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MTUBATUBA, SEPTEMBER 25th, 1930.

NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION. 12.15 p.m.

TWENTY-third Public Sitting.

PRESENT:

Dr. J.E.Holloway (Chairman)

Major R.W.Anderson.

Dr.A.W.Roberts.

Mr. F.A.W.Lucas K.C.

Sen.F.W.LeRoux Van Niek erk

Mr. A.M.Moortert.

Dr. H.C.M.Fourie.

Mr. C.Faye (Secretary.)

MR.CHARLES APTHORPE WHEELWRIGHT (DULY CALLED & EXAMINED.)

CHAIRMAN: We understand that you have had a very great deal of experience of the Natal and Zululand natives?-- Yes, I have; the official side of my work started in February 1890 in the Zululand Service, which was then the Imperial Service; it was before the amalgamation with Natal took place.

All your 40 years have been put in in Natal and Zululand?-- No, barring fourteen years in the Northern Transvaal, in the Zoutpansberg District, where I was from 1902 to 1916-- a matter of fourteen years.

We find in going through the country that there is a large amount of absconding of young people, evidently against the permission of their parents, and where they are on farms, against the permission of the farmers. Is that also the case in Zululand?--Zululand would not be largely affected by farms so far as the native population is concerned; there would be a small population on Zululand farms-- but that would be almost negligible, that is to say the native population on Zululand farms is ~~very~~ hardly considerable.

MR. C. A. WHEELWRIGHT.

Are there no natives....?--There is no residential population on the whole of the Coast farms.

What is the position about young natives who abscond without having received the permission of their parents?--Yes, there is a good deal of that going on. I put that down largely to the loss of control on the part of the parents and the natural change in the native mind. These youngsters want to get away and do a bit for themselves.

Why do you think that the parents have lost control?-- There is no reason to which I can attribute it except general slackness about things. I do notice that they have little or no control left over their children. A piccanin will tell you that he is tired and wants to go home; his parents may be there and you may speak to them and they will say "what can we do; the boy says he is tired and he will go". I had an instance recently; three little lads turned up at my place; I do not think that the eldest is more than 12 years of age and the youngest is about 8. They have come right from the Portuguese border, actually in Zululand proper. They told us where they came from and we took them on, really more to keep them than anything else. We did not want to have them wandering about. They are now doing minor jobs, herding sheep and so on. They told us why they had left. The little fellow told us that there were eight shillings in his father's place and they decided to appropriate that money and go away. Their parents do not know when and whether they will come back. That is one of many instances where a child has simply ignored his parents and gone off.

Is not the tribal system still fairly considerably in force in Zululand?--Yes, but that is rapidly weakening.

To what do you ascribe that?--I think I would ascribe that to the complete change of the Dynasty. The deterrent powers that existed and maintained that tribal power have disappeared; at one time the word of the King or of the Chiefs was absolute law; if that were broken the penalty might be anything. To-day the Chief has no longer got that power. Take the position of the kraal head to-day. If he has occasion to thrash anyone of his many wives---- it is a terrible thing to thrash a woman at any time, but there are times when these ladies need it; he is taken to the first Magistrate's Court and it just depends on the view taken whether he is severely punished or not. He may find it necessary to beat his children severely and police action is taken. So the whole fabric which built up the Dynasty of the Zulus and the tribal system throughout South Africa has suffered through the advent of the Europeans; there has been a loss of customs, there has been an interference with the powers of the Chiefs and there has even been a supplanting of the Chiefs. In fact it has been impossible for that control which did maintain the people at their old standard to run side by side with our methods.

MR. LUCAS: Does that account for this lack of control?-- Yes, I think so. --- plus something which has come over the native himself. There is some slackness, however, which I cannot account for; I do maintain that more could be done by the parents themselves to maintain their control.

CHAIRMAN: As an example of the slackness, am I correct in thinking that the way in patching up their huts has something to do with it?-- Yes, that is a typical instance. In the early ~~late~~ eighties, if you saw a Zulu hut--- it was a perfect thing. There was an outside palisade and also an inside one. You have seen pictures

of these old native kraals and huts. To-day they are built in a slovenly manner

The European has impinged to such an extent on the tribal system that it has taken its main force away?-- The whole system has changed with the arrival of the European. There were the annual meetings at the Military kraals where these people had to come and put the Royal kraals and the Military kraals into perfect order. And then they went back imbued with the idea of doing their own kraals in the same manner, and I can tell you that if their own kraals were not kept decently someone would communicate with the King and they would in all probability be very severely punished and made to toe the line. But to-day the safety and ease in which these people are living has made all the difference. At one time these pallisades which they had around their huts served as a protection against wild animals and also as a protection against human invasion. Both the outer and the inner pallisades were kept in perfect order and condition. And I can tell you that it took a pretty useful man to get over them. The outside pallisade was pretty substantially built. Then there were very securely shut gates, and after they had been shut at night no one dared enter. A body of armed men inside these places could successfully keep out a number of invaders.

Do you think there is anything that we could do to re-establish that old time discipline and control?-- Yes, I think so. I have always thought, and in the course of my reports I have suggested that the Chiefs should be vested with a considerable amount of judicial power for the punishment of minor offences, assaults, petty thefts and other things of a domestic nature. And also various other

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things. But with many of them the position to-day is that they have become so slack that it would be very difficult to give them that authority; in many cases it might be distinctly inadvisable. It was for that reason that for many years past I have been out for the raising of the type of these chiefs by educating them and bringing them upto the present day way of thinking. One would have to undertake the breaking down of many of the prejudices which used to interfere with the proper administration of justice.

Is the Zululand National Training Institution one of the results of your interest in that way?-- Yes, that is directly one of the results.

DR. ROBERTS: If that had been carried on, do not you think you would have created a number of chiefs who would have been able to rule in an enlightened and in-- if I may use the word in the broad meaning-- an English way that would be helpful to the native people?-- I hoped that the majority of these men turned out could have been entrusted to carry out the work of minor magistrates in their tribes and they would have been able to administer that justice without prejudice

That is tried tentatively in the Transkei at any rate; it is a sound idea for the future. Now do you think that a "Commoner" could act as a Magistrate with the same power and dignity as, say a minor chief?-- It might in certain places, but I doubt very much whether in a place like the Northern, the Eastern or the Western Transvaal where you have the tribal custom existing, and in parts of Natal and Zululand where you have that tribal organisation and the tradition of chiefs ---- I think there

you would find it extremely difficult. It would be very difficult, if not impossible for a commoner there to hold that position; that is my view.

He might find it a little difficult even in the Transkei?--I have noticed it even with minor officials that the native does not give that respect and dignity which he would give to a white official, for instance.

CHAIRMAN: The Zululand National Training Institution has not been going sufficiently long to enable one to judge whether it will have the effect on the Chiefs which you hoped for?-- It was started about 1916 or 1917 and then it was starved badly; it was starved by people who had no business to do so. It was an arrangement which was made on my suggestion to General Botha. It was a very popular thought of his and he was intimately acquainted with those people and their ideas-- historically, of course, and it appealed to General Botha and he said "get ahead with it". It was started with a great flourish, but when it came to the rungs of the ladder, we had everyone who had anything to do with the granting of money, cavilling at it and stopping the supplies. I never saw anything like it; the people behind it did all they could to stop money coming to it.

DR. ROBERTS: But you had sufficient money from your own funds?--I was not allowed to spend that.

