

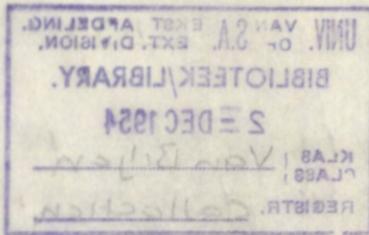
2057

I N D E X.

CAPETOWN, 1st day's sitting.

SIR CLARKSON TREDGOLD pages 6826 ----- 6916.
Mr. ABNER MTIMKULU 6917 ----- 6935.

Pages 6887 - 6906 blank.



SIR CLARKSON TREDGOLD.

-6826-

NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

KAAPSTAD, 23 APRIL 1931.

EIGHTY-NINTH PUBLIC SITTING

PRESENT:

Dr. J.E.Holloway (Chairman)

Major W.H.Anderson.	Mr. A.M.Mostert.
Dr. H.C.M.Fourie.	Dr.A.W.Roberts.
Mr. F.A.W.Lucas K.C.	Sen.P.W.LeRoux vanNiekerk.

SIR CLARKSON HENRY TREDGOLD Kt., called & examined.

CHAIRMAN: I understand you are here in your capacity as Secretary of the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives and that you wish to discuss a number of items appearing on our Questionnaire; perhaps it might be well if before doing so, you should, for the purposes of our Record, tell us your previous experience in regard to Native Affairs?-- Perhaps I might just tell you first of all that I am colonial born; I have been here all my life, excepting my sojourn at Cambridge. When I came back in 1890 I went through the Eastern Provinces and through the Transkei; it was then that I became interested in this subject of Native Affairs; I studied the report and evidence of the old Commission of 1883 from end to end; then I remained here at the Cape for a while, and in 1897 I went to Rhodesia; there I immediately came into contact with Native life, especially through my criminal work at the Bar, both in prosecuting for the State and defending. In 1900 I was appointed Solicitor General and in 1903 I became Attorney General; I was a member of the Government then and on the Executive Council, and I remained in that position until 1922.

SIR CLARKSON TREDGOLD:

-6827-

And during that time I had to keep on with the study of this question, and nearly all the laws appertaining to natives went through my hands, as far as Rhodesia was concerned. . In 1910 and 1911 I was on a Commission, known as the Native Affairs Committee of Southern Rhodesia in which we toured the whole of the country, under the chairmanship of the late Sir John Graham and took evidence on almost every conceivable point of natives and native life.

I tried to keep in touch with what was going on here during that time--which was not too easy -- and in 1922 I was on the Bench, I was a Senior Judge, and then, of course, excepting a general study of such cases as came before me --some being of great interest -- I only continued to keep up my knowledge in that capacity, until I retired in 1925.

I had a little farming experience in Rhodesia- a matter of two years - unfortunately -- and then I came back here in 1927 and I immediately tried to get into touch with native affairs and with native conditions here and since then I have been trying to do that kind of work, and at present I am Secretary of the Joint Council of Europeans and Bantus of the Cape Peninsula, and I have been out to see most of these Locations at every place, and I have tried to keep in touch with officials and others on these matters. That, briefly, is my experience.

Now, I do not know how much you want to hear from me. I am prepared to speak on many of these subjects in your questionnaire from my own personal knowledge and experience. May I ask first of all, on this question of de-tribalisation -- would you like to hear my views on that, or have you had enough of that on your travels through the country?

Unless there are points arising out of your Rhodesian

experience, which naturally we would not have had, the Commission has seen pretty well everything on the general question that is to be seen?-- That Commission of ours, to which I have referred, came to the conclusion that it was a system of distinct advantages, and although we had completely broken it down, we made efforts to re-establish it, and something of that kind has been done in Rhodesia.

You are trying to re-establish the Tribal system in Rhodesia?-- Not actually, because it is too far broken down, but they are trying to put something in its place to get the Chief to exercise his discipline over the tribe and to learn something about local government and other things which are the real appurtenances of the system.

What is being done to replace the tribal system?-- I must tell you this: I only know it has been done; I have been four years out of the country and there has been a very great improvement since I left. I was there last winter and heard of all these things, but I do not know the details. The system is largely this: they were trying to get these Native Councils established; but I do not know whether that is being carried out with any success. There was an idea of getting the natives to govern themselves a little more in the old way, giving the Chiefs some sort of authority, both in regard to civil and criminal matters. The idea was that the Chiefs should be sitting with a Jury of Counsellors. They got a very marked native advancement there, but as these matters were rather in the making, I do not know what they have done, although I do know that they had these steps in view and were actually making certain efforts in that direction of more self government.

