

**LEADERSHIP AND CHANGE**

**A Study of Two South African Peasant Communities.**

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**A thesis presented to the University of Cape Town for  
the degree of Master of Arts in Social Anthropology.**

**December, 1963.**

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## P R E F A C E.

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The bulk of my work was supervised by Professor Monica Wilson of the University of Cape Town, to whom I am very grateful for the painstaking guidance and valuable comments and advice. The same applies to Dr Peter Carstens also of the University of Cape Town, under whose supervision the final draft of the thesis was prepared. I found his comments ~~also~~ very illuminating. I also do not forget to express my gratitude to a friend, Reneé Hirschon, a student in the Geography Department, who has been kind enough to spend her valuable time drawing the maps for me.

While I was doing field work in the two villages studied, a number of people rendered indispensable service for which I am most grateful. I wish to thank them all, especially the subheadman in Gubenxa and the headman in All Saints, who were both willing and cooperative informants. Particular thanks also go to the staff at the All Saints mission (the priests, doctors, and the teachers) not only for the interesting discussions I had with them, but also for many tokens of kindness and hospitality. I am also very grateful to the Mnyande family who acted as my hosts during my stay in All Saints, and to <sup>the</sup> many other people whose willing cooperation and interest in my work is greatly appreciated.

The field <sup>work</sup> for this thesis was carried out between the 8th December, 1962 and the 28th February, 1963 - an unusually short period by modern anthropological standards. The brevity of my intensive field work was, however, compensated for by the fact that in addition to being Xhosa-speaking, I had a previous knowledge of the two villages.

As a small boy, I grew up in one of them (Gubenxa) and, as a student in the secondary school, I travelled through the second one (All Saints) repeatedly. So I did not only have a fair idea about the social system of the two villages, but also knew individual persons in them.

This factor plus the fact that in both cases I was accommodated in the heart of the village added to the facility with which I <sup>was</sup> ~~got~~ absorbed into the village life. I was with the villagers from dawn to midnight as a participant observer. My communication with them was direct, and this was enhanced by the fact that I spoke the same language as they and I had an adequate understanding of their cultural background.

My research techniques included attendance and observance of the different activities that took place in the village e.g. church assemblies, funeral or commemoration services, meetings at the headman's place, meetings of the various committees and recreational clubs, work-parties, bear-drinks, dances, women's gossip groups, and so on. Interviews with special informants also occupied a major portion of my time.

For the purpose of carrying out my interviews in a more or less systematic way, I divided ~~up~~ the spheres of social activity into six categories - political, economic, educational, religious, recreational, and domestic. I then went around speaking to individuals personally known to me in order to find out who were associated with particular spheres of activity. When I had done this, I worked out <sup>what</sup> questions to ask the people mentioned. These questions, if not answered in the course of the general discussion, were only asked at the end of the interview. Direct questions asked too early may inhibit an informant. In most cases it was not necessary to ask questions, as the majority of informants volunteered the required information. I found that people were willing and enjoyed talking

about things that concerned them directly i.e. people like talking about themselves. So once spheres of activity of individual persons have been established, getting them to talk becomes less of a problem.

The device used so as to avoid receiving jumbled up material was to interview all the people associated with one particular sphere of activity and collect all the available information in that sphere, before moving to the next <sup>one</sup>. For instance, I did not tackle economic activities while I was busy with political activities. Keeping the different spheres separated did not only help to eliminate possible confusion, but also helped to bring out more clearly the relationship between the various spheres of activity. For example, while discussing education and the schools, points about the church, the woman's associations, and the recreational clubs kept on coming up. Concentration on one sphere at a time also makes it easier to compare reports from different informants and to pick out inconsistencies and discrepancies immediately, as the material on that particular sphere is foremost in one's mind. Disagreements were thrashed out without necessarily bringing together informants who held opposing views, as I could represent the point of view of an absent informant.

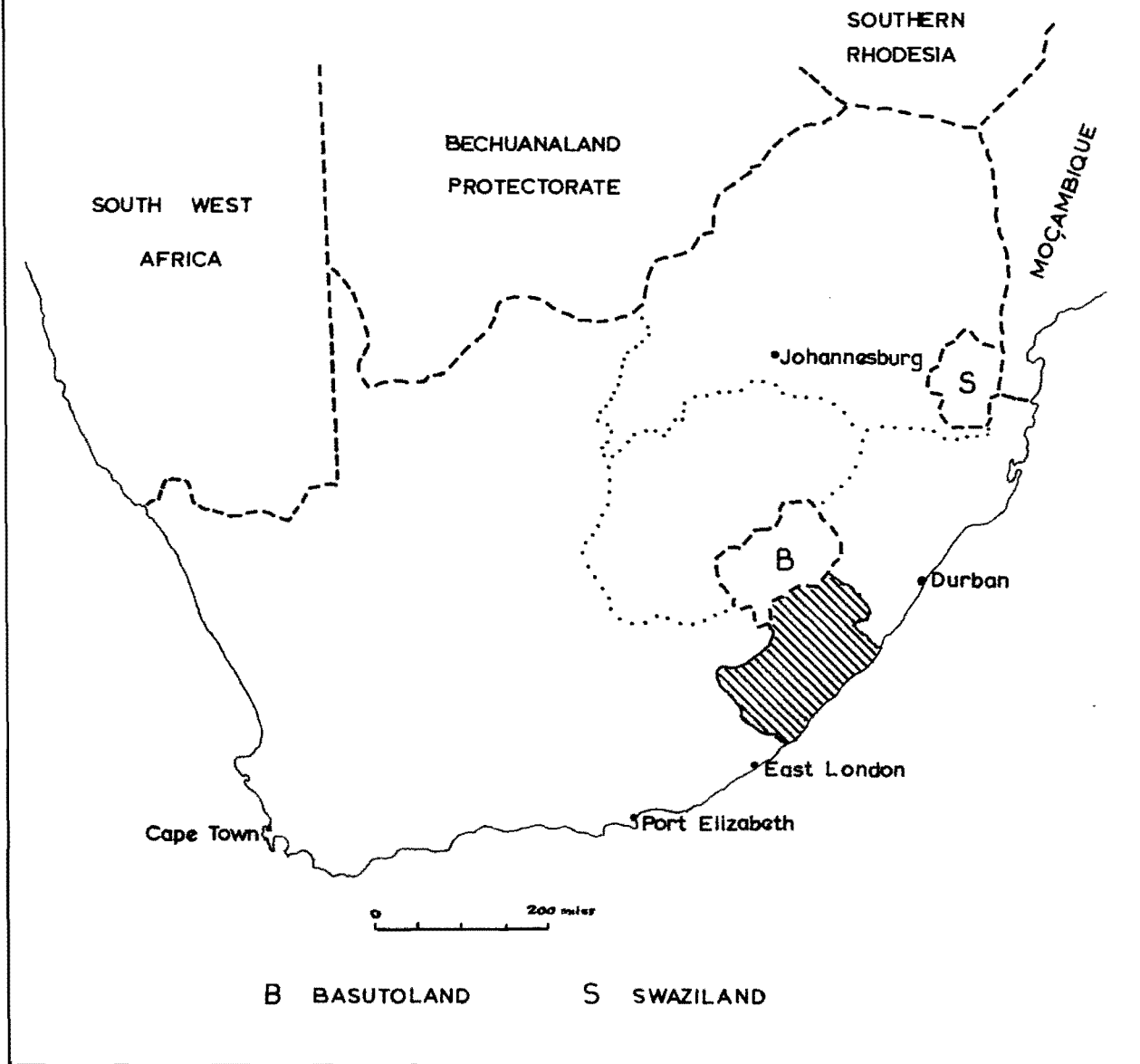
The difficulties met in the field were not the usual ones e.g. language difficulties and failure to gain the confidence of the people. In Gubenxa I was fully accepted by both 'red' and school people because I am personally known to them. For this reason, I did not have to hide my identity and the type of work I was doing. The villagers were rather pleased to find out that 'there are educated people who are interested in their traditions and ways of life', but the use to which such material could be put was 'beyond them and a mystery best left to the educated'. In All Saints the situation was slightly different. The school people also accepted me fully, but were reluctant to tell me certain things because they 'did not want them to be known to the whole world'. The 'reds', on the other

hand, were very suspicious and would not trust me until I was introduced to them by their subheadmen, who were prepared to do so only because 'I had been to the headman and he had allowed me to visit the different parts of the village'. But they were still anxious to know what would happen eventually to the material I was collecting. However, even in All Saints I made the aims of my investigation known.

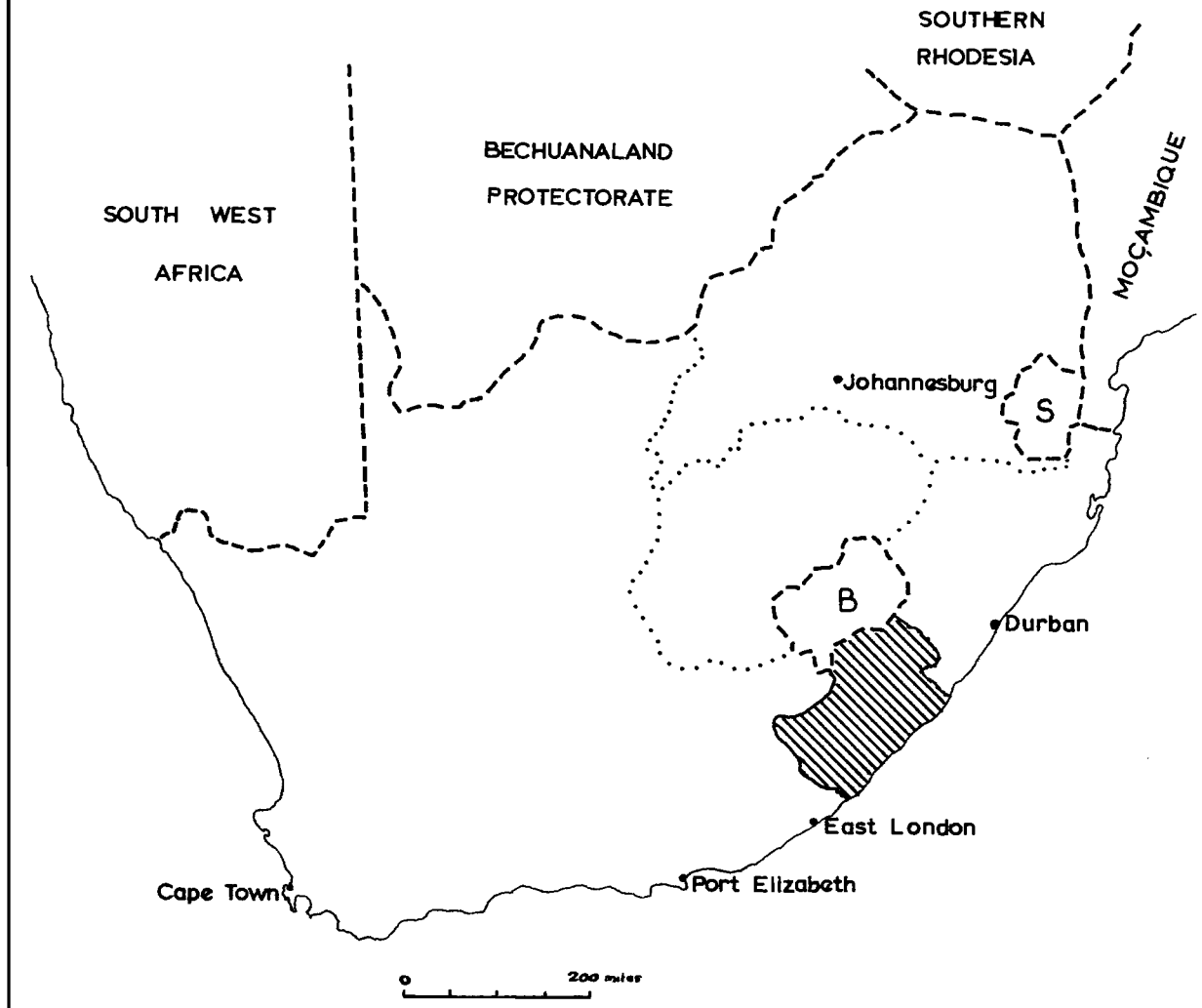
Most of my difficulties were in the political field. Under the emergency regulations in the Transkei, I was not free to attend meetings, except when a permission had been granted by the magistrate to hold them. Informants interested in politics could not be quoted without a serious breach of promise or incriminating them. Some of them, political leaders in particular, were not available for interviews; they were either in hiding or in gaol. However, on the whole I found the country-folk far less suspicious of an anthropologist than townsmen. In Langa (see reference on p 102) it took me a long time before I was accepted, and even then some people still felt that I was best avoided. This attitude prevailed until the end of my investigation.

A.M.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE TRANSKEI

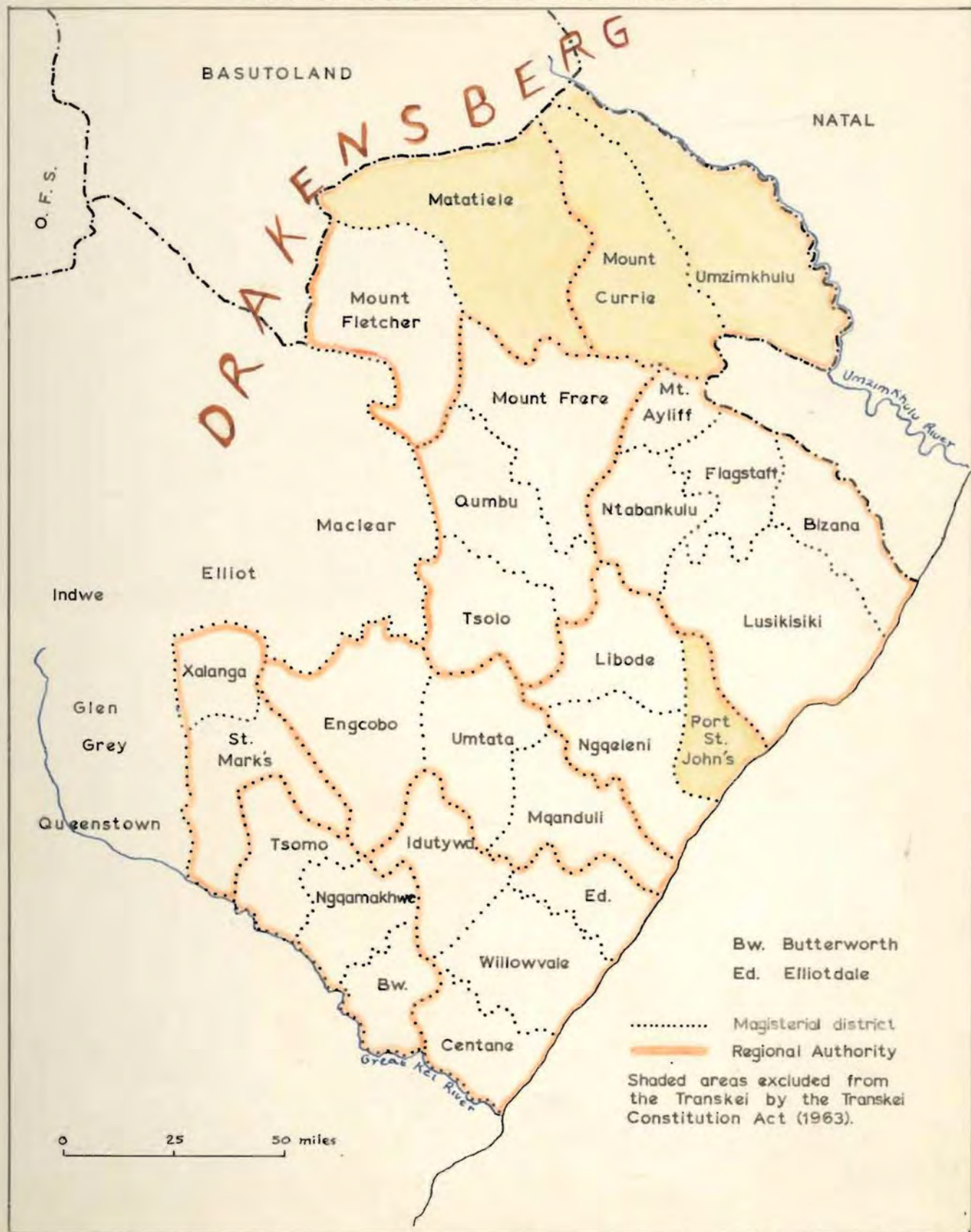


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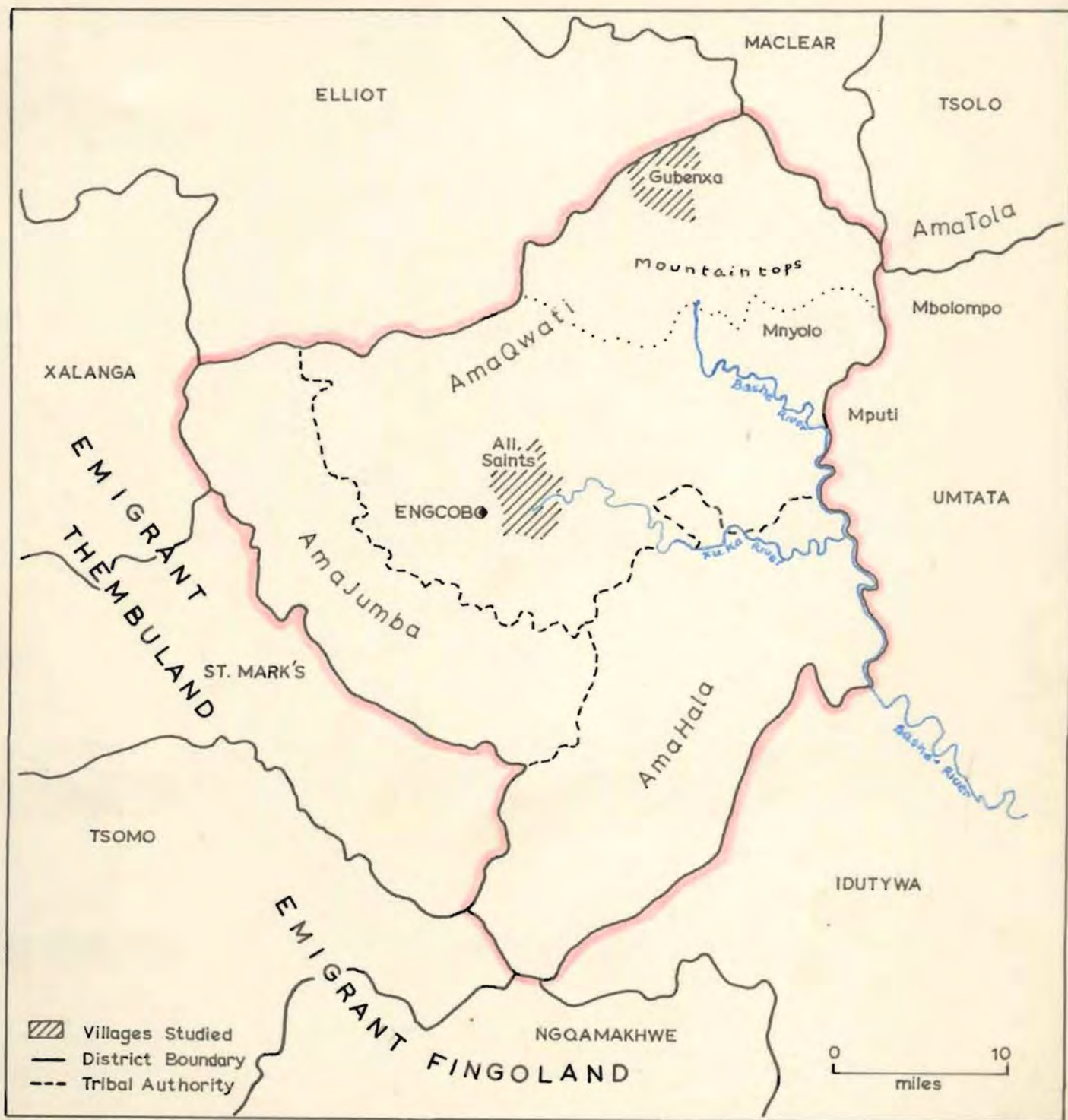


B BASUTOLAND      S SWAZILAND

# MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS OF THE TRANSKEI



# ENGOBO AND SURROUNDING DISTRICTS



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## Chapter I.

### THE TRANSKEI AND ITS SOCIAL SETTING.

The introduction of a money economy and the taking over of political and administrative power in South Africa by whites about 300 years ago brought about a fundamental change in the traditional societies. It transformed them from relatively isolated communities, with a limited political power and a local economy, into communities which are part of a wider political, administrative, and economic unit, the South African state which has a wide network of political, economic, educational, religious, and other social relations with the rest of the world. Those communities which have been influenced by the new form of social organization, but which still remain land-rooted and regard the country as their home, have come to form what, technically, is known as peasant communities.

Firth, discussing the concept of peasant community, says: 'The term has primarily an economic referent. By a peasant economy one means a system of small-scale producers, with a simple technology and equipment, often relying primarily for their subsistence on what they themselves produce. The primary means of livelihood of the peasant is cultivation of the soil. This is not merely a physical attachment; the peasant is not a landless labourer but someone who has an individual or collective right or claim to the land'<sup>(1)</sup>. Here, Firth makes some important points, but it is doubtful if his generalizations apply to all peasant communities. For instance, the Transkeian peasantry, which draws two-thirds of its income from the towns and the cities of the Republic, cannot be said to be dependent primarily on cultivation of the soil for its livelihood; nor would it

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(1) Firth R.: Elements of Social Organization (p 87). Watts and Co. Ltd, London, 1951.

be unreasonable to look upon them as landless labourers or individuals with virtually no land rights, in view of the land problem in the Transkei discussed in the following pages. On the other hand, it could be argued that Firth had a specific type of peasant community in his mind for he says, 'It is this economic and social - even sentimental - attachment to the soil that is historically one of the main distinguishing features of a European peasantry'<sup>(1)</sup>, a doubtful statement itself. Unnecessary confusion on this point can be avoided by accepting the apparent fact that there is more than just one type of peasant community.

Though part of a larger society, as shown above, the peasant community has its own internal system. The present study purports to examine and analyse this system, paying particular attention to the process of superordination and subordination ('leadership' and 'followership'), as found in two Transkeian peasant communities, Gubenxa and All Saints, which are two villages in Thembuland. The relation of these two villages to the Transkei and to a certain extent the Republic of South Africa will also be considered. The main objectives of the study can be summarized as follows:-

- (a) With the basic assumption that all human groups are characterized by the principles of superordination and subordination, we seek first to locate the superordinate persons in the communities under study, Gubenxa and All Saints. By superordinate person here is meant anyone who has power either to command other people's services or one who has power to direct other people's activities. Consequently, a subordinate person could be either a person whose services are commanded or whose activities are directed by a superordinate person by agreement.
- (b) To show that leadership, the capacity to direct other people's activities and receive cooperation, though it involves inequality of

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(1) Firth - op. cit. p.87

statuses, does not necessarily involve compulsion. In other words, there is a distinction between a superordinate person whose authority is willingly accepted by the subordinate persons (the followers) and the superordinate person who exercises coercive power over his subordinates (those who submit). Thus a distinction is made between a leader and a despot.

(c) To demonstrate from the communities studied that the dux, 'the man who leads into action a stream of wills' and the rex, 'the man who regularizes and rules'<sup>(1)</sup> are not personality but rôle types i.e. all leaders initiate activities and all leaders arbitrate in the groups they lead. No leader could pursue the interests of his group effectively without maintaining internal order and harmony.

(d) To discover what qualities are sought in selecting leaders in these two communities. Men and women, in entrusting their affairs to certain persons, usually look for particular qualities which coincide with their image of a 'good leader'. The selection may be based on objective and observable characteristics or on imaginary ones, which vary from one community (or group) to another.

While doing field work, it became apparent that what went on in these communities was not intelligible without a general understanding of the trends of development in the Transkei and the Republic of South Africa, as a whole. For this reason, the first two chapters are devoted to a general discussion of the Transkei, paying particular attention to those factors which will play a dominant rôle in determining the future of the Transkei and those features which are symptomatic of a society in a state of rapid change. To stress the importance of the link between the Transkeians and other South Africans, continual reference to the <sup>history</sup> of the Republic and its influence on the Transkei is made. The people of the Transkei are directly dependent on the Republic for their economic as well as their inte-

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(1) de Jouvenel G. - Sovereignty (p 21); Tr. by J.F. Huntington, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1956.

lectual and other social requirements. As Redfield puts it: 'The culture (social system) of a peasant community, on the other hand, is not autonomous. It is an aspect or dimension of the civilization (national life) of which it is part. ....  
First, we discover that to maintain itself peasant culture (way of life) requires continual communication to the local ~~thought~~ community of thought originating outside it. The intellectual and often the religious and moral life of the peasant village is perpetually incomplete;' <sup>(1)</sup>. Elsewhere he says: 'The peasant culture (social system) has an evident history; we are called upon to study that history; and the history is not local; it is a history of the civilization (national life) of which the village culture (community) is one local expression'. <sup>(2)</sup>

1. Land and population:

The Transkei is an integral part of the Republic of South Africa, a country which covers a total surface area of about 729,800 square miles.

...../It is by far

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(1) Redfield R. - Peasant Society and Culture (p 68); University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1956: ( ) = my term.

(2) Ibid. p. 69

It is by far the biggest of the so-called 'Native Reserves', and covers an area of about 14,596 square miles i.e. about two percent of the total area of the Republic. Together with the other 'Native Reserves', it constitutes just over thirteen percent of the total surface area of the Republic i.e. about 86,694 out of approximately 729,800 square miles. It constitutes about 15 percent of the 'Bantu Areas' in the Republic<sup>(1)</sup>.

The Republic has a total population of approximately 15,841,000 people, of whom 10,808,000 are Africans i.e. about 66.66 percent of the total population. Of the nearly 11 million Africans, 1,384,673 live in the Transkei. In addition to them, there are 31,519 whites, Coloureds, and Asiatics in the Transkei<sup>(2)</sup>. Excluding those who are away working in the towns at any time, this gives the Transkei a total population density of about 100 persons per square mile. The Tomlinson Report, using the 1951 census, gives 82 persons per square mile as the population density for the 'Bantu Areas' in the Transkei. By 'Bantu Areas' in the Transkei, it meant all the magisterial districts in the Transkei, except Mount Currie which is predominantly white.

In addition to Mount Currie, the modern Transkei also excludes the districts of Matatiele, Umzimkhulu, and Port St. John's; and all the towns in the Transkei. The four districts together cover an area of 3,695 square miles i.e. more than 20 percent of the total area of the Transkei. Taking this into account, the actual population density in the areas occupied by the Africans in the Transkei is about 128 persons per square mile. When migrant workers are also included, the figure becomes even higher. In 1951 the rate of temporary migration from the Transkei was found to be about 12 percent. Using the same figure,

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- (1) Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas (Hereafter "The Tomlinson Report") - The Government Printer, Pretoria, UG 61/1955 (pp 49-52).
- (2) Bureau of Census and Statistics; Special Report No. 234 - 6/9/62.

the Tomlinson Commission in 1955 reported that the population <sup>density</sup> in the Transkei, including the migrant workers, was 92 persons per square mile<sup>(3)</sup>.

The African population of the Transkei has increased by 9.4 percent since 1951. Assuming that the rate of temporary migration has remained constant since 1951, then the population density, including migrant workers, rises to about 139 persons per square mile. This is very high compared with the other parts of rural South Africa. For instance, in 1951 rural white Natal was found to have 1.5 persons per square mile, Mt Currie 18 persons per square mile, and the rural Western Cape 18 persons per square mile. The relatively high population density in the Transkei is brought out more forcefully by the fact that the Western Cape, with all its industrial centres excluding Cape Town, had a population density of 43 persons per square mile in 1951 i.e. nearly four times less than the modern Transkei.

I have not got the figures for the other 'Native Reserves', but using the 1961 census as the basis for my argument, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that their position is no better than that of the Transkei. In 1951 the population density for the areas occupied by the Africans in Natal and the Ciskei was 82 and 79 persons per square mile respectively. These figures correlate very closely with those given for the Transkei at the same period, except that some parts in Natal already had more than 200 persons per square mile<sup>(4)</sup>.

## 2. The Administration.

Since its annexation by the British Government towards the end of the 19th century, the Transkei has been ruled as part  
of South Africa/

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(3) "Tomlinson Report" - op. cit. pp. 49-51.

(4) ~~"Tomlinson Report" - op. cit. p 3.~~

Ibid. pp 49-51

of South Africa under the successive governments of the Cape Colony, the Union, and the Republic. Whatever differentiation there was between black and white was internal. But even this internal differentiation had serious political implications, and may even be regarded as the source of the present divisions along colour lines in the South African society. When a national convention was called in 1908 to draft the constitution of the Union of South Africa, the blacks were not represented, even though they had the vote<sup>(1)</sup>. The disenfranchisement of the Africans by Act No. 12 of 1936 marked a further step in the gradual exclusion of the blacks from the body politic in South Africa. This Act, generally known as the Native Representation Act, allowed the Africans indirect representation by four white senators<sup>(2)</sup>.

As a way of 'compensation', the same Act established the Native Representative Council for all the Africans in the Union. In addition to the Native Representative Council, local bodies, such as the Bhunga in the Transkei, already existed. The chiefs and headmen worked in these bodies as the 'representatives' of the people. This system continued until 1951 when all 'Native' councils were abolished by Act No. 68 of the same year. The Act is known as the Bantu Authorities Act, and its main objectives are: 'To provide the establishment of certain Bantu Authorities and to define their functions, to abolish the Native Representative Council, to amend the Native Affairs Act, 1920, and the Representation of Natives Act, 1936 .....'. In practice it recognizes the authority of the chiefs and other tribal dignitaries or people appointed by the Government as the legitimate rulers of the people in the Transkei and other 'Native Reserves'.

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(1) The vote of the blacks seems to have been nominal.

(2) Even that limited representation have<sup>s</sup> been abolished since 1951.

In the Transkei it established the Transkei Territorial Authority as the highest administrative body. The latter, with Umtata as its headquarters, consists of chiefs and headmen in the Transkei. They are all Government appointed. Its chairman is Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the ~~paramount~~ chief of the Emigrant Thembu. It is in the Territorial Authority that the chiefs, as the 'representatives' of the people, discuss most of the measures affecting the Transkei e.g. Bantu Education, Betterment Scheme, Cattle culling, and the Transkeian Constitution.

Immediately below the Transkei Territorial Authority is the Regional Authority. There are nine regional authorities in the Transkei. They are:-

1. The Dalindyebo Regional Authority - Thembuland proper.
2. Emboland Regional Authority - Pondomiseland and Bhacaland.
3. Emigrant Thembuland Regional Authority - St Marks and Xalanga.
4. Fingoland Regional Authority - Butterworth, Ngqamakwe, & Tsomo.
5. Gcalekaland Regional Authority - area of Xhosa proper.
6. Maluti Regional Authority - Hlubi and some Sotho groups.
7. Nyanda Regional Authority - Western Pondoland.
8. Qawukeni Regional Authority - Eastern Pondoland<sup>(1)</sup>.
9. Umzimkhulu Regional Authority - Griqualand East.

Each regional authority consists of the paramount chief or the most senior chief in the area and a council consisting of men appointed by the Government. These men are usually minor chiefs or headmen, but ordinary men are also eligible. The most important function of the regional authority is to see to it that the laws governing the Transkei are fully implemented in their respective areas.

Each regional area comprises a given number of magisterial districts. There are twenty-six of these in the Transkei.

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(1) Note the inconsistency in the official use of the locative in names like Qawukeni, Emboland but not Nyandeni or eMzimkhulu.

At the head of each is the District Authority which is the same thing basically as the regional authority, but on a district level<sup>(1)</sup>. It is concerned with affairs in its respective district, and at its head is a senior chief or headman. Its members are also appointed by the Government. In each district there may be one or more Tribal Authorities, depending on the number of sub-chiefs represented. The Tribal Authority is responsible to the Regional Authority through the District Authority, and its chairman and secretary have to be members of the latter and appointed by it. Its function is 'to administer the affairs of the tribe and to render assistance and guidance to its chief or headman'.

Each district is divided into a number of villages, depending on its size. At the head of each village is a headman who, theoretically, is elected by the people. In practice, the contrary seems to be true since the election is valid only if approved by the Government. Indeed, cases are reported where the Government, on being dissatisfied with the choice of the people, appointed its own man. Usually, the headman is helped by subheadmen (iibodi) in his work. The subheadmen are responsible to him and may even be appointed by him. The people are supposed to elect the subheadmen.

This hierarchy of authorities is what is known as 'Bantu Authorities', products of the Bantu Authorities Act. In addition to them, there are white administrative and judicial officers such as the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the Transkei, Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Eastern Pondoland, and the Commissioner-General of the Xhosa national unit - Messrs. Vic Leibbrandt, Peter Midgley, and Hans Abraham respectively. There is also a number of lesser officials such as the Magistrates and the Bantu Commissioners. Usually there are two or three magistrates in each district, depending on its size. The senior  
in each/

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(1) The District Authority is just for administrative convenience, and is not statutory.

in each district is the Resident Magistrate who, at the same time, is a Bantu Commissioner. He is directly in charge of the chiefs and headmen in his district, and is assisted by junior magistrates known as Assistant or Additional magistrates.

The magistrates and the Bantu Commissioners work in close cooperation with the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the Transkei, generally known as the Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, and the other officials at Umtata. The officials at Umtata receive regular visits from the Bantu Affairs Department. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (Mr de Wet Nel) and the Under-Secretary of the Department (Mr C.B. Young) are the usual visitors.

It is this white bureaucracy, not the Bantu Authorities, that has, up to 1963, wielded actual power in the Transkei. From the Bantu Commissioner or the Resident Magistrate upwards, they occupy higher positions than any Bantu Authority, including the paramount chiefs. Even the ordinary white policeman seems to have more real power than most chiefs. For instance, early in 1963 I witnessed the spectacle of one of the most important chiefs in the Transkei, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, being harangued and embarrassed by a white policeman after he and his councillors had <sup>been alleged to have</sup> caused some trouble in a cafe at Engcobo. He was ordered to produce his reference book in public, and when he tried to explain who he was, the policeman 'did not care to know who he was'.

The chiefs cannot introduce anything new in their areas without the approval of the magistrate concerned, nor can they convene tribal meetings without the permission of the same authority. They are also under an obligation to announce their movements, while the white officials are under no similar obligation in relation to the chiefs.

Some time in 1962 the Government proposed to grant the Transkei 'independence'. A constitution conferring a legal status to the/

status to the proposal was drafted in the same year by the Government in collaboration with some members of the Transkei Territorial Authority (chiefs). The latter were referred to as the Recess Committee. Later in the year (11th to 14th of December), the Transkei Territorial Authority met to discuss the provisions of the Constitution 'article by article'.

The deliberations of the Transkei Territorial Authority on the constitution were very stormy. Some members, notably the Thembu and western Mpondo chiefs, disagreed with the basic principles of the constitution. They found it extremely difficult to reconcile themselves to the idea of excluding all the non-black members in the Transkei from citizenship in the Transkei. They also rejected the idea of a Transkei which excludes the districts of Port St John's, Mt Currie, Matatiele, and Umzimkhulu; and all the towns in the Transkei. One of the members asked: 'If this be the case, then which Transkei are we being offered? I thought that the Transkei includes all the land between the Kei and Umzimkhulu Rivers and between the Drakensberg Mountains and the sea'.

The other provision which was questioned by the same members is the one which gives the chiefs, who are the present members of the Transkei Territorial Authority, a guaranteed majority in the Transkeian Assembly. One of them wanted to know which way the people of the Transkei were moving. After being told that they were moving towards more democratic institutions, he asked: 'Is it a practice in the Western democracies that the same people who make laws should also be administrators and judges?' He was referring to the chiefs who at present fulfil all these functions. On being told that he was out of order as his argument was contrary to traditional notions, he was forced to conclude that 'what the Transkei was being offered was neither democratic nor traditional'.

The most outspoken of all the members in their criticism of the constitution was the paramount chief of the Thembu, Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, who eventually ended his campaign by a dramatic walk-out on the last day of the constitutional talks. Earlier on, after the Thembu chief had realized his mistake in accepting the provisions of the constitution together with the other chiefs, he tried to rectify his mistake by drawing the attention of the officials to 'certain provisions he did not agree with'. Whether this change of mind was a result of pressure from his people, his opposition to Chief Matanzima, or his personal principles, it is difficult to say. But it is interesting to note that, though at present it is Chief Matanzima who is the champion of the Transkeian Constitution, it was Chief Sabata who first demanded independence for the Transkei.

Whatever the motives, as soon as Chief Sabata had changed his mind, he convened a meeting for the Thembu. It was at this meeting that the famous Thembu Constitution Committee was formed. The committee, under the chairmanship of a teacher who had been dismissed from his post by the Bantu Education Department, was charged with the duty of drafting an alternative constitution for the Transkei. The recommendations of the Thembu Committee were rejected out of hand. The grounds for the rejection were that the constitution had been accepted already by all the members of the Transkei Territorial Authority, including the Thembu chief.

This being the case, Chief Sabata tried to get permission from the authorities to call a meeting of all the Thembu so that 'he could report to them what had happened to their Constitution Committee'. At the same meeting he was hoping to get 'a mandate from his people before he could attend the Transkei Territorial Authority deliberations on the constitution'. His request was refused by the authorities. The last official

he sent a /

he sent a delegation to was the Commissioner-General of the Xhosa national unit on the 10th December, 1962. This was also of no avail.

It was against this background that Chief Sabata made his protests, and he pointed out that his people were never allowed to discuss the constitution before hand. All this did not help because in a house of over eighty members, only five members supported him. The constitution, officially known as the Constitution for the Transkeian Government, was thus adopted by an overwhelming majority and passed on to the Republican Government for final approval.

In this introduction we cannot do any more than just mention a few clauses which have contributed greatly to the intensified struggle between the <sup>white officials</sup> ~~authorities~~, the chiefs and the people in the Transkei.

Clause 20 (i) states that 'Citizenship of the Transkei shall embrace all the Bantu domiciled in the Transkei', implicitly excluding the other colour groups. The Thembu committee recommended that citizenship be extended to 'all persons domiciled in the Transkei'.

Clause 24 states that 'The Transkeian Legislative Assembly shall consist of 109 members and shall be composed as follows:

- (a) 4 Paramount Chiefs or their duly appointed deputies.
- (b) 60 Chiefs being all the presently recognized or appointed Chiefs in the nine regional authority areas in the Transkei or their successors in office provided that this number of 60 shall not be increased.
- (c) 45 members to be elected by the voters of the Transkei on the basis of using the nine regional authority areas as electoral divisions'.

The Thembu committee recommended that '105 members be elected by the voters of the Transkei .....

Clause 28 states that 'All laws passed by the Transkeian Legislative Assembly shall be submitted through the office of the Commissioner-General for the Transkei to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development for submission to the State President, who shall have the power to assent thereto, or to refer it back to the Legislative Assembly for further consideration in the light of such further information and advice as may be given'.

The latter clause is so basic that the Thembu committee did not know how to modify it without rejecting the very basis of the constitution. Their only recommendation was that the words 'to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development' be deleted. In the Transkei the clause has been taken to mean that the decisions of the Transkeian Assembly will be valid only if sanctioned by the Republican Government.

The other section in the constitution which is relevant to our study is the section dealing with the powers of the Transkeian Assembly. It shall have no power over :-

- (a) 'the establishment, control of entry, movement or operation of any full-time or part-time military unit .....
- (b) 'the registration, establishment, and control of factories for explosives as defined in the Explosives Act, 1956'.
- (c) 'the appointment, accrediting and recognition of diplomatic and consular officers .....
- (d) 'the control, organisation, administration, entry and presence in the Transkei of any Police Force of the Republic charged with the maintenance of public peace and order and preservation of internal security in and the safety of the Transkei and the Republic'.
- (e) 'the postal, telegram, telephone, radio, and television services'.
- (f) 'railway, harbour, national roads, and civil aviation'.
- (g) 'the entry of persons other than Transkeian citizens into the Transkei'.

- (h) 'currency, public loans, banking, and the control of stock exchanges and of financial institutions .....
- (i) 'tariffs of customs and excise duties and the control and management of customs and excise.'
- (j) 'the amendment, repeal or substitution of this Act' i.e. the present Transkeian constitution.

From these provisions or prohibitions, it is abundantly clear that the Transkei is not intended to be an independent and sovereign state. It still remains a Bantustan under the tutelage of the Republican Government in which actual power will continue to be exercised by the white bureaucracy. It is over this issue that a struggle between the Sabata type of chief and the African national political leaders starts. It will be noticed that during the constitutional talks, the Thembu and western Mpondo chiefs were arguing from within, and they were using constitutional methods of struggle.

On the other hand, the black national leaders feel that the question of a limited independence in the Transkei which constitutes only two percent of the total surface area of the Republic is irrelevant, so long as the rest of the country is still under the rigid control of an exclusively white Government. The struggle conducted by these men, though at first it centred around the urban areas, cannot be ignored in the discussion of the Transkei because it has a more permanent and wider basis and has a long history behind it. The first African national organisation, the African National Congress, was formed in 1912. It continued to be the only national voice of the Africans until 1935 when the All African Convention was formed. No other African national organisation was formed until the end of 1958 when the Pan Africanist Congress was born. All three organisations carried on with their opposition to the Government's discriminatory schemes until 1960 when the Government found it necessary to ban both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

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The immediate reason for the ban on the two organisations was the uprising in Sharpville and Langa in 1960.

By the time an 'independence' for the Transkei was proposed, the only organisations that could air their views openly were the All African Convention and a political group known as Pogo. The latter group was soon identified with the Pan Africanist Congress by the authorities and, therefore, banned at the beginning of 1963. The opinion of the African national leaders, as put forward by the All African Convention, is that: 'The Transkei Territorial Authority collaborators - all and sundry - by accepting the principle of an "independent" Transkei under the present conditions, have relinquished in advance their claim to the rest of South Africa, which has prospered on the sweat and toil of their brothers and sisters, their sons and daughters, and their children's children; and have confined themselves to Verwoerd's Bantustan which has been devised and designed for the regimentation and control of the Xhosa-speaking species of his vast menagerie'<sup>(1)</sup>. Their final indictment against the Transkei Territorial Authority is: 'These quislings have rejected the idea of a real self-rule and self-determination and are satisfied with the spurious self-rule, regimented and straightjacketed in the pattern of apartheid'<sup>(2)</sup>.

