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so far as Natives are concerned, I consider that we should have the strictest possible prohibition. I may say that we have that in Rhodesia, and it is really wonderfully well in force there. I do not know what it is, but speaking from my experience of Natives and of Coloured people as well, European liquor seems to have an entirely different effect on Native and Coloured people from what it has on Europeans. Its effect is much more severe. They tell me in the location that they can get liquor there, these Coloured men can get it at any time and I think there are some of these lower class Whites, too, from whom they can get it at any time. That sort of thing is too prevalent.

One very objectionable feature of it is this, that many of these youngsters who have nothing at all to do, who simply loaf about, are used as carriers. They are sent out to introduce the liquor into the location. When I first began to enquire into this, I was told that the Advisory Board was made up almost entirely of the Natives who had control of this particular trade and I was informed that they were elected because of the fact that they had this control in many cases and it was quite disastrous to the good administration of the location. That was the information which was given to me -- whether it is right or wrong ----

CHAIRMAN: Do you think that that charge was fair? - I cannot say whether it was a fair charge or not, but I only know this, that we had the greatest difficulty in working with the Advisory Council at that particular time. That was about three years ago. That is on the question of the administration of that area. I do think that they made

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a mistake at that time. This Advisory Board in the location was appointed by election, but the Superintendent of the location was appointed Chairman by regulation. Well, sir, I do think that that was a bad system. It was abandoned eventually, and they now have an independent European chairman. I do think that the best method of creating these boards, is to have them partly elected and partly nominated. The present Act, of course, provides for their election.

Now, in regard to liquor obtainable by Natives in all these outlying places. Take Kensington and Windermere, they are almost unapproachable on Sundays. Kensington is below the Flats there and Windermere is out that way, too.

MR. MOSTERT: Are they Natives or Coloured people who live there ?- They are mixed up now. May I just put this right --- Kensington is below the Tigerberg Hills and Windermere is out that way, too. I do not think I made myself clear there.

MR. LUCAS: Are there any Whites living there ?- It was started for Natives.

CHAIRMAN: Is it possible, with the conditions prevailing on the Cape Flats, with the Port Jackson willow growing all over the place, you have on one side Europeans and Coloured people getting as much drink as they want, and Natives with prohibition on the other hand, do you think it is possible, under such conditions, to enforce prohibition ?- No, it is absolutely impossible. The conditions are totally against abolition administration in that area. The only way in which it could be done, in my opinion, is by putting up

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an unscalable fence and that, of course, is impossible. Of course, it would improve matters if you could put them all into one location, but one is rather in distress when it comes to suggesting means.

But supposing you went to the expense of putting up a fence, do you really think it would be any good? For one thing, you would have to force everyone to be inside that fence at a certain time ?- No; it would be no good, unless you put them all inside a cage. That is only my idea, I do not advocate it.

DR. ROBERTS: Would they still go out to these places if you gave them permission to drink as much as they wanted? Say you put no restriction at all on the Native, say you were to do with the Native exactly as is done with the Europeans -- if he wants 20 drinks, let him have them ?- No, I do not think it would be a full cure.

Would it be a cure at all ?- I think it would alleviate the position, but that is only my personal view and I must say it is a very vexed question.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Do you think that a Native who has once taken to European liquor would leave off taking European liquor if he could get kaffer beer ?- I cannot say. My experience of this sort of thing is almost exclusively Rhodesian and there we have managed to enforce total prohibition of European liquor for Natives.

MR. LUCAS: But you have not got any appreciable number of Coloured people there, have you ?- I think there are 900 Coloured voters.

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Coloured voters, you say ?- Yes, non-European. There are 46 Natives who have a vote and I think there were about 900 Coloured and Asiatic voters on the Roll. That was in a population of 40,000 Non-Native. There are more Coloured people up there than people believe. In regard to their obtaining liquor, there is a system of permits for them to obtain liquor. These permits are given out, but the restrictions are very severe.

Were these restrictions sufficient to enable you to enforce prohibition, so far as the Natives were concerned, of European liquor ?- How do you mean, whether that was sufficient?

Well, that control of Coloured persons by means of permits ?- Well, all I can say is that we have had no trouble.

I am trying to find out how you account for having no trouble there, when you have all these difficulties here ?- My own view is that we kept the trouble away by getting at them, by stopping the liquor and by preventing the Native from acquiring a taste for it. If he did acquire a taste for European liquor, and if there were no very careful administration, then I do not know whether we would be able to enforce it, but we have kept European liquor away from them and, as far as I know, there has never been any desire among our pure Natives for European liquor. We had awful trouble when I first went there with a number of Cape Natives; they were mostly Xosas, who came up there as wagon-drivers and mule leaders. They used to get liquor and we had a lot of trouble, but we managed eventually to stampt it out. They went to the length of subsidizing a publican and he supplied them with that liquor and they left enough money with him to enable him to pay a fine if he should be convicted. In

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the end, we got the better of him. We stamped it out completely. You must bear in mind that the penalty there is very severe. It is £500, or 6 months imprisonment with hard labour for a first conviction of supplying liquor, and the cancellation of the trading license, and, on a second conviction, a man is sent to gaol without the option of a fine. So you can see that the evil is pretty drastically dealt with.