SIR CLARKSON TREDGOLD:

-6828-

DR. FOURIE: Are you in favour of that?--Yes, I am strongly in favour of it. I would like to see the natives, not developed on their own lines, but I should like to see them helped to develop on our lines among themselves; let them understand what they should do, how they should govern the tribe and how they should govern themselves.

DR. ROBERTS: Your answer might be taken as meaning that you are in favour of supporting the Tribal system?--Yes, I am if the defects can be cured. What we found of the tribal system in the old days was that the management of the Tribe and the management of the whole Race was apt to get into the hands of a despot and that despot worked through the Witch Doctor. That is a grave defect and we cannot get away from that, even now. Broadly put, I would like to see something done to keep the tribal system going. We went into that pretty fully on the Commission in Rhodesia. One has to bear in mind also that there are various tribes and that the systems vary among the different tribes. The systems varied among the Natives and the Mashonas. With the first it was a case of Government by the Individual, in the latter it was Government of the Tribe by the Council.

MR. LUCAS: When you say "Government by the Individual", do you mean by that "Government by the Chief"?--Yes, by the Chief, who was in the position of an absolute Autocrat.

DR. ROBERTS: And so far as the Mashonas were concerned, in what position were they-- were they Democrats?--Yes.

MAJOR ANDERSON: And which of these two do you think worked best?--Well, from our point of view and for our purposes the Democracy worked best, and in the interest of the tribe

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

in the long run it is best. You have it more definitely established among the Bechuanaas where there was an actual summoning of the whole tribe to discuss and decide on tribal affairs. There they have had a lot of experience of that.

MR. MOSTERT: Do the chiefs in Rhodesia get a small subsidy from the Government in the same way as they get it here in the Union ?- I may say in regard to that that there are two classes of what are known as subsidized chiefs in Rhodesia, and others are recognised as headmen. Many of them are recognised without pay, but large numbers of them are actually subsidized. And then they are not only subsidized, but they also wear what I might call a badge of authority, and let me tell you that they are very proud of it. It is just a chain with a sort of half-moon with the British Lion in the same form as that which the Chartered Company adopted and they are really very proud of that.

Another thing is this. What we found among the tribal system is the collective responsibility which is undoubtedly a tremendous asset. It is an asset in good government for the Europeans as well.

What do you mean by that really ?- When you get them all working together, it is the finest educative force that you could find in the country, and not only for the Europeans but also for the Natives. They can always give you information. Old men complained that the thing had broken down, that they could not control the young men any more, or the women, but that is one of the main complaints which they have.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Has that had a bad effect on

Sir Clarkson Fredgold

the general character of the Native ?- I think so, but we are getting back again now. The position was that the old sanctions of the Native were being broken down, the evil-doers were not being dealt with as they should be and we were gradually getting back to the old position when there was no education among them, but now things are going better again.

MR. LUCAS: To what do you attribute the breakdown of that authority of the chiefs and the headmen ?- We did it deliberately first of all.

I was thinking of the effects on the family. What was the reason for their loss of that control ?- The breaking down of the tribal control, so far as I can understand the position, comes to this. The father himself would not exercise full disciplinary control over his own children if it were a serious point without taking into consideration some other members of the tribe, such as his brothers and so on. But where the parental authority broke down was by example.

What do you mean by that ?- Well, the young men said "The authority of our chiefs and of our headmen is gone. Our fathers have not got to look to our chiefs and headmen, so we need not look to our fathers. The process of reasoning, which resulted in the lack of parental control was something like that.

So it was not the influence of the towns in Rhodesia ?- No, no. The breakdown in Rhodesia was there before the towns were there, and, after all, our towns are very small.

I am trying to follow up one argument in South Africa, that it is the influence of the towns which has led to this lack of parental control, but now you have just quoted

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

instances where the towns could not have done that ?- No; in Rhodesia, the ~~system~~ broke down through our putting in magistrates and not doing what we should have done.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: But the towns may have accelerated it ?- Well, the towns gave the young people an opportunity of shewing their independence, but I do not think that the towns really had the effect in the first instance of breaking down the tribal system.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you think the system began to break down before Salisbury and Bulawayo were towns? It was a deliberate intention of the Chartered Company to break down the tribal system ?- Yes, that is so. And then, as far as I can read in the olden days, we never recognised the value of Native institutions and we tried to substitute our own institutions for these Native institutions. Our view, or a view which is unfortunately adopted by very many people, is that because a thing is Native, it must be bad.

military
Do you not think it was the ~~Amikim~~ men who brought in the idea, inasmuch as it gave them a lever to break down the position in the Eastern Provinces ?- No, I would not say that. The military were merely an instrument of the Government and it was the Government's policy to break up the tribal system as far as possible, in order to avoid what they regarded as a danger, and I think that that is what occurred largely in Rhodesia. In Rhodesia it was very marked, because the Matabeles were a settled tribe. They were very powerful and I think it was done with a view to removing a danger.

