

Addendum by Mr. Lucas.

INTRODUCTORY.

1. The Commission's Terms of Reference call, in my opinion, for a more detailed statement of certain facts in relation to the social and economic position of the Natives than is given to them in the Report. There are also certain measures which are necessary, in addition to what is recommended in the Report for the development of the Reserves, to help to reverse the drift to the towns. On a number of points my views differ from those of my colleagues. These matters will be dealt with in this Addendum.

2. It will be desirable at times for the sake of clearness to set out again a few of the facts which are included in the Report, but this will be done as briefly as possible.

3. For the purpose of considering the economic position of Natives in the Union, they may be divided into Natives whose homes are in the Reserves, Natives whose homes are on farms, and Natives whose homes are in urban areas. These three classes will be referred to respectively as Reserve Natives, farm Natives and urban Natives. Large numbers of Reserve Natives leave their homes to work for Europeans on farms or in mines or in the towns; the periods of their absence from home being of varying duration. The evidence appears to show that in no Reserve is it possible for the Natives domiciled there, with their existing methods of production, to maintain themselves and meet the calls upon them for money payments, such as that represented by the General Tax, without many leaving the Reserves to work in the service of Europeans in other parts of the country. The tax collection returns for 1928 and 1929 received from the Native Affairs Department, given in Annexure 25, show through the payment of General Tax by Natives in districts other than those to which they belonged, the number of Natives away from their homes in 1928 and 1929 at the time the tax had to be paid. That number rose to 71.7 per cent. for Middelrift (Cape) and 67 per cent. for the Sekukuni area. It is over 60 per cent. for several areas in the Cape, Transvaal, and Natal. Natives sometimes remit the money for their taxes to be paid at home so that actually the total number may be greater than is shown in the Annexure.

4. The number of farm Natives and urban Natives is thus increased during certain seasons of the year by Natives who go out from the Reserves. The number is also greatly increased by those Natives who come into the Union from the Protectorates and Portuguese East Africa.

5. The system under which the Natives lived before they came in contact with Europeans, did not lead to material progress but it maintained a more or less uniform economic level for all the members of the tribe. They lived under a subsistence economy and there was no market for any surplus products.

6. There was no need for the close application to toil which is a marked feature of European life, but it must not be inferred from this that the Native's life was one of leisure. What was needed to be done was done and all work was divided by custom into men's work and women's work and boys' work and girls' work.

7. The importance of cattle in Native society has been shown in the Report and can hardly be exaggerated.

8. The Natives' standard of morals was very strictly observed and the woman's position was safe-guarded by the marriage laws and by obligations placed on the heads of families.

9. Numerous customs of a religious character influenced their daily life. Witchcraft played an important part and made their lives full of fear of the unknown and unseen. Communication between tribes, though it occurred, must have been small in comparison with what takes place to-day.

10. The tribe was organized on a basis which was intended to provide for all its needs. There was no one with whom to trade and except for cattle, which represented wealth, there was no inducement to hoard. When there was a famine all suffered and there might at such times be serious loss of life. There was no incentive to produce more than would be necessary for the normal needs of the tribe during the period from one harvest to the next. There was nothing, therefore, in their economic system to require or encourage what among Europeans is known as thrift or to develop trading or commercial instincts.

11. With the coming of the Europeans great changes necessarily occurred. The Europeans soon wanted servants both for farm and house work and the Natives supplied this need. Those who did so were thus introduced to an entirely new world. They were separated for lengthy periods from their tribes and their families. They learned to desire European goods, food, clothing, and ornaments, and they went out to work to get them. As the Europeans themselves generally lived under what was almost a subsistence economy, the pay of the Natives thus engaged was seldom made in money. It was frequently made in animals.

12. The occupation of the land by Europeans extended fairly rapidly farther and farther on to land that had been used by the Natives. As time went on they began to feel the effects of this; through their having insufficient land to allow of new arable plots being allotted in place of those which became exhausted and from their not being able to move to new grazing grounds. Their agricultural and pastoral methods no longer met their needs, which were themselves increasing under European influence, because the return from exhausted land became less and their cattle began to die from starvation.

