserve for a period longer than three months the Management Board must be informed; before a visitor enters the area he must first receive its permission to do so; when Government Officials enquire into local conditions it is the Management Board that discusses the community's problems.

1. cf. Report of Commissioner for Coloured Affairs (1953) U.G. No.13/1954 pp.12-13.

The position of the Management Board in the community can be summed up by stressing again its attitude towards those people who either oppose the laws it administers, or attempt to undermine its authority. Many times I heard the superintendent (who belongs to lineage category B) and his right hand councillors say to their opponents, "Ons moet almal die Regering respek. Die Raad moet die Wet mooi uitvoer, en julle moet gehoorsaam wees. Die ou tyd en die dom tyd is verby, ons gaan nou voorentoe met die opbou van ons gemeenskap. Die Regering het ons skole en ander gerieflikhede gegee. Daarvoor moet ons dankbaar wees. Hoe kan ons teen hulle wees, wat ons weggebring het van die primitiewe lewe van ons ou grootjies."

Chapter 10

THE CHURCH OF STEINKOPF

The Church of Steinkopf is the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sending Kerk which ministers to approximately 95% of the population. The remainder belong to the Anglican and Roman Catholic communions. Strictly speaking, therefore, the Church is not a mission Church, for all members of the community call themselves Christians and the majority are regular Churchgoers, though not all are confirmed. We shall see in the next chapter, however, that many pagan beliefs do exist side by side with the Christian beliefs. The fact that the missionary is largely unaware of these deviations makes the phrase "mission Church" a misleading one, but the N.G. Sending Kerk regards all work among non-Whites as mission work. Thus all non-White congregations are regarded as mission congregations which are ministered to by the N.G. Sending Kerk,[1] and not by the Moeder Kerk.

Ordained ministers, White and non-White, serving mission congregations are known as Eerwaarde and they have a lower status in the Church than their colleagues the Dominees who minister to White congregations, although they hold the same rank. Only under special circumstances may a White Eerwaarde serve the needs of White congregations. Nevertheless, in spite of this distinction between ministers and congregations, the organisation of Church affairs is largely the same for both the Sending and the Moeder Kerke. As the title of the latter suggests, however, the administration of the former is directed mainly by officers of the Mother Church, although each mission

1. cf. "Wette en Bepalings vir die Bestuur van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika" (Art. 297).

congregation has its own local governing body, the Kerkraad.

Subsidiary to the Kerkraad of Steinkopf are the Sustersbond, the Christelike Jongedogtersbond, the Kinderbond, and the Studente Christelike Vereniging, while various burial societies co-operate with it in their activities.

Since the majority in the community belongs to the Church we are describing, people who speak about "going to" Church or "belonging to" the Church are referring to the N.G. Sending Kerk, the official and only recognised religious institution. Other denominations play little part in the community apart from the fact that they hold occasional services in private houses. The Anglicans, for example, meet several times a year to receive communion from the Rector of Namaqualand.

Here attention must be drawn to the new regulations issued by the Minister of the Interior on 25 October, 1957[1] to subjoin the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act of 1909. Under Regulation 88 any religious body, other than the established Church, has to apply for permission to hold a service if it is to be attended by more than five people. Failure to do so is a punishable offence and five people have already been found guilty of breaking this law in a neighbouring reserve.[2] Thus the Anglicans and Roman Catholics were forbidden by law to hold services in Steinkopf if these are to be attended by more than five people. Both these Churches applied for permission to continue the work they have been doing for over a hundred years and after a long delay were eventually granted permission to hold services once a month only.

1. cf. Government Gazette (Union of South Africa) Vol.CXC No.5962, page 13.
2. See P. Carstens, "The D.R. Church Militant", in Africa South, Jan. 1959.

There are various grades of membership of the Steinkopf Church, and these must be distinguished. They are:

(a) Those who have fulfilled all the requirements to become full members of the Church, the lidmate (confirmed members).

(b) Those who are members through baptism.

(c) Those born of parents who have been baptised or confirmed.

(d) Those who are baptised and confirmed members of the other Reformed churches.

These four categories of members together constitute the congregation, that is to say, the members of each category fall under the official jurisdiction of the Church which is bound by the constitution of the Mother Church to look after their welfare.

As with all associations, active membership is the criterion of the Church's strength, whereas belief is unimportant provided the rules of the institution are obeyed and its rituals observed. The social solidarity of any part of a society does not necessarily depend on people believing the same things, but rather on their performing together, either voluntarily or involuntarily, common activities in accordance with certain rules.

In an earlier chapter we drew attention to the opposition from the congregation in the 1930's to the proposal that Steinkopf should be placed under the religious jurisdiction of the N.G. Sending Kerk, but it was pointed out that the majority of people later accepted the new Church. Those former members of the Rhenish Mission Church who have not fully accepted the authority of the N.G. Sending Kerk assert that they were baptized and confirmed "Rhenish" and that they would remain

"Rhenish" until they died. In this connection it is important to point out that my investigations revealed that the majority of these "Rhenish" Christians belong to the //arris Cloete and Van Wyk lineages (especially to the former). We have already shown in an earlier chapter, moreover, that certain members of these two lineages (especially the //arris Cloetes) are the chief opponents of the N.G. Sending Kerk and the local government, which suggests that the desire on the part of these people to remain "Rhenish" is a function of their political attitudes rather than their doctrinal preference for the old Church. It must be pointed out, however, that in spite of their failure to co-operate with the N.G. Sending Kerk, those Rhenish Christians who have died during the past 25 years have all had funeral rites administered to them by the present Church. For example, when Barnabas Cloete's father's brother died in October, 1955, at the age of 102 years the missionary preached a special sermon and Oupa Dawid Cloete was buried in the old cemetery which is used nowadays only to inter distinguished people. Moreover, the scriba of the Steinkopf Church wrote a long obituary in Die Ligdraer, the official journal of the N.G. Sending Kerk of South Africa. After extolling Dawid Cloete's virtues the scriba stated: „Sy verstand en oë was goed tot op die laaste. Soos hy liggaamlik sterk was, was hy ook geestelik sterk in sy geloof. He het nooit van die Woord van God af weggedwaal nie, maar het Ryns gebly.

„Op laas het hy nog hardop en baie duidelik Ges.299 'Ek wil strewe na die lewe' gesing. Na die laaste reël van laaste versie het hy sy hand aan sy dogter gereik, met die woorde, 'Ek groet'. Daarna het hy sy hand omhoog gehou en uitgeroep: 'Kom my God, ek sien U!' Met 'n glimlag op sy gesig het hy toe ontslaap." The writer concludes the obituary saying that Oupa Dawid was visited regularly a few days before

he died by the missionary and members of the Kerkraad.[1]

It appears, therefore, as the case of Oupa Dawid illustrates, that the conflicts between the old "Rhenish" Christians and the new Church of Steinkopf are resolved when the former die. From the point of view of the individuals in the community the importance of resolving this conflict before death will become clear in the next chapter when we discuss the death rituals in Steinkopf.

THE KERKRAAD

In Steinkopf the Kerkraad, consists of the missionary who is its chairman, fifteen ouderlinge, sixteen diakens of whom one is elected as the scriba (scribe) and another as the secretary-treasurer. Employed by the Kerkraad is a koster (verger). Not all the ouderlinge and diakens live permanently in the Reserve; some are migratory workers who look after members of the congregation in the mine compounds.

The missionary is appointed by the Kerkraad from a list of three names submitted by the Kerkraad of the Mother Church. The procedure is as follows. When the names are submitted to the local Kerkraad the qualifications and desirability of the three nominees are studied, and the members pray for divine guidance in their selection of the most suitable candidate. As soon as a decision has been reached a letter is written to the selected candidate "calling" him to take up the new post. When he receives the "call" the missionary considers the pros and cons of the invitation and also prays to God for guidance in making his decision. Should he accept, he automatically becomes the Missionary designate of Steinkopf. But,

1. Die Ligdraer, Vol.17, No.1, January 1956, pp.25-6.

as frequently happens, if the "call" is not accepted, the procedure begins afresh. In 1947, for instance, it took three years to replace the missionary who had been called to another district, and in 1956 after the resident missionary had accepted a "call" to another congregation, over a year passed before his place could be filled, five people having rejected the "call".

The duties of a sendeling (missionary) consist of:-

(a) Preaching the gospel in general; preaching about the Heidelberg Catechism and the Leyden History of the Lord in particular; holding the usual preparation services before, and the meditations after, Nagmaal; and preaching about the meaning of baptism.

(b) Administering the sacraments of baptism and Nagmaal.

(c) Conducting divine services.

(d) Blessing marriages.

(e) Catechetical instruction of young and old.

(f) Witnessing, together with one or more elders, confirmation candidates' acceptance of the creed of the Church.

(g) Carrying out regular huisbesoek (house-to house visiting); visiting the sick; and further, everything that belongs to the pastoral care of the congregation.

(h) Presiding over Kerkraad meetings.

(i) Deciding, with the help of the ouderlinge and where there is a divergence of opinion, on the advice and with the permission of the Kerkraad, whether or not a visiting preacher should be allowed in the pulpit, or to hold services outside the church in the name of the Kerkraad.[1]

1. Wette en Bepalings, Art.35 (i).

In addition to these duties, which are formally laid down in the Church constitution and apply to all missionaries both in South Africa and in other parts of Africa, the missionary of Steinkopf is also the manager of the primary and farms schools and with his Kerkraad runs the secondary school hostels. The school board scrutinises all teachers' applications and as far as possible only active members of the N.G. Kerk are appointed. As a minister of religion he is also the marriage officer for Steinkopf.

In all his activities the missionary (except when he assumes the rôle of preacher) must co-operate with the Kerkraad, and Church affairs are controlled, not by the missionary, but by the Kerkraad. However, in spite of the ties between him and this body, the missionary must be considered as a special person in the community whose status is determined both by his official rôle, and the rôle which is determined by his personality, his attitudes towards his congregation, and his ability as a preacher.

Thus the missionary of Steinkopf plays his part as a leader in the community first through his office, but his success will depend on the way he carries out his work, and on his personality. He must be strict, insisting on good behavious, regular attendance at Church Services, and payment of church dues; but he must exercise his authority in terms of the accepted norms of the community.

Thirty years ago this was relatively simple because these norms were more or less homogeneous but today the rôle of religious leader is more difficult to play owing to the appearance of new social cleavages; values are no longer absolute for all sections of the community and it is not possible to be a good common leader as was formerly the case.

Although he is still leader of the Church, the esteem with which the missionary is regarded varies from group to group and from individual to individual; and this position is further complicated by the fact that he is a White Afrikaner who for many, as elsewhere in Africa, is a symbol of domination and oppression. But in general all these differences appear to be outweighed by a common loyality towards the community's Church.[1]

In the N.G. Sending Kerk ordained missionaries (sendelinge) carry the title of Eerwaarde (Reverend) who is usually said to be the Leeraar (teacher of the word) of his congregation. At Steinkopf he is addressed by most members of the congregation as Meneer (Sir). Some educated people, however, prefer as the term of address, Eerwaarde, which respects the office rather than the individual. When speaking about the missionary these educated people always retain the term Eerwaarde, while the others retain the term of address, Meneer, when referring to personal matters, e.g.: „Meneer het ons 'n pakkie suiker gegee", but use the term Leeraar when referring to him in his official capacity as a minister, e.g.: „die Leeraar sal jou straf as jy nie ophou met die vloek nie" or „Die Leeraar het baie mooi gespreek". These differences are important for, in the first instance, they illustrate the attitudes that different classes have towards him: educated people are concerned mainly with his rôle as a minister of religion, while the less educated and more conservative people see him as an individual playing different rôles.

The term of address Meneer is used only for missionaries: to address any white man as Meneer is considered too familiar and therefore impertinent, the principle being that for

1. See also pp. 83-5

a Coloured man to call a White man Meneer admits equality - Meneer being the conventional way in which a European addresses a stranger of his own stock. But Europeans condone the term of address Meester if Coloured people refuse to use the term Baas (Boss).

The missionary's wife is addressed and referred to as Juffrou (Madam or Lady Teacher) by all people. She does not take part in the same Church affairs as her husband, but apart from her duties as a housewife, concerns herself mainly with the women and their problems, and is chairman of the Sustersbond, Christelike Jongedogterbond, and the Kinderbond

The official duties of the ouderlinge and diakens are various, but broadly speaking, the ouderlinge are concerned with the spiritual activities of the Church, while diakens are responsible for Church finance and its routine administration. Article 36 of the Church constitution states that ouderlinge are entrusted with:

(a) Looking after the welfare of the congregation.

(b) Seeing to the purity of the doctrine.

(c) The supervision of the congregation, especially huisbesoek, with the missionary.

(d) Zealous co-operation with the missionary in all matters concerned with the spiritual development of the congregation.

Diakens, on the other hand are charged with:

(a) The collection of alms (liefdegawes).

(b) The distribution of alms to destitute members of the congregation (with the approval of the Kerkraad).

(c) Finding ways and means of increasing Church funds.

Half the members of the Kerkraad retire each year when the new members have been elected. New members are elected at a joint sitting of the Kerkraad, and former Kerkraad members. Normally

the retiring members are not re-elected for three years for it is the policy of the Church to give as many suitable people as possible the opportunity of becoming Kerkraad members (ampdraers) during their lifetime.[1] Apart from the psychological significance of this practice of giving a large number of people an outlet for their energies and qualities of leadership, sociologically it is extremely important because it makes for a strong system of group leadership and social control, since former ampdraers retain the respect that they earned while they held office.

The procedure followed in the election of new Kerkraad members is as follows. Each retiring member prays independently to God to point out to him the right person to succeed him. When his prayer is answered he goes directly to the person revealed to him and informs him of what has happened; the revealed person then considers the matter, talks it over with his family, and asks God in his prayers to indicate to him whether or not he should accept. In the meanwhile the retiring member will have submitted his candidate's name to the Kerkraad which normally accepts the nomination. The names of all the nominees are then read in Church on three consecutive Sundays and if there are no objections from the congregation they are automatically elected. Should a nominee decide not to accept nomination, as frequently happens, he must inform the Kerkraad by the third Sunday on which his name is called in Church giving reasons for his withdrawal. On the other hand those who accept nomination must inform the Kerkraad personally as soon as their minds are made up.

1. Diakens, however, may be elected as ouderlinge if they are eligible. No person under the age of forty may be elected as an ouderling.

All Church activities, services, huisbesoek, etc. fall under the jurisdiction of the Kerkraad, although, as we have seen, the various Church officers have specially allocated tasks; but all are united through the missionary in a common association. It is necessary, therefore, to look at all Church activities in terms of the activities of the Kerkraad, pointing out, where necessary, any special duties assigned to the various categories of members. According to Calvinist theology, all law, all power, all authority spring from God: the Kerkraad is the institution representing man but carrying out the will of God.

The primary duty of the Kerkraad is the organisation of ordinary Church services, i.e.: the usual Sunday morning and afternoon services, the Wednesday prayer meeting (bidunr) and Holy Communion (Nagmaal).

There are two services on Sundays in the mission Church, in the morning and afternoon. The main service begins at 10.15 a.m. and is centred on the missionary's sermon, which is usually based on an Old Testament text. If the missionary is away administering Nagmaal at other centres, his place is taken by an ouderling who preaches from a table in front of the Church and not from the pulpit. At these services every member (full or otherwise) of the Church is expected to attend, some travelling up to thirty miles by donkey cart. Attendance is considered a social as well as a religious obligation. Men sit on the left and women on the right hand side of the Church and the singing is usually led by the women. Sermons are always relevant to Steinkopf and the prayers deal mainly with those problems that especially concern the people: drought, fornication and adultery, disobedience and irresponsibility. The service, therefore, contributes to the social cohesion of the community through the common act of worship which concerns only

Christians of Steinkopf and nobody else. Sunday morning service, too, is an opportunity for the superintendent of the Reserve to read notices issued by the Management Board and often a short address is given to explain a new piece of legislation. These notices follow immediately after the Church notices, and it is often difficult to decide whether they have been issued by the Church's or the Management Board's authority.

The afternoon service is of a different order. It is attended mainly by young people, for whom there was no accommodation at the morning service, and by those people whose Church worship is more important than for the average member. There is no stigma attached to people who do not attend these afternoon services but those, other than children, who do attend are held in the highest esteem. It is obligatory for Kerkraad members to attend.

The quarterly celebrations of Nagmaal are the four great yearly occasions at Steinkopf: it is a celebration not merely of the Lord's Supper but a time also when all confirmed members of the Church living on the settlements trek to Steinkopf for a social week-end. It is, however, not a time for dancing or merrymaking for these activities are not permitted by the Church. It is rather a time for family re-unions, friendship, gossip, and courting (including love-making). The trek begins on Friday or Saturday and most people remain until Monday morning when they return home early.

We might say, therefore, that Nagmaal performs a dual function in that it unites all the confirmed members of the Church through their common religious activity, and also helps to renew and cement the bonds of kinship and friendship.

Each Wednesday evening at 8 p.m. a gemeentelike biduur (corporate prayer meeting) is held. The Church calendar of

Steinkopf states that at this service "every professing Christian is awaited by God and the community", but in practice Wednesday services are attended by Kerkraad members, other devout members, and handful of adolescents. The biduur is conducted by either the missionary or an ouderling; there is a short address and a hymn followed by extempore prayer begun by the leader of the service, who is followed by those others present who are inspired to pray aloud. This service is of great importance to the very devout church-goers, and one can observe the pent up expression of the suppliants gradually relax as they offer up their prayers. Collections are taken at all services.

It is incumbent also upon the Kerkraad to organise special services for marriages and funerals. Marriage, although not considered a sacrament in the N.G. Kerk, can only be blessed by an ordained minister, the resident missionary, or in his absence any other missionary or predikant who is prepared to visit the village for this purpose. The service is a short one and attended by relatives and friends, the number attending being determined by the status of the couple.

Funerals are a different matter, for it is not necessary for an ordained minister to conduct the religious service, although the service itself is always necessary. A short service in the mission Church precedes the graveside burial rites, unless the corpse has started to decay or the person has died from some infectious disease in which case the Church service is usually omitted.

Much of the Kerkraad's time and energy is spent in arranging baptisms and preparing people for confirmation. Apart from the fact that baptism is always a necessary prelude to confirmation, there is in the religion of Steinkopf a more subtle connection between them. In the first place we must remember

that the Church law lays down that "When parents, who are not lidmate of the N.G. Kerk wish to have their children baptised, the case is left to the minister to decide whether they will be baptised or not, with the proviso always that two members of the N.G. Kerk are appointed as witnesses". The matter is complicated further by the fact that "confirmation status" alone is not sufficient to entitle them to have their children baptised. Parents must also be regular attendants at Sunday services and attend Nagmaal twice a year at least. Further, their conduct must be satisfactory, the drunkeness of one parent being sufficient justification for depriving a child of the sacrament of baptism, with the proviso that reputable lidmate of the Church may stand for the legal parents if they have the religious education of the child concerned under their immediate control and personal supervision. As a result some people are never baptised because they had, in the opinion of the Kerkraad, wicked parents who had wicked relations and friends, and, therefore, there were no suitable persons to look after their welfare: and by the time they were able to approach the Church themselves to receive the sacrament, their background was held against them and their request was refused.

Catechetical classes are held every Sunday after morning service and many people spend years in the class before they are admitted to the status of confirmed members of the Church, and to the ranks of the lidmate.

Regular huisbesoek is an important duty of the Kerkraad members, who are expected to keep in contact with personal and family affairs. The purpose of huisbesoek is to see to the moral and spiritual life, and the welfare of the people, and to ensure that they pay their Church dues. For administrative convenience the Reserve is divided into six wards, coinciding roughly with the political wyke, each under the care

of an ouderling and a diaken, both of whom are supervised in their work by the missionary whose duty is also to visit all members of his congregation at least once a year.

When the missionary carries out his annual huisbesoek rounds, he is usually accompanied by a senior ouderling and diaken, who are resident in the Steinkopf village. But before visiting the inhabitants of a ward, it is customary to contact the local diaken and ouderling, who accompany them on their rounds.

During these visits the missionary finds out who have been baptised, confirmed, admitted to the catechetical classes, whether there are regular family prayers, whether there is a Bible in the household, how often people attend Sunday services and Nagmaal, etc. He also makes enquiries into the welfare of the people, especially the aged, and whether people away from home are in touch with the Church. Moreover, he rebukes people for misconduct that has been brought to his notice, warning them to mend their ways. He may reprimand people for not paying their Church dues if he has received word from the diaken that they have been neglectful of these financial obligations.

During the huisbesoek rounds, ouderlinge and diakens may also raise problems, which, though they have been raised before, are more effective in the company of the missionary. The people visited, too, are free in stating their criticism of the Church and Kerkraad, and many people complain bitterly about their ouderlinge and diakens. A common criticism levelled against them is that they neither visit people nor take sufficient interest in their affairs; but usually these complaints are rationalisations to cover up, and in a sense, justify their own neglect of the Church.

In general there is an ambivalent attitude towards members of the Kerkraad and indeed towards the missionary also;

on the one hand there is the genuine desire to conform to, and satisfy the demands of the Church, and please the members of the Kerkraad, but on the other hand there is the feeling of antagonism towards them for the many demands made that are often in conflict with their own desires and sentiments. Conformity to the Church is desirable and pleasing because it gives a feeling of social security, and spiritual security for the life after death, but at the same time it is irritating to have to pay Church dues and to abstain from dancing and drinking. Obviously this pattern produces mixed feelings of love and hate towards the Church in general. Individuals, however, tend not to express their feelings in terms of the institution, the Church, but rather they project them on to the personalities who constitute the Kerkraad.

Huisbesoek also provides a means of finding out about the conduct of other families. It is not the diakens and ouderlinge alone who volunteer information about members of the congregation, but the congregation themselves are always ready to justify their own purity by disclosing and exaggerating the sins of their neighbours. Information ranging from the number of times Oom Jacobus has taken the Lord's name in vain, to who has been sleeping with Missis X since her husband died, is volunteered, needless to add, more often than not by those most guilty of the same sins themselves.

The missionary's annual visit to each member of the congregation has a profound influence on the whole community: beer-brewers and buchu drinkers[1] dispose of their supplies, dusty Bibles appear in homes where no-one can read, and everyone puts on a pious look which lasts for several weeks after the visit; Church dues "just happen" to be produced,

1. People who drink patent-medicines.

and those who can afford it pay their thank-offerings to the missionary's right hand diaken as though they had been waiting for him for a long time.

Apart from the missionary's annual visit there are the regular visits from the local ouderlinge and diakens. These visits are made sometimes jointly but more often independently, depending largely upon the personal relationship between the two officers. Usually the ouderlinge belong to a much higher age-group than the diakens and prefer, therefore, to carry out their duties separately.

The main task of the diaken in his ward is the collection of Church dues i.e. the monthly subscriptions of the lidmate and family thank-offerings after the harvest. This is perhaps the most difficult duty of any Church officer and requires not only considerable tact and persuasion but that quality found in businessmen of knowing intuitively when people have got money and when they are in the right disposition to part with it. Needless to add most diakens are the least popular of the Kerkraad members.

In addition to collecting money, diakens are charged also with distributing it to needy persons on the recommendation of the Kerkraad. Alms are distributed to the sick and aged, and to widows who have no children to support them.

The duties of ouderlinge are quite different from those of the diakens for, they are entrusted mainly with the spiritual welfare of the congregation. Men are elected to the office of ouderling for their spiritual qualities and their knowledge of Church teaching, and the Scriptures. They are expected to assist individuals and families in all their problems, spiritual and secular; to help solve petty disputes between husband and wife; to rebuke children who are disobedient at home; to reproach people for their sins and to remind them

of their duties to the Church. Ouderlinge are, in other words, the spiritual fathers of Steinkopf, and generally people like to feel that their ouderling is taking an interest in them and their problems, and, as we have said, are only too eager to complain when they feel that they are being neglected.

Occasionally on Sundays, and on Wednesdays ouderlinge hold services at the settlements for those people who are unable to travel to Steinkopf to worship; many are renowned for their effective preaching and their competence in extempore prayer, and a bad preacher, with an inaudible voice, will often be criticised by his congregation.

Another important duty of the ouderlinge is to visit the sick and help prepare people for death. When anyone falls sick the first person to call is the ouderling. At the sick bed he will read passages from the Bible and pray, exhorting God to spare the sick person, if that is His will, and help him to be restored to health. In the case of a dying person the ouderling, if the missionary is not available, will spend the last hours with the sick man and his family, praying and helping him to find God as death overcomes him.

Church finance is controlled by the diakens, one of whom is elected as the Scriba and the other as the Secretary-treasurer. The Kerkraad has various sources of income: Sunday collections, lidmate dues, thankofferings, and baptismal, wedding and confirmation fees. Sunday collections are of course voluntary but most people try to put a penny or two, sometimes more, in the collection tray each time they go to Church. Lidmate dues are 6/- a year, payable in advance, or 6d a month, per member. Thankofferings are expected from all families after the harvest but very few families are able to pay the traditional tithe.

The Kerkraad levies the following rates: registration of baptism 3/- plus 2/6 for a certificate, registration of con-

firmation 6/-, registration of marriage 15/6 (Sundays, Mondays, Saturdays, 18/- on other days.)

The diakens also arrange small scale annual bazaars in their own wards to raise extra funds for the Church. Members of the congregation are asked to make cakes and sweets and ginger beer while those, who can, donate meat, or live sheep and goats. A large bazaar is held annually in the Steinkopf village which is one of the great social occasions of the year.

In addition to the various social sanctions, both positive and negative which the Church in general and the Kerkraad in particular impose on members of the congregation, the Kerkraad is also a court of law. Within the framework of its spiritual jurisdiction it can impose punishments ranging from the total exclusion of members from all benefits offered by the Church to formally rebuking wrong-doers. Offenders against whom action is taken may be handled by the missionary alone or by the missionary and one or more ouderlinge, or by the whole Kerkraad. Most minor offences are dealt with by the reduced Kerkraad, but serious offences always receive the attention of the full council. Formal punishments are of three kinds:-

(a) The refusal of the sacraments of baptism and confirmation to children whose parents have violated Church law. In these cases both the parents and the children suffer although the punishment is directed against the parents.

(b) The refusal of the sacraments of baptism and confirmation to sinful adults who wish to become Church members.

(c) The exclusion of lidmate from Nagmaal for a fixed period for breaking Church rules.

The most frequent offences for which people are brought before the Kerkraad are fornication and drinking. A couple, for example, who have an illegitimate child or a child

conceived before marriage (the latter is extremely common) are likely to be excluded from Nagmaal, if they are both confirmed, for a period of 6 months or a year depending on the circumstances. A couple, however, who have been courting with the intention of marriage are likely to get off with a warning should the girl conceive before marriage, and if they voluntarily confess to the missionary they may not be summoned to appear before the Kerkraad. On the other hand girls who fall pregnant by casual suitors are treated severely together with the genitors. If no proof can be established as to the paternity of the child, the girl will be punished alone. One girl, for example, has produced three illegitimate children and for each she was brought before the Kerkraad. She was a lidmaat and her punishment was meted out accordingly. For the first, whe was excluded from Nagmaal services for 6 months, for the second, a year, and for the third, two years and warned that should she commit a similar offence she would lose her confirmation privileges permanently.

CHURCH ASSOCIATIONS

Under the jurisdiction of the Kerkraad are various women's and children's associations, the Sustersbond, the Christelikke Jongedogtersbond, the Kinderbond, and the Studente Christelikke Vereniging.

The Sustersbond is a women's association, membership of which is open to all confirmed married women of the Church. The president of this association is Juffrou, the missionary's wife, who is its active leader. The activities of the Sustersbond include poor relief in Steinkopf, the rendering of financial support to charitable organisations in Cape Town (such as

Nazareth House) and the holding of regular prayer meetings. The members of the association always lead the singing at Church services and funerals, and occasionally sing an anthem or hymn at morning services on Sundays. Funds are raised by holding bazaars, organising concerts, and from the sale of clothing made at the weekly work-party meetings. Work parties play a very important part in establishing and cementing the bonds of friendship among the members of the Sustersbond. They are secular and religious: people sew and knit and have an opportunity to chat and gossip, but prayers are also said.

The committee forms the nucleus of the Sustersbond and apart from the administrative routine which its members carry out, all matters of spiritual importance are discussed at meetings. Various sub-committees are created from time to time to deal with specific matters such as sickness and poverty.

The Christelikke Jongedogtersbond is an association similar to the Sustersbond but membership is open only to unmarried women. The Kinderbond is really a junior Christelikke Jongedogtersbond with a membership of girls of school-going age. We see, therefore, that in the realm of local Church associations, women are organised into three groups based on age and status, unlike men who do not form voluntary associations, stratified or otherwise, except in some parts of the Reserve where they form the nuclei of burial societies. The Studente Christelikke Vereniging, is a branch of the Students' Christian Association of South Africa, and has a membership consisting of high school students. Its activities are mainly religious, but those who can afford the costs occasionally attend "camps" in Cape Town during their school holidays.

BURIAL SOCIETIES

In addition to the Church associations there are five burial societies which, although independent of the Kerkraad, nevertheless operate in close association with the Church. The first of these societies was formed in 1928 during a serious drought when people were too poor to afford coffins in which to bury their dead or to pay for proper funerals.[1] Prior to the establishment of this society the close kin of deceased people had often to collect money from other relatives and friends to cover expenses. Thus the formation of the first burial society really institutionalised a practice which was already in operation.

Today five such societies exist, one in each of the main districts. Die Goeie Hoop Steinkopf Begraftenis Vereniging (GHSBV) is the largest, having a membership of roughly 350 people. Only women (usually wives) are admitted as members, for it is argued that, as men are so often away from home, their wives are better suited to represent the family. However, in some of the smaller burial societies in the districts where conservative people predominate both men and women are admitted as members, but only men are elected to the committees. The initial subscription on joining the GHSBV is £1, and thereafter £1 or more a year until a total of £10 has been paid to the treasurer. Membership entitles everyone in the elementary family to a full burial. The society makes all the arrangements for the funeral, digs the grave, and supplies the coffin. Families who wish to have a more elaborate funeral and a more expensive coffin may, provided they pay the additional costs. In the smaller societies subscriptions cover not only the costs of the coffin and the funeral arrangements but also the expenses

1. In the next chapter we shall see how important these factors are in the religious life.

of the lykwaak (wake).

Each burial society has its flag which is flown outside the dwelling where the corpse is lying to indicate to the other members that one of their number has died, and also to show people where the wake will be held. During the funeral procession from the church to the graveyard the leader always carries the flag. It is not obligatory for members of burial societies to attend the funerals of their deceased colleagues, but everyone "tries to attend if he can".

SCHOOLS [1)]

The foundations of school education at Steinkopf were laid by missionaries and members of their families, and in the contemporary community the schools have retained close ties with the established Church. The pioneering work in education was extremely difficult for not only did the majority of the people first have to be taught to understand Dutch, the language in which all instruction was given, but as the people were nomadic pastoralists the boys and young men were needed to assist in herding while the girls usually trekked with the rest of the family to assist in the domestic chores. In spite of these difficulties, however, there were 165 pgpils on the roll in 1867 although the average attendance was only 44; and it is significant that of these 165 pupils only 64 were males. In that year there was one teacher, the missionary's wife, and

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1) For a description of the history of education in Namaqualand see J.A. Heese „Onderwys in Namakwaland", 1942.

most of her time was spent teaching her pupils to read and write Dutch. About a third of the pupils were taught elementary arithmetic, history, and geography.[1)]

By the 1905 the number of pupils on the roll had risen to 301, while the average attendance was 258. There were 219 pupils in Sub A, 41 in Sub B, 26 in Standard I, and 13 in Standard II.[2)] No details regarding the sex ratios of pupils or the number of teachers are given. By the third quarter of 1938 there were 330 pupils attending the same school (in the village) which had 11 teachers. Two farm schools had also been established at the hamlets of Gladkop (56 pupils and 2 teachers) and Bulletrap (72 pupils and 3 teachers).[3)]

In 1958 there were five primary schools having 21 teachers and a total enrolment of 691 pupils, and one high school staffed by 7 teachers who catered for the needs of 100 pupils. Table XXIV below indicates the enrolment and staffing in these schools. The high school and the largest primary school are situated in the Steinkopf village; the rest, all of which are "farm" schools, are to be found in the larger hamlets.

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1) Report of the Superintendent-General of Education, 1867. Cape of Good Hope, G1 - 1868

2) Ibid., G 5 - 1906.

3) P.W. Kotzé, op.cit. p. 205. By 1938 the N.G. Sending Kerk had taken over from the Rhenish Mission Society.

TABLE XXIV

Teachers and pupils in Steinkopf schools (1958)

Schools category.	Locality.	No. of teachers Men	Women	No. of Pupils
1. High School	Steinkopf Vill.	6	1	100
2. Primary School	Steinkopf Vill.	8	6	463
3. Farm School (Sub A - Std. 3)	Eyams	1		42
4. Farm School (Sub A - Std. 5)	Gladkop	3		90
5. Farm School (Sub A - Std. 3)	Bulletrap	2		60
6. Farm School (Sub A - Std. 3)	!Kosis	1		36
All schools		21	7	791

The primary and the "farm" schools are administered by the Kerkraad under the chairmanship of the missionary who is responsible, inter alia, for the appointment of teachers and enforcing discipline over the pupils (and teachers) when necessary. Under its direct control is a school hostel in the mission village providing accommodation for 46 boarders each of whom is required to pay a fee of £39 a year. In 1958 there were sixteen girls and thirty boys in the hostel. The majority of these boarders came from other parts of Namaqualand and the district of Van Rhynsdorp owing to the fact that Steinkopf has the only Coloured high school in the North-Western Cape. The Kerkraad also administers the three farm schools at Kooiwal, Vioolsdrift, and Goodhouse, all of which are situated beyond the boundaries of the Reserve and cater for the educational needs of pupils who have no connections with the community of Steinkopf.

The high school is administered by the Cape Education Department through the school board at Springbok, while a parents' association (skool komitee) consisting of five persons represents the parents from whom the members are elected. The function of the skool komitee is to deal with parental grievances and to submit proposals to the school board for the improvement of education in general and the administration of the school in particular.

No official statistics are available for the educational standards attained by the whole population, but a sample of 223 persons (see Table XXV) indicates certain significant tendencies among the population over twenty years of age: 20% said they had never received any formal education,[1] 19% stated that they had passed Sub. A, Sub B or Standard 1, 38% claimed to have passed Standard II, III or IV, while 23% assert that they had passed at least Standard V. A further significant feature of this sample was the fact that slightly fewer women than men claimed to have received no education. Moreover, women showed a marked tendency to acquire a higher standard of education than men. For example, whereas 30.5% of the women passed Standard V or more, only 16% of the men achieved this standard.

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1) In 1952 I found 31% of the labourers on the Kleinzee Mine to be illiterate. The majority of these men came from Steinkopf.

TABLE XXV

Educational standard attained by persons over the age of 20 years (1957-1958)
Based on sample of 223 persons

	No. education		Sub A & B and Std 1		Stds 2-4		Std 5 +		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Men	27	22.7	27	22.7	45	37.82	19	15.97	118
Women	18	17.14	16	15.24	39	37.15	32	30.47	105
Men & Women	45	20.18	43	19.29	84	37.67	51	22.88	223

A probable explanation of this phenomenon is that in former years boys were taken out of school earlier than girls to assist in the herding of livestock. Contemporary statistics, however, show that nowadays a much higher proportion of boys than girls are at high school (see Table XXVI), and this indicates how the attitude towards boy's education has changed. The change in attitude towards boy's education and education in general is essentially a function of the rise of the "new people" whose emergence must in turn be seen partly as a function of the increase in the number and standard of the schools. Two additional farm schools, one at !Kosis, the other at Eyams were established in 1940 and 1950. The high school was opened in 1950.

Table XXVI in which the number of pupils in each standard is set out, speaks for itself and resembles the distribution of pupils enrolled in all the Coloured schools of the Cape Province. Approximately fifty of the pupils in Standards VI to X come from outside the Reserve. Three of the six pupils in Standard X have their homes in Steinkopf. Figures are not available to show the proportion of children of school-going age who are not at school.

The teachers[1] at Steinkopf may be divided into two categories, the locally born and the aliens. The former received some of their education in the Reserve but trained at colleges in the Cape. The latter received

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1) See also Chapter 12, Table XXVIII.

TABLE XXVI

Enrolement of pupils in Steinkopf schools in terms of standards (December 1960) (1)

School category	No. of pupils M	F	T	Sub-standards	Standards 1	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
High school	72	47	119							33	46	24	10	6
Primary school	216	218	434	185	98	45	49	25	31					
Farm schools	99	91	190	78	44	31	18	15	4					
All schools (No.)	387	356	743	263	142	76	67	40	35	33	46	24	10	6
" " (%)	52.1	47.9	100	35.4	19.1	10.2	9.0	5.3	4.6	4.4	6.2	3.2	1.3	0.5
% of pupils enrolled in Coloured schools in the Cape Province (June 1954) (2)				40.7	14.7	12.3	10.5	8.2	5.9	4.0	1.9	1.1	0.7	0.2

(1) Figures from Cape Education Department. Those for 1958 were not available.

(2) Report of the Coloured Education Commission (1953 - 1956)

all their education at other centres. In 1958 there were twelve alien teachers, six of whom taught in the high school.

CONCLUSION

We have already drawn attention to the functions of specific aspects of the Church. To summarise let us look at the institution in a broader perspective in order to assess the part which it plays in social life as a whole.

First, the Church of Steinkopf must be seen as the association whose activities unite the whole society, overriding the cleavages and class distinctions that divide people in narrower circles. For, apart from the small minority which belongs to other denominations and those who still regard themselves as Rhenish, all the members of the community have some connection with the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sending Kerk. This means that the majority of the population owes its allegiance to one Church, one Kerkraad, and one minister. In Church they pray and sing together, and share the message which the preacher "gives" to them; and four times a year, those who have been confirmed receive the symbols of bread and wine at the quarterly celebrations of Nagmaal.

Second, the Church plays an important part in education especially through its link with the schools, and may be said also to strengthen the system of local government.

Thirdly, the Church must be seen as an instrument of social control. Not only does it reinforce Christian supernatural sanctions, but the missionary and the Kerkraad have judicial powers over the congregation whom they have authority to punish.

Fourthly, we must see the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sending Kerk as an institution which the people of Steinkopf share with other groups of Coloured people and a high percentage of Afrikaans-speaking White South Africans. For, though there are differences between the Sending and the Moeder Churches, the dogma, the rituals, and the form of government are the same.

Fifthly, the Church provides, through its officers (deacons and elders) the opportunity and means for potential leaders to express their ability and aspirations. And the fact that these leaders hold office for a limited period only, enables a relatively large number of people to hold office in one generation. Even after relinquishing their positions they still retain some of the prestige which they formerly enjoyed.

Sixthly, the various Church associations, (including the burial societies), apart from the opportunities for leadership which they provide, enable people who have common interests and share common sentiments to co-operate and form groups that cut across the ties of kinship. Here we should stress also the important part which women play in these voluntary Church associations.

In this summary of the function of the Church I have stressed the structural aspects of corporate activities. But the religious life of any people is surrounded also by an elaborate system of beliefs and their accompanying sentiments and emotions, all of which are of major importance to the cohesion and solidarity of the corporate group. In the next chapter we deal with some of the beliefs which find expression in the institution we have described, and also outside its jurisdiction.

Chapter 11

SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS

The supernatural beliefs which the people of Steinkopf hold are of two kinds: those which have their origin in Christian teaching, and those which belong to the Nama tradition. Neither of these kinds of belief is "pure" because each has had an influence on the other during the past hundred and fifty years.

After a summary of the main features of local Christian theology we shall be mainly concerned in this chapter with the non-Christian beliefs. We shall attempt also to analyse the causes of good and bad fortune, and to show the relation of beliefs in general to the social structure in which they occur.

CHRISTIAN BELIEFS

All the people of Steinkopf are nominal Christians. The majority of the people, however, although they claim to adhere to the doctrines of the Church, are not always orthodox in their individual beliefs. We have already discussed the Church as an association under the leadership and control of the missionary and the Kerkraad. Now we shall analyse the beliefs which the people themselves hold about the nature of God, Jesus, and the Devil.

God (die Here) is believed to be the creator of the universe and all that is found on the earth. He is the giver of life and happiness to man, the sender of rain, and the Being responsible for good crops and plenty. God's benevolence, though, is conditional on man's good behaviour. That is to say, God's benevolence continues so long as people conform

to the norms of behaviour approved of in Steinkopf. When people are wicked, God punishes them by allowing unhappiness, droughts, and epidemics to overcome them. The innocent and the virtuous are thus punished for the sins of wrongdoers, though the latter may be in the minority. It is, in fact, accepted that God normally punishes or rewards the people collectively. Thus, when good rains fall and the crops flourish, God is said to be pleased with the people of Steinkopf. On the other hand, when there is drought and the crops fail He is said to be angry either with the whole community, or more commonly, with a section of it. On the whole things are never so perfect that some manifestation or other of God's wrath cannot be discovered, and a great deal of time is devoted to discussing in ordinary conversation the possible causes of His present anger. In the contemporary community the conservative people attribute all collective misfortune to the behaviour of the "new people" and the manner in which the Management Board, sometimes referred to as die Satan, administers the Reserve. These conservative people naturally object to having to suffer for the sins of the other group. On the other hand, the Management Board and those who support it blame the conservative people who are said to rouse God's displeasure by refusing to accept the new order.

It may be pointed out in connection with the community's ideas of collective guilt, rewards and punishments, that Steinkopf is not seen as including any Europeans within its ranks, though various trekboers and policemen and so on may live within the borders of the Reserve. A European, therefore, cannot be responsible through his sins or his virtues for anything which may befall the bruinmense. Thus when an informant remarked that, „Die boer haat vir Jesus as dinge nie goed gaan nie", he stressed that this hatred did not affect God's attitude towards

Steinkopf. God is not only believed to influence the material welfare and happiness of the people collectively; He also stands in an intimate relationship to individuals. It is God, for instance, who brings peace and eternal rest to people after death as a reward for a good life; and conversely it is God who withholds this peace from people who have lived wickedly or who try to resist death when they are due to die. Even wicked people, though, can attain the tranquility of the grave if they confess all their sins to God and obtain forgiveness from those kinsmen and friends whom they have wronged during their lives.

The greatest sin which any man can commit is to resent anything which God has allowed to happen to him, for everything that happens is in accordance with the will of God. „Die Here laat alles toe". Most people are familiar with the book of Job, which they firmly believe was written exclusively for them, and it is usual for afflicated persons to be consoled and exhorted with the text: "..... the Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord. In all this Job sinned not, nor charged God with any foolishness." (Job I, 21-22). When things go wrong there is comfort also in the belief that God can alter the things which He has allowed if one prays sincerely to Him. Through prayer, God grants one success, happiness, good fortune, and protection. An example of God's response to prayer in everyday affairs can be cited. A.E. was on a hunting expedition with a friend; they had had no success all day so they prayed to God to make the springbuck tame. Their prayer was answered and they shot two, but no sooner had they removed the entrails than a police van was seen approaching them. The country was flat and the bushes were small, so they prayed to God again to protect them (for they were shooting illegally out of season). They lay down flat behind what cover

they could find. Their prayers were answered and the van passed them by at a short distance without the police noticing them. A.E. admitted that they had broken the law of the land and should have been punished, but on that day he said they had found favour with God who had brought them good fortune and protected them.

To the people of Steinkopf, God, the Father, then is the all-important member of the trinity. He is a person; people talk to Him and ask His advice and guidance in their daily problems, yet they seldom mention their love for God or His love for them. No satisfactory explanation can be given for this relationship, but an elder of the Church once stated that "Man cannot love God because He is too far away, and the gap between God and man is too great". Nevertheless, people do love Jesus who loves and hates as he is loved and hated by man. He is believed to have died for the sins of the world, but he is not believed to be God incarnate, nor is he believed to be of equal status with God the Father: He is junior to God. Finally, although the existence of the Holy Ghost is not denied, no specific function is attributed to it in the religious life of the people.

The Devil is seldom mentioned in contemporary Steinkopf as the personification of sin, although the missionary frequently gives instruction in Church about the Devil and his works. By the people themselves, the Devil is regarded, not as a person or as a distinct and separate force, but as the evil nature in man which causes him to sin, and brings down upon him the wrath of God. The manifestations of this wrath, however, are believed to be independent both of God and the Devil. For instance, if a drought or a blight destroys the crops it is considered as an undoubted sign that God is angry with the people, but they do not believe that God actually sent these misfortunes

as a punishment; He is said simply to have allowed them to happen and their origin remains obscure.

No man is completely free from evil; every man, however virtuous he may appear, has something of the Devil in him. After death, perhaps, a man may become entirely good, but on earth such a state is not possible however hard a man tries or prays for it. In Steinkopf there has never been a saint. Finally, to the members of the community of Steinkopf God is their God, the God of Steinkopf, and therefore those people who conform to the norms of behaviour approved of in Steinkopf are obeying God and those who do not conform are wicked - die Satan. Where, within the community norms of behaviour differ from one group to another, God is firmly believed by each group to approve of their standard of behaviour and no other. Thus, the Devil is considered to operate more strongly in those people who do not conform to the norms either of the community as a whole, or of that part of it to which one belongs.

So far, we have been dealing with those beliefs which have Calvinist Christian teaching as their basis but which have been more or less modified by the influence exerted upon them by Nama tradition. We turn now to those beliefs which are not founded on Christianity at all but which are almost entirely derived from the system of beliefs that was present in traditional Nama society. It is important to see the beliefs to which we now turn as complementary to those we have already discussed, for all the conservative people and a large percentage of the "new people" are agreed that all these beliefs are consistent with the teachings of the Bible.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES CONCERNING DEATH

Ghosts

"When a person dies his spirit (gees) becomes separated from, but remains near the body even after it has been buried in the ground. Sometimes, however, the spirit wanders away from its body but it always returns to it. The spirit never stays away permanently".[1] Spirits (geeste) are of two varieties, evil spirits (bose geeste) which are black, and ordinary spirits (gewone geeste) which are white. Bose geeste, sometimes called spoke (ghosts), are believed to be the spirits of people "who have not gone to God", and can usually be seen at night by ordinary people. People are frightened of bose geeste because they haunt and harm the living, especially their own families. Gewone geeste, however, are deceased people "whose spirits have gone to God". Normally they cannot be seen, but individuals, who have special powers, sometimes see them at night near their graves. It is said that, "If you can't see gewone geeste and want to, you must find someone who can, and if you look over his left shoulder you are sure to see them." The majority of people become gewone geeste when they die, and a few become bose geeste.

We are told that everyone would become gewone geeste if they were able to live a life free of sin, but this is impossible because even good people have a "little bit of the devil in them." Therefore, in order to become a gewone gees, a person has to perform certain expiatory rituals: he has to confess all his sins to God through the missionary, or an ouderling, in the presence of members of his family; and must ask forgiveness from the members of his family and from his

1. Ouderling Jan Jaantjies (personal testimony)

friends for all his wrong-doings. This expiatory procedure is known as "taking leave of this world". Mense neem afskeid van die lewe. When a person takes leave of the world, he tries to shake hands with, and speak personally to, all his relations and friends, and those to whom he cannot speak personally, he sends messages.

In addition to obtaining absolution from God and forgiveness from man, persons about to die are often given spiritual counsel by the missionary or by an ouderling. Spiritual counsel is given when people "are still in darkness and cannot find the road (to God)" (nog in die donker is, en kan nie die pad kry nie.)

People who become bose geeste are those who have not carried out the expiatory rituals; those who resist death on their death beds; and those who die suddenly in accidents. A man who has resisted death is said to be someone whose death was preceded by a long and painful illness, the degree of resistance being proportional to the length of the illness and the amount of pain suffered; or someone who tries to sit up or writhes and shouts as he is dying. Some people, we are told, resist death so violently that they burst their stomach arteries. But whatever form the resistance takes, such people are said to have refused to die. „Hulle is nog nie dood nie as hulle sterwe: hulle is nog vir die wêreld" (They are not really dead when they die: they are still for the world.)

People who die suddenly, such as those killed in accidents become evil spirits because they do not have the opportunity of confessing their sins and making up their quarrels with their friends and relations. In the three cases of sudden death known to me, the deaths were reputed to have been preceded by some form of family tension. My informants

were uncertain whether there was any connection between the two events (the tensions and the deaths), although all agreed that it was highly probable that there was.

A fourth way of becoming a bose gees but which is beyond the control of the deceased person, is by not being given a proper burial or by not being buried in the churchyard. Thus great care is taken to ensure that people receive proper burial rites. When a person dies as far away as Cape Town or Windhoek their bodies are usually brought back to Steinkopf to be buried in the churchyard. The reason given why people become bose geeste through receiving an improper burial, is that they become angry with their relatives for neglecting them, and therefore cannot go to God because they have malice in their hearts.

People who become bose geeste do not necessarily remain perpetually in that condition, for it is possible, through prayer, for their close kin to ask God to forgive them and grant them the rest He affords to those who become gewone geeste; and sometimes bose geeste return to their homes to confess and fulfil the obligations which they failed to carry out before they died.

The following cases have been selected and translated from my note books as representative of the material from which this account has been written:-

Case 1. Pietskie Oorlam was an old sorcerer who had been responsible for a great deal of unhappiness and suffering during his life. He died after a long illness, without preparing himself for death. Shortly afterwards, he appeared as a bose gees on a hot afternoon while his family and friends were sitting talking in a mathouse. It was strange to see a bose gees in the afternoon because they normally appear at night, but Pietskie

was a sorcerer so perhaps that explains it. First he appeared at the one door, the bottom half of which was closed, and then at the other door. He was dressed only in his waist-coat. The reason why Pietskie came back was because his family had not buried his bad medicines (toergoed) with him. That same day they made a big fire and burnt all his belongings together with his toergoed. Pietskie never appeared again after that day.

Case 2. Piet V. had lived a good life but when his time came to die, he did not want to. He had a long and painful illness and stood up as he died. Although he resisted death and became a bose gees, his family, being very religious, had prayed that he might have rest. They assume that their prayers have been answered for Piet has never appeared since his death.

Case 3. J.J. was due to leave the next day for the mines and wanted to sleep with his wife before he left, but she refused, and they quarrelled, parting bad friends in the morning. He was killed in a blasting accident a few hours after beginning work.

A few days after his funeral, he appeared regularly as a bose gees to his widow who was terrified by his visits. But the other women in the neighbourhood heard about her problem and went to visit her. They prayed for her and told her to pray to God that her husband might have rest and not bother her again. After they had all prayed for several days the bose gees stopped coming and has not bothered her since.

Case 4. In 1924 therewas a severe drought and people were very poor and half starved, and could not always afford to give proper burials. When J.K. died the members of his family were too weak to dig a proper grave and too poor to buy a coffin. So they wrapped his body in a blanket, tunnelled a hole in the side of a pit which had already been dug and placed the corpse

in it, closing the opening with a piece of corrugated iron. A few days later, it was noticed that both the corrugated iron and the body had disappeared, and that night the bose gees of J.K. appeared, carrying the piece of corrugated iron which he flung on the ground in front of his former hut. J.K. did this because he was not buried in a coffin in the proper way. Soon after the event most of the people living round about left the vicinity.

Case 5.

Spooks on the Mines. (A statement from an informant.)

"There are lots of bose geeste at Alexander Bay and other mines. They are not affected by the noise of machines or the gewoel (shindy) of the police. Most of these spooks haunt the hospital, that is why a red light burns outside all night - to chase them away. A spook won't come to a building that has a red light. If the red light is burning then patients can sleep peacefully the whole night in the hospital. But once a man was in the hospital when the red light was not burning and he was disturbed the whole night by bose geeste, and one came and sat on his chest and scratched him". The informant stated also that he was certain that all these bose geeste were the ghosts of people killed in accidents.

Death rituals

As soon as a person dies all his friends and relatives living in and outside the Reserve are notified and informed when the funeral will take place. Meanwhile the coffin is constructed and preparations are made for the lykwaak (the wake). When the coffin has been completed the corpse is laid inside it, but the lid is not nailed down until the morning of the funeral.

The lykwaak begins the evening before the funeral and continues until sunrise the following morning. Nowadays, if

people die on their farms the corpse is usually taken to a relative's house in the mission village, but formerly all wakes were held in the homes of the deceased persons, and it was customary for them to end at dawn when the morning star appeared to enable people to get ready for the journey to the mission Church.

Anyone can attend a wake, but usually only relations and close friends are present. Wakes are partly religious and partly secular. Prayers are said for the spirits of the dead, portions of the scriptures are read, and hymns are sung the whole night by the women while the men occasionally hum the tune in the background if the melody pleases them. Tea is handed round at intervals, food is served, the largest animal (sometimes two) being slaughtered for the occasion and there is usually a good supply of strong drink for the men.

A wake is said to be a jolly occasion (vrolike tyd), jokes, some of which are obscene, are told, although amongst the "new people" wakes have, in recent years, centred in solemn religious activity rather than in jesting. Formerly a lively personality used to be appointed as official jester to entertain people during the night. The purpose of the wake, we are told, is two-fold. First, it is a gathering of relatives and friends to pay homage to the dead person and to please his spirit. Die lykwaak is die laaste plig wat aan die mens gedoen word." It is an obligation which must be carried out because people expect it. When people are about to die, we are told, they often say, „Sing vir my, laat ek gaan," sing for me that I may go to God and never worry you again (i.e. that I may become a gewone gees). Thus it is part of the transitional rite which bridges the gap between life and death. But not only is it a duty to the deceased person to hold a lykwaak, it is also a duty

to the near relatives who may be troubled by his spirit if he is displeased with the treatment they give him when he dies.

Secondly, the wake is said to help the bereaved and the other mourners to overcome their grief. „Dit trek die treur 'n bietjie weg vir die familie." The wake is thus an outlet for pent up emotion and provides an institutionalised gathering where people can sing and weep and laugh freely without restraint. Indeed people are expected to express their feelings at a lykwaak: the bereaved can weep and publicly receive the sympathy and comfort of their kinsmen and friends, while those who are only mildly distressed can express their feelings openly with laughter.[1]

Among the "new people", the wake is sometimes omitted from the funeral rites, an omission about which the conservative people are greatly perturbed. As one informant said, "It is all very well for them to say that the wake is nonsense and an unnecessary expense, but what about the mourners, how are they going to overcome their grief, and what will the family of the deceased do if they are troubled by a bose gees?"

When the wake ends at dawn the following morning, those not helping with the burial arrangements go home to prepare themselves for the funeral which begins with a service in the mission church where the coffin is placed after the wake. In cases where death is due to an infectious disease, or if the corpse has begun to smell, the coffin is placed in the grave immediately.

The church service consists of a sermon (preached by the missionary or, in his absence, by an ouderling), hymns,

1. cf. William McDougall, An Outline of Psychology (1923) page 169.

prayers, and a suitable lesson. Frequently, after the sermon, friends of the deceased person also address the congregation adding their words to the sermon they have just heard. At the end of the church service, the congregation, joined by late comers, make their way in procession to the graveyard. The procession which moves slowly and silently, is led by an official of the burial society, who carries the flag which was flown earlier at the house where the lykwaak took place. The burial society official is followed by a few members of the Kerkraad and the close kin of the deceased, and the rest follow behind, men in front, women behind. On the flank of the procession another member of the burial society keeps a watchful eye on the mourners to ensure that they do not speak, and are orderly. As soon as the graveyard is reached, the members of the procession break ranks and stand round the grave, and the service begins with a hymn which is followed by several obituaries and an account of the sort of death the person died. After the missionary or ouderling has buried the body according to Christian rites, hymns are sung while the grave is filled with earth, each adult man present (and some women) assisting the grave diggers in their task. They do this as a mark of respect for the dead person. When the grave has nearly been filled, the congregation gradually disperses, but before they return home each person visits the graves of his deceased kinsman to offer prayers, weeping bitterly as they pray.

Below is reproduced from my note books an account of a typical funeral, that of a young woman, daughter of a deacon:-

Over a hundred people assembled in the mission church. Hymns sung before the service begins. Service opens with a psalm read by the ouderling who is taking the service. Sermon follows. Three members of the congregation speak about the need for all of us to prepare for death.

At end of service, congregation assembles outside of church, joined by late-comers. Men light their pipes and people who have come from their farms shake hands with the villagers and others they have not seen for a long time. Men and women do not mix but keep in separate groups.

After about a quarter of an hour, an ouderling tells everyone to form a long line in threes (not twos or fours because this is a procession and not a walk). People form up but there is some delay because some people have gone to fetch water. Corpse is taken from church to graveyard in a lorry. Procession begins; People walk slowly and silently .... Men remove hats on entering graveyard but replace them almost immediately because sun is very hot. Congregation assembles round grave. Some people sit on existing graves others stand on them so they can see the ouderling. Service begins with hymn, which is followed by a long extempore prayer, ... congregation addressed by a former ouderling who had helped the girl prepare herself for death. He spoke about the girl's sickness and how her parents had helped her during her life, and gave details of the way all her relatives had prayed for her, and how the girl had made peace with all of them and with her friends, even those as far away as Alexander Bay; and how she had confessed all her sins to God. But when the time came for her to die she had a little difficulty in seeing God, but he (the ouderling) had been able to help her. As she was about to die, she said "Help my, en maak oop die venstertjie laat ek in die hemel kan kom." He prayed for her and she "opened the window" (i.e. saw her way to God) ..... A great deal of weeping and sobbing throughout the service. As the grave is being filled in people go to the graves of their deceased kinsmen, say prayers, and some people pour water on the graves .....



