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NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION

MATATIELE OCTOBER 29th 1930 2.15 p.m.

THIRTY-SIXTH PUBLIC SITTING

PRESENT:

Dr. J. E. HOLLOWAY (Chairman)
Major R. W. Anderson
Mr. F. A. W. Lucas, K. C.,
Mr. A. M. Mostert.

Dr. A. W. Roberts
Senator P. W. le Roux Van Niekerk
Dr. H. C. M. Fourie.

Mr. C. Faye (Secretary)

MR. JOHN WARD called and examined:-

CHAIRMAN: You represent the New Amalfi Farmers and Traders' Association?—Yes. I want to bring certain points before you which were decided upon by the New Amalfi Farmers & Traders' Association and I may say that the feelings of the members of our Association on these points were practically unanimous. With regard to your questionnaire, No.1 (4), Native customs, the economic function of lobolo, we were of opinion that we were in favour of the lobolo system but we consider that stock in the locations should be drastically limited with a view to saving and preventing overstocking taking place. Our resolution on this point does not read very well, but I want to say that we are in favour of encouraging some substitute for stock as lobolo, so as to prevent overstocking. All of us have seen the evils of overstocking and we feel that steps should be taken. Then, with regard to land, we considered this matter and we came to the conclusion that we were unanimously opposed to the squatting system in East Griqualand. We distinctly put it East Griqualand. Some of us have very little experience of farming conditions outside this area and therefore we only wish to refer to the conditions of which we knew something.

Then, with regard to the question of the landless Native population, it was decided at our meeting to suggest
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that a labour bureau should be instituted to register unemployed and landless Natives. On the question of Native agriculture, I may say that the standard is very low, but it is improving and we consider that more attention should be paid to the development of agriculture. We suggest that it should be encouraged to a greater extent than is the case at present. Then, on the subject of coloured and Natives working for Europeans, we have all of us seen improvements in the working conditions of men who have been employed by Europeans. Then there is the question of the effect on European farming caused by the employment of Natives by Europeans. This on the whole is satisfactory, and we have nothing more to say about it.

On the subject of urban Native areas, we were not certain whether this was quite within our province, but we decided that recreation was essential and should be strongly recommended. With regard to Native labour and general labour conditions, our present labour supply is very erratic. The housing and feeding of Natives in East Griqualand are generally satisfactory. On the question of wages, a comparison of Native income in farming and in other occupations brought us to the following resolution:— that it is the experience of all of us that Natives working on farms save more money than those working in towns. We feel that you must take into consideration not only what they receive in cash, but also what they receive in kind and we say that Natives on farms do fairly well, the wages on farms compare favourably with those paid in urban areas. Wages on farms are usually paid in cash, but there are other considerations as well. Then there is this other point, that generally more labour is employed today than was the case formerly, and more machinery,
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more agricultural implements are being used in the tilling of the soil. That of course is a very important matter.

Then in your questionnaire, you deal with the question of advances of wages to Natives. We consider that advances of wages to Natives have a very bad effect upon the Natives, and should be dealt with. Under the heading of "General Economic Conditions", we consider that banking and co-operative systems should be encouraged. The cost of living, the cost and the standard of living of Native in rural areas is improving. With regard to costs, we simply mean that the cost is rising. Then, on the subject of the credit system, we all agree that the credit system is bad, but we do not quite see how that system can altogether be put a stop to. We do not say that it is good. Then on the subject of competition of Natives with Europeans and Cape coloured people, we say that there is a certain amount of such competition going on at present.

On the subject of Native taxation, I am not certain whether this should not have come under another heading, but we consider that the present Native taxation is inequitable. Certain Natives in locations are deriving greater benefits than others, and we feel that this is a matter which should be enquired into by the Native Affairs Department. May I give an example. There is a man in the location, say, who has nothing but a blanket and a cooking pot; he pays 30/- hut tax. The next man to him may have 25 head of cattle, 100 sheep and quite a little bit of furniture, and other things in the way of pots and pans and so on. Yet he pays the same hut tax and the same general rate. That is what we consider inequitable. Then there is the question of the effect of taxation on the labour supply. We considered this question and we say
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that the taxation is responsible for a certain amount of farm labour coming in.

We also dealt with the question of legislation specially affecting Natives, especially the Master and Servants Act, and after deliberation we agreed that that Act worked satisfactorily. With regard to the Wage Act, I am not sure that it should not be the Wage Determination Act, and we considered that if enforced it would have a serious economic effect and it would be detrimental to this area. That concludes what I have to bring before you, gentlemen, on behalf of our Association.

I understand that you wish to make certain statements on your own behalf? Yes, I would like to touch on just a few points which are not covered by these other points, and I hope it will be understood and recorded that the views which I am going to express are purely on my own behalf. First of all, on the question of tribal and detribalised Natives. Here I wish to say that a man who has offended his Headman or has incurred the enmity of some members of his kraal, very often wishes to get away from the kraal and to become detribalised. On the subject of land, I say that the communistic tenure of land has a tendency to discourage any advance towards increased production or permanent improvements. I have used the word communistic for want of a better word, but that word perhaps expresses the position as well as anything. The thing is that there is often a little trouble about permanent improvements. Such permanent improvements interfere with someone else's grazing or something else, and the sense of the location is that the improvements have to be removed. In that way they interfere with advance.

On the subject of rural Native areas, it seems important that birth and death should be more regularly
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registered.

Under the heading of "Communistic custom", especially the one of throwing all lands open for grazing on a date determined by the Headman, I consider that this works against attempts to vary the crops. There are various other customs which tend to act in the same direction.

Then I want to say that infantile mortality is appalling. And the mortality among adults is also bad. Adults die off rather quickly when they get a real sickness among them. Indigency probably is increasing among the Native owing to the sheer inability of the people to feed their indigent relatives. They always feed them as long as they can, but they are not so rich today as they were and they cannot always do it. Besides, there seem to be more people nowadays going round and getting food out of their relatives than there used to be.

On the subject of interrational relations, I take it that by this you mean relations between Europeans and Natives. If so, I should say this - the great obstacle is the feeling of the Native that he has no rights. He is made to feel that he has no rights. I say, make him feel that he is a citizen with rights and the present feeling will vanish. He will be quite content to be an inferior citizen so long as he realises that he is a citizen. If he feels that he has rights, no matter how small, then I am convinced that things will improve.