I thought you were allowed to?--No.

CHAIRMAN: A thing like that to have its proper effect on the Zulus would have to be on a much larger scale than what it is now?--Yes; it would be money well spent. Those who were responsible for everything kept on urging that it should be self supporting, but the only means we had of making it self supporting was a bit of a mealie patch. That was not the light in which the late Genl. Botha saw the thing.

So the Institution has never had the chance with which it was supposed to have been started?--No, we wanted the principal to be given the opportunity of getting away and interviewing people. We had a lot of prejudices to break down among our magistrates and among other people. I do not know now, but at one time that was one of the biggest barriers. The principal of the Institution had been very carefully selected. He had befriended those people who had been sent to Middelburg, Transvaal, during the late Dinizulu's lifetime, and on his death the whole family was sent back to Zululand and liberated without any sort of policy. The present principal took these youngsters in hand and we are under a debt of deep gratitude to him. He was a very popular man and he was selected for that reason, and we felt that he might have been allowed plenty of transport allowance and that kind of thing to get about the country and interview different chiefs and probably some of the magistrates who had prejudices against sending the chiefs ~~there~~ to the Institution. We wanted him to go around and arrange for a number of matters, but it was not allowed; we had to cut down everything, even the furnishing of the place and matters in connection with the general development. I hear now that there is a ~~new~~ question of sending some breeding stock there. We urged that at the very beginning, but although the money was put on the estimates, it never materialised.

CHAIRMAN: You may be interested to learn that they now have one red bull and two cows?--I am very pleased to hear that they have got that at any rate.

Supposing it became a cardinal point in the Government's policy to re-establish some measure of the Chiefs' authority, would one institution like that be

sufficient for the whole of Zululand?--Well, I think it might be, and if it were found not to be enough one could add some other institution. Personally I think it might be turned into a national university of some sort which would regain its popularity for it.

It has also been put to us that an essential position of re-establishing the chiefs' authority would be the recognition in some shape or form of Solomon. Can you and do you care to express an opinion about that?-- I wrote a very carefully worded memo about that before I left office. It is a very difficult position. The personality and conduct of a person makes all the difference. If that individual had been a man of real standing, a man of strong character, I certainly think that he might have been made use of. In fact it was Genl. Botha's very definite statement to him that he would so use him. But the man has not shown that strength of character, he has not shown that reliability that would have ever justified one in extending that power which in different circumstances we might have done.

Has he had much opportunity of showing anything? No, he has not. There were always prejudices against anything in the shape of Paramountcy in Zululand since the breaking down of Zululand in 1879.

On whose part?--Not only on the part of Natal, but on the part of other portions of the Union. The Zulus threatened the eastern borders of the Transvaal very badly at one time.

[MR. MOSTERT: IN what year was that? ---That was 1879. It really was that which largely led to the Zulu war of 1879. There was a question of boundary between Zululand and the Transvaal. A Commission sat on the matter and Sir Theophilus Shepstone in whom the Zulus had great faith and on whom they relied to take their side of the question, became

administrator of the Transvaal. He then had to take up the cudgels on behalf of the Transvaal. The Zulus felt that very deeply and there was a lot of friction and burning of farms took place as well as stealing of cattle. And it all had a lot to do with the outbreak of the Zulu war the next year.

DR. ROBERTS: Have you got any copies of that memo which you wrote on the position?--- I have not got a copy of it myself, but it was sent to the Native Affairs office, but it went very much on the lines which I have just indicated here. It was a question whether or ~~not~~ not we could rely on the individual.

CHAIRMAN: The point which you have put to us was ^{it} that as part of the frame work was necessary to have this superior position of the lineal descendants of the great Zulu King. Do you think the Chiefs can stand without that coping stone?-- I doubt it very much. That has a tremendous influence; I can assure you that that influence is still there. I can tell you of instances where when instructions are issued by local magistrates consultations take place immediately with the Royal Kraal of Solomon. Even on what may ~~appear~~ appear to be minor matters-- great matters to them, questions of lands and evictions. There is a very great influence wielded from that. I made certain proposals in regard to these matters; I proposed the establishment of Councils under a different system from that which is in force in the Transkei. I may tell you that the Zulus have their Councils-- very definite councils. Each tribe has its Council and I thought that to initiate a system under which you would work on these lines of using the head of the Zulus in the shape of Solomon on these Councils, would be generally acceptable. He would probably have presided over these councils, and in time it would have been

possible, if so required, to evolve a different system. So far as a Council is concerned, we have that just as definitely and more so; and more so because it is original and it carries with it all the national and tribal tradition, more so than you have it in your new councils, which - I was going to say - are artificial. I do not mean to speak disrespectfully, but they are artificial as compared with the system which I am describing. In the Transkei you have your tribal councils among the people. Supposing there is an important matter - a faction fight or something of the kind, it is not the councillor who is going to lead the people in this national question, it is going to be the tribal council which is going to arrange a matter of this kind.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the matter of evictions, is it likely that such a thing as the recognition of Solomon may influence the Zulus beyond the border of Zululand - do you think that they would want to refer matters like that to him? - It is possible. We have an instance where it actually happened. It was the case of a tribe living in the Piet Retief District - Makalumane was the name of the Chief, and he was in charge of a tribe living in the Piet Retief District, near the Lebombo Mountains. A portion of his tribe was in the Vryheid District, which, through the war at the time had become separated from the Transvaal. The Natal Government had put some other chief over this portion of the tribe in the Utrecht District, but Makalumane used his influence from the other side and the whole matter was worked through Solomon. That is one instance, and of course there may be quite a number of others as well.

Taking Zululand at present, with the agricultural and pastoral industry as carried on by the industrie Zulus, do you

think that Zululand as a whole is congested ?- No, I do not think so.

Are any of the portions of Zululand congested ?- No, I do not think so.

It has been suggested to us that districts like Nqutu and Nkandhla are beginning to show signs of congestion ?- It depends from what point of view one looks at it. If you are to look at it from the point of view of the Zulu, before there was any white man in the country, then it is true that it is becoming congested. But Eshowe District, Nkandhla, and others, and even those districts of Hlabisa, bordering on the old Vryheid District, where the natives have come across when they were big stock-owners, these people have had limitless country to graze on. If that is the point of view which we have to take, if we have to look at it from the point of view of pastoralists and big stock-owners, then naturally there are parts which have become congested. But the whole of those conditions in Natal, the whole of the relations of the natives, and of the white men for that matter, have altered, and if the native brings himself down to a modern method of living, making the best out of the land, which he can only do if he gets help, then I do not think that one can say that Natal is congested. I do not want to be pessimistic, but I do say that unless the native is helped as I have indicated, he will not be able to get on. I do not want to be critical, but after all one has to be a bit, one has to face the position squarely, and I do say that the native has not had that help.

You mean help in improving his methods ?- Help in being shown. I am not saying that in any carping way. One has always had this position, ever since Union, in the

Public Service. I was in the Public Service in the Union, one was always hampered in wandering on these lines, always doing one's best, and asking that the native should be modernised.

MR. LUCAS: That he should be assisted ?- Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the olden days, with big stock-owners, they took care to keep their population within bounds ?- Yes.