Seriously, I think it was done in the Eastern Provinces by Sir Harry Smith and others ?- Yes, that is so.

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

CHAIRMAN: Would you like now to continue your remarks on other points ?- Yes. Would you like me now to talk about lobolo, one of the most vexed things we have, although I suppose you have heard a great deal about that.

Yes, I think you may dismiss that subject ?- Very well; but may I just mention one point. You talk in your Questionnaire, about the question of the use of substitutes for cattle. Of course, broadly put, if lobolo is to be maintained, you cannot substitute anything else, but I have known of the system breaking down through the rhinderpest as well as various other old customs in Rhodesia. I have known of substitutes for lobolo; I have known of donkeys and goats, which are very common, and I have known of money being given and of goats and other things. I have come across cases among the Northern Mashonas where they had the world old custom of a man having to work for his wife. That is to say, the ~~work~~ consideration was given in the form of work. I have come across definite instances in that respect. "Garizele" is what it is known as.

MR. MOSTERT: Did I understand you to say working for a wife. A young man would have to work for his wife ?- Yes, just in the same way as Jacob had to work for Leah.

MAJOR ANDERSON: How many months ?- The first case I know of was three years.

What sort of work ?- General Native work. Anything that he could be put to. The way it was done was general work and the chief work which these men had to do was the cultivation of the land. That is how a dispute cropped up when the matter came to my knowledge in the first place.

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

It was a complaint that the man had not done enough work and the dispute arose through this, that the man lived with the woman from the moment that the bargain was made. Children were born and at the end of the three years, he wanted to leave with his wife, but the old man stepped in and collared one of the children and said, "No, you are not going to leave, you have not paid the lobolo in full and, therefore, one of the children must remain with me." Then the dispute developed and that is how it came to my knowledge.

MR. MOSTERT: What happened ?- Well, we investigated the matter, and we found that the old man, just like Jacob's prospective father-in-law, was trying to get a little more out of the man than he had bargained for.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Lobolo is very closely connected with the Native's fondness of his cattle. Is the lobolo system the underlying principle, you might almost say, the greed of the Native for cattle, or is there something else, is there an inherent love of cattle besides anything else, or is it a combination of both? For instance, in regard to the question of overstocking, this is a most important point ?- My own view is that, in its origin, in its best form, it has nothing to do with the breeding of cattle or the acquirement of assets. In its best form it is really a provision for the family.

I mean the love of the Native for his cattle, - is that inherent in the lobolo system? If the lobolo system has something to do with it, the breaking down of the lobolo system would be the breaking down of overstocking -- but, if it is not so, then it is a much more difficult problem to handle? - My idea is that the Native, in insisting upon cattle for lobolo,

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

looks upon cattle from an entirely different point of view from what the European does. To the Native, the cattle is not a mere beast, -- cattle to the Native is the most natural form of investment and you will also know that the lobolo cattle are not supposed to be parted with.

DR. ROBERTS: You think that it is more than a mere mode of exchange ?- Yes, I put it on a far higher plane than just that.

MR. LUCAS: Is there not something sacred about cattle so far as the Native is concerned ?- Yes, in many cases that is so. He looks upon the cattle as sacred.

So is there not something more than just business instinct ?- Certainly, I do not think that the business instinct has anything to do with it; I put it on a very much higher plane than that.

SENATOR VAN NIKERK: You say the business instinct has nothing to do with it ?- No.

But he sticks to his cattle all the same. He wants cattle, he loves his cattle --- that is not a business instinct you say ?- It is an investment -- it is supposed to be a permanent provision for certain contingencies as well. Might I just mention this. The Natives have got it into their heads, ^{that} and owing, I think, to the Native Administration Act of 1927, declaring that the custom of lobolo is a valid one, the whole system has broken down and a man can simply sell his daughters as he likes and that he can go to the Courts and recover. It was put to me by some people here and I tried to explain to them that they were misconstruing the

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

thing and that, although some people have done that, that that is not the reading of the law.