It is interesting to note that the same question arose in the meeting of the Thembu when the Constitution Committee was being formed. Some members refused to serve on it on the grounds that 'it was a waste of time'. They argued, 'What would be the good of being free in the Transkei and be oppressed elsewhere?' This is obviously in line with the attitude of the national leaders. It is also interesting to note that even Chief Sabata, towards the end of the constitutional talks, spoke a similar language. He demanded independence 'for all the Thembu, irrespective of where they might be'. Of course, this is meaningless outside the prescribed tribal area, and

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(1) Self Rule in the Transkei, published by the All African Convention, East London, May 1962.

(2) Self Rule in the Transkei, - op. cit. above. Ibid.

it shows the limitedness of the scope of any tribal leader compared with that of the nationalist who addresses himself to all Africans or to 'all oppressed Non-White people of South Africa'.

During the period of the field work, it was very difficult to find out how widely spread is the influence of the African national political leaders with their 'whole hog or nothing' attitude. This was mainly due to the fact that the Transkei has been, ~~and still is~~, under the state of emergency since 1960. The Emergency Regulations for the Transkei were announced in the Government Notices R 400 and R 413. This was the Government's reply to the disturbances in Pondoland and other parts of the Transkei. The regulations are very detailed and give the authorities in the Transkei power to control entry into the territory, the holding of meetings, and actions 'subversive of the authority of the state officials or the chiefs'.

By the same regulations the chiefs are authorized to remove, try, or punish any African in their areas who is accused of an offence under the regulations. It is also important to note that persons committing an offence <sup>n</sup> under the regulations may be arrested without a warrant, and that persons who may be considered as having information relating to an offence may be held in custody until the relevant authority is satisfied that they have truthfully answered all relevant questions or until the Minister orders their release. Persons arrested under these regulations are not allowed to consult a legal adviser, unless with the consent of the Minister. Finally, no interdict may be issued and no civil action can be taken against the Government or its employees.

The implications of the delegation of such wide powers to the local authorities are too obvious to discuss. Briefly, the people in the Transkei cannot hold meetings, they cannot express their opinions freely, and they may be descended upon by the police at any time of the day or night. Mass arrests are a common sight  
in the Transkei,)

in the Transkei, early dawn swoops are frequent, and assaults on the people by the police and the chiefs are a common occurrence. During the investigation of the murder of five whites (a family and a friend) near the Bashe River in February in 1963, I was one of the eye-witnesses when the fully armed police launched a fierce attack on the residents of Mputi, the village close to which the murders occurred. They did this without any provocation: the identity of the murderers has not yet been discovered, and there is no proven evidence to connect the murders with the village. People's houses were broken into, and property was siezed or destroyed.

At the same time as the attack on the Mputi villagers, it was reported that Chief Matanzima had led an army of about 600 against the residents of Qitsi, a village in the St Mark's district and about twenty-five miles from the town of Engcobo. The villagers had refused to obey an order instructing them to move from their village to a new one. Under the Betterment Scheme, whole villages or scattered homesteads are removed to new sites in an attempt to clear ground for cultivation and grazing purposes. This is usually resented by the villagers, more so in areas where people have put up concrete buildings. This was the case in Qitsi.

Also some individuals, among them the chairman of the Thembu delegation, after it had been announced that he was one of the members Chief Sabata wished to send to Cape Town for talks with the Prime Minister or the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, have been arrested and detained. It was also interesting to learn that even a member of the Transkei Territorial Authority, who had spoken against the constitution on the first day of the Assembly, was summoned to appear in court the following day, though ostensibly for a different matter.

Under these conditions it was impossible to get hold of the national political leaders to interview them on the people's

movements./

movements. Most leaders are either in jail or in hiding. Some of them have even fled the country because they have been accused of aiding and abetting the killing of the chiefs. It is true that chiefs are being killed in the Transkei, but it has not been established yet who is responsible. The suspects are the national political leaders who are most vocal in their opposition to the chiefs, and who do not make any distinction between 'those chiefs who have enthusiastically and unashamedly embraced the the monstrous and fraudulent Transkeian Constitution and those who have accepted it with certain reservations'; and who are convinced that 'as far as the people are concerned, all chiefs are equally guilty and must share equal responsibility for all the iniquity that must necessarily follow in the wake of this betrayal when the verdict of history is pronounced'.<sup>(1)</sup>

It has been necessary to give all these details because most people do not know what is going on in the Transkei. Since the state of emergency was declared in the Transkei, there has been a black-out on news. Journalists are not allowed free entry into the territory. The authorities, on their part, volunteer very little information, if any at all.

### 3. The Economy.

The question of whether the Transkei will be an independent, semi-independent state, or just a sort of a zoo or game reserve in which the traditions and customs of the tribal African shall be nurtured, is a political one and does not cover everything. Economic questions are equally important. How do the people of the Transkei live, and what are the natural resources of the Transkei?

At present practically every African family in the Transkei is engaged in subsistence farming, but every man in the Transkei is alternately both a part-time peasant farmer and a part-time

industrial wage-earner/

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(1) Fraud of Self-Rule in Bantustans - published by the All African Convention, Queenstown, June 1962.

industrial wage-earner. This is the essence of migrant labour which permits specialization in neither of the two activities. The inadequate yield from subsistence farming in the Transkei, as in the other reserves, has forced men - and women at times - to migrate to the towns for employment. The Tomlinson Commission found that in 1951 the Transkei received R175,232,000 every year from outside earnings, as against R93,752,000 yielded by subsistence economy. Put differently, the Transkei draws about two-thirds of its annual income from outside. The two figures put together gave the Transkei an annual income of R84 per family of 'a little over six'.<sup>(1)</sup>

As it can be seen the peasants in the Transkei get very little from their land. There are several reasons for this, but the basic one is land hunger. Only 11 percent of the 14,596 square miles in the Transkei can be described as flat or gently rolling. The rest is mountainous and covered by bush. Soil erosion is also a real problem in the territory. Over 75 percent of the land is badly or moderately eroded.<sup>(2)</sup> Even when the state of land in the Transkei is disregarded, land hunger is still evident. There are or there used to be four acres per family of six in the Transkei. These were figures given by the Tomlinson Report eleven years ago.

I could not find any figures indicating the rate of landlessness in the Transkei, but the population of the Transkei has increased by about 9.4 percent since 1951 (see figures on p 21). Also agricultural experts in the Transkei tell us that less than 5 percent of the present peasant population in the Transkei can make a living from the land, and that at the most only one-third of the present population can be settled on economic units in the Transkei. An economic unit is given as five morgen of  
arable land and/

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(1) 'Tomlinson Report' - op. cit. p 98.

(2) Ibid.

arable land and ten cattle units. The rate of landlessness has been estimated at about 25 percent under the existing conditions.

Another very important factor, from the point of view of peasant economy, is that the cities deprive the Transkei of its labour. Every year thousands of men leave the Transkei to look for work in the cities. In 1951 it was found that these men constituted 12 percent of the African population in the 'Bantu areas'. Even more important than the mere percentage is the fact that the migrants formed more than 40 percent of the males between the ages of fifteen and sixty-four. It was also estimated that two-thirds of them were between twenty and thirty-nine years old, and that nearly 94 percent of them were younger than fifty<sup>(1)</sup>.

This male age-structure has serious implications for the Transkei or any peasant economy. Though it has become customary in South Africa to regard the shifting forwards and backwards of the African labour as a 'natural' economic phenomenon, comparable to the process of urbanization in other countries, migratory labour inevitably leads to the absence of men at their most productive ages. This, accompanied by land scarcity, lack of scientific knowledge, and lack of capital and tools, accounts for the poor peasant farming in the Transkei. I have seen villagers waiting for weeks to share the use of the only cultivator or harrow in the village. Needless to say, cultivation is best done at the right time.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the Transkei produces 2.47 bags of grain per morgen when it should be producing at least 6.98 bags of grain per morgen, judging by the standard of the average white farmer in the Transkei. According to the "Tomlinson Report" from which these figures come, the possible maximum out-put of grain is 8 bags per morgen. The Commission also estimated that the average grain requirements of an African family in the Transkei were fifteen bags per year.

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(1) "Tomlinson Report". op. cit. p 53.

With an average allotment of about two morgen to those families which have land and at the rate of production of 2.47 bags of grain per morgen i.e. 4.94 bags of grain per plot, the disparity is too great to need any comment. In a word, the Transkei produces only one-third of the grain it requires. If everybody in the Transkei had enough money to purchase the extra grain from outside, we would assume that two-thirds of the grain used in the Transkei is imported. But such an assumption would be incorrect since some families in the Transkei have virtually no income. It would be interesting to know the exact amount of grain imported in the Transkei every year, but unfortunately the figures are not available.

From the above account, it is apparent that the Transkei is dependent on the outside for its economic survival. The question then is, could the Transkei be otherwise? In view of the proposed 'independence' for the territory, this is a very important consideration. In the 1951 Tomlinson Report it was estimated that, for the first ten-year programme, an approximate amount of R209,000,000 would be required for the development of the Transkei.

Besides having very limited arable land, in proportion to its present population, the Transkei is either poor in minerals or its mineral resources have not been fully exploited. In 1952 its mineral yield was only worth R3,230. At present it has virtually no manufacturing industries. Seeing that this is the situation and that the residents of the Transkei have no capital, will the Transkeian 'independent' state, which will have no right to raise public loans and which will depend on the Republican Government for the entry of foreigners<sup>(1)</sup> in the Transkei, be able to raise the necessary capital? Or will the Republican Government, which is faced with even greater economic commitments e.g. armaments, be willing to provide the capital?

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(1) Foreigners could, in this case, include foreign investors.

1. POPULATION STATISTICS FOR THE TRANSKEI.

<u>District</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>African</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Coloured</u>	<u>Asiatics.</u>
Matatielle	71,184	68,281	1,921	910	-
Mt Ayliff	23,184	22,817	161	206	-
Mt Currie	28,116	21,367	3,358	3,389	2
Mt Fletcher	53,078	52,817	209	52	-
Mt Frere	58,158	56,962	415	781	-
Qumbu	52,483	51,533	242	708	-
Tsolo	48,070	47,497	300	281	-
Elliotdale	37,805	37,554	205	46	-
Umzimkhulu	67,144	65,604	341	1,173	26
Engcobo	81,223	80,067	836	320	-
Mqanduli	53,909	53,547	277	85	-
St Marks	63,483	62,982	339	162	-
Umtata	70,923	65,854	3,743	1,329	-
Xalanga	27,039	25,699	446	894	-
Butterworth	32,334	31,036	1,112	185	1
Idutywa	44,308	43,592	486	230	-
Kentane	52,873	52,572	262	39	-
Ngqamakwe	50,903	50,664	212	27	-
Tsomo	37,322	37,042	193	87	-
Willowvale	66,373	66,005	308	60	-
Bizana	66,671	66,173	306	192	-
Flagstaff	50,004	49,500	228	276	-
Libode	48,437	48,100	179	158	-
Lusikisiki	83,447	82,300	329	817	1
Ngqeleni	62,502	61,712	213	577	-
Port St Johns	29,332	28,196	565	571	-
Tabankulu	55,548	55,200	183	164	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,416,192</b>	<b>1,384,673</b>	<b>17,369</b>	<b>14,119</b>	<b>31</b>

#### 4. How are people identified?

People are identified in different ways in different social situations. The South African 'traditional way of life', recognizes skin colour as the most important criterion for classifying people. Separation of different colour groups has been the accepted policy of South Africa since the earliest times and, after 1910, it was confirmed by Act No. 27 of 1913 (Native Land Act), and later by Act No. 18 of 1936 (Native Trust and Land Act). These two acts sought to set aside certain areas as 'Bantu Reserves', where Africans could be herded to when need arose. The logical corollary to this outlook was to recognize the rest of the country as legitimately belonging to the white group. It was also logical to restrict ownership rights of the African outside the 'Bantu area'. This was effectively done by the passing of Act 12 of 1936 and by the drastic curtailment of the right to acquire land in the urban areas by Africans by Act 46 of 1937.

Our official policy, therefore, aims at bringing about total segregation between the various colour groups in the country, and this has come to be accepted by most of us, whether consciously or not. For instance, people in Cape Town innocently ask an African, 'Do you come from the Transkei?' The African too never wonders why he must necessarily come from the Transkei. Both parties unconsciously subscribe to the idea that the Transkei is 'the natural home of the Bantu'. This is a very misleading notion because in the Transkei are groups other than blacks. To be specific, there are approximately 1,384,670 Africans, 17,360 whites, 14,120 Coloureds, and 30 Asiatics (see preliminary results of the 1960 general census).

It is also interesting to note that the Government spokesmen in their 'back to the kraal' propaganda conveniently ignore the existence of these groups in the Transkei, and yet the same

people never forget/

people never forget to distinguish politically, legally, and socially between the various groups. Under these conditions, the people in the Transkei, as elsewhere in the Republic, cannot avoid distinguishing between white, black, and Coloured. This attitude is re-inforced by their separation socially, as it shall be shown later.

It is a common thing for people to be known by the part of the country from which they come. This is also true of South Africa. In South Africa there is a group of people who, though variously known inside, are referred to as Transkeians by outsiders. In East London, Port Elizabeth, or Cape Town the African migrant workers are referred to as amaTranskei or abantu baPhešheya kweNciba (Transkeians or people from across the Kei respectively). The Transkeians never fail to emphasize this common bond in their opposition, say, to Ciskeians. This is most evident in sports clubs in the cities e.g. Cape Town.

Still following what was the pattern before the annexation of the Transkei towards the end of the 19th century, Transkeians distinguish between people from different chiefdoms. It is not uncommon to hear people talking of people from Pondeland or Thembuland ( abantu baseamaPondweni or abantu basebaThenjini ). It is important to note that, though the tribal name is used, the emphasis is on the area of common origin more than anything else. This is to be expected because people found in these chiefdoms are not necessarily members of the tribe by which the area is known. There has been a considerable migration and mixing of groups in the Transkei. More attention will be paid to this later on.

As it has been pointed out already, each chiefdom or Regional Authority (to use the current terminology) is divided into a number of districts. In most situations the district seems to be more

important/

important than the chiefdom. However, this is not true politically speaking. During the 1960 disturbances in Pondoland, the people from the area rallied to one another's help or defence, irrespective of the district from which they came. In Cape Town a number of meetings for all migrants from Eastern Pondoland were held. In these meetings money was collected from the members and sent to those in distress at home. Since 1962, the Thembu have been doing the same thing.

Generally, the district takes precedence over the chiefdom. For instance, in Langa township the migrants are best identified by the name of the district from which they come. A few months ago, it was a common thing to find car registration numbers written on the doors of the various rooms occupied by migrants in the township. For example, CDB for Engcobe, CCY for Umtata, and so on were written on the doors. This practice is being discontinued now for other considerations. During the latter half of 1962 until the present day, there have been frequent physical clashes between migrants and some groups, identified as Peqe members or tsotsis at different times. The migrants soon discovered that if anyone of them had a clash with these gangs, then his whole district or home-boy group was attacked. It was easy to do this because the rooms bore the name of the district from which the hunted men came. Here again we notice the identification of the individual with the home district group. There are even popular stereotypes about men from the different districts. Engcobe men are 'wild and pugnacious', men from Centane 'have not been touched by civilization - ngamagaba'.

At Umtata people often introduce themselves as 'so-and-sos' of given districts. People are very proud of the achievements of their districts. For instance, Engcobe people boast of having larger herds of cattle than any people in the Transkei. They also boast of being the most militant politically. When one asks them how successful the Government has been in implementing its many schemes in their district, they reply proudly, 'Such things do not

happen/

happen

in this district'. So the district in which one pays one's tax is important, as the peasants put it.

It is impossible for a single man to know all the people from his district intimately. The village in which one lives then becomes important. The people of the Transkei divide the various districts into village units, which do not necessarily coincide with the villages recognized by the administration for its purposes. When people from the same district meet, the first thing they want to know is the village from which one comes. Being an Engcobo man, it is not enough to tell another Engcobo man that you come from Engcobo. If you do that, he will instantly ask, 'Yes, but what village - kweyiphi ilali?' At times the village is identified with the headman in charge. For example, peasants will ask one, 'From whose village do you come - uphuma kwesikabani?'

In cities like Cape Town the village or village-section provides the basis for the corporate group of home-boys who share a room, eat together, and do virtually everything together. As it can be understood, these men know one another from childhood. This childhood bond and the same responsibilities, as protectors of their families and political interests at home, are very important ties in keeping men from the same village together. It should also be remembered that the village, under the modern conditions, is becoming a more important political unit than the clan or lineage (see All Saints).

For internal purposes, each village may be divided into sections or subvillages. Each of these territorial sub-units usually has a special name by which its members are known by the rest of the villagers. Each is also distinguished, though not invariably, either on the basis of lineage or of the cleavage between 'red' and 'school'. It is occupied by a group of clansmen or of families whose common bond is that they are pagans and conservatives, or by a group whose bond is acceptance of Christianity and schooling.

The two categories are referred to respectively as 'abantu ababomvu' or 'amagaba' (red people or those who smear themselves with red ochre) and 'abantu basesikolweni' or 'amaggoboka' (school people or those who have been converted into Christianity). In the 'red' villages clan and lineage are still very important criteria for identifying people. In the villages which are predominantly 'school', this does not seem to be the case.

## Chapter II.

### THEMBULAND

#### I. The inhabitants.

Divisions based on lineage, clan, and chiefdom are still of structural significance in the Transkei. These can only be understood in terms of the history of the Xhosa and Zulu speaking people as a whole. The time depth is of particular importance to the sociologist because without it he may lose sight of the continuity of social phenomena, and be misled by incidental factors. Some students of Society in South Africa are inclined to see social trends in this country merely as a function of <sup>the</sup> political policies of the Government. It is true that the Government plays a great part in shaping the direction in which society will develop, but its <sup>effectiveness</sup> ~~success~~ in doing so is determined by already existing social factors.

Some of the cleavages that the Government has taken advantage of in the Transkei were there even before the arrival of van Riebeeck in the Cape in 1652. However, owing to lack of recorded material on the early history of the Transkei, it is difficult to say with certainty what happened at the beginning. In an attempt to trace the origins of the groups under study, both recorded history and oral tradition ~~is~~ shall be used. Reconciliation between conflicting accounts will be made where possible.

Contrary to the popular myth that is being perpetrated by some Government spokesmen that 'the Bantu began to trek from the North across the Limpopo when van Riebeeck landed in Table Bay' <sup>(1)</sup>, the Nguni tribes have been in South Africa for at least 300 years. The survivors of the Stavenisse in 1686 reported that: 'They

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(1) Report on Mr Eric Louw's opening speech at the 10th Annual Conference of SABRA, as quoted by Monica Wilson in: History of the Transkei and the Ciskei, African Studies, Vol. 18, Wits Univ Press, 1959.

travelled to the depth of about "30 miljen" in land, and through five kingdoms namely, the Magosses, the Magrigas, the Matimbes, Mapontes, and Emboas<sup>(1)</sup>. These may be interpreted as: the Xhosa, the Griqua, Khoikhoi<sup>o</sup>, the Thembu, the Mpondo, and abambo. This interpretation has been confirmed by the work of a linguist in a recent publication<sup>(2)</sup>. It would be interesting to trace the origins of the various groups and the time of their arrival or emergence in the Cape, but that would be outside the scope of the present work. Groups which are of immediate interest to us are those found in Thembuland, This will include the Thembu proper, the Emigrant Thembu, and the Qwati.

(a) The Thembu.

The history of the tribe has been lost in the past, and its affinities and time of arrival in the Cape have been a matter of speculation. It is believed that they were one of the first groups to arrive in the Cape. Soga has a section on them in his book<sup>(3)</sup>, but I found him unreliable because he gives conflicting statements and dates. The earliest recorded reference to the Thembu is that by the survivors of the Stavenisse quoted above. They found the Thembu somewhere between the Bashe and the Umzimvubu Rivers about 'thirty miles' from the sea. Nobody knows yet when they came there and from which direction. Soga believes that they came from Natal, but fails to produce evidence to support his statement. Even Bennie<sup>(4)</sup>, who can be regarded as a historian in-so-far as he used written records, as opposed to Soga who depended on oral traditions, does not give evidence for the statement he makes that the Thembu came from Natal.

There is, however, sufficient evidence on the movements of the tribe after the wreck of the Stavenisse in 1686. It appears that they did not leave the area they occupied then until the middle of

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(1) Bird John: Annals of Natal (1495-1845), Vol. I, Miller, Cape Town, 1896.

(2) Westphal E.O.J.: 'The Linguistic Prehistory of Southern Africa.' Africa, Vol. 33, No. 3. July, 1963.

(3) Soga J.H.: The South-Eastern Bantu. Wits. University Press, 1930.

(4) Bennie W.G.: 'The Ciskei and Southern Transkei Tribes'. Duggan-Cronin A.M.: The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Vol. 3, Sect. I, Cambridge, 1939.

middle of the 19th century. The presence of a section of the Thembu further North is mentioned by Collins in his notes 'made on a journey to the Southern branches of the River T'Ky, and through Kaffraria' in 1809. He says: 'We were surprised the following day by the appearance of six Kaffers. They told us that they were proceeding from Gyka, whom they had left the day before, to Opato, whom they expected to reach the next day. This is the Tambookee chief whom Mr. Stockenstrom found unexpectedly a few miles east of the Zomo [Tsono], where it appears that he usually resides'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Elsewhere Collins says: 'Opato, chief of the Tambookee kraal a little east of the Zomo, has already been mentioned. It would appear that he has not long been in that part of the country. He acknowledged to Mr. Stockenstrom that it does not belong to him, that he had never crossed the Zomo, and that he had come so near it because he found the place uninhabited; he, however confessed at the same time, that he was on such bad terms with his king as to render it dangerous for his people to go to his residence'.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the genealogy of the Thembu chiefs and the tradition of the tribe, the name of Pato does not appear. He might have been a minor Thembu chief, but the puzzling thing is that Theal, the historian, describes Pato as 'a Gudukwebe Captain who fought against the Colony in 1846'.<sup>(3)</sup> The point of interest to us here is that by 1809 the main body of the Thembu had not gone as far North as the Tsono. They were still near the Bashe and Collins testifies to this: 'Near it [Bashe River], on the opposite bank of the river, is the residence of Oovusanee [Vusani], chief of the Tambookee, or rather, according to their appellation, of  
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(1) D. Moodie : The Record (1808-1819), Part V; AA Balkema, Cape Town MD CCCCLX (p 43).

(2) Ibid (p 43).

(3) G.M. Theal : History of South Africa (1846-1860); Swan Sommenschain & Co. Ltd, London, 1904 (p 460).

the Thembo, or Tenjain nation'.<sup>(1)</sup> Vusani is another name for Ngubengcuka (No. 22 on p 51).

It appears that the main body of the Thembu was still near the Bashe in 1828 because they met the amaNgwane hordes, generally known as imfecane<sup>(2)</sup>, at Mbolompe near Umtata in the same year. They must have moved northwards shortly after this because in 1830-34 they waged a number of battles at Gqutyini against the Bhaca chief, Madzikane. Gqutyini is a village on the borders of the Engcoobe district towards St. Marks. This tallies with the report given by Rev. H.H. Dugmore in his paper written in 1846: 'The Abatembu formerly occupied the whole of the country between the Bashee and Umtata; but in consequence of the repeated formidable inroads of the Amamponde and the Amabaca, (the tribes of Faku and Ncapai), nearly the whole tribe has migrated to the country watered by the upper branches of the Kei ....., nearly the entire territory formerly inhabited by this tribe is abandoned to desolation'<sup>(3)</sup>. So the Thembu must have moved towards the Glen Grey and Indwe districts shortly after the Battle of Gqutyini in 1834.

Another question that has not been fully answered is, who are the Thembu? Soga associates them with the Sotho and amaLala. However, he makes it clear that he is just guessing. Bennie, without giving any evidence, also associates them with the Sotho. Some writers connect them with the Xhosa, but Soga, who believes that the Gcaleka and the Ngqika are the only groups in South Africa that can claim affinities with the Xhosa founding chiefs, is  
violently/

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(1) D. Moodie; op. cit. p. 43.  
p. 30.

(2) Imfecane is a Xhosa word meaning 'free-booters' or 'marauders'.

(3) John Maclean, <sup>(editor)</sup> Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs, ed. by  
Mt Coke, Wesleyan Mission Press, 1858 (p 8).

violently opposed to the idea. Nevertheless, the evidence against him is very strong. The Thembu believe themselves to be Khosa by origin. This belief is strengthened by their close resemblance to the Khosa in appearance, custom, and language.

Collins writing in 1809 says: 'The Tambookees are said to be in every respect the same people as the Kaffers [meaning the Khosa], except that they approach rather more to the appearance of the Negro, which is probably occasioned by their being farther removed from the Ghonaquas and other Hottentots'.<sup>(1)</sup> Dugmore, who wrote thirty-seven years later, is more dogmatic: 'The common origin of the Kaffrarian tribes is much less a matter of conjecture. Many of the tribal distinctions obtaining amongst them are of very recent date, and have arisen from a peculiarity in the "law of succession" to the chieftainship. The principal divisions of Amaxosa, Abatembu, and Amampondo are of earlier formation, although probably arising from the same cause'.<sup>(2)</sup>

A close study of the genealogies of the earlier Zulu, Thembu, Khosa, Mpondo, and Mpondomise chiefs confirms Dugmore's statement. For instance, the name of Njanya appears in the list of the founding chiefs of the Thembu, Mpondomise, and abakho. Similarly, Malandela - the name of the founder of the Zulu tribe - is also the name of one of the founding chiefs of the Thembu. Malangana is the name of both an early Khosa and a Mpondomise chief. Hlanga is the name of a Khosa as well as a Thembu chief.<sup>(3)</sup>

It may, therefore, be argued that the similarity found between the Khosa and the Thembu applies to all the other Nguni groups found in Natal and the Cape. Notwithstanding this, the  
association/

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(1) D. Meedie: op. cit. p430.

(2) Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs ( pp 9-10), op. cit. p 31.

(3) 1883 Report on Native Laws and Customs in the Cape of Good Hope.  
(opp. p 422)

association between these two groups appears to have been closest. For example, most of the known wives of the senior Thembu chiefs came from the Xhosa. Chief Mtikrakra's wife, Khazeka was a Xhosa. The famous Novili, principal wife of Chief Ngangelizwe, was the daughter of the Xhosa chief, Sarili. Besides this kinship relation, it seems as if there had been an intimate political relation between the two tribes. Collins, commenting on the political organization of the Thembu, says: 'Their subjection to one chief is probably more nominal than real, for they are said to frequently make war on each other, and have been repeatedly reconciled through the mediation of Hinsa [a senior Xhosa chief] or his father, with whom they have always been at peace, and whose people and theirs mix on hunting parties, and have otherwise constant intercourse'. This relationship seems to have continued until the time of Ngangelizwe (1863-1884) who was attacked by Sarili after he had ill-treated his wife Novili, who was Sarili's daughter.

(b) The Emigrant Thembu.

Evidence on this group is complete and conclusive mainly because it is of recent origin. The Emigrant Thembu are an offshoot of the original Thembu. Stanford gives a full account of them in his book<sup>(1)</sup>. In 1858 Sarili, son of Hintsu, fled with his people towards the coast to the present Gcalekaland. The Colonial Government had sought to punish him after he had encouraged his people to kill their cattle during the 1857 cattle-killing episode, generally known as Nongqause<sup>(2)</sup>. As a result, his country, which included the present districts of

Butterworth/

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(editor)

(1) L.W. Macquarrie, - The Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford - Vol. I

The van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, 1958 (pp 23-24).

(2) ~~Stanford Vol. I (p 5), op.cit. p 33.~~ Ibid. (p 5).

Butterworth, Ngqamakhwe, Tsomo, St. Mark's, and Xalanga, was left vacant. The colonial government, which wished to survey the land that had been occupied by the Thembu on the west of the Indwe River, saw its opportunity of getting rid of them. It offered them Sarili's vacant country and afterwards settled white farmers on their land.

The land near Indwe, which the colonial government wanted for white farmers, had been reserved for the occupation of the Thembu after the 1850-52 War (War of Mlanjeni). During this war the Thembu were divided into two. One section, under the regency of Nonesi - Mtikrakra's great wife - declared themselves neutral and, to avoid becoming involved in the fighting, moved back to their original country near the Bashe which they had left under the pressure of the Bhaca and Mpondo impis. The other section, under the leadership of Mapasa - a Ndungwane chief - fought against the colony. After the war, as a friendly gesture, the colonial government invited Nonesi to re-occupy the land she had vacated shortly before the war. From then on, the area <sup>was</sup> known as Tambookie Location - a semi-independent territory. A mission station and administrative offices were set up in it, and in 1852 J.C. Warner was put in charge of it.

When the new offer was made to the Thembu, only four chiefs responded. They were Matanzima (No. 28 on p. 5f), Mtikrakra's son in the right hand house. By that time Mtikrakra (No. 24 on p. 5f) was already dead (1850), which meant that the Matanzima house was in the process of being displaced by the right hand house of the young chief, Ngangelizwe (No. 27 on p. 5f), who took over the chieftainship round about 1860. The second chief was Ndarala, Mapasa's successor. Gecelo of the Gcina - also a sub-group under the Thembu - was the third. Gecelo, who had been a

regent/

regent for the Gcina heir, Mpangele, had just been displaced by the latter. He, therefore, availed himself of the opportunity he was afforded by the government. He migrated so that he could retain his power and be an independent chief. The fourth chief was Stokwe Ndlela, a minor Qwati chief who had broken away from the original group and migrated northwards and settled in the valley of the Indwe River under the Gcina<sup>(1)</sup>. He hived-off from the Gcina, and established himself as a chief on his own count.

All four chiefs migrated from the ~~Thambooke~~ Location at the prospect of becoming chiefs in their own right and independent of the Thembu senior chiefs who remained behind and returned to the original country near the Bashe in the late 1870s. They settled in the districts of St. Marks and Xalanga. Since then, they have been known as the Emigrant Thembu and their country as Emigrant Thembuland.

It is interesting to note that the present Emigrant Thembu under Chief Matanzima (No. 38 on p 51) have notified Chief Sabata (No. 36 on p 51), the head of the Thembu proper, of their intention to 'return home'. They maintain that they never proposed to leave their chiefs (meaning the senior Thembu chiefs) permanently, but were only getting away temporarily from a man who 'did not know how to rule people' i.e. Chief Ngangelizwe, whom Stanford describes as 'a man of savage disposition and an ungovernable temper'. From the attitude expressed by the Emigrant Thembu, it can be inferred that the conditions obtaining in Emigrant Thembuland now are similar to those which prevailed during the reign of Ngangelizwe in Thembuland.

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(1) In some books Stokwe Ndlela is confused with Stokwe Tyali, a Vundle chief who migrated towards the Orange River during the time of Tshaka, and returned afterwards to settle in Thembuland.

(c) The Qwati.

Another group which has been associated with the Thembu for a very long time is the Qwati. The Qwati are believed to be Xesibe by origin. Who the Xesibe were is still a matter of conjecture. According to Soga, they are a sub-division of the abaMbo. He reports that Njanya, a great-great-grandson of the first chief of the abaMbo (Gubela), had as his second born a boy by the name of Xesibe. Xesibe is supposed to have come after twins, Mpondomise and Mpondo, who are the progenitors of the present Mpondomise and Mpondo respectively. As for the validity of this, we cannot say but the Mpondo, on their part, deny any affinity with abaMbo.

Soga's account of the Xesibe, like that of the Thembu, is so confused that any attempt to follow it logically will be futile. He does not say where the sons of Njanya were born and when they moved to the Eastern Cape. He suggests that originally they were in Natal, but left Natal during the raids of Tshaka and went to Pondoland, where they joined their kindred (i.e. the Mpondo). He does not give evidence for any <sup>of his</sup> suggestions. He tells us that when in Pondoland, the Xesibe split into two. The section from the left hand house, under the leadership of Jojo, got involved in numerous squabbles with the Mpondo chief, Faku. After various vicissitudes, they approached the colonial government to take them under its protection. The government acceded to their request and settled them in the Mount Ayliff district in 1874<sup>(1)</sup>. The last statement is confirmed by Stanford<sup>(2)</sup>:

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(1) The district is still known by the name of the group amaXesibeni i.e. the territory of the Xesibe.

(2) Stanford: Vol. I, op. cit. p ~~33~~ 196-7, 199.

The senior section, from the great house under an unnamed leader, went to Thembuland after they had been in Pondoland for about twenty years. Apparently, this group had some difficulties in Thembuland and fled to Basutoland. Later they are supposed to have returned as suppliants under the leadership of Dalasile. According to Soga, this happened during the time of Ngubengcuka (he ruled round about 1800 and Dalasile in the 1870s). Soga does not say how the group got its tribal name, and in his genealogy of the Xesibe chiefs, he gives Nondzaba as the founder of the Qwati<sup>(1)</sup>.

The oral tradition given by a descendent of one of the minor<sup>†</sup> Qwati chiefs, George Mnyande, is different from that given by Soga. According to Mnyande and some senior Qwati men, Mndwane was <sup>the</sup> founder of the group. The name of Mndwane does not even appear in Soga's genealogy. The Qwati describe Mndwane (No. 3 on p 52) as the son of the right hand house of Xesibe (No. 1 on p 52), a chief who originally came from Natal and settled somewhere on the east of the Umzimvubu River. He left his father to look for new pastures in the more western parts of the Transkei. After crossing the Umtata River near Mjika, he camped and sent an envoy ahead to go and ask the Thembu chiefs if he could settle in their land. Leading the Thembu at the time was Chief Hala, the son of Dlomo (No. 14 on p 51). Hala's reply was that he had heard Mndwane's appeal, but he did not know how sincere he was since there was nothing to show his sincerity.

The news having been delivered to Mndwane, he sent the Thembu some cattle, including Qwato - an ox Mndwane had been

given/

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(1) Soga; op. cit. p~~349~~. p 349.

given by his father at circumcision. The group was known afterwards by the name of this famous ox. They were given all the land stretching between the Bashe and Umgwali Rivers. They were also asked by the Thembu to carry out mopping up operations against wild animals and the Bushmen in the valleys of the Mnyolo, Gqaga, Qebe, Quthubeni, and Sitholeni Rivers (1). In this way the Qwati, a roving group, came to settle in Thembuland under their own leaders, who afterwards established themselves as a semi-independent chieftainship.

There are two points to note here : (i) according to Qwati oral tradition, the group never fought with the Thembu, in which case they were never forced to flee to Basutoland as Soga reports; (ii) they came to Thembuland much earlier than it is suggested by Sago, who believes that they arrived in Pondoland about 1820 and only came to Thembuland for the first time about 1840-50. The Thembu were near Glen Grey by that time.

Allowing each generation twenty-five years, and using the dates given for the reign of particular Thembu and Qwati chiefs, the arrival of the Qwati in Thembuland falls somewhere in the 1660s. Counting back from Ngangelizwe (No. 27 on p 51) who, according to Stanford, started ruling round about 1860 to Hala who is seven generations before Ngangelizwe and who is supposed to have received the Qwati, the approximate date is 1665. Doing the same thing from Dalasile (No. 20 on p 52) to Mndwane, who is also seven generations before Dalasile, the approximate date is 1662. When Stanford was appointed resident magistrate in Engcobo in the early 1870s, he found Dalasile in charge of the Qwati. The reign of Fubu (No. 18 on p 52), Dalasile's father, is estimated between 1830 and 1857.

Theal/

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(1) Numerous Bushmen paintings have been found in the caves over-looking these valleys.

Theal, the historian, also talks of a Xesibe group which 'emerged in the late 18th century and settled themselves around the source of Mpanza River in what is now Natal'. This group is also supposed to have trekked during the time of Tshaka's raids. Lest the raids of Tshaka be used as a ready explanation for all the movements of the various groups between the 17th and 19th century, let us fix the period in which they occurred and identify the groups which they are known to have affected for certain.

(d) The Raids of Tshaka.

Tshaka burst into the South African scene at the beginning of the 19th century. He was the son of Senzangakhona, the eighth in line of descent from Malandela, the founder of the Zulu tribe. His reign was a short one - 1812-28 - but with far-reaching effects. Early in his career, Tshaka raised a big army. With his impi he raided as far inland as Basutoland, as far North as Swaziland, and as far South as Pondoland. He routed every enemy army he met. The only chief who is said to have given him a <sup>hard</sup> ~~rough~~ time is Matiwane, the chief of amaNgwane. Eventually he drove Matiwane and his group across the Drakensberg Mountains.

Though Tshaka had retired after driving the amaNgwane across the Drakensberg, Matiwane continued and turned on the Hlubi tribes. The Hlubi had an impact on the groups in front of them. These included the amaBele, amaZizi, and amaTola. All of them fled southwards into Pondoland, Thembuland, and Xhosaland. Destitute, famine-stricken, and helpless they came to the Southern tribes with their never forgotten cry of 'Siya mfenguza' - 'We are refugees or fugitives'. Hence the term 'amaMfengu'. Their kindred are still found in Natal, and they still use the original clan names as surnames (izibongo). The Cape groups have retained them as clan names (iziduko).

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There may have been other groups that came South at the same time, but it is doubtful if the forebears of the Qwati were among them. When Matiwane and his followers came as far South as Thembu-land during the imfecane, he was met by the Thembu together with the Qwati. The Qwati are reputed to have fought very bravely in those battles. Though the tradition says that they were led by Dalasile, I think Fubu who started ruling about 1830, was the leader. Matiwane, who lived at the same time as Tshaka, could not have lived and led armies till the time of Dalasile who reached his prime in the late 1870s.

## 2. Traditional political system.

The Thembu do not seem to have ~~had~~ had a strong and highly centralized chieftainship. From the early times the tribe consisted of many clans with their own leaders. Some of these clans were not Thembu in origin e.g. the Gcina (Mpondomise), the Vundle and the Mvulane (Sotho), and the Qwati (Xesibe). As time went on, even these clans, through absorption of other minor groups, developed into sub-chiefdoms with their own chiefs. The royal clan also consisted of a number of lineages, which afterwards grew into clans e.g. amaHlanga, amaNdungwane, amaTshatshu, amaJumba, and amaHala. The genealogy of the Thembu chiefs demonstrates the kinship relations among the various groups (see p 51). The Hala are now under Sabata (No. 36 on p 51), Mtikrakra, and Matanzima (Nos. 37 and 38 on p 51); and the Jumba are under the Mgudlwa chiefs.

The over-lordship of the senior Thembu chiefs has never been seriously challenged. Whether this was so because they did not exercise any real control over their subordinates, it is not easy to say. The interesting thing is that some of the subordinate groups became as powerful as their lords e.g. the Qwati who, according to Stanford, could lead afield as many warriors as the Thembu.

...../Perhaps

Perhaps, the Thembu were so careful in their treatment of the subordinate groups because they needed their support against stronger enemies such as the Bhaca and the Mpondo.

Another factor that may have contributed to the frailness of the Thembu political system is absence of common rituals. The subchiefs who were not Thembu by origin observed different rituals from the Thembu chiefs. For instance, Stanford noticed that whenever war threatened, Dalasile and his followers conducted a number of rituals which he had never seen the Thembu, 'who were not as superstitious as the Qwati', perform. Even the chiefs who were related to the royal line enjoyed so much autonomy that they may have observed their rituals independently of the senior chiefs. The Tahatshu, who went on war independently of Nonesi in 1850, are a case in point. Therefore, it would not be incorrect to say that, though they had the same religious system, the different constituent groups of the Thembu never had the same object of appropriation. It is common knowledge among anthropologists that where all sections of a tribe are under chiefs descendant from the same ancestor, the bond of kinship is usually maintained by participation in common rituals. Recognition of a common object as <sup>a</sup> symbol of the unity of a group is a very powerful integrating force, and this is what seems to have been lacking among the Thembu.

I believe this is to be the case, despite the opinion expressed by writers like Hammond-Tooke. Hammond-Tooke says: 'Formerly allegiance to the paramount chief was well defined and was marked by the payment to him of part of the death dues (isizi) and fines imposed for offences against the chief, collected by the district chief, by the obligation to fight with the paramount chief in time of war and to attend the annual first fruits festival at his great place'.<sup>(1)</sup> This is true of the Bhaca and the Mpondo, but its

extension /

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(1) W.D. Hammond-Tooke & The Tribes of the Umtata District. The Government Printer, Pretoria. C.P.-S. 25819 - 1956-7 (p 11).

extension to the Thembu is questionable. To my knowledge, the word isizi does not exist in the Thembu vocabulary, nor is there its equivalent. The Thembu are aware of the existence of the rituals mentioned in the above quotation among other tribes such as the Mpondo and the Tola<sup>(1)</sup>, but deny any knowledge of their existence in their own tribe.

Secondly, the importance of the obligation to fight with the paramount chief in time of war should not be exaggerated because a number of Thembu subchiefs e.g. the Tshatshu, the Vundle, the Gcina, and the Qwati chiefs went to war or declared themselves neutral, irrespective of the attitude of the senior Thembu chiefs, and no action seems to have been taken against them. For instance, during the 1850-52 war Mapasa (Tshatshu chief) went to war independently of Nonesi; in 1877 Dalasile went to war in support of Nchayechibi independently of Ngangelizwe. In the 1880 Qwati war, the same thing happened (see p 48). Of course, the Thembu are not exceptional in this; it is also true of other tribes such as the Xhosa and the Mpondo.

The Thembu paramount chiefs do not seem to have conducted rituals on behalf of the whole tribe. Also the power to make war or conclude peace did not reside with them entirely, nor was the right of life and death over the commoners their sole prerogative. Subchiefs like Mapasa, Dalasile, Stokwe Tyali, and Gecelo seem to have had the same power over their followers. This sort of situation makes it difficult to say what was meant by authority of senior chiefs in Thembuland and how the various groups

identified/

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(1) The Tola are a group found in the Tsolo District. They originally came from Natal (Mfengu fugitives).

identified themselves as Thembu. The senior Thembu chiefs may have had real authority and there may have been strong tribal identity before the time of Ngangelizwe, but unfortunately our knowledge of the political situation in Thembuland at the time is very inadequate. The last chief who seems to have had power before Ngangelizwe is Ngubengcuka (No. 22 on p 51). Ngangelizwe (No. 27 on p 51) himself was particularly weak and it was during his time that most groups migrated or asserted their independence. We do not know whether Chief Dalindyebo (No. 30 on p 51), who seems to have been more popular, would have managed to bring the tribe together because by his time Thembuland was effectively under the control of the colonial government.