13. Nothing was done to help the Natives to adapt themselves to their altered conditions. At the same time the Europeans, anxious for more labourers, imposed money taxes on them to force them to go out from their Reserves to work among the Europeans. Recruiting was also adopted to assist this object and soon large numbers of Natives were going out from their Reserves to work for industries controlled by Europeans. Employers were generally little concerned about whether such Natives returned to their Reserves or not and frequently no provision was made to see that they did return. Thus many remained in the European areas both urban and rural.

14. Those who returned home naturally had had experiences which they described to their fellow tribesmen. New ideas from a strange civilization were introduced among a people accustomed only to tribal life and an endless process of disintegration of tribal customs began. New needs were created which could be satisfied only by the Natives going out to work for the money which would provide for those needs. They can to-day by their more advanced methods generally produce what would have been enough to satisfy their old primitive needs but through contact with European civilization their needs have increased beyond their present capacity for production. That gives as keen a sense of poverty as would in earlier times an incapacity to produce enough for those primitive needs.

15. With the pressure of money taxation and of the steadily growing impoverishment among the Natives the migration from the Reserves to European areas increased. The attractions of town life as well as the poverty met with there, kept more and more of the Natives who had migrated to the towns from returning home. Women followed the men and a permanent Native population became established in European areas. The stages of this process may be very clearly seen in the history of Capetown in the past forty years.

16. For some time the Europeans were pleased to have these Natives in the towns. Their wages, influenced by their numbers and by their original employment for payment in kind and by their small monetary needs, were very low. They were willing to do any kind of work and the European was, with their help, able to organize his industries on a basis which allowed Europeans to maintain for themselves a high standard of living. Of the Natives who came to work for Europeans the majority came only for a period sufficient to enable them to earn enough to supply their immediate needs, after which they returned home. Thus they remained unskilled workers. When they returned from the Reserves to the European areas they could not be sure and in fact were unlikely to obtain the class of work they had previously done. Previous experience therefore counted for very little and there arose for Natives what may be called a customary wage level which did not vary with the work on which they were engaged. In fact the view is still quite commonly held that it is wrong to pay more than a small wage to a Native. Because the wages of Natives were low their labour was wastefully used. Industry was, in consequence, frequently inefficient and the labour cost high.

17. As a result of the Natives' low wage level, the view arose that skilled work should be confined to Europeans and unskilled to Natives. While this development was proceeding, but before the number of Natives who could be induced to come out of the Reserves to work for the Europeans was large enough to satisfy their requirements, Natives were imported or encouraged to come into the Union from neighbouring territories. The important part

played by this development is illustrated by the following figures of the number of Natives from neighbouring territories who were in possession of passports on the Witwatersrand on 31st December, 1931:

	On Mines.	In Other Employ.	Totals.
Basutoland.....	27,424	2,152	29,576
Bechuanaland.....	2,793	1,195	3,988
Nyasaland.....	134	1,370	1,504
South-West Africa.....	2	26	28
Northern Rhodesia.....	9	54	63
Southern Rhodesia.....	44	3,026	3,070
Swaziland.....	4,733	1,150	5,883
East Coast.....	74,042	229	74,271
Tropicals.....	72	33	105
TOTALS.....	109,253	9,235	118,488

18. There is thus considerable communication, not only between Natives from different parts of the Union but between Union Natives and those from other territories.

19. Any investigation into the social and economic conditions of Natives of the Union must, therefore, pay careful regard to the inter-action upon each other of the Natives from different parts of the Union and also of extra-Union Natives upon them. The neighbouring territories obviously have themselves a very direct interest in the effects on the social and economic condition of their Natives from their contact with Union Natives.

