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MR. HUGH THOMAS JAMES,

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE CALLED AND EXAMINED:

CHAIRMAN: I understand you are a farmer and wish to make a statement before the Commission? — Yes.

From what point of view are you particularly interested in the subject which we are enquiring into? — I am interested from a dual point of view. In the first place as a farmer and an employer of labour, and also from the point of view of the welfare of the natives.

Can you tell us what the general type of contract is under which natives work for farmers in this district? — There are several types of contracts.

Let us take the tenant living on farms first? — Of course there is a considerable variation in the contracts, so far as I know. My own tenants, of whom I have a fair number on the land I own, are bound to render eight months' service out of every year.

MR. LUCAS: Is that free labour? — No, they are paid for what they do. They are paid at the rate of 30/- per month of thirty working days a month for adults. Drivers are paid at the rate of 22 per month, and boys, according to their size, from 10/- to 15/- per month.
Mr. H.T. Thomas, James. -1849-

You use the word "month", is that calendar month ?-
No, that is a month of thirty working days. On other farms
you find six months' service at a nominal wage of 10/- per month.
That is the usual thing.

THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, with your boys it is com-
pulsory to put in eight months' service during the year ?- That
is so.

That is eight months of thirty days each ?- Yes.
They get paid for all the time ?- They get paid for
every day they work. That is the system.

They must be at your disposal for eight months ?- Yes.
Is that a customary type of contract in these parts of
the country ?- No, I believe that the more usual contract is six
months at a nominal rate of wage.

And the eight months in the way you do it, does that
occur with other farmers too ?- I could not say that for certain
Do you find that you have the difficulty that you cannot
count on the natives from day to day ?- Yes, that is a difficul-
ty which I do find; very much so.

What number of natives do you normally have in your em-
ployment ?- Including the outside labour - because I have to
employ outside labour as well - usually we have from fifty to
sixty on our books, and sometimes even more.

How many of these would be in employment from day to
day ?- It depends on the amount of grain in the neighbourhood
and the amount of beer that is brewed and the number of weddings
that take place. Usually if you have seventy per cent of the
number on your books working you think you are doing very well.
That is one of the great troubles which employers of labour
experience, and having lived here since 1886 I speak from considerable experience. The great difficulty is the unreliability of the natives we have at our command. When grain is plentiful and beer is being brewed, you find that very few of them can be relied upon. Many of them go off at the week-end and do not turn up again to work until the Tuesday. They leave on Saturday midday and do not turn up again until Tuesday.

Do you think that anything can be done to obviate that or does one just grin and bear it?—I do not see how it can be obviated. It seems to be natural to the native to absent himself on the very slightest pretext whatever.

So actually you have to carry a considerably larger number of natives on your books than you employ?—Yes, we have to have at least 25 per cent more on our books.

MR. LUCAS: Have you tried a sort of bonus scheme, say an extra 1/- per week for a man who has not absented himself?—Yes, I have tried that, but without marked effect. I may mention that the work on which we are mostly engaged, that is, wattle farming, the natives are tasked. When a native has finished his day's task, he is free, whether he finishes at twelve, at one, or at two o'clock. It works out like this, that a native can complete his week's task in five days. He gets off from the Friday, but that does not mean that he is going to earn a bonus by working on Saturday. He takes the Saturday free and the Sunday, and often he does not turn up on the Monday at all.

THE CHAIRMAN: You mean, that on Saturday he could earn the bonus if he wanted to, but he does not stay to do so?—No, he wants to get away to his kraal, and of course it is only natural that he should want to get back to his own people. One cannot blame him for that.
MR. LUCAS: But the next week he might do his week's task between the Tuesday and the Saturday, in which case you would have no complaint? - That is so.

THE CHAIRMAN: Except that you want him from day to day? - Yes, that is the trouble. - His unreliability.

You mentioned the six months' at a nominal wage in return for occupation. Are there any other types of contract? - Not that I know of. The nominal wage is usually 10/- per month for adults.

MR. LUCAS: Does your wage include food and quarters? - Yes.

Do they get that on all days, whether they work or not? - No, not for the farm tenants. They have their kraals on the Estate, and they usually sleep at their kraals, with the exception of course of stable boys and cattle herds.

Do they feed themselves? - Yes, they do at nights. When they are at work they get two meals a day. If they want to get food and quarters throughout the week they are available to them, but they prefer to be at their own kraals.

And those who get 10/- per month, do they get food? - Yes, they get two meals a day, but they sleep at their kraals, except again those who have to be on the premises.

THE CHAIRMAN: Take the hired labour, what conditions do they work under? - The ruling rate of wage in this district is £2 per month per adult.

Is that with food? - Yes, with food and quarters.

Do you find that that kind of labour is more regular than the other labour? - There is not much difference, but what difference there is is in favour of the outside labour, as far as regularity is concerned.
To what may that be due?—I could not exactly say, perhaps to a feeling on the part of the native that being a farm tenant he is under obligation to work, and then he will not. The native tenant is often prone to forget and that although he is receiving a somewhat lower wage on the farm where he works, he always has advantages which the other natives do not have. He has free grazing, for instance, he but pays no house rent, he gets his cattle dipped at a nominal rate, and he also can go to his landlord in the event of his being in trouble, for an advance of money or for something of the kind, whatever it may be, or he can get medicine in case of sickness.

MR. LUCAS: What number of cattle do you allow them to graze?—I am afraid that we have been rather lax in that respect. Only the other day I was looking through the numbers and I found to my surprise that the number of native cattle on my estate exceeded the number of my own.

How many kraals do you have?—About a dozen on the place.

And how many head of cattle do they have?—They have over 300 head of cattle. I believe that the number is 360, if I am not mistaken.

SENIOR VAN NIEKERK: Are they allowed to do ploughing?—Yes, on such portions of the farm as are set apart. There are certain parts where they are not allowed. They are not allowed to plough indiscriminately. The property is large and they are not restricted for room.

Generally, how are the squatters off in this district, not taking your own particular case?—Not badly.

You think that they have a large number of stock?—You do find instances where natives are unfairly treated,
but generally I do not think that they are badly off on the farms. Not generally speaking.

Is this a grain producing district? - No, it is not.

But they do grow grain? - Yes, they do, but at the same time you cannot call it a good grain district as a whole. It is only medium, not first class.

THE CHAIRMAN: How much ground does a native tenant generally plough? - It depends very much on the size of his kraal. It is impossible for me to give an approximation even.

It would depend on the number of his wives? - Yes, and on what cattle he had available for ploughing.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Is there a limit on the number of acres that he is allowed to plough? - They are not restricted, at least not on my place, nor anywhere else, as far as I know, in ploughing what is sufficient for their requirements.

MR. MOSTERT: This is a wattle-growing area? - Yes.

Are there large plantations here? - Yes.

Do you find that your squatters and your local labour are sufficient for the industry? - No, they are not. Just at present they are, yes.

I am speaking generally? - In the course of a few years time the local supply of labour would be totally insufficient. Just at present there is generally a rather slow time owing to the fact that many thousands of acres have been put in during the last four or five years, and those trees have not yet matured. The Tanning Extract Company, which is by far the largest grower in this district, has an acreage of about 22,000 or 23,000 acres of trees that have not yet matured. The oldest of these trees will mature in about two or three years' time, and from then onwards we anticipate considerable difficulty in obtaining sufficient labour for our requirements.
MR. H.T. JAMES. -1854-

Do you recruit outside labour at all, I do not mean in this area, I mean from the Transkeian Territories, outside ? - Recruited labour, yes. I had one experience, and I do not wish to have another. I got a batch of thirty natives from a well-known Durban agency, and unfortunately for me they were the off-sourings of all parts of the Union. Some from Natal, some from the Cape Colony, some from the Transvaal, and some from the Free State.

Now, do you consider that your labour requirements in this area, as you are progressing, will be much larger in the future ? - Yes, considerably so, for the reason that it takes a very much larger number of labourers to strip an acre of wattles than it takes to plough and plant.

Have your Association ever thought of indentured labour ? - I do not quite understand what you mean by that.

Well, say labour from Portuguese East Africa ? - We have always understood that labour from Portuguese East Africa was picked for the Transvaal Mines only.

You would be glad if you could get them, would you welcome them ? - We would.

Do you think it would be necessary ? - We think it will.

Has your Industry increased ? - Very likely it will, although just at present the supply of labour is somewhat in excess of requirements generally. In these parts at any rate; yet when the general improvement takes place of industrial conditions throughout South Africa, there will be an increased demand for labour, with the greater number of men required for each local industry here, and we can only apprehend a shortage of labour then.

You told us about your native squatters - you have about twelve ? - Twelve kraals.
And they have 360 head of cattle?—Yes.
That would be thirty head per kraal?—Yes.
Now, would you require the ground which they occupy
at present for the extension of your industry?—We may require
it. But we do not yet at the present moment.

Then, as you require that ground for planting purposes,
so the native will have to go off the soil; is that correct?—Yes
that is correct. I am not speaking of my own property only, but
that is the experience in this district. Take the Natal Tanning
Extract Company, for instance. That firm bought up a large number
of farms in this district and they ploughed extensively; they
put every acre of ground that they could cultivate under wattles,
with the result that the natives living on that land had to move.
There was no room for them.

