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THE NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION

Sitting at Johannesburg,
Friday,
May 22nd, 1931.

107th PUBLIC SITTING

Present :

Dr J.E. Holloway, Chairman,
Dr Fourie,
Mr F.A.W. Lucas, K.C.,
Dr A.W. Roberts.



Continuation of Evidence on behalf of
Johannesburg Municipal Native Affairs
Department, given by Mr Graham
Ballenden pp. 8292 - 8338

Evidence of Dr. A.B. Xuma,
Medical Practitioner ... pp. 8339 - 8363.c.

Friday, May 22nd, 1931, 9.45 a.m.

DR ROBERTS : We will carry on for the time being. The Chairman will be here in a few minutes.

Continuation of Evidence of GRAHAM BALLENDEN:

WITNESS : Since giving my last evidence, sir, I have submitted to the Commission two further schedules and a copy of the City Council's estimates for its Native Affairs Department.

MR LUCAS : Is that this document (indicating) ?--- That is the one document, yes; and the other document deals with infantile mortality in the Council's native townships.

That is in this statement of the M.O.H. ?--- No, I don't think it has been included there. It was sent down separately a few days ago to the Secretary; you should have copies before you.

What is it ?--- It is headed "Infantile Mortality, Johannesburg Native Townships, May 1930." It is a foolscap sheet.

Have you got a spare copy ?--- No. I have just sent along to see if the Secretary has the copies; they were sent down here. Now dealing with the schedule that you have before you, gentlemen, that is showing the cost of each service to the Council per head and per family, I want it clearly understood that the figures shown on that schedule do not reflect the charge against the native. They reflect a division of these various services into the population, working out the pro rata cost of those services per head and per family to the Council.

DR ROBERTS : That is the fourth head ?--- The whole of the charges are worked out on that basis. You will find that the fourth item deals with capital, the capital charges; that is, the interest on redemption charged for capital expended would come out at those figures if it was distributed over each family or per head of population.

/ MR LUCAS :

MR LUCAS : But why is the Wemmer Native Barracks figure for capital so much higher than any of the others ?--- The expenditure on the barracks per head of population is greater.

Yes, but why ?--- It is a different type of building, and a small_{er} population in that type of building. The land value was very high, to start with, being right in the city.

Is it mainly land ?--- No. The whole place cost us roughly £100,000 to house 2,600 natives. so that you have got a smaller number of natives to divide into the interest on redemption figure than you have in a township.

How much of that £100,000 roughly is land ?--- I cannot tell you off-hand at all what the land figure is; it is a proportion of that, probably roughly about one-third, I should imagine, of the whole lot.

I am just puzzled -- it doesn't really matter -- that building those rooms for ten ... ?--- They ran from four, six and ten per room.

That those average in cost so much more than a building in the native townships ?--- That is so: in proportion they do cost more. In the first place they are floored. The native houses are not floored. They are sealed; that is, the one compartment is sealed. They are double-storeyed buildings. They are more substantially built. Having to be built double-storey, you have got thicker walls. The cost per head spent on the building is greater than the cost per head of building a cottage. The cottage, we will say, costs £100 and will house an average of five people; whereas the cost of each room to house ten natives would be somewhere over £300 per room.

The figure given by Mr Adams, who is a builder of very considerable experience and prominence in Capetown, was that

it should not cost more than £15 per head. They are bigger rooms, of course ?--- Well, as I said during my previous evidence, I would like to check that figure up. I know the mines' estimate, that they can go down as far as £9 per head for forty in a room; that is excluding the cost of land and so on. But their compounds are not anywhere to be compared with ours. The beds alone in ours cost something like two guineas apiece.

Another thing I would like to ask you about is why the per head and the per family figures vary so much between the Western and the Eastern Township: you take the staff, 6s/8d per head and £2.8s.10d. per family in the Western Native Township, as against 12s/2d per head and £3.9s.0d. per family in the Eastern Native Township ?--- That is so.

Why is that ?--- Well, your staff does not increase to the same ratio. For instance you have got in the Eastern Native Township say 3,000 people, whereas in the Western Native Township you have got 12,000 to 14,000 people. Your staff does not increase in the same ratio.

DR ROBERTS : The overhead charges ?--- The overhead charges for staff.

MR LUCAS : Working it out, it would take eight times as many for the family in the Western Township, and six and a half times as many for the family in the Eastern Township. On what is that based ?--- I don't follow you, sir.

If you divide 6s/8d into £2.8s.10d., you get nearly eight; well over seven, nearly eight ?--- Yes.

If you divide 12s/2d into £3.9.0., you get six and a half ?--- Yes, I see: you are comparing the rate per head and the rate per family.

Yes ?--- That is due to the fact that in the Western Native Township their per family per head rate includes not only registered tenants, but all natives living in the

township, that is, their boarders and other people living with them. They are higher in proportion to the number of families in the Western Township than they are in the Eastern Native Township. The Eastern Native Township is more closely controlled, being smaller.

(At this stage Dr Holloway, Chairman, arrives.)

MR ROBERTS : What do you do with this loss ? Do you carry it on to the next year, or have you a means of recouping it ?--- No, sir, the loss falls on the general rates of the town and it is written off. It is not accumulated to the Native Revenue Account. I might mention that the approximate loss budgeted for for the year 1931-1932, is £30,000.

Do you mean the years 1931 and 1930 ?--- I have just put in my estimates for 1931-1932. Our year ends at June. The previous year, 1930-1931, the loss was roughly £26,000.

MR LUCAS : Now take the sanitary figures. There is an enormous disparity between the Western and Eastern, on the one side, and Klipspruit on the other ?--- That is explained in this way. In Klipspruit location the sanitary service is carried out by my department, departmentally; the plant and staff and everything else is run by my department. The same service in the Western Township and the Eastern Township is carried out by what is known as the Transport and Cleansing Department. They are responsible for the whole sanitation within the borough, and they charge a rate of 17s/6d per quarter per bucket.

That is on the same basis as would be paid for at Parktown on an acre or two acre lot ?--- Precisely.

Do you think in those circumstances it is fair to charge these two townships with those figures ?--- Well, as a matter of fact as long as the Council understands that it

is a profit to one department and a loss to the other department; they have eventually got to bear the cost one way or the other; it is not of much material importance whether it is charged to my department or to the Transport and Cleansing Department.

Isn't it important in this sense, that the public opinion is that there is a loss, and that probably those two figures alone would be sufficient to account for a considerable proportion ?--- It does account for a very considerable proportion.

As a matter of fact, if you charge those two townships the same rate as Klipspruit has, you would actually be able to make these townships pay on your rates ?--- Yes, but I might point out that the figure for sanitation there for Klipspruit location is probably shown at a slightly lower figure than it ought to be shown.

Supposing you doubled it, and then deducted that from your native township - you would have £3.5.0. or £3.6.0. to deduct from your £17.5.0; at 25s/- a month it would mean that the concern was paying ?--- Actually what would happen, if we were to charge the actual cost of the service, we would probably show a saving of some £5,000 per annum, at any rate.

On these Klipspruit figures you would show considerably more than that ?--- Yes, being out some miles. Probably in town here the plant and cost and so on may cost more to run than a place out in the country like Klipspruit. Alexandra Township, for instance, I believe did have a very much lower figure than we did again in Klipspruit.

Alexandra Township is 3s/- a month per family, which would be 36s/- as against your £3.8.0. or £3.10.0. ?--- The rate I have given here is 2s/- per family for Klipspruit per annum.

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I was comparing Alexandra with the other two townships ?--- Yes, but the Council itself quite understands the difference there. As a matter of fact the matter has been brought up by the Native Affairs Department on several occasions.

Isn't there another aspect which is important, that the public should understand, and are you ever likely with any re-arrangement of figures such as these to get the public to understand ? And if you don't do that, aren't you putting the native townships in a bad light as far as the public are concerned ?--- As far as I am concerned, I would prefer the charge to be struck off my accounts, because it certainly does place my department in a wrong light, because definitely there is a profit to the Transport and Cleansing Department on that service.

There must be ?--- And there should be no inter-departmental profit.

THE CHAIRMAN : Isn't it inherent in the Urban Areas Act that services rendered to the native administration should be charged at cost ?--- No. The Act merely says that no service may be charged against the Native Revenue Account which is not a charge against any other township. That is, for instance, street lighting. There is no charge for street lighting in the townships, as there is no charge in any other township. But if sanitation is charged for in any other township, then the Council has a perfect right to charge the same rate for the same service in the native townships. Actually what happens in the rest of Johannesburg is this. If you have a house and you have got a latrine for yourself, ^{you} and/put up a latrine for your native servant, and mark it "Natives", you get that service free for the native. You are only charged for the one bucket.

MR LUCAS : But the removal of two is very little
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different from the removal of one ?--- And the position is in the native townships on the east and the west, they are built in groups of two, and they are all accessible from a sanitary passage and could be cleared in a very short while.

And each two could not be more than 100 feet from the next two ?--- That is so.

Whereas if you go to a place like Parktown they have to walk sometimes three or four hundred feet to get to them ?--- That is so.

THE CHAIRMAN ; Isn't the principle which is underlying the Urban Areas Act, so far as the Council is concerned, that the accounting of the native administration should be a separate thing ?--- It should be separate, yes.

Therefore if you over-charge one department and credit it to another department, it breaks in on the accounting principle ?--- Well, it is a very moot point, sir, whether it is over-charging. The Council has got to supply certain services, and the bye-laws lay down what those services shall be charged at. They merely follow out those bye-laws. It would mean an alteration of the bye-laws and making a special charge for special services.

Never mind whether it is legally an over-charge. You want to know what the exact financial position is ?--- That is so.

And you cannot find the exact financial position in the way you do it to-day, because certain things which are charged against, for example, this native township, which the native township is charged above the cost, redound to the credit of other accounts. On the other hand you make that up by showing there is a very much bigger loss on the thing as a whole. But you cannot find out for example whether your housing systems are economical or not on your present

system of accounting. From the point of view of both your city administration and your native administration, I submit it is undesirable ?--- Well, I quite agree with you that the charge made against my department for these services is out of proportion to the service rendered, although it is in conformity with the bye-laws of the town.

Actually of course this is a matter of policy about which we should really worry your Council ?--- It is a point which has been frequently raised by Councillors and officials in order to bring our losses down to the true loss to the Council. That £17,576 is not an actual loss to the ratepayers of this town, because they have had a profit of we will say approximately perhaps in that instance, £3,000, which has gone to another department, and the burgesses have benefited to that extent.

Before we leave that - we have this point under "Sanitary": are there any other of those charges which on the same principle would be either an over-charge against the Native Revenue Account, or an under-charge against the Native Revenue Account ?--- No, I don't think so. Water has been reduced considerably; the inter-departmental cost of water has been reduced I think from 4s/2d to 2s/6d per thousand gallons.

MR LUCAS : You pay the same charges there as other departments ?--- As other departments, yes, but I don't pay the same charge as would be charged to a private concern.

But then you have not got the reticulation that a private concern would have ?--- I have got the reticulation all right.

You have not got house to house reticulation ?---No.

The 4s/2d involves house to house reticulation ?--- Yes, but the reticulation is not a question of the cost;

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it is a question of the volume of water you use, regardless of how it is put on to the house.

I can get water to my house for 4s/2d a thousand gallons ?--- But you pay for the cost of connecting up to the main.

But then that is a very small thing ?--- Really what you pay is for the water you consume, and this is for the water we consume that we pay that charge. The reticulation may be cheaper to us; it is certainly charged to my department in this case.

THE CHAIRMAN : Is the water to the locations metered ?--- The water to the locations is all metered. There is a general meter for each location.

And that water is charged at the same rate as to a private consumer ?--- No, it is charged at a lower rate.

Is it the rate at which people in town get water ?--- No.

Industrialists, for instance ?--- Very large consumers of water get it at the rate my department gets it. All departments are charged at the reduced rate of 2s/6d per thousand gallons.

In the "Capital" there is included that dam at Klipspruit ?--- In the capital, as far as Klipspruit is concerned, yes; it is a loss. That Klipspruit location capital will be redeemed in 1935.

