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NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

VRYHEID, 18th of SEPTEMBER, 1930,

5.20 p.m.

EIGHTEENTH PUBLIC SITTING.

PRESENT:

Dr. J.E. Holloway (Chairman),	
Major R.W. Anderson.	Dr. A.W. Roberts,
Mr. F.A.W. Lucas, K.C.	Senator P.W. le Roux van
Mr. A.M. Mostert.	Niekerk.
Mr. C.Faye (Secretary).	Dr. H.C.M. Fourie.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

ARCHDEACON ALBERT WILLIAM LEE, called and examined:

THE CHAIRMAN: I think you are aware of the terms of reference and the list of subjects ?- Yes, I have the questionnaire.

What is your station, please ?- St. Augustins, Rorke's Drift, P.O. Dundee.

I think if you would make a statement it would suit us ?- I have the questionnaire here. I refer to the numbers of the headings. I have tried to keep my notes as far as possible under the different headings as given here. The first is: "Tribal and Detribalised Natives. (1) Factors leading to detribalization. Reasons for detribalised native sacrificing his Tribal Economic Assets." (1) Factors leading to detribalization: A. Dearth of Land, overcrowding, poverty as a result of poor agricultural methods on available land, loss of stock from disease caused by over-pasturization. B. Disgust with native chiefs' methods. Ambition to make progress in civilization thwarted by chiefs and headmen. Every reactionary chief a potential cause of detribalization, if not



-1396-

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 Major R.W. Anderson,  
 Mr. T.A.W. Lucas, K.C.,  
 Mr. A.M. Moser,  
 Mr. G. Rave (Secretary),  
 Dr. H.G.M. Fournier,  
 Senator P.W. de Roux van  
 Dr. A.W. Roberts,  
 Niekem.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.ARCHDEACON ALBERT WILLIAM LEE, called and examined:

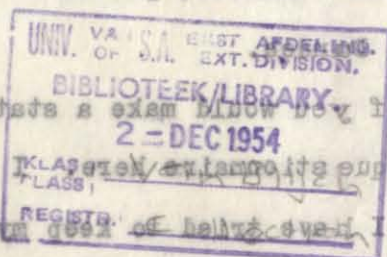
THE CHAIRMAN: I think you are aware of the

terms of reference and the list of subjects? - Yes, I have

the questionnaire.

What is your station, please? - St. Augustine.

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 poverty as a result of poor agricultural methods on available  
 land, loss of stock from disease caused by over-pasturization.  
 B. Disputes with native chiefs' methods. Ambition to make pro-  
 gress in civilization thwarted by chiefs and headmen. Every  
 reactionary chief a potential cause of detribalization, if not



an actual cause. C. Detribalization a means of escaping tribal customs, good and bad - for example, support of parents, upkeep of home, communal property holding, sexual sanctions; amongst those are amongst the good customs. Amongst the bad are tribal feuds, family quarrels, litigation, seasonal famine, and power of the doctors of various kinds. Perhaps I ought to say I am speaking entirely from the point of view of Zululand. I was asked by various meetings of native farmers' associations and other native organizations in Zululand to act as their spokesman, as they could not come all this distance; that is, so far as the districts of Nqutu, Nkandhla, Entonjeni, and Babanango are concerned. All my remarks are based upon that fact, that this is representing the views of these native farmers' organizations and chiefs' organizations, and educational organizations in the northern part of Zululand.

With reference to No.2 - "Advantages of tribal conditions," the greatest is the protection of the whole community. Under that head, the gradual enlightenment of the community is less dangerous and less likely to lead to trouble than the creation of a literate class in advance of public sentiment. Individuals ruled by tribal customs are more contented than those under European law. The disadvantages are those which I have referred to already as under the facts leading to detribalization: dearth of land, over-crowding, poor agricultural methods, and so on. But the great advantage I may say here, in the opinion of many advanced natives and also some raw natives, is that the tribal system really is breaking up homes entirely throughout Zululand; and it is



breaking down for two reasons; the first is that the Zulus, as you all know, from the historical point of view, were monarchical and were accustomed to being over-ruled by a king ever since Dinizulu. They were accustomed to their own kinds. Under Dinizulu they had a more or less modified system of kingship. Under his son Solomon, although de facto Solomon is King of Zululand, de jure he is a petty chief ruling only a small tribe. As the tribal system in Zululand was based upon the kingship, it is obvious that when kingship breaks down everything, in fact the whole of the tribal system, goes with it. If the authority of the chief is not sufficiently supported by the Government Authorities, and if the tribal system is to be gone on with, to be persevered with, it is obvious there must be some support of the chiefs of the tribe by the Government, otherwise the thing cannot continue. I may say also the present very serious political condition of Zululand - one which cannot be exaggerated - I do not want to be an alarmist - may lead to trouble before many years are over. The political condition is due to one thing, and one thing only, and it is this, that while Solomon, the son of Dinizulu, the son of Cetgwayo, is recognised by the people as their king, he is not so recognised by the State. He has all the responsibilities of kingship and none of the authority. There is no political question which is ever debated amongst the Zulu people which is not first brought to Solomon; and he has instituted, more I would say with the connivance of the Government than with its recognition, a large committee of Zulu people, which

he calls the Inkata Ka Zulu; they call their great Committee the Inkata, because it has to support the whole weight of the nation. These people have their meetings. Representatives of chiefs from all over Zululand attend these meetings, and there things are talked about - political, economical, social, and every kind of thing. Solomon's own personal point of view is this, "for every trouble caused in the country the Government holds me responsible, and yet it does not give me authority to keep order in the country. So I am in a false position, in a position which I cannot any longer support". And by the recommendation of the Inkata, he is now to go to England and see if the position cannot be dealt with. That is the position I put before you members of the Commission, so that you will understand what the political position of Zululand is. I have no hesitation in saying a very serious state of affairs will arise very shortly in Zululand, unless something is done to make it plain to the Zulus that they must not any longer regard this man Solomon as King. Tribal conditions, generally speaking, are - as I said before - breaking down; and that is one of the great reasons why they are breaking down - the inability of the Government; not the present Government - I am not talking in a party political sense at all. All Union Governments have been just the same in this regard - the inability, as I say, of the Government to see what the position really is in Zululand politically. There are economic reasons for the breaking down of tribal customs, which I have already tried to put before you. There are social reasons, very largely connected with the education and christianization



of the educated Zulu, which is going on more rapidly than anyone can expect. In spite of the conservatism of the Zulu people, they are coming forward and striving to be educated and christianised; they have their aspirations towards a higher standard of life. All these factors enter into the breaking down of the tribal system in Zululand.

Now we pass on to No.3. "Economic results, and social aspects of detribalization." The economic results are largely bad. Labour in towns under urban conditions is paid below the poverty line. Large change in diet, brought about by country natives living under urban conditions, is bad for their health. I do not think it is necessary for me to enter into details about that. You are all probably aware of what goes on. In the social sphere the results are also bad. Few natives are able to live decently in towns. Bad housing, lack of moral sanctions, promiscuity, bad feeding, illegal liquor, unsuitable amusements, for example: cinemas, over-dressing, - all cause social changes which are, at present, depressing native morale. But in the long run, and with changes for the better in conditions of life, and especially with better pay, urban life should prove to be the best for large numbers of natives. There is no nation ever yet been found to be composed of individuals all suited for rural life and rural pursuits. There must be exceptions. These exceptions can only find life tolerable in detribalised and urbanised communities. I would like to say here - although it is straying outside my special province - that I consider one of the mistakes which is being made at the present time is to look upon all detribalised, urbanised natives in one lump as all being bad. We all know it is not so.

The tendency of popular opinion today is to think that all town natives are bad natives. There are a great number, as we all know to our cost, who are bad, but their badness is caused by these conditions under which they live. There are large numbers of urbanised natives who go to towns because they like the kind of life which the town can give them; in a good sense, they like the progressiveness, the cleanliness, the amusements, and the life generally which civilization offers them more than they like the rather poor conditions under which they live in the country: and I would say this, it is a great mistake to base any kind of legislation or opinion of the urbanised natives upon the fact that all are very bad; there are some very good, and some very bad.

No.4. "Native Customs. Economic function of lobolo - extent of use of substitutes for cattle." At the root of all native customs lies marriage. I think you will see that it is true, if you think for a moment. As I say, at the root of all life lies marriage; consequently, lobolo is the key to native life. As at present constituted, lobolo cannot be interfered with, except in one or two directions. It provides (a) an incentive to young men to work and to save the proceeds of their labour rather than squander them in towns; (b) a safeguard for women; (c) a bond of union for families; (d) exchange of stock with consequent prevention of undue interbreeding; (e) in native eyes it legalises unions regarded as irregular by Europeans. There are naturally disadvantages connected with this custom, especially as gradually the tribal system is breaking down



and natives are more approximating to our civilised condition of life. In my 28 years of experience in Zululand, and amongst the natives, I should look with very grave suspicion upon any attempt to break down the custom of lobolo amongst the natives. It is on the whole for the good of the people that they should continue the practice at present.

With regard to the extent of the use of substitutes for cattle; cattle still in Zululand are very largely used as lobolo. Money and small stock are only used where Government regulations or cattle disease render the movement of cattle impossible. As at present constituted, native life demands lobolo. Only when native society becomes organised so as to prevent sexual crimes against women to a much greater extent than now possible and when the position of women is raised to a much higher degree than is now possible, only then can the lobolo custom die out. It will perish of itself whenever this state of affairs obtains generally. You all realise, gentlemen, I am sure, that in the eyes of the law a native woman is not a person; she has no legal rights whatever, she cannot hold property; she is a chattel. Any property acquired by a young married girl becomes the property of her father or guardian. Any property worked for by a married woman who may be separated from her husband becomes the property of her husband. Until she is recognised as a person and entitled to hold property there can be no substitute for lobolo.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you referring to native or European law, or both?— Both; native law especially. I should like to say this, that the native marriage law

under which we missionaries marry native women to native men is hopelessly wrong and hopelessly inadequate. The position is this, that no native christian marriage can be brought about and legalised without a licence being had and obtained from the native commissioner of the district in which the bride lives. For this licence a charge of 14/- is made. The object of this licence, we were told when the law was passed, was to protect the woman from her husband entering into a polygamist union. Now, what happens? This tax on the native woman and her resources is made; it provides no sort of protection against her husband entering into a polygamist union whenever he feels he would like to do so. There is an assumption - the Commissioners will tell you that if a man and woman are married under christian rites, in the event of the man seeking to become a polygamist, all that his christian legal wife has to do is to go to the Commissioner and lodge a complaint against her husband, who will then be arrested, his case tried in the court, and if the charge is proved he will be fined and imprisoned. Supposing for a moment all that is being done, what is the position of the legal wife when her husband comes out of prison, having been put there by her? She is a chattel; she has no legal rights. The moment the man comes out of prison he comes back and says, "you have killed me; you went and accused me at court of this crime; you have destroyed me; I am no longer your husband. You can go!" and out she goes. Now, how many women, I ask you gentlemen, having that threat before them, are likely to go and make a deposition against their husbands who have entered into a polygamist union?



So where is the protection of the women under this native marriage law ?

We pass on to "Native Migration" under 4. The questionnaire deals with <sup>three</sup> ~~two~~ points: "(1) Rural to urban areas. (2) Inter-rural areas. (3) Economic effects of this and of introduction of natives from ex-Union territories." I deal with these very shortly.

(1) "Rural to urban." There is a steady trickle of men, mostly young, towards towns each year.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is "trickle" the right word there ?- Yes, I think so.