MR. LUCAS: Is that the Native or the European point of view ?- That is the Native point of view. I heard ~~much~~ Sol Plaatje on it, but I went to other people as well. In Rhodesia, I may say, we passed a law under which every marriage had to be registered. The consent of the bride had to be obtained and the amount of the lobolo had to be stated as well. That was put down in the Marriage Registration Book -- the amount actually given, and, if there was any balance due, the amount given was written down and when the balance was to be paid.

MR. MOSTERT: So that lobolo is recognised in Rhodesia ?- Yes.

MR. LUCAS: Was there any difficulty in enforcing that law ?- At first there was. At first they did not like the registration and then the older people simply kicked like fury at the idea of the girl's consent having to be obtained, but they gradually came round and, when I left, it was really wonderful to see how it worked. We even made them register inherited wives, that is among the Mashonas, and wives taken under the "ukangena" system among the Matabeles. That system deals with the practise of the broken taking over the wife of his deceased brother.

What do you mean by "inherited wives" ?- Among the Mashonas, the heir inherits all his father's wives, excepting his own mother.

He inherits all his father's wives ?- Yes. In connection with this, I might just tell you an incident that

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

happened before the late Judge Hopley. I shall never forget Judge Hopley's surprise when a witness described how he had anticipated the position when he thought that his father was somewhat moribund.

Could you tell us, or could you give us any views as to the effect on the progress of the Native -- either helping or retarding the progress of the Natives -- due to lobolo? What is the effect of lobolo on progress? - I do not think it is hindering their progress in the slightest, in fact, it may rather be helping it.

In what way can it be helping it? - Well, if we getx that custom properly reëstablished, it tends to the consolidation of the family and the moral control. There is tremendous control through lobolo. There are certain objectionable features in connection with it -- such as the custody of the children before lobolo has been fully paid, and questions like that; and then there is also the custom in regard to both the old wife and the new wife being demanded if lobolo has not been fully paid, but, on the whole, I can see nothing in the lobolo system to retard the pggress of the race and I think, when properly controlled and properly exercised, it is a very good system.

MR. MOSTERT: I am sorry I did not put this question to you before. It is in regard to a man having to work for his wife. In cases like that, does the father, or the future father-in-law, provide for the Native who has to work, or does the Native provide for himself during those three years? - It is rather difficult to answer that question. In this way. You see, among the Natives, when they are all

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

living together, there is no provision for the one as apart from the other.

You mean, that they live really out of one pot ?- Yes, it amounts to that, and even the strangers coming in. I do not remember the point having actually arisen, but as far as I remember, I believe in the one case I mentioned, this man was actually living with the old man, although he had his wife in a separate hut and they simply took the result of the kraal labour and they all fed together.

On the other questions in your Questionnaire, on the subject of marriage, I do not know whether you would like me to say something on the subject of polygamy, which, of course, is quite apart from lobolo. I may say, of course, that I hold pretty decided views on that, that there is absolutely no harm in it, either morally or religiously. We have always recognised it in Rhodesia, and it was always recognised, not only by ourselves, but by the Imperial Government in the initial government of the country, although it has led to trouble sometimes.

DR. ROBERTS: There is one question I should like to put to you in that respect. When you get greater equality of sexes and you get younger marriages on the part of the men, is there not a danger there ?- In what way?

In the olden days, a man did not marry until he was about forty and there were as many women as men ?- When it comes to that, the thing begins to adjust itself, but I really do not think that I can give you any information on that point.

Now, with regard to Native migration, I should like to

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

say a few words on that. I do not know whether you have a history of the migration to Cape Town -- that was a migration, rural to urban -- I have only got the outlines probably, but if you want more information there, the Superintendent will be able to give you all you want. I can relate the matter in this way. I have lived here for some time. First of all, I would say, up to the time I came back from Cambridge, the pure Native was hardly known here at all in Cape Town.

MR. MOSTERT: In what year was that? That was forty years ago, in 1890. Of course, there were some here, but it is rather difficult to find out whether they were actually Natives, because the average Capetonian does not really distinguish the Native from the Coloured man. They are all lumped together as one. There was a shortage of labour apparently, and the instance is known of Sir Peter Faure's request to Veldman, the Fingo Chief, in which the latter was asked to send down labour. I cannot give you the actual date, but it was at the time when Sir Peter Faure was Colonial Secretary. That would take it up towards 1899.