MR. LUCAS: What sort of rights have you in mind?- Any rights at all. I have no definite rights in mind, any rights, the security of property and justice in the courts and things of that sort. Em

Do you think he feels that he has not got those rights now?- I think at times he is a little doubtful and
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it may be that that feeling has been encouraged of late years.

In what way has it been encouraged?- I do not know, I merely get that impression. Then in regard to legislation, especially effecting Native, there would seem to be a very considerable economic loss in the time expended in renewing or obtaining passes and this applies to stock passes as well. Regarding the hut tax receipt as a pass, has certain disadvantages. I want to say too that Natives as a whole are generally growing poorer and some of our indirect taxation effects them adversely. I believe it has been the custom to regard the hut tax receipt as a pass. A receipt is rather a sacred thing. If we get a receipt we file it away carefully, but if a man has to carry it about with him as an identification, I feel that it is liable to get lost, or it may get soaked through with the wet, and in the end it would be of no use. That is what I do not like about it.

DR. ROBERTS: But he has to carry a receipt with him in any case. He can be challenged at any time to produce his receipt?- I am not clear that he has to carry it with him in any case. But I am aware that in some cases it is insisted upon. At anyrate, it has been propose that the receipt should be his identification pass, and I do not think that that is very desirable. I have already indicated in regard to other economic legislation, that the Natives as a whole are growing poorer and not richer, and I feel that some of our indirect taxation appears to have a very bad effect on them. This is a direction in which I feel some relief could be given.

CHAIRMAN: Has your association any suggestion to make as to the method in which stock in the locations
should be limited?—They did not make any suggestions but it was put forward at the meeting that stock in locations should be limited either by making a tax in proportion to the amount of stock, or putting a direct limit on the amount of stock that one man might have on the commonage.

That would be by Governmental action?—Yes.

Do you think that the Natives in this area really realise the evil of overstocking?—Yes, I should say that some of them do, but I'm afraid not very many.

Do those who realise it make any attempts to reduce this overstocking?—I am afraid I have not seen it.

Would the communal tenure militate against that?—Yes, certainly, I am afraid it would.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: In what way would it militate against it?—Because if one man were to reduce his stock, the next man would not, he might even run more if the grazing were to get better.

I understood the Chairman to ask you whether the communal system, if it were done away with, would tend to reduce overstocking?—Well, my answer is that the individual would have more power to reduce overstocking.

Do you think it possible to cut up a Native reserve into arable land and into grazing land for one man?—No, that is impossible. I am just pointing out the fact that it is so, but I am afraid that I cannot suggest any remedy.

I have no idea as to how that could be done.

MR. MOSERT: You say that your Association is rather adverse to squatters?—Yes, I want to make it clear that that only applies to squatters in East Griqualand.

When I say squatters, I mean Natives squatting on the farms. On your farms, for which you pay in kind — they squat and you get their labour and give them certain privileges and so on?—Yes, that is the system which my
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Association are opposed to.

Do you find that it does not pay you economically to have squatters, in other words you prefer paying wages to Natives?—Yes, that is what we feel.

What wages do you pay to an adult?—Most of us are paying a cash wage of round about £1 per month.

And does the Native who gets that squat on your farm?—No, he does not.

SENATOR VAN NIEKER: What do you mean by a squatter?—What Mr. Mostert has just explained—a Native who resides on the farm who, in return for working for the farmer is allowed to live on the farm and is allowed to have some stock running there. That man has to work for the farmer for a certain length of time in return for those privileges.

MR. LUCAS: Have you got that system in East Griqualand today?—Probably there are some, but not many.

MR. MOSTERT: Now do you prefer that labour to the ordinary daily paid boy, or monthly paid boy?—No, we prefer to have the boy who gets a monthly wage.

You find that the other does not pay you economically?—That is exactly what we do find. It would be a disaster to many of us to have squatters, especially if those squatters had stock to graze on our lands.

Do you get sufficient labour in this area, or would you get sufficient labour in this area on the day pay system alone or on the monthly pay system?—Well all of us are doing it.

Can you get sufficient labour?—Yes, that is why we so distinctly say Griqualand East, because we do not know what the conditions are in other parts of the country.

CHAIRMAN: Where does this labour come from?—It comes from the locations.
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You do not have the Natives living on your farms with their families very largely? - There are only very few of them; only very few of us have them like that.

Does that apply to the whole of East Griqualand? -

Yes, I think so.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Do you have to provide quarters or barracks for them? - Yes, we have to provide quarters.

They do not go home at night, do they? - No, they do not.

CHAIRMAN: Those farmers who do have Natives squatting on their farms, on what terms do they keep their Natives? - Well, I do not know of any who have Natives squatting. The system does not exist here today, although it did exist a few years back.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Why has it disappeared? - Because it was found to be uneconomical.

So those people were turned off? - That is so.

CHAIRMAN: Where did they go? - I suppose they went into the location. It was some years ago when they went out into the district and I really could not tell you exactly what happened.

DR. ROBERTS: You are perfectly sure that the system did prevail here? - Yes, I am.

CHAIRMAN: Did it prevail here largely? - I would not say very largely, at any rate not about here, but probably in the lower veld there was more of it than there is here.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Are Natives now asking to be taken on on the farms as labour tenants? - I could not tell you, I have not heard of any such cases.

MR. LUCAS: How long do these Native labourers stay with you at a wage? - They generally stay a very long time, in fact I have a few who have been with me twenty years.
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Do they stay with you continuously, without going home, or do they bring their wives with them?—Some of them bring their wives with them, but not all.

Those who stay for a long stretch like 20 years, do they bring their families with them on your farm?—Yes, I have one man like that, his family is there.

MAJOR ANDERSON: They are steady workers, are they not, they do not want to break off and go home?—Occasional short leave seems to be sufficient for them, but of course their homes are also quite close.

MR. MOSTERT: You said that the Native is better off on the farms than he is in the urban areas?—Yes, we all consider so.

Why do you hold that view?—For this reason; the money paid in the urban areas may seem to be a great deal more but in actual fact we do find that the Native who has worked for a year on a farm has probably saved more money than the Native who has worked a year in town, even if he has worked on the mines. The result is the same—the Native on the farms has saved more.

DR. ROBERTS: Is that perhaps due to the fact that on the farms he has less opportunity for spending his money?—Yes, that may be.

MR. MOSTERT: He has practically no opportunity on the farm for spending his money?—That is so.

On the farm he has all he requires, all his food and quarters?—Yes.