12. GRAVES AT STEINKOPF

Note baby's bottle and teacups and saucers

Graves[1]

The people of Steinkopf talk relatively freely about the beliefs and practices concerning death, but only a few informants were willing to give information about the decoration of graves. Even this information was given with extreme reluctance.

The majority of graves consist of mounds of earth (equal in size roughly to the volume of the coffin) which are decorated with certain objects, the nature of which varies according to the sex and age of the deceased person. For example, babies' graves are usually decorated with babies' bottles, baby-powder tins or other objects, excluding clothing, associated with babies. The graves of adult men, on the other hand, are generally decorated with objects such as tea cups and saucers, plates, tea pots, ointment jars, and electric torches, while adult women's graves may have on them tea cups and saucers, teapots, plates, perfume bottles, kettles, face-cream jars, etc. But the most common objects are babies' bottles on babies' graves, and teapots, and teacups and saucers on adults' graves. In addition to these objects, roughly half the graves in the graveyard have wooden head-stones, some in the shape of a cross with suitable epitaphs engraved on them. The graves of some of the Khoi Khoin bywoners are covered with white limpet shells brought from the sea shore seventy miles away.

During my periods of field work I constantly asked questions about the significance of these objects but never received adequate information. However, from the information collected, four different explanations were offered. First,

1. cf. P.W. Laidler, "Burials and Burial Methods of the Namaqualand Hottentots," in Man Vol.XXIX, No.9, Sept.1929.

there were those who said that the objects were merely for decoration, "Just like you Europeans put flowers on the graves of your dead". Secondly, there were those who said that certain objects were placed on the graves when there was no inscribed cross, so that relations and friends could recognise the graves of their own people. However, when it was pointed out to these people that most graves which had crosses also had the objects in question, they gave no reply. Thirdly, there were those who explained that these objects were things of which the deceased persons used to be very fond, and it was, therefore, fitting that they should be placed on their graves. Fourthly, there were those few people who agreed with the third explanation but added that very often the last thing a person touched before death ought also to go on the grave. The reason, they said, why it was necessary to place these objects on the graves of those people with whom they were associated was, that if they were kept, or even disposed of, there was always the risk that the spirits of the dead would come back to collect them.

It is not possible to make any definite statement as to the significance of decorating graves owing to the wide disagreement among informants. Nevertheless, I favour the fourth explanation since it is consistent with the other beliefs concerning the dead. My failure to obtain satisfactory verification for my preference may be due to the fact that the belief which, in former years, used to be associated with the practice, has been forgotten, while the practice has been retained.

In my description earlier of a typical funeral in Steinkopf, I stated that some people poured water on the graves of their deceased kinsmen. Neither my best informants nor the other people I questioned were able to supply any information

as to its significance. In fact, the only positive reply I received was: "Oh! it is just a custom of ours". But whether the practice is just an old custom the significance of which has been forgotten, cannot be stated for certain. If it is a libation to the spirits, water is an appropriate substance for a sacrifice in a country where water is scarce. If it is based on the Nama belief in the protective powers of cold water, then the pouring of water on a grave could be a safeguard against the much feared activities of bose geeste especially when there is doubt as to whether the spirit of the deceased did really "go to God". This interpretation is consistent with Mrs. Hoernlé's account of the same practice observed in South West Africa.[1]

MAGIC

The basis of the belief in magic in Steinkopf is the assumption that certain substances, usually derived from animal or vegetable sources, contain mystical powers which can be used for good or evil purposes. These substances (medicines) can be used by anyone, even those who have only limited knowledge of their properties and efficacy. Most commonly, however, medicines are manipulated by experts: those who specialise in bad magic are known as blikdraers (people who carry tins of medicines) or towenaars (sorcerers), while those who specialise in good magic are known as bossies dokters (bush doctors) formerly known as toerdokters (sorcery specialists). Medicines may also be used for protection against bad medicine, and to promote success, and most laymen are familair with the techniques for these purposes.

1. A.W. Hoernlé, Social Value of Water among the Naman, in South African Journal of Science, Vol.XX, 1923.

People who use bad magic are called blikdraers because they carry their medicines on the persons in small, round, flat tins. Blikdraers are said sometimes to use their magic for divination but normally they use it for causing misfortune to others. The most efficacious substances for preparing bad medicines are those which have a very strong stench, such as the kidneys of a draai jakals mixed with the ashes of burnt twine, or the stomach fat of jackals and goats. Occasionally medicines are made from herbs and bushes but only when the other substances cannot be obtained. Jackal kidneys are, of course, exceedingly rare. Herbs and bushes are frequently used to make medicines to cure common ailments, but this is leechcraft not magic.

Normally, only men are blikdraers, but women do occasionally practise sorcery. Informants who have a special knowledge of magic stated emphatically that: „As 'n meisie toer, dan is haar toerbesigheid meer (sic) sterker as 'n man wat toer." Just why women sorcerers are considered to be more dangerous than men cannot be said.

Nowadays, we are told that when blikdraers manipulate their medicines they do not use a set spell as they used to in former years, they merely "think about" the misfortune they are effecting. Sometimes they put medicines in people's tea or food, or on sweets, sometimes they have it on their hands when they greet people, and when they wish to harm all the members of a household they put it under the threshold of their victim's huts; sometimes they "just keep it in their pockets and stand next to people;" sometimes they "work on peoples' nail clippings."

It is not always known why blikdraers harm people. They are said to do so for different reasons, the most usual of which is simply for their own satisfaction. But if you hurt a

blikdraer's pride, he is believed to retaliate immediately with his medicines. Some blikdraers are said to use their magic to make people act against their wills.

Sorcery manifests itself in several ways and sometimes it is difficult to decide for certain whether misfortune is due to natural causes or sorcery. But sorcery is usually associated with certain special misfortunes which include madness, unhappy love affairs, paralysis, tripping unexpectedly over things, falling down, spending money unwisely, letting the milk boil over, and constant and abnormal inability to resist sin. Natural causes on the other hand are responsible for common diseases such as tuberculosis, common colds, whooping cough, measles etc., all of which may attack a large number of people at one time, and natural phenomena such as droughts and, if we may include it, poverty. Common diseases and natural phenomena are believed always to be present in the world, that is to say, they are natural, but affect people only if God permits them to (as die Here dit toelaat).

People whose health has been seriously impaired by sorcery claim that the only way to be restored to full health is to visit a bossies dokter, who is a person with an expert knowledge of good and bad medicines and their properties, and is concerned with diagnosis and cure. Cures are effected by making afflicted persons drink, or apply to their bodies, medicines which contain mystical powers stronger than those contained in the blikdraer's medicine. Treatment, however, can only begin after the cause of the complaint, that is to say the type of bad medicine used, has been discovered. Thus, if a patient is suffering from paralysis caused by bad medicine made from jackal kidneys and burnt ǃ gwa tou (matmaking twine), the

bossies dokter will supply the same formula "only a little bit stronger". In practice the only difference in the two medicines is that the antidote smells a little bit more (stink 'n klein bietjie meer) than the sorcerer's mixture. It is considered most important that the antidote is made only a small degree stronger, for, should it be too strong in relation to the original medicine, it may make the person's condition worse, or if a cure is effected the patient may become insane.

The one antidotal medicine, however, which if prepared properly can render all medicines ineffective, is the geitje (ptenopus garrulus), a small gecko. Dried gecko rubbed with kidney fat can be used by anyone with perfect safety to cure the effects of sorcery. But the preparation is exceedingly scarce because most people, including bossies dokters themselves, believe the gecko to be more dangerous than the most poisonous snake, and only certain men are prepared to kill them. In addition to providing a cure for sorcery, the gecko is also used in the treatment of snake bites and to make people immune to any kind of danger; and to give them strength. The latter two uses of the gecko are rarely found to-day because local bossies dokters are not properly trained to perform the necessary operation which consists of making two incisions in the patient's arm, one on the inside of the wrist, the other on the inside of the upper arm, and injecting powdered gecko flesh into the wounds.

To-day people do not patronise the services of bossies dokters to the same extent as they did in the past, since more and more faith is being placed in the work of European medical men who are believed by some to possess even better antidotal medicines than bossies dokters. But when a European doctor fails to effect an immediate cure, the services of bossies

dokters are made use of again.

Medicines are also used extensively by laymen, largely for good purposes, but also for causing misfortune in others. According to informants there are a greater number of laymen using medicines to-day than in former years, especially bad medicines, and they agreed (to a leading question) that as the number of expert blikdraers and bossies dokters decreased, so more and more laymen were "working with these dangerous things" themselves.

The most general use of medicines by laymen is for protection against sorcery. It is believed that if certain substances are applied to one's person or placed in one's house, one is likely to remain free from the effects of bad medicines. Protective medicines do not have to be as strong as bad medicines because they are used only to ward off the latter before the effects penetrate the body. But if bad medicine is consumed, all protective medicines (except the gecko formula) are ineffective. Individuals usually protect themselves by rubbing their hands with lard or placing strips of bacon in their shoes before they come into contact with other people. They do this because "Varke het baie duiwels wat die toer maklik kan wegja". As an alternative to lard and bacon, some people wear their underclothes inside out on certain occasions "because body dirt is full of toer (magic) and can drive away bad medicines."

The extent to which people use protective medicines is not known since only a few people discussed the question freely with me. But one reliable informant stated that most people take precaution against bad medicines when they are in a crowd e.g. when they go shopping on a Saturday morning. Women, she said, always put bacon in their shoes when they go to the

shop to keep away bad medicines, especially the medicines of the shopkeepers who use them to make people spend their money on things they do not want. She herself found it safer to put the bacon in her shopping bag!

THE POWER OF MEN

Blessings and Curses.

In addition to the powers which people are believed to have over others through the use of medicines, individuals themselves are believed to be able to cause good fortune or misfortune in others by giving them their blessings or curses. Detailed information of these powers are lacking but I record below the knowledge I have about them.

Blessings and curses are usually, but not always, given by parents to their children. The former are always given in private and kept secret, the latter are uttered openly. It is customary for the giving of blessings to take place at a parent's deathbed but sometimes they are given at the onset of old age. Occasionally a father or mother may be displeased with their children and give the blessing to another person or they may decide not to give it at all. I, for instance, have been given the blessing of an old man whose sons have neglected him in his old age.

Children who violate the accepted standards of behaviour and refuse to mend their ways are sometimes cursed by their parents who wish them evil and misfortune. But this is a drastic form of punishment and is only resorted to when all other social pressures have failed. To my knowledge the only curses that are uttered nowadays are by parents when their children marry against their will or without their consent.

The !na

Certain individuals in Steinkopf are believed to be able to direct the extraordinary activities of the !na, a species of spring hare with large red ears and superhuman powers. There is no specific term for these people and they are merely referred to as "mense wat die !na het". The !na may be described as a familiar, though a person who "has it" cannot be called a witch since his activities are not regarded as anti-social.

In all the accounts of the !na, a connection can be discovered between its activities and the people who "have it", but conversations about, and explanations of, the activities are usually framed in terms of the familiar and not in terms of the persons responsible for "sending it".

Traditionally, the only people reputed to have this power were women, though nowadays certain men are said to possess it also. It is said that women are "given" the !na by their mothers or mother's sisters, the general rule being that it passes from mother to daughter. It is not known how men acquire it.

"In the old days" a woman, who was reputed to have the !na told me: "We used to go inside the !na but we don't do so any more: we just send it. Also, we who have the !na, used sometimes to change ourselves into lions and jackals, in fact we could change ourselves into practically any animal. I can remember when people used to change themselves into animals to prove to those who did not believe us, when we told them that we had the !na. The way they used to change themselves was like this: they would rub their bodies with buchu powder (kept in a tortoise shell) and as quickly as a chameleon changes its colour, so also would they change their form. Then the person who had been changed, would say: 'Now you can see what

powers I have, give me the buchu powder and I will be a human being once more'. The old people did this only when others did not believe."

Informants tell us that the !na may be seen only at night, when it moves from place to place at great speed, screaming like a jackal, and, when it is angry, flapping its big red ears. The !na may be "sent" for four purposes. First, and most commonly, it is sent to warn people, who have offended its sender, to mend their ways. Hurt pride is always the factor which makes a person send the !na. A man might steal from or quarrel with someone who has the !na, but provided he does not hurt the person's pride, "so that he feels it in his heart", the !na is unlikely to be sent to him. Secondly, the !na may be sent to frighten people, and, if necessary, to do them bodily harm if they attempt to retaliate. A serious offence may cause someone who has the !na to send it to frighten people and to do them bodily harm the first time, but most frequently it is only after people have ignored a warning that it will be sent to use physical violence. Thirdly, the !na is sent to spy on people away from home to see that they are behaving themselves, or perhaps just to see that they are safe. Fourthly, the !na is used for protection: friends and relatives of the person who "has it" (and the person himself) may be protected on long and dangerous journeys by the !na who dances about warding off wild animals and frightening away people who may attack them. We should note here that formerly the only people who could benefit from somebody else's !na power were those undertaking a journey, and this protection could emanate only from those who "had" the !na and no-one could ask another, known to "have it", for protection either for himself or his kinsmen or friends. Similarly, requests could not be made to

a person, known to have the !na, to warn, frighten or harm an enemy. Nowadays, however, it is common for certain people to advertise the fact that they have the !na and use their power for others in return for a small payment, usually two and sixpence.

The !na is never believed to be responsible for illness, though as we have said, it may injure people physically.

Nearly everyone has either seen or heard the !na especially when travelling at night, but it is said that only those guilty of misconduct need fear its existence. So, we are told, that when one sees the !na or hears it screaming, "Hee....Hee....Hee", one must remain quite calm - never be aggressive - and say „Ja, ek het gehoor", and it will go away. Very often the !na is just passing on its way to someone else, but one must always acknowledge the fact that one has seen or heard it, or it may become angry and attack. On the other hand, if one is guilty of some offence, such as forgetfulness, or theft, or insulting behaviour, in fact any conduct which might have hurt someone's feelings, one must be very careful when one hears or sees the !na. In such cases the only thing to do, is to make up one's mind quickly and to make amends for one's error, and then say „Ja, ek het gehoor". If one does not, then one is in great danger of being attacked. Very few people have been harmed bodily by the !na, but many have been frightened. Most people, we are told, mend their ways quickly enough after they have been warned, so that it is seldom necessary for the !na to exercise its strength. Two examples of the !na's activities illustrate its powers.

Abraham, a boy aged fifteen, was told by his grandmother to bring back some sugar for her when he went to the village, but Abraham forgot. He had been in the habit of forgetting things and had repeatedly been warned, and even

frightened by the !na for his forgetfulness. But instead of mending his ways, he had merely ignored the !na's warnings and had pretended not to be frightened by its screams. Granny had been lenient and had restrained the !na from hurting the boy. But on this occasion when he had forgotten the sugar, not only was her pride hurt by the fact that Abraham had apparently disobeyed her instructions, but she was angry as well. She was particularly angry because she needed the sugar urgently to make beer for Christmas as there had been no honey that year .. .. The evening that Abraham returned from the village, just after he had put the donkeys in the kraal, the !na came screaming "Hee.... Hee.... Hee" with his red ears flapping. As usual, the boy ignored the screams and started on his way back to his parent's mathouse. But he took only two paces and then found himself lying on the ground being kicked by the !na which bruised his legs badly, and threw sand and dust in his face, filling his ears, eyes, nose and mouth with handfuls of sand. Abraham did not recover until morning when he went straight to his grandmother's mathouse to apologise for his forgetfulness. Granny, we are told, at first took no notice but continued drinking her coffee. Then, after Abraham had finished his apology, and she had seen that he was really penitent, she looked up over her coffee cup for a moment, and said, "Yes, my child, now you know ---- I don't think you will forget again".

Another young man was away from home looking after his goats. One night after he had made a fire and the coals were ready for grilling his meat (a choice shoulder of lamb), he suddenly heard the !na screaming behind him. He ignored the screams and went on with his cooking. Very soon the !na became angry, knocked him off his seat, threw sand on the fire

and left him in the darkness. As soon as he had recovered and found the joint, which had not got dirty, he packed his bag and went straight to his mother's hut with the meat she had asked for the day before. The young man was never worried by the !na again.

In the contemporary community it is necessary to distinguish between the various categories of people and their attitudes towards the !na. Generally the pattern we have described applies only to conservative members of lineage category B, the Namaqua, and short haired Basters, and the bywoners. The members of the rest of the community on the other hand, regard the belief in the !na more as a "fairy story" (sic) than as an actual phenomenon, using it to frighten children who misbehave. In fact they pride themselves on not believing in this superstition, referring to it as a "stupid Namaqua belief". In practice, however, there are many Basters and Kommers who are unable to reject completely the possibility that some people really do have the !na.

The activities of the !na are not confined to those members of the community who are resident in the Steinkopf Reserve. The !na is sometimes "sent" to the mines and towns where migrant workers are employed, and sometimes it is "sent" to Steinkopf by these migrant workers. One informant said that there were no !nan in the larger towns or larger mines because there was too much activity there.

The reports of the !na being sent to the mines are mainly associated with people who fail to send money home to their wives or mothers. On the other hand migrant workers are believed to "send" the !na to spy on, or frighten their wives and girl friends who are unfaithful to them in their absence. Some people say, however, that these people, i.e. migrant males,

merely "pretend" to have the !na, and have never received the power in the traditional way. (Of course, as we have stated earlier, it is possible nowadays to pay someone who has the !na to send it on one's behalf). Yet there is evidence that these pretences are effective since many women admit that they have been frightened by the !na sent to them from the mines.

The chief function of the belief in the !na is clearly the effect which it has on maintaining good personal relationships, by discouraging breaches of etiquette and custom amongst members of extended families and among friends, usually from the same locality. Cases show that there is a connection between the sending of the !na and the inability or failure to control other people's behaviour or actions. Thus, women, whose authority is generally considered to be less effective than men's authority, use the !na to reinforce their jurisdiction over others. It is unlikely, for instance, that Abraham would have forgotten the sugar had his grandfather told him to fetch it, or that the young man would have started to cook the shoulder of lamb had his father told him to save it for him. Similarly men who send the !na from the mines to spy on their wives and girl friends do so because they are unable to keep an eye on their activities personally - in a sense their authority is diminished while they are absent from home.

One of the reasons why the belief is so effective as an institution of social control is because no-one can be quite sure who "has" the !na. As one man put it, "when I hear the !na screaming behind me, I am always terrified because I never know who has sent it, or whether or not it has been sent to me. It may have been sent by anyone whose pride I have hurt, or whom I have antagonised."

But the !na is not used only to correct improper

behaviour; it can, as we have said, also be used to protect people or to see to their welfare. Some people reported that they have often been comforted by the knowledge of the !na's presence because they have known that they are being protected or that it has come to see that they are safe. One man said that every time he goes on a long journey, the !na comes to him, and when he hears the "Hee.... Hee.... Hee", he replies, Ja, ek het gehoor; ek is vris." Then he knows that the person who sent it will receive the message that he is safe and well.

Perhaps the most unpopular activity of the !na is spying. People say that those who go away from home and get up to mischief, find that when they return, everyone in the settlement knows what they have been doing. This they attribute to the !na, whom they say, peeps through the small holes in houses and watches them making love, or sees them drinking, or hears them swearing, and then goes back to their homes to report what it has seen.

The tokoloshe (sic)

Men who have worked on the Kleinzee diamond mine, have returned home with accounts of the activities of a tokoloshe. Some have even complained to the mine authorities about it. Tales about tokoloshe are common in Steinkopf, but they are generally looked upon as "fairy stories" rather than as true accounts of active agents. The idea of a tokoloshe almost certainly came to Little Namaqualand from the Bantu-speaking people who have migrated to the towns and mines during the past 60 years. But in Steinkopf it has acquired a special meaning.

The tokoloshe on the Kleinzee mine is reputed either to have been left there by the Ovambo mine workers who were employed on the mine between 1946 and 1949, or to be sent by the Ovambos to frighten the Coloured workers now employed in

their place. There are two descriptions of tokoloshe's physical appearance: some say he resembles a little baboon, others say he is a small black man who wears a large hat, and is eighteen inches tall. Tokoloshe is said to appear at any time of the night (but only at night) through an open door or window and sometimes through the fan-light. He appears suddenly without any warning. He is essentially malicious and always comes to harm or frighten people. Sometimes he bites his victims while they are in bed or picks them up and hurls them with great force on the floor; sometimes he merely comes to frighten people, and on one occasion is reported to have switched off the electric lights while people were dancing at the mine compound. As a result of these events a few people have sought work elsewhere after their contracts expired. One woman informed me that her son had been so terrified by the tokoloshe that he had turned quite black and she had forbidden him to return to the mine after his leave.

What precisely is the significance of the tokoloshe as he has been described from the reports of informants from the Kleinzee mine, and why his activities appear to be confined to this particular mine, cannot be stated. But the general belief, as found in Steinkopf, seems to be connected with the local attitudes towards the Bantu-speaking people with whom the people of Steinkopf have only recently come in contact. Children, for instance, are frightened by stories about the tokoloshe and the "black Kaffir" (swart Kaffer) who are described as evil and dangerous. It is significant that children are no longer frightened by tales of the Bushman as their grandparents used to be by their parents and grandparents, many of whom had themselves clashed with Bushmen bands in their childhood. But to-day it is not the Bushmen who are rivals but the "black Kaffirs"

(i.e. the Bantu-speaking people) who have become economic rivals in the towns and on the mines. Thus the prejudice and antagonism which are held towards the Bantu-speaking people appears to be symbolised by the belief in the tokoloshe, which characterises also the strength of the new competitors on the labour market.

CONCLUSIONS.

One of the problems to be solved in the realm of beliefs is the relative importance of Providential and personal causes of misfortune. Although I am not able to answer this question adequately, two general observations can be made. First, collective misfortune is normally attributed to the wrath of God amongst all sections of the population. Second, amongst the "new people" who have progressed (voortgegaan), leaving behind them (agtergelos) the Namaqua tradition (ou tyd se goed), God is also believed to be the main power responsible for sending individual misfortune as a punishment for sin. The conservative people, on the other hand, usually tend to explain individual misfortune in terms of personal causation, although they believe that God sometimes punishes individuals. To see these differences in belief merely as pagan-Christian differences is misleading, and we must regard them rather in terms of the changes in the conception of God, changes which have taken place during the past 150 years.

It seems to me that one of the reasons why the early missionaries of the Reformed Churches were so successful in their mission work among the Khoi Khoin, was the fact that the latter found no difficulty in grasping new concepts such as "God" and "devil" because they already understood them. The missionary, George Schmidt, for example, writing about the

Hessequa says, "They believe that there is a supreme Lord over all, whom they call Tui'qua. They believe also in a devil, to whom they give the name Gauna. But they do not care much about him."[1] My hypothesis, therefore, is that the early inhabitants of Steinkopf, merely transferred their conceptions of a supreme being, and a spirit of evil, to Christianity, preserving also their traditional beliefs in other supernatural powers. To-day the supernatural beliefs of the conservative people still reflect the early Christian-pagan pattern, while the "new people" have transformed this pattern by incorporating into their belief in God the functions of subordinate powers.

Thus, if my hypothesis is correct, pagan beliefs in personal causes of bad (and good) fortune will continue to decrease as more and more conservative people become assimilated into the ranks of the "new people". The fact that these beliefs are becoming less important than they were in former years, is borne out by the fact that to-day only poorly developed techniques of divination are found and that people seldom consult diviners. The only diviners are the bossies dokters who, according to reports, are mere amateurs in the art of divination compared with the old toerdokters.

Throughout the history of Christian Steinkopf, God has always been regarded as omnipotent, and His power believed to be capable of overriding all other supernatural forces. But, whereas God was formerly believed usually to concern Himself with certain matters only, to-day His actions tend to be seen as being connected with all supernatural phenomena, pleasing and otherwise to man. Expressed in more general

1. George Schmidt, Reis nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung, p.275. Quoted by Schapera, op.cit. p.387.

terms we might say, that, although omnipotency has always been attributed to the God of Steinkopf, it has taken contemporary social relationships to effect those changes in belief necessary to remove non-Christian powers from the world of the unknown.

In conclusion let us summarise the functions of the beliefs and practices we have discussed. First, viewed as a system, the majority of beliefs fulfil the function of offering rational[1] explanations for individual, as well as collective, good and bad fortune. Thus individual good fortune, depending on its particular manifestation, may be explained as God's reward for good behaviour; or as due to petitions (prayers) that were made to God for a specific purpose; or as blessings that were given by parents; or as the result of certain medicines used to give one power over others; or it may be explained simply as due to luck (die geluk) when none of the former explanations seem relevant in accounting for an extraordinary and pleasant event or occurrence. However, when good fortune comes to all, or the majority of people (i.e. is collective), the only explanation is that God is pleased with His children and, as a reward for their good conduct, has blessed them with the fruits of His work.

Individual misfortune, on the other hand, is attributed either to punishment from God, or to sorcery, or to a parent's curse, or to the !na, or simply to bad luck (die ongeluk). Collective misfortune, like collective good fortune, is attributed mainly to God who allows droughts, epidemics, and crop failure to occur as punishment for man's collective wickedness. In addition to God's wrath, we must include as a cause

1. 'Rational', as used here, does not refer to the objective reality of the explanation, but to its assumed efficacy.

of collective misfortune, sorcery, when bad medicines placed under the threshold are believed to have harmed all the people living in a dwelling. But apart from this exception, collective good and bad fortune are always believed to be due either directly or indirectly to God.

Secondly, we must consider those beliefs which increase a sense of security. These include the beliefs that God answers the requests of those who face danger or uncertainty to watch over the protect them, the belief in the protective powers of certain medicines, and the belief that the !na may sometimes be sent by others to grant one protection. The !na tends also to increase the authority of those who lack it.

Thirdly, we may regard certain beliefs as mechanisms of social control in that they impose either positive or negative sanctions on certain aspects of behaviour. We have seen, for instance, that if all the members in the community display exemplary behaviour, all are rewarded by God, just as virtuous individuals receive His blessing and the blessings of their parents. Misconduct, on the other hand, exposes people to the possibility of having to face the consequences of the wrath of God or the curses of their parents. It may also expose them to sorcery or the power of the !na. Also people who fail to carry out their obligations to their dying and recently deceased kinsmen, are likely to receive visitations from evil spirits.

Fourthly, we must emphasise the fact that the beliefs in God unite the whole community through the common sentiments that people hold about Him, even though a subordinate belief (see page 315) reinforces indirectly the sentiments which govern the cleavage between the conservatives and the "new people". Yet, in spite of this paradox, God is everywhere, He can do and

prevent all things. His existence and power are never doubted.

Finally, the belief in the "devil in man" gives all men a common basis for their sins. For it is sin that is believed to be responsible for man's eternal failure to please God consistently.

Chapter 12.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF STEINKOPF.

The greater part of the text in the preceding chapters has been devoted to a discussion of the components of the social structure of the community of Steinkopf during the past twenty years, although we have given some space to earlier periods. In this chapter an attempt is made to give a conspectus of the contemporary social structure and to show also the interconnections between the main components. An attempt has also been made to show the way in which certain of the components of this web of internal interactions are linked with associations and institutions beyond the bounds of the community.

THE WEB OF INTERNAL INTERACTION

The social structure of Steinkopf is characterised chiefly by a number of primary and secondary groups (which are set out in Tables XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX), and certain cleavages and social classes discussed in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Here the term primary group is used to describe a group of people whose interaction with one another is characterised by intimate face-to-face relationships. The primary group, moreover, covers a wide range of needs and personal gratifications but does not refer to a group organised for a specific purpose or purposes.[1]

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1. cf. K. Young, A Handbook of Social Psychology, p.5.

TABLE XXVII

Structure of Main Primary Groups in Contemporary Steinkopf (1957).

Primary Group	Approx. size of group.	Activities of group.	Usual leader or leaders.	Notes on group membership.	Year or period in which group was formed.
Elementary families	2-12	Domestic, recreational and economic	Husband	Husband, wife and dependent children (sub-groups based on sex are normally found within each elementary family).	Traditional
Extended families	5-35	Domestic, recreational and economic	Senior male	Usually patrilin[illegible] and wives (sub-groups based on sex and age are normally found within each extended family).	Traditional
Lineages	20-300	Attending important weddings and funerals	Senior male or males	Agnates (lineages are sometimes segmented)	Traditional
Adult cliques	2-5	Gossip and local politics.	Natural leaders.	Usually kinsmen or neighbours who are of the same age group and sex.	-
Children's gangs	3-10	Recreation	Natural leaders	Usually of same age group and sex.	-
Opposition group to the local government and N.G. Kerk	?	Mainly political	Senior male of /arris Cloete lineage. (Natural leader belonging to Lineage Category A, conservative, age 70).	Membership open to any person who shares sentiments of group. Not all members are consistently antagonistic towards the N.G. Kerk.	1936?

TABLE XXVIII

Structure of Main Intimate Secondary Groups in Contemporary Steinkopf (1957)

Intimate Secondary Group.	Approx. size of group.	Activities of group.	Usual leader or leaders.	Rules on group membership.	Year or period in which group was formed.
Kerkraad	32	Church administration etc.	Missionary (alien, age 50-60)	Diakens and oudelinge. Aliens have been elected as diakens but not as oudelinge.	1840? R.M.S.
Susterabond	30-40	Religious and welfare.	Missionary's wife (alien, age 50-60)	Membership open to all confirmed married women in N.G. Sending Kerk. Regular church-goers of each lineage category and social class. (The size of the group refers to effective membership).	1937?
Christelike Jongedogtersbond.	25	Religious and welfare.	Missionary's wife (alien, age 50-60).	Membership open to all unmarried women who belong to N.G. Sending Kerk. (Size of group refers to effective membership).	1940?
Kinderbond.	50	Religious and recreational.	Missionary's wife (alien, age 50-60).	Membership open to all girls of school-going age. (Size of group refers to effective membership).	1940?
Studente Christelike Vereeniging.	40	Religious and recreational.	Male teacher (lineage category A, "new person", age 35).	Membership consists mainly of high-school students.	1950
Farm schools (4)	30-90		School principals (lineage categories A, B, B and C, all "new people" except one belonging to lineage category B who is essentially conservative).	Pupils and teachers	1930's, 1930's, 1940, 1950.
Standards (grades) in each school.	10-40		Class teachers (mainly "new people", five belonging to lineage category A, six to lineage category B, twelve to lineage category C, four unknown).	Pupils and teacher	-
Management Board.	10	Political and administrative	Superintendent of Reserve (lineage category B, "new person", age 57).	Membership according to provisions of Act No. 29 of 1909 as amended.	1913 (formerly Raad).
Police	3	Legal and gossip	Sergeant (alien)	All are aliens	1914
Tennis Club	9	Recreational	Postmaster (alien, lineage category C, "new person", age 35).	Membership which is based mainly on merit and interest includes White police sergeant.	1950
Rugby Club	30-40	Recreational	Male teacher (alien, lineage category C, "new person", age 35).	Membership based on merit and interest	1957
Soccer Club	30-40	Recreational	Clerk in co-operative store (lineage category B, "new person", age 25).	Membership based on merit and interest.	1940?

TABLE XXIX

Structure of Main Secondary Groups (Non-intimate) in Contemporary Steinkopf (1957)

Secondary group	Approx. size of group	Activities of group	Usual leader or leaders	Rules on group membership	Year or period in which group was formed
N.G. Sending Kerk	3125	Worship	Missionary, Superintendent of Reserve and other Kerkraad members (see Table XXVII).	The size of the group refers only to those who have been baptised.	1934 (formerly NHS)
Anglican Church	50	Worship	Postmaster and wife (Both aliens, see Table XXVII)	All members of Anglican Church in Reserve	?
Roman Catholic Church	50	Worship	Priest stationed near Springbok (alien)	All members of Roman Catholic Church in Reserve	?
G.H.S. Burial Society	350	Funeral and burial arrangements.	Founder's wife (lineage category C, age 60), and other active church-going women of different lineage categories; all tend to be conservative.	Membership open to women only (usually wives of villagers).	1928
Other Burial Societies	20-50	Funeral and burial arrangements.	Blakens and ouderlinge in each hamlet. Mainly conservative.	Membership open to anyone living in or near the hamlet for which the particular burial society caters.	After 1945
Consumers' Co-operative	937	Economic	Board of Directors which includes representatives of all major categories and classes in community.	Membership open to all people in and outside the Reserve whose applications are approved by the Board of Directors.	1946
Secondary School	100	Educational	Principal (alien, lineage category C, "New person", age 50), and teachers.	Teachers and Pupils (some of the pupils come from outside the Reserve).	1950
Primary School	300	Educational	Principal (lineage category B, "new person", age 45-50).	Teachers and Pupils	1840

The term secondary group[1], on the other hand, is used here to describe a group that is organised for a specific purpose or purposes and in which interaction is not necessarily intimate and face-to-face. Thus a distinction is made between secondary groups characterised by intimate face-to-face relationships and those which are not.

EXTERNAL INTERACTION

The web of internal interaction may be said to coincide with the widest area of maximum interaction, and this we have called the community. But as a community Steinkopf is neither economically nor socially self-sufficient, for, as we have already shown, a high percentage of its members leave the territory sporadically as migrant workers; government officials, traders, doctors, prospectors and others visit the Reserve from time to time; emigrants from other parts of the country join the community temporarily or permanently; and many of the groups have connections with institutions and associations outside the Reserve. All these factors inevitably influence in some way or other the web of internal interaction and provide the interactional links with the wider society. Thus a convenient way of illustrating the connection between Steinkopf and the wider society is to analyse the relationships between local groups and external groups and institutions. The four main channels of interaction may be seen in terms of the economy, religion, government and formal education.[2]

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1. cf. K. Young, A handbook of Social Psychology, p.5.

2. cf. M. Fortes, ., "Culture contact as a Dynamic Process", in Africa, supplement, 1938

The chief economic links with the outside world are provided by the migrant workers and the consumers' co-operative store. The migrants who leave the Reserve for long or short periods each year not only provide the community with money without which its members could hardly survive, but through their interaction with persons on the mines and in the towns these migrant workers are in effect extending the boundaries of the community beyond its generally accepted limits. The consumers' co-operative is the major centre of business and trade, both local and external.

Other economic activities which promote interaction with the wider society include the selling of livestock, meat and hides in Springbok, or to white speculators who periodically visit the Reserve; and base minerals are nowadays also sold by local tributors to agents in Springbok.

It is clear therefore, that apart from the sale of grain and dates, and the work of the co-operative store, the main external trading activities are carried out directly through the elementary family although a considerable measure of labour recruitment is effected by the Management Board.

Thus the relatively small local demand for labour and local products together with the low productivity of mixed farming and mining may be said to induce each family to establish relationships beyond the borders of the Reserve. This pattern of interaction occurs without any interference from the local government except in so far as individuals who leave the reserve as migrant workers for periods longer than three months are required by law to notify the Management Board; and these migrant workers are expected to return

to Steinkopf at least once every two years in order to retain their official rights and privileges as members of the community.[1]

Whereas the majority of interactions with the outside world for economic purposes tend to be direct through the family and through the co-operative store, in the realms of religion, and politics, and education, the basis of interaction is mainly through institutions other than the family. The most powerful religious institution is the N. G. Sending Kerk which is closely connected with the four Church associations already mentioned and, with primary education. Its local governing body is the Kerkraad under the leadership of the missionary. But local Church policy is greatly influenced by a hierarchy of groups (committees) within the framework of the Mother Church[2] - Die Ring, Die Ringsendingkommissie, Die Sinode, and Die Algemene Sendingkommissie. Further, the missionary is a white South African who, quite apart from his interaction with other white Church officials, provides a very strong link in the community with Afrikaner Whites whose attitude towards colour he largely shares. It is, therefore, not only with regard to Church policy that external groups exert a strong influence over the community through the Church, but also through the missionary who is a most powerful member of the Steinkopf community.

The relatively few members of the two other

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1. See Government Notice No. 2706 of 28 November, 1952, Section 43. To my knowledge this regulation has not been enforced.

2. Wette en Bepalings vir die Bestuur van die N.G.Kerk in Suid-Afrika (1953). Chapters III and IV, and Arts.302-10 et passim.

denominations, Anglican and Roman Catholic, have more direct links with the outside world in that they have either to leave the Reserve in order to attend public worship and receive the sacraments of their respective Churches, or wait until a priest visits the Reserve. The Anglican Church, however, is represented in the community by the postmaster and his wife, who occasionally arrange services and prepare people for confirmation.

In the political field the Management Board is the local governing body. All its members are registered occupiers, but, as has already been shown, the system of nomination, appointment and election, as well as the other provisions of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, has effected a political group which is largely an instrument of the Coloured Affairs Department. And it is in this capacity that the Management Board provides the official link with the mines, the neighbouring reserves, the Coloured people in general, and the rest of the outside world.

In the field of education, external interaction may be seen in the teacher's relation with teachers elsewhere, especially through the Teachers' Educational and Professional Association (T.E.P.A.)[1] which holds occasional meetings and dances at Port Nolloth or O'okiep; and the teacher's connection with the Cape Education Department through the circuit inspector and the Skool Komitee.

Another group through which external interaction takes place is the opposition group to the Church and Management Board, which has contacts with lawyers, members of Parliament, and "organisations" in Cape Town, and its leaders frequently make journeys to Cape Town to interview their legal advisers.

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1. See S. Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, pp. 160-1.

LEADERSHIP AND POWER

The sociologist George Simmel believed that the most important type of social relationship was that between a leader and his followers, between the superior and his subordinate, and he maintained that without this relationship no social life was possible, since it is the main factor in sustaining the unity of the groups.[1] Simmel's ideas regarding groups and leadership have greatly influenced modern writers such as Homans[2], Klein[3], and Timasheff.[4] In fact, any sociological analysis of leadership must begin by accepting the broad principles of Simmel's proposition, though few sociologists would nowadays accept his assertion that the principle of superiority and subordination constitute the sociological expression of psychological differences in human beings.[5]

In this discussion we shall assume that there are

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1. Kurt H. Wolff (translator and editor): The Sociology of Georg Simmel, The Free Press, Glencoe, pp. 87 - 303.

See especially N.J.Spykman, The Social Theory of Georg Simmel, Chicago, 1925, Book II.

Spykman gives an excellent summary and interpretation of Simmel's formal sociology, which is in many ways better than the original.

2. G.C.Homans, The Human Group.

3. J. Klein, The Study of Groups, Rout. and Kegan Paul, 1956.

4. N.S.Timasheff, An Introduction to the Sociology of Law, Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1939.

5. cf. Spykman, Op. cit. p. 95

three categories of leadership: natural leadership, official leadership, and outmoded leadership.

Natural leadership corresponds with Homans' extended definition of leadership in a small, relatively autonomous group.[1] Natural leaders may be said to share the sentiments and aspirations of their groups, and in doing so, provided they have other qualities as well, are able to maintain their dominant position and regulate the solidarity of their followers.[2] This conception of the natural leader approximates also to Bertrand de Jouvenel's dux, "the man who leads into action a stream of wills ....."[3]

Official leadership exists when an institution like a church or school confers on an individual (or a group of individuals) a status which could not have been acquired merely through the leader's relationship with other people.[4] This type of leadership, it could be argued, approximates to de Jouvenal's rex, "the man who regularises and rules."[5] A rex of course may also be a dux, just as an official leader may also be a natural leader, and there may be more than one leader in any group.

The third type of leadership I have termed outmoded leadership. It occurs frequently in societies undergoing rapid social change, when the function or certain of the functions of a particular group are taken over by another group or groups. The most obvious example of this kind of

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1. Homans, op. cit. p.188.

2. cf. Spykman, op.cit. pp. 97-101.

3. Bertrand de Jouvenel, Sovereignty: an Inquiry into the Political Good. Cambridge 1957, p. 21 (Huntington's translation.

4. Spykman, op. cit. pp. 101-2

5. op. cit. p. 21

leadership is the somewhat redundant position of an African chief whose political, legal, and religious functions have been taken over in part or in full by the leaders of new associations.

The study of leadership in its various forms is important because it provides a means of gaining an insight into the structure of the groups of which the leaders are an integral part. Thus, in that leaders are the focal points of group structures, it may also be said that a study of them provides us with the indices of collective or group expression. The study of leadership, moreover, enables us to gain an insight into the nature and distribution of power in a society or community.

In terms of leadership (see Tables XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX) the social structure of contemporary Steinkopf is dominated by people who may conveniently be called aliens. That is to say the majority of secondary groups are led by recent immigrants to the community or by outsiders. Furthermore, certain groups such as the Management Board and the majority of schools, although officially led by registered occupiers, are in fact greatly influenced by alien institutions which exert pressure directly or indirectly on the official leaders.

Our analysis shows also that in terms of leadership the Baster Pioneers (lineage category A) exert relatively little influence nowadays in the community, and that the majority of leaders of secondary groups are recognised as belonging to the ranks of the "new people", many of whom belong to lineage category B.

The conclusions relating to alien leadership may be further substantiated as follows :-

(a) The resident missionary who is an alien leads the N. G. Kerk and its Kerkraad, and is the manager of all the primary schools in the community. He is essentially an official leader although his roles are inevitably modified through interaction with the members of the congregation, the Kerkraad, etc.

(b) The members of the Roman Catholic Church are led by an alien, a White priest, who lives outside the Reserve. He is also an official leader.

(c) The members of the Anglican Church are led by the local postmaster, a new-comer, (who is only a temporary member of the community) and the Rector of Namaqualand, who is an alien. The postmaster in this capacity may be classed as a natural leader although he carries out some official duties for his Church. The Rector is obviously an official leader.

(d) Three of the Church associations are led by the missionary's wife (an alien) while the remaining Church association is led by a local school teacher who works in close contact with the missionary and his wife. The leaders of all these Church associations are natural leaders, although they occupy official positions to which they are elected.

(e) The Management Board is headed by the Superintendent of the Reserve who is the official leader of the political community. He is a registered occupier, an ex-teacher, and a well-paid officer of the Coloured Affairs Department by which he is appointed. This leader, therefore, may be regarded in part as an alien since he owes allegiance to two groups, his own community and the Coloured Affairs Department which in practice controls the Management Board.[1]

(f) The local head of the police, a white sergeant, is also an alien and an official leader.

(g) Although the majority of primary school teachers are registered occupiers, as leaders of the various schools their roles are modified by the rules of the Cape Education Department. Moreover, the primary school and the farm schools fall under the jurisdiction of the N. G. Kerk as well. The principal of the secondary school is an alien as are the majority of his teachers. All teachers are official leaders in their schools.

(h) The tennis and rugby clubs are led by newcomers who are temporary members of the community. They are both natural leaders.

In these preceding paragraphs we have drawn attention to those groups whose leaders are either aliens

or registered occupiers whose leadership is modified by their connection with alien groups and institutions. The remaining groups in the community - the consumers' co-operative, the various burial societies, the rather nebulous group of opponents to the Management Board and the Church, the various kinship groups, and the majority of cliques and gangs - have local leaders. Certain of the local teachers' groups, however, have alien leaders. The leaders of cliques, gangs, and the opposition group to the Management Board and Church may be described as natural leaders, as are the leaders of the burial societies, although in the burial societies they occupy official positions. Leadership in the consumers' co-operative is essentially official.

The classification of leadership among various kinship groups provides difficulties. Traditionally the leader of each kinship group (viz. elementary family, extended family and lineage or lineage segment), either achieved his position through marriage in the case of elementary families, or acquired it after the death of the person he succeeded by a sort of positional succession[1] in the case of extended families and lineages. Leadership amongst kinsmen tended, therefore, to be institutionalised in a semi-official system. This pattern largely persists today amongst the conservative people but, as has already been shown, there is a tendency for familial authority and leadership to be weakened as the functions

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1. A.I.Richards, "Some Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu", in African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, p. 224.

traditionally fulfilled by kinship groups shift to associations, cliques, gangs, and the Kerkraad. This change has been accompanied also by a change in the pattern and type of leadership in the family: the traditional semi-official leadership is being superceded by what can conveniently be called outmoded leadership. The head of the elementary family is still conventionally the father, the senior male remains head of the extended family and the lineage or lineage segment, but (particularly among the "new people") the traditional functions of these leaders have become superfluous although each leader still receives the nominal recognition of his former position.

From what has been said regarding the various categories of leaders certain general statements can be made. First, there is the obvious fact that natural leaders tend to be most common in groups whose activities and interactions are essentially local. Second, it is clear that in those groups where interaction with outside institutions and groups is greatest (whether the interaction is voluntary or not), the leaders tend to be aliens, or have strong external connections. Thirdly, it appears that within the community the existence of voluntary associations is correlated with the weakening of traditional authority, (i.e. the outmoding of traditional leaders), and the greater recognition of new natural leaders and official leaders, many of whom are aliens or registered occupiers having obligations to alien institutions as well as to the community. Fourthly, although natural leadership is most common in those groups which are

relatively unaffected by external interaction and external pressure, it is significant that official leadership by aliens is not generally opposed. In fact, judging from the opinions of a large number of people, the most unpopular leader in the community is the Superintendent who is an official leader but not an alien, (although he does have alien allegiances). In other words, there is a strong suggestion that the members of the community tend to favour aliens as leaders of groups that have external connections.

The implication of the fourth generalisation above does not mean that tensions in the existing pattern of leadership are largely absent. We have already drawn attention to the cleavage between the conservatives and the "new people", and this cleavage which has been analysed earlier mainly in terms of conflicting values and sentiments, may now be seen as a function of the pattern of leadership we have been describing. Many of the conflicts implicit in this cleavage emanate from the lesser conflicts which exist between the traditional leaders whose authority is gradually becoming redundant, (i.e. outmoded leaders), and the new leaders, (aliens and progressive registered occupiers), whose actions frequently extend beyond the bounds of the local community.

With the weakening of their authority, therefore, the traditional leaders have to find a new basis whereby they can acquire effective leadership. A few, as we have shown, have achieved this by acquiring positions in the Church, the local government or in the

schools. But an alternative means is open to the outmoded leader, namely, by changing his former primary group affiliations within the community.

Thus Barnabas Cloete, who wields considerable power amongst his followers, does not merely limit his activities to the interests of his own lineage, but is concerned with and welcomes support from Byeoners and others, irrespective of their kinship or class ties. It may be said, therefore, that only by modifying his traditional role has Barnabas Cloete been successful in leading into action a significant "stream of wills." Yet he could not, by the means he has chosen, ever hope to attain greater power in the community because he is opposing the two strongest institutions, and they derive the greater part of their strength from their connections with other institutions beyond the boundaries of the Reserve. It is true, of course, that he and his followers also have links with persons and groups outside the community but their influence is meagre compared with that of the Mother Church and the Central Government of South Africa.

The three main foci of power in the community are the Management Board, the N. G. Kerk, and the schools. That is to say the leaders in these institutions have the opportunity of realising their own wills and desires in various collective actions, even against the resistance of others who are also participating in these actions.[1] The leaders in these institutions, therefore, may be

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1. cf. Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, Kegan Paul, London, 1948, p. 180. Translated and edited by H.H.Gerth and C.Wright Mills.

said to make the major decisions in the community, and it remains for us to summarise briefly the sociological significance implicit in the distribution of power. Part of the problem has already been dealt with: we have indicated the power which each of these institutions derives from external sources and the way in which the pattern of leadership is influenced as a result thereof. But our analysis would give a distorted picture if we did not appreciate the fact that a great deal of power is derived locally through the interrelationship of these institutions. The most satisfactory way in which this pattern can be explained is by analysing briefly the duplication and triplication of leadership in these institutions. In 1957, for example, there were three individuals who, in addition to being teachers or ex-teachers, were also members of the Management Board and Kerkraad; five[1] members of the Management Board were also Kerkraad members; and five[1] members of the Kerkraad were teachers. These figures do not include the missionary who is the dominant official leader in the Church and primary schools. In view of this role, duplication and triplication and the inevitable way in which power is therefore diffused among these institutions, we can speak of this particular pattern of relationships as the "power complex" of Steinkopf. The Management Board can, of course, theoretically maintain its position by coercion since it has the backing of the Central Government, the law, and the police, but it is unlikely that it would have been able to achieve its relatively stable position had it not been for co-operation from the schools and particularly the Church. It is significant in this context

1. including the three mentioned above

that one of the main reasons for the unrest and "disorder" in the Komaggas Reserve during the past thirty years has been due to the fact that in this community the N. G. Kerk as the established Church has never been accepted by the majority of the population. Thus the official separation of Church from State in Steinkopf in 1913 was in practice only partial. Had the separation been complete the relative stability of the present Management Board could never have been achieved.

CONCLUSIONS

Contemporary Steinkopf may be classified as a peasant community in the sense in which the term has been recently used by Redfield. To Redfield a "peasant culture" can be seen as :

> "a small circle overlapping with much larger and less clearly defined areas of culture, or we may think of the peasant life as a lower circle unwinding into the upward-spreading spirals of civilisation."

And he goes on to say :

> "If the student of peasant society is to describe the systems of social relations of that society, he will study those social relations that communicate the higher dimension of the civilisation to the lower or peasant dimension."[1]

It follows, therefore that -

> "The culture of a peasant community.....is not autonomous. It is an aspect or dimension of the civilisation of which it is a part. As the peasant society is a half-society, so the peasant culture is a half-culture. When we study such a culture we find two things to be true that are not true when we study an isolated primitive band or tribe. First, we discover that to maintain itself peasant culture requires

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1. R. Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture, Chicago, 1956, p. 66.

continual communication to the local community of thought originating outside of it. The intellectual and often the religious and moral life of the peasant village is perpetually incomplete. .... Seen as a 'synchronic' system, the peasant culture cannot be fully understood from what goes on in the minds of the villagers alone. Second the peasant village invites us to attend to the long course of interaction between the community and the centres of civilisation. The peasant culture has an evident history; we are called upon to study that history; and the history is not local: it is a history of the civilisation of which the village culture is one local expression." 1.

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1. R. Redfield, op. cit. pp. 68-9. ~~Peasant Society and Culture, Chicago, 1956, p. 66.~~

Chapter 13.

CONCORDIA, KOMAGGAS, LELIEFONTEIN, RICHTERSVELD.

We turn now to a brief comparative study of the social structures of the other Namaqualand reserves: Concordia, Komaggas, Leliefontein, and the Richtersveld. These may also be classified as Baster peasant communities.[1] By comparing the main structural features of these communities we hope to be able to understand Steinkopf better and gain an insight into the nature of these communities in general. But since we are concerned mainly with the former, the contents of the preceding chapters are taken for granted in our comparison.

Fischer's work among the Basters of Rehoboth[2] in South West Africa at the beginning of the century also provides material for comparison, but in this thesis I have limited myself largely to the Basters south of the Orange River. His account of the origin of the Basters is most instructive and his brief description of the class structure[3] in Rehoboth could well have applied to Steinkopf at the end of the Baster-missionary period.

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1. See Report of the Rehoboth Commission, U.G. 41-1926, pp. 17-44, for a general account of the Basters. And Marais, op. cit. Chapter 3.

2. E. Fischer, Die Rehobother Bastards, Jena, 1913. See also Report of the Rehoboth Commission.

3. Fischer, op. cit., pp. 236-7.

HISTORY

The origin of these communities is basically similar. They were formerly occupied by Khoi Khoin and a few Bushmen, and owe their identity as separate reserves nowadays largely to missionary influence. But there are certain important variations which must be noted: in terms of their social histories Steinkopf, Concordia, and Komaggas belong to one category, Leliefontein to another, and Richtersveld to a third.

The three communities which belong to the first category were "invaded" by Basters, the pioneers of the North-Western Cape, who, together with the missionaries acquired political power soon after their arrival. Within this category there are minor variations. In Komaggas the Baster "invaders" appear to have acquired land in exchange for stock from the indigenous Khoi Khoin[1] and Concordia was part of Steinkopf until 1891 when, "for the better pastoral Evangelisation of the people in Church and School (the inhabitants) found it expedient to divide it into two Communities." [2] Further, in Komaggas the missionary as chairman of the raad appears to have had the power to veto decisions taken at meetings.[3]

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1. Report on Coloured Mission Stations, p. 54.
   L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, pp. 115-6.

2. "Mutual Rules .....of Steinkopf and Concordia" 29th May 1891. (Steinkopf Management Board Office.)

3. cf. Report of the Rehoboth Commission, pp. 71-3
   Schultze, op. cit. pp. 116-20

In Leliefontein the original Khoi Khoin did not lose their power to the Baster pioneers who tended to settle in the north-east corner of the territory. There seem to be two reasons for this. First, the Methodist missionaries who settled permanently at Leliefontein (after J. Seidenfaden of the London Missionary Society had done the pioneering work[1]), did so at the invitation of the Khoi Khoin and worked among them before going on to the Basters.[2] Thus instead of the two alien elements (missionary and Baster) effecting the disintegration of the Khoi Khoin, the missionaries achieved power by operating within the framework of the traditional society without support from the Basters.

Second, in Leliefontein the missionaries achieved much greater political power (and political power much sooner) than in any of the other communities. In January 1825, eight years after the mission work of the Methodist Church began, the missionary was given power by the Government of the Cape Colony to manage and direct certain of the affairs of the community,[3] and the Khoi Khoi chief was told that he had no more power or influence

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1. H. P. Cruse, "Die Eerste Sendingreis na Groot-Namakwaland .....", in Die Kerkbode, 28 July and 4 August, 1937.

2. Barnabas Shaw, Memorials of South Africa, London (1841), p. 68.

Also Shaw's letter to the Committee, October 10, 1816, quoted in Methodist Magazine, 1817, p. 233.

Melvill Report, G.60-1890, p. 27

3. T. Cheeseman, The Story of William Threlfall, p.74
Shaw, op. cit. p. 109.

among his people in these respects.[1] Actually these drastic powers which were granted to the resident missionary at Leliefontein by the Colonial Government had been requested by the missionary himself, Barnabas Shaw, in 1824.[2] The following particulars were specified when the powers were granted :-

"(i) Power to receive whom he may think proper as residents.

(ii) To expel any who may be disobedient or unruly.

(iii) To give out portions of land for sowing corn and making gardens.

(iv) To erect substantial dwelling houses, which must be built on the spot and according to the plan pointed out by the missionary".[3]

But in spite of his new powers the missionary worked through the traditional political framework, although he and not the chief now presided over the monthly meetings of the raad. Cheeseman says :

> "(The Raad) was the Namaquas' Parliament, and the missionary being ex officio chairman, was by common consent Prime Minister, while the Ministry consisted of twelve Raadsmen - some of whom ranked as corporals - elected annually by the burghers of the Institution. At these gatherings the temporal affairs of the Station were discussed, and many opportunities were afforded the missionary of giving the people just such words of counsel, reproof, or encouragement as they seemed to require."[4]

I can find no evidence of resentment on the part of the Khoi Khoin towards the missionaries after the latter had acquired the powers already listed. And there is a strong suggestion that the Khoi Khoin accepted missionary political leadership in place of their former chief whom Shaw described

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1. Cheeseman, op. cit. p. 105
   Letter from Governor's Secretary to "Rev. Mr. Shaw", Dec. 24, 1824. (Cape Archives - C.O. 4852, p. 88)

2. Letter from James Whitworth vice B. Shaw to Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, Dec. 14, 1824. (Cape Archives - C.O.230, No. 148.)

3. Cheeseman, op. cit., p. 74.
   Shaw, op. cit., p. 109

4. Cheeseman, op. cit. p. 104
   See also J.E.Alexander, An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 1838, Vol. 1, p. 58.

as a "poor, inoffensive, ignorant Old Man."[1]

The relation of the mission to the Basters during the early period is not known, nor can it be discovered whether the Basters were ever directly represented on the raad as a minority group. Evidence from the contemporary community, however, suggests that the Basters were soon absorbed by the indigenous population and that any cleavage which might have existed between the two groups in the last century was soon eliminated.

Prior to 1844 all mission work in the Richtersveld was carried out by visiting missionaries from Steinkopf. But in this year, J. F. Hein, a "Baster-Hottentot"[2] from Wupperthal, was sent there as an evangelist. Hein was married to a Baster from Steinkopf. Both he and his wife spoke Nama; they lived simply, first in a mathouse and later in a crude stone cottage.

Hein devoted most of his time and energy to evangelisation although he did establish a small school in which he taught. The medium of instruction in both these institutions was Nama.

In 1893 Hein was ordained and became the first non-European minister of the Rhenish Mission Society in South Africa.[3] He died in 1901 and his son continued his work as an evangelist until his death in 1917.

The Richtersveld was also formerly inhabited by Khoi Khoin and Bushmen, but from a study of its local history and genealogies, there is a strong suggestion that during the nineteenth century integration between these two peoples took place to a greater extent than in the

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1. Cape Archives - C.O.230. No. 148
2. Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft. No. 18, 1855, pp. 282-8.
3. Lichtaar, Vol. 19, No. 11, 1958, pp.327-30.

other communities.[1] Moreover, although Richtersveld did have its Baster immigrants it was not subjected to a Baster "invasion" comparable to that in Steinkopf, Komaggas or Concordia. In Richtersveld the Basters seem to have come as isolated individuals or families and except for a few cases have tended to lose their identity as a separate category or class.[2] Thus, generally the Baster immigrants were absorbed into the indigenous population. For example, round about 1830, perhaps earlier, the kapteinskap was acquired by a Baster named Meyer who married a kinswoman of the former Khoi Khoin Kaptein (who was a woman at the time). This office has been handed down patrilineally to the present day, but the members of the lineage are not regarded as Basters, and bear the name of Swartbooi Links. Today the only surviving Baster pioneer family to retain its identity consists of the descendants of Jasper Cloete, a man who acquired great wealth and became a korporaal on the Raad, a position which in subsequent years has been held by members of his patrilineage.