In your case you still have sufficient ground for your
own grazing, as well as for your squatters?—Yes, but I must
admit that that will not always be the case.

Quite so. I am getting at this, that you will later on,
if this industry extends, as you suppose it is likely to do,
require that ground?—Yes, I think so.

There will be the difficulty, will not it?—I think so.
Of course, it all depends whether a method of synthetic tanning
proves to be successful or not. If wattle keeps the place which
it has at present on the market, there is every likelihood that
the plantations will be extended.

Now, with these squatters that you have, your labour
complement is naturally a certain number?—Yes.

And you have got to carry at least 25 to 30 per cent
more natives than you would require in the ordinary way?—Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Would your additional number be as low
as 25 per cent? - Do you mean now, or in the future?

No, now, the additional complement which you have to carry so that you have enough labour. Would that be as low as 25 per cent? - I have never worked it out, but I should say it would be at least 25 per cent. Of course, it would depend on the seasons. It is a varying factor.

MAJOR ANDERSON: This six months' labour which your tenants have to give you, do you take it in one block - is it six or eight months on end? - Yes. From the 1st of January in each year.

And the last four months of the year you allow them to be free? - Yes.

MR. LUCAS: You mentioned that there were cases of injustice to natives. Can you give us some instances? I do not want you to mention any names, but the type of thing you were referring to? - It is rather difficult to do so off-hand. But I can recall instances which have come to my knowledge where natives have been hardly treated.

In what way hardly treated? - I would rather not particularise.

I do not want names, but I would like to know the case of injustice to which you are referring - the sort of thing that may prevail throughout the whole district? - I may say that instances have come to my knowledge where natives have been hardly used through employers not acting up to the verbal agreement, not sticking to their promises; they have not been paid the small wage which has been promised to them, and they have not been assisted in the various ways with cattle and other things. They have not been given that assistance which was promised them in the first instance.
Do you think the natives in your district feel any sense of grievance about the fact that the month is now thirty shifts?—Not so far as my own tenants are concerned, because it has been the custom for years past. They recognise that they are not paid for any time that they do not work.

When did you introduce the shift system instead of the calendar month, was it ten years ago?—Between 25 and 30 years ago. Since I have been living in the district since four 1885, and that is forty years.

Do you know what led to the introduction of the shift system?—I think it was partly the fact of the unreliability of native labour. I put it this way. If you have a native in your employ who absents himself from work for two or three days during the week, it means a loss to the employer. If that loss is multiplied by twenty, or thirty, or forty, as the case may be, according to the number employed, it means that it is an impossible state of affairs, and that led to the shift system.

When the shift system was introduced, was it introduced in such a manner that it was spread over thirty shifts, over the calendar month?—Yes, more or less.

It meant that the native had to work four more days for his month’s pay than previously?—Owing to Sundays?

Yes?—Yes, I suppose it would amount to that, but as an offset against that you have the fact that the native wages have accordingly increased.

When you introduced it, did you increase the amount which you paid for thirty shifts over what he was getting for thirty days?—It is a long time ago—I do not think it was increased like that.
MAJOR ANDERSON: Your system of thirty shifts and paying thirty shillings, how many farmers here do that? I cannot say.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you find the conditions, which you explained, of the natives not turning up, and not doing their work, have become worse? They are certainly not improving.

Do you say that they are actually worse? Yes, I think so.

To what do you attribute that? I do not know to what one can attribute it, unless it is to the fact that native labour is less reliable, less dependable, than it was twenty years ago. That I think is the general experience.

That he is less dependable? I think so.

You find that that is the general state of affairs? I do find that the younger generation of natives is less dependable than the older ones.

You say that the wattle companies occupied a number of farms and as a result of that the natives had to leave? Yes.

Where do they go? Some went to adjoining farms and a number of them went to adjacent reserves.

The wattle companies did not bother themselves as to where they went? Not to my knowledge.

I understand that a synthetic form of tanning has been discovered. Would that have any influence on your wattle farms in the future? Synthetic tanning has been known for many years, but up to the present no method of synthetic tanning has been discovered which can compete with the ordinary tanning of leather.

You say that wages have considerably increased? Is
that your experience of the last 44 years? — Yes.

Could you indicate the amount; you are giving them 10/- per month; what was it 44 years ago? — I think I mentioned that the wage which I am paying to adult natives is 30/- per month. The 10/- is to squatters, on other farms.

MR. LUCAS: With the stipulation of eight months' work? — That, that is so. The remainder of the year those tenants are free.

DR. ROBERTS: Could you indicate the nature of that increase in wages so as to remove it from being a general statement and making it a particular one? — The wages have about quadrupled.

MR. LUCAS: Take the 10/- — those who get 10/- per month — what was their wage ten years ago? — Just about the same, as far as I remember.

And twenty years ago? — My memory will not carry me back as far as that.

MAJOR ANDERSON: You are referring to daily paid wages and not to tenant wages? — We are speaking of labour tenants on the farms and not of hired men.

They have been increased too? — As far as my own place is concerned, most decidedly they have.

MR. LUCAS: But yours is a different system from the prevailing one? — Yes, that is so.

Do you know what the hired labourers got ten years ago? — Ten years ago I should say, as far as I can remember, outside labour, that is the ordinary hired labour, would have ranged from £1 to 30/- per month. Every adult would get about 30/- per month.

A month in those days was thirty shifts? — Thirty
shifts, not a calendar month.

DR. ROBERTS: And how much would the same man receive now?—Now he would get £2.

So it is a change from 30/- to £2?—Yes, £2 is the general wage. Sometimes a higher wage is paid.

SENATOR VAN MEERKERK: Ten years ago your general wage would have been 30/-?—Yes.

DR. ROBERTS: That is not commensurate with the increase in wages before the war and after the war?—I do not know that the war made any very great difference as far as wages in this particular district are concerned.

Not even for Europeans?—I am speaking of native wages.

MR. LUCAS: Would you say that twenty years ago, that is before the war, the general level was 30/-?—Yes, approximately. May I add a few words of my own? A point on which I have frequently fallen foul of other people—or I will not say fallen foul, but on which I have had arguments with missionaries, is with reference to the teaching of natives. My view is that the curriculum as at present used in mission schools is on wrong lines altogether. That is to say, that the money which is spent on native education is not being spent to the best advantage of the natives themselves. The answer which I have received from the missionaries to whom I have spoken on the matter is that the curriculum which they used is fixed by the Department of Education, and they say that they are not at liberty, since all these mission schools are Government-aided. They are not at liberty to diverge from that curriculum. They have to adhere to that in order to earn their grant. The question arises as to what is
taught at these schools. Does the native benefit and how. He is taught to read and write Zulu, after a fashion, and perhaps a little English thrown in; but what is the use of that smattering of education to the native, so far as his ordinary life is concerned? Does it increase his earning capacity? My answer to that question is that it does not. It would be far better for the native and for everyone in the country, black as well as white, were the native taught to become a more useful member of society than he is at the present time, and I hold that that is not being done under the present methods of education, simply because he is not taught to use his hands, he is not taught a useful trade, he is not even taught how to cultivate his fields properly. If you attempt to argue on these lines, you are told that the Government provides for nothing of the sort, and in the second place, that the teaching of better agricultural methods, or the training in industrial methods, would be too expensive, and that is all. Now other point to which I would like to allude is the position of the native now in Zululand here as compared with twenty years ago. One hears a great deal of the hardship to which natives are subjected, one hears of the over-crowding of reserves, and so on. But speaking as one who has had a life-long experience of this country, my view is that the native today is in an infinitely better position than he was twenty years ago, and for this reason: owing to the increase of wages in the first instance, and secondly owing to the natural increase of stock in the country. Granted the stock is not of great value, but it has its value to the native, they use it for lobola, and it has its value for the sale to Europeans, for slaughtering and other purposes. And I speak
MR. E.T. JAMES.

-1862-

advisedly on that point. I have devoted a good deal of time and attention to the matter, and I have come to the conclusion that generally the native is in a very much better position in Zululand than he was twenty years ago, owing to the reasons which I have just mentioned. One of the great grievances put forward by the natives at the present time is the over-crowding of the reserves. Now the point is this. To what extent are the native reserves over-crowded? They are over-crowded; I admit there is over-crowding, but not so far as the native population is concerned. The over-crowding consists of the enormous numbers of stock kept by the natives and it is that scrub stock mainly which causes that. You have scrub stock, horses, goats, and sheep there. How can that be remedied? I admit that it is very much easier to point out an evil than it is to bring forward a remedy for that evil. Let us take the Nekkandha-Nkandhla District. That is the district on the south side of the Umlatuzi, and directly adjoining this one. In that district last year there were something like 93,000 head of cattle alone being dipped, and together with this season's increase, the number will be well over 100,000 head. How much that would work out per kraal I am not in a position to say at present. But the most careful observer travelling through that district must see that there is a great deal of over-crowding. Not that the natives themselves are over-crowded, but that they are keeping too much stock. Now was does the European farmer have to do when he finds that his land is no longer sufficient for his stock? He has either to reduce his stock or purchase or hire more land. It would be impossible for the natives to purchase more land. His only recourse is to reduce his stock. Now, how can that be done? A native is very much prejudiced against selling stock, since cattle are the means of acquiring
wives, and to my mind the Government, when they changed the basis of taxation some years ago, lost a great opportunity to deal a shrewd blow at the system of lobolo. That system is at the root of the trouble with cattle. The native has no incentive to improve his stock, because with him a beast is a beast. Whatever the quality of the beast is, it does not matter. The cheaper the beast the better, and he has no incentive whatever to improve his stock. He has no means of caring for his stock. If, when the basis of taxation was changed, the Government had decided to tax the extra wives instead of allowing them to go on as they please, a shrewd blow would have been dealt at the lobolo system, and I say that so long as that system continues, so long will the difficulty of over-crowding the native reserves obtain.