DR. ROBERTS: Now, do you think that the population was less in Chaka's days than what it is today; you must remember that he was able to put armies of 50,000 and 100,000 men in the field ?- It was less in those days, but not much less. The increase of the Zulus has not been very great. You have statistics to compare these matters, and I think you will find, if you compare them, that there has been a definite increase, but it has not been anything very great. I understood you to say that you were going to visit those irrigation works. You will get a typical instance of how two valleys have become the granary for huge surrounding locations, which are incapable of growing food on account of the rocky and unsuitable nature of the country. Now, many of these native locations contain the most beautiful land, and the best land you have. And many of us have hammered away to get the State to spend a bit of money on these places, and get the natives down to utilising their one, or ten, or fifteen acres of ground. You have instances along the South Coast, where we have been able to get the land cut up into holdings of ten or fifteen acres for sugar growing, and where you have certain stations or mission reserves entirely cut up so that they will not hold another person, because the land has been allocated on the basis of 13 acres and provision has been made in those places for native

townships in case the descendants of those who are living there at present cannot get a place on the holdings, in which event they must go into the native towns. And ⁱⁿ Nqutu and Nkandhla there are many possibilities for the chess-board system of agricultural plots. But to let these people maintain the huge flocks of worthless cattle - and they are really worthless, little, diminutive stock, because they are inbred, worthless from many other points of view and simply eating off the grazing -- to let these people do that, would be absolutely hopeless. Those people's whole time is taken up in looking after their beastly stuff, and it really would interest you to look up some of the Court records and see what useful revenue is coming to the State from fines imposed through these people not dipping their stock. There is a great deal of slackness existing with some of these kraal heads. They have to dip their stock, as the case may be. They do not go themselves but they send a piccanin. That piccanin gets tired on the way and the result is that he does not do the work which he has been sent out to do. Practically every court day a large number are run in for failing to dip their stock, and I can assure you that that kind of thing has become rather a severe liability to them. That is a point which I should like to bring very forcibly to your notice.

(Question)
/The main point is that education in regard to better kraal methods is long overdue ?- Very long overdue. Still, it is not too late.

Now, a certain amount of sporadic organised education has been going on and therefore the natives going to work on European farms have to a certain extent acquired a certain amount of knowledge. Do you think that that has any effect ?

What I am really driving at is that these natives working on European farms have learnt improved methods from the European farmers. Has that had any effect on the natives when they return to their old kraals ?- Unfortunately the effect has been very small. You will see these fellows handling the European's land and doing really beautiful work. You will see beautiful land. That man will go home and you will even go so far as to lend him a plough and a span of oxen. Instead of following the methods which he has been taught by the farmer, he will plough around a tree and he will fail to clean the land as he has been taught to do. I have seen fellows who have done the most perfect fields for the white man, but when they get back to their own home they are too indolent to do anything.

Is that not due to the atmosphere which they get in their kraals rather than to indolence ?- There is a bit of both of course. The progressive man certainly is rather hated by the people in the location, and I know of instances actually where they have been hounded out of the location. I had in mind the case of a man in the Umkomaas Valley; he was a very progressive fellow, and he went in for producing mealies, potatoes, and other products. He used to buy fertilisers and he employed natives as labourers. The people there were up against him, and they told him that he was apeing the white man.

MR. LUCAS: Is that recently ?- That is a matter of five or six years ago. We naturally protected that man, and we went to a lot of trouble about it, but they got at him through witchcraft and superstition. He got ill, and in the end he went away. He left his place and went in among the

white farmers.

THE CHAIRMAN: This apeing of the white man does not seem to be a crime in itself. Do they look upon it as a crime ?- They said he was apeing the white man by employing labourers and by using manure.

What sort of a crime does that constitute in their eyes ?- None, except that they are a very conservative people. They like to take things as they come, and they are rather afraid that anything that is not exactly as they have done it all their lives will interfere with the liberty of their movements. For instance, this man fenced his lands. They regarded that as an interference with their grazing rights. You know, of course, what the tribal system of grazing amounts to? The crops are planted in the summer. At a given word of the chief the reaping takes place. That is gradually breaking down. But that is the system, and at a given time the whole of the arable lands are thrown open for public grazing, so that if you want to put in a winter crop, that goes by the board. The cattle would eat your winter crop.

MR. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK: We were told that the natives were also afraid that if some of these chaps became too progressive the white man might say "This land is too good for you", and they might lose it ?- That is just an excuse which was made. It was made when we were choosing these irrigation works here on the Umfolozi, it was a magnificent scheme. They said that it was only a stepping-stone for the white man to take over the land.

Is that suspicion not in the native mind that if they become too progressive the white man might take the country ?- I think the wish is father to the thought, but I do not think there is very much in that.

Is the thought there ?- If the system were to treat these lands much faster than we have done, I think that would gradually die out.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you think that the Zulus are more conservative in that respect than for instance the Transvaal natives ?- Yes, I certainly do think so. They are a peculiar type of people altogether in that respect. The Basuto of the Transvaal is a trader by nature. He is an agriculturist and works well. He has had to do it; he has not found it easy to get his food, like the people here.

THE COMMISSION AT THIS STAGE ADJOURNED FOR LUNCH.

ON RESUMING AT 2p.m. MR. WHEELWRIGHT
WAS FURTHER EXAMINED.

DR. ROBERTS: You have had a long career here, Mr. Wheelwright. Have you notice any change in the attitude of the white man towards the black, and of the black man towards the white ?- I have not noticed any change on the part of the white man towards the black, but I have certainly noticed a change in the attitude of the native towards the white man, not so much in the country as in the towns.

What would be the nature of that ? Would it be loss of trust ?- Yes, loss of trust definitely, there is no longer that same faith, but then of course there is also this, there is the building up of a reliance on themselves. If I may suggest, the I.C.U. Organization has been responsible ---

You do not think that that is the only circumstance which is working towards that attitude on the part of the native towards the white man ?- No, I think very largely it is the building up of the race. These people have combined. There was a great distinction at one time between the Basutos, the

Zulus and the Bechuanas. Today with very few exceptions they have exhibited unity and they have not only done that in the Union but they are in communication in other parts, in Central and in Northern Africa. That is a very decided step towards a united front. There are one or two local reasons why they have taken somewhat of a dislike. They blame us of having deprived them of their lands; generally throughout South Africa they reckon that we have taken their land from them.

With regard to this Council which you suggest, what would be the nature of it, say for Zululand? I have set it out in writing. It would have been a Council composed of every chief in Zululand, fully recognized, it would have been composed of every chief who would be summoned to this council annually, or as frequently as it was thought necessary to do so. That was the beginning of it. And I thought that that would have been better understood and that it would appeal more to the people, in fact I thought it was the only way by which we could get them to accept a Council.

The other kind of council would not appeal to them? Certainly not. There is a definite fear of introducing a democratic council and I thought there that you could evolve the thing and work in something else, if it was thought necessary, but nothing in the shape of an elected council, - they are definitely opposed to that.

Yes, they did turn it down, but I wanted to know what your own judgment was? Well, that is my view.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Would you tell us something about the effect which nagana has had on the native economy of Zululand; its effect is pretty serious at present, is it not? Well, they are very long-suffering. For instance, if you take any

of these reserves. Take the reserve in the Umfolozi. That is bordered on two sides of the triangle by native locations, and the Hlukluwe again is bounded on the north, west, and partly on the south by native locations, and the Umkoos is bounded by location No.13 on the north. I do not think it is any exaggeration to say that thousands of head of native stock have died annually, and they have constantly complained about it. But of course they get no hearing, and we are in the same position to day, we are not getting a hearing. We are in much the same position as the wretched natives.