Is it not rather mild - the word "trickle" ?- Well, I am trying to err on the right side of moderation. We will say "a steady stream" or "rush of men", mostly young, towards towns each year; <sup>this</sup> ~~which~~ is increasing, though at present slight; migration of unmarried girls also. The young men go to town and either marry in towns and settle there, or are followed by their young wives and families. Unmarried girls who go to towns to work seldom return to live at home. They either marry in the towns, or drift into irregular unions outside marriage. The taste for town life grows and keeps them from home. Consequently there is a breakdown of the whole family life, because such girls seldom get lobolo cattle paid for them.

No.(2): "Inter-rural". Since the 1913 Land Act there has been a steady drift into Zululand from Natal and other farm areas. The next census will show a large increase in population in all Zululand border areas - Eshowe, Nkandhla, Ngutu, Mahlabatini, and, to a lesser extent, Nongoma and Hlabisa.

No.(3): "Economic effects." Bad. While no native area in Zululand can be said to be over-populated, the agricultural and pastoral methods employed therein produce the same effect as a serious over-population would bring about. The veld is poor in most parts, and made worse by constant burning. The veld soon breaks down if over-grazed. Many areas formerly of fairly good grazing capacity are now ruined and incapable of carrying stock, for example: parts of Nqutu, Nkandhla, between Umhlatuze and forest, Mahlabatini. So also, with regard to agriculture, the land is exhausted by constant cropping, without renewal by fertilization.

No.(5): "Native agriculture. (1) Its standard:"  
The standard of native <sup>agriculture</sup> ~~education~~ in Zululand is mediocre to bad. Generally speaking, the whole of Zululand is badly over-cropped. No rotation, very little fertilization, bad ploughing, insufficient weeding. The land is moderately good and is capable of carrying good crops under proper cultivation. At present most of it is being badly used and will soon be ruined.

(2) "What is being done to develop native agriculture?" A few native demonstrators, under the Native Affairs Department, are placed in Zululand - six in all: one European agricultural officer for the whole area. These demonstrators do useful work and where their influence is felt agricultural methods are improving, but many more are needed. Half a dozen in each of the ten purely native districts of Zululand would be too few. The Education Department, ~~if~~ too, insists upon agriculture and gardening being placed among the important school subjects. Those subjects are seriously taught in most schools. What is needed at present is more co-ordination between school-teaching and home practice. There is at present a movement on foot to



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start what is called native schools' home clubs, to spread the teaching which is given in schools on agriculture and other subjects to the homes; but that is only in its infancy; it is I think really hardly started. But all missionaries try to teach better methods of agriculture, but their time being fully occupied with other matters, they can do but little. There are five native agricultural shows held each year in Zululand, with prizes for the best produce and stock. These are having a marked effect for good on the methods used, for example: improvement in ploughing, purchase of better seed, adequate cultivation, eradication of weeds; are all noticed in those areas coming under the influence of the native agricultural shows. A plan is on foot for the erection of native agricultural colleges, to be placed near Eshowe; this is excellent, but cannot take the place of steady school teaching and home demonstrations. (3) "Effect upon, by natives who work on farms ~~for~~ for Europeans": very little effect is produced, and for two reasons: the same native labourers are seldom engaged upon the whole process of agriculture, except upon older Dutch areas. You will see that at a glance if you think of it for a moment; where the farming population is not settled ~~for~~ ~~tax~~ very long it is very seldom that the same native will go through the whole farming process from breaking up the land, putting in the seed, weeding, harvesting, and so on. What we all know is that most natives will not work on farms unless they are obliged to, and those who are obliged to, will work as short time as possible. So that ~~the~~ very few natives working on the farms now derive very little, or no benefit, from it. Most native labourers on farms are so poorly paid that they are never able to buy proper instruments or machinery



which they see the Europeans use. So the object lessons set by European methods cannot be taken advantage. (4) "The effect upon European farming caused by employment of natives" is rather on the bad side. Intelligent natives never work on European farms if they can avoid it, owing to bad housing conditions, and poor pay. Farm labour is therefore drawn from the less active and intelligent classes, who are too stupid for other work. The labour is inefficient, careless, extravagant, and often uneconomic. Except in tasks where only brawn is required, for example, cane-cutting and loading; wattle stripping, intelligent European or trained native labourers would be far more economical and satisfactory.

No.6. "Rural Native Areas." (1) "Administration": Administration at present is satisfactory. The present system of appeals from headmen to chief, from chief to commissioner, from commissioner to Chief Native Commissioner, and on to the Native Affairs Department, is sound. Police supervision and detection of crime is very poor throughout Zululand. The police should be obliged to learn the language of the people and should not be drawn entirely from any one class or source; they should be stationed according to knowledge of local conditions, language, and not transferred from one province to another, unless it is unavoidable. I would like to say also, gentlemen, that the police position, as I understand it, throughout Zululand is in rather a serious condition. There is insufficient patrolling. The policemen who are employed - not at all through their own fault - are drawn from other provinces - speaking generally, from the Free State, Cape Colony, and sometimes the Transvaal. Most of them have had no actual contact with native life before joining the police. Those who speak the native languages at all speaking either Xosa or Sesuto; and so far as I

understand, very little inducement is held out to them in the way of extra pay, to induce them to learn an extra language. It is not the fault of the police, but the system, and it should be altered. I ask you to envisage the place in which I reside at present - the Ngutu district, where you have a population of anything up to 35,000 natives, and you have three European policemen in charge of the whole of that district. The sergeant of police, who is the Public Prosecutor, can seldom go on patrol, and there are two troopers; neither of whom can speak the native language. The consequence is all the detection of crime is left to the native constables. The constables are too few. Consequently, this very important task is placed upon the Chief's police. Whenever a crime is committed in the chief's ward he is more or less held responsible for it.

DR. FOURIE: Are the constables Zulus? - Yes. I want also to deal with the point of native commissioners. Native commissioners also should not usually be sent to areas where their previous knowledge and experience is wasted. Though it is claimed that the whole service should be open to intelligent and able men, and no province should be closed to them, yet ordinarily speaking it is better that purely native areas should be administered by men who have special knowledge of the language, custom and mentality of the inhabitants, rather than that men should be moved from, say, Steytlerville to Nongoma, or from Ngutu to Fordsburg. It is good for the Ngutu official to go to Fordsburg perhaps, but it is bad for the Ngutu natives to be administered by officials from Fordsburg. There should be more thought given to the welfare of the inhabitants of the land and less to the good of the civil service.



(2). "Adequacy and Congestion<sup>x</sup> of Rural Native Areas." On that I may say quite shortly, Zululand is not congested. Its native areas are adequate. (3) "Afforestation": Little is done in native areas. There is an idea abroad that the Native Affairs is unfavourable to the planting of trees. Tree planting is taught in schools, but is not followed up, or only slightly. (4) "Obstacles to More Economical Use of land." <sup>x</sup>Lack of Security of Tenure. Opposition of Chiefs. Land grabbing by men of importance in community. Lack of fencing. Veld burning. Improper cultivation. Over-stocking. (5) "Occupation of, in relation to concentration of residential plots and economical grouping of arable and grazing lands. Housing and housing material. Sanitation." These steps - that is re-grouping of all available land - are overdue. Many communities are ready for them. In some districts attempts are being made to concentrate, and where this is done it meets with welcome from most natives. "Housing:" A difficult question. In rural parts of Zululand old-fashioned straw huts are often more sanitary and healthy than square stone-houses, for the reasons that more ventilation is possible in them. They are more easily moved or abandoned. But improved housing is largely a question of improved pay for native labour. The disappearance of thatching grass is due to closer settlement, and due also to over-stocking and veld burning. You will see at a glance, gentlemen, that really at the basis of this question of better housing, sanitation, and so on, lies the question of the security of tenure of land. Very few people, white or black, will build an expensive house on land which does not belong to them and upon which they have no right of tenure; and really throughout Zululand at the root of all

these difficulties connected with migration, housing, sanitation and so on, lies this fact, that no native has security for the land on which he works and builds.

SANITATION: Little or no attempt is made at providing modern sanitation, owing partly to superstition and partly to lack of knowledge. The sun is a great sanitary agent. It is probably not yet possible to make any extended sanitary arrangements yet. Even members of families are averse to using common sanitary buildings. You have to take into consideration the superstition of the people, and one of the great superstitions with most of the Bantu people is this matter of sanitation. They will not defacate where other people have been, if they can help it.

(6) "Mortality": The mortality amongst adults and children is very high. Among adults it is due to lack of hygienic knowledge and elementary medical knowledge, and to malpractices on the part of Izinyanga - native doctors. The maternity mortality is high. Midwifery is cruel and ignorant. Venereal disease is much on the increase in certain districts owing to the proximity of coal mine compounds, which appear to be very inadequately supervised. I do not say it is always the case. There are mines I know which are models of cleanliness and supervision, but there are others which are certainly not. Tuberculosis is also increasing, owing to insufficient feeding, lack of ventilation, lack of adequate clothing, and exchange of articles of dress. Where one person is infected he will infect the whole family. Infant mortality is shockingly high. Most of the reasons given above will account for this. Also improper feeding, also congenital malformations are very common. The whole matter



of the mortality of the Zulu people needs vigorous remedial measures. Provision of central hospitals in each magisterial division is necessary, with clinics in localities served by native trained nurses, under the charge of the Medical Officer of Health, helped by European matrons. Venereal disease clinics should be free. T.B. treatment should also be free. Native nurses and certificated ~~ma~~wives are needed in numbers. I would like to enlarge for a moment on that, because it is going to be a very serious matter. I expect you are very familiar with the report which was put forward by the medical men two or three years ago, and which showed an utter lack of hospital accommodation for natives in all native areas, especially in Zululand. Missionaries are trying their best to cope with this need; most of us are starting little hospitals in our centres. We are also trying to train native nurses - not to any extent native orderlies, because the native man does not lean towards that kind of thing. We are doing our best. As you all know, missions are poor, are hard up for money, but we are ~~xx~~ doing our best to start little central hospitals in each district and to train native nurses to take little clinics. It is a Government job, but we do the best we can until Government support is available. There is one difficulty about training of native young men to become ministers to their own people, and it is this, that whereas you can train a native/<sup>girl</sup>~~male~~ in medicine and nursing, when she comes out after her training, there is no temptation for her to set up on her own as a medical practitioner. If you train native men, they will immediately go out and set up on their own as qualified native doctors.

I may say that in Zululand we have a central hospital on one of our main stations, which has been training native nurses for the past fifteen years; and, speaking on the

whole, with very good results. Some native nurses are a credit, not only to their own race, but to any race, and certainly to the medical profession. This thing can be done, and I do urge upon you gentlemen of the Commission not to be misled by statements of the low state of morality of good native girls. Our experience over a number of years is this. If you give native girls a decent training, give them enough money to keep their self-respect, make them economical and independent of their men-folk, you will remove one of the causes leading to immorality on the part of the girls, and you will find they will satisfy you, both as teachers and nurses, and in any other kind of profession which you wish to teach them. We find the native girl is more intelligent than the native man, and is much more conservative and ready to carry out any teaching she receives. There is another aspect of this medical question which I should like to put before you, and in connection with which we shall never get any improvement in native health until it is remedied. I would point out to you that there are 1200 native doctors and herbalists in Zululand and Natal. That is a very conservative estimate. You will probably find, if you went through the country, that there are 3,000 of them. These people act in opposition to the European doctors; they are medical practitioners in every sense of the word. I suggest, as a matter of practical politics, that licences to native doctors, should only be issued to them after some sort of examination by the Medical Officer of Health in conjunction with the native commissioner. This may be done. Medical officers on the whole would welcome it, although it would add considerably to their duties; but it can be done. Any deaths from



malpractices should be treated as manslaughter. You have only to read the result of a trial held a few weeks ago in Maritzburg, where a native doctor was accused of poisoning a child by dried beetle powder, and he got off. These malpractices should be treated as manslaughter. The perpetrators should be immediately arrested and tried for manslaughter - but these natives get away with it.

