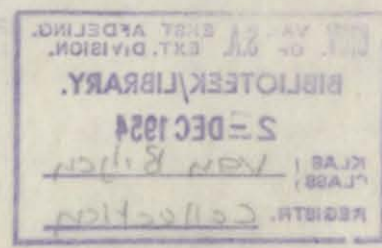


<u>WITNESSES.</u>	<u>PAGES.</u>
Mr. G. H. Hulett	1970 -- 2016
Mr. N. H. George	2017 -- 2018
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Mr. G. H. H. H. H.

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Rev. T. H. H. H. H.

Chief of Police
and others

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-1970-

NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

STANGER, OCTOBER 2nd, 1930, 9.35 p.m.

TWENTY-SEVENTH PUBLIC SITTING.

PRESENT:

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

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

MR. GEORGE HERBERT HULETT, called and examined:

THE CHAIRMAN: I take it you are cognisant of the terms of reference of the Commission. Are you prepared to make a statement ?- I had this list of subjects sent to me, and I just made a few notes. If you would not mind, I would just deal with the various heads in connection with which I have thought over. Of course, there are a tremendous lot of questions which I shall not undertake to answer, as some of these are beyond me. I would just like to make a statement with regard to points which I have selected in connection with this list, and would then be pleased to answer any questions.

Before we go on, would you tell us the capacity in which you are speaking ?- I am President of the Victoria County Planters' Association, but I have no instructions from that Association. As a matter of fact, the notice I got was rather short to convene a big meeting, but I submitted my views to the Executive and they found my views

were in accordance with their views. Of course, I cannot say that I come as representing the whole Association, but the Executive is in accord with my views, with the exception of one or two points, which I shall explain, where they differ with me. I still retain my views. Where they differ with me is on the question of detribalization.

Detribalization: The factors leading to detribalization: Natives go to the towns because of the amenities of the towns. Work in offices, kitchens, etc., is much lighter than that you have on the farms and on the sugar estates. I do not think that wages are better than what are given in the cane fields. I am now speaking practically of the Coast Belt, - Employees in the cane fields. I do not refer to the farm lands up country. I am not quite cognisant with all that. Of course, I have knowledge, but no great knowledge or experience of farming up country. I am speaking of the cane fields. The average wage in Durban to boys other than those working at the point - where there is very heavy work - is about £4. I made enquiries and I think it comes out to about £4 a month: For kitchen boys, office boys and so on; but out of that they find their own food, generally speaking, and pay for their own lodgings, as a rule, with the exception perhaps of office boys who live on the premises of their masters.

Now on the Estates - on the Cane-fields; I am speaking now of this district; we pay as much as £2 per month to £2.5.0, but if they have task work they can earn as much as £2.10.0. to £2.15.0.

MR. LUCAS: Is that a month or thirty shifts? - Thirty shifts; we all work on thirty shifts. In addition to that,

they get their rations, housing, and medical attention free. So I do not think that wages is a question that influences the natives, at any rate along the coast here, to go to Durban. As a matter of fact, I own a very large farm in Zululand from which I draw a large portion of my labour, and all the parents of these boys that I have down there will all stay. They get more money when the boys go and work along the Coast in the cane-fields here than when they work in Durban; the boys that work in Durban spend all their money in the beer-houses principally, and on dress, and they enjoy the amenities of the town. I draw from seventy to eighty boys a year from my farm in Zululand, and I make it a point to ask them, and invariably every month these boys will get me to send, at any rate half of their wages home. I encourage it, and they do this. These people complain that some of their boys will not come to work for me, although I am the landlord, but they go to the towns because they prefer the life there. A further inducement is the freedom from control exercised over them on native reserves and on farms. If they are in the locations or on the farms the chiefs have a certain control over these fellows; they cannot do just as they like, but when they go to Durban most of them rarely come back for from one to three years, and they lose control of them. These young fellows like this freedom.

Another point on which I have made enquiries - on which I have examined natives - is as to why they wish to go to Durban. Well, some of these young fellows will say:-"you know the native custom of "hlonipa" - free sexual intercourse, which is the custom with the Zulus right throughout," and if they transgress and put a girl in the family way the penalties are fairly severe in the kraals; the Chief drops on them; theygo

to the towns and have absolutely free access to girls there. These young fellows get hold of some of these young girls, they go not go back to the kraal, they get out to the suburbs of Durban, and there they live with these girls as their wives, and when they are tired of them they may come back to the location and leave those women there, and so you get the spread of this venereal disease, which is eating out the vitals of the natives in Natal; at any rate, it is a very serious matter. However, I will deal with that later on.

Now, as regards the educated native and the semi-educated native - a semi-educated native will simply learn to read and write and be desirous of holding probably a little higher status than the raw native. These people, directly they get this knowledge, in the majority of cases do not care about field work. You get comparatively few of these natives who can read and write fairly well coming and working in the cane fields or on the farms; they immediately like to go to be store assistants; they get into the industrial centres.

DR. ROBERTS: Why is that? - Well, Sir, there are several factors dealing with that. Take a native who is kept enlightened; probably he has a fair knowledge of cultivating the land, he has gained it while working on the Estates; he has no opportunity in the native locations of developing any property that he might hold, and when they get educated to that extent they do not like to be tied down to the customs of the tribe; they consider themselves - and probably they are right - a little step higher than the raw native. In the first place, they are taught not simply to have one wife, they are taught that they should dress, that they should eschew all

these native customs, and to a certain extent they look down upon the other natives and the other natives resent it, and the position in the locations of many of these people is not a happy one, with the result that they either go to live on farms where they can have freedom and build a nice house, or they go to the towns. That is the cause of a large number of these natives leaving the locations, and it is going to be more so as you educate these natives. They are not going to be subject to the tribal rule and the tribal control; they want to have their independence and the right to develop on lines that are not allowable in the native reserves. I attribute that, to a very large extent, as the reason for the natives drifting into the towns and giving up their tribal customs.

Now, with regard to the tribal system; I do not advocate doing away with the tribal system in native locations. I think, however, in the appointment of native chiefs more care should be taken in such appointment. Many chiefs, especially those on farm lands along the coast here I am speaking of now, fleece their subjects; they inflict fines unjustly, just to get money, and you find several of these chiefs - I can point to no less than three along here - go in for motor-busses - motor-cars; - well, they have to get money to do that, and they do not mete out even-handed justice. I can give you one instance; it is not an isolated one. On my son's farm, where I am living, down at Umhlati (?), a native chief lives on an Indian's land. He has no following in the location; the whole of his following is living on the farms round about that district. I had a man who went to the chief to complain that there were certain natives constantly coming to his kraal when he did not wish them to come there. Well, it is a little

offence. The Chief said, "I will investigate the matter; I want a pound". The man pays the pound. The chief sends a messenger. He said, "I want to send a messenger to this man; he is working for a white man; I want another 10/-." He pays the 10/-. When ~~the~~ he comes before him, he says "Now, before I try this case I want another pound." He makes the ^{complainant} ~~the~~/accused pay the pound before he tries the case. He has got 22.10.0. from that unfortunate man, and when he wound up altogether, he fined them both 21 mapiece. Now, that is not an isolated case; these cases are constantly happening; and I say, Sir, in the appointment of chiefs the Government should take very great care as to the class of man appointed, not simply appoint him because he is the son of the late chief. I do not whether this applies very much to the native locations, but it applies in some cases to native locations; but I refer to natives not living in locations, and with regard to these petty little chiefs here - of whom I could point to several - the Government should be more careful in appointing these people.

DR. ROBERTS: Are they chiefs or headmen ?- They are appointed chiefs.

Not headmen ?- No, Sir; appointed chiefs. Now, I consider that educated natives - or what is known as the Amakola, or Christian native - should be allowed to free themselves from chief control, that native settlements be established in suitable areas in Natal in native locations. When no land is suitable the Government should buy land adjacent to locations and establish these settlements, presided over by a European and controlled by a native council. The cry of the native is for more land. Some tribes are very severely hit by lands which the tribe has had for centuries being taken

up and the whole tribe scattered. The Government should certainly do something for these tribes. In my opinion many of these lands are not suitable for European occupation - being mainly grass, there are no roads to them, and they are very broken country.

Take the instance of the provisions of land on the Umhlatazi River, right up to Nkandhla - a block of land there; when the Beaumont Commission was appointed under the 1913 Act they inspected this land and put it on native areas; but when the Chapman Commission was appointed to revise the Beaumont Commission Report they simply took this stand: there was enough land allocated for natives in Zululand, and they simply brushed the whole thing out. Now, there is one tribe - Nkantelis Tribe - I do not know whether Mr. Bradford, the Magistrate, mentioned this matter, but Nkai and his son Sitsku - he was the uncle of Dinkulu - well, Sir, he lived on this chief's lands. The whole tribe, with the exception of various small sections, lives on this land right up there. Well, the owners of these lands, directly the 1913 Act came out, and subsequently, found they could not allow these natives to live on their land. They were not entitled to charge rent. Some of them have sold their farms, and some of the farms are being cultivated with wattles, - that is, where they are nearer the road; some of them simply kept the lands, turned the natives off, and put cattle on them. It is suitable cattle country, and this tribe absolutely scattered. You see, they cannot go and live out of the ward unless they become subjects of the other chief. Consequently, this man is absolutely depleted ~~xxxxxx~~/of his tribe. On one of my farms from whence I take labour, as previously pointed out, I pay my boys the required

22 a month; consequently these other natives have crowded on to my farm; so much so, that I could not stand it any longer; I did not want so much labour. I am dipping 1100 head of cattle a week for these natives; I cannot do it, Sir, - three years ago I could not do it. I am very sorry for this old Nkanteli. I have known him since I was a little boy, but I had to turn them off. They would not leave their cattle, and I turned off 300 kraals. Where are these poor natives going to? All over the country! I am now stocking the farm with some good grade cattle; I have given my natives there some good Afrikaner bulls, and they have a very nice class of cattle. I encourage them to castrate all their inferior bulls, and I supply them with these high-bred bulls. This is an instance - and I can quote others - where the Government should release those lands from the 1913 Act, which they can do under one of the clauses, but I am dead against rack-renting, which used to take place before the 1913 Act was passed, and which led up to the 1913 Act, - simply kaffir-farming; I am dead against that. If the Government were to say, "We will release some of these lands that are not really suitable for European cultivation, but to ~~xxxxxx~~ run stock and put thereon a kaffir store, or to run it as a labour farm", I should say to them I prefer leasing lands to natives; I prefer ~~to~~ giving them leasehold title, so that the man could feel it is his land when he lives on it and can benefit by it, and pay a rental - a fair rental - which the Government might fix, and not allow the landlord, because of the hardships of these natives, to put on what price he likes. If it is a hut tax, let the Government fix the hut tax. There is another farm with lots of land, as Major Anderson probably knows - on the White Umfolozi - in that broken

country on the Umfula there - several blocks were bought for native farms; they are only suitable for that, yet the natives cannot go on them because the owners of the farm cannot allow them to squat there without paying anything for it. That is the position. I think if the Government were to allow in those cases a relaxation of the 1913 Act, where they were adjacent to location land, it would be a good thing. Of course, one of the reasons why the 1913 Act was put into force was because the natives were buying land right in the centre of Europeans, which was objectionable, especially to farmers; but where a block of land is adjacent to a native location, and is not occupied by the owner, and he cannot get access to it, as is the case with a lot of these areas, where they cannot get access to it in order to cultivate it, I think the Government might release those lands. Then you are going to get lots of these Maqualwa natives to take it up and lease the land and have security; instead of their drifting off to Durban they will develop themselves.

Now, with regard to this settlement; for years I have put forward this and have been writing to the papers, and years ago I tried to persuade the Natal Government to adopt this policy of forming native settlements - cutting up the land, laying a block of land off. There are lots of sites, even on a native location, adjacent to a railway or good road - good land, where you could lay out a native township, give a man a building site and also a cultivating block, and a commonage, and let the European preside - the Native Commissioner or Justice of the Peace. It will not cost very much for a native council. Put your regulations down for the cost

of building - you need not put up a very expensive building - a wattle and daub house; have a council, and let these people develop; let them learn how to govern themselves by having these councils. You could have a fertile block of land and encourage them to plant there, and give them assistance in marketing their produce; you could have town lands on which they could run a restricted number of cattle, just for their own requirements. By doing all this you are going to attract a large number of natives from going to Durban or other towns, and encourage them to live on these settlements. That is what should be done. If you want instances, take the land - Major Anderson knows the land - on Ginginghlovu adjacent to the Emoyeni Catholic Mission Station; beautiful land, with a river running. If that was cut up and made into a township and these natives given blocks of land to cultivate cane or mealies, or whatever it may be, you could accommodate a large number of natives and relieve the congestion in the native reserves. Take another place - Mondeni, just the other side of the Tugela; beautiful land, which has not been utilised to the extent it ought to be utilised - a kraal here, and a patch of mealies there, and another one over there, with cattle grazing all over the place; several natives there are planting cane, but their one cry is this:- "We have no title; we have no rights. The kraal eat our cane; we have no right to the land; we are there on sufferance, with the consent of the chief." That is all. Well, Sir, you cannot expect the native to develop unless you give him title to his land. I prefer leasehold title, with a restricted lease as to alienation, and, Sir, you will find there is a desire

on the part of a large number of these natives - not merely the educated natives, but natives that have been working for us here - planting - who know how to plant cane and so on, - who would be glad to take up land. Of course, the Government would have to assist a bit in seeing they were not exploited by the storekeepers and so on; I do not say they would, but naturally a man is out to make a bargain if he can; these natives get into debt. All these things should be, and would be, regulated by the Commissioner, who would preside over these settlements. That is my view on these points. Now, urban areas. I strongly support the establishment of native townships under the Urban Areas Act, but only for natives in service. If you do not restrict it to natives in service, you are going to increase say the Durban native population ten-fold in a very short time. I go further than that, Sir; I saw by the paper the other day that just around Durban it was reckoned there were 10,000 natives.

DR. ROBERTS: But you do not know that there are so many? - No, I only saw it stated by a Durban Councillor the other day. I do not know whether it is true or whether it is not, but I think that Mr. Wheelwright, when he was Native Commissioner, put the figures at somewhere about that number. A few years ago, when we were discussing this question before when the Natal Agricultural Union, he put the figure at about the same. I do not know. But whatever it is, take the Greenwood Park District - a growing suburb; there are a lot of natives; every European there has probably a couple of natives. There you could have a little native council in a place adjacent, where the native servants could be located. Take Melville, and so on; you could not expect them to come

into the Durban Corporation area; they have no control over them. In these suburbs the Government should insist on the establishment of these areas where they come under the jurisdiction of these health boards; they should insist upon that, so that these natives are under proper control, and not allowed to wander about the country committing crimes to the extent they do, and having beer drinks, and so on, which is a terrible condition round about ~~some~~ some of these towns now; but if they have them under control it is the best thing that can be done.