Why do not they get a hearing ?- Simply because people do not realise what the effect of the nagana and the tsetse fly is on the native stock.

MR. MOSTERT: The Zulus are a monarchical people ?-Yes.

Now in regard to Solomon - they look upon him not as a great Chief but as a King. Now in appointing a man like Solomon with a Council, would you advocate that there should be a responsible person, a white man, giving advice? Would it not be rather dangerous if it were a native ?- Yes, that is the position.

You would advise that a white man should be there to give advice ?- We stuck out on his appointment that he should have someone with him always as his friend. We thought that by doing that it would do away with the iciness of the regular official who, Solomon might think, was trying to pry into his affairs and such matters. I naturally supposed that the Council would be presided over by a responsible Government official. That is the idea which I had in mind in making that suggestion. He should have somebody with him to advise him.

Do you think that that would satisfy the Zulu people - would they be satisfied if he were recognised ? He is not today recognised by the Government ?- It would be extremely

popular with a big section of the Zulus, but of course on the other hand there are also a great many who are not prepared to take that view and who would not like it. There are many who would fear trouble such as they had in the past but which fortunately has passed now. In the past they had their great wars, civil wars, and these people are afraid of that.

DR. FOURIE: You are referring to the other tribes ?- Yes.

MR. MOSTERT: I suppose you still find jealousy among them, just in the same way as you find jealousy among the white peoples?- At no period in their history has there not been internecine war among the Zulus.

From an agricultural point of view, I think we all agree on one point, and that is, that the Zulu is really a pastoral person ?- The Zulu is, but I would not ~~that~~-say that of all South African natives. The Zulu more or less is. He is more pastoral than any of the others that I know of in South Africa.

Would you agree that there is really no room for natives today to be only pastoral in South Africa ?- Yes, I think so. It would be impossible for all natives to be pastoral. I quite agree that there is no room.

Now, therefore, he has to be taught agriculture, but he is not an agriculturist and one has to take steps to train him?- Yes, that is so. He has to be taught.

That scheme you were telling us about, that irrigation scheme, for how many natives would that be ?- I think there were 4,000 plots on the Tugela Irrigation Works and close on 4,000 at Mooli River.

What is the acreage for that settlement ?- The plots run up to two acres in extent.

Have they got a grazing area ?- They have a hinterland. This is the valley of the river which you will see, and the hinterland in the mountains was the grazing. But in these particular locations, which have become pretty densely populated, the cattle are dying out very largely and very rapidly.

Is that owing to over-stocking ?- Yes, overstocking and consequently lack of sufficient grazing.

Do you think it feasible, as far as the native is concerned, that you could limit his stock ?- It would be very unpopular, but it is an economic act only which will do it. What has happened in these districts which you have heard of as being described as over-populated today -- the real over-population is in regard to stock, and that has led to losses in stock. What the native really means when he speaks of over-stocking, is the loss of his grazing and the consequent loss of his stock through starvation.

Now, what would you think would be a fair number of stock for a native ?- It is very difficult to say, you would have to take every case on its merits. For instance, here in these huge locations one native kraal comprises 5,000 or 6,000 acres, and there would be no object in limiting the stock in such a kraal. The grazing is there and nobody really wants it. But in other locations where there is not sufficient room for more than five or six head of stock, it is a very different proposition. I think that is a thing which would have to regulate itself as you went to each Municipality or District or Location.

Would you consider it feasible if the arable land of the natives were to be properly allocated to him, if they were

to be surveyed? - I think it would be worthless to do it, except in places which might suggest themselves. For instance, to come and survey lands here where the population is no object, would be useless. Because no-one would observe it, but in other districts such as Uqutu and Nkandhla, where the population has become congested, there I think it is high time that there should be some allocation. You get a place today where they destroy the whole grazing aspect by putting a little field in the centre.

Would the native object to that? - He might, but I think we rather make too much of his objections sometimes, and I think that a little bit of pressure sometimes is all that is wanted to get a really very good scheme started.

Because no matter what you do, so far as the making of laws is concerned, even among our white people, you do not get everyone satisfied? - No, I am perfectly certain of that.

Particularly when it comes to taxation? - That is so.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You have no squatters here? - Not here, but of course you have them in other parts.

And you have to depend on casual labour which offers itself? - Yes.

And do you draw that chiefly from Zululand? - All mine, except occasionally when I get a few Basutos.

Is that the general rule here? - I am not very conversant with all the aspects here, but I fancy a lot of their labour must be imported.

And what is the usual pay here? - I think the current wage is about £2 per month and rations.

MR. LUCAS: What is it, ^{30 shillings per} ~~30/-~~ or £2? - It all depends. Some people work their labour on the calendar month and come

under the Master and Servants Act, but there are difficulties about the thirty shifts. It seems that the Act presents them with certain difficult situations. I work my labour on the calendar month. They work their Sunday, or they get it off, as the case may be, and in any case it is included in the thirty days.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Would you say that the Zulu, taken as a whole in Zululand, is well off?— Yes, he is very well off. I would estimate that there is not a kraal along this district, and there is not a location anywhere round about here, right away up, which does not have an average of anything from thirty to fifty head of cattle per kraal, plus goats and sheep.

What would be the average adult males in a kraal?— As far as I remember we reckoned three heads to a kraal, and the families would consist of four, mother, father, and say two children. That would be twelve inmates. An average kraal of three heads.

If a son is married, do not you reckon him part of the kraal?— He is, according to the written code of Natal, but so long as that family lives in one kraal, there is one head.

Have you any knowledge as regards the conditions of these squatters in Natal in general?— Yes, I have.

What are their conditions?— There is of course a working condition on most of the farms. These farms are on the High Veld generally, and there is mixed farming there. You do not get the squatters on the wattle plantations or on the sugar belt to any great extent, because there is no room for them there. I think that they usually work six months in the year in Natal. Everyone has to work, and some would render free labour, while others again would get a reduced wage during the time

that they have to work under that contract, while for the rest of the time they would be free either to go out or they will continue to work for the farmer on a different basis.

What would you say are the living conditions of these squatters ?- Generally I should say that they are very fair.

How would you compare these people, say to a native living in town ?- There is no comparison, they are better off. Sometime ago I rendered a return showing that the native squatters of Vryheid and of the Native Districts of Utrecht and Paulpietersburg owned more stock between them than the whole of the white farmers put altogether in these three districts.

Did you make a statement to that effect to the Department of Native Affairs ?- Yes, I rendered a statement and I suppose that it would be available if you applied for it.

DR. ROBERTS: Can you give us any more of the details of what you said in your report ?- I could not give you all the details. Whatever was in it was in writing. But in those particular districts I do remember that I had to hold an inquiry and I had a lot of interesting information given. There are a number of actual figures which show that the blacks owned more stock than the whites.

I think you said that there was a little over a million of large stock in Zululand ?- I am sorry I do not remember, but the actual figures are there.

MR. LUCAS: What was the relative population ?- Oh the relative population was hugely in favour of the black, but the whole of the land on which these people live is owned by white farmers, which incidentally opened up a serious question at the time, because there was an amount of eviction occurring on these farms. During the sheep boom, or the wool boom, there were a

number of people evicted, evicted. These farms had not been in full use by the owners and when the sheep came in during that boom they had to move a number of these people off the farms to make room for their own plots, and that meant disturbing a large number of these natives. And then they had difficulty in moving - the natives had - because of the quantity of stock which they owned.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: We are told that that process is still going on? - They were moving very largely about three years ago, and naturally they were not very welcome elsewhere. A man with 100 head of stock and with a few hundred head of goats and sheep is not welcome; the people among whom they have to live do not want to accept them on account of the lack of grazing and on account of the fact that the influx of such large numbers of people with their stock takes up a lot of room.