MR LUCAS : Then that charge comes out ?--- Yes. I may point out that in the case of Klipspruit, no charge is made for the land.

THE CHAIRMAN : What is the position in regard to the charge for land in the other locations ?--- The land is included in the capital charge that I show here.

Was the land actually purchased ?--- That land was purchased. The Western Native Township was purchased

at £200 per acre. It was transferred from one department to the other; transferred from the Transport and Cleansing Department to the Native Affairs Department.

Was that part of the original town lands ?--- No, there are no town lands in Johannesburg at all. The Council had to originally purchase that land.

Including Klipspruit ?--- Including Klipspruit.

In the case of Klipspruit, the fact of there being no charge for land may be regarded as a case of under-charging ?--- It is a case of under-charging, if you are going to put them all on the same footing.

On the other hand, if you take the rental paid by the Klipspruit people, does not that give a sufficient amount to cover the interest on the land ?--- No: there is no interest charged on the land at all.

The re may not be any charge as a matter of book-keeping, but actually the land cost you a certain amount, and that involves an interest charge in perpetuity. As against that you have the rent from stands ?--- Yes.

Presumably also in perpetuity ?--- Yes.

Now would the rent from stands, after you have deducted the charges for services which are included in that rent, be enough to cover the amount of interest on capital invested in buying the land there ?--- May I just try and unravel that, sir. Do you mean that if we make no charge for staff, water, sanitation, that the rent that we get of 10s/- for a double stand would pay the interest on the cost of that land, if we charge it to the cost of the land ?

You get 10s/- per stand from the native ?--- Yes.

And you get nothing else from him ?--- Yes.

No rates or anything ?--- Yes.

That 10s/- is a legitimate charge for the supply of water, for the supply of sanitary services, and for administration ?--- Yes.

After those charges have been met, is there enough money left out of the 10s/- rental to cover interest ?--- No. Rather than anything being left, there is a loss of roughly £2,500 per annum, or there was in the year 1929-1930.

MR LUCAS : Does not that include interest on the dam, for instance ?--- Interest on redemption on the dam, and other services that we put in there: buildings, railway, wash site, and so on.

The reason why I feel that there ought to be something over is that Bloemfontein supplies water and actually charges 3s/- a thousand gallons; it supplies the sanitary services, and the charge, including 1s/6d for land, is still only 6s/6d ?--- Yes, but I would point out that as far as Bloemfontein is concerned, if Bloemfontein was put on the same footing as Johannesburg, Bloemfontein would be run at a loss of at least £8,000 per annum.

The point is it is not run at a loss to-day, and they are satisfied as far as their charge is concerned, that they are getting their services paid for and interest on their land, at 6s/6d a month ?--- No: if you will pardon me, I will tell you the position as far as Bloemfontein location is concerned. Bloemfontein location pays nothing to the Council for the land, in the first place. That is, the department. Added into the Bloemfontein location revenue is some £7,600 a year derived from the registration of service contracts.

I don't follow that. I have their accounts in front of me ?--- I also have their accounts. I have studied them pretty carefully. I am prepared to put in their accounts. In addition to £7,600 per annum which is added in for the revenue from pass fees, or what we call pass fees, roughly, - contracts of service - they have got some I think £600

per month rents coming in from the condemned location, Waaihoek, and they have got no charge against the department for the land.

The contract fees total is £4,165 for 1930-1931 ?--- Yes. The figure they gave me I think was £7,600, all from that section of the work. But take it at four-thousand-odd: that goes into their revenue for the location.

THE CHAIRMAN : This is only an ~~at~~ aside. Mr Lucas just mentioned casually that he thought probably the Klipspruit land included rent ?--- I want it clearly understood, sir, that a comparison between Bloemfontein and Johannesburg is an invidious comparison, and you want to understand the position thoroughly before you come to any conclusion. If we were in the same position in Johannesburg, we would have a profit of £100,000 a year at the present moment.

DR ROBERTS : Is the question of land the main difference ?--- Partly, and the question of the receipt of the service contract fees which amount in Johannesburg alone to £150,000 per annum. We lose that as against other Provinces.

THE CHAIRMAN : Going back to the position of Klipspruit, you say that the total amount received from site rentals is less by two shillings ?--- It is less by £2,500 per annum than our expenditure on the location.

The expenditure includes interest and redemption for the dam ?--- Yes.

And includes also a charge at a profit to the sanitary department for sanitary services ?--- No, that does not apply to Klipspruit. It does include a subsidy for the railway. We provide transport where Bloemfontein provides none.

The subsidy for the railway that you mention: does

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Johannesburg subsidise that ?--- The whole cost of a mile and a third from Nancefield Station to the location, falls to the City Council of Johannesburg, the laying of the line and the maintenance of the line. The maintenance of the line averages between £800 and £1,000 per annum.

Is that included ... ?--- That is included in the loss.

And as regards the capital charges ?--- That is also included in capital charges.

It is rather difficult to disentangle the position of the Native Account as an entity by itself, owing to your practice of not worrying as long as one department may pay what another department may lose ?--- No, I cannot agree with that, sir. With the exception of sanitation the position is perfectly clear. What has been received by my department is debited to my department.

With the exception, which is rather a big one in the instance of that dam ?--- Nevertheless that was expended on my department, and although it may be a white elephant, it is of no value to any other department.

But the reason is very important: it has become a white elephant because other departments came and messed up the place, or because your department messed it up ?--- As a matter of fact the other department messed it up, because the sewage farm was there first. A definite mistake was made in the erection of that dam twenty years ago.

MR LUCAS : Is there anything more you wanted to say about the accounts ?--- I don't think so.

By the way, what are the "other charges" in the case of the two barracks in the Salisbury Compound ? They are fairly heavy under "All other charges" ?--- That is, for instance, the de-verminization of the compound; the white-washing and so on; stores; every other item which does not fall distinctly under those other heads, "Staff," "Water,"

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"Sanitation" and "Capital." The de-verminization is a very heavy item every year.

We had two points put up to us about the Western Township. One was that, although there are two gates, one was frequently closed and is very difficult to the natives to get at. They had a long way to go to get out. They appreciated having a fence for protection, but there was the difficulty of getting out to buy necessary things, or also to visit or be visited ?--- I would like to tell you the actual position there. I saw Stephen Ntoba's evidence, which was incorrect. There are six gates in the township.

The Western Township ?--- The Western Township: which are permanently opened; and a seventh gate which is under guard, for cattle to go out of. That is also for all practical purposes open, with a guard to stop the cattle from coming in and going out of the paddock. The gates are placed three on the Newlands Road side, and three on the Newclare side. There is no difficulty for any native to get to any store at any point through either of those gates.

And then another point was made, about the permit to visit. Is a permit required for a native to come in to visit ?--- We require them to report if they are going to remain in the location. Actually they don't. But they visit there; the township is open to any native at any time. No restriction is placed, although the regulations provide for it, on the ingress of natives into the township.

And is there any question about special passes at night in the township itself ?--- Not at all.

If a native wants to go out from the location at night, to be out after nine, from whom can he get a special ?--- From his employer.

And supposing he has not asked for it before he left

work in the day-time ?--- Then he can obtain special sanction from the Council or from the superintendent of the location. The Town Council can appoint him as an officer to issue night passes, but it is not usually done, and I do not see the necessity of it. If a native fails to get a permit from his employer, and he wants to go out, which he seldom does, as a matter of fact, I might point out, then I think he is himself blameworthy for any inconvenience he is put to. But inside the township they are as free as any European in moving about, at any time, any hour.

Are the provisions made by the Railway for accommodating the natives at the stations, adequate, at Klipspruit ?--- At Klipspruit station the accommodation is provided by the Council. At the present moment it has now become inadequate, but the Council is considering the erection of a larger station.

Is that a line that pays the Railway ?--- As a layman I should imagine it does, for the number of passengers they carry to and from Klipspruit location, and the fact that they haven't got any cost for the maintenance of that particular section of line.

What length of line is it that you subsidise ?--- A mile and a third.

In the statement that you put in the other day you said that you estimate the influx of all natives into Johannesburg at five per cent of the native population per annum ?--- Yes.

On what do you base that ?--- I base that on taking the figures of the last census, 1910, and the known increase in certain directions in 1927, when I first went into the question of the population.

DR ROBERTS : Did you take that population as a constant figure, or did you allow for an increase on which you

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took the 5 per cent ?--- I took it as fairly constant until we reach a point of saturation, which we have not reached yet; that is as far as families are concerned. You see, in 1910 apparently there were very few families in Johannesburg.

So that your increase is a constant quantity ?--- It is practically a constant quantity, yes.

MR LUCAS : How did the 1921 census compare ?--- You have no census in 1921 for natives, sir, that I know of.

Yes, there was a general census in 1921 ?--- Yes, but it takes all colours; it did not distinguish between natives.

THE CHAIRMAN : Yes: age, sex, religion, all sorts of things ?--- It may have been there.

That is the report dealing with non-European races; so that you can see there is information available ?--- I probably did compare that at the time. I had lost sight of that. It is four years ago since I went into it. On working it out, I arrived at my figures by one process, and the Director of Native Labour arrived at his figures by almost an entirely different process, and I think there was a difference between our two figures when we had finished of about 1,000.

Did you take the percentage increase on the 1927 over the 1910 figure, and divide that by the number of intervening years ?--- I couldn't tell you exactly how I arrived at it, at the present moment; it is a good few years ago since I did it. But I know that the basis that I used for arriving at my figure was apparently pretty sound, because it was worked out by two entirely independent departments; the Government Native Affairs Department arrived at their figure in one way, and the Public Health Department, who also went into the matter, made an estimate; and we all

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arrived at a figure which was approximately the same. And the figure showed a regular increase roughly of about five per cent over those years.

MR LUCAS : Is that five per cent on the 1910 figure, or on each preceding year ?--- Per annum.

DR ROBERTS : On the constant figure ?--- On the constant figure.

MR LUCAS : On the constant figure of 1910 ?--- No, no. We will assume that in 1910 you had 10,000 natives. In 1911 you would have 10,000 natives plus five per cent. In 1912 you would have 10,000, plus five per cent, plus five per cent; that is, plus the five per cent, whatever that total came to, then plus five per cent of the total. Do you follow ?

THE CHAIRMAN : I am in doubt whether there was such a colossal increase as all that ?--- Well, I know that we have, by the applications for housing of families coming into the towns, a figure which shows that your influx of families into Johannesburg since I have been here, averages about 400 per annum.

MR LUCAS : That is, families ?--- Families.

DR ROBERTS : Wouldn't you rather take it this way, that in 1921 we will say your population was 10,000, and then the next year it would be 10,500, and then the next year it would be 11,000, and the next year it would be 11,500 ? Would not that be a better way ?--- That would be less than five per cent on the annual increase.

MR LUCAS : You are taking an annual increase of five per cent on the preceding year ?--- On the preceding year, yes.

DR ROBERTS : You are taking a compound rate ?---Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN : Do you realise that in fifteen years your population would be doubled ?--- I have no idea what

Major Cooke gave you in the way of population.

He only gave an estimated population to date of 360,000 for the Reef ?--- He probably gave you Johannesburg's population too. I don't know his figure, but I think you will find my figure and his figure are fairly comparable.

THE CHAIRMAN : I don't think we need go into the question of how the rate was arrived at, although the five per cent is very high.

MR LUCAS : You say that there is an increasing tendency among natives to take their wives and families to the place where they seek or obtain work ?--- That is so.

You are satisfied on that ?--- I am perfectly satisfied; I am certain of it, as a matter of fact.

And is that confined to any one tribe ?--- No, to all tribes. It was less so with the Natal native than it was in respect of the Basuto at one time, or the Kosa, but the Natal native is increasingly doing it now.

Have you inquired into why the families come more now than they used to ?--- Well, I have framed certain reasons from what I have observed, and I classify them as, partly the desire of a man to have his family with him; partly a desire to get away from tribal control. I think I have stated the reasons in my report.