Unlike in Central Africa, the position of village headman does not seem to have been traditional among the Southern tribes. All political authorities were known as chiefs, but with varying powers. Immediately below the most junior chief were clan heads, then lineage heads, and finally the heads of the extended families. I, therefore, suggest that the office of headman is an innovation of the white administration in South Africa. I am also inclined to think that the traditional African, used to the old system, never made any distinction between minor chief and headman. I have heard men in the Transkei saluting headmen as if they were chiefs. Though sibonda is used as a reference term, the headmen are addressed as nkosi (chief).

### 3. The modern political system.

The general political pattern in the modern Transkei has been discussed already in the section dealing with the rule of the Transkei. I will, therefore, deal more specifically with modern Thembuland. According to the Thembu, their country covers all the

land/

land between Umtata and Queenstown. This does not necessarily coincide with the five districts recognized as Thembuland by the Government. To be accurate, the Government recognizes two Thembulands.

There is the area which covers the districts of St. Mark's and Xalanga. This area is officially known as 'Emigrant Thembuland', and is under the jurisdiction of Chief Kaizer Matanzima. The remaining area, comprising the districts of Engcobo, Mqanduli, and Umtata, is the other Thembuland. It is officially known as 'Dalindyebo Regional Authority', deriving from the chief in charge, Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo (No. 36 on p 51). According to tradition the latter, a descendant of the main Thembu royal line, is the rightful paramount chief of all the Thembu. But a few years ago, the Government went against this notion and appointed Matanzima (No. 38 on p 51) as the ~~paramount~~ chief of the Emigrant Thembu independent of Sabata.

The pattern in Emigrant Thembuland, being a new chiefdom, is less complex than that in Thembuland proper. There is the ~~paramount~~ <sup>senior</sup> chief with a few minor chiefs and headmen, serving under him. On the other hand, Thembuland proper is divided into four sections, under recognized chiefs. There is the Dalindyebo section, directly under the paramount chief. It includes the Mqanduli and Umtata districts, and its headquarters are at Bumbane - a village in the Umtata district. But recently the American Consulate announced that they intend to establish a R40,000 administrative complex for the Thembu paramount chief. The complex, which is believed will be the finest tribal headquarters in South Africa, will be put up in Sithebe, a village in the Engcobo district.

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The other three sections are in the Engcobo district. The section on the Western side of Engcobo is under the Mgudlwa chiefs. The people in it are known as amaJumba, the descendants of Jumba. The people on the Southern side are called amaHala, the descendants of Hala. They are under Chief Zwelihle Mtikrakra (No. 37 on p 51), Sabata's parallel cousin in the right hand house. The last group, the Qwati (descendants of Mndwane), occupies the North-Eastern side of Engcobo.

The Qwati are the most numerous in the district, and they number approximately 70,000 out of a total African population of 80,067. They occupy forty-four of the sixty-four villages into which the district is divided. The Qwati have always maintained their identity and semi-independence, though they are generally regarded as an integral part of the Thembu. Generally, they also recognize the overlordship of the Thembu chiefs and identify themselves with the Thembu in certain situations. For example, a man met in Cape Town in May, 1963 described himself as 'a proper Thembu' and, on being asked what his clan name was, it turned out that he was Qwati. So we see that outside the home country individuals identify themselves more closely with the bigger group, and internal distinctions are submerged. Similarly, it is important to realize that, though the land occupied by the Qwati is recognized as theirs and is known by their tribal name to outsiders, not everybody who lives in it is Qwati by origin. There are small non-Qwati groups. In other words, social identification is in terms of occupation of area, but spoken of as if it is in terms of descent.

The Qwati area is under Chief Mayeza Dalasile (No. 25 on p 50), who was attacked and his house burnt at the time field work was being done<sup>(1)</sup>. He is acting for the Qwati heir, Mzikayise who is still/

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(1) Chief Mayeza was attacked at night on the 8th December, 1962 by an unknown gang.

still at school. The two villages under study i.e. Gubenxa and All Saints fall under the jurisdiction of the same chief, but under non-Qwati headmen. It should be borne in mind that the Qwati, who are descendants of the right hand house son of Xesibe, did not have chiefs, as such, when they first came to Thembuland. The first Qwati leader to be known by the title of chief was Fubu, the father of Dalasile. They lost this recognition when their chief, Dalasile was deposed after the war of the Qwati in 1880.

In 1880 Dalasile (No. 20 on p 52), despite appeals from the then Engcobe magistrate (Stanford), made preparations for a full scale war against the whites. He accordingly invaded the town of Engcobe and the neighbouring white stations. He looted and burnt down all the shops and the offices. He attacked the mission station at All Saints as well. He destroyed the mission buildings, but spared a white woman and her children who were in the mission. She had been left behind by her husband who had gone to Engcobe to discuss the impending danger with the magistrate, Stanford. Stanford, who felt that the time for their escape was almost overdue, advised him to join his escape party. He assured him that nothing would happen to his family because it was a principle among 'the Xhosas and the Thembus that women and children were not injured in warfare'<sup>(1)</sup>. Even the turbulent Dalasile observed this principle. Very few whites were killed because most of them had fled in time. Afterwards Dalasile suffered severe reprisals from a strong police detachment from Umtata. He was arrested and 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep were taken away from him. He was deposed and a Mfengu man, Ntshacile was appointed in his stead. He acted as a senior headman over the Qwati until after the South African War (1899-1902), in which the Qwati fought with the British.

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(1) Stanford; Vol. I (p 124) op. cit., p 33.

As a result of this demonstration of loyalty by the Qwati, the government handed back their political power. The Qwati heir at the time was Langa, Dalasile's son. Though he immediately took over from Ntshacile, he was not recognized as a chief but as senior headman. It was only in 1942 that the Qwati chieftainship was handed back formally. Chief Sakhela, a great-grandson of Dalasile, was in power when this happened. His son, who is twenty now, is at Lovedale in the matriculation class. He was officially installed about eight years ago.

In these two introductory chapters we have shown that many cleavages obtain in Thembuland and the Transkei in general, and they may be summarized as follows:

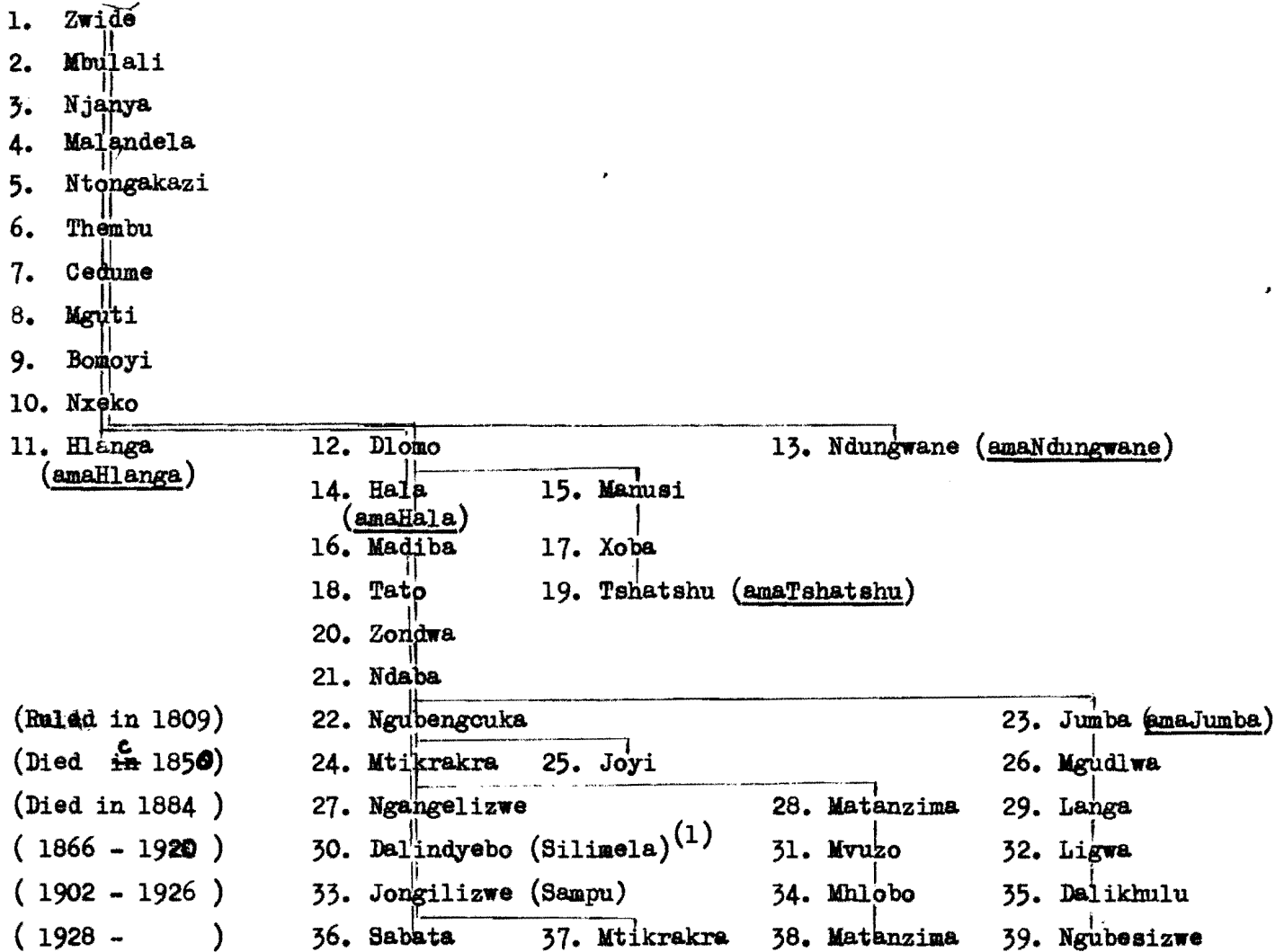
- (1) Divisions between colour groups are current in the Transkei, as elsewhere in the Republic. These divisions tend to coincide with differences in political and economic power. The white group is concentrated in the towns and the dorps in the Transkei, and leads a life apart from the rest of the population. This is so, even though some of them are scattered throughout the Transkei as traders and missionaries.
- (2) There is also a cleavage in the territory between the chiefs in general and the new national leaders who question the institution of chieftainship itself. As it has been pointed out, conditions in the Transkei made it virtually impossible to find out how far the black national leaders had gone with their organization against the Bantu Authorities and the Government in general.
- (3) Some rivalry or opposition between chiefs also exists. In Thembuland this is best illustrated by the struggle between Chiefs Sabata and Matanzima. The latter is strongly pro-Government and this has given his opponent, Chief Sabata, an opportunity to organize the majority of the Thembu against him.
- (4) In the Engcobo district, there is a further division between the Qwati and the Thembu proper i.e. the Hala and the Jumba.

In terms of the general population, this cleavage is not particularly important because political considerations tend to over-ride it. But in terms of the chiefs themselves, it is important because most of the Qwati chiefs in the district are generally pro-Government or in alliance with the Matanzima faction.

- (5) The above point also implies a cleavage between chiefs and the people. In some areas e.g. Eastern Pondoland and Thembuland, there has been a definite rejection of the chiefs by the people. In the Engcobo district the Qwati have, in the more recent years, openly rejected their chiefs and <sup>have</sup> shown greater allegiance to the senior Thembu chiefs (Sabata and Mtikrakra). Since 1960 several of their chiefs have been killed, and two of the surviving ones are in hiding, waiting for the Government to provide them with body-guards.
- (6) On the regional level, some non-Qwati groups have taken advantage of the unpopularity of the Qwati chiefs and are refusing to recognize their authority. Though these groups e.g. the people on the mountain tops (see map of the Engcobo district p viii and section on Local Politics Ch. III) have always resented the authority of the Qwati chiefs over them, formerly they did not express their resentment as openly as they do nowadays. The reasons for this are that originally they were not under the direct control of the Qwati chiefs, as is the case under the Bantu Authorities system; and secondly, the Qwati chiefs were not politically in the invidious position they are in today.
- (7) The reaction against the Qwati chiefs, though primarily political, also implies a cleavage between clans. A cleavage still exists among clans and lineages in some villages in the Transkei.
- (8) Yet another cleavage, which tends to over-ride the divisions among clans and even lineages, also exists. This is the cleavage between the 'red' and school people.

I. The Genealogy of the Thembu Chiefs

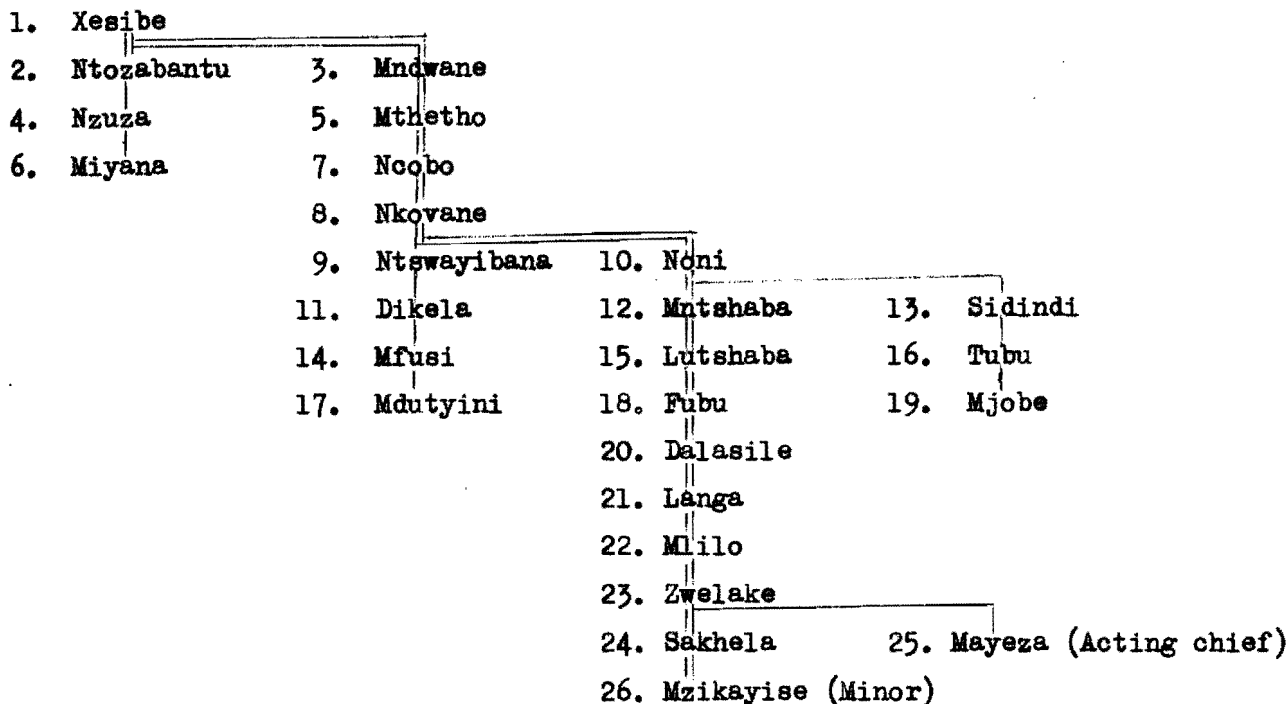
|| indicates main line



(1) Hammond-Tooke incorrectly treats Dalindyabo and Silimela as two different persons.

This genealogy, given by Sabata's imbongi, agrees with Soga's as far as Nxeko. After Nxeko the same names recur but in different positions.

## 2. The Genealogy of the Qwati Chiefs



**Note:**

- (i) This genealogy was given by George Mnyande, a descendant of one of the minor Qwati chiefs. It was confirmed by other Qwati senior men.
- (ii) It will be noticed that Mndwane's main line is no longer in power. The ruling house is the right hand house, starting from Noni. The tradition is that Noni, who was the right hand house son but interested in politics, managed to get more and more power from the son of the great house, Ntswayibana. It is said that Ntswayibana was more interested in his lands and stock than in the onerous judicial duties of a chief. In this way power was transferred to the right hand house. The usual pattern amongst the other tribes is that the contending sons go to war, and the winner takes over chieftainship. This happened among the Xhosa, Mpondomise, and the Thembu.

Chapter III:

GUBENXA VILLAGE.

1. Historical background.

It was at the time of Ntshacile Poswayo, who was appointed senior headman over the Qwati after the 1880 War, that certain groups began to settle on the mountains above the Sitholeni, Gqaga, and Mnyolo valleys. It was Ntshacile who appointed headmen to look after these new people and he did this, not on behalf of the Qwati chiefs who had been deposed, but on behalf of the colonial government; a fact which was to be used afterwards in the struggle against the Qwati chiefs.

The first group to settle in the Gubenxa area was the Vundle, a break-away group from Stokwe Tyali's followers. After them came the Gcina, a lineage group which had left its chief, Gecelo, in search of new pastures. Their fellow-clansmen are still found in the Cala district, and are counted among the Thembu sub-chiefs though they are of Mpondomise origin. Then came the Qwati. This group, though belonging to the same clan as the Qwati chiefs, was not affiliated to the lineage in power. So they were never recognized as chiefs by the Gubenxa people and the people on the mountain tops in general. After them came the Mvulane, a group of Sotho origin. Later on, there came other minor groups such as the Chunube, Nxhongo, and Zima. These last three were Thembu by origin.

None of the groups that settled over the mountains were accompanied by their chiefs. It, therefore, became necessary that headmen be appointed among them to facilitate the work of the colonial government. The first headman to be appointed over the

Gubenxa and the surrounding areas<sup>(1)</sup> was Rwexwana, a Vundle by clan. He was succeeded, not by a clansman, but by a member of the Bangula clan, Mgunundu. After Mgunundu came another Bangula, Isaac Mbesu who became involved in a case of fraud and lost his position. He was replaced by another clansman, Mbotyi. Mbotyi was succeeded by a son-in-law he had appointed as his subheadman. His name was Apleni Lengisi, a Mvulane. When he died, a Bangula man and a kinsman to Mbotyi claimed the position of headman with success. This was the son of Isaac Mbesu, Shadrack.

Shadrack was a powerful and intelligent man, and became a very popular headman. If it were not for that his village, which covers a very wide area, would have split into two sections. He did not live in the part called Gubenxa, but in Sitholeni - a village about fifteen miles away. For a very long time the Gubenxa people have been complaining that they are a village big enough to have a separate headman. They argue that this is the more necessary since the headman lives so far from them. During Shadrack's time they took a definite step to establish Gubenxa as a separate and independent village. This move received support even from the local white farmers. The farmers expressed their wishes through a man they favoured. They could not do otherwise because they are debarred by law, as whites, from participating in the village politics which are supposedly based on traditional law and <sup>tribal</sup> notions.

They took an interest in the issue of an independent headman because they wanted to have somebody near by to whom they could report cases of stock theft on their farms. As things stood, by the time a message reporting theft in one of the farms reached the headman, the thieves were already gone and could not be traced. Unfortunately for them, the move failed because →

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(1) Gubenxa and the surrounding areas (three other villages) is treated as a single administrative unit called Sitholeni.

the villagers were not agreed. Some felt that the then headman was an excellent man and there was no point in trying to get another one. Another possible reason is that the people behind the move did not enjoy the confidence of the villagers. They greatly mistrusted the man who was being put forward as a candidate. As time passed by, the strong feeling for a separate headman died away but not entirely, as it shall be seen later.

Shadrack Mbeshu was succeeded by his son, Diphu. The Gubenxa people are very dissatisfied with him, and they complain that 'he is a very dull man and is incapable of ruling people'. Inefficiency is said to be the distinctive mark of his rule. The villagers claim that he does not know the first thing about government, nor does he know who is who among them<sup>(1)</sup>. In Gubenxa he used to have three sub-headmen representing him until he felt that they were undermining him. Though the villagers will not admit it, there seem~~s~~ to be reasonable grounds for the charge. He dismissed all three sub-headmen and appointed one in their place. His choice was acceptable to the villagers.

It will be noticed then that Gubenxa has never been under direct control of chiefs. Though under the present system of Bantu Authorities it is under the jurisdiction of the Qwati, originally it was under headmen who were not appointed by any particular chief, but by the colonial government or its nominee like Ntshacile. This applies to a number of other villages which did not fall under the original terrain of the Qwati.

## 2. The Village structure.

Gubenxa is still relatively isolated. It is far from the national roads and there are no roads going to it. Its main means of communication with the outside world are the local trading stations and frequent visits to the town of Engcobo. It is a relatively conservative community and its members are predominantly 'red'; clan and lineage affiliations are still primary in it.

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(1) This is to be expected since he lives so far away from them.

The village is divided into thirteen neighbourhoods<sup>(1)</sup>. Though these neighbourhoods are not necessarily occupied by clansmen, certain clans tend to dominate in most of them. The following table brings this out more clearly:-

<u>Name of Neighbourhood</u>	<u>Predominant Clan</u>
Sidikidi	Vundle, Ndlane, and Ngabashe
Boomplaas (Afrikaans name)	Mvulane
Hukwini	Chunube and Nxhongo
Shoqe	Mvulane
Zandukwane	Mvulane
Nchonchomisa	Mvulane
Sigingqini	Gcina
Zinkonxa	Gcina
Nonyentu	Zima
Lixeni	Zima
Thaleni (Veld)	Mvulane
Madwaleni	Gcina
Tywabatywaba	Gcina

As it can be seen, the Mvulane are the most numerous clan in Gubenxa. They occupy five of the thirteen neighbourhoods. Next comes the Gcina, who spread over four neighbourhoods. The Zima, Vundle, Ndlane, Chumbe, Nxhongo, and the Qwati are minority groups, scattered amongst the predominant groups or not occupying more than two neighbourhoods each. In this case, though this is not necessarily true of all the villages in the area, the number of neighbourhoods occupied indicates the numerical strength of a group.

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(1) The Xhosa word isiphaluka - meaning a village subsection is here translated as 'neighbourhood' because it refers more to social groupings than geographical units.

The actual number of clans represented in Gubenxa is nine, excluding individual families which usually attach themselves to the nearest group in space. Most neighbourhoods are referred to by the names of the clans found in them e.g. kwaGcina, amaMvulaneni. For the study of the clan system this is a very important pointer, but it can be misleading because it gives one the impression that all the people in the regions referred to by clan names are clansmen. However, this in itself does not reduce the importance of clans in Gubenxa, and this is best illustrated by the way the members of the community are divided for the purpose of distributing food, whether it be meat or beer, at any feast or other social gathering.

The following are the recognized eating groups :-

Mvulane

Gcina

Cedume (Zima)

Vundle

Ndlane

Sidindi (Qwati)

Chumube

Dosini (Nqabashe)

Nxhongo

These are the main effective groups in Gubenxa, but some of them do come together and act as a unit under certain conditions. The reverse is also true. For instance, for purposes of distribution of food in public gatherings, three Mvulane subgroups are recognized. The subdivision is according to the main Mvulane houses. There is the great house (ikom<sup>k</sup>huku), the right hand house (ukunene), and the rafter of the great house which, according to Thembu terminology, is called indlu encinci (the small house). The explanation for the subdivision of the Mvulane is that there are too many of them and 'they would starve if they were to share a single portion.'

The Vundle, who are not half as many as the Mvulane, also made a request that they be given two portions or izitya<sup>(1)</sup>, as they are called. There are only twenty-one Vundle homesteads in the village. So the numbers which made it inconvenient for the whole Mvulane group to eat together are not the explanation in this case. The villagers could not say why such a small group as the Vundle subdivided. The only fact known to them is that the Vundle group is riddled with disunity and frequent fights, and that the men from the two Vundle houses do not get on well. Consequently, this was put forward as the possible reason for the split.

I found the Mvulane and the Vundle cases very interesting because they confirmed what I had discovered in Langa. In Langa I found that, under normal circumstances, each group had a critical point at which splitting became necessary or convenient. The Mvulane, after reaching a certain number, found it necessary to split. The Vundle split for different reasons. Still illustrating the same phenomenon is the case of the Zima who, on arriving in Gubenxa, were received by the Gcina. For a very long time they ate with the Gcina, and only broke away from them when their numbers merited a separate isitya. The same thing seems to have happened in the Qwati, Chumube, and Nxhongo groups which once clubed together.

This organization of the community into clans is fundamental to village life in Gubenxa. Most interaction between fellow villagers is seen, not as between individual persons, but as between members of given clans. For example, it is not uncommon for a person when asked where he is going to, to reply, 'I am going to so-and-so clan'. Or to describe other people as so-and-sos of such-and-such clans. Even clashes that occur in the village usually express themselves in terms of clans (see cases on arbitration).

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(1) Isitya is a Xhosa word for a dish or basin.

A discussion on the Gubenxa social structure would be incomplete without some reference to the cleavage between school and 'red' people. Though not very important, this cleavage exists in the Gubenxa community and people, in various social situations, make a distinction between school and 'red' members. In the village there are 177 homesteads altogether. Of these, only eighteen are 100 per-cent school. The rest are 'red', except thirty which are half 'red' and half school. In the case of mixed families, it is always the younger generation which has been to school that is not 'red'.

At present the number of school persons in proportion to 'red' members is still very small in Gubenxa. Consequently, the existence of a school group has not yet undermined the clan structure, as it has in All Saints. Two factors militate against the breaking down of the clan structure. There are few school people, and their numerical strength is further weakened by denominationalism. Secondly, one's neighbours are clansmen who are mostly 'red'. As a result, one finds oneself interacting more frequently with clansmen than fellow school people.

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The following table gives some idea about the distribution and proportion of school to 'red' people :-

Neighbourhood	No. of homes	No. of school	No. of in-betweens	Prop. of dominant clan to others
Sidikidi	23	2	4	5:3
Boomplaas	22	-	2	7:1
Zandukwane	13	1	2	11:2
Zinkonxa	14	3	3	7:1
Sigingqini	10	2	1	7:3
Lixeni	11	1	-	10:1
Nehonchomisa	16	1	-	8:1
Shoqo	2	2	-	2:0
Hukwini	6	-	2	2:1
Thaleni	43	5	12	19:2
Tywabatywaba	9	1	1	5:4
Noxyentu	8	-	1	7:1
<b>Total</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>30</b>	

The divisions in the school section will be discussed more fully under religious leadership. Another important point to note in passing is that, though it is true that the school group in Gubenxa coincides with the more educated section, taken individually, members of certain churches like the Baptist, Zionist, and Sigxabayi sectors are not necessarily more educated than some 'reds'. The only group that can claim educational superiority over the 'reds' are the members of the Anglican and Methodist Churches.

## LOCAL POLITICS.

### 1. Political leadership.

In the introductory chapters it has been suggested that a cleavage exists between the people and the <sup>h</sup>chiefs or their representatives on one hand, and between the chiefs or headmen themselves on the other. This conflict has been going on for some time, but it has reached a climax in the more recent years with the killing of chiefs and headmen in the Transkei. This conflict has been felt even in the most remote villages in the Transkei such as Gubenxa.

As it has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, Diphu Mbeshu is the present headman of Gubenxa and the rest of Sitholeni 'location'. In Gubenxa he is represented by a subheadman whom he appointed himself. Diphu, as a headman, is supposed to have been elected by the community, but in actual fact he merely inherited the headmanship from his father. At the time of his appointment (1955) there was a great deal of dissatisfaction. The villagers were keenly aware of his unsuitability for the position of headman. They, therefore, put up other candidates to compete for the position. It is, however, the general practice that every man nominated for an official position must be approved of by the Native Commissioner and the chief concerned. This placed the villagers in a difficult position because their choice was not acceptable to higher authorities. The authorities were not unaware of Diphu's weaknesses, but they had to choose between him and the people's candidate. They were on the horns of a dilemma; they hesitated to suggest a man who was neither the son of the previous headman nor the people's choice. Though they have the power to do so, such an action would have led to trouble. Diphu was, therefore, their best choice. But afterwards they found it necessary to make a regulation that he should not handle any cases without the assistance of the subheadmen nor should he take any case to the magistrate without being accompanied by, at least, one of his subheadmen. This can be interpreted as an admission of Diphu's incompetence by the authorities.

It should be noted that in the situation we are dealing with, unsuitability of a candidate might mean lack of personal ability or a wrong political outlook, wrong in the opinion of the people or that of the Government. In the case of Diphu, the people complained that his mind was not sharp enough and that his knowledge of government was inadequate. This made him an unpopular candidate, despite the fact that he is the son of a headman. In other words, his descent was not sufficient qualification in itself: the people required that he also be a man of ability. Diphu, like all headmen, attends a meeting with the magistrate once a quarter, but does not necessarily visit Gubenxa himself to announce whatever new regulations had been introduced in the meeting. Instead, he often calls the subheadmen from the various sections of his 'location' to his place to inform them about the new regulations. He is, therefore, rarely seen in the village. During the period of <sup>nearly three</sup> ~~four~~ months field-work, ~~in Gubenxa~~ he never once visited the village. As the man in charge of the whole area, one would expect him to go around supervising the work of his subheadmen, but he does not. As a result, I could only get information on his political outlook or ideas indirectly i.e. from the villagers.

Though this be the case, one thing that comes out clearly is that Diphu, owing to the circumstances of his appointment, was predisposed to be antagonistic towards the villagers. One of the ways in which he could express this ill-feeling towards them was to identify himself with their enemies or refuse to cooperate with them when they want him to do them favours, such as recommending their names to the chief for the allocation of land, or for attending immediately to cases they report to him; or being lenient in dealing with them. This seems to <sup>be</sup> what Diphu has done. I was told that on several occasions he has failed to forward to the chief the names of the villagers who wanted land. Again, he is said to take too long to attend to cases that are reported to him.

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Whether this is due to his inefficiency or his grudge against the villagers, nobody could say with certainty. The end result is that he has been identified with the bureaucracy created by the Bantu Authorities, and his inefficiency has been attributed to the unwillingness of the Bantu Authorities in general to do anything in the interest of the people. 'They never do anything for us; they are just the Government's servants (zizicaka zikaRulemente)', is the damning remark against the Bantu Authorities.

The tragedy of Diphu's position is that he does not seem to be popular even with the people's 'enemies' i.e. the chief, the Native Commissioner, the magistrate, and all those who are charged with the duty of implementing the Government's schemes in the Transkei. The restriction imposed upon him by the magistrate that he should not attend or take any cases to him without the assistance of a subheadman is an indication that the magistrate is not impressed with his work <sup>and</sup> or questions his integrity. On a number of occasions he has been summoned to appear in the magistrate's office to explain why he had failed to forward the names of villagers who had applied for land to the chief. Villagers who think that they have strong claims to certain pieces of land usually go and complain to the magistrate, not the chief, if they feel that their applications are taking too long or if they suspect that they have not been forwarded. At times headmen accept bribes and then deliberately fail to forward the names of the rightful claimants to certain plots of land. Chiefs are also prone to accept bribes (the wages of minor chiefs and headmen are very low), and hence people prefer to go to the magistrate rather than to a chief. Besides, the villagers seem to think that they are more directly involved with the chief in their struggle than the magistrate. 'Even a white is better than a chief. At least he tells one in one's face what he thinks of one, instead of pretending as if he likes one, whereas he knows that he does not'. In less subjective terms, this generalization may be interpreted to mean that the white, being more distant socially, is likely to be more impartial in his application of the law than the chief or headman who lives with the villagers.

The relationship between the headman and the chief, though they are in the same position in the opinion of the village, does not appear to be intimate. The headman does not frequent the chief's place; the only time he goes to the chief's place is when he has some cases to report or when his cases are being discussed at the chief's place. There are several reasons which could account for this: (i) the headman may be indifferent to a chief that does not belong to his clan; (ii) or the chief may lack interest in a weak headman like Diphu; (iii) it would be difficult for any headman to establish an intimate relationship with a chief who is away from home most of the time (Chief Meyeza is a hunted man and spends most of his time in hiding); (iv) the headman may have deliberately avoided getting too involved with Meyeza whose life is in danger. The Xhosa proverb says, 'a bird is hit with its shelter (intaka ibethwa nesicithi)' - meaning that when you attack an enemy, you should not spare those who are around him.

Though both the headman and the regional chief are being rejected by the villagers, a distinction is made between them. The position of chief is mainly hereditary i.e. only the Government can depose or appoint people to the position of chief. On the other hand, constitutionally, people are elected to the position of headman, and the villagers can agitate successfully against an inefficient headman, more so if he is unpopular with the higher officials. Despite this loop-hole, the Gubenxa people have not, as yet, tried to oust their headman from power. But secretly a great deal of political intrigue is going on to take advantage of his weakness. The villagers are convinced that: 'It is advantageous to have him over them because it means that, given a powerful local subheadman, they can get a lot done right in front of the headman's nose, and without him saying anything or realizing what is going on'. They point out that if, on the other hand, they ask for a new or separate headman for their village, they will be inviting trouble unnecessarily, and perhaps unwittingly put themselves under the direct control of a chief.

headman's group are jealously guarding the interest of their kinsman. In other words, though he has been rejected by the villagers, the headman still receives support from his kinsmen. This is in contrast to the regional chief who has been rejected even by his clansmen, as it shall be shown presently.

For more than twenty years now the people of Gubenxa have been struggling against the Qwati chiefs. A case is reported where Sakhela Dalasile (No. 24 on p 50), the present Qwati chief's brother, visited Gubenxa and the villagers would not receive him 'because they did not want any chief at their place'. They alleged that 'he had come to their village for nothing else, but their sheep'<sup>(1)</sup>. This happened in 1941, and it was greatly resented by the Qwati. Since then, they are for ever reminding any newly elected headman or subheadman in Gubenxa that he should remember that he is being appointed temporarily, and that as soon as a young chief is available, he will be sent to take over. In other words, they are still pushing their claim, though it is fairly obvious that they could never change the present situation in the area. The Qwati chiefs have lost even the support of their clansmen, and the only popular Qwati chief I know of is so unpopular with the Government and the other Qwati chiefs that he could never be sent to be in charge of people who are already in revolt. On his part, 'he would not risk doing anything that would set the people against him'. He told me that 'things have changed and that only children still thought that they could have their cake and eat it' - meaning that nobody could be popular with the Government and at the same time enjoy the support of the people.

In actual life, even the chiefs who are caught up in these contradictions do not seem to ~~feel~~<sup>deceive</sup> themselves by thinking that they could have the best of both worlds. For instance, though many young Qwati chiefs have been available, so far none has been prepared to/

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(1) It is customary that a sheep is slaughtered whenever a chief visits his subjects.

to take up the post at Gubenxa. They hide their fear of the possible consequences and excuse themselves by saying that the Gubenxa people are 'a vagrant people who lack custom and tradition'. It is interesting to notice that Chief Matanzima uses the same snobbish argument when he tries to justify his numerous attacks on the villagers in Emigrant Thembuland. However, it is true that a good number of the people in Gubenxa, originally, were squatters on the neighbouring farms, and so the accusation is not altogether unfounded. Their origin means that, of all the people in the neighbouring 'reserves', they are the least inclined to pay political allegiance to a chief. On their part, the villagers reject the contention that they are vagrants as a rationalization. They maintain that the young Qwati chiefs are reluctant to come to Gubenxa because 'they know that would be the end of their chieftainship'. One villager proudly said, 'People hereabouts have no time for chiefs, they don't care a damn about them'. The conflict that has been discussed here is not only a conflict between the Gubenxa villagers and the Qwati chiefs, but also a conflict between the Qwati chiefs themselves.

The next conflict to discuss is that between the Gubenxa sub-headman, the headman, and the chief. When asked what he thought of the headman, the subheadman openly stated that 'the headman was incompetent and really a waste of time'. He also pointed out that he and those who served under the headman were 'merely fulfilling an obligation (senza nje kuba singenakunceda)'. I assumed that they were fulfilling an obligation towards the people because he told me that the headman was <sup>only</sup> ignorant of what went on in the village, <sup>but</sup> that he did not even know the individual villagers, or the boundaries of their homesteads and fields <sup>(1)</sup>. From this argument, it appears that, under the present conditions where the position of chief or headman is becoming increasingly dangerous and the incumbents are being used against the people, certain individuals accept the positions/

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(1) In cases of disputes over boundaries, it is important that the headman knows the boundaries of the lands of the villagers.

positions out of a moral obligation to the people who see such individuals as their only hope against tyranny. Most men who are acceptable to the people are unwilling to accept official positions for political and security reasons, but at the same time some of them are under a constant pressure from the people that they stand for election so that candidates who have been identified with the Government should not come in. Such popular leaders usually enjoy great prestige amongst the people, whereas 'Government men' who occupy the same office are usually treated with contempt and ostracised. In other words, it is no longer the office that carries prestige, but the individual who occupies it. Perhaps, it is for the same reason that the Gubenxa subheadman, who is so critical of the headman, is still prepared to serve under him. 'What else can be done (ekubeni sakuphetha sitheni)?', he asked rhetorically.

The headman, in turn, is responsible to the Qwati chief, Mayeza, of whom <sup>the</sup> subheadman was even more critical. In an interview, held shortly after Mayeza had been attacked by an unknown gang, he said: 'It's all very well to blame the people for savagery and brutality (uAbundlobongela nobugebenga), but at the same time it is also advisable that we look at the other side. For some time now, I have been attending meetings at Mayez'a place and in all these meetings his people, the Qwati, have lost no opportunity of telling him what their feelings are about certain things. Did he listen? Not he. Instead, he made things worse by accepting a sum of R3,400 from the Government, ostensibly for constructing a road to his place. This he did against the wishes of the Qwati and they made that known to him for they asked, "What is it that you have done behind our backs that today the Government is so kind to you?" He failed to answer the question, and since then there has never been any peace in his area.'

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He also told me that at one stage things became so bad that Mayeza did not dare attend meetings at his own place. In closing the discussion he said: 'Indeed, it is a painful thing that people have to die like this. Human blood is human blood, and its wanton spilling cannot be condoned. Thanks to God that Mayeza, irrespective of what he is, has escaped death. But what is the use because he will be faced with the same people he failed to satisfy when he comes out of hospital' <sup>(1)</sup>. When asked if he paid any political allegiance to Mayeza, the subheadman said: 'Why should I? Even his clansmen, the Qwati, do not. And it's all through his own fault'. It will be noticed here that the subheadman does not pay any political allegiance to Mayeza primarily because he has no power since he has been rejected by the people, including his clansmen. The subheadman, therefore, does not feel any political insecurity in criticising him. Secondly, he does not pay allegiance to him because he is not his clansman; and this is brought out by the fact that the subheadman continually makes a distinction between Mayeza's people, the Qwati, and the other people including himself.

Chief Mayeza, as a minor chief in Thembuland, is responsible to the paramountchief of the Thembu and the head of the Dalindyebo Regional Authority, Chief Sabata. Under the modern conditions the paramouncy of Sabata, like any other paramount chief in the Transkei, is only nominal. He has no power to discipline a recalcitrant subordinate chief, and individual chiefs can defy him at will or pay political allegiance to chiefs other than him, despite the fact that, theoretically, they live in his land. Though sympathisers maintained that it was immoral for anybody to have attacked Mayeza, 'who does not harm anybody but just enjoys his liquor', the fact that he was attacked is potent evidence that, in the opinion of his people, he had voted with the wrong side in the Territorial Authority i.e. with the Mantanzima faction. The question put to him by a certain senior Thembu man who has a reputation for being  
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(1) He did not go home; instead he went into hiding, as the Government had not yet provided him with a body-guard like the other chiefs such as Matanzima, Botha Sigcawu, Bungane Ngudlwa, and Yengwa.

very frank in stating his opinions is further evidence of Mayeza's political associations. Mayeza met this man in Engcobo shortly after he had been discharged from the hospital and, in an attempt to gain his sympathy, he enquired from him: 'Why must I be burnt (attacked), what have I done?' The old man replied, 'You should be asking yourself the same question. Indeed, what have you done?' 'They (the people) say I have been voting with the wrong side', was the chief's reply. 'Isn't that true; haven't you been doing exactly that? It seems to me that you have been inviting the fire yourself', the old man had made his point and he left the chief to ponder over his troubles.

There is, therefore, no interaction between Mayeza and the senior Thembu chiefs (Sabata and Mtikrakra). There does not seem to be any even between Mayeza and the man he is believed to support, Chief Matanzima. Even if these two chiefs felt that such an interaction was desirable, their wish could never materialize. Engcobo is Sabata's stronghold, and Mayeza would not be able to travel repeatedly through the district to see Matanzima without being ambushed; nor could Matanzima visit him without running the risk of being murdered. As it is, Matanzima is finding it increasingly difficult to travel through the Engcobo district to the Territorial Authority at Umtata. He has to be accompanied by a fully armed body-guard. When he walks in the Engcobo streets, he is never relaxed. It was rather comical to watch him nervously looking around after every few steps he took. At times he became so nervous that he took the precaution of swapping cars with a friend so that he could avoid travelling through the district in his own car, which is well-known and marked.

Like all chiefs in the district, Mayeza is also responsible to the Native Commissioner. The relationship between the chiefs and the Native Commissioner or the magistrate is strictly formal. The minor chiefs and the headmen attend a meeting with the Native Commissioner at Engcobo once every three months. At the meeting

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the Native Commissioner announces any new regulations that there may be, reminds the chiefs and headmen of their duties, and wants to know if they have been experiencing any difficulties in carrying out their administrative duties. Besides this, headmen are allowed to see him only once a week, except when they have come to report cases, civil or criminal. Informally, there does not seem to be much communication between the two types of authority. However, it should not be assumed that the Native Commissioner does not know the individual chiefs and headmen, as individuals; he does. For instance, a certain Native Commissioner when asked what he thought of the attack on certain chiefs by the people, made it quite clear, though without committing himself, that he understood the point of view of the people. He went so far as to express his doubt ~~if~~ <sup>whether</sup> the Bantu Authorities and 'independence' for the Transkei were the best solution for the territory. He claimed that he knew the Transkei very well and had been working in it for many years, but lately he was finding things so difficult that he saw resignation as the only way out. He strongly felt so, despite the fact that he has only about three years to go before he is due to retire.

2. The subheadman's powers and obligations.

A subheadman has no statutory office; he only acts as the representative of the headman and whatever powers he exercises, he exercises on behalf of the headman. Unlike a headman, he is not paid for his job. The powers of the headman or 'his representative' are laid down in Proclamation No. 110 of 1957, generally known as the Jansen Proclamation. The Proclamation defines a headman as 'any person appointed as a headman in terms of Sub-section (18) of Section Two of the Native Administration Act of 1927'. According to the Proclamation, the following are the main functions of a headman or his representative:-

(a)/

(a) 'To promote the interest of his tribe or community and to support and actively encourage, and himself initiate, measures for the material, moral, and social well-being of his people or the development or the improvement of the land in his area.

(b) To maintain law and order in his tribe or community and bring to the notice of the Native Commissioner, immediately he becomes aware there of, any condition of unrest or dissatisfaction or any matter of serious importance or concern to the Government.

(c) To ensure the enforcement within his area of all laws and all orders, instructions or requirements of the Government, relating to the administration and control of Natives in his area in general.