Have you thought of any process by which we can eliminate the over-stocking? Would the natives stand a cattle tax for instance? - Yes, if you made it universal both for white and black.

No, I would not say that. I was thinking of the native reserves. After all, if the white man sees that he has too much stock he reduces it? - The economic position would do that.

With such a slow process -- do you think that would be satisfactory? - I think if you are to do anything in the way of taxing stock, you must make it universal, because then the native will have nothing to say, but if you impose a tax on native stock only, and not on yours or mine, the native, and rightly so, would have something to grumble at.

The Department today is paying all the dipping expenses, all the expenses in regard to dipping tanks, etc., out of the local tax. Now if you were to use the money of the local tax for the advancement of the natives in the locations, and say to

them "You have to pay for the dipping of your cattle", would they stand that. ?- In reply to that I should like to say this, you want to make these changes as seldom as possible. when I think/we put that question of the change of the incidence of taxation we did hold out a very definite promise to them, in fact we made a very definite statement, that the consolidated tax would meet such things as dipping. In Natal and Zululand there was a very definite dipping fee of so much per head, which they elected themselves, instead of a capital charge, and when the taxation was consolidated, they were told that the dipping levy was actually taken off, ~~te~~ and it was definitely stated that the consolidated tax was in the place of all these other taxes. I do not think it is wise to make these changes too frequently.

DR. FOURIE: You mentioned one man who was so progressive in his farming methods that his people went against him, because, as they said, he was apeing the white man. Now, is not there possibly another reason why they were ~~ap~~ against him ?- Well, of course, he was a man of peculiar temperament, and probably he was a quarrelsome fellow.

Every native who is like that would be looked upon as peculiar to other natives, and other natives might think that he is against tribal traditions, and that he is looking to the breaking up of the tribe ?- I just happened to mention that as an instance, but I could mention many others who are doing well and no harm has come to them. We have a man in the Nkandhla District; he is a very big sheep farmer, and he has big clippings of wool every year. He goes in for wool sheep, where others are going in for wattles, in certain parts of the country, and he is doing very well, but no-one is interfering very much with him.

MR. LUCAS: We had yesterday what has been referred to as the Young Zulu Movement. There were three young men representing the younger generation of the Zulus, who were developing individual ideas. Do you know much about this? The one was a trader and the others were men in a big way for the natives. They complained about the chiefs and about the hindrance which the chiefs were ?- Yes, I have heard of those things.

They spoke as if there was a substantial number of natives in that position ?- They are so singular, those instances of really progressive men, that one can almost count them, but I know that these objections do occur. If there were more of them and if they were going faster, you would not get the prominence given to one man who is cropping up in the middle of an unprogressive location.

You regard them as just a few individuals; the impression I got yesterday was that of rapidly increasing numbers. They said that they represented the bulk of the young people ?- No; there is only one in about sixty miles here who has shown any progress at all. He is a fairly well educated native, and he broke away from his family and he runs a cream separator, for instance. Now that is almost unheard of..

THE CHAIRMAN: What is his name ?- He is Amos Zunge.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Is it a fact that the natives in this coastal belt are rather less advanced than those on the High Veld ?- I do not know that I should say that. They were looked upon as being of a lower caste by their own people at one time, but I do not know if there is any difference nowadays.

They do not seem to be so advanced as the people in the High Veld ?- Yes, there may be influences which have affected the position. Now, in the Nqutu District there was the influence of these Baumbés, which made a great impression.

That was the outcome of the introduction which took place during the Zulu war.

DR. ROBERTS: What tribe do they belong to mainly along the coast ?- You have the Mteti and you have the Somkele people there, and north you get many Tongas.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Do you think that malaria may account for a certain backwardness here, which they do not suffer from in the High Veld ?- Well, it would certainly account for their physical condition, and I dare say that it does affect them mentally, but at the same time you find some of our best workers in these malaria districts.

MR. LUCAS: You have told us about individuals who have been very progressive. Now can you tell us of any general improvements in their methods of farming, which you have noticed in the last twenty years ?- I can only say that there has been improvement where there has been white influence. You have three mission reserves on the South Coast, and where there has been missions, or mission stations, there has been very definite progress. These men work like small tenant farmers and they are cultivating their holdings, which in some cases run to about ten to thirty acres, or to forty acres. You will hear probably that these men do not do the work themselves, but that the mill does the work for them. But after all they have to borrow and they have to do certain work, otherwise they cannot do anything. They have to borrow, like everyone of us. They go to the mill and they ask the mill to help them, and the mill does it, ⁱⁿ and what they consider the safest and the most economical way. Instead of lending the native money, which he would probably spend on something else, they lend it in labour, or ploughing, or something

else, but those men have certainly made a very big step towards progress. One can undoubtedly notice that.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: On the whole there is not much improvement in the Zulu methods of agriculture ?- No, their ploughing, such as they do, is a very scratchy sort of work.

MR. LUCAS: You attribute that to conservatism? Are there any actual customs, religious or semi-religious sanctions, which work against the improvement of agriculture among the Zulus ?- Not that I know of.

Does the interference of the Chief in any way hamper their progress in agricultural matters ?- No, I do not think so.

Then you spoke about the liability that dipping was becoming to the natives. Are there any natives who have to pay dipping fees ?- Not in the locations. On the farms they have to pay dipping fees, and there certainly it is a liability. But the expression I used was concerning the locations, where through their indolence and through their carelessness they are constantly being fined for not bringing their stock to be dipped. There they feel it as a serious hardship.

Is that having any effect on the number of cattle they keep ?- No, I do not think so.

Now, in the reserves themselves, there is not much question of wages, there is not much question of wages being earned in the reserves themselves? Is there much employment, I am not talking of European farms, but the wage question does not arise in the reserves themselves, does it ?- No, not in the reserves. You do not get it there. There are no wages paid there, and you have a totally different condition.

But it affects them in so far as they have to go out to earn wages ?- Yes, if they want to earn wages they have got to

go out.

Is there any means by which we can find out what amount of money is earned by natives going from the reserves ?- I do not think so; there is no record kept.

For what period would you say that a native as a rule goes out to earn wages ?- It depends. If they go to the mines they usually go for a period of six months. That is the period which they seem to fix in their own minds, and for domestic work in town it would probably be the same. But on the farms nearest to the locations there is no period at all. It is a very unreliable form of labour. A man may come and work for a month. All he wants is probably a couple of pounds; he can pay all he needs to if he earns that. There is no dearth of employment, and the native has not got to look for employment at all. As a matter of fact, we have quite a lot of trouble in getting these boys to come to us. They say to themselves, "We have all we need"; we only want to earn sufficient to pay our taxes". They can earn that in a very short space of time, so why should they go out and stay away any longer than they really need to.

Is there any shortage, from the farmer's point of view, of labour in the reserves ?- Yes, there is an actual shortage where there should not be, simply through the fact of that man, that native, being so affluent that he does not require to work. He says to himself, "Why should I work?"