MR. LUCAS: What food do you give your Natives?—We generally give them mealies; it works out at about 3 lbs. of mealies per man per day. In the case of a family, an allowance would be made over and above that for the family. Then on certain farms they would receive a certain quantity
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of milk, skimmed or otherwise, usually skimmed. They would receive in certain cases and on certain farms sugar, and then on other farms again they would receive a meat ration too, and other things would be given to them.

How often would they get meat? - They would get meat about once or twice a month.

How large would the ration be? - That is hard to say. Some animal would probably be killed and handed over to them. It would work out at about two or three pounds of meat per head and that would include the bone.

Now you say that certain farmers do this, are there certain farmers who do not do it, are there any farmers who do not give their Natives any sugar or any meat at all? - Yes, I suppose there are. You see, one farmer does one thing and the next does something different. One farmer gives his Native skimmed milk and no sugar; another farmer will give his Natives a meat ration and no sugar, and so on.

Are there any farmers who give them all these things? - I think a few of them do.

Then are there any who do not give them anything, but just mealies alone? - I do not know, but there may be.

SENATOR VAN NIERKERK: You do not know if there are any? - No, I do not.

CHAIRMAN: Those people who have been working for you for twenty years, are they Natives or Griquas? - They are Natives, I am talking absolutely of Natives.

You said that there were certain improvements in their agriculture as the result of their working on farms for Europeans. Are you referring to their work in reserves after they have left the farms? - Yes.

Now what improvements can you tell us that they
have brought about in their agriculture?—Well, they go in for better ploughing and better squaring of their lands. They plough nowadays without leaving so many banks and so on.

Can you tell us generally how deep they plough in the reserve?—Well, in the reserves their ploughing is very shallow.

Can you give us any indication as to the depth to which they plough?—No, I am afraid I cannot go to that extent.

Can you tell us of any other improvement in their agriculture, as a result of their contact with the white man's farming?—Yes, I have seen that their mealies were more regularly planted. I have seen them get hold of a few second-hand implements and go in for better planting.

What sort of implements?—Hoes and I have even seen them go in for old mealie drills—planters, and harrows.

What sort of ploughs do they generally use in the reserves?—They usually have the single furrow plough, but the use of the double furrow plough is increasing.

When you say increasing, what does that amount to, is there a great deal of it?—I should put it this way, for one man who used the double furrow plough ten years ago, there would be at least two men today.

Are there very many double furrow ploughs used today?—I notice that there are quite a number of them. If you go among their lands you expect to see the single furrow plough working, but you are not surprised if you come across the double furrow plough there, it often happens.

Do they use the kraal manure on their lands?—I cannot say that I have seen that but I do know that some of them are using artificial fertilizer which they buy from the stores.

Is there any reason why they should buy the
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approximately between 40 and 50.

The reason why I refer to the traders is this; are you prepared to express an opinion on the question of the issue of trading licenses to Natives in the reserve, general dealers licenses, I mean?— I do not think that I know enough about it for my opinion to be worth very much, but what I have seen is this, that Natives who have held trading licenses in the past have usually not done too well. As a matter of fact, they have usually gone bankrupt. That applies to the Native that I know of.

Do you know of any Natives who have managed to keep their heads above water?— No.

Are there many who have tried trading in the reserve?— Not very many, in fact I do not think that those that I knew of were in the reserve, I think they were on private owned lands.

You suggest that people who derive greater benefit from the reserves should pay a larger tax. Do you not think that at present that if you were to do that it would have a bad effect on the progress which there is among them?— Yes, that would certainly be so, but you do the same thing if you raise the income tax.

I suggest that the position is rather different as between the Europeans and the Natives. Would not a graduated tax against a man who improves what he has got be a bad thing?— It would depend altogether on how it was done.

Still, whichever way it is done, the man who improves would have to pay more?— That is so.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Are you referring now to the ownership of stock?— Yes, that is what I was thinking of.
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The one man has 200 head of stock and he does not pay more than the man who pays 20 head of stock - is that in your mind? - I must say that I was thinking of that more than the ownership of land.

CHAIRMAN: You are thinking of a stock tax which will incidentally help to cure the evil of overgrazing? - That is so. That was in my mind.

Why do you say that more regular registration of births and deaths was desirable? - Well, I have known of one or two cases, I am not sure whether they have come before the courts, where it was quite important to prove a persons age, and you cannot do it unless there is registration.

Is it ever very important to prove a person's age - individuals? - Yes, before the courts it is.

For what purpose? - For the purpose of criminal assault and that sort of thing it is quite important.

DR. ROBERTS: And the Native always knows his own age? - Well, that is not my experience.

He was born, let us say, in the year of such and such fire or such and such flood - they can give a certain definite year? - Well, many of them can tell you their age fairly exactly by reference to such an event, but sometimes there may be four or five years without any big event at all taking place, and then you are utterly at a loss.

CHAIRMAN: With regard to adult mortality, is it your experience that Natives generally live to the same age as Europeans? - It is difficult to say.

Do you find as many old Natives as you find old Europeans? - That would be very hard to say, but some of them undoubtedly live to a very great age.

Yes, but in the bulk of cases? - It is hard to say, although in the bulk I do not think that they live as
long as I would say that the average Europeans live.

To what do you think that that may be ascribed -
to their conditions of living? - I should say partly to
their ignorance of hygiene and sanitation and of late years
partly to the occasional failures of crops which make them
undernourished and less able to resist any diseases which
may attack them. I think that that has had a lot to do with
the natives general physique.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You say that you have a
man who has worked for you for twenty years? - Yes, that is
so. I have a man who has been with me for over twenty years.

Is he permanently on your farm? - How do you
mean permanently, is he hired by the month.

I mean, does he live on your farm? - Yes.

He lives on your farm, and does his family live
there with him? - Yes, he has his family with him.

Is that the general rule with the farmers that
their labourers reside on the farms and that they are paid
by the month? - It is their general rule, it is not universal
but you could say that it is generally the case.

Now what do you pay these men? - Generally, a
Native of that description you would pay £1 per month, or a
little more. I give this particular boy a little more than
that.

MR. LUCAS: When you speak of a month, does you
mean a calendar month or thirty shifts? - I mean a month.

Yes, a month of thirty working days? - Yes, a
month of thirty days, Sundays included.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Beyond their pay, what
other privileges do you give these boys? - With myself and
with some others, a small piece of land for a garden.

How much is that land for that garden? - It may
be as much as an acre. And then usually that man would have
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the right to run a horse and keep a few fowls.

No stock?—No, no stock. Most of us utterly refuse to allow them to have any stock except possibly a horse.