20. One of the most serious obstacles in the way of the Natives' progress is the belief, prevalent among Europeans in the Union, that the Native is incapable of progress and must always remain backward. This belief makes many Europeans unwilling to teach new methods to Natives or to encourage them to make use of their abilities. The falsity of the belief is shown in the great success achieved by individual Union Natives in a profession such as medicine, in teaching, in farming, and by bodies of Natives in administering their own affairs; and its falsity is still further shown by the advance made in several parts of Africa, such as Nigeria and Tanganyika, where trust has been shown in the Natives' ability to evolve the necessary adaptation of their own institutions to meet the changes brought about in their lives by the coming of European civilization. It is idle, in the face of the evidence which has already accumulated of what Natives have accomplished, to deny their capacity to respond to intelligent guidance and training.

21. Much of the effect of certain aspects of the evidence about the Reserves is given in the Report. There are, however, other aspects which it is desirable to set out, in order that a general picture of the position and problems of the Reserves may be presented. This can, in my opinion, be most effectively done by giving a short summary of the evidence about two Reserves which are neither the best nor the worst off economically. For this purpose Witzies Hoek and Thaba 'Nchu Reserves in the Orange Free State are taken. They are in certain respects not so well favoured by nature as some Reserves but they are much better off than many others. The points raised in the evidence about the two Reserves which have been chosen may be taken as arising fairly generally in other Reserves.

ORANGE FREE STATE RESERVES.

NOTE.—The name of a district after a statement means that it has been taken from the reply to the Questionnaire sent to the Magistrate for that district.

A figure in brackets refers to the relative page in the evidence, while a figure prefixed with an "s" means the relative page in the statement of the witness quoted.

22. The Orange Free State contains three Native Reserves, particulars of which are given in the Schedule to the 1913 Land Act, as follows:

District.	Reserve.	Area.
Harrismith... ..	Witzieshoek.. ..	50,000 morgen (approx.)
Thaba 'Nchu.....	Thaba 'Nchu....	6,631 m. 55 sq. rds.
Thaba 'Nchu.....	Seliba.....	17,658 m. 502 sq. rds.

This is approximately 245 sq. miles, representing about 0.5 of one per cent. of the area of the Free State.

Witziesshoek.

23. No census of this area has been taken in recent years but as there are more than 2,000 male Natives who pay the General Tax and who are resident in this Reserve, the population may be estimated to be approximately 10,000 (4817, 4841). The population was estimated to be roughly 5,000 in 1889 (4840). The people are very cleanly, their area is healthy and their housing good (4818). There are two distinct tribes, Mopeli and Mota tribes, each with its Chief. Both are off-shoots from the Basuto, one being a direct off-shoot of the tribe Moshesh (4820). The people are very law-abiding. The Police Force for the area consists of three Europeans and two Natives (4816).

24. Chiefs have civil jurisdiction and there is a Native Reserves Management Board, consisting of the Native Commissioner as Chairman, a Missionary as Vice-Chairman, and seven Natives, and constituted under Ordinance 6 (O.R.C.) of 1907 (4816). The inhabitants of the Reserve are easy to govern. There are few cases of Natives migrating from the Reserves to urban areas. Natives from the Reserve who have been working on farms return to it from time to time because their stock has increased too much and the farmer will not keep them any longer. Such a movement is likely to lead to the overstocking of the Reserve (4815).

25. Those Natives who go out to work go principally to Johannesburg and the mines; very few go to the farms, presumably because the pay is less there than in Johannesburg (4843). The shortage of land is driving Natives out to the towns or the farms (4814). Some farmers have difficulty in getting labour, not through scarcity of labour but because, through not being able to get on well with their Natives, they get a bad name (4822).

26. When a Native comes back after a long absence and asks for admission to the Reserve a written statement is taken from him showing his age, approximately, the number of his wives and of his stock, where he comes from, where he was born, and who his Chief is. That statement is then submitted to the Board for consideration and, if the Board approves, the application is sent to the Secretary for Native Affairs. Applications are always approved if the man's father was a resident of the Reserve or if he is a bona fide member of the tribe. Such people cannot get land in the Reserves unless there is a vacant plot (4841).