I hope you will get something more definite about the labour conditions here. I have been trying to get the information for you and I have got certain facts, but I think you will want a good deal more. Now, I must say, on this question of diseases and mortality, I have asked the Medical Officer of Health to give you some figures.

Now, with regard to the labour supply, I do not want to speak too definitely, but you will find that most of our labourers here are the ordinary day labourers. There is a leavening of Native ministers, teachers, clerks and so on. There are a considerable number of teachers, but there are very few vocationalists, such as cobblers, carpenters and so on, but as a whole, you can say that the Native community is made up of daily labourers, so far as I can find out, and at the present moment, from what one is given to understand, the supply is exceeding the demand. Their housing conditions I have described, and now I have these figures here which I have just referred to.

DR. ROBERTS: You were saying just now that the supply is bigger than the demand; but is that really so with all this building going on? - You are talking about building,

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-- with us, there is the biggest falling off in the building trade. That is the most depressed trade of all at present. That is a statement which was made to me, but I cannot say whether it is true or not. I happen to know that the building trade is extraordinarily poor just at present.

Is it really ?- Yes, it is. Then you will find this. I have taken this thing by and large. You take the average wage -- as far as I can find, it is 3/6d per day now. I have a statement of wages here as they were in 1928, and I have also had an opportunity of discussing these wages as they are at present and they say that there has been, if anything, a downward tendency in the matter of wages lately. On that, I hope that some of these other people will be able to give you more definite information. But what I want to say is this. The average wage is 3/6d per day. That is to say, if a Native can work the whole month he can get that, ---- or rather, let me put it this way. Provided he can work the whole month, and he gets 3/6d per day, then he makes quite a fair living, but generally you have to take off three or four days in each month. Only some of them are on continuous pay and some of them are actually taking less pay at present, in order that they may have a continuous job. I am quite prepared to take as holding good the finding of the Economic Commission of 1925, that the average wage of a Native here is from £3.10.- to £4 a month.

I may say that wages are paid weekly and in cash. The building trade wages are 20/- to 22/- per week. The brickmakers get from 22/- to 23/- per week. Some of them are working on piece work and they may earn more or less

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according to the nature of their work. The wages in the tanning industry are 22/- per week; that was the wage determination. General labourers get from 21/- to 22/- per week and the dairies are paying up to 30/- per week, because, of course, they have to get good boys. The Union Defence Force, for un-enrolled Natives, pay only £3.5.- per month.

In 1928, we had an item here in regard to Railways, and they were paying 3/6d per day, but, so far as we can understand, they are now doing their best to get rid of all Native labour. Rather an interesting point about these earnings is this. I had a Conciliation Board at the Belleville Quarry about two or three years ago, and there I found that the daily wage for the work, which was very heavy, was 3/6d per day and the Natives working on the drills, doing actual quarrying, were working on piece work which brought them in 5/- per day, and it was terrific labour. They had to keep ordinary working hours. As a matter of fact, these workers all asked me to put them on the daily wage of 3/6d; of course, that could not be done for drill boys, as you would never know where you were if you did that, but that was their attitude about the matter -- they preferred to go on to a lower daily wage.

Now I do not want to talk too much about these general economic conditions.

MR. LUCAS: Have you any figures in regard to the pay of Dock labourers ?- The pay of Dock labourers works out at 4/6d per shift.

Was there not some agreement under which they get 8/- now ?- That is the stevedoring.

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DR. ROBERTS: And the winch boys, too, get 6/- per day ?- Yes, that is possible. I have not made very close enquiries into that. The wage agreement in regard to the Stevedoring Association, judging from the name appended to the agreement, I should imagine it to be largely a Coloured men's Association. There is not a solitary Native name among them except Veldman.

MR. LUCAS: And that is a Coloured name ?- Yes, quite so. These facts about the Docks I got recently and there the pay is, as I have said, 4/6d per shift, and funnily enough, only 6d per hour overtime, which is less/-----

MAJOR ANDERSON: Are, in any of these cases, quarters provided free ?- I understand that, at the Docks, the men who are getting the 4/6d per day have to pay rent and they have to supply their own food. That is my information up to the present. These men are actually lodged in the old convict station.