DR. ROBERTS: To give you the correct date, it was 1895? Yes. In 1893, he was Secretary for Native Affairs. Well, owing to that movement, the Natives began to drift down here and they were chiefly taken on at the Docks and on other heavy labour, and no provision was made for them for separate lodgment. They simply went into what is known as District 6, or they lived round about the Docks. Of course, you know that District 6 is a notorious district here. Those Natives got established here, and I know this, that during the South

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

African War, from 1899 to 1902, a very large number of Natives were persuaded to come here to Cape Town to meet the conditions that were created by the enormous amount of shipping in the Docks and in Table Bay. Well, these Natives apparently remained here until the slump, which came after the War, in about 1905/6, and then a whole lot of them went back to where they came from.

And then again, when things improved and when they had got a knowledge of the place, large numbers of them began to come back. We know, of course, that during the Great War they were again asked to come here to assist in the general labour in the Docks and the Bay, and we also know that a lot of them came here and passed through as members of the Labour Corps. Many of them stayed here at the time.

Now, in comparison with the rest of the population, the influx here has never been so marked as it is in other towns. I see that General Kemp gave the number of the Natives here as being 12,000. I have not been able to ascertain his source of information, but we find that, in 1922, the number here was 8,000, so that General Kemp's 12,000 shews an increase of 50%, which is very considerable indeed. In any case, it shews the very large numbers that are down here today.

That, as far as I am able to, is a very brief statement in regard to the arrival of the Native in this part of the country. It was in 1902, I think, after the Plague, that a first attempt was made to put the Natives into a location, and they were placed in this location which is known as Ndabeni. I might mention this, subject to correction, but it should be investigated.

Now, on this question of migration. It is about

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

people being recruited and not returning. I am informed that a large number of Natives were got down for the Steenbras Water Works scheme, on condition that they were to be repatriated, but that the contractor failed in that, with the result that they began to be concentrated all about the country and that they began to find jobs wherever they could. They never had enough money to get home. That is a statement which has been made to me, but whether it is correct or not, I do not know.

That is a brief summary as to how the Natives came here and, as far as I can gather, they are still coming or trying to come.

I understood that one member of the Commission wanted to know how the influx to the Paarl came about. We have made some investigations on that point, but I have not been able to get the information on that. Of course, we know that Paarl and Wellington, the whole of that area, is getting largely industrial as well as farming. A large number of Natives got down there to work on the building of the Phillips Drive and large numbers of them have settled there, with the result that we have got a pretty considerable number of Natives there now.

Now, talking about the economic effects of this, we have rather a curious position. The main economic effect is the overstocking at present of the labour market. Now, the European and the Coloured man says that a Native is competing with him and is undercutting him. The Native, on the other hand, says that because he has to go through the registration pass laws, the European employers are averse to taking him on, with the result that European employees

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

and Coloured employees are receiving preference. They say that the employer will not be bothered by all these things and they say that they are held up by that.

I am sorry that I have not been able to find out the real economic effect of this employment, so far as Cape Town is concerned. I have one statement from a man, whom I hope you will hear, a Mr. Arenson, but it is most difficult.

Now, there is another clause, and that is the economic effect of the introduction of Natives from extra-Union territories. We have a few of those. There again, probably, Mr. Cooke would be able to give you better information, but I just want to say this. We have to look at the matter in this way. I have an example of one hotel in this neighbourhood, in which I think there are 18 Natives employed. 14 of those Natives are non-Union Natives, even Swahilis. They come down the Coast, ships take them down, and then they leave the boats and enter into service. Those are the people who compete with the local Natives, who very much object to them and here you find that there is a social as well as an economic effect. The social effect is, so I am informed, that these people are marrying Coloured women. The ordinary Native woman will not associate with them, so they have taken up with Coloured women, but it is very difficult to get any real information as to the effect of this introduction of these extra-Union Natives.

DR. ROBERTS: You have no information to give us as regards the ousting of Natives by the Coloured men in the Docks, in the loading and unloading of ships ?- I always understood that they were protected by a union, Coloured as well as Natives. I also understand that the Coloured man

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

of the Cape Peninsula has not the physique to do much of the work at the Docks and they have actually got a location at the Docks which, according to my enquiries last week, contains 400 men, Natives. The place is licensed for 600. Now, those men are there really as a convenience to the White men, because, when I made my enquiry, 200 of them were out of work.

Every now and then, there is a sudden rush of work, when all these people are wanted and at other times there is no work at all. Before I pass from this, I may perhaps mention another element of the Native increase in this country. There is a big quarry at Belleville, which employs about 400 men, nearly all Xosa Natives. Now, those people are living in most awful conditions. I shall tell you their wages later on, but their conditions in that location are extremely bad, which has a very bad economic effect on the Natives.