A strong rivalry for power between the present Baster korporaal's father's brother (the famous Ryk Jasper Cloete) and the father of the present hoofkorporaal (Kaptein Swartbooi Links) occurred during the first two decades of thettwentieth century. Each had his followers and the community was split into two rival factions.

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1. cf. W. Tucker, Richtersveld, the Land and its People, p. 12.

2. cf. Tucker, op. cit. p. 8

The division was closely related to Le Fleur's politico-religious movement which was spreading through the Namaqualand Reserves at the time.[1] Ryk Jasper and his followers allied themselves with Le Fleur while Kaptein Links opposed the movement. The details concerning the activities of Le Fleur in Richtersveld are complex and cannot be discussed here, but it seems clear from the accounts given by local Richtersveld historians that Ryk Jasper thought he could use Le Fleur's movement as a means of usurping the hereditary kaptein's power and so take over the political leadership of the community, which carried with it the right to receive personally all grazing fees collected from the white farmers. This money was supposed to be used for the benefit of the community but it is doubtful whether it ever was.

Le Fleur, on the other hand, wanted Ryk Jasper's wealth and took advantage of the latter's generosity and enthusiastic support.

It is said that civil war almost broke out between the two rival factions.[2] But the police intervened and Ryk Jasper was persuaded to reject Le Fleur, which he did after he himself realised the impossibility of ever gaining the rewards Le Fleur had promised him, and saw that his former riches had been lost to Le Fleur. An immediate reconciliation between the two factions appears to have taken place after Jasper and Links had shaken hands, and the former

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1. See p.84

2. See account of the rivalry given in the Commission into Rebellion of the Bondelzwarts (U.G. 16-1933) pp. 26-9. which investigated the matter because Richtersveld was believed to be indirectly connected with the Bondelzwart Rebellion.

agreed to accept the traditional political leadership.

During the course of field work I was unable to discover any survival of this movement and many informants said they were ashamed of this "ugly period in their history." Le Fleur is regarded nowadays as a treacherous intruder but the memory of his teaching is still vivid and it is conceivable that a revival (in a form comparable to the opposition movement in Steinkopf) could possibly occur in the future should a section of the community decide to oppose the new form of government which has recently been established.[1]

Although the early missionaries succeeded in converting the people of the Richtersveld to Christianity relatively easily, no missionary ever achieved political power in Richtersveld as was the case in the other communities and, largely as a result of this, a wide cleavage between Church affairs and local government persists today. We should add, however, that there has been no resident missionary since 1917, although the community has received attention from a visiting missionary except during the eleven years 1917 to 1928.

Nama is still the home language of the majority of Richtersveld's population (except among those recent immigrant Basters living at Stinkfontein), while in all the other Reserves Afrikaans is spoken generally except by some of the older people. This significant linguistic difference reflects the fact that the community of Richtersveld is closer to the Khoi Khoin tradition than any of the other reserves, a conclusion which can also be illustrated

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1. [illegible] p.

from its social structure. Afrikaans is nowadays the medium of instruction in the schools.

The people living at Stinkfontein are known as The Bosluis Basters. They emigrated from Bushmanland via Steinkopf in 1936, and were granted permission some years later to settle at Stinkfontein (later called Eksteenfontein). In this discussion of Richtersveld social structure I have not included the Bosluis Basters because, although they live in the same Reserve, they really constitute a separate isolated community. Moreover, there is practically no interaction in every day life between these people and the rest of the population. It is important, however, to note that the Bosluis Basters regard themselves as superior stock. They are very light in colour and many have typical Trekboer physical characteristics. They do not marry with the indigenous Richtersveld population and several individuals have made efforts to be classified legally as White in terms of the Population Registration Act. One notable exception to the marriage rule was the marriage of a Bosluis Baster's three daughters and son to the children of the Cloete Baster member of the Richtersveld raad. After the marriage all the couples joined the Bosluis Baster's homestead.

ENVIRONMENT, POPULATION and ECONOMY

All these communities share basically the same geographical environment.[1] They have a low annual rainfall, the greater part of which occurs in winter, high summer temperatures and an inadequate water supply. Both Concordia and Leliefontein, however, have small summer

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1. See pp. 46-9.

rainfall areas which occasionally provide good grazing during February and March. Richtersveld has the lowest annual rainfall in the territory, but this is to some extent alleviated by the fact that livestock grazing near the Orange River have water throughout the year. Parts of Leliefontein receive up to 13 inches of rain annually, and this together with the fertile soil in the valleys greatly facilitates the production of grain. Vast tracts of land in Leliefontein, Komaggas and Richtersveld are mountainous and consequently uninhabitable. The Western part of Leliefontein lies in the Sandveld.

The Richtersveld is the most isolated of the five communities: the roads leading into the Reserve are bad and at times impassable except to lorries and jeeps, mail reaches the main villages once a week at the most, and there is no telephone. Port Nolloth is the nearest town and the 80 mile journey is not easily made by car, and takes several days by donkey cart.

Komaggas is also isolated but not to the same extent as the Richtersveld. The main village is situated at a distance of 38 miles from Springbok over bad roads. The journey by donkey cart is a long and difficult one owing to a number of steep mountain passes, but it has a telephone and a weekly postal service.

Leliefontein village is situated approximately 30 miles from the small town of Garies and the national road passes through part of the Reserve at Kharkams. The members of the community enjoy regular postal services and both the main villages have telephones. Leliefontein

is more isolated than Steinkopf mainly because of the mountainous nature of the country, but also because it lies further from the principal towns, Springbok, O'okiep, and Nababeep. Concordia, on the other hand, lies closest to these towns to which it is linked by asphalt roads, regular transport facilities, telephones, and postal services three times a week.

Broadly speaking Concordia, Leliefontein and Komaggas follow the Steinkopf pattern regarding the distribution of population[1]. Concordia and Steinkopf, however, are the only two reserves which have central villages large enough to be classified as small towns (or dorps), and Leliefontein has two main villages (Leliefontein mission village and Kharkams). In Richtersveld the two villages (Kuboes, Lekkersing, ~~and Stinkfontein~~), are sparsely populated and would be difficult to identify as villages in the absence of the churches, shops, and school buildings. Even the huts constituting homesteads are often separated by distances up to 50 yards. Actually these villages in the Richtersveld resemble very closely the Steinkopf hamlets. But each of the three Richtersveld villages has recently acquired a shop and all have churches and schools, whereas Steinkopf hamlets have schools only, although the school buildings are also used for Church services. Similarly, the hamlets in Richtersveld are less complex than those in Steinkopf: only one has a school ..

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1. Certain other details regarding the population of these communities in 1951 have already been given in an earlier chapter. See pp. 55 – 7.

and in size they resemble a large Steinkopf homestead, though the huts are more spread out.

The economic systems of all these communities, except the Richtersveld, are basically similar and resemble closely the Steinkopf pattern. Each practises mixed farming: there is communal land tenure; and migratory labour is nowadays an established institution. Steinkopf is the only Reserve with a large date plantation and a co-operative store, and tributing is not practised in Leliefontein. Plans for the establishment of co-operative stores in the Richtersveld and Komaggas were drawn up in 1960 and it is significant that the plans to establish these and the Steinkopf consumers' co-operative were made at the end of periods of extreme drought.

Richtersveld is primarily a stock farming community, but in recent years a large number of people have found employment outside the Reserve. To my knowledge there is only one family (excluding the Bosluis Basters) which is actively engaged in tributing, although the territory is rich in minerals. There is no regular cultivation although some people claim to produce grain when adequate rain has fallen: little evidence, however, can be found to prove that cultivation has taken place for the past ten years.

Owing to the absence of reliable statistics, it is not possible to make an accurate comparison of income in these reserves. I have attempted, however, to give a rough estimate of the annual income per head of the popu-

TABLE XXX

Estimated income per head of population in Namaqualand Reserves. Small stock and grain only

Reserve	Population	A Small stock		B Grain		A plus B
		No.	Income per head of pop.	No. bags	Income per head of pop.	Total annual income per head of pop.
Leliefontein	2,970	40,000	£5.05	7,000	£6.18	£11.25
Steinkopf	4,400	48,455	£4.13	5,000	£2.99	£7.12
Richtersveld	1,336	18,848	£5.29	--	--	£5.29
Komaggas	2,000	14,320	£2.68	600	£0.79	£3.47
Concordia	2,400	14,150	£1.88	500	£0.55	£2.43

Note: The figures regarding the size of the population and the numbers of small stock for these Reserves (except the Richtersveld) have been taken from the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs Annual Report, U.G. No. 13/1954, p.16, and refer to 1953. The figures for Richtersveld in this Report are so inaccurate that I was obliged to use those supplied by the Secretary of the Richtersveld Advisory Board for 1960 instead. Figures relating to grain are the annual average crops (see U.G. 33-1947, P.53).

lation in terms of local stock farming and agriculture. In making these estimates I have assumed that the annual income per small stock unit is £0.375[1] and that the value of one bag of grain is £2: 12: 6.

The figures in Table XXX. speak for themselves, but it is significant that the two reserves (Concordia and Komaggas) with the lowest income per head also have the highest density of population.[2]

With regard to migratory labour rates I have statistical information for two reserves only. In Steinkopf approximately a quarter of the population (30% of the males and 19% of the females) appear to have left the Reserve temporarily in 1957, while in the Richtersveld (Kuboes village and environs) 22% of the population (36% of the males and 11% of the females) became migrant workers in 1960. Inquiries concerning Concordia revealed that the migrant labour rate was low and this may be explained by the fact that many people find employment near their homes on the copper mines and in the towns adjacent to the Reserve.

In all these communities migratory labour has now been accepted as an economic necessity to supplement the low income derived from the local traditional economic systems which still operate though in a modified form. Geographical and especially social isolation

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1. H. A. Kotzè, "Verslag oor Ekonomiese ondersoek na die ontwikkeling van 'n Voerbank op Goodhouse vir die Kleuringgebiede in Namakwaland". 1960. p.12

2. See p.57

appear, however, to limit this migration: in the Richtersveld and at Komaggas[1] a large scale exodus of migrant workers began only six years ago. In 1952 when I made inquiries for the Anglo-American Mining Corporation regarding labour, only a few people in Komaggas and the Richtersveld entertained the idea of leaving their respective communities to work, and in Steinkopf and Leliefontein there were fewer migrant workers than there are today. Thus there is a suggestion that migratory labour is not only a function of increased poverty, but that it is stimulated also by greater intensity of interaction with the outside world through the advent of new internal institutions which reduce the former centripetal focus and the concomitant conservative attitudes within each community. For example, in the Richtersveld and Komaggas the change seems to have been correlated with changes in Church structure and Church organisation. In the Richtersveld there was the extension of the activities of the N. G. Sending Kerk; in Komaggas there was the advent of the Calvin Protestant Church.[2] Both Churches, moreover, encourage their people to leave their communities as migrant workers to augment family incomes (from which the Churches also benefit), and both Churches retain links with those who go to the mines and towns through special Church officers.

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1. Schultze, however, points out that men from Komaggas used to work on the Spektakel Copper Mines from December to March. This mine, which opened in 1880, is situated about 20 miles from Komaggas village. It closed in the 1920's. (Schultze, op. cit., p.129-31.)

2. In 1952 when I visited Komaggas I was told by the missionary of the N.G.Sending Kerk that he was actively opposed to all forms of migratory labour and had urged people not to leave the Reserve.

Mention must also be made of the value attached to belonging to a common territory. Even if individuals do leave their respective reserves temporarily as migrant workers they know that they have a permanent home, a place to retire, or to go back to when they are sick or unemployed. And in this respect they have greater security than the majority of Coloured persons in the towns or on European farms. This attitude to land, moreover, is reflected in the erroneous belief that the territory is owned by the registered occupiers. "Dit is die gemeenskap se grond." And the most unpopular Whites who appear in the oral traditions are the surveyors, notably those of the last century, who are said to have greatly reduced the former boundaries.

We have shown that in the Steinkopf Reserve migratory labour, in addition to its other functions, appears to have reduced internal land disputes by relieving the pressure on land.[1] No information is available for the other reserves, but it is significant that Komaggas and Concordia, which have the highest population density, tend to display marked internal tensions and dissentions which are not found in the other communities. There is a suggestion, therefore, that these conflicts have their origin in the competition for land.

KINSHIP

The kinship systems in Concordia, Leliefontein, and Komaggas all appear to conform to the pattern already described for Steinkopf. I did not make detailed studies of

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1. See p.104.



13. A DWELLING HUT AND COOKING HUT IN STEINKOPF

The distance between them is approximately fifteen yards. Note shelter and preparations for new hut in the foreground.



14. A DWELLING HUT AND COOKING HUT IN RICHTERSVELD

Note their proximity. This is the homestead of a patrilineal extended family. The husband's brother's hut is in the background.

the lineages and other kinship groups in these communities, but from the investigations I did carry out no significant differences were detected. Richtersveld kinship on the other hand varies in striking ways from the Steinkopf pattern, and we record here the main structural differences between them.

First, there is a measure of separation of the sexes in Richtersveld, but this is by no means as rigid as the pattern existing in Steinkopf. Husbands and wives, for example, interact closely with one another in domestic affairs, men and women gossip freely together, and girls often assist in herding. This pattern is exemplified, moreover, in the layout of the dwelling units. The cooking hut is built only a few feet away from the living hut, thus enabling women to join in conversations between the men, who usually sit in the living hut while the women are cooking or washing up. (It is not being suggested that the distance between the kitchen and dwelling hut determines the relationship between men and women! I am merely asserting that there is an apparent connection between the two factors.) Furthermore, courting is not as strictly controlled in the Richtersveld as it is in Steinkopf. That the status of women in the Richtersveld is higher than in the other Reserves is borne out also by the type of family groupings discussed below, and by the fact that a female <u>kaptein</u> once ruled the community.

Second, the types of families forming the homesteads in Kuboes village and its environs show marked differences from those in Steinkopf. We base this com-

Table XXXI

Type of Homesteads in Kuboes Village and environs

Type of family	Number of families.	%	Total number of persons	Av. size of family
1 Elementary families	19	44.2	93	4.9
2 Rejuvenated families	1	2.3	4	4.0
3 Extended families				
(a) Patrineal extended families	4	9.3	36	9.0
(b) Matrilineal extended families	3	6.9	39	13.0
(c) Matrineal extended families plus other kin (affines and agnates)	4	9.3	93	23.2
(d) Extended families containing affines	9	20.9	113	12.5
(e) Extended families containing affines plus unrelated persons	1	2.3	15	15.0
4 Homesteads consisting of neighbours	2	4.6	21	10.5
	43	99.8	414	9.6



15. STEINKOPF : THE HOMESTEAD OF A PATRILINEAL EXTENDED FAMILY



16. RICHTERSVELD : THREE HOMESTEADS

The two huts in the foreground and their (scarcely visible) adjoining kitchens constitute the homestead of a matrilineal extended family.

parison with Steinkopf on the pattern found in the hamlets and farms, since the Kuboes village resembles a Steinkopf hamlet more than it does the Steinkopf village. In the Steinkopf hamlets and farms there are two main types of families constituting homesteads: elementary families (42.8%) and patrilineal extended families (52.3%). In Richtersveld (Kuboes) the categories of family type are set out in Table XXXI.

From this Table it can be seen that in the Kuboes district of Richtersveld as in the Steinkopf hamlets and farms, the majority live in extended families, but that there is no correlation between the types of extended families in the two areas. It is interesting to note also that the percentage of elementary families is practically identical for the two areas.

In Richtersveld we see that the greatest number of people live in extended families containing affines and that uxorilocality is common. Moreover, only a small number of people live in patrilineal extended families. Now this is difficult to explain, particularly as it can generally be shown that pastoralists tend to practice virilocal marriage. Thirdly, we have already shown that in Steinkopf extended families constitute comparatively closely knit groups, the members of which live in close geographical proximity. But in Richtersveld there is a tendency for the huts constituting an extended family group to be more spread out, and interaction between the members of the extended family less. It is significant, however that two of the four patrilineal extended families at Kuboes follow the Steinkopf pattern in this regard.

Fourthly, in Steinkopf the lineages are clearly defined as they are also in Concordia, Leliefontein and Komaggas. But in Richtersveld the only true lineages are the Links patrilineage down which the hereditary hoof-korporaalskap has passed, and the Gwarra Cloetes, light coloured Basters, whose ancestors used to be extremely wealthy.

Fifthly, the process of getting married in Richtersveld also varies considerably in detail from the Steinkopf pattern. In the first place, as already noted, there are less strict rules regarding courting in Richtersveld although both parents expect to be informed. Second, during the vrou-vraery, far from extolling the virtues of the future bride, the member of her family emphasises her short-comings - "so that the man knows what he is getting"! Thirdly, the day before the wedding takes place, the husband's parents bring a live sheep (or a goat) to the future bride's home. Here they slaughter the animal but are careful not to spill any blood in the course of their work, because every portion of the animal must be handed over to the mother of the bride. This gift of a slaughtered animal is considered essential to all marriages and none takes place without it.

After the marriage the animal is cooked in its own fat if it is in good condition, (otherwise in plain water), but the heart is cooked separately. The marriage feast begins with the ritual eating by both families of the meat of the slaughtered animal at the home of the parents of the bride.

The first part of this ritual is known as "the

biting of the heart." The heart of the slaughtered animal is placed on a separate table in the newly constructed hut in which the new couple will live. Then the mother of the bride or the sister or some other kinsman who has "always lived in peace with other people" takes the heart and bites off and consumes the pointed tip. She then divides the heart with a knife and gives a half to each of the bridal pair, telling them to eat that their hearts may be united in love and so live together in peace and happiness. When the couple have consumed their portions, the rest of the family and friends present share the meat of the animal. The meat of this animal, however, is not the only food served. Cake, bread, rice, beans, tea and sometimes honey beer are supplied either by the girl's or the man's family.

These customs lead us to a better understanding of the type of residence formed in extended families in Richtersveld. An animal, as we have said, is always supplied by the man's family in every marriage for ritual use, but, if virilocal residence after a short period of uxorilocality is to take place, the bulk of the food at the marriage feast is also supplied by them. And informants reported that occasionally the type of residence changed after a long period of uxorilocality when the "groceries" (sic) had been given by the man's parents to the wife's parents. Therefore, when I was investigating the question of uxorilocal marriage in the Richtersveld, I thought that it might be connected with income, but this was found to be an incorrect assumption. In fact there was a slight suggestion that the better-off people were, the greater was the tendency to practice uxorilocal marriage.



17. BROTHERS THRESHING IN STEINKOPF



18. A YOUNG GIRL HERDING IN THE RICHTERSVELD
Note also the proximity of the dwelling and cooking huts in the background.

No satisfactory answer can be found to explain this tendency towards uxorilocality in the Richtersveld. It is possible that the relatively high illegitimacy rate explains the problem, but my hypothesis is that the practice of agriculture in the other reserves has tended indirectly to reinforce patrilineal ties through the "ownership" of arable lands which are generally patrilineally inherited,[1] and co-operation in ploughing, reaping and threshing by certain patrikin. This hypothesis is only tentative, but it is supported also by the fact that in Leliefontein the cultivation of grain is more rewarding than in any other reserve and patrilineal bonds are extremely strong.[2] A possible complementary explanation to my hypothesis is that the Khoi Khoin were not as strict about virilocal residence as has been suggested, and that the initial period of uxorilocality was often continued indefinitely.[3]

CLASS STRUCTURE

In all these communities, except Richtersveld, there is a major cleavage on hereditary class lines between registered occupiers and bywoners. The ratio of bywoner families to registered occupier families expressed as percentages in these communities in 1945 indicates different

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1. See pp. 237-8.
2. cf. Report on Coloured Mission Stations, pp. 50 - 1.
3. cf. I. Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, p. 230. See also Hoernlé's "Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots", p. 10.

trends in the hereditary class pattern:[1]

Leliefontein 23.6%

Concordia 20.0%

Steinkopf 5.4%

Komaggas..... 3.6%

Richtersveld .....------

The relatively high bywoner ratio in Leliefontein can be explained by the fact that it has never been customary to allow new-comers to become registered occupiers. Bywoners, however, are allowed to cultivate if land is available and they pay fees for grazing their livestock.[2] The same practice appears also to apply in Concordia,[3] although one informant stated that a few new-comers had been admitted to the status of registered occupier. I was not able to obtain a satisfactory statement regarding the status of bywoners at Komaggas, but, as in Steinkopf, new-comers have in the past been admitted to registered occupier status.[4]

The only reason I can suggest why new-comers in Concordia have tended not to be admitted as registered occupiers is the shortage of land due to the high density of population, although this is partly invalidated by the fact that Komaggas also has a relatively high population density but (with the exception of the Rich-

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1. Report on Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves, p. 65.
2. Ibid. pp. 50 - I.
3. Ibid. p. 54
4. cf. Report of Rehoboth Commission, p. 73
   L. Schultze, op. cit., p.119.

tersveld), Komaggas has the smallest percentage of bywoners. In Leliefontein the practice not to admit any new-comers to the community except as bywoners is related possibly to the fact that in this Reserve the missionary who was given the power in 1824 to control the number of residents and the distribution of land in the community realised the dangers of over population.

In Richtersveld a class system is still in embryo. In the first place, there is no bywoner class since all new-comers have in the past always been admitted as burghers after a short period of residence. Secondly, there are no clearly defined lineages except the two we have already mentioned. And thirdly, Baster physical characteristics are not regarded as symbols of high status by the majority of people, probably because those Basters who went to the Richtersveld were largely assimilated by the indigenous population. In fact there are many families whose physical characteristics are essentially Baster but who speak only the Nama language, which is now beginning to carry a lower status than Afrikaans. There is a suggestion, nowadays, however, that the people living at Lekkersing and its environs have started to regard themselves as superior to those living in Kuboes and its environs. More people speak Afrikaans as a home language at Lekkersing than at Kuboes, and a number of families have left Kuboes for Lekkersing in recent years because "they were not happy there anymore." All these families are now Afrikaans speaking and tend to follow the Baster rather than the Khoi Khoi way of life.

We must nevertheless record that even in the

Richtersveld certain individuals, irrespective of their other social ties , during the course of time have acquired rank. Known collectively as ampdraers (office-bearers) these people consist of teachers, Kerkraad members and ex members, members of the raad, and in recent years shopkeepers and leaders of voluntary associations. Wealth also carries with it high status in the community, but far less prestige than does an "office" such as we have mentioned.

All my informants agreed that nowadays the person with the highest status in the community was the missionary, but he is a White man who visits the Reserve on Church business only. Second in the status hierarchy are the Kerkraad and the ex Kerkraad members. Third are the members of the raad: "they are not as highly respected as the members of the Kerkraad because they lean towards the White man's government." Fourth are the teachers and other ampdraers: "they count a lot today." Fifth are the well-off farmers who have large numbers of small stock.

In the previous section we attributed the solidarity of lineages in the other four reserves partly to the practice of agriculture but, as we have already demonstrated for Steinkopf, lineage and class are also closely connected. Thus in the Richtersveld it is significant that the only two lineages which exist are those associated closely with the high status of certain of their members: the Swartbooi Links have the hereditary hoofkorporaalskap; the Cloete Basters have been represented on the raad for two generations

and used to be extremely wealthy.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

All these communities are now classified as Coloured Reserves and fall under the control of the Coloured Affairs Department. With the exception of Richtersveld their forms of local government are similar to that of Steinkopf, which has already been described; they also have similar political histories although in Leliefontein the missionary remained a member of the Namaqualand Board until 1959 when he was told by the Coloured Affairs Department to vacate his position as Church representative on the grounds that he was neither a Coloured person nor a "registered occupier".

The Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act was first applied in Richtersveld in 1957, but here the system of local government is geared to an Advisory Board[1] consisting of "five ordinary members appointed by the Minister" and one additional member who is the Superintendent of the Steinkopf Reserve. The five ordinary members "hold office for such period as the Minister may determine at the time of the appointment", but should he have "good reason for doing so", the Minister may terminate the period of office of any member at any time. The duties of the Advisory Board consist of making recommendations to the Minister on matters submitted to it for consideration, and generally to advise him on, and to assist him in, the administration of the community. But the Minister possesses all the rights and powers and performs all the duties, (with certain provisos), conferred

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cf. Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Ademdment Act No. 35 of 1955.

or imposed upon a Board of Management by the Act.

"Elections" for the five members of the Advisory Board were held in the Richtersveld in 1960 and the results sent to the Coloured Affairs Department. Local investigations, however, revealed that the Coloured Affairs Department did not appoint all those candidates who gained the most votes in the "election".

During the years preceding the proclamation of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act in Richtersveld in 1957, the form of local government resembled that already described for Steinkopf during the Baster-missionary period with the important qualifications that the resident missionary (when there was one) took little part in the political life and that the functions of government were simpler. The political head of the community was the hoof korporaal,[1] an hereditary position following patrilineal succession. He was assisted in his duties by a number of korporaals (eight in 1945). The only source of revenue this raad had was derived from the grazing fees paid by the trekboers, other White farmers and a few Coloured people. The burghers paid no taxes and there do not appear to have been any bywoners. The raad received no outside assistance from any government department, and apart from occasional police patrols and sporadic visits from the Superintendent of Reserves, it managed all the internal affairs of the community. Its functions were limited owing to the nomadic nature of the people, and in general the form of government was structurally simpler than that described by Schapera and others for the Khoi Khoin,[2] and the raad had very little

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1. In 1925 he was still called kaptein. (Letter dated 27 October 1927 from Surveyor General's Office, Cape Town, to the Minister of Lands).

2. cf. I. Schapera, Government and Politics in Tribal Societies.

control over the people.[1]

CHURCHES, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, AND SCHOOLS

All these communities, with the exception of Leliefontein, are at present under the official religious jurisdiction of the N. G. Sending Kerk, which, as in Steinkopf, took over the work of the Rhenish Mission Society in the 1930's. Regular mission work was begun at Leliefontein in 1816 by Barnabas Shaw of the Methodist Church and this denomination has remained the official religious body in the community.

In Leliefontein and Richtersveld, as in Steinkopf, these official Churches may be said to be dominant religious institutions since the majority of each population are active Church members in their respective communities. But in Komaggas a strong rivalry exists between the members of the N. G. Sending Kerk (the official Church), and the members of the Calvin Protestant Church, a new denomination which was formed in Cape Town in 1950 by a former Coloured minister of the N. G. Sending Kerk.[2] The moderator and founder of the Calvin Protestant Church was invited to Komaggas by members of the community because they did not wish to be ministered to by the N. G. Sending Kerk and also because they disliked the personality of the resident missionary. They allege also that the majority of the community never agreed to the transfer

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1. cf. U.G. 33-1947, pp. 54-5, and letter to Minister of Lands mentioned above.

~~2. See Appendix L for an account of the supernatural beliefs.~~

2. Cf. Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, pp. 133, 159.

to the N. G. Sending Kerk after the Rhenish Mission Society had ceased to operate in their Reserve. The Calvin Protestant Church has the largest following, and in 1957 more than seven hundred adult members of the community of approximately 2,000 signed a letter urging the moderator of the Calvin Protestant Church to establish a congregation in the Reserve and build a church.[1] Neither the N. G. Sending Kerk nor the Coloured Affairs Department reacted favourably to this request, but in 1958 the Calvin Protestant Church was allowed to hold services once a month in the Reserve. There are also a few members of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches in Komaggas.

In Concordia approximately forty members of the community have also joined the Calvin Protestant Church which has permission to hold services in the Reserve once every three months. Members of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist Churches are also found in Concordia. Statistics are not available but the total membership of all these Churches, including the Calvin Protestant Church, is unlikely to exceed five per cent. of the population.

In Leliefontein there are a few Roman Catholics at Spoegrivier, two Anglicans who are teachers, and one Moravian. The rest of the population belong to the established Methodist Church.

The people of Richtersveld are active supporters of the N. G. Sending Kerk, and some of the ten Roman Catholics worship in the mission church.

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1. P. Carstens, "Op. cit. [illegible] in [illegible] South, [illegible].

The system of Church government and Church structure found in the Reserves under the religious jurisdiction of the N. G. Sending Kerk has already been described, and it remains for us to draw attention to the fact that the Methodist system found at Leliefontein differs greatly from it.[1]

In the Methodist Church in South Africa little distinction is made between White and Non-White congregations, but in practice the various "racial" groups within the Church worship separately. Thus the Methodist minister at Leliefontein is not a missionary in the community, but the superintendent minister of a Circuit. Although the Circuit extends beyond the borders of the Reserve most of its work is carried out locally.

The Leliefontein Circuit is divided for the purpose of administration into what is known as Societies or Gemeentes. Nine out of the total of twenty one societies in the Circuit fall within the boundaries of the Reserve. Each Society is again subdivided into a number of Classes, groups of people who are supposed to meet once a week for prayer and Bible study. Thus instead of local Church affairs being administered by a single body or committee as in the other Reserves, Leliefontein has a sort of federal administrative framework which provides opportunities for a large number of active religious leaders and a system for the greater control of the congregation by the established Church than in the other reserves.

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1. Church Government in the Methodist Church of South Africa is laid down in :
A Manual of the Laws and Discipline of the Methodist Church of South Africa, 3rd edition, 1946.

Each Society is administered by a Leaders' Meeting consisting of six diakens (nominated by the Minister but elected by the full Church members) and the leaders of the Classes (who are appointed by the minister). The minister presides over all the meetings. The work of all these Societies is co-ordinated by the Quarterly Meeting which is the official body administering the Circuit. All the members of each Leaders' Meeting are represented at the Quarterly Meeting and together with the twenty five lay preachers in the Reserve and two additional diakens (nominated by the minister and voted into office by the Quarterly Meeting) constitute this body. The Quarterly Meeting is presided over by the minister who has a casting as well as a deliberative vote in all matters on which a unanimous decision is not reached.

It should be clear from this account of Church government in Leliefontein that the minister, in spite of the decentralised system of administration in the community, wields great authority. It is true that he delegates his power to his many Church officers but in practice he can be more autocratic than the ministers in the N. G. Kerk, who, by Church law, are responsible to their respective Kerkrade whose members are all elected by the representatives of their congregations.

The number of voluntary associations in any society or community generally provides a good index of the degree of complexity of social structure. It has, however, been shown by Piddington that a limited number of simple or primitive societies do have associations based on voluntary membership.[1]

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1. R. Piddington: Introduction to Social Anthropology Vol. I pp. 206-15

Richtersveld which is closest to the Nama tradition than any of the other communities we are discussing, had no voluntary association until 1944 when the first burial society was formed by an alien teacher at Lekkersing. In 1947 the sustersbond was established by the visiting missionary's wife. In 1955 a second burial society was created (at Kuboes) by a local teacher, and towards the end of 1960 a kinderbond grew out of the sustersbond.

Leliefontein has a complex network of voluntary associations most of which are or were geared to local Methodist Church structure and have been in existence for a long time. In this community there are seven burial societies, one of which has extended its activities to local charity and welfare. They were all founded by the Church but are now independent associations although the majority have leaders who are also Church officers. There is a Women's Association which has ten branches, and each of the nine "Societies" constituting part of the Leliefontein Circuit has organisations for young people and a local Sunday school. Certain of the nine choirs have recently taken on the character of clubs with constitutions and subscriptions. There is also a sports club which was started in 1958 and this is attached to the Church. An opvoedings organisasie was founded in 1959 to raise funds to send children to the secondary school at Steinkopf.

In Concordia the forms of voluntary associations resemble the Steinkopf pattern although there is only one burial society and fewer Church associations, and the adherents to the Calvin Protestant Church have now formed an association of their own.

In Komaggas, apart from one burial society, no voluntary associations of the Steinkopf type existed in 1959. This appears to have been due to the disintegration of the N. G. Sending Kerk and the other dissentions within the community. The large number of adherents to the Calvin Protestant Church, however, have formed an association which is beginning to take on the characteristics of a Church in spite of legal difficulties, and the moderator of the Calvin Protestant Church expects his Komaggas congregation to develop burial societies and other voluntary associations in the near future.

The most significant feature which emerges from this analysis of voluntary associations is that the majority are not only linked with the Churches in the reserves but that the number of Church-linked voluntary associations is connected with the structure of Church government and Church solidarity in the communities in which they occur.

The pattern of formal education is basically the same in all the communities though there are variations in the number and status of the schools. Steinkopf is the only community which provides education up to Standard Ten. In Leliefontein there are nine schools with a total of 23 teachers and 682 pupils, Concordia has 4 schools with 14 teachers and 446 pupils, Komaggas has 2 schools with 11 teachers and 391 pupils, Richtersveld has 4 schools with 10 teachers and 263 pupils. All these figures are for 1960.

It is only in the last ten or fifteen years that the Richtersveld children have received adequate formal primary education by present day standards. Between 1933 and 1945 there appears to have been only one permanent

regular teacher, between 1917 and 1932 no formal education was given at all, and those who received training in the mission school prior to 1917 appear to have been taught only the alphabet, and to count.

In the Richtersveld a modified form of the traditional Khoi Khoi[1] girl's initiation ceremony is still carried out, though the custom is dying out fast. The purpose for which this ceremony is performed is to protect the girl physically in her change to womanhood, since a girl during her first menstruation is believed to be prone to illness of various kinds. It is performed also to test the girl to see whether she will be healthy in later life and if she will be a good and lucky wife; and to instruct her as to her proper duties as a wife and mother.

LEADERSHIP AND FOCI OF POWER

If a comparison is made of the categories of people represented on the Leliefontein Management Board with those on the Steinkopf Management Board, one is immediately struck by the differences. In Leliefontein the superintendent is an alien. He was transferred by the Coloured Affairs Department from the Mission Station Zoar where he had held a similar position. He is officially a member of the N. G. Sending Kerk, but has tried without success to obtain permission from this Church to transfer to the Methodist Church which is the only recognised church in the Reserve. This difficulty has, however, been partly overcome since the local Methodist

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1. I. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples, pp 272-9
A. W. Hoernlé: "Certain Rites of Transition... among the Hottentots" in Harvard African Studies, Vol 2, 1918, pp 65-82
_____: "The Social Value of Water" in S. A. J. Science, 1923, vol 20, pp. 523-5
_____: Richtersveld, The Land and its Peoples, 1913

Church has accepted him unoffically and has made him a lay preacher.

The superintendent is favourably accepted as an official leader by the majority of the population although many of the teachers and educated people feel that he should show more deference towards them. His wife, who is a nurse by profession, is also well-liked.

One of the factors which may explain why tension exists between the superintendent and the educated people is that no teachers are members of the Management Board. In Leliefontein the minister (missionary) does not approve of teachers (whom he appoints) doing two jobs of work and this attitude has prevented them from standing for election or nomination. Paradoxically though, the minister apparently encourages certain teachers to become office bearers in the church which in many ways requires more time and energy than membership of the Management Board.

The secretary of the Management Board plus the Church-nominated Government-appointed member, the two Government-appointed members, and all (except one) of the six elected members are office-bearers in the Methodist Church. And three of the elected members (who are Church officers) are also shopkeepers.

All the Management Board members are well-off by Leliefontein standards: those who are not shopkeepers or paid officials (the superintendent and the secretary), are successful farmers, sterk boere, in the Steinkopf sense.

The Church in Leliefontein in spite of its decentralised system of local administration is largely

dominated by the alien minister since it is through him that the majority of Church officers gain their positions (either by the minister's appointment or by his nomination for election.) In practice though, all categories of people in the Reserve appear to be adequately represented on the various Church committees and enquiries suggested that the system operates smoothly without any obvious tensions or conflicts between office-bearers or the groups they represent.

Although the school teachers are not elected as members of the Management Board, they do play their part as leaders in Church affairs. But not all teachers become Church leaders: only locally born teachers or alien teachers who have been members of the community for a long time tend to fill these positions. This is due partly to the fact that alien teachers are often members of other churches and also, according to the minister, because "the type of outsider who comes to Leliefontein is usually someone who has been unable to hold down a job elsewhere - drunkards and other immoral persons." In 1960 only <u>one</u> out of the <u>twelve</u> alien teachers was a Church leader, whereas nine of the eleven locally born teachers were.

In terms of the number of teachers in each category (alien or local), it can be seen that the education of the young is partly in the hands of aliens and partly in the hands of locally-born people. But. as in the case of Steinkopf, the minister, who is an alien, is largely responsible for the appointment of teachers and manages all the schools.

Leadership in the voluntary associations - the burial societies, the church associations, the choirs, the vroue vereeniging, the sports club, and the opvoedings organisasie - lies almost entirely in the hands of the local inhabitants, most of whom are traditional leaders. In fact the only alien leader (of one of the burial societies) is a teacher who has taught in the Reserve for many years.

The majority of these voluntary associations fall within the framework of the Church, but even those which do not, viz. the burial societies and the opvoedings organisasie and the choirs, are dominated by leaders who are also church officers.

In Richtersveld which is administered by the Coloured Affairs Department through an Advisory Board, the official leader in local government is an alien, the superintendent of the Steinkopf Reserve, and he visits the Reserve each month to preside over Advisory Board meetings. The Steinkopf superintendent, however, is not a complete stranger to Richtersveld as he spent several years in the late 1930's at Kuboes where he was principal of the school. Although the majority of people regard him more as a police sergeant than their superintendent, there is no real antagonism towards him. He is merely regarded as a government official whose authority they are obliged to accept.

The secretary of the Advisory Board is a grandson of the famous Rhenish Missionary of Kuboes, J.H.Hein, who was a man of mixed descent. He is also principal of the Lekkersing school, owns the shop and runs the postal agency at Lekkersing, possesses large herds of livestock, and is a deacon in the Church.

Two of the five ordinary members of the Board are traditional leaders, the hereditary hoof korporaal who has held office since his father's death in 1928, and the Cloete Baster who has been a member of the Board (formerly the Raad) since 1930 and is well-off. The latter's lineage has been represented on the Raad since about 1850. The third ordinary member is a brother of the secretary and is involved in his brother's business. One of the remaining two ordinary members represents the Bosluis Basters while the other has no special distinction.

It used to be the practice in Richtersveld for the raad, the Kerkraad, and the schools to be entirely separate institutions but with the increase in the number of teachers accompanying the development of education and the extension of the Church, close links between Church leaders and school teachers (and their wives) has taken place. (And, as we have shown, the Advisory Board has tended to bring local government into a common orbit with education and the church). For example, in Kuboes and Lekkersing most of the work of the Kerkraad is done by the two school principals. They hold services on Sundays (except when the visiting missionary or the evangelist visits the main centres) and the bid-uur on wednesdays, and they conduct funerals and prepare people for confirmation. Other teachers run the Sunday schools and one of the principals organises the Church choir. The sustersbond and the kinderbond have executive committees consisting entirely of teachers' wives, although the president of the sustersbond is the visiting missionary's wife. But since she visits the Richtersveld so seldom, her role is more that of a patron than a leader.

The official leader of the N. G. Sending Kerk is the White missionary and, as in the other reserves, his office carries with it great prestige and respect. But in the Richtersveld the main impact which the Church makes on the community is through the teachers and their wives.

The White Evangelist, who lives outside the Reserve, is also the manager of the schools. He visits Kuboes and Lekkersing once every month to hold services but his work must be seen as supplementary to that of the teachers and their wives, who are better integrated with the community, although the majority of them are aliens also.

Leadership in the Church voluntary associations has already been described. The only other voluntary associations (excluding those at Eksteenfontein) are the two burial societies. The Lekkersing burial society which was founded first (by an alien teacher) is now under the leadership of a diaken with a committee consisting predominantly of other Kerkraad or former Kerkraad members. At Kuboes a locally born teacher, the founder, is the chairman, but is assisted by his wife, the locally born manager of the shop, and an alien teacher. Both burial societies as in the case of Steinkopf and Leliefontein are independent of the Church.

Finally, we should point out that in 1960 the teachers extended their activities as leaders in the community by being largely responsible for the creation of a consumers' co-operative store at Kuboes. Two of them (both aliens) were elected as senior directors.

I was not able to collect the same amount of detail regarding leadership and the foci of power in Concordia and

and Komaggas as I was for the other reserves,[1] and our discussion is limited, therefore, to certain aspects of their management boards, schools and churches.

In Concordia the superintendent of the Reserve is a registered occupier and is also chairman of the Komaggas Management Board. His appointment is made on the same basis as the other superintendents. In neither Komaggas nor Concordia are teachers represented on the Management Boards, and each Management Board includes only two members of the Kerkrade of the established Churches (N.G.Sending Kerk.) During the past four years both Management Boards have had a Roman Catholic as a member, and in the main the majority of councillors have been farmers, none of whom was particularly well-off.

In recent years the rise of the Calvin Protestant Church in Komaggas has influenced the whole pattern of leadership in that community especially in the field of local government, for it is the aim of members of the Calvin Protestant Church to obtain a majority vote on the Management Board in order to pass a motion requesting the Central Government to recognise their Church as one of the established Churches in the Reserve. But in order to achieve a majority vote on the Management Board it is necessary for them to place in office all six of the elected members.[2] This, however, has not been possible because certain of the Calvin Protestant Church voters have for various reasons, (e.g. failure to pay taxes before the due date), been excluded

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1. See Preface.

2. See pp. 264-5.

from the electoral role before polling days. But by 1960 they had managed to return four of the six elected members to office including two of their unofficial Church leaders.

As regards the schools in Komaggas all the teachers are aliens and members of the N. G. Sending Kerk, but none are members of the Kerkraad. In spite of their membership of the established church the majority are said to be secretly sympathetic towards the activities of the Calvin Protestant Church, but in view of the fact that they are appointed by the N. G. Sending Kerk missionary, they are unable either to change their Church affiliation or express their feelings in public.

In Concordia nine of the teachers are registered occupiers and five are aliens. I was unable to discover how many of the teachers were members of the N. G. Sending Kerk, but two (both of whom are registered occupiers) are on the Kerkraad.

A feature of the pattern of leadership in these five communities is the tendency to accept (and approve of) alien leadership in certain secondary groups, notably those groups whose activities extend also beyond the boundaries of their respective communities.[1] This tendency, however, appears to be influenced by the system of local Church government, and to vary in direct proportion to the size of the bywoner class. Thus the reason why alien leadership in Leliefontein is less marked than it is in Steinkopf seems to be due: (a) to the fact that in Leliefontein the federal administrative structure of the Methodist Church provides

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1. cf. R. Frankenberg, Village on the Border, London, Cohen and West, 1957.

a system in which various local traditional groupings of people in the Reserve are represented; and hence the locally born inhabitants tend to be preferred as leaders in certain Church and Church-linked associations, and (b) because in Leliefontein all aliens are bywoners and consequently have low status in terms of the hereditary class system, whereas in Steinkopf, which has a small bywoner class, the intermediary semi-permanent hereditary class of strangers caters for new-comers who are likely to be accepted later to full citizenship.

Similarly, it is argued that aliens figure prominently as leaders in the newly formed secondary groups in Richtersveld because of their relation to the N. G. Sending Kerk, and because of the absence of a bywoner class in the Reserve.

Lack of details on leadership in Concordia, which has a large bywoner class, and Komaggas which has not prevents the testing of the modifying hypothesis in these two communities. But we have already shown that no alien is represented on the Concordia N. G. Sending Kerkraad, and in an interview, the principal of the O'okiep Coloured School (who knows Concordia well), stated that he could not think of any aliens who were leaders of voluntary associations in Concordia. Moreover, in Komaggas, although the rebellion against the authority of the N.G.Sending Kerk weakens my hypothesis, the inviting of the Moderator of the Calvin Protestant Church to the community shows clearly a desire on the part of the majority of the inhabitants to be served by an alien religious leader, albeit of their own choice.

Finally, we should point out that in these communities local government appears to be most effective when political power is reinforced by religious power, power in education, and/or economic power, or traditional authority when that authority is still accepted by the majority, provided that leadership in the reinforcing institutions is accepted by the majority of people in the community and that certain of the key men in the political power group also hold key posts in the reinforcing institutions. Thus we have shown that in Steinkopf there is a marked duplication and triplication of power among the leaders in local government, the established Church, and the schools, and that certain wealthy stock farmers are members of the Management Board.[1] In Leliefontein political power is greatly reinforced by the established Church, the shop-keepers, and the well-off farmers, but not by the educational system. The Richtersveld with an Advisory Board instead of a Management Board provides a somewhat different situation for comparison, but it seems unlikely that the new system of local government would have been so readily accepted and so effective had the status of the members of the Advisory Board not been reinforced by their other affiliations - the school, the Church, traditional authority, and wealth. Moreover, under the old raad the ties between politics and religion and education in the Richtersveld were absent and local government was ineffective (e.g. the Le Fleur crisis already referred to.)

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1. See p.276

It is true, of course, that contemporary local governments in all these communities can use force to carry out their duties, but some degree of acceptance is necessary to make political authority effective, and the suggestion made here is that this requirement is satisfied partly through the close association of the local government members with other institutions which are accepted. Hence in Komaggas the system of local government has been ineffective because the Management Board has not been strengthened by the established Church (although leaders and members of this Church hold offices on the Management Board) because the established Church is not accepted by the majority of the population. Moreover, there are no teachers represented on the Komaggas Management Board, nor does it have the support of any other effective source. In Concordia, a similar yet less serious situation has arisen: the Management Board has great difficulty in enforcing certain regulations, and members of the community have on occasions brought their grievances to the Coloured Affairs Department in Cape Town rather than to their Management Board. In Concordia also the Calvin Protestant Church is beginning to challenge the former authority of the established Church and as a result the support given by the two Kerkraad members on the Management Board to local government is rendered less effective. The Management Board has no teacher among its ranks, no well-to-do farmer, although there is one shopkeeper.

In these Namaqualand communities, then, a high degree of integration between the main institutions, either direct or indirect, seems necessary if these communities are to achieve social cohesion and if each

of these institutions is to be able to function effectively, and this may possibly be explained by the fact that external interaction tends to weaken the intensity of local interactions within each institution.

Chapter 14.

AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

In the Herbert Spencer Lecture of 1958 Morris Ginsberg explained that the term social change included two things:

i. "A change in social structure, e.g.: the size of a society, the composition and balance of its parts or the type of organisation".

ii. "The changes in attitudes and beliefs in so far as they sustain institutions and change with them".[1]

Here we are concerned mainly with the first of these aspects of social change since information regarding attitudes and beliefs held in former periods is not always available in a form which can be utilised for sociological interpretation.

We begin this analysis of social change with a general discussion of an aspect of the colonisation of the North-Western Cape, i.e. the origin of the Basters who were the Pioneers or Voortrekkers of that part of South Africa.

KHOI KHOIN - TREKBOER INTEGRATION.

Steinkopf and other similar communities are the result of racial and social integration. The process began, as we have seen, with the fusing together on the north-west frontier in the early eighteenth century and in later years of certain Khoi Khoin and early Cape Dutch into relatively

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1. Morris Ginsberg, "Social Change" in The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1958.

homogeneous nomadic groups of Basters.

The explanation of this phenomenon is, I believe, two-fold. First, it may be argued that during the greater part of the eighteenth century the Dutch frontiersmen and the Khoi Khoin were dependent on each other for survival and for the satisfaction of certain needs. Secondly, I suggest that certain similarities between the social structures of the Trekboers and the Khoi Khoin during this period facilitated interaction between individuals and groups in the two societies.[1]

When the Dutch Colonists first entered the north-western section of South Africa they found themselves occupying the same territory as the Khoi Khoin, and since they were also pastoralists it was essential for them to share common grazing lands with their new neighbours. Furthermore they wanted Khoi Khoin cattle and sheep to augment their herds and flocks. They also needed the Khoi Khoin as servants and shepherds, not merely for the work they were able to perform, but also for the companionship they provided on the isolated and lonely frontier. Even today, anyone who has visited a Trekboer family or an outlying Afrikaans farm in South Africa, especially in the North-Western Cape, cannot fail to have been impressed by the part which domestic servants play in providing companionship for the members of the elementary family, notably the women and children. This need for companionship among the eighteenth century frontiersmen is drawn attention to by MacCrone who states that, "The extreme monotony and loneliness of the lives of many of the women and trying conditions under which they lived may have had

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1. cf. Fischer, op. cit. pp. 228-237

something to do with the prevalence of hysterical disorders among them, upon which Lichtenstein comments".[1]

Co-operation with the Khoi Khoin, moreover, was necessary to obtain additional manpower to swell the ranks of their commandos which were organised to hunt and annihilate the Bushmen, and thereby to guarantee their own survival. Military service from the Khoi Khoin was necessary also on account of the harsh climate to which the Khoi Khoin were better adapted.

On the frontier there were no medical services, and the Trekboers were seldom in reach of European doctors. Thus it was to their advantage to make use of Khoi Khoin leeches and midwives in times of need. Even today the White Afrikaner population of Namaqualand have preserved many of the old Khoi Khoin practices in the treatment of disease. Furthermore, the dwellings of the Khoi Khoin were better suited to local climatic conditions than mud-walled thatch-roofed houses. Mathouses could be easily and quickly taken down, transported, and assembled; they were well ventilated and cool in summer, while in winter the reeds swelled during rain and provided excellent shelter. Nowadays it is still common to find White peasants living in traditional Khoi Khoin dwellings,[2] and the remnants of the early Trekboers always possess mathouses in addition to their wagon homes.

But it was not only the frontiersmen who needed the Khoi Khoin; the latter too were greatly dependent on the former. They needed Trekboer support, especially their guns,

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1. I. MacCrone, Race Attitudes in South Africa, p. 110

   H. Lichtenstein, Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803-6. Vol. 1. pp. 109-10

2. P.J.van der Merwe, Trek, Chapter XI.
   P. W. Kotze, Namakwaland, p. 86.

See also J.E.Alexander, An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 1838, p. 64 ff.

to ward off the Bushmen. They also wanted metal goods, tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, and brandy which they appear to have been unable to resist.[1] The frontiersmen could supply all these commodities, and some (Engelbrecht[2] for example) were part-time traders.

Apart from these positive factors which stimulated interaction between Khoi Khoin and Trekboer, it must also be borne in mind that demographic factors did not hamper or deter association between the two peoples. Most important was the fact that the Khoi Khoin did not check the northerly migration of the colonists because their population at this time was relatively small in size,[3] and widely dispersed. Earlier, wars with Europeans had reduced the number of Khoi Khoin in the Colony and its environs; and imported diseases such as smallpox had decimated their ranks.[4] Thus the relative proportion of Khoi Khoin to Trekboer was not so great as to endanger the freedom and security of the latter, especially as the Khoi Khoin were not inclined to guerilla warfare as were many of the Bushmen.[5]

As a result of their mutual dependence therefore, the Khoi Khoin and the Trekboers began to perform common activities together. They began by trading and affording each other protection. In return for livestock and labour the Khoi Khoin received European trade goods; in return for their

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1. J. S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People. p. 7.
2. See Chapter VII.
3. Accurate population figures are not available, but Stowe in his Native Races of South Africa, estimated that those Khoi Khoin inhabiting the Cape Peninsula and surrounding country in 1652 numbered between 13,000 and 14,000 people. In 1740, the nominally white free burgher population was about 4,000 (see Neumark, Economic Influences on the South African Frontier 1652-1836 p. 10). Thus in view of the fact that the Khoi Khoin population decreased between the years 1652 and 1740 the difference in the total Khoi Khoin and White population could not have been great.
4. Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples, p. 46.
5. MacCrone, op. cit. pp. 101-6, et passim.

military service on commandos they received the support of their neighbours and the security provided by guns; and through their daily contacts each group benefited from the culture of the other. Thus it was the existence of these reciprocal necessities which initiated the process of racial and social integration.

But the degree to which the fusion took place seems to have been due to the absence of cohesion in both groups. Neither the Trekboers, nor these Khoi Khoin who came into contact with them, were strongly unified communities: both were in a state of disequilibrium. The former people had severed their ties with the Settlement at the Cape, while the cohesion of the Khoi Khoin tribes and clans had been weakened by earlier contacts with the Dutch, and by Dutch interference and intrusion into the territory which they formerly occupied. Thus, as a result of this general condition of instability and disequilibrium there were individuals and groups of Khoi Khoin and Trekboers who could easily detach themselves from their communities and become the founding ancestors of a new category of people, the Basters. In a sense then, these Basters were the descendants of the non-conformers or deviants of the traditional Khoi Khoin and early Cape Dutch. Among the latter, moreover, it was those who were least affected by the authority of the landdrost or veldkornet, who moved nearest in space to the Khoi Khoin and became closely integrated with them.[1]

The fruits of interaction between these two groups of people can be seen from the extent to which they learned

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1. MacCrone, op. cit. pp. 114-118.
   Marais, op. cit. pp. 10 - 13.

each other's language. And this in turn led to further and more intense interaction and subsequent integration.[1] As regards the learning of language on the frontier John Barrow states that: "Most of the Dutch peasantry in the distant districts speak (the Hottentot language)[2], and that "(the Hottentots) learn the Dutch language with great facility."[3] Moreover, James Backhouse, writing specifically about the southern sector of Little Namaqualand says : "Notwithstanding the difficulty of acquiring the Hottentot language, many of the Boors, in this part of the country, spoke it fluently, having learned it in childhood, by association with the children of their Hottentot servants."[4]

THE BASTERS AND THE MISSIONARIES

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, largely as the result of the process of integration we have described, a very marked class structure developed on the north-west frontier.[5] At this time the population consisted of three main groups of people: the Dutch frontiers-

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1. Certain of the Khoi Khoin, however, appear to have acquired a knowledge of Dutch from the earliest days of their contact with the Colonists and this must have facilitated the initial interaction between the two groups on the frontier.
cf. Van Riebeeck Journal, Ed. H.B.Thom, Balkema, Cape Town, 1953, especially Vol. 11, p. 89.
O. Dapper in The Early Cape Hottentots, Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, 1933, p. 73.
MacCrone, op. cit. pp. 43-5.

2. J. Barrow, Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, London, 1801, p. 162.

3. Ibid, p. 160. See also Marais, op. cit. pp. 135-6.

4. J. Backhouse, A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa, London, 1844, p. 526.

5. The north-west bounday of the Colony was extended in 1798 from the Olifants River to the Kamiesberg, roughly where the town of Garies stands today.

men, the Basters, and those remaining Khoi Khoin who had not yet migrated northwards. The Dutch frontiersmen claimed precedence over both the other groups, and the Basters came to be regarded as an inferior class of European both by their White neighbours, and by the Government which had now begun to interest itself in the affairs of the northern half of the Colony.[1] As a result of this class distinction many of the Basters crossed the boundary into Little Namaqualand where they were free to search for fresh pastures for their livestock without fearing competition from the Whites who were favoured by the Colonial Government. Thus, although they left the Colony as inferiors, they entered Little Namaqualand possessing guns, and regarded themselves as superior to the Khoi Khoin with whom they came in contact. It is not possible to state precisely what the Basters took with them in the way of Dutch culture apart from guns, wagons, a European style of dress, a knowledge of the Christian religion, and the Dutch language which had become their mother tongue, although they also spoke the Khoi Khoin language.[2] The fact that they were regarded as an inferior class of European, however, is evidence that they possessed many Dutch characteristics.

Those Baster Pioneers who settled in the territories now known as Concordia, Komaggas, Steinkopf, Leliefontein and Richtersveld found themselves in a position similar to that in which their Trekboer ancestors had been earlier, although here the indigenous population was politically more effectively

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1. MacCrone, op. cit. Chapter VII.
   Marais, op. cit. pp. 10 - 13.

2. Backhouse, op. cit. pp. 526, 532, 545-6, 578.
   Lichtenstein, op. cit. Vol. II, 301-2.

organised. The roles which these people played in their respective territories in subsequent years, however, differed in various important respects from one another. In Concordia, Komaggas, and Steinkopf the Basters soon acquired political power and held it for well over fifty years. And they have largely retained their identity as separate groups, an identity which is nowadays reflected in the lineage and class structures. In Leliefontein and the Richtersveld, however, the Basters neither achieved power nor have they retained their identity as separate groups. It is true that in the Richtersveld a Baster became kaptein but this was because the female kaptein had no one to succeed her and because this Baster had married one of her kin. Moreover, after his marriage his name was changed to Swartbooi Links and he became a member of the indigenous community whose interests he served.[1] The Cloete Baster lineage to which we have already referred has tended to retain its identity not because of Baster interests, but, as we have shown, because of its wealth.

At the level of comparative analysis the main factor which appears to explain these differences is the role played by missionaries in the communities where the Basters settled. It seems clear that those Basters who received the active support of missionaries[2] achieved political power during the last century in the communities they joined, and this support tended to perpetuate and boost their feelings of superiority over the indigenous people.

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1. When the Surveyor-General, Charles Bell, visited the Richtersveld in 1854 he took Links to be a "Hottentot". Links could not then speak Dutch. Reports of Charles Bell on the Copper fields of Little Namaqualand, Saul Solomon, Cape Town, 1855.

2. cf. Marais, op. cit. p. 107.

people. Moreover, once they had established themselves politically they were able to strengthen their ranks by admitting other Basters as burghers to their communities, although in Concordia the extent to which this took place was limited by shortage of land.

The importance of missionary influence in building up the Rehoboth Baster community has also been observed.[1] Moreover, it seems unlikely that these Basters who crossed the Orange River in 1868 would have retained their unity had it not been for their missionary, who trekked with them. The upper class which Fischer describes were the Basters par excellence; they formed the vanguard of the trek and at the beginning of the twentieth century still wielded power in the community.[2]

In accordance with the hypothesis that the Basters in Concordia, Komaggas and Steinkopf achieved power largely through the support of the missionaries, these Basters should have lost their power after the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act was enforced. This has been demonstrated for Steinkopf, but I was unable to test it satisfactorily in Concordia or Komaggas because I did not have access to the Management Board minutes. But Mr. J. Fortuin,

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1. Fischer, op. cit. especially pp. 23-31, 228-237.
   Marais, op. cit. pp. 88-9, 98 - 108.