Now, of course, what affects our Native here as against what I have given you in regard to their earnings, is the cost of living. We have been at very considerable trouble to find out for you, as near as we can, what this cost of living is and I think you can take a fair generalisation of that. First of all, to get to Ndabeni from his work, a man has to pay his trainfare. The season ticket to Ndabeni costs him 6/- per month. Out at Langa, after very considerable but quite sympathetic discussion with the Railways, the season ticket fare to Langa has been reduced to 8/6d per month. I need not give you the daily rates there, because they really do not affect the position. You must bear in mind that the Native, having come here, has to live more under European

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conditions than under his own conditions. As it was put to me by the Natives at the location, his mealiepap days are gone. The average bachelor or single man really has no time to cook his own food. That is at Ndabeni, and the consequence of that is that he has no alternative but to buy the cooked European food -- he has to go somewhere to buy it.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Let us leave Ndabeni out and let us take Langa ?- Yes, at Langa, of course, there is a sort of restaurant where they can go.

Let us take Langa as our basis, because that, after all, is the place where they have to go in future ?- That is so. But he cannot cook at Langa, there is no provision for him. He is not allowed to cook there.

MR. LUCAS: In the single quarters we saw a fireplace? - That may be, but they do not encourage a man cooking there. The whole system here is such as to get them to adopt European food and then there is another point -- when you are going to put a Native on to ordinary hard labour -- I do not mean penal labour, but the kind of labour which he does when he is working for an European -- he has to feed differently from what he did when he was in his own kraal. We found that, in Rhodesia, we had to lay down a definite scale. We had to hire labour there and the Mashona insisted upon a definite ration, and we had to give them a definite ration of food in order to get them to do their work properly. Conditions of Native life and life of the Native when he lives among the Europeans are entirely different.

MR. MOSTERT: When you speak about a different ration,

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which ration do you mean, Do you mean the ration/~~among~~ boys or the ration for ordinary boys ?- On the mines and on the farms, we get the usual recruited boys, they were getting a certain ration and the ordinary local Native demanded to be given the same. There are not many farm labourers getting meat today, but all the mine Natives have to get meat twice a week.

Do you know what the ration is on the mines ?- No, I could not quite give you the amount, but it is a substantial one. I know that it is composed of mealie meal, monkey nuts, salt and meat twice a week. Beans and monkey nuts we change about. The cost of a ration worked out at about 15/- per month. When we started a farm boy on these rations, we started him at 15/- per month and his rations and quarters, and we reckoned that he was getting an equivalent of 30/- per month and his hut. The huts they put up themselves, of course.

His wages were, then, 15/- per month ?- Yes, that was in the beginning. Some people tried to give less, but if you wanted to get a man who was able to do some work, a fair worker, you had to give 15/- per month, which went up to £1 per month.

15/- per month, with food and quarters ?- Yes. You know, of course, if you have milk, if a man has any sort of dairy cattle, that man will always attract Natives from a long distance to come and work for him. If you are anxious to have these rations, I shall probably be able to find them out for you from our office here. When we take the cost of living, we must take the average wage as £4 per month and, on the basis which we have taken, we have found that the cost of living to a man at Langa or Ndabeni is £3.14.- per month. That leaves him about 6/- to play with, but I have two or three

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cases, one of a married man with a wife and four children; it costs him £9.4.-, and in another case, a married man with a wife and two children, it costs him £6.9.-. I suppose you have had these figures in regard to the cost of living given you in other places as well. But that £6.9.- is rather peculiar. That figure has come up independently in at least four centres, and we have found that there is very little change in it. That is a continual figure.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: That must be a better class of Native, the man who must be living on a higher standard, but what we want to get at is the average Native; we want to find out what is the cost of a fair living for an average Native. If he only draws £4 per month, how, then can he live on £6.9.-? For one thing, they tell you that their wives have to go out and work.

Well, if their wives go out and work, then their earnings are increased? Quite so. I have only give you the average wage. The wife can work and so on. I am talking about the local Natives here and we do wonder how they actually exist on what they do get.

Yesterday we went over there and we saw the Natives there. We saw the way they were housed there. They seemed to be very neatly housed and nicely mannered. One woman told us that her husband was a Dock labourer and he was not continually employed---? Yes, I suppose there are many cases like that.

Her place was very well furnished? -

MR. LUCAS: The well-furnished place was that of a furniture worker. The Dock worker had an untidy place? -

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SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: What do you put down as an average cost of living for a Native ? I do not mean for a houseboy ?- These are the figures which we have been thrashing out for the last three years, and this is the conclusion I have come to. I have certain budgets here and I have budgeted for the present day as well as for a few years ago.

What is your budget ?- I have figures here for a single man as well, living at Ndabeni:-

Sugar, 6d: tea, 6d: milk, 7d: tobacco, 8d: wood, 6d: coal, 9d: samp, 9d: beans, 6d: bread, 1/4d: matches, 3d: meat, 1/6d: fare to town, 1/6d: clothing, 2/6d: rent 1/-: poll tax, 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ d: local tax, 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ d: amusements, 2/6d: Church dues, 2/-; and insurance, 6d, making a total of 18/5 $\frac{1}{8}$ d per week.