First of all, they have no water supply there. The water is brought out by train and they get at most, I think, water twice a week, brought out in a barrel. They live there in awful ramshackle old buildings, and there is no sanitation provision at all, except at the school and, when I was there last, the conditions were pretty awful. They are out of reach of the doctors and everything, the shops are far away. Those are the people who work in the quarries two miles outside Belleville.

CHAIRMAN: Are you talking of Natives living in a village, or in the town ?- No, sir. Those are Natives living in a separate location and they are all people working in a quarry at Belleville. They are not Natives who come to the town at all.

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

Do they live in a location or in a compound ?- It is a location, it is not actually a compound.

And are their wives and children living there with them ?- At the quarry, yes. Then they have a school there, too, at the location.

MR. LUCAS: What we saw there was a compound ?- No, I do not think so.

Is it as bad as the compound which we saw ?- Well, it is pretty awful.

Would it be worse than the compound, do you think ?- Yes, I think so.

What do you think could be done to remedy that sort of horror ?- Well, I want to keep within the mark. If I let myself go, I would have something to say on these things. These places really are a danger. What I cannot get the public to realise is what an actual danger such places are to the European community, but they cannot see it. It is very difficult to make any suggestions, except that these places should be cleared up. I do not propose saying anything about Native agricultural or rural Natives.

Just before you leave that. One point which we are asked to deal with specially is the effect upon the Coloured community of the increased number of Natives in the urban areas. We have had certain evidence before the Economic and Wage Commission, but not in the detail which I should like to have had, as regards the effect of the increased number of Natives. Before the Economic and Wage Commission, it was alleged that it had a definitely depressing effect on

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

the standard of living of the Coloured people. Can you help us on that and give us your views ?- Well, Mr. Lucas, it is one of the things which I have been trying to get at myself. I can only speak from my own personal experience, through a great deal of wandering about, because I am interested in the Coloured people as well.

Now, I would say that I do not think that it has in any way lowered the standard of living of the Coloured people. Of course, you get bad cases right through, but there are classes of Coloured people here who are living far better than some Europeans do, but it is frightful to see some of the houses of those people. I never heard that point put before, as to what is the moral effect of the trend of the Natives on the Coloured people. I shall get you a witness who will probably be able to speak on that. It is probably more a moral effect on the Coloured people, more than an economic effect.

CHAIRMAN: What would you say the moral effect is ?- I have not heard of any moral effect. I would not like to say too much about this, but I shall get someone to tell you what the position is, and I think Father Savage would be able to give you all the information. I would not like to give you any information on that point myself.

MR. LUCAS: Do you think that the presence of the Natives keeps down the old wage ?- Well, I do not know. I was told last week about that -- some people told me that they were getting something extra --- but I do not know. I do not know if the Natives really did keep the wages down.

Now I come to this question of urban areas and I

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

dare say that other witnesses will have something to say about this. As to the administration, I do not want to say too much. As to the internal administration of the location here, it seems to be thoroughly sound, in fact, so much so that it is sometimes carried out so drastically that the Natives sometimes complain about it. You have to take this sort of thing from both sides. There is a broad idea in regard to administration, that the Town Council have not quite realised their responsibility in this matter, and, of course, on this matter, I would much prefer that you should hear them.

Still, I should like to tell you one or two things that we have to put up with. On this question of administration, there is no doubt that, up to the present, with the exception of the internal administration of the location itself, the overhead administration has not been sympathetic. There has, however, been a very big improvement lately.

DR. ROBERTS: Are you referring to the Town Council administration, or to Mr. Cooke's administration ?- Mr. Cooke's administration is the internal administration, and the Town Council is the overhead administration, and that was not too sympathetic and it arises out of rather a peculiar situation that the officials do not want the Natives here and, of course, the Natives do not want to be here if they can at all get away. The average person does not know that they are here at all, except, perhaps a few who take some interest in them.

Now, as to the adequacy of the place, I understand that, when they get moved out to Langa, the area is perfectly adequate because nothing like all the Natives are in the

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

location. Langa, I think, is 800 acres and it is adequate in extent. You have probably seen the housing conditions there for yourself. Yesterday, you saw Ndabeni and Langa. At Ndabeni, you saw a place which the average individual would say would be best treated by a fire and got rid of. There is a tremendous lot of complaint about the nature of the housing and the absence of light. If the Municipality adopted the old London precept that one light is equal to a policeman, they might alter and improve things very considerably. It is this absence of light which does make things very bad.

Now, with regard to Langa, when you come there, at first sight everything looks almost perfect, - it seems almost a pleasure to see the conditions there. But then you hear of the rents that they are charging there. I suppose you have got information about them.