Is it just affluence - would you say that the Zulu has all he wants, or do you mean to say that he produces all he wants ?- The whole of his requirements are met by ^svery small sum of money. He has quite enough stock to supply all his wants. The stock is his form of investment, of course, his cattle is his bank, and he would do nothing with the bank if he had it in his pocket. You can really say that stock constitutes his currency. In other areas, where the squatting

system is in force, and there is no payment, we have been told that natives are not allowed to have more than a certain number of head of cattle. But in these locations which you mention the stock which the natives have is very considerable. Now in these areas we have had very serious complaints about their economic condition. May not it be that their stock is a burden to them? They do not live on it? - Yes, that is so, they do not realise it. If the native gets any money at all, his only method of turning that into an investment is to put it into cattle. He does not put it in the bank, he simply turns it into cattle.

In these areas which we have been talking about the complaint is that the native has not got enough land; he complains that he cannot grow enough on the land given to him, and certainly without cash he cannot buy the clothing which he requires. So the complaint is that the natives are in an impoverished condition? - You are still referring to the people who own a considerable number of cattle?

Yes, some of them have a considerable number of cattle, but others have not? - Those people with the big number of cattle are not doing proportionately what the white man would do. They are not paying what the white man would pay to run a herd of cattle.

I follow that, but apart from that the stock is not in the position of ready money for the natives.. It is something which they will not dispose of except under compulsion? - Quite so, but if a white man puts his money into an investment he has to live on something, and he lives on the interest which he gets from his money. But the native does not take that view. He just wants to put his money into cattle and that cattle must not be touched, and he will go through any difficulty before he

will inveigh that herd of stock.

But even taking the district which you are referring to. Supposing he has twenty head of cattle; if he sells those it would only be a few years before he will be absolutely impoverished. Is not that the correct view?— It would bring him to the question of having to work his land, and the amount of energy he would care to put into it to produce his food.

We have this complaint, that he is required by the owner of the farm just at the time when he should be doing his own ploughing as well, and many instances have been quoted to us where his produce was either nil, or quite inadequate to keep him at all?— I have known extreme cases of that kind, but my general impression is that the farmer who has tenants has given them every opportunity. When his lands have been ploughed and his work has been done I know that he has lent the natives ploughing implements and stock, and he has even gone so far actually as to give the natives seed to plant, and so arranged matters that on certain days of the week the natives can all leave the farmer's work and do their own work on their own plots.

That is a much more favourable condition than what the Dutch Reformed Church Missionaries of Utrecht described to us for that district?— That may be. Then of course you have the type of cases which, I am sorry to say, does exist, where the man has nothing at all and he has to render this labour in areas which are not very favourable to the growing of food. Those are bad cases, but unfortunately they do exist.

I put a question about shifts. Is this question of the substitution of thirty shifts for a month a comparatively new thing here?— It is with the agricultural farmer of Natal.

Do you know how it came about; was it done with the idea of reducing wages?— No, I think it came about through

the recruitment of labour. At one time there was not a big amount of labour recruited for Natal, and the recruiters would get these boys in the Transkei, Basutoland and other places, and used the same recruiting contract as is used for the thirty-day shift on the Rand. That is how it originated.

Has it had the effect of lengthening the month for the natives ?- It has definitely done that with many people.

Is there much employment of women from the reserves ?- Yes, in parts there is a fairly big employment of women.

Is the Zulu as a race opposed to the employment of his women folk ?- I have not heard it criticised by the Zulus down south of this. Starting from Empangeni, along the Coast of Natal, women are very largely employed on cane estates, principally for loading, and I may tell you that for the first time on my own place here a party of women turned up the other day and put in a couple of months' work. There had been a general rumour throughout the country that the native chiefs had given instructions that on no account women were to go out to work, and I was very much surprised at seeing these women turn up, but I found out that there were relations of theirs working at the place in the gang and that it had influenced them to come. Well, they came and put in a few months' work.

Do you think that the number of women turning out to work is increasing ?- Yes, I think so.

What is your view about the pass system in Natal ?- We have had very general complaints from the natives about the pass system; they want the substitution of one document for the present system ?- I have always held very strongly that there should be only one document, and my argument has always been that the man should not be hampered with half a dozen

different passes. I have on many an occasion suggested the use of the tax receipts in a small book, instead of the present pass system. In that way matters might be so arranged that the identity of the native could be established straight away, and I certainly think that one should simply the present system.

MR. MOSTERT: Would you be in favour of having a photograph, or some other form of identification, for the native? - Well, I may say that I have never thought of a photograph.

Do you think that the farmer would have anything to fear from the introduction of a system like that? - I do not see it. After all, all you want to do is to enable the farmer to identify the native who comes to him.

The main complaint I gather is that if a native leaves the farmer, and the farmer wants to trace him, to charge him with desertion, you cannot do that under the present pass system. Can you see anything in the present system which is more helpful than the system of one document, which you have just outlined to us? - I should think that identification through the tax receipt is the simplest form of all. After all, you would have a number there and once a man becomes a taxpayer he would have his perpetual number. Wherever a man goes you do not worry about his name. Say his number is 300/310/9, you would always be able to trace him. I would send that number to the police, and they must find out which district that man belongs to. They would go to the magistrate's office and that man's identity would be established at once.

It is a question of time before he is found? - No, I do not think so, but with all the best will in the world, if he wants to get away, you will find it very difficult to find

him, whatever the system is.

It will not be easier for him to escape with the one document than it is today with the multiplicity of documents ?-

No, I do not think so.

MR. LUCAS:

/ Doctor Roberts asked you about the attitude of natives towards Europeans. We have had a good deal of evidence in different parts of the country that the attitude of the natives has become distinctly distrustful. Could you say any more on that than you have said ?- No, I could not say any more. I would not go to the length of saying that it has become distrustful. No doubt the native's attitude has changed. At one time they put implicit faith in us, but they have substituted that by their own nationalism, which they are building up. They are trying to build up a united nation, and they are quite prepared to scrap us on that point.

Now, the administration of Natal, is the attitude of the officials on the whole sympathetic towards the native ?- I found some most excellent administrators, men who probably through their training have become very sympathetic. But on the other hand, I have again found men, probably very good fellows, who have not had the breadth of training and travel, men who have not worried a bit, it has not appealed to them. It has been like driving a jibbing horse, their heart has not been in it. It is probably a question of selection. You have men who can be selected for native work, whereas others should not be so selected. Not everybody likes native work.

And when you get an official of that type, is he likely to be a source of danger ?- Yes, there was one not very far from where we are now at the moment, whose attitude was such

that we were bordering on very serious trouble, and I had to take steps to have him moved.

Then there would be stages before it reached that which might ultimately lead to serious danger ?- Possibly.

DR. ROBERTS: Would you give to the man dealing with native affairs a higher status and a larger salary than what you would give to an ordinary magistrate ?- I think I should. You are going into the open market to get the best man for any job. You have not got the men today who have been in touch with the natives, they are very hard to get. If you go into ordinary business houses, if you go to the sugar estates, the management goes out for the very best men they can get to handle their affairs. They have to pay these men. They cannot pay the wages which they would pay to ordinary people. I do hold, and I always have done, that dealing with a subject race like this you want to have men with the very greatest experience and breadth of mind.

Because it is a limited scope; usually you find that a man is in one district for a much longer time than he would be if he were in a European district ?- Yes, and there is terrible isolation too. Take some of these places. These wretched fellows have to educate their youngsters. Yet these men are getting exactly the same pay as the man who has all the ordinary amenities of life, who has the schools next door, and who lives a much more sheltered life than these people out here in the wilds. That has always been a very great point with me. That sort of thing is a big factor in getting hold of the right

type of man. That sort of thing is a big factor in questions of native administration, and I say that it is at these

places that you want your most trustworthy and your most experienced officials.