That amount for amusements, is not that rather high ?- Yes, it is.

MR. MOSTERT: This amount for Church dues, 2/- per week, is also rather high ?- Possibly it is a monthly rate, but other things are so low that one might almost take that. One of the reasons why the Natives do not want to leave Ndabeni is the proximity to the abattoirs. They can get all their food there, - all their meat, - and they get it cheaper, and that is why they do not want to go to Langa.

Will you go into that question of the Church fees, because that is very high ?- I do not know whether it is right, but you would be surprised at the incidence of Church fees in every budget that I have seen.

MR. LUCAS: Yes, it is so - it appears in all of them, but it is probably 2/- per month ?- Yes, I shall look into that.

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MAJOR ANDERSON: Now, you say that you have been making these budgets for the last three years ?- Yes.

Has there been any falling off in the last three years ?- If anything, there has been a downward tendency. The cost of living today is a little lower than it was three years ago, and it will probably be lower still next year.

DR. ROBERTS: That will bring it down to about 17/6d
? - Yes.

MR. LUCAS: That is for a single man, is it not ?- Yes, for a single man. In the first budgets we got, there was nothing put in for clothing, and we have asked them to try and make an estimate for clothing, and they have now put in 2/6d for that, which works out @ 10/- per month.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: What is the total of what you just read out ?- It works out at 18/5d.

A poor man cannot afford 2/6d for amusements and 2/- for Church dues ?- Well, it is really astonishing to see how these amounts are paid. I have seen these amounts in several budgets. Now, I have a budget here for a married man. This is perhaps an extravagant one, because it is for a married man with a wife and four children. This is the budget,-it is also per week:-

Sugar, @ 3½d per lb., 10 lbs.	3/4d
Milkmaid milk @ 7½d	1/3d
Tea, ½ lb.	1/6d
Coffee, ½ lb. @ 2/- lb.	1/-
Paraffin oil, @ 4d a bottle	1/8d
Candles @ 7½d packet	7½d
Medlie Meal @ 2d a lb.	1/-
Soap, @ 6d bar	1/6
Blue, 1 oz.	1d

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Butter @ 1/8d lb.	1/8d
Rice @ 3d lb.	6d
Flour @ 5 lbs. 1/-, 20 lbs.	4/-
Yeast	3d
Salt @ 1d for 12 oz.	1d
Vinegar	1d
Jam, 2 lb. tin	1/3d
Samp, @ 2d lb., 6 lbs.	1/-
Beans, @ 4d lb., 3 lbs.	1/-
Meat, @ 6d lb.,	3/6d
Clothing,	5/-
Railway fare to work	1/6d
" wife, once a week,	4d
Wood, for 20 bundles	1/-
Coal, @ 2/3d, 100 lbs.	2/3d
Church dues	3/-
Insurance or Burial Society	2/6d
Rent in B type hut. weekly	2/6d
Poll tax,	4½d
Local tax	2½d
Amusements	<u>2/-</u>
	<u>£ 2. 5. 11½d</u>

Here, of course, the clothing is roughly put down as £1 per month. That is how it is given to us.

CHAIRMAN: Now, does that represent a normal week's expenditure of this individual, or is this what the individual thinks he should have to spend? - No. How this was obtained was by my asking them to give me what things actually cost them. I said, "Can you get a few of your people together and see what it has cost you to live last month. I do not want any estimates". And that is the view with which this was obtained. You will have one or two Natives coming to give evidence here,

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and you can question them on it. The basis on which I went was actual expenditure and facts.

Actually, on the face of it, it is not really acceptable as actual expenditure of an ordinary Native labourer, because it works out at well over £100 per year and, obviously, he cannot do that ?- No, that is so.

MR. MOSTERT: Take sugar; an ordinary European family takes 2 oz. of sugar per day per head and that works out at 5½ lbs. per week ?- I am sorry I have not been able to go into these things in detail. These figures are just as they have been given to me.

DR. ROBERTS: Of course, they would sweeten their mealies, every Native does. A Native does not merely put sugar in his tea, he puts it in everything ?- Yes. I must leave it to you gentlemen whether it is right or not, but it does not sound to me as logical for my own personal knowledge. It does not seem extravagant, though.

Can you judge, not only what he will require, but what he prefers? Can you judge from your own ideas ?- I daresay he will put in some little luxuries.

Is sugar and mealies a luxury ?- Well, it is a difficult question to answer; I do not know.

MR. LUCAS: Does not the Native use sugar where we Europeans would use a lot of other things to make it more tasty ?- I am not sufficiently familiar to be able to say. I do not know enough about their family lives.