CHAI FMAN: We have some information, but we shall be pleased to hear what you have to say ?- At Ndabeni, the single men pay 4/- per month and the married men can get into the married quarters at 10/- per month. At Langa, however, they wanted to charge a much higher rental at first, but there has been a discussion on that in the Town Council, and the position today is that a single man/^{can} get in there at 7/- per month and a married man with a family at 15/- per month.

Of course, that is one of these ironies of Fate, that Langa probably is too good and that the Natives cannot pay an economic rent there at all. I think Langa cost the Municipality something like a quarter of a million.

There is one question I want to raise. When the

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

rentals were first fixed, the Town Council attempted to make the rent a fair one and an economic one, plus redemption and sinking fund. Now I hold, and I have told them, that redemption or sinking fund is entirely out of place in regard to an institution of that sort andm secondly, it is not contemplated by the Urban Areas Act, which says that the rental shall be fixed by the Town Council, with the approval of the Minister, but the only word used there is "rental", and I hold that it is improper to talk of sinking fund in a place with a person paying who is not going to become the owner of the property.

I notice that this is a prevalent misconception, to my mind, because I have it in the reports of a location such as at Bloemfontein, which is one of the model ones, and I think that that is the cause of tremendous irritation, because the Town Council put the matter a little bit higher originally than they were entitled to. That place was put up entirely by European labour, even the drainage and the roads were put up by European labour and the cost is entirely beyond the abilities of the Natives there to pay. That is the position at Langa.

You can only charge an economic rent and, when you deal with artisans, you must build houses of such a nature that they are able to pay for them, and the same applies to houses which you put up for Natives.

But now lately there has been a much more reasonable attitude. Unfortunately, there was a misunderstanding about the arrangement for the Natives to move from Ndabeni to Langa, and there is a case now pending in the Magistrate's Court in regard to this matter, a case which is going to Appeal.

Sir Clarkson Fredgold

It is so difficult really to get at the point of view of the Natives themselves when you are dealing with locations. In the first place, you have this educated class whom we have to communicate with. There are the Galeka and the Fingoes, two tribes who are always working at arm's length, a sort of peaceful hostility, and you can never get them together. Apparently a meeting of Natives will agree to something when you get them together and a little while after you hear a section saying, "No, we do not agree to that, we were not represented". It is impossible for us to get all sections together. Our difficulty is that there is hardly a person here, excepting the Officials, who can speak the language.

CHAIRMAN: When you raised these objections to redemptions being included in the charges, were you referring to redemptions for the site or the buildings? - I referred to both, really. Of course, Mr. Chairman, I do not want to go too deeply into the statistics with you.

This is a pure matter of accounts? - No, sir, it is the principle which I am dealing with. You may say that rent must cover depreciation.

If it is a depreciating asset? - ~~yes~~ Yes.

So that would be a fair statement? - Yes.

DR. R. BENTZ: I gather what you are referring to are these luxurious Roman roads and these broad avenues, which are quite unnecessary, and you think it is unfair to charge the people with redemption on these roads? - I would certainly say not as regards the roads. Of course, there is more justification for charging them redemption on the

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

roads, because, after all, they have the use of the roads.
(After considering matter for a few seconds) No, no; I cannot see any justification for charging redemption on any of these things, not in any instance.

MR. LUCAS: You draw a distinction as between redemption and maintenance ?- Yes. If you keep up your maintenance, you have no depreciation. You make an allowance the one year and put it on the next.

CHAIRMAN: That is substituting one thing for another. Actually, your maintenance along will never keep your assets from depreciating in future -- it may be a long time, but there will be a time when those buildings will have to be pulled down. Now, the question is, for whose account is the loss to go then? - I submit, to the ratepayers, as laid down in the Act.

Well, that means then that Native houses must be subsidized ?- Well, I cannot read anything else in the Act.

The Act provides a rental, but it does not say how that rental has to be determined. In ordinary economic housing, surely the redemption is always included in the rental ?- No, redemption is only charged if a man has the opportunity of becoming the owner of the property. Only if a man has paid for the property, is provision made for redemption.

MR. LUCAS: Could not a distinction be put in this way; you draw a distinction between the rental and payment under the hire purchase agreement. Now, one comes ultimately to the position --- in the one case, ultimately the property will belong to the renter, and in the other case, it will

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

always belong to the landlord ?- Yes. But you see, there is a provision protecting the Natives. It is laid down in the Act that the rental charged, etc., "shall be such as the Minister may, in all the circumstances, consider fair and reasonable in the case of such location, etc." You will find that that is laid down definitely in Clause 9 of the Urban Areas Act, and I think that is perfectly clear.