What are the conditions in regard to children and women, are they required to work?—No, there are none.

When is a boy supposed to come and work for you, at what age, what contract do you enter into as regards the youngsters?—None whatever.

Are they free?—Yes, they usually leave as soon as they are able to work, you do not want them, you only want the father.

When does that boy, the son, ever come into your service?—Probably never. He goes away.

I understand the position better now. Formerly you say, in a number of cases you had the squatting system. The Native used to live on your farm and he had to give a certain amount of work in the month in those days?—Yes.

And he was allowed, in those days, to have a little land for himself and to keep stock?—Yes.

But you have done away with that now and now you have made the Native a paid labourer living on your farm?—Yes, that is the position now.

And it was purely economical pressure which brought you to the present position, is that so?—Yes, it was purely economical pressure; it did not pay.

Do you think the Native is better off under the present system, or do you think that the previous system was more advantageous to the Native?—It is quite difficult to say. Of course, the present man can save money and he has his relatives in the location — most of them have — and they buy stock with the money they save and then they accumulate their stock in the location.
MR. LUCAS: Does the Native do so as a rule?—

Yes, you can say that he usually does so.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You said just now that you preferred the substitution of cash for lobolo instead of cattle?—I said that I preferred some substitute for the present system of cattle.

You thought it would prevent overstocking?—That is the opinion of my Association.

Is it the opinion of your Association that lobolo directly helps overstocking?—That was the opinion. The opinion was that it had a great deal to do with it.

Are you conversant personally with that question and do you think it does help overstocking?—What was said at the meeting was this way, that a man begins to save up cattle and he buys one here and one there and he brings them all into the location. When many of the young men do that at once, it must lead to overstocking. But there was no idea that that was the sole cause of overstocking. We do not want to give that impression. There are other causes as well.

What class of stock do the Natives in reserves generally have?—Fairly good but generally underfed.

Are they taking any trouble about improving their stock?—Yes, many of them are keen on improving their stock.

MR. MOSTERT: Is it your experience that with this overstocking in the reserves there can be no increase owing to the limited area which they have to run their stock on?—What happens is simply this; they simply go on stocking until some disease breaks out, or there comes a backward spring and then, of course, many of their cattle die off.

Weather conditions will wipe them out?—Yes, weather conditions will wipe out a lot. I know of one location which is said to have lost 1,000 head this spring.

You were speaking about a tax on stock over a certain number. What number would you put that down to that
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that a kraal in a reserve should have?— I should not dare to mention any number, I think the Native Affairs Department would be in a far better position and far better able to suggest the number than I would. I am simply giving you my opinion generally.

What is the usual number now that a kraal has, how many head of stock?— That also is very difficult to say, as they vary so much. And then you have this, that several people may run their stock in one kraal and it makes it very difficult to be able to give an estimate in that respect?— I think the Native Affairs people would probably be able to give you a much more accurate estimate than I could.

CHAIRMAN: I am afraid it would be very difficult for them to do so?— I do not know, I think they may be able to.

MR. MOSTERT: Would you advocate a system of registration of stock?— I think it might be a help. But really I can only mention the facts, I cannot suggest the remedy there.

DR. ROBERTS: You mentioned £1 as the usual wage here. Can you tell us whether it goes to less than that?— I suppose it does sometimes.

To what depth will the wage go down?— I know it will go down to 2/6d per month, but that is for little boys.

Yes, but I am referring to grown up men?— For grown up men I should say 12/6 and 15/—, not I think as low as 10/—. I do not know of any cases lower than that.

Are there any farmers in this district who pay as little as 10/—?— There must be very few.

What would you say would be the average wage?— I should say slightly less than £1; say between 15/— and £1.

Do you find that the agricultural schools are helping in any way in this district?— I cannot say that I have seen any results yet, but I have heard of good results.
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You do not know whether many go from this district to the towns?- I should say that a good many go, but they are difficult to trace.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You said just now that the boy was not under any compulsion to work for an employer but he usually left the farm as soon as he got to a working age.- What I meant to say was as soon as he gets old enough to herd cattle,

Yes, where does he go then?- He goes to one of the locations, or to some of his relatives.

How do you amplify your farm labour if the young boys leave?- Most of us send in to one of the locations. We would send one of our boys to a location to tell the Native there that we want a few more boys, and we get them in that way.

Have you got applications from men who want to reside on your farm?- Yes, personally I have such applications.

Where do they come from?- They come from the locations, generally speaking.

The Natives from the locations prefer to live on your farm?- Yes, to come and work.

Without stock?- Yes, some of them do, but I would not say all. I do not know it is at all a general thing. But the peculiarity of the position is this. In most of these cases locations are not very far off and they can go to the location with very short leaves.

MR. ROBERTS: You are in favour of banking and co-operation among the Natives?- Our attitude is this, that we consider that facilities should be given and the Native should be encouraged, but we make no suggestion as to the way in which it should be done.

You would not consider a suggestion that you
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should pay them bigger wages?— I do not think that we should be encouraging it in that way.

Encouraging saving, do you mean?— No, I think we should be encouraging spending. It would not help.

CHAIRMAN: On what ground do you say that?— If they had a lot of money they would probably want to spend it and they would not bank it.

DR. ROBERTS: So you would suggest paying them up to the margin where they would not have anything to spend?— No, I do not say that, I say pay them market rates.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: There can be no scarcity of labour in this district?— As I said, the labour supply is erratic, but most of us have enough labour to carry on.

Is there any keen competition in regard to the raising of wages?— There is a certain amount, but not very much.

Can you tell us whether wages have gone up here of late?— Well, if you look back over any period of time you will find that wages have risen.

MR. LUCAS: Take ten years. In the last ten years has there been any increase?— Yes, there has been an increase of about 5/- per month.

Were you here ten years ago?— Yes, I was here.

DR. ROBERTS: You would not say that the man who was paid 5/- is getting an increase of 5/-?— No, but wages have increased in about that proportion.

MR. MOSTERT: You are referring to the adult Native?— Yes, to the men. The rise in wages has been about that.

MR. LUCAS: Putting it in a concrete way, the Native you are paying £1 now, did you get him for 15/- ten years ago?— Yes, something like that; that is what I mean.

Take the Native like the one you referred to who has been twenty years with you, what are his prospects when he gets too old to work for you any longer?— What he probably will do, and what I have seen others do, is this,
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he will probably have accumulated a nice quantity of stock in the location and if that stock has not died in the meantime, he will simply go in the location and reside there and live on his stock. That is what I have seen quite a number of them do. That is what the Natives accumulate their stock for very largely.