CHAIRMAN: Take your labouring population irrespective of race, do you think that the great bulk of the pure labouring

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population, whether they be White, Coloured or Native, ever sees as much as £100 per year ?- No, speaking generally, I do not think so.

Actually on what they are living ---- ?- Quite so. I have put these things in because they were given to me in that way, but I do not know how they come out.

My point is that that is not an actual budget as it stands there ?- Well, I can only say that it was given to me as one.

But actually it is not ?- Well, you can test it for yourself, although I must say that I do not like it myself.

MR. LUCAS: Is the particular Native who prepared that available to give evidence ?- Yes. This budget has been prepared by a committee of Natives and they are coming in. I shall get them to give evidence if you want them.

Could any of your people follow up individual accounts and put them before us ?- I have tried to do that myself. I have asked one of the leading Native traders to help me in this, but he does not seem able to at present.

You have the difficulty at Langa, I take it, that one person does not deal at the same shop all the time; what I mean is that a few articles are purchased at one place and a few at another place ?- It is simply this, that some of them are removing their overdraft from one place to another. It is the same as it is with the banks. A leading trader told me that there is hardly a Native there who is not in debt, and, when the time comes for paying rent on the premises in which he lives, the trader has to wait for his grocery account. That is the position right through. I am afraid myself

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that most of the Natives there are in difficulties, and how they manage to struggle on I certainly do not know. You would be surprised to know, perhaps, that 80% or 90% of these people have come here owing to the debts which they have contracted in the Transkei and other places, and, when they come here, they find that conditions of living here are much more expensive than they thought. Some of these people are paying off well, because they are getting good wages, but others do not manage to do so and remain in debt, and the upshot will be that many of these Natives will never be able to move back to their own territories, even if they want to.

I have only been able to give you the figures which I have been able to get, of course.

MR. MOSTERT: In other words, they are over-living themselves ?- Yes. That is a question, whether they are over-living, or whether, with the work which they are doing, they are not bound to live like that on account of the work which they do. You could ask a medical officer whether what I have given you there is a fair ration.

I suppose you have heard quite enough about this credit system already, but it is perfectly evident here. It is acting as a force, driving the Natives out of the rural areas into the towns. I mentioned a figure just now: I said that between 80% and 90% of the Natives are here because they are in debt and they come here because they consider this a good wage-earning area; they come here in order to try and recoup themselves. I came across one case the other day, where a Native had actually come here for that purpose, and he told me so.

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Then, on the question of the education of Natives, if you wish to hear anything about that, I shall be pleased to bring you in one or two other witnesses who can give evidence.

On the question of taxation of Natives, I suppose you have had that ad nauseam. That is a burning question among the Natives here, that they have to pay. Well, you can judge of the incidence of that taxation and all that. There are one or two other points which I should like to touch upon. I think they really come under the two things, administration and justice. First of all, it does seem rather heavy for them to have to pay this £1 tax. It seems to have been put on rather arbitrarily. I do not know whether you have been able to discover what the Native pays in Customs at all. Is it interesting you at all?

CHAIRMAN: It is a point on which we have to report under our terms of reference, but we have not made any investigations on it yet. Still, we should like to have any information that anyone can give us here ?- We went into this matter very closely on that commission which I was on in Rhodesia, and there we came to the conclusion that the Native paid 13.8% of the Customs duties collected in the country.

DR. ROBERTS: On the Rhodesian tariff, that is ?- Yes, that was his proportion, roughly 14%. I just mentioned that, but I do not know whether it will help you much here. There are two or three factors which we have to look at. We had there, in Rhodesia, a population of 700,000 Natives and about 35,000 Europeans. That meant that we had a population of 22 Natives to one European.

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MR. MOSTERT: The ratio, you say, is 22:1 ?- Yes, it was at that time. I think it is pretty constant and it is just about the same now. It is 1,000,000 Natives now. Of course, the Natives were then in a much more backward condition than they are now and, as far as I have seen, the Natives here are going in far more for European things in their ordinary purchases from the stores. Further, in Rhodesia, I think the proportion would be double in the Native's favour. From investigations which were carried out, that was the result arrived at.

DR. ROBERTS: 14% ?- Yes, you can take that as the round figure. In 1910, our Native there was a fairly backward individual.

And would you say now that he still pays the same proportion ?- No, he pays a much larger share now in Rhodesia. Not only on account of the increase in population, but on account of the material which he is buying now; all these things have changed.

The population would not alter ?- No, the ratio of population has remained very constant, but the way in which the Native has been buying European goods, shews an enormous increase.

CHAIRMAN: And possibly changes in the Customs Tariff would affect it, too ?- Yes, they might affect it, but I do not think that there have been any drastic changes, especially in regard to things taken up by Natives. I think there is a matter which I might mention here. It really comes under both these questions regarding pass laws and the other laws. It may have occurred to you already - I refer to the uneconomic method of the enforcement of payment of taxes and this also

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refers to the pass laws. I think in the last few years there have been about 40,000 Natives per annum convicted for non-payment of taxes. About the same number under the pass laws. This fact is rather hidden in the Union Year Book.