With regard to the introduction of natives - extra-Union Territories; I only say we should not increase our native population, but cannot do without importing our natives from Zululand and so on; but it should be on terms of contract and the native not allowed to reside in this country. As you know, we depend very largely today on recruited labour.

MR. LUCAS: Would you prevent them coming back voluntarily? - You mean, to live here?

Yes? - Yes, I would. I might vary that and say, unless he came as an educated native. There are lots of these Transkei boys working on our estates who are fairly well educated; a lot of them can read and write the language - most of them of course read and write their own language, - but a lot of these people are very intelligent; well, if you had room and they wanted to marry and settle here, I certainly would not let them go into locations; if they were prepared to take up a lot of these settlements approved of, and wanted to reside there - I have not thought of it - but the matter strikes me at the

moment as being capable of being done - but as a rule I think they ought not to be mixed up with our Zulus.

DR. ROBERTS: Would you answer the question in this way, by saying "natives outside the Union" ?- Right outside the Union, or Northern Rhodesia, or Portuguese Territory; I would not allow them to come and reside in the country. Let us keep the Zulu race distinct. It would not be fair to the Zulu race to allow these people to come and settle here.

MR. LUCAS: Would you allow them to come here and work ?- Yes, to come in under contract and work.

Would not that reduce the bargaining power of the local natives; reduce his standard of living really ?- You will not get the boys to come in say from the Transkei for less wages than you pay your local boys.

My point was that the extra-Union native coming in - does not the mere fact of his coming in reduce the bargaining power of the Union native and make him have to accept a lower wage or lower conditions than he otherwise would be able to obtain ?- Oh, I do not think so. Well, of course, the bargaining power is limited to what the employer can pay; you cannot pay more than a certain wage; the industries will not stand it. Therefore, the wages are limited by the capacity to pay.

Following that, would not the employer pay less than he could pay if he got an unlimited supply ?- I do not think so. I think the native that came in from outside would say the wages are the current wages. That is what he says today. We bring in a large number from the Transkei, and that is what they say. We do not pay them less than what we pay the local boy; in fact, we pay them a little more.

With regard to mortality amongst adults and children.

~~***~~

This mortality is very considerable, and the Government are very neglectful in the matter of providing adequate medical attention for the natives in the locations. I have advocated this for some years now - even before Union, in the Natal Government, that in every native location there should be established a police station.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: When you say "location", you mean native reserve? - Yes, I mean native reserve. We used to call them locations; now we call them reserves. As I say, there should be a police station there and attached to that police station there should be a medical man, and buildings put up - not elaborate buildings - and there should be trained native nurses - say one or two - and the doctor, so that these natives, especially the women, in connection with child-birth, women's diseases, and treatment for tuberculosis and that kind of thing, could be properly attended to. Today, Sir, they die, and nobody knows anything about them. The mortality is excessive amongst the natives now, and largely due to the spread of venereal diseases, largely contracted by the men going to the towns and coming home infected with this disease, and spreading it through the locations. There is no hospital accommodation provided for them. I do not advocate very expensive buildings, but there should be a medical man there, and he should be allowed private practice, and the fees should be limited, so that they come within the capacity of the natives to pay. I do not advocate free treatment altogether, except in necessitous cases. A man who wants treatment now from a doctor has perhaps to travel a day's journey, or perhaps be carried there, and the doctor who attends to him wants 10/-. I think that is the general fee. Well, I think it is a great hardship, and that the Government should do more for the natives than

than they do. They make provision for the Indians here; there are Indian hospitals here; they make provision for the Indians; they live here and can get access to medical attention, and yet these natives in the medical reserves have no treatment at all. It is a sad sight to see the little children suffering from syphilis in the native reserves, as I have seen when travelling to and fro through the reserves to get to Zululand; it is a sad sight to see these little children going to school infected with this disease; it is a terrible thing.

With regard to native wages; I see on this list there is a query put forward. On the coast lands, as I have said, our wages are from £2 to £2.10.0. per month. Their food consists of meat given once a week, native beer in-season once a week, to those who wish it - it is a very mild beer. I think myself and my sons between us employ about 130 natives, and they will have their Sunday afternoons on which they have their beer. We take good care that the beer is fairly mild, but still they will have it, and we give it to them. We have the Government's consent to do it. We give them sweet potatoes in season, and frequently - I am speaking of this district - medical attention free. And, Sir, I think that is a very fair wage. I saw the other day a statement made by a Government official attached to the Agricultural Department, that the average wage for farm labourers on the continent of Europe was from £30 to £40 a year - that is, reckoned in English money. That was the statement made. Well, Sir, out of that they have got to keep themselves; they have their own little house and keep themselves and their families. Compare those figures with the figures for our natives, with all the advantages - food, rations, housing, medical attention; now, all our housing is subject to inspection

by the health officers, and all our barracks are now made and constructed according to the health officers' directions, and our rations are subject to inspection from the health officers, who see that we are giving adequate rations; and, as I say, I think the wages we are paying natives are adequate, and the industry cannot possibly pay more - I am talking now of the industries of the coast belt. If there is any endeavour to raise the wages, I think agriculture will go out; there is no question about that. I do not think the ~~comp~~ natives can complain of any want of attention on the part of their masters, at any rate on the coast belt here and the sugar belt.

Now, there is one point I want to raise here - I do not know whether it will come within the purview of your deliberations, but nevertheless I will mention it. A few years ago there was an agitation for limiting advances to natives and making a contract with them to work the advances out. The limit was placed at £2. I am of opinion that this is too little; we should be allowed to advance the natives at least £5. You see, a native comes along, says "I want to work; I have got to pay my head tax - 30/-." "I have got a dog, I want to pay my dog tax - 10/-." Then he says, "I want to send a little money home - a couple of pounds; I have come to work; lend me another £2." Well, you say to the man, "I cannot; I can only lend you £2." Well, the money has gone. He sends no money at all home in that way until he has worked a month; then he has to work his £2 off, and then he has to work another month before he gets paid. Well, I am bound to say this. That the majority of the members of the Association I represent are not in accord with me in this evidence, but that a fair number are in accord with me.

MR. MOSTERT: On this particular point? - On this particular point. ~~but, as the Association is not in accord with me~~ I know fully 50 per

cent of those break the law; I break the law every day. I advance them the money and take the risk. I do not embody it in the contract, you see, but I lend them the money and they agree to repay it. It is a wrong thing, and they realise it. And I think, Sir, the law might allow of a man saying, "well, give me £5 and I will work it off." It is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ months' wages. Well, I put that forward.

Now, there is the credit system. I simply deal with the credit system by shortening the period of prescription. They would not give credit as they do if they know they would lose their right to sue the man after six months. Natives and Europeans - especially the natives - run on credit without any regard as to how they are going to pay it, and they get harrassed with summonses, and the expenses are put up; and I say this - I am talking now of the whole of the native trade-today it is in Arab and native hands; in fact, the whole of it along the coast here - not in Zululand - you will not find ^{one}/European native-storekeeper, not one, and competition is so keen that they will give these natives credit. Then they go on and get garnishee orders against the employers of these boys. I say this, the only way to do it is to say, "all right; you will not recover your debt after six months." Apply it to both white and black, I do not mind. That is how I would deal with the credit system. It would be hard to say a man is not to get any credit at all; we all work on credit; we owe the banks I think a good deal of money just now. We all have to have credit, but I think the credit system would be limited if there were a shorter period of prescription.

Now, I come to the question of lobolo, and I am going to be brief. I think, Sir, the lobolo system today is merely

a matter of buying and selling. The old native idea of lobolo is dead. If you were to ask the natives, "Will you do away with lobolo?" they would say "no". Why? You will find, Sir, when a native gets married and gets perhaps two or three girls, he is not going to work - very few of these natives will work; they look at the essential potential £60 growing up there. The idea is to breed children to sell, and nothing else. The old Zulu law that I knew when I was a boy was simply this, a man if he paid two head of cattle could claim his wife, and if there was a balance, well he would after a while go to his son-in-law and say to him, "I am hard up; I want you to help me", and if he is in a position he would help him; if he was in a position to refuse, he would go to the chief and say, "these are my wants; my son-in-law will not help me." When a man asks for a girl the first thing the father says is, "I want £5 'igivuma' " - that is, the consent fee. Well, the man pays £5 and the father will say, "all right; pay down £10;" he goes and borrows the £10 and pays it. Then the man will say, "I want my wife". The father will say, "I will not register the marriage; I will not give you the wife, but you can take her and live with her - cohabit and have children. " He refuses to register that marriage until he gets £60. He gets the £5 igivuma fee - that is, when they are loboloing in money - that is, ten fives is £50, and the igivuma fee; that makes £55, and before he registers he wants another £5, -that is the final payment; that is £60 in all these fellows have to pay. Sometimes they do not pay it and they go on for years; and as very frequently happens along the coast here, that the girl lives with this man, probably has two or three children; they quarrel, and she will say, "I am not married to you; I am not registered." Then the father comes along and says, 'these are my children;

there is no marriage registered", and he takes the children. There are scores of such cases.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Does the father return the money ?- No Sir; he is supposed to return it probably, but he sets up a plea usually, "you have had the use of my girl all these years; she has been weeding your gardens" - that is the plea; if you look into the records here you will find it, and he very often cannot return the money. The whole thing is wrong. No, Sir, I say this with regard to lobolo; I would not do away with it. Why? I would certainly reduce it; if it is money, I would certainly reduce it to say £20, and if the consent was given and a certain portion of the money was paid and the girl went to live with this man, the Government should insist upon that marriage being registered, and the balance of the lobolo would then be regarded as a debt against the man and be recoverable in time, without the process of a civil suit. If you did that you would find that lots of these irregularities would be done away with, although the father of the girl will not register the marriage until he gets his £50. I would gradually do away with it altogether, but you cannot do that with a stroke of the pen; reduce it and then you will find, Sir, that you will get a very much healthier state of affairs.

MAJOR ANDERSON? Do you think much lobolo is paid in cash instead of cattle ?- Along here on the coast there is no cattle; in Zululand you have, but along the coast here it is all money. You see, they are on farms and cannot have cattle. Even in the locations now the price of cattle is so low and they cannot sell their cattle that the natives prefer money. You mention about scrub cattle. While you have the lobolo system you will always have scrub cattle. The native simply

wants four legs and the skin and horns of a beast - that is all - to pay for a wife. It is no use your talking about putting good bulls in the reserves for natives to breed good stock while you have the lobolo system. He has only has cattle in order to pay lobolo; that is all he has, and that is all he desires, and so long as it has four legs it is a beast and he pays.

Now, I am going to touch, finally, upon a very debatable subject - that is, the education of the native. I think, Sir, that the natives should receive education, but that that education should be in their own language; teach them their own language; create a native literature. I think, Sir, to neglect their own language and teach them entirely English - by doing this you are going to denationalise the native. The native as a rule wants to retain his nationality. Ask the old chiefs and they will tell you, "how are you going to do it, if you are going to teach the English language and not their own language?" You immediately break up tribal control; the native will immediately claim equality with yourself, and it will lead, I consider, to very serious consequences in the long run. You have an example in India. Who are the people? A big minority claiming the right because they are educated principally in the English language - these agitators, and they want ~~that government~~ to govern, and you are trying to control a mass of ignorant people because they have received higher education. I do not say some natives should not be taken out and trained at these higher colleges so that they may be leaders or teachers amongst their own people. But the rank and file of the natives, I say, should be only taught in the native language, and certainly they should get industrial

training, and if you have the settlement that I have mentioned, they will be able to exercise the knowledge they have in those reserves. I do not think my views are generally accepted on that point, but they are my views. Of course, I may say this, that I am a very strong supporter of the segregation policy. The natives have their own areas, all run on their own lines; their own stores, their own land, their own councils. Gradually do away with the tribal system and have their own councils under proper supervision. Keep them a distinct people. That is my view. I think^I/have touched on all the points I have opinions about. There are a lot of questions here which I do not think I can answer, but I would be very pleased to answer any questions you care to put to me.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask you a few questions in elucidating points you have already made. You advocate a system of leasehold for natives, where they can work in such a way as to send their produce to the market ?- Yes.

For what periods would you want to give such ground ?- The period of the lease ?

Yes ?- Well, I believe that is subject to contract. If a man wants it for twenty, or twenty-five, or forty years, let the man say himself for what period he wants it.

You would want to make it a fairly long period ?- Yes, I would not mind that; I would do this in order to safeguard the tenant. If the landowner did not want to extend the lease, well he would have to pay for the improvements; that is all - or extend the lease. You would soon safeguard the man in that way.

You said that the stores are in Arab and native hands. Do the natives do a great deal of trading ?- Along the coast here there are no native traders, except native eating-houses - oh,

there is one at the Umvoti Mission Station - a native store-keeper, but only one.

I am referring now to a native and not to a European native-storekeeper; are there natives who have stores ?- No Sir; you will not find one along the coast here from Tugela to Umgeni. You will not find one in Victoria County, with the exception of one down at the Umvoti Mission Station.

Is that Gasmayo ?- Yes, I think so; I do not know his name, but there is a storekeeper down here at the Mission Station. I was referring to the coast - Victoria County; there is one store on the way to Mapumulo; and the Arab cannot get in.

The rest of the trade is in Arab hands ?- There is one missionary who very wrongly went and let his land to an Arab who got a footing there. Lots of us tried to get rid of him, but he appeals to the Supreme Court and gets his licence.

Under the old Zulu law, what was the customary number of cattle for lobolo for a commoner ?- A commoner - two head, with the umquliso.

That is the mother's beast ?- Yes. The commoner only three head. Under the old Zulus, if it was a mumzana, as they call him - a mah with property - probably he would go five head; but a chief of course has no limit. An induna would go five to six head, but not more.

Do you know why the number was raised when the matter was regulated by the Europeans ?- That is history far back.

You do not know? The lobolo system has degenerated very much now ?- Yes.

Do you consider that is a matter of regulation ?- It is so because it puts the father in a position to say, "I will not allow my girl to marry", or "I will not register the marriage

until you have paid the amount. "

What was formerly a debt of honour has now become a legal debt ?- Yes, that is right.

I am interested in your statement that you want education for the native in the vernacular ?- Yes.

I would like you to specify your reasons rather more closely ?- Well, I say at the outset my idea is I want to get the native away from becoming Europeanised; I want him to retain his nationality - to be a native, you understand, and be distinct from a European. I say then if you were to do that then let him be educated in his own language. If you are going to give them training in the English language you are not going to keep them apart. Take the girls and the men, in the English language you are never going to keep them apart; naturally if you educate a man in English he says to his European neighbour, "I am equal to you; I speak the language; I have been taught your systems". How are you going to keep them apart?