MR. MOSTERT: Are you against lobolo?—It is a native custom, and I cannot say that I am against it. It is a custom which is ingrown in the native.

As regards over-stocking, do you consider that this part of the country is over-stocked at the present moment?—The native reserves, yes, most decidedly.

But from an agricultural point of view, only from a pastoral point of view?—Yes; certainly not from an agricultural point of view.

Are there any improvements in agriculture here?—Yes, there are. You will find in isolated instances that the natives are beginning to manure and fertilise their grounds, and that they are beginning to plough a little better, but I cannot say that there has been any marked improvement.

Do they go in for wattle growing at all?—Only to a small extent.

DR. ROBERTS: You object to the system of education
here. How do you think that you could give vocational teaching in the schools to the young native children, without giving them reading, writing and arithmetic? A tradesman who can write and read is always a better tradesman than the one who cannot?—Most decidedly.

How would you begin?—By teaching the native how to use his hands.

Would you do that first?—Yes, I would.

And then what would you do?—I would give him a little book-learning.

That is to say, that what is good for the European is not good for the native?—Well, you know what St. Paul says about a little knowledge being a dangerous thing. That applies to the native. He can read and write a little, and he thinks himself much better than the white man. It gives him an exaggerated idea of his own importance. My view is that industrial or agricultural education is better than the smattering of book learning which the native is better at the present time.

You do not think that you would be up against those among the Europeans who object to the natives have any trade at all?—I am not a member of the Labour Party, otherwise I would probably be.

Senator Van Niekerk: There is a small discrimination in the local tax; a man who has only one wife is treated differently from a man who has several?—Yes.

You do not think that that discrimination is sufficient?—A man in the reserves who has one wife pays 10/-.

And 10/- for every extra one?—Up to a certain number, but if I had had the making of that regulation I should have said, "the first wife free," and I would double the tax in respect of every extra wife.
and reduce. A suggestion has been made that one should regulate the number of cattle to be paid for lobolo. Do you think that that could be done? Now it is ten head of cattle?—Well, it would make marriage all the easier, and it would perhaps tend to increase the native population. I do not see that that would have very much effect.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are afraid of the shortage of labour in the future?—No, I am not afraid of it.

You said here that possibly there would be a shortage of labour here in the future?—Yes, I think so.

And you said just now that altering the lobolo system might lead to an increase in native population?—I said it would probably have an effect, but I am not afraid of it.

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MR. JOHAN ERIC HALLENDORFF, CALLED AND EXAMINED:

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you tell us what you wish to submit to us?—I belong to the Swedish Mission, and I am still very young and inexperienced, but I would like to say a few words. My work is more or less concentrated in a native reserve. The first thing I want to say is that the reserves are getting over-populated because natives who have to leave the farms where the Tanning Company has planted their wattle have to find shelter, and they have now come to the locations. The locations are gradually becoming over-crowded. It is a great difference from what it was in 1923, when I came here. That is due to over-stocking. Cattle is the only property which a native has, and he has not the same views in regard to cattle as what the European has. On top of that there is the agricultural question, and I think that it is a very serious one. Shew—shew! The soil, as a result of this over-stocking and over-population, is becoming poorer and poorer.
That is what I have seen, and I think that at present there is a great depression amongst the natives. We hear that the natives have increased considerably, but I am very sceptical about that. If you take into consideration the influence of the war on the European market, take into consideration the present index. The natives do not realise that, and they ask why everything is so expensive. The wages have not increased in proportion to the present index. That is my opinion.

Another thing is about the natives on the various farms from which they have been driven away. I purposely use the words "driven away", because they were not provided for. They were told to go, but they were not told where to go. Of course, they had to go to the native reserves, and they are undoubtedly in a depressed condition now.

Another thing I want to point out is in regard to the Master and Servants Act, which I think is very unjust altogether. It is unjust to fine a native £5 because he is not working.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Natives in the reserves are excluded, are they not?—Yes, they are, but the effect will be that all these natives will run into the reserves, and I wonder where they are going to live.

Why should a native not work for three months if he gets something for his work?—I do not say that he should not work, but this fine of £5 is too much, and it will mean indirect slavery.

You heard the evidence given here that your natives are working five, six or eight months. If a native lives on a farm and does not work at all, the Bill says that he shall pay a fine of £5?—Yes, that is so.
THE CHAIRMAN: You are supposed to work for twelve months in the year?—Yes, I am.

Should not the native work as well—now you say that the reserves are overpopulated?—Yes, and they are becoming more and more so.

What do you mean by over-populated? Is there not room enough for all the people there?—That is what I mean.

Does that mean that even with the best methods at their command, with the best methods they know, they cannot produce enough food?—That is so.

How do they manage to secure enough food then?—First of all they do not have any methods that we can call good methods.

I was speaking of the methods which they know. They do get enough food to keep themselves alive; how do they get it?—They have to go out and work in the towns, they have to send their people to the towns to work.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Is it your idea that the native in the reserve should be able to make a living in the reserve without going out to work?—If they used intensive agriculture I think they would, at least in this part of the country, but not in all parts of the reserve. There are parts where they only have stoney ground, and there they would not be able to do very much.

THE CHAIRMAN: With better agriculture they would be able to live there?—Yes, I do think so.

Is not one of their great difficulties that they have too many head of cattle?—Yes, that is so.

And they do not apply anything but the most primitive agricultural methods?—They use the same methods today as they used 100 years ago. That is the trouble.
If you had a population of this density in a similar area in Sweden, you would not call it over-populated would you?

- No, but that is different; of course not.

How would you call it over-populated if in Sweden you had ten times that population in a similar area?—Quite so.

That of course is due to the methods they use there?—Yes, but then the elements and the methods in Sweden are entirely different. We have not got the storms, and the grassfires, and these things. We cannot compare conditions. In Sweden the people have centuries behind them, and they have great knowledge and experience and so on.

It is purely a question of what they can get out of the soil, and the natives today under their present methods get very little out of their soil?—Yes, comparatively speaking they get very little.

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MR. ELLIOT HILS BRAINTVEDT, CALLED AND EXAMINED:

THE CHAIRMAN: You are the Magistrate and Native Commissioner here?—Yes.

MR. LUCAS: Have you in your district any instances of people buying farms for the purpose of getting labour?—Yes, we have.

What is the procedure and what happens when that farm is bought in that way?—There is one farm which has been bought specially for labour. That is a farm owned by the Tongaat Sugar Company, of Natal. They bought it for the purpose of getting labour for their mill. That company is very generous in its payments and treatment. The natives have to work six months in the year, but they receive current wages and they supply their own dipping materials, and so on.
DR. ROBERTS: For the six months they get current wages. There are several other farms in the district which have never been occupied by Europeans.

MR. LUCAS: Where do they have to work, these natives on that farm which was bought?—They have to work at Tongaat, at the Company's mill. I think the conditions are very liberal, but the Company have the exclusive right to that labour.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is a labour farm?—That is the farm Hillside, where those conditions prevail, but there are many other farms which have never been occupied by Europeans, which I look upon as labour farms, for this reason, that they are apparently bought with the express object of drawing labour from there to work elsewhere. Now the conditions on these farms are different. These farms have changed ownership from time to time, and varying conditions have been imposed. But conditions there are nothing like those which I have referred to.

The owners are living in Natal, or where?—As I say, there is a frequent change of ownership. There is an owner in the Babanango District who has a farm in this district. He is constantly charging the natives with desertion, and I know him through that. We are constantly getting warrants of arrest, warrants to arrest natives there for not working on his Babanango farm. On the other hand, there are owners here who own farms there. There was a man who died recently and he owned about three farms, on which he did very little farming, but he drew a lot of free labour from there. People had to work six months in the year for nothing, in return for which they were allowed to live on a farm and cultivate the land, and they got free dipping for their stock.

MR. LUCAS: Were they required to be away during the period during which they wanted to cultivate their land?—The
conditions generally were those. Supposing there were three men in a kraal. Each man had to put in three months in the year — rather say two men in a kraal. As soon as the one man had completed his six months the other one had to take the other six months. In some instances the women had to turn out no many days in the week free.

DR. ROBERTS: And the children?— They were generally excluded. Only in some instances do the children work.

MR. LUCAS: Have you heard of purchases of these farms leading to evictions of large numbers of natives?— I do not know of evictions. The gentleman who died recently had had those farms for some time, and he ejected all the natives, including the chief.