2. Fischer, op. cit. pp. 29, 236-7.
   For an account of the Griqua Basters and their relationship with missionaries see: G.W.Stow, The Native Races of South Africa, pp. 316-403; J. Campbell, Travels in South Africa: Narrative of a Second Journey in the Interior. 1822. Vol. II, pp. 259-71; J.S.Halford, The Griquas of Griqualand; Marais, op. cit. Chapter 11.

a former Komaggas Management Board member, proved to me that it applied also to his community.

In the two communities where the Basters did not gain political power and lost their identity as separate groups we find different circumstances.

At Leliefontein it was not the Basters but the indigenous population who had missionary support. This was due to the coincidence which in 1816 brought the missionary Barnabas Shaw to serve the Khoi Khoin people there. On his way to South West Africa he was met by the chief of a tribe of Little Namaqua who was journeying to Cape Town in search of a missionary to serve him and his people at Leliefontein. The chief, who spoke Dutch, promptly invited Shaw to accept the position. He did, and the two travelled together to Leliefontein[1] where the new missionary was welcomed by the members of the tribe.

It is not known why this chief was so eager to engage the services of a missionary but it seems probable that he needed support in the face of the encroaching Boers,[2] and that he and his people had been impressed by Seidenfaden of the London Missionary Society, who, apart from giving religious instruction had taught some of the people Dutch during his stay in 1808.[3]

In the Richtersveld the early missionaries do not appear to have sided with any one group, and missionary influence in general has been less than in any of the other communities. The resident missionaries, who were themselves Basters, played no part in politics, contributed little to school education, and even in the field of religious instruc-

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1. Shaw, op. cit. p. 68
2. Barrow, op. cit. p. 388
3. P.W.Kotzé, op. cit. p. 204, and see p. 37/ of this thesis

tion achieved less than those at other stations.[1]

There are, however, other factors which were also responsible for the absorption of the Basters by the Khoi Khoin in the Richtersveld. Here the Basters appear to have come as isolated individuals and families, and this tended to facilitate the process whereby they lost their identity, as was also the case in the north-west part of Steinkopf. The extreme isolation of the Richtersveld may also have been a contributory factor. Yet in spite of these additional explanations the comparative material suggests that the missionary factor was the most important.

It is not possible to state what changes the early Basters effected in Leliefontein and the Richtersveld. The fact that the culture of the former is nowadays essentially Baster, whereas the culture of the latter tends to be Khoi Khoin, however, suggests that Baster influence in Leliefontein was greater. And since Leliefontein is situated on part of the old migration route to the north, we would expect it to have been greater than in the isolated Richtersveld. It would appear, therefore, that Leliefontein's geographical position brought the indigenous population in regular contact with Basters, although few Basters settled there permanently,[2] and that the Basters way of life was copied. But there is another aspect which must be considered viz: the missionary factor in Baster culture. I have defined the Baster culture historically as a synthesis between two traditions, Trekboer and Khoi Khoin, a product of frontier

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1. cf. Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft, No. 18, 1855, p. 282

2. Marais (op. cit. p. 75) says that Von Rohden reported that in 1840 Leliefontein consisted mainly of Namaqua.

life in the north-west. But very little is known about the culture of these Basters before they settled near missionaries where their way of life was radically altered. Thus it is possible that the Baster way of life, as it can be observed in Leliefontein and elsewhere today, owed more of its character to missionary influence than is generally realised, as Fischer firmly believed.[1]

If we turn our attention to the change from the Khoi Khoin to the Dutch (later Afrikaans) language in these communities (excluding the Richtersveld) we see that both the Basters and the missionaries played a part in the process. In 1840 Backhouse visited Leliefontein, Komaggas, and Steinkopf. He tells us that in Leliefontein "the people generally use (Hottentot) in conversation" but that most of them had acquired a knowledge of Dutch.[2] In Komaggas, he says: "The language of the (Hottentots) was that chiefly in use", and the fact that the missionary, J. H. Schmelen, used his translation of the Gospels[3] and a hymn-book suggests that few people knew Dutch.[4] And at Steinkopf Backhouse was told that, "few people understood anything but Hottentot", and that the missionary generally used an interpreter when he preached.[5] Judging

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1. Fischer, op. cit. pp. 229 - 31.
2. Backhouse, op. cit. p 526.
3. Annoe Kayn hoeaati haka Kanniti Nama-Kowapna Gowayhiihati. (J. H. Schmelen translator), Cape Town, 1931. Schmelen was assisted in his translation by his Khoi Khoin wife (Backhouse p.532)
4. Backhouse, op. cit. p. 532
5. op. cit. pp. 545-6, 578.

from the names which Backhouse mentions, those who spoke Dutch in Komaggas and Steinkopf were, as one would expect, Basters.

It is surprising, therefore, to find that by 1840 the predominantly Khoi Khoin population of Leliefontein had already acquired a knowledge of the language. But as early as 1808 Seidenfaden of the London Missionary Society had taught Dutch to certain of the Khoi Khoin, as we have already shown. Also, the Khoi Khoin of Leliefontein had been in regular contact with Baster Voortrekkers on their way to the north.[1] Moreover, in Leliefontein interaction with Boers was great and many Khoi Khoin were employed on adjacent White farms,[2] and there is evidence that certain of the Basters were born in the area.[3] The extent to which the Khoi Khoin at Leliefontein understood Dutch in 1816 is borne out by the fact that Shaw was able to preach in Dutch on his first Sunday at the new mission station.[4] Shaw, who knew no Khoi Khoin, continued to foster the learning of Dutch and six months after his arrival, "Jacob Links and three others ..... were able to read the New Testament and several others were exceedingly anxious to follow their example."[5] And by 1825 interpreters appear to have been unnecessary.[6] It is not known when Dutch became the home language of the majority of the people in Leliefontein.

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1. e.g. The Griqua. See Campbell, op. cit. p. 259
2. Barrow, op. cit. p. 237-9.
   G. Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa. 1827, pp.305-7.
3. Alexander, op. cit. pp. 77-8.
4. Shaw, op. cit. pp. 71-2.
5. op. cit. pp. 82-3.
6. Cheeseman, op. cit. p. 76

In Komaggas Schmelen's knowledge of Khoi Khoin and his translation of the Gospels which was used, may have retarded the learning of Dutch by the indigenous population, but the missionaries who succeded him after his death in 1848 used only Dutch and increased the amount of formal education in the school.[1] In Steinkopf, Brecher's work in education was enormous and he used only Dutch. In both these communities (and Concordia) the Basters, who gained political power, contributed a great deal to the change in home language from Khoi Khoin to Dutch. It is not possible to determine with certainty when this change occurred, but in Steinkopf it is probable that by 1870 Dutch was beginning to be regarded as a second language, and by the turn of the century Dutch was firmly established as the mother tongue of the members of lineage category A and the majority of lineage category C.[2] Fifty years later the whole community spoke only Afrikaans except for the members of a few families in lineage category B who continued to use Nama as their home language.

In the Richtersveld (Kuboes), according to informants, Nama was used in the church and the school up to 1917 although some attempts appear to have been made to teach Dutch. There was no school and scarcely any religious instruction from 1918 to 1928. And as late as 1931, when Gert Cloete who is now superintendent of the Steinkopf reserve went there to teach for a few years, he had to give some of his lessons in Nama to make himself understood. He had learnt this language as a child in Steinkopf. It was not until 1937, when the present principal of the Kuboes school arrived from Paarl (near Cape Town), that

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1. T. N. Hanekom, Die Gemeente Namakwaland, p. 139.

2. Evidence based on information obtained while collecting genealogies.

Afrikaans began to be established as a medium of instruction in school and church. But even today Nama is the home language of the majority. The evidence suggests that at Kuboes the Basters, who were absorbed by the indigenous population, contributed very little as "culture agents." At Lekkersing, in the southern part of the Richtersveld, Baster influence on language and way of life appears to have occurred although here also the Basters,except one family, the Cloetes, have lost their identity. The number of Basters who settled near Lekkersing was probably greater than those who settled near Kuboes.[1]

We have shown that a radical change in language among the indigenous population of Little Namaqualand during the nineteenth century occurred largely where missionary influence was strong and where the Basters were present (temporarily or permanently) in relatively large numbers. But it seems improbable that this change would have taken place had the Khoi Khoin population consisted of large close-knit groups similar to those of the Bantu-speaking peoples in the east. Missionaries were equally active there but did not effect comparable changes in language among the Bantu-speaking peoples; and the influence of the few people of mixed descent was negligible.

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1. Hoernlé, Richterveld, the Land and its People, pp. 6 and 8.
   Melvill, op. cit. p. 12.

CHANGE IN THE RESERVES

When we come to ask what have been the general features of social change in the community of Steinkopf during the past century and a half, certain tendencies present themselves. First, it is clear that there has been a gradual change from social and cultural autonomy to a relative social and cultural dependence on the outside world: a change from an isolated to a peasant community.

But our data have shown that not all the institutions in the community have changed evenly or equally. The kinship system, for example, has changed in both form and function but with the increase in complexity and diversity of social life in general, kinship has receded in importance because many of its functions have been taken over by other groups - voluntary associations, schools, Churches, and the local government. Yet, paradoxically, the kinship system has also retained many of its traditional forms (with modified functions), while the other institutions, apart from the magical and economic systems, have not. Therefore, while our data verify the hypothesis that there is an inverse correlation between the weight of kinship relationships in a society and the degree of complexity of social structure, they show also that in contemporary Steinkopf many aspects of the traditional kinship system persist because ties between kinship and aspects of the traditional economy and magic still exist. In other words, traditional kinship ties tend to be bolstered up by the retention of certain traditional economic and magical practices. These phenomena represent the conservative aspect of the social life of

Steinkopf. But while there has been a tendency to retain aspects of the traditional way of life, there has been a tendency on the other hand to accept readily Western religious and educational institutions, and to a certain extent Western medicine; and although changes in the form of government have been resisted in the past, conflicts in local government are expressed nowadays by the inhabitants largely in terms of internal affairs rather than in terms of antagonism towards the external authority, although the latter is also present. These tendencies represent the new in the social life in Steinkopf, and we have already shown the way in which the "new people" have achieved and maintain their power over the conservatives. All these phenomena are exemplified in the contemporary patterns of leadership which we have described and analysed: we have seen, for example, that aliens tend to become leaders of secondary groups which have external affiliations.

These tendencies seem to apply also to the other communities, although the degree of external interaction varies from community to community, and in the Richtersveld the cleavage between the old and the new is still underdeveloped.

Second, there has been a change in the size and pattern of distribution of the population. The population has increased, but more and more people have come to live permanently in the village or settle in hamlets around the farm schools. With this tendency for people to congregate in settlements (especially in the village), the homestead as a permanent isolated local group has tended to disappear. These changes in the spatial distribution of the population

began with the establishment of the Church, schools, and shops, and the introduction of migratory labour which has made people less dependent on farming.

All these tendencies apply to the other communities, although in Komaggas with its simpler village structure and relatively recent acceptance of large-scale migratory labour part of the population has remained scattered. And in the Richtersveld following the expansion of the Church and the schools, the establishment of shops, and the pursuit of migratory labour, people are only now beginning to move closer to the centres around which villages and hamlets comparable to those in Steinkopf and the other communities will grow.

Thirdly, there has been a gradual change in all these communities from a relatively simple social structure to a more complex one and a corresponding increase in the variety of types of social groups. These tendencies can be seen in religion, education, economy, medical services, class structure (although in the Richtersveld a true class structure is still in embryo), composition of the population (less marked in Richtersveld), and in the political system, although, regarding the latter, during the transition from a Khoi Khoin council to a Management or Advisory Board, judicial and most legislative functions have been lost to the Central Government. The emergence of voluntary associations, moreover, provides us with a useful index to illustrate these changes, especially as their number and variety has increased during each successive historical period; and there is the very marked connection between the rise and increase in complexity of voluntary associations

and the decline in the functions of the various kinship groups except those of the elementary family. The increase in the number of Church-linked voluntary associations is essentially a function of Church solidarity.

It has been asserted by certain sociologists that an increase in complexity of social relationships is always accompanied by an increase in the degree of impersonality in those relationships.[1] This was found to be true in Steinkopf and the other communities as far as the overall pattern of relations was concerned. But as relationships have become more complex and more diverse, and as the communities have become less autonomous, so new patterns of interaction have emerged, which are not less personal than the traditional bonds of kinship and locality. For example, we drew a distinction in Steinkopf between primary and secondary groups. Primary groups by definition were said to be characterised by intimate, face-to-face, personal relationships, and were found to exist generally throughout the community; and certain secondary groups were seen also to possess primary group characteristics.

Finally, we may summarise the factors which have initiated the changes we have already described.

First, there are those changes which may be correlated with changes in the composition of the population. In Steinkopf the structure of the original Khoi Khoin community was modified by the arrival of the Baster Pioneers and the missionaries, who came more or less at the same time. The Basters and the missionaries subsequently formed what can conveniently be termed a political alliance and dominated

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1. e.g. G. and M. Wilson, The Analysis of Social Change, pp. 95-8.

the native inhabitants. The Basters brought guns, they regarded themselves as superior stock to the Khoi Khoin from whom they held aloof, they spoke Dutch, and were familiar with some of the tenets of the new religion which the missionaries introduced. In addition to the Christian religion, the missionaries introduced cultivation and the plough, European formal education (they used the Dutch language in the schools), some knowledge of Western medicine, and indirectly some of the customs of their own society.

The early missionaries were followed by smouse, largely Jewish, but also a few Englishmen who took Baster concubines. As the community grew and became more settled, some of the Jewish smouse obtained permanent rights, and introduced a greater variety of Western commodities and stimulated the use of money. Then there were the explorers and the prospectors, who in their own ways had an influence on the people of Steinkopf. And we must also include here the influence which the encroaching Dutch peasantry, the Trekboers, and later the doctors, surveyors and other government officials had on the community.

In addition to the effect which the Baster Pioneers had on the traditional class system, we must also take cognizance of further modifications which were brought about by the admission of the early and recent kommers and bywoners to the community.

All these factors operated in Komaggas and Concordia, although in Komaggas there were few prospectors, and in Concordia we must stress again that the effect which newcomers had on the class structure was different. The importance of the dissimilar roles played by the missionaries and Basters in Leliefontein and the Richtersveld has already been discussed.

And in Leliefontein, as in Komaggas, the number of prospectors has been few, while in the Richtersveld there has been little contact with traders: the first shop was established only a few years ago - by a local inhabitant.

Increase in the size of the population due partly to natural increase and partly to immigration has effected (directly and indirectly) change in the economy. Whereas formerly it was generally possible for these territories to support their populations, today, even in years of plenty, this cannot be achieved without external assistance, (e.g. migratory labour) particularly as overstocking and bad methods of farming have resulted in the impoverishment of the soil.

But increase in the size of the population is not the only factor which has effected changes in the pattern of the economy since large-scale migratory labour and external trade was made possible, chiefly by the opening up of the copper and diamond mines, the growth of the fishing industry, and the process of urbanisation which accompanied industrialisation. And the development of interaction with the outside world in general through alien institutions such as the Church and the schools has tended also to stimulate people to further and more intense external interaction, and encourage them to achieve a higher standard of living.

Coercion has played a major part in effecting changes in the social structures of these communities. Coercion as a factor in bringing about social change may be defined as any generally unacceptable change effected in the generally accepted social organization of a particular society or community by an outside power which uses force or the threat of force

to impose this change. The Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act is the main example of coercion as an initiator of change.

In brief, changes in the structures of these communities have occurred as a result of interaction (voluntary or otherwise) with the outside world either by extending the social boundaries of the communities or by the introduction of new elements into the communities themselves. Often both factors have been involved.

It could be argued that the growth of population due to natural increase has not depended on external factors but this would be hard to defend in the light of the introduction of medical services and changes in the economy, which must have affected beneficially the standards of health, as the decline in the death rate shows.

Those traditional institutions or parts of traditional institutions which have not been directly influenced by external factors have, however, been influenced indirectly especially when new associations have taken over functions formerly fulfilled by these institutions. I am unable to find evidence of any significant structural changes in these communities, which can be classified as spontaneous changes, that is to say, changes which are not correlated directly or indirectly with external interaction of some kind. Of course spontaneous changes are difficult to isolate in already changing communities because their existence (if they are present) is always blurred by other factors.

Within the framework of each community, therefore, changes are best seen as adaptations to the new - new ideas, new laws, new situations, and new social relationships -

whether these phenomena have come directly from outside or are the internal manifestations of external stimuli. The process of adaptation to new phenomena necessarily implies the reorganisation or modification of existing social relationships because the components of the social structure are essentially functionally interdependent. We have seen, for example, that European education has not merely given new knowledge to those who have received it, but has also been instrumental in effecting changes in the class structures, etc. The enforcement of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act has not merely imposed alien laws and regulations, but has provided, as we have demonstrated for Steinkopf, channels for leadership among the "new people", and has tended also to reinforce contemporary patterns of kinship relationships.

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SEE ALSO APPENDICES A AND J.

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B.

THE REVEREND F. BRECHER'S PETITION TO THE HONOURABLE THE SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

The Respectful petition of Mr. Ferdinand Brecher Missionary and Superintendent of the Mission Institution of Steinkopf, Concordia, Richtersveld and formerly Pella Humbly Sheweth:-

(1) That the Natives of the above named Institutions were the owners of the land from the Buffels River to the Orange River, from the mouth of the said Rivers up to this side of the Orange River Waterfall, a Tract of Land being about 60 miles broad from North to South, and 350 miles long from East to West.

This land was ruled by three Captains, viz. Abraham Vigiland, a Bushman[1] at Steinkopf, alias Kookfontein, who became a true Christian; Paul Links, a Hottentot, at the mouth of the Orange River and upwards as far as Mijsionary[2] Drift; and Kitto Witbooi, a Hottentot at Pella, Bushmanland. This Captain, however, with the greater part of his people, in consequence of the prevailing drought quitted his land for Great Namaqualand. For the rest of those people I made Pella an outstation from Steinkopf. The whole people in the land consisting of Hottentots, Bushmen and Bastards were a Nomadical people living from Livestock and Veldkost. The L. M. S. preached periodically the Gospel to these people but gave it up as they thought this dry and barren land was not fit for erecting fixed Stations in it, and as

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1. I can find no explanation for the use of the word "Bushmen" here, instead of "Hottentot".

2. The letter "j" has been used instead of the "long s".

we, the Rhenish Mijsion Society, intended to commence mijsion work in Great Namaqua, Demara and Ovamboland etc. They (L. M. S.) left this land, and gave it over to our Society in the year 1838.

(2) The Rhenish Mijsion Society's work among these people dates from 1840. I made Steinkopf, being about the centre of the land, my Head Station, Richtersveld an Outstation, and Pella another outstation. This latter station, however, we have lost in consequence of the Bushmen and Koranna war by which these two tribes have been ruined altogether. As I have said before, the Natives of the land were a freed people and were against the extension of the Colony from Buffels to the Orange River, but when in 1846 the Government intended to extend the boundary, the Natives were requested by the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate Mr. Ryneveld of Clanwilliam, whether they would like to become British Subjects or not, I advised them to give their consent to this request on account that the British Government was a good Christian Government, which would do them no harm, but protect them against anyone who might like to do them wrong. So the Captains of Steinkopf and the Orange River gave their consent to the proposition of the Government, and my Captain at Steinkopf said: "Wat de groote Baas wil doen, daar kunnen wij niet voor, wij met ons Volk onderwerpen ons aan de Koningin met deze condisie, dat Harer Majestyds Gouvernement voor ons en ons Volk onzen van ouds af bewoonden grond moet beschermen tegen Boeren en anderen die niet van ons zijn, opdat wy een gerust stil en eerlyk leven voeren kannen". These words I told His

Excellency Governor Barkly when his Excellency paid Namaqualand a visit in August, 1873, and which words to hear pleased His Excellency very much. By this opportunity His Excellency, the Governor, said to me: "Mr. Brecher, you must have a good community, as Mr. Boyes the Magistrate at Springbok told me that as long as he had been Magistrate at Springbok, never a case came before him from Steinkopf."

(3) That in 1848 I introduced my communities, Steinkopf, Richtersveld, and Pella to the Government and prayed, not to make the Natives a grant of their land, but define and reserve it by beacons around, and give us a certain Document in the hand as the Government may think proper, to be a weapon in our hands against so many people which came in the Land saying, "It is now Government ground and therefore we can take possession of the land where we like."

(4) The mijsion lands of Steinkopf, including Concordia, and Richtersveld are now defined by beacons, round about to our satisfaction; however, we have lost Springbokfontein, O'okiep, Modderfontein, and Nababiep which places belonged to us and were secretly bought by White people from our people, besides other land which the Government cut off from us under the pretence that the land was too large for us. That the land, however, is not too large for us I canprove by stating that we have already leased 4 places from the Government in Bushmanland on the Eastern side of our boundary. We are, however, now quite satisfied that our Mijsion ground is surrounded by beacons and will keep it as it is now. The territorium of Steinkopf including Concordia comprises a summer and a winter veld, without that there is no living in

Namaqualand. The winterveld for cultivation is from ever so long divided among our people and is continued so when necessary. Our people must live from 8 -10 - 20 and more families together by one or more waterplaces as it cannot be done otherwise on account of the peculiarity of the land, being stony, rocky and mountainous, and in general scarcely provided with rain.

(5) That the Second Assistant of the Surveyor General, who has been sent down by the Government for investigating the Mijsion Institutions of Namaqualand and report on the same, has recommended in his report to the Government that our Steinkopf territory should be layed out and surveyed into two or three sections with Steinkopf, Concordia and Henkries; and the agricultural lands surveyed and layed out in blocks, and the pastoral lands, with rights of selling their shares of that land to others, European as well as Natives, in order to get a better blood among us and men of a higher type, possessing more industry, energy and enterprise for the progress of the country etc. Now we inhabitants of the Territory of Steinkopf and Concordia being one people and having been also one Church and School, but for the better pastoral Evangelisation of the people, being spread out too much, we found it expedient to divide it in two Communities. We, therefore, Steinkopf and Concordia being 380 families - 2700 souls, as one man, strongly protest against the recommendation of the Second Assistant Surveyor General, and will not have our land so divided, but keep it as it is divided by our Captains and our Mijsionary in older times.

At present our Raad gives out lands for cultivation to

the young men coming on and that all to the satisfaction of our whole people and we will not have a right to sell any of our land to outsiders, for we believe that such a course and such new and better blood of which the respected Surveyor speaks and thinks that it would benefit us, that it certainly will be poisonous blood for us and lead gradually to our Ruination bodily and spiritually. We will therefore keep our land so as it is divided by ourselves and will not have it surveyed, and undergo such great expenses, will keep it as it is at present for us and our children in order to lead a quiet and honest life as our old Captain Abraham Vigiland said when he gave his consent to become with his people a British Subject. Parliament is now open and our Mijsion land question will certainly come in consideration and I must hurry on with my Petition before it is too late.
In the name of the Rhenish Mijsion Society in Germany and our people, therefore, at Steinkopf and Concordia, I pray your Honourable House not to disturb us but to be pleased to allow us to keep our Mijsion ground as we have divided and kept it from ever so long. And if your Honourable House be pleased to grant us our Petition we will be satisfied and will thank our Government most heartily for having our mijsion ground Steinkopf and Richtersveld surrounded by Beacons and we will remain as we have always been, loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria and her Government in the Colony.

And at last your Honourable House, you also have a right to request me about the progress of our 50 years of Mijsion labour among these people. To do justice to your right I beg to say that our labour amongst these people has not been in vain for we have at present at Steinkopf,

Concordia, and Richtersveld 450 communicants, and baptised 1,200 children and many souls have come to life in Christ Jesus and have also died in Him and have consequently been saved and gone to Heaven.

And regarding industry I can say that our labour on this point likewise has not been in vain. First of all we have a church and 4 schoolrooms and a Parsonage of which we need not be ashamed and which buildings have not been erected by white tradesmen but by ourselves. I may also here mention that no debt rests on the buildings and we are supported by our community since 1876.

And this Nomadical people have become a farming people who cultivate every year more land and import every year about 30 to 40 ploughs. Besides that we have Blacksmiths, Waggonmakers, Carpenters, Masons, Shoemakers and all sorts of workmen among us so that we cannot be called an idle, lazy, thriftless set of people.

I wish that the respected Surveyor Mr. Melvill would come down and see how we have worked the water at Henkries. The place is one of our outposts of the summerveld to which we send our cattle from January to May, of course where the veld has got rain, otherwise it cannot be done. But when good rain has fallen there, then grass and water is sufficient there for more than 2000 to 5000 head of horned cattle.

Trusting that your Honourable House will take my Petition in mature consideration and grant the same.

And your Petitioner will ever pray.

Signed:- F. Brecher,

Missionary.

Steinkopf,

12th June 1891.

APPENDIX C.

Short Rules laid down for the Rhenish Mijsion Institution of Steinkopf, Namaqualand

Whereas we have in consequence of the extension of the Colonial Boundary become British Subjects, we can no more have, as it was before the case, our own Government & Laws, but are now under the Colonial Government and its Laws.

We have however yet a Community's Council, consisting of Eight persons which are elected by the Community, of which the Mijsionary is the President.

This Council rules the whole Community & all other people living on the Territory of Steinkopf in all cases, except such which fall in the Jurisdiction & Power of the Government. -

For this Object we have chosen the best Law Book in the whole world as our Adviser and Guide, namely the Holy Scripture or Holy Bible, which is the revealed word of God. - According to this Book are judged and decided all cases and differences between parties of the Community, however with this understanding, that, if any Person or Persons may not be satisfied with the Decision of the Council, such person or persons are at liberty to seek their right at the Court of the Magistrate or Supreme Court.

These Rules have been accepted by the whole Community and are hereby declared to be in force.

On behalf of the Council at Steinkopf

F. Brecher, Mijsionary &

President of the Council

Steinkopf

January 1870.

Rules laid down regarding to take and keep Livestock on the Territory of Steinkopf from Strangers, not belonging to the Community.

Poor Burghers of Steinkopf are justified to take not exceeding Sixteen Horned Cattle & (Two hundred) Vee, Sheep and Goats from Strange People as stated above & keep this Stock on the Territory of Steinkopf for to work with & live of it. -

But if any such poor Burgher is about to take such Stock, as aforesaid, he is bound to give Notice of the case to the Council & the President of the Council shall give him a written Licence to receive & keep such a number of Livestock as above stated. -

In case however a Burgher should act contrary to these Rules, he shall be liable to pay a fine of Ten shillings for the first time & the whole Livestock may be sent to a Government Pound. -

On behalf of the Council
F. Brecher Missionary &
President of the Council.

Steinkopf
January 1870

Rules laid down for Burghers & Christians of the Community of Steinkopf regarding the Vice of Fornication or Adultery.

Whenever Fornication or Adultory in the Community may be committed, which God graciously may prevent, be it done by married or unmarried persons, Members of the Church or Heathens it shall be punished in the following manner viz:

1 When committed by members of the Church it shall be dealt with them according to the Standard Rules of the Church & these Rules. -

II When committed by Heathens with members of the Church it shall be dealt with them as stated above, viz: according the Rules of the Church & these Rules.

III When married people, being Heathens or Christians, commit Adultery or Fornication then both shall be flogged by the Councillors, likewise shall be done if one party is a Christian & the other a Heathen

IV When your unmarried persons being Heathens or Christians commit Fornication or Adultery, they shall marry each other according the Holy Scriptures Exodus 22, 16, 17 & Deut. 22, 28, 29 and if they do so that shall not be punished bodily, but if they not do so, they shall be flogged by their Parents, or in case of having no more Parent, by their nearest Relations in the presence of Two Councillors.

On behalf of the Council
F. Brecher Missionary &
President of the Council.

Steinkopf
January 1870

Rules about Grainlands.

After ploughing time the Grainlands must be protected against any damage and nobody is allowed to stay with Stock on the Lands, all must trek away from them, only Landwatchers must be put there and may keep a few Goats. Nobody is allowed during the Grain is standing on the Lands to herd Stock in the direction of the Lands, they must keep away at the least two miles distance from any Grainland in the Veldt. Only after the harvesttime, the Veldt is open for general use.

On behalf of the Community
F. Brecher
Minister

Steinkopf,
January 1870.

Rules for impounding Stock at the Mission Station of Steinkopf

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Those Rules do not allow to impound Stock of People not belonging to the Community but only Community's Stock.

No Community's stock however may be impounded out of Community's Commonage Grazing Veldt but only out of Grainlands and Gardens, when the latter (Gardens) are properly fenced, otherwise not -

The Pound will be opened on the 15th June in each year and closed on the 15th January of the following year.

The Transport fees from all the Grainlands of the Community to the Pound will be 2/s be it one animal or more: -

Damage Fees in the month of June 3^{d} per Head
do do do do do July 6^{d} "
do do do do do August 9^{d} "
do do do do do September 1/^{3} "
and from there always 1/6 "
Poundfees for every Head 6d per diem

If the owner of the animals does not loose them they have to be kept 10 days, after which they will be sold to defray expenses. -

Should it be one Head, 1/6d is to be paid, as a Herd is not to be obtained under 1/6d per diem. -

On behalf of the Community

Steinkopf, June 1879 F. Brecher

Rules how the Institution Ground must be used during the year.

The Council of the Institution of course has the power to rule the people of the Community and all other people which

are living on the Territory belonging to the Institution. -

No private person is allowed to impound Stock of strange people trespassing in the Veldt this is only in the hands and power of the Council to do so. But private persons of the Community with this understanding however that they may only impound Stock of theCommunity, in our round, but Stock of people not belonging to the Community they may impound in a Government Pound at Springbok or elsewhere. -

Rules laid down regarding Trading Licenses to Strangers

It is enacted by the Raad at Steinkopf that, after the 1st December 1887, all Licenses for Trading Business, which may be granted by the Raad to Strangers, not belonging to the Community shall not exceed one year.

Should therefore a Stranger obtain a Licence for a Trading Business he will do well for that purpose to build a House of Iron or Wood, which would at all event of his leaving the Station be at his liberty to break down & remove, but from a House built of Stone or Bricks nothing may be broken down & removed, if may if possible be sold to a Burgher of the Community, but if not possible to do so, then that Building or Buildings will become the Property of the Community.

F. Brecher
Minister.

Steinkopf
December 1887

APPENDIX D

STEINKOPF.

4th August, 1913

To His Excellency,
The Governor-General of South Africa,
CAPE TOWN.

RESOLUTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY ON THE SECOND GENERAL MEETING OF THE BURGHERS OF STEINKOPF on THE 4TH AUGUST 1913

Sir,

Having been alarmed that the Government of the Union of South Africa will establish a Board of Management at Steinkopf and abolish the more than hundred years old Management of our Internal Affairs, we hereby declare that we see no chance to adopt any new Management unless the Government of the Union of South Africa will meet our wishes as follows:

1. To appoint no Superintendent over Steinkopf and Richtersveld Territory, but to allow the Communities to appoint or elect their own Superintendent or Local Chairman in the person of their Missionary at the time being, as it was the case hitherto since 1842. We may state that the Missionary is the only person who understands how to manage our Internal Affairs, as he is living amongst the people and the Communities have full confidence in him; no stranger can do it satisfactorily to the people. The burghers, however, have no objections against any Civil Commissioner appointed by the Government as Chief-Chairman to control Income and Expenses and the doings of the Board or Raad of Beheer.

2. That the future Board will have to recognise all agreements concerning certain surface rights, granted from time to time by the Raad and General meetings of the burghers;

such right we always enjoyed undisputed and have been recognised in many instances by both the Imperial and Colonial Governments, which we can prove by facts and documents.

3. That any future Board will have no right of authority to interfere with any buildings erected by the Rhenish Mission-Congregation; the burghers in the General meeting of 31st January 1910, gave them to the congregation, as such buildings actually have been built by church money, as provision for the existence of the church, and appointed unanimously the Missionary with his elders for the Management of said buildings.
The Elders or Church-Raad are not prepared to drop their rights and the Community and its Raad, who are members of the Congregation, do not claim anything in this way for the Community, but for the Congregation of the Rhenish-Mission Society.

4. In case the Government of the Union of South Africa refuses to adopt our wishes, we hereby strongly protest against any action taken by the Government concerning establishment of the Board or interfering with our Internal rights and we humbly pray his Excellency the Governor-General to forward this our petition to the Imperial Government at London from whom we humbly pray protection against the treatment of the Government of the Union of South Africa who disputed our rights in a most unjust way.

5. We may point out that we did not get any ground from any Government as a grant; the ground in the Bushmanland held under Ticket of Occupation, actually is a compensation

for the Pella ground, which was abandoned during the Bushman-War, and sold later on by the Colonial Government.

6. The Pella people were incorporated on our ground. The Ticket of Occupation from the year 1905, actually was without any force or effect as same did not pass the Parliament, the people did not apply for such Ticket of Occupation as the rights of this Community were of much stronger nature.

7. The ground we occupy was occupied by our fathers and forefathers long before the Imperial Government extended their boundary from the Buffels River to the Orange River in 1848, and as well as our forefathers, have become English Subjects under the condition: to be left undisturbed in possession of our land and rights which condition was adopted by the Imperial Government in a letter dated 14th September, 1842.

8. Our rights have always been recognised by the Imperial and Colonial Governments since 1842, but since the last year (1912) the Department of Native Affairs is disputing the Community's rights of entering agreements concerning surface rights. The Community expressed their grievance at todays General meeting, and insisted upon the Raad to uphold all their previous rights. In consequence of the Minister of Native Affairs interferring, the Community have suffered extremely, as a "milkbush" Industry could have been opened here, but was prevented through such interference.

9. We may mention that the Rents from all such sur-

face rights in the first instance is used for payment of the Teachers and for General.[1]

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1. This document was given to me by a registered occupier who obtained it from a former member of the Raad. Unfortunately it is incomplete. The original resolution must be in the Cape Archives, but, since it was written after 1910, is not available to the public.

APPENDIX E

AAN DIE KOMMISSIE VAN NATURELLE SAKE: STEINKOPF 15/10/28.

Lank het one gewens om tog ook eenmaal 'n kans te kry om ons griewe voor te lê, en daarom is ons van harte dankbaar, dat ons die geleentheid kry om 'n Kommissie van ons Regering in ons midde te verwelkom. Ons verlange om ons griewe voor te dra is alsoo hoog gestyg, dat ons al 'n Deputasie sou gestuur het na Kaapstad as ons maar geld gehad het om die koste to dek.

Nou het ons geagte Regering in die bres gespring om ons te Steinkopf te ontmoet, en ons waardeer dit baie, want ons meen dat dit die Regering baie kos, en dit wys ook na belangstelling op die kant van ons Regering. Ons hoop en vertrou dan ook dat die besoek van die Geagte Kommissie nie tevergeefs sal wees nie, maar dat ons groot voordeel daaruit sal trek.

Met die bewussyn dat ons maar eenvoudige en of byna, of geheel ongeletterde mense is, versoek ons ten laaste die Geagte lede van die Kommissie om tog baie geduld met ons te he in die gesprek wat ons die eer sal hê om met u te voer.

Voordat ons die oorsake van ons agteruitgang (wat ook tegelyk ons griewe is) voordra, wens ons die Geagte Kommissie aan die volgende feite te herinner:-

1. Die mense van Steinkopf, Richtersveld en Pella (ons voorouers) het die land van die Buffels Rivier na die Oranje Rivier tot by die waterval op die Oranje Rivier Bewoon.

2. In 'n brief gedateer 14 September 1842, is ons verseker geword dat die Regering nie in ons sake sou "interfere" nie, en dat die Regering ons regte sou beskerm.

3. Oorlede Eerw. Mnr. Brecher, het ons voorouers aangeraai om hulle te begewe onder die Engelse Regering, omdat dit 'n goeie Kristen Regering is, en omdat hulle daardeur 'n regverdige behandeling sou geniet. Dit was by die uitbreiding van die Kolonie in 1847.

4. Van die oorlewering weet ons dat drie punte aan die Regering oorgelaat is i.e. moord, verkrag en diefstal.

Die volgende is nou die oorsake van ons agteruitgang en ons griewe:-

1. Ten spyte van die bowe gemelde raad van Eerw. Mnr. Brecher en ten spyte van die belofte van ons Geagte Regering, is ons land verkoop sonder kompensasies, minerale regte word ons ontsê en ons bly in duisternis, want ons kan nie uitvind op watter grond sulke dinge gedoen word nie.

2. Wet No. 29 van 1909, is ingevoer teen ons wil en onder protes, ten spyte van die belofte van 1842. Die wet het saamgebring die naam, "Reserve" wat nie op ons Eiendoms grond toepaslik is nie. Ons kan nie, en wil ook nie sonder 'n wet lewe nie, maar 'n wet wat ons regte bedreig is vir ons ongunstelik.

Ons versoek onderdaniglik dat ons verskaf word met alle skrifstukke van alle onderhandelinge tussen die Regering en ons voorouers tot op huidige dag. Ons versmoor in die duisternis en dit werk wantroue in ons Regering. Mog die Regering tog weer ons vertruoe wen soos voorheen, sodat ons dan 'n vaste fondament met volle vertroue in ons Regering kan saamwerk, met die Regering. Dit kan alleen geskied wanneer ons (nie slegs vertel word nie), maar ook voorsien word van die bestaande dokumente en wanneer die Regering die engelyke (wat miskien deur "mistakes") aan ons gedoen is, reg te maak.

3. Te lae belonings (wanneer daar werk is) teen te hoë pryse van lewensmiddele en die gebrek aan goeie marke vir produkte (wanneer daar is).

4. Droogte.

Ten slotte Geagte Kommissie meen ons dat dit nie nodig was vir ons om ons Geagte Regering aan die hals te hang vir hulp met kos en saad nie, as ons maar die "rent" gekry van die deel van ons land wat aan wit mense gegee is, en ons 'n deel gekry het van die minerale, want as ons die geld gehad het, dan kan ons ons land beter bewerk het deur besproeiings ens. Dan sou die droogte nie soveel kwaad doen soos hy nou die kans het om te doen nie.

Uwe dienswillige dienaars,
Lede van die Steinkopf Raad, as verteenwoordigers van die Steinkopf Gemeente.[1]

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1. A Copy of this document was given to me by a former member of the Village Management Board.

APPENDIX F.

THE POVERTY DATUM LINE IN STEINKOPF[1].

"One of the most usual, and most useful, objectives of a social survey is the measurement of poverty. The standard procedure for this is to enumerate the households whose incomes are too low to permit the purchase of commodities regarded as essential for well-being."[2]

Poverty is measured by the Poverty Datum Line; but before we define the P.D.L., let us state what it is not. The P.D.L. is perhaps more remarkable for what it omits than for what it includes. "It does not allow a penny for amusement, for sport, for medicine, for education, for saving, for hire purchase, for holidays, for odd bus rides, for newspapers, stationery, tobacco, sweets, hobbies, gifts, pocket money, or comforts or luxuries of any kind. It does not allow a penny for replacements of blankets, furniture or crockery. It is not a "human" standard of living. It thus admirably fulfils its purpose of stating the barest minimum upon which subsistence and health can theoretically be achieved."

The P.D.L., defined as "an estimate of the income needed by any individual household if it is to attain a defined minimum level of health and decency" (Reports and Studies of the Social Survey of Cape Town, No. SP 3, 1942), has been calculated as the lowest retail cost of a budget of necessaries comprising:-

(i) that quantity and variety of "food" which, taking into account age and sex, would provide for each member of the household the palatability and the calorific protein, fat and vitamin content calculated by dietetic experts to be necessary for health, <u>taking into account the established food customs of the community</u>.

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1. Based on Edward Batson's <u>The Poverty Line in Salisbury</u> (1945)
2. All quotations from Edward Batson, <u>op cit</u>

(ii) the minimum of "clothing" necessary for protection of health and conformity with standards of decency.

(iii) the minimum of "fuel" and "lighting" compatible with health, taking into account the established customs of the community.

(iv) the minimum of "Cleaning materials" for personal and household use compatible with health and conformity to custom.

(v) the cost of "transport" for earning members of the household between the home and the work-place, and

(vi) an allowance for the cost of "housing".

The components of the Namaqualand (Steinkopf) P.D.L. in 1957 have been computed and are recorded below.

The prices given are for the Steinkopf Reserve.

Specimen Yearly Clothing Budget.
(for one equivalent male adult.)

2 Pairs Shoes and Repairs	£3:	5:	-
1 Jacket	1:	10:	-
2 Pairs Trousers	1:	15:	-
Headwear		5:	-
2 Shirts		17:	-
2 Sets underwear		15:	6
2 Pairs Socks		6:	-
Sundries		8:	-
	£9:	1:	6

Specimen Yearly Clothing Budget
(for one equivalent Female adult).

2 Pairs Shoes and Repairs	£ 2:	-:	-
2 Dresses	2:	3:	6
1 Coat	2:	15:	-
Headwear		5:	-
2 Sets Underwear		16:	6
2 Pairs Socks		6:	-
Sundries		8:	-
	£8:	14:	-

Specimen Weekly Food Budget.
(for one equivalent Male adult.)

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Animal Foodstuffs.				
3¾ lbs. meat	6:	3		
½ 14 oz. Tin Condensed Milk		7¾		
1 Pint Milk		5		
1 egg		2	7:	5¾
Cereals, Pulse & Potatoes.				
7 lbs. Meal	1:	9		
5 lbs. Potatoes	2:	6		
1½ lbs. Mealie Rice		6¾		
½ lb Beans		6	5:	3¾
Fats.				
4 ozs. Butter		10¼		
3 ozs. Tailfat		2½	1:	-¾
Fresh Vegetables.				
4 lbs. onions			2:	8
Sugars.				
1 lb. sugar		6		
¼ lb. Golden Syrup.		4½		10½
Stimulants & Condiments.				
4 ozs. tea			2:	2
			19:	6¾

Cleaning. 3d. per week per person.

Lighting. 6d. per week per household of one plus,
7d. per week per additional person.

The above allowances are calculated to satisfy the needs of adults of a particular sex. Women and children need less than men as do aged people. The following scale is based on the proportions expressed as percentages: -

Scale of Proportionate Cost of Minimum Dietaries.

Person.	Proportionate Cost.
Male, aged 16 - 64 years	100
Male, aged 65 -	80
Female, aged 16 - 59 years.	85
Female, aged 60 -	80
Child, aged 0 - 4 years	50
Child, aged 5 - 9 years	60
Child, aged 10 - 15 years	85

From the foregoing it follows that the weekly food allowance for a household may be calculated by adding: -

For each male aged	16 - 64 years	the sum of	19: 7
" " female "	16 - 59 "	" "	16: 8
" " male "	65 years or more"	" "	11: 9
" " female "	60 " "	" "	11: 9
" " child "	10 - 15 years	" "	16: 8
" " " "	5 - 9 "	" "	11: 9
" " "	under 5 years	" "	9: 10

For a breast fed baby the sum of 7/6 is credited on behalf of the nursing mother, who needs more food than a man.

CLOTHING COMPONENT.

For each male aged	16 - 64 years	the sum of	3: 6per week
" " female "	16 - 59 "	" "	3: 4 " "
" " male	65 years or more	" "	3: 6 " "
" " female	aged 60 years or more	the sum of	3: 4 " "
" " child	aged 10 - 15 years	the sum of	2: 11 " "
" " " "	5 - 9 "	" "	2: 6 " "
" " "	under 5 years	" "	1: - " "

From these calculations the following tables reflecting the P.D.L. for Coloured people in the Steinkopf Reserve (1957) can be shown.

STEINKOPF. Poverty Datum Line: Weekly Allowance in Pence.

Consumer Unit.	Food	Clothing	Cleaning	Lighting	Total
Child under 5 yrs.	118	12	3	2	135
Child 5 - 9 years.	141	30	3	2	176
Child 10 - 15 "	192	35	3	2	232
Man 16 - 64 "	235	42	3	2	282
Man 65 years or older	141	42	3	2	188
Women 16 - 59 years	192	40	3	2	237
Women 60 years or older	141	40	3	2	186
Household in addition.	-	-	-	4	4

STEINKOPF, P.D.L. Weekly, monthly and Yearly Allowance.

Consumer Unit.	Per Week			Per Month			Per Year		
	£	S	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Child under 5 years		11:	3	2 :	5 :	5	29:	5:	-
Child 5 - 9 years		14:	8	3 :	3 :	6	38:	1:	0
Child 10 - 15 years		19:	4	4 :	3 :	10	50:	6:	3
Man 16 - 64 years	1:	3:	6	5 :	1 :	8	61:	2:	-
Man 65 years and older		15:	8	3 :	7 :	8	40:	13:	10
Woman 16 - 59 years		19:	9	4:	5:	7	51:	7:	-
Woman 60 years and older		15:	6	3:	7:	2	40:	6:	-
Household in Addition			4		1:	5		17:	4

APPENDIX G.

COMPOSITION OF HOMESTEADS.

Key to Tables A to B

1. H = Husband
   W = Wife
   c = unmarried dependent children - including illegitimate children.
   S = Son
   D = Daughter
   F = Father
   M = Mother
   s = sister
   b = brother
   e = elder
   y = younger
   ( ) = widowed

2. Agnates in normal print.
   Affines and unrelated persons in italics.

3. When an extended family consists of more than one domestic family, the domestic families are bracketed. (See p.92 for definition of term domestic family.)

   e.g. {H + W + 8c
   {Hyb + HybW + 4Hybc

4. An elementary family consists of husband and wife plus unmarried dependent children (including adopted children and illegitinate children of kinsmen). A childless couple in which the wife has not yet passed child-bearing age may also for convenience be classified as an elementary family.[1]

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1. cf. M. Wilson, et al. Social Structure, Keiskammahoek Rural Survey Vol. III (1952), p. 55.

5. A residual family refers to a family consisting of a widowed spouse with dependent children. It also refers to an elementary family when all the children have married and established families of their own, leaving a wife who is past child-bearing age, and her husband. For convenience I have classified widows living alone in this category, as well as widows with dependents.[2]

6. A rejuvenated family refers here to couples (or widows) who acquire the children of other parents after their own children have married.[3]

7. An extended family refers either to an elementary family containing additional categories of kinsmen or to a number of genealogically connected domestic families who live in the same homestead. The most common form of extended family in Steinkopf is the patrilineal extended family, consisting of a number of closely related male agnates, their spouses, and their children.[4]

8. The data recorded in Tables A to B do not constitute a random sample of the homsteads in Steinkopf but they do cover a cross-section of the types of homesteads.

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2. cf. ibid, p.55

3. cf. ibid., p. 55

4. cf. A.R.Radcliffe-Brown and Darylle Ford, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage (1950) pp. 5-6

Table A.

Composition of Homesteads in the Steinkopf Village and its Environs.

	No. Cases	Elementary and Residual Families.	Other kin.
Elementary Families	2	H + W	
	3	H + W + c	
	1	H + W + 2c	
	2	H + W + 4c	
	6	H + W + 5c	
	3	H + W + 6c	
	2	H + W + 7c	
	2	H + W + 8c	
	1	H + W + 10c	
	(22)		
Residual Families	3	H + W	
	1	(W)	
	1	(W) + c	
	1	(W) + 2c	
	1	(W) + 3c	
	1	(W) + c	Ws
	1	(H) + 3c	
	(9)		
Rejuvenated Families	1	H + W	2c (neighbour's children)
	1	(W)	2Sc
	1	(W)	4dc
	(3)		
Extended Families	1	H + W + 4c WsH + Ws + 3WsHc Wb + WbW + 4Wbc	(Wyb) + WybS Hyb
	1	H + W + 4c Hyb + HybW + 2Hybc	
	1	H + W + bc (Hb) + Hbc	
	1	H + W HS + HSW	
	1	(H) + 3c HS + HSW + 4HSc	
	1	H + W + 3c Hyb + HybW	(HybWM)
	1	H + W + 6c	(HF)
	1	H + W + 7c	(HF)
	1	H + W + 7c	(HM)
	1	H + W + 4c	Hsc
	(10)		

Table B.

Composition of Homesteads on Hamlets and Farms.

	No. Cases	Elementary and Residual Families	Other Kin
Elementary Families	2	H + W	
	1	H + W + 2c	
	1	H + W + 4c	
	1	H + W + 7c	
	4	H + W + 8c	
	(9)		
Residual Families	1	H + W	
	(1)		
Extended Families	1	H + W + 2c H3 + H3W + 4H3c (HybW) + Hyb4c Hyb3 + Hyb3W Hyb3 + Hyb3W + Hyb3c Hyb3 + Hyb3W	
	1	H + W Hyb + HybW + 2Hybc Hyb + Hyb4 Hyb + HybW	2Heb3
	1	(H) + c H3 + H3W + 7H3c (H3W) + 5H3Wc H3 + H3W + 5H3c	
	1	H + W + 2c H3 + H3W + 7H3c H3 + H3W + H3c	
	1	H + W + 2c H3 + H3W + 2H3c H3 + H3W + 4H3c	
	1	H + W + c H3 + H3W + H3c	Hyb
	1	H + W + 8c Hyb + HybW + 4Hybc	(Hyb)
	1	H + W Hyb + HybW + 3Hybc	
	1	H + W + 2c (Heb4) + 7Heb4c	
	1	H + W	Hyb
	1	H + W + 2c	Hbc
	(11)		
	21		

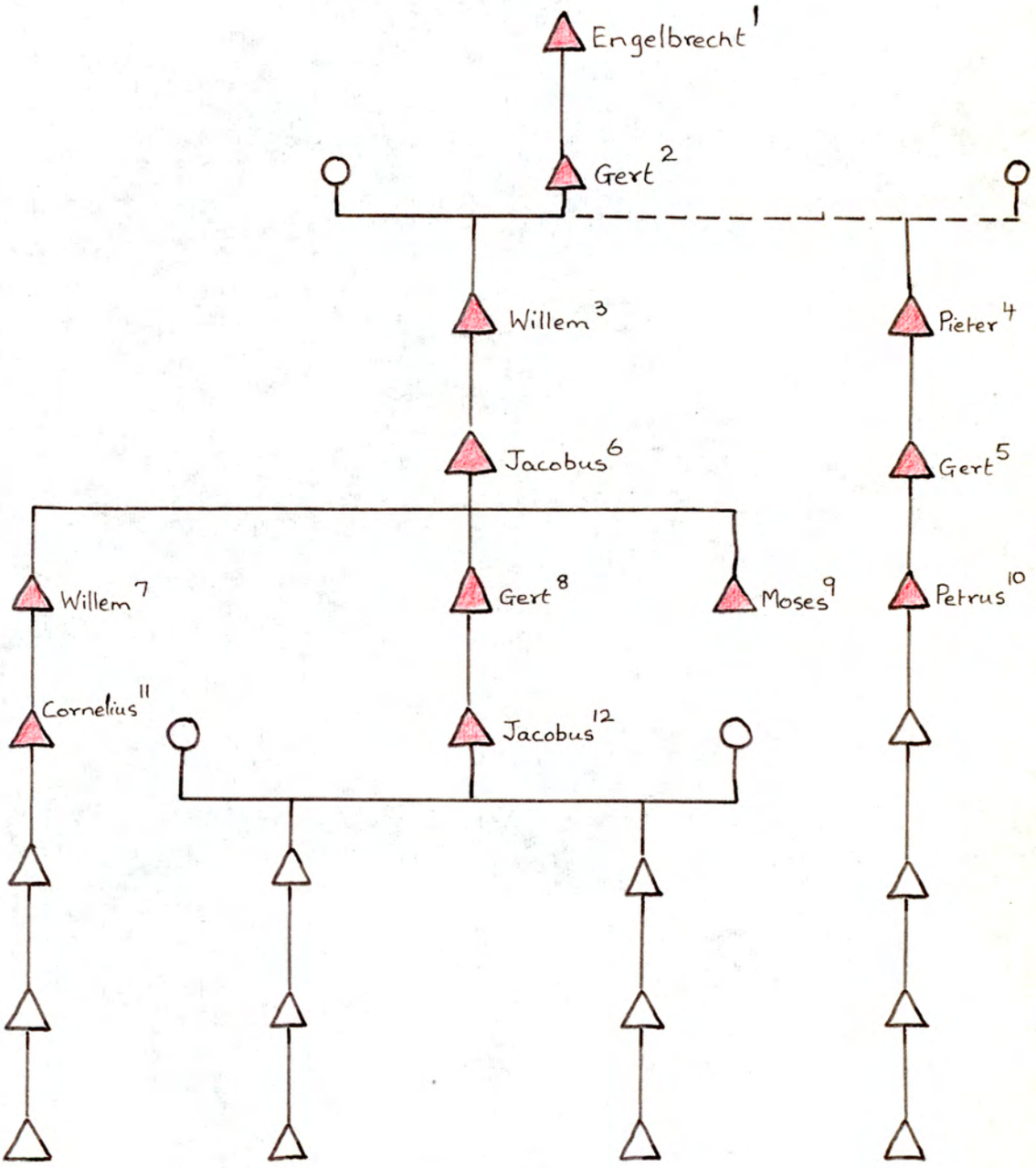
Appendix N

STEINKOPF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Generation	Description of Kin	Terms of Address used
3rd ascending	great grandparents, their siblings, and their siblings' spouses	ou grootjie, or oupa grootjie, or grootjie (men) ouma grootjie (women) Christian names and surnames are sometimes used to distinguish between them.
2nd ascending	grandparents, their siblings, and their siblings' spouses	oupa (men) ouma (women) Christian names and surnames are sometimes used to distinguish between them.
1st ascending	father and father-in-law	pa or tata
	mother and mother-in-law	ma or mama (sometimes moeder)
	father's and mother's brothers and their wives (arranged in order of seniority according to their sibling groups). The terms for their wives are given in brackets. The terms for father's and mother's sisters and their husbands follow the same principles. Thus the terms in brackets apply also to father's and mother's sisters.	groot oom or oompa or grootpa (groot tante or groot antie or groot ma) oomtjies or oom + name, if necessary (antie ma or tante + name, if necessary) middle oom or oom + name, if necessary (tannekie or tante + name, if necessary) oomtjie or oom + name, if necessary (tantekie or tante + name, if necessary) klein oom or kleinpa (klein tante or klein ma) Christian names or an appropriate sibling term may be used if the age difference is slight.
	sons and daughters of grandparents' siblings and their spouses	oom + name, if necessary (men) tante or antie + name, if necessary (women) Christian names or an appropriate sibling term may be used if the age differences are slight.
Contemporary	brothers, in order of descending seniority	ou boetie, boeta, Christian name, klein boetie or kleinpa or oompies
	sisters, in order of descending seniority	ousis or adda, sussie, antikie or lala or nana or Christian name, kleinsus
	cousins	appropriate sibling terms or Christian name; the terminology used being determined by the status of the parents and age differences.
	brothers and sisters-in-law	appropriate sibling terms, or swaer (brother-in-law), sometimes ou swaer or swaerie, and skoons (sister-in-law), sometimes ou skoons
	husband and wife	husbands call their wives ma or mama or by their Christian names Wives call their husbands pa or by their Christian names
1st descending	parents addressing their children, married or unmarried	Christian names, but frequently they use the sibling terms which their children use in addressing each other, e.g. ou boetie, for eldest son
	children of other kinsmen	Christian names or seun (boy) and dogter (girl)
2nd descending	grandchildren	as for own children

Appendix I

ANCESTRAL HEROES OF THE ENGELBRECHT LINEAGE



KEY

△ ancestral heroes

1 Engelbrecht was the founding ancestor of the lineage. Through him all the members of the Engelbrecht lineage are united. He is the Hollandse oorgrootjie, a white man, who was the "father" of these Basters. The guns which he provided made it possible for his descendents to overthrow the Bushmen, and to make safe for habitation those parts of Namaqualand where they settled.

2 Gert, the son of Engelbrecht, trekked to the stretch of country now known as Steinkopf. He became head of his own family and those other families who joined the Engelbrechts. He led expeditions against the Bushmen.

3 Willem, succeeded his father, Gert. He was an accomplished hunter and an efficient leader of men against Bushmen sorties. He visited Adam Kok at Griquatown where he was hanged by Kok for murdering a "tame" Bushman.

4 Pieter, half-brother of Willem, refused to acknowledge the latter's leadership and moved with his family several miles away from Willem's settlement. He was shot by a Bushman at Karasberg in South West Africa while on a hunting expedition.

5 Gert, Pieter's son, led many campaigns against the Bushmen, but was wounded by a poison arrow at Warmbad in South West Africa, where he died shortly afterwards.

6 Jacobus (or Gous), son of Willem[3], became Kaptein of Steinkopf, a position which he usurped from the head of the Oorlam people. Jacobus did everything in his power to prevent Boer encroachment. He was appointed veldkornet in 1857.

7 Willem[6] was the eldest son of Jacobus, but did not succeed his father. As a result of this breach of tradition, Willem broke away from his extended family, and formed a new lineage segment. He was a famous hunter and a successful pastoralist.

8 Gert[7], younger brother of Willem, succeeded his father, and was an active member of the newly established Church.

9 Moses[8] was regent for Gert's son, Jacobus.

10 Petrus was an elder in the Church and a member of the raad.

11 Cornelius was a member of the raad.

12 Jacobus[8] succeeded his father, Gert, after the death of his regent. He is the last of the Engelbrecht ancestral heroes to symbolise the unity of the lineage.