I think those were the reasons for migration generally, but not for the families ?--- Those include the reasons for migration too. The desire for education; the better housing that they get here; the breaking down of all tribal customs; and the practical disappearance of lobola, which has broken up the tribal life of the natives.

Do many men come with their families, or do they send for their families afterwards ?--- They more frequently send for their families afterwards. They come here and get work and then send for their families afterwards. Some of

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them are bringing their families with them immediately, but those cases are in the minority.

So do you think for the future the position has got to be faced that the families are coming, too ?--- Yes, the rate will increase.

Are the towns going to be able to cope with that ?--- No: not unless the native is in an economic position to provide his own home.

That means better wages ?--- That means better wages.

Do you think better wages would meet that side of it ?--- Undoubtedly it will; it is the only thing which will meet that side of it.

THE CHAIRMAN : In other words the subsidising of housing cannot go on indefinitely ?--- That is so. It is merely subsidising the employer, as a matter of fact, to a large extent.

MR LUCAS : I take it from that you consider the general level of native wages to-day is inadequate ?--- In many lines, I do.

I said the general level: is that inadequate ?--- The general level, yes, in the cities.

If the matter is not met by way of wages, can you think of any other way in which it can be met ?--- I think the stage, as far as the Reef and Pretoria are concerned, has arrived, or the time has arrived, when there should be a combined effort of the Union Government, the Provincial Administration and the local authorities, so that a native reserve of some thirty or forty thousand acres in the near vicinity of the Reef should be established, where natives can bring their families, and provide their own huts, grass huts or sod huts or any other type of hut, as they would do in an ordinary native reserve, placed under the control say of a Resident Commissioner with the powers of

a magistrate, who would have the right to control and govern the people who lived there - the husbands going out to work at various centres on the Reef. That I think definitely should come about, because the towns cannot carry a heavier burden than they are carrying now. Nor is it entirely desirable that families should be checked from going with the bread-winner.

What advantages would flow from having a resident population like that?--- Well, you would have in the first instance probably continuity of service from the native concerned. His home being near, his time of visiting his home would probably be occasionally say once a week, week-ends, or something like that. It would be near Johannesburg or near any other part of the Reef where he can run out by train or bus and visit his family for the week-end. He can get his wages easily to his family for their maintenance. Their cost of living in the location, in that reserve, would be very low. I have estimated that it could be done reasonably at the ordinary charge of ten shillings per annum per hut, allowing them an acre apiece of land.

DR ROBERTS : Would you like to see the future settlement of the native taking that line?--- That is so, when the native becomes industrialized, until he is in a position to provide his own home anywhere, like anybody else. The point might arise, how you are going to govern the loafer in a case like that; the man who loafs, simply comes into that place and stays and does no work at all, and becomes a general charge on the community, or an evil. I would say that the Commissioner should have the power to sentence any man found loafing in one of those townships, or any woman, to some work in that township, such as roads, sanitation, or anything else that is necessary for the general welfare of the community. The

question arises again there about accommodation for men who are virtually prisoners; I would not make them prisoners in the same sense as you would put a man in gaol. If he is sentenced to general work in the township, he would live at home; if he had his family there he would live at his own home, and report every morning for his work; and the family in the meantime would be rationed by the department concerned. So that they are not deprived of their food, but he is deprived from doing anything else but that compulsory work, as a corrective measure.

DR ROBERTS : Would not you require a very clear definition and understanding of what a loafer was ?--- That is so: you would require that. Evidence would have to be brought before the Commissioner or Resident Magistrate; he would require to go fully into the evidence, and he would sentence the man if he was satisfied that there was clear proof that he was a loafer.

Because of the danger ?--- There would be a full trial of the man; he would not simply be reported by an official or sub-official as a loafer and summarily brought before the Resident Commissioner who would say, "All right, I accept the evidence that you are a loafer." Evidence would be called, and it would have to be proved that he was a loafer.

THE CHAIRMAN : In other words, some sort of vagrancy law would be required to deal with a case like that ?--- That is so. I do contend the punishment for vagrancy should take a definite form, and it should be treated differently to what it is treated now. Merely sending a man to gaol, or fining him, is useless to my mind. That would also meet the big problem the towns have I think in

connection with so many native women who are living by various dishonest means in the towns, either living on immorality or liquor at the present moment. In the absence of any farm colony in the Transvaal for women, or any institution to which they could be sent to correct them in their habits, the magistrate has no alternative but to fine them or to send them to the local gaol - except in a few cases where he can order the deportation of a woman if it is known that she perhaps came from Basutoland; a thing very easily avoided, because it is difficult to prove the place of origin. If some place was established where they could be sent to, it would relieve the difficulty tremendously; in other words, the Act provides an alternative, and the administrative machinery does not place the means for the alternative being applied.

MR LUCAS : You have put the advantages and the possibilities of such a scheme. I would like you to bring it down to the towns. What advantages does a town get from having natives here with their families, as against a native coming in for six or nine months, and then going home for six or nine months? --- Well, it has advantages and it has disadvantages. Under the present system, the present rate of wage, the disadvantage is that the town is directly losing revenue on the provision of accommodation for these people, or by the creation of slums as the alternative. But indirectly it is gaining continuous service and a more contented service from the employee. The man is frequently, particularly in Johannesburg, working twelve months in the year, and perhaps ten, or twelve or fifteen years without a break for the same employer; whereas if his home were not here, his desire would be to go home; a

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very natural desire to have certain periods at home; and the employer is put to the expense and trouble of having to train another employee to fill his post. A further indirect advantage is the fact that the whole family spend whatever meagre income they get in this locality, and not only portion of it and the remainder going elsewhere.

THE CHAIRMAN : You estimate the value of food, quarters, etc., provided to Council employees at 21s/- per head per month. Is that the cost to the Council ?--- That is approximately the cost to the Council, yes.

Actually the native would have to pay a good deal more ?--- The native would have to pay probably almost double that.

In dealing with the reasons why natives come in, you mention that lack of land is not given originally by a native who comes in, but it is given by the educated native ?--- That is so.

Would you take that to be the educated native's analysis of the situation ?--- Well, it looks to me as though that is the case, because I have tested it up with a number of natives, "Why do you come to the town ? Why do you bring your family to the town ?" In no instance have I had that given directly by a native as being one of the reasons at all. But when I put the question to the body of educated natives, immediately the cry is, "There is no land." Yet if you ask individually each one of that group of men, "Why have you come from the reserve ? Was it from lack of land ?" "No." I have not yet actually come across any man who could say definitely that he has come here because of lack of land, in the few cases that I have tested up. But it obviously is partly because of lack of land that they do come here.

DR ROBERTS : Would it not arise from the inability of the native to give a direct answer to a direct question ?--- No, sir. I quite realise the difficulty; I have to deal with it all day long, year in and year out. It is a point that has interested me, because we know that the lack of land is one of the reasons why many families do migrate from place to place. Where you do find it more than anything else, and there is evidence that it is the question of land, is with the farm tenant; he is the man who will tell you that before he got a certain amount of land to cultivate there, and now he has not got any land.

MR LUCAS : In this schedule you show the rates of pay of municipal employees ?--- Yes.

Is that 2s/- per shift or per day ?--- In a few cases it is per shift; in the majority of cases it is per day. Different departments work on different lines; some work on shifts, but the majority work on the daily basis.

And the rations that are given, are they according to any fixed scale ?--- Yes, they are in accordance practically with the tariff laid down in the native labour regulations for coal mines; not those laid down for the gold mines.

Do they get medical attention too ?--- They get medical attention.

All those are included in the 2ls/- that you estimate ?--- Yes.

Now as far as your Council is concerned, the policy has been for the Council, except in Klipspruit, to do all the building ?--- Yes.

And to provide the houses ?--- Yes.

Is there any likelihood of that being departed from and a number of natives being allowed to build their own houses ?--- That of course is a matter of policy which the

Council has yet to decide in connection with the establishment of this new township, this new 3,000 acre township. But the difficulty the Council is going to be faced with there is the fact that it has still got some 40,000 natives to provide accommodation for in the towns, and to provide accommodation for rapidly. And the native would not, even assuming that the Council agreed to the principle of allowing them to build their own houses - would not be able to get out of the slums and build his own house in the time that the Council desires to clean up those slums.

The question of rapidity enters into it very largely ?--- That is the first thing that enters into it. The second point that enters into it, as far as my particular Committee is concerned, the Native Affairs Committee, is that they don't desire the native to come out of a slum and to create another slum, which they fear will happen if he is allowed to build his own house on the Bloemfontein lines.

But is that necessary ? As far as clearing your area is concerned, does it matter whether the people in the new township are people from your cleared areas, or some from your Western Township, in the houses which can be filled from your slum areas ?--- As I say, the policy of allowing certain natives to build their own houses, with certain restrictions, has yet to be considered by the Council; but as a rule I think you can say definitely that the Johannesburg Council is opposed to the whole mass of natives being allowed to do that.

One can see your point about the necessity for speed ?--- Yes.

How long do you reckon to take to build all the houses that are to be erected in the new township ?--- Well, I anticipate that it will take my department some six years.

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Supposing when you start with your programme for building, at the same time you allow those natives, a number of natives with approved claims who want to build, to start building, isn't that going to reduce your six years ?--- I don't think it will.

Surely if it is going to take you six years to build the whole lot, and while you are building the first half, a third or a quarter can be built by natives themselves - that surely reduces your six years ?--- You want to quite clearly understand what I mean when I say I don't think it will reduce very considerably, or appreciably, the time. In the first instance the point is, are the natives going to build those houses with assistance or without assistance ? We have got first of all to start off on the basis that he is going to do so without assistance.

Why ? If you have got to find the money to build, is there any reason why you should not find the money for the native ?--- You must start off on that basis, that you know what the Council is going to do. The next point is, if the native is not being given assistance and is required to build to fairly strict regulations, that is, to put up a building of no less quality than the Council itself is required to put up, then I say very definitely that the number of houses put up by natives will be extremely small, because they haven't the means to put them up. Now it resolves itself into a question of whether the Council will accept the policy of subsidising, or not subsidising, of advancing either materials or money for the native to build his own house. That is a matter of policy which this Council has still to consider. My feeling is, from expressions of opinion and so on, that the Council will not accede to any demand in that direction.

It is never too late to mend ?--- No.

The point I put to you is, if you have this money, does it matter whether you find it to build or to lend ?--- I think it does matter a great deal. It is a question of first of all the quality of the asset that you are going to get for that expenditure, and your security. You see, you have got an entirely different proposition in Johannesburg to what you have got in a place like Bloemfontein, where the increase of houses built by natives is comparatively nil, I know, compared to what it would be here. If we assume we have got 6,000 families here still to provide for, assuming that two or three thousand of those families elected to build their own houses, your position is going to be very difficult. You are going to definitely have a number of those houses come back on to your hands from those two or three thousand people, at various times, either for lack of means to pay their instalments or for other reasons.

DR ROBERTS : Would there be sufficient officers to supervise the building by the people themselves ?--- That would be one of the reasons. The other thing is the lack of sufficient qualified native artisans to do the building. There is definitely a dearth.

MR LUCAS : Don't you think they would come as soon as the demand was there ?--- No, sir, you could not get them in the country to put up 2,000 buildings to-day.

Not simultaneously ?--- Do you think they would gradually become qualified ?

Partly that. One of the difficulties that some of the institutions have is placing those that are trained ?--- Well, we have taken the case of Klipspruit location. We had a number of so-called artisans there: many of them could not build a pig-sty, let alone a house; and we have stopped

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that by tightening up our regulations as to the building. Those people who are comparatively good builders there still lack a great deal in ability to build a house from ground to roof properly without constant guidance on the thing.

THE CHAIRMAN : Admitted, but you can still prevent your township from being built in such a way that it is bound to become a slum area: first of all, by supervision, for which you have ample power, as to the kind of building; and secondly, by the administration ?--- Yes. That of course in theory sounds very nice, but in actual practice you will find that your supervision, unless a man sits on the doorstep of that house all the time and watches it go up - the house will probably get to a stage where it is found that the walls are not plumb, and the man is required to pull it down. The native immediately pleads poverty, that it is going to ruin him if he pulls it down; and he has always got an excuse for not doing what he is required to do. You would be faced with constant lawsuits in bringing the matter to a finality. You have got to remember this, that your native in the meantime, when he is building his own house, requires accommodation somewhere. This Council, I can say very definitely, whatever policy it follows, will definitely oppose and refuse to allow any shacks being put up as a temporary measure while the building is going on.