Supposing his stock have died, or supposing that for various other reasons he has not been able to save anything, what then would be his prospects in his old age?—Well, in that case he will be very unlucky. His sons may have established homes where he can live.

That is all rather problematical, is it not?—Yes, I suppose it is, like everything else in life.

You spoke just now about wages being paid in kind. Are wages in this district ever paid in kind?—They are to some extent, but on a cash basis.

What do you mean by that?—I mean it in this way. A Native wants to work for a beast or for a sheep or something. The usual way is to value the animals at so much and the Native works for so many months for these beasts or for these sheep. A value is put on the sheep or the beasts.

Is that the only way in which wages are paid in kind?—No. Some farmers, I could not say how many, will for instance give a boy a sheep per month, or something like that.

What is the value of a sheep?—That varies very much. Two years ago it was about 25/- or 30/-, but this year it is not more than 5/-.

Are some of the Natives still working for a sheep a month?—I do not know, but possibly they are.

Are any women employed on the farms?—Yes, a good many, but mainly as piece workers.
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Mr. J. Wady

What sort of domestic servants do the farmers have in their houses, men or women?—In these parts usually women, but there are a few cases where they have men as domestic servants. Generally females here, but I believe that if you get farther down the number increases of farmers and people generally who employ boys in their houses.

DR. ROBERTS: But the boys belonging to this district, surely they do not serve in the kitchen?—Yes, I think there are a few who do so.

CHAIRMAN: When you speak of farther down, what do you mean, in which direction?—I mean towards Natal.

MR. LUCAS: What are the women domestic servants paid?—I am not sure, I cannot tell you really what the general practice is, but I should say that they would be paid anything from eight to fifteen shillings per months in this district.

And do they get their food?—Yes, they do.

And would they be brought in from outside, or would they be part of families who were residing on the farm; where would you get them from?—They would usually belong to families residing on the farm.

Is any compulsion brought to bear on the women to come and work in the house?—What do you mean by compulsion. Do you insist when you engage a man that his wife shall come and work in the kitchen?—Yes, that is occasionally done.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Is it part of the contract?—It would be, but it is not always so.

MR. LUCAS: Does the same apply to the daughters?—I cannot say that I have heard of it being applied to the daughters.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Are your contracts written,
written, or is it verbal?—The contracts are verbal, a
written contract is almost unknown.

Why is that. Is it the custom?—Yes, it is the
custom for it to be verbal.

Is the Native averse to a written contract?—I
cannot say, I do not think it has ever been tried.

MR. LUCAS: Has there been any complaint by
Natives in this area that their contracts are wrongly interpret-
ed against them by their employers?—One occasionally hears
of that kind of complaint, but I am not in a position to pro-
nounce any opinion on it. I think the magistrate would be
able to tell you more about that than I can.

You spoke about the bad effect of advances of
wages, what are these bad effects?—Well, the man is
working for a dead horse, as it were; he is not drawing anythin-

Are advances of wages common in this district?—
They are fairly common, but there are some men who refuse to
make any advances at all to their Natives. Still it is a
very difficult thing. Sometimes you know that one of your
men is pressed for money and it may be very hard then not to
make him an advance.

You spoke about competition of Europeans and
Natives. Now in what way does that occur?—I should like
to explain that a little in this way. There is a certain
competition, but not very much and at our meeting we all
felt that there was not very much of it. But there is in
this way. There are Natives who are masons, Native carpenters;
Natives who take up odd jobs such as fencing and other things
on the farms, and in that way we felt that there was a little
competition. I do not think it is hurting anyone, but
still there is that.

Were there Europeans available for that kind of
work?—Generally there were not. I may say that I speak
that I speak very feelingly on that point.

Are you pleased that the Natives are available for doing that class of work?—Yes, certainly, because if the Natives were not there the work would remain undone.

Is there a sufficient supply of these skilled Natives to do that class of work to which you are referring?—I suppose so, more or less.

And how are they usually paid, for instance for fencing, are they paid so much per day?—They are usually paid on contract. It is usually worked at so much per mile for fencing and so much a square yard for building and so on.

Can you tell us whether there is more or less a standard price which they Natives have fixed for that particular class of work?—Yes, I think there is a standard price but I do not know offhand what it is.

Have you any idea what it will yield per day or per week to the worker?—Well, that is very difficult, because again it depends so much on the worker. You see, one man will make it a good thing and the next man will make next to nothing out of it. But then, of course, in addition the man is always fed and housed.

MAJOR ANDERSON: You advocated the establishment of a bureau to regulate the landless and unemployed Natives. What do you contemplate, a sort of labour bureau, a labour exchange?—I think that members of my Association were thinking of the Rhodesian Labour Bureau. I believe that that was what they had in mind.

Would you extend it to general recruiting, to supplying Natives to other districts?—I do not know whether they went as far as that, but they felt that something of the sort might be done for the present to settle the question of landless Natives. People would then know where to go to
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to get jobs and the farmers on the other hand would know where to go and get labour.

Have you got recruiters working here in the locations?—Yes, I think we have, but I am not competent to say much about them.

CHAIRMAN: You said in regard to very old Natives that these old Natives generally have some stock?—That is so. They save up.

But now in your district, you do not allow the Natives to have any grazing for their stock?—No.

So they go to the reserves?—Yes.

Does not that system tend to help overstocking?—Yes, it does to a certain extent, but on the other hand I do not think that if they go in for it in that manner it has any great bearing on overstocking. You see, they would have to earn the money somewhere to buy those animals.

They buy them in order to make provision for old age, and that being so they must keep these animals?—Yes, and they will do that when they are working on the mines as well. This old age business applies to the mines as well. Men working on the mines also get too old to work.

Quite so, but is not that one of the things which is sending cattle into the locations, into the reserves?—Yes, it may be one of the reasons.

Let us look further into the future. When your reserves cannot possibly hold any more animals, your labouring Natives on the farms will become purely a cash wage earner?—Yes, that is so.

So is there not a risk of landing the Union with a Native old age pension problem?—I think the Union has one already.

It does not apply to the Native. Do you not think there is a risk in that system?—It may be so, but that is going very far afield from the present. There is
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There is one other thing I want to say. My Association representing the farmers desire me to say this about the Pass Laws. It was felt by a good many of the members who were present at the meeting that some system similar to that in force in Rhodesia should be adopted. It was felt that it would be a good thing if employers should be obliged to give Natives in their employ a card or a book setting out the terms of the contract and that they should sign it when the men Native left or was dismissed. It was thought that in that way a Native would show where he came from and people employing him would know exactly who he was.