All licensed native doctors should be obliged to keep written lists of patients treated, with some record of treatment. At present there is no check whatever upon them. This should be submitted to the Medical Officer of Health at intervals.

Another important matter - the registration of births and deaths - needs looking into. The present practice is much too loose and easy-going. There is no possible check at present upon the practices of abortion, illtreatment of cases, or poisoning. I am sure you will realise throughout the length and breadth of Zululand there is almost, in practice, no registration whatever of births and deaths. People married by Christian rites are obliged to register the births of their children. Others are not. The great bulk of the inhabitants of the country are of course non-Christians. No death is registered. Any suspicious circumstances concerning a death might be reported to the head induna, and he may report it to the chief, or he may not. It might be a relation; in those circumstances you would not find it go very far. It is a very serious matter. We shall never check this terrible mortality amongst the Zulu people until we have some sort of check on these native doctors. One of these, of course, is the registration of births and deaths.

(7). "Stock. Types of. Overstocking - methods of combating this evil." Old Zulu cattle are hardy and useful, But poor milkers and uneconomic. There is a great need for stud animals of a better type. This need is probably to be met by the proposed native stock-farm, ~~at~~ which is to be instituted at Nkonjeni. Most intelligent natives are eager to improve their stock and are ready to have good animals. "Over-stocking": One great reason for the present over-stocking of the country is the low price obtained by native sellers. No native will sell a beast for 30/- to £2 per head. Better selling facilities are needed if some of this over-stocking is to be combated. With regard to the remedies for over-stocking; the taxation of herds is the only remedy in sight. Any stock-owner whose herd is excessive in numbers should pay the community for the extra grazing he requires and takes. I think that is common sense. There are people now in Zululand who have herds of 300 and 400. Why should they take out all the grazing of the community and not make some return to the community for it?

DR. ROBERTS: That is, single animals? - Yes. It would seem, of course, that a stock tax would be most unpopular and probably provoke some sort of social disturbance. Still, on the other hand it is a position of affairs you must deal with. It would be better to impose a native stock tax, have the trouble and get it over, rather than to have the natives go on deteriorating and in the end have the trouble. The more worse off a Zulu native gets - as is the case with ~~every~~ every-one - he is inclined to take everything to the police and fight, and he will fight. If the proceeds of the stock tax were placed to the credit of the Native Welfare Account,



some good might come of it. Native commissioners could explain that the money so raised would return to the community in roads, hospital sites, and so on.

This is development then ?- Yes. A stock tax would arouse much opposition from the backward portions of the community, but in time would do good.

"Irrigation<sup>x</sup> and Water Supply": There is sufficient water in most parts of Zululand to allow large irrigation schemes to be put in hand, but this would be economical under the present system of agriculture. The first need is to have improved methods of agriculture, and the next is to provide irrigation. Many localities would benefit from this. I will not trouble you with names, but could point out to you many localities where there is an adequate supply of water. On the Inyati Flats, where the Buffalo River runs, many acres can be irrigated; but what is the good when many natives will not take advantage of it?

(9) "General Economic Conditions:" I am not attempting to deal with all the points raised, because there are many points raised which can be better dealt with by other people. "General Economic Conditions" - Farming: Native farming is, generally speaking, uneconomic. The first necessity is security of land tenure outside the control of the chief - that is, the chief should apportion the land as now, but have no power to dispossess a holder for any reason<sup>x</sup> less than proved anti-social behaviour. Any land-holder dispossessed by the chief should have the right of appeal to (a) the Native Land Board appointed ad hoc from representatives of local interests; (b) to Native Commissioner, or representative. The practice of native chiefs of dispossessing the holders

of land under the present communal system of land-holding is very common. Wherever you find a progressive native who settles down to farm his land adequately, and get good crops, you will always find the local native chief will put two or three people around the boundary of this land and they will filch away the land from him, under the mistaken idea that he is putting some medicine into the land. Obviously, the thing is for the strong man to drive this man away from the land and to give the chief the possession of it. That is one of the reasons why you do not find agriculture making much progress in Zululand. Let the chief by all means apportion the land; he is the only party at present who can do it, but do not let him dispossess, except he gives the man the right of appeal to the Land Board.

Any native has the right of appeal to the Commissioner; but how ever will he do it, when it means the antagonism of his chief? He cannot face it.

The next step to the improvement of native farming is the establishment of a Native Land Bank. Any practical man will say, "That is all very well, but where is the man to come from?" "You cannot have a Native Land Bank without funds." I suggest this: loans to native farmers should be made as for European farmers<sub>x</sub> through their European Land Bank, - the same system should obtain, but not the same bank; a branch of the Native Land Bank should be established in each magisterial division, and loans should be made by a Board appointed ad hoc, with a membership of an equal number of Europeans and native residents of standing; the Chairman, and the sole authority capable of making the loans, should be the Native Commissioner.



The Board should be advisory. The Bank should be financed from the native development account, from the proposed stock tax, from the profits from dipping native cattle (if any), from fines for contravention of cattle and stock regulations, from profits from native agricultural shows, and from interest on loans made. It would not get you very far, but those funds at all events could provide the nucleus for a Native Land Bank, however small.

The next step is: better marketing facilities. It is no use at present natives producing much, because they cannot sell it. I suggest the following: To make use of existing European traders who hold native store licences. These should act as agents of the Government in buying stock ~~xxx~~ and produce at a commission, and selling it as now. Their commission to replace individual profits. Now, there you will be met, of course, by the suggestion that no European storekeeper who is out to make his living - like all the rest of the persons in the world - would contemplate doing it; but I think that would vanish if a proper scheme were put before him. There are very few European storekeepers making more than a bare living out of the native. One reason is the trading activities of large trading combinations in the Cape and elsewhere - Edgeworths at Port Elizabeth, and certain Durban firms, who send their catalogues and price lists broadcast through the native territories. These price lists have a very important effect on the native. The amount of mail order trade which is done with the native territories, especially Zululand, is really surprising, - and the local storekeepers cannot compete with these people. I suggest the use of these people, especially in Zululand, who are of a very good type.

There are few native traders in Zululand who are not of very good type indeed, and who are not out to do their best for the natives, and so on. There are exceptions, but on the whole they are a very good class of men. I believe if some well thought out scheme were put before them, that they should be Government Agents at a commission instead of profit, you would not find it difficult to overcome their objections to it.

I suggest also that one other way of increasing the marketing facilities would be the publication in native newspapers (in Natal, Ilanga, Ikwezi, etc), of current market prices, for the information of native farmers, who would thus be able to check prices received from storekeepers. • Publication in the above papers of agricultural items of use to farmers, as is done for Europeans, and the establishment of a native's side of agriculture in a Government Department, would help considerably. I do not think that General Kemp - I do not know - I speak under correction - does very much in the way of encouraging <sup>native</sup> agriculture. I suggest there should be a native side of the Union Agricultural Department.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Native Affairs Department are just making a commencement? - Of course, nobody criticises a half-built building. I think, with the use of such ideas, native agriculture would become a staple industry of the country, as it should be, and should remain.

After all, native agriculture must be in native areas.



On the question of Native Education, I shall first of all deal with the extent of education in the rural areas. In Zululand the education of children has scarcely begun. In 1929 there were 178 schools with 9,500 pupils. There was then a waiting list of over 100 schools which had applied for Government aid, but had not obtained it. There are also about 300 private schools, with possibly 600 pupils. The child population of Zululand should be approximately 80,000, so that not 12 per cent of the available population is in touch with any kind of school education. The number of schools in different classes is: one high school (up to standard VIII), one industrial school, nine intermediate schools (standards V and VI), 125 primary schools, 42 sub-primary schools, and 300 mission schools. As I pointed out, there is only one industrial school in the whole country. Various kinds of things are taught there, such as smithy work, carpentry, but the point is that there is only one of these schools in the country.

A committee of educational and missionary experts recently examined the Natal Native School Curriculum, and pronounced it to be satisfactory. Emphasis is laid upon the training of hand and eye in manual work, but this is seriously hindered by lack of funds. I now come to the question of the result and value of the education of natives. The results are the quickening of the intelligence of school-taught boys and girls, the lessening of the power of superstition, the arousing of an ambition to excel in some trade, profession or craft; an increased desire to earn in order to improve the standard of living. These are the good results. Dissatisfaction with the status of the Bantu, political, social and economic; a tendency to break away from home and tribal constraint, especially on the part of girls; a disposition to neglect manual toil, farm-work and handicrafts,

and to take up teaching, clerking, nursing and other superior occupations. These are the bad or doubtful results. Of the value of education in uplifting the natives in civilization and in usefulness to himself and the community, there can be no doubt. Most of the bad results enumerated here are not the production merely of education, but of education plus the bad economic position which many natives find themselves in. Education should not carry the stigma of, for instance, educated girls to leave home and to seek a more pleasant life in towns. Their education opens their eyes to the distressing economic position of all Bantu girls and women, who are entirely at the mercy of their men-folk, who cannot legally hold property, who are not legally persons at all. When this is realised they desire to alter it, and cast off tribal restraints in order to achieve this. But the real fault lies with the economic conditions of ~~which~~ their lives, against which they revolt, and not to the system of education, which shows them how to revolt.

Now on sub-section (3) of the heading "Education of Natives" - Occupational Training; there is little of this. Teachers, nurses, builders, carpenters, and farmers are trained for their occupations, the first-named in some numbers, but all the rest in negligible quantities.

In regard to occupations in which natives are engaged, I can only refer you to what I have just said, that teachers are trained in some numbers, but all the rest in negligible quantities.

I should now like to say a few words on the question of inter-racial relations, and the promotion of inter-racial good-feeling and co-operation. In a purely native area such as Zululand, inter-racial relations are on the whole good.



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The European population is, speaking generally, composed of a good class, which has learnt how to deal sympathetically with native ideas and aspirations, and is fair and honest in its dealings with them. Many acts of mutual kindness and courtesy come to my knowledge every year. For instance, two days ago a European trader lent his own Sedan car to a native in order to drive a Zulu who was sick to a hospital thirty miles away, over a bad road. That is what I call true courtesy.

But outside of native areas much ill-feeling is caused by acts which a little thought would prevent. For instance, travelling facilities on railways and S.A.R. buses are very poor for native passengers. I myself have known many cases, and you can see these things for yourself. Native passengers come forward to take long journeys to distant places. They have to get into buses, males or females, and they spend the whole time sitting on rolls of barbed wire. Why should that be? They pay their fares and they are entitled to some sort of consideration, but they fail to get it. I myself have had complaints from decent girls who have gone to learn to be nurses, and they have been put in these S.A.R. buses and have spent the whole of their time in very badly ventilated places, and if they have not had to sit in barbed wire, they have had to sit on empty milk cans, or things like that. That sort of thing is wrong.

Then food is difficult to get, and is served in a manner calculated to annoy. I do not know whether you have noticed native passengers on a journey and whether you have seen how difficult it is for them to get food. You have seen yourselves what the position is. Natives have to go

on to the platforms and they have to get attended to in the best way they can. They have to buy what they need from these small carts which are pushed about, and they have to eat anyhow. That is all very well when people do not mind how they eat, but it is repulsive to a native to eat in public at all. They always like to eat as secretly as they can. It is part of their code of manners, and when the food is dished up to them in that way, it is annoying to them, and they would rather go without it.