MR. LUCAS: Are not all your labour difficulties due to the fact that they cannot speak English; ~~Not necessarily~~ yours individually, but throughout the country as a whole ?- No. If the owner does not speak the language the native very soon picks up sufficient of the language to make himself understood, and the owner does, too. I find that they show you more respect so long as they do not know your language than they do under the English language; directly they acquire a knowledge of reading and writing English, they say practically, " I am your equal."

DR. ROBERTS: Is that your experience; that every educated native wants to be your equal ?- No. There are some

educated natives - for instance, highly educated natives - take native ministers; well, Sir, they are class above the ordinary native you see, and naturally they are wiser, and, although they know very well they are in a subordinate position to the European, and being in the minority they regard that factor, and say "I defer to you, as being the superior", but directly you bring the masses to that state, where are you?

Well, where are you ?- Where are you? Where are we in this country? We are out of this country very soon.

THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, you regard the teaching of the natives in the vernacular as part of segregation ?- Yes.

Therefore, I should imagine it would be accompanied by the maintenance of his other customs ?- Well, I would not force the other customs on him. As he gets educated he will gradually get rid of those native customs.

Would not that work towards breaking down his national consciousness ?- I do not think so. He would retain a lot of his customs; but a lot of these customs would be obnoxious to them; directly they get educated they will not conform to a lot of these customs. Take for instance polygamy; most of these natives who are educated now see the futility of having a plurality of wives.

Are we going to break down influences of their own which they want to keep ?- I would not by law break down customs which they want to keep.

In other words, lobolo is a thing in connection with which we should be very careful not to interfere ?- I say it is not the lobolo that was originally intended; today they simply look upon it as a thing of merchandise.

We have interfered with that ?- We have interfered with their original custom already.

And that has helped to degenerate it ?- Yes, that is why they are degenerating.

We should be careful not to degenerate it any further ?-Not.

You would recommend a council system instead of chiefs?-Yes.

I would like to know on what grounds ?- He will never progress at all agriculturally and industrially while he is subject to communal tenure of the reserves - of the lands that you set aside, and the chiefs naturally discourage any attempt on the part of these civilised natives - educated civilised natives I may say - on the lines - that is, economical lines; they put themselves against it. I will give you just one instance to show. We have a farm; on this large farm we have Makalwa natives. One worked for me for years and turned out a very good ploughman - a really good boy; he could work the land just as well as a European. He lives just on the native location opposite my son's farm there. He came to me two years ago and said, "Look Baas; there is a bit of land in that location there; I can take the water out like you have done, and I could grow mealies and sell them, but I must have fertiliser; I have seen how you fertilise, and have seen the results." I said, "Yes, I will encourage you; I will get you fertiliser; will give you credit, and you can plant and take the water out." He did so; he did quite a lot of work; it was quite a sight to see how that man and his family worked. They took the water out, watered the land, got a tremendous crop of mealies, and did very well. He sold those mealies to the natives. I went across to him only two months ago and said, "You want fertiliser for this?" He said, "What is the good of my fertilising? There is the headman over here above me" - pointing to the man - he says, "that is his land; he has gone to the chief, and the chief says, '

'this man cultivated the plots years ago.'" Directly this man fertilised this land in this way the other man went to the chief and complained, and the man had to give it up. He comes to me and says, "it is no use my doing this; will you give me a bit of your land across yonder to work?" He built a nice square hut with a tin roof; his family worked there; he did well on that land, but had to give it up. I spoke to the chief one day when he came to the store and said, "Why have you knocked this man off?" He replied, "He has no business to put himself superior to us; he must do as we do." That is a case in point, and there are several cases like that. They have no title. The chief is supreme. A man may go to the magistrate, but the magistrate cannot interfere; it is communal tenure. There is another man on this side not working at all; he has built a very nice house - in fact, I saw it. He has burnt green brick and has built a very nice house there. I called in at his place the other day and he gave me a cup of tea and conducted himself very nicely. I said, "what have you done this for?" He replied, "I want to live right, but I am sadly troubled. I have fenced this land in here and am cultivating here, but all these natives let their goats in. When I go to the chief, the chief says, "you are making yourself an umlungu" - a white man - 'here' ". This man said to me, "What am I to do? All the other natives say, 'you are setting yourself up as a superior man in our tribe.'"

Why do you think they object to any man setting himself as a superior man in his tribe ?- The old Zulu custom was this - well, I will not say custom, but a lot of these big chiefs would say, "that man is getting too rich", and they

used to "eat" him up on some false pretence and say, "you must not raise yourself up and consider yourself superior to your neighbours; you must be subject to us and our rules, and not claim any of this portion as your own."

Is it pure awrice on the part of the chief to desire that man's goods ? - or is there any other reason ?- The chief's idea is this, to keep tribal control and keep them under their customs and tribal control, and they will not depart from the principle of communal tenure.

It might be too big for him to control ?- Yes.

The native who got that piece of fertilised land from the man who fertilised it, did he do any good with that land ?- He cultivated the land most magnificently; he got 15 bags to the acre.

I am referring to the next man; the man who dispossessed him; did he do good with it ?- No, Sir; today there is no furrow; there is nothing; the land has gone to waste again. Directly the good grass came up he put his cattle in, and that is all he had; there is nothing at all.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you think it is inevitable that, when a native becomes educated, he becomes antagonistic to tribal rule and government ?- As a rule he does, unless he can hold a position in the tribe; unless he is created a headman of that district. But as a rule directly they start and raise themselves and conform to European habits as regards their homes, cultivation and that kind of thing, they become taboo to the generality of the natives.

Do not you think the educated native is at the head of this movement for race consciousness of the whole of the native people ?- Of course he is.

Your uneducated native could not be that ?- No, he does not desire it. He wants to remain as he is; and what is the object ? These educated natives practically want to get control; that is all. They want to raise themselves and have some higher status over and above even their ignorant brethren.

You do not think they are working for the welfare of the whole of the native people ?- I do not think most of them are; they want to get power in their own hands; I do not think they have the desire as a rule.

I was very much interested, as I am sure we all are, in what you said about the released areas. You know what you indicated with regard to the released areas is what the Government did in their proposed Land Act ?- Yes.

That the native lands would be attached to their own lands in the released areas ?- Yes, that is right. I advocate that, Sir, because I see an objection to having native settlements right in the centre of the European area. I see a difficulty there.

But the proposed Land Bill - I do not know where it is now - actually suggested that ?- Yes, it did.

Would the Council that you urge be nominated or elected ?- At first I would suggest it be elected by the plot-holders; but I stress this point, that you must have a European at the head. Otherwise they will quarrel, as certain as anything. They must have a European at the head, with a little judicial jurisdiction, to see that they carry out the regulations in consultation with the Council.

But that is the case with every council in South Africa today, is it not ?- Yes, and I maintain that is the right

principle.

There is no council that has a native at its head ?-No.

You spoke of Durban. Would you be in favour of extending Durban, say, as far as Wentworth, and bringing in all the natives that are there - extending the Borough, so that it could bring in all the natives into the urban area; say, extend it for a matter of ten miles ?- No, Sir. I think you would find it would be rather difficult to properly manage; you would have a very big township there with something like 40,000 or 50,000 natives; but if you had these other areas laid out in the suburbs and then controlled, not from the Corporation of Durban, but to be subject to these Health Boards, I think that would answer.

You think these health boards are acting well ?- Well, they are doing fairly well with the powers that they have; there is no doubt about it. Take Mayville District; they have cleaned that up wonderfully well. The sanitary arrangements round there and at Greenwood Park, and all round there, are working very well.

And out towards Wentworth ?- Yes, that too. It is a district that wanted cleaning up very badly. If you put it into the Durban Corporation, it would be too big for them.

With regard to farm labourers in Scotland and England; it is true what you say about their wages, but speaking from knowledge I have, I think that the farm labourers have houses from their superiors ?- I have no personal knowledge, but I am quoting entirely from a statement made the other day by a Government Officer, which is published in the paper, as to the conditions on the Continent.

Was that in the "Mercury" ?- Yes, it was in the "Mercury." It spoke about Belgium. It said these farmers had their

own little plot of land and went out as labourers with their families, and that these were the wages they earned and on which they supported their families.

I speak from knowledge, and I know in Scotland that is about the wages, but they all have free houses ?- (No answer).

MR. MOSTERT: Is it your experience when you have educated natives amongst your ordinary gangs that they contaminate the others ?- Yes; my experience is this, I never employ an educated induna, and, as I told you before, we employ from 130 to 150 natives - that is, myself and my three sons; we all work in one district, you see; I never employ a native with an English education; I always employ, because it is advantageous to do so, a native who can read and write his own language. Every one of the indunas I have can read and write their own language and they keep records in their own language; for instance, they keep the time. Of course, I can read and write the language myself, but my sons cannot; but they keep the time for me; they are fairly well educated in the native language; they keep the time, keep the names and note the days; they keep a little diary all in the native language.

And they keep it correctly ?- Yes.

Your opinion is that education is going to hasten detribalization ?- Yes, undoubtedly it must do, especially if you educate them in the English language; it will be a slower process for him in the native language.

You were speaking about these plots. What would be the size of the agricultural plot and what would be the area you would allot for grazing per head ?- Well, it depends upon their locality and what you are going to grow. I would cut out for a native who is going to plant sugar cane, if the location

were near a railway, so that he could get his produce to the mill; I would give a native a plot of 25 acres. If he were going in for mealies and potatoes and things like that, I would increase it to forty acres per head. You see, he cannot do more unless he employs labour. My idea is he would work it himself with his family. Therefore, you do not want a very large area. I will correct that, Sir, and say, "all round 25 acres would be quite ample for a man to grow food for himself and his family and have a little afterwards to sell. My idea is this, let him grow to satisfy his own wants.

Would you restrict the number of cattle ?- Yes.

To what number ? I will tell you what I want to get at. Let me be clear. I am getting at more or less the allocation of the whole of these farms - whether communal or otherwise, it does not signify. He would want so much ground, would he not ?- Yes.

He would want the allocation of so much arable ground for mealies and so on; then you must give him a grazing ground, as I say, whether communal or otherwise does not signify ?- Yes.

How many head of cattle and how many acres per head would you suggest ?- No more than ten. Take the Eshowe Township; the regulation is ten head; he cannot raise more than ten head on the commonage. That provides the milk that is necessary, and probably six or seven oxen to do the ploughing.

How many acres per head would you give him for grazing; I suppose it would be according to locality, would it not ?- I would simply cut out 1,000 acres as grazing ground; and they would use it in community. If there were a commonage I would restrict his number - and of course this would depend on the

number of settlers you have got. It comes down to this; whatever you do, you have your arable ground and grazing.

Would three acres suffice per head - probably four acres; I want to get at the acreage ?- No; I suppose on that 1,000 acres you could not run perhaps more than 300 head; you can do that.

hundred
Three/head on the 1,000 acres ?- Yes.

That is three acres per head ?- Yes, roughly speaking.

Therefore, your suggestion would be 25 acres of arable ground, and thirty acres - that is, 55 acres per kraal; is that more or less your idea ?- Yes.

Now, the leasehold land; of course, that is one of those serious things. Would you lease it for a period of twenty years or more ? There would be the rent for that; what would be the rent for that per year - 55 acres, that is about what it would amount to ?- The arable land I would charge a very small rental for; I would practically give it to them; this is cultivable land; I would practically give it to them; I would not make any money out of it at all. The idea is to get them concentrated into townships and villages where you can have better control.

Would it be 10/- per acre per annum ?- There again, it would depend on the land. If they grew cane they could well afford to pay 10/- an acre, because it is a very profitable product.

Even if they had not this very valuable soil ?- Yes, if they cultivate and fertilise the soil, as I have mentioned, they will get as many as from seven to ten bags to the acre.

If they would hire that little farm - that is really what it means - it would amount to £6 per annum; do you think that

would be reasonable ?- I think so, very reasonable.

Now, the wages that you are paying here is £2 to £2.10.- per month ?- Yes.

That is increasing occasionally ?- Yes, on the coast.

Could you afford to pay those wages if sugar were, say, half the price ?- No, Sir; I can only just come out on these wages at the present price of sugar. If prices go down, wages will have to go down.

If sugar today were half the price, instead of being £20,- is it roughly £10 - what could you afford to pay ?- It would depend on what I got for my crop. If it were half, I would not grow sugar; I could not do it.

I would like to get your opinion about Chief Solomon.

Would you increase or decrease his present powers ?- Not at all, Sir; I hold that it is an absolute mistake to reinstate Dinizulu and to appoint Solomon at all as chief in Zululand; it is a big mistake. You have broken the power of the Zulus, you see, - the idea of a monarchy - when you appointed these various chiefs and did away with the hereditary chief. It should have been kept. By the appointment of Solomon, Solomon is not going to be content with merely being a chief in a locality - and you can see it. All his endeavours today are to re-establish himself as a supreme chief over the natives - the Zulus in Natal - not only Zululand but right through, and he trades upon the old sentiment, you understand; he practically tells them today that he is definitely appointed to control the Zulu race and to re-organise the Zulu race. They tell me - I talk to lots of these chiefs, you understand, and they say - they have got this idea now, that the Supreme Being gave powers to their former chiefs and built up a race, and that they should be recognised by divine power; that is the idea in their heads. He trades on that idea, and his who

idea is to try and persuade those chiefs to owe allegiance to him and to endeavour to get back the power. He says, "when I get that position"- the position that the Basutos had; he is always quoting Basutoland - of having their paramount chief and having control of all the tribes and so on - "you sub-chiefs, I will apportion your localities as little kinglets", and his great idea is to get back Zululand as it was before it was delimited by the Europeans. How he thinks he is going to do it, I do not know, but that is at the back of his head. He goes down to Durban, and of course being the son of the Royal House, shillings come in, and you would be astonished. I have had my natives come to me, when he has been going down there to speak on the Flats of Durban, and say, "lend me 10/-". I say, "what for"? They say, "the king is here and wants the usual custom when he comes to visit a district" - the old Zulu custom; they must bring their presents, and they come and borrow their 10/- and 5/-, and they go there on a Sunday. He always picks Sunday, and you will have the whole tribe down there giving this money. He does this periodically; he goes to Durban and gets pots of money.