MR LUCAS : Nobody is suggesting that ?--- I am telling you that is one of the difficulties. Take a native in town here who is working constantly all the week, and who has never an opportunity of building a house out on the new location. He cannot use his own personal labour; he will have to employ somebody to do that work for him. That means that he has got to get assistance, financial assistance, from somebody to do it. He will not be allowed definitely

to make his own bricks, to dig a hole in the stand and make his own bricks on the stand; neither is the soil suited, for it, for one thing, nor is it desirable from any point of view that he should do so. That means he must buy bricks. Kimberley bricks he will not be allowed to use. He is reduced then to a burnt brick.

MR LUCAS : Supposing the Council, instead of starting out from a point of view of opposition, started out with the idea that it wanted to do the thing, don't you think all those difficulties you have raised could easily be overcome? --- Well, I can say this, that no Council in the Union is more anxious to do the right thing for the native, or has done as much for the native, as the Johannesburg Council has. If anybody can come along and give them a scheme whereby, not in theory but where it is known from practice, that these difficulties can be overcome, then I am quite sure they are prepared to listen to such a scheme.

It seems to me that Bloemfontein -- I am not talking of the native's old house, I am talking now of the newer houses that have gone up in the last five years -- it has escaped all those difficulties, every one of them? --- No, sir, pardon me: I have made a very very careful study of it, and I can say definitely that it has not escaped them. It has not escaped making of the bricks on the spot, to start with; it has not escaped the necessity to put up a shack on the spot, for the time being; it has not overcome the difficulty of having that house built within a reasonable time, say six months. Their houses take anything from six months to twelve months, to two years, up to three years, to build, with stacks of bricks about the buildings and shacks in the neighbourhood, and holes where the bricks are made from.

(Tea adjournment.)

/ MR LUCAS :

MR LUCAS : Mr Ballanden, could not the question of the bricks be got over quite easily by making the loan cover bricks ? In Bloemfontein they make no loan for bricks ?--- Bloemfontein makes a loan for roofing, doors and windows only.

Naturally it must take a long time if the native in his spare time has to make the bricks. Isn't the difficulty surmountable by increasing the loan ?--- It is a question of cost again. Your bricks have got to be supplied by ordinary brick makers then, and the price is going to be fairly heavy; the charge is going to be fairly heavy. And if they are not made on the site, there is not only the cost of the bricks, but the transport of the bricks.

That you have now ?--- Yes.

If you have a policy of assisting, it seems to me the Council can quite easily arrange for a wholesale price. Bricks don't deteriorate very easily, and Bloemfontein gets wholesale prices for the materials in respect of which a loan is made. It seems to me the same thing could be done in regard to bricks ?--- I am afraid it cannot. You can buy roofing material or doors and windows and timbering, at market prices in advance, but I am afraid you cannot possibly buy large quantities of bricks extending over many years from brick kilns at a fixed price all the time.

THE CHAIRMAN : You would have contracts from time to time ?--- Contracts would have to be entered into. Then your difficulty again is what contract must the Council enter into to meet the needs, which are an unknown quantity ?

MR LUCAS : There is only one other point I want to ask you about. Do you think a two-roomed house is adequate in size for a family ?--- For many families, yes.

Well, for two people, perhaps ?--- For two people;

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for a man and a wife and two small children.

DR ROBERTS : You are including there a kitchen, of course ?--- No. We have here two principal types; two-room and three-room types.

The kitchen at the back ?--- No, the dining room is the kitchen, living room and kitchen as well. I want to point^{out} that a number of statements have been made by different people about the inadequacy of the two-roomed house. In the first place the people we are putting into the two-roomed house and people we are taking out of one room, out of the slums. In the second place the two-roomed detached cottages that the natives are getting here are infinitely better than many of the single rooms that people of the same class are living in in England. And then again, I would put this to you, that the authorities who have got to provide those houses are only able to put up a certain class of house with the means at their disposal, knowing that they are not going to get an adequate return on it.

DR ROBERTS : Suppose you have, not a little boy and a girl, but a boy and girl of about twelve ?--- They have a separate dwelling. The native in his natural way does not live with those bigger children in the same hut at all. But what happens with a lot of these people is that the bigger child perhaps sleeps in the dining room, in the living room.

The father and the mother, where would they sleep ?--- In the bed-room.

And the two children, suppose one is a boy and the other a girl, where would they sleep ?--- I don't know exactly what arrangement they make, but Johannesburg has departed from the usual rule of two rooms and has started on the experiment of putting up three-roomed cottages, which is an advance I think you will find on any other municipality

building townships.

I think it is a pity to depart from the native way of having the girls, if there are girls, in one hut, and the boys in another, and the parents apart ?--- That is so, there is no question about it; the two-roomed cottage is not the ideal, but it is a big improvement on what we are taking them from, out of the slums. And after all we are governed entirely by the cost. If the Council could put up a four-roomed cottage at a cost within its means, it would put it up like a shot.

MR LUCAS : That is why as a matter of fact I for one am so much impressed by the Bloemfontein system - the possibilities of it. I have never said the Bloemfontein system is perfect, but there you find a very large proportion of the houses with four rooms. And your system, for financial reasons, seems to tie you down as far as the bulk are concerned, to two rooms ?--- It has tied us down up to the present to two rooms, but as I say the Council has advanced on that; it is now putting up three-roomed cottages.

Then of course the rent is up another five shillings ?--- Naturally it must be.

So that it becomes even more serious on the social side. Can you give us the sizes of the rooms, for the sake of record ?--- Off-hand, the two-roomed cottages: the main living room is 12 x 14, and the sleeping room is 12 x 10. The proportions are the same for the three-roomed cottages: the rooms average 10 x 12, three rooms, and a verandah; rather, they average 12 x 12.

THE CHAIRMAN : As against those objections that you raised to the Blomefontein system, if you put the fact that Johannesburg admittedly has a bigger population and has already spent over half a million pounds, and has got almost

the same amount still to spend, and with a rapidly increasing population that burden will become heavier: that is one objection. Secondly, that your system has involved a fairly substantial subsidising of housing ?--- That is so.

Which of the two sets of objections would weigh most heavily ?--- Well, I would put it this way: in my opinion the ideal scheme for any town is the dual system: that is, a portion of your houses to be built and owned by the local authority for your floating population, and a restricted number of natives allowed to build their own houses. But I do say definitely that the time has come when the native, if he wants to build his house in a town, must build his house like any other person in that town. The town cannot be faced with an eye-sore or a slum. If my proposal is considered at all for a native reserve, that is the place where he can build any sort of house he likes: it does not matter. But a town which is trying to build itself up into a modern town, should not allow, simply because the native is poor, him to build up any sort of house. The objection, again, to the purely native owned houses is the fact that you have fixed on your threshold natives whom you find it very difficult very often to handle because they have a definite interest binding them to that place. You are going to find that your population's place of work shifts from time to time, that you are "nursing the baby" here.

The same objection applies to the Europeans ?--- No, sir, pardon me, it does not apply to the European in the same way, because he is completely free to do what he likes with his house.

He is not completely free: he may not sell it to a native ?--- No. But you cannot place him in the same category

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at all. Your native, in the first place, is not the freehold owner of the land on which his house is built; he only owns the house, if he owns the house at all. If the buildings on that land are his own property, he is not free to sell that house to anybody but a native, and to nobody but a native approved of by the local authority. Whereas the white man can sell his house to whom he likes, and he can let it to whom he likes; and with regard to the cost of his house, no proportion of it is borne by the local authority.

I think you will admit at the same time that the natives have hitherto not had any difficulty in disposing of their houses ?--- Some of them have. The majority in Klipspruit, I believe, can dispose of their houses fairly readily.

That is the only place where they have houses ?--- I am referring now to Johannesburg alone. If all the natives in all our townships were the owners of their own houses, there would be a difficulty.. The fluctuation is pretty heavy in these townships.

It is no longer possible as far as Johannesburg is concerned, even if it were ever desirable, that all the natives should own their own houses, because the Municipality arranges housing for a very large proportion ?--- I don't follow you.

The Municipality already owns housing for a very large proportion. Do you think it is possible, even if it is desirable, for all natives to own their own house ?--- I don't know that it is impossible. It is even possible for the Council, as it has done in Klipspruit location, to sell the houses owned by it to the tenants.

Actually no community ever possesses the houses they live in; you have always got a certain amount of

landlordism, inevitably ?--- That is so. There is one other difficulty, sir, that you have got to face in the native owned house, and that is the difficulty of lodgers. When he owns his own house he expects to be able to do just what he likes with the house: let it to anybody, and let anybody occupy it; over-crowded and everything else. Do what you like, make what regulation you like, you are not going to overcome that difficulty. Bloemfontein is faced with that difficulty to-day, and so are the other towns where they own their own houses. We are placed in the same predicament to a certain extent with municipally owned houses, but not to the same extent. We have this safeguard, that we are the owners of that house.

It does not matter whether you are the owner or not of a house, you cannot do what you like with it. There are certain things the law prevents you from doing in your own house ?--- It may be so on paper - just as you have a paper prohibition for the native so far as liquor is concerned in Johannesburg.

You have the same difficulty with your municipally owned house, so the question of ownership does not enter into it ?--- The question of ownership does enter into it. It is the effect on the mind of the owner.

Do you admit that you have the same difficulty in your municipally owned houses ?--- Not to the same extent. The difficulty for instance in the Western Native Township or the Eastern Native Township of other people residing with the Council's tenants is not as great as the difficulty at Klipspruit location, where they put up, unknown to anybody, an extra room on their own house. The native says, "I have the money to spend. I will put up an extra room. Why shouldn't I let it to somebody ?"

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Is there any objection, if he had an extra room ...
 ?--- There is no objection if it is let to an approved tenant; but there is a very distinct objection if it is let to undesirable people, as is very often the case. There are numbers of houses where single rooms are being let out to families, for instance in Klipspruit location, who, we definitely know, are merely there to make and supply liquor to mine natives.

Can they remain in the location without your permission ?--- They are there without our permission. The landlord says he has been allowed in the past: "This is my house. I have the room. I want to let it to that man for any price I like. I am going to let it." Then you have got the danger, again, of exploitation, and there is a good deal of exploitation among natives themselves.

The exploitation at Doornfontein would be bigger than the exploitation in all your municipal native townships together ?--- In Doornfontein ? Well, the majority of the houses in the other townships are owned by the Council, but where the native is his own owner, he charges very often just as much rent as the coloured landlord charges for one room.

MR LUCAS : You get a standard or a customary rate ?--- Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN : That is not the peculiar sin of the native. I think the European has taught him that ?--- We have taught him a lot of things, sir.

Now with regard to the cost of staff, etc., this item of £2,528.2.2. for "Head Office": I take it that refers to people like your City Engineer ?--- No, my head office; that is myself and my personal staff in the head office.

That is not charged to the Native Revenue Account ?---

/ It is

It is all charged to the Native Revenue Account, but it is not all charged to those townships; portion of it is charged to the townships. My head office, apart from controlling the townships, has a great deal of work in connection with the whole of the rest of the natives in the town; the housing of natives in the town, apart from those in the townships, all that falls under my department; recreation and all matters dealing generally with the native population in the town.

MR LUCAS : Mr Ballenden, I want to ask you something about these infantile mortality figures. Schedule 'D' on your main statement that you put in shows certain figures. Would the figures of deaths within twelve months of birth all rely on the memories of the mothers, as to what the age of the child was ?--- Entirely.

If you take your Klipspruit figure there: you show 174. The figures which are given in this separate sheet that you have put in now show 26 out of 95 that are traced. That works out at 274 ?--- Yes.

The next one at 250, and the next one about 221 ?--- Yes.