Bus-drivers and conductors, ticket collectors and train guards are often ill-mannered and unnecessarily rough. One cannot always blame them. Natives often are trying and will often do the wrong thing. But you will have noticed yourselves that these people do treat the native in a manner which is not conducive to good feeling. Postal officials are often discourteous, and officials in public offices also. Three days ago I was at a meeting where these notes from which I am speaking were given to me. One man there gave me an instance of what was going on. Quite a decent native rode 23 miles on horseback to go to the local magistrate's office to get a pass to move three head of stock. He arrived at the place and saw to it that he was at the office at 9 o'clock in the morning. You must understand that in order to do that he had to leave his place long before daylight. He went to the native policeman in charge and he asked him which was the police to go to, to get this cattle pass. He was told that he had to be at that office at 12 o'clock in order to get the pass. Well, he waited, and at 12 o'clock presented himself, as indicated. He was roughly told by the European clerk there that he was too late and that he must come the next day. He had to stay over there, and got such lodging



as he could obtain in a small European village. The next morning at 9 o'clock he presented himself again. After 36 hours of waiting, during which time he was abused three times and ill-used, at all events so much so as to upset his dignity, he at last got his pass to move his three head of stock, for which he had come up all that distance. Well, that is not an exceptional instance. It is the kind of discourtesy which should not be allowed, and it is that kind of thing which is largely responsible for the bad state of inter-racial relationship. Things are thrown at native clients who wish merely to take advantage of public facilities, as they are entitled to do. Their language is either not spoken at all, or so badly spoken, as to render their understanding of it impossible. And then they are blamed for stupidity. T

The larger employment of native clerks and agents might obviate much of this. Hotel accommodation is also either lacking, or so poor as to repel decent natives travelling. These are the causes of much ill-feeling.

THE NATIVE FEELS THAT HE IS AN OUTCAST IN HIS OWN COUNTRY, or at any rate the country of his birth. Better manners on the part of the general European public when dealing with natives would tend largely to dissipate some of the prevailing inter-racial animosity.

Joint Councils of Europeans and natives are useful. But the chief cause of irritation lies in the status of the native. Few Europeans, especially of the official class, can grasp the fact that a large body of native opinion is on the side of progress, out of barbarism, towards some kind of civilised order. This aspiration is thwarted to a large extent by legislation which deals chiefly with the

unprogressive class. The natives see themselves as deliberately prevented by Europeans from acquiring any kind of freedom. Colour bar legislation must ultimately be bad for the country, and is in fact immediately bad in inter-racial connections. Natives are convinced that repression of every aspiration held by them is at the bottom of this European Act. Difficulties in acquiring freehold land, their troubles in regard to trading licences, the forbidding to acquire building sites in towns, the restriction of their freedom of movement, the absence of self-government, the feeling of suspicion as to the use which is being made of money from their taxes and fines, and the impossibility of their securing a fair share of the national income to be spent on their education, and towards the erection of native hospitals, the low rate of pay for services rendered, the employment of Europeans in positions more suited to the employment of natives, - all these are factors in creating in the native mind suspicion and dislike.

A question WHICH HAS DEFINITELY TO BE SETTLED HAS ANTECEDENT TO ANY IMPROVEMENT IN INTER-RACIAL RELATIONS IS: WHAT KIND OF CIVILIZATION ARE THE NATIVES TO BE ALLOWED TO DEVELOP; WHERE IS IT TO BE DEVELOPED, AND HOW FAR ARE NATIVES TO BE RECOGNISED AS MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH, TAKING THEIR PART SIDE BY SIDE WITH WHITES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

No sane native demands Social or Racial Equality with the European. Those who do are in the vast minority, and are sooner or later deserted by the other natives. No sane European can visualise any such equality. But both sides of the gulf separating the races need development, not one only. The gulf can be bridged by religion and education, tending towards the free exchange of ideas



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and a free mingling of ideals. No social mingling on a large scale can be of ultimate use to either community. Neither desires it, a separation of social life and function in the body politic is essential, but need not be a hardship. Segregation to some extent is demanded by the circumstances of the community. There can be segregation of units in social intercourse, in function, to some extent in legislation, without necessarily enforcing physical and mental segregation carrying with it the stigma of perpetual inferiority. The inferiority complex is now strongly established in the black race, and is responsible to untoward incidents in national life. Psychologically it is true that such a complex leads inevitably to over-assertion, to cruelty and to hatred of superiors. This phase is extending in the black race. The good of a country demands its excision from the native mind. All legislation, education, mental and spiritual, social intercourse, trade and labour relationships, should definitely aim at establishing in its place the idea of the difference of position and function in the body politic, rather than any inferiority.

THE CHAIRMAN: In what way would you suggest that the authority of the chief should be supported?— There are two main ways in which the authority of the chief can be supported. First of all, by insisting upon the future chiefs of the people receiving some kind of education and some kind of training for their office. Secondly, as I tried to point out, although I know it is a very difficult question, the recognition of some definite head of the nation through whom the native chiefs would receive moral support.

You therefore consider that the maintenance of so much of the tribal system as is necessary is dependent on the recognition of the tribal chief?— Yes, I would go

so far as to say that.

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As regards the education of chiefs, would you want special education in the function of chieftainship ?- In three or four days' time you will see a college which has been established for the training of native chiefs. I think it would pay you to see what is being done there. You will find that ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ native chiefs and leaders generally are receiving side by side with agricultural and academic education, a training in the ruling of their people.

Would you want education, general education of chiefs, to be separated from the education of the natives ?- No, I would not be in favour of that.

You would only require special training ?- Yes.

You referred to the methods by which polygamist unions were being made difficult. Do you think it is time that the Europeans should endeavour to stop polygamist unions?- Personally I think it is not time by fifty years, but the Government does not share that opinion, because it has already interfered.

Do you think it is premature ?- Entirely. May I say that my point of view is this, and I speak for a large body of missionary opinion. We say that whereas from a christian point of view a polygamous union on the part of a man professing christianity is a sin. In the technical sense of the word, it is a mistake to regard it as a crime against the State. Do you see the distinction? It is an ecclesiastical offence, but not a civil offence, and the Government could not make it applicable to all native marriages. The Government could not make ecclesiastical offences into offences against the State. To do that at this stage is, to say the least about it, premature.



DR. ROBERTS: Are you now referring to the Administration Act ?- Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: The attitude of your church towards polygamous marriages of Christians is different altogether ?- We do not baptise men who have contracted polygamous unions, but we are sympathetic, but in time they are allowed as members of the church; but at the same time our church takes up this attitude, that we do not ask men to break up polygamous unions and we do not ask the men to get rid of polygamous wives. That, to our minds, is contrary to Christian charity.

Still, a man who has contracted polygamous marriages must remain outside the Christian community ?- No. They are given a certain standing in the church, and there are many of them, but they are not allowed to take the sacraments.

With regard to lobolo, what is the attitude of the church <sup>towards</sup> ~~with~~ lobolo marriages ?- We are in sympathy with the practice of lobolo, and we have no regulations against it.

MR. LUCAS: Christian marriages amongst the Zulus - are they accompanied by lobolo as a rule ?- Yes, always.

THE CHAIRMAN: With regard to native demonstrators, the present practice is that natives go through a course of six months' lectures during a year at the Native Agricultural Colleges, and then go out as demonstrators ?- Yes.

Do not you think a great deal more could be done by a short, intensive course in the mere rudimentary things which the natives do not practice now, and do not you think it would be a good thing to increase the number of demonstrators, which could be done by giving them these short courses ?- I see what you mean, and I quite agree with the feeling behind your question, that we need a very much larger number of demonstrators in the country, and the quicker they can be produced the better it will be for us. But I think I should be rather shy

of agreeing to the implication in your question that you can quickly train any native to do anything. Let me say this, I do not think you can. With a native it is more a matter of use and custom than of learning or training. He may see a thing once or twice, but if he sees it repeatedly he may remember it.

There are only very few ideas to be inculcated and a couple of months might be sufficient ?- No, I do not think so, so far as the native is concerned.

To what extent do the Zululand natives use the European implement of agriculture? Take the plough for instance. ?- They use the plough quite commonly.

Do they use any other implements ?- It is increasingly common for them to use cultivators. You frequently see the ordinary cultivator being used and the ordinary European implements for fertilising. Planters are being used, too. Hoes are in common use, but all these implements would be much more commonly used if the people could afford to buy them. What we are doing today in that connection, so far as we are able to, is to get native organizations, that is co-operative organizations, with a common fund, so that these instruments may be bought and then lent out to the members contributing to the funds of the organization. If the natives had more funds at their disposal and could better afford it, a very much greater use would be made of these implements. The result would naturally be very great improvements in agricultural production.

MR. LUCAS:

/Is there much co-operation ?- Well, the Zulu is a quarrelsome person. But on the whole this is being carried on successfully, although sometimes his quarrelsome/ness leads to broken heads.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Are there some parts where they are more advanced than in other parts ?- Very much so. I think if



you come to the Ngutu District you will find that there is much more progress there. I think the people there are rather more in advance than those in your District.

THE CHAIRMAN: The use of the planter is fairly common, is it not? Now, you said it was frequent. Could you qualify that? Frequent is a very relative term?— It would be difficult to tell you exactly to what extent it is used. But I should say this, that in my neighbourhood, in a radius of five miles from the mission station, there would probably be twelve planters that are in use.

Now, if you were to double that distance, would you get a proportionate increase in the number of planters in use?— No, certainly not.

It is the proximity of the mission station which affects it?— Yes, I think so.

Would that apply to the mission stations generally?— I think so; to all the old established mission stations.

How long has yours been established?— Fifty years.

Round about the mission stations you see progress?— Yes, that is so.

Now, you say that the natives in town are paid below the poverty line. You are thinking, I presume, of the additional needs which they acquire in towns?— Yes.

If they were to stick to their native methods of living, would you still make that statement?— No, I think that generally speaking the boy who leaves his kraal, I am speaking of the country native, and who goes to work at from 30/- to £2 per month, can generally earn enough to satisfy the needs of the kraal; but I think that there is a further thought which we should give consideration to, and that is this; the question really is one of economics. It is not whether the native earns enough for his needs, but is he paid enough for his work? It

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and 13.

seems to me we are losing sight of this, that a great deal of the farming industry, and of other industries in this country, are being built up on unsound bases, because here you have the lowest class of labour which you get. You underpay that class of labour. You pay him on the basis of what he is able to live on, because of the resources which he had at home. In other words, he is living on his own capital and he is selling his labour too cheaply. You may say that no farmer can afford to pay high wages. My contention is, from a purely economic view, that you cannot found any successful undertaking or industry on under-paying the man who is doing the work, and if your agricultural or your mining industries are being built up on native capital, then it is unsound.

I think that most of the big industries, unfortunately, have been founded on that basis, and they improve later ?- I agree that is so, and that is what has caused Bolshevism.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNED AT 6.40 p.m., until  
8 p.m.

ON RESUMING AT 8 p.m.

You mentioned that instances occurred fairly freely of the crop being doctored ?- Yes.

Do your people still believe in doctoring the seed, and the land, and so on ?- Yes.

Do many of them do that ?- Yes, quite a large number.

Now, what would you call a detribalised native; the Christians, are they detribalised ?- No, the Zulu definition of a detribalised native is that of a man who no longer "konsas" to his chief - he no longer submits to his chief. He is detribalised, but so far as we are concerned in missionary work we take particular pains not to take any steps which would force the native out of his tribe. Even the native clergymen, the



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superior type of native clergyman - is always sent to "konsa" to the chief of a tribe.

But even the educated native, can he loosen himself thoroughly from the guardian spirit of his tribe? Of course that is a question of religion, is it not? - Yes, I should say that the present generation could, but possibly the last generation could not. If it is the growth of individualism which is more and more making itself felt among the Zulus. The last generation of adult men, however much they wish to be christianised, could never dissociate themselves from the spirits of their ancestors. They were still part and parcel of that connection.