MR. LUCAS: In reply to Senator van Niekerk, you said just now that the native on the farm was generally better off than the native in the town. Now, in what respect do you mean that the native on the farm is better off? - To start with, I should say that he is healthier. He has the breadth of god's healthy country to live in. He usually has a bit of land which he can plough, and on which he grows his vegetables and his general requirements, and I should say that generally he leads a much healthier life than the native who works in town. He has not got the horrible temptations to which the native in a town is always subjected. There are some very rotten quarters into which these natives in town find their way - we have all heard about them. I do not say that they are Municipal quarters, or anything of the kind, but there are dens which have been created in the towns and in the immediate neighbourhood of the towns, and generally speaking the housing of the natives in the towns is not by any means of the very best. Then his social life in the town is not of the best, his living conditions, his general existence is artificial, it is not what he has been accustomed to, and that is where I say that the native who lives on the farms is very much better off.

Have you ever gone into the wage question in the towns? - Yes, I have. I have had to do so.

Would you mind telling us what your conclusions were? - If I may digress just for a second, I should just like to tell you this. First of all, I have held that we have no business to have the numbers of natives in our towns which we have there today. It is a positive danger to us, from the labour point of

view, from the national point of view, as well as from every other point of view. I do not think that we shall ever be able to do without a certain number of natives in our towns; we shall always have to have some of them there, but we have been blind to the fact that we have allowed ^{hordes} herds of them, ~~herds~~ of a very undesirable type, very often, to go in for liquor selling and for thieving, and for all sorts of other practices, to go and live in the towns. We know that these people live in the towns and largely prey on their own people. We should never have allowed that sort of thing, and I do not think it is too late now to put the acts into force which are actually on the Statute Book today. We have our laws there but we do not carry them out. There are bound to be a certain number of decent, respectable natives, who will be there through having been in service for many years, and who have actually drifted into that position. Admitting that that fellow is decently behaved, he cannot live on the wage which he gets. He cannot live decently and become a decent citizen under those conditions. To live decently he requires a wage which would be commensurate with the requirements to keep up to a decent type of living.

And the wage that generally prevails I take it is not commensurate?— No, it is not.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the influx into the towns were limited, you would have less competition and the tendency would be to pay a higher wage?— Yes, I think so.

Do you think that the laws which we have, such as the Urban Areas Act, are sufficient?— Yes, if they are carried out, but they are not carried out. Of course, there are loopholes driven through those Acts, but you have that in any

Act, and if these Acts had been put into force and carried out earlier, those loop-holes would have been attended to earlier.

DR. ROBERTS: But those loop-holes have been dealt with by many amendments ?- Yes, but these Acts have been in force for many years, and every day you come across fresh difficulties.

THE CHAIRMAN: A native who comes into an area where the Urban Areas Act is carried out is within a certain time told that he must clear out, and he can move on to the next town? - Yes, and there he finds that the Act is not in operation (Question)?
/And then he can go on from place to place. So a native could not be stopped from going from place to place ?- He would eventually be stopped. But I say this, you have alongside, and nearly on top of us, alongside of your big towns, you have huge native locations. I am referring now to Durban and Maritzburg, as an instance. These native townships could have been created inside their own areas. There is no necessity for these huge places inside the environments of Durban. You could have had them in places where a suburban train could have brought them, where a suburban train could have brought all you wanted daily into the town. But we have a huge mass of these places right on top of the town today, and that is what I think is wrong.

MR. LUCAS: You have a good deal of public opinion which wants that because of its effect on keeping the wages down? - I have not the slightest doubt, but I do not reckon that two wrongs make one right.

As far as the natives residing in towns are concerned, what is your view of villages in which those who reside there can get some security of tenure ?- Yes, I would be in favour of that when you have sorted out those who are entitled to be

there, and then you must make their conditions such as will be suitable and proper. Put them within the reach of these people. I am afraid that the rents charged for some of these Municipal or town locations are somewhat high, and they are not in keeping with the pay which these natives are getting. The last place I visited was Johannesburg, and there were rents there going up to 30/-, and even to £2 per month. I spent a Sunday there, and very few of these people I spoke to earned more than £4 per month. In rent alone they had to pay out nearly half of what they earned, and sometimes more. That is something which we should try and change. But that is where you are going to have your trouble. Your trouble will not be in the locations, where we shall be able to go on peaceably for years, but in the towns is where your trouble lies, that is where your volcano is; and I can tell you this, you can get trouble quickly unless the position is altered.

Would it be correct to say that for the bulk of the natives life is becoming intolerable? - I think so, and it is becoming more so daily.

What are the factors which are driving these natives to town? - I have always found it difficult to understand, and I have often asked these fellows why they do go to the towns. The general reply is "You kick us off the land;" but many have told me that it is the sweets of the town. I personally have never been able to find out what the sweets are. I know that for some of these youngsters and girls it is the freedom which attracts them. - those are the sweets of the towns which attract them. The clothing, and the girls are carried away by dress, and by the life which they can lead in the towns. They get away from what may be a hardship to them in country life. They do

not get the food at their homes which they would get in town. They may get better food at their homes, but it does not appeal so much to them as the meat and the sugar and the tea and the coffee, and the other things which they get in town.

One factor put up to us was that on the farms, or in the country, the piccanin never sees any money of his own. Do you think that that is a factor ?- I do not think in these times it is. Every piccanin who works for me is getting his own money, or at least part of it.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the reserves or on the farms ?- On the farms.

The point has been put that it is because the young natives on the farms or in the reserves do not get cash that they run away ?- In the reserves the boys insist on getting the money now which they earn.

By whom are they paid in the reserves ?- There is no employment in the reserves.

So they do not get any money in the reserves ?- No, unless they go out to work.

MR. LUCAS: Does not the father come to collect the money which the girls or the young boys earn ?- Yes, he comes along, but the piccanin will not stay unless you pay him.

We have been told that the father insists on getting the money, so the piccanin runs away further afield ?- I think the fathers are beginning to realise that their children will not tolerate that, and so are the white employers - they realise that it is not fair. Most of the employers will endeavour, in the piccanin's own interest, to let the father have some of the money, because the piccanin would simply squander it.

Do the girls here manage to keep the money they earn for themselves, or do the parents take that away? - I think they keep it; in fact, I know they do, but on the other hand they are very loyal to their parents and they contribute if any money is wanted.

Archdeacon Lee put the point that the position of the women was very low financially. They were minors, and nothing belonged to them? - Legally of course they are minors, but I do think that where the relationship is all right and decent these women will always give up their money if it is necessary. I do not think that the father would unduly take it away unless it were actually wanted.

You have had long experience both in Zululand in the Northern Transvaal. Could you make a comparison between the general attitude of the native in the two areas towards economic questions? - There is a big difference in those natives. The Transvaal native, whom we might describe as a trader, will go in for stock to a very large extent, but as soon as his oxen come to a marketable age, he will sell them. But the Zulu, on the other hand, will not do that. The Transvaal native, too, who is of Bechuana origin, is a very much bigger agriculturist, and he ploughs better. They will grow fairly decent crops. They do not hoard either their stock or anything else. That is not so with our people; our people do not grow enough to feed themselves. But if you look at the natives in the north you can say that the whole of the grain exported from the Zoutpansberg district is grown by natives. If you compare their production with that of the Europeans, I think that the proportion in that particular part would be in favour of the natives.