Why did he do that?— He said that they did not carry out the conditions which he imposed, and he stated that there were several breaches of contracts. I will say that his terms were rather harsh. He expected men to work six months in the year for nothing, and they got no pay at all. Well, that naturally leads to unsatisfactory service, with the result that eventually he ejected the whole lot.

Did he get a new lot?— He died shortly afterwards, and the Administrators of his estate are now taking back some of the natives.

Do you know where these natives went to?— The chief had a claim to a chieftainship in the Nkandhla District. His grandfather was a chief there, and he and his father before him had been trying for years to get back that tribe, so the Government gave it back to him.

They went back to the reserve?— Yes, to the Nkandhla
District.

Are there any farmers in this district who pay no wages to their labour tenants? — There are several. The conditions vary tremendously. Some people do not pay any wages at all, and then you get the other extreme, where they pay practically full wages.

Do you get any who spread the six months over a whole year, so that the native cannot go away at all? — I cannot say that, but I know of some cases where the natives have to work as much as nine months in the year, and in a few instances free, without pay.

They have to work the whole of the nine months without pay? — Yes, without any pay at all. They have to come and work during nine months.

How do the farmer get into the position of being able to insist upon that? — Because a native does not like to move from the place where he was born and bred.

And the man who owns the land takes advantage of that? — In some instances.

Have you come across any instances where the land-owner insisted on the payment of a beast or on some other form of fine? — You mean for breaches of conditions?

Yes? — I have come across a case, I remember only one. It was with this gentleman I referred to, where, after evicting the people, or telling them that they had to go, he allowed them to remain, on payment of a beast or two, for another year.

THE CHAIRMAN: In that case did he not get the labour to which he was entitled? — He had more labour than he required.

From that particular family? — Not one family — several
MR. BRAATVEDT. -1872-

He had a lot of labour on the farm. The natives were not satisfied with the conditions, and they did not render the service which they were supposed to.

He found that the natives were not rendering the labour which he thought he was entitled to?— That is so.

MR. LUCAS: Was he the man who wanted nine months without pay?— In some instances he got nine months without pay. I do not say of course that the natives were angels, and I dare say they provoked him a lot. But the whole position was unsatisfactory.

SENIOR VAN BIERKERK: That is an exceptional case?— He was very hard in some instances, but there are other cases where people do work six months in the year without pay.

MR. LUCAS: Now taking your district generally, is the land for the natives adequate?— Do you mean the native reserve?

Yes?— For the total native population—do you mean if all the natives on the farms were evicted?

No, as conditions are at present?— At present it is adequate, although there are certain areas which are becoming congested. Certain areas are becoming over-crowded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Which areas?— Tembene and round about Redhill and Nqweqwe. We have a large area there. The native reserve is in the vicinity of 190,000 acres, on paper, but out of that, an area of 50,000 acres is uninhabitable, on account of nagana, fever, and lack of water.

MAJOR ANDERSON: There are no natives there at all?— There are a few stray kraals on the outskirts.

Has nagana been spreading at all?— I think this experiment which the Provincial Administration has undertaken has resulted in spreading it— the killing of the game.
It has broken out in some kraal where it never was before.

MR. LUCAS: You said the area would not be adequate for long, even where there is no over-crowding now? - It will not be adequate in the long run, unless you can make that 50,000 acres inhabitable.

And the remainder, will that be adequate for long? - It depends on the increase of the population.

How long have you been in this district? - I have been here four years.

Have you noticed that any part of the district has become overcrowded during that period, any part which was not so before? - I have noticed districts which are much more thickly populated today.

What is that due to? - That is due mostly to evictions from farms.

In this neighbourhood? - Yes, here, and further afield. There have been many evictions from Boksobanango and this District.

CHAIRMAN: What are they due to? - Expansion of cultivation on the part of the European landowners often.

Is there no room for cattle? - There is wattle here.

There is no room for the native cattle? - That is so.

MR. LUCAS: How would you propose to meet this increasing over-crowding? - For one thing you will have to evolve a system similar to that of the Transkei, of grouping the gardens and the grazing grounds. And then I think it is essential that there should be expansion of the land for native occupation. Land which is unsuitable, or not wanted by Europeans, which is only farms in name, because the Europeans have never occupied it, should be sold, or bought for the natives.
What do you cover by "unsuitable"? Apparently unsuitable, because the Europeans do not live there, not because it is not healthy. It is quite healthy, but it is too broken for European occupation, or it is too far from European occupation.

DR. ROBERTS: You know the whole of Zululand. You know there are, as it were, areas right through, like the sticking fingers of a hand, - the fingers are stretching out. Would you be in favour of taking the whole block and buying out these fingers which are today not in the native reserves? - No. What I do think is this. I am now travelling outside my district. I think it is not right that you should have an area as big as Vryheid, Utrecht and Bababango without a single acre of native-owned land in it. It gives the unscrupulous landlord a tremendous lever for being unjust to his tenants. In this particular district there are farms which could be added to the native reserves without interfering with the Europeans, because the Europeans have never made use of it, and they have been there for forty years, and they are not likely to make use of it, except as labour farms.

You are not in favour of making a block? - I do not think it is feasible.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do not you think it is much more important to educate the native into using his grounds properly? - I think it is very important, but I think we are starting at the wrong end of the stick. While we have this system, or rather no system at all ---- we do not group our gardens and our lands; we send agricultural demonstrators along and the native will not take sufficient notice if he is likely to be moved at any time.
and a few acres to cultivate, and a few head of cattle, and he can go out to work during a few months in the year, then he should have quite enough? – Yes, I think so.

MR. MOSTERT: You were telling us about the Tongaat people having a labour farm? – Yes.

What is the size of that farm? – About 2,000 acres.

How many natives are there on that farm, how many able-bodied men? – I am not in a position to answer that question, but I do know that it is rather over-crowded.

What about the cattle on that farm, are the cattle over-crowded? – Yes.

There is no such thing in this territory that a farm is over-crowded, from the agricultural point of view? – That is so.

And when you speak of over-crowding, you speak of cattle? – Yes.

Have you any idea how many head of cattle there are on that farm? – Over 600.

MR. LUKAS: When you were talking about over-crowding in the reserves, was that over-crowding by population or by stock? – Mostly by stock. But I do not know what you mean by over-crowding. We have some very mountainous country here. There are parts where the natives are cultivating on these steep ravines. They are thick with gardens there. I do not know whether you regard that as being over-crowded.

Take the areas which you describe as over-crowded. Supposing they had very little stock there, would you then describe those areas as being over-crowded? – No, they would be sufficient to cultivate.

For a long time to come? – Not in some areas. In some areas you have lots of land without kraals at all. That
is where the land is unsuitable and where there is fever.

Let us separate those. Take the other areas. Even if they did not have a large amount of stock — some areas are already over-stocked with people? — Yes, some areas are.

SENIOR VAN NIEKERK: If you were to decrease the number of cattle given for lobolo, would that solve the question? — I think it would help.

But would not the native then only be in the position of being able to buy more wives? — I do not think so. After all, the males and the females are practically equal in numbers now. In the early wars the males were killed off in large numbers in battle, and as a result the females used to outnumber the males, but nowadays the balance is about equal, and the numbers are about the same.

Under the lobolo system the man who is able to pay gets the wives? — Well, even a poor man can pay five head of cattle. But the rich old man who has a lot of cattle can buy a lot of wives. The poor man cannot. Of course, ten head is not really the Zulu custom. It has been adopted by them since the Zulu wars.

If lobolo went it would have the effect of reducing the number of cattle they keep? — Yes, I think so. From that point of view it would be useful.

THE COMMISSION AT 12.50 P.M., ADJOURNED FOR LUNCH

AND SUBSEQUENTLY PROCEEDED TO THE FARM OF SIR CHARLES
SAUNDERS, WHERE EVIDENCE WAS TAKEN AT 2.15 P.M.
ON THE COMMISSION RESUMING AT 2.15 P.M.

SIR CHARLES JAMES RENAUD SAUNDERS, K.C.M.G., Duly Called
AND EXAMINED:

THE CHAIRMAN: I think you have read our terms of reference and we shall be pleased to hear what you wish to tell us?—I have made a few rough notes on which I can make a statement. I may say that I have been very interested on reading the evidence given at Dundee by Mr. Graham, and I must say I agree entirely with what he says. In the first place, I like it to be understood that my remarks today apply principally to the Zululand natives, as it is with them that I have been principally associated during the last forty years or more. I had some experience of Natal before that, but the last forty years I have been more or less in Zululand. First of all, on the question of detribalization. This, as far as I know, has been gradual but continuous ever since the Europeans settled in this country. It probably commenced, as far as I can make out, with the better security to life and the easier means of obtaining food, which contact with the Europeans afforded during the unsettled and scattered state of the people following Chaka’s and Dingaan’s massacres. During those times a number of people went to the Europeans and got protection from them and stayed with them. Since then, having once commenced, it has been continuous and increasing, but probably not more so than what could be reasonably expected with the natural increase of the European population, as well as the natural increase of the natives under European rule. As far as the natives are concerned under European rule, they were afforded better security for their lives and property without incessant calls from their
rulers, for military organization and operations. Under European control they were free from that sort of thing. The factors tending to detribalization are many, among which it may seem that the following may be cited as not the least important: (1) Having become accustomed to working in the towns and the more civilized centres, the attractions of these centres and the amenities afforded drew on a proportion of those working there, and principally the youths. (2) Higher wages, in special classes of employment, with more variety of and more luxurious living than could be enjoyed in the kraals, as well as ample opportunity for spending their earnings in any way they wished. This last attraction appeals chiefly to the younger members of the community, who in a large proportion squander most, if not all, of their earnings, and who wish to free themselves from tribal and parental control, who lose thought of any obligations towards their tribes and families, many of them never returning to their natural homes, and few contributing towards the maintenance of their people. Add to this that there are a number of men who have become accustomed to certain classes of work in civilized centres, where they earn higher wages and work solely, probably in the aggregate, for half the year. These remit their earnings in part or whole to their kraals, to some extent for the support of their families, but principally to buy cattle with which to obtain more wives. During recent years, with the exception of the sugar and other industries, the whole of this labour supply could not be absorbed within Zululand, and even now there is a surplus which has to find employment elsewhere. The numbers able to find work in this Province is, however, increasing rapidly. They are becoming used to the work to be procured here, where the rate of wages
is much the same as for similar work elsewhere, and they
realise that there are many advantages in being able to work
nearer their homes. So the number of men seeking work locally
is rapidly increasing.