Is it Solomon or his Advisors? - I do not know. He is the man of course I see doing it; whether they advise him or not, I do not know, but that is his scheme and that is his idea. It was a big mistake.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: If I understand you correctly, you say that some of the land which today falls under "de-leased" areas, you would not like to have some of it leased to natives? - I take it some people would. I will give you an instance of what I mean. An application was made the other day to our Association by the owner of a big farm - 5,000 acre farm,

right up in the north, right up against a native location; he applied, as I say, the other day to be allowed to put natives on that and charge them hut rent. Of course, I admit it is a broken farm, right away over there; we were asked whether we would consent; as a Farmers' Association, we circularised Europeans whose farms are adjacent to it, and they raised an objection. They said, "If you allow simply natives to come and squat here and pay hut rent these places will become congested with natives; they will come away from the native reserves and swarm over this farm". "There is no proper supervision, you understand, and we have our cattle and goats adjacent to this, and it would be somewhat of a menace"; and they objected. That was the reason they gave. My idea is this; if the Government had said, "all right; we are not going to allow this native to come with his half dozen wives and squat down on this farm, and make it a native location; but if there are natives who wish to have a portion of this land to cultivate and reside on, and have a settlement such as I want - I would say to the Government, "Well, there is no harm in letting these people come along, as long as they pay a fair rental. He has his plot of land there; instead of becoming a squatter he is a man who has stock in that area and he will take care he will not lose his land; he will behave himself.

Do you think it would be a better policy if the Government were to buy that land? - Certainly, I would always advocate that. I say the Government should acquire that land and lay out the settlements - and let the Government control it. If the Government are not prepared to buy it they

might relax the provisions of the 1913 Act, under certain restrictions; but I strongly advise that they acquire those lands for this purpose.

You would have this land so acquired by the Government beside a native reserve ?- Adjacent to a native reserve.

Do you think we could carry that system further and have some of these settlements inside the reserves ?- Oh yes, where the land was suitable. These areas I have mentioned are native reserves.

MR. LUCAS: Would you not then have to provide that the rent went into the reserve funds ?- Yes; it must be earmarked entirely for the benefit of the native. I would go further and would not allow any white man or an Indian to have a store there. I would say, "this is the native area; let the native have the benefits derived from that."

MAJOR ANDERSON: You mentioned these Umfolozi and other farms; you include them ?- Yes, certainly, but I say the Government should acquire those farms. You know, as well as I do, that they are useless to Europeans and will never be occupied by Europeans except for native labourers.

Failing the Government acquiring them, you would put them in released areas, so that the natives could buy them?-Yes.

Have you thought what this purchase scheme would cost the Government - this scheme that you speak of ?- It would not cost the Government very much. I will say this: you cannot utilise the farm beneficially yourself; put a value on it; expropriate it. Why should a man hold land when it can be utilised for better purposes than he is utilising it? If you had a rental it would go towards the payment of the cost. Even if you

put natives on a hut rent it would pay; with even a pound a year it would go to the cost; let the native have the cost.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: When you were speaking about urban areas, you said provision should be made only for servants ?- Yes.

Do I take that to mean that we should not buy out, but build up a permanent native population, and occupy a town ?- I say, let the people go to the locations; make provision in the locations for these people. They say, "I want a little house of my own and want to live there, instead of going to live in the towns." I should make provision in the locations for these people, on the lines I have indicated.

Do you think that the future of the native lies perhaps in the system that he should be, what you call, an agricultural labourer; that he should have his own plot in the reserve, or settlement - as you describe, and that he should work and that some of his children should go out and work and earn money, and then come back again ?- Yes, I reckon that in most of these settlements lots of these natives will not take up these plots of land; they will simply say, "I am not going to worry about this; I am close to the railway; I will go and work; I will come back; and then I have a nice house for my family." It is under the supervision of the Council. My family is being looked after." They complain in the location that when they are away for six months their wives go wrong and their children have no control. If they had these settlements, I would not make them take the land. When they go out to work they know they are under proper control by this Council and European supervision. If these settlements were

away from a railway or a good road, where they have a motor, the Government should make a good road, so that they can utilise the modern means of conveyance, so that at the week-ends they could run home and get back to their work again. One farmer went up to Mapumulo; he built some very nice huts - quite a settlement; he did a good thing; he got two or three old women to come down and boss up these girls and bring them down to Mapumulo to weed his fields. He did quite a good thing out of it.

Would you favour our revising the number of cattle for lobolo ?- Certainly. Today, talking about money and not cattle, they can pay alternately. I say distinctly I would reduce the lobolo by half.

I suppose you know that in the native reserves they pay a local tax of 10/- ?- Yes.

That money is used for the progress of the reserve itself ?- Yes.

Up to the present it goes largely in dipping fees? - Yes.

Do you think that is a correct custom; do not you think we should put a tax on native cattle and pay the dipping fees out of that in order to combat over-stocking ?- I understand that £1 is paid - what they call a head tax; 10/- if he lives in the location is paid as an educational tax. Oh, I am wrong. Well, I think the tax is high. The system that I adopt, as I say, is - I dip over 1,000 head of cattle a week on my farms - and I charge so much a head.

Say a poor old widow has got one cow ?- Well, she pays tuppence a week.

Do you prefer a dipping tax ?- Yes. Then the person knows that

knows that if he cannot pay he will not have the cattle; reduce the cattle; he will say, "If it costs too much I will kill some of my cattle."

What strikes one in coming through Zululand is that you see on one side of a river or spruit European land planted with sugar cane right up to the boundary; whereas on the other side there is a native reserve with no cultivation at all ?- Quite right.

From the ordinary man's point of view there must be a considerable tract of native country suitable for cane ?- Quite so; right from Tugela to Gingginghlovu.

You would be able to give a rough estimate of the acreage of native land available for cane ?- Well, roughly speaking I think you could get £50,000 acres, where you could grow magnificent cane, good mealies, and potatoes, in a certain area.

Would not Europeans welcome the idea of those lands being turned into sugar lands ?- By natives ?

Yes, or on behalf of natives ?- I think there is a cry just now that they are over-producing sugar, because we cannot get a market for it, but I think that is a passing phase, due to general depression. But I should like to see that land occupied, and if the European cannot occupy it, I think the natives should be induced to utilise it. If it does not pay him to grow the sugar, and get his price, he will not do it; he will go in for potatoes or mealies. Take beans; they are 45/- a bag; they can grow beans and make a good profit out of them.

MR. LUCAS: Would the mills take their cane ?- I do not know. Today they are rather full up. But I know this; some years ago I approached, for this land at Mondelix I am speaking

of, Mr. Arthur Shepstone, the Native Commissioner. I got together thirty natives who had been moved off the cane lands, and who had been working cane and fields, and they were prepared to grow cane on this block of land, if they were allowed. I made arrangements with Holland's Mills to crush it, if they grew it. I laid it before the Commissioner, and it was favourably received. I think afterwards Mr. Addison, the then Commissioner, very favourably received it. If they could not cut the cane, I made arrangements that the cane would be cut for them and sent to the mills, and that they would get exactly the same terms as the Europeans were getting. The chief was called up, the matter was submitted to him, and he said, "No, not at all; that is my land - the land of my fathers, and I cannot have that cut up; where are my cattle to graze; where am I to put my people if you allow these people to grow cane?" And the thing collapsed. That is the position. I took a great interest in the matter and put myself to a lot of expense, too. I went and got a preliminary survey of the plots and everything.

DR. FOURIE: With reference to teaching; do you mean the medium of education should be in the vernacular? - Yes. I think for figures - arithmetic and things like that, the English medium might be adopted.

And for higher education? - If the parents were prepared to pay for it, and the pupils showed signs of extra intellect, it would be necessary to teach some of them English, providing they were going to be ministers of religion and teachers.

You said the educated natives should be free from the chiefs? - If they wished to, ~~xxxxxx~~ give them an opportunity of

of freeing themselves from the chief's control.

Because, not all natives are detribalised. Would you say all Christians are ?- All Christian natives and Mkolwa do not desire to be relieved from tribal control, but when they do they ought to have an opportunity, provided they are prepared to go into these settlements; make that a condition; not to say "we are going to live in the reserves, and at the same time we are going to be free from tribal control"; but if they are prepared to go into these settlements, allow them to do it. That is the only way they can get away from the tribal custom.

DR. ROBERTS: Supposing the reserve is controlled by a council; would you still say, "You must go" ?- Yes, if they want to free themselves - if they are in a native reserve and want to free themselves from the chief's control - that is, the tribal control - then I would say, "You must get out of this reserve; we will provide land for you, but you must come under a council." They must be under the control of somebody - either the council or the chief; one of the two.

MR. LUCAS: Did I understand you rightly to say that you considered education contaminated the native ?- I did not say contaminated the native; no, I would not put it in that way, but I say this - you mean, educated in the English language?

Not necessarily; but the question was put to you about educated natives contaminating other natives ?- No, I did not wish to say that, Sir; not by any means.

MR. MOSTERT: The question was, "when you have a gang of natives working for you, and you have educated natives with them, do they contaminate the others" ?- I do not say that, Sir, but I find here, with their knowledge of English, they

Do not you think there is a good thing deal in the principle of expecting a native to earn his money before he spends it ?- That was the argument used, but it comes very hard on these people. As you know, they generally go out to work when they want to pay their taxes; they can only get a £2 advance, out of which they have to pay, as I say, 30/-, and 10/- they have to pay probably for expenses to seek work, and they have no money at all to leave with their family when they leave. I admit myself there is an agitation right throughout here, and the reason is this. The wealthy man would lend up to £10 and £15 to these people, and sign a contract with them to work it off. The less wealthy man, or small planter, could not afford to advance that, and naturally the wealthy man and the big planter got the labour, and the small planter did not get it. That was the reason, you see, and these big advances were a very great hardship. Consequently, we agitated to fix it at £2. But I think I would not remove it; I think perhaps £4 or £5 would be a fair amount to advance, because they must have this money, and when they come down they ought to be able to ask for another £2 to leave at their kraal. It would not be a very big hardship on the planters. I maintain that 50 per cent - I am talking of this district - of the farmers do not go in for recruited labour. Of course, they have to advance up to £2. Most of these people evade the law. Why should you evade the law?

I was not look at it from the point of view of the planter, but from the point of view of the general welfare of the native. Is it advisable to encourage him to get into debt; and, both from that point of view and from that of the

planter, does the planter get good value ?- It is only two months.

It used to be much more ?- I would restrict it; but I think it should be raised to £5. That is merely two months' wages. I would not do away with that. I do not advocate that; but I think it might be raised to £5, and I do not think you would get any objection from the planters.

With regard to this question of the paramount chief; we have had very opposite views to yours expressed to the Commission, and the general idea of those opposed to your views was that this idea of a paramount chief was very strongly implanted, particularly amongst the Zulus, and might be made use of as an ally of the governing power. Does not that appeal to you ?- No, Sir. History shows it is wrong. If you had a place like Pondoland, you understand, with European Magistrates throughout, to keep them in order - but you cannot do it now as regards Natal, and I am quite sure it is going to lead to trouble. Dinizulu got into trouble through nothing but that.

DR. ROBERTS: Is that because the Zulus are more warlike than the Pondos ?- Yes, there is a great deal in that, because they cannot get rid of the past position they held; they still hanker after it. If they had a head they would still hanker after getting the power that they had beforex they were subjugated.

They are more warlike than the Pondos ?- Yes.

MR. NORMAN HAROLD GEORGE, CALLED AND EXAMINED:

THE CHAIRMAN: You are Town Clerk of Stanger ?- Yes.

You have no urban location here ?- None at all.

Could you tell us how the natives who are working in this area live - where they live ?- The majority of them live out of the town; they live on the Umvoti Mission Reserve. Of those who live in the town most of them reside on their master's premises.

MR. LUCAS: How far is the Mission Reserve ?- About a mile and a half to two miles; it is on both banks of the Umvoti River.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any native families living inside the Municipality ?- Yes, there are a few. These huts are mostly owned by Indians. They pay as a rule about 7/6d. to 10/- a hut per month rent.

How builds the huts ?- The native landlord.

Is it an ordinary native hut ?- No; they are not allowed to build ordinary huts in town; they are mostly wood and iron.

And the size ?- They are of fair size, but recently I have had quite a number condemned by the Medical Officer as being insanitary.

Are they single rooms, or more ?- Generally two rooms and a little kitchen. They are rooms about 10' square.

CHAIRMAN: What is the prevailing rate of wages for natives in the town; let us take first of all the boys who work in stores ?- The average is about £2 a month, with their food and quarters. The girls get about 30/-.

Do girls work in stores ?- Oh no; domestic servants - nurse girls, and so on.

For domestic service, what is the most common - a house-boy or woman ?- A house-boy, except where there are no children.

But as cooks ?- The boys are infinitely better than the girls.

Are there many nurse-girls ?- Quite a number, yes.

The wages in domestic service, do they differ from the wages paid in stores ?- No, I think they are about the same.

Is there a general customary rate of wages here ?- I do not think so; I think the usual thing is about £2.

It is the custom to pay £2 for jobs ?- Yes.

MR. LUCAS: And those who live in the mission reserves, do they get more ?- No; I think they get the same. It is usually their own wish that they go home. We pay our own labour employed on the roads £3 per month and quarters, but no food; they supply their own food - that is, the municipal boys.

On road construction ?- Yes.

£3 a calendar month ?- Yes.

And sanitary boys ?- They get more; they get £3.10.0. and quarters, but no food.

Have you boys employed for any other purpose ?- No.

Mr. ROBERTS: What do you pay the convicts you employ ?- 1/3d. a day, if you supply your own guard. 1/6d. if ~~if~~ a guard ~~is~~ is supplied for you. It is cheap and good labour, if it is properly handled - that is, if you have a warder with them.

You do not think you are keeping the actually free native out of employment ?- No, I do not think so. I think there is plenty of work for all the labour - that is, for all those who want work. That is why there is so much imported labour here. When I say "imported", I mean, the Provinces.

You do not think it keeps down the wages ?- I do not think so.

THE REV. THEODORE MARTIN LEISETANG, called and examined:

THE CHAIRMAN: You are a missionary of the Swedish Mission ?- The Norwegian Mission Society; there are several Norwegian ~~Mission~~ Societies, but only one Norwegian Mission ~~Society~~ ~~Societies~~ ciety at Mapumulo, which is a training institution for teachers.

You are not actually in the Mission Reserve ?- We are on the Mapumulo Mission Reserve.

What is the size of that reserve ?- Roughly 10,000 acres.

Have you any idea of the size of the native population ?- On the reserve?

Yes ?- No; it would only be a guess.

Could you indicate to us how the reserve is administered ?- Yes, there is a Supervisor of Mission Reserves.

A European ?- Yes.

Is that the Native Commissioner of the District?- Some time ago it was an independent man, and lately he has become a member of the staff of the Native Commissioner.

Is there a local council ?- They have just commenced one. They are trying to train him.

Have you any idea as to how the administration could be improved ?- I would not say anything under present conditions; I do not think they can do very much more than they do. It consists mainly in the duties of a chief adjusting boundaries.

Natives on the mission reserve; do they hold their land communally ?- Yes.

Do you find that they are in any way more advanced than the natives in the native reserves & under chiefs ?- Well, the Christians are always more advanced than the raw natives in the

areas I know.

Would there be a considerable proportion of Christians among the natives in your reserve ?- I should say there are roughly 25 per cent of Christians.