Taking your natives in Zululand, would you say that

they are law-abiding, or otherwise ?- They are very law-abiding.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: The native everywhere is law-abiding, is he not ?- Yes, I think so, but at the same time when the Zulu goes in for crime he is just about the same of all that is bad. When he really goes that way he is just about the worst of everything.

MR. LUCAS: That does not happen much in the reserves, does it ?- No. Not in the reserves. But you find the fellows who are in the towns are very often different. They are really very law-abiding here. There are petty larcenies nor worth worrying about; in fact, I should say they are most law-abiding.

THE CHAIRMAN: Reference was made by a certain witness before this Commission to an investigation which you made in the Northern Districts about two years ago. I think it dealt with a question of cases between farmers and natives, it was alleged that native commissioners did not maintain the proper degree of impartiality, such as one would expect from them. Could you give us any information on that ?- Yes, complaints were made by a certain man named Maling, an educated native. He is associated with the I.C.U., and he was one of their emissaries, and he started a branch there in the Vryheid District of the Association. He started it originally with the intention of buying land to supply those so-called landless natives with land, and to settle them on that land. There are huge numbers of those people there - landless in so far as that they do not own the ~~xxx~~ land. This man spread himself and took up every trouble of the natives, and he made certain

allegations on the lines of your question. I spent days there, and I allowed this man to come along and produce the evidence which he had. And on the whole I found that there was an exaggeration. In nearly every case the facts had been ~~gare-~~ gravely exaggerated. The police had very fully gone into the matter, and I carefully sifted all the evidence. I say that the balance had been very, very fairly kept. I remember one of his complaints was that two native children had been deliberately sent away in a snowstorm to Paulpietersburg to carry some errand. I found that the magistrate had gone into the whole matter and had investigated it. These children went out on a beautiful morning and a storm came on, and the children were caught in it, and both died. The poor lady who had sent the children out took out her trap and brought the children in and tried to nurse them back to life, but she failed. She offered to compensate the parents of the children; in fact, she did everything she could. That was one of the cases. Then there was another case in which it was alleged that a young girl had been made to carry a particularly huge box of fruit for sale. Fortunately, there were a few of these boxes in town. I had them brought in by the police, and I had them weighed, and incidentally one of these girls was carrying a box of peaches from the farm in respect of which the complaint was made. It was found to be a reasonable weight. That girl I think had been paid 1/-, and it was a definite payment for bringing that box in. On the whole, I found that the balance of justice had been kept as reasonable as possible.

Are you sure that at that time Maling was associated with the I.C.U. ?- Yes, I am as certain as I can be.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you know whether he was dismissed or otherwise by the I.C.U., or did he leave them? - I do not know. I do not know what happened subsequently to that, but at that particular time I had every reason to believe that he was a member. He had started that organization, which clashed with the I.C.U., because the funds which he raised did not go to the I.C.U., but they went to that other fund. The organization was named after some tribe. It was a land-buying organization, but it never came to anything. The people did not pay up the money; they did not contribute to any extent. They contributed sufficient just to get these complaints ventilated.

MR. MOSTERT: Would you say that these locations in the different towns throughout the Union should be under strict supervision? - It should be under control. I do not happen to be able to say off-hand what form of control, but they should be under proper control. W

Would you say that there should be a township or a location properly fenced in, with one gate only? There are a large number of good natives and a large number of bad ones, and do you think one should protect the good ones against the bad ones coming in? - Candidly I do not like the idea of a fence. Turn your bad ones out and leave only the good ones in the place.

If your location is fairly largely spread, especially in a town like Durban or Johannesburg, or Maritzburg, do not you think it would be very difficult? - I think your supervision in the location should keep these people out. You must have these people living in the place perfectly comfortable

and the moment you fence them in you take away their freedom, you turn them into a zoo. Let them manage that place, take them into your confidence. Let them have their own supervision, their own police, and leave those people to pick out that blackguard whom you want to get rid of, but do not fence them in. I think that would be a great mistake.

MR. LUCAS: You do not want to punish them all because of the presence of a black sheep?— That is what I feel.

MR. MOSTERT: The trouble in a big location like that is always that you have all sorts of people coming in from all places. I am now thinking of the scoundrel, and it is pretty rough on the decent ones if any scoundrel can just come in?— Well, I do not think you would remedy matters by having a fence. The supervision should be such that one would be able to deal with that sort of thing. Your system of patrolling would be able to deal with that kind of native. I do not see why these people should not have their police patrolling the place to protect them.

Do not you think that unless it is under strict police protection it will mean that you will not be giving your good natives that protection to which they are entitled?— Do not let us over-patrol them. That is one of the failures of these institutions. Let these people handle themselves; let them themselves turn out the blackguards, and complain to the authorities that a man who is an undesirable person, a man who is a ruffian, should be turned out.

Would you provide for any superintendent who should live there and have a small committee?— Yes, I should as far as humanly possible let them manage their own location.

DR. ROBERTS: Does not the Urban Areas Act require that ?- Yes, it does.

It requires that there shall be a Committee managing the location for the natives ?- That is so. We have to arrive at a stage when these people shall be able to control themselves in their own areas, and my idea is that they should be allowed to manage themselves. You have these big native locations in the country. No-one interferes with these people, they run it themselves and everything runs smoothly.

MR. MOSTERT: It is rather different in the towns. There you have your criminal classes penetrating into these locations ?- Let us try the experiment of giving them a native judicial officer. You have a native chief in your country locations, who punishes the evil doer. Why do not you have someone in these municipal locations who can deal with the smaller crimes and offences ?

You have so many different tribes there ?- Well, that does not matter. You can still do that.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Do you mean that you should have a black man doing that ?- Yes, you have a black man with criminal jurisdiction in the big native locations where you have hundreds and thousands of natives living. Why not have the same sort of thing in the Municipal Location? Why bring every petty case before a white man who has not the time to handle it properly?

You would be in favour of giving a native judicial authority to deal with minor cases in these municipal locations ?- Yes, in the same way as you do it in the big native locations. I certainly think it would be a very good thing

to start with, because, after all, you are in the neighbourhood of a big town and you can have careful control there.

MR. LUCAS: Would you elect such a man, or would you appoint him? - I do not know, I could not say offhand. I would find him by the best means at my disposal, and I suppose it would probably be by means of selection.

The main thing is to find the best man? - Yes.

MR. MOSTERT: We have come to the position that the respectable person will not live in the Municipal Location because of these scoundrels; now we have to provide some protection for the decent man, so as to enable him to live there? - Yes, I suppose so. My suggestion is that if you have the counterpart of a native chief in such a location he would find out who the scoundrels are; he would ferret these cases out and he would administer the law and see to it that that type of person left the location.

Do you think that that would satisfy the natives and give them security? - Yes, I think so. Personally I feel that this is one instance where one might do something in the direction I have indicated.

MR. LUCAS: You agree that the good natives are anxious to have the scoundrel, as Mr. Mostert calls him, removed from such a locality? - I certainly think so, for their own protection they would want that.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNED AT 3.20 p.m., AND SUBSEQUENTLY PROCEEDED BY MOTOR TO EMPANGENI, WHERE THE COMMISSION'S NEXT MEETING WAS CALLED FOR 10 a.m., ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26th, 1930.