In considering the economic and social conditions
of the ordinary tribal natives, it must be remembered that
the paramount ambition of the men is to marry as many wives
as they are able to acquired, and to breed all the children
they can. Every girl is a potential wife, and there are few,
if any, who cannot become married women when the ambition
of the respectable members of the community is to have large
families, with little thought as to how their offspring is to
be brought up and maintained. They have no objection to
being one of many wives, in fact they are proud of the fact
so long as they bear a numerous offspring. Marriage is much
easier today than it ever was, on account of the greater native
wealth in cattle, which, owing to European methods in checking
disease among the animals, has enabled them to acquire larger
herds than their wildest dreams could ever have depicted.
Cattle have become very cheap, and the result is that the
boys have no difficulty in procuring cattle to lobolo wives
with. This has led to much earlier marriages among both
sexes. It is nothing uncommon for youths and girls of from
fifteen years of age or thereabouts to marry, and at about
twenty years of age many youths have two or three wives.

It can easily be visualised how the population must
increase under these conditions, and in fact is increasing
at a rate it never did hitherto.

I now come to the advantages of tribal conditions,
which may be said to consist in there being a unit in a whole —
i.e. of the tribe. They are proud of their old tribal history and associations, and can have their say in the management of tribal affairs dealt with under the former.

The custom of lobolo is fast becoming one of sale and barter, and the girls are being regarded as chattels of merchandise. The custom of lobolo did not originate in this, but was regarded as a pledge more or less in the husband's case of his good behaviour towards his wife, and in the case of the girl's relations as a pledge to her good behaviour. Originally two or three, or at least very few cattle were expected from the husband on the marriage taking place, the girl's relations being a return present to the husband in proportion to the number received from him as lobolo. If the marriage was successful, and children were born, the girl's people had a right to make further calls for cattle, the husband being regarded as the support, $x$ or as they called it, a stump, (isaigodo), on which they could lean on times of necessity for help. Cattle almost invariably are still regarded as the main medium of lobolo, their number being fixed by law according to the rank of the woman's parents. A pernicious system has, however, crept in and become almost universal, of fines being imposed on the prospective husband of from £5 to £2, or more, which is a contravention of the law and not regarded as lobolo. In districts where horses live a certain proportion of these animals are claimed in lieu of cattle.

A large number of the girls now become pregnant before marriage and this is seized upon by the parents to improve fines of £5 or more on the prospective husbands, in addition to what they received as lobolo or other fines.

In regard to land, on private farms in some instances
rent is paid, in others labour is supplied in lieu of rent, and there are also instances where no rent is paid, and people are allowed to live, provided their labour is available to the owners of the farm, who pay labourers current rates of wages; when squatters work regularly it is distinctly to their advantage and that of their landlords that they do so.

On the question of landless native population, at the present time there is no landless native population, and there need not be for a long time to come, provided they learn to make better use of their land than they do at present.

On the question of native migration, there is no marked increase from rural to urban areas. The increase into inter-rural areas is from farms and private holdings and must eventually lead to congestion and improved cultural methods and occupation.

In regard to native agriculture, this is very poor. Beyond what the Government is attempting in the establishment of industrial schools little has been done. They have learned little, if anything, from European methods. There is no appreciable desire for improvement in this respect, and there appears to be little prospect of this until their chiefs and men of rank seriously interest themselves in that direction, which, with probably one or two very isolated exceptions, they are not doing, and apparently will not exert themselves to, so long as the present happy-go-lucky state of existence is possible. It is very much a case of "sufficient for the day", being all they at present desire - and this state of affairs will doubtless continue until dire necessity and bitter experience compel them, or the coming generation, to advance.

Mr. In considering this phase it is as well to bear
possible to
in mind what has been these people in their
past history of the last century, namely: after what became
to be since known as the Zulu Nation, founded by Chaka. It
can hardly be contended that the welfare of the people as a
whole was ever a factor in his or subsequent rules, under
their kings or chiefs, and this state of affairs, although
possibly in a lesser degree, still exists. The methods of
Chaka's rule, which were followed in varied degrees by his
successors: Dingaan, Mpande and Cetshwayo, were those of
arrant subjection to his despotic will. The guiding feature
of which was furtherance of his own aggrandisement, with
little - if any - consideration for the welfare of the people
as a whole. Although this state of despotism may be said to
have ended with the Zulu War, and Cetshwayo's defeat in 1878-79,
with possibly a few notable exceptions, subsequent chiefs have
evolved little desire of determination to better the conditions
of their tribe and people, but rather were they content, so long
as their immediate wants were met, to continue an existence of
attempted self-aggrandisement and idleness, amassing of many
wives, and as much wealth as they could acquire. This state
of affairs still continues, and although it appears to have
been anticipated that with the establishment of an industrial
institution among chief Solomon's people on his being appointed
to succeed his father Dinizulu as a chief over a defined area,
little progress even there seems to be in evidence. In my
opinion the successors to native chieftainship should be com-
pelled to undergo a course of a number of years' education at
approved educational centres, and pass a standard of education
to be fixed by the Government as the lowest that would fit and
enable them to succeed to the chieftainship. The education
should in a large measure embrace industrial training in as varied a degree as possible. Such a foundation to such appointments would inevitably in many, if not in most instances, encourage them to extend the knowledge thus gained to the people they were called upon to rule. It would not be unreasonable to call upon the present chiefs and tribes to contribute towards the education of their future chiefs, and this would compel the nomination of successors during the early life of their parents and thus doing away with the many disputes now constantly occurring as to succession. This is a most important thing, and I should make that a strict condition.

In regard to Mr. Graham's evidence at Dundee, as I have said, I agree most heartily almost in whole with what he has said, and I consider his evidence a well-reasoned and fair statement throughout. In support of this, my experience with native tenants during the last eighteen years on this and adjoining farms, since disposed of, may be cited. When these farms were acquired the custom then in existence was continued until some three years ago, under which the able-bodied young men had, in turn, to work four months without pay in lieu of rent. After that they could either seek work elsewhere or continue in my employment at whatever were the current rates of wages in these parts. The arrangement was not satisfactory, so I decided to abolish the system and allow people to live on a farm free of rent, or labour in lieu of it, provided they undertook to work their whole time here at current rates of wages, namely: 30/- to £2, and more, for able-bodied men, and rations, so long as their labour was required; but that they were not to seek work elsewhere so long as they were wanted
on this place, and then only after obtaining permission to do so. Even these conditions are constantly evaded by the young men and boys. Notwithstanding these conditions nine kraals with twenty or more able-bodied men and over two hundred head of cattle have left the farm Vlakbult in the last two years. Yet natives from Pomerooy, of whom we have several, come here to work regularly.

MR. LUCAS: When you say 30/- to 22 per month, do you mean thirty shifts, or is that per calendar month? That is per calendar month. We do all we can in task work. You can find natives coming here from elsewhere, and yet these fellows who are on this place, although I gave them excellent conditions, would not stay. Simply because I wanted a regular supply of labour they went. I told these people, and I said, "I shall not charge you any rent, I shall pay you the usual rate of wages, but the only condition is that you cannot go and work elsewhere without my permission. If I do not want you, you can come and get permission to go elsewhere." But they would not stay. There was a congestion of cattle, and they have taken away 200 head, and today their cattle are dying like flies.

MR. MOSTERT: Have these boys grown up with you here? - Yes, they have been here for many years. I did away with this system under which they had to work four months in turn. That system meant that if there were three boys each of them had to work four months in turn, but they seemed to prefer that to the other, although under the other system I charged them no rent, but paid them the regular wages.

MR. LUCAS: When they had to work four months could they go out and earn money elsewhere? - If they wanted to, yes,
but lots of them kept on working continuously.

Were there any other conditions under which they lived on the farm?—No, none whatever, and they always came for help if there was any trouble. I lent them money, but of course I would not advance them more than one month's wages.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you noticed any change in the attitude of the Zulus towards the white men?—Not among the older Zulus, but certainly among the younger ones. They are not as respectful as they used to be. Two years ago the I.C.U. was causing trouble, and the people were inclined to be very uppish, but I think that has died out.