MR. MUGAS: Have you got any pass system here at all?—Yes, there is a pass system, but I am afraid I am not the man to explain it.

Is a pass necessary for him except when he is moving stock?—I believe that when a man goes out of the district he must carry a pass.

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Chairman of the Village Management Board of Cedarville.

Mr. JOHN JAMES TURNBULL, Town Clerk of Matatiele,
called and examined:

CHAIRMAN: Have you got an urban Native location here?—Yes, we have one here. Mr. Van Heerden: We have one in Cedarville as well.

Can you explain to the Commission on what terms the Natives inhabit the location?—Mr. Turnbull: The Matatiele location is divided into two types of houses. The one type is a two-roomed house occupied by one Native and his family at a rental of one guinea per month, inclusive of water and sanitation which are supplied. The other type is a single room built to hold a family of four, for which they pay 11/6d. Mr. Van Heerden: The houses in Cedarville
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are also of two types. The one is the old type which was put up before we started the location scheme. We have two-roomed cottages about 12 x 14 ft. and the rental of these rooms is 10/- per month each, inclusive of water and sanitation. That is 10/- per room.

Do the houses belong to the Municipality?—
Mr. Gray: They do not really belong to the Municipality, they are really more or less in trust for the Natives. We have no title to them but we are responsible for the interest and redemption.

But the houses are yours?— To a certain extent they are, but we have not the right to deal with them.

Mr. Van Heerden: They fall under the Native Affairs Department, who claim the ground as soon as the houses are rented. We cannot do anything with them unless we get permission from the Department of Native Affairs.

The position really is that you are in possession with a servitude on them?— Yes, that is the position.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You have a 2-roomed cottage and they pay 10/- per room?— Yes, there are two doors opening on the outside.

MR. LUCAS: Who put up the houses?— Mr. Gray: The Municipality put them up after approval from the Native Affairs Department and the money was advanced by the Government by way of loan.

And who has to repay the loan?— It is repaid from the revenue which we collect from the Natives. We pay the interest and redemption.

Interest and redemption is included in the rent?— Yes, but if we are short the general revenue of the Municipality has to make it up.

Is it an economic rent?— So far it is, but we have only been in existence a comparatively short time, only
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only just on two years, that is the urban location has been in existence only two years.

Have you any other sources of revenue to meet interest and redemption? - No.

CHAIRMAN: Are all the houses occupied by Natives the property of the Municipality? - I am rather uncertain as to how this would be regarded. They are certainly built on the compage with funds provided by the Government for the purpose of erecting a Native location.

But are all these houses built on these terms? - Yes.

And in the case of Cedarville? - We have the same position there.

What size of ground is there for these huts? - Mr. Van Heerden: 60 x 60 ft. Mr. Van Heerden: Ours is about 50 x 50 feet. It is not yet fenced in but the intention is to fence the whole of the location.

Mr. Turnbull: The whole of the Matatiele location is fenced.

In the urban areas, are the Natives males employed as houseboys, as domestic servants? - Mr. Gray: Very few, two or three perhaps.

What Native occupations have you chiefly in Matatiele? - The biggest is the ordinary domestic servant. For males, ordinary garden boys, boys who look after stock and the milking of the cows, boys who do the watering of the gardens and look after the gardens, and then there is the occupation provided by the stores, the handling of goods and deliveries and so on.

What is the rate of wages paid to garden boys? - It varies very considerably with the individual. You will find that one man will probably pay his boy 15/- per month or 10/- per month and another man will pay 30/- to 35/-. 10/- per month, is that for an adult Native? - No, that is for youths.
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No that is for youths.

Now take the adult married man, what would be the minimum?— Some would be employed at 15/- per month, I do not know what is the minimum.

What would be a fair average?— I should say probably £1 per month.

And at Cedarville?— Mr. Van Heerden: I should say about the same.

MR. LUCAS: How can they live on that?— Mr. Gray: The point is that the ordinary Native gets his food and probably a certain amount of clothing as well, and his wife is generally also working and then they look to what they may get from their home sources in the way of crops from the land which they have in their location, and then they also have their stock and they have their children at home looking after their stock.

Can you tell us whether the store boys are fed?— No, I think they feed themselves, or they probably get a ration.

CHAIRMAN: What wages do storeboys get?— I am not sure, but I think about 30/—. Mr. Van Heerden: Our storeboys in Cedarville get 25/— and their food, plus quarters.

It would appear that the Native, having tribal holdings outside, would make it possible for him to work at a lower wage?— Mr. Gray: If he has to support a family —— He would not be able to support a family on that wage if he did not have outside sources?— No, that is so.

Do you have any trouble about Natives brewing beer and selling it?— Well, outside the town and the locations they can do as they please.

But I am referring to the position in the town?— Yes, we have quite a lot to contend with in that respect. One cannot get away from the fact that beer is largely a
staple portion of the Native's diet and when he comes to the town he wants his beer. We know that he cannot do without it, or does not want to do without it, and his wants are catered for by people who make a profit out of it.

Is it illegal for the Native to brew in the town for his own consumption?— Yes, it is illegal, no concession has been granted.

DR. ROBERTS: Are there many concessions granted in the Transkei?— Concession in what direction.

Concessions for the brewing of beer?— I do not know what the position is in other Municipalities, but I think that generally speaking very little has been granted for the brewing of beer in the way of concessions.

CHAIRMAN: Are there many Natives from the reserves whose families reside with them in town?— Yes, I should say there are quite a fair number.

Do these people stay here for any length of time or is it just a temporary residence?— There is a tendency for the Native who comes to town to remain in town. I do not know what is the attraction but once they are in town for any length of time, the general tendency seems to be for them to remain within the township area. I think that you will find that is the general experience here.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Even at £1 per month?— Yes, even at £1 per month.

CHAIRMAN: How does he continue to derive benefit from his tribal land?— They have a hut usually and they have a member of the family in charge of the hut and that member of the family is allowed to cultivate the lands for them.

The whole of the family does not come into town?— No. I think that very often when a Native is residing and working in town, no question is asked about the cultivation
of his lands.

MR. MOSTERT: Over how many years is your interest and redemption repayable?—Over a period of 25 years.

And you consider that after that period you will be able to do that, in that period you will be able to do that?—We hope so, and we assume so.