In looking over the district yesterday, we noticed on the hill running down from Mapumulo a very large amount of land scattered over the hillsides. I do not know whether that hill is in the mission reserve ?- In which direction - south?

On the right-hand side as we went, there is a long valley and a hill on the opposite side going to Mapumulo ?- You were running into the village.

From the village down there is a long valley and on the opposite side there is a longish hill ?- I cannot quite catch where it is, but that is not so material; the point is that there is a lot of ----

The lands were scattered all over the hills ?- Cultivated lands?

Cultivated lands. Is that typical of what happens in a mission reserve ?- Yes, it is very typical of all native reserves.

The mission reserve as well? I know it is typical of the others ?- The Christian native will always have bigger fields than the raw native; the more raw the smaller the pieces, because the women and daughters each have little pieces. For the Christian natives, it all comes under one.

The Christian natives concentrate their lands ?- Yes.

Do the christians concentrate on a particular portion of the glebe ?- They will always be found typically round the old mission stations, and as you start a little new out-station they will always close round that.

Would the Christians tend to concentrate all their arable holdings together, so as to leave the grazing separate ?- No, they

would not do that unless somebody in authority, like the chief, could arrange it where suitable.

So that in that respect they do exactly as the tribal natives would do ?- Yes; it would depend very much on the land; whether wherever the land can be cultivated they would use it for cultivation. Naturally if the land is too poor for cultivation they would leave it for a grazing commonage.

But yesterday we saw in many cases equally good land left and then a little bit taken further along, say 100 yards or 50 yards away ?- Well, that may be ascribed to ownership; there may be a headman who has a right over a fairly big area. He is going to preserve that for future wives and sons, and any newcomer would not be given that piece. And then the other point is, he would cultivate one piece until it is worked out altogether, then he would move on to the next lot and cultivate that, and leave the old piece to recover again, and so on.

But why does he leave quite considerable bits in between the lands; it is not fallow; it has simply not been broken up? - That may be because in the kraals they have each a section and they leave it until the old piece is worked out.

Do you think it is deliberate fallowing ?- Yes; it has got to do with boundaries; they knew exactly where each man has his boundary; he may leave that for future use and use it temporarily for grazing ground.

But the grazing he gets on that must be very unsatisfactory, because it is in among the cultivated lands ?- Yes, but then crops really are only on the fields for about four months of the year, and you have eight months where that acts as grazing and as a field after it has been harvested.

Do the mission natives who go to town to work tend to send back considerable amounts in wages to their families ?- That depends. If it is a married man you can almost in every case guarantee that all his savings go home; but the young men of course as a rule spend the best part of their wages in towns - high living, amusements and so on.

Do the Christian natives still practise lobolo ?- Oh yes.

Do not the young men send back money for lobolo ?- Yes; if he has a special purpose, such as wanting to get married, then he would save.

In other cases he would spend it all in the towns ?- If he has no special purpose he would spend it.

The land we saw yesterday gave the impression of being rather good in quality ?- Good ?

Yes - on the hillsides; at a distance of course we saw that ?- It is good in parts; it is good for say sections of five or ten miles, just on the water-shed higher up, and it is excellent down in the valleys - down towards Tugela and Umvoti; but what is against it is the steepness and also drought. There is a thorn belt along all along the Tugela, on which for two or three years hardly any crops are put in; but on the Umvoti side again it is very good soil, and further down you get ----

This drought-stricken area must be a very limited one ?- No; if you look on the map you will find that it is say one-third of Mapumulo division, because the road you came up is the water-shed, and as soon as you start getting down towards Tugela you very soon start getting into the drought-stricken part.

In other parts the rainfall is very satisfactory ?- Not in all. The north bank of Umvoti, which runs through part of the

reserve is generally quite good, but the moment you cross Umvoti you get into very bad land again. It seems the south bank is always drought-stricken. The north bank is better. It is a natural feature of the country all along.

Is any trade being carried on by natives in the mission reserve ?- Yes, there is a butchery carried on by a native company; there are two now; and there is hawking.

MR. LUCAS: When you say a company, do you mean a partnership ?- Yes, a partnership.

Of two or three together ?- I think there are four actually.

CHAIRMAN: We noticed a signboard on the road - "Gusmayo"; he is a native, is he not ?- Yes.

What sort of trade does he carry on ?- Well, two years ago I know he applied for a full store licence and was refused, but he got what is called a hawker's licence, I understand, and it limits his trade to a few lines, mainly Colonial produce, I believe.

MR. LUCAS: Do you know why his licence was refused ?- I could not say; I have heard, but I have not made a study of these things, so I would not like to say.

Is there any native in the reserve who has a general dealer's licence ?- No, not to my knowledge.

Does Gusmayo seem to be carrying on satisfactorily ?- I understand he is going on quite well; he has been there for quite four years, and if he had not been a man who could do it, he would have been out of it long ago.

He has carried on business quite satisfactorily ?- Yes.

What other trading is there in the district ?- There are

several Europeans; there is a Mapumulo Trading Company - a big concern; then there is an Arab store on the American Mission glebe; a small European store down by the Umvoti River, and a European store just at this end - Otimati it is called; then there are two stores on the south bank of the Umvoti, as far as I know - I have never been across there.

European or Arab ?- European. The Arab is the only one there near Mapumulo.

Do you think the natives are generally capable of being given full general dealer's licences - I will put it this way, are there any natives capable of being given full general dealer's licences ?- Yes, absolutely.

You would favour limiting the trading in an area like the mission reserve to natives alone ?- I would not say limiting it absolutely; I look upon this as a process of evolution; it would be very rough on Europeans and natives if we were suddenly at the mercy of inexperienced native storekeepers: but I certainly think a gradual process should set in as soon as possible.

MR. MOSTERT: What is your rainfall ?- It is very good; on the higher parts I should say 40 inches a year: I do not want to over-state it.

What are the principal crops they grow ?- Mealies and tubers do very well; there is a certain tuber called madumbi, which is very good for the higher part, and for the thorn belt kaffir corn.

What is the yield per acre more or less ?- It depends on the natives; the ^{Christian} natives get eight to ten bags per acre; that is quite good for natives.

MR. LUCAS: What do the raw natives get ?- I would not

like to put it at higher than four bags.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Is there a marked difference in the method of cultivation between the two sections ?- There was, but the raw native is learning from the Christian; the Christian started with ploughs, and then the raw native is following. As a rule, if he has not got a plough, he will hire a Christian native to plough for him.

Is there over-stocking in your reserve ?- Yes; there is very poor grazing and it cannot stand the amount of stock they have.

How do you think we can combat it ?- I should first of all take very strict measures about preserving the grass. One of the reasons for the poorness is constant burning - at least twice a year, and more often if they can; the natives burn the grass, and that absolutely spoils the grazing. That grazing ground near my mission is reputed to be the grazing ground of Shakax, because it had such lovely grass. If you walk over it now, you will see that it can just graze cattle for three to four months a year; then it becomes all wire grass. If you leave the grass, it becomes sweet grass, and it can carry much more stock.

That is one method ?- And another method is ruling out goats and sheep; they are very destructive.

Would you put a tax on the number of cattle ?- No, I do not see the need.

Would you limit the number of cattle ?- Yes.

If they preserved the grass properly, would that still be over-stocking ?- I could not say that; you would have to see what happened. Anyway, I would not use taxation excepting

as a last resource. It would create such an ill-feeling. The natives do not understand it, and they would always want you to try everything else before you come on to the money basis.

MR. MOSTERT: How are you going to overcome it? By preserving certain areas? You have just told us it is a splendid area and is burnt twice a year. Now, how are you going to overcome it, to preserve it? Would the natives be satisfied with that - to keep their stock off it for a year? - I would not do it exactly like that; I would probably divide it into two paddocks and let them graze in one while the other had a chance.

If you are over-stocked today, would there be sufficient in that one paddock? - No, it would have to be worked out some way or other; I have not tried to do it; I have just tried to fix my mind on this point as to what the position is now; I am not an expert.

No; but I only just want you to realise the difficulty? - Well, my main point is that they could graze good cattle if they were prevented from burning it; even if it is old grass they will find some nourishment, and there is ^{nothing} ~~is~~ ^{needed} to give new grass during the spring and summer; and in that way if I could preserve the old grass the grazing would automatically improve.

Come back again? - Yes.

But now you say you are over-stocked today? - Yes.

CHAIRMAN: Throughout the district, or only in parts? - Well, in the parts which can be populated; down the Tugela Valley for instance it is mostly bush, and in drought-stricken times there is no grass there at all. In a bad year you will

find the natives will have to cut down trees for the cattle to eat leaves and twigs. Well, there is really no grazing to speak of down there. They go along the river banks and old fields and pick up some grass. The real grazing is on the higher plateau - that is where there is grazing; that is the part which could be improved very much.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Do you think that dairying can have some future amongst these natives; are any of them working a separator at present? - No; there is no reason; they could not do anything with it; there is only a little sale of milk to the few Europeans living there. If a little dairy was started under proper supervision, there is no doubt that as soon as they saw they could get a few shillings in that way they would learn it; the Christian natives are ready for it.

I know there is a co-operative creamery. If they were satisfied that cream was produced under satisfactory conditions they would buy cream from the natives quite willingly. Could you get any of the natives to try and work a separator and send some cream in? - They are not strong enough to carry on alone. If it were organised in such a way that several natives could bring their milk together and separate it, and we had a daily motor-service, the whole thing could be put in working order.

You could not at your mission station run a separator and separate the milk? - We could, but none of us have time to look after it; we are too occupied; it would have to be a special man. If you could get one of these trained native agriculturists to do it, I have every belief it would succeed.

I would suggest you communicate with the Creamery Factory and ask under what conditions they would take cream from you? - Yew, I will do that.

I think you will find they will be quite willing to help ?- Yes, thank you.

Are you in favour of individual tenure for natives ?- Yes, very much.

Has it been possible for any cases of individual tenure to arise in the reserve as yet ?- I do not quite catch that.

Are there today any natives who have either a long lease or ownership of land in the reserves ?- Oh no, not up there.

Have you any suggestions as to how individual tenure could be introduced in the reserves ?- Yes. In those areas which are ready for it, namely: the areas round the mission stations where civilization is oldest and strongest - that is the actual position of today - each man is known to have a boundary, a chief, and so on - if he got some kind of security of tenure for that piece, it could be done straight away, just as conditions are.

It would require no more land than they are actually allowed to occupy now I take it ?- Well, that is a wide question. Some of them could make use of three or four times the area beneficially, but it would be a step forward if what they do now was secure.

In giving individual tenure, would you give them as much as they could beneficially use ?- Yes; I would even give them more, because they will increasingly know how to deal with their areas. It is a question of capital.

I take it, from what you said, that you find when the native has things explained to him he is capable of taking advantage of the training ?- Certainly.

Do your Christian natives fertilise their land ?- Yes, invariably.

Has there been any difficulty in teaching them to do that ?- Well, the first missionaries had considerable difficulty, because life was not so hard as now; I mean they had a much easier way - their requirements were not so great - their needs. When I was a child at Mapumulo, if a man had a pair of trousers and some kind of a coat for daily use, and for Sundays he had a better suit, he had all he needed; but nowadays - well, take the children; the children came to school in a shirt - up to the age of sixteen a shirt was all a boy needed; today he wants a shirt, a suit, a tie, hat, stockings and boots; he cannot appear in public without these - he is going to be jeered out of school if he does.

DR. ROBERTS: And the girls ?- And the girls the same. It is very much more expensive. School fees take a comparatively big amount, then there are church fees, books, and so on; the amount has grown tremendously since I was a boy. As soon as they can get boots out of the parents, they have them.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Do not you missionaries discourage that ?- No, not I; it is not my business to interfere in private affairs. So long as they are decently dressed I do not interfere. If their skirts get about six inches above their knees then I interfere.

MR. MOSTERT: You like them below the knee ?- Yes, I like them two inches below the knee, - the lower the better - but I would not insist on them going below the ankles.

Do you teach the men agriculture ?- Yes, all the teachers have a quite good course in agriculture, theoretically and practically.

What is the length of the course ?- It is a three-years' course in our Institution.

And when your teachers are trained, do they mainly go to this reserve you are on, or do they go further afield ?- No, they go to their homes. Some of them are from the Eastern Province of the Cape, some are from Basutoland, and some are from the Transvaal. We have students from as far as Pietersburg. They would mostly go to their homes and seek a post near their homes. If not, they would even take a post here in Natal.

Have you followed up the careers of any of your students - the effect of their training on people among whom they live ?- Not systematically, but I have always kept my eyes open with the few I could hear of. I get new students from the same places, and I enquire.

DR. ROBERTS: You have never kept a register ?- No.

It is a pity, is it not, for the future consideration of the question ?- I have thought of it many a time, but it has never become actual.

MR. LUCAS: But in those cases you have been able to find anything about, has their influence been satisfactory ?- Not in all cases; a certain percentage; for instance, a native teacher's influence - it is not really a vocational teaching; to the native it is more an education; it is not vocational to him in all cases. So it is not uncommon that a teacher who is trained never takes up teaching. We have boys there now who take three years in the carpentry class; when they have finished that they take three years in the teaching course; when they have finished that they take neither one nor the other; they perhaps just go in for farming. The parents feel they have given

their sons the best education they could give.

They do not all continue as teachers ?- Oh no.

Are there any natives in the reserves who confine themselves to such trades as masonry or carpentry ?- They do not confine themselves to those trades; they all have small holdings and work them, but their main line is earning a living by building.

Is there good scope ?- Yes, there is quite good scope; there are but few of them; they are never able to cope with the work offered to them.

Have you any idea of what a native in a trade would be able to earn in the reserve ?- Well, it is very hard to say, because they never will define a wage per day; they just take on a contract - more or less guess-work.

Yes; but do you know of any instance in which you could say that a man had three or four contracts during the year and made £50, or some other figure ?- No, I would have to guess, and it would depend whether he worked the whole year, and that depends whether he has something to work on that makes him work for the whole year - a special purpose, for which he had to get money.

If he had not such a special purpose ~~how~~ would he stay on his plot ?- Yes, and look after it.

In your reserve are there natives who grow produce on a sufficiently large scale to enable them to bring it into town to sell ?- There is no need; those few Christian natives who are industrious enough to produce more mealies than they need can always sell them to the natives in the low veld.

Mealies
are always coming in, so that those who grow a surplus can

sell it locally.

The district does not feed itself then ?- No.

Is there a large shortage in the food surplus for your district ?- I should think so, because you always see wagons and wagons from the Kranskop coming in with mealies every spring, and the stores are always stocking large quantities of mealies. The natives themselves bring in mealies and barter them about.

Is there any large number of natives that goes from your reserves to work in the towns ?- Yes, a very big number I should say.