CHAIRMAN: The whole question still depends on what is a fair rental and I maintain that in ordinary housing, every rental includes provision for redemption ?- Well, I do not want to dispute the point with you, Mr. Chairman, but I do not think that I can read the matter in that way.

Otherwise, you would not want 12% to make it economic ?- No, you want 10%. I am putting it on that point that that was what the Town Council said they wanted and, of course, the thing got talked about ^{and} the Natives got hold of it themselves and they said, "You can only just impose a fair rental in the ordinary sense of the word, and we are not going to pay these other charges". It was the cost of construction which made the rental so high, but I mention this because I think that that expression in regard to redemption should not be used in the fixing of these charges.

MR. MOSTERT: Well, the only thing, so far as the Municipality is concerned is this - as you say yourself - the whole concern cost them a quarter of a million ?- That is so.

And how many people are living there at present ?- They have accommodation for 3,000 and I understand that the place is not full.

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

And for that the Municipality get 15/- per month ?- No, they get 15/- per month for the married quarters, but for the single quarters they only get 7/- per month.

So it really comes to this, that the Municipality is not coming out on it ?- Of course, they are not, everyone knows that. The only point that I was taking was that the Municipality cannot expect to come out at the expense of the Native. You see, they have there an utterly uneconomic proposition and, of course, it is impossible for them to come out. I have no doubt that they themselves will have something to say about this when they come to give evidence before you.

DR. ROBERTS: Are we to understand that your view is that the Native is there for the benefit of the town? Has he been brought there to do work for the town, a passer-by not an actual citizen of the town and not an actual citizen of the town and that, therefore, he should not be regarded as financially in the same position as a citizen of the town? That is the origin of his appearance here and that is the position now. There are some people who say, "We can do without him," but there are others again who say, "We want him". But there is another point we have to think of. Once the Urban Areas Act is enforced and these Native villages or Native townships are appointed, the Natives have to live there. They have no choice, they cannot go and seek houses with lower rentals elsewhere, and I think that is a consideration which one has to take into account.

You mean, that he is not a free citizen who can go wherever he likes ?- Not in any way.

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

And, therefore, he cannot come under the same obligations as every other citizen of the town ?- Naturally, because he has not the same opportunities as a free citizen has. I raised this point, because I thought I should do so, but I cannot dogmatize on many of these things. There is one other question here which I should like to touch upon, and that is the question of recreation provided for Natives.

. There is nothing done for the Natives, by the Europeans, in the location. The Natives really are in poor conditions, Although attempts are made to give them some facilities for recreation. It is the night recreation which troubles me and I should like to see some system adopted, such as they have on the Reef, I should like to see something of that kind introduced here, but the trouble here is to get the money to start with. I spent a week going along the Reef from end to end, investigating Native conditions. This was two years ago. It was through a missionary effort and it afforded me a pretty good insight into what things are like there, on the Reef, and in Johannesburg.

Now I come to this liquor question, and I am afraid it is rather a sad one down here. You will hear the Natives say that they have no difficulty whatever in obtaining any liquor that they want in the location. When I say liquor, I am referring to European liquor. They are allowed to make beer at times, and, of course, they overmake it. Speaking for myself personally, I am very much in favour of a regularized supply of kaffer beer among the Natives. I have seen it working wonderfully well and giving the greatest contentment to Natives in other places and I really was surprised at the change which the system had brought about. I saw a

Sir Clarkson Tredgold

model beer hall at the Bulawayo location last Winter.

DR. ROBERTS: Do they allow the women to get any drink there ?- When I was there, it was 11 o'clock in the morning and the place was full of women and the men were at work.

But do you think that that is wise ?- Well, there is a very astute individual in charge there and I asked him this very question and he did not have any fear about it. They have a hall there which may also be used for entertainments. I only want to put this to you and I shall probably have some of my Committee up against me for what I am saying on this question, but my personal view is that the best thing is to allow a supply of kaffer beer for Natives at the present time. The whole trouble, of course, is to restrict them, and how to restrict them.

MR. MOSTERT: May I put this to you, are you in favour of Municipal brewing ?- Municipal brewing is what we have at Bulawayo.

And do you not have it here ?- No, they do not have it here.

Would you advocate it ?- Yes, from what I have seen I would certainly say that I would advocate it.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you really think that that system which they have at Bulawayo is a good one ?- Personally speaking, I do not think the system is really a good one, but I think it is the safest course to pursue, bearing in mind the state of transition through which the Natives are passing at the present time. One does not like to advocate it at all, but, on the other hand, in regard to European liquor,