That disrespect was also noticeable on the part of the young men towards their older men?—Yes, that is very much so with this young generation.

MR. MOSTERT: And towards their chief?—Yes, also towards the chiefs. I blame the Government almost entirely. They have done away with the powers of the chiefs, they have gone on reducing and reducing their powers and they have given nothing in place.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you think that the reduction of the power of the chief has been a good step?—No, I do not think so. If you give people responsibility they must also have power, and if these chiefs were to be held responsible for the maintenance and behaviour of their people you must give them power to maintain them; it.

Would it be possible to re-invest the chief with some power?—I think so, why should it not be?

In what way do you suggest?—I cannot tell you off-hand, excepting generally that the power of the chief has been reduced. I suppose that they curtail their powers of fining people. Mind you, unless you get good chiefs they simply
fine people and enrich themselves. But those things have to be thought out. As a general principle, I certainly think that there should be more power for the chiefs. If a man has responsibility he must have power.

DR. ROBERTS: Would you give him general criminal jurisdiction? — In minor cases, yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been represented to us that if the chief's authority has to be restored in any way it follows as a natural corollary that the authority of Solomon would have to be placed on a more definite footing. We should like to have your opinion on that? — Not necessarily. Solomon, so far as I know, is supposed to occupy the position of just an ordinary chief and is supposed to have no more nor less power than an ordinary chief in the country.

The point has been made to us that there are people who say that Solomon's powers should be defined and that he should be proclaimed — it has been said that Solomon's power should be the coping stone? — Well, if you went back to the earliest days, if you followed the real line of descent, Solomon would not have been there. He would never have succeeded. His father was not the heir at all.

MR. MOSTERT: Do you mean that Dinizulu was not? — No. He simply acquired the position by might, which has been happening ever since Chaka's time. Dinizulu happened to be the only son worthy of taking up the position, and when the Dutch people came to the Vryheid District Dinizulu was produced to be shown as someone of responsibility. Another man would ordinarily have been the heir. But following the Zulu custom, there would have been a tremendous fight and it would have been a case of "might." These people establish themselves
by night.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do the Zulus now recognise Solomon's position among themselves as the descendant of the Zulu royal power?—They recognise him as one of the royal family, and as such he has a certain prestige, but it is only by virtue of the prestige which he holds under the Government that he has any authority. You have heard about these levies which he has been making. That is nothing but a system of blackmail. What happened was, when the Prince of Wales came out there was terrible mismanagement. It was wrong to allow Solomon ever to be recognised. There was a great try on to get Solomon appointed as paramount chief on the part of a large number of Zulus. That was never done by General Botha, and he absolutely refused to do so in the case of Dinizulu. But the report got spread about among the Zulus that the Prince of Wales was coming here to establish Solomon as king, and with that a message went out for a contribution. They asked for subscriptions. And at the same time it was said among the Zulus — it was said among themselves — that those who did not subscribe would know all about it after the Prince had gone, and when Solomon was chief. That was a direct threat. That has gone on ever since. I do not know how many contributions have been made, and every time there has been a direct threat. "Wait until he is chief." And that has kept the country in a perpetual state of unrest.

MR. MOSTERT: Do you think it will affect the Zulu people as a people if Solomon's powers were to be curtailed?—They would be only too glad — that is beyond that little following he has there. He is surrounded by a certain class of people — some of them the biggest blackguards in the country.
But he has no influence over the thinking sections of the people. The only influence he has is by virtue of his position.

In regard to these levies, the Government has taken no notice, and so his followers say that these levies are being made by authority of the Government. Time and again he has got into debt, and every time a levy is made.

DR. ROBERTS: How much do you think would his annual levy amount to? He goes only as far as Fort Shepstone?—I was told this by a man who holds a very high position in the Nkata Kazulu, some national thing which they are trying to organize. I asked what had become of this money which Solomon had collected during the visit of the Prince of Wales. I had good reason to believe that he got £20,000. This man replied that he got anything from £10,000 to £20,000 at the time. That was one levy.

MR. LUCAS: And did he get it, or did the collectors get it?—Well, there were a lot of pickings.

MR. MOSTERT: Are there any white men assisting him?—Not that I know of. I think some white men get a good deal out of out through motor-cars. He had a fleet of motor-cars. The people are getting a little bit of sick of these levies. They saw the Government does not support him and lately they have not been as lavish with their subscriptions as they used to be.

Do you consider, so far as his powers are concerned, that he should be made to remain where he is, and that his powers should not be increased?—Certainly not.

Is the position due to Solomon's person or to the uncertainty of his title?—He has no control whatever. The only influence he has is a very bad one. What good is he doing? He does nothing whatever for the welfare of his
people.

MR. MOSTERT: So you think it would be a big mistake to give him more power?—I certainly think so. This is the third time that they have made the same experiment. Cetywayo was exiled from the country, and an assurance was given by Sir Garnet Wolseley that he would never come back. Under that assurance certain hereditary chiefs were appointed, but after a short time Cetywayo was brought back and he was given a position of equality with people who were his own subjects. That soon led to trouble and warfare. He was defeated and he went to Eshowe and died. After that we had Dinizulu. He was imprisoned and he was sent to St. Helena, but brought back. That proved an adject failure. Now here everything had settled down. Everything was as peaceful as possible, and then after Dinizulu's death they go and bring back Solomon and stir up the whole thing in the same way again.

Where was Solomon brought from?—When I say "brought back", I mean he was wandering about the country here. He was put in a good position.

It would have been better if he had not been allowed to come back?—It would have been better if he had not been appointed to any position at all.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now have you seen any change in the attitude of the white man towards the native?—Yes, I think there is a change, and I think that on the whole the white men treating the natives much better and understand them much better.

MR. LUCAS: Would you say that whatever trouble there has been has been due to misunderstanding?—Yes, I
think so. I think that you will find that a great many people understand them and work with them, and they get better work out of them. I always impress upon my own people to try and understand these natives. And if we do that then I think you will get better results.

Do you find that the natives respond favourably to a better understanding of their needs?—Certainly.

THE CHAIRMAN: The native as a labourer—would you express your views on that, as an agricultural labourer?—He is very poor. But the most extraordinary part is that they do not seem to progress. It does not matter what we try and teach them, they revert back to their original state. I have a lot of trouble in getting these people here on the place to improve. I have even given these people fertiliser. Some will not take the trouble to go a mile or two to fetch it. If I put it in for them they will just look at the mealies growing, I have offered to buy it for them and give it to them at cost price. But they will not do anything. They see the benefit of this kind of thing, but that is all.

They will do these things under control, but not for themselves?—That is so.

MR. LUCAS: Is not that perhaps the difficulty of using foreign methods among their own people?—I do not think so. It is not their custom to be mixing up with Europeans. They will come to your place and see the results of fertiliser, but they will not do it for themselves. I think it is just want of enterprise and deister dilatoriness.

THE CHAIRMAN: The environment of the kraal militates against any improvement?—Yes, I think that is what it is.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: How could we put a damper on
this over-stocking? - Let tick fever come. I have advocated that for a long time. Let the people look after their cattle and those who will not, well let them suffer the results.

MAJOR ANDERSON: You mean, do not enforce dipping? - Let those who choose to dip, dip. Look at what the country is spending on dipping, and to what purpose? They are breeding these scrub things for no earthly use. They want to get as many as they can and get wives and go on breeding.

THE CHAIRMAN: Some of them complain bitterly about the white man's dipping? - I have said for a long time to let the dipping alone, and let their blessed cattle rip and die.

Do you think that that is the only way out of the difficulty? - That is the only solution. Those who will look after their cattle will keep the tick fever away from them.

MR. LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK: You have no periodical droughts in Zululand? - We have pretty bad droughts.

If you had droughts it would take the cattle away? - I should say take the regulations about dipping away, and that those who will dip, dip, and the others would lose their cattle. The cattle are no good, they are no good to anybody.

THE CHAIRMAN: Would not the raising of these restrictions tend to give East Coast Fever a very good hold on the country as a whole? - It would, but how long are you going to keep it up?

MR. LUCAS: It would hit the European too? - Let the European look after his cattle.

Would the European be able to save his cattle? - Yes, I think so. I had tick fever here once. It was brought in by a beast when I was re-stocking. I stamped it out with
the loss of that one beast, and I have been in quarantine here for six years through some of my neighbours having tick fever. But we have had no case here for six years, and we are on the main road. We had 2,000 head of cattle, and we are surrounded by tick fever, but we kept it out with the exception of that one beast, so it is quite possible to keep it out.

MAJOR ANDERSON: The only thing which you would not be safe from would be the restrictions of the Veterinary Department? That is so, and the restrictions are worse than the disease. I was quarantined for six years, because people go around here with infested herds. The place got over-stocked and we could not sell a beast. Then after that, as a great concession, they allowed us to send a few hundred to the abattoirs. I sent down a fine mob, which killed at 438 lbs. clean, and I was getting the beautiful price of 5d. per lb. each. They did not realise 30/- a beast.