Have you noticed the effect ~~upon~~ of their absence upon production; is that a factor which keeps back agricultural progress ?- In one way naturally it has, because you have less labour; but on the other hand they bring back money and that money is giving the other people a chance to work for it. If one man goes to Durban and sends back money to his wife, she engaged another man with a plough, to plough and hoe for him.

It does not mean through his being away his wife does the agriculture in the old-fashioned way ?- No, that is changing very radically now; it is very hard for any man to make his wife do any more than a small part of the hoeing, even weeding.

Are there any other changes in the habits of the wives that you can point to, in recent years; any way in which they are beginning to show their desire for emancipation ?- Well, that is one way, in connection with work. Another one is liberty; they do not want to be under the "stick" of the husband so much as they used to be. If a husband now beats her, which occasionally happens, you will very often see her running him in, in the Magistrate's Court, and the magistrate give him a fine.

Would you say then that the amount of beating as decreased ?- Very much.

Are there any other ways in which freedom is being asserted ?- Of course, their home life is changing very much. Instead of being brushed aside as a Zulu wife she is now taking her place more on an equal footing with the man in the social life.

Can we say she is beginning to be consulted in family affairs ?- Oh, very much so. Even a raw native would never do a thing without consulting his wife. It is a common saying, "I must go home and hear what my wife has to say."

Is that new ?- No, it is not; but of course it is getting increasingly valuable - or it is of more importance for a Christian man to be in accord with his wife than a heathen; the distance between them is being levelled up.

Do you have any difficulty with the Christian natives in this reserve on the question of polygamy ?- No, I should say there is no difficulty at all.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Is polygamy decreasing amongst the raw natives ?- Oh yes; it has got to; it is too difficult to have too many wives; it is naturally dying out.

Has the woman some influence there, as Mr. Lucas says ?- That does not count. The women have always been averse to polygamy. There are individual cases where the women will encourage the husband to get a new wife; when she feels the work of the kraal is too much for her then she will want a younger helpmeet; but then there is the other point, they will have less benefit from the husband's money and help. There are two factors, but generally speaking they are against polygamy.

Has the economic factor that the wives' desire for

clothing are increasing anything to do with the cutting down of polygamy ?- Yes, that is the main force you see. If a man has six wives, in a bad season it is very much harder for each wife to get her share of the help.

Are the children becoming more independent ?- Yes, worse luck they are far too independent; that is one of the drawbacks of civilization.

Now, taking the at present uneducated natives in the reserve; is there much desire among them for education ?- No, I cannot say that; there is very little desire. The desire, if any, is individually in the children; a child may play with Christian children and get a liking to go to school, but in most cases it is a hard job for that child to get permission from the parents.

Is that because they object to education or because they object to denominational teaching ?- No, it is purely a matter of losing the work of the child in the home, and additional expense in cultivating the child.

Taking the Christian natives; do you find that their children are prevented from going to school by being required for work, such as herding ?- Yes; in very many cases if the father is away there is no other person to herd, and then it will either be the mother, or she will have to keep the child out of school.

MR. MOSTERT: After the crops are reaped, do you find the natives invariably go and sell that crop ?- No. There is a habit of bartering their crops for salt and sugar in the stores, and small dishes. But they will always keep their mealies until they go up in price.

There is a factor I want to ask you; it is this: do you know if mealies after a certain time in this area become weevily ?- Yes.

Therefore, the native generally gets rid of his mealies and has got to buy later on from the storekeeper, who puts it in a tank, and hermetically seals it ?- No, I have not noticed any such in our area; they do not get weevily until pretty far into the new season, so there is no very great danger of that.

DR. ROBERTS: Would it not be better for your Missionaries to combine to have a secondary or high school, rather than waste all this time on the training of teachers who you know never will be teachers - to give them a wider education in a high school ?- I am sorry I did not quite get your question.

All the missionaries - the upper schools they have there all have the training of teachers, is not that so ?- No, not all; there are several branches in the Institutions.

Such as ?- There is one industrial, for instance.

Yes. Well ?- That is for tradesmen, carpenters and so on. Then there is the high school proper which leads to matriculation. Then there is the teachers' training. We do not know how many will go in for teaching; we just see it later on when they leave. It is not a great number. You can take it for granted that the majority of the teachers mean to be teachers, but I just want to point out that it is not always so. Some may just want an education.

(ADJOURNED AT 1.3 p.m., until 2.15 p.m.).

ON RESUMING AT 2.25 p.m.

1. CHIEF JOSIAH MQWEBU, Umvoti Mission Reserve.
2. CHIEF MADUBEKO MAGWAZA, Stanger District.
3. CHIEF MBANGO, ZULU, Stanger District.
4. CHIEF JANA NTULI, Mapumulo District.
5. REV. GIDEON MDOTA SIVETYE, American Board Congregational Mission.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have already handed in a statement to the Commission ?- (CHIEF MQWEBU): Yes. It is as follows:-

The Mission Reserves in the magisterial division of Mapumulo cover an area of over twenty thousand acres of land in extent.

The following humble prayers and suggestion are confined to these Mission Reserves, and are given in consequence of the fact that Mission Reserves are special native areas where extra taxation for the development of the inhabitants thereof is imposed.

Feeling very grateful for the chance here afforded us by our Government, we beg leave to lay before you, Sirs, these our humble prayers and suggestions, with a hope that with your assistance the Government will see it fit to consider them :-

(a) The influence of education, civilization and Christianity, with the subsequent needs that follow thereafter, have aroused in certain of the reserve natives a liking for business pursuits such as the trades. We note with gratitude that the Government have licensed some of us to run butcheries. Others take ~~the-sh-~~ to shoemaking and building. Those of us who wish to try general storekeeper's trade, however, find difficulty in that stores already exist in the reserves - and

also in financial matters.

As the Native Mission Reserve areas are set apart for our nurture and development, and as we find difficulty in carrying out some of the desirable trades outside rural native mission reserve areas, we feel that when chance is denied us for practising in our reserves, we are deprived of what we thought

belonged to us. (Vide Act 49 of 1903, Section 5).

We hereby therefore beg to pray that the matter of native business pursuits within our mission reserves be considered and more chance given to the native inhabitants thereof.

(b) According to the schedule of Act 49 of 1903, our Mission Reserves were granted on the 4th November, 1862, and according to "Regulations" under the Mission Reserves Act of 1903" - Section 41, the first rent was £3 per annum for every hut. It later was £1.10.0. per annum for every hut, and has eventually come down to the present £1 per hut.

We feel, gentlemen, that in this way considerably substantial funds have been accumulating. We are grateful for the use that has been made of part of these funds for our development within the reserves. However, Sirs, we beg leave to suggest that the Government plans out a scheme whereby each kraal head within the reserve may have allotted to him for the use of his family a piece of land sufficient for the fair wants of each native family. This we feel would fairly compensate the native reserve rentpayers who have faithfully paid rent for all these years. We also feel that it would give the reserve native a feeling of ownership that would keep him working at his home, thus partly preventing the influx to the towns of the rural native men and women.

(c) Whereas the funds collected by reserve rent are meant for direct use on the reserves concerned for education and general development of the natives thereof, and whereas obviously there are already considerable funds existing - We wish to draw the attention of the Commission to the education of the children within the reserve areas. At present there are numerous children of school age denied the privilege of education by reason of poverty and other minor causes. Their parents cannot afford school and book fees. We feel that a great section of our young people is denied the best weapon for life in education.

We therefore humbly suggest Sirs that the Government consider the matter of compulsory education within our reserve areas and in order to meet the need of means by native parents in the reserve, utilise the reserve rent funds for school fees and books, (i.e.- free education up to Stand VI in the reserve schools). We realise that to do this successfully the Government would need the assistance of local committees, which we would be ready to give as far as we are able to.

(d) Many of the natives in the reserves had taken to growing of fruit trees and such field crops as mealies, corn, beans, amadumbe, etc. Some own good grades of fowls and others interest themselves in vegetable gardens. Others specialise in craft-work and produce in their humble way good baskets, horn-works, ~~big~~ bead-works, etc. etc. In fact, the majority of us in our reserves make our living in one or more of these ways.

We feel, Sirs, that we should be encouraged and assisted in this, our way, of making a living.

We would humbly ask the Government to institute a suitable market place in the district where we would get a chance to sell our garden, hand, stock, and field products.

This we feel would be one of the best ways of encouraging us in these works, which to a large extent is the only one in which we can hope to make decent livings.

We feel also here that this would be another means of preventing partly so many of our people migrating to towns to seek for a living.

It is needless to mention in closing, Sirs, that we have heartily and loyally paid our reserve rent all these years, with a fervent hope that life in mission reserves had attractions of its own in the form of extra financial support from the Government.

We pray that this loyal payment of the extra tax be given its due consideration by our Government in supporting us in our new needs, brought about by the new day of education, civilisation and Christianity in our midst.

The main reasons for natives leaving country districts to live in towns is because they have no room in the country - that is, in those cases where they leave to live ~~uncomfortably~~ comfortably. Natives are evicted from farms; and not being able to find another suitable place to live in they then fly to the towns. The matter of the advantages of tribal conditions is easily dealt with in so far as the Stanger District is concerned. As I have said, natives are evicted from farms in this district; they have no location of their own here, and naturally that being the case they have not the opportunity of

enjoying the advantages of the tribal system which natives living in native areas have. The result of that is that the people who are under us chiefs here, as I have said, often go away to live in the towns, and we are surprised at times to receive messages from the police asking us about so-called members of our tribes, who are only members because they happen to hold passes mentioning our names, but so long have they been away that we no longer remember them.

I have very little to say about lobolo. The custom is fairly fixed amongst us natives. We do not wish to have any substitute for cattle; we want cattle to continue to be used - and we may say the Government knows that very well.

Here in this district the natives on the farms are labour tenants, and in the mission reserve they are tenants of the Department of Native Affairs. The only agriculture which is perhaps worthy of the name is undertaken by our people in the Umvoti Mission Reserve, but not on the farms; there they work for their landlords.

I have nothing to say on item No.6, Sir, because we have no rural native area in this district.

I have nothing to say under native labour. Very few of the natives living on the farms in this district engage themselves to work for their landlords, except merely as people who leave their homes in the morning to carry out certain tasks and then return to their homes to sleep. They are labour tenants. For the rest, the labour is performed by recruited supply, and by Indians. Therefore, I have nothing much to say about that.

On the matter of inter-racial relations; speaking for this District I think there is no reason for me to enlarge on this subject. I may just mention that there is a good deal

of ill-feeling on the part of the natives towards their European employers, because of the conditions on the farms; the people have to render labour for the privilege of living on the farms. They are poorly paid, and the restrictions imposed by land-owners upon them are hard for the people to bear. They speak about these disadvantages of farm life among themselves; and the spirit of goodwill between the races is not fostered by this state of affairs. In these latter times, Sir, it seems to us that the basic cause of ill-feeling on the part of the natives towards the white people is the Native Land Act, which prohibits our people from buying land. We feel that where we allowed to buy land we would be able to raise sufficient money to get at least a small piece here and there for each tribe, where the heads of the tribes - that is, the chiefs - could find a refuge.

With regard to the Native Taxation Act, all I wish to say is that we have no complaint concerning the Act itself, but I hark back to what I said about the low wages our people receive from the landlords here; it often happens that owing to the lowness of the wages people are not able to meet the tax and suffer punishment at the hands of the courts of justice. The pass laws have been imposed upon us by the Government, and no-one can withstand them. We realise that in many ways the pass law is necessary because it enables the authorities, where there are many people working in one place, to trace a particular person who may be wanted for some reason or other. (The foregoing evidence was interpreted by MR. FAYE):

CHIEF MADUBEKO MAGWAZA: (INTERPRETED BY MR. FAYE):

There are many things which we natives observe and which we feel need to be attended to by the Authorities. During the

time that the white people took over this land - conquered us - we have transferred our allegiance to them and remained loyal. Today you have come to an area where you hear the cry of the native who has no land at all; that is a state of affairs which has been deliberately brought about by the Authorities. When the white people first came they did not make it known that the land would be swallowed up by them to this extent. If it had been the intention of the Authorities, as is plain now, to dispose of land to white people and Indians only, it would have been well had the Authorities made that widely known from the beginning. We did wish to buy land - and had that been announced to us at first, it may be we could have made some representation about it. The Government is weakening the natives in the country by making provision for their permanent residence in towns, without having consulted us chiefs in any way in regard thereto. We hanker after our people who are now living for good in towns and wonder whether it may be the Government could not bring them back to our areas, and we would be very grateful if the Government would go further and provide places - that is, land for us where we could accommodate these people and take them out of the towns.

The Government has gradually increased the burden which has been imposed upon us by our white rulers; when tax was first paid to the white man here in Natal it was 7/- a year, then it was increased to 14/-, and now we are told we pay per head £1; that means that today an able-bodied grown-up native who earns £2 in a month for the month of the payment of the tax he actually receives £1 only, because the second £ is not

his - it is the property of the Government. At first we were allowed to live on the land by paying rent to the Government. (Mr. Faye: The witness is referring now to Crown Lands in Natal~~ix~~ which natives are allowed to occupy on payment of rent). But shortly before the time when our tax was increased to £1, the Government swept away the privilege of natives being allowed to live on Crown Lands and pay rent and threw through these lands open to the white people, thus depriving us of an enjoyable thing. All this has caused our people to be scattered - to have no place of their own in such a district as this, and to flock to towns. When the Government prohibited us natives from buying land, they did not prohibit the Indian; the result is that the Indian is able to buy land anywhere he likes in the district, provided there is someone wishing to sell, and should it be more than the Indian can manage, a white man will step in and buy it, but not a native - a native may not.

We still remain loyal to the Government, despite all I have mentioned; but it seems to us that the Government is turning its back upon us natives. We have come to realise very fully that what the white man does in employing us natives~~sk~~ is to bend every effort towards accumulating wealth with his money - money which was an unknown thing to us; but in that process the white man has little consideration for the native; he pays him the smallest wage he possibly can, and the result is, as I have said, that we natives are finding it very hard to struggle forward and keep up as the successors of the worthy forebears who went before us. We would be very grateful indeed if the Government would provide land for natives~~who~~ are situated as are we in the Stanger District, and give us an opportunity of carrying

out the Government's wishes in using that land to the best advantage.

CHIEF MBANGO ZULU: (Interpreted by Mr. Faye): With their tongues the two men who have just spoken have gone over the paths which I felt ~~white~~ should be gone over; I support them. Our grandparents who were conquered by the white people accepted the white man's rule, and carried out his laws, and as has been said, paid first a tax of 7/-, and it was later on, in the times of our parents, increased to 14/- and, in our time, it has been increased to £1. This shows that whilst we have thrown in our lot under the white man and have been content to accept his government, the white man does not treat us with the considerateness which a subject people might expect from their rulers. You see me here in front of you; I am called "Chief", but owing to the difficult conditions under which we live, I am almost without followers, - tribesmen. Where I am living we are being dispossessed by Indians - foreigners to this land - who are allowed to buy just where we natives are - we who have grown up here, and whose fathers were here, and I who belong to the land and am a loyal man and an official of the Government, may not buy any. That is all I wish to say, Sir, in supporting the two men who have spoken.