Appendix J.

No 29—1909.

connection with the said land prior to the date of transfer to the said Trustees: And provided further that if the said land or any portion thereof be no longer required by the said Board for school purposes, the Governor may, with the authority of Parliament, direct that the said land or any portion thereof, together with any buildings thereon, shall be used for public or charitable purposes in such manner as may seem fit, anything in Act No. 28 of 1906, notwithstanding.

Time Limit.

2. The said School Board shall within five years of the promulgation of this Act apply such land to school purposes, failing which the land shall revert back to the Municipality for the purpose of sub-section (*b*) of section one of Act No. 28 of 1906.

How land may be disposed of.

3. Notwithstanding anything contained in the "Disused Cemeteries Appropriation Act, 1906," the land mentioned in Schedules A, B, C, D, E, H, I, of the said Act, and appropriated by the original owners in terms of the provisions of the said Act, may be disposed of, either as a whole or in portions by private treaty by the said owners, for purposes similar to those mentioned in sub-section (*a*) of section one of the said Act, subject to the consent of the Governor in writing being had and obtained and subject to the consent of Parliament; provided that the proceeds of such sale shall be used and applied to religious, charitable, or educational purposes in Cape Town; and provided further that the provisions of section three of Act No. 28 of 1906, shall apply to all land so disposed of.

Short Title.

4. This Act may be cited as "The Disused Cemeteries Appropriation Act Amendment Act, 1909."

No. 29—1909.] [December 7, 1909.

ACT

To Provide for the better management and control of certain Mission Stations and certain Lands reserved for the occupation of certain Tribes or Communities, and for the granting of titles to the Inhabitants of such Stations and Reserves.

[Assented to 3rd December, 1909.]

Preamble.

BE it enacted by the Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly thereof as follows:

INTRODUCTORY.

Short Title.

1. This Act may be cited as the "Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909."

Definitions.

2. For the purposes of this Act except where the context otherwise indicates.

"Mission station" shall mean any land held by a missionary society or religious body as a grant in trust for the natives or coloured persons in occupation of such land;

"Communal reserve" shall mean any Crown land in the Division of Namaqualand reserved or set apart otherwise than by formal grant for the occupation of native or other communities;

"Prescribed" shall mean prescribed by this Act or by any regulation promulgated under and by virtue of the powers and authorities conferred by the provisions of this Act;

"Society" shall mean any Missionary Society or religious body holding any land as a grant in trust for the natives or coloured persons in occupation of such land;

"Registered occupier" shall mean any person whose name is included in a register of occupiers of land within a mission station or communal reserve framed in the manner prescribed;

"Board of Management" shall mean the body established under this Act for the administration and control of the local secular affairs of any mission station or portion thereof or of any communal reserve.

PART I.—MISSION STATIONS.

Application of Act.

3. The Governor may by proclamation apply the provisions of this Act to any mission station, the limits of which shall be in such proclamation described: provided that no such proclamation shall be issued unless and until the previous consent in writing of the trustees of the mission station has been furnished and the people affected thereby have been consulted in the manner prescribed.

Procedure upon application of Act.

4. Upon promulgation of any proclamation as aforesaid it shall be lawful for the Governor, after inquiry by the Resident Magistrate, or a Commissioner duly appointed for the purpose, in the manner prescribed

(1) To fix and determine the area or areas of land in occupation by the Society for church, school, residential and other purposes, to cause a survey to be made of such land, and thereafter to grant to the Society title thereto; subject to a reservation of precious stones and minerals in favour of the Crown, and subject to the condition that no part of such land so granted shall be mortgaged, sold, or alienated without the previous consent of the Governor and in any case only in accordance with such conditions as the Governor may approve, including conditions as to the disposal of the proceeds of such mortgage, sale, or alienation.

(2) To fix and determine what rights, if any, as to grazing on the commonage and as to the use of fuel and water shall be held by the Society in respect of such land:

No. 29—1909.

(3) To fix and determine in respect of such grant an amount (not exceeding the amount of the rate paid to the Divisional Council) which shall be annually payable by the Society to the Board of Management as and for a local rate for the general purposes of the mission station;

(4) To cancel and annul the existing title in respect of the mission station described in such proclamation;

(5) To cause the remaining area of the mission station to be demarcated and reserved for the use and occupation of the registered occupiers;

(6) To determine who are the persons entitled, at the date of the promulgation of such proclamation, to be occupiers of land within such portion of the mission station as has been demarcated and reserved in terms of sub-section (5) of this section; to direct that a register of such persons and of the number and extent of the separate lots or holdings respectively occupied by them be framed, and, upon completion of such register, that proceedings be taken for the election of the members of a Board of Management, as prescribed; and

(7) To determine what extent of land shall be regarded as a separate lot or holding for the purposes of this section.

Board of Management: Membership.

5. (1) The Board of Management shall consist of nine persons of whom six shall be elected by and from amongst the registered occupiers, and three shall be appointed by the Governor, one of whom shall be recommended by the Society, together with the Resident Magistrate of the District, or such other officer or person as the Governor may from time to time nominate and appoint for the purpose, who shall be an additional member of the Board and shall, when present, preside as Chairman at its meetings. The Chairman of any meeting of the Board shall have a deliberative as well as a casting vote.

(2) The provisions of sections five, seven, eight, nine, ten and eighteen of the "Villages Management Act, 1881," shall, so far as applicable and consistent with the terms of this Act, apply, in respect of the members of the Board of Management elected by the registered occupiers, to the manner of election of such members, their qualifications and disqualifications for membership, their tenure of office, and the filling of their seats when vacant.

(3) The tenure of office of any member of the Board of Management appointed by the Governor shall be for a period of twelve months: Provided that such member may be re-nominated at the expiration of his term of office. Provided further that any such member shall be disqualified from membership and his seat shall become vacant and be filled by the Governor upon the

occurrence of any event which, had such member been elected by the registered occupiers, would, under the provisions of this section, have disqualified him from membership and rendered his seat vacant.

Powers and Duties of Board.

6. (1) The Board of Management shall exercise its rights, powers and duties over the entire area of the mission station, exclusive of such portion or portions as may, in terms of sub-section (1) of section four of this Act, have been set apart for, or granted to, the Society. Provided that it shall be lawful for the Governor, after consultation with the Society and Board of Management, to direct that any land thus excluded which is locally separated from the main portion of the land set apart for, or granted to, the Society, shall come within the jurisdiction of the Board, and thereupon such locally separated land shall become subject to taxation by the Board, and the Society shall be entitled to nominate, in respect thereof, some person who shall be deemed, for the purposes of this Act, to be the occupier thereof, and entitled to registration as such.

(2) Every such Board shall have and exercise the rights, powers and duties exercisable by a Board of Management under sections fifteen, nineteen, twenty, twenty-two, twenty-three and twenty-four of the "Villages Management Act, 1881," and of a local authority established under the provisions of sections thirteen and fourteen of the "Public Health Amendment Act, 1897," and such other powers and duties as may be conferred and imposed upon it by this Act, or any regulations promulgated under or by virtue of section sixteen hereof;

(3) In each year the Board of Management shall levy a rate of not less than ten shillings to be paid by each registered occupier in respect of each separate lot or holding occupied by him and by all such adult male residents upon the mission station as may not be relieved from the obligation to make such payment by regulation framed by the Board of Management and approved by the Governor. The proceeds of such rates and all other revenues of the Board of Management shall, subject to such restrictions as may be imposed by the Governor by regulation promulgated under the provisions of section sixteen of this Act, be appropriated by the Board of Management solely to defray the cost of the exercise and performance of its rights, powers and duties: Provided that with the concurrence of the Resident Magistrate the Board may by special resolution grant a reduction, not exceeding one half, in the rate in respect of any lot or holding, if the Board shall consider that the unimproved value of such lot or holding is less than the average value of all the lots or holdings.

Procedure upon failure of Board to perform any duty.

7. Upon it being shown to the satisfaction of the Governor that any Board of Management has failed to properly carry out any duty devolving upon it under the provisions of this Act or any regulation promulgated hereunder, it shall be lawful for

No. 29 - 1909.

the Governor, after giving three weeks' notice thereof in the *Gazette* and any paper circulating in the district, to appoint some person to carry out the said duty, and such person shall thereupon become vested with all the powers of the Board in that behalf. The cost of carrying out such duty shall be borne by the funds of the Board, and, if there be no such funds or they be insufficient, then it shall be lawful for the Governor to levy for the purpose a special rate not exceeding ten shillings to be paid by all such persons as would be liable to the payment of an annual rate levied under the provisions of section six of this Act. Any such special rate shall be payable and recoverable as in same manner as the said annual rate.

Individual Tenure.

8. (1) As soon as any Board of Management shall adopt a resolution in favour of the survey, for the purpose of individual tenure, of the land reserved as provided in sub-section (5) of the fourth section of this Act for the use and occupation of the registered occupiers, it shall be lawful for the Governor to direct that a public meeting of registered occupiers be called for the purpose of considering the terms of such resolution after public notification of the date and purpose of such meeting for a period of not less than six weeks in such manner as may be prescribed; and if the resolution shall have been approved by a majority of the registered occupiers present at such a meeting the Governor may

(*a*) Cause such land to be divided and surveyed.

(*b*) Allot to the occupiers of such land at the date of such division and survey such portions thereof as they may, in the opinion of the Governor, be respectively entitled to occupy at the time, and, in case of doubt or dispute, determine any question as to right of occupation or the area of land to be allotted;

(*c*) Cause to be demarcated and set apart sites for public buildings, and such areas as may be available for burial, market, recreation, or any other public purpose;

(*d*) Reserve, subject to the provisions of this Act, the remaining extent of such land for the use of the community as commonage;

(*e*) Grant to the registered occupiers, free of quitrent, but subject to the provisions of this Act and to all such reservations as are usual in quitrent grants of Crown land, such portions of the land as may have been respectively allotted to them;

(*f*) Direct that the cost of subdivision and survey shall, in the first instance, be borne out of public funds; and prescribe the manner in which such costs shall be allocated amongst the grantees, and the times and manner in which the said costs shall be paid.

(2) Upon failure of any grantee, within six months of the date when same shall become due and payable, to pay the share of

costs allocated against him or any instalment thereof, notice of such failure and of the intention of the Governor to cancel the title deed in consequence thereof shall be posted by the Resident Magistrate of the District at the Court House and either at the Office of the Board of Management or at some other place within the mission station; and after such notice shall have remained so posted for six months it shall be lawful for the Governor, if the amount due together with an additional charge of two shillings and sixpence has not at such date been paid, to cancel the title deed and sell the land to some approved person upon such terms and at such price as he may think fit. Provided that the proceeds of any such sale, after deduction therefrom of the total sum due from the previous grantee together with the aforesaid charge of two shillings and sixpence, shall be paid over to such previous grantee.

Restraint upon alienation and prohibition of sub-division or joint ownership or occupation.

9. (1) No land allotted under the provisions of sub-section (6) of section four of this Act or allotted or granted under the provisions of section eight hereof shall be alienated, transferred, ceded, leased, mortgaged or rendered liable to execution for debt without the previous consent of the Governor; nor shall any such land be capable of sub-division or of being held in joint occupation or ownership.

(2) (*a*) Whenever, by the terms of any will or other testamentary document, or as a consequence of succession upon intestacy to any deceased person, or by the dissolution of any community of property subsisting between spouses, any land allotted under the provisions of sub-section (6) of section four of this Act or allotted or granted under the provisions of section eight hereof, would ordinarily come into the occupation or ownership of more than one person or require to be sub-divided for the purpose of separate benefit, the Resident Magistrate of the district, after consultation with the Board of Management, shall determine the respective values of the shares of the persons beneficially interested in such land, and shall appoint from among such persons one person into whose occupation or ownership alone such land shall come. Provided, that no such appointment shall be made unless and until adequate arrangements to the satisfaction of the beneficiaries not so appointed, or their lawful representatives and of the Resident Magistrate shall have been made by the person proposed to be appointed for the payment to such beneficiaries of the value determined as hereinbefore provided of their respective benefits.

(*b*) Upon failure from any cause of the person so appointed to carry into effect the arrangements made for the satisfaction of the shares of such beneficiaries, notice of such failure and of the intention of the Governor in consequence to cancel the right of occupation or ownership, as the case may be, previously granted to such person in terms of sub-section two (*a*) of this section shall be posted by the Resident Magistrate at the Court

No. 29—1909.

House and either at the Office of the Board of Management or at some other place within the mission station; and after such notice shall have remained posted for thirty days it shall be lawful for the Governor, unless the said arrangements shall by that time have been carried into effect, to cancel the said right and to appoint from among the beneficiaries some other person who may be willing and able to make adequate arrangements to the satisfaction of the other beneficiaries or their lawful representatives and of the Resident Magistrate for the payment of the value of the shares of such beneficiaries.

(*c*) In the selection of any person for appointment under this section the Resident Magistrate shall be governed by the wishes of the majority in value of the beneficiaries where such majority exists. Provided that it shall be competent for the Resident Magistrate to represent to the Minister any cause why the wishes of the majority in value of the beneficiaries should not be complied with, or cannot conveniently be ascertained, and for any beneficiary to appeal to the Minister against any decision of the Resident Magistrate under this section, and the decision of the Minister upon any such representation or appeal shall be final.

(*d*) Upon the failure of the Resident Magistrate to make any appointment in terms of this section by reason of the inability of any one of the beneficiaries to make adequate arrangements to the satisfaction of the other beneficiaries or their lawful representatives and of the Resident Magistrate for the payment to such other beneficiaries of the value of their shares, it shall be lawful for the Governor to order that the right of occupation or of ownership in the land, as the case may be, shall be sold to some approved person upon such terms and conditions and at such price as he may think fit, and that the proceeds of such sale, after deduction of any costs incurred, be divided amongst all the beneficiaries proportionately to the extent of their interest in the land.

Mode of Transfer.

10. (1) Whenever the approval of the Governor shall have been obtained to the alienation of land allotted under the provisions of sub-section (6) of section four of this Act or allotted or granted under the provisions of section eight hereof the transferor or his lawful agent shall complete a form of transfer substantially in the manner set forth in the schedule to this Act, and which shall, in the case of land granted under the provisions of section eight of this Act, be endorsed upon the title deed of such land, and leave it, together with the sum of two shillings and sixpence for a stamp of that value to be affixed to the said form of transfer, with the Resident Magistrate of the District.

(2) The Resident Magistrate, upon being satisfied that the requirements under this Act for the validity of such alienation have been complied with, shall, in the case of land allotted under the provisions of sub-section (6) of section four of this Act, register such transfer in such manner as may be prescribed, and,

in the case of land granted under the provisions of section eight of this Act, shall transmit the title deed with the form of transfer endorsed thereon to the proper Registrar of Deeds for the purpose of the due registration of such transfer.

(3) No transfer duty, fee of office, stamp duty or charge other than as in this section provided shall be paid in respect of any such transfer.

(4) The provisions of the Titles Registration and Derelict Lands Act, 1881, shall be applicable in respect of any land allotted or granted under the provisions of section eight of this Act; provided that no person shall be entitled to any order under the said Act unless the consent of the Governor shall previously have been procured, and that any transfer pursuant to any such order shall be effected, as nearly as may be, in accordance with the provisions of this section.

Divisional Council rates

11. Nothwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Divisional Councils Act, 1889, or any other law, all property within the area of jurisdiction of a Board of Management shall be deemed to be one undivided property for the purposes of this Act or law; the Board of Management shall be liable for the payment of any rates assessed by the Divisional Council on such property and shall pay such rates out of its funds; and the names of the members of the Board of Management shall, upon their election or appointment and after notification thereof in writing to the Divisional Council by the Chairman of the Board of Management, be included on the list of registered voters for Divisional Council purposes. Provided that no rate assessed by the Divisional Council under the provisions of Part III. of the Divisional Councils Act, 1889, shall, in respect of any such property, exceed in any one year a sum which would be produced by the payment of two shillings by each of the duly registered occupiers for the time being and where the provisions of section eight of the said Act have been proclaimed then in respect of every separate lot or holding within the area of jurisdiction of the Board of Management.

Sale of portion of Commonage not required.

12. (1) It shall be lawful for the Governor at any time to cause to be sold, in such manner and upon such terms as he may think fit after consultation with the Board of Management, any portion of the commonage of any mission station which may not be required for the purposes of the community; provided that no such sale shall take place unless and until

(*a*) A resolution of the Board shall have been adopted in favour thereof;

(*b*) Such resolution shall have been approved of by a majority of the registered occupiers present at a public meeting to be called for the purpose, after public notification in such manner as may be prescribed for a period of not less than six weeks of the terms of the resolution and of the date fixed for such meeting.

No. 28—1909.

(2) The Governor may by proclamation exclude the land so sold from the limits of the area of jurisdiction of the Board of Management and from the scope of operation of this Act.

(3) The proceeds of any such sale shall be paid to the Board of Management and shall, under such restrictions as the Governor may appoint, and subject to the approval of the Governor, be devoted exclusively to the erection or equipment of school buildings, or to irrigation works or other public purposes.

No liquor licence to be granted within Board area.

13. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in Act No. 28 of 1883 or any other law it shall not be lawful to grant any liquor licence within the area of jurisdiction of any Board of Management.

Tenure of land to be communal for purposes of Act 14, 1887.

14. All land allotted under the provisions of sub-section (6) of section four of this Act or allotted or granted under the provisions of section eight hereof shall, for the purposes of section seventeen of Act No. 14 of 1887 or any amendment thereof, be deemed to be held on communal tenure.

Application of 9th section of Vagrancy Act, 1879.

15. The provisions of the ninth section of the Vagrancy Act, 1879 shall apply to every area under the jurisdiction of a Board of Management and shall be operative in respect of any registered occupier whose rights as such shall have ceased and determined but who, the same notwithstanding, shall, without lawful authority, have entered into or continued in occupation of land; and for the purpose of the said section any person continuing in occupation of land his right to occupy which shall have ceased and determined shall be deemed to have originally entered upon such land without lawful authority.

Regulations.

16. It shall be lawful for the Governor in respect of any mission station to make, alter and revoke regulations for all or any of the following purposes:—

(1) For the manner in which the people of any mission station shall be consulted and inquiry shall be held for the purpose of the due carrying out of sections three and four of this Act and for the framing and keeping of a register of persons entitled to occupy land in any mission station and of the separate lots or holdings held by such persons, and for the registration and hearing of claims for inclusion in, or any objections to, such register, and for the removal therefrom of the name of any deceased person or of any person who by transfer of property, or for any other cause shall have ceased to possess the prescribed qualification for exercising the rights of a registered occupier;

(2) For the lease of sites for trading purposes within the area of jurisdiction of any Board of Management and the regulation of the rentals chargeable in respect of such sites;

(3) For vesting in, or imposing upon, any Board of Management any powers and duties in addition to the powers and duties vested or imposed by this Act;

(4) For the appropriation of rates or other revenues and for the authorization of any expenditure to be incurred to the Board of Management;

(5) For prescribing the manner in which the accounts of a Board of Management shall be kept and the times when and manner in which such accounts shall be audited and balance sheets published;

(6) For prescribing when and how often the meetings of the Board of Management shall be held, and the procedure at such meetings;

(7) For the assessment and recovery of any rates and the collection of any fees or dues chargeable by any Board of Management; and for the exclusion of any registered occupier who shall not have paid any lawful rate, fee, or due, from the right to vote in any election of a member of the Board until such rate, fee, or due, be first paid;

(8) For the admission and registration of new residents within any area under the jurisdiction of a Board of Management wherein survey for the purpose of individual tenure has not taken place, and for the allocation or allotment to such new residents of building sites and garden or arable lands;

(9) For prescribing the manner in which the regulations of any Board shall be promulgated;

(10) For the prohibition of beer-drinks and for the prohibition, regulation or restriction of the making or brewing of Kafir beer and for the suppression of heathenish practices; and

(11) Generally for the purposes of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

Regulation of grazing on Commonage.

17. It shall be lawful for the Board of Management by regulation with the consent of the Governor to prescribe the number of cattle or live stock which registered occupiers shall be allowed to put to graze on the commonage thereof without charge, to limit the number which registered occupiers shall be allowed to put to graze on the commonage on payment of a charge, to prescribe the charge which shall be made for all cattle or live stock put to graze in excess of the number entitled to free grazing, and to hire any land or lands for grazing purposes for the joint use of persons having commonage rights.

Contravention of regulations.

18. Any regulations promulgated under this Act may impose a penalty for any breach or contravention thereof not exceeding a fine of five pounds sterling or in default of payment imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding thirty days. Any such breach or contravention may be prosecuted in any competent Court, and any Special Justice of the Peace within whose area of jurisdiction any such breach or contravention has occurred shall have jurisdiction to try the offender and to impose the penalties prescribed.

No. 29—1909.

Procedure on non-payment of rates, etc.

19. In case any rate fee or due prescribed shall remain unpaid for a period of six months from the date when it shall have become payable it shall be lawful for the Resident Magistrate, upon application by the Board of Management, to issue a warrant requiring the Messenger of the Court or any officer of the Board to levy and raise the amount due, together with such costs as may be prescribed, by sale of the movable property of the person making default. Should the proceeds of such sale not be sufficient to meet the amount due together with the costs incurred, or should the person in default not be in possession of any movable property, notice of the intention of the Governor to cancel the right of occupation or of ownership as the case may be of the defaulter shall be posted by the Resident Magistrate at the Court House and at the office of the Board of Management or some other place upon the mission station, and after such notice shall have remained posted for six months it shall be lawful for the Governor if the amount due together with an additional charge of two shillings and six pence shall not at that date have been paid, to cancel the right of occupation or of ownership, as the case may be, of the defaulter and sell such right to some approved person upon such terms and at such price as he may think fit. Provided that the proceeds of any such sale after the deduction therefrom of the amount due, together with the aforesaid charge of two shillings and six pence, shall be paid over to the defaulter.

PART II.—COMMUNAL RESERVES.

Application of Part II. of Act.

20. The Governor may by proclamation apply the provisions of Part II. of this Act to any communal reserve after the people affected thereby have been consulted in the manner prescribed.

Application of provisions of Part I to Communal Reserves.

21. All and several the provisions of Part I of this Act save and except sections three and eight hereof shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to any communal reserve; provided that at any time after issue of any proclamation as aforesaid it shall be lawful for the Governor, in addition to the powers conferred by section four of this Act.

(*a*) To cause a survey to be made of the boundaries of such communal reserve, and

(*b*) To direct that the cost of such survey shall, in the first instance, be borne out of public funds subject to repayment by the Board of Management.

Procedure subsequent to first election of Board of Management.

22. (1) For the purpose of any election of the Board of Management of a communal reserve subsequent to the first election it shall be lawful for the Governor after consultation with the Board:—

(*a*) To direct that the area of the communal reserve be divided into such number of wards not exceeding six as he shall deem expedient;

(*b*) To determine the boundaries of such wards and the manner in which the register of occupiers of each such

ward and of the lots or holdings occupied by them shall be compiled and kept;

(c) To prescribe the number of members of the Board which shall be accorded to each ward:

and thereafter at any election the registered occupiers of each ward shall elect separately the number of members allotted to it.

(2) No person shall be capable of election for any ward unless resident within such ward, and no person shall be capable of representing more than one ward.

(3) Whenever the number of elected members of any Board of Management within this section shall exceed six it shall be lawful for the Governor for every such member in excess of six to appoint one member in addition to those appointed or to be appointed under the provisions of section five of this Act.

Appointment of Superintendent—powers and duties.

23. It shall be lawful for the Governor to appoint a Superintendent who shall in the absence of the Resident Magistrate preside over the Board of Management and shall exercise such powers and perform such duties as may be prescribed.

Outer or reserve commonages.

24. It shall be lawful for the Governor, as soon as a resolution in favour of the exercise of the powers conferred by this section shall be adopted by the Board of Management, to direct that a public meeting of registered occupiers shall be called in like manner as provided by section eight of this Act to consider such resolution, and, if the resolution shall have been approved by a majority of the registered occupiers present,

(1) To direct that an outer or reserve commonage be defined and demarcated after a sufficient area has been allowed and set apart for the common lands or commonage surrounding the portion or portions used for residential purposes, and that the claims of all registered occupiers lawfully having or exercising rights within the limits of such outer commonage shall be inquired into and determined in the manner prescribed;

(2) With the previous concurrence of both Houses of Parliament to grant any registered occupier as aforesaid, in satisfaction of his claim, title to such portion of the outer or reserve commonage as may be allotted, which title shall be free of quit-rent but subject to all reservations usual in quit-rent grants of Crown land, and to dispose by sale at public auction of any remaining portion or portions of such outer commonage: provided that the proceeds of any such sale shall be devoted to such public purpose within the communal reserve as the Governor may approve, and that the land so granted or disposed of may by proclamation be excluded from the limits of the communal reserve;

(3) To direct that the cost of survey of such outer or reserve commonage shall, in the first instance, be borne out of public funds, subject to repayment by the Board of Management, or grantee, or purchaser as aforesaid.

No. 29—1909

Lease of commonage for mining purposes.

25. It shall be lawful for the Governor to lease any portion or portions of the commonage land of any communal reserve for mining purposes subject to, and in accordance with, the mineral laws of the Colony relative to Crown Lands, and to assess a reasonable annual rental to be paid by the lessee to the Board of Management in respect of any such lease in addition to any other charge payable under the said law.

Individual Tenure.

26. It shall be lawful for the Governor by proclamation, if a resolution in favour of the survey for the purpose of individual tenure of the area of any communal reserve shall have been adopted by the Board of Management thereof, and if such resolution shall have been approved by a majority of the registered occupiers present at a meeting called in like manner as is provided in section eight of this Act, to apply the provisions of the said section to such communal reserve or so much of the said provisions as may be applicable and with such modifications as may be necessary: provided, that no such proclamation shall be promulgated unless and until a copy thereof shall have been laid upon the Table of both Houses of Parliament one month previously, and that notice shall be given in the *Gazette* of the intention to issue such proclamation, at least one month before the laying of a copy thereof upon the Table of both Houses of Parliament as aforesaid.

PART III.—GENERAL.

Application of provisions of Part I to Mission Stations on private property

27. Subject to the previous consent in writing of the owner of any private property on which any mission station not coming within the provisions of this Act shall have been established, it shall be lawful for the Governor by proclamation to apply the provisions of Part I of this Act, *mutatis mutandis* and in so far as they are applicable: Provided that any such proclamation as aforesaid shall only be issued after consultation with the occupiers of such mission station as to the terms of consent and any reservations imposed by the owner in the manner prescribed: and provided further that the terms of such consent and any reservations as aforesaid are embodied in the said proclamation.

Exclusion of Mission Station from Municipality or Village Management area and application thereto of provisions of Part I.

28. (1) It shall be lawful for the Governor by proclamation to exclude from the limits of any Municipality or area under the "Villages Management Act, 1881," any private or communal property on which any mission station not coming within the provisions of this Act or missionary institution shall have been established or any private property which at any time previous to the date of promulgation of this Act was comprised within the limits of any such mission station or missionary institution, upon such terms as to the apportionment of property and the division of rights and liabilities as may have been agreed upon between the Council of such Municipality or the Board of such area on the one hand and the owner of the said property on the other, or, in the event of failure of the parties to arrive at an

agreement upon such terms as to the apportionment of property and the division of rights and liabilities as may be determined upon by a majority of a Commission of three members appointed by the Governor for the purpose: provided that the Council of such Municipality or Board and the owner as aforesaid shall each have the option of nominating one of such members and that the third member shall be appointed by the Governor to preside over such Commission.

(2) Such proclamation shall specify the terms as to the apportionment of property and the division of rights and liabilities so agreed upon or determined and it shall be lawful for the Governor to apply all or any of the provisions of Part I of this Act, *mutatis mutandis* and in so far as they may be applicable, to any area severed under the provisions of this section from any Municipality or area under the Villages Management Act, 1881, and to make regulations governing the manner in which effect shall be given to such apportionment of property and division of rights and liabilities.

Application of Part I to certain other Mission Stations or Locations.

29. (1) Whenever any area under the Villages Management Act, 1881, not being a mission station within the meaning of this Act is of the character of a settlement of natives or coloured persons, commonly called a mission location or mission station, congregated about or in the neighbourhood of any missionary institution, it shall be lawful for the Board of Management thereof at any general meeting to adopt a resolution in favour of the substitution in respect of such area of the provisions of Part I of this Act in place of the provisions of the Villages Management Act, 1881, and thereupon it shall be lawful for the Governor, by proclamation, to declare that upon and after a date to be specified therein, the provisions of the said Act shall cease to apply to such area, and that all and several the provisions of Part I of this Act shall, *mutatis mutandis*, and in so far as applicable, apply thereto.

(2) It shall be lawful for the Governor by proclamation to declare that on and after a date to be specified therein the provisions of section sixteen, sub-section (10), of this Act shall be applicable to any area which is not under the Villages Management Act, 1881, and is not a mission station within the meaning of Part I. of this Act but is of the character of a settlement of natives or coloured persons commonly called a mission location or mission station, congregated about or in the neighbourhood of any missionary institution, and in such proclamation to prescribe the limits within which the provisions aforesaid shall be in force; and thereupon the provisions of section eighteen of this Act shall apply to any contravention of any regulation issued in terms of this section in respect of any such area.

No. 29—1909.

Schedule.

SCHEDULE.

FORM OF TRANSFER.

I, the within named.....in consideration of £.....paid to me by.....the receipt of which sum I do hereby acknowledge, hereby transfer to him all right, title and interest in and to the land held by me under this title; the approval of the Governor having first been obtained.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name at..... this.....day of..... 190.....

(Signature or Mark).

Before me,

.....

Resident Magistrate or
Assistant Resident Magistrate.

NOTE.—When transfer is to be effected by a Registrar of Deeds or by an Executor, Trustee or other legal representative, or when the land to be transferred is not held under title deed, the above form should be varied so as to meet the altered circumstances.

No. 30—1909.] [December 7, 1909.

ACT

To provide for the redemption of quitrents payable on all Trading Station Grants in Native Locations or Reserves in Cape Colony and its Dependencies, and for the fixing of uniform rates of Quitrent and Trading Licence Fees.

[Assented to 3rd December, 1909.]

Preamble.

BE it enacted by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof, as follows:—

Redemption of quitrents on Trading Station Grants.

1. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any Law the provisions of section two of the "Crown Lands Disposal Act and Leasing Acts Amendments Act, 1895," in regard to the redemption of quitrent shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the quitrents payable on all Trading Station Grants in Cape Colony and its Dependencies, whether such grant was made before or after the passing of this Act.

Fixing rate of quitrent on all Trading Stations at four shillings per morgen.

2. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any Law the annual quitrent payable in respect of every Trading Station in Cape Colony and its Dependencies to which title has been or shall be issued shall be fixed at four shillings per morgen, subject to a minimum rate of £1 (one pound) sterling per annum, —this arrangement to take effect from the first day of January, 1910.

Trading Licence Fee to be £12 per annum.

3. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Law relating to Stamps and Licences or any other law, on and after the first day of January, 1910, there shall be paid in respect of every Trading Station whether granted as such under Title or held by Certificate of Occupation issued in terms of the next succeeding section a sum of £12 per annum for a Trading Licence: Provided that if the licence be issued on and after the first day of July in any year the sum of £6 only shall be charged.

Governor may grant permission to occupy Trading Stations.

4. It shall be lawful for the Governor after consultation with the District Council (if any) by a Certificate of Occupation to grant to any approved applicant permission to occupy a site for a Trading Station upon Crown Land being portion of a communally occupied Native Location or Reserve, or other land occupied entirely by Natives, subject to the provisions of the second and third sections of this Act and to the general conditions set forth in the Schedule hereunto annexed and such special conditions as to the Governor may seem expedient: provided, however, that the said general conditions may from time to time be supplemented or amended by Resolution of both Houses of Parliament; and provided further that a Certificate as aforesaid may be issued in respect of any land occupied or to be occupied for the purposes of any *bona fide* trading or other craft for which a licence is not required by law, subject only to the payment of a lease rent equivalent to the rate of quitrent fixed in section two of this Act.

Short Title.

5. This Act may be cited as "The Trading Stations Act, 1909."

SCHEDULE.

Schedule.

Conditions of Certificate of Occupation.

1. That the permission to occupy shall convey no ownership in the land; provided that in the event of a general survey of the location or area, and the issue of individual title, the claim of such occupier to a grant of the land shall be recognized subject to the sanction of Parliament, and to such conditions as may be approved by it.

2. That the occupier shall not have the right to lease or sublet the land or to sell or transfer the permission to occupy without the sanction of the Governor being first had and obtained.

3. That the occupier shall in no case be entitled to any compensation from the Government for any improvements made on the land, except as is hereinafter provided.

4. That the occupier shall be bound to enclose the land, failing which he shall not be entitled to claim fees or compensation for trespass of stock thereon.

5. That the occupier shall take out the licence (if any), required by law for the purpose of carrying on his trade or craft.

Act No. 11 of 1929.

2. That on the registration of such transfer the said Mayor and Councillors shall stand charged with the liability for payment of the Compensation now due by the Trustees to the said Society for and in respect of the stone building known as the Agricultural Hall on the said land which they shall discahrge at a price to be ascertained and determined by two competent Valuers one of whom shall be appointed by the Mayor and Councillors and the other by the Society and in the event of a disagreement between the Valuers as to the sum to be paid by an Umpire to be appointed by such Valuers and the decision of such Umpire shall be final and binding upon the parties provided that before any payment is made by the Council the said Building shall be freed from all encumbrances and hypothecations.

3. That the cost of the said Act shall be disbursed in the first place by the said Mayor and Councillors but shall be a charge against the said Society and may be deducted by the said Mayor and Councillors from the Compensation to be payable by them under Clause Two hereof.

4. That in case the said Union Parliament shall fail or refuse to pass the said Act this Agreement shall become null and void save that the cost of promoting the said Act shall fall upon and be payable by the said Society to the said Mayor and Councillors.

Dated at Estcourt Natal this the 5th day of September, 1928.

For the Weenen Agricultural Society now known as the Estcourt Farmers Association.

WILLIAM ELLIOT
RUPERT KEMP
ALLAN H. WINTER
Trustees.

Witness
W. H. PITCHER
L. R. WIDDICOMBE

Given under the Corporate Seal for and on behalf of the Mayor and Councillors of the Borough of Estcourt, this 5th day of September, 1928.

B. J. BREWITT
Mayor.

Witness
W. H. PITCHER
L. R. WIDDICOMBE.

Act No. 12 of 1929.

[Date of commencement—3rd April, 1929.*

ACT

To supplement and amend the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909 (Cape of Good Hope).

(Assented to 23rd March, 1929.)
(Signed by the Governor-General in English.)

BE IT ENACTED by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:—

Transfer of land granted under Act No. 29 of 1909 on death of owner.

1. (1) When the owner of land granted under the provisions of section *eight* of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909 (Act No. 29 of 1909 of the Cape of Good Hope, hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), has died and the magistrate of the district wherein such land is situate is satisfied that a single individual has inherited such land, such magistrate shall, if furnished with the title deed to such land, and with the consent of the Governor-General in terms of sub-section (1) of section *nine* of the said Act, complete a form of transfer

* This Act was first published in *Gazette Extraordinary*, No. 1772 of the 3rd April, 1929.

Act No. 12 of 1929.

to be endorsed on the title which shall correspond substantially with the form set forth in the Schedule to this Act and forward such form and title deed for registration to the Registrar of Deeds within whose area of jurisdiction the said land is situate.

(2) No transfer duty, fee of office, stamp duty or charge shall be paid in respect of any such transfer.

Amendment of section *nine* of Act No. 29 of 1909.

2. Section *nine* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the insertion of the following words at the end of sub-section (1) :—

Provided that where a lot or holding under paragraph (7) of section *four* or an allotment granted under paragraph (*e*) of sub-section (1) of section *eight* consists of two or more separate pieces of land, any such piece may with the approval of the Governor-General be separately alienated, transferred, ceded, leased, mortgaged or rendered liable to execution for debt.

Amendment of section *nineteen* of Act No. 29 of 1909.

3. Section *nineteen* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the addition at the end thereof of the following words :—

Provided further that if any person in default is not a registered occupier or owner, notice of the intention of the Governor-General to cancel the right of such defaulter to reside within any area under the jurisdiction of the board of management shall be posted by the magistrate at the court house and at the office of the board of management or some other place upon the mission station, and after such notice shall have remained posted for three months it shall be lawful for the Governor-General, if the amount due together with an additional charge of two shillings and sixpence shall not at that date have been paid, to cancel the right of residence of the defaulter, who shall, if he thereafter remains within or enters the area under the jurisdiction of the board of management, be deemed to be an idle and disorderly person within the meaning of section *two* of the Vagrancy Act, 1879, (Act No. 23 of 1879), and liable to be dealt with as such in terms of that section.

Short title.

4. This Act may be cited as the Cape Mission Stations and Communal Reserves (Amendment) Act, 1929.

Schedule.

FORM FOR TRANSFER OF LAND UNDER SECTION *one* OF THE CAPE MISSION STATIONS AND COMMUNAL RESERVES AMENDMENT ACT, 1929.

Whereas I have satisfied myself that.....
the owner of the land to which this title deed refers, to wit.....
..... (*a*)
has died, and that.....is entitled to be registered as the owner of the said land in the place of the said
.....

I do hereby transfer all the right, title and interest in the said land to.....

MAGISTRATE OF THE DISTRICT OF
.....

(*a*) Insert particulars of land and title deed.

Act No. 12 of 1949.

ACT

To amend the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, of the Cape of Good Hope, and to provide for that Act to apply throughout the Union.

(*Afrikaans Text signed by the Governor-General.*)
(*Assented to 5th April*, 1949.)

BE IT ENACTED by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:—

Amendment of section 2 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

1. (1) Section *two* of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, of the Cape of Good Hope (hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), is hereby amended—

(*a*) by the deletion in the definition of "Mission station" of the words "natives or";

(*b*) by the substitution for the definition of "Communal reserve" of the following definition:

"'Communal reserve' shall mean any land, not being a mission station or a coloured persons settlement in terms of the Coloured Persons Settlement Act, 1946 (Act No. 7 of 1946), reserved or set apart for the occupation of coloured persons";

(*c*) by the deletion in the definition of "Society" of the words "natives or";

(*d*) by the substitution for the definition of "Registered occupier" of the following definition:

"'Registered occupier' in relation to any mission station or communal reserve, shall mean any person whose name is included in a register framed in respect of that mission station or communal reserve in terms of paragraph (6) of section *four*, or to whom a lot or holding within that mission station or communal reserve has been allocated or allotted in pursuance of regulations made under paragraph (8) of section *sixteen*"; and

(*e*) by the insertion after the definition of "Registered occupier" of the following definitions:

"'Coloured person' shall mean any person who is not a white person, a native, or Turk or a member of a race or tribe whose national or ethnical home is Asia, and shall include a member of the race or class commonly called Cape Malays or of the race or class commonly called Griquas;

'Lot' or 'holding' shall mean land allotted to a registered occupier for any of the purposes mentioned in paragraph (7) of section *four*;

'Minister', in relation to any mission station or communal reserve, shall mean the Minister to whom the Governor-General has assigned the adminis-

Act No. 12 of 1949.

tration of that mission station or communal reserve;

'Native' shall have the meaning assigned to that term by section *one* of the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act No. 18 of 1936);

'Officer', in relation to any mission station or communal reserve, shall mean any person appointed under sub-section (1) of section *five* to be an additional member of the Board of Management of that mission station or communal reserve and to preside at its meetings".

(2) The provisions of sub-section (1) shall not affect the right to reside in a mission station or communal reserve, as defined in the principal Act, in the case of any person who at the commencement of this Act was lawfully resident in that mission station or communal reserve, or any descendant of any such person who, but for the said provisions, would have been entitled to reside therein.

Amendment of section 4 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

2. Section *four* of the principal Act is hereby amended—

(*a*) by the insertion in that part of the section which precedes paragraph (1) after the word "purpose" of the words "or an officer";

(*b*) by the insertion in paragraph (3) after the word "exceeding" of the words "in an area under the jurisdiction of a Divisional Council"; and

(*c*) by the substitution for paragraph (7) of the following paragraph:

"(7) to divide the area demarcated and reserved for allocation to registered occupiers into areas available for such allocation as lots or holdings for building purposes, lots or holdings for gardens under irrigation, lots or holdings for gardens not under irrigation, and dry land lots or holdings respectively, and to determine the extent of lots or holdings of each kind or of any particular lot or holding".

Amendment of section 5 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

3. Section *five* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the deletion in sub-section (1) of the words "officer or", and the insertion in that sub-section after the words "from time to time" of the words "subject to the laws governing the public service".

Amendment of section 6 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

4. Section *six* of the principal Act is hereby amended—

(*a*) by the substitution in sub-section (3) for the words "all such adult male residents upon the mission station as may not be relieved from the obligation to make such payment by regulation framed by the Board of Management and approved by the Governor" of the words "every adult male resident upon the mission station who is not a registered occupier"; and

(*b*) by the addition at the end thereof of the following sub-section:

"(4) The magistrate of the district in which any mission station is situated, may, on the recommendation of the Board of Management concerned, exempt from the obligation to pay any rate levied under sub-section (3)—

Act No. 12 of 1949.

(*a*) any registered occupier on the ground of permanent physical disability, advanced age or widowhood; or

(*b*) any adult male resident, other than a registered occupier, on the ground of permanent physical disability ".

Amendment of section 7 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

5. Section *seven* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the addition of the following sub-section, the existing section becoming sub-section (1):

" (2) The provisions of sub-section (4) of section *six* shall *mutatis mutandis* apply in respect of any special rate imposed in terms of sub-section (1) of this section".

Amendment of section 8 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

6. Section *eight* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the insertion in sub-section (2) after the word " District " of the words " or by an officer ".

Amendment of section 9 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape), as amended by section 2 of Act 12 of 1929.

7. Section *nine* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the insertion in sub-section (1) after the word " ownership " of the words " except with such consent ".

Amendment of section 16 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

8. Section *sixteen* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution in paragraph (8) for the words " building sites and garden or arable lands " of the words " lots or holdings ".

Insertion of new section in Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

9. The following section is hereby inserted in the principal Act after section *sixteen*:

" Advance of moneys to Boards of Management for certain purposes.

16*bis*. The Minister may, in consultation with the Minister of Finance, out of funds appropriated by Parliament for the purpose, and on such conditions as he may deem fit, advance money to the Board of Management established in respect of any mission station for the purpose of enabling that board to undertake such works for the development or improvement of that mission station as the Minister may approve ".

Amendment of section 20 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

10. Section *twenty* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution for the words " the provisions " of the words " any provision ".

Amendment of section 21 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

11. Section *twenty-one* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution for the words " sections *three* and " of the word " section ".

Amendment of section 23 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

12. Section *twenty-three* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the insertion after the word " appoint " of the words " subject to the laws governing the public service ".

Amendment of sections 4 to 10, 12, 16, 17, 19 and 21 to 25 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

13. The principal Act is hereby further amended—

(*a*) by the substitution in sections *four* to *ten*, inclusive sub-sections (1) and (3) of section *twelve*, and sections *sixteen*, *seventeen*, *nineteen* and *twenty-one* to *twenty-five*, inclusive, for the word " Governor " wherever it occurs of the word " Minister "; and

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

ACT

TO

Amend the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, of the Cape of Good Hope.

UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

WET

OM

Die „Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909", van die Kaap die Goeie Hoop, te wysig.

No. 35, 1955.

ACT

To amend the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, of the Cape of Good Hope.

(*English text signed by the Governer-General.*)
(*Assented to 8th June*, 1955.)

BE IT ENACTED by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:—

Amendment of section 2 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape), as amended by section 1 of Act 12 of 1949.

1. Section *two* of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, of the Cape of Good Hope (hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), is hereby amended—

(*a*) by the substitution for the definition of "Officer" of the following definition:

" 'Officer', in relation to any mission station or communal reserve, shall mean any person appointed—

(*a*) under sub-section (1) of section *four bis* to be an additional member of the Advisory Board; or

(*b*) under sub-section (1) of section *five* to be an additional member of the Board of Management,

of that mission station or communal reserve and to preside at its meetings;"; and

(*b*) by the insertion after the definition of "Officer" of the following definition:

" 'Advisory Board' shall mean the body established under this Act to advise the Minister on and to assist him in, the administration of any mission station or communal reserve;".

Amendment of section 4 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape), as amended by sections 2 and 13 of Act 12 of 1949.

2. Section *four* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the insertion in paragraph (6) after the words "such register" of the words "to appoint an Advisory Board or to direct".

Insertion of sections 4*bis* and 4*ter* in Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

3. The following sections are hereby inserted in the principal Act after section *four*:

"Constitution and duties of Advisory Boards.

4*bis*. (1) An Advisory Board shall consist of—

(*a*) five ordinary members appointed by the Minister; and

(*b*) one additional member, who shall be the Magistrate of the District or such other person as the Minister may from time to time, subject to the laws governing the public service, nominate and appoint for the purpose and who shall, when present, preside as Chairman at its meetings.

(2) The ordinary members of an Advisory Board shall hold office for such period as the Minister may determine at the time of their appointment: Provided that the period of office of such a member may be terminated at any time if in the opinion of the Minister there are good reasons for doing so.

(3) It shall be the duty of an Advisory Board to make recommendations to the Minister on all matters submitted to it for consideration and generally to advise the Minister on and to assist him in, the proper administration of the mission station.

Powers of Minister in respect of a mission station for which an Advisory Board has been constituted.

4*ter*. (1) The Minister shall, in respect of any mission station for which an Advisory Board has been constituted, possess all the rights and powers and perform all the duties which are conferred or imposed upon a Board of Management by this Act: Provided that the Minister shall not be obliged to prepare a voters' list for any mission station in terms of sub-section (2)*bis* of section *five* unless and until steps are taken in terms of sub-section (3) of

WET

Om die „Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909", van die Kaap die Goeie Hoop, te wysig.

(*Engelse teks deur die Goewerneur-generaal geteken.*)
(*Goedgekeur op* 8 *Junie* 1955.)

DIT WORD BEPAAL deur Haar Majesteit die Koningin, die Senaat en die Volksraad van die Unie van Suid-Afrika, as volg:—

Wysiging van artikel 2 van Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap), soos gewysig deur artikel 1 van Wet 12 van 1949.

1. Artikel *twee* van die „Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909", van die Kaap die Goeie Hoop (hieronder die Hoofwet genoem), word hiermee gewysig—

(*a*) deur die omskrywing van „Officer" deur die volgende omskrywing te vervang:

„ 'Officer', in relation to any mission station or communal reserve, shall mean any person appointed—

(*a*) under sub-section (1) of section *four bis* to be an additional member of the Advisory Board; or

(*b*) under sub-section (1) of section *five* to be an additional member of the Board of Management,

of that mission station or communal reserve and to preside at its meetings;"; en

(*b*) deur na die omskrywing van „Officer" die volgende omskrywing in te voeg:

„ 'Advisory Board' shall mean the body established under this Act to advise the Minister on and to assist him in, the administration of any mission station or communal reserve;".

Wysiging van artikel 4 van Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap), soos gewysig deur artikels 2 en 13 van Wet 12 van 1949.

2. Artikel *vier* van die Hoofwet word hiermee gewysig deur in paragraaf (6) na die woorde „such register" die woorde „to appoint an Advisory Board or to direct" in te voeg.

Invoeging van artikels 4*bis* en 4*ter* in Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap).

3. Die volgende artikels word hiermee na artikel *vier* in die Hoofwet ingevoeg:

„Constitution and duties of Advisory Boards.

4*bis*. (1) An Advisory Board shall consist of—

(*a*) five ordinary members appointed by the Minister; and

(*b*) one additional member, who shall be the Magistrate of the District or such other person as the Minister may from time to time, subject to the laws governing the public service, nominate and appoint for the purpose and who shall, when present, preside as Chairman at its meetings.

(2) The ordinary members of an Advisory Board shall hold office for such period as the Minister may determine at the time of their appointment: Provided that the period of office of such a member may be terminated at any time if in the opinion of the Minister there are good reasons for doing so.

(3) It shall be the duty of an Advisory Board to make recommendations to the Minister on all matters submitted to it for consideration and generally to advise the Minister on and to assist him in, the proper administration of the mission station.

Powers of Minister in respect of a mission station for which an Advisory Board has been constituted.

4*ter*. (1) The Minister shall, in respect of any mission station for which an Advisory Board has been constituted, possess all the rights and powers and perform all the duties which are conferred or imposed upon a Board of Management by this Act: Provided that the Minister shall not be obliged to prepare a voters' list for any mission station in terms of sub-section (2)*bis* of section *five* unless and until steps are taken in terms of sub-section (3) of

this section for the constitution of a Board of Management for such mission station.

(2) The Minister may delegate any of his rights, powers or duties under sub-section (1) to any officer in the public service.

(3) If at any time the Minister is of opinion that it is desirable that the administration and control of a mission station for which an Advisory Board has been constituted, should be taken over by a Board of Management, he may take or cause to be taken all such steps as may be necessary for the constitution of such a Board of Management in terms of this Act.

(4) When a Board of Management has been constituted in terms of sub-section (3) for any mission station—

(*a*) the Advisory Board concerned and the Minister's rights, powers and duties under sub-section (1) in respect of such mission station shall cease to exist;

(*b*) anything done by the Minister in the exercise of his rights or powers or the performance of his duties under sub-section (1), in respect of such mission station, shall be deemed to have been done by such Board of Management; and

(*c*) any rights acquired or liabilities incurred by the Minister in respect of such mission station in the exercise of his rights or powers or the performance of his duties under sub-section (1) shall vest in such Board of Management.".

Amendment of section 5 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape), as amended by sections 3 and 13 of Act 12 of 1949.

4. Section *five* of the principal Act is hereby amended—

(*a*) by the substitution in sub-section (1) for the words "by and from amongst the registered occupiers" of the words "as provided in sub-section (1)*bis*";

(*b*) by the insertion after sub-section (1) of the followin sub-section:

"(1)*bis* At the first election of members of a Board of Management (other than a Board which replaces an Advisory Board) the members to be elected shall be elected by and from amongst the Coloured registered occupiers and at any other election the members to be elected shall be elected by and from amongst the persons enrolled as voters as prescribed.";

(*c*) by the substitution for sub-section (2) of the following sub-sections:

"(2) If the persons entitled to vote at an election fail to elect any member whom they are entitled to elect or to fill any vacancy which has occurred on the Board of Management and which they are entitled to fill, the Minister may appoint such member or fill such vacancy from amongst the persons qualified to be elected as members of such Board.

(2)*bis* The Board of Management shall as soon as may be after the first day of May in each year prepare in the manner prescribed a list of Coloured registered occupiers who are entitled to vote at elections of such Board."; and

(*d*) by the substitution in sub-section (3) for the words "shall be for a period of twelve months" of the words "in terms of sub-section (1) shall be for such period (which shall be not less than twelve months) as the Minister may determine at the time of his appointment" and by the substitution in the said sub-section for the words "would, under the provisions of this section" of the words "or enrolled voters, as the case may be, would".

Amendment of section 6 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape), as amended by sections 4 and 13 of Act 12 of 1949.

5. Section *six* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution for sub-section (2) of the following sub-sections:

"(2) Every Board of Management shall under its name be a body corporate, capable of suing and being sued in its corporate name and of performing, subject to the provisions of this Act, all such acts as are necessary for or incidental to the exercise of its rights and powers and the performance of its duties.

(2)*bis* A Board of Management shall have power—

(*a*) to make, maintain and keep in repair roads (other than proclaimed roads), streets, paths, side walks, culverts and bridges within the limits of the area under its jurisdiction and to provide for the lighting of streets and roads;

this section for the constitution of a Board of Management for such mission station.

(2) The Minister may delegate any of his rights, powers or duties under sub-section (1) to any officer in the public service.

(3) If at any time the Minister is of opinion that it is desirable that the administration and control of a mission station for which an Advisory Board has been constituted, should be taken over by a Board of Management, he may take or cause to be taken all such steps as may be necessary for the constitution of such a Board of Management in terms of this Act.

(4) When a Board of Management has been constituted in terms of sub-section (3) for any mission station—

(*a*) the Advisory Board concerned and the Minister's rights, powers and duties under sub-section (1) in respect of such mission station shall cease to exist;

(*b*) anything done by the Minister in the exercise of his rights or powers or the performance of his duties under sub-section (1), in respect of such mission station, shall be deemed to have been done by such Board of Management; and

(*c*) any rights acquired or liabilities incurred by the Minister in respect of such mission station in the exercise of his rights or powers or the performance of his duties under sub-section (1) shall vest in such Board of Management.".

Wysiging van artikel 5 van Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap), soos gewysig deur artikels 3 en 13 van Wet 12 van 1949.

4. Artikel *vyf* van die Hoofwet word hiermee gewysig—

(*a*) deur in sub-artikel (1) die woorde „by and from amongst the registered occupiers" deur die woorde „as provided in sub-section (1)*bis*" te vervang;

(*b*) deur na sub-artikel (1) die volgende sub-artikel in te voeg:

„(1)*bis* At the first election of members of a Board of Management (other than a Board which replaces an Advisory Board) the members to be elected shall be elected by and from amongst the Coloured registered occupiers and at any other election the members to be elected shall be elected by and from amongst the persons enrolled as voters as prescribed.";

(*c*) deur sub-artikel (2) deur die volgende sub-artikels te vervang:

"(2) If the persons entitled to vote at an election fail to elect any member whom they are entitled to elect or to fill any vacancy which has occurred on the Board of Management and which they are entitled to fill, the Minister may appoint such member or fill such vacancy from amongst the persons qualified to be elected as members of such Board.

(2)*bis* The Board of Management shall as soon as may be after the first day of May in each year prepare in the manner prescribed a list of Coloured registered occupiers who are entitled to vote at elections of such Board."; en

(*d*) deur in sub-artikel (3) die woorde „shall be for a period of twelve months" deur die woorde „in terms of sub-section (1) shall be for such period (which shall be not less than twelve months) as the Minister may determine at the time of his appointment" te vervang en deur in genoemde sub-artikel die woorde „would, under the provisions of this section" deur die woorde „or enrolled voters, as the case may be, would" te vervang.

Wysiging van artikel 6 van Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap), soos gewysig deur artikels 4 en 13 van Wet 12 van 1949.

5. Artikel *ses* van die Hoofwet word hiermee gewysig deur sub-artikel (2) deur die volgende sub-artikels te vervang:

„(2) Every Board of Management shall under its name be a body corporate, capable of suing and being sued in its corporate name and of performing, subject to the provisions of this Act, all such acts as are necessary for or incidental to the exercise of its rights and powers and the performance of its duties.

(2)*bis* A Board of Management shall have power—

(*a*) to make, maintain and keep in repair roads (other than proclaimed roads), streets, paths, side walks, culverts and bridges within the limits of the area under its jurisdiction and to provide for the lighting of streets and roads;

(*b*) to provide and maintain for domestic or other purposes, or for both domestic and other purposes, a sufficient supply of water for the inhabitants of the area under its jurisdiction, and to acquire land and water or other rights for that purpose, and to establish, provide, carry out and maintain all necessary waterworks within or outside the area under its jurisdiction for providing and maintaining and from time to time, as may be necessary, augmenting and improving such supply, and for the said purposes to purchase or take over from any person any existing waterworks and to take over and exercise all or any rights, powers, duties or liabilities, legally exercised or possessed by such person in connection with such waterworks, and to do all things necessary for inquiring into and investigating any proposed source of water supply or any scheme for the supply of water;

(*c*) to undertake, carry out or maintain or contract for the undertaking, carrying out or maintenance of a system for the collection, removal and disposal of night-soil, slopwater or household or other refuse within the area under its jurisdiction;

(*d*) to provide and maintain public wash-houses, wash-places and bleaching and drying greens and grounds;

(*e*) to provide and maintain public sanitary conveniences;

(*f*) to provide and maintain public slaughterhouses either within or outside the area under its jurisdiction;

(*g*) to provide and maintain places to be used for the gutting, curing and packing of fish;

(*h*) to provide and maintain dipping tanks;

(*i*) to appoint on such conditions and at such remuneration as it may determine, such servants as it may consider necessary for the effective exercise of its rights and powers and performance of its duties; and

(j) subject to the approval of the Minister, to undertake or carry out any work or undertaking not otherwise provided for.