MR. LUCAS: You spoke about making marriage easier and about the number of wives increasing. Surely the disparity in the number of the sexes is not so great as to stand that long?—Well, it is extraordinary, but it does seem to.

Are not you judging in this instance from one or two individual cases instead of knowing the facts in regard to the whole of the country?—No, I am judging Zululand as far as one knows of Zululand. I know the whole of the locality all around. How you saw those boys waiting at table. The one nipper is marrying, and he is about 14 years of age. He is paying for a wife. Of course, the fathers are afraid to oppose it; they say "If we oppose it then these boys will go away to the towns, and the only chance of keeping them at home is to allow them to marry as soon as they like and then
they stay at home." It is encouraged to that extent by the parents.

Are not the needs of the wives increasing?—Very little.

No silk stockings here?—A few of the people may have. You see a few dressed up girls in the townships. The girls can always find day work, but the moment they get anything, the moment they get any mealies, they sell it, and then they have to go and buy later on.

Do you find that that happens here?—Yes, they sell as fast as anything comes in.

Do they sell for money, or do they barter?—Sometimes they barter, but principally it is for money. For instance, here there are a lot of these yams. It was grown in small quantities from time immemorial, and yet they are quite content to see the European doing it. They are too lazy themselves, and they will buy from the Europeans, and just the same with mealies. I have tried over and over again to get these people here to plant something else, to have a stand-by in case of a shortage of the mealie crop, but you cannot get them to do it, and only dire necessity will make them do it.

Have you any natives in this district farming on a large scale for themselves, like those natives near Eshowe?—There is one man near here who has a farm, and I understand he has been selling portions to natives. There is very little farming here among the natives beyond just what they want for their immediate requirements.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you think there is any prospect of stopping this decrease in the powers of the chiefs, even by the Government supporting the chiefs? Supposing the Govern-
ment were to give the chiefs judicial power in small criminal cases, do you think that that would prevent this sort of dry rot going on?— It would give them better influence and control over their people, and that is what they want.

The process of years is against the power of the chiefs continuing?— Yes, it is because they have to be educated sooner or later, and as they become educated—I should strongly think that the Government should insist on these people being educated. Every younger who aspires to chieftainship should be educated and shown that he has fitted himself for the position. That would be no hardship to them. They want education; a large proportion of them are wanting it, and if these chiefs used their influence in that direction it would have good effects, and you would have people as chiefs who would know something about their duties. Today you have a very different state of affairs. You have people who know nothing about their duties, and then you also have this. You would know something about your chiefs. You have small tribes with someone as chief, about whom you know nothing. The larger the tribe the less the trouble.

Would you be in favour of a council of chiefs for all Zululand, with considerable powers, powers of taxation and control in education and hospitals?— I do not think that they are fitted for that yet. In Natal they are more educated. I should say not without a very big European element in it.

Would you have the magistrate with them?— I do not quite know, but I do not think the natives are quite fitted for it yet.
Another matter is the question of marriage. Have you ever come across unmarried native women—I have not?—No. You never come across a native woman who is not living with a man and breeding. Lots of them are not married now. They are simply promiscuously living with men, and every woman is a potential mother.

Have you ever come across barren women?—Very few.

That of course would break the marriage tie?—They go on and on and on, and hope that eventually they may bear a child. They go to their doctors and they try this, that and the other, and the witch doctor says he can cure it. I should say that the proportion of native women who do not have children is very small indeed.

Taking the present condition of farming, do you think there is too little land for the natives, do you think there is congestion?—At the present moment I should say not. But if the stock is going on increasing at the rate it is doing, then there certainly will be. They have no thought whatever. I can speak from long experience, and if I had allowed these people they would have brought thousands of cattle here, but I limited them—I said no.

How do you explain that, because from your extensive knowledge of the native you know that he is no fool?—That is so.

Then how do you explain his folly in this regard?—Cattle are his one idea of wealth. A man just goes and sees his cattle, and he sees how they are increasing, and he has no thought for the future. One of these men came here and expressed the deepest regret at having to sever his
connection with me after all these years. He said "When I look at all these cattle my heart almost drops out. I see these cattle, and by the end of the winter they will be skin and bone, and that is what is making me go." I said "Are you going to any better place, and have you any assurance that those cattle will live there?" He said no, but he had heard that they would do better there, and he could not sit here and watch them going off. They are dying off now where he is.

MR. MORGAN: How long will it take us to make the native an agriculturist, even at the rate we are going on now? Under the present methods it will take a very long time. I was very much struck when the Governor-General was here, and I think that those people should have been brought to book very severely. It all came about from this idea that the country will be restored to Solomon. The Governor-General mentioned about the industrial school at Ukonze (?). One of these people was very insolent and said "We did hope when you were going away from the country you would leave us with some nice words. We could then have had these words to think of, and we could have meditated over them, but here you are leaving us with a bombshell that you are going to establish an industrial school on one of our properties." No amount of explaining would appease them. They had sent one of these people to Zsolo to see the benefit there, but they said "no, we are not like those people there who have been with the Europeans for a long time." It all comes back to the idea that the country belongs to Solomon, and they say "why is the Government going to take away part of Solomon's
country?" I think these people should be encouraged to acquire land for themselves. There was one prominent chief here, a man of royal family, a cousin of Dinizulu, and seeing how they were congested here he did his best to buy a farm. He had the opportunity of buying one. A lot of the people were being turned off, and he got those people together and he put this proposal to them. There were sufficient people in support of this thing to make him think that he could buy it. But somehow or other he sent over to Solomon to inform him of what he was doing. Solomon's wives at once came out and said "How dare he think of buying the country which belongs to Solomon", and that put a stop to the whole thing. That chief put the whole thing off.

DR. ROBERTS: Is there any released territory around here where he could buy a farm which did not belong to Solomon? - Well, that was a farm which did not belong to Solomon at all. It was in the released area.

MR. HOSTETT: Do they look upon the whole thing as theirs? - Yes. The idea was, when the Prince of Wales was here, that he was going to restore the whole of the country to Solomon, and the Europeans would be turned out neck and crop.

Who gave them that idea? - It was just a case of the wish being father to the thought. You know how easy it is to start a lie. What would be the result if the white people went out here? The country would flow with blood in no time. In three months' time you would have Chaka's history repeating itself, until someone came to the top and asserted his authority. And they will all tell you that. You talk to any of these sensible people. They all
know it, and they say that without the Europeans or some control the country would be in a deluge of blood.

Therefore you think that any control which one may wish to give to any chief must be very limited?—Yes, and I would insist upon the chief being educated.

But it would still be limited?—Certainly! I should give them sufficient control to maintain order and to control their people properly. Here is another important point, and that is that they should have men as magistrates in control of the natives who speak their language and can converse with them freely, men who have not got to go and do their conversation through the medium of interpreters. However good an interpretation may be, it is not as good as direct communication. You and I would much prefer to speak to people directly rather than through the medium of interpreters. There must be lots of suitable men, and I should make it a sine qua non that all magistrates in control of natives should be thoroughly conversant with their language.

Dr. ROBERTS: Would you give them a higher status, as is done in India? After all, they are limited in scope if they come here?—Certainly. I should give them a higher status and a higher salary. That is one of the most important things throughout the country.

MR. LUDAS: On this question of educating the chiefs, would it be feasible that where the proposed was not educated, there must be a regent for a number of years to give him the opportunity of being educated and also providing an incentive towards their being educated?—Yes. I do not
think you can apply that to chiefs who have already been
appointed, but I do think you can do it with the new ones,
and I do not see why the tribes should not be responsible
for the education, and I think if it were put to them pro-
perly they would agree; excepting those few who are in
power, and whose power and wealth depends on it, they all
want education. They see the advantage of it, and it will
come sooner or later. It will come in the next generation
or soon after.

MR. MOSTERT: Do you think it should come slowly?—
I do not know that you can hurry it very much. The best
means to bring that about would be to get those people
controlling them to use their influence. They would probably
further it. I should let as many people as possible go from
the tribes to be educated.

THE COMMISSION AT 3.30 p.m., ADJOURNED FROM
SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS' RESIDENCE, AND AGAIN
PROCEEDED TO MELOMOTH, WHERE FURTHER EVIDENCE
WAS TAKEN.

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NATIVE WITNESSES.

ON THE COMMISSION RESUMING AT MELMOTH AT

4p.m.

CHIEF MBOMBI BUYELLA, son of Dumenzwill, of the Melmoth District.

NIKOLASE NPUSHEPHI,

representing Ekantina Zulu, of the Melmoth District.

MOSIE BTULLI, representing Chief Bulingwe, Melmoth District.

The witnesses were accompanied by some 200 headmen and followers, who repeatedly signified their agreement with the statements put forward by their representatives and who respectfully conveyed their greetings to the Commission.

CHIEF BUYELLA: We greet the Commission, and we thank the Government for having been so considerate to us natives to appoint you gentlemen to travel through the country to enquire into matters closely affecting us and our well-being.

We have quite a number of matters which we should like to represent to the Government through you, and those matters are grievances which we feel. One of our grievances relates to the wages paid to our children while at work. They are paid 1/- per day. That is inadequate, because we have not enough to pay the Government their taxes, we have to pay for our own support in our homes. Sometimes a grown up man gets only 6d. per day. We are glad of the opportunity of telling the Government, through you now, that such is the case with us.