(d) To be responsible for the prevention, detection, and punishment of crime in his area'.

In addition to these four main duties, there are other minor ones such as the destruction of noxious weeds, impounding of stray stock, and similar things. Since 1957 the Proclamation has undergone many amendments, but its basic principles have remained unchanged. What has happened is the transfer of power from one Bantu Authority to another. The lower authorities such as the headman, have lost all the power they have ever had, and it has been transferred to the chiefs. In essence this means that the position of the chief has been reduced to that of a headman. For example, most of what is set out above is no longer carried out by the headman but the chief, ~~whom the Proclamation~~ defines as 'any person appointed as a chief, paramount chief, and subchief in terms of the Native Administration Act, 1927'. Virtually, nothing has been left in the hands of the headman. He has no right to allocate land for either cultivation or building. All he does is to recommend certain names to the chief who, in consultation with the Native Commissioner, decides who shall and shall not have land.

The villagers find this arrangement extremely unsatisfactory. They complain that both the Native Commissioner and the chief do not know enough about the internal conditions in the villages. In other words, strangers or outsiders are ignorant of the circumstances of the individuals villagers and consequently cannot provide the best solution to a problem.

Another thing the headman has been deprived of is the power to settle disputes, whether criminal or civil. One of the amendments in the 1957 Proclamation states that: 'The headman shall not, unless jurisdiction has been conferred on him by or under the Native Administration Act, try and punish any Native in his area who has committed an offence.' He is expected only to investigate any reported case and forward it to the appropriate judicial authority. In the case of civil offences, the matter is taken to the chief's court and tried under 'Bantu'<sup>(1)</sup> law. The chief is assisted in the settlement of disputes by the Tribal Authority, referred to in the introduction. Criminal cases are taken to the magistrate's court, where only common law is applicable. Formerly, the headman had the right to allocate land and try civil disputes. Only when the disputing parties were not satisfied with his decision, did they appear in the chief's court. Headmen never had jurisdiction over criminal cases such as assault, rape, and murder. These were reserved for the chief in the traditional system, and the magistrate in the modern period.

It is, therefore, clear that the headman is not a ruler, but a civil servant whose powers are not much more than those of the traditional court messenger. Another striking thing about the modern headman is the similarity between his duties and those of a policeman (see p 70 b, c, and d). Perhaps, this accounts for the frequent accusation by the people that 'headmen are nothing else but police spies (ontannani) planted by the Government amongst the people/

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(1) The African resents the use of the term in referring to him.

people'. I think that it is true that the administration, in general, looks upon the headman or any Bantu Authority as its representative or local policeman, not as the people's representative or leader. Besides requiring him to arrest offenders, the administration lays much emphasis on the duty of 'the headman or his substitute to bring to the notice of his tribe or community all new laws, orders, instructions or requirements of the Government, and to ensure strict compliance therewith'.

This last provision makes the position of the headman altogether equivocal. His faithfulness to the Government brings him into direct conflict with the people, who do not accept the Government policies and laws. His devotion to the people endangers his position with the Government, on which he is dependent for his position and which demands strict compliance with its requirements, irrespective of the attitude of the people. The headman is in an intercalary position and, at the best, he is continually trying to reconcile two irreconcilable forces. This was vividly put by a senior headman at an installation of a new headman. Addressing himself to the new headman, he said, 'My son, one thing I would like to tell you is that headmanship entails two things namely, fire and prison' - meaning that if a headman does not meet the requirements of the people, they attack him and burn his house; if he fails to fulfil the wishes of the Government, he is put in jail.

The subheadman, as the representative of the headman, is in the same structural position as the headman. But it is interesting to note that the subheadman in Gubenxa is more popular than the headman he represents. This is not so much so because he does not perform his official duties. Like all subheadmen, he refers his cases to the headman before he passes them to the chief or the

magistrate/

magistrate. He goes to the Native Commissioner's office or the headman's place to receive all the 'bad' laws that must be applied to the villages. Like all Bantu Authorities, he has no land to offer the people. In fact, his position, as a 'ruler', is as weak as anyone else's, and he even describes people like himself as 'nothing else but tools to do the dirty work for the rulers<sup>(1)</sup> -

asizonto thina, sizizinto nje zokuphanda, sithi sakugqiba sigqithisele kubapathi'. The Gubenxa subheadman does not accept the Government's policies as right. In point of fact, he sees himself as one of the victims who are suffering under the policies of the Nationalist Government.

It is this moral and political identification with the people that makes the Gubenxa subheadman popular with the villagers. His attitude is a guarantee that, whenever possible, he will do everything for them and will protect them. He helps them get land or, at least, sees to it that their names are forwarded to the chief for consideration, and when his opinion is sought, he puts in a good word for individual villagers. In the village he is known for being cooperative and patient. Villagers never find it difficult to obtain permission from him to get themselves firewood from the surrounding forests and poles and thatching grass for building huts. Again, whenever one reports a case to him, 'he responds immediately, irrespective of who one is'. He also turns a blind eye to the little offences villagers commit e.g. carrying on an illicit trade in cattle with the local farmers, burning the veld, and felling green wood without permission. Even in more serious offences such as assault, petty-thieving, defamation of character, and attempted rape, if people are prepared to 'talk things over and regularize their relationships by paying compensation for injuries', he does not report them to the headman or take them to the magistrate's court.

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(1) Rulers in this case does not <sup>necessarily</sup> refer to white officials only.

In other words, the Gubenxa subheadman does not see himself as a hierarchical figure separated from his subordinates. Though he executes his duties with zeal, he does so with some understanding, for he is not an anonymous representative of the Government, but a member of the community. He does not seem to be motivated by the desire that the law be carried out to the letter, but rather that peace and order prevails in the village. He performs his duties 'because there isn't much choice'. He knows that 'he is being deceived and the people are being deceived; and that the Government does not mean any good even by its supposed independence for the Transkei - nalo masiziphathe kwenziwa nje ukugqatha thina'.

Despite the provisions of the 1957 Proclamation, the people still expect the subheadman to settle their disputes or maintain harmonious relationships in the village. According to them, 'no ruler can be a ruler without settling disputes among his subjects'. For the same reason, the subheadman, who was born in the village about 48 years ago, who has never been to school, and who lived in Cape Town as a migrant worker until 1950, is the man who is held responsible for the peace of the community by the villagers. His arbitration is quasi-formal, and he maintains peace and order by remonstrating with or admonishing (ukungxolisa or ukuyala) people whose behaviour deviates from the accepted norms; or reconciles the various lineage heads when they cannot reach agreement.

The following are examples of cases in which the subheadman succeeded in maintaining peace or reconciled quarrelling parties:-

(i) He pointed an accusing finger at them.

A serious interclan clash nearly occurred in a village meeting, but the subheadman was quick enough to forestall it. The trouble started when a Qwati man suggested that drastic steps be taken against villagers who engaged in illicit trade in cattle with the local farmers. He argued that such people were not only law breakers, in-so-far as they drove cattle from one magisterial district to another without the necessary papers, but were also thieves because in some cases they did not buy the cattle but stole them.

A Mvulane man replied: 'I see no reason why you should be so concerned with the supposed illicit trade in cattle because it's nothing new; it has been there since the time of your father (his father before he died was the village subheadman)'. The Qwati man a bit heated answered back, 'I am not concerned about what happened during my father's time, all I am suggesting is that we deal with the present situation. There are thieves now, there were none then'. This statement was not well-received by the meeting, most of all, the Mvulane who felt that they were being accused of theft unnecessarily. The Qwati man was asked to withdraw, but he would not.

At this stage it became obvious that some men were already thinking of beating-up the Qwati man. They felt that he had no business to speak as he did because he himself was a suspected thief. He is also despised for being a pauper. The subheadman, conscious of the unpopularity of the Qwati man and the latent opposition between the latter's group and the Mvulane, dissuaded the men from resorting to physical violence. He warned them against allowing themselves to be distracted from the business of the meeting.

(ii) She did not know her place

This case occurred within the Mvulane clan. A young man from the right hand house was driving an inspanned team of oxen through the fields, carefully avoiding the cultivated parts. Perhaps, he was not careful enough because a woman from the great house stopped the oxen and would not let them pass. Thereupon the young man asked, 'What do you mean by stopping my cattle?' In an angry voice, the woman replied, 'They are not going pass here for you know what you have done'. The young man, without making any further comments, forcibly drove the cattle pass her. By so doing he invited her fury, for she flung herself at him like leopard. In the process she broke his pipe. He was annoyed at this, in his opinion, outrageous behaviour, and struck her on the head with a stick. She received a bad cut on her head.

The case was reported to the village subheadman. On being asked the usual preliminary questions, the two opposing parties gave conflicting evidence, and started accusing one another of telling lies. Tempers of individual Mvulane men from the different houses began to rage very high, and a fight was imminent. The subheadman reminded them that 'the court (inkundla) was not a place for family bickerings, and that the matter they were fighting over was no longer in their hands'. He, therefore, appealed to them not to behave as if other people (non-Mvulane) were not there. On hearing the sharp reprimand from the subheadman, one of the ~~senior~~ senior men from the Mvulane great house made a request that they be given a chance to go and discuss the matter at home once more. The subheadman conceded the request and asked them to come and tell him when they were ready. The case never came back to his court.

K I N S H I P.

1. Clan and kinship leadership.

So far no attempt has been made to distinguish clearly between the terms 'clan' and 'lineage'. A clan is usually defined as a group of people who, though belonging to different lineages, claim to be descendants of the same ancestor. In other words, a clan is composed of lineages. On the other hand, a lineage consists of members who have a common grandfather from whom they can still trace their descent. The lineage is the most important ritual and social group outside the household. It should be noted that, though generally referred to as the unit structure of a lineage, the household, unlike a lineage or clan, is not a unilineal descent group: husbands and wives do not belong to the same lineage or clan.

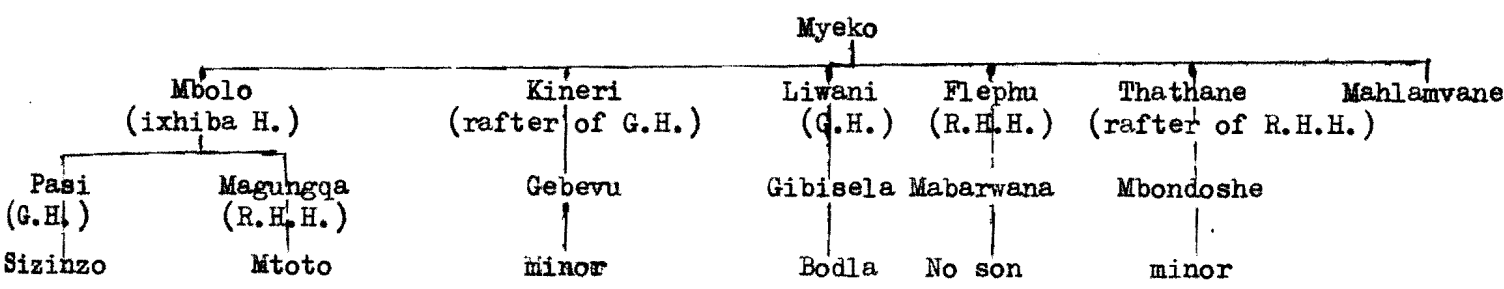
The Gubenxa community is hardly more than four generations old, and this makes it relatively easy for its members to trace their descent from the founding fathers with no confusion. The implication then is that, strictly speaking, what one finds in Gubenxa is not clans but lineages. This is true of certain groups, but not others. Some groups came to the village as members of different lineages but the same clan e.g. the Zima, the Qwati, and Nxhongo. On the other hand, groups such as the Gcina and the Mvulane, though more numerous than the other groups, are descendant from the same individual men, Myeko and Lengisi respectively. These names are also used as surnames.

Another factor which adds to the difficulty of using clan and lineage consistently in Gubenxa is that the clan names can be used in reference to the lineage without any ambiguity. Where only single lineages exist, the need to distinguish between the various lineages of the same clan is not felt. For instance, the Mvulane are referred to by both their clan name and lineage name - amaMvulane and amaLengisi respectively. However, this point should not be over-emphasized because already the need to distinguish between the different Mvulane and Vundle houses has been felt (see p 56); and there →

there is no doubt that, in the long run, the different houses will develop into lineages.

The Mvulane and the Gcina are the only two groups that seem to have a fairly deep lineage system in the village. The other clan groups consist of either unrelated families or two or three related families. For this reason, one of the two major groups have been chosen for a detailed study. Whatever is said of them will <sup>apply</sup> generally ~~apply~~ to the other groups, except that some of them are too diffuse to give us a clear picture of the lineage system. The point to bear in mind is that in Gubenxa, lineage or clan leaders still wield some political power. In the local court they represent their kinsmen and speak on their behalf. Within their groups they are responsible for peace and order. They settle disputes and punish offenders or take them to the subheadman's court, when necessary. In other words, they perform the same duties as the subheadman, only on a lower level.

The Gcina are the group that has been chosen for a detailed study. All Gcina found in Gubenxa are descendants of one man, Myeko. All, except three families, use Myeko as their surname. The other three families, use their grandfather's name, Mbolo - son of Myeko in the ixhiba house. Myeko had five wives, and the following is his family tree:-




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G.H. = great house; R.H.H. = right hand house

Liwani/

Liwani was Myeko's heir. When his father died, he took over leadership of the group. He died young and was succeeded not by his son who was too young at the time, but by the eldest son of the right hand house, Flephu (Philip). He should have been succeeded by Kineri, the eldest son of the rafter of the great house, but Kineri too was not eligible because he was too young. Flephu became a very popular leader among the Myekos, and Kineri, who does not seem to have been an ambitious man, did not claim his position on reaching maturity.

On the death of Flephu, neither his sons nor those of his half-brother, Kineri, were old enough to take over lineage leadership. Kineri was already dead and the office went to Thathane, Myeko's son in the rafter of the right hand house. Thathane acted as the leader of the Myekos. In the meantime, Liwani's son, Gibisels, had grown up and was ready to assume leadership, but nobody was prepared to bring up the matter formally. Most Gcina felt that he was not suited for the position, though it rightfully belonged to him. They maintain that 'his mind is not sharp enough, and that he altogether lacks wisdom'. His seniority of birth is recognized, though he does not exercise power. In theory there is no ritual, ceremony, festival or case of litigation among the Gcina that can be conducted without the knowledge or in the absence of Gibisela. But in practice all this happens. The man whose absence matters is Thathane because he actually officiates in rituals, presides in cases of disputes, and decides how food shall be distributed in feasts, and it is he who speaks on behalf of the group. In other words, while the leadership of Gibisela is de jure, that of Thathane is de facto.

I once had an opportunity of having a frank discussion with Thathane's younger brother, Mahlamvane who is the village subheadman, on the question of the leadership among the Gcina. I asked why, seeing that the sons of the great house were unsuitable, the

leadership/

leadership of the lineage was not given to one of the sons of Kineri who are next in succession? (There are five sons of Kineri, now grown men). The subheadman told me that 'it was just a trick (umgunyathi) that this was not done'. Afterwards he modified his statement, and said, 'I suppose that when things are satisfactory, nobody worries about digging up old bones', implying that nobody has a complaint against the present lineage leaders.

From the above account it can be said that, in general, kinship leadership is based on seniority by birth and maturity. But these essential qualities must be accompanied by intelligence, wisdom, and good-heartedness. The main functions of the lineage leader appear to be maintenance of peace and order in the group, and to see to it that good health prevails in the lineage; and that nobody interferes with his kinsmen. Put in a nut-shell, he is an arbitrator, a priest, and a political representative of the group. The interaction between lineage and political leaders is very interesting. This is even so in modern communities, where a man may be appointed to the position of village headman or subheadman, irrespective of his status in the lineage group. In Gubenxa Mahlamvane, the subheadman, is the younger brother of the Gcina leader, Thathane. In internal affairs the former has to humble himself to the authority of his elder brother and leader. But in external affairs the senior kinsmen have to subordinate themselves to their younger brother, who is the local representative of the central Government.

An interesting incident occurred at the time of the field work. The subheadman had a heated argument with his next-door neighbour over cattle that had gone into the neighbour's garden and caused tremendous damage. The neighbour mistook the cattle for the subheadman's. He explained that the cattle were not his, but she would not listen and kept on swearing at him, calling him an inveterate liar. The subheadman could not take it any more and hit the woman. He threw her down, but his wife intervened before he could do anything further.

Later/

Later on the same day, the injured woman went to report the matter to Thathane, the elder brother of the subheadman. He is also her parallel cousin and lineage leader. She found him with a group of kinsmen. They ignored her because they felt that she had got what she had been asking for for a very long time. She is notorious for being rude to people, especially men, and for using obscene and insulting language in public. If it had been a different woman, the subheadman would have been summoned to appear before the lineage leaders. Though it had been discovered afterwards that the subheadman had broken her sternum, this did not happen. She was taken to the hospital, and by this time she had already reported the matter to the headman, who agreed to handle it himself. The case was still pending when I left the village.

Still illustrating the same criss-crossing between kinship and political relationships is a case where Thathane's son broke into somebody's house and stole some money. The matter was reported to the subheadman, who quickly summoned his elder brother, Thathane, to appear in his court. Thathane was asked to pay compensation to the injured person. In external relations the subheadman has to refrain from taking sides, even if such an action is to the detriment of his kinsmen. At times he has to make a ruling against his senior kinsmen or argue, without yielding, against his senior and leader, the head of the Gcina. The latter, it shall be remembered, is the representative of the group in political relations but his younger brother, the subheadman, has the final word in matters affecting the village, as a whole.

It has already been stated that the clan consists of lineages, and the lineage of families which may be elementary or extended. At the head of each family is the owner of the household, the husband and father. He is responsible for the behaviour of the inmates of his homestead. He supervises the work of his sons in looking after cattle and the cultivation of the fields. He

contracts/

contracts all important business transactions such as selling or buying of stock. He also controls the money of the house, though he is not solely responsible for the family budget. His wife, though subordinate to him, holds a position of similar authority over the daughters of the house. She supervises the domestic work, and decides what grocery items shall be bought.

This sounds so familiar from the studies done in some European peasant communities such as Ireland, Wales, and rural England that it sounds platitudinous. To make my case more concrete, I chose six houses for a closer study of family organization. The houses were taken at random, but three conditions had to be satisfied. First, they had to be representative of the three types of homesteads described elsewhere i.e. the 'red', 'half and half', and 'school'. Secondly, the head of the house had to be still alive. Thirdly, the father and the sons had to have some property in the form of cattle and fields.

Homestead A :

This is a homestead of a pagan man of about sixty. He had three sons, but the third one died in an accident in Cape Town while working there as a migrant. One of the remaining two is still attending school at St. John's College, Umtata. The eldest son has never been to school. When he is not away in Cape Town working, he is at home helping his father. He is married and lives with his wife and children at his father's place. The younger son is still single. They have two sisters who are of marriageable age. Their mother is also still alive.

In their house there are nearly three hundred sheep and about fifty cattle. Though some of these do not belong to the kraalhead, they are registered in his name; and in the village they are known as his. When they stray into other people's fields, he is held responsible even if the cattle in question are not actually his. During the shearing season the wool from all the sheep is put together, irrespective of the person to whom individual sheep belong

in/

in the family. When the wool is sold, the money that comes in, which is usually well over R200, is kept by the head of the family. He is usually accompanied by his eldest son when he goes to sell the wool.

After the sale of wool, all those who need certain things approach the old man. He discusses the matter with his eldest son. They also discuss what is to be done with the bulk of the money. One or two cattle are usually bought and the rest of the money 'is put away'. After the men have come to a final decision about the various things, the head of the family informs his wife. He assured me that the wife 'is only informed so that she should know what is going on', implying that she had no say in the administration of the family affairs.

However, in practice she appears to have the right of criticism, and she complains if, in her opinion, the men have been unfair to some member of the family, particularly the daughters and younger children. The woman is the protector of her children. The interests of each married woman are protected by her husband, who has the opportunity of discussing things with the old man before hand. In short, the daughters and younger children approach the family head through their mother; and the daughters-in-law through their husbands.

The only child of the dead son is looked after by his grandparents, and they treat him as their own child. But it is generally known in the family that all his father's (i.e. the genitor) property is his inheritance, and that the old man is only holding it in custody for him. Therefore, the family head and his eldest son should not be looked upon as the sole owners of the property they administer, but as trustees whose ownership rights do not extend to the property of the other members of the family. Put differently, the family practises communal use of property but, at the same time, recognizes individual rights of ownership of property.

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For instance, the son has the right to sell his cattle or sheep, provided his father is satisfied that the reason for which he wishes to sell his cow or sheep is a legitimate one. It is only when the old man feels that his son is being unreasonable that he puts his foot down. In such cases, if the son is still interested in maintaining a friendly relationship between himself and his father, then he desists. The father is also under an obligation to consult with his son before he does anything important. The only difference is that the son, unlike the father, has no right of veto. He can only act on an advisory capacity.

During the ploughing season the father and the son work together. The former mainly decides to what use the land shall be put. However, he is more dependent on his son for labour. The son, in turn, is dependent on the father for inheritance of land. At intervals the son goes to Cape Town to seek employment. During his absence the father looks after his family and stock. The son is very loyal to the father. Of course, there is an advantage in that because there is over 250 cattle and sheep to be inherited from the old man. His paternal uncles and parallel cousins play no part in the ordinary domestic affairs. They are only invited when there is a ritual to be observed, or in cases of death or illness.

#### Homestead B:

Homestead B is also a pagan house. It belongs to a man of about sixty-three. He has only one son and no daughters. His wife is still alive. His son is a migrant worker in Cape Town. He is married and his wife lives at his father's place. The interesting thing about her is that she belongs to the same clan as her husband. They are both Goina, but from different lineages. This is one example of a clan splitting into two exogamous clans. There is no doubt that in time one of them will change its name.

They/

They own just over thirty cattle and a few sheep. The son sends money to his father to increase their stock and buy clothes for his family. The old man has been desperately trying to increase their flock so that his son, who is a weakling, could retire from hard labour in Cape Town. To his great disappointment, of late no money has been coming from his son. He discovered that he has bought a car in Cape Town. The old man considers this to be the downfall of his son. He is convinced that his son 'is finished and will never be anything in life - akasoze ahlume'. 'By buying more sheep, I was hoping to save him having to go to Cape Town to get cash. Anyway it is his own funeral. If he decides to kill himself, I cannot do anything about it. I have played my part', said the old man bitterly.

When the son is at home, he assists his father in managing the stock and the fields. The pattern is very similar to that described for homestead A, except that about four or five years ago they used to cooperate with the younger brother of the head of the family. At the time, they told me, the head of homestead B could not do anything important in his house without consulting his younger brother. This was particularly so in the case of cattle which they used together for cultivation. The younger brother did likewise.

This cooperation continued until their sons were old enough to start working and add to the general estates of their fathers. As soon as each head could stand on his own, he did, though this did not mean an immediate breaking of all the formal ties that held the two brothers together. But as time went on, each man discussed and did more things with his son. As a result, at the time of the interview, there was none of the former cooperation. All I was dealing with were two separate but related houses.

Homestead/

Homestead C:

The head of this family is a pagan, but his eldest son, daughter-in-law, and one married daughter are 'school' people. The other members of the family who are also 'red' are his wife and a younger son who is married to a pagan girl. Both sons live with their father. One is a teacher in the local school. He has got a senior certificate and a teachers' certificate. The other son is illiterate and works in Cape Town as a migrant worker. He is still young, but it is expected that he will be putting up his own house soon. He has no children yet. His elder brother has three children.

They have more than a hundred sheep and about twenty-five cattle, some cattle having been used in paying for the lobola of the sons. The younger son still gives his money to his father when he comes back from Cape Town. It is his father who suggests how the money should be spent. The elder son, i.e. the teacher, does not give his wages to his father, but 'only helps him when he needs assistance'. The father confirmed this in a form of a complaint. Answering a question he said, 'You say my son has a good job. I am not sure about that because I have not seen the money yet'.

Despite these irregularities, both sons are still expected to consult their father before they engage in any big undertaking. Even the elder son is still expected to account for his money. He does so when it suits him. For instance, when he wanted to buy a horse and sheep, he discussed the matter with his father before hand. In cases where he knows that the father will not approve, he proceeds without consulting him. The only person he consults in such cases is his wife, but she also complains that half the time she does not know what happens to the money her husband earns. When things really become bad, she reports him to his father. This gives the old man a chance to bring up all the things he has been dissatisfied with. He remonstrates with his son strongly. This does not seem to help because the same things happen again.

The money the old man gets during the shearing season seems to be his business. When asked about it, the elder son did not know. 'My father does not tell me anything about it', was the explanation. The younger son seemed to know, but he would not say. The old man is responsible for the clothing and other necessities of his wife and minor children. He has the same responsibility as regards the younger son and his wife. It is only the elder son that has to see to the requirements of his family. However, he and his father are jointly responsible for food for the extended family. The sons look after the cattle and sheep and work on the fields. All the farm produce is administered by the old man. In fact, he treats it as if it were solely his. Whether this is a reaction to his elder son's attitude, I cannot say.

The mother of the family is rather a quiet and withdrawn person, and does not seem to play any important part in the running of the family. It seems as if she has given over control to her daughters-in-law. They do the shopping and arrange meals. This does not mean that she is oblivious of what is going on in the family as a whole but that, perhaps, she has not got enough energy to assert herself.

Here we are dealing with an extended family which is operating under great tensions, arising basically from a conflict of values. The family is threatened with splintering at any time. The eldest son, who is expected to take over leadership of the family when his father dies, is not interested and intends to build his own house soon. He is not making any effort to please his father. It is still too early to assume that this is so because he can earn enough money to live on without receiving any inheritance from his father. His father seems to be the person who has been trying to adjust himself to his son's mode of life. For example, though he does not go to church, he is never seen in blankets or at beer-drinks like the other pagans. He has not thrown his son out of his house because of disobedience and failure to give him his wages or part of it.

Homestead D:

The head of homestead D is a Christian. He is a lay-preacher in the Anglican church. He has, or rather he had, two wives, but on joining the church he had to give up one of them. He retained, officially, the wife of the great house. In practice he seems to have maintained both wives. He had two sons with the great wife and one with the wife of the right hand house. One of the sons of the great house died. So now there is one son in each house. The son of the great house, unlike his parents, is 'red' and is married to two pagan girls. The son of the right hand house, like his mother, is 'school' and is married to a 'school' girl. Both sons have been to school but stopped at the primary school level.

When the head of the family made the choice on the request of the church, the members of the right hand house were antagonized. When the son of the right hand house grew up, he devoted all his time to building up his mother's house, and did not want anything from his father and the son of the great house. In other words, he tried to sever ties with them. This could not work for two reasons. At the beginning, when he did not have his own cattle, he was dependent on his father for oxen to plough his mother's field. Secondly, he needed his father's services when he was in Cape Town working.

This dependence gave the old man a hold on the right hand house and a chance to administer it. This continued even though the son of the right hand house had his own cattle. The latter found himself having to approach his father on matters affecting his home. On the other hand, the son of the great house is very disloyal to his father. When he was at work, he never sent him any money and yet when he came back, he claimed that, as the first born of the great house, all the cattle and the property at his father's place was his. When his father tried to resist his inroads into his property, he wanted to fight him. This wrangle went on for some time until the father felt that it was time he kicked his unruly son out of his place. He did, and since then they have not lived together.

In the meantime the relationship between the son of the right hand house and his father was growing more and more intimate. They cooperate in the cultivation of the fields and stock farming, though the cattle are registered under the names of their respective owners (cf homestead A). Besides the few cattle (15) they have, there is nothing else they own.

In the other cases discussed, land and stock seemed to be the main things that held son and father together or that made the son loyal to his father. In the case of the son of the great house in homestead D, this might be applicable. But in the case of the right hand house, there does not seem to be any reason for him to be loyal to his father. The father has no cattle to boast about and his mother has her own field, which he will inherit when the time comes.

#### Homestead E:

Homestead E is a school household, and the owner was a Christian. He had four sons and three daughters. By the time he died, three of his sons were married. All three daughters were also married. The sons had already established their own houses. One had moved out to a distant village where land was available. The remaining two built their houses in the same village. At the time of the field work, the fourth son was also married and living in a different village. The original house had been abandoned. The field had been taken over by the eldest son.

All four sons did not go further than the primary school. They are living independently of one another, including the two who live in the original village i.e. Gubenxa. In other words, their family never developed into an extended family, nor did the sons try to organize themselves into a lineage group with common property rights.

Homestead/

## Homestead F:

This is a homestead of a retired teacher. He is about sixty-three. His eldest son, who is also a teacher, is married and lives in his own house. He has got his own cattle but no land. His younger son, who is not married yet, does not live at home. He is working in one of the towns in the Transkei as a clerk. When he is at home for holidays, he stays with his father. His father, otherwise, lives with his wife and minor children in his house.

As in homestead E, there is very little interdependence between the three men. The only thing the sons assist their father in is the education of the younger children i.e. they assist him in paying school fees. This seems to be the characteristic pattern in christian families. The pattern which is so common in the pagan families is not found in the 'school' families. One thing that is noticeable about both types of family is that sons enjoy greater freedom than the sons of peasant farmers in Ireland, Wales, or England.

It will be noticed that common ownership of cattle does not extend beyond father and son. Individual control over cattle is becoming an important consideration in a peasant economy which offers more varied economic uses to which cattle can be put than in the traditional society. Conflict over the use of cattle is a constant source of quarrels between families which use their cattle jointly. Villagers who do not have enough cattle usually find it convenient to pool their resources, but they run into difficulties when they cannot agree, say, on whether to use their cattle in winter for ploughing wheat, peas, and fodder for cows and sheep, or let them graze and grow fat for aesthetic purposes. Some villagers cannot reconcile themselves to the idea of their oxen being used for fetching wood or water for the wives of their partners. They complain that their oxen are being over-worked, and that spoils the chances of their oxen 'growing fat and big'.

Those/

Those of them, who cannot see 'the use of fat and beautiful oxen if one is starved', see cattle as being more efficient in agriculture and in drawing heavy things than the human body. When one man protested on seeing his oxen being used drawing water, his partner mumbled that 'cattle can be bought, but human beings cannot, and that he did not have enough money to be forever sending his wife to the doctor after her health had been ruined by over-work'. So, whenever possible, each family head prefers to have sole control over his cattle. This desire for independence in economic activities has undermined the stability of the lineage group as a corporate body with common property rights.

## 2. Clan, lineage, and family arbitration.

As it has been suggested already, family, lineage, and clan heads play an important part in the settlement of disputes in Gubenxa. Informal arbitration was studied among the Gcina. Here are some of the cases collected:-

### (a) Intra-clan disputes:

#### (i) He disgraced himself.

A brother and a sister had an argument and in the course of the argument he hit her. As she was badly beaten up, she went to report the matter to his father's brother in the great house (her own father was dead). The men of both houses were called together to discuss the case - women and the uncircumcised boys are customarily excluded.

The action of the young man was condemned. He was told that he had disgraced himself and had done something that is never done in Xhosa society (uzihlaziisile, wenze into engazange yenziwa kwaXhosa). It is a disgrace for a man to hit his sister instead of protecting her. It was brought to his notice that the woman he had hit was his elder 'brother' (because she happened to be older than he.). He was fined R5 which was given to the girl, as a 'compensation for her blood'.

(ii)/

(ii) They were reluctant to pass judgement.

A son of the right hand house, who was left in charge of the house of the son of the great house, hit the latter's wife for being disrespectful to him. This case, which involved a wife of an absent man, could not be discussed by the members of the affected families alone. It was, therefore, reported to the lineage leader.

On the appointed day the men assembled on the usual spot (inkundla). After hearing evidence from both sides, the men were reluctant to pass judgement against the accused because they also felt that she had been ~~rude~~ to him. However, there was a principle involved; the action of hitting another man's wife, more so in his absence, could not be condoned. The offender had to be punished. He was fined a sheep which was slaughtered and eaten by the kinsmen.

(iii) He proved to be too greedy.

A senior Gcina man quarrelled with his wife over their daughter's lobola. He wanted more cattle than he had been given. She objected to his greediness. He was annoyed at the interference and hit her. She left him and went to stay at his parallel cousin's place until the Gcina leader, Thathane came to find out what the matter was.

After hearing her complaint, he took her home and advised her and her husband to 'talk things over'. He also reminded them that it was disgraceful for people of their age to behave as they did. The case was settled without any fines being levied. Thathane, who solved it, is not only the lineage leader of the man involved, but also his father's brother, though they belong to the same age group.

(iv)/

(iv) They were birds of the same feather.

A senior woman fought with her daughter-in-law. As this had been going on for some time, it was reported directly to lineage leaders. When they tried to settle the dispute, no agreement could be reached. Some found the daughter-in-law at fault and argued that, irrespective of what her mother-in-law had done, it was contrary to Xhosa custom for a daughter-in-law to lift her arm against her mother-in-law. The counter-argument was that both women were abendi (those who are married into the family), and therefore occupied the same position, except that the one woman was more senior than the other. As a jibe at the mother-in-law, they also added that even senior persons are capable of mistakes. A deadlock was reached.

The mother-in-law took this as an insult and said: 'How dare the Gcina allow her to be humiliated by a child!'. She left her husband's homestead and went to stay with one of her sons in a different village. It was not until after some time that a meeting for reviewing the case was convened. After a long discussion, in which both women were present, no judgement could be passed against either of them. They were only advised to refrain from indulging in endless bickerings and try to live in harmony. The daughter-in-law was told that if she found it impossible to live with her mother-in-law, she should ask her husband to build her a separate homestead.

(v) They gave him kinship protection.

This and the following case are inter-family clashes and are criminal in nature. A Gcina young man milked cows for his widowed father's sister. One day, while milking the cows, he put poison into the milk. He had previously quarrelled with her. The small boy who was helping him saw him put in the poison and told his mother. To test if it was really poison, the widow poured out some of the milk and gave it to a dog. A few hours later she found the dog dead, and she immediately reported the matter to the Gcina men, who came to question the young man, but could not get

anything/

anything out of him. Thereupon, the widow notified them that she was taking the case to the magistrate's court.

At the magistrate's court the milk was tested and found to contain poison. The young man admitted having put poison into it, but his kinsmen appealed to the magistrate to allow them to deal with the matter once again. After a few serious words of warning, the magistrate agreed to hand him over to his kinsmen. When they arrived ~~at~~ home, the case was review<sup>ed</sup> and the quarrelling persons were reconciled.

(vi) He had to be taught a lesson.

A Gcina man stole sheep from his paternal uncle, and took them to a friend for safe-keeping. The sheep were discovered by the uncle's son and both the thief and his friend were summoned to appear in front of the Gcina men. The complainant was the leader of the Gcina at the time. Like any traditional father's brother, he found it difficult to be severe on his 'son', the thief. He wanted the case to be squashed, but his eldest son insisted that it be taken to the magistrate's court. He felt that legal action against the culprit was the only way in which 'the name of the Gcina could be cleansed'. The thief 'had to be taught a lesson'. He had his way and the thief was sentenced to six months imprisonment in the magistrate's court.

The last two cases took place before the introduction of the new system, which makes it illegal for subheadmen and headmen, not to mention lineage leaders, to try cases of any sort. Under the modern conditions, such cases should be taken directly to the magistrate's court.

(b) Inter-clan disputes:

(i) He had no humility.

A Zima man's sheep went into a Gcina woman's field. She claimed damages according to the usual practice, but the Zima refused to pay. He would not be persuaded to pay even by his friends, and the woman had to report him to her kinsmen. At a meeting called for the purpose,

he/

he was asked on what grounds he refused to pay for the damage caused by his sheep. He had no reason, except that his sheep did not do much damage. Feeling a bit indignant, the Gcina asked him who was to judge. When he could not defend himself, he was warned against causing unnecessary trouble in the village. The senior men admonished him and assured him that humility was a virtue. He paid the stipulated amount.

(ii) The imaginative foster-mother.

A Gcina girl was believed to have been seduced by a Ndlane man. Her foster mother was the person who made the accusation. After senior women had failed to come to any conclusion about the girl's state, the mother reported her supposed pregnancy to the lineage leaders. They questioned her to their satisfaction, but they could not get any evidence to confirm the accusation. This did not stop them from proceeding against the supposed seducer in the customary way.

The girl, accompanied by two young men, was sent to her lover's home, where he told them that he knew nothing about the accusation. His father asked the girl if she was pregnant; she denied it. Then he told the Gcina men that he had heard their complaint, but he could not give them any definite answer as the owners of his house were not present - meaning his kinsmen. On an appointed day the Gcina revisited the Ndlane and they were told the Ndlane man denied any knowledge of their accusation. The Gcina took the case to the headman's court, but the same thing happened. The girl still maintained that she was not pregnant. The case was only dismissed in a magistrate's court when the district surgeon testified that the girl was not pregnant.

(iii)/

(iii) Prestige is not eaten.

A Mvulane's cow went into Gcina's field, breaking the fence. The Gcina asked its owner to repair the fence or pay for the damage. He would not do either and, in fury, the Gcina went to fetch the cow forcibly and kept it. The Mvulane met and discussed the matter and they decided to invite the Gcina to a meeting at their place. The Gcina was obliging but the offender still refused to comply with his demand. In the meeting the two men could not be reconciled.

The next court they were supposed to appear in was the headman's court, but the Gcina went to the Mvulane and asked him to forget about their quarrel because 'as neighbours (in terms of their fields), they could not afford to be enemies!' Even the Mvulane who was resolved to fight the case 'until he had sold his last cow' was agreeable. When asked why he withdrew his claim, the Gcina said that he realized that he would spend more money on the case than on fixing his fence. 'What about your prestige and reputation', I asked. 'Prestige is not eaten - iwonga alityiwa', was his reply.

## EDUCATION.

### 1. Educational leadership.

Gubenxa has one primary school which goes up to Std. V. Three teachers are in charge of it - one man and two women. Two of them are not Gubenxa children; they come from outside. They are responsible for the education of the 150 children of the village, and from this point of view, the teachers can be looked upon as the educational or intellectual leadership in the village. They are more in contact with the outside world than the ordinary villager. They are members of a local teachers' organization called the Mountain Tops Teachers' Association. The organization covers nine villages, representing nine schools. It has nineteen members and an executive of four. It cooperates with three other teachers' organizations found in the Engcobo district, the Trans-Xuka, Western Engcobo, and the Basin.

The functions of the Mountain Tops Teachers' Association are:-

(i) To raise money for building schools. A senior teacher explained to me that, since the Bantu Education Department took over the schools from the Churches, the burden of building and maintaining the schools has fallen on the teachers. He said that this was particularly true of the principals. The teachers raise the necessary money by organizing concerts, where the various school choirs compete. The different schools stage concerts in turn, and no school can have a second chance before all the member schools have had their turn.

Another interesting feature about these concerts is that each member school is expected to contribute a Rand whenever a member school has a concert. The principal is the person responsible for this donation. He is also the recipient when the turn of his school comes, and this becomes his personal money. The explanation for this practice is that in the past it has been found that it cost principals a lot of personal money to make preparations for concerts, and that they never got any compensation. The money

collected/

collected from the other teachers serves the purpose. This is a convenient private arrangement made by the teachers for themselves, in an attempt to obviate some of the difficulties they are confronted with under the Bantu Education.

In the actual concerts a record of the voluntary donations each teacher makes is kept, and the list is read before each concert starts. It soon became apparent that woman teachers made virtually no free donations at concerts. The association decided that it be compulsory for every woman teacher to donate, at least, fifty cents in each concert. The woman teachers complained that they were being taxed unfairly as the male members were not expected to make similar donations. The decision was then revoked, and a new one reached, namely, that the list be read before the concert started so that members could see who had not played their part.

This did not change the situation; the woman teachers still failed to make any donations<sup>(1)</sup>. The explanation given by one principal was that, in general, the woman teachers were not worried about the conditions in which each school was because they knew that they would not be held responsible for its decline, and if the particular school in which they taught fell, they could always apply to another one. In the case of male teachers, having failed once to run a school properly, the chances of getting another teaching job were very remote.

~~The other objectives of the Mountain-Tops Teachers' Association~~

(ii) To co-ordinate sporting activities between the various schools. The sporting activities include athletics, soccer, and netball. First, local competitions are held, and then the winning team goes to represent the group in the district competitions. In the case of athletics, a team of athletes is picked from all nine schools combined. All these activities are said to be a means of maintaining the interest of the children in education and a way of attracting those who are not at school yet.

(iii)/

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(1) Their wages, compared to those of the men, are very low.

(iii) To discuss matters that affect teachers e.g. the standardization of school tests, discussion of new regulations and changes from the Department of Bantu Education; and any matter that concerns teachers e.g. the Cingo Commission which was investigating the question of the medium of instruction in the 'Bantu schools'. The principals also attend inspectors' meetings, where new instructions for the schools are given.

(iv) The association is also responsible for settling disputes among teachers. A case was reported in which a woman teacher was summoned to appear at a special member's meeting, after other woman teachers had complained that she had been spreading a scandal about them. The meeting came to nothing because the supposed culprit denied any knowledge of the accusation. The case was dismissed on grounds of lack of conclusive evidence against her.

The association also handles cases of extremely bad behaviour on part of individual teachers. Bad behaviour includes drunken behaviour in concerts, seduction of local girls and woman teachers, and any other irresponsible action. This is done privately e.g. nobody, for instance, can go and report to them that a certain teacher has seduced his daughter; but the teachers, as soon as they hear about the matter, bring it up in their next meeting as a matter of general concern. No accusations or indictments are made.

Perhaps, the most interesting thing about the local teachers' association are the reasons for electing certain members to the executive. The present chairman, paradoxically enough, was elected because he is a drunkard. By so doing, the members hoped that his new position and responsibilities would make him feel the need for a change in his behaviour. The chairman of the association presides in all concerts, and the members were interested to find out if their chairman would be as irresponsible as to get drunk in the chair. They claim that their method worked and that the

behaviour/

behaviour of the chairman has greatly improved. They told me of an occasion where he was being provoked deliberately by a trouble-seeker in a concert, but to the great surprise of all those who knew him, he 'said nothing and just continued with his work'. Senior men are usually avoided for the position of chairman because 'they are not energetic enough to attend all the concerts and any other business that may need the immediate attention of of the chairman'. Lack of interest in the activities of the organization is a ground for disqualification from any executive position. Women are usually elected to the position of secretary.

The three things to note here are: the attempt by the educational leaders to adopt themselves and the running of schools to the new system of education. Secondly, the contrast between the approach of the educated people and of the 'reds' in appointing leaders. As it has been shown on the discussion on lineage leadership, the 'reds' put great emphasis on seniority by age. The teachers, on the other hand, avoided electing an old man to a position that carried much work. The third point is the similarity between the methods used by the teachers in raising funds and those used by the members of the umgalelo clubs in Langa<sup>(1)</sup>.