Those figures: could you suggest how to reconcile them ?--- Well, in the first place these second figures of May 1930 are for a definite prescribed period, that is, for one month in one given year. But taking it over twelve months you may get quite a different result. That is the one point. Then again as you say, the age at death is a matter of memory in the one case; in this case it is actual fact.

This is taking one month and dealing with all children in the location ... ?--- I am sorry, it does not take one month: it takes twelve months. I was under a

misapprehension myself.

It takes all the births for twelve months, of 1928
 ?--- Yes: whereas the other figures take the whole life
 history of a given number of women. And these figures deal
 with deaths in a defined locality, whereas with the others
 there is no locality defined at all.

The proportion "left township untraced" is very high
 in comparison with the "living": is your population as
 shifting as that would seem to indicate ?--- That is so.

Is it a very shifting population at Klipspruit ?---
 Not Klipspruit only, but taking them all round; those 47
 women at Klipspruit location, we may have had registration
 of births during those months at definite houses, from
 women who had come in there to be confined, perhaps from the
 town; illegitimate children, for instance, of the daughters
 of householders and so on, who have given birth to a child
 and then gone away again.

But with the Western Native Township the percentage
 is even higher, 95 out of 168 ?--- Yes, that would apply
 more at the Western Native Township; the Western Native
 Township population shifts more than the Klipspruit location
 population.

When they shift, do they shift from one house in
 the same township to another house ?--- No, they shift out of
 the township.

Is there much shifting from one house to another
 house ?--- Not a great deal, no. There is seldom movement
 from house to house, but there is a big movement of natives
 in and out of the location. Actually where they go, I cannot
 say; some of them drift back again into the town, and some
 of them drift elsewhere.

THE CHAIRMAN : I am very pleased indeed with these

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figures; they throw another light on the subject too. They tend to show a higher mortality than the others, undoubtedly, but they are, as I said in regard to the other figures, a very useful contribution ?--- I would say this, that the infantile mortality rate indicated in this last schedule that I have given you in my opinion is probably more nearly the correct figure, or more correct than the previous schedule that I took. As far as the native townships are concerned, the actual mortality rate in the Council's native townships, I would say that my opinion is that your native infantile mortality rate in the Johannesburg Council's townships is in the neighbourhood of 250 per thousand.

I think you are probably nearer the figure than anybody else has been ?--- I would like to say in that connection, sir, I notice that one native, T....., commented on the previous figures -- a matter which definitely I refute; and he also made the statement that all the natives in the Klipspruit location wish to get out, wanted to go elsewhere. Well, from my own information from natives there, that is entirely wrong. He is not conversant with the state of affairs in the Klipspruit location.

THE CHAIRMAN : That was rather strongly borne out yesterday during the Commission's visit, too ?--- Yes.

MR LUCAS : And wasn't one of the factors stressed by the different people we spoke to yesterday that they like the freedom to be able to build for themselves ?--- That is undoubtedly so. The more freedom you can give the native, the happier he is; and the more you can allow him to own his own property, the happier he is; no different in that respect to any other person.

Isn't that a factor that ought to be borne in mind

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when the new native township is being laid out ?--- It should be borne in mind with reason, sir, yes.

It has been urged upon us by educated natives, respectable natives, in a number of places that it is very difficult for them to find a suitable quarter where they will be among congenial friends, congenial society, as they have to take whatever house is allotted to them, which may be among more or less disreputable people. Could you suggest any way of dealing with that, of meeting that need ?--- Well, you have got this possibility in laying out a new township, of defining an area as being for selected families. But you have got dangers in that as well. You have got the danger of creating the impression in the minds of the other people that you consider that the men you have selected are definitely better than their neighbours. You very likely would create hostility between native families, because the native himself, in his own natural life, knows no social distinctions at all. And although the social distinction is being created to-day, through our civilisation, one has to be extremely careful in not accentuating it in the native mind.

DR ROBERTS : But even with the small social distinctions of which you speak, there is still a communizing - for want of a better word ... ?--- Family instinct, or communal instinct, yes.

Even among the better class ?--- That is so. I would point out that as far as our townships are concerned, the native has a very large choice in what house he is going to live; he is not simply told when he goes into the township, "All right, you go to house number so-and-so," and no departure is made from that. If he comes to us and says, "I would like to live in number so-and-so house, because I

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would have more congenial neighbours there," he is allowed to go there if the conditions permit of it at the time. He is not restricted just to one particular house. You asked me a question some time ago about moving in the location: we have had isolated cases where a man has asked to get out of a certain district because the neighbours are not congenial to him; he would like to go into such-and-such a district. If we can conveniently do so, and there is a house vacant, we let him transfer. Now there is this advantage of the scattering of the better type of the native right through, that he acts in many respects as a missionary to those around him. It may be unfortunate for him; but actually the effect of his method of living and so on does show in his neighbours.

MR LUCAS : You house your natives in the barracks in rooms with not more than ten beds ?--- That is so.

Some towns have as many as forty in a room. What do you consider are the advantages of the smaller room ?--- Well, in the first place I consider it more healthy to have not more than ten in one room; and secondly the natives can, put it this way, ^{chum} ~~chum~~ up more than they could do if you had forty in one room. We have definitely laid it down in Johannesburg that no employer of natives, whether the Council or anybody else, may house more than ten natives in one room; that is the maximum number allowed in one room. We have also laid it down that every employer of labour who houses his own natives must provide a bed of some sort for the native to sleep on - a bedstead; he is not allowed to let them sleep on the ground, or put in packing cases or sheets of galvanized iron, or anything else. It must be an approved type of bedstead. I would like this placed on

record also: I think it is rather interesting. We also insist that some ablution facilities must be provided. A shower bath is the minimum we allow for the natives housed there. And also proper sanitation. Those are the things we insist on: that is, 300 cubic feet of air space per head, 36 superficial feet of floor space per head, and the building must comply with the ordinary building bye-laws. And any new building erected may not be wood and iron; it must be either brick or some similar substance. Also adequate cooking facilities must be provided if the natives are cooking for themselves.

It is sometimes said that a large barrack - large rooms in barracks - encourages the bully and the criminal element; it makes it difficult for the law-abiding person. Have you anything to say about that ?--- I think that would apply to a room with any number in; and you will find the same thing in a boarding school or any other place, or in the army. You will find, if there is a bully anywhere, he will gain ascendancy in that particular room. But where the bully does score is where your sleeping accommodation, that is your bedsteads, are placed all on one slab, as sometimes is the case; the bully will take more than his fair share of that slab to sleep on and push the weaker man off, and create discomfort. Where you have separate beds, as we have, that cannot arise - and a separate convenience for putting up his kit, racks and so on.

THE CHAIRMAN : I wish to thank you very much, Mr Ballenden ?--- May I mention one or two other points ?

Yes, certainly ?--- It is frequently said, and has been said before this Commission, that the low wages that the native gets in the towns, has definitely driven the

native to making and selling liquor. Now I would like to say that that is not altogether true. The liquor maker, that is, the man who makes skokiaan and kaffir beer - or the woman, rather, is seldom the wife of a wage earner in the town. The big liquor makers and sellers are women who are not affiliated to any particular man here - those who are generally known as your skokiaan queens. Those people come here purely for the purpose of making liquor, not because of the lack of wage, anyway, but because of the ease with which they can make a big income. I do think it is rather a libel on the native population to say that they are generally driven to making liquor. The decent family, even on the wage they are getting to-day, does not resort to making liquor. A number of them do, but the majority do not. They are a special class who find it more convenient to make liquor, and easier to earn a living by that means, and prefer to do it than to work.

THE CHAIRMAN : It has become a special occupation ?--- It has become a special occupation among certain classes of natives.

With, presumably, a certain proportion, where it is an adjunct to other occupations ?--- That is so. Some of them have resorted I think to making liquor in order to eke out their meagre incomes. But with the majority of decent families, the wife goes out to do charring or washing, or something like that, no, they do not resort to liquor. It may be done in the future, because of the big revenue to be derived and the ease with which it is derived from liquor, to gradually encourage them into it. But at the present moment in many native townships I must say this, that the majority of people who are even poor do not resort to

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selling liquor.

You say the majority of decent families do not go in for it. Suppose you look at it, not from the point of view of decent families, but from the point of view of your native population generally? --- Well, I maintain then that the majority of the families we have got in Johannesburg are decent families - native families.

DR ROBERTS : The way it was put was rather a worry to me: it was put generally that where the whole family only earn 30s/-, we will say, in the week, and their expenditure was 40s/- -- the question was put by many of my colleagues, where do the other 5s/- or 10s/- a week come from? It was suggested generally that it comes from selling ~~let~~ liquor? --- That is a mis-statement of fact, and I would like on behalf of the native residents in the locations to refute that statement, that not all families, not by any means all native families resort to making and selling liquor.

They could not do it? --- Well, they could do it; they might be able to do so.

But the others would not have the money to buy it; it would be like the Irish method of each one taking in his neighbour's washing? --- Yes. Then there is one point which I would like this Commission to bear in mind: I don't know whether it comes within the terms of reference of the Commission. That is, in connection with the clearing up of slums by the local authorities, and the better housing of your native population. The local authorities are faced with this trouble, that there are many persons who fall just over the border-line; they are not natives, but they can be legally classified as coloured people; they are more native than they are really coloured, but they have just got a

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touch of colour that puts them over the border-line and outside the rules laid down in the Natives Urban Areas Act. In Johannesburg there are a very large number of such persons. And in clearing a slum, we find that we clear the full-blooded natives out of the slum and we are left with these people who are just over the border-line, and the slum still remains. And these people, I say definitely, are often of a lower type than the native, and a lower type than the full coloured man, as we term him.

THE CHAIRMAN : Do you suggest that an amendment of the Urban Areas Act is necessary ?--- I suggest this, that in order to meet this point, the Government should pass legislation which would give or rather implement the condition laid down in leaseholds and title deeds which apply to the various townships in Johannesburg, that is, that no coloured person other than the bona fide servant of the landlord may reside or rent property in that particular area. That clause is embodied in nearly all our townships here, and it is a pretty well dead letter by usage. I think that either the Government should pass an Act which makes it an offence for anybody to break that condition of a title or lease, or gives the local authority the power to apply for an interdict, or first of all to call on the township company to apply for an interdict against persons doing that; and failing them taking the necessary action, then the local authority to have the power itself to do that, and to debit the cost, if any, to the Council, to the township company. By that means you would get rid of a large number of your slums in the town, and you would bring about a better state of affairs than exists to-day.

DR ROBERTS : Does not the definition, if my memory

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serves me, say "anyone living after the manner and custom and habits of the native" ?--- No, sir: the definition of a native under the Native Urban Areas Act is "any member of an aboriginal race of Africa."

Where is that ?--- It is in the preamble - in the definitions to the Act.

THE CHAIRMAN : That is pretty wide.

DR ROBERTS : If I might be allowed to say this: I was asked for a definition, and I put that in, "anyone living after the custom, habits and manner of the native" ?--- It is not in the Act to-day; if it is, it is in such an obscure position that I have never found it. I wish I could find it. And then you are faced again, sir, with the difficulty of deciding whether he lives after the manner, customs and habits of a native. I may say he does; he would say he does not.

The onus would be on him ?--- I think the quickest way Johannesburg could get at it is by legislation entirely apart from the Native Urban Areas Act.

MR LUCAS : Arising out of the first point you raised, do you find a very large percentage of natives who do not drink at all now ?--- I would not say a very large percentage, but there is a percentage of the native population which does not drink.

Are they always educated natives ?--- No. Oh no. I have found all the way through what we term raw natives, that is, uneducated natives, from the reserves who definitely do not drink; but the majority of the native men do drink kaffir beer.

THE CHAIRMAN : Are there any other points you wish to raise ?--- Those are the two points I wanted to make there, sir. There was one point I don't know whether it is worth

while making. I noticed one witness yesterday defended lobola - the purchase of a wife.

MR LUCAS : You said lobola had broken down. It is a point that struck me when you were talking about the reasons for the influx to the towns ?--- It is breaking down.