(NOTE: All the natives present in court said they supported what had been said).

CHIEF JANA NUULI: (Interpreted by Mr. Faye).

My desire entirely, Sir, is to be content with the document which I have handed to you. I feel like a person who is following the savoury smell of pleasant cooking going

on. I am now here before you to take part in the meal which you are providing for us. You are allowing us to appear before you and to join in, in giving our evidence. I am ready to speak on any points which you may care to ask of me touched upon by that document. I have no words to add to those contained in the document, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Are there any natives in your mission reserve who have the capital with which to start carrying on the trading which they desire ?- I say yes, but when I say yes, I mean there are natives in the mission reserve from which I come who are quite able to understand the intricacies of the white man's business in so far as storekeeping is concerned, but they are not able to engage in trade because there are so many obstacles; the authorities deliberately tell us that we must have a capital of from £200 to £300 before it would be safe for a native to start trade. Then again if a native feels that that is beyond his ability - as of course it is, since he only receives small wages - then he may think of doing only a little trading; but here again he is up against a very serious difficulty; before he can sell anything at all to get a little profit, he is told he must pay £10 for a licence. He has not the £10.

Are you aware that the European has to pay a licence ?- Yes.

You ask for individual tenure in the mission reserve; is not that in conflict with your Zulu traditions ?- It is contrary to our custom as natives, but we are being carried forward to new times by the influence of the white man, and we feel that today those who are sufficiently advanced should

be allowed to have individual tenure.

Do you consider that the people in the reserve are sufficiently advanced for this ~~ix~~ ?- Yes, to a certain extent.

If the reserve were to be cut up, could not that be done to some extent - but presumably it would have to be done for all the natives ?- I freely admit the force of what you say. Undoubtedly a number of people would not wish to have individual tenure, but they belong to the backward class; they are always a drag on our progress. They are to be found throughout the country.

Would you only want individual tenure for those who wish it ?- Yes, Sir.

And if a man has individual tenure of a piece of ground, should he be allowed to do so, if he wants to, - to sell that to another native ?- Yes, if the buyer belongs to our area; but I think it would be objectionable to allow outsiders to come in and acquire land. They would very soon swamp us, and those who really deserve to acquire the land and who are not able to acquire it just then, would be left out.

If a man dies, leaving only minor children, and there are other married men who want land, should that land be re-allocated to the married man belonging to the reserves, or should it remain in possession of the minor child of the dead man ?- That should devolve to the children, Sir - to the minors.

You ask for compulsory education; up to what standard or age do you want compulsory education ?- Ah, Sir; we are frail mortals. You white people are much stronger than are we. It

is within your wisdom - in your mature knowledge, what should and should not be done in that respect. What I mean in asking for compulsory education is that we who are weak children should be helped - supported - by you; with your strong white Government and mature wisdom we ask you to see that these people who are growing up and who are to be the future native men and women of the country should be established properly and equipped for ~~life~~ the life which they say they have to live in this land. Most of these children in our mission reserve do not go to school until about six years of age.

Of the children who do go to school, what is the youngest age? - I think not younger than five, Sir. Those who send their children to school make a point of sending them when they are so young as not to be able to distinguish the letters of the alphabet - who know nothing about what is called A. and B. Of the children who do go to school, the majority are quite young, but not younger than five.

Do more boys go to school than girls? - I think there are more girls than boys who are sent to school. That brings me to the appeal I made when beginning, Sir - that is, that the Government should help us people to get the equipment in education which we will want for our children, so that they may live their lives well after they are no more children - when they are grown up. There are many of us who do not send children to school, and that accounts for more girls being sent than boys; but so far as I am concerned, I send all my children, although I have no more small children.

Do you mean that some of the parents refuse to send the

children, and you want the Government to employ compulsion to send them ?- Yes, Sir, but in a paternal way.

That is your view as a man who has had a knowledge of education himself; would that also represent the view of the majority of natives in the reserve and the farms ?- I think most would support me.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You said if the natives were given individual land tenure they should have the right to sell the land to other natives living in the same location; if that should be the case, do not you think that a rich native will ultimately acquire all the land from the others ?- I do not think it would be a desirable thing to let the land slip away from the people in that way, but what I mean is that though land does change hands, it should change hands between those parties.

THE CHAIRMAN: That means, in other words, that you are not in favour of allowing land to be sold, even to other natives in the same area ?- I think it would be a very necessary precaution to take, to prevent one man who is better able than his neighbours acquiring more land than he really needs for himself and his family, lest he should take a greater portion of the available land than he needs for himself - for his ordinary comfort.

DR. ROBERTS: You are in favour of compulsory education ?- Yes, Sir.

How far are you yourself educated ?- I learnt in the Zulu school, Sir.

Do you think that education would bring down your own power and the powers of the other chiefs ?- I do not think

Sir, that education would pull down anything good that anyone has - even a chief's power; but where it to pull down anything that is not good - even if it is a chief's power, I ~~am~~ no objection to it.

Then you do not hold that education is against the powers of the chiefs ?- I do not say that.

There could still be an educated people governed by chiefs ?- Yes.

MR. LUCAS: Are the powers of the husbands over the wives among the Christian natives changing from what they used to be ?- Yes, Sir; I notice that the influence of a husband over his wife is becoming gentler - more refined than it was when I first saw the light of day.

Can you tell us what the changes are ?- I think principally in enlightenment.

Enlightenment of the women ?- Yes. May I mention just one matter, Sir, which it seems to me should be brought to the notice of this Commission; Indians are allowed to get store sites amongst us, and they are such business men as to prevent effectually a native from having even a remote hope of ever being able to start a business alongside; they are an effectual bar against the native being able to start a business of his own. This Indian storekeeper is ~~practically~~ protected by a departmental rule to the effect that within a certain number of miles no-one else may carry on any trade or business. We protest against that, Sir.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Are there many Indian storekeepers in your reserve ?- One. We do not know what you mean by "the Reserve"; we only know the reserve as a reserve; it is in

the reserve.

Is it in a little portion that was given the Missionary to have his buildings on, and so forth ?- No, Sir; I am ^{not} speaking of the Mapumulo Mission Reserve.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it near the Missionary's place ?- You could shout at the top of your voice but could not be heard at the store if you were shouting from the Mission Station.

Do you want the Indians to be excluded from the Mission Reserve altogether ?- Yes, Sir, because even if you were to let him put his store on the Mission glebe, he would still have those miles around him and prevent natives from getting business.

Do you want Europeans to be excluded from trading on the Mission Reserve ?- Our feeling towards the white men is quite different; we live on good terms with them; although the same rule applies in that case within a certain mileage of a store a native may not trade, and if we apply for permission to start our own business they oppose us.

(INTERPRETED BY PHILEMON NTULI):

THE CHAIRMAN: (To Mqwebu): In the area for which you speak, do they actually use substitutes for cattle for lobolo ?- In my District they pay either in cattle or in money.

MR. MOSTERT: Is it optional ?- Yes.

Does that mean they pay part in cattle and part in money, or that some people pay in cattle and other people pay in money ?- Yes; it depends on the arrangement come to between the parties; they pay a half or a quarter of the lobolo in money, just as it suits them.

Do they sometimes pay the whole of the lobolo in money ?-

?- Yes, they do.

And do they sometimes use animals other than cattle ?- They do not breed goats in our district; they generally pay the money, or cattle - or half in money and half in cattle.

Do you find many cases in your district where money is paid ?- Yes; in most cases the lobolo is paid in money. When the cattle were dying they paid lobolo in money, but since the cattle have been increasing they pay in cattle.

At the present time, when you have many cattle, do you still find many people who pay in money - more people who pay partly in money, or more people who pay altogether in cattle ?- They pay more with cattle.

THE CHAIRMAN: (To Chief Ntuli): You have heard the replies of this chief ?- Yes.

Will you tell us, in regard to your area, what the position is with reference to the same points that I have asked this chief ?- They lobolo both in money and in cattle.

Which is the more common ?- When the cattle were dying they paid labolo in money.

DR. ROBERTS: The whole of it ?- Yes, and since the cattle have increased they pay just as they please - either in cattle or in money, but they pay mostly in cattle.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You said, when natives are evicted from farms they trek into the towns; does a native when he is evicted from a farm go into the town with his whole family ?- Yes.

(INTERPRETED BY MR. FAYE):

With all he has got, his cattle and everything ?- There is no alternative about cattle; they have to be disposed of.

Is it common for a native to trek to the towns with his whole family ?- That is where you will find them, Sir, - in the towns.

MR. MOSTERT: Does the native prefer his money in gold or in notes ?- It is six of one and half a dozen of another. But when paper money was first introduced we did not like it, but we have become accustomed to it.

In paying for lobolo would it not be better to pay in gold ?- Either in gold or paper money; it is immaterial to us.

DR. ROBERTS: Have any of you got objections to the 10/- note ?- If you would give it to me, Sir, I would gratefully accept it. (Loud laughter).

MR. LUCAS (To Mbango Zulu): How did you lose your tribesmen ?- They have been squeezed out by the Indians buying out the land and evicting them.

Have you no tribal lands of your own ?- No.

THE REV. GIDEON NDOTA SIVETYE: (Speaking in English):

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Economic Commission, I belong to the American Board Congregational Mission. Mr. Faye said we ought to address you in English, but we feel rather awkward, because the others have been speaking in the mother tongue. I do not know whether I can now switch round and talk in my mother tongue.

THE CHAIRMAN: Whichever way you prefer ?- Gentlemen, I would like to say a word about the lobolo custom - its economic function. I know what I say may not be supported by most of my people, but I am speaking for educated people, and also for those who are leaders. There is something wrong with the lobolo custom.

Some reform ought to come about with regard to this. I find in most cases it acts deleteriously towards the young man. It is all right for the fathers who have girls. I know many young men who, after getting cattle for lobolo - though they have done all they can do in life, they have had such a struggle to get those cattle that they do not work afterwards. I am not prepared to say what the substitute should be. So far the substitute has been money, where the parties agree. I say that there ought to be some reform. Expressing my own opinion, I think that the custom should be discouraged - but very slowly.

MR. LUCAS: How would you suggest discouraging it? - I think an attempt should be made not to take lobolo appeals to a court of law - if one appeals to a court, it should not be considered; let it be an arrangement between the people, just as it was at first. Strictly speaking, what we call lobolo now is not lobolo as it was before. Lobolo is an arrangement between the parties. Since Sir Theophilus Shepstone came round and said it should be systematised; he said an ordinary man should pay ordinary head of cattle - chiefs 25, and so on. As soon as he began to do that, he commercialised it.

DR. ROBERTS: Was it commercialised to begin with? - No. The young man could give as he was able. There was plenty of cattle and land, and he could give as much as he wanted; but conditions have so terribly changed that it is now not easy to get cattle.

MR. LUCAS: Did it once rest with what the young man was willing to give, or with what the father demanded? - If my memory serves me well, it was the father; the young man gave as he was able to give.

THE CHAIRMAN: How many cattle would a commoner have given normally under the old state of affairs before Sir Theophilus Shepstone came ?- Some gave more than ten, but the chiefs gave in hundreds, because they got their cattle from the commoners.

DR. ROBERTS: From the tribe ?- Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: When you say some gave more than ten, does that mean that the majority gave more than ten ?- I cannot say that, Sir; I think ten was the average to standardise it. The general feeling, Sir, is that I should be interpreted. The others feel that they do not know what I am talking about.

(INTERPRETED BY MR. FAYE):

According to my experience, the amount of the lobolo which is claimable by law here in Natal is rather more than many young men are able to meet, and it is also losing the agreeable effects which it had earlier. In the beginning the son-in-law would contribute such lobolo as it was within his power reasonably to give, and his father-in-law would meet him half-way, and reach agreement - would not compel him to give lobolo which he knew was beyond the power of his son-in-law to give, and when the lobolo had been given the father-in-law would express his approval. That would be the end of the transaction. Since lobolo has now become actionable, it has, in my opinion, lost the prestige which it had in the past; and on that account I think its effect now is rather to derogate from the dignity subsistent between husband and wife, which subsisted in the past; I say that because, according to the present usage which has been in vogue for a long time now, lobolo is claimable - can be demanded, - that is, a particular amount of lobolo can be demanded. Here in this District, on the sugar plantations, we have extra-Union

natives working, such as Swazis, Portuguese, East African natives, and Nyassaland natives. How they have gained admittance I do not know, but the fact is, they are here. These people are taking away from our country money which would be, in my opinion, better spent were it earned by Union natives. I realise of course that it is easier for an employer to engage natives coming from extra-Union territory rather than local natives, because obviously they have better control over extra-Union natives. That impoverishes the local natives.

We have had it demonstrated that local natives are quite able to cope with the work expected of the extra-Union native, even at sugar mills. (MR. FAYE: He mentions a number of places).

I will now deal with native education. As the Commission knows, education here in Natal of the native carries students so far as colleges for the training of teachers, and even to a few studies required for a University training. Education is desirable because it is helpful, but the education now available to our people leaves much to be desired. That is noticeable particularly when an educated native goes out to work; he is not given any kind of acknowledgment by his employers of his extra ability as an educated native - that may be, Sir, because employers of natives do not pay any particular heed to an educated native's capacity; it may be for the reason that the education given to the native is now being disparaged by being specifically described as native education. The occupational training available to our people now at existing institutions also leaves a good deal to be desired. May I quote the example of a trained carpenter who is able to do carpentry as well as a white man; let him go and seek work where

white people are doing carpentering - he will find it extremely difficult for him to get employment. Even in the native areas, natives who may want to have carpentering done will prefer employing even an Indian - or if he can be got, a white man to do the carpentering rather than the native, because for some reason or another the native's work does not appeal to his own people as much as what is done by a foreigner - that is to say, a non-native. It seems to us, Sir, that these are directions in which the Government may step in and give material help to our people to advance.