## 2. The school committee.

Assisting the principal of every 'Bantu' school, is a school committee. The Gubenxa school committee consists of seven members. Three of these are 'elected' by parents, two are nominated by the headman, and the last two represent the Church. Constitutionally this is the position, but practically all the members are, in fact, 'elected' by the community and then confirmed by the headman. The procedure is that the community suggests twelve names, and the headman, in conjunction with the principal and an ex-principal who is now a member of the school committee, nominates seven men out of the suggested twelve. This is done unofficially, and the

nominations/

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(1) Wilson M. & Mafeje A.: Langa. Oxford University Press, Cape Town,

nominations are not known to the ordinary villager. In suggesting the names there is an attempt to ensure that all the major lineages are represented, but lineage connections are apparently not taken into account by the headman and his advisers.

The names approved by the headman are then sent to Chief Mayeza, a Bantu Authority. He, in turn, forwards them to the secretary of the school board. The latter hands them over to the magistrate who sends them to Pretoria for final approval. After that they follow the same route back. When they reach the village, they are announced. This happens every two years. In view of the procedure described above and the fact that the chief, the magistrate, and the officials in Pretoria have the right to reject the nominations and suggest different names, it is difficult to regard these as elections by the people. They appear rather to be appointments by the Government.

The appointed men elect one of their number as a chairman. The present chairman is the same man who once aspired to the position of headman (see pp. 54-5). He is also one of the three subheadmen who were dismissed. He was born in the village in 1899. After passing his Std III, he worked locally as a road-maker. In 1918 he went to Cape Town and got a job in a dairy. He soon changed his job and worked for Templeman's Nurseries until 1945 when he stopped going to work in Cape Town. In the early fifties he got a job as a dipping foreman's assistant, but he lost his job when he tried to abrogate more powers to himself. He was elected chairman of the school committee because 'he is a diligent man who likes to see things done and does the work himself when the other members of the committee show lack of interest in their work'. He is also a hut builder, an important point for the building of the school huts. Though all these points about him are true, my interpretation is that he is an ambitious man, and this is the driving force/

force behind him. Besides being a member of the school committee, he is a lay preacher in the local church.

The vice-chairman is also a Mvulane, an influential man too. Though he has never been to school, <sup>his</sup> ~~his~~ word carries weight in the community. He is not only a powerful and determined speaker, but also a senior man by birth and age. The treasurer is the subheadman, and the members elected him because 'of his position in the community, his honesty, and intelligence'. One member volunteered, 'It is convenient to have him in the committee because if any dispute arises he will be there to solve it immediately'. The fourth member is a young man of twenty-nine. He is the man who nearly caused a fight by suggesting that a firmer stand be taken against people he believed to be thieves (see above p. 76). He is strikingly young in comparison to the other members, who are nearer sixty than fifty. He was elected because he is powerful, eloquent, frank, and a brave speaker. 'I like S because he says the very things people are afraid to say. At times such an attitude is very useful', said one committee member approvingly.

The fifth member is a retired teacher, who was the principal of the local school. He was elected for obvious reasons. Besides his experience in running the school, he has first hand information about the way it functions. The sixth member is a man who, in some respects, is considered to be queer and treated with suspicion. But his great interest in education and general advancement qualified him for membership in the committee (cf the chairman). He is a leading local farmer, and has a first rate flock of sheep, though few in number. His fruit and vegetable garden is unsurpassed in the village. He is also a good and outspoken speaker.

The seventh member is a wealthy man who used to be a powerful herbalist until he decided to give up because of ill-health. He is also interested in education, and one of

his/

his children is in a secondary school in the district. The following remark was made by one of the committee members in connection with him: 'It is almost conventional to have one of the local big shots in our committees because even the most stubborn men in the village will cast their eyes down and listen when they speak'. All the members of the committee willingly accepted their position, except the retired teacher who did not want to be involved with school work any more. However, the members insisted that he stands for election because they needed a literate person in the committee. 'A committee of blind bats would not do', they said.

RELIGION.

1. Religious leadership.

Until very recently religious leadership in the Transkei, like elsewhere, has been closely associated with educational leadership. In Gubenxa, as any other part in the Transkei, this link has not been broken completely yet. The principal of the local school is the church warden of the local Anglican Church, and his assistants are Sunday School teachers and instructors in the church choir. The retired teacher is the lay-preacher. His assistant is the chairman of the school committee. He is the leading member in the local church, and his wife is the secretary of the Mothers' Union. She was elected because 'she is the wife of an important person (umntu omkhulu), and she has education'.

The treasurer of the Mothers' Union is the wife of the assistant preacher i.e. the chairman of the school committee. She is not educated, nor has she any particular personal abilities. According to one informant, she was elected because of 'her husband's position and because of lack of personnel in the local church'. The chairman of the Mothers' Union is the most senior woman in the church. This is one of the reasons for her election. The other reason is that 'she was born in the church and she knows a lot about it'. When asked if the fact that she is the wife of the previous Gubenxa headman did not contribute to her election, she laughed and said, 'I suppose so, but that would have been foolishness on the part of the electors because headmanship has nothing to do with the church'. There is no young women's or young men's christian association in Gubenxa; nor is there a Zenzele Club for school women.

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The Gubenxa Anglican Church is part of a bigger unit, the All Saints Parish. The parish is divided into three districts viz, All Saints, Manzana, and Mkondlo. The latter district is under an African minister, Fr S. Gqabu. Gubenxa falls in Mr. Gqabu's district. He conducts a service for the whole area once every month. Periodically, the Bishop visits all the stations, confirming children and celebrating other rituals. The headquarters of all the local Anglican churches are at All Saints.

When the schools were still under the various churches, All Saints used to supply Gubenxa with teachers and ministers. As a result, the foundation teachers in the Gubenxa school came from All Saints. The first teacher in Gubenxa was born in All Saints in 1899, and had his primary education there. However, he did his teachers' course at Clarkebury Training School, a Methodist institution. Before he came to Gubenxa he did a few odd jobs in different places. For example, he spent a year working in Cape Town, and another two years at a hospital, as a caretaker. He only came to Gubenxa in 1928, and remained there until 1959 when he retired at the age of sixty. He is now a permanent resident in Gubenxa. Similarly, the chairman of the Mothers' Union was born in All Saints in 1906. She attended school at All Saints. She came to Gubenxa in 1925 when she got married to the then headman of the village.

It will, therefore, be noticed that All Saints for a very long time has been responsible for the intellectual and spiritual leadership of Gubenxa. Even politically, if we recall what happened at the beginning, Gubenxa was directed from All Saints. It was Ntshacile, an All Saints man, who appointed headmen in Gubenxa. Of course, the link is no longer as it was originally. Politically, Gubenxa is on her own. It is only the church that has still strong ties with All Saints.

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It is also interesting to note that other mission stations have had a similar effect on the neighbouring villages. This seems to have been the pattern in the rest of colonial and ex-colonial Africa.

Besides the Anglican Church four other churches are represented in Gubenxa:- the Methodist, the Baptist, the Sigxabayi, and the Zionist.

The Methodist:

There are very few adherents of the Methodist Church in Gubenxa. They attend service in a village about eight miles away, meeting in a building which is used both as a church and a school. The principal of the school, who is a Gubenxa resident, is the leading figure in the local Methodist Church. He is not only a local preacher, but also a steward of the Clarkebury Circuit <sup>(1)</sup>. His wife is the secretary of the Mothers' Union (cf. the Gubenxa retired teacher and his wife).

The Baptist:

The Baptists have no fixed meeting place; they meet in different places on different Sundays. They have neither a school nor a church building. They meet in private houses (cf 'self-made' churches in Langa)<sup>(2)</sup>. Their ministers are not trained in any recognized theological institution. They are elected by the congregation itself, 'with a special inspiration from the Holy Ghost'. Their local leader is an assistant to the man who is in charge of the whole Baptist congregation. Though the headquarters of the Baptist Church are said to be in Cala, the minister in charge lives not in Cala, but in one of the neighbouring villages. He is a maternal

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(1) Clarkebury is the centre of the Methodists in the Engcobe district.

(2) Wilson & Mafeje: op. cit. p.95.

uncle to the local leader. The local leader himself is the son of a man who used to be an important elder in the Baptist Church. The same man was important in the village because of his wealth.

Though the local leader assured me that ministers in their church are not elected by the people, but 'pointed out by the finger of God', there are grounds for believing that he was elected because of his father's position. His relation to the man at the top i.e. his maternal uncle could have also contributed to his ascent. Another possible contributory fact<sup>or</sup> is that his wife is a daughter of another important and wealthy Baptist man from a neighbouring village. He is not a particularly intelligent man, nor a forceful personality with any special qualities. This is in contrast to the type of man found in the local school committee, the Anglican or Methodist Church. He does not belong to any of the local committees. The question then is, how does he maintain the solidarity of his group?

The local Baptist Church is very exclusive. In the general run of things and in social entertainment, its members tend to keep to themselves. Their closed circles do not end here; there is a tendency for endogamy in the group. The latter is accounted for by doctrinal considerations. The few Baptists found in Gubenxa are members of the Mvulane clan, and their fellow-clansmen are aware of their isolationist tendencies. One time I was discussing the importance of rituals within the clan with a Mvulane man. To stress the importance of ritual in the clan, he said, "rituals are rituals and everybody is under an obligation to attend them, including the Baptists who tend to keep aloof from the rest of the people (Isiko lisiko, kwaye kuyimfuneko ikuba wonke umntu abekho, nama Baptizi la asoloko ezibekele bucala).

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The Baptist are scornful of some of the rituals observed by their pagan kinsmen. At least in public they are, though a lot goes on behind closed doors. Their church forbids them to take medicines or receive injections. The latter was once a matter of great conflict between them and the administration. It was the time of the general vaccination against small-pox. The Baptists refused to be vaccinated. After being vaccinated by force, most of them were thrown into jail. This was a source of amusement to the villagers, who thought that the Baptists were being unreasonable.

This seems to have taught them a lesson because now they willingly go for vaccination like everybody else. Another thing they are not supposed to do is to approach diviners or eat pork. There are a few other taboos they have to observe, and I think that it is this strong, almost fanatic, faith accompanied by exclusiveness rather than strong leadership that accounts for the strong internal cohesion in the local Baptist community. It should also be noted that the material on the Baptists suggests a cleavage between pagan and christian kinsmen. (See also material on All Saints).

#### The Sigxabayi Sect:

The Sigxabayi movement was started in Gubenxa about thirty-five years ago by a man who was a worker in Cape Town. He was joined later by his brother-in-law. Originally, the brother-in-law came from one of the villages near Clarkebury. After working for some time with his brother-in-law, the founder of the movement gave up and reverted to paganism. Though he still wears clothes, socially he belongs with the 'reds'.

His brother-in-law continued and afterwards was joined by a younger brother of the original man. He soon achieved the position of minister in the larger Sigxabayi community. The

Sigxabayi/

Church is very similar to the Baptist Church, though its members resent such a comparison. They have no church building, and the members meet in private houses. Like the Baptists, their headquarters are in a distant village, and at certain times of the year they have to make long trips to the headquarters. At first, like the Baptists, they used not to use medicines or attend medical doctors or diviners. They still do not eat pork.

Formerly, the Gubenxa minister was responsible only for the local congregation, but after the death of the most senior minister he was promoted to his position. He is now the most senior Sigxabayi minister in the Engcobo district. The founder's brother who joined him is now a visitor of the sick. Like the Baptist ministers, the Sigxabayi ministers do not receive any formal training; they are elected by the congregation.

The present leader is a noted agriculturalist in the local community. His garden is full of fruit trees and vegetables. At times he produces enough for sale. He also raises poultry and sells chickens and eggs. He is an intelligent and very capable man. Before he settled down to farming, he was a migrant worker in Johannesburg from 1927 to 1950. He has been to Cape Town once. He is about fifty and has been married for twenty-six years. He is a father of five children and, though he himself has never been to school, all his older children have had, at least, primary education. He is very interested in education. While a worker in Johannesburg, he taught himself to read and write. His wife passed Std V.

Despite the fact that this man has been in Gubenxa for over twenty-five years, he is still a sort of an outsider and feels it strongly. For instance, when his name came up for election in the school committee, he pretended not to be interested. His explanation was that 'he did not want to be a

member/

member of the school committee because he knew that the other members would make him feel uncomfortable in the committee, since he did not belong to the same clans as most of them'. He maintained that his time would be wasted in the committee, as nobody would listen to his views seriously. For this reason, he felt that 'the members were not sincere when they proposed his name; they just wanted to show how incapable he was as they were certainly not going to co-operate with him in the work of the committee'.

This is not all necessarily true, but it brings out forcefully the importance of belonging to a clan or lineage group in Gubenxa, and shows the amount of insecurity people feel when they have no kinsmen to support them. I know for a fact that some villagers sincerely wanted the Sigxabayi leader to be a member <sup>of</sup> ~~ix~~ the school committee. Of course, his mistrust of everybody arises from some unpleasant personal experiences. A number of things have happened to him, things which even some villagers admit that would not have happened to him if he had kinsmen to protect him. However, as an individual, he is respected by most villagers.

#### The Zionist Movement:

The Zionist Movement was started in Gubenxa about five years ago by a man who was converted by a Zionist 'bishop' called Gumede. Gumede is said to be a Johannesburg man who comes out to the Transkei once a year. The local organizer told me that he found his visits too infrequent, and that this made it difficult for him to carry on with the work and maintain the following. He felt that if the 'bishop' could visit them more frequently, things could be better. The situation was improved by the arrival of another man who had been working in Cape Town, where he qualified as a minister of the Zionist Church. He

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became of great help to the local organizer, so much so that they wrote to the 'bishop', asking him to grant the new minister all the powers to carry on with the work locally. The 'bishop' accepted the suggestion.

The new man was recognized as a leader until he went back to Cape Town to look for a job. In his place he left the original organizer. The latter is very active, and holds meetings in the surrounding villages. His drums can be heard every week-end and in the evenings on week-days. Besides the regular services he conducts, he works as a healer and receives many calls from sick people. He does not use medicines in his treatment. He only prays for the sick, and thus follows the example of Jesus Christ. Otherwise, the pattern followed by his church both in ordinary services and in healing is very similar to that followed by the traditional diviners (amagqira). They sing self-composed songs, clap hands, and dance to the beat of the drum.

The local leader, like most of his followers, is illiterate. Again like most members, he is a squatter on one of the neighbouring farms. He was born and brought up in the same area. He has been to Johannesburg and Cape Town, only once in each case. He is married to a local girl. He, his wife, mother, and children live together, work for the same farmer, and belong to the same church. Though the members of their church visit Gubenxa frequently, they are not Gubenxa people. They are referred to by the villagers as 'people from Boerland' (abantu basemaBulwini). At times they are referred to as 'squatters' or vagrants' - amacheya (of the use of the same word to the Coloureds in Cape Town)<sup>(1)</sup>.

The parallels or similarities among the last three churches will not have escaped the notice of the reader. None of the

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(1) See Langa, op. cit. 97.

three sends its ministers to theological institutions for training, and their leaders have very little or no education - a contrast to those of the Anglican and the Methodist Churches. They do not use medicines and pork, or claim not to. They all believe in Baptism by submersion. It is this type of church that people in Langa classify as 'self-made'.<sup>(1)</sup>

## 2. Traditional rituals.

Besides the rituals conducted by lineage leaders, Gubenxa villagers, pagans in particular, receive frequent visits from diviners. The latter hold séances in the village for the benefit of the sick. They are supposed to cure the sick, drive away evil spirits, cleanse, and treat the homesteads of the villagers. There are no qualified diviners in the local community; there are just a few novices apprenticed to the visiting diviners.

The diviners, like the Zionists, sing to the accompaniment of drums and dance all night long (it is not clear who first introduced the drum, but there is stronger evidence in favour of the Zionists). Both groups can be looked upon as representing traditional ritual leadership. Of course, the Zionist cult has undergone appreciable changes under the influence of modern Christian religion. Instead of using herbs and traditional medicines, they use prayer. It is also worth noting that in their séance, the diviners also claim to be praying to the living God. The remark made by one of them to me is indicative of this outlook: 'It is important that people behave themselves in these meetings because when we do this, we are worshipping God (singula uThixo)'.

### ~~Other traditional rituals~~

The only ritual functions, in the traditional sense, that still remain in the hands of Gubenxa community are:-

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(1) Wilson & Mafeje: op. cit. p 95.

(a) Circumcision - Like in most Xhosa-speaking communities, circumcision is still important in Gubenxa and it marks the change of status of boys from boyhood to manhood. Traditionally, it was the responsibility of clan and lineage leaders. Under the modern conditions, though clan differences are still important and boys from different clans do not occupy the same lodge (ibuma), the power of clan or lineage leaders to decide when boys from individual homesteads of the clan or lineage will be circumcised and who will perform the operation is greatly reduced. The head of the family often initiates activities in this direction. After he has made up his mind, he announces his decision to the lineage leaders. Clan or lineage members are expected to contribute, whether in the form of labour or food, in the preparation for the ceremony. Circumcision rituals cut across the school-red cleavage: members receive a greater support from and are under a greater obligation to their kinsmen than fellow-christians or '-reds'. It is equally important to note that whatever favour or friendly gesture is done by kinsmen and the rest of the villagers is done not in respect of the father of the boy. The members only speak as if they were doing it on behalf of the bigger group, the lineage or the clan, as a sign of courtesy.

There are only two men who circumcise in the village. One is the Gcina leader and the other is the chairman of the school committee, who is also one of the most senior men in the Mvulane right hand house. He is less popular than the Gcina man. Whether this is due to the fact that he is a school person (there is a general belief among 'reds' that school people 'know nothing about traditional affairs') or because he is not a good operator, is a question which still eludes me. On the other hand, the educated people are beginning to react against

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the 'Unhygienic methods' used by the 'reds' in circumcision, and prefer to send their sons to medical doctors. At times the pagans are also forced to make similar adjustments so as to be back at their jobs in the industrial centres in time. Since family requirements are primary nowadays, circumcision will end up being a family matter under the supervision of the head of the family. The initiation ritual for girls (intonjane)<sup>(1)</sup> is quickly dying out in Gubenxa, and when it is observed, the mother of the girl, in consultation with her husband, is the chief organizer of the ritual. She is assisted in the work by the other wives of the lineage.

(b) Marriage. - In Gubenxa, as elsewhere, marriage is the institution that denotes sexual unions which are socially sanctioned. The pattern followed in the actual ritual is distinctive of each of the two sections. The 'reds' follow the traditional pattern, and the clan and lineage leaders play an important role in it. They make the major decisions on behalf of the father of <sup>the</sup> boy or the girl who is getting married. They discuss the suitability of the union, decide how much they will ask for lebola, in the case of a girl, and they decide who will be their negotiators and spokesmen. On the day of the ceremony they make speeches and admonish (ukuyala) the young man or girl. They see to the distribution of food and ensure that their in-laws receive the best treatment possible. Senior women also play an important part in supervising the cooking. They also get a chance 'to give the bride or bridegroom some words of advice'. Therefore, in cases of marriage, the head of the family and his son or daughter i.e. the bridegroom or the bride are kept in the background as far as possible, and the head operates through his senior kinsmen.

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(1) Monica Hunter - Reaction to Conquest, Oxford University Press, London, 1961. p. 167.

The school people marry by christian rites and the officiating officer in their marriages is the minister. The church leaders e.g. preachers and church-wardens ply a greater part in the ritual than 'red' kinsmen. They are usually in charge of the school section at the wedding ceremony, while 'red' senior kinsmen are in charge of the 'red' section. So, generally speaking, in cases of marriage the school-red division is important, and among school people the dan or lineage leaders are being displaced by church leaders.

(c) Mourning rites - When a member dies, a number of rituals are performed. Among the 'reds' in Gubenxa, the lineage leaders conduct all the appropriate rituals and kinsmen are expected to observe certain abstentions such as lustrous dress, boisterous behaviour, and use of certain foods. About a year after the death of the head of the family, a ritual called ukuzila is performed. It marks the end of the mourning period and, as in the day of the funeral, all the villagers are expected to observe the occasion by staying away from work. Kinsmen are informed about it and they are expected to attend. Failure to attend for no apparent <sup>reason</sup> is regarded as a serious breach of faith. Christian kinsmen and those who are unable to attend are expected to show their solidarity by also staying away from work.

In the case of christians, the Church again plays a greater role; the church leaders conduct the funeral. If 'red' senior kinsmen of the deceased wait for a lead from the church leaders. Their leadership is confined only to matters that are domestic. Christians are forbidden by the Church to observe ukuzila rites. However, they circumvent this difficulty by holding a commemoration service a few months after the death of their fellow-christian. Members are expected to attend all the rituals and, like among the pagans, failure to attend may cause a great deal of ill-feeling. Deliberate non-attendance is punished by a  
boycott/

boycott, and very few people will take the risk.

(d) Prevention of thunder and hailstorm, which often destroys young mealie-plants in the fields, is another ritual still performed by the villagers. Nobody organizes this particular activity, except that when the time comes the members collect the appropriate medicines from a man responsible for the job every ploughing season. People who are not interested do not go. The man who provides the medicine is a Vundle by clan and he took over from his father. People complain that his medicines are not as effective as his father's. Some claim that he does not know anything about the job, and that they would rather spend their money on something else. As a result, he has very few clients.

(e) Prevention of lightning and the treatment of houses and animals that have been struck by it is the job of the local herbalist, the same Gcina herbalist who is a member of the school committee. As it has been pointed out already, he is no longer very active, but nobody has yet come up to take his job.

Rain-making used to be practised, but it is now almost two generations since it was. It used to be done by an old Vundle woman. After her death there was nobody to take over, 'since she was the only one who knew the secret'. It will be noticed that the Vundle feature prominently in some of these rituals. When I tried to find the reason for this, nobody knew. My own guess is that the Vundle may have acquired ritual leadership by virtue of being the first group to settle in Gubenxa or because, formerly, they were chiefs among the Thembu (see Introduction). It is also interesting to note that the first Gubenxa headman was a Vundle. This also might have been a recognition of the chieftainship of the Vundle.

## ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

### ~~Economic leadership~~

The Gubenxa people are essentially pastoralists. Among themselves they own 3285 cattle, and this gives them an average of thirty-two cattle per homestead. This is well above the average for the Transkei, as a whole, which is six cattle per family of six. Included in the cattle counted in Gubenxa are a few that do not actually belong to Gubenxa, but to a neighbouring village whose residents take them to the Gubenxa dipping tank because it is nearer than the one which is supposed to serve their village. Compared to most villages in the Transkei, the quality of the stock in Gubenxa is very much better. This view has been confirmed by stock-inspectors and other officers from the Veterinary Department. The explanation is that Gubenxa is on the borders of the Elliot and Maclear farming districts (white farmers). Some of the villagers have worked on these farms, and even those who have not, watch what goes on and copy from the farmers.

The villagers buy better quality cows and bulls from the farmers, and have also learnt to distinguish between different breeds of cattle. Once we were riding on a bus through white-owned farms, and we drove past a large herd of Frieslands and one peasant remarked, 'They are nice and fat. They are lovely animals and very good milkers too.' Another man replied, 'That is true but their milk lacks in cream. The Jerseys outstrip them by far in cream. Another disadvantage about them is that they are big and need a lot of fodder'.

'I agree with you entirely. Actually, my choice is the Ayrshire (amaEshiya). That is the breed that can stand conditions in the Reserves' (pastures are poor in the Reserves).

The Gubenxa residents derive the greater part of their subsistence from stock-farming. Besides cattle, they also

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keep goats, sheep, horses, donkeys, pigs, and fowls. They sell the cattle to the speculators who visit the village at regular intervals. The date for the fair is announced through the local shopkeepers. Wool from the sheep is also becoming an important source of income. Sale of sheep, goats, horses, and donkeys is on a smaller scale and is confined to the villagers and their neighbours. Hides and skins are sold to the shopkeeper. Women also sell their pigs, fowls, and eggs to him. They have no control over cattle, goats, sheep, horses and donkeys (donkeys are gradually falling in to their domain). Milk from the cows is not sold by tradition and there is no market for it. The marketing discussed above is done on an individual basis i.e. the elementary family is the co-operative unit. There are no farmers' associations or co-operatives of any sort in the village.

Gubenxa people, so far, can afford to be pastoralists because, unlike most villages in the Transkei, they have good and well-watered pastures, and can get good bulls and cows from the local white farmers at relatively low prices. The influence of farmers on them also spreads to agricultural farming. The methods and the implements - the plough, the planter, the harrow, and the cultivator - they use are a great improvement on what used to be the case twenty to twenty-five years ago. Of course, this is also true of most communities in the Transkei. In fact, the standard of agricultural farming of the Gubenxa people does not compare with that of the people on the flat and fertile plains along the Bashe River. The latter area has been referred to as the 'maize belt' by some geographers. The Gubenxa soil is very poor and the area itself very mountainous. There is no real arable land, and the agriculture of the residents remains generally poor, though they are in contact with white farmers. Like most villages in the Transkei, Gubenxa does not

produce/

produce enough grain for its purposes, but after harvest most of the members sell some of their grain to the shopkeepers, only to go and buy it back during the ploughing season at exorbitant prices. In other words, trade in grain is from the traders to the villagers, not the other way round. It would be interesting to know how much grain is sold to the villagers every year, and this could be done by finding out from the local traders how much grain they sell every year, but the snag is that the villagers do not necessarily buy their grain from the local stores. They buy it from wherever it is believed to be cheap, even if that means travelling a distance of twenty to twenty-five miles, driving donkeys.

Like in all the villages in the Transkei, the people of Gubenxa supplement their subsistence economy by temporary migration to the towns of the Republic to seek employment. They migrate as individuals or in groups through recruiting corporations such as the Native Recruiting Corporation for the mines. Migration through the recruiting corporations is not favoured, and the reasons are:- (i) compared to secondary industries, primary industries offer very low wages; (ii) once under contract the migrants sacrifice the freedom to sell their labour to the highest bidder in the cities they are taken to. As a result, only boys (the uncircumcised) usually accept offers from recruiting corporations. Owing to the present conditions of increased unemployment and the proposed removal of the Africans from the Western Cape, this attitude will not continue for any length of time; men will also be forced to accept offers from the recruiting corporations. This is already taking place in some districts in the Transkei e.g. Engcobo. A few individuals in Gubenxa also take up seasonal jobs on the neighbouring farms, but most members will not because (i) wages are extremely/

Despite this awareness and the fact that the villagers often approach the farmers for expert advice, the former do not look upon the farmers as their leaders in any sense. On their part, the farmers are very conscious of their superior position, and give the assistance they give, not as leaders, but as benevolent patriarchs. One of them boasted to me that 'their Natives (meaning the local peasants) know far ~~much~~ more about farming than the Natives further away from them'.

There are two important points to note here, The Gubenxa people, though dependent on the local farmers for leadership in farming, do not recognize them as their leaders. Secondly, the farmers do not see themselves as mere leaders to the peasants, but as 'fathers' who have a duty to guide the toddling babies. Both points are reflective of the South African social structure. In South Africa, though black and white do enter into numerous social relationships, they never forget that they belong to different colour groups (see also material on All Saints). South Africans, as it has been shown in the introduction, identify people primarily by their skin-colour. Another point which explains further the nature of the relationship between the Gubenxa peasants and the white farmers is that the average white South African, whenever he enters into a relationship with a black South African, assumes his superiority and inferiority of the black, whether legitimately so or not.

The last point also explains the attitude of most whites in the Transkei, who maintain that the Transkei would never survive without them. They miss the more fundamental point that the removal of any section of the population in the Transkei, whether white or black, necessarily means the breaking up of already existing social relationships. In other words, it is a breaking up of a community, and thus makes its survival difficult or impossible. The question then is, could the local

farmers/

farmers be regarded as part of the leadership in Gubenxa or not? If it were not for their skin-colour and the caste-like South African system which scoffs at any permanent relationship between members of different colour groups, they could.

Besides the white farmers, there are white traders who serve Gubenxa. There are two of them. One is a full-time trader. He was born in the Transkei (Libode) in 1923 and he attended school at Viljoen High School in Umtata. Before he established his own business and came to Gubenxa, he worked in three trading stations in the Transkei as a shop assistant. He has been in Gubenxa for about eight years. His wife was born in the Elliot district. Though her husband is English-speaking, she is Afrikaans-speaking. They can, in their own words, both speak Xhosa as well as any Xhosa-speaking person. This claim was confirmed by the villagers.

The shopkeeper does not only supply the villagers with groceries and clothes, but also serves as their Post Office and means of transport. He sends and receives their mail, and in cases of emergency, the villagers use his telephone to contact the outside world. In cases of illness, they hire his car or van to take their sick to the hospital or the nearest doctor. They also borrow money from him while they are waiting for their kinsmen in Cape Town and elsewhere to send them money.

It was in view of these services that the local shopkeeper declared that 'his shop was the heart without which the village could not live'. He also volunteered that, 'though he was not getting a lot of money in his trading station, he would hate to leave it because he was so used to the local people that he took pleasure in serving them; and did not mind going about in their houses collecting money owed to him, and drinking a pot of beer

or a cup of tea, as always was the case in the houses of the better class'. This might sound romantic and unreal, but it happens to be true of this particular trader. Perhaps, it was for the same reason that he could not agree with the removal or proposed removal of the whites from the Transkei.

The <sup>5</sup>second trader is a full-time farmer and only a part-time trader. He was born on a farm whose gates open into Gubenxa. He is 41 years old. He inherited from his father a 1000 morgan<sup>a</sup> farm. His farming is mainly pastoral, and he is doing a good business with the villagers. His little shop is run by his wife, and renders the same service to the local community as the other shop. He and his wife attended school at Elliot.

In Gubenxa itself there are no men or women who could be said to be leaders in the economic field. Most of the help, as it has been shown, comes from outside. Even in cattle care the villagers seem to be 'helped' by outsiders. The dipping foreman is a local man, but the stock-inspectors who are responsible for the vaccination of cattle, the selection of bulls, and the testing of the strength of the dipping solution are whites and outsiders. Their services are essential from the point of view of stock farming, but they are greatly resented by the villagers.

In the village their activities are seen as an unnecessary interference with the stock of the villagers, and as an attempt by the State to extend its control into every aspect of the lives of the villagers. 'Who did all these things for us before the whites came? Why is it compulsory for us to take our cattle to the dipping tank every fortnight, whereas the local farmers dip their cattle when they like?' These are some of the questions the villagers keep on asking. They also see the counting of their cattle at regular intervals by the dipping foreman or any other official as the same thing as asking a white man to show

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you his savings accounts. 'Our cattle are our banking accounts', they say. They even complain that the dipping solution used for their cattle is not the same as that used by the white farmers for their cattle.

It is, therefore, clear that the members of the Veterinary Department are not welcome by the villagers and their activities are regarded with great suspicion. In other words, their leadership is not accepted by the villagers. It is superimposed. In terms of the local community, they are bureaucrats. It is true that their job also entails checking not only stock theft, but also illicit trade in stock. The people, on the other hand, want to have free trade in cattle so that they may increase their stock. The Government, consistent with its rehabilitation and stock limitation schemes, wants to reduce the number of cattle owned by the Africans in the Transkei. In the view of the people, over-stocking arises from land shortage, not from too many cattle, as the Government officials always claim.

## RECREATIONAL LEADERSHIP

### Recreational leadership

In Gubenxa there are no formally organized recreational associations. The pagan or 'red' youth still meet every week-end in the customary way for a traditional dance. The uncircumcised and girls of the same age dance separately from the young men i.e. the circumcised. Their dance is called umtsho-tsho. The members of umtshotsho have a peculiar or unusual way of maintaining order in their gatherings. They have no formally elected leaders to ensure the smooth running of things. The only person who is elected to a definite position is the boy who is responsible for directing the singing of the girls. He often beats them if he feels that their music is unsatisfactory.

As far as the boys are concerned, they beat up anyone among them who they think is out of order. As a result, it is the best fighter who is feared and respected by the other boys (cf. ikhaba in Langa). He is listened to and his will is often obeyed. He, therefore, occupies the position of a leader. His authority is not resented because the way in which he gets it is accepted by the group; and anybody who wishes to challenge his position, provided he can fight well, is free to do so. It should be remembered that in the traditional society prowess and aggressiveness amongst boys were encouraged; even irresponsibility from them was tolerated.

However, it should not be imagined that the other boys have no control over the best fighter. They have, and if he proves to be impossible, they all attack him. Even girls are said to settle their disputes by fighting with belts. This

does/

does not happen often, as girls are expected to behave in a sober manner all the time. When they do fight they usually do so in a hidden spot.

The 'school' section has no boys who are old enough to attend timitis (from tea-meetings). The only three boys that there are come from 'red' homes, but have just left school. At first, they used to attend timitis every week-end in one of the neighbouring villages. As it often happens, they fought with their 'hosts' and were chased away. After this incident, though not fully integrated yet, they joined their 'red' contemporaries. They can still be distinguished from the other by their lack of elaborate beadwork and trinkets.

The 'red' young men also meet every week-end for their dance, intlombe. Among them no physical violence is allowed. They are expected to behave in an orderly and disciplined way (kufuneka beziphetha ubudoda). They, therefore, elect a young man whose duty is to see to it that everyone behaves in the proper fashion. He is referred to as 'iphoyisa' ( a policeman). He 'arrests' anyone who flouts the accepted standards of behaviour. In a dramatic, but at the same time ceremonious way, he asks for attention from the members as soon as he 'arrests' someone. He then reports what the offender has done. He is usually a senior young man (umfana omdala) who is conversant with the rules of the intlombe and the procedure adopted. He must be an alert person who can speak well (kufuneka abeliciko ahlakaniphe).

After the matter has been reported, the more senior young men discuss it. The juniors and the girls do not participate in the discussion. When all the necessary evidence has been collected, the accused is asked to leave the hut so that the final judgement can be discussed in his absence. When the house

has/

has come to a decision, he is called in and one of the senior young men <sup>nn</sup> announces the judgement. The one who does this is usually the young man who is in charge of the intlombe that particular week-end (umfana ophethe intlombe). The seniors do this in turns. The culprit is expected to accept the decision of the house. He usually does, but in some rare cases he appeals against it.

When this happens a retired young man who was noted for his skill for handling difficult cases in his time is approached. He is known as 'unobena' (the one to whom people appeal). His decision is final and one may go against it at the risk of being banned indefinitely from young men's gatherings and dances. I have never witnessed a case in which 'unobena' was presiding, but I was told of a girl who had just been promoted from the boys to the intlombe. She did not want to leave umtshotsho because she had a sweet heart there. As usual, the young men went to fetch her from her home and escorted her to the intlombe, only to find that she had disappeared in the middle of the night. As soon as this was discovered, young men were sent out to look for her. They went to the boys' umtshotsho. She was not there. They tried her home and she was not there either. This was a serious case because her parents would hold the young men responsible if anything happened to her.

Eventually she got home safely. In the next intlombe her case was brought up. She was found guilty and fined R5. She appealed against the decision, arguing that she had not been initiated into the intlombe yet (ukungeniswa entlombeni), and that she did not know the regulations governing her new life. The young men became indignant<sup>n</sup> and would not listen to her plea. They threatened to cut her off from the intlombe for good. She

requested/

requested that her case be referred to unobena. The latter upheld her appeal, and that settled the matter once and for all. The unobena to whom the case was referred is not a Gubenxa man, but a man from one of the neighbouring villages. There is not any in Gubenxa; the institution appears to be archaic.

The 'school' young men seem to be in a perpetual state of disorganization. Though they do hold 'parties' at regular intervals, there are so few of them that the 'parties' are dull and uninteresting. They are also so badly organized that they do not evoke any enthusiasm in the individual members. The reason for this chaos, I suggest, is lack of proper leadership. There are few 'school' young men in Gubenxa and the majority of them at any given time, are away in the cities working. So leadership falls in the hands of those who are present, no matter how inefficient and irresponsible they are.

This was clearly illustrated by one 'party' I attended. Out of eleven young men present, only one did not drink and was not drunk. The rest were completely drunk, and they spent the whole night threatening to fight one another. Very little progress could be made. They were unco-operative and generally impossible. The only sober man remarked in despair, "They are just a nuisance value and nothing could be done about them". One girl explained that "the young men I saw were not their real leaders; and that their leaders were away in Cape Town".

Older men and women have no similar regular meetings. The only occasions for their meeting are beer drinks, feasts, and other ceremonies held in the village e.g. weddings. There people dance and enjoy themselves. Members from the two sections i.e. 'red' and 'school' do not usually join together

in/

in dancing, though they attend the same gatherings most of the time. If the gathering is ~~on~~ behalf of the 'school' people, they will do the dancing and the 'reds' will sit down and watch and vice versa.

In such gatherings the usual leaders are senior kinsmen. They make speeches, if necessary, and see to the distribution of food among the various categories of their guests. The men who actually divide the food have a special name, iinjoli. They are younger senior men i.e. young men who have just entered manhood. They are not chosen for any particular reason, except that in their youth they were charged with the duty of taking food to the various eating groups. They, therefore, have a fair idea of how food is divided. In Gubenxa the distribution of food is based on clan, sex, and age. Within the village members of different clans do not eat together, men and women eat separately, and seniors by age do not eat with juniors. It is only in inter-village festivals that territorial divisions are observed. In such gatherings people from the same village, irrespective of clan affiliations and age differences, as long as they are men (circumcised) or married women, eat together. The division between sexes is always maintained. Within the village the only group that gives priority to territorial divisions is the umtshotsho boys. Boys from the different sections of the village are known to fight against one another even if they belong to the same clan. In Gubenxa the division between 'red' and school is not yet rigid. 'Reds' and school people from the same clan are often seen eating together. The division which is consistently observed is that between those who eat from the table (teachers, priests, and students) and the rest.

Women/

Women also have their own iinjoli. It will be noticed that there is very little scope for leadership among women in Gubenxa. Except for the few executive members of the Mothers' Union, I did not come across any women who occupied leading positions. Among diviners they usually do so, but there are none in Gubenxa. All Saints presents an interesting contrast to this. Another point which is worth noting is that the recreational or dance groups discussed above strictly coincide with age-groups, and no individual can side-step them.

Chapter IV

ALL SAINTS

1. Historical background:

All Saints was founded on the 1st of November, 1859. The two names that are closely associated with this event are Archdeacon Waters and Rev. John Gordon. The chief from whom they got the permission to set up the mission station was Chief Fubu of the Qwati (see genealogy of the Qwati chiefs<sup>-p. 52</sup>). Mr. Gordon was ordained in South Africa. He was the son of an officer of the 91st Highlanders, who died in the action near Fort Hare in the 1850-52 war.

At All Saints the missionaries set up a Church and a rectory. At first things went well, and Dalasile - Fubu's son - cooperated with the missionaries. He demanded from his followers that the grant made by him and his father on communal land be respected. It was not long before he repented of his former decision and went to war against the colony in 1879 (see Introduction). During this war, known as the War of the Qwati, the mission was destroyed completely and Mr. Gordon's successor, Rev. T.W. Green took refuge in the nearest missionary station, Clarkebury. As result of this war, Dalasile was deposed from chieftainship, and Ntshacile, a devout Christian, was put in charge.

By 1883 the mission had been rebuilt. In 1896 a Girls' Training School was built. Afterwards a mission hospital was put up by Dr. Quelch (1929). The building of the school was

carried out by Mr. Green, who served in All Saints for thirty-seven years. The Girls' School at All Saints, after giving educational training to girls from all over the Transkei for over fifty years, was closed down in 1956 with the advent of Bantu Education. The mission hospital which was started by Dr. Quelch thirty-three years ago is still functioning well, though it is experiencing some constitutional difficulties, as it shall be shown later. The Boys' School, which was started by Fr. King in 1945, has been taken over by the Bantu Education Department, and trains both girls and boys.

As it has been pointed out already, in the eyes of the colonial government, the important man in All Saints was Ntshacile Poswayo. Ntshacile, one of the people who fled Southwards during the time of Tshaka, created a name for himself. As a boy he grew up under Noni, a Qwati chief who found Ntshacile and his sister in the mountains clad in skins. He offered them food and shelter.

As soon as he had grown up, Ntshacile joined the church. The missionary who was active in Thembuland then was Mr. Gordon. Afterwards Ntshacile joined the police force, and became very helpful to the then Engcobo magistrate, Mr. (later Sir) Walter Stanford. Though in his Reminiscences Stanford assures us that he was a great believer in 'moral suasion', he often got himself into trouble by his liberal use of the sjambok. One of Ntshacile's grandchildren told me how Stanford attacked some Clarkebury men with a sjambok after they had disagreed with him in a discussion. This generated so much fire that Ntshacile had to take it upon himself to go and apologise to the men concerned and the chief in charge. Yet in another occasion Stanford is reported to have threatened to apply corporal punishment to a group of policemen who had failed to perform their duties properly, but the missionary at All Saints intervened as most of the men

were  
affected members of his congregation.

Ntshacile did not only help the government in the administration of the Qwati, but also assisted Mr. Waters in the building of schools in Thembuland. He became very popular among both pagans and Christians. He visited the various areas, supervising the work of the headmen under him and listening to people's complaints and settling their disputes. He was a leader not only in All Saints, but also in all other parts of the Qwati territory.

His grandson, Thomas Poswayo, was sent to school at Zonnebloem College in Cape Town. He was with his cousin, Ngcubu, Kilili's son. After they had completed their teachers' course, they taught for a while. Later they went to England to study, but Thomas had to return because of ill-health. Ngcubu remained in England and studied at Colwyn I Institute in Northern Wales. He also spent some time in London studying with the late Professor Jabavu. After taking a degree in law he came back to South Africa. In the meantime his cousin, Thomas, had been appointed headman of All Saints after his father. He was succeeded by his brother, Velelo Poswayo - the present headman of All Saints. Thomas did not have a son to succeed him. (See the family tree of the Poswayos on p 158).

All Saints is different from Gubenxa in many ways. This was already apparent in the short histories of the two villages given above. All Saints, unlike Gubenxa which is about thirty miles from the nearest town, is just over two miles from the nearest town i.e. Engcobo (see map of Engcobo and surrounding districts on p viii). But nowhere near All Saints are found white farmers.

All Saints' grazing grounds are not nearly as wide and good as the Gubenxa ones, but All Saints soil is more fertile than Gubenxa soil. All Saints has more arable soil but, virtually no cattle to use for cultivation. Again, All Saints is not as well-watered as Gubenxa. Its supply of free fire-wood is nothing compared to the amount of wood found in the Gubenxa forests.