Do you think it is breaking down, or merely a substitution of other things for cattle ?--- No, it is breaking down as well.

We have not had much evidence of it ?--- Well, I think you will find that that is the case here. You find there is substitution: natives will pay cash, or rather money instead of cattle, in the town to-day.

THE CHAIRMAN : Do you mean it is breaking down in the sense that a man and woman will live together for years and years, maybe for their whole life, without actually marrying by lobola or in the European way ?--- That is a growing tendency in the town, promiscuous cohabiting between men and women.

And that is in effect the way in which native marriage is breaking down ?--- Yes.

DR ROBERTS : Do you find seduction, using the meaning that we all attribute to it, increasing ?--- That in the towns is rife. In Johannesburg it is absolutely rife to-day; because of the tribal system and lobola system applying in their native reserves, but not being applied here, it is bound to become rife. There is not the restriction that takes place in the ordinary family life.

THE CHAIRMAN : Mr Ballenden, on behalf of the Commission I thank you very much for giving us not only such full evidence, but such very clear evidence, about the position in Johannesburg. I can assure you that it will be of considerable value to the Commission. As regards the questions of policy, I will ask the Secretary to write to the Council to nominate somebody who is prepared to speak on behalf of the Council on questions of policy ?--- I am afraid you cannot get that, sir.

Friday, May 22nd, 1931 - 2.30 p.m.

Evidence of Dr. ALFRED BITINI XUMA.

THE CHAIRMAN : Dr Xuma, at the bottom of the first page of your evidence you say that the number of livestock per capita of the population has not increased. Over what period ?--- I meant the number per capita.

When you say it has not increased you must compare it with a certain period back, to be able to decide that ?--- No, I was referring to the number per capita: livestock and cattle owned by each man; not as many as it used to be formerly.

When is "formerly" ?--- Well, for instance, even at my own home ...

MR LUCAS : Which part is that ?--- At Engcobo. My father used to have as many as eighty or over, and at the present time he has just about forty.

THE CHAIRMAN : That does not carry us very far; that is an individual instance. When you say formerly he had so much, when is "formerly": 1920, 1910 ?--- Well, he had more than eighty in 1920.

And the number has gone down now ?--- The number has gone down now; and you find the same thing with sheep and goats.

Do you think that applies to the Transkeian population as a whole ?--- I know that so far as most of my neighbours in the Manzana section of the Engcobo district, they have had quite a reduction in their livestock, because of the lack of pasture largely.

I think you will probably find, if you examine the thing well, that the number of cattle per head of the population has considerably increased in the last ten years ...

MR LUCAS : I think the evidence shows that in a

number of areas the total number of cattle has increased considerably since dipping was introduced. The number per head of the population, I don't know but I think that has increased too ?--- That was my point: I pointed out that even if the number of cattle for the Transkei might have increased, yet the number per head has in most cases, with most individuals, decreased.

When you say that you know, do you mean you know of individual cases ?--- I mean in this section of Manzana where I grew up, for instance, there are a large number of people whose cattle has decreased.

DR ROBERTS : Where is your home ?--- At Manzana, in the Engcobo district.

THE CHAIRMAN : I am very sceptical whether that statement will bear examination.

DR ROBERTS : I think it is in the 1865 Report: it gives there the number of cattle for the people as one per head. Now I don't know that it is much more.

MR LUCAS : I think the last Transkei figures we got showed roughly one and a half per head.

DR ROBERTS : I think it is worth while getting that Report, which is nearly seventy years ago.

THE CHAIRMAN : You have a section here dealing with debts to the local storekeeper. I wonder if you could give us any idea of the extent to which the people in the Transkei are indebted to traders. Is it fairly general: do most of the people owe the traders something ?--- Well, there again I won't have any figures to quote generally, but most of the people for some time do owe the traders a good deal. There is a good deal of the credit system going on.

There generally is when you get to dealing with money, but is it excessive ?--- Well, that will all depend upon my

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knowing what standard would be excessive. I said I really have not any figures to base the thing on, and so to say it is excessive or not excessive, will have to have a standard by which I can measure that.

Suppose you take as a standard the amount of money that your patients owe you ?--- They might have borrowed the money to pay me.

Those patients who still ^{owe} you, who have not borrowed the money: would an ordinary trader in the Transkei have as much money owing to him as you have owing to you from your patients ?--- Well, that I could not say, because in the first place I am here in the urban area, and the people here are earning cash by the month or by the week, and so they are able to replace it; but there they have to depend either on selling their stock or on the good crop, and things like that. So that that would vary even with seasons and sometimes with the reaction of droughts and other conditions.

You mention selling stock or part of the crop. Do the men sometimes go out to the labour settlements to earn money with which to pay their debts to the trader ?--- Yes.

So that is a way in which they get the money ?--- Yes.

MR LUCAS : Have you known of cases where £5 has had to be paid back for a loan of £3, after three or four months ?--- Well, I just know at the present time particularly a young man who lived near my home, who had borrowed from some traders something like £3, and he had to pay, as I said, over £3, something like £3.10.0.

Or £5 ?--- £4. Of course even in those cases there is really no standard that you can always set. I have not been meeting all the people, but those cases, even if there were two or three, are with people I happened to know,

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because of the other people that I met, I never asked these questions. It was unusual, because I happened to have known some of these boys who grew up with me, so I had reason to know a little about their affairs. It may not be too general, but there have been about two or three, as I say, who happened to have grown up in that same section with me.

THE CHAIRMAN : Do people in the Transkei complain among themselves about the burden of their debt to the traders ?--- There are some I know who have complained a good deal.

What form does the complaint take ?--- Well, in most cases they are not able to pay unless they have to give up their stock or their crops. You see, sometimes they have borrowed this money hoping they would have a good season in selling their mealies or some other produce for cash, or in some cases if the trader will take it in kind to pay that off. But if they have had a repeated drought, there are a large number of people who suffer and are unable to meet their obligations.

Do they complain because they have to get rid of their cattle to pay ?--- Well, partly; naturally it would be, because their cattle to them are their strength, because they use them for ploughing. But on the other hand, they have no other way of earning money; for instance, if their crop has failed.

I am trying to get back to the point you make that they sometimes do complain about the burden of debt. I am trying to find out what they complain about. Do they complain that the man is unhappy because he owes a lot of money ?--- They are unhappy because they have the demands that they have to satisfy, but they have not got the money to really pay up for the increasing demands that they have; and so

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they get deeper in debt, and yet there are more demands that are coming up.

But do you think that has become sufficiently serious in the Transkei to make a large number of people unhappy ?--- Well, it is making a large number of people unhappy in that recently there have been quite a few crop failures, and so that already indicates that most of the people have to try to find some money or some way of getting their food; and in that way they have reason to complain, because there have been repeated droughts in recent years. And in some cases even their poor wool does not sell as well as it might. Those are periodical things.

For what purpose do they borrow the money ?--- Well, in some cases it is not so much borrowing money as it is going to buy.

Running up accounts ?--- Yes, accounts for clothes and other things. And sometimes where a man has to send a daughter to school he might say to a trader, "Will you please let me have so much money, because I will have my wool at the end of six months, or I will see if I can sell something"; so that they borrow cash in that case. And in most of the cases the young men who have to come say to the Rand or elsewhere borrow the money to pay the fare to come up here; and usually they are coming to work for debts and taxes.

DR ROBERTS : Isn't it very usual for them to borrow the money in order to pay the fees at the different institutions ?--- Yes. That is what I illustrated, where a man sends a son or a daughter to school.

And also to pay for clothes for the boy if he wants to play cricket and that sort of thing, and for clothes for the girl ?--- Yes. It is not so much perhaps clothes; that I would consider more or less luxury for playing, but the

bare necessities that one should be dressed decently when he or she is in school.

THE CHAIRMAN : On page three of your statement you say you have never known native women come to town for immoral purposes. That is rather in conflict with the evidence we have obtained from a number of towns where the people in charge of the locations tell us that they have a good deal of trouble with women of this type ?--- Well, I am sorry to say that I still repeat that statement, that so far as I am personally concerned, I have never known a woman to leave any of the territories or any of the rural districts to come here to be a prostitute or something like that. And I have never even known those who come out here for the purpose, for instance, of selling liquor.

DR ROBERTS : You must recognise the difference - you have travelled a good deal - between what we regard as immorality and what the native would. There might be, surely, one or two young women who come to the town, not for that purpose, but would find some young man who took a fancy to her; but she had not actually left her home for immoral purposes. You don't even think that would happen ?--- Well, my point is I have never known of anyone leaving the territories for that purpose.

I entirely agree with you there, but a girl might leave without that desire, or without that intention, and get here and get mixed up with some young man. That is possible, isn't it ?--- That is quite possible, and that would be even possible, well, anywhere where there are human beings, male and female.

Do you say it would be impossible ?--- It would be possible.

But it is not possible for a girl deliberately to

leave her village to come here for immoral purposes ?--- No. Well, I would not say it is not possible.

But it does not happen ?--- I would not say it does not happen; I say I have not known any such cases.

THE CHAIRMAN : Dr Xuma, in the native society the blood relations within which a man may marry are very definitely laid down, are they not ?--- Yes, but they differ for different tribes.

Take a tribe in rural areas. Are those rules still strictly enforced here in urban areas where people are to some extent detribalized ?--- Well, so far as the few cases that I know, they are, but there is this difficulty that has come to my notice, that native tribes know their relationships in blood by tracing one another, and among the Zulus by knowing the Isibongo, and among the Xosas the Isiduko, and all like that. But here where they know each other as Miss So-and-so, and Mr So-and-so, there might be lapses, but not intended.

Not intentionally ?--- No.

Would a man have relations with a woman whom he does not know, and about whom he therefore cannot know whether there is any prohibitive blood relationship ?--- That is more an individual question, because some people may not perhaps stop to inquire into that. But most men will take time to find out. That of course is an individual thing: it could not be generally stated; at least I could not make a statement for the general group.

DR ROBERTS : And it would only happen if that man was drunk that he would do a thing like that ?--- It would happen if he was not in his best senses.

THE CHAIRMAN : We have heard a good deal of illicit

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liquor selling being accompanied by prostitution. We have also been told that among the natives prostitution in the European sense, that a woman gives herself to any man who will pay her money - that even among the natives in town that is not known. The two statements appear to be in conflict. I wonder if you can shed any light on that subject from your knowledge of the native people's way of thinking ?--- That in the European sense prostitution was not known among the natives ?

The two statements are in conflict. (Chairman's question repeated): It means that men come along to places where women sell liquor, and after they have got drunk, they have relations with the women, which seems to be prostitution in the European sense ?--- That is not true. I don't mean to say there could not be one swallow; at any rate it is not generally true, because I personally know many women who are selling liquor, and I have been near enough to watch the people going in; and most of those women are married women. And very often the husband is there when the liquor is being sold. So that to make that as a general statement would not be a true statement at all.

It is not said that it is invariable, but it is said that in many cases liquor selling and prostitution go hand in hand ?--- No, it is not in many cases. I don't mean to say there may not be rare cases; that would be just a weakness in that particular woman.

Do you think the man who goes to a shebeen for liquor, goes there for liquor and for nothing else ?--- For liquor and for nothing else.

DR ROBERTS : But it is perfectly possible, and you must have known cases where a young man has given a tie to his sweetheart, but you would not call that immorality, would

you ? He is fond of her, and she is fond of him, and he gives her a tie, or a pair of stockings, or something else of that kind. Does that happen ?--- Oh yes, that happens; that would be just like sending a box of candy to a young lady friend.

That is another thing altogether. I mean what you mean ?--- I don't understand you clearly, Dr Roberts.

Very often a young native man has a sweetheart, and it is a common thing for him to give her a present: you know that - a tie or something else ?--- Yes.

You would not call that prostitution ?--- I would not call that prostitution because he is not paying for the affection or love of that young lady.

THE CHAIRMAN : The two things are entirely separate ?--- Yes. It is no inducement to the young lady to pay attentions to the young man.

DR ROBERTS : That is what I mean, and it never takes the form of money ?--- No, sir.