Now, of course, these men are withdrawn from employment for the time being and it really does seem to me that we are not going to work in the right way in regard to this matter. I feel this strongly. Say you get a man brought up before a magistrate, and he is immediately sentenced and fined, or sent to gaol, or both. I have a case here which came out quite casually, where a man was charged with failure to pay four years' taxes. He pleaded that he had been ill, but it did not help him and he was sentenced to pay a fine of £7.2.6, or, in all, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ months imprisonment.

Of course, this is an extreme case, but I give it as an illustration. Now, that administration of the law with regard to that tax, to my mind defeats its own object. I should like to make that clear. The object of the prosecution is to enforce the payment of the tax. But what do you find now? You find that the man is doubly taxed and, naturally, the first thing that he will pay is the fine and he will simply let the tax go. I say that it seems to me that we are not administering the laws properly in that respect, and I cannot help thinking that a circular to all judicial officers, not instructing them what to do, but explaining the position to them, would be of great help.

I do think that the Natives are feeling it tremendously if they are imprisoned for failing to pay their tax and I do think that a suspended sentence would provide an escape from this difficulty and would tend to help a very great deal.

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Now, if you will allow me, I should like to say a few words on this vexed question of the pass laws. I may say, briefly, that you will find that the Natives here, as elsewhere, are very strongly opposed to any pass law at all. They strongly object to having to carry a pass. Well, I told them that I could not agree with them on that. Naturally, I do not like all these peculiar passes, but I cannot object to the Natives being put under a system of registration to which we have got it boiled down in Rhodesia.

In Rhodesia, a Native has to carry a passport and it does not prevent him from travelling about freely there. These pass laws are not so well known here in the Cape, but they are really an awful nuisance to the employer. The trouble is that he never knows when his boy is going to be held up. We know that people are in gaol when they should be at their work. Probably you have heard this, that the most expensive person to manage in gaol is the short-term prisoner, and I think there is a great deal to be said in favour of taking up this attitude, that it is reasonable to abolish many of the passes which have to be carried.

I do not say for a moment that the time is ripe for abolishing every pass. I am not prepared to say that at all. I think it would be better if all of us, White as well as Black, had to carry our identification papers with us, as is done in France and in other European countries.

DR. ROBERTS: That would apply to everyone ?- Yes.

If we did that, it would remove a great deal of the objection on the part of the Natives ?- Yes, it would.

You think it would ?- Yes, I do.

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But would you favour that all of us should carry passes ?- Yes. I have explained these matters to the Natives and this is the attitude which they take up. The Natives here say that they have never carried passes before in the Cape Province and now they have to do so and they say that it is the badge of slavery -- this pass is. Well, I produced my Railway pass and shewed it to them, and I said "Here is my pass". Well, they saw that and it impressed them. I have had demonstrations of this kind of thing and I have come to the conclusion that the trouble is not really worth the result. Our Native certificate which we have in Rhodesia has a contract entered on it and that is a protection to the Native as well as to other people.

MR. LUCAS: I think you said that you had simplified the system in Rhodesia ?- Yes.

Could you explain to us briefly what the system is there ?- The system practically is that when a man has his registration certificate he can move freely about the country as he likes. Unfortunately, there is still this, that when he goes into town he has to take out a town pass for which he, or his employer, pays 1/- per month. We used to have a multiplicity of passes -- a pass for a man to leave the district -- a pass for a man to seek work, a pass for a man to go on to a railway train, and so on, but the tendency has been to abolish all these incidental passes and to allow a Native to get about on his main certificate. That has been the policy in Rhodesia of late years.

Has there been any difficulty from the point of view of administration, or have there been any other difficulties ?

In my time there had not been any difficulty at all; nothing workh speaking about. We get at the native by other means. Another thing is this~~s~~. I drew up a sample for the location here, but they did not accept that, they did not seem to tumble to it. A great many things are recorded on that pass; the moment he pays his tax, the date and everything is recorded on it. It is done by having one document for the year. Say a few of our native policemen can read and the others cannot - they will soon learn to understand this thing. There will be a little rubber stamp with a Church or an elephant or a dog on it , or a giraffe on it, and you will even now hear the native in Rhodesia speak about having paid his tax in the year with the giraffe on his receipt-- in the year of the giraffe, as he will put it. These passes are issued free of charge, and every native over the age of 14 has to take out a pass like that, and when he becomes an adult, he has to pay his polltax; all these things are recorded on the pass~~s~~.