You see me before you today. I happen to have followers living in the native reserves, as well as on farms. Those are my people who are on farms are heavily burdened because of the conditions on farm lands. Our native reserve has become cramped for accommodation now because of the removal of followers of mine from farm lands. I have to do my best to find room for them in my reserves, but it is getting crowded out.
NATIVE WITNESSES.

-1901-

We see that the white people get a lot of benefit from having their children to learn things, and we would be very glad if the Government would give us natives an opportunity of learning things which would help us to better ourselves. We find that owing to the crowding out of our areas there is less and less room for the grazing of our stock, and that is also now constituting a serious problem in our midst. I think I had better stop there now, because I have said in a few words what our principal representations are. There is present here a young man who has come from Chief Nkontiná, to speak on his behalf.

NIKOLASE MPUSOZI: I have a document here which I would like to read. I am speaking on behalf of the members of the Committee of the Church of the Province of South Africa. Chief Nkontiná, son of Siteku Sulu. We humbly beg to put forward the following grievances. (1) The Europeans do not pay more than 30/- or 40/- per month to natives who are in their employ. That is the ordinary payment, although the taxes are increasing every year; the wages are not increasing. The following has to be paid—Poll tax, hut tax, farm rents, dipping fees for cattle, sheep and goats, dog taxes, and moreover there is often famine and sickness to be met, and clothes to be bought. (2) Increasing of dipping fees on farms belonging to Europeans. All Europeans charge the natives as they like, but the Government see that the same fee is paid all over, so as to help the depressed natives. (3) The dips, the dipping of sheep, cattle and goats. The East Coast Fever has not vanished yet. When the sheep and goats have been dipped, some of them have to be carried home, and many die. But before they were dipped they were not sick. (4) The
locations are over-crowded. Many natives are now living without shelter, as they do not know where to live. And on the limited location areas, Europeans are allowed to buy land. These are our grievances, which we respectfully put forward to the Government, and we hope that the Government will see that our grievances are well considered.

MORE NTULI: I speak on behalf of the Committee of the Church of the Province of South Africa. Most Honourable Gentlemen, we the inhabitants of Kwa Magwa Mission Station most sincerely thank you for your visit, and also His Excellency and the Government for their faithful promise to appoint a Committee to hear our grievances. We therefore pray you for your able consideration towards the redress of our grievances.

Shortage of land: The life we live with the Europeans is deplorable owing to the shortage of land.

Lowness of Wages: The wages paid to natives are honestly below the standard of living. We are paid 1/- to 1/4d. a day, out of which we have to pay £1 tax to the Government, £110.0. as dipping fees, 21.0.0. as land tax, school fees for our children and school material, clothing, buy our food, dog tax, and other family responsibilities such as sickness, church fees, etc., from same, and we must send our children to the higher schools out of the 1/- and 1/4d. a day. This we feel severely. We deplore the fact that we are taxed on mission reserves, and yet these reserves are not purchased.

We ask you gentlemen to submit to the Government that we as Christian natives residing on mission stations are paying dipping fees and other reserves are not. May the
Government extend the same privilege to us as natives on the Government Reserves, as we pay the same tax.

We most humbly ask the Government to assist us in establishing proper education in trades such as carpentry, shoemaking, plumbing, building, and blacksmithing, as the majority of us are unable to send our children to Natal and the Cape, where such schools do exist.

We most humbly ask the Government to appoint demonstrators and assist natives with suitable agricultural equipment.

We most humbly ask the Government to stop the present system of natives being asked to produce passes in the country, as we are not always carrying our pass in our neighbourhood.

We most humbly ask the Government for better facilities for natives travelling on the railway busses, as we are compelled to travel in among dangerous falling material, offensive smelling skins, and other materials carried in the same compartment occupied by human beings.

We most humbly put it to the Government that we are shamefully and unlawfully treated by the employees on these busses.

We most humbly ask the Government to build or to allow natives to build a place where they who are travelling to Natal can sleep. We have to seek shelter in European yards and on private properties while waiting for busses, and we must be satisfied with conditions there, and run the risk of being arrested for trespassing. Our children and women travelling to Natal and other parts of Zululand are compelled
to seek shelter in quarters owned by male workers, which is opposed to Christianity and civilization.

We most humbly ask the Government to exempt natives who are over the age of sixty from the payment of taxes.

We most humbly ask the Government to extend the same privilege to Zululand natives as is enjoyed by the Cape natives in appointing a European who will test the soil for different crops, and any other advice which European natives could use to better their conditions, and benefit.

Lastly, we most heartily appreciate the idea of establishing the Agricultural College at Eshowe, and the experimental farm at Mahlabatini, and we hope you a great success, which will certainly mean the upliftment of all natives as a whole, but we humbly ask the Government to take these places we petition here above as reserves, as at present we have insufficient land. We are thanking you honoured gentlemen again, and trust your able favourable consideration will be bestowed on our grievances, and on behalf of the KwaMagwaza Natives, we are yours with profoundest veneration the Members of the Select Committee.

BULINGWE: MPHUNGO: We are glad to see the Commission here, as we are suffering from many burdens. We get very little help from the white people. We are told that we are enlightened, but we are not. We were hoping that we would be able to progress. We are not allowed to run our own businesses, to engage in trade to earn money. We get very little pay. We are paid what children are paid, although we are grown up, and we trust that the Authorities will make matters easier for the native. There is something else which we wish to represent. On the farms we have little opportunity of helping ourselves. We are constantly kept hard at work.
for the white people, and we are not allowed to keep stock
there. How can it be said that we are living as a people on
farms if the conditions are such? The locations are congested
and crowded out. Perhaps the Government will assist us in this.
The dipping also troubles us, and also the dipping of goats.
We are told that we must reduce the number of stock we have.
If we do that, what are we to look for to support us on earth,
since these things are our daily bread?

DR. ROBERTS: How many schools have you got in your dis-
trict here? - (BUYELLA): There are many schools in this dis-
trict, but I cannot tell you how many.

You have no industrial schools at all? - No sir.

MR. LUCAS: What sort of work do these men do who
you say are getting only 6d. a day? - All kinds of work.

Are they able to live on the farm and have cattle there
? - Both on farms and also in the reserves, they go and work for
white people in the district.

Where is this where they get 6d. per day? - Throughout
the district. The pay varies from 6d. to 1/- per day.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is 6d. per day for adults? - Yes,
from 6d. to 1/- per day for grown-up persons.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Do not many of your people get 22
per month from the sugar estates? - Yes, there are some.

MR. LUCAS: Then why do not more of you go to the
sugar estates? - We feel that even that is too much.

Why do not those who only get 6d. per day go down to
the sugar farms? - Just because the younger people prefer to
work near to their homes, even if they are poor.

SENATOR VAN NEEKEREK: Did you say that grown-ups only
get 6d. per day? - When I say "grownups" I mean sufficiently
big to be intelligent and go about. I do not mean that they
are full grown people.
MR. LUCAS: Your followers who are squatting on farms, what pay do they get?—I do not know, but I do know that they complain bitterly about the low wages which they receive, and they have so many obligations which they have to meet in the way of Government taxes, and also the requirements of their own. They have to support themselves on what they earn, to a certain extent.

Under what conditions is your chief living on a private farm, Mose Mtuli?—(MTULI): The chief's son will answer that. The chief's son is Nonguwe Mpungose.

(MPUNGOSE): I am the son of Chief Balingwe. Since my father was appointed chief he has had to leave the farm on which he was living, on two occasions. Now he is living on a mission station and he has to pay the mission authorities for the privilege of living there. My father is a very old man.

His followers who are living on farm lands, what conditions are given to them?—Labour tenancy conditions.

What wages do they get?—Ten shillings per month.

Is that regular for all of them?—Yes. (A voice: some get no payment at all). Sometimes one of our people will work for six months for his landlord and get nothing. No money for that time.

Are any of your father's people required to work the whole year for pay?—I do not know of any instances where any member of our tribe has to work longer for his landlord than six months.

Did not the chief's sons, when they were on private
farms, have to work for the owners?—Yes, Sir.

On the same conditions as the other men?—Yes, Sir.

DR. ROBERTS: Could you tell us what would be the ratio of those who have to work for nothing and those who get 10/- per month?—I would have to go through the farms to find that out.

MR. LUCAS: Are any of the women required to work?—One of my people tells me that most of the people get no payment. Married and unmarried women and girls have to work for the farmer, but they get nothing. They are not paid.

And how long does each month one have to work in the year?—It varies greatly. Some are taken on for just a short time on occasions when they are wanted, but in the case of many they are required to work all the year through and they get no payment.

What is the general practice here?—It is very difficult to say. Some have to work for nothing and others get paid, but one cannot say what everybody gets.

You do not know whether there are more who get paid or whether there are more who do not get anything at all?—No, I would have to go right through the district and ask them all what they are getting.

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THE COMMISSION ADJourned at 4.45 p.m.,
AND SUBSEQUENTLY PROCEDED TO ESHOWE, for the PURPOSE OF TAKING EVIDENCE ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30th, 1930.