So it is only then after that period that you will be able to reduce the rent?—Yes, and effect improvements. I take it that the object of the regulations is to provide recreation for the Natives, halls for their entertainment and things like that. We shall have no surplus to use, we shall have nothing to enable us to do anything in that direction until the debt is paid off, and provision can then be made for the Natives living in the location.

In other words, after 25 years lapse, conditions will have considerably improved if the money is available?—That is so. Mr. van Heerden? The same position applies to us.

DR. ROBERTS: Have you any board in your location working along with you?—Mr. Gray: Yes we have a board.

Is it a board of nine?—We have nine members.

MR. LUCAS: Is it a board of Natives?—Mr. Turnbull: It is a board of Natives of which I am Chairman in my capacity as superintendent of the Native location.

Have you found that board useful in making suggestions?—The board really becomes a board of complaint from the location on very mild matters usually, but with regard to regulations and things like that it would appear that the present system satisfied the Natives because they have somebody before which they can bring their complaints.

Have you any Natives here that you can regard as permanent residents now of your town?—Yes, I think we have a number of them who are permanent.
And is that number increasing? — Mr. Gray: Yes, I think that the number is shewing an increase and is going up.

Do you find that the number of Natives coming into the town is increasing in proportion to the requirements of the town — is it increasing more than the requirements of the town? — Yes, I think so.

Do you know what that is due to? — I think it is very largely the drift to the towns which seems to affect the people who find themselves in rather an unsatisfactory position as regards their means of livelihood. They come to the town to look for employment and they find temporary employment. If they lose that employment they will hang about and look for something else.

Do you know whether the Native in the districts round about your town find it difficult to make a livelihood? — Well, they would find it difficult except by going out to work. They have to go out to work to make a livelihood, that is undoubtedly so. That is the experience.

Do any of the Natives in the location make use of their plot of land for growing vegetables or crops? — Mr. Turnbull: I should say that very few go in for vegetables, very few indeed. But the Municipality here have a system under which they lease lands to the Natives every year. The Natives lease the lands from us and pay us £1 per morgen and they are allowed to plough and reap there. We lease that land to Natives in the location as well as to Natives from outside. The area of land that we have available in that way is up to 500 morgen.

Are the lands reasonably well cultivated? — No, the land has gradually become poorer and poorer, so much so that the Council this year offered the Natives fertilizer at half price so as to improve the land. This was made known.
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to the Natives and they were told that they could get the land and instead of paying £1 they would have to pay 25/- and then they would get fertilizer free. I understand that they considered the matter and that none of them have availed themselves of the offer.

Have you done anything in the way of shows to encourage production?— No.

Have you taken any other steps excepting the one to offer fertilizers?— No, we have not.

May not the effect of the very low wages account for their considering that the additional 5/- is too much?— No, I tried to get to the bottom of the reason why the Native did not want the fertilizer, and I found this to be the case, the Natives stated that this was a new thing and the Natives were distrustful as to what they were going to get for their 5/-. They did not realise that they were going to get something that would be beneficial to themselves.

CHAIRMAN: How in regard to these 500 plots, are the Natives confined to one plot each?— No, they can take up as much as they like.

How many Natives would hold these 500 morgen?— I would say about 150. It varies very much with the season, and this season only about 200 or 300 plots have been taken up.

Do the Natives live on these plots?— No they are not allowed to live there. Some of them live in the town and some of them come from the location.

Have you got a similar state of affairs at Cedarville? Mr. Van Heerden: No, we have no plots there for the Natives and up to the present moment they have not even asked for small plots in the location, but I think they will.

Are your plots fenced off, these morgen plots?— Mr. Turnbull: No they are not fenced off.

Do they keep any animals on these plots, or on the
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town lands?— The Natives in the location are allowed five
cows each at the ordinary rates and other Natives are allowed
a horse, and a certain amount of leniency is shown them so
long as they do not keep on a large number of stock. That,
of course, we could not allow.

These houses in your urban location, were they
built by European labour?— Mr. Gray: Yes, they were built
by contract.

Was the actual work done by European craftsmen?—
Well, the Europeans also employed coloured men and Natives on
the bricklaying. They may have used some coloured men and
some Natives on the actual work.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Is there any possibility
of putting up a cheaper type of house?— Mr. Van Heerden: I
suppose there is, but if you want to put up a decent location
I do not think it is advisable. After all, these houses
are supposed to stand, and when you charge them a rent of
10/- a month it is not too much. They get a lot for their
10/—.

How can they pay that out of their wages?— You
must not forget that if a Native gets a pound a month, he
gets his food as well.

MR. LUCAS: Yes, for himself, but not for his
family?— Yes, that is so.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: These Natives in your
location are mostly married men?— Yes.

And their womenfolk, do they work?— Mr. Gray:
Yes, the majority of them do. Some are occupied as monthly
servants, domestic servants, and some as washerwomen.

MR. LUCAS: Who looks after the children
when the mothers are away?— It is difficult to say. Prob-
ably a nurse girl, or the elder children look after the
little ones.

It is a serious problem in the location?— I
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agree with you, but still the occupants of our location seem to be quite happy and we have no trouble and no complaints.

MR. MOSTERT: Is there any illicit beer making going on?—Yes, there is quite a lot of it. Mr. Turnbull: It is the chief source of livelihood and they make more money out of that than they do out of anything else.

CHAIRMAN: Do you think that is the result of the low wages?—Mr. Van Heerden: No I do not think so.

Do you think it is just the easier way to make money?—Yes, I think so.

DR. ROBERTS: But they cannot all be selling beer?—Mr. Gray: We have in the town approximately 1,000 Natives. There are families in the location and the women go in for brewing beer, and then there are other women in the town moving from house to house who do nothing but make beer and supply the domestic servants who have no opportunity of doing so.

CHAIRMAN: What is your attitude with regard to permission for domestic brewing in town?—Mr. Gray: The attitude of the Council is against that, but I think we are rather in favour of a certain amount of Municipal beer being supplied.

As they have it in Natal?—Yes.

DR. ROBERTS: Would you sell it over the counter?—Yes, we would.

To be taken home?—Yes.

MR. LUCAS: What is your objection to their brewing for their own consumption?—I have no objection, but it is felt that it may be abused. Say we give them permission for two gallons: they will make five or ten gallons, and when it comes to a question of raids and so on, they will always try to make out that the quantity which they have is less than it really is and it creates all sorts of
difficulties of control, and you have to see that they do not infringe the terms of the concession that is granted them.