MR.MOSTERT: You find by issuing it when he is quite young that it is easy to follow him up?--^Xes; we know them. Our natives are rather simple in many ways; they like to take out a certificate because they regard it as a badge of adolescence, and they like to see it marked on the certificate that they have paid the tax, because they say "we are Government men now". I do not say for a moment that they like paying the tax, but they do like the marking of the certificate. They are rather a primitive people, these native of Rhodesia.

Now your next question on your questionaire is in respect of inter-racial relations; speaking for Capetown the average citizen here does not even know that the

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native exists in his midst; you have only got 12,000 natives here in a population of 160,000. Those officials who are concerned with his administration would like to see him go back to his own Territories; I put that question to the natives the other night at the Location; we had quite a considerable meeting there; I put it to them, I said "do you mean to say that you would like to go back to your Reserves?"ⁿ, and they replied "everyone of us would like to go back there. So we have that a ttitude here.

Then the native here has become intensely suspicious of us; I do not know what to base that on, but there is no doubt about it, we cannot get the natives to come out and talk freely to us here. They are even a little suspicious of this Commission on the~~g~~ ground, as one man put it "what is the Commission for? Is it to see if they can get more taxes out of us?" That is the view which they take here. It would be a very good thing if these suspicions could be dispelled, but it is extraordinarily difficult. I can say that on the whole here the feelings of the natives are largely antagonistic, simply because they do not understand.

DR. ROBERTS: On whose part is the feeling antagonistic?--On the part of the Europeans.

But if they do not understand-- if they do not even know that the natives are here, as you told us, how can they be antagonistic?--"ell, it may seem a contradiction, but the moment you mention them, they are antagonistic; at any rate the feeling at best is one of indifference, but with the natives it is worse, it is antagonistic. There are a number of us trying to establish better relations, but our difficulty is to get at the native, because hardly one of us speaks the Xosa language. We have our Joint Council

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which is doing good work, and we hope will be doing better work as time goes on; there are a number of Europeans, teachers, missionaries and others who take a great deal of interest in these matters and who are doing all they can to improve relations; I hope as long as the native remains here, and I think they are bound to remain here, we shall be able to establish better relations.

But I do not like the present attitude of the Europeans when you mention the natives to him, nor do I like this frightful suspicion on the part of the native towards the European; you can always see what he is getting at, and that is one of the phases which we have to remedy.

DR. ROBERTS: That attitude of suspicion is inherent in the natives as a people?--^Xes, that may be.

The native had always been suspicious of those with whom he comes into contact, except when he comes into contact with people in a friendly way?--I don't know. The Matabele will talk to you as one gentleman to another; they are a very open race, but I cannot speak of the Zulus as I do not know them well enough%.

MR. MOSTERT: Would you discourage more natives coming to Capetown?--^Xes, I would discourage them; for their own good I would. I think it is better that more should not come.

The fact that they all said that they wanted to get back...?-- Yes; speaking for their own good, I should say that they are a little out of place here; on that question, they are the prey of some lower classes of coloured people, just as in Johannesburg there is a sort of gang of what you might call "stiffs", who get hold of the new-comer and get him into bad ways before he has been able to settle down. There is a son of a Matabele headman here, who is making a good living

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out of the three card trick; he does very well indeed out of it, but it is a bad thing.

I notice that one of your questions on your second questionnaire is in respect of methods to prevent an increased migration into the towns; well, I do think that some measures should be taken, because the native is not sufficiently advanced yet to understand the needs of the labour market; he hears that his friend Jim has come to Capetown and that he is making more money than he has ever known of before, and the result is that immediately all his friends want to rush off to the same place, forgetting that by so doing they are interfering with the opportunities of their erstwhile friend; I do feel in those circumstances that some steps should be taken to prevent them from running into an overstocked labour market.

MR. LUCAS: Are there any other measures which you could suggest for stemming the influx into the towns; you have mentioned giving them information, but are there any other measures which you could suggest which would prevent the natives from coming in?--It is a little difficult to suggest a measure without being completely arbitrary; that is to say that first of all, all natives must have a certificate, and that no native in a Reserve shall leave it except on the advice of the Magistrate or the Native Commissioner. That may be going rather far, but I do not see how anything short of that would actually prevent it. I think you might have, what you would call economic advisory officers to give advice on these points, gave such officers near their centres; I believe that to some extent that sort of thing might have the effect of stopping natives from coming to town; I am not quite certain how it could be done, but there must be

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some means of dealing with the situation; I have not been able to follow this up to its logical conclusion.

MR.MOSTERT: I understand that there are quite a number of natives who in a clandestine fashion come to this a rea; even Swahilis?--Yes, they must come in some clandestine way; you see, nearly all these northern boys are prohibited immigrants from north of latitude 22 degrees South and they drift down here in all sorts of ways. I had a native at Salisbury who was a Shangaan; he left me for a holiday and I next found him here, at Mossel Bay; he was brought down there in domestic service. I know this--there must be some method of stopping it now.