However, there are many other things All Saints has which Gubenxa does not have. All Saints has roads for cars. In fact, the national road from Umtata to Queenstown goes through All Saints. Cars can run in and out of All Saints with ease, and it is no effort for All Saints people to get to the public transport. This is in contrast to Gubenxa, where people see a car for the first time when they go to the nearest trading station. In Gubenxa there are children of eight who have not seen a car. The explanation is that there are no roads going to the village. People have to walk a distance of at least six miles before they come to the nearest Bus-stop.

In addition to the roads and public transport in All Saints, there are postal services, hospital, and a mission station. All these are very important means of communication with the outside world. It is not even necessary to mention the importance of the proximity of a town. The residents of All Saints are criticized by outsiders for being 'after profit'. "They make people pay rent for accommodation, as if they are townsmen; and they never give for nothing". One informant ridiculed the idea that Engcobo is a town without a 'location' i.e. an African township. "What do people think All Saints is? he said. The implication was that All Saints is the Engcobo 'location'. It is then not surprising that All Saints, unlike Gubenxa which is essentially a pagan community, is nearly hundred percent 'school'. Even the 'reds' that are found in All Saints are very like 'school people' in their ways.

## 2. Village structure:

All Saints, like Gubenxa, is divided into neighbourhoods, which I will call hamlets because they correspond to distinct territorial sub-units. Locally, these units are referred to as ilali. Strictly speaking, ilali is a village not a section of a village. Therefore, the word is incorrectly used in this case or is changing its meaning. Each hamlet is under a subheadman. In All Saints, unlike Gubenxa, the important question is not what clan occupies a given hamlet, but who occupies a given area, 'reds' or 'school' people? Even this is inaccurate, as it gives the impression that the territorial divisions between 'reds' and 'school' are absolute. However, it is not any more inaccurate than assuming that the territorial divisions among the clans in Gubenxa are absolute.

For that reason, it has been necessary to give the following table to show which category is dominant in any hamlet in

All Saints:-

<u>Name of hamlet</u>	<u>Dominant category</u>
Ncanabana	Red
Nkole	Red
Sidadeni	Red
Bulembu	School
Gadini	School
Mxesibe	School
Sikolweni	School
Sixholisi	Red

Contrary to what we found in Gubenxa, the ratio of 1:1 here can be very misleading. It does not coincide with the actual proportion of 'red' homesteads to 'school' homesteads.

In All Saints the percentage of 'school' to 'red' homesteads in each hamlet varies from something above naught to 100 per cent. In the village as a whole, there are many more 'school' people than 'red' people. Another interesting point is that the hamlets, as they stand in the table, are in their order of geographical proximity; and it will be noticed that the school ones are clustered together. The same applies to the first three 'red' ones. This means that there are whole areas which are occupied mainly by the same category. The hamlets which are predominantly 'red' are those which are farthest from the mission.

The actual proportion of 'school' to 'red' homesteads in the different hamlets is shown by the following table:-

<u>Hamlet</u>	<u>Total No.</u>	<u>No. of school</u>	<u>No. of Red</u>
Ncanabana	40	11	21
Nkole	26	12	13
Sidadeni	24	8	12
Bulembu	23	22	1
Gadini	72	-	-
Mxesibe	19	18	-
Sikolweni	80	80	-
Sixholosi	<u>57</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>23</u>
Total	341	257	70

As it can be seen, there are 341 homesteads in All Saints. Of these, 257 'school' as against seventy 'red' ones. There are, therefore, four times as many 'school' homesteads as there are 'red' homesteads. There are only fourteen mixed homesteads in All Saints, and compared with Gubenxa, their proportion to the other types of homesteads is negligible. The striking thing about All Saints, in comparison to Gubenxa, is that there is no predominance of any particular clan in any area,

nor are clan groupings important.

Most informants were emphatic about the unimportance of clans in All Saints. One teacher in reply to a question said, "There is no such a thing here. It used to be true of certain areas, but it is no longer so because a lot of new people have come to settle amongst the original inhabitants". Yet another informant assured me that: "It would be a lie to say there is a concentration of any single clan in any area. It is just a mixture of members of the various clans in the various localities". I would not believe this until it was confirmed by the headman who was born in All Saints. Still answering my question he said, "It would be very difficult to say which clans are predominant in particular localities because such a thing is not found here in All Saints."

On discovering this, the immediate question that sprang to my mind was, what has taken the place of clan divisions in All Saints? I was told by informant after informant that it has been taken by territorial divisions. The only way which this could be verified was by finding out how food or beer is distributed in public gatherings. It soon became apparent that in All Saints people are given their shares, not according to clan, but according to the locality in which they live. The food distributors (iinjoli), instead of saying, "Members of such and such a clan", say, "Residents of such and such a hamlet" e.g. "Abantu base Bulembu, abase-Gadini, abaseNcanabana, and so on".

I attended a feast and a beer drink where I actually witnessed the process of distribution of food. It came out clearly that in All Saints people from the same hamlet, irrespective of their clan affiliations, eat together and are identified. Another striking feature about this arrangement

is that people from mixed hamlets like Ncanabana, Nkole, Sidade-ni, and Sixholesini eat together, irrespective of whether they are school or 'red'. Of course, this applies to ordinary villagers. The teachers and other professional people eat from the table, where only class is relevant, not territorial subdivisions. The importance of class and territorial groupings in All Saints calls to mind the divisions found in Langa Township<sup>(1)</sup>. When there are outside groups, the food is allotted according to village or the headman under which the various groups are i.e. people from the same village are identified. Again, this does not apply to the professional class.

There are about thirty Coloured homesteads in All Saints and most of them are in the same hamlet, Bulembu. A Coloured sub-headman is responsible for the hamlet. Though this territorial segregation is real and an attempt is being made by some Coloured individuals and the authorities 'to promote some sort of communal life for the Coloureds', I could not find anything that could be used as a basis for looking at the Coloured members as something apart from the rest of the community, except their skin colour. Culturally, they have been absorbed into the African community, and most of them have adopted their mothers' clan names. They speak Xhosa as well as any All Saints villager. In fact, they speak better Xhosa than Afrikaans or English.

Being used to the Xhosa spoken by townsmen who borrow a number of words from English and Afrikaans, I was impressed by the facility with which some Coloured members employed Xhosa idioms. For instance, after failing to communicate well in English, the Coloured man suggested that we speak in Xhosa. My first question to him was, were you born here in All Saints? His reply was, 'Ewe mhlekazi, imfesane yam ilapha - Yes sir, I am indigenous in this area'. This was the most formal and idiomatic bit of Xhosa

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(1) Wilson & Mafeje: op. cit.

I have heard for some time. Again, one Sunday afternoon I listened with interest to two Coloured men, enquiring about beer drinks from a group of African men on horse-back. Throughout the conversation, clans names were used in address by both groups. In every aspect of their lives, the Coloured members mix with the African members. They attend services in the same church; and they attend the same feasts and village meetings.

On the other hand, the segregation of the white members is more real. They all live in the mission, except the shopkeeper who lives in a hamlet but is so removed from the villagers that he cannot be considered to be part of them. However, unlike most <sup>white</sup> members, he can speak Xhosa well. For social entertainment and the worship of God, he goes outside the willage. This is also true of the members at the mission, except that they attend services in the same church as the villagers. There is also a number of social occasions, most of them organized by the church, in which the white members interact with the rest of the members. Otherwise, most of the interaction that goes on between the two groups takes place in the course of performing official or professional duties by the various members. So the white members, though resident in All Saints, cannot be ~~said~~ said to be members of the community in the same way as the black residents.

~~Chapter 12~~

LOCAL POLITICS

1. The head of the village.

The head of All Saints is Velelo Poswayo, a descendant of Ntshacile Poswayo. He took over headmanship from his brother, Thomas Poswayo. It will be remembered that, though Ntshacile got headmanship, he was not the son of the great house. The present headman is aware of this, and in ordinary social events vis-a-vis political ones he acknowledges it. For instance, I was present in one gathering (an installation of a new headman) when he, on being asked to make a speech, stood up to say that his elder brother, the son of Kilili was present, and he could not possibly take his place. Nobody questioned this, instead it was appreciated by the audience. Here we notice the same difficulty that faced the Gubenxa political leader and his lineage leaders i.e. the difficulty of reconciling tradition with modern political organization.

The headman is an All Saints son. He was born in 1902 and passed Std VI <sup>at</sup> the village in school in 1918. After that he went to Tsolo Agricultural School and came back to work as a dipping foreman until 1946. In 1953 he took over the headmanship after his brother's death. He is a member of the Engcobo School Board, and was once a chairman of the local school committee.

He has eight subheadman under him, one over each hamlet. He, himself, is a Christian of long-standing, but only three of his subheadmen are Christians. The importance of this fact will be discussed later. The subheadmen are appointed by him and are responsible to him. Theoretically, they are supposed to be ele-

cted by the community. The headman, in turn, is responsible to the Qwati chief, Mayeza Dalasile, about whom we have already heard. The rest of the political structure upwards has been discussed in Chapter I. The only thing we may add is that, though the All Saints headman is supposed to do most of the administrative work with Chief Mayeza, he does not. He deals mostly with the magistrate. His explanation for this is that the magistrate is nearer than the chief. He also said, 'At any rate, if I did more work with Chief Mayeza, what would be the position now, seeing that his whereabouts are not known half the time?'

The headman is not as distant, politically, from Chief Mayeza as it might be supposed. Though he assured me that he knew nothing about Mayeza's Tribal Authority and its formation, it turned out that he is one of its members. The Tribal Authority has been mentioned in the introduction, and its main functions are:-

- (i) To assist the chief in settling disputes (civil). It is supposed to meet once a week for this purpose.
- (ii) To consider applications for pension for the old and disabled.

The Qwati Tribal Authority, under which Gubenxa and All Saints fall, has not been able to function since its inception. It met a very strong opposition from the people. They complained that they knew nothing about its existence and the election of its members. They allege that the men appointed to it are Government stooges. Because of this strong opposition, the members of the Tribal Authority no longer meet and have virtually disbanded.

As to the validity of the allegations against the Tribal Authority, I cannot say. But I know for a fact that all eight members of the <sup>Tribal</sup> Authority have been appointed by the Government, and six of them are Government employees - four are headmen and the other two are from the District Authority. The latter two

occupy the positions of chairman and vice-chairman in the Tribal Authority. Even the All Saints headman confirmed this because when asked why he and the people did not know about the appointment of the members of the Tribal Authority, he said: 'That question cannot be answered. All I know is that the names of the appointed men were announced by the Bantu Commissioner at a Headmen's Quarterly Meeting<sup>(1)</sup>.

I found the All Saints residents very critical of their headman. They were particularly bitter about his membership in the Tribal Authority. They also complain that they have found him in several occasions in alliance with their enemies. Besides being a member of the Tribal Authority, the headman does not seem to a member of any of the 'Bantu' councils in the Transkei. ~~So, I could not make out why he is so unpopular.~~ The villagers told me that they opposed him because 'he is in agreement with those chiefs and headmen who want independence for the Transkei, and that he is on very good terms with the authorities.' Things in the Transkei are such that anybody who is pro-independence and is on good terms with authorities is immediately looked upon as the enemy of the people; and is branded as a quisling or a Government Stooge (oonchothoza).

This is what has happened in the case of the All Saints headman. He has become so unpopular that he does not sleep without two loaded rifles next to his bed. During the day he keeps at least one next to him. When I asked him why he found it necessary to keep guns about him, he frankly told me that it was because 'the country is in a turmoil - ilizwe libi'. What he was referring to is the killing of chiefs and certain ~~hat~~ headman that has been going on for some time now in the Transkei. In an attempt to find out how deeply involved the headman is with the 'wrong' side (i.e. from the people's point of view), I asked him what is his view about the proposed 'independence' for the Transkei. His reply was:

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(1) It is a regulation that headmen meet once every quarter.

'That is a very difficult question to answer; nobody knows yet which side things are going. But what I know is that the Qwati are entirely opposed to the proposition'. As it can be seen, the headman was being evasive and would not commit himself.

Another factor which seems to have contributed to the headman's unpopularity is that he is believed to favour the 'reds' more than the school section. His appointment of more 'red' subheadmen than school in a predominantly school community was cited as a case in point. In fact, this has given rise to administrative difficulties in All Saints. The school people are very reluctant to receive order<sup>s</sup> from a 'red' subheadman, over whom they claim superiority of knowledge. They contend that the headman had no business to appoint 'red' men to the position of subheadman when there are suitable school men.

The more educated, especially the teachers, carry this accusation even further. They allege that the headman, who only passed Std VI, is obviously resentful of their superior knowledge. They complain that his dislike for them is so great that he is not prepared to listen to their suggestions, no matter how ~~mx~~ sensible they are. They say that because of this attitude, the headman takes too long to attend to their cases. This accusation is worth noting because it ties up with the material on arbitration. It will be noticed ~~mx~~ that the cleavage between 'red' and school, which did not seem to matter in certain social situations e.g. feasts, matters very much in the struggle for power between the ~~mx~~ two groups. Another point to underline is that it is the same men who eat from the table, disregarding any territorial divisions, that are most vocal on the subject. They are the new men who have come to challenge the authority of the traditional leaders. Their prestige and authority is based on new values and it has very little or nothing to do with prestige and authority as

enjoyed in the traditional society.

The obvious thing to discuss at this stage would be the organizations of these new political man, but for reasons already stated this cannot be done. However, it may be said in passing that in All Saints itself there are no organized political groups. The more politically conscious members belong to outside groups which are territorial in nature. Though in general they are opposed to the headman, the All Saints residents have not taken any concrete steps against him. The only group that is said to have intended to do so, but its plans were foiled by the police, is Makhulu Span<sup>(1)</sup>. This is the group the headman is most terrified of.

## 2. The functions of the headman.

In discussing the functions of the headman, the All Saints headman confirmed what the Gubenxa subheadman had already said. He said, rather grudgingly and bitterly: 'There is nothing really I could tell you about the functions of a headman because he is not much, and his position has been greatly reduced'. What the headman does, according to the All Saints headman and the 1957 Proclamation (already referred to p.7), can only be put in negative terms. He no longer:-

- (i) allots land for sites and cultivation.
- (ii) deals with criminal offences such as theft, assault, or arson.
- (iii) Strictly speaking, he is not supposed to settle civil cases like seduction, disputes over inheritance of both movable and immovable property, and lobola claims.

After investigating the latter kind of cases, he is supposed to forward it to the chief. As a 'Johnny on the spot', he is free to make recommendations to the chief. Despite these regulations, the headman still settles disputes. This is particularly so nowadays when several <sup>n</sup>chiefs are

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(1) Makhulu Span was originally a peasant vigilance organization against stock theft. It started in the Tsolo district about four years ago. When it came to the Engcobo district about one and half years ago, it assumed a different nature in a different political environment. Its objectives now are 'to liquidate chiefs and eliminate thieves and quislings'.

not available - they are either dead or hiding.

The headman as an arbitrator.

(a) Family quarrels:

1. Prejudice had the best of them.

A Christian man married a pagan woman after his Christian wife's death. On his death, his children (some of them already in their own houses) came to claim his property as inheritance. It was pointed out to them that they could not inherit all their father's property while their step-mother lived. In reply, they argued that they did not recognize a pagan step-mother and, therefore, regarded their father's property as legitimately belonging to their late ~~father's~~ mother.

Neighbours failed to persuade them to abandon the path they had chosen. A physical clash soon occurred between them and their step-mother. The case was reported to the headman, who sent it to the magistrate's court, as he does not deal with cases of assault. At the magistrate's court, the children were found to be wrong, according to both common and traditional law. Their step-mother, though a pagan, was married by Christian rites and, therefore, there was no question of her step-children inheriting their father's property while she was still alive.

2. The insolent town-girl.

A girl, who had spent the greater part of her life in a big city, quarrelled with her father. The father was pagan and she did not have much respect for him. In the course of their argument, she lost her temper and threw a stone at him. He bled profusely and had to be taken to the hospital for treatment.

The family members tried to speak to the girl, showing her that it was 'a bad thing for a child to behave in a violent manner, more so in dealing with its parents'. She would not listen to any of their 'nonsense'. They felt that the only thing left to them

was to report her to the headman. The headman called her, her father, and some members of the family to his place. He admonished them (wabayala), pointing out ~~that~~ to them how bad it was for members of the same family to be ever fighting as they did. He further warned the girl that 'a child who had no regard for her parents had no future'. The headman had spoken and relationships were improved for a while.

His words did not have any permanent effect on the insolent town-girl, for a few months afterwards she had a violent argument with her brother and attacked him with a knife. In defending himself, the brother hit her on the head with a knob-kerrie. Because 'blood had been ~~spilt~~ shed', the case had to be reported to the headman, though the family members felt that the girl got what she had been looking for. At the magistrate's court, the young man was fined for assault.

3. She could not let her children starve while calves lived.

A man and woman quarrelled over the milking of their cow. He did not want ~~in~~ his cow to be milked because 'there was drought and his calf would die of starvation'. On the other hand, his wife wanted milk for her children, and 'would not let her children ~~starve~~ die of malnutrition just because of a calf'. It was a same argument, but not in the face of the traditional value of cattle.

No agreement could be reached, and a physical struggle soon followed. The man who did not mean to hit his wife, was badly beaten up. Neighbours intervened. The wife went to report her husband to the headman, alleging that he had hit her. The headman called both of them to his place, and remonstrated with them for 'not knowing how to behave'. He told them that it was a shameful thing for a husband and wife to behave badly in public, and thus expose their conducts to the whole ~~world~~ world (babonakalise izimilo zabo eluntwini).

The wife, who wanted something more drastic done to her husband, was not satisfied with the way the headman handled the case. She, therefore, took it to the magistrate's court, where it was dismissed on grounds of triviality.

#### 4. The jealous wife.

A widow, who did not have anybody to help her with her ploughing, attached herself to a certain family, and formed with them a team for ploughing or a 'company' (inkamapani). The 'company' after operating for some time, experienced a serious internal conflict. The wife of the man who was ploughing the fields of the widow, out of jealousy and suspicion, was no longer prepared to let her husband plough for the widow. She announced ~~her~~ this after the widow had finished helping them in their field, and was waiting for them to come and help her. The husband pointed out this to his wife. He felt that such an action would not only be unfair, but that it was also a demonstration of lack of principle. He, therefore, decided to continue with the work as originally planned.

The wife refused to let the oxen go to the widow's field. She stood in front of them. Her husband pushed her aside, but she continually came back. She finally decided to outspan the oxen. At this stage the husband felt that she had gone too far and gave her 'a<sup>good</sup> hiding' (~~the~~ wamohlwaya). She went to report to the headman's place, despite her neighbour's advice against it.

The headman referred her to her husband's male relatives. On the day of the case, the headman sent his son to go and represent him. The men went deeply into the matter, and came to the conclusion that the woman's behaviour was altogether outrageous and uncalled for. They felt that her husband was justified in beating her because, as a woman, she had no business to meddle with oxen and the yokes. Her counter-argument was that the ~~the~~ oxen did not belong to her husband but to her, as they were the off-spring of her ubulunga.

beast<sup>(1)</sup>. This was also proved to be untrue by her husband's brothers and neighbours. It was pointed out that even if her claim were true, still as a woman she had not jurisdiction over cattle.

(b) Inter-family disputes.

1. The obstinate father.

A village boy picked up a referee's whistle, and it turned out that it belonged to a local <sup>agricultural</sup> demonstrator's son. The owner went to claim it. The boy refused to hand it over until the owner was prepared to pay the traditional reward (umehlo andiboni). The boys argued over the point, and a struggle soon ensued. The demonstrator's son was trying to get the whistle by force. Just then the demonstrator appeared on the scene. He smacked the boy who had found the whistle, throwing him down as he did so. The boy lay on the ground unconscious, and later was taken to the hospital for treatment. His mother went to <sup>m</sup> complain to the demonstrator about what he had done to her child, but he was rude to ~~him~~ her. She reported the matter to the members of her umzi (homestead). Knowing what type of a person the demonstrator was, they advised her to go and report to the headman. She did so, and the demonstrator was summoned to appear in the headman's court. Even there he was rude to the men ~~and~~ and showed great obstinancy. The case had to be forwarded to the magistrate's court, where ~~he~~ was found guilty and fined.

2. He stole a well-known horse.

A migrant worker in Cape Town bought a horse and gave it to a friend to keep. After some time his horses had multiplied to three. He asked his brother, who was at home, to go and fetch ~~the~~ two of the horses, allowing the keeper to choose and keep one as a reward.

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(1) Ubulunga beast is a beast given to a bride by her people when she goes to her umzi. It is for ritual purposes, and its progeny remains her property.

Months later one of the horses disappeared. It was not until after a year that it was seen in one of the neighbouring villages. Another man, whose horse was also missing, went to fetch it. Though he knew that the horse was not his, he kept it at his place. The owner was told by the villagers that they had seen it at the thief's place. He went to claim it, but the thief told him that the horse was his. According to village opinion, it is true that the horses looked alike, but they knew to whom the horse in question belonged.

Seeing that the thief was not prepared to give him his horse, the owner went to report at the headman's place. The two men were summoned to appear in court with their witnesses. The owner of the horse came with a number of witnesses, including the man who had kept the horses for him while he was in Cape Town. The thief did not have any witnesses. When asked to prove that the horse was his, he failed to do so.

The owner satisfied the court that the horse was his. The headman also gave evidence against the accused. He told him that he happened to know his horse, as he was called to brand it together with those of the accused's employer, the shopkeeper. He explained that on branding that particular horse, he made a mistake and put the brand 'E 35' (number for All Saints) upside down. On the horse under dispute, it was the right way up. He, therefore, called upon the thief to hand over the horse to its owner, and this was done.

### 3. The ungrateful ward.

A destitute stranger came to All Saints, and was given shelter and food by a clansman, whom he then met for the first time. He stayed at the clansman's place until he had raised his own stock. He got himself a piece of land and built a house.

One day he committed the unforgivable sin of stealing one his benefactor's sheep. With the help of a friend from a neigh-

bouring village, he slaughtered the sheep in the river so that the blood could be washed by the water. They cut the skin into pieces and threw it into the river. As soon as the owner of the sheep noticed that it was missing, he called the men of the hamlet and informed them about the matter. Several men reported that they had seen dogs eating fresh bones at the thief's house. Some men were sent to go and investigate the matter. When they came to the place, they found a pot full of meat. On questioning the owner of the house, he admitted that he had stolen the sheep.

The two men were arrested and <sup>f</sup> after thorough questioning, they were taken to the headman's place. Here also they admitted their crime and confessed many previous ones which had never been discovered. One of the people who gave evidence against the accused was the wife of the first thief. She told the court that she was getting worried about ~~the~~ her husband's repeated thieving. The two men, who had asked for forgiveness even before they were taken to the headman's court, repeated their request and appealed for mercy. To show their repentance and sincerity, they offered the injured man a sheep and R12 in cash, which <sup>he</sup> accepted.

4. His action was tantamount to human theft.

A woman divorced her husband after she had borne a son and a daughter by him. She got married to another man, and in this new union she gave birth to a boy and a girl. This second son grew up at her people's place. While living there, he seduced a girl. The case was reported to his mother's people, but they referred the girl's people to his true home. The boy's kinsmen refused to accept any responsibility, as the boy had never <sup>i</sup> contributed to their economy, but to that of her mother's people.

The girl's people took the case to the headman's court. There, it was pointed out that the mother's people were responsible for any actionable wrongs committed by inmates of their homestead.

They were accordingly instructed to pay R100 damages to the girls' people. The money had to be paid through the headman.

On hearing about this, the son of the first marriage decided to take up the case himself, and pay the damages for the son of *the* second marriage. He also requested the girl's people that they arrange a marriage between their daughter and his half-brother (ukunyuka nengalo). He did all this without approaching his kinsmen and the headman, who is also his kinsman.

When the boy's kinsmen heard about the new arrangements, they reported to the headman, By this time he was staying with his elder half-brother. He was already known by the same surname and clan as his half-brother. In the court the action of the elder half-brother was found indefensible from all angles. The following points were raised:-

- (i) The elder half-brother ~~was found~~ had no claim whatever on the boy, as the sanctity (ubulawu) of his mother's first marriage was destroyed by the dissolution of the marriage by customary rites (ukukhetha). The boy, therefore, did not belong to the accused's house, clan, or family.
- (ii) Secondly, his action was found too high-handed. How could he by-pass the headman and the boy's guardians in doing whatever he had in his mind?, the ~~men~~ men asked.
- (iii) His action was condemned on the grounds that it was calculated to create unnecessary confusion and to sow seeds of misunderstanding between the parties of the second union.
- (iv) His action was seen as tantamount to human theft. He was stealing a boy who belonged elsewhere.

He was, therefore, strongly warned not to interfere in affairs that did not concern him. Nothing was said about the money he had already paid. He did it at his ~~own~~ own risk.

Information on arbitration in All Saints was not as readily forthcoming as in Gubenxa. Each time I approached individuals, including those I knew well, I was politely referred to somebody else. 'Why don't you try Mr so-and-so? I think he will be helpful to you', was the usual reply. After some time I found this amusing because I knew what I was up against. In All Saints the upper stratum of the school section, like oocuseme in Langa<sup>(1)</sup>, does not like the idea of discussing its private affairs with outsiders. This attitude has had a general influence on the rest of the school section because nothing was forthcoming from <sup>them</sup> either. Instead, they continually referred me to the 'Mr so-and-so's' who would not volunteer any information.

I concentrated on the school section, almost to the exclusion of the 'red' section, on purpose. In Gubenxa I was studying an essentially 'red' community, and did not wish to repeat the same study in All Saints. From the answers I got in speaking to some members from the 'red' section, especially subheadman, I was satisfied that the position among the 'reds' in All Saints is similar to that among the 'reds' in Gubenxa. This was later confirmed by the All Saints headman and his son.

When the school people would not budge on the question of family disputes, I approached the headman who was always a very willing and cooperative informant. He told me that the best person to approach was his son, who had a better memory. He gave me most of the cases related above, and only two of them involved 'Reds'. When I was asked for an explanation for this, the headman's son told me that 'generally, the "reds" settle their own disputes. Unlike the people around here - meaning the school people - they

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(1) . . Wilson & . . Mafeje: op. cit. p 15 ff.

are not in the habit of bringing everything that crops up here (headman's place)'.

In a further discussion, he assured me that 'the "reds" still have humanity and still conduct things in a traditional way (baziqhuba isiXhosa izinto)! He told me that their civil disputes are mostly settled by heads of families or lineages, and that they rarely go past the headman's place. He himself has attended some of the cases on behalf of his father. Turning on the school section, which is the section to which he belongs, he said, disapprovingly, 'These people here have cast away Xhosa traditions; they are too civilized (used sarcastically), and they all know too much and cannot listen to one another. Each one of them is independent of everybody else, and hence they have to bring to the headman's place the least thing that happens. Even that they do under protest (benza kuba bengenakunceda). If things were to happen according to their wishes, they would have liked to by-pass the headman and go straight to the magistrate's court, But only that in some cases the magistrate refers them back to the headman'.

There is evidence for all these allegations against the school people, and it is interesting that they come from a prospective headman and a school person ~~in~~ himself. Six of the cases discussed above involved school persons, and in all of them every attempt ~~was~~ to get kinsmen to settle them failed. Secondly, almost all of them reached the magistrate's court, and in some of them the disregard or contempt for the headman's word was obvious e.g. the demonstrator's case, the woman who wanted to milk the cow for her children, and the insolent town-girl.

The tendency by All Saints school people to adopt a secretive as well as a strictly legalistic attitude towards disputes, and to show an unmistakable preference for the magistrate's court to the headman's court is something new. It is not found in Gubenxa. In

Gubenxa a case is reported where kinsmen made a special request that a criminal case <sup>which</sup> ~~that~~ involved their kinsman be handed back to them to settle. I, therefore, suggest that it is against the attitude shown by school people that the headman in All Saints is reacting by favouring the 'reds'. He depends mainly on them for his support. They do not, in any way, challenge his authority or question its foundations, as the educated people do.

~~Chapter XII.~~

**KINSHIP.**

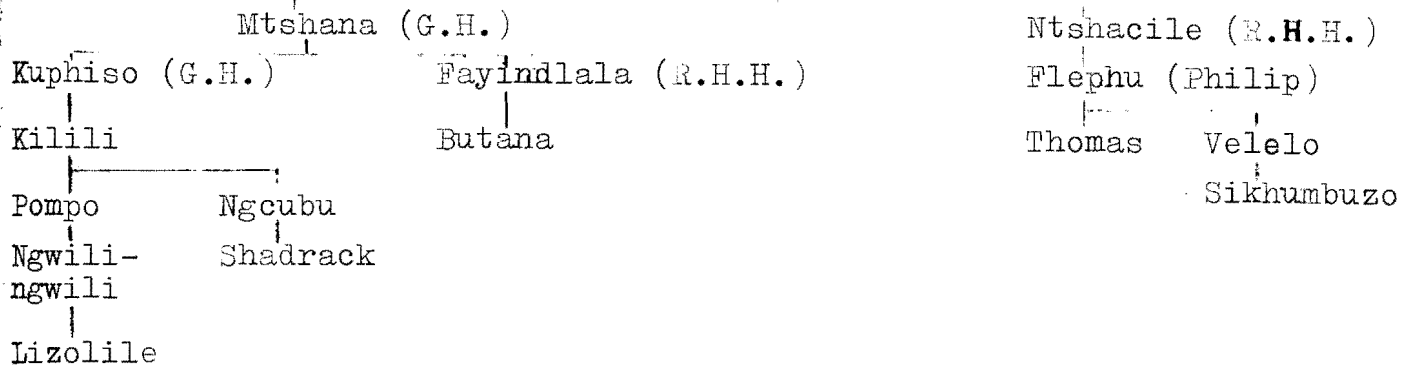
1. Clan and lineage organization.

As it has been pointed out above, the clan system in All Saints is ill-defined and is of lesser importance than in Gubenxa. The impression I got in speaking to the more senior men in the village is that most of the families that came to settle in All Saints were families of individual Christian converts. They did not come as clansmen. This is said to have continued in All Saints over the years, and, as a result, the few clansmen that one finds in the village are scattered throughout the various hamlets. This is so much so that fellow-clansmen cannot be regarded as forming groups. Territorial groups are much more important than clans.

In All Saints the traditional pattern of kinship also has, to a very great extent, broken down. The lineages are very shallow and extended families are an uncommon phenomenon, especially among the school people (cf. school people in Gubenxa). The headman could think of only three families in the whole village that have a fairly wide kinship system. His family is one of the three and, like one of the other two families, it has both 'red' and school members. The third one is all 'red'. With the assumption that the structure of the third family could not be fundamentally different from that of the average 'red' family in Gubenxa, I decided to study one of the mixed families in detail. Even this is not satisfactory because none of the three families really reflects the family pattern in All Saints. In All Saints families are basically elementary.

Therefore, the detailed study of the Poswayo family is primarily meant to illustrate what happens when a family changes from paganism into Christianity. This will be shown by an analysis of the type of relationships that obtain among the various members and by the analysis of any structural cleavages that may be apparent. The following is the genealogy of the Poswayo family:-

Poswayo



All the descendants of Ntshacile i.e. the members of the right hand house of Poswayo are school people. This is in contrast to the members of the great house who are mostly 'red' and live in predominantly 'red' hamlets. However, there is still some interaction between the members of the two houses. For instance, when there is a ceremony or a ritual in any of the families, the others are informed. This practice appears to be quickly becoming a mere formality because there is evidence that in real life, different members from the two houses interact more frequently with the members of their hamlets; or with others of their own social type.

Though a Poswayo man assured me that this was not the case, I happened to attend a 'dinner-party' celebrating the birth of a child in one of the christian houses in a

school hamlet. There, I found that most of the people that had been invited were not only members of the same church (Anglican) as their hosts, but were also a selected few. On making enquiries as to whether there were any members from the 'red' section of the Poswayos present, I was told that very few had turned up. It was on <sup>a</sup>Sunday and most of them had chosen to go and enjoy the afternoon with their 'red' friends at a beer drink rather than spend it at a 'dinner-party' of their school kinsmen. We, thus, notice here that 'a custom is not a custom', as the Gu-benxa man asserted. The lineage bond has been weakened by religious affiliations or cultural differences.

The few 'red' kinsmen who had turned up are those who had to. For example, among them was the heir of the Poswayos, Lizolile and two or three senior men. To me, this immediately suggested a cleavage between the school and the 'red' section of the Poswayo family. There is reason to believe that, in the long run, the cleavage will grow bigger and bigger. It might also cut across house affiliations i.e. the school members from the 'red' houses might find themselves interacting more frequently with their type from the other houses rather than the 'red' members of the houses to which they belong. It is also important to note that in the country, the cleavage between 'red' and school coincides with ~~the~~ status groups. The 'school' necessarily have more education than the 'reds', and lead a more sophisticated type of life. They, therefore, find more points of contact amongst themselves than with their pagan kinsmen.

Despite the apparent cleavage between the Poswayos, they still regard themselves as belonging together. They still speak of Lizolile as their leader. Lizolile is still young and is 'red'. He also appears to be unwise,

as shown by the case quoted on p. 152; it is he who tried to 'steal' a half-brother. As yet he exercises no real power. The more senior men are responsible for the affairs of the family. Though this applies to both 'red' and school senior men, the school men seem to be in a particularly strong position. Among them is the headman of the village and Shadrack, the grandson of Kilili in the right hand house. The headman is not <sup>a</sup>very strong personality, but his position compensates for his weaknesses. On the other hand, Shadrack is a powerful man and has more education (he <sup>n</sup>interprets for a lawyer) than most of his kinsmen. In practice, this puts real power in the hands of the school section.

As it has been stated already, the pattern described for the Poswayos is not characteristic of All Saints. The usual family pattern is the elementary family i.e. parents and minor children. Minor children is an accurate description because older children are commonly away in the towns and the cities, working for themselves, and by the time they come back, they are ready to put up their own imizi, unless they are eldest sons in their families. The eldest son usually inherits his father's house, but there are exceptions. In All Saints I found families whose heads were eldest sons in their families, but who had decided to leave their original villages and went to establish themselves as independent men. This is especially true of teachers, as it shall be shown in the life-histories of those who occupy leading positions in the community.

It is not my intention to describe the pattern of the elementary family in All Saints because it is similar to that of an elementary family in any society. The father is the head of the family and is assisted by his wife in running the family. The part played by the wife in mana-

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ging the house is much greater than among the pagans. She is mainly responsible for the family budget, and has a great say in what must be grown in the fields, as she is the person who is mostly at home. The husband, who is usually the only bread-winner, spends most of his time at his job, teaching or doing a similar job. The wife, even if a qualified teacher, does not work, except in the case of nurses who are not debarred from continuing with their profession after marriage. Therefore, education and a demand for greater distribution of labour has increased considerably the status of the average 'middle-class' woman in the village.

It takes children a very long time before they start to contribute to the family economy. They usually spend, at least, the first twenty years of their lives learning in some educational institution<sup>(1)</sup>. By the time they leave school, they are already thinking of starting ~~in~~ off life independently. This is usually a point of great friction between parents and children (see the case of the Gubenxa school teacher). The more loyal children, especially if they work locally, normally compromise by offering occasional help to their parents, though they live in their own houses. They usually do this by paying for their younger brothers' and sisters' schooling. This is so well-established that any professional person who fails to do it is greatly criticised by the public.

In conclusion, it can be said that, after maturity, the relationship between parents and children is no longer that between superordinate and subordinate such as has been described for Irish, Welsh, and English peasant communities.

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(1) This only applies to the children of the professional class. The rate of literacy among Africans in S. Africa is still less than 30%, and most start working at ~~15~~ 15.

2. Arbitration in the family group.

On the section on arbitration, it has been seen how miserably the senior kinsmen in the school section in All Saints failed to settle disputes among their fellow-kinsmen. In some cases no attempt was made to approach them, instead cases were reported ~~to~~ directly to the headman or taken to the magistrate's court. Even more important, in some cases there were no kinsmen to report to, except members of the elementary family. The explanation for this, I think, lies in the fact that modern conditions, which make it possible for an individual to earn his living independently of his kinsmen, are conducive to the growth of individualism; and individualism is the direct antithesis of a stable lineage group with corporate rights and a well-defined system of regulating relationships between individual kinsmen.

In disputes between members of the elementary family, it appears that friends and neighbours have still an important rôle to play. In a conversation, an educated woman - an ex-teacher and the wife of a secondary school teacher, gave me to understand that whenever she quarrelled with her husband, she reported the matter to her friends and his friends. 'Certain neighbours are also invited to the discussion', she added. 'Why don't you report to your brothers-in-law?', I asked. 'I haven't got any here; they live far away. Some are as far as Johannesburg', she replied. In All Saints, where there is a higher rate of literacy and, therefore, greater mobility than in Gubenxa, this is a general pattern.

## EDUCATION.

### 1. Educational leadership.

There are four schools in All Saints - three primary schools and one secondary school for boys and girls. Two of the primary schools go up to Std VI and the third one is a lower primary. One of the higher primary schools is for Coloured children, whose number never exceeds sixty. It is staffed by two male teacher and on woman teacher. None of them was born in All Saints. However, the principal was brought up in All Saints, as his father was the former principal of the same school.

The Coloured school has been in existence since 1940, but its manager, the priest-in-charge at All Saints, doubts it very much 'if it will survive in its present form for any length of time'. The school is still under the missionaries, and has not been transferred to the Coloured Education Department yet. For this reason, it has no school committee. It does not fall under the Umtata Circuit as most African schools in the Transkei do, but under the Queenstown Circuit. It is supervised by the inspector of ~~Extra~~ white and Coloured schools, Dr J.C. Visagie.

The All Saints African schools, like most African schools in the Republic<sup>(1)</sup>, are under the Department of Bantu Education. The higher primary school has seven teachers - four women and three men, who are responsible

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(1) The Roman Catholic Church still runs its own schools, without assistance from the Government.

for the education of the 400 children of the village. Six of the seven teachers were born ~~else~~ elsewhere. They come from outside but, as it shall be seen later, they have come to occupy a very important position in the village and contribute greatly to its advancement. The only teacher that is not deeply involved in the social life of the village is the principal ~~of~~, who goes home every weekend. When I remarked that he did not seem to be playing any leading rôle in the community besides teaching, I was told that was true, 'but he does a lot in his village'.

The All Saints teachers are members of the Western Engcobo Teachers' Association. This association does not seem to be as active as the Mountain Tops Teachers' Association. Secondly, it does not seem to serve all the functions the Mountain Tops Association serves. Its chairman, an All Saints teacher, told me that it is just a sports association i.e. it is mainly concerned with coordinating the sporting activities of all the local schools. At the time of the field-work, there were virtually no sporting activities in the various schools because there had been a misunderstanding among the teachers. Like the Mountain Tops Association, the local teachers' association has an executive at its head. Its reasons for electing the present chairman are different from those of the Mountain Tops teachers. He was 'elected because of his interest in sport and his ability to organize people'. An admirer described him as 'a man who never fights or shows impatience; and a man who is always nice and polite to people'.

The two schools discussed so far are in the heart of the mission. The lower primary and the secondary schools are in a different hamlet. The former is treated

as part of the higher primary school in the mission. A woman teacher is in charge of it, and it has an independent school committee. The secondary school, known as Nyanga Secondary School, have<sup>s</sup> five teachers. Four of them are men and paid out of Government's grants, and the fifth is the wife of the principal and her salary is paid by the village. All five teachers come from outside the village, but two of them have settled in All Saints.

The principal himself was born in 1923 in the Mount Frere district, where he passed Std VI. After that he went to Healdtown Missionary Institution, where he passed his Std X and a course in physical education. In 1949 he got a job as an assistant teacher and a boarding master at Rayner Secondary School in Tsomo. Eventually, he became a principal teacher at the same school. While at Rayner, he did a B.A. by correspondence with the University of South Africa. He and his assistants do not belong to any teachers' association.

## 2. The school committees.

Each school in All Saints has its own committee. These serve the same function as the Gubenxa school committee. Unlike the Gubenxa school committee, the All Saints school committees are almost defunct. The procedure followed in electing members to the school committees is the same as in Gubenxa.

(a) All Saints Higher Primary: The committee for this school is in a state of general disorganization. It was very difficult to get adequate material on its internal structure and the type of man found in it. This was mainly due to the lack of interest of the villagers in the committee. The members of the committee, on the

other hand, were sensitive to any questioning on the activities of the committee. Perhaps, this was so because they had been attacked repeatedly for their inefficiency.

After a struggle I managed to get the chairman of the school committee to tell me about his committee and himself. He is a native of All Saints and was born in 1905. He attended school in the village and passed Std VI in 1922. After that he went to St John's College for carpentry, and completed the course in 1925. Since then he has been working in the village as a carpenter and an amateur builder. He got married in the late twenties to a local girl, and they have four children, all of whom have <sup>had</sup> at least secondary education.

The chairman is held responsible for the inactivity of the committee. One teacher answering a question, remarked that 'he had not seen the committee meet once since its formation'. Most of the villagers attribute this to the unreliability and the irresponsibility of the chairman. They allege that he spends the greater part of his time in beer drinks. When I interviewed him, he did not even know off-hand who the members of the committee were. He said blushing, 'It does not matter, I have got a list of them at home and I will look it up for you'. It was in view of this state of affairs that I concluded that the members of the school committee in All Saints cannot be legitimately considered part of the leadership.

It was not enough to conclude that they are not part of the leadership without finding out how they came to be elected to the committee. This was particularly important

in the case of the chairman who is also a member of the lower primary school committee, and yet the villagers are critical of him. When questioned more closely why they elected such unreliable men to the committee, the villagers acquitted themselves of the implicit charge by saying that 'the men on the committee were the best men they could get to serve on the committee'. They told me that more capable men were not prepared to serve on the committee. Lack of interest was given as the reason for this unwillingness.

In Langa people would not stand for ~~xxxx~~ elections into the committee for political reasons. I cannot say whether the All Saints villagers were being evasive in giving me a different reason. But I know that during the field work, the Secretary of the School Board, which is closely associated with the school committees, was continually receiving letters, telling him 'and all those who are making the Bantu education workable' to resign immediately. Eventually, the chairman of the School Board was attacked and his house <sup>was</sup> burnt down. How widely spread this attitude is and how much effect it has on individuals in different areas, it is very difficult to say.

(b) All Saints Lower Primary: Its committee is in no better position. It has not met for a year, and the villagers describe it as 'dead'.

Nothing much can be said about the other committees either. Though the principal of the secondary school told me that their committee was still functioning, this does not seem to be true for the committee has not met for months. Its chairman is the headman, who is also a member of the School Board. He is also vice-chairman of

(e) the Hostel Committee of the secondary school. He was appointed to these position because of his status in the village. When I tried to find out the possible reason for the laxity of his committee, the principal gave absence of remuneration to the members as one of the factors. He maintained that the <sup>m</sup>members of the school committee did not see any point in carrying on with the work of the committee, if they were not paid for it. 'Didn't they know this when they agreed to serve on the committee?', I asked. 'Not exactly, because originally when the system was beng introduced, they were promised wages', said the principal. I found his argument unconvincing.