MR. LE ROUXVAN NIEKERK: You said that one of the reasons for people living the countryside and going to the towns was the over-crowding of the locations. Did I understand you to say that in Zululand that was not exactly the case? - It does seem as if it is a contradiction, but the point is this, that if the people were taught proper methods of agriculture, there would be plenty of room for them all. And there would be room for a very much larger population than Zululand is at present carrying; but with their present bad methods of agriculture, they are over-crowded. Probably you know the agricultural methods which they employ. A certain portion of land is set aside for each, a very large portion in most cases, and the people plough this portion every year. Next year they leave that portion and they go and plough further along, and next year again they go to another portion, until they have been all over a huge section of land, none of which has been properly used.

Coming to the question of over-stocking, you said that methods should be devised to improve the stock, but if the

native is not capable of looking after the kind of stock he has at present, and if there is all this over-grazing already, do not you think it would ~~xxxx~~ not be a correct thing to introduce animals of a higher grade, which would require more care and feeding ?- I think the answer to that really lies in my other statement, that before you can do anything to improve agriculture, or to improve your cattle breeding industry, you must have security of tenure. There is the answer to your question. If the more progressive elements of the native population have security of tenure and if they had their grazing ground demarcated and their agricultural lands demarcated, it would be very much better, and it would be much easier for the native to introduce a better class of cattle, which they could properly look after.

You speak of security of tenure, but after all your natives in the reserves have security of tenure ?- It cannot be alienated from the people as a whole, but it can be from the individuals through the action of the chief.

MR. MOSTERT: Are there any defined portions which the chiefs give to the people; is there any measurement at all ?- No, that question of the distribution of land is entirely settled by the chiefs in consultation with the headmen.

Do you find that favouritism is shown to different individuals ?- Yes.

Very much so ?- Yes.

Can that native apply to some higher authority if he is treated in that way ? Can he apply to his headman to lay his case before the Council ?- In theory he can appeal from any decision of the chiefs to the local magistrate or to the native commissioner, but in practice it is impossible for a man to do that and still to go on residing under the chief's authority.



Would you advocate that these plots allocated to the different natives should be surveyed ?- Yes, I think I would.

In case of such a survey, it would be allocated, I suppose, to a family ?- Yes.

In other words, to the head of a house ?- Yes.

In case of the death of the head of the house, it would naturally go to his son ?- Yes.

But in case that son were to leave that location or were to leave the reserve, would you then advocate that it should fall back to someone else, who would then be able to cultivate that land ?- In case a landholder takes a formal farewell from his chief, he pays £1 to the chief, and he says "I delete now my name from your tribe". In the case where a formal act of renunciation of the tribal responsibility is performed, the land should fall back to the tribe, for the chief's disposal.

We have had cases where there is much land lying idle and if that boy, to whom the land was originally given, should come back, he would be able to demand to have the land returned to him. That land may in the meantime be given to somewhere else ?- I think if the boy has all the time continued to pay his hut tax on that plot of land then he can demand it back, but if he has not paid the hut tax, then it reverts to the tribe.

Only then ?- Yes, only then.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is not the poll tax substituted for that ?- No, hut tax is paid by all owners of huts in the kraals.

MR. LUCAS: To whom is it paid ?- To the Government, 14/-. It is 30/- now under the last tax proposals. £1 to the Government, and 10/- to the native development fund.

MR. MOSTERT: Now, if the land were to be properly surveyed and allocated, you then consider that there is sufficient land in Zululand for all the natives ?- I do.

And perhaps more ?- Yes, there would be more.

With improved agricultural methods, do you think they would be able to keep themselves ?- No, I do not think that they would ever be able to keep themselves. I think what would result from a better distribution in allocation of land would be a very much higher production of agricultural products, but there will always be a surplus population to go out to work.

Yes, but would the ratio be as large as it is today ?- No, in most cases it would be smaller --- do you mean the ratio of people going out to work ?

Yes ?- It would be smaller.

If the tribal conditions were better ?- That is so.

MR. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK: Coming back to this question of the surveying of the land, that would be a rather expensive undertaking. Do you think the natives would be able to bear that ? May I just ask this, do not you think that the ordinary way of letting the headmen do this work of allocation is satisfactory ?- I do not think it is satisfactory altogether. You may remember that in my remarks I ventured to suggest that there might be district land boards appointed who would have the allocation of these various lands and in that case I think a proper survey would be unnecessary. The expenses would be very high indeed. And it could not be paid for by the Government or the natives. But in that case the pointing out of ordinary landmarks should be quite sufficient.

We generally appreciate the fact that the native leaves the reserve and goes out to work and brings back, or sends back, money and ultimately returns; but the great trouble is



that a large number of natives leave the reserves, and we are told that especially the younger generation do so, and do not return at all, and become detribalised natives. What is the reason of these young men leaving the reserves ? Would you say that it is the lure of the town ?- To a large extent that is so. The town with its amusements, and the opportunities for getting drink. It is the lack of moral sanctions, and altogether the attractions of town life are the same to the raw native as they are to the educated European. There is more glitter, more attraction generally, there is more movement.

You say that the native girl who gets educated gets dissatisfied with tribal life. Do you think that the system of education is wrong ?- No, but I do think that the system of tribal life is wrong.

It is wrong for women, you think ?- Yes.

That would be an extremely difficult thing for us Europeans to alter ?- In various ways, in various directions, it would not be difficult to alter. If for instance widows could be recognised in law as persons in the legal term. If the girls could acquire the right to hold property in their own names. If a girl had the disposition of her own body ~~in~~ in marriage to a greater extent than she has now. In this direction I think changes <sup>could</sup> ~~should~~ be brought about without dislocating the whole of tribal life. If those changes could be brought about they would improve matters.

MR. LUCAS: Would it be possible to attain these results ?- I think gradually the natives would accept it. Of course, it would be rather a shock to the older generation of Zulus that they have not got full disposal of their women-folk.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the case of the native who had land allocated to him, and who continued paying his hut or local tax,

but did not beneficially occupy the land, would you allow his right to the land to remain?— Not in perpetuity. There would have to be a time after ~~xxxxxx~~ which he could not hold the land, whatever the time might be in equity. Five years or something like that.

If the father dies leaving young children only; would the right of property descend to the young children?— Yes, they would be the heirs. They would come under the guardianship of a brother who, under the Zulu law, is entitled to take the widow of the dead man as his wife. Minor children always revert to the guardianship of the brother of the dead man, who acts as their guardian and who would look after their land rights as well as after their cattle rights.

You are no doubt aware that the natives feel that that land should be given to the landless heads of families; at least the Xosas think that. There is a conflict between our conception and our conception?—, I would not dare to speak on behalf of the ~~ex~~ Xosa natives. In Zululand I think it is true to say that there are no landless natives. The land is not so fully occupied as that. I know of no really landless natives.

But you would make them approximate more to the European idea of individual ownership?— Yes.

Gradually accustom them to that ~~is~~?— Yes.

MR. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK: You spoke of a native Land Bank. Have you thought of the difficulty of establishing something like that, where you have no individual title?— No security can be given as in the case of Europeans?— I take it that the security would be sufficient if it covered the livestock of the natives and the implements which he bought with the loan he raised and such immovable property as he might have. The house, for instance, which is always saleable property in



Zululand.

Say you instituted a Native Land Bank, of what use would it be to them; what practical use would a native make of it ?- I think he would raise loans in the first place to improve his house, to buy better farming implements, and to purchase better stock.

Do you think that they would improve their houses ?- Yes.

Do you think it is essential that they should do so ?- Is not the native in his raw state living under sanitary conditions ?- I do not know how you will have improved their economic standing unless you get them off the ground, unless you get them living off the ground, literally squatting.

MR. MOSTERT: Is not that natural to the native who loves the ground ?- So does the beast.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is not the dwelling round and not square? Is not the improvement of their wealth-producing capacity the way to improve their wealth spending capacity ?- You are dealing in this respect with a people who are not absolutely primitive barbarians. Nearly the whole bulk of the Zulu race, excepting that portion along the coast - where malaria prevails - is out of its primitive condition. It has all progressed, and the first sign of progress is the improvement of a man's dwelling, and I think you will see quickly that that is almost a necessity towards any progress. Let us assume that a man is living in a small, round hut. He wants to improve, to have better stock and everything. Where is he to house them ? Unless he is prepared to put up civilised dwellings, etc., it is no use his trying to progress. He makes no provision for suitable stabling for his oxen, and they die. It seems to me the condition which must prevail

before any kind of progress can take place, is to get the native off the ground into a more civilised place. And as a matter of fact, that is what we find is taking place. That is what the native is doing.

But now in order to be able to get that, he has to have certain economic means. If his own economic value is not up to that, if economics are fighting against him, it is a mighty hard fight for him ?- In order that he may repay any loan which he might get?

The loan on the security he is offering can only be very small, whereas if he can substitute more agriculture it will gradually leave lead to better animal husbandry. But buying better bulls is going to mean a greater rate of mortality, because he does not know how to look after them?- I would not say that. After all, a large number of them do look after their animals. I think for instance, if you could go and visit some of these native agricultural shows and some of these native colleges, you would be astonished at the standard which they have reached, the standard of native husbandry. It is not only the advanced people.

But over-grazing is not a sign of knowing how to handle animals ?- These are two different things. You are basing your ideas on the understanding that nearly the whole nation has not progressed. I am basing mine on the fact that a large number have progressed. If you are dealing with the barbarian Zulu, scarcely any of these things I have said apply.

Merely to a small vanguard ?- Not a very small one, probably one-fifth or more of the total population.

MR. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK: The lobolo system is still generally in force everywhere ?- Yes.

Is money substituted already ?- Money can be substituted if cattle are not available. That is according to the



## Government Regulations.

Do not you think that it will in time become more general for money to pass instead of cattle ?- I think that very much depends on whether the Zulus continue to hold large numbers of cattle. So long as they have cattle, so long will loblo be continued to be paid in cattle.

It would not be the other way round, that the Zulu would prefer to pay in cash, and thereby would not see the necessity of having these big herds of cattle? - We may hope that will be the result, but we cannot say so.

You said that why the native does not benefit to the full extent of the knowledge which he acquires from the European farmer, is because the European farmer does not get the better class of native in his employ. But surely, the native who does work for the European farmer must have attained such a standard of common intelligence that when he sees that the European ploughs deeply, plants his mealies properly, cultivates his lands, and fertilises them, he should be able to apply these things when he gets back to his own place ?- I think if you were to ask any practical European Zululand farmer whether he is satisfied with the intelligence of his native labourers, he would tell you that he is not.

Are we to take it then that the intelligence of the Zulu is low ?- No. I tried to point out that it is the less intelligent class which goes in for farm labour. Where the ordinary native from the reserve is free to sell his labour wherever he likes, it is the less intelligent and the less progressive native who will go to farm labour. The more intelligent and the more progressive natives will go for other labour.

You made a statement about natives in trade. You said that we could use the native storekeepers. Is not the fact

recognised that a native storekeeper barter with the other native who brings his produce along; he goes in for ruil. He gets his mealies and he gives something for it. Is not that his chief means of existence, and do not you think that you would not be able to get these people to become the agents of the Government, to help the natives to do a cash business ?- The process which goes on largely in native trading stores is this. The transaction as between the native with his produce to sell and the trader who is desired to buy, is not a cash transaction. The native brings a bag of mealies and exchanges that bag of mealies for perhaps thirty article out of the store. The trader expects to make a double profit; he expects to make a profit on selling the article to the native, and he also expects to make a profit on selling the produce which he has secured from the native. And therefore he realises now a double profit, both on the sale of the goods and on the sale of the produce. That, to my mind, is rather a hardship on the native. If the transaction could be a cash transaction it would be very much fairer. A man produced a bag of mealies and he should be paid the current market price. He would then be able to spend the cash as he likes. There would be no further need in that case for better marketing facilities. At the present time, the native cannot sell his produce; he can only exchange it, and that is not the same thing.