On the subject of judicial proceedings to which natives are parties, I would like to represent that our people lose a good deal in property through engaging legal advice. When a case is tried by a native chief, a lawyer does not appear; there is not a single instance on record where a lawyer has appeared for a native before a native chief. Yet the chief deals with the case before him as conscientiously as though that case were taken to the magistrate's court or the court of the Native Commissioner. Why could not these lower courts of the white people dispose of such cases without the intervention of legal advice from outside? The officials of the courts ought to be able to deal with these cases themselves without being helped by lawyers in most cases. I mention that not because I wish to say anything against the lawyers, but because of the hardship imposed on our people by having to engage lawyers. I think it follows from what I say that it may be worth while for the Authorities to consider whether it would not be possible to improve the status of our chiefs in regard to the trying of cases, so that the hardship which the natives suffer at the present time through the ^{ter} invention of

legal practitioners could be reduced, and that some machinery be provided in cases of appeal from the chief's court for dealing with the appeals rather by way of review, and the review to take in as much of the judicial proceedings as possible. In my wanderings I have not come across any people so loyal and law-abiding as the people who are generally known by the name of Zulus, nor a more well-disposed people towards their white rulers: and when I say that I would lead up to what naturally follows - that is, if there is any kind of racial suspicion or ill-feeling, the cause should be looked for, not so much on the part of the native as on the part of his rulers. There are people present here who have never even thought of raising a lethal weapon against a white person; and I think I am right in saying that that dates back to the days of the voortrekkers, who were succeeded by the British. The natives, instead of remaining the enemies of the white people who came to take away the land from them, have become law-abiding, loyal subjects, but it is difficult to find if one tries to search out what this state of affairs may be attributed to in so far as acts of the white people towards the natives are concerned. May I, in support of what I say, quote the example of the natives living here on the coast whose forebears have lived along this stretch of country. It will be found that a great deal of that land nowadays belongs to strangers to this country who are not concerned with the taking of it from the natives - that is, Indians, and yet the natives remain law-abiding. I think it would be found also, Sir, if the authorities desired it, that many of our people would be prepared to go forward today to support the white Government

even to the death, and engage in warfare to defend your Government; but I doubt whether it is known to the majority of white people in this country that that is the spirit which affects the black man hereabouts. I think it is in every way becoming proper that we should mention these good qualities to the Commission in talking about the affairs of the natives into which you have come to enquire, Gentlemen. It may be what I say will contribute more towards the white man now at last re-considering the whole position as between European and native, and perhaps the Government will then do something to see that the native servant who works for the white man and is loyal to the Government is better paid than he is today, for his services. By tradition we natives were quite strange to asking for payment from our superiors when rendering labour or services to them; it is an innovation which has been brought by the white man to this country. According to our usage, it is left to the discretion of the ruler to give what he thinks is merited without being asked. I wish to say in stating that, that I am trying to point out that it is contrary to the innermost nature of the native to bargain for wages, and even if he does ask for money he does not do it in a way which the white man regards as reasonable, because it is foreign to him. But we have given the points enumerated, and may I ask that the Commission in making ~~represent~~ recommendations to the Government, in reporting to them, take into account those good points which I have already mentioned to you.

XXXXXXXXXX PHILEMON NTULI: (Interpreted by Mr. Faye):

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Native Economic Commission,
I am a farmer and I get employment occasionally as Interpreter.

I also do clerical work. I will not say much, because most of the ground has already been covered.

May I stress, Sir, in regard to lobolo, that our people prefer that this very old custom be allowed to remain as it is and that the amount of lobolo to be given be left to be decided between the parties concerned, - the bride's people and the bridegroom's people. Lobolo has lost largely the significance which it had among our people in the early days, amongst the Christianised natives, but despite that fact we feel that it should not be interfered with.

With regard to the economic position of the native worker, I would like just to say that the wages paid to our people on the whole are not enough to cover their daily requirements - necessary requirements, and reasonable requirements. There are to my knowledge exceedingly few natives who get as much as £10 a month - there may be a few more who get £5 a month, but by a long way most of the natives get between £2 and £3. I am now talking of grown up males who are able to do their work in a satisfactory way. Compare their income with what those people have to provide for themselves and their families, and it will be found that the wages are considerably less than the people need. There are Government taxes to be paid, there are dipping fees to be paid; there is food to be paid for, there is illness to be paid for, and many other things which are absolute necessities in the life of a native. All these make a heavy demand on a native's means, and his wages are not enough to meet these demands.

On the matter of the effect of education on a native,

I would like to say it is clear that education is an exceedingly helpful thing, but although we may ask for a much further advanced education than is mostly available for us now, I wonder what would be the value of it to us? To which country could we go to live and make use of our education? Supposing we were to get it and were to go to another country to use it, what would we do; how could we be employed? I am at a total loss to understand how advanced education could be of much benefit to us here, although we realise that education as education is a valuable asset to any person. Education is an affliction to us at present; if I am educated, I want to be decently dressed; I want to keep my body clean; I want to have better food - or more varied diet generally than the people who are not educated will accept, and generally my tastes are more difficult to please than the tastes of the uneducated native: but all this is, as I say, an affliction, because I find myself at every point being hindered; I find myself up against obstacles. It is the natural ambition of an educated native to build himself a decent, comfortable home, to bring up his children respectably, to clothe and feed them as an educated person should, and in the event of a European perhaps being near the educated native's home, might be able to provide him with education, and in the daytime he to be able to give a European visitor a decent cup of tea with perhaps something with it; but all these things, although I urgently yearn for them, are beyond my reach.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Why are they beyond your reach ?- I have no money; I have no land which could produce money; it is too small. On the matter of the promotion of

inter-racial good relations, I am unable to speak; I become tongue-tied. It seems to me that the present state of affairs, despite what anyone will do, will persist till Doomsday, and the more I go into the matter, the more am I driven to the conclusion that so long as the black man remains black, so long will the present difference of feeling between white and black - the disadvantage of being black - persist. There is no need for me to enumerate the many indications of the existence of that feeling of difference between the white people and the black, but I just say we are powerless to alter what is now in existence. We black people must be content to remain black; you are white, and we cannot alter you. I find no fault with anyone; I merely say this is a provision which has been made by the Almighty. It seems to me that so long as fat remains fat, and water remains water, so long will black be black and white, white. I have been working now for white people for about twenty years. I have done my best to get education which will help me on in life, and although I am on excellent terms with my employers - for example, lawyers - it is always brought home to me that the lawyer is a white man, and that however friendly he may be towards me, there is a boundary - there is a limit to his charity- his feeling of goodwill towards me; it is a case of so far and no farther, and as I said before, that is a provision of the Almighty, and that for these reasons it will never become possible for a white man to work alongside a native on equal terms without dis-union - without ill-feeling arising between them; and although, as I have said, we do our best to co-operate with the white people,

I suppose that so long as you remain in this country and we remain in this country, there will always be that difference. You may employ natives as messengers in your courts, but the officials working in those courts will never fraternise with these messengers, however educated and useful they may be there will always be a distinction; it is deep down in the heart of the white man that there is that difference - and nothing will change it. If I want to become more enlightened, or any of our people want to become more enlightened, I do not see that it would be any particular advantage to us. To me it seems to me that black and white are as far apart as East and West. When the Land Act was promulgated we natives were ~~allowed~~ led to believe that further legislation was contemplated which would relieve the native population from the prohibitory provisions of that Act - but that legislation is still awake, and we are beginning to feel now that we shall never see it. Although we are a law-abiding people, as I have said, the various factors which I have enumerated - and others - seem to point to the inevitable result that we shall never be able to understand one another as we should, so as to live in amity throughout the country. So long as we are in this land there will always be differences, and I think that that will tend towards the native people never trusting implicitly in the white man or his work. So far as I remember this is the fifth commission which has visited Stanger in connection with native affairs, but instead of improvement following on the footsteps of these Commissions, greater burdens are imposed upon us, and we wonder whether, after your visit, Gentlemen, some burden will be added to those which we now have to

carry. Would that we could believe that as a result of the visit of the present Commission not a burden, but an unburdening will follow. That is all I have to say.

THE CHAIRMAN: (To Rev. Sivetye): ^{Why} ~~What~~ do you think ~~that~~ the young men do not work after they get their lobolo cattle? - It is owing to the impoverishment of the young men and their living under irksome conditions. It is a very great effort indeed to meet the lobolo requirements, and after they have been met, the bride-groom has become impoverished.

That is surely not sufficient reason why he does not work? - That is just what I observe, Sir; I am not giving a reason. I am merely given what I observe. They are working for something which yields them nothing. Poverty very quickly overtakes a person, and when one who has a little money parts with that little in order to meet some urgent requirement, then, as I say, he becomes poverty stricken.

You said education leaves much to be desired. I want to know for whom you are speaking - would the educated natives find a system satisfactory by which a large number of them could, after preliminary training, be drafted into the native areas to teach their people better agriculture? - Yes, Sir. I think it would be a big advantage, but I would like to see those people properly trained. I say that because it is manifest that you white people look down on our training - on our education; you do not seem to realise that natives are thirsting for knowledge, progress, and developing the resources which are in the land. You are under the impression

You know that it has taken the white man thousands of years to come to where he is today. Are you not in too much of a hurry to want to reach the same stages as we have in too short a time? - I did not intend to convey the impression that we want to be your equals, much less your superiors in the social life of this country. I hope that you will always remain our rulers and guide us, and rule us in a kindly, benign way; but what I do say is that I should very much like to see a better feeling brought about between the two races than exists now, although in that respect I think I may complain that I see little hope; conditions which have persisted for many years are as vigorous today and militate against us.

DR. ROBERTS: You have known this country for thirty years, Ntuli; and Gideon for forty, and the Chief for about fifty, and you can say, "I know the country". Have you found that change is increasing, or that it has remained just the same through your years - this feeling of what you call antagonism? - (NTULI): In general, Sir, it seems to me to be about the same.

Would Gideon give us his views? - (REV. SIVETYE): I see a marked change, Sir. What strikes me is that the white people who are growing up, who have been born in this country, generally speaking are learning methods of repressing the native, because the conditions which have been operating against the advancement of the native are not being lessened; they are being increased. And I say therefore that although there are exceptions, on the whole my impression is that there is a marked change, showing that the repression of the native is not on the decrease, but on the increase; and we feel that

so much so as to withdraw into our shell, in the same way as does an animal that lives in a shell. For example, when I was a child I was told that when a white person came by to run out and get the fattest chicken in the yard to kill for that white person; but I suppose to-day there would be extremely few instances in which a native would act in that way towards a passer-by. There are exceptions, as I say; on the other hand, I think I am right in saying that at any rate so far as I can see the white children who are growing up are learning the methods of suppressing the name, which have now been in existence in this country for a long time.

And the Chief who is now going on for seventy years, what does he say? - (CHIEF MQWEBU): I am not in a position to speak about that, Sir, because since I left school I have not worked for any white man; I have lived in the Umvoti Mission Reserve with my people, and have not had to work for any white person, so I am not able to express an opinion.

You do not know whether the feeling is better or worse? - (No answer).

You, Ntuli, hold that there is really no change? - There is no change in quality, but there is a change in quantity.

That is to say, the amount of opposition is greater today? - Is progressive.

To what would you attribute that; would you look at it this way, that as you become more educated you become aggressive, and that the other man is defending himself? - It may be both causes which are in operation, but I think the majority of white people do not like to see a native educated.

You said there were five Commissions ?- Yes.

This is the fifth ?- Yes.

Well, I happen to have been on three of them, what objection have you to them ?- Although I know you better than I know the other members of the Commission here, I am speaking the truth when I say I do not see what advantage these Commissions have brought to us. I do not mean that offensively, Sir; I have merely stated what seems to me to be a fact.

MR. MOSTERT: You seem to have a doubt in your mind that an educated native has not got a chance ?- Yes, Sir.

Would you therefore perhaps prefer that the Zulus as a race be educated in their own language only, with the exception of course of a few ?- No, Sir; that will not carry them far enough.

You say if they know it, they cannot get an forrader at all ?- I say that that is my desire , but may I repeat that I do not see personally what advantage really is gained by the native who has received advanced education.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You say that of late the natives have been oppressed more and more. Would you enumerate to us a few instances where this oppression goes on ?- I have mentioned several instances - in legislation, including the depriving of the native of the right to buy land, a right which he enjoyed before, but which has been taken away from him; that is oppressive.

Cannot you enumerate instances where the Government has assisted natives of late? There is the other side of the question ?- Yes, I can, Sir.

So it is not all oppression; there is some advancement

on the other side, too ?- That is so. I am not merely indulging in idle flattery when I say that the Europeans in this land are the cream of the earth, the best that could possibly rule us; we would not like to be under any other rule.

You seem to be dissatisfied, ~~that~~ when a promise is made under the Land Act, that the provisions of the land should be settled; you seem to be disappointed in that?- Well, so many years have passed since that Act came into force, and the promise has not been fulfilled.

But you as an educated native must know the European Government has not got ^{the} arbitrary powers of a native chief, and just say "I am going to do this", and he does it. You must know that the Government twice tried to bring into force an amendment of the Land Act - that was in 1917 and in 1924, and the Parliament turned it down on both occasions ?- That is just what I say, Sir; and that is what makes me pessimistic.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you know any natives of high standing in South Africa ?- Yes.

How many do you think you know; how many school inspectors - natives, remember ?- (INTERPRETED BY THE REV. SIVETYE): I do not know those who are Inspectors.

Well, you can call them Assistant Inspectors if you like ?- Professors?

Yes - well at any rate there is a large number ?- Yes.

And that has been in recent years ?- Yes.

Do you know any native lawyers of standing ?- Yes.

Do you know any doctors of a high standing who treat Europeans ?- I know doctors, but I do not know that they treat white patients.

You have not altogether got cause for your pessimism ?-

?- I quite understand you, Sir, but I did mention many things that caused me to take the attitude I take now.

But there is the other side to it ?- Yes; I looked at both sides. I did mention before that there were some good things that have been done for us; I did not say nothing had been done for us.

MR. LUCAS: Have there been any cases in this district where native have had to pay heavy legal costs in connection with debts ?- Yes, Sir.

Can you mention one or two cases - how much the debt was, and how much the costs were ?- I do not remember just now but high costs have been paid. Perhaps Chief Mgwebu might help us.

I was thinking of where a native owed a few pounds and the costs came to a lot of money; I was wondering whether you knew of any cases like that. Of course, if you do not know, it does not matter ?- (No answer).

Can you tell us anything about as to whether the position of women in the reserve is changing; are they becoming freer than they were ?- They are getting freer in this respect - the treatment by their husband - the husband treats them with more considerateness than formerly.

And are the women themselves claiming that better treatment, or is it that the men are getting better ?- They are claiming it; they even ask their husbands to go and fetch wood for them.

Can you see a general change, or is it just a few at present of the husbands who are treating their wives better ?- The change is taking place generally.

DR. FOURIE: Would you be in favour of a revision of the whole lobolo question ?- I am not in a position to know

the difference between the old order and the new. I do not know just what you are aiming at, because what I heard about the old order is that the young men would keep on paying lobolo, whereas at present it is a specified number of beasts that he has to pay.

Now it is fixed at ten head of cattle, whereas formerly it was not so ?- My opinion is there must be a modification of the law. Speaking as a spiritual worker I would be in favour of its abolition. It cannot be hurried in its progress, and knowing the results of the evils of lobolo, I would not at all object if it were abolished altogether.

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