Is not that a lesser danger than the present one. Is not that less serious than the present position? I take it that whatever the position is there will always be those who will try to sell beer which, of course, is contrary to the law. That is the danger. It is the sale of beer by those who regard it as an easier way to make a living. The ordinary consumption of beer in reasonable quantities would not be objected to, but it is the excess which is objected to. Now, I should like to mention our position so far as the question of the segregation of Natives in our township is concerned. We have about 1,000 Natives living within the Municipality, and assuming that there is a certain number of ordinary domestic servants who are housed by their employers, there is still quite a large number who occupy rooms throughout the town and the problem is to get these people, who are often of an undesirable type, and who are carrying on this selling of beer, out of the town itself, and to house them in the Native location. Now, we have provided accommodation for 26 families at a cost of roughly £2,000. The Municipality has to make itself responsible for the interest and redemption charges and it is felt that it is rather difficult undertaking for a small community to be burdened with a capital expenditure to meet all the provisions for these Natives at present in the town, if we have the state of affairs, or rather if we are to have the state of affairs aimed at by the Urban Areas Act, of having Natives in locations, suitably constructed and controlled for their benefit. We had a case here in regard to certain Natives who were told to remove to the location and on appeal it was held that, until the Municipality could show that it had made sufficient provision for all the
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unexempted Natives in the town, the proclamation declaring

in certain area a prohibited area for Native occupation was
ultra vires. It places us in a difficulty and in a
quandary in regard to providing for Natives who had to be
out of that portion of the town occupied by Europeans.
At present they are mixed up promiscuously in that part of
the town. We felt that we should like to mention that
point and to suggest that possibly there might be some
amendment of the Regulations which would assist us in
regard to making provision for Natives in locations.

One point brought up was that, in terms of the
Urban Areas Act, the exempted Native, one class of exempted
Natives are domestic servants for whom a proper sanitary
provision is made by the employers on the premises. That
means that each employer has to have his sanitary conveniences
for the Natives who are regarded as exempted Natives. In
Matatiele we have our public latrines provided, which are
considered quite suitable for the convenience of the
Natives, but as the law stands, any Native who is not
provided with sanitary conveniences on the employers' premises
is not an exempted Native. When it comes to making
provision, you have to make provision for the domestic
Native as well - i.e. the Native who is already suitably
provided for by the public latrines - and one of the sug-
gestions which we put forward is that the section dealing
with this should be so amended as to include such domestic
servants as may suitable sanitary provision made for them
by the Municipality. That is a point which has actually
occurred here and has created difficulty.

DR. ROBERTS: Those thousand Natives here
are men, women and children? - Yes. Of course, we have
not so many females here in Matatiele.

How many floating Natives have you, in regard to whom the law insists that you should provide accommodation for?— About 400, I think.

Are they men, women and children?— I think so. As it stands at present, we have to provide for a large number because of our domestic servants still falling under the unexempted class.

CHAIRMAN: Do you require so many Natives in your area as you have today?— Do you mean for the requirements of the town, or for the scope of the town.

Yes?— No, I do not think so. There is a considerable number that we could do without.

Under the Urban Areas Act, you have to provide for Natives whom you do not want?— Yes, that is the position.

And incidentally you bring in a number by hiring out these plots?— No, those who hire the plots are in the immediate vicinity of that part of the commonage where the plots are hired out. They live in their own homes in the locations and they simply come and plough the lands there.

Are none of them housed in the urban location?— There are a number who are. Some of the local Natives would

Mr. Turnbull: Those plots actually adjoin the Native location.
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They are within half a mile of the location and from two to three miles from the town itself.

They are adjoining the present location?—Yes, right alongside of it.

The extent to which the Natives inhabit your urban location makes it necessary to have more provision?—

Mr. Gray: I suppose it would have that effect, but to a very slight extent. I do not think that the plots which we hire out are an inducement or act as one of the causes of an influx to the town.

But now a Native can hire quite a little farm from you, cannot he?—Yes, that is the position.

And he can also live in your location?—Yes, that is what the location is provided for. Natives employed in the towns can live there.

Therefore, he can get away from the conditions of the Land Act by coming into the urban area and still remain a farmer?—Mr. Turnbull: That is not quite the position. All the Natives in our location at present are in bona fide employment in town. A Native who is not employed in the town cannot go and live in the location.

If he is not employed in the town, he cannot hire premises in the location?—No, that is so.

How many families have you got living in your urban location?—We only have the 26 families there and the men who live there, and many of the women as well, are actually employed in the town.

And those who cultivate the plots?—They are not all employed in the town. We have a number of Natives living in the locations cultivating the lands there. That is the position as it is at the present moment.

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1) Joseph Lepheana (Basuto tribe)
2) John Mkgangala (Hlubi tribe)
3) William Myakayaka (Basuto ")
4) Elias Thuso Moshesh ( " " )
5) Modekai Baleni (Hlangweni tribe)
6) William Maqwelane Nazwi

called and examined:-

(Interpreted by William Elijah Hlabedi Mohloni)

(Baleni): I would like to make a statement in connection with overstocking. In connection with this we find there is no overstocking in the locations; it is only the owners of the stock that are congested. There is no stock which has got no owner, because although the stock is supposed to be many, it does not meet our requirements. We see that there are many people living in the locations, because they are increasing. The reserves that are given us by the Government do not increase as do the people. Every person in the location wishes to have stock. That is why onlookers think that there is more stock, but it is not so. The people are increasing yet the country or the location remains as it is. Therefore, we leave the matter to the Government to see what it can do for us if it finds that there is overstocking in the locations. We can do nothing in connection with stock, as I have already mentioned; we leave the matter to the Government to see what it can do with us in connection with the land - to give us more land. We do not find that we have too much stock, because, as I have already mentioned, the stock we have does not meet our requirements. We require stock for all things that we have to do. Even people who are supposed to work get so little in the way of wages that they come back and sell stock for the purpose of paying their taxes. That is all I wish to say.

CHAIRMAN: Do you appear here for your tribes or as individuals?- For the tribes.

The Commission adjourned at 4.45 p.m. until tomorrow at 9.30 a.m.
I. Communication

In connection with communication, I want you to make a statement in the document. If you only take care of the book and the audience, you cannot see the entire process. This is why I chose to put the people in the forefront. We see the faces of the people having the discussion. The people are the audience.

As I mentioned before, we have a stock. That is why I want you to make a statement in the document.

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