27. The people in the Reserve are very poor. There is absolutely no medical attention, and provision is badly needed. Any case needing treatment must be sent to Harrismith about 30 miles away (4828-9).

28. About 6,000 to 7,000 morgen are arable and may be considered as good mealie land (Raath, s. 4). All the arable land has been allocated. As the families have increased and sons have married they have shared the holdings of their father and thus because of excessive sub-division there are no landless married Natives in the Reserve (4814, 4820). There is great divergence in the size of plots (4842). There is no dispossession of plots except for 3 years' non-usage (4842). There is no provision for hiring holdings or arable land (4815). As there is no fencing, damage is done by wandering stock (4814). The owner of an allotment loses it if he leaves it vacant for over 3 years (4814).

29. The Reserve is bound to become congested. The splitting up of families is undesirable and is objected to (4814, 4831).

30. There is a good deal of erosion and the soil, through being constantly used without fertilizer, is becoming exhausted (4827). Not all the agriculture is primitive, some Natives using up-to-date machinery, but generally the standard of agriculture is very low (4815). There is one demonstrator working in the Reserve. He has been there since 1930. He has obtained good results (4824, 4848). No other steps have been taken to improve the standard of agriculture in the Reserve. The provision of agricultural instruction would seem to be more necessary for blacks even than for whites, and an experimental farm on the boundary of the Reserve for the assistance and instruction of Natives would be very valuable.

31. Natives have been encouraged to make gardens round their homes. These have been fenced and have proved successful (4816). The production of mealies and kaffir-corn, the main crops, was about 2,300 bags of mealies and 2,300 bags of kaffir-corn, which is a ridiculously small yield (4818, 4843). Forty years ago the Reserve was able to export mealies (5242) but now it imports every year, because of drought and poor farming (4823). With better methods of cultivation the Reserve could support its present population (4824, 5242). With present methods it cannot carry its present population (Raath, s. 4).

32. The general economic condition of the Reserve has gone back immensely in the past forty years (5240). The economic retrogression can be attributed to the fact that 30 years ago they were not so congested as they are to-day, and now a big drought sets them back if it does not actually ruin them. There has also been moral retrogression; they are not so honourable as they were (4840). There is an unnecessarily large number of paths, and this reduces the relative productivity of the Reserve (Raath, s. 5). The residential plots are not grouped; grouping would make more land available for grazing purposes. It is not recommended since Natives are going in for fencing the plots round their homes, these plots serving a good purpose. The lands are more or less grouped with the exception of those on the mountain sides (4817). The water supply is plentiful but the Natives do not irrigate their lands (4819). The number of animals in 1926 and in 1929 was:

	1926.	1929.
Cattle.....	8,029	7,790
Horses.....	1,759	1,798
Sheep.....	6,602	8,210
Goats.....	10,067	11,055

there being thus no appreciable increase in stock since 1926. The majority of the cattle are scrub of a very poor type some being of an inferior type of Afrikaner breed (4818). The average value would be about £2 per beast (4836). There is not a very large number of cattle but even they are too many for Witzieshoek under present methods (4828). There is no scab among the sheep, and little dipping is necessary (4822).

33. More grazing ground should be preserved for winter feeding, which would necessitate a certain area being fenced. The custom is for the greater portion of stock to graze in the mountains in summer and to be brought down during the winter to graze in the fields (4818). There are some small plantations of wattle and poplar, poplars being favoured as their poles are used for rafters. Reeds are also plentiful (4817-8). There are great possibilities for tree planting (4827).

34. In some respects in the past twenty years there has been progress in the building of houses, in the making of gardens and in the clothes that are worn (4839). The people lived a more pleasant life 40 years ago than now and they moved about from place to place less then. Conditions were easier for them (4841).