Do you think the native storekeeper would undertake that business ?- He would rather do that than see the produce go elsewhere.

You said in your statement that natives were sometimes very roughly handled by officials and other members of the public. But is not it a fact that their chief complaint is against their own people rather than against the Europeans, the native policemen



for instance.

In which way could we remedy that? Do you think that we should get a better-educated type?— You must understand that the Zulu is a great imitator. If he finds, as he very often does, that the native commissioner and his clerks and their staff are courteous to the native and civil and obliging, as far as they can, then you generally find that the native police themselves are courteous and civil too. But on the other hand, if the native commissioner and his staff treat the native roughly you will find that the police will do exactly the same. I think it is quite true that the native police are the chief offenders, but after all it is quite easy to check that.

Now, as regards facilities for natives on the railways, and on these motor lorries, I think you will admit that there has been a great improvement of late years in the facilities afforded to natives travelling; but it must be very difficult for the department to supply them with dining-saloons, or something like that, on all these trains. Could one at the present moment expect that from the Department of Railways?— Probably not, but I think what could happen, and could easily be arranged, is some system of native stewards on the trains who should hawk around the food on the trains and so supply the natives decently and have them decently served. I am not suggesting that they should be pampered, but I think that that could easily be arranged.

DR. ROBERTS: I think that was promised by the Minister of Railways to myself?— <sup>Has he</sup> ~~Has he~~ carried out his promise? As a matter of fact, I might point out that on the European railway systems the third-class passengers, who incidentally pay the same fare in Europe as the native in South Africa, are provided

with dining-saloons and with every facility for getting decent meals, and while I would not for one moment say that the Union Railways could provide dining saloons on all their trains, I dare say that there could be a marked improvement in the way in which food is nowadays served to the natives. And I think it would pay the Railways to do so.

MR. LUCAS: You think it could be done without financial loss to the Railways?— As a matter of fact, I think it could be done with financial gain. I think the trade in food on the railways would increase enormously and the natives would avail themselves of these facilities.

We have had complaints in other areas from the natives in respect of the loss of parental control and disobedience by the children. Do you get those complaints in Zululand?— Yes, very markedly.

And the reasons which you gave for the breakdown of tribal customs and for detribalization, are they the causes, or are there other causes?— Those are among the causes. I think, on the other hand, it has always to be realised that parents have a duty towards their children, just the same as children have a duty to their parents, and in a large number of cases the native parents do not carry out their duty to the children. If you will allow me, I should like to quote a concrete example. A young boy of sixteen or seventeen years of age comes to work for me. I pay him a wage of £1 per month. He had to send his money to his father, but his father does not wait for it. Always on the stroke of dawn, when the boy has to be paid, the father is at the back-door waiting for the money. It is perfectly right that the native boy should hand the money to his father, but it is also right that the father in return should show some consideration for the boy.



But he does not do so. Every month he takes the whole of that boy's pound; he makes no allowance for the fact that the boy wants clothes, or amusement. The boy gets nothing whatever from that labour. After three or four months, the boy stops working and goes to town, right away from his father, <sup>so that</sup> His father cannot take the money. That is one of the reasons why parental control is breaking down. There is another reason. In the old tribal life the father was always responsible for paying lobola cattle for the sons, and in return for that he expected the sons to work for him until they got married, and help to support him. At present, with tribal life breaking down, and with all sorts of other conditions creeping in, the father is only concerned - that is frequently the case - in accumulating the cattle, for which the son is working, in order, not to pay the lobolo for a wife for the son, but in order to buy a wife for himself; and naturally, when the son comes home, and finds that the cattle which he has worked for have been disposed of, and that his father has bought another wife with that cattle, there is trouble. These are some of the causes which lead to the breakdown of parental control.

Is there any breaking down of the power of the native over his wife? - No, I think things now are very much as they used to be in the past. After all, most of us married men think that we control our wives, but in reality we do not.

And that applies to the natives, too? - Yes.

You mentioned certain changes which you thought should be introduced in the status of women. As a matter of fact, there are many things which would have to be overcome before those changes could be brought about. The position of the woman today is such that she is really not in a position to have the change conferred on her - you say, that the woman today is still looked upon as a chattel. The change of making her a

person would be an enormous one. How do you suggest that these changes could be initiated ?- As I have said, I should begin with the change of the status of a widow. The position of the widow is a very difficult one. At present, under native custom, she is the property of the next of kin, and she is generally taken in marriage by the brother of the deceased man. If that could be put a stop to, and if the widow could be recognised as a person in law, it would be a good beginning. There would have to be some kind of alteration in the payment of lobolo, although I would not suggest that it should be discontinued, but there might be some change in the payment of lobolo cattle. The lobolo cattle should no longer be regarded as being the property of the clan, I should rather advocate that it should be regarded as the dowry of the ~~bride~~ bride.

Would that affect the protection which she would get under this system ?- I certainly think so. It would give her a standing if the cattle were regarded as belonging to her.

THE CHAIRMAN: What guardianship would there be over that dowry ?- The cattle would be held in trust for her.

The cattle would not be distributed among the people who may be called upon to support her ?- They never are, they never have been; the lobolo cattle are paid to the clan of the woman as some return for the loss of the services of the woman, and of her personality in the clan. They now become the property of the clan from which the woman comes, and they are never used for the support of herself or of her children.

According to the Commission of 1883, the cattle were distributed. That may be an Xosa custom, but it is not a Zulu custom, is it ?- No; the lobolo cattle pass into the entire control of the male members of her clan, and may be used by the men for the purchase of wives of their own. As



a matter of fact they often are. In Zululand the lobolo cattle are the property of the father of the bride. If the custom could be made so that the lobolo cattle should be the property of the children of the bride, our whole trouble would be solved. But I want to say this, that I should not advocate any Government action in connection with this matter. All I want is, at this stage, that something should be done to legalise the status of a widow.

MR. LUCAS: How would you suggest that it could be done without Government action?— The first step in that direction would be for all levirate marriages to be forbidden. That is a marriage under the old law of Levi, that is, that the brother takes the widow of his brother.

That would appear to require some Government action, too?— Yes, and I say that that would be the only Government action which I would advocate.

What you have suggested would help in so far as widows are concerned, but it is not only widows who go to towns to work. The more serious aspect is in regard to the young girls. Even if your suggestion were adopted, it would be a long time before anything could be done for them. Have you anything you can suggest which would help to deal with this matter in the near future?— I have no suggestion to make with regard to that, because any steps which the Government might care to take in that direction would cause so much trouble among the people at present, that it would not be worth while. I think the situation is one which ~~can't~~ only be left to the years to solve. I myself see no solution of it.

At Pokeng, near Rustenburg, the missionaries told us that a number of the fathers have realised this, and are giving their daughters certain rights and privileges in order to keep

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them at home. Is not it possible with education to get the same results in Zululand in the near future ?- I think it would certainly be a step in the right direction. If civilised fathers could be persuaded to make their girls a small allowance, such as we do to our own daughters, it might be a very good thing. Perhaps I might say that there are ways in which this difficulty might be coped with, and I should suggest the development of home industries for girls, poultry keeping, pig keeping, and so on. In certain localities cotton picking, and any kind of labour which the girls could undertake for their own benefit. I think if that could be taken up it would do a lot of good, - if that could be done for the benefit of the girls and not for the benefit of the fathers, it would also be a step in the right direction.

But if they stay at home, with the views which you say the Zulus have, is there any way in which that could be secured ?- Only by Act of Parliament. You would have to define the status of a girl. Any property which the girl earns should be her own - anything she earns by her own labour should become her own property, and not the property of the clan.

Could you do that without causing an upheaval ?- Yes, I think one could do that.

Do you think there would be less upheaval than with what you suggested for widows ?- I think so.

THE CHAIRMAN: Would it in practice have any effect ?- I think it would have a good moral effect if the girl were given a certain status.

MR. MOSTERT: At what age ?- I think at the age of 18 approximately. Just to illustrate my point. Take the case of a girl who is a teacher; she goes through a training school



and qualifies as a professional teacher. I have an instance in my mind where a girl employed in one of our schools by her own efforts saved up £45, which she put in the Post Office Savings Bank. The time came when she wanted to get married. She came to me with her bank book, and said "What am I to do with ~~this~~ this?" "It does not belong to me really". "If I do not spend it now my father will take the lot, or otherwise my husband will later on." She had no property rights of her own. I went to the local Native Commissioner and asked him whether there was no means by which the girl could save her own property, and he said he did not know of any; the money really belonged to her guardian.

MR. MOSTERT: Would it not be advisable to keep it in the bank? - Yes, I advised her to do so.

What happened? - In this particular case the man who was going to marry her was so short of cattle for lobolo that the girl generously drew out the money and gave it to him to buy cattle.

MR. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK: This dissatisfaction which you speak of, does that apply only to the higher educated native, or also to the girls who have left at Standard II? - It applies to all girls who have a taste for progress.

MR. LUCAS: That number is rapidly increasing, is it not? - Yes.

MR. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK: Has not the fact that the girl is taught all kinds of subjects something to do with it? - Yes, I suppose so. Any girl who gets any advanced education is given a good deal of practical work.

I am referring to theoretical subjects? - Yes. These girls are taught housewifery, domestic science, practical domestic economy, and so on. No girl under the Natal Educational System can attain any high degree of education without receiving

a great deal of education in handicrafts.

I am speaking of the lesser educated ones ?- I agree with you there. It is due to the lack of practical education, and that again is due to the lack of money.

MR. LUCAS: Some of the missions, some of the Centocow girls are taught to use machines for sewing, and we have been told that a number of them buy their own machines afterwards. Is there anything like that in Zululand ?- Yes, it is increasing.

And the difficulty which you mentioned about that girl with £45 to her credit, does that arise there ?- Yes, it does.

Can you see hampering effects on these girls at present, or are they chancing it ?- They largely chance it, for the reason that even the best educated Zulu does not look far ahead. To him sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.

MAJOR ANDERSON: If they do spend their own money, they do not get into trouble with their guardians ?- I suppose they do, but they seem to worry through.

MR. LUCAS: Is there among the Zulus in Zululand any instance of individual tenure of land ?- Not that I know of.

Has the syndicate system, the company system, of owning land come into Zululand at all ?- Only in one case. In one district there are two farms held by a native syndicate.

Could you express any opinion as to the effect of that on the native mind ?- What is going on at these two farms is that they are used for the closer settlement of natives. The native landlords are letting out the land in ten-acre blocks to natives.

And these natives hold them individually ?- Yes.

MR. MOSTERT: What is the rent ?- I think it is £5



per year, but I am ~~xx~~ not sure.

MR. LUCAS: How does the standard of education of these tenants compare with that of the ordinary native in the Reserves ?- It is very similar, there is very little distinction.

Is it feasible for him to pay 10/- an acre in rent ?- I am afraid that I can hardly answer that. The landlord would be able to answer that better, and I do not know whether he gets his money. The man in question is the Revd. Mbiza Kuzwayo, near Melmoth.

Now, the natives that have come under the influence of the old established mission stations, do their methods of living approximate those of the Europeans ?- Yes, they are decided<sup>ly</sup> on the up-grade.

Do these people have European furniture, chairs, tables, and so on ?- Yes. To give you a concrete example of that. At my own mission station, St. Augustins, I have a carpenter's shop where boys are apprenticed to the trade and last year I sold to the surrounding native population £135 worth of furniture made in the shop, chairs, tables, chest of drawers, sideboards, doors and windows.

Bedsteads ?- No, they buy iron bedsteads.

Now, the natives that go out from Zululand to work, do they send much money back to Zululand ?- Those that go to work under the Native Recruiting Corporation send back large amounts under the deferred pay system, but those who go to the coal mines send almost nothing, owing to the system of tied stores obtaining on the coal mines.