Never ?--- Again I could not say "never" in every case, because I have not been in contact with every case. What I mean is it is never done with the idea of what we know as prostitution; it is just for the services rendered at the time.

THE CHAIRMAN : In the case that Dr Roberts mentioned, if they do have sexual relations they have it because they want it, and not because there is any payment ?--- That is it.

DR ROBERTS : He gives her a present ?--- He does not give her a present because they have had sexual contact.

THE CHAIRMAN : If he gives her presents, the presents have nothing to do with the sex relations ?--- Quite so.

The statement was made to us by Mr Ballenden this

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morning that the people who really make most money out of illicit liquor dealings are not the usual location residents, whose residents-husbands go out to work, but they are for the greater part a class by themselves who live on liquor and nothing else. Do you know anything about that?--- Well, I don't know the details, because I have never really gone into the budgets of these people who are selling liquor; that is, classifying them. I have never taken the trouble to go through that, and so I would have no definite information.

You cannot express an opinion on the subject?--- No, not at all.

Now I notice that you are among those who think that the Klipspruit location should be moved. Do you know whether this expresses the views of the people there?--- I would not take it from the views of the people. The views of the people are likely to be influenced by certain things, but the expression I have made, I have made it on one point, that is the relation of the location and the sewage farm.

Your point is this, that it is a bad place for the location owing to the proximity of the sewage farm?--- It is a bad place in combination with the sewage farm. Twenty-five years the sewage farm might have been all right, and the location all right, but that has increased until now it goes about three-quarters around. So the combination is getting worse and worse. It is just the combination. If you could move the sewage farm, the location might remain.

Tyamzashe (?) made a statement here that all the people of Klipspruit would be only too pleased to move if the Municipality would compensate them for their houses there?--- There is this to be said about that, in that I have

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heard, just in general conversation, people who should be in the know stating that, "Well, of course, if those people left there and went to any other place, they would lose their trading rights and other privileges that they had." And naturally most of the people know that, and a man who has even a house on the ground that he leases, of course hates to leave unless he is sure that he would receive compensation. He would say, "Well, I don't care about leaving; I have been here ten years."

We put the point to them whether if compensation was paid, what would happen? They don't want to move; they have lived all their lives there; some of their people are buried there. That is their home; they don't want to move now?--- Well, the only question to give us a vote on that is to know, if these people were given freedom of choice, that is, if you would say to a certain number, "There is a new location where you can go, and you will have compensation," and then see how many would be willing to go if they could have adequate compensation to go to that place. No single individual can really say he speaks for the whole community, and no whole community would ever move without dissension.

MR LUCAS : Plus the same rights that they have got now, to build and to trade?---To build and to trade, yes.

DR ROBERTS : You utter a curious expression -- not curious, but a real wise sentence here. You say the sewage farm is ideal, and the location administration is good, but when you put these two "goods" together, you get a "bad"?--- That is it.

It is possible, I suppose, to put two "goods" together and get a "bad"?--- Well, I say the sewage farm as a sewage farm is a good thing; by that I mean to say the treatment of sludge and things like that is done properly, and according

to the modern public health methods. It is a sewage farm, and then if it is isolated from any community where human beings live, it is very well. But I say when you combine even those two "goods" together, well then this is one case where the combination is really a bad one; because now if you would think that was useful, I suppose we would not have to truck the sewage as far as twelve miles out; we could put it around the town here.

THE CHAIRMAN : You put forward some suggestions here for dealing with the liquor problem. Suppose native beer could be obtained with reasonable freedom by some system or other by the natives, that it was not made illicit, could you express any opinion on the question whether that would lead to a reduction of the consumption of these noxious drinks that the natives make now ?--- Yes, I think so, because one of the reasons that the people are using these concoctions is this. Very often during the week, if the women prepare their beer, then there might be two or three police raids before Saturday and Sunday, and so they have lost a good deal. Now perhaps there might have been a raid on a Wednesday, but some of these people are persistent and they would like to have some beer or some drink for sale on Saturday and Sunday; so now in order to get it in a condition to be sold quickly, they have to introduce something that will give a kick. It is not that they want this particular kick that they put these things in, but it is only because they cannot go through the usual process that takes three or four days.

THE CHAIRMAN : It is the only way they can get it, really ?--- It is the only way they can get it and ready for sale within a few hours.

In other words, the native would still prefer

his ... ?--- Properly prepared beer, yes.

But I take it you would agree that a certain number of people have got so accustomed to getting a good hard kick that they would not be satisfied with just a push ?--- Well, the point is this, that most of these men are going there week-ends; and of course even a man who would like to have his own beer at home during the week and all along, cannot, because the police raids are destroying it. Now then the trouble is, I don't think that it is these concoctions that attract people, but it is because they have been used to a sort of drink. And of course when you have bought some, very often, and especially in conditions like that, you cannot return it, because you cannot say, "Well, it doesn't suit my taste." On the other hand, if most of these men had their beer at home, they could drink it at any time that they wish, and very often between smokes and between work hours, and all like that. They would only have enough to quench the desire for it, and they would not go to the excess and orgies that they do at week-ends, which is the only time that they can get a certain measure.

Have you practised medicine anywhere else except on the Rand, among the native people ?--- No, it is just here on the Rand generally.

You could not compare the Rand population in regard to venereal diseases with any other native population, with a native population anywhere else ?--- No, sir, I could not. And on the other hand the other difficulty would be this, that most of the figures that have been given in reference to venereal diseases, even in different sections, were not figures that were given by people who should know. As a matter of fact there were figures that were given for

Sekukuniland, about 80 per cent, or even 90 per cent: it was just the lay people who were giving those. It even took an officer of the Department of Health to refute the statement and say that the figures were much less than that. I have forgotten just what the figure was now, so that very often the incidence of venereal disease increases with the less knowledge that the person who is talking about it has; they seem to see more venereal conditions than doctors and public health officials see. I mean the people who are not medical men - from the statements that have been made public.

DR ROBERTS : And you consider therefore that a great deal of the violent statements that we hear are made by people who don't know medically the question put before them ?--- Yes, and very often they diagnose as venereal disease any condition that perhaps the doctors would exclude as something else.

THE CHAIRMAN : It rather struck me that one hears a good deal less, and this Commission has heard a good deal less, about venereal diseases in a centre like Johannesburg than in most of the smaller towns, especially the small country towns. Now I wonder whether that is due to better treatment here, or whether people just talk more freely about it elsewhere ?--- Well, partly, here there is something done; and the other reason that I could assign to that is that some of the men who ought to know have made some attempt at trying to get at an estimate of the prevalence of the disease; and their figures were really a surprise, that they were so low. And so those men have had to make a statement to show that while nobody denies that the condition is here, and that it is and should be treated, it is not quite as high as most people, especially lay people, are willing to make it.

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But we recognise the fact that the condition is here, and I am one of those who feel that it should be really treated, and treated rigorously.

In any thorough diagnosis I think the doctor tries to find out whether there are venereal symptoms that may help to explain the gynecological condition; that is correct ?--- In a general diagnosis ?

Somebody comes to you, and you do not know what is the matter. You generally try to find out whether there are venereal symptoms, don't you ?--- Yes.

Now have you ever tried to find out what proportion of patients coming to you for treatment - not for treatment for venereal disease, but for treatment for anything else - what proportion of those patients are suffering, or have at some time or other suffered from venereal diseases ?--- No, sir, I could not say precisely; as a matter of fact, for this reason, in that for instance in cases of syphilis you may have cases that will not show any outward signs.

I agree that is a difficulty. But what some doctors have done has been to make a note of clinical symptoms and indicate what proportion of patients coming to them for treatment, for any cause whatever, show clinical symptoms of venereal diseases. You have not done that, either ?--- Well, I have not done that, so that I cannot say I have drawn up any conclusion upon any figures like that. And there again, you see, there is I think one probable source of error in that most of the people say, "Well, I have had so many patients come, and so many did show signs and indications," where they may as a routine examination take a Wassermann. They say, "So many re-acted positively," and then they take that number - the number of the patients who come to them.

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And in most of those reports they are not reporting the incidence so far as the population is concerned, but of the number of patients that presented themselves before the doctor.

Of course that is always an overstatement ?--- Yes. That increases the percentage.

Undoubtedly it must. But if one understands what the figures mean, and after all that applies to all figures, if you want to use them you must understand what they mean. The figure arrived at in that way would be some indication of whether there was a great deal of syphilis in comparison with another place, or a small amount. You are in a peculiarly advantageous position for going into figures in that way, because of course you get in touch with a very much larger and more representative section of the native population than most European doctors would ?--- Yes.

I think that would be worth going into ?--- I could possibly give you the name of a man who has had an opportunity of making a comparison of people from different sections, but that would be only a thing that I could not quote.

At present, yes ?--- But your suggestion is a good one, and really would be worth while following up.

If you kept a record of that over a long period, you could add to our knowledge on that subject. Who was the man who made the investigation you are referring to ?--- Well, Dr (name not to be recorded), has taken the number of men who have been coming from different sections. It is of course comparative, and I don't know whether that really should be stated. I am not making that statement as a report. He has had that opportunity and he has got the men from all over the Union, and I believe he has made comparisons. And of course, again, I would leave that to him to follow up. While we are on this venereal disease

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question, our problem has been a rather difficult one; and as I said, the whole community realises that this condition should be combated and if possible got rid of. But with the non-Europeans, and here in this section, when they have these conditions in their acute or infectious stage, there is only one place where they have to go to: that is, they have to walk nine miles or so to Rietfontein. Well, the community really has tried to get the conditions treated here, but if a man goes out like that, say he was working on the road, there is really no chance of infecting anybody. In most cases he can continue to work while he is under treatment, if it was local, but very often he has to lose his work for the month, if he has to spend four weeks at Rietfontein. Now on that point I believe the City Council and the Medical Officer of Health of Johannesburg have been quite in favour of it, and an attempt has been made only recently, and an approach made through the Department of Health to the Central Government, to get the usual support of two-thirds for the estimated sum that is necessary to carry on that work. But that is the thing, so far as I understand, that is keeping us from having a special treatment centre here, as we have for the Europeans at the General Hospital.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is one other subject I want to ask if you know anything about. One of your colleagues, Dr. Moroka, of Thaba 'Nehu, whom you know very well, I think, made the statement to us that in his practice he had noticed that comparatively few native women give birth to children after the age of about thirty-five. Now one has to bear in mind of course that in all communities the incidence of child-bearing begins to go down somewhere in the thirties. But have you noticed in your practice whether there is so

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much of the fall in the child bearing of women above the age of more or less thirty-five, that it is significant ?--- No, I would not set any such age, in that some of the women about that time are almost coming to the end of their child-bearing age, in that they started at twenty or eighteen.

DR ROBERTS : In that ?--- In that they were married and started having children at the age of eighteen or twenty, so that some of them, so far as the number of children is concerned, have had enough, and they can be expected to decline. But taking that as an age where most of them stop, I have never stopped to think of it; and if that is the age where the largest average stops, I could not say.

Have you come across any indication that the menopause is earlier in native women than the usual forty-five for European women ? I don't mean individual instances ?-- No, I don't think it is, because there are many cases that reach fifty.

That happens in European communities too ?--- I know, but the average is taken to be forty-five usually; and I do think that most of the native women function to about the same average.

You think there is no difference in that respect between native women and European women ?--- Taking it generally, I don't know if you would really add it up, what it would come to, forty-six or forty-four.

It is roundabout forty-five; it is not a difference of ten years ?--- No, there would not be a difference of ten years.

(Shorthand-writer asked not to record Chairman's next question, and the answer thereto.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I recommend the point to you for your own observation ?--- Of course I would say that so far as my
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impression - if we are just at the present time going by impression - is concerned, I have really found no difference; but I say that sometimes when you sit down and put the figures down, you might find a slight difference or so.

DR ROBERTS : Are you an M.D. of Edinburgh ?--- No, sir, I am an M.D. of the North Western University in Chicago. I took my licentiate at Edinburgh.

Was it in Vienna where you studied in Europe ?--- I was in Budapest, and in a little place called Pecs; at the second university in Hungary.