(2)*ter* (*a*) A Board of Management may subject to the approval of the Minister, make regulations in the manner prescribed—

(i) for the prevention and suppression of all nuisances and for the preservation of the public health;

(ii) for compelling owners and occupiers of premises to keep such premises free from offensive or unwholesome matter or things;

(iii) for preventing the disposal of night-soil, slopwater and decaying and offensive matter in such a manner as to be a danger or injurious to health;

(iv) for the protection from pollution of any water used by the public for drinking purposes, or over which the Board of Management has control;

(v) for defining and preventing overcrowding and the unhealthy use of dwellings and buildings;

(vi) for preventing the occupation or requiring the demolition of such dwellings or buildings as are unhealthy, insanitary or dangerous to life;

(vii) for requiring sanitary conveniences to dwellings, cafés and shops and public buildings and for prescribing and regulating the nature, construction and mode of use of such conveniences, and for prohibiting the occupation of dwellings or use of public buildings not provided as prescribed;

(viii) for regulating, restricting or preventing the public washing of clothes and other articles in any river, water course or other place, and for establishing or appointing public washing-places and for regulating the use, and prescribing fees for the use thereof, and for preventing the pollution of any river or water course;

(ix) for regulating and restricting the killing of animals, the establishment, locality and supervision of slaughterhouses and the disposal of the waste products of slaughtering, and the inspection of slaughterhouses and animals therein and the fixing of fees to be paid for such inspection, and for prohibiting, restricting or regulating the slaughtering of any diseased animal;

(x) for regulating the sale and preparation, manufacture, keeping, storing, depositing, conveying, handling and exposure for sale, of food, and for preventing the sale or preparation, manufacture,

(*b*) to provide and maintain for domestic or other purposes, or for both domestic and other purposes, a sufficient supply of water for the inhabitants of the area under its jurisdiction, and to acquire land and water or other rights for that purpose, and to establish, provide, carry out and maintain all necessary waterworks within or outside the area under its jurisdiction for providing and maintaining and from time to time, as may be necessary, augmenting and improving such supply, and for the said purposes to purchase or take over from any person any existing waterworks and to take over and exercise all or any rights, powers, duties or liabilities, legally exercised or possessed by such person in connection with such waterworks, and to do all things necessary for inquiring into and investigating any proposed source of water supply or any scheme for the supply of water;

(*c*) to undertake, carry out or maintain or contract for the undertaking, carrying out or maintenance of a system for the collection, removal and disposal of night-soil, slopwater or household or other refuse within the area under its jurisdiction;

(*d*) to provide and maintain public wash-houses, wash-places and bleaching and drying greens and grounds;

(*e*) to provide and maintain public sanitary conveniences;

(*f*) to provide and maintain public slaughterhouses either within or outside the area under its jurisdiction;

(*g*) to provide and maintain places to be used for the gutting, curing and packing of fish;

(*h*) to provide and maintain dipping tanks;

(*i*) to appoint on such conditions and at such remuneration as it may determine, such servants as it may consider necessary for the effective exercise of its rights and powers and performance of its duties; and

(*j*) subject to the approval of the Minister, to undertake or carry out any work or undertaking not otherwise provided for.

(2)*ter* (*a*) A Board of Management may subject to the approval of the Minister, make regulations in the manner prescribed—

(i) for the prevention and suppression of all nuisances and for the preservation of the public health;

(ii) for compelling owners and occupiers of premises to keep such premises free from offensive or unwholesome matter or things;

(iii) for preventing the disposal of night-soil, slopwater and decaying and offensive matter in such a manner as to be a danger or injurious to health;

(iv) for the protection from pollution of any water used by the public for drinking purposes, or over which the Board of Management has control;

(v) for defining and preventing overcrowding and the unhealthy use of dwellings and buildings;

(vi) for preventing the occupation or requiring the demolition of such dwellings or buildings as are unhealthy, insanitary or dangerous to life;

(vii) for requiring sanitary conveniences to dwellings, cafés and shops and public buildings and for prescribing and regulating the nature, construction and mode of use of such conveniences, and for prohibiting the occupation of dwellings or use of public buildings not provided as prescribed;

(viii) for regulating, restricting or preventing the public washing of clothes and other articles in any river, water course or other place, and for establishing or appointing public washing-places and for regulating the use, and prescribing fees for the use thereof, and for preventing the pollution of any river or water course;

(ix) for regulating and restricting the killing of animals, the establishment, locality and supervision of slaughterhouses and the disposal of the waste products of slaughtering, and the inspection of slaughterhouses and animals therein and the fixing of fees to be paid for such inspection, and for prohibiting, restricting or regulating the slaughtering of any diseased animal;

(x) for regulating the sale and preparation, manufacture, keeping, storing, depositing, conveying, handling and exposure for sale, of food, and for preventing the sale or preparation, manufacture,

keeping, storing, depositing, conveying or exposure for sale of food that is unsound, unwholesome or diseased and for restricting the use, and regulating and prescribing the cleanliness, lighting, ventilation, water supply, drainage and sanitary conveniences of any premises wherein is sold or prepared, manufactured, stored, kept, deposited or exposed for sale any food, and preventing the use for such purposes of any such premises as are unfit therefor;

(xi) for regulating, restricting or preventing the carrying on of offensive, unhealthy or dangerous trades, and for safeguarding the public health as affected thereby and the health and safety of those engaged therein;

(xii) for the destruction and prevention of the breeding of any animals or insects known to harbour or convey the infection of, or cause any disease dangerous to man;

(xiii) for regulating the supply, distribution and use of water under the control or management of the Board of Management (with power to differentiate in regard to water used for different purposes), including—

(*aa*) the quantity of water to be supplied to any lot or holding;

(*bb*) the manner in which, the persons by whom, and the places where connections may be made;

(*cc*) the charges to be paid for the supply of water and the Board's services in connection therewith;

(*dd*) generally for the protection from injury or injurious use of any waterworks, watermains, leadings and fittings of the Board, whether within or outside the area under its jurisdiction; or

(*ee*) the cutting off of water on account of failure to pay any charges made under this paragraph or on account of the contravention of any regulation relating to waste, misuse or contamination of water;

(xiv) for compelling owners or occupiers of premises which in the opinion of the Board of Management are not provided with a sufficient supply of good water for drinking, domestic or sanitary purposes to take such supply from any pipe or main belonging to the Board that is within a reasonable distance of such premises;

(xv) for regulating, prohibiting or providing for the closing of cesspits, and for regulating the collection, removal and disposal of night-soil and other offensive or unhealthy matter, including slopwater and domestic refuse, and for regulating the time and manner of removal thereof;

(xvi) for prescribing the charges to be paid by the owner or occupier of any premises for the collection, removal and disposal of night-soil, slopwater or refuse;

(xvii) for regulating the use and fixing charges to be made for the use of any public slaughter-place or washing-place established or maintained by the Board of Management;

(xviii) for regulating and controlling the erection of new and the alteration of existing buildings, for preventing the erection of insanitary, unhealthy and unsuitably situated buildings and for securing stability, the observance of sanitary precautions, the provision of a sufficiency of air space about buildings, the proper lighting and ventilation of buildings and the prevention of fire;

(xix) for prohibiting the execution, and providing for the alteration, removal or demolition by the owner or by the Board of Management at the cost of the owner, of work in respect of which plans and specifications have not been approved by the Board in accordance with its regulations or which does not comply with the plans and specifications approved by the Board;

(xx) providing for the securing, repair, alteration, removal or demolition by the owner or by the

keeping, storing, depositing, conveying or exposure for sale of food that is unsound, unwholesome or diseased and for restricting the use, and regulating and prescribing the cleanliness, lighting, ventilation, water supply, drainage and sanitary conveniences of any premises wherein is sold or prepared, manufactured, stored, kept, deposited or exposed for sale any food, and preventing the use for such purposes of any such premises as are unfit therefor;

(xi) for regulating, restricting or preventing the carrying on of offensive, unhealthy or dangerous trades, and for safeguarding the public health as affected thereby and the health and safety of those engaged therein;

(xii) for the destruction and prevention of the breeding of any animals or insects known to harbour or convey the infection of, or cause any disease dangerous to man;

(xiii) for regulating the supply, distribution and use of water under the control or management of the Board of Management (with power to differentiate in regard to water used for different purposes), including—

(*aa*) the quantity of water to be supplied to any lot or holding;

(*bb*) the manner in which, the persons by whom, and the places where connections may be made;

(*cc*) the charges to be paid for the supply of water and the Board's services in connection therewith;

(*dd*) generally for the protection from injury or injurious use of any waterworks, watermains, leadings and fittings of the Board, whether within or outside the area under its jurisdiction; or

(*ee*) the cutting off of water on account of failure to pay any charges made under this paragraph or on account of the contravention of any regulation relating to waste, misuse or contamination of water;

(xiv) for compelling owners or occupiers of premises which in the opinion of the Board of Management are not provided with a sufficient supply of good water for drinking, domestic or sanitary purposes to take such supply from any pipe or main belonging to the Board that is within a reasonable distance of such premises;

(xv) for regulating, prohibiting or providing for the closing of cesspits, and for regulating the collection, removal and disposal of night-soil and other offensive or unhealthy matter, including slopwater and domestic refuse, and for regulating the time and manner of removal thereof;

(xvi) for prescribing the charges to be paid by the owner or occupier of any premises for the collection, removal and disposal of night-soil, slopwater or refuse;

(xvii) for regulating the use and fixing charges to be made for the use of any public slaughter-place or washing-place established or maintained by the Board of Management;

(xviii) for regulating and controlling the erection of new and the alteration of existing buildings, for preventing the erection of insanitary, unhealthy and unsuitably situated buildings and for securing stability, the observance of sanitary precautions, the provision of a sufficiency of air space about buildings, the proper lighting and ventilation of buildings and the prevention of fire;

(xix) for prohibiting the execution, and providing for the alteration, removal or demolition by the owner or by the Board of Management at the cost of the owner, of work in respect of which plans and specifications have not been approved by the Board in accordance with its regulations or which does not comply with the plans and specifications approved by the Board;

(xx) providing for the securing, repair, alteration, removal or demolition by the owner or by the

Board of Management at the cost of the owner, of buildings or structures which are, or are showing signs of becoming, dangerous or which have fallen into a ruinous or dilapidated condition, and for prohibiting the occupation or use of such buildings or structures until they have been secured, repaired or altered to the satisfaction of the Board;

(xxi) for prohibiting the erection of buildings considered by the Board of Management to be objectionable by reason of the nature of the building itself or the use to which it is to be put or the locality where it is to be erected;

(xxii) for regulating the keeping of horses, asses, mules, cattle, goats, sheep or swine, and for prohibiting the use of any stable, cowshed, pen or sty which in the opinion of the Board of Management is unfit, undesirable or objectionable by reason of its locality, construction or manner of use;

(xxiii) for regulating fish markets and appointing and regulating places to be used for the landing, gutting, curing and packing of fish, for regulating the disposal of refuse from such markets or places and for prescribing the fees payable for the use of such markets and places;

(xxiv) for preventing the obstruction of any road, street or other public place;

(xxv) for preventing vehicles from being kept in any such road, street or other public place for an unreasonable time;

(xxvi) for preventing any inconvenience to the public from animals being allowed to wander about within the limits of the area under the jurisdiction of the Board of Management;

(xxvii) for preventing the dangerous and mischievous use of explosives or inflammable materials;

(xxviii) for preventing the making of any unnecessary noises in any street or other public place;

(xxix) for regulating, controlling, restricting or prohibiting the keeping of vicious or dangerous animals, including the power to provide for the seizure and destruction of such animals;

(xxx) providing for the prevention and extinguishing of fires;

(xxxi) for preventing damage to any property to which the inhabitants of the area under the jurisdiction of the Board of Management have a common right and providing for the recovery of compensation for such damage;

(xxxii) providing for the granting of licences or permits for the making of bricks, or the digging or getting of clay or gravel, or the quarrying of stone, or the cutting of firewood, brushwood, or grass upon the commonage, and for the payment of reasonable fees or dues for such licences or permits;

(xxxiii) providing for the management, protection and control of the commonage and the preservation of all vegetation thereon;

(xxxiv) for conferring special privileges of keeping and depasturing livestock on the commonage on butchers, dairymen and traders and prescribing the fees payable therefor;

(xxxv) for the granting of temporary grazing rights to travellers or carriers or other persons visiting or passing through the mission station and prescribing the fees payable therefor;

(xxxvi) providing for the impounding of all animals trespassing on the commonage;

(xxxvii) providing for the planting and preserving of trees and shrubs and preventing injury thereto;

(xxxviii) for preventing or restricting bill-posting and advertising and for preventing the disfiguring by advertising and bill-posting of walls, fences, buildings, lands, rocks, trees or other natural features;

(xxxix) for preventing any person or vehicle from conveying any article, burden or load so as to obstruct or incommode pedestrians or vehicles in or on any street, sidewalk or foot pavement and for preventing the riding or leading of any animal, and the wheeling of wheelbarrows, cycles or

Board of Management at the cost of the owner, of buildings or structures which are, or are showing signs of becoming, dangerous or which have fallen into a ruinous or dilapidated condition, and for prohibiting the occupation or use of such buildings or structures until they have been secured, repaired or altered to the satisfaction of the Board;

(xxi) for prohibiting the erection of buildings considered by the Board of Management to be objectionable by reason of the nature of the building itself or the use to which it is to be put or the locality where it is to be erected;

(xxii) for regulating the keeping of horses, asses, mules, cattle, goats, sheep or swine, and for prohibiting the use of any stable, cowshed, pen or sty which in the opinion of the Board of Management is unfit, undesirable or objectionable by reason of its locality, construction or manner of use;

(xxiii) for regulating fish markets and appointing and regulating places to be used for the landing, gutting, curing and packing of fish, for regulating the disposal of refuse from such markets or places and for prescribing the fees payable for the use of such markets and places;

(xxiv) for preventing the obstruction of any road, street or other public place;

(xxv) for preventing vehicles from being kept in any such road, street or other public place for an unreasonable time;

(xxvi) for preventing any inconvenience to the public from animals being allowed to wander about within the limits of the area under the jurisdiction of the Board of Management;

(xxvii) for preventing the dangerous and mischievous use of explosives or inflammable materials;

(xxviii) for preventing the making of any unnecessary noises in any street or other public place;

(xxix) for regulating, controlling, restricting or prohibiting the keeping of vicious or dangerous animals, including the power to provide for the seizure and destruction of such animals;

(xxx) providing for the prevention and extinguishing of fires;

(xxxi) for preventing damage to any property to which the inhabitants of the area under the jurisdiction of the Board of Management have a common right and providing for the recovery of compensation for such damage;

(xxxii) providing for the granting of licences or permits for the making of bricks, or the digging or getting of clay or gravel, or the quarrying of stone, or the cutting of firewood, brushwood, or grass upon the commonage, and for the payment of reasonable fees or dues for such licences or permits;

(xxxiii) providing for the management, protection and control of the commonage and the preservation of all vegetation thereon;

(xxxiv) for conferring special privileges of keeping and depasturing livestock on the commonage on butchers, dairymen and traders and prescribing the fees payable therefor;

(xxxv) for the granting of temporary grazing rights to travellers or carriers or other persons visiting or passing through the mission station and prescribing the fees payable therefor;

(xxxvi) providing for the impounding of all animals trespassing on the commonage;

(xxxvii) providing for the planting and preserving of trees and shrubs and preventing injury thereto;

(xxxviii) for preventing or restricting bill-posting and advertising and for preventing the disfiguring by advertising and bill-posting of walls, fences, buildings, lands, rocks, trees or other natural features;

(xxxix) for preventing any person or vehicle from conveying any article, burden or load so as to obstruct or incommode pedestrians or vehicles in or on any street, sidewalk or foot pavement and for preventing the riding or leading of any animal, and the wheeling of wheelbarrows, cycles or

vehicles, other than perambulators or bath chairs, on any sidewalk or foot pavement, except for the purpose of crossing the same to or from any house or building, and for prohibiting the throwing of fruit peelings or other matter likely to be dangerous to pedestrians on to any street, road, footpath, sidewalk, foot pavement or thoroughfare which the public have the right to use;

(xl) for regulating traffic, processions, performances, singing, dancing and gatherings in streets and other public places, and for the maintenance of order in streets and other public places, and for regulating the temporary closing for the purposes of repairs or festivities or on account of cases of serious illness, of any streets or other public places, or portions thereof;

(xli) for regulating the use of dipping tanks provided or maintained by the Board of Management and for prescribing the fees payable for the use thereof;

(xlii) in regard to any matter in relation to which the Minister has, in terms of paragraph (3) of section *sixteen*, conferred the power or imposed the duty on such Board of Management to make regulations;

(xliii) generally for the maintenace and furtherance of peace, order and good rule and government and for the protection, welfare, convenience, comfort and safety of the inhabitants, and for fixing charges for any service rendered by the Board of Management in connection therewith.

(*b*) The Minister may make and publish in the *Gazette* standard regulations on any or all of the matters in regard to which a Board of Management may make regulations.

(*c*) Subject to compliance with any provisions which may be prescribed, standard regulations or, where they are divided into parts, any part thereof may be adopted without variation by a Board of Management as regulations for the area under its jurisdiction: Provided that for the purpose of identifying standard regulations and in promulgating as regulations of the area, standard regulations adopted by the Board thereof, it shall be sufficient to refer to the number and date of the notice under which such standard regulations were published.

(*d*) If any Board of Management fails to make, or if made, to alter or revoke such regulations under paragraph (*a*) or section *seventeen* as in the opinion of the Minister are, or in such manner as, in his opinion, may be necessary or expedient, the Minister may give notice to the Board of such default and direct it to make, alter or revoke such regulations.

(*e*) If such Board fails to comply with such direction within three months after receipt thereof, the Minister may by notice in the *Gazette* make, alter or revoke such regulations as aforesaid as he may consider necessary.

(*f*) Any regulations made, altered or revoked by the Minister under paragraph (*e*) shall be deemed to have been made, altered or revoked by the Board concerned.".

Amendment of section 11 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

6. Section *eleven* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution in the proviso thereto for the word "two" of the word "four".

Insertion of section 13*bis* in Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

7. The following section is hereby inserted in the principal Act after section *thirteen*:

"Prospecting or mining on mission stations.

13*bis*. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law in regard to prospecting or mining for precious stones or precious or base minerals, no person shall carry on any prospecting or mining operations on any mission station except with the consent of the Minister and on such terms and conditions and subject to such restrictions as he may, after consultation with the Minister of Mines, determine.

(2) Any person who contravenes the provisions of sub-section (1) shall be guilty of an offence and

vehicles, other than perambulators or bath chairs, on any sidewalk or foot pavement, except for the purpose of crossing the same to or from any house or building, and for prohibiting the throwing of fruit peelings or other matter likely to be dangerous to pedestrians on to any street, road, footpath, sidewalk, foot pavement or thoroughfare which the public have the right to use;

(xl) for regulating traffic, processions, performances, singing, dancing and gatherings in streets and other public places, and for the maintenance of order in streets and other public places, and for regulating the temporary closing for the purposes of repairs or festivities or on account of cases of serious illness, of any streets or other public places, or portions thereof;

(xli) for regulating the use of dipping tanks provided or maintained by the Board of Management and for prescribing the fees payable for the use thereof;

(xlii) in regard to any matter in relation to which the Minister has, in terms of paragraph (3) of section *sixteen*, conferred the power or imposed the duty on such Board of Management to make regulations;

(xliii) generally for the maintenace and furtherance of peace, order and good rule and government and for the protection, welfare, convenience, comfort and safety of the inhabitants, and for fixing charges for any service rendered by the Board of Management in connection therewith.

(*b*) The Minister may make and publish in the *Gazette* standard regulations on any or all of the matters in regard to which a Board of Management may make regulations.

(*c*) Subject to compliance with any provisions which may be prescribed, standard regulations or, where they are divided into parts, any part thereof may be adopted without variation by a Board of Management as regulations for the area under its jurisdiction: Provided that for the purpose of identifying standard regulations and in promulgating as regulations of the area, standard regulations adopted by the Board thereof, it shall be sufficient to refer to the number and date of the notice under which such standard regulations were published.

(*d*) If any Board of Management fails to make, or if made, to alter or revoke such regulations under paragraph (*a*) or section *seventeen* as in the opinion of the Minister are, or in such manner as, in his opinion, may be necessary or expedient, the Minister may give notice to the Board of such default and direct it to make, alter or revoke such regulations.

(*e*) If such Board fails to comply with such direction within three months after receipt thereof, the Minister may by notice in the *Gazette* make, alter or revoke such regulations as aforesaid as he may consider necessary.

(*f*) Any regulations made, altered or revoked by the Minister under paragraph (*e*) shall be deemed to have been made, altered or revoked by the Board concerned.".

Wysiging van artikel 11 van Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap).

6. Artikel *elf* van die Hoofwet word hiermee gewysig deur in die voorbehoudsbepaling daarby die woord „two" deur die woord „four " te vervang.

Invoeging van artikel 13*bis* in Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap).

7. Die volgende artikel word hiermee na artikel *dertien* van die Hoofwet ingevoeg:

„Prospecting or mining on mission stations.

13*bis*. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law in regard to prospecting or mining for precious stones or precious or base minerals, no person shall carry on any prospecting or mining operations on any mission station except with the consent of the Minister and on such terms and conditions and subject to such restrictions as he may, after consultation with the Minister of Mines, determine.

(2) Any person who contravenes the provisions of sub-section (1) shall be guilty of an offence and

liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

(3) The provisions of this section shall not, in respect of persons who were lawfully carrying on mining or prospecting operations on any mission station on the twentieth day of May, 1955, come into operation before the twentieth day of May, 1956.".

Amendment of section 16 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape), as amended by sections 8 and 13 of Act 12 of 1949.

8. Section *sixteen* of the principal Act is hereby amended—

(*a*) by the insertion after paragraph (1) of the following paragraph:

"(1)*bis* For prescribing—

(*a*) the qualifications and disqualifications of voters;

(*b*) the manner of compilation of voters' lists;

(*c*) the method in which and the times at which members of the Board of Management shall be elected;

(*d*) the circumstances in which elected members of the Board of Management and members appointed by the Minister in terms of sub-section (2) of section *five* shall vacate their seats;

(*e*) the tenure of office of elected members of the Board of Management and members appointed by the Minister in terms of sub-section (2) of section *five* and the method in which vacancies shall be filled;";

(*b*) by the insertion in paragraph (6) after the word "Management" of the words "or the Advisory Board, as the case may be";

(*c*) by the insertion after paragraph (9) of the following paragraph:

"(9)*bis* For prescribing the procedure to be followed in connection with the adoption by the Board of Management of any standard regulations;";

(*d*) by the deletion at the end of paragraph (10) of the word "and"; and

(*e*) by the insertion after paragraph (10) of the following paragraph:

"(10)*bis* For the prohibition, control or regulation of gatherings or assemblies of persons on the mission station; and".

Amendment of section 17 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape), as amended by section 13 of Act 12 of 1949.

9. Section *seventeen* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the insertion after the word "commonage" where it occurs for the first time of the words "of the mission station or any part" and by the insertion after the word "commonage" where it occurs for the second time of the words "or any part thereof".

Validation of certain matters.

10. (1) Anything purporting to have been done by the Governor-General, any Minister or the Administrator of the province of the Cape of Good Hope by virtue of the provisions of sub-section (2) of section *five* or of sub-section (2) of section *six* of the principal Act before the date of commencement of this Act, shall be deemed to have been validly done.

(2) Any regulations purporting to have been made under the principal Act and in existence at the date of commencement of this Act shall be deemed to have been made under the principal Act as amended by this Act.

(3) Any Board of Management of a mission station or communal reserve purporting to have been constituted under the principal Act and in existence at the date of commencement of this Act shall be deemed to have been constituted in terms of the principal Act as amended by this Act.

Amendments not to affect certain mission stations.

11. Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, the provisions of the principal Act shall continue to apply in respect of the mission stations of Shiloh in the district of Queenstown and Goschen in the district of Cathcart as if this Act had not been passed.

Short title.

12. This Act shall be called the Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act, 1955, and shall come into operation on a date to be fixed by the Governor-General by proclamation in the *Gazette*.

liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

(3) The provisions of this section shall not, in respect of persons who were lawfully carrying on mining or prospecting operations on any mission station on the twentieth day of May, 1955, come into operation before the twentieth day of May, 1956.".

Wysiging van artikel 16 van Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap), soos gewysig deur artikels 8 en 13 van Wet 12 van 1949.

8. Artikel *sestien* van die Hoofwet word hiermee gewysig—

(*a*) deur na paragraaf (1) die volgende paragraaf in te voeg:

„(1)*bis* For prescribing—

(*a*) the qualifications and disqualifications of voters;

(*b*) the manner of compilation of voters' lists;

(*c*) the method in which and the times at which members of the Board of Management shall be elected;

(*d*) the circumstances in which elected members of the Board of Management and members appointed by the Minister in terms of sub-section (2) of section *five* shall vacate their seats;

(*e*) the tenure of office of elected members of the Board of Management and members appointed by the Minister in terms of sub-section (2) of section *five* and the method in which vacancies shall be filled;";

(*b*) deur in paragraaf (6) na die woord „Management" die woorde „or the Advisory Board, as the case may be" in te voeg;

(*c*) deur na paragraaf (9) die volgende paragraaf in te voeg:

„(9)*bis* For prescribing the procedure to be followed in connection with the adoption by the Board of Management of any standard regulations;";

(*d*) deur aan die end van paragraaf (10) die woord „and" te skrap; en

(*e*) deur na paragraaf (10) die volgende paragraaf in te voeg:

„(10)*bis* For the prohibition, control or regulation of gatherings or assemblies of persons on the mission station; and".

Wysiging van artikel 17 van Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap), soos gewysig deur artikel 13 van Wet 12 van 1949.

9. Artikel *sewentien* van die Hoofwet word hiermee gewysig deur na die woord „commonage" waar dit die eerste keer voorkom die woorde „of the mission station or any part" in te voeg en deur na die woord „commonage" waar dit die tweede keer voorkom die woorde „or any part thereof" in te voeg.

Bekragtiging van sekere aangeleenthede.

10. (1) Enigiets wat voor die inwerkingtreding van hierdie Wet deur die Goewerneur-generaal, 'n Minister of die Administrateur van die provinsie Kaap die Goeie Hoop uit hoofde van die bepalings van sub-artikel (2) van artikel *vyf* of van sub-artikel (2) van artikel *ses* van die Hoofwet heet gedoen te gewees het, word geag wettiglik gedoen te gewees het.

(2) Enige regulasies wat kragtens die Hoofwet heet gemaak te gewees het en wat op die datum van inwerkingtreding van hierdie Wet bestaan, word geag kragtens die Hoofwet, soos gewysig deur hierdie Wet, gemaak te gewees het.

(3) Enige Raad van Beheer van 'n sendingstasie of gemeenskapsreserwe wat kragtens die Hoofwet heet saamgestel te gewees het en wat op die datum van inwerkingtreding van hierdie Wet bestaan, word geag ingevolge die Hoofwet, soos gewysig deur hierdie Wet, saamgestel te gewees het.

Wysigings raak nie sekere sendingstasies nie.

11. Ondanks enigiets in hierdie Wet vervat, bly die bepalings van die Hoofwet ten opsigte van die sendingstasies Shiloh in die distrik Queenstown en Goschen in die distrik Cathcart van toepassing asof hierdie Wet nie aangeneem was nie.

Kort titel.

12. Hierdie Wet heet die Wysigingswet op Sendingstasies en Reserwes vir Kleurlinge, 1955, en tree in werking op 'n datum wat die Goewerneur-generaal by proklamasie in die *Staatskoerant* bepaal.

C.T. LTD.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

ACT

TO

Amend the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, of the Cape of Good Hope.

UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

WET

OM

Die „Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909", van die Kaap die Goeie Hoop, te wysig.

No. 32, 1959.

ACT

To amend the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, of the Cape of Good Hope.

(*Afrikaans text signed by the Governor-General.*)
(*Assented to 4th May*, 1959.)

BE IT ENACTED by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:—

Amendment of section 2 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape), as amended by section 1 of Act 12 of 1949 and section 1 of Act 35 of 1955.

1. Section *two* of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, of the Cape of Good Hope (hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), is hereby amended—

(*a*) by the insertion in the definition of "Mission Station" after the words "any land" of the words "or any two or more pieces of land (whether contiguous or not)," and by the addition at the end of the said definition of the words "or pieces of land"; and

(*b*) by the insertion in the definition of "Communal reserve" after the word "land" of the words "or any two or more pieces of land (whether contiguous or not),".

Amendment of section 6 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape), as amended by sections 4 and 13 of Act 12 of 1949 and section 5 of Act 35 of 1955.

2. (1) Section *six* of the principal Act is hereby amended—

(*a*) by the substitution in sub-section (3) for the words "ten shillings" of the words "two pounds"; and

(*b*) by the insertion in the said sub-section after the word "Act" of the words "and subject to the terms of any notice issued under section *six bis*,".

(2) The amendment effected by paragraph (*a*) of sub-section (1) shall first take effect in respect of the rate levied for the year 1960.

Insertion of section 6*bis* in Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

3. The following section is hereby inserted in the principal Act after section *six*:

"Establishment of betterment areas.

6*bis*. (1) The Minister may, after consultation with the Board of Management concerned—

(*a*) by notice in the *Gazette* declare any area to which the provisions of this Act are applicable or any area which forms part of any such area to be a betterment area;

(*b*) out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose, carry out and maintain any works which he may deem expedient for the development and improvement of a betterment area.

(2) The Minister in consultation with the Minister of Finance may, in any notice issued in terms of sub-section (1)—

(*a*) fix the proportion of the cost incurred in connection with any works carried out in terms of that sub-section which the Board of Management shall repay to the State;

(*b*) fix the percentage of the revenue derived from the rate levied in terms of sub-section (3) of section *six* which shall from time to time be payable to the Minister by the Board of Management in redemption of the amount payable by it in respect of the cost referred to in paragraph (*a*), and determine the manner in which and the times at which any such percentage shall be paid: Provided that such percentage shall not exceed ten per cent unless the Board of Management has agreed thereto.

(3) The Minister in consultation with the Minister of Finance may, after consultation with the Board of Management, at any time by notice in the *Gazette* amend or repeal any notice issued in terms of this section.

(4) All revenue derived from works carried out in terms of this section shall be utilized for defraying the cost of maintenance and repair of such works or for such other public purposes or services as the Minister may determine.".

WET

Om die „Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909", van die Kaap die Goeie Hoop, te wysig.

(*Afrikaanse teks deur die Goewerneur-generaal geteken.*)
(*Goedgekeur op* 4 *Mei* 1959.)

DIT WORD BEPAAL deur Haar Majesteit die Koningin, die Senaat en die Volksraad van die Unie van Suid-Afrika, soos volg:—

Wysiging van artikel 2 van Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap), soos gewysig deur artikel 1 van Wet 12 van 1949 en artikel 1 van Wet 35 van 1955.

1. Artikel *twee* van die „Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909", van die Kaap die Goeie Hoop (hieronder die Hoofwet genoem), word hierby gewysig—

(*a*) deur in die omskrywing van „Mission Station" na die woorde „any land" die woorde „or any two or more pieces of land (whether contiguous or not)," in te voeg, en deur aan die end van bedoelde omskrywing die woorde „or pieces of land" by te voeg; en

(*b*) deur in die omskrywing van „Communal reserve" na die woord „land" die woorde „or any two or more pieces of land (whether contiguous or not)," in te voeg.

Wysiging van artikel 6 van Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap), soos gewysig deur artikels 4 en 13 van Wet 12 van 1949 en artikel 5 van Wet 35 van 1955.

2. (1) Artikel *ses* van die Hoofwet word hierby gewysig—

(*a*) deur in sub-artikel (3) die woorde „ten shillings" deur die woorde „two pounds" te vervang; en

(*b*) deur in bedoelde sub-artikel na die woord „Act" die woorde „and subject to the terms of any notice issued under section *six bis*," in te voeg.

(2) Die wysiging deur paragraaf (*a*) van sub-artikel (1) aangebring, tree vir die eerste maal in werking ten opsigte van die belasting wat vir die jaar 1960 gehef word.

Invoeging van artikel 6*bis* in Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap).

3. Die volgende artikel word hierby na artikel *ses* in die Hoofwet ingevoeg:

„Establishment of betterment areas.

6*bis*. (1) The Minister may, after consultation with the Board of Management concerned—

(*a*) by notice in the *Gazette* declare any area to which the provisions of this Act are applicable or any area which forms part of any such area to be a betterment area;

(*b*) out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose, carry out and maintain any works which he may deem expedient for the development and improvement of a betterment area.

(2) The Minister in consultation with the Minister of Finance may, in any notice issued in terms of sub-section (1)—

(*a*) fix the proportion of the cost incurred in connection with any works carried out in terms of that sub-section which the Board of Management shall repay to the State;

(*b*) fix the percentage of the revenue derived from the rate levied in terms of sub-section (3) of section *six* which shall from time to time be payable to the Minister by the Board of Management in redemption of the amount payable by it in respect of the cost referred to in paragraph (*a*), and determine the manner in which and the times at which any such percentage shall be paid: Provided that such percentage shall not exceed ten per cent unless the Board of Management has agreed thereto.

(3) The Minister in consultation with the Minister of Finance may, after consultation with the Board of Management, at any time by notice in the *Gazette* amend or repeal any notice issued in terms of this section.

(4) All revenue derived from works carried out in terms of this section shall be utilized for defraying the cost of maintenance and repair of such works or for such other public purposes or services as the Minister may determine.".

Amendment of section 18 of Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

4. Section *eighteen* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution for the word "five" of the word "twenty-five".

Insertion of section 27*bis* in Act 29 of 1909 (Cape).

5. The following section is hereby inserted in the principal Act after section *twenty-seven*:

"State-owned land may be vested in Minister in trust for certain persons.

27*bis*. (1) The Governor-General may, subject to the provisions of sub-section (2), by proclamation in the *Gazette* declare that any State-owned land described therein shall as from a date fixed in such proclamation, and subject to such conditions as may be specified therein, vest in the Minister in trust for the inhabitants of any mission station or communal reserve mentioned in the proclamation to which the provisions of this Act apply.

(2) If any person or persons has or have any interest in any such State-owned land, such proclamation shall not be issued unless—

(*a*) in the case where only one person has such an interest, he has consented thereto; or

(*b*) in the case where two or more persons have such an interest, the majority of the adult persons who, to the knowledge of the Minister, have such an interest have consented thereto.

(3) The provisions of this Act shall, subject to the conditions specified in the proclamation, apply in respect of any such State-owned land described in the proclamation as if it were included in the mission station or communal reserve for the inhabitants of which it is held in trust by the Minister.

(4) The Registrar of Deeds concerned shall make on the appropriate documents and in his registers and, upon its production, on the title deed of any land, such endorsements and such entries as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of this section and any proclamation issued in terms of sub-section (1).

(5) No fees or other charges shall be payable in connection with any such endorsements or entries.".

Amendments not to affect certain mission stations.

6. Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, the provisions of the principal Act shall continue to apply in respect of the mission stations of Shiloh in the district of Queenstown and Goschen in the district of Cathcart as if this Act had not been passed.

Short title.

7. This Act shall be called the Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act, 1959.

4. Artikel *agtien* van die Hoofwet word hierby gewysig deur die woord „five" deur die woord „twenty-five" te vervang. Wysiging van artikel 18 van Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap).

5. Die volgende artikel word hierby na artikel *sewe-en-twintig* in die Hoofwet ingevoeg: Invoeging van artikel 27*bis* in Wet 29 van 1909 (Kaap).

„State-owned land may be vested in Minister in trust for certain persons.

27*bis*. (1) The Governor-General may, subject to the provisions of sub-section (2), by proclamation in the *Gazette* declare that any State-owned land described therein shall as from a date fixed in such proclamation, and subject to such conditions as may be specified therein, vest in the Minister in trust for the inhabitants of any mission station or communal reserve mentioned in the proclamation to which the provisions of this Act apply.

(2) If any person or persons has or have any interest in any such State-owned land, such proclamation shall not be issued unless—

(*a*) in the case where only one person has such an interest, he has consented thereto; or

(*b*) in the case where two or more persons have such an interest, the majority of the adult persons who, to the knowledge of the Minister, have such an interest have consented thereto.

(3) The provisions of this Act shall, subject to the conditions specified in the proclamation, apply in respect of any such State-owned land described in the proclamation as if it were included in the mission station or communal reserve for the inhabitants of which it is held in trust by the Minister.

(4) The Registrar of Deeds concerned shall make on the appropriate documents and in his registers and, upon its production, on the title deed of any land, such endorsements and such entries as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of this section and any proclamation issued in terms of sub-section (1).

(5) No fees or other charges shall be payable in connection with any such endorsements or entries.".

6. Ondanks enigiets in hierdie Wet vervat, bly die bepalings van die Hoofwet ten opsigte van die sendingstasies Shiloh in die distrik Queenstown en Goschen in die distrik Cathcart van toepassing asof hierdie Wet nie aangeneem was nie. Wysigings raak nie sekere sendingstasies nie.

7. Hierdie Wet heet die Wysigingswet op Sendingstasies en Reserwes vir Kleurlinge, 1959. Kort titel.

SIC. T. LTD.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA

EXTRAORDINARY BUITENGEWONE
Government Gazette
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GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

DEPARTMENT OF COLOURED AFFAIRS.

No. R. 1866.] [18 November 1960.

PROMULGATION OF REGULATIONS IN SUBSTITUTION OF EXISTING REGULATIONS FRAMED IN TERMS OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE MISSION STATIONS AND COMMUNAL RESERVES ACT, No. 29 OF 1909 (CAPE), AS AMENDED.

The Minister of the Interior has been pleased to make in terms of the provisions of section *sixteen* of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909 [Act No. 29 of 1909 (Cape)], as amended, the subjoined regulations of which Part II shall apply in respect of each area to which the Act has been applied, with the exception of the mission stations of Shiloh in the District of Queenstown and Goschen in the District of Cathcart, and in addition to repeal the existing regulations promulgated under—

(1) Government Notice No. 331 of 2nd March, 1956; and

(2) Government Notice No. 1634 of 25th October, 1957, as amended by Government Notice No. 1924 of 19th December, 1958, and No. 819 of 29th May, 1959.

PART I.

REGULATIONS FOR THE CONSULTATION OF THE PERSONS AFFECTED BY THE APPLICATION OF THE ACT AND FOR MATTERS INCIDENTAL THERETO.

1. Upon information received from the Secretary for Coloured Affairs that it is proposed to apply the provisions of Act No. 29 of 1909 (Cape), as amended, to any Coloured mission station or communal reserve (hereinafter called area), the magistrate of the district within which such area is situate, shall issue a notice summoning a meeting of all persons who would be affected by applying the Act to such area, and who, in terms of section *three* of the Act, are to be consulted. The magistrate shall, at least three weeks before such meeting, publish the notice summoning the meeting in the *Government Gazette* and cause copies thereof to be posted at one or more convenient places within such area.

2. At the meeting the magistrate shall—

(*a*) explain the objects of the Act;

(*b*) indicate the action proposed in respect of the community; and

(*c*) invite all persons affected to make through him any representations they may desire to submit for the consideration of the Minister.

3. (1) After the meeting has been consulted, the magistrate shall, unless for sound reasons he decides to the contrary, proceed to constitute a temporary consultative committee of Coloured persons to advise and assist him in the preliminary arrangements to facilitate the application of the Act.

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING.

DEPARTEMENT VAN KLEURLINGSAKE.

No. R. 1866.] [18 November 1960.

UITVAARDIGING VAN REGULASIES TER VERVANGING VAN BESTAANDE REGULASIES OPGESTEL KRAGTENS DIE „MISSION STATIONS AND COMMUNAL RESERVE ACT", No. 29 VAN 1909 (KAAP), SOOS GEWYSIG.

Dit het die Minister van Binnelandse Sake behaag om, kragtens artikel *sestien* van die „Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909" [Wet No. 29 van 1909 (Kaap)], soos gewysig, die regulasies wat hieronder verskyn, te maak waarvan deel II geld ten opsigte van elkeen van die gebiede waar genoemde Wet toegepas is, met uitsondering van die sendingstasies Shiloh in die distrik Queenstown en Goschen in die distrik Cathcart, en om verder die bestaande regulasies soos uitgevaardig by—

(1) Goewermentskennisgewing No. 331 van 2 Maart 1956; en

(2) Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1634 van 25 Oktober 1957, soos gewysig by Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1924 van 19 Desember 1958 en No. 819 van 29 Mei 1959,

te herroep.

DEEL I.

REGULASIES VIR DIE RAADPLEGING VAN PERSONE WAT DEUR DIE TOEPASSING VAN DIE WET GERAAK WORD EN VIR AANGELEENTHEDE WAT DAARMEE IN VERBAND STAAN.

1. Nadat hy in kennis gestel is deur die Sekretaris van Kleuringsake dat dit die voorneme is om Wet No. 29 van 1909 (Kaap), soos gewysig, op enige sendingstasie of gemeenskaplike reservaat vir Kleurlinge (hieronder gebied genoem) toe te pas, moet die landdros van die distrik waarin sodanige gebied geleë is, 'n vergadering belê van alle persone wat deur die toepassing van die Wet op sodanige gebied geraak word en wat ingevolge artikel *drie* van die Wet geraadpleeg moet word. Die landdros moet, minstens drie weke voor so 'n vergadering, die kennisgewing wat die vergadering byeenroep in die *Staatskoerant* publiseer en afskrifte daarvan op een of meer geskikte plekke binne sodanige gebied laat opplak.

2. Die landdros moet op die vergadering—

(*a*) die strekking van die Wet verduidelik;

(*b*) die stappe aandui wat ten opsigte van die gemeenskap beoog word; en

(*c*) alle persone wat daardeur geraak word vra om deur bemiddeling van hom vertoë te rig wat hulle wil laat voorlê vir oorweging deur die Minister.

3. (1) Na raadpleging van die vergadering moet die landdros, tensy hy om goeie redes anders besluit, voortgaan met die samestelling van 'n tydelike raadplegende komitee van Kleurlinge om hom te adviseer en by te staan met voorlopige reëlings om die toepassing van die Wet te vergemaklik.

(2) The temporary consultative committee shall be constituted as follows:—

(*a*) Two persons elected by and from amongst the meeting, two representatives appointed by the society and one person appointed by the Magistrate;

(*b*) in an area where no society exists, the meeting shall elect five persons;

(*c*) in the event of either the meeting or the society or both failing to elect or appoint representatives as provided, the magistrate may himself, without further reference to such meeting or society appoint the number of representatives by which such meeting or society or both have so failed to elect or appoint or he may without the assistance of a committee proceed with the inquiry as prescribed in section *four* of the Act.

(3) All representations by or on behalf of the community shall be transmitted by the magistrate, together with his recommendations after consultation with the committee, for the consideration of the Minister.

4. The magistrate shall obtain the particulars applicable to such area as follows:—

(1) From the resident missionary of the society or his legal representative, in writing—

(*a*) a description of the area or areas of land customarily reserved for the exclusive use of the society;

(*b*) a description of all rights, servitudes or privileges in respect of the commonage, more particularly in regard to grazing and the use of fuel and water, which have been exercised or possessed by the society or which the society claims or desires should be reserved for its benefit;

(*c*) a list of persons recognized by the society as being occupiers of land within such area, and of claimants to such right, together with a description of the position and extent of the land concerned, the fees or rent paid therefor and the accompanying commonage rights, and in the case of claimants a statement of reasons for the rejection of their claims;

(*d*) if more than one area of land has been reserved for the exclusive use of the society, and such areas are not contiguous, a statement of how, in the opinion of the society, such land or its boundaries could in the interest of both the society and the community, be exchanged or altered for the efficient management of their affairs;

(*e*) an account of the history and financial management of the area, more particularly indicating to what extent the community has become indebted to the society for financial or other assistance, contributions or gifts and what sources of income are likely to be at the disposal of the board of management, their probable annual yield, the maximum amount of the contribution or rate which this society may be fairly called upon to pay annually and the extent of land which it would be equitable to allot by way of exchange or alteration in terms of paragraph (*d*).

(2) Where no society exists, from a person or persons who are acquainted with the circumstances—

(*a*) names of the occupiers of the area, a description of the position and extent of land occupied by them, the fees or rent paid therefor and the accompanying commonage rights;

(*b*) the history and financial management of the area, the sources of income which are likely to be at the disposal of the board of management and the probable annual yield thereof.

(2) Die tydelike raadplegende komitee word as volg saamgestel:—

(*a*) Die vergadering kies twee persone uit sy midde, die genootskap stel twee verteenwoordigers aan en een persoon word deur die landdros aangestel.

(*b*) In 'n gebied waar geen genootskap bestaan nie, kies die vergadering vyf persone.

(*c*) Ingeval die vergadering of die genootskap of albei nalaat om verteenwoordigers te kies of aan te stel soos bepaal, kan die landdros self sonder verdere verwysing na die vergadering of genootskap die getal verteenwoordigers aanstel wat die vergadering of genootskap of albei aldus versuim het om te kies of aan te stel, of kan hy sonder die hulp van 'n komitee voortgaan met die ondersoek soos voorgeskryf by artikel *vier* van die Wet.

(3) Alle vertoë deur of namens die gemeenskap moet deur die landdros, tesame met sy aanbevelings na oorlegpleging met die komitee, vir oorweging aan die Minister deurgestuur word.

4. Die landdros moet as volg die besonderhede inwin wat op sodanige gebied van toepassing is:—

(1) Van die inwonende sendeling van die genootskap of sy wettige verteenwoordiger op skrif—

(*a*) 'n beskrywing van die stuk of stukke grond wat volgens gebruik vir die uitsluitlike gebruik van die genootskap opsy gesit is;

(*b*) 'n beskrywing van alle regte, serwitute of voorregte wat die genootskap ten opsigte van die meent, in die besonder in verband met weiding en die gebruik van brandhout en water, geniet of besit of waarop die genootskap aanspraak maak of verlang dat dit vir sy voordeel voorbehou word.

(*c*) 'n lys van persone wat deur die genootskap erken word as okkupeerders van grond binne die gebied, en van aanspraakmakers op sodanige reg, tesame met 'n beskrywing van die ligging en grootte van die betrokke grond, die gelde of huurgelde wat daarvoor betaal word en die meentregte wat daarmee gepaard gaan, en in die geval van aanspraakmakers redes vir verwerping van hul aansprake;

(*d*) indien meer as een stuk grond vir die uitsluitlike gebruik van die genootskap uitgehou is en indien dit nie aangrensend is nie, moet vermeld word hoe dit of die grense daarvan, na die mening van die genootskap, in belang van beide genootskap en die gemeenskap vir doeltreffende bestuur van hul sake, vervang of verander kan word;

(*e*) 'n verslag van die geskiedenis en geldelike bestuur van die gebied, in die besonder in watter mate die gemeenskap teenoor die genootskap verplig geraak het vir finansiële of ander hulp, bydraes, of geskenke en watter moontlike bronne van inkomste tot beskikking van die bestuursraad sal wees, die moontlike jaarlikse opbrengs daarvan, die maksimum bedrag wat redelikerwys as jaarlikse bydrae of belasting van die genootskap verlang kan word en die grootte van die grond wat ingevolge paragraaf (*d*) billikerwys by wyse van vervanging of verandering toegeken behoort te word.

(2) Waar daar nie 'n genootskap is nie, van 'n persoon of persone wat met die toestande bekend is—

(*a*) name van die okkupeerders van die gebied, 'n beskrywing van die ligging en die grootte van grond wat deur hulle geokkupeer word, die gelde of huurgelde wat daarvoor betaal word en die meentregte wat daarmee gepaard gaan.

(*b*) die geskiedenis en geldelike bestuur van die gebied, die moontlike bronne van inkomste wat tot beskikking van die bestuursraad sal wees en die moontlike jaarlikse opbrengs daarvan.

5. On receipt of these particulars and in consultation with the temporary consultative committee, the magistrate shall prepare a preliminary list of occupiers and their allotments, and, if necessary, a supplementary schedule of claimants, as well as a draft scheme for the settlement and regulation of the matters referred to in section *four* of the Act.

6. As soon as may be after the promulgation of the proclamation in terms of section *three* of the Act, the magistrate shall convene a second meeting in the manner provided in regulation 1, in order that any person affected by the application of the Act may submit to him representations, claims or objections to the preliminary list of occupiers and their allotments or to the draft scheme. Having provisionally determined any such representations, claims or objections he shall prepare a final list of occupiers with their allotments and a scheme for the regulation of the matters referred to in section *four* of the Act for submission to the Minister: Provided that during the three weeks preceding the meeting, copies of the preliminary list and the draft scheme shall lie at the office of the magistrate and at one or more convenient places within such area for general inspection, and notification thereof shall be given in the notice summoning the meeting.

7. The powers and duties conferred upon a magistrate in terms of these regulations shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to any officer appointed for the purpose in terms of section *four* of the Act.

PART II.

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

INTERPRETATION OF TERMS.

1. For the purpose of these regulations, unless inconsistent with the context—

(i) " allotment " shall mean—
  (*a*) building allotment; or
  (*b*) dry garden allotment (not the same as that on which the home is erected); or
  (*c*) irrigable garden allotment (under irrigation); or
  (d) dry land allotment; (v)

(ii) " Board " shall mean the Board of Management; (vi)

(iii) " certificate of occupation " shall mean a letter used by Boards under the Act to show that approval has been given to a person to reside in an area under the control of the Board and which contains a description of the allotment granted to him; (x)

(iv) " chairman " shall mean the person (whether an officer or the magistrate) appointed under section *four bis* (1) (b) or section *five* (1) of the Act to fulfil such duties as are prescribed for such chairman under the Act and the regulations framed thereunder; (xi)

(v) " commonage " shall mean the portion of land under section *six* (1) of the Act under the control of the Board, not yet allotted to registered occupiers by certificate of occupation; (iii)

(vi) " Department " shall mean the Department of Coloured Affairs; (i)

(vii) " Minister " shall mean the Minister of the Interior; (iv)

(viii) " regulations " shall mean the regulations promulgated in terms of the Act; (vii)

(ix) " Secretary " shall mean the Secretary for Coloured Affairs; (viii)

(x) " The Act " shall mean the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909 [Act No. 29 of 1909 (Cape)], as amended; (ii)

(xi) " written consent " shall mean a letter in which the Board indicates that permission has been given for a person to reside in the area under the control of the Board for a given period in a capacity other than a registered occupier; (ix)

(xii) any word or expression defined in the Act shall have the same meaning as in the Act (xii).

5. By ontvangs van hierdie besonderhede en in oorleg met die tydelike raadplegende komitee, moet die landdros 'n voorlopige lys van okkupeerders en hul toekennings en, indien nodig, 'n aanvullende lys van aanspraakmakers opstel, asook 'n konsepskema vir die afhandeling en reëling van die aangeleenthede genoem in artikel *vier* van die Wet.

6. So gou moontlik na uitvaardiging van die proklamasie ingevolge artikel *drie* van die Wet moet die landdros, 'n tweede vergadering belê op die wyse voorgeskryf in regulasie 1 sodat enige persoon, wat deur die toepassing van die Wet geraak word, vertoë, aansprake of besware ten opsigte van die voorlopige lys van okkupeerders met persele aan hulle toegewys of die konsepskema aan hom kan voorlê. Nadat hy voorlopig daaroor beslis het, moet hy 'n finale lys van okkupeerders met persele aan hul toegewys en 'n skema vir reëling van die aangeleenthede vermeld in artikel *vier* van die Wet opstel vir voorlegging aan die Minister: Met dien verstande dat afskrifte van die voorlopige lys van okkupeerders en die konsepskema by die landdroskantoor en of een of meer gerieflike plekke binne die gebied vir algemene kennisname en ondersoek ter insae moet lê gedurende die drie weke wat die vergadering voorafgaan, en dit in die kennisgewing wat die vergadering byeenroep vermeld moet word.

7. Die magte en pligte wat ingevolge hierdie regulasies aan 'n landdros verleen word, is *mutatis mutandis* van toepassing op enige amptenaar wat ingevolge artikel *vier* van die Wet vir hierdie doel aangestel is.

DEEL II.

ALGEMENE REGULASIES.

WOORDBEPALING.

1. Vir die toepassing van hierdie regulasies beteken, tensy uit die verband anders blyk—

(i) „ Departement ", die Departement van Kleurlingsake; (vi)

(ii) „ die Wet ", die „ Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909 " [Wet No. 29 van 1909 (Kaap)], soos gewysig; (x)

(iii) „ meent ", die deel van die grond kragtens artikel *ses* (1) van die Wet onder beheer van die raad wat nog nie aan geregistreerde okkupeerders per toekenningsbrief uitgegee is nie; (v)

(iv) „ Minister ", die Minister van Binnelandse Sake; (vii)

(v) „ perseel "—
  (*a*) bouperseel; of
  (*b*) droë tuinperseel (nie dieselfde as dié waarop die huis opgerig is nie); of
  (*c*) watertuinperseel (onder besproeiing); of
  (*d*) droëlandperseel; (i)

(vi) „ raad ", die bestuursraad; (ii)

(vii) „ regulasies ", die regulasies uitgevaardig kragtens die bepalings van die Wet; (viii)

(viii) „ Sekretaris ", die Sekretaris van Kleurlingsake; (ix)

(ix) „ skriftelike toestemming ", 'n brief waarin die raad aandui dat iemand toegelaat word om vir 'n gegewe tydperk in die gebied onder beheer van die raad te woon in 'n ander hoedanigheid as dié van geregistreerde okkupeerder; (xi)

(x) „ toekenningsbrief ", 'n brief wat gebruik word deur rade ingevolge die Wet om aan te dui dat goedkeuring ten opsigte van iemand verleen is om in 'n gebied onder beheer van die raad te woon en waarin die perseel beskrywe word wat aan hom toegeken is; (iii)

(xi) „ voorsitter ", die persoon (of dit nou al 'n amptenaar is of die landdros) wat benoem is kragtens artikel *vier bis* (1) (*b*) of artikel *vyf* (1) van die Wet om die pligte te vervul wat vir so 'n voorsitter by die Wet en sy regulasies voorgeskrywe word; (iv)

(xii) enige woord of uitdrukking waaraan 'n betekenis in die Wet toegeskryf word, dieselfde as in die Wet. (xii)

QUALIFICATIONS OF VOTERS.

2. (1) Every Coloured registered occupier shall be entitled to be enrolled on the voters' list prepared annually by the Board of Management for its area in terms of section *five* (2) *bis* of the Act, provided—

(*a*) he has been a registered occupier of or over the age of twenty-one years of such area on the first day of April in the year in which the voters' list is being prepared;

(*b*) his rates due and payable to the Board of Management have been paid on or before the thirtieth day of April in that year.

(2) No person whose name does not appear in the voters' list shall be entitled to vote or exercise any right conferred on a voter by these regulations.

(3) Every registered voter shall at each election have one vote in respect of each vacancy for which a member has to be elected.

COMPILATION OF VOTERS' LIST.

3. (1) The voters' list shall contain in alphabetical order of surnames the names in full of persons entitled to be enrolled as voters of the Board of Management.

(2) The Board of Management shall notify not later than the fifteenth day of May in each year by notice posted at its office and such other place within its area as it may deem convenient—

(*a*) that a copy of such list, which shall be open for inspection, is open for inspection during the office hours of the Board for a period of fourteen days; and

(*b*) that on a specified day, not more than ten days after the expiry of the fourteen days referred to in paragraph (*a*), and at an hour and place to be specified in the notice, claims to be included in the list or objections to entries on the list will be heard and determined.

(3) On the day and at the place fixed for hearing and determining claims or objections, the chairman of the Board of Management or where no such person had been appointed, a person appointed for the purpose by the Board of Management (hereinafter in this regulation referred to as the chairman) and two members of the Board shall in open session hear all such claims and objections and determine thereon.

(4) The chairman shall where necessary alter the list by inserting or deleting any name or rectifying any error.

(5) The revised list certified by the chairman shall be final and remain in force and shall not be added to or altered until a new list has been prepared in terms of these regulations.

ELECTIONS.

4. (1) The ordinary elections of Boards of Management shall be held on a day during the second half of July in each year.

(2) (*a*) A person appointed by the Secretary and hereinafter referred to as the presiding officer, shall in consultation with the Board of Management, fix the day for the election and not less than fourteen days before the day so fixed he shall cause a notice to be posted at the office of the Board and such other place within the area of the Board as he may deem convenient announcing the date, time and place of the election and the names of the retiring members.

(*b*) The presiding officer shall not be or become a candidate at the election at which he is presiding.

(*c*) In the event of the presiding officer not being present, or being disqualified due to his nomination as candidate, any registered voter present may be elected by a majority of voters present at such meeting to act as presiding officer and such presiding voter shall have all the powers which the presiding officer would have had in terms of these regulations.

BEVOEGDHEDE VAN KIESERS.

2. (1) Iedere geregistreerde Kleurlingokkupeerder is geregtig om sy naam te laat plaas op die kieserslys wat die bestuursraad jaarliks ingevolge artikel *vyf* (2) *bis* van die Wet vir sy gebied opstel, mits—

(*a*) hy op die eerste dag van April van die jaar waarin die kieserslys opgestel word, 'n geregistreerde okkupeerder van of bo die ouderdom van een-en-twintig jaar van daardie gebied is; en

(*b*) sy belasting verskuldig en betaalbaar aan die bestuursraad voor of op die dertigste dag van April van daardie jaar betaal is.

(2) Geen persoon wie se naam nie op die kieserslys verskyn is geregtig om te stem of om enige reg uit te oefen wat by hierdie regulasies aan 'n kieser verleen word nie.

(3) Iedere geregistreerde kieser het by elke verkiesingsvergadering een stem ten opsigte van elke vakature waarvoor 'n lid verkies moet word.

OPSTEL VAN KIESERSLYS.

3. (1) Die kieserslys moet in alfabetiese volgorde van familiename die name voluit vermeld van persone wat geregtig is om as kiesers van die bestuursraad geregistreer te word.

(2) Die bestuursraad moet nie later as die vyftiende dag van Mei in elke jaar by wyse van 'n kennisgewing wat by sy kantoor en op sodanige ander plek binne sy gebied as wat hy gerieflik ag, opgeplak word, bekendmaak—

(*a*) dat 'n eksemplaar van sodanige lys, wat vir insae moet lê, vir 'n tydperk van veertien dae gedurende die kantoorure van die bestuursraad op sy kantoor ter insae lê; en

(*b*) dat op 'n bepaalde dag, nie meer as 10 dae na die verstryking van die veertien dae waarna in paragraaf (*a*) verwys word, en op 'n uur en plek wat in die kennisgewing vermeld moet word, aansprake om op die lys geplaas te word of besware teen inskrywings op die lys aangehoor en beslis sal word.