As it can be seen, there does not seem to be any agreement why school committees are not functioning in All Saints. Something interesting happened in connection with the All Saints Higher Primary School committee. When the Bantu Education Department took over <sup>the</sup> school, the Church demanded that the school be removed from its grounds. The Department was prepared to ~~xxxxxx~~ do this, provided the local community was prepared to pay half the costs. This onerous task fell on the shoulders of the committee. It made a very frail attempt, and soon gave up the job. Some attributed the failure to the committee's inefficiency. Some saw the 'dependence' of the villagers on the Church which used to run the school for them as the reason. Yet another view <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ that people had <sup>ve</sup> lost interest in the present system of education and, for that reason, are not prepared to do even the little within their reach. An even more sympathetic view is that the people have no money to build the new schools they are forced to put up by the Government.

The most controversial view-point was that expressed by a certain teacher who maintained that the teachers are to blame for the whole negative attitude the people have adopted towards the Bantu education. He argued that it is they who have been telling the people that the present system of education is bad. When I raised ~~the~~<sup>this</sup> point with the other teachers and enlightened parents, it was not well-received. In fact, it infuriated them and strengthened their contempt and disrespect for ~~my~~ informant. It has been necessary to give all these facts ~~because~~ about school committees because, among other things, we seek to discover under which conditions is leadership effective or ineffective.

The last committee to mention under educational leadership is the secondary school Hostel Committee. This committee is responsible for the boarding department in the school. It consists of two members from the School Board, two from the local school committee, the principal, the secretary of the School Board, and 'any other members they may wish to elect'. The committee is under the chairmanship of a non-All Saints man who is a friend of the principal. The committee is functioning well and is not subjected to any of the strains experienced by the school committees.

RELIGION.

1. The Churches and their leaders.

There are six different churches in All Saints. The most well-established of these is the Anglican Church. In fact, All Saints is one of the twenty Anglican mission stations in the Engcobo district. It is the central station and is under the leadership of a white priest, Fr E.V. Lean. He is referred to as the archdeacon or priest-in-charge. Officially, he is responsible for all the stations in the district, but for convenience he has allotted half of them to a black priest, Fr S. Gqabu who enjoys a quasi-autonomy in his area. At All Saints Fr Lean is assisted by two fathers, one black and one white. In addition to them there are the sisters of the Community of St Denys of Warminster.

Fr Lean, unlike his predecessor, seems to be very popular, and is receiving full cooperation from the people. He is a man of great experience and has travelled widely. He was born in Bristol in England in 1903. He attended the Colston Boys' School, after which he worked for the Bristol Times and Mirror, as a journalist. He remained there until he was twenty. From 1923-28 he attended Kehlem Theological College, and after he had qualified he worked in St Peter's Dock Area, as an assistant priest. In 1931 he came out to Africa and worked in Nyasaland. He remained there until 1938 when <sup>he</sup> went to the Lupa gold-fields. On the Lupa he spent a year. He

spent another year in Tanganyika, working among whites this time. In 1942 he joined the East African Division. He did not leave the army until 1946. As a soldier he visited Kenya, Somalia, and some countries in the Middle East.

In 1947 he went to Basutoland to work as a rector of Maseru. He was transferred from Basutoland to the West Indies in 1952. He served there for two years and came back to Africa. He worked in Lusikisiki and Port St John's at different times. In 1961 he came to succeed Fr Artkins in All Saints. In his life-time, Fr Lean has been a chairman or a member of many associations. He was a committee member of the South African Legion, and once a mayor of Port St John's. At All Saints he is the president of the Church Club, chairman of the Church Council and a member of the Hospital Committee. He founded the Church Club and the Church Council.

In the local church there are two church-wardens elected by the Annual Vestry Meeting. Both wardens are teachers and one of them is also the chairman of the Western Engcobo Teachers' Association. The two wardens and the priest-in-charge are responsible for the finances of the All Saints Parish. The local Church Council also assists, but only in an advisory capacity. All Saints together with other nine parishes falls under the All Saints Archdeaconary. There are five such Archdeaconaries in the Transkei, and collectively constitute the Diocese of St John's. At the head of the Diocese is a white Bishop, who is stationed at Umtata. Working with him is a black assistant Bishop. The two Bishops are in charge of seventy-three priests - sixty-five blacks and twenty-eight whites.

members are adherents of Bengu's church. The other members come from distant villages to canvass for members in All Saints. They hold revivalist meetings and visit the sick and 'heal' them (cf. the Gubenxa Sigxabayi and Zionists). Very similar to these three churches is the Watch Tower or Jehovah's Witness. They also have one family to their credit. Their leader is <sup>said</sup> supposed to live in one of the neighbouring villages, but I did not meet him.

All Saints people are critical of these ~~xxx~~ three churches. Like the Langa people, they feel that they are 'self-made' churches. Perhaps, this explains their lack of interest in them. In fact, they think that it would be lowering themselves if they were to join them. I was present when a friend of mine, a teacher and a warden in the Anglican Church, found on his table a number of leaflets sent to him by post from the Watch Tower. He said, a bit irritated, 'What are the people going to think of me? ~~xxxxxx~~ What is this now? I do not like receiving these <sup>things</sup> and I have been telling these people not to send me any of their pamphlets'.

In a discussion of these groups, one young woman said, 'I only attend churches which are churches and meet in church buildings, not churches that meet in private houses'. 'Would you then join them if they met in a church instead of a private house?', I asked. 'Still I wouldn't', was her reply. Finally, covering up for her rejection of the churches in question, she said, 'I suppose that though churches may be many and varied, they worship the same God. A man who has many cows does not milk them into different pails simply because they are unlike or because their milk tastes different~~ly~~'.

Another woman who was unusually outspoken on the ~~sub-~~

church. She is also a committee member in the local Ze-nzele Club and a member of the Agricultural Show Society. She is a powerful and capable woman, and is respected by the other woman. A very assertive younger woman, commenting on her abilities, once said, 'Mrs X is the only woman who can give me some competition in the whole community. In fact, I think I am afraid of her, more so in agricultural activities'.

In the Mothers' Union Mrs X has, as her Vice-Chairman and Secretary, two younger women, both of whom are wives of teachers and have been teachers <sup>h</sup> themselves. There are other members in the executive committee, but they are less forceful than the three members mentioned. So far we notice that members are appointed into important position because of their special abilities.

The All Saints Parish, for convenience, is divided into two sections, each consisting of a given number of stations. Section I, which includes All Saints, has its own branch of the Mother's Union. All its executive members, except one committee member, are All Saints women. Its Vice-Chairman is also the Vice-Chairman of the local Mothers' Union. The president is a different person from the chairman of the local Union. The position of president is usually held by the wife of the minister in charge, but the priest-in-charge in All Saints is white and, therefore, his wife 'could not be a suitable president of the Mothers' Union'. I could not make out whether her unsuitability is accounted for by her skin-colour or by cultural differences; the Transkeian Mothers' Union organizer is a white woman, Miss Wilson.

The All Saints members experienced some terminological difficulties in appointing wives of non-priests into the

position of the president. In Xhosa the equivalent of woman president is Mongamelikazi, and the same term is preserved, by usage, for ministers' wives. It was ultimately decided that wives of laymen who occupy the position of president be called abaPhathikazi (those who are in charge).

The president of the Regional Mothers' Union is a daughter of All Saints. She was born in 1910 and was educated in All Saints. After she had qualified, she taught in one of the villages in the Engcobo district. She got married in 1934 to a man who was a migrant worker in Cape Town. After her husband's death she went back to teaching, and is employed by the hospital to teach T.B. patients. She is also a member of the Agricultural Show Society, the Farmers' Association, and the Zenzele Club.

The ~~internal~~ local Mothers' Union is threatened with an internal split, and an age cleavage is apparent in it. The younger women disagree with their seniors on what the Mothers' Union is and on what lines it should be run. They feel that it should include in its programme some of the Zenzele work. They argue that 'after all it is the same women that are ~~members~~ members in the two associations.' Above all, they claim that their suggestion is in accordance with the policy of the Mothers' Union, as formulated by such high ranking officials as Miss Wilson.

For their part, the older women maintain that the primary function of the Mothers' Union is the worship of God, and such an important function cannot be allowed to be swamped by Zenzele work. The younger women do not see the two things as incompatible, and they criticise their seniors for being 'conservatives who are opposed to progressive ideas'. Heading the faction of the younger wo-

do likewise in the Zenzele. This is difficult to explain because the Zenzele movement has become so popular that it has assumed a national status. The best qualified women for the position of chairman would not stand for elections. I was told that during the elections this was so ~~xx~~ much of a problem that the members were forced to elect 'any willing person'. As a result, the present chairman of the club does not have any of the qualities shown by the leaders of the other associations. She also seems to be aware of this because when I approached her for detailed information on the Zenzele movement, she referred me to an ordinary member, whose knowledge she believes to be 'superior to hers'.

In point of fact, the whole Zenzele executive in All Saints seems to be weak, except the secretary who holds the same position in other organizations. I could not get any satisfactory explanation why most members were not prepared to accept executive positions in the Zenzele Club. Some thought that most members declined because they lacked self-confidence. This does not seem to explain much because the same women are prepared to ~~xx~~ stand for elections in other similar organizations such as the Mothers' Union. It is, however, true that the Zenzele Club in its present form could be more demanding than the Mothers' Union. If this were the case, then these women would not accept similar positions in the district and territorial Zenzele .

The other point of view is that local women are in the habit of nagging the ~~various~~ officials and holding them responsible for whatever goes wrong in the various associations. This is said to be particularly true of the Zenzele Club, where everybody knows or claims to know just as much as anyone else ( cf. reasons given for the

splitting of the Morning Star in the Langa sports clubs)<sup>1</sup>. To save themselves the trouble of arguing, most suitable candidates are said to have stood down during the elections. This sounds plausible but, personally, I see it as device, on the part of the powerful, to get the weaker to pronounce their decisions. It is quite obvious who is effective in the club. It is reasonable to assume that where is a general sensitivity to being 'pushed around' by equals, as appears to be the case in the Zenzele Club, there will be less suspicion or resentment against the weaker.

The local Zenzele, with the status of sub-branch, is affiliated to the District Branch which, in turn, is affiliation to the Territorial Zenzele. The latter is known officially as the Transkeian Territories Women Zenzele Association, and it includes all the districts in the Transkei. It is affiliated to the Federation of South African Women's Zenzele Clubs. The other federated associations are the Ciskeian Zenzele Association and Basuto Home-Makers' Association. This body was formed about three years ago, and it holds conferences every three years. The Transkeian Territories Women's Zenzele Association is also affiliated to the Child Welfare Society.

At least three women from All Saints are office-bearers in the district branch of Zenzele. One is the president, and she is also vice-chairman in both the local Zenzele and the <sup>Parish</sup> Mothers' Union. One of the remaining two is the treasurer, and an important member in the local Zenzele and the Mothers' Union. She is one of the leading members in the younger women's faction of the local Mothers' Union. The third one is a committee member in the District Zenzele and a member of the paro-

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(1) Wilson & Mafeje: op. cit. p 118.

chial Church Council. Her husband is a teacher at the secondary school and a conductor of the Church Choir.

None of these three women would accept a position in the local Zenzele. Their own explanation for declining is that 'being a member of the Zenzele executive involves a lot of work and time'. When asked why they accepted similar positions in the District Zenzele, they said that the latter does not meet frequently. Perhaps, what they were saying is that if one is interested in extending one's range of social activities or relations, then one must be prepared to give up some of one's local relations and responsibilities. Two of them went to represent their branch in the triennial conference, and this might justify their claim that there is a greater demand on their time.

(c) The Agricultural Show Society.

The members of the Zenzele Club in All Saints are also members of the Agricultural Show Society. This organization, unlike the Mothers' Union and the Zenzele Club, is not meant only for women, but it consists solely of them. The only two men associated with it are an agricultural demonstrator, who has <sup>now</sup> left All Saints, and Mr Dlwati, the retired teacher and interpreter in the local church. Mr Dlwati is, at the same time, the chairman of the Engcobo Agricultural Show Society. Though he is not really a member in the All Saints Agricultural Show Society, his services have become indispensable in it and he is regarded as one of its organizers.

The local Agricultural Show Society, though still functioning and popular during the ploughing season, does not seem to be properly constituted. It has no executive committee and does not hold regular meetings. This lack

of enthusiasm was attributed by one informant to the 'failure to appreciate the importance of organization for organization's sake by the members in general.' She told me that most ~~of~~ members got discouraged when they could not get prizes in the competitions, and consequently ~~was~~ no point in remaining active members of the society. Prestige and importance in this association seem to depend mainly on the ability to produce first grade vegetables and other agricultural products.

(d) The Nurses' and St Mary's Guilds.

The other women's associations in All Saints are the Nurses' Guild and the St Mary's Guild (cf. Young Women's Manyano elsewhere). The St Mary's Guild is specially meant for post-Std VI girls who may be or not be in the secondary school. According to the organisers (the Sisters), the aim of the guild is to train the young girls for 'leadership so that they should be able to look after the younger children in the church and teach them the correct behaviour'. The association is still in its formative stages and has not got its own leaders yet. The Sisters are assisted by the members of the Mothers' Union in building it.

The Nurses' Guild, as its name indicates, is a guild for the nurses at the mission hospital. It is not a strong association, and the nurses do not seem to be keen on it. The person in charge ~~of~~ is one of the Sisters and, though a conscientious and hard-working person, she lacks most of the characteristics associated with leaders. This is in contrast to her predecessor, who is said to have had a very forceful personality and liked to see things being done rather <sup>than</sup> talked <sub>^</sub> about' (cf. the chairman of the Gubenxa school committee).

(e) The Masakhane and Masinedane Clubs.

Besides the five formal women's organizations discussed above, there are two types of informal women's clubs - the Masakhane and Masinedane clubs (Let's build one another and let's help one another respectively). These are comparable to the Ungalelo clubs in Cape Town, though they are still a novelty in All Saints. There are not many of them yet and I only came across five in the village - four Masakhane and one Masinedane.

One of the Masakhane clubs consisted of six members, all of whom are wives of professional men. Like the other three, it did not have the formal positions of chairman and secretary, but it was customary for one of them to preside in the meetings and another to record the proceedings and the contributions made by the individual members. In the Masakhane, whose members were wives of professional men, the woman who presided in the meetings was the most senior in the group and had more education than the other members. She is the same woman as the member of the District Zenzele committee and a member of the parochial Church Council. She is one of the most intelligent and articulate women I met in the village. There is also a treasurer who 'must be trustworthy and honest'.

In the Masakhane I studied more closely, the procedure was that each member paid an annual subscription of ten cents and a membership fee of ten cents every fortnight. The club met fortnightly and members received the joint contributions in turns at every meeting. The ~~other money~~ prescribed fee for this purpose is one Rand per member per meeting. The other money collected from the subscriptions and membership fees is allowed to accumulate

The Masinedane club is slightly different from the type of club described above. It is based on mutual help, and fellow-members come to an agreement that whenever one of them has a ceremony, the others support her by contributing substantial donations in the form of food. The members only meet when necessary. Strict reciprocity is a rule in the club.

(f) The Mission Hospital.

Another institution that is closely associated with the Church and which plays an important rôle in the lives of the people in All Saints, is the hospital. The hospital is part of the mission, and is staffed with two doctors, fifty nurses, and about forty workers (men and women). The Superintendent is Dr Ingle, who was born ~~and~~ in England and trained at Cambridge. He came to South Africa about four years ago. His assistant is his wife, formerly Dr Marshall. She was born in Port Elizabeth, but received her training in London. Before Dr Ingle came, she was the superintendent of the hospital. She has worked in the various centres in the Transkei for over fourteen years.

Governing the hospital, though in theory only, is the Hospital Board. The chairman of the Board is the hospital superintendent. The other members are:-

1. The Engcobo Native Commissioner i.e. the Resident Magistrate.
2. A representative ~~from~~ of the Provincial Government.
3. A representative of the Church, Fr Lean.
4. The hospital Matron.
5. A representative of the Native Recruiting Corporation.
6. A local white representative, an owner of a garage in Engcobo.
7. One of the Sisters at the hospital.
8. A local African, a post-man at Engcobo.

Reflected by the representation of the various bodies in the Hospital Board is the peculiar position in which the mission hospitals, as welfare organizations under the missionaries but heavily subsidized by the Provincial Government, find themselves. The missionaries have no wish of losing control over their hospitals, but at the same time they are not in a position to undertake the burden of financing the hospitals. On the other hand, the Provincial Government, conscious of its strong position, is exercising an ever increasing control over the mission hospitals. Already this is threatening to end up in a great conflict in values, as the two authorities do not necessarily proceed from the same premise.

In fact, the struggle has already started on a constitutional level. The issue at stake is to whom are the hospital authorities going to pay allegiance, the Church through the Bishop or the Government? This question was forcefully brought up by a case where a doctor, after being dismissed by the Bishop, lodged a complaint to the Provincial Government against the Bishop. The Bishop was satisfied that the behaviour or the actions of the affected doctor were not in accordance with the accepted principles of the Church. On the other hand, the Provincial Government maintained that even if that were the case, its employees could not be dismissed by anyone other than their employer i.e. the Provincial Government. This led to a number of constitutional difficulties which, according to the doctors at the hospital, have not been solved yet.

All Saints is one of the five Anglican Mission Hospitals in the Transkei. All five hospitals are controlled by a Medical Missions' Board, which is representative of

the five hospitals. At the head of the Board is the Bishop of St John's. This also has given rise to a few internal difficulties. The doctors feel that at times the clergy do not appreciate the difficulties of the doctors, as specialists in their field. At the same time, the doctors do not wish to sever ties <sup>with</sup> the Church. The question then is, could this be looked upon as an incipient conflict between the <sup>two</sup> types of <sup>authority</sup> leadership?

warden, a member of the Church Council, and a Chairman of the Western Engcobo Teachers' Association. He is a very conscientious organizer and takes his responsibilities seriously. It was interesting to listen to the other members of the executive praising him for his admirable work, after it had been felt that the club had not been a success mainly because of the inefficiency of the executive.

The secretary of the club is the teacher from the secondary school. He is also the secretary for the Christmas Festivals. It should not be imagined that everybody who is in the executive is an organizer or a leader. Most members were put onto the executive to ensure their support and cooperation. This information was volunteered by one of the members of the executive. It was obvious that the club was finding it difficult to gain the support of the members of the community. Its members complain that even the nurses who stay nearby and know something about social clubs do not show any interest in it. The executive was wondering what could be the reason for the general <sup>lack of</sup> interest. I think the most illuminating remark ~~made~~ <sup>one</sup> was the ~~remark~~ made by a nurse who said, 'Most nurses do not go to the club because they find no young men to entertain them, and they spend the evening just by themselves'.

It is true that there are very few young men in the community, and a very small portion of them attend the club. Most young men are in the cities working and others are away at boarding schools. To a very great extent, this accounts for the instability of youth organizations in the country. In the country, as it has been shown in the introduction, there is a great disproportion between the sexes. The effect of the absence of young

men is best seen in the sports clubs. There are no strong clubs for young men in the country. In the case of older men things are not as bad, but by comparison, the women's associations are by far the strongest.

Unlike the Church Club which meets every Saturday, the Christmas Festivals are <sup>held</sup> only once a year. In them there are no monthly membership fees or annual subscriptions, as <sup>in</sup> the Church Club. They are primarily organized by the Church for children, but parents are also welcome and expected to make contributions in the form of labour and food. The chief organizer of the Christmas Festivals is Mr Mnyande, the chairman of the Church Club. The villagers are agreed that 'without him, the festivals would be a flop'. He is assisted by the teacher from the secondary school who occupies the position of secretary. A few parents have also been <sup>en</sup>drawn onto the executive.

(ii) The Tennis Club.

In the mission grounds there is a tennis court which is used by the members of the All Saints Tennis Club. This is an old association and is well-patronized by the teachers, the nurses, and some clerks from Engcobo. Its president is not an All Saints man. He is the secretary and treasurer of the Transkei Territorial Authority at Engcobo. He is also the secretary of the Engcobo District Tennis Club. The treasurer is an African sister from the hospital, and the Captain is Mr Mnyande, the school teacher.

The All Saints Tennis Club is affiliated to the Transkeian Tennis ~~Club~~ Union, through the district tennis Club. The Transkeian Tennis Union holds an Annual General Meeting at Umtata ~~every~~ every year. At the same time as the annual general meeting, a tournament is held. Besides the tournament, a few matches and competitions are orga-

nized between the various districts during the course of the year.

(iii) The Cricket and Soccer Clubs.

In All Saints there is no cricket or soccer club, but a few All Saints men are members of the Engcobo Cricket Association and Soccer Club. The president of the Engcobo Soccer Club is the same <sup>man</sup> as the conductor of the All Saints Church Choir. His secretary is the president of the All Saints Tennis Club.

The president of the Engcobo Cricket Association is a medical ~~doctor~~ practitioner at Engcobo and his secretary is an All Saints man, but teaches elsewhere. Though both organizations are active, they cannot be said to be strong. The president of the Soccer Club explained to me that their clubs are so weak 'because their best players go away to the cities to work and only come home once in a while. 'When they come back, used to a better standard in the cities, they are ~~put~~ put off by the general low standard of the country teams'. For this reason, he thinks that the country sports clubs will ever remain weak.

In addition to the above social clubs, there is a youth organization called the All Saints Youth Association. Though it is said to be opened to everybody, it mainly draws its membership from the student section. As a result, it is ~~not~~ only during the school holidays that the organization is active. Its leadership is in the hands of senior students. The president and one of the foundation members is an ex-Fort Hare student. The only non-student executive member is the treasurer, who was asked to take the position 'because he is elderly and could be trusted with the funds of the organization. (He is ~~the~~ a post-master at Engcobo). The students, who have no financial status, could not be trusted in the handling of the moneys of the association.

~~Chapter XV~~

**ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP:**

1. Economic activities.

Compared to Gubenxa, the people of All Saints own few cattle (six cattle per homestead). Perhaps, the reason for this is that they have no pastures, and individuals have to take most of their cattle to the Engcobo grazing grounds at a specified fee per cow per month. Though people in All Saints may know much about pastoral farming, they are less favourably situated than Gubenxa people. There are no farmers nearby (nearest farmers are about thirty miles away) where they could buy bulls and cows of a better grade. So their cattle are not only few, but also of poor quality. For this reason, they have not been able to attract white speculators, and whatever trade there is in cattle is done only locally. They also get very little milk from their cows. Only two men (teachers) sell limited quantities of milk in the whole village. Very few people own sheep and, therefore, sales from wool do not contribute much to the economy of the village. The numbers of goats, horses, and donkeys in the village are also very small. In All Saints, where there is adequate transport, horses as a means of transport are less important than in Gubenxa. All Saints residents are better at poultry-raising than Gubenxa people. Their fowls are generally graded, and members try to raise pure strains. For purposes of agricultural shows and sale of chickens and eggs at Engcobo and locally, this is important. Those who are interested in poultry raising receive ready help from agricultural demonstrators who may be stationed in

in the village at different times. Some members received some training in farming at Nyanga Farm School before it was changed into a secondary school.

Land in All Saints is more fertile and the standard of agriculture is higher than in Gubenxa. The residents use better seeds and their cultivation in the gardens is more varied. While the fields are ploughed only in summer for planting grain, the gardens are ploughed throughout the year for growing vegetables of various kinds e.g. potatoes, peas, beans, cabbage, carrots, tomatoes, turnips, and so on. These are usually sold in town and taken to agricultural shows for competitions. The leading members in this sphere are the Zenz<sup>e</sup> women, who are also members of the Agricultural Show Society. In All Saints there is a more extensive use of fertilizers, and people do not depend only on cattle for ploughing. Besides the tractors owned by the white traders, there are three privately owned tractors in the village, which are also hired out for ploughing. In addition, the members receive appreciable help from the mission. In 1962, for instance, the mission got them fertilizer at reduced prices, and during the time of the field-work it was working on an idea of buying a tractor and ploughing implements which could be hired out to the ~~people~~ residents at prices which would be enough 'just to cover running expenses'. Even in All Saints, where the soil is relatively fertile and where the people try ~~to~~ hard to make their agriculture productive, no family produces enough grain for its purposes. This is explained partly by the smallness of the plots (four acres each) people own and partly by inefficient farming due to lack of competent labour, as men are mostly away in towns working. Lack of capital is also another important consideration. The great majority of the people,

as a result, still have to buy grain from the traders. Like in Gubenxa, very few people in All Saints grow fruit trees, and there is no apparent reason for this.

The mission, besides giving economic aid to the villagers, provides them with jobs. At the mission, including the hospital, are employed more than fifty men and women. The local girls who have passed Std 8 also get jobs at the hospital as nurses. The secondary school also employs a number of people. The town of Engcobo, which is about two miles away, employs even a greater number. No doubt, this reduces appreciably the rate of migration from All Saints to the towns, and gives a chance to a greater number of men to look after their fields themselves. But the overall effect is still mass migration to the industrial centres, where the dominant economic ~~activities~~ activities of the Republic are carried out. Therefore, All Saints like other peasant communities in the Transkei, has no economic leadership to boast about. There are no cooperatives or similar organisations in the village.

## 2. Economic associations.

There are only two formally organized economic groups in All Saints namely, the Farmers' Association and the All Saints Agricultural Show Society. The former is virtually dead now, and people are said to have lost interest in it when the chairman, an ambitious man who likes positions, refused to call a meeting for <sup>the</sup> election of new officials. The villagers told me that each time a meeting was held and members wanted to elect a new executive, the chairman stood up and closed the meeting with a benediction, even if some speakers were still on the floor. This has become a joke in the village, and people say with amusement, 'The chairman killed the Farmers' Association'.

Though this is treated as a joke now, at the time of

the conflict was still raging, things became so bad that the matter had to be taken to the headman's court. The driving force behind the opposition group was the local agricultural demonstrators. Unfortunately for his group, he could not get the support of the headman who was already under the influence of the chairman. However, he did not give up. He was prepared ~~to~~ even to go to the extent of reporting the matter to the magistrate. He felt that he could not 'let anybody hiner<sup>d</sup> progress in his field'. His opponents out-manoeuvered him, and got him transferred to another area. This was the same demonstrator who did not show respect to the men in the headman's court when his case was being discussed. So his position in the village could not have been strong.

When the chairman was interviewed on the matter, he was evasive and vague. He is <sup>also</sup> the chairman of the local Agricultural Show Society. Members of this association are Zenzele women, and some critics laugh at the chairman for being the only man in the organization. They sarcastically say, 'It suits X fine to be the chairman of that society because he knows that nobody will challenge his position. He simply loves positions'.

It is true that X loves positions, judging from the delight he took in telling me the number of positions he holds in the community. However, this seems to be done unconsciously and with no malice at all. The members of the Agricultural Show Society understand their chairman, and say, 'Despite all his weaknesses, X is a very willing and helpful person. He does a lot of good things for us (he has an adequate supply of agricultural implements). All people have to do is not to take him too seriously because he is getting a bit old'.

The secretary of the society is the same woman as

~~as~~ the secretary of the Zenzele Club. She told me that during the ploughing season members show great interest in their work and enter for competitions, but are often put off by bad results. All the same, she thinks that the Agricultural Show Society is a good thing and has greatly improved the standard of ~~the~~ agriculture in All Saints.

The chairman himself is regarded as one of the leading agriculturalists in the community. He has ~~two~~ two tractors and a number of oxen. He hires his tractors out at the rate of R2-05 per hour. At the time of the field work, he was elected to a committee which was going 'to investigate the best ways in which the mission tractor, which was about to be bought ~~in~~, could be used for the benefit of the poor'. The same committee was going to be responsible for the tractor and its management.

The other men who are ~~considered~~ included in the economic leadership in All Saints are the principal of the secondary school and another less educated 'red' man who is an owner of a number of cattle, and hires out his teams of oxen for ploughing. He is also a money-lender. The principal has got a tractor and a truck which he hires out - the tractor for ploughing and the truck for loading manure, or removing furniture, or for ~~removing~~ wedding parties and sports teams. He is not fully accepted as a leader in the economic field 'because he does not do anything for the community but for himself'.

In addition to ~~these~~ three men, there is the local shopkeeper. His importance has been greatly reduced, compared to the Gubenxa shopkeepers. He is not solely responsible for the mail of the villagers, their telephone, <sup>calls</sup> their means of transport, and groceries. In the case of

groceries, he is in keen competition with the traders at Engcobo. The Post Office provides a telephone and delivers letters; and ~~xx~~ there is adequate public transport. It should be noted that in All Saints, unlike in Gubenxa, the local store has never been 'the heart without which the village could not live'. The mission from its inception has been the centre around which all the activities of the village take place. One observer remarked that 'the villagers did not seem to have a community life of any sort outside the mission'.

In All Saints there has been a greater differentiation of activities and a greater variety of forms of leadership. Unlike in Gubenxa, it was not <sup>an</sup> easy thing for the villagers to say with certainty who their leaders are. There are several of them, in different fields; ~~xxxx~~ informants had to stop and think before they could answer my questions. It was interesting to note that the same names appeared, though in different positions in different interviews. However, there <sup>are</sup> a few names that were consistently put in the same positions. In discussing this aspect of the field-work, the striking thing was that no informant included the white members at the mission. When asked if some of them did not constitute part of the leadership, the members agreed that they did; and their explanation for the omission was that they 'did not know that I included ~~the~~ whites as well'.

This clearly illustrates the attitude mentioned in the introduction and the material on Gubenxa. Though the All Saints community has a network of social relationships with its white members, and though it is dependent on them for certain ~~xx~~ things, it does not recognize them as part of the community.

3. TABLE SHOWING POSITIONS OCCUPIED BY LEADING MEMBERS IN ALL SAINTS

Positions Occupied by the Various Members.

Name of Association	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W6	W7	W8
Church Council	CM	CM	EM	-	-	-	-	CM	CM	-	-	CM	-	-
Mothers' Union (Local)	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ch	Secr.	-	V-Ch	-	-	-	-
Parish Mothers' Union	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	V-Ch	-	-	-	Ch	Secr.	-
Zenzele Club (local)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Secr.	-	-	-	V-Ch
District Zenzele Club	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ch	V-Ch	CM	-	-	-	-
Agr. Show Society	-	Ch	-	-	-	-	-	Secr.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Farmers' Association	Secr.	Ch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Church Club	Ch	-	CM	-	-	Secr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christmas Festivals	Ch	-	-	-	-	Secr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tractor Committee	CM	CM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teachers' Association	Ch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tennis Club	V-Ch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cricket Club	-	-	-	-	Secr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Soccer Club	-	-	-	Ch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hospital Board	-	-	CM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Number of Positions for Each Member	7	4	3	1	1	2	1	5	2	3	0	2	1	1

KEY.

M = Male leader }  
 W = ~~Woman~~ leader } Accompanying figure designates  
 position given by the community.  
 CM = Committee Member: Ch = Chairman  
 Secr. = Secretary : V-Ch = Vice-Chairman  
 Agr. = Agricultural.

The scheme on the preceding page is an attempt to show who is elected to what position in the various associations in All Saints. The white members have been left out because of the peculiar position they occupy in the village. They are outsiders who have been brought into the village by their professional calls; their positions in the community are prescribed. Excluding the hospital superintendent and the priest-in-charge, there are six men who are considered to be leaders in All Saints. The headman, who is regarded as 'no force in the community because he never gets anything done', was not included in the list of leaders by the informants. The three principals were also excluded, but for different reasons. The principal of the secondary school 'lives for himself and is not concerned about other people'. The principal of the Coloured school is 'not known because he is never seen among the people'. The principal of the African primary school was excluded 'only because he does not live in the village', but the members knew that 'he does a lot in his village'.

The informants were asked to arrange the names of the leaders they had mentioned in their order of importance. Hence the designation of M1 to M6 and W1 to W8: M1 or W1 represents the man or woman who is regarded as the most important in the village. It is interesting to note that all the woman teachers and nurses at the hospital were not included in the list. As unmarried women, there is very little scope for them to become leaders.

It will be noticed from the table on p 197 that in the case of men, there is a correlation between the position ascribed to an individual by the community and the number of positions he occupies. M6 seems to be the only exception. Perhaps, he was given a low position because 'he is so lazy', as some members put it. Among the women the number of positions occupied does not appear to be related to the importance of an individual in the eyes of the community. For instance, W6 holds more positions than W1. The only person who seems to conform to the pattern found in the male group is W2. She is the woman who said that there is

could  
no woman she compete with in the whole community, except a certain  
senior woman, M1.

The reason for this difference between women and men leaders is something which still puzzles me. But women in All Saints, as in most communities in the Transkei, tend to be more conservative than men. M1 is a senior woman, and the only thing that distinguishes her from the other senior women is her special abilities and progressiveness. Even though she does not surpass some of the younger women in this respect, she had been given a higher position than them. I am inclined to suggest that, given the same capabilities, the more senior woman by age is given a higher status. All the other women, except M6, are younger than M1 but are not necessarily less capable than her. In the case of men, the position is the other way round; M1 is the most junior by age. M5 is another puzzle which is difficult to solve in the woman group. She is considered one of the leaders, but she does not occupy a single position. The probable explanation is that she is known to love being in the opposition through sheer perversity. She is a good speaker and can be very shrewd.

Chapter V.

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

1. History.

Most of the differences found between All Saints and Gubenxa are accounted for by historical factors. The All Saints community is less conservative in its outlook and more complex in its organizational pattern than Gubenxa. This is explained by the fact that All Saints was one of the earliest communities to be founded by the missionaries in the Transkei. It was, therefore, one of the first communities in the Transkei to be in direct communication with Europeans (people from Europe). The first mission station was set up in All Saints in 1859, and by 1896 a training school for girls had been established. It soon had a hospital (1929) and later a secondary school for boys (1945). This is in contrast to Gubenxa in which the only primary school was started in 1928, and in which the membership of the largest church is hardly twenty-five. It is, therefore, not surprising that All Saints soon became a source of new religious and educational ideas in the Qwati area. It provided the surrounding villages with both religious and educational leadership. The first teacher in Gubenxa, as it has been pointed out in Chapter III, came from All Saints and soon took ~~xxx~~ charge of the local Anglican congregation. Similarly, the leader of the Mothers' Union in Gubenxa was born in All Saints.

Since the introduction of Bantu Education<sup>in 1955</sup>, the appointment of teachers to Gubenxa and other Anglican schools in the area is no

longer directed from All Saints; the Bantu Education Department is now responsible for the appointment of teachers in all 'Bantu' schools. It will, therefore, appear that villages such as Gubenxa are no longer dependent on All Saints for educational leadership. For religious purposes, however, the members of the Anglican Church still do. The ministers who visit Gubenxa occasionally and solemnize marriages, baptize children, or conduct a holy communion are from All Saints or are directed from there. The Gubenxa lay-preachers go to the same place for special courses and directives in their work. They are responsible to the priest-in-charge at All Saints, and perform their duties in the local church on his behalf. The local Mothers' <sup>Union</sup> is in the same structural relationship with the controlling centre.

From the early times, All Saints was destined to be a school community. When the first missionaries came to the Qwati area, the land on which the mission is built was still vacant and Dalasile's father, Fubu (chief No. 18 on p. 52), gave it to the missionaries precisely for that reason. So most of the people who came to settle in All Saints were either Christian converts or people who were interested in the work the missionaries were doing at the mission. They were people who were prepared to accept <sup>the new</sup> ideas: religious, educational, or otherwise. Therefore, besides the civilizing influence of the missionaries at All Saints, there was also a selective migration to the place. These two factors account for the existence of a population which is predominantly school (80 percent of the families) in the village. This, again, is in contrast to Gubenxa.

where only 10 percent of the families are school. Gubenxa, like so many other predominantly 'red' villages, has lost some educated members to All Saints. These members migrate because 'All Saints offers them greater opportunities for a civilized life'. (It will be remembered that several of the boys from the surrounding villages go to All Saints for their secondary education).

The establishment of a town near All Saints (two miles away) and the opening up of roads accelerated the rate of social change in the village. The new ideas the members had acquired were kept nourished by frequent interaction with people from outside. The people of All Saints, unlike the Gubenxa people who depend on the three teachers, the shopkeepers, the very irregular post, and migrant workers for contact with the outside world, came across these new ideas even in their everyday activities. The extent of their expanding world was further widened by the increasing ability to read among the members. News about recent developments reach All Saints days before they reach Gubenxa. The town of Engcobo supplies All Saints residents with a greater variety of more 'up-to-date' goods than the traders in Gubenxa can ever hope to.

## 2. Clan and lineage system.

One of the most important ~~xxx~~ effects of the existence of a school community in All Saints, resulting from selective migration and a fundamental change in social values, is the breakdown in the clan and lineage structure. People ~~wh~~ who migrated to All Saints after the establishment of a mission station did not do so as groups of kinsmen, but as individuals or elementary families who were interested in the new

life. Instead of depending on their kinsmen for certain services, these people depended on their fellow-christians, the missionaries, and other outside agents. For instance, for spiritual or ritual leadership they depended on the missionaries who conducted services, holy communions, baptized children, confirmed adults, joined them in marriage, and buried them, rather than on the kinsmen they had left behind. In other words, the Church became a more important ritual institution for them than the extended family and the lineage whose members, in this case, adhered to different and often conflicting sets of religious ideas, and who were separated by space. Under these conditions, the lineage which depends greatly on observance of common rituals by its members for its solidarity was likely to break-down. The members of the Church in All Saints, it will be remembered, are held together by common beliefs and values, not by membership in any clan or lineage. The Church, unlike the lineage and clan in which membership is determined by birth, is<sup>a</sup> a voluntary organization which cuts across ~~the~~ clan and lineage affiliations.

Gubenxa, with about 90 percent of its members 'red', presents an interesting contrast. There, clans and lineages still provide the basis for social organization. Membership in various clans and lineages is still primary in most of the interaction among the members. Distribution of food in feasts, for instance, is strictly according to clan, and the geographical distribution of the various homesteads largely coincides with clan, and neighbourhoods are known by clan names. Unlike in All Saints, territorial divisions do not yet override clan divisions in Gubenxa, except in the case of boys (see p. 131 ). Ritual leadership is still mainly in the hands of clan and lineage leaders. When a baby is born, they conduct the appropriate ritual (ukulungisa umntwana). They still

control puberty rites for girls (intonjane) and a great deal <sup>of</sup> initiation rites for boys ~~is~~ is still their concern, though they do not necessarily carry out the physical operation themselves (it may be done by any local specialist or a medical doctor). When their sons and daughters get married, they officiate in all the rituals and ceremonies.

All kinsmen, including those who have been converted to Christianity, are expected to attend these rituals. School members are also expected to observe certain ~~standards of behaviour~~ <sup>norms</sup>, even if they do not participate in the actual ritual. For instance, it would be considered improper for a school kinsman not to attend his 'red' kinsmen's marriage or circumcision rituals, or to fail to announce to his 'red' kinsmen a 'dinner-party' for his child<sup>(1)</sup>. Though the conservatives insist on strict conformity and still dogmatically declare that: 'a custom is a custom', reality has forced them to accept the change that has started even in Gubenxa. In practice, they do ~~not~~ make a distinction between themselves and those of their kinsmen who take their children to the church for baptism, confirmation, marriage, and funerals. This divergence in beliefs and practices has come to be accepted as normal and it is only during mourning rituals that ~~all~~ all villagers are expected to stay away from work. A violation of this norm is greatly resented, but ~~some~~ <sup>some</sup> school people have started to violate it and when confronted by the members, they plead ignorance of the occasion.

### 3. Education.

From the above account, it can be inferred that in Gubenxa informal education still plays an important part in the lives of the members. In most of the line-

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(1) Christian version of ukulungisa umntwana.

is governed by traditions, notions, and values which differ greatly from those of his conservative 'red' fellow-villagers. It is also true that members of each group have come to rely for social purposes more on fellow-members than kinsmen in the other group, but it is important to note that the cleavage is not absolute, as Professor Mayer seems to suggest.<sup>(1)</sup> The trend of social development in All Saints, as elsewhere in the Transkei, favours the school section. Their cultural influence appears to be almost irresistible. This was observed by Hunter as early as 1936. 'As the result of these contact influences there are now in the reserves groups of Natives (school people) who to a greater or lesser degree have accepted European culture, and who are extremely influential in spreading European ideas in their own communities'<sup>(3)</sup>. In addition to occupation of the same geographical area and belonging to the same political and administrative unit, 'Location' No. 35. as everybody else, the All Saints 'reds' are not a rare sight in church services, a large percentage of their children attend the local primary school, their fathers put on clothes when they go to town or to work instead of blankets, their mothers boil tea in modern tea-pots and drink from cups (often bought in Cape Town by their husbands), and they all attend the local hospital in cases of illness, even if they consult diviners in addition<sup>(4)</sup>. Here, we see none of the 'common present duty (of the 'reds') to maintain the distinctive way of life which history and the ancestors have sanctioned for them and them alone' or the 'supra-tribal or supra-national tendency' which is the reason 'why the Red Xhosa do not like <sup>them</sup> (school education, church, and civilized habits)' and which makes them ~~refuse~~ 'abstain from cooperating with School people in their context'<sup>(2)</sup>, described by Mayer.

The practices described for the All Saints villagers, including the 'red' members, are a proof that change is taking place very rapidly

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(1) Mayer E: - Townsmen or Tribesmen; Oxford Press, Cape Town, 1961.

(2) Ibid. pp. 40, 41.

(3) Hunter: op. cit. ----- (p. 6).

(4) A great proportion of school people also still believe in diviners.

thought under these conditions of contradictions and uncertainty, and is also indicative of the influence of Christian religion even on those who do not yet profess Christianity. The conservative also sees modern education as an absolute necessity, despite its disruptive effect on the traditional system. In Gubenxa, it will be remembered, there are thirty half-school and half-red families. It is, therefore, clear that it will not be very long before the Church and the school take over from the traditional leaders. It is significant that in the village there are no cases of children from school families or individuals who have been to the secondary school ~~reverting~~ reverting to paganism.