When I was concerned in this Conciliation at the Belville Quarry, the contractor told me that he expected to bring down his own gang of Zulus from the Witwatersrand, but according to what he said he was not allowed to do so; he wanted to bring Zulus from Natal, but, so he said, he was told "No, you cannot do that."

There is another subject on your Agenda in respect of which I have had some experience from the Law point of view; that is the question of these various labour contracts on farms; I have been in touch with this matter; your question is "Can you comment on the desirability of natives being engaged on share farming". I suppose that that is roughly what is known as farming on halves. Of course, we have no farming on halves or anything of the sort here.

I have come across everyone of these systems of farming-- labour tenancy, farming on shares etc -- in Rhodesia, and I am quite prepared to say what I think of them. The share farming system I would condemn; I do not know why it is so, but it leads to all sorts of troubles and disputes, as

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far as I can see. It does not lead to proper farming, and if you are going to have share farming with natives, you will get a class of bywoner worse than the European bywoner whom we have in this country. My experience in this country has shown me that share farming is a very bad thing ; it is one of the most fruitful sources of disputes between the landlord on the one side and the tenant on the other; they have all kinds of mix-ups and there is always trouble.

Then with regard to labour tenancy; the only labour tenancy that I can possibly commend is one under which the period of labour is for a stated ,continuous time. That, of course, must entirely depend on the number of months in the year during which such a person would be required to give his labour. I mean that a man lives on a particular farm and he gives his labour in payment of rent.

MR.MOSTERT: That is another system, and then,of course, you get your monthly wage system; there are so many different forms; but can you tell us which is these various forms you think is best from the point of view of the European, the white farmer as well as the native-- from the point of view of both?-- By labour tenancy I understand that a man is allowed to live on a place on condition that he gives so much labour per annum. Now that only works satisfactorily if the period is definitely stated and definitely agreed upon for which he has to work and if it is a continuous period. Say for instance that it was agreed that the period should be three months in the year, say from the 1st of January until the end of March; if it is not done in that way the thing becomes hopelessly impossible and hopelessly uneconomic. If the period during which he has to render his labour in payment of rent is scattered all over the year, it simply means that the labourer is unable to get

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away at all, because he does not know when he may be called upon to render his service, ~~if~~ and the worst thing of all is that unless a definite and specific time is laid down, he is called away at a time when he wants to work his own plot. I do not like that labour tenancy a bit, unless it is on the basis of a continuous and definite period.

Then about this cash rent tenancy, I do not know whether by that you mean that a farmer should simply be allowed to let out portions of his land for cash to natives. If it means that, then one cannot raise any special objection to it, except one's knowledge of the country. If one European can let to another, then there is no reason why he should not let to a native; that is a broad statement on that part of your questionnaire so far as I can see it.

MR. MOSTERT: Now you have various methods in Rhodesia?-- Yes, there are various methods of tenancy there.

Which do you consider is the best?--I am coming to what I consider is the best. There is the question of lease of course. This cash rent tenancy I do not know; it is roughly squatting, or a little more. Well, that to my mind is a bad thing altogether. You can only argue on it being bad on the ground of experience, because you cannot really set up any theoretical reasons against it. A man should not be prevented from letting his ground to anyone if he chose to do so, so long as it did not become a nuisance; but when it comes to letting to natives, that is another question. In ordinary cases, by a long way the most satisfactory method is to pay cash wages; that, my experience has shown me, is the most satisfactory method to all concerned. .

Of course, I know, natives like share farming and some like the labour tenancy system, but what they like may not be

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the best thing for them.

My opinion is, after having had the administration of the laws and after having had to look into the troubles of people and of farmers for over 20 years-- that cash wages are by a long way the best of all; I say that clearly and decisively.

But on farms there is a tremendous advantage in wages in kind, I suppose that means rations and housing as well. Because the native being on a farm, the argument is that the ordinary supply of labour is not available and therefore you must keep him in food. I contend that in the rural areas, as well as in the urban areas there is nothing like the ordinary cash basis of payment. It removes as far as possible any source of dispute. On the farms ^I am strongly in favour of the cash wage with rations and quarters.

Now my main objection to the ration is that it unfortunately does lend itself sometimes to a little bit of hushing up. So very often the quality or the quantity of the food is deficient, but on the whole ^I do think that it is the very best way of tackling the matter. You cannot prevent these little abuses creeping in, and naturally one should guard against them as far as possible.

DR. ROBERTS: Why should not you have the cash basis even there so far as the feeding is concerned?--How can one do it on the farms....

Surely a man can buy from the farmer or from someone else.....?--If you had a shop keeper nearby, you might be able to do that. I put it this way: as long as the source of supply is available, give a cash wage, but if the source of supply is not readily available, then I should say "have a cash wage basis together with these rations"; that seems to me the most logical way of dealing with it.