(3) Op die dag en plek wat vir die aanhoor en beslissing van aansprake of besware bepaal is, moet die voorsitter van die bestuursraad of waar daar nie so 'n persoon aangestel is nie, 'n persoon vir die doel aangewys deur die bestuursraad (hierna in hierdie regulasie genoem die voorsitter) en twee lede van die bestuursraad in openbare sitting alle sodanige aansprake en besware aanhoor en daaroor beslis.

(4) Die voorsitter moet die lys waar nodig wysig deur invoeging of skrapping van name of herstelling van enige fout.

(5) Die hersiene lys, gesertifiseer deur die voorsitter, is finaal en bly van krag, en niks mag daaraan toegevoeg of verander word totdat 'n nuwe lys ingevolge hierdie regulasies opgestel word nie.

VERKIESINGS.

4. (1) Die gewone verkiesing van bestuursrade word gehou op 'n dag gedurende die laaste helfte van Julie in elke jaar.

(2) (*a*) 'n Persoon deur die Sekretaris benoem en hieronder die voorsittende beampte genoem, moet in oorleg met die bestuursraad die dag van die verkiesing bepaal, en nie minder as veertien dae voor die bepaalde dag moet hy 'n kennisgewing van die verkiesing met vermelding van die datum, tyd en plek en die name van die aftredende lede laat opplak by die kantoor van die bestuursraad en sodanige ander plek binne die gebied van die bestuursraad wat hy mag goedvind.

(*b*) Die voorsittende beampte mag nie 'n kandidaat wees of word by die verkiesing waarop hy as voorsittende beampte optree nie.

(*c*) Ingeval die voorsittende beampte nie teenwoordig is nie of weens benoeming tot kandidaat gediskwalifiseer is, kan enige aanwesige geregistreerde kieser deur 'n meerderheid van die teenwoordige kiesers op sodanige vergadering gekies word om as voorsittende beampte op te tree, en sodanige voorsittende kieser het dieselfde bevoegdheid as wat die voorsittende beampte ingevolge hierdie regulasies sou hê.

(3) (*a*) On the specified day and at the specified time and place the presiding officer shall be present and hold the meeting.

(*b*) No person save a registered voter or such other person officially admitted by the presiding officer, shall attend the meeting or take any part in the proceedings.

(*c*) Any person not being a registered voter or a person admitted by the presiding officer, or any registered voter or any other person causing disturbance may be called upon by the presiding officer to leave the meeting and the immediate vicinity of the building in which the meeting is being held, and any person so requested shall comply with such request.

(*d*) After having opened the meeting the presiding officer shall read the notice convening the meeting and upon the withdrawal from the meeting of all persons who are not permitted to be present in accordance with sub-regulation (3) (*b*), the presiding officer shall invite proposals for filling the vacancies.

(*e*) Every proposal shall be introduced by at least one voter present and seconded by another voter present. The person so proposed and seconded shall be deemed to be duly nominated after having personally signified his acceptance of nomination at the meeting. Should the number of persons duly nominated be no more than the number of the members to be elected, the presiding officer shall then and there declare the persons so nominated to be duly elected.

(*f*) Should the number of persons duly nominated be more than the number of members to be elected, the presiding officer shall then and there proceed to take a poll by showing of hands or in such manner as he may think fit: provided that five or more voters present may demand a poll by secret ballot;

(*g*) The presiding officer shall declare so many of the candidates for whom the largest number of votes have been polled as are equal to the number of members to be elected, to be duly elected: Provided that, should the number of votes recorded for two or more candidates be equal and should such equality effect the result of the election, the presiding officer shall by lot determine which has been duly elected.

(4) Should it appear at a meeting for the election of members, that any of the circumstances referred to in regulation 6 is applicable to any person elected by such meeting, on account of which he is required to vacate his seat, the presiding officer shall then and there declare the existence of such a circumstance and request the meeting to proceed by electing another person to fill the vacancy so caused.

(5) The provisions of this regulation save sub-regulation (1) shall *mutatis mutandis* apply to the election of members held in terms of sub-section (1) *bis* of section *five* of the Act.

EXTRAORDINARY ELECTION.

5. (1) When a member of the Board vacates his seat in terms of regulation 6 (other than at an election meeting) an extraordinary vacancy in the office of member shall occur. Such vacancy shall be declared by the chairman or the secretary of the Board within seven days of his becoming aware of the occurrence thereof, by posting a notice at the office of the Board and any other convenient place within the area of the Board and by transmitting a copy thereof to the Secretary. Upon receipt of such notice the Secretary shall cause the appointment of a person to act as presiding officer at an election for the filling of the vacancy.

(2) The provisions of regulation 4, save sub-regulation (1) thereof, shall *mutatis mutandis* apply to the filling of such extraordinary vacancy.

(3) No extraordinary election shall be held in respect of an extraordinary vacancy declared after the first day of March. Such extraordinary vacancy shall be filled in July of that year simultaneously with the ordinary vacancies.

(3) (*a*) Op die bepaalde dag, tyd en plek moet die voorsittende beampte teenwoordig wees en die vergadering hou.

(*b*) Niemand behalwe 'n geregistreerde kieser of iemand anders wat die voorsittende beampte ampshalwe toelaat, mag die vergadering bywoon en daaraan deelneem nie.

(*c*) Iemand wat nie 'n geregistreerde kieser is of deur die voorsittende beampte tot die vergadering toegelaat is nie, of enige geregistreerde kieser of enige ander persoon wat steurnis verwek, kan deur die voorsittende beampte versoek word om die vergadering en die onmiddellike omgewing van die gebou waarin die vergadering gehou word, te verlaat, en iedereen wat so 'n versoek ontvang, is verplig om daaraan te voldoen.

(*d*) Nadat die voorsittende beampte die vergadering geopen het, lees hy die kennisgewing waardeur die vergadering belê is, en nadat alle persone wat nie ingevolge subregulasie (3) (*b*) toegelaat word om teenwoordig te wees nie, hulle van die vergadering onttrek het, vra die voorsittende beampte voorstelle vir die vulling van die vakatures.

(*e*) Elke voorstel moet deur minstens een teenwoordige kieser gedoen en deur 'n ander teenwoordige kieser gesekondeer word. Die aldus voorgestelde en gesekondeerde persoon word as behoorlik benoem beskou nadat hy persoonlik op die vergadering te kenne gegee het dat hy die benoeming aanneem. Indien die getal behoorlik benoemde persone nie meer is as die getal lede wat verkies moet word nie, verklaar die voorsittende beampte op staande voet dat sodanige benoemde persone behoorlik verkies is.

(*f*) Indien die getal behoorlik benoemde persone meer is as die getal lede wat verkies moet word, moet die voorsittende beampte op staande voet laat stem deur die opsteek van hande of op 'n ander wyse wat hy goeddink; met dien verstande dat vyf of meer aanwesige kiesers 'n geheime stemming mag eis.

(*g*) Die voorsittende beampte moet soveel van die kandidate wat die meeste stemme verkry het as wat gelyk staan aan die getal lede wat verkies moet word, as behoorlik verkose verklaar; met dien verstande dat indien op twee of meer kandidate ewe veel stemme uitgebring is en die uitslag van die verkiesing daardeur getref word, die voorsittende beampte deur die lot moet laat beslis wie verkies is.

(4) Indien tydens 'n verkiesingsvergadering enige van die omstandighede genoem in regulasie 6 op enige persoon wat deur sodanige vergadering verkies is, van toepassing is as gevolg waarvan hy sy setel moet ontruim, moet die voorsittende beampte op staande voet die toestand aan die vergadering bekend maak en die vergadering versoek om voort te gaan met die vulling van die vakature wat so ontstaan het deur die verkiesing van 'n ander persoon.

(5) Die bepalings van hierdie regulasie, met uitsondering van subregulasie (1), is *mutatis mutandis* van toepassing op 'n verkiesingsvergadering wat ingevolge subartikel (1) *bis* van artikel *vyf* van die Wet plaasvind.

BUITENGEWONE VERKIESING.

5. (1) Wanneer 'n raadslid sy setel ingevolge regulasie 6 ontruim (anders as tydens 'n verkiesingsvergadering) ontstaan 'n buitengewone vakature in die amp van raadslid. Sodanige vakature moet binne sewe dae nadat hy van die ontstaan daarvan bewus geword het deur die voorsitter of sekretaris van die bestuursraad bekendgemaak word per kennisgewing wat hy by die kantoor van die bestuursraad en enige ander geskikte plek binne die gebied van die bestuursraad opplak en deur 'n afskrif daarvan aan die Sekretaris te stuur. Op ontvangs van sodanige kennisgewing moet die Sekretaris stappe doen vir die aanstelling van 'n persoon om as voorsittende beampte op te tree by 'n verkiesing ter vulling van die vakature.

(2) Die bepalings van regulasie 4, behalwe subregulasie (1) daarvan, is *mutatis mutandis* van toepassing vir die vulling van sodanige buitengewone vakature.

(3) Geen buitengewone verkiesing word gehou ten opsigte van 'n buitengewone vakature wat na die eerste dag van Maart bekendgemaak word nie. Sodanige buitengewone vakature moet in Julie van daardie jaar gevul word tesame met die gewone vakatures.

CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH MEMBERS OF A BOARD SHALL VACATE THEIR SEATS.

6. (1) A member of the Board shall vacate his seat if—

(*a*) he presents his resignation in writing to the chairman of the Board;

(*b*) he has been absent without leave of the chairman of the Board from three consecutive monthly meetings of the Board;

(*c*) a final order sequestrating his estate as insolvent is made, he assigns his estate or he is an unrehabilitated insolvent;

(*d*) he is declared to be of unsound mind or mentally disordered or defective or is lawfully detained as mentally disordered or defective under the Mental Disorders Act, 1916;

(*e*) he has been convicted of any offence and is sentenced to imprisonment, without the option of a fine, for more than six months unless he has obtained a free pardon;

(*f*) he has been convicted of contravening any regulation prescribing the procedure of a meeting of the Board of Management or any regulation conferring duties on a member;

(*g*) he has failed to pay on or before the 30th April, any rates which have been due and payable to the Board.

(*h*) he in the opinion of the Minister, refuses to subject himself to the provisions of the Act or any regulation promulgated under the Act or to comply therewith;

(*i*) he holds an office of profit under the Crown, unless he satisfies the presiding officer by submitting written proof signed on behalf of the head of the department, administration or body, in, under or on which such office is being held, that there is no provision in law debarring him on account of his holding such office from being a member of the Board or that he has been granted permission to serve as a member of the Board;

(*j*) he holds an office of profit under the Board of Management;

(*k*) he by himself, or through his spouse, partner or business associate has a direct or indirect pecuniary interest in, or is directly or indirectly concerned in or participates in the profits or benefits of, any contract with or work being done or to be done for the Board: Provided that the foregoing provisions of this paragraph shall not apply in respect of—

(i) any contract entered into or work undertaken by a company incorporated or registered as such under any law, merely by reason of the fact that such person or his spouse, partner or business associate is a director, shareholder, stockholder, employee or agent of such company, unless such company is a private company, or such person either by himself owns, or together with his spouse or minor children or both controls, more than one half of the shares or stock of such company;

(ii) the purchase of anything sold by the Board by public competition;

(iii) the purchase by the Board of anything at any auction sale; or

(iv) the supply of goods or services commonly supplied or rendered by the Board to the public at a charge fixed by law or resolution of the Board.

(2) The Secretary many on application by a Board of Management exempt a member from the provisions of paragraph (*j*) or (*k*) of sub-regulation (1) if he is satisfied that such exemption is desirable in the public interest.

OMSTANDIGHEDE WAARONDER RAADSLEDE HULLE SETELS ONTRUIM.

6. (1) 'n Raadslid ontruim sy setel wanneer—

(*a*) hy skriftelik sy bedanking by die voorsitter van die bestuursraad indien;

(*b*) hy sonder verlof van die voorsitter van die bestuursraad by drie agtereenvolgende maandelikse vergaderings van die bestuursraad afwesig is;

(*c*) 'n finale bevel uitgevaardig is waarby sy boedel as insolvent gesekwestreer is, hy sy boedel oorgee of as hy 'n nie-gerehabiliteerde insolvent is;

(*d*) hy tot kranksinnig of geestelik gekrenk of gebrekkig verklaar is of kragtens die Wet op Geestesgebreken, 1916, wettig as geestelik gekrenk of gebrekkig aangehou word;

(*e*) hy vir enige oortreding skuldig bevind en veroordeel is tot gevangenisstraf sonder die keuse van 'n boete vir meer as ses maande, tensy volle grasie aan hom verleen is;

(*f*) hy skuldig bevind is aan 'n oortreding van enige regulasie wat die prosedure van 'n vergadering van die bestuursraad voorskryf of van enige regulasie wat pligte op 'n lid lê;

(*g*) hy in gebreke gebly het om belasting wat aan die bestuursraad verskuldig is voor of op 30 April te betaal.

(*h*) hy na die oordeel van die Minister weier om hom aan die bepalings van die Wet en enige regulasie kragtens die Wet uitgevaardig te onderwerp of uitvoering daaraan te gee;

(*i*) hy 'n winsbetrekking onder die Kroon beklee, tensy hy die voorsittende beampte oortuig deur voorlegging van skriftelike bewys geteken namens die hoof van die departement, administrasie of liggaam waarin, waarop of waaronder sodanige betrekking beklee word, dat daar geen wetlike bepaling is waarby hy belet of verhinder word om raadslid te wees op grond daarvan dat hy sodanige amp beklee nie, of dat vergunning verleen is dat hy as raadslid mag dien;

(*j*) hy 'n winsbetrekking onder die bestuursraad beklee;

(*k*) hy self, of deur sy gade, vennoot of sakegenoot 'n regstreekse of onregstreekse geldelike belang het by of regstreeks of onregstreeks betrokke is by of deel in winste of voordele van enige kontrak met of werk wat gedoen word of gedoen moet word vir die bestuursraad; met dien verstande dat die voorgaande bepalings van hierdie paragraaf nie van toepassing is ten opsigte van—

(i) enige kontrak wat aangegaan word of werk wat uitgevoer word deur 'n maatskappy wat ingevolge enige Wet as sodanig geïnkorporeer of geregistreer is nie, bloot omrede van die feit dat sodanige persoon of sy gade, vennoot of sakegenoot 'n direkteur, aandeelhouer, effektehouer, werknemer of agent van sodanige maatskappy is nie, tensy sodanige maatskappy 'n private maatskappy is, of sodanige persoon òf alleen in besit is van, òf tesame met sy gade of minderjarige kinders of albei beheer het oor meer as die helfte van die aandele of effekte van so 'n maatskappy;

(ii) die aankoop van enigiets wat deur die bestuursraad per openbare konkurrensie verkoop word nie;

(iii) die aankoop deur die bestuursraad van enigiets op 'n vendusie nie; of

(iv) die lewering van goedere of dienste wat gewoonlik deur die bestuursraad aan die publiek verskaf of gelewer word teen 'n bedrag wat by wet of besluit van die bestuursraad vasgestel is nie.

(2) Die Sekretaris kan op aansoek van 'n bestuursraad 'n raadslid vrystel van die bepalings van paragraaf (*j*) of (*k*) van subregulasie (1) as hy daarvan oortuig is dat die toestaan van so 'n vrystelling in die openbare belang wenslik is.

TENURE OF OFFICE OF MEMBERS OF A BOARD OF MANAGEMENT.

7. (1) In the case of an existing Board of Management where the annual election of members is being held for the first time in terms of these regulations, the two members who have had the longest term of office without re-election and who would have retired at the annual election had these regulations not come into operation, shall go out of office.

(2) In the event of a Board of Management being constituted for the first time in terms of sub-section (3) of section *four ter* or sub-section (1) *bis* of section *five* of the Act, in which case six members are to be elected at the same time, two of such members shall go out of office at each subsequent annual election, in the order of the number of votes obtained by each at his first election, commencing with the lowest number and proceeding upwards. Thereafter members shall go out of office by rotation as provided for in sub-regulation (3). Should there be any doubt as to which members ought to go out of office by reason of an equal number of votes having been given to more than two members at their election or in case such members shall have been elected without a poll, the two members to go out of office shall be determined by lot.

(3) At the annual election in each year subsequent to the election referred to in sub-regulation (1), and by rotation, the two members shall go out of office who had been the longest time in office without re-election.

(4) Subject to the provisions of regulation 6 the term of office of members elected in terms of—

(*a*) sub-regulations (1) and (3) shall be for a period of three years; and

(*b*) sub-regulation (1) of regulation 5 shall be for the unexpired period of office of the member in whose place he has been elected.

(5) The term of office of a member appointed by the Minister in terms of sub-section (2) of section *five* of the Act shall be for such period as would have been the case had such member been elected in accordance with these regulations.

CONSTITUTION OF BOARDS OF MANAGEMENT AND PROCEDURE OF MEETINGS, ALLOWANCES AND OTHER MATTERS.

8. Should the chairman be not available at any meeting, the Board of Management shall elect its own chairman for that meeting.

9. Should any member of the Board of Management be absent, five members of the Board with or without the chairman shall form a quorum.

10. The Board of Management shall meet once a month during the first half of the month on a day fixed by the Board at its meeting during the first month of the year (and the next day if necessary, unless circumstances justify another date). Should the Board for good cause wish to change the date of its monthly meetings, it shall first adopt an unanimous resolution in regard to the matter, thereupon obtain the consent of the Department, and then post a notice for 40 days at the office of the Board whereupon the Board may hold a meeting on the altered date.

11. In addition to the monthly meeting, the chairman may at any time for good and sufficient cause convene a special meeting giving previous notice of seven days: Provided that the chairman may at any time convene a meeting for the purpose of taking action in terms of regulations 39 and 40, and the chairman together with two members of the Board shall form a quorum at such meeting.

12. A member of the Board shall address the chair standing unless he shall have obtained the chairman's consent to remain seated.

13. No member of the Board shall, in his capacity as member, attend a meeting of the Board or a committee of the Board or partake in proceedings thereof during the discussion of any matter in which he by himself or through his spouse, partner or business associate has a direct or indirect pecuniary interest.

AMPSTYD VAN RAADSLEDE.

7. (1) In die geval van 'n bestaande bestuursraad waar die jaarlikse verkiesing van raadslede vir die eerste maal ingevolge hierdie regulasies gehou word, tree die twee lede af wat die langste dienstyd sonder herverkiesing het en wat by die jaarlikse verkiesing sou afgetree het as hierdie regulasie nie in werking getree het nie.

(2) Waar 'n bestuursraad vir die eerste maal ingevolge subartikel (3) van artikel *vier ter* of subartikel (1) *bis* van artikel *vyf* van die Wet saamgestel word, in watter geval ses raadslede gelyktydig verkies moet word, tree by elke daaropvolgende jaarlikse verkiesing twee van hierdie raadslede af in die volgorde van die getal stemme wat elkeen by sy eerste verkiesing gekry het, beginnende by die laagste getal en opgaande. Daarna tree lede om die beurt af soos bepaal in subregulasie (3). As daar twyfel bestaan oor watter lede moet aftree omdat op meer as twee 'n gelyke aantal stemme by hulle verkiesing uitgebring is of omdat die lede sonder stemming verkies is, word deur die lot beslis watter twee lede moet aftree.

(3) By die jaarlikse verkiesing in elke jaar na die verkiesing vermeld in subregulasie (1) en in gereelde beurtorde, tree die twee lede af wat die langste dienstyd sonder herverkiesing het.

(4) Behoudens die bepalings van regulasie 6 is die dienstyd van lede verkies ingevolge—

(*a*) subregulasie (1) en (3) vir 'n tydperk van drie jaar; en

(*b*) subregulasie (1) van regulasie 5 vir die onverstreke dienstyd van die lid in wie se plek hy verkies is.

(5) Die dienstyd van 'n lid wat ingevolge subartikel (2) van artikel *vyf* van die Wet deur die Minister aangestel is, is vir die tydperk wat dit sou gewees het as so 'n lid ooreenkomstig hierdie regulasies verkies was.

SAMESTELLING VAN BESTUURSRADE EN PROSEDURE VAN VERGADERINGS, TOELAES EN ANDER AANGELEENTHEDE.

8. As die voorsitter by enige vergadering nie beskikbaar is nie, kies die bestuursraad sy eie voorsitter vir die vergadering.

9. Vyf lede van die bestuursraad, met of sonder die voorsitter, vorm 'n kworum, indien daar lede van die bestuursraad afwesig is.

10. Die bestuursraad vergader een keer per maand gedurende die eerste helfte van die maand en wel op 'n dag (en die volgende dag indien nodig, tensy omstandighede 'n ander datum regverdig) wat deur die bestuursraad tydens sy sitting gedurende die eerste maand van die jaar bepaal word. Wanneer die bestuursraad die datum van sy maandelikse vergaderings gedurende die jaar om 'n grondige rede wil verlê, moet hy eers 'n eenstemmige besluit oor die saak neem, daarna die toestemming van die Departement oor die saak verkry en dan 'n kennisgewing vir 40 dae by die bestuursraadskantoor opplak, waarna die bestuursraad 'n vergadering op die veranderde datum kan hou.

11. Die voorsitter kan behalwe die maandelikse vergadering enige tyd met voorafgaande kennisgewing van sewe dae 'n spesiale vergadering om grondige en genoegsame rede belê; met dien verstande dat die voorsitter vir die doel om stappe te doen ingevolge regulasies 39 en 40, te eniger tyd 'n vergadering kan belê, en die voorsitter tesame met twee lede van die bestuursraad vorm 'n kworum vir so 'n vergadering.

12. 'n Lid van die bestuursraad moet die voorsitter staande aanspreek, tensy hy verlof van die voorsitter het om dit sittende te doen.

13. 'n Lid van die bestuursraad mag nie in sy hoedanigheid van raadslid 'n vergadering van die bestuursraad of 'n komitee daarvan bywoon of aan die verrigtinge daarvan deelneem gedurende die bespreking van 'n saak waarby hy self of deur sy gade, vennoot of sakegenoot regstreeks of onregstreeks enige geldelike belang het nie.

14. No member of a Board of Management shall directly or indirectly exact or accept or agree to accept or attempt to obtain for himself or for any other person any gift, reward or other consideration whatsoever (other than allowances to which he is entitled in terms of any regulation) or on account of his services as a member of the Board or his doing or refraining from doing or having done or refrained from doing anything in his capacity as a member of the Board.

15. The proceedings and resolutions of the Board of Management shall be entered in a proper minute book which shall be kept for that purpose.

16. The cash book, showing the balance on hand, shall be submitted at each meeting, and every member, as well as the secretary, shall have the right to inspect such cash book as well as the minute book should he so desire.

17. Any registered occupier or any other person who has obtained permission from the chairman, may attend a meeting of the Board, but may not take any part in the proceedings. Should insufficient room be available or should the Board of Management wish to hold a discussion *in camera* or should there be disorderly behaviour on the part of any registered occupier or any other person in the council chamber or in the immediate vicinity thereof, the chairman shall have the right to call upon any registered occupier or other person to leave the council chamber and/or the immediate vicinity of the council chamber.

Any registered occupier or any other person thus called upon by the chairman shall leave the council chamber and/or the immediate vicinity of the council chamber.

18. A resolution adopted by the Board of Management shall be reversed only on the motion of a member of the Board of Management and provided two-thirds of the members vote for the reversal of such resolution.

19. A copy of the minutes of each meeting of a Board of Management, certified as correct, shall be forwarded to the Department within 21 days of such meeting.

20. Should any member of the Board of Management be absent from his home in the performance of his duty as member of the Board, he may be reimbursed as follows for necessary expenses incurred by him:—

(*a*) For each mile after the first three miles covered on the forward or return journey, a sum not exceeding sixpence per mile; provided that not more than £2 shall be paid to any member in terms of this paragraph in respect of a single attendance at any meeting or conference.

(*b*) A further sum not exceeding 7s. 6d. per day, or 3s. 9d. per half day. For the purpose of this paragraph any period of twenty-four hours shall be regarded as a day, and any period of less than twenty-four hours but more than six hours shall be regarded as half a day; provided that should any member be able to prove to the satisfaction of the Board of Management that the necessary expenses incurred by him in the performance of his duty as member exceed the sum to which he is entitled in terms of paragraphs (*a*) and (*b*), such member may, upon the approval of the Secretary, be reimbursed the full sum of the necessary expenses incurred by him.

21. A Board of Management may appoint standing committees from its members who may meet at any time to discuss matters entrusted to them. Such committees shall submit their proposals at the monthly meeting of the Board of Management, and such proposals shall not become operative before they shall have been adopted by resolution of the Board of Management. No member of such committee shall be entitled to subsistence and travelling allowance in respect of any meeting of such committee.

14. 'n Raadslid mag nie 'n geskenk, beloning of ander teenprestasies wat ook al (uitgesonderd die toelaes waarop hy ingevolge 'n regulasie geregtig is) regstreeks of onregstreeks eis of aanneem of toestem om dit aan te neem of probeer om dit vir homself of vir iemand anders, of ten opsigte van sy dienste as raadslid of omdat hy iets doen of nalaat of iets gedoen of nagelaat het in sy hoedanigheid van raadslid te verkry nie.

15. Die verrigtinge en besluite van die bestuursraad word opgeteken in 'n behoorlike notuleboek wat vir die doel gehou word.

16. Die kasboek aantonende die balans voorhande, word met elke vergadering voorgelê, en elke lid sowel as die Sekretaris het reg van insae daarin sowel as in die notuleboek wanneer hy dit verlang.

17. 'n Geregistreerde okkupeerder of 'n ander persoon wat verlof van die voorsitter verkry het, kan 'n vergadering van die bestuursraad bywoon, maar mag nie aan die verrigtings deelneem nie. As daar te min ruimte beskikbaar is of as die bestuursraad 'n saak *in camera* wil bespreek of as 'n geregistreerde okkupeerder of ander persoon hom in die raadsaal of in die onmiddellike omgewing daarvan wanordelik gedra, het die voorsitter die reg om sodanige geregistreerde okkupeerder of ander persoon te versoek om die raadsaal en/of die onmiddellike omgewing van die raadsaal te verlaat.

'n Geregistreerde okkupeerder of enige ander persoon aldus deur die voorsitter versoek, is verplig om die raadsaal en/of die onmiddellike omgewing van die raadsaal te verlaat.

18. 'n Besluit wat deur die bestuursraad geneem is, mag alleen op voorstel van 'n lid van die bestuursraad herroep word mits tweederdes van die lede stem vir die herroeping van die besluit.

19. 'n Afskrif van die notule van elke vergadering van 'n bestuursraad moet binne 21 dae na so 'n vergadering aan die Departement gestuur word, gesertifiseer dat die afskrif juis is.

20. Wanneer 'n lid van die bestuursraad van sy huis afwesig is in die uitoefening van sy pligte as lid, kan die volgende vergoeding vir noodsaaklike onkoste aan hom betaal word:—

(*a*) Vir elke myl na die eerste drie myl wat afgelê word op die heenreis of die terugreis, hoogstens ses pennies per myl; met dien verstande dat hoogstens £2 aan 'n lid ingevolge hierdie paragraaf betaal word in geval van 'n enkele bywoning van 'n vergadering of konferensie.

(*b*) 'n Verdere bedrag van hoogstens 7s. 6d. per dag, of 3s. 9d. per halfdag. Vir die toepassing van hierdie paragraaf word enige tydperk van vier-en-twintig uur as 'n dag beskou en enige tydperk van minder as vier-en-twintig uur maar meer as ses uur as 'n halfdag; met dien verstande dat, as 'n lid tot tevredenheid van die bestuursraad bewys dat die noodsaaklike onkoste deur hom aangegaan in die uitoefening van sy pligte as lid, meer is as die bedrag waartoe hy ingevolge paragrawe (*a*) en (*b*) geregtig is, die volle bedrag van die noodsaaklike onkoste deur hom aangegaan, met goedkeuring van die Sekretaris aan so 'n lid vergoed kan word.

21. 'n Bestuursraad mag staande komitees uit sy midde benoem, wat op enige tyd mag vergader om sake wat aan hulle opgedra is, te bespreek. Sulke komitees moet hulle voorstelle by die maandelikse bestuursraadsvergadering voorlê, en eers wanneer sulke voorstelle deur 'n bestuursraadsbesluit aangeneem is, sal hulle geldig wees. Geen lid van so 'n komitee is geregtig op reis- en verblyftoelae ten opsigte van so 'n komitee-vergadering nie.

22. The meetings of an Advisory Board, with the chairman and two members forming a quorum, shall be held as often as the chairman may deem it necessary; provided that at least one meeting shall be held every quarter, and the provisions of regulations 12, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 20 shall, *mutatis mutandis*, and in so far as applicable, apply in respect of the Advisory Board, its meetings and its members.

RIGHTS, POWERS AND DUTIES OF BOARDS OF MANAGEMENT IN TERMS OF THE ACT.

23. The Board of Management may require any registered occupier within its area to eradicate such noxious weeds on the allotment or allotments of such registered occupier, or along the portion of the lead furrow belonging to such registered occupier, as have been declared noxious weeds by resolution of the Board of Management.

24. The Board of Management may, with the consent of the Secretary and subject to such conditions as he may deem fit—

(*a*) hire land for farming purposes which may be occupied and used by the registered occupiers residing within its area;

(*b*) erect or hire buildings as may be required by the Board for the exercise of its duties; and

(*c*) let land and buildings.

25. A Board of Management may, with the consent of the Secretary, set apart such piece of ground for the erection of a school, church, Board of Management store, welfare centre, clinic, government office or superintendent's residence, as is required for the purpose.

26. The Board may, with the consent of the Minister, purchase land for farming purposes for occupation by and use of registered occupiers residing within its area of jurisdiction. Such land shall be registered in the name of the Minister in his capacity as representative of the Union Government, and the Minister shall hold such land in trust for the proper Board of Management in its capacity as representative of the community concerned, and such land shall be under the control of such Board of Management which shall follow the provisions of the Act and regulations for this purpose.

27. A Board of Management may, with the consent of the Minister, mortgage fixed property purchased by the Board of Management.

28. A Board of Management may, with the consent of the Secretary contribute out of its revenue towards a public purpose or public health purpose within its area.

29. A Board of Management may, by resolution and with the consent of the Secretary, from time to time contribute out of its funds towards educational purposes within its area.

30. A Board of Management may, with the consent of the Secretary, erect school buildings out of its funds should the Provincial Administration not be obliged by law or not be prepared to do so.

31. Subject to the approval of the Secretary, the Board of Management may, upon adopting a resolution to the effect, from time to time contribute out of its funds towards charitable purposes.

32. Subject to the provision that the Board of Management has the necessary funds at its disposal and upon the approval of the Secretary having been obtained for such undertaking, and for such period as he may please, the Board of Management may, out of its funds, order supplies of seed, fertilizers, implements and/or parts of implements and building materials, and sell such supplies to registered occupiers at such profit as to cover only all expenses incurred in respect thereof: Provided that the Board of Management shall not keep supplies for each of the five items, seed, fertilizers, implements and/or parts of implements and building materials to the value of more than £100 (one hundred pounds) at a given date.

33. A Board of Management may in its discretion, and against repayment in such instalments as may be decided upon, advance sums not exceeding £30 per registered occupier to registered occupiers for purchasing farm equipment, seed, fertilizers, building material and livestock.

22. Die vergaderings van 'n adviserende raad, met die voorsitter en twee lede as kworum, word gehou so dikwels as wat die voorsitter dit mag nodig ag; met dien verstande dat minstens een vergadering elke kwartaal gehou word, en regulasies 12, 15, 16, 17, 19 en 20 geld *mutatis mutandis* en vir sover toepaslik ten opsigte van die adviserende raad, sy vergaderings en sy lede.

REGTE, BEVOEGDHEID EN PLIGTE VAN BESTUURSRADE KRAGTENS DIE WET.

23. Die bestuursraad kan eis dat enige geregistreerde okkupeerder binne sy regsgebied alle onkruid op die perseel of persele van die geregistreerde okkupeerder of langs die deel van die leivoor behorende aan die geregistreerde okkupeerder uitroei vir sover die onkruid by bestuursraadsbesluit as skadelike onkruid verklaar is.

24. Die bestuursraad het die bevoegdheid om met goedkeuring van die Sekretaris en op die voorwaardes wat hy dienstig mag ag—

(*a*) grond vir boerdery te huur wat deur die geregistreerde okkupeerders wat binne sy gebied woon, geokkupeer en gebruik mag word;

(*b*) geboue op te rig of te huur wat by die uitoefening van die bestuursraad se pligte nodig is; en

(*c*) grond en geboue te verhuur.

25. 'n Bestuursraad kan met die toestemming van die Sekretaris 'n stuk grond wat vir die doel nodig is afsonder vir die oprigting van 'n skool, kerk, bestuursraadsmagasyn, welsynsentrum, kliniek, goewermentskantoor of superintendentshuis.

26. Die bestuursraad kan met goedkeuring van die Minister grond aankoop vir boerdery, wat deur geregistreerde okkupeerders wat binne sy regsgebied woon, geokkupeer en gebruik kan word. Hierdie grond moet geregistreer word op naam van die Minister in sy hoedanigheid van verteenwoordiger van die Regering van die Unie, en die Minister moet die grond in trust hou vir die betrokke bestuursraad as verteenwoordiger van die betrokke gemeenskap, en die grond is onder beheer van die bestuursraad, wat vir hierdie doel die bepalings van die Wet en die regulasies moet nakom.

27. 'n Bestuursraad kan met die toestemming van die Minister 'n verband opneem op vaste eiendom wat die bestuursraad aangekoop het.

28. 'n Bestuursraad kan met die toestemming van die Sekretaris uit sy inkomste bydrae tot die koste van 'n openbare saak of 'n openbare gesondheidsaak binne sy gebied.

29. 'n Bestuursraad kan by besluit en met die toestemming van die Sekretaris van tyd tot tyd bedrae uit sy fondse bestee ten behoewe van die onderwys in sy gebied.

30. 'n Bestuursraad kan uit sy fondse met die toestemming van die Sekretaris skoolgeboue oprig as die provinsiale owerheid by wet nie verplig is of nie bereid is om dit te doen nie.

31. Behoudens die goedkeuring van die Sekretaris kan die bestuursraad by besluit van tyd tot tyd bedrae uit sy fondse bestee vir liefdadigheid.

32. Behoudens die voorwaarde dat die bestuursraad die nodige fondse ter beskikking het en nadat die Sekretaris se goedkeuring vir so 'n onderneming verkry is en vir solank dit hom behaag, kan 'n bestuursraad uit sy fondse voorrade saad, misstowwe, werktuie en/of onderdele van werktuie en boumateriaal bestel en sulke voorrade aan geregistreerde okkupeerders verkoop met slegs genoeg wins om alle koste daaraan verbonde te dek; met dien verstande dat die bestuursraad nie meer as £100 (eenhonderd pond) se voorrade van elkeen van die vyf items saad, misstowwe, werktuie en/of onderdele van werktuie en boumateriaal op 'n gegewe datum mag aanhou nie.

33. 'n Bestuursraad kan na goeddunke en teen terugbetaling in die paaiemente waartoe hy besluit, aan geregistreerde okkupeerders bedrae van hoogstens £30 per geregistreerde okkupeerder voorskiet vir die aankoop van plaasuitrusting, saad, misstowwe, boumateriaal en lewende hawe.

34. Subject to the approval of the Secretary and to such conditions as he may deem fit, the Board of Management may against repayment in such instalments as may be decided upon by it, advance sums not exceeding one hundred pounds (£100) per registered occupier to registered occupiers for the purpose of defraying the cost of erecting houses within the area of the Board.

35. (1) A Board of Management may with the consent of the Secretary, undertake any work involving a cost of £50 or over.

(2) A Board of Management may, with the consent of the Secretary, borrow money to perform the works referred to in sub-regulation (1) and for any other purpose approved by the Secretary.

TRADING.

36. A Board of Management may, with the consent of the Secretary, lease for trading purposes sites in its area of management for periods of not more than five years at such rentals as the Board of Management may approve; Provided that—

(1) (*a*) the lessee shall not sublet or transfer rights granted to him without the sanction of the Board of Management;

(*b*) the lessee shall not be entitled to any compensation for improvements effected by him on the land; but the lessee may remove everything erected by him on the land during his stay within one month after the termination of his lease without damage to the land, unless he and the Board of Management shall have agreed otherwise;

(*c*) the lease may be terminated by the Board of Management with the consent of the Secretary if the purposes for which the lease was granted are no longer carried out;

(*d*) the proceeds of such lease shall be placed to the general revenue fund of the Board of Management;

(*e*) the form of agreement contained in Schedule A shall be submitted to the Department in quadruplicate with the necessary stamps affixed thereto;

(2) persons or companies to whom prospecting licences have been granted or who are carrying out mining operations in areas under the jurisdiction of the Board of Management may trade at the same time, but shall then comply with all the provisions to which an ordinary trader is subject under these regulations;

(3) should registered occupiers desire to carry on a trading business on premises registered in their names in the register of registered occupiers, such registered occupiers shall make application to the Board of Management, who shall forward their applications, togetheer with the Board's recommendations, to the licensing board; provided that the Board of Management may determine that no trading shall be carried on except on premises set apart for that purpose by the Board and leased in terms of this regulation.

ADMISSION OF PERSONS AND THEIR RIGHTS.

37. The following persons with their spouses and unmarried children shall be entitled to reside in the area under control of the Board of Management—

(*a*) a person approved of as a registered occupier in accordance with these regulations by the Secretary in consultation with the Board of Management;

(*b*) a person entering into a trading agreement in terms of regulation 36;

(*c*) a person, other than a registered occupier, admitted in terms of the provisions of any proclamation under section *twenty-seven* of the Act;

(*d*) a person in Government employ residing there for the execution of his duties; and

(*e*) any other person having obtained written consent from the Board of Management to reside there.

34. Behoudens die goedkeuring van die Sekretaris en op die voorwaardes wat hy dienstig mag ag, kan die bestuursraad aan geregistreerde okkupeerders bedrae van hoogstens eenhonderd pond (£100) per geregistreerde okkupeerder voorskiet ter bestryding van die oprigtingskoste van woonhuise binne die raad se gebied, en sodanige bedrae moet terugbetaal word in die paaiemente wat die raad mag bepaal.

35. (1) 'n Bestuursraad kan met die toestemming van die Sekretaris enige werk onderneem waarvan die koste £50 of meer sal beloop.

(2) 'n Bestuursraad kan met die toestemming van die Sekretaris geld leen om die werke, genoem in subregulasie (1), te verrig, asook vir enige ander doel deur die Sekretaris goedgekeur.

HANDEL.

36. 'n Bestuursraad kan met die toestemming van die Sekretaris terreine verhuur vir handelsdoeleindes in sy bestuursgebied vir tydperke nie vyf jaar te bowe gaande nie teen die huurgeld wat die bestuursraad mag goedkeur; met dien verstande dat—

(1) (*a*) die huurder die verkreë regte nie mag onderverhuur of oordra sonder die toestemming van die bestuursraad nie;

(*b*) die huurder nie geregtig is op vergoeding vir verbeteringe wat deur hom op die grond aangebring is nie, maar die huurder mag alles wat hy opgerig het tydens sy verblyf op die grond sonder beskadiging van die grond verwyder binne een maand na die beëindiging van sy huurooreenkoms, tensy hy en die bestuursraad anders ooreengekom het;

(*c*) die huurooreenkoms met die toestemming van die Sekretaris deur die bestuursraad opgesê mag word as die doel waarvoor die ooreenkoms aangegaan is, nie meer nagekom word nie;

(*d*) die opbrengs van die huur gestort word in die algemene inkomstefonds van die bestuursraad;

(*e*) die ooreenkomsvorm wat in Bylae A vervat is, in viervoud ingestuur word na die Departement met die nodige seëls daarop;

(2) persone of maatskappe wat lisensies verkry het om te prospekteer of met mynery besig is in gebiede onder die jurisdiksie van die bestuursraad, terselfdertyd mag handel drywe, maar dan verplig is om te voldoen aan al die bepalings waaraan 'n gewone handelaar kragtens hierdie regulasies moet voldoen;

(3) as geregistreerde okkupeerders handel wil drywe op persele wat in hulle name geregistreer is in die register van geregistreerde okkupeerders, sodanige geregistreerde okkupeerders daarom aansoek moet doen by die bestuursraad, wat hulle aansoeke met die raad se aanbevelings na die lisensieraad moet stuur; met dien verstande dat die bestuursraad kan bepaal dat geen handel gedryf mag word nie behalwe op persele vir dié doel deur die bestuursraad afgesonder en verhuur ingevolge hierdie regulasie.

TOELATING VAN PERSONE EN HULLE REGTE.

37. Die volgende persone met hulle eggenotes en ongetroude kinders is geregtig om op die gebied onder beheer van die bestuursraad te woon:—

(*a*) 'n Persoon wat volgens hierdie regulasies deur die Sekretaris in oorleg met die bestuursraad as geregistreerde okkupeerder goedgekeur is;

(*b*) 'n persoon wat 'n handelsooreenkoms ingevolge regulasie 36 aangegaan het;

(*c*) 'n persoon, behalwe 'n geregistreerde okkupeerder, wat kragtens die bepalings van 'n proklamasie ingevolge artikel *sewe-en-twintig* van die Wet toegelaat is;

(*d*) 'n persoon in goewermentsdiens wat vir die uitoefening van sy pligte daar woon; en

(*e*) enige ander persoon wat die skriftelike toestemming van die bestuursraad verkry het om daar te woon.

38. No person permitted to reside on land under the control of the Board of Management, shall, with or without his household, take up his abode with any other person and his household or shall allow any other person with or without his household, to reside with him on the same premises unless the one or the other shall have obtained prior written consent from the Board of Management, which consent the Board may issue subject to such conditions as the Board may approve of.

39. Any person, other than a person entitled to such residence or admitted in accordance with regulation 37 and section *thirteen* bis of the Act, found within the area under the control of the Board of Management, shall upon the written request of the Board of Management remove himself from the area within such period as the Board of Management may determine.

40. Should the Board of Management, after granting the consent referred to in regulation 37 (*e*) for good and sufficient reason decide to cancel such consent on account of undermining of the Board's authority, misbehaviour, theft, or other offence committed by such person who had been allowed to reside within the area of the Board, such person shall upon receiving written notice from the Board, remove himself from the area within twenty-four hours after receiving such notice.

41. No person residing within the area of the Board of Management, shall accommodate, retain in his employ, take into employ, prevent from leaving or instigate not to leave the area under the control of the Board of Management, any such person to whom the Board has issued a notice, in terms of regulation 39 or 40, requiring his removal from the area.

42. Every person whose name at the commencement of these regulations appeared in the records of the Board of Management as a registered occupier, and to whom no certificate of occupation had been issued by the Board in terms of any regulation repealed by these regulations, and every person who was residing within the area and to whom no written consent had previously been issued by the Board, shall not later than 12 months from the commencement of these regulations apply in writing to the Board for a certificate of occupation or a written consent to reside in such area, as the case may be.

43. The Board of Management shall submit every application for a certificate of occupation received in terms of regulation 42, together with its comments, within one month, for consideration to the Secretary, and in the case of an application for written consent to reside in its area, in terms of the above-mentioned regulation, it shall issue to such person, free of charge, a written consent, contained in Schedule C, unless the Board for good reasons considers that the person applying therefor should not be allowed to reside within its area.

44. The Board of Management shall issue a certificate of occupation, free of charge, in accordance with regulation 52, to each person whose application has been approved by the Secretary, and further comply with the provisions of regulations 52 and 53.

45. The Board of Management shall notify in writing each person whose application for a certificate of occupation or for the Board's written consent to reside within its area, has been refused.

46. Notwithstanding any contrary provision in these regulations, any person desiring to reside in the area under the control of the Board of Management as a registered occupier or with the Board's written consent or any person desiring to obtain additional rights or to take over the rights of a registered occupier, shall apply in writing to the Board of Management and the Board of Management is hereby authorised, in the case of an application for its written consent, to reside within its area, to grant such application for any period the Board may approve or to refuse it at its next meeting.

47. Any application for admission as a registered occupier, or for the obtaining of additional rights or for taking over the rights of a registered occupier, shall be made known by the Board of Management by posting a notice at its office for a period of 14 days.

38. Niemand wat toegelaat is om op grond onder beheer van die bestuursraad te woon, mag met of sonder sy huisgesin by 'n ander persoon en sy huisgesin aldaar inwoon nie of toelaat dat 'n ander persoon met of sonder sy huisgesin by hom op dieselfde perseel inwoon nie, tensy die een of die ander vooraf skriftelike toestemming van die bestuursraad verkry het wat die bestuursraad mag uitreik op die voorwaardes wat die bestuursraad mag goeddink.

39. Enige persoon wat hom op die gebied onder beheer van die bestuursraad bevind en nie ingevolge regulasie 37 en artikel *dertien bis* van die Wet geregtig is om daar te woon of toegelaat is nie, moet op die skriftelike versoek van die bestuursraad binne die tydperk wat die bestuursraad mag goeddink, die gebied verlaat.

40. Indien 'n bestuursraad, nadat toestemming ingevolge regulasie 37 (*e*) verleen is om goeie en genoegsame rede besluit om so 'n reeds verleende toestemming in te trek weens ondermyning van die gesag van die bestuursraad, swak gedrag, diefstal of ander misdryf gepleeg deur so 'n persoon aan wie toestemming verleen is om binne die bestuursraad se gebied te woon, moet so 'n persoon, na ontvangs van skriftelike kennisgewing van die bestuursraad, binne 24 uur vanaf die ontvangs van so 'n kennisgewing die gebied verlaat.

41. Niemand wat binne die gebied van die bestuursraad woon, mag 'n persoon, aan wie die bestuursraad ingevolge regulasie 39 of 40 kennis gegee het om die gebied te verlaat, huisves, in diens hou, in diens neem, verhinder om die gebied van die raad te verlaat of aanhits om nie die gebied te verlaat nie.

42. Iedereen wie se naam by die inwerkingtreding van hierdie regulasies as 'n geregistreerde okkupeerder in die rekords van die bestuursraad voorkom en aan wie nie 'n toekenningsbrief deur die bestuursraad kragtens 'n deur hierdie regulasies herroepe regulasie uitgereik is nie en iedereen wat reeds daar gewoon het en wat nog nie 'n skriftelike toestemming van die bestuursraad voorheen verkry het nie, moet nie later as 12 maande na die inwerkingtreding van hierdie regulasies 'n skriftelike aansoek by die bestuursraad doen om òf 'n toekenningsbrief òf 'n skriftelike toestemming om daar te woon, na gelang van sy geval.

43. Die bestuursraad moet elke aansoek om 'n toekenningsbrief wat hy ingevolge regulasie 42 ontvang, tesame met sy opmerkings binne een maand vir oorweging aan die Sekretaris voorlê, en in die geval van 'n aansoek om skriftelike toestemming om in die raad se gebied te woon ingevolge bogenoemde regulasie, moet die raad aan so iemand 'n skriftelike toestemming soos vervat in Bylae C, kosteloos uitreik, tensy die raad om goeie redes meen dat die aansoeker nie toegelaat behoort te word om binne sy gebied te woon nie.

44. Die bestuursraad moet aan elke persoon wie se aansoek om 'n toekenningsbrief deur die Sekretaris goedgekeur is, 'n toekenningsbrief ooreenkomstig regulasie 52 kosteloos uitreik en verder die bepalings van regulasies 52 en 53 nakom.

45. Die bestuursraad moet elke persoon wie se aansoek om 'n toekenningsbrief of om die skriftelike toestemming van die bestuursraad om in sy gebied te woon, geweier is, skriftelik daarvan in kennis stel.

46. Ondanks andersluidende bepalings in hierdie regulasies moet enige persoon wat in die gebied van die bestuursraad wil woon as 'n geregistreerde okkupeerder of met die skriftelike toestemming van die bestuursraad, of enige persoon wat bykomende regte verlang of wat die regte van 'n geregistreerde okkupeerder wil oorneem, skriftelik daarom by die bestuursraad aansoek doen, en die bestuursraad is gemagtig om op sy volgende vergadering in die geval van 'n aansoek om sy skriftelike toestemming om binne sy gebied te woon, sodanige aansoek goed te keur vir enige tydperk wat die raad goeddink of om dit te weier.

47. Enige aansoek om as geregistreerde okkupeerder toegelaat te word, of om bykomende regte te verkry of om die regte van 'n geregistreerde okkupeerder oor te neem, moet by wyse van 'n kennisgewing wat die bestuursraad by sy kantoor opplak, vir 'n tydperk van 14 dae bekendgemaak word.

48. The applications referred to in regulation 47 shall be dealt with as soon as may be and after the expiry of the period of 14 days, such applications together with any objections received and the Board's comment on both the applications and objections, shall be submitted for consideration to the Secretary, and no transfer of rights shall be effected unless the rates of the parties concerned have been paid.

49. Should the Secretary approve an application submitted to him in terms of regulation 48, the Board of Management shall issue a certificate of occupation to the applicant. Should the Secretary refuse such an application, the Board shall notify the applicant accordingly.

50. Should the Board of Management approve an application for a written consent to reside within its area, the Board shall issue a written consent to the applicant. Should the Board refuse an application, it shall inform the applicant of same.

51. Any person referred to in paragraphs (*b*), (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*) of regulation 37, and any unmarried son (after reaching the age of 21 years) of any person referred to in regulation 37, residing within the area of the Board of Management and who is not a registered occupier, shall register himself with the Board on or before the 31st January in each year and the Board shall issue a certificate of registration to such person as proof of registration.

52. A certificate of occupation, in the form contained in Schedule B, shall be prepared by the Board of Management in triplicate for each separate allotment and on approval of the application therefor by the Secretary the original shall be issued to the registered occupier.

53. The duplicate and triplicate of the certificate of occupation shall be arranged in alphabetical order of surnames and bound by the Secretary and the Board of Management, respectively, into a register which shall be known as the register of registered occupiers.

54. No person shall be approved of as a registered occupier unless—

(*a*) he has reached the age of 18 years; and

(*b*) a building allotment with or without one or more of the following rights defined in regulation 55, has been allotted to him—

(i) a dry garden allotment;

(ii) an irrigable garden allotment; and

(iii) a dry land allotment:

Provided that the Secretary on the recommendation of the Board and subject to such conditions as he may deem fit, may approve of a person as a registered occupier without a building allotment being allotted to such person.

55. For the purpose of the Act each of the following allotments, the size and situation of which shall be determined by the Secretary in consultation with the Board of Management, shall be regarded as a separate allotment, except in the case of abutment of two or more, when it shall be regarded as one allotment unless otherwise determined by the Secretary:—

(*a*) Allotments on which buildings may be erected, called building allotments;

(*b*) allotments consisting of dry gardens, called dry garden allotments;

(*c*) allotments consisting of gardens under irrigation, called irrigable garden allotments;

(*d*) allotments consisting of dry lands not under irrigation, called dry land allotments.

56. As from the date of commencement of these regulations no new allotment shall be allotted or assigned to a registered occupier by the Board of Management unless such allotment is situate within an area demarcated for that particular purpose in terms of paragraph (7) of section *four* of the Act.

57. The Board of Management or a person authorised by the Board shall indicate to a person approved of as a registered occupier, his right or rights, defined in the certificate of occupation, and the registered occupier shall erect such beacons as will distinguish his right or rights from those of other persons.

48. Die aansoeke vermeld in regulasie 47, moet so spoedig moontlik behandel word, en na verstryking van die tydperk van 14 dae moet sodanige aansoeke tesame met alle besware wat ontvang is en die bestuursraad se opmerkings oor sowel die aansoeke as die besware aan die Sekretaris vir oorweging voorgelê word, en geen oordrag van regte mag geskied tensy die belastings van die betrokke partye betaal is nie.

49. Indien die Sekretaris 'n aansoek wat ingevolge regulasie 48 aan hom voorgelê is, goedkeur, reik die bestuursraad 'n toekenningsbrief aan die applikant uit. Indien die Sekretaris so 'n aansoek weier, stel die bestuursraad die applikant daarvan in kennis.

50. Indien die bestuursraad 'n aansoek om 'n skriftelike toestemming om in sy gebied te woon, goedkeur, reik die bestuursraad 'n skriftelike toestemming aan die applikant uit. Indien die raad sodanige aansoek weier, stel hy die applikant daarvan in kennis.

51. 'n Persoon gemeld in paragrawe (*b*), (*c*), (*d*) en (*e*) van regulasie 37 en 'n mondige ongetroude seun van enige persoon genoem in regulasie 37 wat in die gebied van die bestuursraad woon en wat nie 'n geregistreerde okkupeerder is nie, moet hom voor of op 31 Januarie van elke jaar by die bestuursraad laat registreer, en die bestuursraad moet aan die persoon by registrasie 'n sertifikaat as bewys daarvan uitreik.

52. 'n Toekenningsbrief in die vorm soos in Bylae B, moet in drievoud vir elke aparte perseel deur die bestuursraad opgestel word, en na goedkeuring van 'n aansoek daarom deur die Sekretaris moet die oorspronklike aan die geregistreerde okkupeerder uitgereik word.

53. Die duplikaat en die triplikaat van die toekenningsbrief moet deur die Sekretaris en die bestuursraad onderskeidelik in alfabetiese volgorde van familiename in 'n register ingebind word wat as die register van geregistreerde okkupeerders bekend sal wees.

54. Niemand mag as 'n geregistreerde okkupeerder goedgekeur word nie, tensy—

(*a*) hy die ouderdom van 18 jaar bereik het; en

(*b*) 'n bouperseel met of sonder een of meer van die volgende regte soos omskryf in regulasie 55 aan hom toegeken is—

(i) 'n droë tuin;

(ii) 'n watertuinperseel; en

(iii) 'n droëlandperseel:

Met dien verstande dat die Sekretaris op aanbeveling van die raad en op voorwaardes wat hy dienstig ag, 'n persoon as geregistreerde okkupeerder kan goedkeur sonder dat 'n bouperseel aan daardie persoon toegeken is.

55. Vir die toepassing van die Wet word elkeen van die volgende persele, waarvan die grootte en ligging deur die Sekretaris in oorleg met die bestuursraad vasgestel word, as 'n aparte perseel beskou, tensy twee of meer aanliggend is, in watter geval dit as een perseel beskou word, tensy die Sekretaris anders beslis:—

(*a*) Persele waarop geboue opgerig mag word, genoem bouregpersele;

(*b*) persele wat bestaan uit tuine sonder besproeiing, genoem droë tuine;

(*c*) persele wat bestaan uit tuine onder besproeiing, genoem watertuinpersele; en

(*d*) persele wat bestaan uit landerye nie onder besproeiing nie, genoem droëlandpersele.

56. Vanaf die datum van inwerkingtreding van hierdie regulasies mag geen nuwe perseel aan enige geregistreerde okkupeerder deur die bestuursraad toegeken of aangewys word nie, tensy sodanige perseel geleë is binne 'n gebied wat ingevolge paragraaf (7) van artikel *vier* van die Wet vir die besondere doel afgebaken is.

57. Die bestuursraad of iemand gemagtig deur die bestuursraad moet aan 'n persoon wat as geregistreerde okkupeerder goedgekeur is, sy reg of regte, soos omskrywe in die toekenningsbrief, aanwys, en die geregistreerde okkupeerder moet die bakens aanbring wat sy reg of regte van dié van ander persone sal onderskei.

58. Should a common landmark or beacon be necessary between two adjoining allotments, the two registered occupiers concerned shall be jointly and severally responsible for the erection and maintenance of such common beacons or landmarks.

59. No person shall, without the written consent of the Board of Management, shift or remove a beacon or suffer it to be shifted or removed.

60. The Board of Management is hereby authorised to order any registered occupier to enclose the allotments allotted to him in the manner determined by the Board and each registered occupier shall comply with such order.

61. Subject to such compensation to the registered occupier as the Secretary may approve, the Board of Management may, after consultation with the registered occupier, in the interest of the community or another adjacent registered occupier, construct a road or a lead furrow or drainage canal across any allotment allotted to any registered occupier.

62. The Board of Management shall through its members, employees or advisers have access to or over any allotment allotted to a registered occupier, by the shortest and most practicable route reasonable in the circumstances, for the purpose of doing anything authorised or required to be done by the Board of Management under the Act or any regulation or to investigate or enforce compliance with any provision of the Act or regulations: Provided that any registered occupier suffering damage as a result of the exercise of such right of access shall except where the Board is authorised to execute on such allotment any work and recover the cost thereof from the registered occupier concerned, have the right to claim compensation in such amount as may be mutually agreed upon or approved by the Secretary.

63. Any person who threatens, resists, hinders or obstructs, or uses foul, abusive or insulting language towards a member, employee or adviser of the Board of Management in the exercise of his powers or execution of his duties shall be guilty of an offence.

64. Any registered occupier who intends to be absent from the mission station or reserve for a period exceeding three consecutive months shall notify the Board of Management, stating the period of his intended absence, the reason for his absence, and the name of the person who will be left in charge of his allotment.

65. It shall be lawful for the Board of Management to lease with the consent of the Secretary any unallotted portion of the commonage not required by the community to any registered occupier or registered occupiers on such conditions as the Board of Management may, by resolutions entered in the minutes, determine from time to time.

66. The Board of Management may allot a special outspan to the public, irrespective of such outspans to which the farm may be subject in terms of title deeds. Travellers and visitors shall be entitled to outspan free of charge for twenty-four hours on such outspans, and, after expiry of twenty-four hours, travellers and visitors may apply to the secretary of the Board of Management for a longer stay against payment of 3d. per animal per day.