#### 5. Social scale.

In the preceding pages it has been implied that social change is a two-way process. The disintegration of certain traditional institutions is compensated for by the emergence of new social institutions e.g. the Church and the schools, which operate on a wider basis, than traditional institutions such as the clan and the lineage. This has been evident in the discussion of All Saints and Gubenxa. It becomes even more apparent when one compares the incidence of voluntary associations in the two villages. In Gubenxa there are virtually no voluntary associations, except the umtshotsho, intlombe, and 'tea-party' boys and young men. These associations are voluntary, but as it has been shown in Chapter **III**, individuals cannot resign from them without cutting themselves <sup>off</sup> from the rest of society. They are so rigidly organized that the individual cannot move from the one to the other without an accompanying change in his ~~sta~~-social status. For instance, the umtshotsho boys cannot join the intlombe young men without undergoing cir-

cumcision. Similarly, a school young man cannot become a full member of the intlombe, without giving up his position as a member of the school section.

On the other hand, in All Saints there is not only a greater number of voluntary associations (over fifteen), but there is also a greater freedom to move in and ~~in~~ out the various associations. The greater number of voluntary associations in All Saints also indicates a greater diversity of interests and a higher degree of social differentiation in the community. Put differently, All Saints is more complex, structurally, than Gubenxa. Its members pursue a greater variety of interests and have established a wider net-work of social relationships. As it has been shown, their interests are not only diverse, but are also more general in that they extend to other areas outside the village. For example, most of the associations in All Saints have district and territorial connections; some e.g. the Zenzele Club have national and international links (see Chapter IV). It will also be noticed that a great proportion of them is directly or indirectly connected with the Anglican Church, a world-wide organization itself. In this respect, the Church in All Saints can be regarded as the ganglion around which centres the activities of most members. This is in contrast to Gubenxa, where lives of most members still centre around the lineage group.

## 6. Politics.

It would be dangerous to assume from the above statements that the lineage in Gubenxa and the Church in All Saints fulfils all the social requirements of the members. The dependence of the Gubenxa villagers on the lineage, which is breaking down, or the dependence of ~~the~~

the All Saints residents on the Church is not absolute. For instance, the people in All Saints, politically, are not dependent on the Church. It is true that in Gubenxa people, to some extent, are dependent on the lineage leaders, who represent them in the subheadman's court, settle their disputes, <sup>and</sup> conduct rituals (see Chapter **III**). But **it** is significant that the villagers in their external political relations depend on the subheadman, who is the local representative in relations with the Government. This is one tie in the village which cuts across clan, lineage, and religious or cultural cleavages. The political ~~unity~~ unity of the villagers is symbolized by their acceptance of and ~~the~~ implicit trust in their subheadman. Of course, even in Gubenxa there are members who are beginning to have a wider outlook in their politics. Among these are certain migrant workers and those who have received higher education.

In All Saints the political situation is more complex and less well-defined. The headman is generally unpopular and most of his critics come from the school section. Though the headman always had a gun at his side during the time of the field work, it did not appear that he expected the attack from the local people. The impression I got was that even if the local men were found among the probable attackers, they would not be there as All Saints people, but as members of a wider group such as Makhulu Span. The headman is aware of his unpopularity, especially among the school people, and has tried to consolidate his position by enlisting the support of the 'red' members. He has done this by being more favourably disposed towards them. He has appointed more subheadmen among them than in the school section, though it constitutes <sup>t</sup> the majority of the popu-

lation. This could have been a reaction against the frequent criticisms from the more educated members that the headman is 'a mere Std VI boy' and could not possibly lead them. But I think that the real reason for the headman's unpopularity is that he has been identified with the Government or those Bantu Authorities who accept the Government policies in the Transkei. He is a member of the Tribal Authority which is supposed to serve under Chief Mayeza, and is generally suspected of being in collusion with certain authorities or individuals who are regarded as enemies by the people. He is also accused of inefficiency and indifference to the school people. He is, therefore, rejected from the point of view of local politics as well as national politics. In terms of national politics, traditional leaders are regarded as anachronistic figures. 'Who still wants to be ruled by a chief?', asked an All Saints teacher rather contemptuously. When asked, 'What about Sabata?', he said, 'How is <sup>he</sup> different from other Bantu Authorities?' So, to these men, it is not the individual that matters, but rather the principle involved. To them the acceptance of the concept of Bantu Authorities or the toleration of the idea of a Bantustan is a political 'sell-out'.

It then becomes clear that the Church, which was a substitute enough for education, religion, and recreation is no substitute for the political requirements of the people, even though it may have contributed directly to the rejection of traditional leaders ~~xx~~ such as the lineage leaders and chiefs. It is significant that Dalasile, in reassuring the missionaries about the security of their land grant at All Saints, did not fail to remind them that, though they had the right to organize the Qwati into the Church, he remained their chief.

Dalasilé's suspicion that the missionaries were inevitably going to undermine his position, as a chief, was confirmed when all the christian converts who were working with the missionaries and the magistrate at Engcobo refused to join his forces in the 1880 war. Instead, they went to the other side. In a word, they paid more allegiance to the missionaries and the magistrate than their traditional leaders. This was to be expected because these people had willingly left their tribal villages and all ~~the~~ those who wielded power in them and went to All Saints which, though in the Qwati terrain, was under the effective control of the missionaries, not the Qwati chiefs.

The situation has changed since; people who have rejected traditional leaders do not necessarily accept the missionaries or the magistrate as substitutes. Their politics are becoming their business as individuals, initially, and, ultimately, the concern of the black 'nation' (isizwe esimnyama or umzi oNtsundu). The white missionary or magistrate, in general, falls outside this 'nation', and may even be an object for political attack or be treated with suspicion until he has proved himself. For this reason, most people in All Saints who are interested in politics do not wish their ideas or affiliations to be known to the white Church leaders. They consciously hide their political identity from the missionaries, but are interested in finding out what political views the priest-in-charge holds. They accordingly classify him as 'Progressive or Liberal Party', as the case may be. His white associates are also used as an index for judging his politics. The political judgement on the missionary or the hospital superintendent may be incorrect, in terms of white

political parties, but in terms of politics of whites and blacks, it is usually correct.

At least, this used to be the position a few years ago. Nowadays the white official<sup>s</sup> in the various villages in the Transkei are very careful not to express their political views openly because, under the present conditions, the concept of Kaffir boetie (Kaffir-lover) is not only a diffuse social sanction; it could also have a legal force under the General Law Amendment Act, 1963, and people could receive heavy sentences. This puts the white who wishes to identify himself with the villagers in political matters in a difficult position because if he becomes too vocal, the Government brand him as an 'agitator'; or if he cooperates too closely with the villagers, he may earn himself the ominous name of 'communist'. On the other ~~had~~ hand, if he fails to show his attitude by word or deed, the villagers continue to treat him with suspicion. Little can be done about the situation locally because~~d~~ its roots are found in the general political strife which is tearing apart South African national life. Practically, it means that a mutual understanding and acceptance between the white members in the Transkeian villages and the rest of the people is effectively forestalled. Needless to say, there can be no feeling of community ~~with~~ among any people without effective communication.

The fear expressed by the priest-in-charge at All Saints, in forming a Church Club for all the members of the church, irrespective of their skin-colour, was indicative of this state of affairs. In the eyes of the South African Government, such a club could be a manifestation of a 'communist' mind. It was interesting to note that the superintendent at the hospital also had a

similar fear. Whenever he spoke, he always had the constitutional struggle between the Mission Hospitals and the Provincial Government at the back of his mind (see p 185). Both the clergy and the doctors at the hospital feel that they have to be very careful in what they say or do because it may give the Government an excuse or a reason to close down the institutions they represent or bring them under its direct control. Of course, this does not apply to the man who identifies himself with white politics or the Government, but whose chances of success in the village are small since the people are likely to refuse to cooperate with him. This once happened in All Saints and the church activities came to a standstill. The people <sup>had</sup> boycotted the church.

We, then, see that the people of All Saints are dependent politically neither on the lineage leaders, on the headman whom they have rejected as a Bantu Authority and as an individual, nor on the Church which also seems to be faced with certain political problems. This does not mean that their political interests are frustrated completely. In the village there are certain men on whom the members rely for political leadership. These men are men of education and have connections with groups outside the village. They are members of territorial and national organizations. For security reasons (i.e. from the point of view of their professions and personal safety), they are not keen to discuss this aspect of their lives with people who are not members in their groups. Their affiliations are known to those villagers who are interested in politics, but their actual activities remain the secret of the in-group. Villagers approach them individually and privately for discussion on particular political questions and for advice. When one enquires from

the villagers about these men, the most one is told is that 'they are men (ngamadoda)', as against those who are described as quislings (oonchothoza), Government stooges (abantu bakaRulumente), or white lackeys (abantu bomlungu).

Though the activities of the former category of men are underground, their effects are felt on a wider scale than the villages in which they live. Indeed, comparisons between the various ~~political~~ political leaders are made. For instance, one All Saints man was described as 'unrivalled in the whole Qwata area in his militancy and political integrity'. Therefore, in comparison to Gubenxa, All Saints by rejecting or losing interest in the traditional leaders, has come to be more directly linked with the territorial and national political struggle.

#### 7: Economics.

Economically, there are similarities between All Saints and Gubenxa. Both villages have a communal system of land tenure and cultivate mostly grain during the summer. In winter virtually nothing is grown in the fields, except that in All Saints some people grow vegetables in their gardens. The implements used are the same - the plough, the planter, harrow, cultivator, and three tractors in All Saints. In addition to the three tractors owned by individuals in All Saints, people hire tractors from the shopkeepers. Shopkeepers have found this a profitable venture, and most of them buy two to three tractors to hire out to the people in the surrounding villages. In Gubenxa only oxen are used for cultivation. This is not so much so because the people in Gubenxa are conservative or have more cattle, but that there are no roads to the village and the few white farmers who have managed to take their tractors into the

village found that most fields were too stoney or sloping for the double-plough and the tractor, and they had to abandon the idea.

For this reason and other reasons, the agricultural farming in Gubenxa is less productive than in All Saints. The land in All Saints is more fertile and the people can practise more intensive farming. They also have access to agricultural demonstrators, and the present secondary school in the village was once a 'Farm School', where boys received a special training in farming. In this regard, Gubenxa is not worse off because there are white farmers on its borders, and much could be learnt from them only if there was enough arable land in the village. Perhaps, it is due to lack of arable land that the people in Gubenxa have concentrated more on pastoral farming. They have relatively large herds of cattle. In All Saints pastoral farming would be impossible because there are virtually no pastures. So, the differences in the economic development of the two communities are accounted for by geographical conditions.

It is interesting to note that individual ownership of property in both villages has ~~been~~ completely supplanted common ownership. For example, even in Gubenxa control over cattle does not go further than father and son, and ownership rights are limited to the individual. In All Saints it is rare to find a married son living with his parents. Another striking feature about All Saints is that, whereas in Gubenxa people are reluctant to sell such things as eggs, chickens, green mealies, vegetables, and fruit to close relatives; or sell cattle, horses, and sheep to kinsmen without a reduction, people in All Saints do so without any qualms. In Gubenxa people will not sell ~~food~~ milk even to non-kinsmen. They maintain that 'it is

only townsmen that sell food, and that according to Xhosa custom, hungry people and strangers should be given food gratis'. In All Saints the general policy seems to be 'There is nothing for nothing'. People who want certain things must be prepared to pay for them, even if they are kinsmen. It was amusing to listen to an argument between an aunt and a nephew who was selling Plymouth Rock eggs to her at seventy-five cents for fourteen. She complained that seventy-five cents was exorbitant, but the nephew told her that that was his price. 'Even ~~to your~~ though I am your aunt!', she exclaimed. The nephew pointed out that, from the business point of view, it should be known in the village that even his relatives pay the same price. Gubexa<sup>people</sup> are still horrified when one tells them about such transactions or that strangers have to rent huts in All Saints or paying for boarding and lodging.

#### 8. Rôle of women.

In this comparison, it will be noticed that in both villages effective leadership in most activities is in the hands of men. But it is also worth noting that in All Saints there is a wider scope for women to hold leading positions in women's organizations. Some All Saints women hold leading positions in district and territorial organizations. Though women always occupy lower positions than men in organizations that cater for both sexes, it was interesting to find out that some women in All Saints would consider accepting the ~~position~~ position of hospital superintendent, 'if they had the necessary qualifications'. The only positions they thought were unsuitable for women were the position of headman and chief. They said that they did not think so because chiefs were being killed in the Transkei. Their reason was that these positions have been so closely associated with men

traditionally that it would be impossible for a woman to be accepted as a headman or chief, and be given the necessary respect. They also felt that the positions carried too much hard work for a woman, who is also expected to run the home and cook for the children. 'In any case, what woman would be prepared to traverse long distances by night, going to investigate or attend one thing or the other?', they asked.

From this short comparative analysis, it is apparent that the differences found between All Saints and Gubenxa are ~~not more of a matter of~~ degree rather than kind. For this reason, greater emphasis has been laid on those common features which have been brought about by industrialization and increasing contact with the bigger world in the two communities rather than on differences that are accounted for by incidental factors and local peculiarities such as geographical conditions. For a study of social change, it is those social patterns which have been evolved in response to a changing political, economic, intellectual, and religious environment that are important. In studying social change we seek to discover how societies or social systems change and under what conditions.

The nature and the manner of change a society has undergone is more important than the degree to which such a change has occurred. For instance, it is <sup>a</sup>nigging point whether Gubenxa has more 'reds' than All Saints. What is important is that Gubenxa is undergoing the same type of change as All Saints under the same new social conditions. However, for purposes of perspective, the extent to which a society has changed is important only in so far as it reminds <sup>us</sup> of the fact that social change is a relative thing; it ~~is~~ is not an event, but a continuous process whose various phases are shown by different societies at different times. Some of the patterns of social behaviour I met in All Saints, I am familiar with <sup>from</sup> the Langa study mentioned elsewhere. We thus find, in terms of social change, a continuum between Gubenxa, All Saints, and Langa or any other South African community.

## Chapter VI

### LEADERS AND DESPOTS

All groups found in All Saints and Gubenxa are characterized by principles involving superordination and subordination; there are leaders and followers, and there are despots and those who submit. What is also apparent from the material on the two villages is that all superordinate persons, irrespective of the way they achieve their positions, ~~they~~ influence the will of their subordinates; they command or direct the activities of the subordinates i.e. they have power. Power here is used as a generic term, and an attempt to distinguish between different types of power will be made. Power can be acceptable or unacceptable, depending on the nature of the relationship between the superordinate and the subordinate. Acceptable power is exercised with the approval of the subordinates and is based on their norms and values. This type of power has been described as authority by some writers such as de Jouvenel. This is in contradistinction to power which is exercised regardless of the feelings of the subordinate persons or in direct violation of their norms and values. This type of power inevitably destroys the chances of reciprocity and cooperation between the superordinate and the subordinate, and is accordingly referred to as unacceptable power or coercion.

In this discussion, the superordinate person who wields acceptable power, even if <sup>he</sup> occasionally employs negative sanctions such as punishment, will be referred to as a leader, as against a despot who is a superordinate person whose power is based on coercion. Some sociologists such as Max Weber, emphasizing formal relationships rather than functional ones, have classified leaders into three categories

namely, the traditional, natural, and <sup>the</sup> official leader. Max Weber refers to the latter as a bureaucrat i.e. a person who is 'appointed by a superior authority'. This is a convenient classification for a static analysis of power within groups, but it is inadequate in that it ~~lives~~ <sup>leaves</sup> out the dynamic aspect of leadership, rôle. Leaders ~~are~~ <sup>do</sup> not only occupy positions, but also play rôles and hence the importance of a functional analysis of leadership. A leader is a leader not by virtue of his superordinate position, as Weber seems to suggest, but by virtue of the way he functions.

In All Saints and Gubenxa I found a number of superordinate persons, some of them holding similar offices, but who are not all regarded as leaders. The people accept them as leaders or not according to the way they function, not according to whether they are traditional, official, or natural superordinate persons. In Gubenxa the subheadman is accepted, whereas the headman who appointed him is unaccepted. Similarly, in Pondoland the people have reacted differently to the two hereditary chiefs. Botha Sigcawu, who has been more coercive in his exercise of power than Victor Poto, has been rejected by the people, as shown by the 1960 disturbances in his area (Eastern Pondoland) and by the attempt on his life. In Thembuland the two senior chiefs, Sabata and Matanzima, though generally regarded as traditional leaders, do not receive the same response from the people. Where Sabata goes alone and unarmed, Matanzima needs a heavy bodyguard. In the same way, the people in the Qwati area have been so antagonistic to Mayeza that they have attacked him, whereas they are prepared to identify themselves with another Qwati chief in the same area. Therefore, a rejected superordinate person cannot be referred to as a leader.

Another difficulty which faces Weber and others is that in modern societies we do not only have a greater number but also a greater variety of rôles to be played, and individuals often combine characteristics of the three types of 'leaders' enumerated by Weber.

For instance, according to Weber's theory, in what category would, say, Matanzima who drives in a big flashy American car, who lives in a modern building, who dresses in the latest style, who speaks English fluently, and <sup>who</sup> communicates frequently with the officials in Pretoria or Cape Town, fall? Everywhere in the world traditional societies and the forms of leadership found therein are changing rapidly; those who <sup>are</sup> nowadays inaccurately called traditional leaders by some, are required to play rôles which are different from those of their forefathers. The only reason for them to pretend to be following the traditions of their predecessors is to be found in their desire to maintain their positions. In other words, they wear a mantle of conservatism so as to justify the maintainance of their ~~authority~~ <sup>power</sup> as chiefs. The Government, which wishes to revive 'tribalism' by its proposed system of Bantustans, offers them an ideal opportunity for maintaining their power, even if their rôles are no longer acceptable to the people. Therefore, the question of whether or not a superordinate person is a leader or a despot will depend not so much on his office, but upon the way he exercises his power. In other words, we should lay greater emphasis on the de facto power-relations and the way they function rather than the names by which they are known. A satisfactory definition of any type of superordinate person must relate not only the way he came about or to the way he is supposed to function, but on his actual behaviour.

In the two villages studied I found that superordinate persons occupying apparently similar positions do not fulfil the same rôles in relation to their respective subordinates. Similarly, people react differently to them. In Gubenxa they accept the authority of the lineage leaders, the school committee, the various church leaders, and the ~~headman~~ subheadman. But they question or resent the power of the headman, the officials from the Veterinary Department, and the regional chief. Their attitude towards the magistrate is somewhat

ambivalent. They prefer him to the chief in cases of arbitration and allotment of land, but they reject him in terms of white and black politics. 'Even the white (magistrate) is better than them (the chiefs)' - anything could be expected from the white magistrate as a political enemy. In political questions ~~him~~, as it has been shown in Chapter V, his not being black becomes relevant. They also accept the white farmers and traders in some respects, but have remained indifferent to them as leaders. In cattle trade they accept the leadership of the white farmers, and approach them for advice when faced with agricultural problems. In the same way, they depend on the shopkeeper for groceries, grain, transport, postal service, and loans. This ambivalent attitude to what may be referred to as 'alien leadership' should not be confused with the attitude described for 'outsiders' in some European peasant communities e.g. Ireland and Wales. In this case, <sup>one's</sup> being alien is determined more by one's skin colour, <sup>rather</sup> than being born outside the village. Some of the whites ~~the~~ who are being treated as outsiders in Gubenxa were born there, whereas some of the blacks who <sup>are</sup> ~~being~~ fully accepted e.g. the retired teacher and the leader of the Mothers' Union were born elsewhere. The colour grouping in South Africa ~~seems to~~ cut across all other types of social grouping.

Paradoxically enough, the Gubenxa villagers also depend on the people they reject for certain services. For example, they depend on the headman for the recommendation of their names to the chief for land and for the settlement of certain disputes. But it is also important to note that, if they had a choice, they would avoid him. However, the administrative structure is such that they cannot get to the magistrate or chief, except through him. Similarly, they approach the stock-inspector for permits to drive their cattle from one district or village to another. (For purposes of business and lobola, this is an important consideration). They also depend on the same official for the vaccination of their cattle, a service they need.

A similar dichotomy was found in All Saints, where lineage leaders have tended to be outmoded and play no significant part as leaders in the village. The headman ~~was~~ has been rejected, and the villagers are generally indifferent to his subheadmen. In cases of disputes, they rush to the magistrate's court, consciously trying to avoid the headman. They are seldom successful in doing so because more often than not they are referred back to him. They also reject the regional chief, and in his case, the rejection is not only practical but also theoretical. They do not only question his integrity and inefficiency, but also the institution he represents i.e. chieftainship. The Church leaders are generally accepted but in the case of <sup>the</sup> white leaders, this depends on factors already discussed (see pp. 212-3 ). Their position seems to be similar to that of the white traders and farmers in Gubenxa, a great deal depends on their personal attitudes. Diviners and other traditional ~~leaders~~ ritual leaders play a minor rôle in All Saints. Leaders in recreational associations and the new political men described in Chapter III are among those who are fully accepted. The prestige enjoyed by the political men, as leaders, appears to be higher than anybody else's in the village. Privately, they are objects of great admiration. Unlike the priest-in-charge or the doctors at the hospital, they cannot be easily replaced. Their power is more closely associated with their personalities than their professional training. It is for this reason that distinctions are made between them, though they be in the same profession.

We have already stated that a leader is a superordinate person whose power is acceptable to his subordinates, and we have identified the leaders in the communities studied. We now ask why are some superordinate persons accepted and others not, and how do leaders achieve their acceptance. Judging from the leaders who are fully accepted in All Saints and Gubenxa, a leader must be identified with his followers and be regarded as acting for the survival and the welfare of the group.

This is what the lineage leaders, the Church leaders, and the subheadman in Gubenxa; the recreational and the new political leaders in All Saints, seem to have done. On the other hand, superordinate persons whose actions are believed to be inconsistent with the purpose of their groups and to be incompatible with the interests of the members are rejected. The headmen in both villages and the regional chief are examples of such superordinate persons. This seems to be true of most Bantu Authorities in the Transkei and those people whom the Government describes as the 'true leaders of the people in the Transkei'.

A comparison between the position of the accepted and the rejected superordinate person in the two villages suggests that the crucial point in leadership is the maintenance of the solidarity of the group. A superordinate person who fails to maintain an amicable relationship between himself and his subordinates and between the subordinates themselves ceases to be a leader. In practice this means that he has insufficient power or he has exercised his power in such way that he destroyed the chances of reciprocity and cooperation between himself and his subordinates. In the former case, he falls by the way-side and, in the latter, he has joined the ranks of ~~the~~ despots and his power has become unacceptable to his subordinates. Superordinate persons such as the regional chief and the two headmen mentioned above who have no supporters are dependent entirely on the Government for their positions, whereas bureaucrats such as Matanzima, by various means, have managed to organize a number of people around themselves. The delegations Matanzima sent to Cape Town in 1962 and 1963 are evidence that, in addition to the support he receives from the Government, he has his own supporters or henchmen. Of course, this does not apply to the nearly 600 men he led against Qitsi villagers (see p.18) because they are believed to have obeyed his orders out of fear.

A distinction should be made between maintenance of a position ~~by~~ and maintenance of the solidarity of a group by a superordinate

person. The former, I will refer to as domination and the latter, as arbitration. Arbitration<sup>here</sup> is used in an extended sense and will include everything a leader does to maintain order and harmonious relationships in his group. As it has been stated already, this seems to be the kernel of leadership. All accepted leaders in Gubenxa, notably the subheadman and the lineage leaders, besides getting things done, were very concerned about order and harmony in the groups they led. The subheadman in justifying his acceptance of his position, despite his dissatisfaction with the system of Bantu Authorities, said, 'What else could be done? All we are interested in is that peace and order prevails in the village'. According to the Gubenxa villagers, this is the essence of a 'good human life', and hence they maintain that 'no ruler (or leader) could be successful without settling disputes among his subjects'. Even in All Saints, where people have been under a greater influence of ideas from the outside world, this tendency is noticeable. Leaders of the Church Club, the Soccer and other clubs are ever discussing methods whereby they can maintain the cohesion of their groups. Though my information was obtained indirectly, I gathered that this was also the main concern of the new political leaders. 'They hate people who delight in fomenting dissensions in their organizations'. The leaders achieve this harmony by using persuasion, diplomacy, positive and negative rewards. It should be noted that punishment, though a form<sup>of</sup> constraint, is not unacceptable exercise of power ~~because the leader~~<sup>if</sup> administered with the approval of the followers. The lineage leaders, for example, punish their kinsmen or take them to the subheadman for punishment, and the other members of the lineage do not show any resentment.

On the other hand, the unacceptable superordinate persons or despots in Gubenxa and All Saints do not seem to have made any attempt to maintain amicable relations between themselves and their subordinates. They should have done this by modifying their behaviour, if  
the members

have tried to eliminate it by making their position clear, as individuals, or get the higher authority to do something about it. They appear to have been satisfied with the greater powers they have been granted by the administration to deal with the people in a more drastic manner. Perhaps, they do this because they are more dependent on the Government for their positions than on the people they work with. The same could be said of the Bantu Authorities in the Transkei. In fact, those of them who have been rejected completely can be looked upon as local despots, representing a despotic Government.

It has been suggested by de Jouvenel that a leader (dux) is a person who initiates activities, as against a person who maintains peace in an established order, a rex. This distinction does not appear to be borne out by facts. The headmen in All Saints and Gubenxa, the regional chief, and the stock-inspectors - all initiate activities, including new ones, but are not accepted as leaders. Therefore, initiation of activities or performance of certain essential services does not in itself make one a leader. As ~~it~~ has been pointed out above, the one thing they seem to have failed to do is to maintain amicable relations between themselves and their subordinates to ensure cooperation. To me, this seems to suggest that no leader can be successful without fulfilling this important function. Arbitration is an essential element of leadership, and therefore, arbitration and initiation of old ~~and~~ <sup>or</sup> new activities should be seen as rôles of all leaders. Establishment and maintenance of amicable relationships are a prerequisite for the continuance of social groups and, ultimately, the achievement of their goals. If a leader fails to fulfil this requirement, his position as a leader becomes untenable, as there will be no group to lead or initiate activities for.

The implication of the above statement is that amicable relations are the only condition under which continued existence of groups and their ~~mut~~ self-fulfilment can be guaranteed. Therefore, contrary to popular beliefs, it is not 'love of power (that) is the chief motive behind human activity' (Bertrand Russell), but harmony and self-fulfilment i.e. survival, which is the main motive behind collective action. If sociologists are to talk of power, they must say power to do what? Power to dominate, for instance, is a negative action and could never be an end in itself. We have shown why the bureaucrats in the Transkei are trying to dominate their subordinates, and it could be shown why the ruling group in South Africa is bent on dominating other groups. It is true that in cases of radical opposition, each group consciously seeks to gain power over the opposing group, but it does not appear that victory i.e. the conquering of a force that has been threatening one with frustration necessarily culminates in domination or oppression, an action which seems to be self-destructive. It is also true that people in general want their influence to be felt, but it is equally true that <sup>they</sup> in turn, want the same influence to react back upon them. The remark, 'They just stared at me, as if I were speaking to stones', is indicative of this desire for a response. A despot often tries to get it by compulsion or physical violence, and by so doing reduces the relationship to that between a man and the tools he uses to achieve certain ends. Simmel says that such a relationship cannot be regarded as association but as dissociation: 'Where the significance of the one party sinks so low that its effect no longer enters the relationship with the other, there is little ground for speaking of sociation as there is in the case of the carpenter and his bench'. (Simmel). It is worth

noting that/.....

noting that the people in the Transkei constantly speak of certain individuals and authorities as being 'on the other side'.

There is a third category of persons who played some leading rôles in the communities under study, and whom we have not yet discussed. These are the white farmers and traders. As it has been shown, the people in Gubenxa are dependent on the white farmers and traders for certain services. The relation between them and the villagers is voluntary and, unlike in the case of bureaucrats, there is mutual dependence between the two parties. The villagers depend on the shopkeeper for groceries, ~~and~~ grain, transport, postal service, and loans. In turn, the shopkeeper is dependent on them, as customers, for the success of his business. The same mutual dependence obtains between the white farmers and the villagers. The farmers sell them horses, cattle, and sheep; and advise them on how to get about with farming. Besides the interdependence for trade in cattle, the farmers depend on the local community for labour. It, then, becomes apparent that the white traders and farmers, unlike the bureaucrats discussed above, are interested in maintaining an amicable relationship with the villagers. In case<sup>s</sup> of disputes e.g. failure to pay debts, the shopkeeper usually appeals to family heads and lineage leaders for arbitration, before he resorts to law courts. The farmers also depend a great deal on family heads for arbitration between themselves and their employees. Of course, at times both the traders and the farmers, conscious of their position as members of a white oligarchy, use <sup>such</sup> coercive methods as corporal punishment in dealing with their subordinates. This is particularly true of the farmers, who are more patriarchal in their attitude than the shopkeepers. Despite this attitude, the traders and the farmers cannot be re-

ferred to as despots because the relationship between them and their subordinates allows some spontaneity on the part of the subordinate, including withdrawal as is not the case with despots; and the acceptance or rejection of a farmer or trader depends on his personality.

Acceptance, in this case, does not mean the same thing as acceptance in the case of, say, the lineage leaders and subheadman in Gubenxa or the new political leaders in All Saints. Even the pleasant and well-disposed trader or farmer is not regarded as a leader. External factors, as pointed out in the preceding chapter, are responsible for this. In South Africa a white remains an outsider in a black community, no matter how well he gets on ~~the~~ with the people. (The reverse is also true). This was forcefully brought to my notice by the repeated exclusion of the name of the priest-in-charge at All Saints from the list of persons the members regarded as their leaders. When asked why the exclusion, they said, 'Oh! we did not know you included whites also'. This remark ~~is~~ clearly shows the state of mind of the members, who also agreed that the priest-in-charge is 'a marvellous man and is doing a lot of work in the village'. This was confirmed by the remarks made by the Engcobo white residents, who ~~were~~ <sup>are</sup> convinced that 'old Lead (the priest-in-charge) is heading for some trouble'. They alleged that 'he has been up to all sorts of things such as selling fertilizer only to his favourites and chased away poor people'. Their comments on the tractor scheme were also unfavourable. The reason for this is that most of the white tractor-owners will lose their business when the mission scheme starts operating. The general antagonistic attitude towards the priest-in-charge is an expression of disapproval to his 'kaffir boetie' tendencies. The All Saints, <sup>people</sup> on their part, could not say why the priest-in-charge is not

'one of them' / .....

'one of them', except that he is white. This also explains the position of those white farmers and traders in Gubenxa who are acceptable to the people. Their acceptance cannot be shown by electing them to the various village committees, in view of their special knowledge. They are white and, therefore, outsiders in the village.

In this discussion I hope I have shown that leadership is a difficult rôle to play, but it is sought after. The next question to answer is, why is the position of leader sought after, why do people accept office?. The duties and the obligations of a leader are usually compensated for by privileges, prestige, and remuneration. Leaders take precedence to their followers. The lineage leaders, the subheadman in Gubenxa, and the new political leaders in All Saints receive nothing for their positions, except social esteem and respect; and the joy of pursuing their ideals. Some of them, e.g. the subheadman, accepted their positions out of a sense of obligation to the people. In contrast, the bureaucrats such as the regional chief and the two headmen do not enjoy the same prestige and respect, but have clung to their positions because they receive regular pecuniary compensation for them. It is for this reason, I suggest, that most of the Bantu Authorities are determined to maintain their positions, despite the dangers they are faced with. The relatively secure income they get is important to them - most of them have no training or professions. In a poor community such as the Transkei, with an annual income of R84 per family of six (see p. 20 ), the regular ~~income~~ wages Government employees get are a great attraction. It is true that the lower officials such as the headman get as little as R10 per month, but higher officials such as the paramount chiefs get as much as R250 per month. The Government is by far the biggest employer

Rationally and morally, they cannot justify their dependence on the Government for jobs or any other minor service. When, in an attempt to be true to themselves, they express their dissatisfaction openly and threaten to revolt, they find themselves faced with another problem, that of fear of the Government's means of coercion e.g. indefinite detention, long imprisonment, or banishment.

The above considerations make the distinction between a leader and a despot even more real. The people of the Transkei, though they often submit to the ~~will~~<sup>commands</sup> of the Government, cannot be said to follow the Government and its various officials. On the other hand, they are prepared to follow certain leaders who are opposed to the Government, but only if such leaders can guarantee effective counter-measures to possible reprisals from the Government and its supporters. Where people are forced into submission, they cannot be referred to as followers, but rather as victims. In other words, following stands in the same relation to leadership as submission stands to despotism. Perhaps, one of the way in which this distinction can be brought out more clearly is to compare the characteristics of a leader to those of a despot i.e. if the two personality types are accepted as indices of following (or 'followership') and submission respectively.

1. Characteristics of leaders.

(a) interest in the group and its purpose.

A leader must be identified with his followers i.e. he must share interests with them. The lineage leaders and the subheadman in Gubenza as well as the recreational and political leaders in All Saints seem to have satisfied this requirement. It will appear, then, that people in general give decisive weight to the service a candidate is likely to render to them. If his interests are elsewhere, he cannot satisfy this requirement.

(b) Observance and maintenance of group norms and values.

Behaviour in human groups is governed by certain norms and is

based on certain values. Norms and values are not immutable, but members, including the leader, are expected to observe them while they last. It, then, becomes the duty of a leader, among other things, to preserve the established norms of a ~~group~~ group, and if he does not ascribe to such norms and upholds a different set of values, then he comes into conflict with his subordinates. This happened in the case of the two headmen and the regional chief discussed elsewhere. The lineage leaders, the subheadman in Gubenxa; and the Church and political leaders in All Saints - who all observed and maintained the norms and values of their groups are popular with their followers. 'The leader is the man who comes closest to realizing the norms the group values highest. .... His embodiment of the norms gives him his high rank, and his rank attracts people;' (1).

(c) Concern about the solidarity of the group i.e. arbitration.

As it has been suggested earlier, arbitration is an important aspect of leadership. Without an affective system of arbitration, the solidarity or the cohesion of a group cannot be guaranteed. As it has been shown already, all superordinate persons who are accepted as leaders both in Gubenxa and All Saints, were very much concerned about the establishment and maintenance of harmonious relationships within their groups i.e. they played the rôle of rex. In arbitrating they make decisions and pass judgements which are based on <sup>the</sup> moral values of their followers.

(d) Rule with consent.

Again, in both villages all persons accepted as leaders initiate activities which are acceptable to their subordinates. They consult with the subordinates, directly or indirectly, before they put their

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(1) Homans G. - The Human Group; Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1951.  
(p. 188).

decisions into effect. Therefore, they rule with consent and their subjects willingly obey their orders.

(e) Responsibility to the group.

Rule with consent implies that the superordinate accepts his responsibility to his subordinates. He depends on them for his position in that if they refuse to give their consent, then he cannot no longer initiate activities for them, except through coercion. It is usually elected superordinate persons or superordinate persons who are dismissible by their subordinates that are sensitive to the wishes of their followers. Discussing the increase in governmental power with the increase in the range of social activities and organizational complexity, Schapera says: 'But increased power is always checked and balanced by increased responsibility; the more powerful a government becomes, the more numerous are the devices by means of which subjects can protect themselves against misrule and oppression'<sup>(1)</sup>. In the next section it will be shown that the South African Government has proved an exception to this general principle.

2. Characteristics of despots.

(a) Disinterest or contempt for the aspirations of the subordinates.

The headman in Gubenxa and All Saints, the regional chief, and other superordinate persons who have been rejected by the people in the two villages and the rest of the Transkei, seem to have attached no importance to the aspirations of the subordinate persons; nor have they shown any desire to achieve the goals the groups they are supposed to lead have set themselves for. They have rather ~~sacrificed~~ opposed or sacrificed these interests for self-aggrandisement. The Bantu Authorities and other petty officials have been more concerned about their positions rather than the demands of the people. Hence, the people refer to them as 'being on the other side'. They are

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(1) Schapera I. - Government and Politics in Tribal Societies (p 220),  
Watts & Co Ltd, London, 1956.

identified not with the people, but with the Government which they represent and to which the same generalization can be extended.

(b) Violation of the norms of the group.

The behaviour of these bureaucrats, as supposed representatives of the people, has deviated too far from the norms of the people. They use a different scale of values and adhere to a different set of ideas, whether for convenience or from conviction. The objective result has been that they are being attacked (physiially in some cases) and referred to as 'quislings', 'Government stooges', 'traitors', 'sell-outs', and so on. In other words, they are not seen as just representing themselves, but as representing a social system that is not acceptable to the majority of the people. Therefore, it cannot be argued that a change in the local conditions could solve the problem. The conflict in the Transkei is dynamically linked to the conflict in the South African national life.

(c) Coercion and disregard for the feelings of the governed.

To maintain their positions and to get themselves obeyed, these persons have resorted to coercion. They force the people to accept the activities they initiate on behalf of the Government. The people are required to reduce their stock, to accept Bantu Education for their children, to recognize the Bantu Authorities as their 'true leaders', to give up their houses at a loss under the Betterment Scheme, and most of all, to accept the idea of a Bantustan - all without previous consultation and against their will. Irrespective of what their feelings are, they have to comply with these requirements because if they fail to do so, instruments of coercion will be employed against them e.g. the Mobile Force, Security Police, Uniformed Police, and, at times, units from the South African Army.

(d) Punishment.

Coercion, as it has been shown above, is the strongest point of a despot and punishment is its concomitant. Mass arrests and trials

have become the order of the day in the Franskei, as in other parts of the Republic. Heavy sentences are the lot of those who ~~usually~~ question the policies of the Government. In other words, there is an open conflict between the rulers and the ruled, and this calls for arbitration. The officials are called upon to play the rôle of rex but, like all despots, they cannot. They cannot 'regularize' the behaviour of the subordinates because the morality on which the whole system is based is being seriously questioned. Put differently, the ruler and the ruled no longer use the same scale of values and do not subscribe to the same system of morals. Under these conditions, communication between the two parties is impossible and, consequently, mutual understanding cannot be achieved. The ruled do not regard punishment from the ruler, through the courts or outside them, as punishment but as an attack from an enemy. I am inclined to think that punishment from a despot is not intended to have a corrective effect or 'regularize' relationships, but to crush or intimidate the dissatisfied subordinates. The courts and the laws they are required to interpret are seen by the subordinates as part of the oppressive machinery in the hands of a despotic Government. They are no longer just courts, but 'their (the despots') courts'.

The point I wish to emphasize here is that if de Jouvenel in his definition of rex used the word 'regularize' to mean elimination of conflict and restoration of harmonious relationships, then a despot is incapable of playing the rôle of rex because <sup>n</sup>conflict is inherent in his position and the system he represents. Straight-jacketing people or intimidating <sup>them</sup> <sub>A</sub> does not eliminate <sup>n</sup>conflict, but represses it. Repression is no solution or form of arbitration, as Homans points out: '..... many of us discovered that the more punishment we inflicted the more we had to inflict. We were led astray by the fallacy that a man disobeys out of sheer perversity. Usually there are <sup>compelling</sup> <sub>A</sub> more reasons why he disobeys, though he may not be aware of them. If you

punish him without considering or changing the reasons, they will persist and lead him to disobey you again, while his resentment of the punishment you have inflicted will give him still further reasons for disobedience. He will want to get back at you, and he knows how he can make you angry<sup>(1)</sup>. Applying this observation to the Transkei, where conflict is more serious than in the Bank Wiring group or the Street Corner gang, I would say that under conditions of radical opposition, existing means of arbitration become ineffective and meaningless as they<sup>are</sup> part of the social system which is being challenged, and that the under-privileged seek to overthrow the existing order of things.

(e) Unacceptable power.

The superordinate person who combines the above characteristics or tendencies is a 'usurper' and has abrogated power to himself. He exercises unacceptable power for his selfish ends or those of the group he represents. In other words, a despot can, and often does, organize a number of supporters or lesser despots around himself, but the means by which he achieves this end are of primary importance to the sociologist. If the support he receives is given out of fear of his coercive power, then he cannot ~~be~~ legitimately be referred to as a leader, even if he has a greater number of apparent supporters behind him. A unilateral relationship between <sup>the</sup> superordinate and his subordinates has a dissociative effect on groups. Perhaps, it for this reason that history has no record of a despot becoming a leader with seemingly increased support. Despots fall before they can become leaders because in their careers they make enemies of so many potential followers.

Nobody can say what will happen in the Transkei; but it can be stated that the Transkei is in the throes of a radical change, and this is revealed by the persistent and violent ~~strong~~ conflict between the various types of superordinate persons discussed above. Earlier, ~~on~~, it was suggested that superordinate persons are indices of current

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(1) G. Homans: (p. 435), op. cit. p. 435

trends in society. In the Transkei we find conflict on two levels, and involving three sets of superordinate persons. On ~~the~~ one hand, there are the chiefs who, through their feigned observance of traditional patterns of behaviour, act as a source of conservatism. In direct opposition to them, there are the black national leaders whose outlook is based on modern political concepts and notions, and who reject chieftainship as an anachronism in a modern society<sup>(1)</sup>. These men, while rejecting chiefs on one hand, are opposed to the existence of a white oligarchy in South Africa<sup>on the other</sup>. A fierce and<sup>a</sup> bitter struggle is raging between them and the Government. Restrictive measures from the Government are still militating strongly against ~~the~~ their effective organization. Because of the same disabilities, their victory over the chiefs has not<sup>yet</sup> been decisive ~~yet~~. This double-level conflict gives a clear picture of how rapid social change is in the Transkei.

In our comparison of the characteristics of despots and leaders, we confined ourselves to these characteristics as seen by the field worker. At this stage it may be added that in selecting leaders, people do not necessarily look for purely objective qualities; they may also look for personal qualities. For instance, informants in All Saints and Gubenxa gave maturity and experience; honesty and reliability; eloquence and a forceful personality; intelligence and wisdom as being some of the qualities they look for in choosing leaders. Though these personality traits may be looked for in all societies, they do not ~~mean~~ stand for the same thing in all societies; they are socially determined. The other three criteria that were mentioned ~~were~~: education or specialized knowledge, good-descent and wealth, and efficiency. These qualities are observable, but they are not distinctive of any type of superordinate person.

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(1) Mafeje A. - "A Chief Visits Town"; Journal of Local Administration Overseas, Vol. 2, No. 2; April, 1963.

The discussion on the differences between despots and leaders and their functional relationship to the subordinate persons is best summarized by an extract from an ancient Chinese book, the Shu Ching, written some 2357 years before Christ.

'It was the lesson of our great ancestors:-

The people should be cherished;

They should not be down-trodden:

The people are the root of a country;

The root firm, the country is tranquil.

When I look throughout the empire,

Of the simple men and simple women,

Any one may surpass me.

If I, the one man, err repeatedly:-

Should dissatisfaction be waited for till it appears?

Before it is seen, it should be guarded against.

In my relation to the millions of the people,

I should feel as much anxiety as I were driving  
six horses with rotten reins'. Shu Ching 1, 4-5

(As quoted in the Readings from World Religions, compiled by  
S.G. Champion & Dorothy Shot).

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