THE CHAIRMAN: Tied in what way ?- Well, boys are paid by the shift, and not in cash, or if they are paid in cash they pay promptly over to the ~~mine store~~ mine store-

is intimately acquainted with the working of this system.

MR. LUCAS: You expressed the opinion that the system leads to the ~~min~~ coal mines getting a poorer type of native than the gold mines ?- Yes, that is so.

MR. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK: And no money is sent home ?- Generally speaking, very little money comes from the coal mines.

We were told that the Zulu has become a real spend-thrift nowadays ?- I do not think he is worse now than he was twenty years ago. All I can say is that if you compare the methods in use on the coal mines with the methods on the Witwatersrand, there is a very striking difference. I hold no brief for the Native Recruiting Corporation. They are more than able to look after themselves, but I do say this, that the result of boys going to work in Johannesburg under the Native Recruiting Corporation is on the whole good. Money is sent back by these boys in fairly large amounts. There are very few harmful results from their sojourn on the Reef, and they come back better boys than they were when they went, as a result of the compound system and of the enlightened system of dealing with them, through the Chamber of Mines and the Recruiting Corporation. On the other hand, the effect on boys working on the coal mines is bad, from the financial and the moral point of view.

MR. LUCAS: We were told there was a great deal of prostitution in the neighbourhood of the coal mines. Is there anything like prostitution among the natives in the reserves ?- Very little indeed. Girls who wish to do that kind of thing go to the nearest town. I would not say that the morals of the people in the reserves are good. Unfortunately they are



not. But so long as the tribal sanctions hold any boy who gets a girl into trouble marries her, or pays cattle as a fine. In the towns prostitution is simply for money.

I pointed out under the heading of "Recommendations for tribal life", that that was one of the strongest points in favour of tribal life, that the sanctions still held. No boy can commit adultery without paying for it.

Have you any idea of the percentage of adult males in Zululand out of work at any time? - No, I could not say.

You spoke about the natives selling stock; are they prepared to sell stock if they can get a decent price? - To ~~some~~ an increasing extent they are. Among the old Zulus parting with a beast was worse than parting with a tooth, but among the younger generation it is very different.

What do they do with the proceeds; is there any banking? - Yes, to an increasing extent. The Post Office Savings Bank would show you a good record of the savings of the natives.

One of the things you mentioned was the difficulty of marketing. Is that a serious difficulty? - Yes.

Are there any natives in Zululand who market grain in large quantities? - No, generally their mode of selling their produce is to sell it among their own people. They do not generally take it to the stores. Of course, there is a large trade going on in Zululand through hawking. Natives take out hawkers' licences, and they hawk all their produce about.

And do they have their own waggons? - Yes.

And do these hawkers trade for cash? - Yes, cash or barter.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do they seem to make a financial success

of it ?- Yes, in many cases they do.

MR. LUCAS: Are there any natives who have stores ?- No, not in Zululand. You do not find native stores here.

Do any of the natives manage stores for Europeans ?- Yes, there are many cases where you find that.

And do they do so successfully ?- Yes, very. I know of only one native who has applied for a general store licence in the ~~Kam~~ Nkandhla, and his application is now under consideration.

In Zululand at present, what openings are there for educated natives ?- There are openings for school teachers, clerks in magistrates' offices, interpreters in magistrates' offices, and police, Motor-drivers, and similar trades, but there are only a small number of them; and farm managers - but only a small number of them as well.

Is there an appreciable number of these posts other than teaching ?- There is an appreciable number in the police. The policy I understand now of the police force is to employ educated natives as constables and as clerks.

And the natives employed in Zululand, in these occupations, are they Zulus ?- Nearly always.

DR. ROBERTS: And the post office, are there any openings there for natives ?- I do not know of native post office clerks, except messenger boys.

MR. LUCAS: Are any natives employed on the railways ?- No, only as labourers.

They are not employed in the offices ?- No.

You mentioned native farmers' associations. What form do they take ? How are they set up ?- A native agricultural society will be formed, usually by a missionary, who gets into



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touch with the more progressive elements among the educated native, and he persuades them to form their own agricultural society. As a general rule, the societies are officered by themselves and the missionaries act as referees. I know of four native farming organizations in Zululand.

What would be the membership of any of these organizations ?- The Nqutu one is the most flourishing one, and has a membership of 35.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Do they pay subscriptions ?- Yes, the membership is 5/- per year.

MR. LUCAS: These 35, are they holders of tribal land ?- Yes.

Are they more progressive than the average ?- Yes.

Are they all natives under the influence of mission stations ?- Not all of them. Of these 35, 27 have come under the influence of missions, and eight are not.

The eight are influenced by the 27 ?- Yes.

What functions does that organization carry out ?- It is connected with a farmers' co-operative society on a small scale and it is making an active attempt, a gallant attempt I may say, to collect funds in order to start its own land bank. At their meetings they discuss crops, present prices, agricultural methods, and sometimes they have a lecture delivered by one of the two agricultural demonstrators, and discussions generally on all questions connected with sheep, cattle and agriculture.

When you said that they are connected with a co-operative society, which one is that ?- Their own. They are trying to form one.

And this Union, does it have any methods of marketing different from the usual ?- No. Of the 35 members no less

than ten last year held traders' licences, and tried to dispose of their products in the district.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Can they register under the Cooperative Act of the Union ?- No, I do not think they can; it is merely a voluntary society.

DR. ROBERTS: Is it on the basis<sub>x</sub> as Father Huss suggested ?- Yes, I think so.

MR. LUCAS: But there is a very big advance in the native attitude there ?- Yes.

Can you suggest any development likely to come from that ?- I think it is early just yet to look for definite development. Naturally the membership of a society like that is very small, and before it can have a definite influence on the neighbourhood it must increase. The only definite development I can name today is that this native farming organization very enthusiastically supports the native agricultural show and generally succeeds in taking the prizes.

The show is supported by the natives in the district ?- Yes.

How long has any of these organizations been in existence ?- Since eighteen months ago.

This particular organization, did it start approximately with the same membership which it has now ?- No, at first it only had twenty members.

Is there any sign of its increasing further in the near future ?- I think it is a growing thing.

In Zululand there are a number of European farmers ?- Yes.

Does the native squatting for the European for so many months in the year apply ?- Only in the Babananga Division and in the Mtongweni.

Have you yourself come into contact with that



system ?- Not very much.

Can you express any opinion in regard to the effects on the natives of this district of that system ?- It would be difficult to do so off-hand. I am not in close touch with either of these districts. They are very largely in the hands of a Dutch-speaking section of the population, and we have no work there.

I thought you said you knew a number of these organizations and of course you are in touch with the whole of the area. Now, has there been any change in your time in the attitude of the natives towards Europeans? Is it less favourable now than it used to be ?- It is distinctly less favourable.

In what way ?- The attitude of the natives towards the white man is one of intense suspicion and distrust.

More so than formerly ?- Much more so. Whereas in the past every white man was regarded as a father and a leader, he is now regarded as an enemy.

Is that general ?- That is practically general throughout the country.

What do you attribute that change to ?- I attribute it to these causes. In the first place, it seems cynical to say, but the first cause is a better knowledge which the black man has of the white man. Secondly, I attribute it to the repressive legislation passed of late years, and particularly to the 1913 Land Act; and thirdly I attribute it to the growing national consciousness.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do not you think the fact that black and white gradually merging into a state or competition is a very powerful factor ?- Yes.

That is more power rather than ideas ?- It is difficult

to agree to that, so far as Zululand is concerned. You must remember that speaking of Zululand as an entity, there are roughly 7,000 Europeans and 350,000 Zulus. The Europeans are congregated mostly on the Coast, in the cane-growing areas, and the amount of personal knowledge which every Zulu has of the European in Zululand is very small. There is almost no competition in Zululand between black and white.

It comes as soon as they go out to work ?- That phase I think is covered by the cynical way I put as my first reason.

MR. LUCAS: Have you any suggestion as to how to remove the suspicion and distrust ?- Of course, the broad suggestion one can make is an improvement in the attitude of the ordinary white man towards the native, and conversely, an improvement in the attitude of the black man towards the European. That improvement can be brought about by more sympathetic legislation, more sympathy with the aspirations of the native, political as well as economic and social. And I should like to emphasize this, that the one thing which would establish the bona fides of the Europeans would be the recognition of Solomon as king.

THE CHAIRMAN: Take the Land Act with all its applications, in what way do you think that that could be used to remove this feeling ?- Obviously, the provision of more land for native occupation, which is part of the measure which was not carried out.

The releasing of the ~~shamula~~ reserved areas ?- The scheduled areas.

MR. LUCAS: Do you think there is sufficient land in Zululand, if it is properly allocated ?- Yes. I was not thinking of the Zulus in Zululand only, but of the Zulus in Natal;



while geographically they are separated, racially they are one people.

It seems one objection of the Europeans is the fear of social equality being set up between the European and the native. Do the natives require social equality with the whites? - None whatever. I do not think there is any desire on the part of the native to mix on lines of social equality with the whites.

They wish to have freedom in their own areas? - That is so.

Do you hear much about the pass system in Zululand? - Very little.

It is not a grievance there? - No, it is not.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do not you think, on the question of land, that a great deal of friction is due to the fact that the native as a whole has been used to a most extensive system of agriculture, which could only be kept up by an intense system of war, and that has been rendered impossible? - Yes, that is a very important factor. I might mention here one of the great grievances which the Zulu has. It is an historical one, but it still rankles, and it goes back to 1884, when the territory which I have spoken of, that near the Babananga District, which at one time was an integral part of Zululand, was bartered away by Dinizulu in the early days to the Boer people who came in from the Vryheid Republic to help him when he fought against his uncle, Usibhepu. And when the latter was conquered, with the help of the Dutch people, the latter claimed that Dinizulu had promised them that he would pay them by handing over to them this slice of territory. The desire was to have a port for the Transvaal Republic opening

out in St. Lucia Bay. When the settlement came about in 1888, the Dutch people laid claim to this territory, and the British Government recognised this under the schedule which was called "Proviso B.", and this territory became settled by Dutch farmers, and is still so settled. That is still regarded by the Zulus as a grievance, and they maintain that Dinizulu did not have the right to barter that land away. One cannot discuss the ethics of the thing. The farmers are in possession of the land, and they were helped by the law. That was followed in 1901 by the Delimitation Commission under Sir Charles Saunders, which delimited a large piece of the land looked upon as Zulu land, which was opened up for European occupation. All the present sugar lands on the Coast were included under this delimitation, and other portions of the country. That also still rankles as a grievance in the Zulu mind.

MR. LUCAS: Are there any other grievances at the moment which might be removed? - There is a sentimental grievance which could be removed; the Zulu race began at the site of the murder of Piet Retief. The farm now called Moordplaas was the site of the graves of the old Zulu people. King Zulu himself is buried there, and many of the other great Zulu Chiefs. These graves are now ~~part~~ in a part of the land settled by farmers and owned by farmers. The Zulu has a great reverence for the graves of his ancestors, and it always seemed to me that as an act of grace, if the Government could acquire those lands - they are not very extensive, they are not very big - as a national park for the Zulus, it would have enormous effects in quieting the native mind.

MR. MOSTERT: Are there many graves there? - There are



twelve.

Would you suggest the whole of the farms being acquired ?- Yes, the whole of them; 6,000 acres in all.

MR. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK: Are the graves demarcated ?- The sites are known. They are scattered over the farm. It is only fair to say that that part of the ground is also sacred ground to our Afrikaans-people population. It was there that Piet Retief and his followers were murdered and buried. Such an act on the part of the Government, to secure that land and make it a national park, would meet the sentiment of a great many of your ancestors as well as of the Zulus. This is sacred ground. Here are the forbears of these people who now live in the country.