Finance and Rates.

67. Every Board of Management shall open a banking account with the nearest commercial bank.

68. For all revenues received by the Board of Management receipt shall be issued and entered into the cash book.

69. All revenues received by the Board of Management shall from time to time be paid into the banking account as soon as may be after receipt thereof.

70. Subject to the approval of the Secretary and on such conditions as he may deem expedient, the Board of Management may obtain an advance from its bank by way of overdraft on the current account, or from any other bank or person.

58. As 'n gemeenskaplike baken of teken nodig is tussen twee aanliggende persele, is die twee betrokke geregistreerde okkupeerders gesamentlik en afsonderlik verantwoordelik vir die oprigting en instandhouding van sodanige gemeenskaplike bakens of tekens.

59. Niemand mag sonder die skriftelike toestemming van die bestuursraad 'n baken verskuif of verwyder of toelaat dat dit verskuif of verwyder word nie.

60. Aan die bestuursraad word hierby die bevoegdheid verleen om enige geregistreerde okkupeerder te beveel om die persele wat aan hom toegeken is, te omhein op die wyse wat die bestuursraad bepaal, en iedere geregistreerde okkupeerder is verplig om so 'n bevel uit te voer.

61. Behoudens die vergoeding aan die geregistreerde okkupeerder wat die Sekretaris mag goedkeur, kan die bestuursraad, in oorleg met die geregistreerde okkupeerder, in die belang van die gemeenskap of 'n ander aanwonende geregistreerde okkupeerder, oor enige perseel van enige geregistreerde okkupeerder 'n pad aanlê of 'n waterleivoor of dreineringskanaal aanbring.

62. Die bestuursraad het in die persoon van sy raadslede, werknemers of raadgewers toegang tot of oor enige perseel wat aan 'n geregistreerde okkupeerder toegeken is langs die kortste en doenlikste roete wat onder die omstandighede redelik is, ten einde enigiets te doen wat kragtens die Wet of enige regulasie deur die bestuursraad gemagtig of in opdrag van die bestuursraad gedoen moet word, of ten einde die nakoming van enige voorskrif van die Wet of regulasies te ondersoek of af te dwing; met dien verstande dat enige geregistreerde okkupeerder wat skade ly ten gevolge van die uitoefening van sodanige reg van toegang, uitgesonderd waar die bestuursraad gemagtig is om werk op sodanige perseel uit te voer en die koste daarvan op die betrokke geregistreerde okkupeerder te verhaal, die reg besit om as vergoeding 'n bedrag te eis waartoe onderling ooreengekom word of wat deur die Sekretaris goedgekeur word.

63. Enige persoon wat 'n raadslid, werknemer of raadgewer van die bestuursraad by die uitoefening van sy bevoegdheid of die uitvoering van sy pligte, dreig, weerstaan, hinder of belemmer, of vuil, kwetsende of beledigende taal teenoor hom besig, pleeg 'n misdryf.

64. Enige geregistreerde okkupeerder wat meen om vir langer as drie maande aaneen van die sendingstasie of reservaat afwesig te wees, moet die bestuursraad daarvan in kennis stel met opgawe van hoe lank hy meen om afwesig te wees, om watter rede en wie sy perseel sal oppas.

65. Die bestuursraad kan met goedkeuring van die sekretaris enige onuitgegewe grond van die meent wat die gemeenskap nie nodig het nie, verhuur aan enige geregistreerde okkupeerder of geregistreerde okkupeerders op die voorwaardes wat die bestuursraad van tyd tot tyd by genotuleerde besluit mag bepaal.

66. Die bestuursraad kan 'n spesiale uitspanning aanwys waar die publiek kan uitspan, afgesien van die uitspannings waaraan die plaas volgens transportaktes onderhewig mag wees. Reisigers en besoekers is geregtig om op sulke spesiale uitspannings vier-en-twintig uur gratis uit te span, en na verloop van vier-en-twintig uur kan reisigers en besoekers by die sekretaris van die bestuursraad aansoek doen om langer te vertoef teen betaling van 3d. per dier per dag.

Finansies en Belastings.

67. Die bestuursraad moet 'n bankrekening by die naaste handelsbank open.

68. Alle inkomste deur die bestuursraad ontvang, moet erken word deur die uitreiking van 'n kwitansie en in 'n kasboek opgeteken word.

69. Alle inkomste deur die bestuursraad ontvang, moet van tyd tot tyd so spoedig moontlik na ontvangs in die bankrekening gestort word.

70. Behoudens die goedkeuring van die sekretaris en op die voorwaardes wat hy dienstig ag, kan die bestuursraad 'n voorskot van sy bank by wyse van oortrekking op die lopende rekening, of van enige ander bank of iemand anders verkry.

71. As soon as the credit balance in the current banking account of the Board of Management shall exceed its average monthly expenditure over the preceding financial year, and such credit be not required for disbursement within thirty days, the Board of Management shall open a savings account with the nearest post office or commercial bank and any such money shall be deposited into such account by cheque. No money shall be withdrawn from such savings account unless the Board has adopted a resolution to that effect.

72. All expenses exceeding the sum of 5s. shall be paid by cheque.

73. No payment whatsoever, including petty cash payments, shall be made by the Board of Management or a member of the Board of Management or the secretary of the Board of Management or the chairman, unless the person claiming the money submits a written claim properly signed and dated, stating the reason for the claim, and the claimant shall give a receipt of the amount received or endorse the claim to the effect that the amount has been received, in which case the claim shall be regarded as a receipt, which claim and receipt shall be kept and the amount with particulars of the transaction brought into account by the secretary of the Board.

74. Two members of the Board of Management appointed from time to time by the Board shall jointly sign the cheques and operate on the savings account on behalf of the Board. Should one of or both these persons be absent, the Board may appoint one or two other persons to sign the cheques or to operate on the savings account.

75. The secretary of the Board of Management shall balance the books before each monthly meeting.

76. The books and financial statements of the Board shall be inspected by the Board of Management each year in July and December.

77. Immediately following upon the inspection in December, the Board of Management shall cause the financial statements to be audited by a qualified auditor and shall cause a statement of revenue and expenditure and a balance sheet to be drawn up, a copy of which shall be forwarded to the Department before the end of March each year. The Board shall appoint and remunerate its own auditor for this purpose. The auditor who audits the financial statements shall certify the balance sheet to be correct statements of income and expenditure of the Board and the balance to be in agreement with the bank balance. He shall further indicate the number of registered occupiers or inhabitants in arrears with their rates and the amounts.

78. By resolution of the Board of Management a sum of exactly £5 may be handed to the secretary of the Board in the form of a cheque, signed as prescribed in regulation 74, for petty cash purposes, and expenditure herefrom shall be made in accordance with the procedure prescribed in regulation 73.

79. The Board of Management shall call for tenders for the performance of all work which will entail an expense of more than £20.

80. Subject to the provisions of regulation 81 the Board of Management may take its own decisions in respect of expenses not exceeding £50.

81. In each year before the 31st of August the Board of Management shall prepare and submit to the Secretary under suitable headings, estimates of all income and expenditure for the calendar year next ensuing. Upon the Secretary's approval of such estimates, the Board may cause the work to be performed and may pay the expenses in connection therewith. No expenditure in respect of any new service or work shall be added or any expenditure exceeding the amount approved under any heading or in respect of any single or separate service or work exceeding the amount of £50, shall be incurred without prior sanction of the Commissioner.

82. (1) The Board of Management shall levy the rates for the following year, payable in accordance with subsection (3) of section *six* of the Act, not later than at its monthly meeting held in August.

(2) Such rates shall be due and payable on the 2nd January of the next ensuing year and, unless the Board fixes an earlier date, the 30th April shall be the last day on which such rates may be paid.

71. Sodra die bestuursraad se kreditbalans op sy lopende bankrekening meer is as sy gemiddelde maandelikse uitgawe gedurende die voorafgaande boekjaar en dit nie vir uitbetaling binne dertig dae nodig is nie, moet die bestuursraad 'n spaarrekening by die naaste poskantoor of handelsbank open, en sodanige geld moet per tjek daarin gestort word. Geen geld word uit sodanige spaarrekening getrek tensy die bestuursraad so besluit nie.

72. Alle uitgawes van meer as 5s. moet per tjek geskied.

73. Geen betaling van enige aard, selfs kleinkasbetalings, mag gemaak word deur die bestuursraad of 'n lid van die bestuursraad of die sekretaris van die bestuursraad of die voorsitter nie, tensy die persoon wat die geld eis, sy eis skriftelik voorlê en behoorlik onderteken en dateer, met vermelding van die rede vir die eis; en die eiser moet 'n kwitansie gee vir die bedrag ontvang of op die eis teken dat die bedrag ontvang is, in watter geval die eis as kwitansie sal geld, en die sekretaris van die bestuursraad moet die eis en die kwitansie bewaar en die bedrag met besonderhede van die transaksie in rekening bring.

74. Twee lede van die bestuursraad wat van tyd tot tyd deur die bestuursraad aangewys word, moet die tjeks gesamentlik teken en namens die bestuursraad die spaarrekeningtransaksies behartig. As een of albei van hierdie persone afwesig is, kan die bestuursraad een of twee ander persone aanwys om die tjeks te teken en die spaarrekeningtransaksies te behartig.

75. Die sekretaris van die bestuursraad moet voor elke maandelikse vergadering balans opmaak.

76. Die bestuursraad moet in Julie en Desember van elke kalenderjaar die boeke en finansiële state van die bestuursraad inspekteer.

77. Onmiddellik na die inspeksie in Desember moet die bestuursraad sy finansiële state laat ouditeer deur 'n bevoegde ouditeur en 'n staat van inkomste en uitgawes en 'n balansstaat laat opstel, waarvan 'n afskrif na die departement gestuur moet word voor die einde van Maart elke jaar. Die bestuursraad benoem en besoldig vir dié doel sy eie ouditeur. Die ouditeur wat die finansiële stukke ouditeer, moet sertifiseer dat die balansstaat 'n juiste opgawe van die inkomste en uitgawe van die bestuursraad is en dat die balans klop met die bankbalans. Verder moet hy aantoon hoeveel geregistreerde okkupeerders of inwoners met hulle belastings agterstallig is en wat die bedrae is.

78. Van tyd tot tyd kan by besluit van die bestuursraad 'n bedrag van presies £5 aan die sekretaris van die bestuursraad oorhandig word deur middel van 'n tjek geteken op die wyse soos voorgeskryf by regulasie 74 vir kleinkasdoeleindes, en uitgawes hieruit moet geskied ooreenkomstig die prosedure voorgeskrywe in regulasie 73.

79. Die bestuursraad moet alle werk wat hy wil laat verrig waarvan die koste meer as twintig pond sal bedra, deur die inroep van tenders vir die verrigting van die diens laat geskied.

80. Behoudens die bepalings van artikel 81 is 'n bestuursraad bevoeg om self oor uitgawes van hoogstens £50 te besluit.

81. Voor 31 Augustus in elke jaar moet die bestuursraad 'n beraming van alle verwagte inkomste en uitgawes vir die volgende kalenderjaar onder gepaste hoofde opstel en vir goedkeuring aan die sekretaris voorlê. Nadat die sekretaris die beraming goedgekeur het, kan die bestuursraad die dienste laat verrig en die uitgawes daaraan verbonde betaal. Geen uitgawe vir nuwe dienste of werke mag bygevoeg of enige uitgawe bo die bedrag onder enige hoof goedgekeur of ten opsigte van 'n enkele of afsonderlike diens of werk wat £50 te bowe gaan, mag sonder voorafgaande goedkeuring van die Kommissaris aangegaan word nie.

82. (1) Die bestuursraad moet die belastings vir die volgende jaar, wat ingevolge subartikel (3) van artikel *ses* van die Wet, betaalbaar is, nie later hef as by sy maandelikse vergadering wat in Augustus gehou word nie.

(2) Sodanige belasting is verskuldig en betaalbaar op 2 Januarie van die eersvolgende jaar en, tensy die bestuursraad 'n vroeër datum bepaal, is 30 April die laaste dag waarop dit betaal mag word.

(3) Each year, at least three months before the rates become due, the Board of Management shall post a potice showing the last day on which the rates may be paid.

83. Notwithstanding the provisions of regulation 82, a Board of Management levying rates under the Act and these regulations for the first time, may levy such rates at any meeting: Provided that such rates shall not be due and payable before the expiration of 30 days and a notice to that effect shall be posted at the office of the Board or other convenient place within the area of the Board.

84. Registered occupiers and others liable to pay rates may with the consent of the Board of Management, pay the rates in instalments of at least 2s. 6d. provided the rates shall be paid in full during the year in respect of which it became payable.

85. After the expiration of six months from the date on which such rates became payable, but in any case not later than the first day of November of the year in respect of which such rates were payable, the Board of Management shall institute proceedings in accordance with section *nineteen* of the Act for the recovery of such rates which have not been paid, unless the Secretary on request of the Board, approves the deferment for such a period as he may determine the institution of such proceedings generally or in particular cases: Provided further that no such proceedings shall be instituted against a person who is permitted by the Board to pay a rate in instalments and who is regularly paying such instalments.

86. Any rates which have been in arrears for at least three years and which are irrecoverable may, with the Secretary's approval be written off by the Board of Management.

87. The Board of Management shall keep its accounts in such a manner and such books and registers and render such reports as the Secretary may from time to time require.

88. (1) Any person who, without the approval in writing of the Secretary for Coloured Affairs—

(*a*) holds, presides at or addresses any meeting, gathering or assembly in the area to which the provisions of the Act apply at which more than five persons are present at any one time; or

(*b*) permits any such meeting, gathering or assembly to be held in his house or on other premises or land under his control,

shall be guilty of an offence.

(2) Sub-regulation (1) shall not apply to any meeting, gathering or assembly—

(*a*) held for the purpose of a funeral;

(*b*) held for the purpose of a bona fide religious service—

(i) by the society; or

(ii) by a church to which a portion of the commonage has been sold in terms of section *twelve* of the Act; or

(iii) if approved by the Secretary for Coloured Affairs after consultation with the society and the church mentioned in paragraph (ii); or

(iv) if the Board of Management has passed a resolution in favour thereof and such resolution shall have been approved by not less than two-thirds of the total number of registered occupiers who qualify as voters in terms of these regulations, at a meeting called for the purpose by a notice issued by the Board of Management setting out the terms of the resolution and the date fixed for the meeting and posted at the office of the Board or any other convenient place within the area of the Board for a period of not less than six weeks;

(*c*) held in connection with the regulation of the domestic affairs of any household;

(*d*) of the members of a statutory body of persons, held exclusively for the purpose of transacting any business of that body;

(*e*) held for the purpose of instruction imparted under any law;

(3) Die bestuursraad moet jaarliks minstens drie maande voordat sodanige belasting betaalbaar is, 'n kennisgewing opplak waarin die laaste dag waarop die belasting betaal mag word, aangetoon word.

83. Ondanks die bepalings van artikel 82 kan 'n bestuursraad wat vir die eerste maal 'n belasting ingevolge die Wet en hierdie regulasies hef, sodanige belasting by enige vergadering hef; met dien verstande dat sodanige belasting nie verskuldig en betaalbaar is voor na verloop van dertig dae nie, en 'n kennisgewing te dien effekte moet by die kantoor van die bestuursraad of 'n ander gerieflike plek binne die gebied van die bestuursraad opgeplak word.

84. Geregistreerde okkupeerders en ander belastingpligtiges kan met toestemming van die bestuursraad die belasting betaal in paaiemente van minstens 2s. 6d., mits volle betaling daarvan geskied binne die jaar waarvoor dit betaalbaar is.

85. Na verloop van ses maande na die dag waarop sodanige belasting betaalbaar geword het, maar in elk geval nie later nie as die eerste dag van November van die jaar ten opsigte waarvan die belasting betaalbaar is, moet die bestuursraad stappe ingevolge artikel *negentien* van die Wet doen om enige belasting wat nie betaal is nie, in te vorder, tensy die sekretaris op versoek van die bestuursraad goedkeur dat stappe in die algemeen of in bepaalde gevalle uitgestel word en wel vir 'n tydperk wat die Kommissaris bepaal; voorts met dien verstande dat geen stappe gedoen word teen iemand wat deur die bestuursraad toegelaat is om die belasting paaiementsgewys te betaal en wat die paaiemente gereeld betaal nie.

86. Belastings wat vir 'n tydperk van minstens drie jaar agterstallig en oninbaar is, kan met goedkeuring van die sekretaris deur die bestuursraad afgeskryf word.

87. Die bestuursraad moet sy rekenings op die wyse en die boeke en registers hou en die verslae verstrek wat die Sekretaris van tyd tot tyd mag vereis.

88. (1) Iedereen wat sonder die skriftelike goedkeuring van die Sekretaris van Kleurlingsake—

(*a*) 'n vergadering, byeenkoms of samekoms waarby meer as vyf persone op enige besondere tydstip aanwesig is, in die gebied waarop die bepalings van die Wet van toepassing is, hou, daarop voorsit of dit toespreek; of

(*b*) toelaat dat so 'n vergadering, byeenkoms of samekoms in sy huis of op 'n ander perseel of grond onder sy beheer, gehou word,

pleeg 'n misdryf.

(2) Subregulasie (1) is nie van toepassing nie op 'n vergadering, byeenkoms of samekoms—

(*a*) gehou vir die doel van 'n begrafnis;

(*b*) gehou vir die doel van 'n *bona fide*-kerkdiens—

(i) deur die Genootskap; of

(ii) deur 'n klerk waaraan 'n gedeelte van die meent ingevolge artikel *twaalf* van die Wet verkoop is; of

(iii) indien goedkeuring verleen is deur die Sekretaris van Kleurlingsake na oorlegpleging met die Genootskap en die kerk in paragraaf (ii) genoem; of

(iv) indien die bestuursraad 'n besluit ten gunste daarvan geneem het en sodanige besluit bekragtig is deur nie minder nie as twee-derdes van die totale aantal geregistreerde okkupeerders wat ingevolg hierdie regulasies as kiesers kwalifiseer, op 'n vergadering wat vir die doel deur die bestuursraad belê is by kennisgewing waarin die besluit uiteengesit en die datum van die vergadering vasgestel is en wat vir 'n tydperk van nie minder nie as ses weke by die kantoor van die bestuursraad of enige ander geskikte plek binne die gebied van die bestuursraad opgeplak is;

(*c*) gehou in verband met die reëling van die huishoudelike sake van 'n huishouding;

(*d*) van die lede van 'n statutêre liggaam van persone wat uitsluitlik vir die verrigting van sake van daardie liggaam gehou word;

(*e*) gehou vir die doel van onderrig wat ingevolge 'n wet gegee word;

(*f*) being a bona fide sports gathering, concert or entertainment;

(*g*) held in connection with a wedding;

(*h*) held by any senator, member of parliament or member of a provincial council; or

(*i*) held for official administrative purposes.

89. Any regulation or regulations framed by a Board of Management or any standard regulation or standard regulations the Board wishes to have promulgated to have the force of law in the area under the control of the Board, shall first be adopted by minuted resolution of such Board, and such regulation or regulations or standard regulation or standard regulations shall only have the force of law after the Minister shall have approved such resolution regarding the adoption thereof and from the day of the publication thereof in the *Government Gazette*.

90. Any person contravening a provision of regulation 4 (3) (*c*), 12, 13, 14, 17, 23, 36 (2) and (3), 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46, 51, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64 or 88 or failing to fulfil an obligation thereunder shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction in the case of—

(*a*) regulation 4 (3) (*c*), 12, 17, 36 (2) and (3), 38, 42, 46, 51, 57, 58, 60 or 64 to a fine not exceeding ten pounds or in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 15 days;

(*b*) regulation 13, 14, 23, 39, 40, 41, 59 or 63 to a fine not exceeding fifteen pounds or in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 20 days; and

(*c*) regulation 88 to a fine not exceeding twenty-five pounds or in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 30 days.

91. These regulations shall apply to all mission stations and communal reserves where the Act has been applied, with the exception of the mission stations Shiloh in the District of Queenstown and Goschen in the District of Cathcart.

SCHEDULE A.

TRADING AGREEMENT.

MEMORANDUM OF AN AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THE BOARD OF..... REPRESENTED BY..... IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SAID BOARD, HEREINAFTER CALLED THE LESSOR AND..... OF ..... HEREINAFTER CALLED THE LESSEE.

Whereas the Lessee has applied for trading rights as ..... at..... in the .....reserved area, which application has been approved by Board Resolution No..... at a meeting of the above Board on the .....

Now therefore these presents witness:—

1. The agreement is entered into for a period of..... years as from..... to.....

2. The Lessee shall have the following rights for the purpose of trading at.....:—

   (*a*) The use of the allotment, in extent..... situate.....

   (*b*) The use of the buildings on the said allotment, if any.

3. In respect of the rights referred to in paragraph 2 above the Lessee shall each year pay the Board the sum of £..... (.....), which amount shall be payable in advance*..... .....in instalments of .....

(* *Specify.*—Every year, every six months or every three months.)

(*f*) wat 'n *bona fide*-sportbyeenkoms, konsert of vermaaklikheid is;

(*g*) gehou in verband met 'n bruilof;

(*h*) wat deur 'n senator, volksraadslid of 'n lid van 'n provinsiale raad gehou word; of

(*i*) gehou vir amptelike administratiewe doeleindes.

89. Enige regulasie of regulasies deur 'n bestuursraad opgestel of standaardregulasie of standaardregulasies wat 'n bestuursraad wil laat uitvaardig om krag van Wet te hê in die gebied onder beheer van die bestuursraad, moet eers by genotuleerde besluit van so 'n bestuursraad aangeneem word, en eers nadat die Minister so 'n genotuleerde besluit insake die aanname van so 'n regulasie of regulasies of standaardregulasie of standaardregulasies goedgekeur het en vanaf die dag dat so 'n regulasie of regulasies in die *Staatskoerant* geplaas is, het dit krag van wet.

90. Iedereen wat 'n bepaling van regulasie 4 (3) (*c*), 12, 13, 14, 17, 23, 36 (2) en (3), 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46, 51, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64 of 88 oortree of versuim om 'n verpligting wat daarin opgelê word na te kom, pleeg 'n misdryf en is by skuldigbevinding strafbaar in die geval van—

(*a*) regulasie 4 (3) (*c*), 12, 17, 36 (2) en (3), 38, 42, 46, 51, 57, 58, 60 of 64 met 'n boete van hoogstens tien pond of by wanbetaling met gevangenisstraf van hoogstens 15 dae;

(*b*) regulasie 13, 14, 23, 39, 40, 41, 59 of 63 met 'n boete van hoogstens vyftien pond of by wanbetaling met gevangenisstraf van hoogstens 20 dae; en

(*c*) regulasie 88 met 'n boete van hoogstens vyf-en-twintig pond of by wanbetaling met gevangenisstraf van hoogstens 30 dae.

91. Hierdie regulasies is van toepassing op alle sendingstasies en meentreservate waar die Wet toegepas is, met uitsondering van die sendingstasies Shiloh in die distrik Queenstown en Goschen in die distrik Cathcart.

BYLAE A.

HANDELSOOREENKOMS.

MEMORANDUM VAN 'N OOREENKOMS AANGEGAAN DEUR EN TUSSEN DIE BESTUURSRAAD VAN..... VERTEENWOORDIG DEUR..... ..... IN SY HOEDANIGHEID VAN VOORSITTER VAN GENOEMDE BESTUURSRAAD, HIERONDER GENOEM DIE VERHUURDER, EN..... ..... VAN..... HIERONDER GENOEM DIE HUURDER.

Aangesien die Huurder aansoek gedoen het om handelsregte as..... te..... in die..... gereserveerde gebied en die aansoek by Raadsbesluit No..... goedgekeur is op 'n vergadering van bogenoemde Bestuursraad op die.....

So is dit dat hierby as volg getuig word:—

1. Die ooreenkoms word aangegaan vir 'n tydperk van .....jaar wat begin op .....en eindig op .....

2. Die Huurder sal die volgende regte hê met die doel om handel te drywe te.....

   (*a*) Die gebruik van die perseel groot..... geleë.....

   (*b*) Die gebruik van die geboue op die genoemde perseel, as daar is.

3. Vir die regte in paragraaf 2 hierbo genoem, moet die Huurder jaarliks die som van £..... (.....) aan die Bestuursraad betaal, en hierdie bedrag is *..... vooruit betaalbaar in paaiemente van.....

(* *Spesifiseer.*—Jaarliks, halfjaarliks of kwartaalliks.)

4. The Lessee shall not be entitled to compensation for any improvements effected by him on the land but he shall be entitled to remove any buildings or other structures erected by him within one month after the termination of this agrement, provided that such removal shall be effected without injury to the land. All buildings and structures not removed within such period shall become the property of the Lessor without payment of any compensation (" land "=" allotment " in paragraph 2, Schedule A).

5. The Lessor reserves the right of a commensurate increase in rental if, during the term of this agreement, it should become necessary, to restore, repair, alter or clean any building or structure belonging to the Lessor.

6. The Lessee shall not be entitled to sublet, cede or transfer his trading rights or any privileges acquired under this agreement to a third party, or to sell, transfer or in any way dispose of any buildings or structures erected by him without the written sanction of the Lessor and the Secretary for Coloured Affairs.

7. Except with the written consent of the Lessor, the Lessee shall not allow any person other than himself, his family and his bona fide employees and the families of his employees to reside on the premises granted to him for trading purposes or in any other buildings.

8. Prior to employing a manager or assistant manager in his trading business, the Lessee shall submit the name or names of such person or persons to the Lessor for his written consent. No person shall be so employed without such written consent, provided that, should any manager or assistant manager, after the Board has approved of his employment, prove to be a person of undesirable character in the opinion of the Lessor, the Lessee shall summarily dismiss him upon receiving written representations from the Board signed by its chairman. The same shall apply to any other employee of the Lessee.

9. The Lessee shall be entitled to free water for domestic purposes, but not to free firewood.

10. The Lessee shall, when trading with any inhabitant of the reserved area, make payment in full cash for any produce or other article purchased.

11. Should the Lessee or any person employed by him in his business at any time during the terms of this agreement be found guilty of illegal trading or selling any intoxicating liquor as defined in Act No. 30 of 1928, the Lessor shall be entitled forthwith to cancel the agreement.

12. All articles sold by the Lessee shall be of the correct weight and shall correspond to the description given thereto by the Lessee, and failure to comply with these conditions shall be regarded as a violation of this agreement.

13. *(1) The Lessee shall not—

*(*a*) sell any poisonous medicines;

*(*b*) stock, sell or supply to any person intoxicating patent medicines including Eau-de-Cologne and other lavender waters;

*(*c*) sell any patent medicines to any person residing in the reserved area in quantities exceeding one-ounce bottles;

*(*d*) sell any non-intoxicating patent medicines unless sold by himself or his manager or assistant manager personally.

*(2) The Lessee may stock and sell patent medicines but shall in no circumstances sell any such medicines to any person residing in the

* Delete that which is not applicable.

4. Die Huurder is nie geregtig op vergoeding vir verbeterings wat hy op die grond aangebring het nie, maar hy mag geboue of ander bouwerke wat hy opgerig het, verwyder binne een maand na verstryking van hierdie ooreenkoms, mits die sloping geskied sonder beskadiging van die grond. Alle geboue en bouwerke wat nie binne sodanige tydperk verwyder is nie, word die eiendom van die Verhuurder sonder betaling van enige vergoeding („ grond "=„ perseel ", in para. 2 Bylae A).

5. Die Verhuurder behou hom die reg voor om, indien 'n gebou of bouwerk wat aan die Verhuurder behoort, gedurende die tydperk van hierdie ooreenkoms herstel, gerepareer, verander of skoongemaak moet word, die huur ooreenstemmend te verhoog.

6. Die Huurder is nie geregtig om sy handelsregte of voorregte verkry ingevolge hierdie ooreenkoms onder te verhuur, te sedeer of oor te dra aan 'n derde of om geboue of bouwerk wat deur hom opgerig is, te verkoop, oor te dra of op enige wyse van die hand te sit sonder die geskrewe toestemming van die Verhuurder en die Sekretaris van Kleurlingsake nie.

7. Die Huurder mag niemand anders as homself, sy huisgesin en sy *bona fide* werknemers en die huisgesinne van sy werknemers toelaat om te woon op die perseel aan hom toegestaan vir handeldryf of in ander geboue, behalwe met die geskrewe toestemming van die Verhuurder nie.

8. Alvorens die Huurder 'n bestuurder of 'n assistent-bestuurder in sy handelsbesigheid in diens neem, moet hy die naam of name van die persoon of persone voorlê vir die skriftelike toestemming van die Verhuurder. Niemand mag aldus in diens geneem word sonder sodanige skriftelike toestemming nie; met dien verstande dat, indien 'n bestuurder of assistent-bestuurder, nadat die bestuur goedkeuring vir sy indiensneming gegee het, blyk 'n persoon van ongewenste karakter te wees volgens die mening van die Verhuurder, dan moet die Huurder hom onmiddellik ontslaan, nadat skriftelik vertoë aan hom gerig is deur die bestuursraad onder handtekening van die voorsitter daarvan. Dieselfde is van toepassing op enige ander werknemer van die Huurder.

9. Die Huurder is geregtig op vry water vir huishoudelike doeleindes maar nie op vry vuurmaakhout nie.

10. Die Huurder moet, wanneer hy handel drywe met enige inwoner van die gereserveerde gebied, ten volle kontant betaal vir alle gekoopte produkte of ander ware.

11. Indien die Huurder of enige persoon deur hom in diens geneem in sy besigheid, te eniger tyd gedurende die termyn van hierdie ooreenkoms skuldig bevind word aan onwettig handeldrywe of die verkoop van sterk drank soos in Wet No. 30 van 1928 omskrywe, kan die ooreenkoms onmiddellik opgesê word deur die Verhuurder.

12. Alle artikels wat deur die Huurder verkoop word, moet die korrekte gewig hê en in ooreenstemming wees met die beskrywing daarvan gegee deur die Huurder, en indien hy nie aan hierdie voorwaardes voldoen nie, word dit beskou as 'n verbreking van hierdie ooreenkoms.

13. *(1) Die Huurder mag nie—

*(*a*) giftige medisyne verkoop nie;

*(*b*) bedwelmende patentmedisyne, insluitende Eau-de-Cologne en ander Laventelwaters aanhou of aan enige persoon verkoop of verskaf nie;

*(*c*) patentmedisyne in groter hoeveelhede as eenonsbottels aan enige inwoner van die gereserveerde gebied verkoop nie;

*(*d*) nie-bedwelmende patentmedisyne verkoop nie, tensy hyself of sy bestuurder of assistent-bestuurder dit persoonlik doen.

*(2) Die Huurder mag patentmedisyne aanhou en verkoop, maar mag sodanige medisyne onder geen omstandighede in groter hoeveelhede as eenonsbottels aan enige inwoner van die

* Haal deur wat nie van toepassing is nie.

reserved area in quantities exceeding one-ounce bottles, and shall keep a register of the following patent medicines:—

Buchu Essence, Coleman's Wincarnis, Kraam Druppels, Witte Dulsies, Kramp Druppels, Pick-me-up, Pain Killer, Coco Wine, Hoffman's Druppels, Maag Bitters, Pynstillende Druppels, Orsmond's S.H. Remedy, Dulsies or Sweet Spirits of Nitre, Red Lavender or Roode Lavental, Gember Essence or Jamaica Essence, Versterk Druppels, Wood's Great Peppermint Cure,

and such register shall show—

(*a*) quantity and date of importation;

(*b*) quantity sold;

(*c*) date of sale and to whom sold.

This register shall at all times be open to inspection by the magistrate, the chairman of the Board or any policeman.

14. The Lessee undertakes not to interfere with or take any direct or indirect interest in the administration of the reserved area, as well as to comply with the requirements of the Board as regards his relations with the inhabitants of the reserve, except in so far as business matters are concerned.

15. Should any term or conditions contained in this agreement be violated, the Lessor, with the consent of the Secretary for Coloured Affairs, shall be entitled to cancel this agreement.

16. This agreement shall not become operative or binding before the Secretary for Coloured Affairs has given his consent thereto.

Signed at ..... this ..... day of....., 19....., in the presence of the undermentioned witnesses.

.....
Lessor.

.....
Lessee,

Witness 1. .....

Witness 2. .....

SCHEDULE B.

No.....
(No. of letter of approval of Coloured Affairs Head Office.)

CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPATION.

Mr./Mrs./Miss.....
.....
.....

Dear Sir/Madam,

You are hereby informed that the Secretary for Coloured Affairs in consultation with the Board of Management has approved of you as a registered occupier of the reserved area.....* mission station/communal reserve.

Your rights shall be as follows:—

1. Building allotment No.....
* 2. Dry garden allotment No.....
* 3. Irrigable garden allotment No.....
* 4. Dry lands allotment No.....
5. Free grazing as from time to time prescribed by regulation.

* Delete that which is not applicable.

gereserveerde gebied verkoop nie en is verplig om 'n register van die volgende patentmedisyne aan te hou:—

Buchu Essens, Coleman's Wincarnis, Kraam Druppels, Witte Dulsies, Kramp Druppels, Pick-me-up, Pain Killer, Coco Wine, Hoffman's Druppels, Maagbitters, Pynstillende Druppels, Orsmond's S.H. Remedy, Dulsies of Sweet Spirits of Nitre, Red Lavender of Roode Lavendel, Gember Essens of Jamaica Essens, Versterk Druppels, Wood's Great Peppermint Cure,

en in die register moet die volgende aangetoon word:—

(*a*) Hoeveelheid en datum van invoer;
(*b*) hoeveelheid verkoop;
(*c*) datum van verkoop en aan wie verkoop.

Hierdie register moet te alle tye oop wees vir ondersoek deur die landdros, die voorsitter van die bestuursraad of enige polisiebeampte.

14. Die Huurder onderneem dat hy hom op geen wyse direk of indirek sal bemoei met of interesseer in die administrasie van die gereserveerde gebied nie en dat hy sal voldoen aan die vereistes van die bestuursraad insake sy verhouding met die bewoners van die gereserveerde gebied, behalwe vir sover dit besigheidsaangeleenthede betref.

15. Hierdie ooreenkoms kan met toestemming van die Sekretaris van Kleurlingsake deur die Verhuurder opgesê word as een van die bepalings of voorwaardes vervat in hierdie ooreenkoms verbreek word.

16. Hierdie ooreenkoms is nie van krag of bindend voordat die Sekretaris van Kleurlingsake sy toestemming daaraan geheg het nie.

Geteken te.....
op hede die.....
dag van.....19.....
in teenwoordigheid van ondergenoemde getuies.

.....
Verhuurder.

.....
Huurder.

Getuie 1.....

Getuie 2.....

BYLAE B.

No.....
(Nommer van goedkeuringsbrief van Kleurlingsakehoofkantoor.)

TOEKENNINGSBRIEF.

Mnr./mev./mej.....
.....
.....

Geagte mnr./mev./mej.,

Hiermee word u in kennis gestel dat die Sekretaris van Kleurlingsake in oorleg met die bestuursraad u goedgekeur het as geregistreerde okkupeerder van die gereserveerde gebied.....
* sendingstasie/meentreservaat.

U regte is as volg:—

1. Bouregperseel No.....
* 2. Droë Tuinperseel No.....
* 3. Watertuinperseel No.....
* 4. Droëlandperseel No.....
5. Gratis weiding soos van tyd tot tyd by regulasie bepaal.

* Haal deur wat nie van toepassing is nie.

Your duties shall be as follows:—

1. Prompt payment of your rates.
2. Payment of grazing-fees in respect of cattle in excess of your quota, if any.
3. Subjection to the provisions of the Act and of the various regulations, as amended from time to time, which apply in respect of the reserved area.

A copy of the regulations is obtainable at the office of the Board.

.....
Chairman of Board of Management.

.....
Secretary of Board of Management.

.....
Board's Stamp.

SCHEDULE C.

WRITTEN CONSENT TO RESIDE.

Issued to.....
of.....
in terms of resolution No....., dated.....
of the Board of Management of the reserved area.....
* reserve/mission station to reside in the area of the Board of Management, subject to the provisions of Act No. 29 of 1909, as amended, and regulations promulgated thereunder, till.....

.....
Secretary, Board of Management.

Date.....

.....
Board's Stamp.

* Delete that which is not applicable.

U pligte is as volg:—

1. Die stiptelike betaling van u belastings.
2. Die betaling van weigeld ten opsigte van vee bo u kwota.
3. Onderwerping aan die bepalings van die Wet en van die onderskeie regulasies, soos van tyd tot tyd gewysig, wat op die gereserveerde gebied van toepassing is.

'n Eksemplaar van die regulasies is verkrygbaar by die kantoor van die Raad.

.....
Voorsitter van Bestuursraad.

.....
Sekretaris van Bestuursraad.

.....
Stempel van Bestuursraad.

BYLAE C.

SKRIFTELIKE TOESTEMMING OM TE WOON.

Uitgereik aan.....
van.....
kragtens Besluit No.....van.....
van die bestuursraad van die gereserveerde gebied .....*reservaat/sendingstasie om in die gebied van die bestuursraad te woon, onderworpe aan die bepalings van Wet No. 29 van 1909, soos gewysig, en regulasies daarkragtens uitgevaardig, tot .....

.....
Sekretaris van Bestuursraad.

Datum.....

.....
Stempel van Bestuursraad.

* Haal deur wat nie van toepassing is nie.

CONTENTS.

No.		BLADSY
	Department of Coloured Affairs.	
	GOVERNMENT NOTICE.	
R.1866.	Regulations in terms of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909 (Cape), as Amended	1

INHOUD.

No.		PAGE
	Departement van Kleurlingsake.	
	GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING.	
R.1866	Regulasies kragtens die „Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act", 1909 (Kaap), soos Gewysig	1

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Labour, Salaries and Wages	External Trade	Balance of Payments

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„UNIESTATISTIEKE OOR VYFTIG JAAR"
(Jubileum-uitgawe — 1910-1960).

Hierdie publikasie, wat die eerste van sy soort is wat verkrygbaar is, bevat meer as 400 bladsye van statistiese tabelle en ses grafieke.

Die volgende onderwerpe word gedek:-

Lewensgebeurtenisse	Pryse	Vervoer
Bevolking	Landbou	Kommunikasie
Volkstrek	Vissery	Openbare Finansies
Gesondheid	Mynwese	Geld- en Bankwese
Onderwys en Biblioteke	Nywerheid	Volksinkome
Misdade en Oortredings	Binnelandse Handel	Bruto Kapitaalvorming
Arbeid, Salarisse en Lone	Buitelandse Handel	Betalingsbalans

Eksemplare van die
STAATSDRUKKER, PRETORIA OF KAAPSTAD teen £1-1-0 verkrygbaar.

Appendix K

N.B. ORDER OF PAGES REVERSED DURING BINDING.

(g) *The Bill Prepared by the Department of Native Affairs in* 1935, *Amending Act No.* 29 *of* 1909.

Unfortunately the above-mentioned act is unknown to us.

(h) *The General Social Welfare and Health Conditions on The Reserves.*

(i) Owing to the fact that there are as a rule, practically no buildings, excepting a few small public buildings on the reserves, the words Housing and Sanitation convey very little.

(ii) Too many unnecessary roads run through the reserves. These roads and " trek-paths " destroy plant life and encourage soil erosion. Fencing, although required, badly, is still unknown and therefore the reserves are too open and easily accessible, from outside.

(iii) Only one district surgeon and his assistant are responsible for the medical work. As the work exacts too much of them, it cannot be done justice to, and much remains to be done.

(iv) The reserves are served by a number of mission schools under the management of the Wesleyan and Dutch Reformed Church Missionary Societies. Although the good work done by the churches is mentioned with thankfulness and appreciation, it must be admitted that the requirements go beyond their resources. Consequently the classrooms are both unsuitable and inadequate. We may not omit to mention with appreciation the share of the burden which the state shouldered especially of late.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Housing schemes which are suitable for the Reserves, and with the necessary conveniences should receive the immediate attention of the authorities concerned.

(The " matjieshuis or rondehuis " consists of one small room in which the family sleeps, eats, bathes and in which patients are treated and nursed. Although it has served its purpose in the past, I suppose its days have gone-by.)

Surplus roads should be closed and prohibited by the Board of Control. Each of the six Board members having control over a ward and the burghers of such ward should be held responsible for the reparation and up-keep of the roads in their ward. In deserving cases, the Boards may perhaps subsidise them, as some roads are in a very bad state. If trekpaths across the reserves are indeed indispensable, they should be fenced in, in order to immunise both, trekkers and Board members, against the temptation of hiring or letting grazing, at the expense of the inhabitants. This hiring out of grazing, causes much damage and dissatisfaction. It is further recommended that pasturage and stud-farms be fenced in. (The reserves are too open, consequently time and energy which could otherwise be spent more profitably are wasted on excessively caring for live-stock and wheat-fields etc.

Excepting for one or two small maternity clinics, there are no clinics, nurses nor doctors on the reserves. It is therefore recommended that clinics, with doctors and nurses be provided. Provision should also be made for schools to participate in the so very necessary medical inspections and treatment of scholars.

The Education Ordinance on Compulsory Education for Coloured Schools is applauded, together with the prayer that it may soon make its appearance (with the necessary changes) even in Namaqualand. The possibility of erecting the following should be explored:—

(i) Suitable and adequate schools.
(ii) Hostels for primary schools.
(iii) School clinics.
(iv) Trade, domestic science and agricultural schools.
(v) Halls for meetings and bioscopes.
(vi) Playgrounds and courts.
(vii) Libraries.

(i) *Any other matters designed to improve the economic and social conditions of the persons residing in the reserves.*

Unfortunately boundary disputes appear to be a general problem on the reserves, and it is also of paramount importance with the inhabitants concerned. The problem causes grave anxiety, retards initiative and absorbs energy and time. It also disturbs the friendly relations that exist between the inhabitants of the reserves on the one hand and the Europeans on the other.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Therefore it is begged with due respect and yet urgently that these boundary disputes, as well as other relevant cases like the question of title deeds etc., be settled for good, in a satisfactory way. Individual help for Burghers by the Department, could certainly be considered after those problems have been solved satisfactorily, and the minds of the people set at ease. The question: " Why cannot we be aided individually so that we can make improvements on our own farms?" is often heard from Burghers. The Boards of management should in the first instance, be dependant for their finances on their registered occupiers, but if the burgers are not assisted economically they cannot fulfil their duties properly. Their sources of income have in the majority of cases been exhausted already, and a scheme of assistance on an individual basis should be considered, so that these people could be helped to help themselves and by so doing, to regain their self-respect. Then they ought to be able to progress so as to pay higher taxes more easily in later years. The finances might also be successfully supplemented if plantations, Leatherworks and where practicable, irrigation schemes be undertaken. Co-operative societies should be encouraged and assisted amongst the inhabitants, in order to prevent the outward-flow of money; partially at least. Burghers should be encouraged by the Boards to farm in a more profitable way, by using their pasturage more judiciously and improving their stock, by breeding stock which can procure good market prices. With the strict yet sympathetic guidance, supervision and assistance by our respected Government, I feel convinced that the economic conditions of the reserves will improve, as well as the financial positions of the Boards.

At present the Boards are financed by means of:—

(i) Burgher rates. (ii) Bywoner fees.
(iii) Trading rights and the rent on buildings
(iv) Grazing fees. (v) Communal services are of recent years partially financed by the Department.

The Richtersveld.—The Richtersveld falls in with regard to grazing fees only, and thus neither levy rates nor let buildings. It does not even share in the assistance which the other reserves receive from the Department. It is here recommended that provision be made for a couple of bore-holes and pumps with reservoirs for them.

The attention of the Committee is further courteously drawn to a matter which concerns the Steinkopf reserve only, namely, the unsatisfactory way in which their repeated applications for a suitable document acknowledging their ownership-

rights, has been turned down. These applications date from early in the nineteenth century, according to the late Mr. S. Melvill's report of 1890, and it is difficult to understand why such a document could not be issued on the original and larger part of the reserve, whereas even for the 60,000 morgen. granted on behalf of the Pella people (who were entrusted as a minority group) under the custody of the missionary as chairman of the Steinkopf Raad, a Ticket of Occupation was issued on the 9th December 1874 already. In spite of the fact that the Steinkopf people were deemed trustworthy and efficient enough to handle the interests of a weaker group, and although the late Mr. S. Melvill, acknowledge on p. 10, par. 41 of his report:—

"The inhabitants of Steinkopf and Concordia are, for natives of their race, fairly well off," Mr. C. B. Elliott (ass. Commissioner of Crownlands) refuses in his letter dated 23rd April 1877 (p. 23 of the same report) because of "Thriftless habits" to issue, at least a Ticket of Occupation, in respect of the original part of Steinkorpf. Thriftless habits are met with everywhere and no one would disown that, that vice is found at Steinkopf also. But, Tickets of Occupation were issued as follows:—Komaggas 9th November 1843, Srofkraal 4th Feb. 1852, Liliefontein 24th May 1854, Steinkopf on behalf of Pella people (60,000 morgen) 9th December 1874 and Pella 9th June 1881.

According to the late Mr. Melvill, the Document for Komaggas is the only irrevocable one. If one remembers that when the missionary societies and later, also the Government came on the scene the ancestors of these people were already occupying the land undisturbed, one fails to understand why the Authorities were so reluctant to acknowledge their ownership rights by means of a suitable document even though such was petitioned for since 1848. These are loyal and law-abiding and would never become rebellious against the Government even if they received such a document. On the contrary, they would gain more confidence and make speedy progress.

In a letter dated 14 Sept. 1842, the Governer stated, inter alia, that the Government had no intention of interfering with the rights of the inhabitants. The reluctance of granting a suitable document is being regarded as an interference with their rights. They do not wish to blame the Government however, but pray that their rights be protected by means of a suitable document, which would convey their ownership rights sufficiently.

This memorandum has been drawn up to the best of the knowledge of the compiler, trusting that same may meet with the favourable consideration of the authorities concerned.

G. CLOETE.

APPENDIX 8.

REPORT OF MEETING WHICH THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COLOURED ADVISORY COUNCIL HAD WITH OFFICIALS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF LANDS, ON WEDNESDAY THE 31ST OCTOBER, 1945.

Those Present:

Mr. Golding, Mr. van der Ross, Mr. F. Hendricks and Mr. Davids, representing the Coloured Advisory Council, and Mr. Steytler, Secretary for Lands; Mr. Voight and Mr. V. Penzhorn, Senior officials from the Department of Lands.

1. *Coloured Persons' Settlement Bill.*—It was pointed out by the Secretary for Lands that the policy of the Department of Lands was (i) To grant land to Coloured persons under the same conditions as Europeans, (ii) that officials and traders in Coloured Settlements must eventually be Coloured persons.

In view of the fact that the old law does not enable Coloured persons to obtain title deeds, it was proposed to give effect to such conditions in the new law.

2. The Secretary for Lands further explained that loans from the Land Bank would be available to Coloured persons on the same basis as that for Europeans, and that it was anxious to encourage settlers to establish co-operative stores.

3. *Schools.*—In reply to a question, it was stated that schools would be erected on Coloured settlements, on a similar basis to schools built on European settlements.

4. The Coloured Advisory Council suggested the following:—

(*a*) The name of the settlement should be decided upon in consultation with the Coloured Advisory Council.

(*b*) Coloured men would be appointed superintendents and agricultural demonstrators on the settlements provided they had the necessary qualifications.

(*c*) That educated Coloured people should be appointed to boards of control in the settlements, and

(*d*) that the regulations to be promulgated under the Act concerning the government of the settlements should be drawn up in consultation with the Council.

5. The Secretary for Lands was sympathetically disposed towards the suggestions, and agreed to give effect to them. In addition, the Secretary for Lands invited members of the Council to accompany him on a tour of investigation to settlements in Gordonia, for the purpose of giving the Council an idea of what has already been done. He assured the Council that there were no snags in the Bill, and that the Minister of Lands was anxious to help the Coloured community.

6. Mr. Golding thanked the Secretary for Lands and asked him to convey to the Honoruable the Minister of Lands the Council's greetings.

F. P. JOSHUA,
Secretary, Coloured Advisory Council.

APPENDIX 9.

REPORT OF AN INTERVIEW WHICH MEMBERS OF THE COLOURED ADVISORY COUNCIL HAD WITH THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE CONDITIONS AT ASKRAAL, IN MARKS' BUILDINGS ON TUESDAY THE 20TH NOVEMBER, 1945, AT 3 P.M.

Those Present:

Representing the C.A.C.: Mr. G. J. Golding, Mr. F. Hendricks and the Secretary to the Council.

The Inter-departmental Committee: Mr. Scheepers, Chairman; Mr. Kempff (Department of Social Welfare); Mr. Voigt (Department of Lands), Dr. Smidt (Department of Public Health), Mr. Truter (Provincial Administration) and Mr. de Jager.

1. The Chairman of the Committee asked the members of the Council what they considered to be the major problems at Askraal. Mr Golding outlined the position as far as he understood the matter, in which he referred to the overcrowding,

(v) that both "trekking" and the hiring out of grazing be stopped and the "trekkers" encouraged and helped to improve and control the grazing on their own farms so that it may become unnecessary for them to trek about in search of pasturage;

(vi) that the pasturage on the reserves be improved and more closely controlled immediately;

(vii) that each board appoint an executive committee to execute its resolutions;

(viii) that one or more departmental experts be appointed on each reserve, in order to help the boards with both administrative as well as outside work; these officials should be strict yet sympathetic.

(b) Constitutions, Powers, etc. of Boards Act No. 29 of 1909.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

The constitution of the boards seem to be satisfactory in principle. It is however felt that the qualifications of candidates as well as powers and duties of boards should be more clearly defined in the Act.

It might be of service if both, the causes and the method of disqualification of board members be defined. Taking into consideration their illiteracy one must admit that many a board member often compels admiration and respect and with the fulfilment of the recommendations under (*a*) above these boards ought to function successfully.

(c) Terms and Conditions under which Persons may become Registered Occupiers of Land.

(i) Male descendants of old families who apply for registration after maturity, may become registered occupiers.

(ii) The son of a burgher's daughter, born out of her marriage with an alien, may on application after maturity become a registered occupier.

(iii) Even registered bywoners, at times became registered occupiers, after lengthy period of probation.

(iv) Occasionally, the sons of faithful servants of burghers or registered occupiers, became registered occupiers, in the past.

It is required of a registered occupier—

(i) that he should pay his tax faithfully;

(ii) that he should occupy and cultivate his farm;

(iii) that he should send his children to school, if he has any children.

He enjoys the following privileges:—

(i) He receives a farm to cultivate from the Board.

(ii) He may graze free of charge on the commonage.

(iii) He is entitled to vote at the election of board members.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

The question arises, whether the time is not yet ripe—

(i) when qualifications should be laid down for the acquisition of burgher rights, e.g. the possession of a certain number of live-stock, or other property.

(ii) when part of the communal grazing should be hired out to registered occupiers for a small fee rather, instead of letting same to strangers to the detriment of the reserves.

(d) Terms and Conditions under which Other Persons may be Permitted to Reside on the Reserves.

(i) Employees of registered occupiers may reside on the reserves, under the protection of their employers and free of any tax.

(ii) On application and on payment of an annual bywoners fee, bywoners are permitted to reside on the Reserves.

(iii) European prospectors are permitted to reside on the reserves on application and after the payment of an annual fee.

(iv) On the payment of rent on buildings and trading rights, as well as their employees are permitted on application to reside on the trading site, free of charge.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

It should be made compulsory for every male person, to cause himself to be registered, on maturity, under either (*c*) or (*d*) above, and to pay relevant tax or fee.

(e) Terms and Conditions under which Persons may Acquire Trading Rights.

(i) The buildings required and trading rights are let to traders by the boards.

(ii) Contracts are drawn up and signed by the parties concerned.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

In view of the fact that all the produce and the income of the communities go to the traders and, that the shops are, as it were, financed by them in that way, it is recommended —

(i) that the practicability of a system according to which the communities concerned could participate in the profits, be scrutinised;

(ii) that the Rent be raised.

(f) The Desirability of Amending or Repealing, Act No. 29 of 1909.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

(i) The general inclination is that the Act should not be repealed, but it is felt that amendments, although not of a serious nature, should be made where necessary e.g. In section 5 (i) the word society, in *instances* where a local *Church Council* has already acquired the trusteeship or is still going to attain same. Could it not be made possible for burghers to receive individual aid from the Government? Could the Act not further be amended that boards of management may be empowered to support church councils financially, on behalf of education? Could provision not be made for suitable housing schemes on the reserves?

(ii) It is further recommended that the Act be defined more clearly, for instance:

Section 5 (3).—What default would disqualify a board member

Section 6 (3)—Is a burgher expected to pay tax on his plot or on his person?

Section 7.—Is the person mentioned in this section appointed merely to fulfil a neglected duty and then to depart, or is he appointed to replace the board concerned, for good?

Section 16 (8).—Do the words, "new residents" imply persons coming from outside the reserves or no?

(The Acts of 1881 and 1889 are unfortunately not in our possession and consequently, they are unknown to us.)

Owing to the fact that many of the settlers are uneducated labourers who although they have been brought up with the tilling of the soil and the raising and shepherding of live stocks, do not always understand the cause and effect of their failures or success, they cannot make much headway without good, strict and full time supervision.

It should be mentioned here that there are large numbers of coloured people who are capable of producing sufficient food to keep themselves and their dependents decently, if sufficient land were available to settle them.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

We recommend that, in view of the growing importance of the settlements in the life of the coloured people as centres of economic, social and moral rehabilitation:—

(1) That the system of control by means of "rade" be replaced by one having the nature of a benevolent but strict supervision, with "rade" acting in an advisory capacity, and directed towards the general social and economic improvement of the people. This proposal can be realized by the appointment of superintendents specially qualified for the work.

(2) That provision be made for agricultural education in all schools on settlements, and at some of the high and secondary schools in the areas. Agricultural science be included in the curriculum for boys and that each settlement has an agricultural experimental station to teach the settlers the best methods of using the soil.

(3) That the staff serving with the superintendents should be coloured persons serving under the Department of Lands.

(4) That a system of individual tenure of portions of the land be introduced, with the right of nominating an approved coloured successor but without the right of alienation except to approved coloured persons. The portions for individual tenure should be selected according to their suitability for agriculture, as opposed to pastoral stockfarming.

(5) That a co-operative store be instituted on each settlement as soon as possible under which credit can be strictly limited, cash prices be made as low and attractive as possible, and by which profits accrue to the benefit of the people on the settlements.

(6) That houses be built for the settlers so that they can begin their rehabilitation with fair prospects.

(7) That medical facilities be instituted by means of first appointing a qualified nurse or nurses for each settlement, such nurses to be attached to a clinic, which can be extended to a hospital when the need arises and that child and social welfare societies be also instituted.

(8) That the schools on the settlements be State schools under education committees as provided under the Cape Provincial Ordinance of 1945.

(9) That post offices be erected on the settlements and staffed with qualified coloured men and/or women.

(10) That constructional works such as bridges, fencing and roads etc. be undertaken to improve the settlements.

(11) That a levy be devised by which the settlers can contribute to sanitation and lighting services, etc.

S. DAMON.
A. J. FERREIRA.

APPENDIX 7.

MEMORANDUM LAID BEFORE THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY ON COLOURED MISSION STATIONS AND RESERVES (WITH SOME ADDITIONS BY WAY OF EXPLANATION.)

As the opportunity of an interview is offered me, in my capacity as member of the C.A.C., by the above-mentioned Committee, do I beg to submit the following memorandum.

It was found impossible owing to petrol restrictions etc., to visit the other reserves. Because of those restrictions and also because conditions on the other reserves, viz. Leliefontein Komaggas, Concordia and Rigtersveld are more or less the same as at Steinkopf, the contents of this memorandum are based on conditions prevailing on the last-named reserve.

The arrangement as appears in the Committee's terms of reference is followed, viz. (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), etc:—

(*a*) *The Administration and Control on the Reserves.*

On the four reserves: Liliefontein, Komaggas, Concordia and Steinkopf, the Mission Station Act (29 of 1909) is in force. The Richtersveld does not fall under this act directly, but has an advisory board. These territories were formerly ruled by the Aboriginal Captains: Abraham Vigiland, Kitto Witbooi and Paul Links. Later, they came under the jurisdiction of Rade, under the Chairmanship of missionaries of the Wesleyan and Rhenish missie societies, respectively. During that time, the people were economically better off, (as weather conditions were more favourable and their land was extensive, and they consequently possessed large numbers of live-stock).

RECOMMENDATIONS.

As a rule, the Boards are concerned about the unenviable economic conditions in which the majority of the inhabitants of the reserves find themselves, but how to help them out of it is their problem. These poor economic conditions are in my opinion caused by: (i) ignorance; (ii) droughts; (iii) low wages.

Out of ignorance are born: thriftlessness, the hiring out of grazing, overcropping and the destruction of plant life, and the breeding of inferior kinds of live-stock, of which the donkey is a typical example. Droughts and low wages naturally aggravate conditions. It is recommended, in view of the above-mentioned facts:—

(i) that the required qualifications of a candidate as well as the duties of board members be stated more clearly in Act No. 29 of 1909;

(ii) that board members be at least lectured on administrative and other relative matters; if it is impossible for them to undertake a course of training in same;

(iii) that it be made possible for board members to visit progressive Coloured settlements with a view of acquiring new ideas and new methods;

(iv) that the number of donkeys be limited and more closely controlled, so that farming with more profitable kinds of live-stock may be encouraged;