You have not been at Vienna ?--- I only spent two weeks there; I did not do much work there. I was at Budapest almost all the time. I was at Vienna only two weeks just visiting the hospitals.

Would you look at page three, "How can we stop the influx of natives into towns?" -- the Chairman has gone so fully into your statement that there is very little left. In the third paragraph there you say, "It seems absurd to say all natives must go back to the land and engage in agriculture, not only because there would not be enough land in which to place all of them, but because where all members of the community are producing the same thing and especially without market facilities as export, the produce is of little value or no economic value at all." I gather from that that you put a very low value upon agriculture ?--- No, sir, I do not.

You do not ?--- No. It is the condition under which agriculture is carried on at the present time that I have in mind.

But not the agriculture itself ?--- But not the agriculture itself.

Do you think that you can get a hopeful condition of

things by making the bulk of the natives agriculturalists ? Would you have a hopeful condition ? Would it be possible to have that and the people progressive ?--- If there were more land and at the same time an efficient marketing system, I would support any such movement, that many of the people should go to farming. But at the same time I would not say, as most people almost make us believe, that all the natives are fitted for agriculture and should be trained to be agriculturalists.

Do you visualise great progress in a purely agricultural people ?--- Well, to a certain extent; and of course I have no example what future there would be for an agricultural community since we are under the civilised group in the inland or urban areas where they sell their produce, because now men can no longer use the skins and everything else unless they have a good market.

THE CHAIRMAN : When I read the statement that Dr Roberts quoted, that agricultural produce has little or no economic value, the question just occurred to me whether you had studied economics or read economics, and whether you used that term "no economic value" in a strictly technical sense ?--- I meant locally among those people, in that those people, if everybody was producing the same thing, and in order to get certain things they have to get cash, if they had no organised marketing scheme they would have those difficulties in selling their products, where you could not have a barter system.

You did not use the term "no economic value" in a technical sense, like the text-books on economics would use it ?--- No.

Have you read any economics ?--- Well, I did some years ago. I don't know whether I can still remember the

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definitions of economics.

Then you would not have used it in that peculiar sense; you used it as a term of ordinary language, in other words.?--- Yes.

MR LUCAS: It means it would be no use to them except for their own food ?--- It is no use to them except for their own food, and then when they need the other things that they must have - then, that was the sense in which I used it.

DR ROBERTS : Then, what happens ? That is just the point ?--- What usually happens is without the organised marketing system they cannot get rid of their product, and they almost give it away to traders, very often, in those sections.

All the people must go out to industrial work ?--- Not all of them. But the idea is this: in the first place those small plots that they have are supposed to be enough for the person to satisfy all his needs, from those little plots. Then I say that they need more than that. As farmers, we usually consider in order for a farmer to get cash so as to satisfy his other needs, he has to sell his produce, and sell it at a good profit, in order to have a return to meet these other demands.

Do you think that in any space of time production of that kind would help a people ? It might help a few, a part, but do you think it would help a whole nation of six millions ?--- Might I just ask a question ?

Yes, do ?--- Production of which kind ?

Wheat, maize, butter, anything from farming. Do you think in any lapse of time that would lift up the people ? Wouldn't they in a hundred years' time still be producing butter and eggs ?--- That would be almost the thing if you are trying to force every one of them into those small plots.

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I think you have escaped my point. You are saying you would put them all out to work agriculturally, the whole people ?--- No, sir.

MR LUCAS : That was his argument.

DR ROBERTS : Your statement reads, "Firstly, more land must be made available to the natives for purchase, lease and farming in shares anywhere and everywhere possible."

MR LUCAS : In an earlier paragraph he says, "It seems absurd to say all natives must go back to the land and engage in agriculture."

DR ROBERTS : Now on page four, under "The Location Compounds," I see you do not approve of location compounds with their fences, their small houses, and their guarded gates. You regard them as objectionable and meaning prison life ?--- Not exactly meaning, but implying that the people were not free.

It comes to the same thing ?--- Yes.

MR LUCAS : Do you think that feeling is general among the natives who live in these townships ? Do you think that it affects their outlook on life ?--- Yes, it does, because as a matter of fact the Western Native Township is known as "The Zoo" among the natives. I know one man who went there last month who had been living at Sophiatown, but at the end of the month, before the month was over, he had to give notice to leave because he found out that the conditions were not what a man of his type wanted. He said it was overcrowded, so far as the little space was concerned; anybody's business was everybody else's business, because of the over-crowding conditions. And the other objectionable features were that they had to get in at those gates guarded by the police, and all like that.

Mr Ballenden told us this morning that no permits

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were asked for, and nobody was questioned about coming in or out ?--- True enough. But what I mean is this: there is no other township except those owned by the municipalities that are fenced in like that, and where people are buying their own property. It is not as though a policeman would only go there to protect the community, by just walking through the place: there is no need for those fences, so that you cannot come in through a certain street if you wanted to.

DR ROBERTS : In the same paragraph you object to lodgers' fees and the arresting of people and their furniture being sold to pay for rent ?--- Yes.

You say that causes a real grievance: you have felt that view ?--- From what people say -- I have never lived in locations - they have been talking a good deal about their furniture being auctioned for rent, and their children being required to pay lodgers' fees.

You have passed it through the sieve of your mind and you say that it causes a grievance ?--- Yes, because the people who have gone through it are talking a good deal about it, and so I think they feel the pinch, and so they are the people to squeal.

On page six, under the heading, "The Bantu and Their Wages": can you give any explanation why native wages on farms have remained practically unchanged for fifty years ?--- No, I personally cannot.

Do you know that that is the case ?--- I know that to be the case.

Not for twenty-five years, but for fifty years. You are not fifty yet ?--- No, sir, I am not fifty yet, but my father is seventy-seven, and he was telling me; I was in the Transkei just in March.

Well, that is about my own age ?--- He was telling

me they were working for ten shillings a month; that was almost fifty years ago. It struck me then that in that period, even with the fluctuations in the cost of living, there has been no rise.

No change ?--- No change, rather. And most of those people now require a little more, because in those days they made use of sheepskins as blankets, and now they have to buy blankets.

I just wanted to get from you that you had definite information on the fact that the wages had not changed ?---Yes.

On page eight of your statement, under "Health Problems," you use the phrase there once or twice - you say that "Disease knows no colour bars"; but certain diseases belong to the natives and certain diseases belong to Europeans, - isn't that so ?--- Which, for instance, Doctor Roberts ?

Well, I understand that scarlet fever did not touch you much ?--- Oh yes, it does. As a matter of fact most people suggest that natives do not have gastric ulcers, but I think it was just bad or no diagnosis at all.

You mention these towns: you have seen them, Chicago, Milwaukee, New York ?--- I have lived in them.

You say there is no difference there between European and native ?--- European and negro: that is so.

With regard to education - your last paragraph - education, you say, should be a State duty and charge. Don't you think it is so ?--- Well, I think largely most of the native education is subsidised by the State, but the schools and other things, you see, are provided in churches by the missions, and all like that. It is not a State charge, as it is. We have schools for Europeans and Indians and coloureds here which are provided for by the Government on the per capita basis, coming from the general revenue of the Government.

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But except in some rare schools like St. John's here and one in Grahamstown, and one or two in Capetown, the European schools are built by the Government. Would you have it with regard to the native schools, that the Government would build them ?--- Yes, I think so. The sooner we recognise the identity of interests, I think the easier will be our problem. The moment we split our problem and make many problems out of it, we make it more difficult than it should be.

You would make native education a State question ?---

A State question, yes.

Now one statement here is rather vague. Would you be good enough to indicate exactly what you mean? I have read the words two or three times: it may be my obtuseness: "The system of education should be such as to train the citizens in carrying on the affairs of the community and the State." Now we all agree to that. Are you finding fault with the present system of education in native schools ?--- Well, the point I had in mind there is, there are many people, and some of them are experts, who feel that there should not be what is known as native education, or some type of - I don't know what they call it - native education. I feel that there can be education of the native, and there is no such thing as native education.

You hold that there is not what might be called European education as distinct from native education ?---
No, sir.

Then the education for natives should be the same as the education for Europeans ?--- Yes: to develop the people's minds so that they can be able to exploit their environment.

And you do not see any fault in the system of education, do you ? Would you change it if you were the Director

of Education in the Union ?--- Of course there might be a need for a local adaptation of the education system in any community.

But the backbone must be the same ?--- Must be the same.

Do you object to the Development Fund means of providing education ?--- Yes.

How would you meet the cost of education ?--- Well, I think, as I have said, there should be unity in education. I think the State should be able to work out the best way from the general revenue, the best way of meeting that on the per capita basis.

And then any native tax, if such were required in the future, would go into the general funds of the State ?--- Yes, rather than have that Native Development Fund isolated. And besides, most of us wonder where the 16s/- in the £ goes, as it is.

It would take a whole day to explain, so that, if you will forgive me at any rate - I don't know about the others - I won't try to explain, because I am not very sure myself ?--- Well, if Dr Roberts is not sure, then I am lost.

DR FOURIE : On the liquor question, you mention three schemes on page seven, (a), (b) and (c). Which scheme do you prefer ?--- Well, home-brew. I would rather recommend home-brew, because I feel that most people would take a drink whenever they could, and there would not be a tendency to drink to excess. That is among other reasons. And then again, there would be no need for these concoctions that are being prepared to-day and are poisoning people in certain cases.

That would be also the desire, you say, of the tribal natives ?--- In most of the sections outside in the territories, of course, they have their own brew.

And educated natives ?--- Well, I mean home-brew for the people who want beer; that is, if they want native beer.

That is your opinion. I want to try to get the opinion of the people themselves ?--- They would rather have home-brew, because they have been used to it in their own home countries.

Therefore I ask you whether the educated natives also would desire that scheme ?--- Those who want beer, would.

With the right to sell ?--- Well, that of course might require a licence. But the idea there is that to prohibit what people want is absolutely wrong, really to try to make them criminals, when they know that they want a thing, and they could have it under better conditions without any excess, when they have the licence. But you see, the difficulty now, and the thing that leads to some of these conditions that are objectionable, is the fact that there is prohibition. You see, the moment one is found in the possession of this, he is a criminal and he is marched to the charge-office. That would save many people; many people would never see gaol, that are to-day spending six months or more, because of the present conditions. And then, on the other hand, I do not think, especially the operation of the liquor law, that it is an advantage to the European community; it has a tendency to demoralise the European community - a section of it - in that they know that the natives, some of them, want liquor. And so they are tempted to sell it to the native; and the man is charged for supplying, and the native who buys the liquor is charged with being in possession. Now if a way out would be found, that is, either in giving a licence to those who would want their liquor, then it would save both sections of the

community. The European would be saved from going to gaol or being charged in court for having supplied a native, and natives would be saved from spending six months in gaol for possessing liquor that they bought from someone else.

MR LUCAS : One of the fears that is expressed about allowing home-brewing is that it would lead to a very great deal of drunkenness, and that it would be used as the cloak for very much stronger liquor ?--- I don't see how that could be arrived at, in that the fact that you have a legislation is not stopping people who want their liquor from buying it, even at the risk. Now I think most people would be satisfied, and some of them really do not necessarily care to have the stronger liquor; but they are just used to the kaffir beer and would be satisfied with it. I don't think it would have a tendency to make more people drink. I have been exposed to liquor, and I have a right to get liquor, and sometimes when necessary for my patients, but there has never been any need for me. That could really be covered by the suggestion that I made, that people who want a drink can be legally given a licence to go and buy what they want.

DR ROBERTS : Can you explain at all, either on biological or physiological grounds, why it is that the bulk of educated natives do not drink ? You have quoted your own case: I could quote twenty others. Is there any reason? Is it education, do you think, and self-restraint ?--- I am afraid, Doctor Roberts . . .

You do not agree ?--- Not that: I could not explain physiologically or pathologically just how it is, because I don't know whether education has really any definite influence upon their physiological or pathological reactions.

THE CHAIRMAN : Dr Kuma, I wish to thank you very much for appearing here to give evidence.