MR. LUCAS: About the attitude of the natives towards the Europeans generally. Does what you said also apply to their attitude towards the Government ?- Their attitude to the Government, I am afraid, is getting very much less satisfactory than it used to be. They very much distrust, I will not say the present Government, they do not distinguish, but they do distrust the Government of the Union.

Do you know what attitude they are taking up towards this present Commission ?- Without wishing to give offence, I would say that their attitude is one, that nothing good can come of it. This I think is the seventh Commission which has toured Zululand to take evidence on one point and another. I think you will find that in spite of their rather suspicious attitude, and in spite of their being suspicious of the motives of this Commission, there will be quite a number of them ready to give evidence.

Can you say what the working age of a Zulu is ?-  
Roughly speaking from ~~12~~ 16 to 45.

Do they go out up to 45 ?- Yes.

In their own territory, do they work above that age ?-  
Very rarely. They do a little bit of ploughing, if they  
can still do it, and then build their huts.

Do they plough above 45 ?- It depends on the social  
status of a man and on his age, and also on his wealth. If he  
is well-to-do he does not.

Does that mean that he relies on the rest of his family  
to do the work ?- Yes, he relies on the rest of his ~~family~~ family.

Is there any hiring of labour ?- Yes.

Do they pay in kind ?- They pay in kind for specific  
work. A herd-boy will be employed and if he works satisfac-  
torily for a year he will get one or two head of cattle, or  
rather his father will get that.

What share do the women take in agriculture ?- They  
do the planting. I am speaking now of the primitive people.  
They do the planting and the weeding, and a great deal of the  
harvesting.

And the more progressive people, what do they do ?- There  
the women only do the weeding and the harvesting.

Do the women handle the cattle at all ?- No.

They have nothing to do with the cattle ?- No.

Are there any exceptions ?- You will occasionally see a  
woman milking, but that is very bad from the Zulu point of view.  
And occasionally you will see a woman voorlooping a span. I think  
it is still true to say that practically speaking no woman handles  
cattle.

Are there any families where the women have to do all the



WORK , owing to so many of the men being away?-- That would happen in only a very small number of families.

MAJOR ANDERSEN: Would some sort of national park satisfy the Zulu, would he recognise it?-- I think as a gesture of friendliness a thing like that would appeal to the Zulu mind. I have often indulged in a dream of my own; when the Governor General comes out or the Prime Minister--- either of them could call together the representatives of the Zulu nation in the <sup>White</sup> Umfolosi Valley and there proclaim to them that this land shall be held sacred to the memory of their forefathers for all time. They could be told it is their land, but they are not to plough upon it or ~~desecrate~~ desecrate it, but they can visit it and do honour to the memory of their ancestors. They would understand that and appreciate it very highly indeed.

MR.MOSTERT: Would they wish to have the same treatment for Chaka's grave?-- Chaka, of course, was rather an exception. Although his body was buried at Stanger at the kraal which he founded, he still ranks as being buried among the Kings. I believe that Zulu tradition holds that although his body was buried there, his heart was taken back into Zululand, and buried in the right place.

MR.LUCAS: Take the Zulus to-day and as you knew them when you first went in among them; would you say that they had progressed economically or that they had retrogressed? I think on the whole they have progressed economically.

Now as far as education is concerned, are the young boys able to attend regularly or are they required part of the time for herding?--The proportion of boys to girls in allschools is 27 percent boys and 73 percent girls.

To what do you attribute that disparity?--To the fact that the boys up to the age of 16 or 17 when they go out to work are bound to supply the needs of their own families, herding, milking, ploughing and so on.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you find that they start their education at a rather later age compared with the European children?--Yes, generally speaking they do. Generally speaking no boys of under 10 or 11 years come to school.

Does that apply to the girls too?--The girls come at an earlier age than the boys.

MR. LUCAS: So the girls get longer periods of education too?--Yes. The services which the girls owe to their mothers are quite capable of being done in the early mornings. And also in the evening.

Taking the natives as whole in Zululand, do you find much keenness on education?--Enormous keenness.

THE CHAIRMAN: On what ground is that keenness?--Generally on the ground that education is the source of the greatness of the white people which they want to emulate.

MR. LUCAS: Have you noticed any lessening in the consumption of beer, any lessening in the desire for beer among the natives?--I think it is fair to say that generally they drink less beer than they used to do.

And to what do you attribute that?--To the tea habit, I should say.

Do you think that is spreading and taking the place of the beer habit?--Yes.

And do you think an increasing number of natives are realising that beer is bad for them?--Yes, I think so distinctly.

To come back to education: is there in Zululand itself much done in the way of night classes for adults?--No, very little indeed, almost nothing. The



NIGHT CLASSES that are in existence are only the beginning of the movement. The Natal Education Department has recently authorised the establishment of night schools for the use of herd boys and for boys who cannot otherwise go to day schools. These schools, as a matter of fact are held late in the afternoons.

Are there many?-- There will be more when there is money available.

Do you get many educated natives who voluntarily teach their sisters and other members of their family?-- Quite a number.

That is quite common?--Yes, that is quite common.

Would you recommend any extension of the openings for educated natives?--Yes, I would recommend a large extension in purely native areas.

What posts do you think should be given?-- I think the employment of junior clerks throughout the civil service would be a very good step in purely native areas.

What methods are adopted in notifying changes in the laws in Zululand, and is the method adopted satisfactory?--Yes, I think on the whole it is distinctly satisfactory. The method is that when a new law is promulgated the Native Commissioner calls up all the chiefs and headmen and any other people who care to attend; the chiefs are notified and the law is explained by the Native Commissioner. The Chiefs are then recommended to go home and explain the law in turn to their own people.

Is there any movement by the people not domiciled in Zululand to come into Zululand?--A large number are coming in; that is a noticeable movement.

Are they accepted in the tribes?--They are, for

the reason that every chief likes to increase the number of his followers.

Has that been of sufficient dimensions to increase the congestion in any area?--No.

What sort of natives come in?--In what way do you mean-- good or bad?

Are they all Zulus?--Yes; there are a few Swazis , but not enough to make any difference; my think my answer would be that they are all Zulus.

Do you find that a movement of that sort is from the farms?--Yes, from the farms.

Do you know the reason why they come?-- The reason stated by the natives--although I have no means of testing it-- is that the farmers drive them off.

Are they generally natives whose sons have left them?-- No, not generally. I cannot say that.

Are they generally natives with large numbers of cattle?--No, I would not say that generally they are.

You say they are not natives whose sons have left them?--It would be difficult to distinguish between them and ordinary natives in Zululand. They are all on the same level, I should think.

MAJOR ANDERSON: There is one important point-- the question of the recognition of the Paramount Chief. What would you recommend in the way of guidance and control and advice to the Paramount Chief?--It seems to me that the right idea would be something like this: The Paramount Chief should be stationed somewhere within touch with civilisation, telephones and so on. He should have a properly accredited, responsible Commissioner living near him, in whose charge he should be placed and who would



ADvise him on all matters he had to deal with and whose advice should ordinarily be taken. He should be supported by a Council first of the Chiefs, a National Council of the Chiefs, who in their turn would be supported by a Council of the "Commoners". I should have a Council consisting of 72 members, 22 of whom would be chiefs, 24 headmen under the ruling House, but appointed by the Chiefs, and 24 educated christianised natives.

In the event of unsatisfactory conduct, misgovernment by the Paramount Chief, what steps would be feasible to deal with him; would the appointment of a Regent be feasible in order to control him?-- I think under this course, with a properly appointed Resident Commissioner and a Council, it would be practically impossible for him to do anything wrong. I should leave the guidance of the Paramount Chief to the National Council with always the power of Veto in the Resident Commissioner's hands, but with an appeal to the Prime Minister or from him to the Governor General.

I take it that your feeling is that you do not want the country to fall in between two stools?-- Yes; if Solomon is not to be recognised as Paramount Chief, it would be far better for the country, for the future of the country that he should be moved out of the country. The moving of Solomon would provide a first class grievance; the other alternative of appointing him as Paramount Chief would be politically wise and also a great sign of the sympathy of the Europeans for the national ideas and a gesture of goodwill from the whole of the European community towards this portion of the community.

THE CHAIRMAN: I<sup>m</sup> other words you consider it a cardinal principle that the national ideals of the

Zulus in particular and the natives in general should be of paramount importance?-- Yes.

DR. ROBERTS: Following that up: if the power of the chief is waning, is it/ worth while trying to buttress it?-- I think it is always worth while trying to cure a sick man if his life is of any value/ at all.

Is not there a tendency to individualism on the part of all natives?--There is, but I cannot see any real reason why individual tenure of land, individuality in any sense, should necessarily militate against the power of the chief. From this point of view that the native will have to continue to be ruled directly by his own people, and whether the old tribal customs and powers continue or not, we shall always have to employ native agents to rule the native people, and the native agents are the native chiefs by birth.

Will not in future the Council which you have adumbrated take the place of the Chief?--I think the position which would be reached eventually would be similar to that in any community. Nowadays all laws are made in Houses of Parliament. All democratic countries are ruled by their Houses of Parliament, but the administration of special matter is always left in the hands of Magistrates and Chiefs.

MR. LUCAS: It is a democratic form which you are suggesting?--Yes.

DR. ROBERTS: We regard many customs as permanent; may it not be that they are not permanent; take circumcision among the Zulus?--It is not practised.

It was by edict of Chaka that it was wiped out?--I know that historians say so, but as a matter of tradition among the Zulu people, it was only a small section of the males who were circumcised. The Zulu tradition is that circumcision began to wane among Mageba.



Do you regard Lobola as being in a sense religious -- using the word in its larger sense-- a sort of religious ceremony?-- All dealings with cattle have their origin in the Zulu mind in religion.

Because of that a cattle tax would not be acceptable?-- Partly because of that; but then, no tax is ever acceptable, is it?

Now I think you said that parents expected more from their children than they should; do not you think that parents, especially native parents sacrifice a great deal for their children?--I have not observed it.

Is not it a fact that many go to Capetown and elsewhere to work in order to pay high fees for their children at educational institutions?--Not in Zululand, generally speaking. The natives, boys and girls, who go to expensive institutions either get ~~expensive~~ bursaries from the Government or are paid for by philanthropic missionaries, or go out to work in the holidays or are the children of wealthy parents who can afford to pay.

That is your view?--Yes, in Zululand, of course.

Do not you think that education has considerably enhanced the status of ~~the~~ women among the natives?--I should hardly say "considerably", but I do think it has enhanced it. I hardly think that the Zulus have reached the same stage of development as your people in Lovedale. My impression would be that at educational centres, while the girls are more or less on a footing of equality with the boys, when they go home, they revert to their original positions.

MR. LUCAS: Is not this higher standard of education of girls going to make the position rather difficult for married life?-- Yes, it is having that effect.

MR. LEROUX VAN NIEKERK: What permanency has

native educationf. Native boys and girls being educated up to standard II andhaving no literature, are there any benefits for them ?- I think the permanent result of education, even the low standard of standard II, will be in the first generation a quickening up of the intelligence of the people. And when that generation marries and begets its own children, they will have far more ambition that their children shall be educated. The effect is cumulative and must be permanent therefore.

Is it less in practice ?- Not more so I think than among the European population. It has very much the same effect as education generally has on the ordinary working classes of any community. That is to say, a European boy passes standard VI and then goes to work on a mine; in four or five years' time that boy has almost lost the power of reading and writing; but still there must be some permanent effect.

In this generation ?- Not merely in this generation, but also in the next generation. The effect is permanent. There is no doubt about that.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNED AT 9.50 p.m.,

UNTIL 10 a.m., ON FRIDAY, 19th of SEPTEMBER,  
1930.

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