35. There are in the Reserve eight schools under the Management Board, the number of pupils in December, 1930, being 1,042, of whom 322 were boys and 720 girls. The schools are controlled by the Board, the majority of the teachers being paid by the Provincial Administration. After passing Standard V those pupils who wish to go further are sent to the High School at Stoffberg (4819). The reason why so few boys are in school is because they are required to stay and herd cattle, no co-operation to share the herding having taken place. It often happens that one herd boy will be in charge of only one beast. Formerly the Board used to assist the schools in providing buildings and equipment, but under a ruling from the Minister recently the Board has been prohibited from using the Local Tax for educational purposes (4830), and the buildings, which need constant repair have become very bad—one building was blown over in a storm. Unless provision is made for school buildings there will soon be none (4850). School gardens are being introduced but difficulties arise in arranging for the transport of the agricultural demonstrator from place to place (4826). Technical training is very necessary but no funds are available for it (4834). Opposition is growing to mission control of the schools (4850).

36. As happens in other parts of the Union, because of the existence of communal grazing with the right to graze cattle over the lands after crops have been reaped, it is difficult for an individual Native to make progress. When the cattle graze off the mealie stalks they trample down the ground and make it hard. The land does not benefit by the manure dropped on it as this is picked up by the women and used for fuel (4817). Survey is not necessary and not worth the expense (4815). There is already a tendency among the progressive Natives to begin to get individual tenure. This should be encouraged because with individual tenure there will arise a feeling of independence (4825).

37. The main causes leading to detribalization are (a) alleged tyranny of the Chiefs and friction between the Native and his Chief, sub-chief, or headman; (b) Tribal friction and hardships caused through there not being sufficient arable land; (c) Indigency, through famine—the man drifts to the town in search of employment and if that is lucrative his wife and family

follow him and he never returns; (d) The social life and advantages and facilities of the town; (e) Evolution and civilization (4812). The Native's tribal assets are land to plough under the communal system and free grazing for stock. If the Native has no stock there is, therefore, not much to lose (4812). The Native with numerous stock has far more advantages under tribal conditions than the poor and indigent Native. The rich Native can hold Matsima (a beer party) to get his lands skoffeled and reaped, he can help his Chief or headman and so get into his good books; he can hire herd boys and send his sons to school; he can get any disputes settled gratis merely by applying to his Chief or headman; the poor man on the other hand has to battle for a living for his wife and children (4812). The Native living under tribal conditions can live more cheaply than a detribalised one (4812a). The disadvantages of the tribal system are that the Native, because of scarcity of land, is unable to plough as much as he would like to, and he suffers inconvenience through not being allowed to fence his plots (4812a). Detribalisation means deterioration, but usually means greater efficiency (4853).

38. One important development of the lobolo (Bohadi) system has occurred in this Reserve, in that where money is used as an alternative for cattle, the price may vary according to the state of the market (4836). There are instances of Natives who have been married over 30 years and who still owe money on account of their Bohadi, but notwithstanding this the system encourages thrift (4836). Owing to poverty, the number of cases of seduction has increased tremendously; the young Native who has not sufficient cattle to pay for Bohadi, takes the girl away without the parents' consent. Later on he may bring a certain number of cattle to her parents (4839). All the bride's clothes and her blankets are purchased for her by her father at the time of the marriage (4839).

39. It is a great grievance with the Natives that they are not allowed to trade (4853, 4857).

40. The Government should assist the Natives by supporting agricultural shows (4854). There is a lack of means of fertilizing the land (4854). The markets for produce are far away (4853). The Natives have to sell their mealies at little more than one-third of the price they have to pay when they buy. The Natives appreciate the demonstrator (4859). There is plenty of milk for the children, who are generally healthy (4859).

41. The Land Act of 1913 has caused indigency (4856). The General Tax is unfair. White people escape such taxation (4856). The land in the Reserve is insufficient for the Natives' purposes (4853). Those Natives who go away for a short time to work, come back with money. They are much better off than those who go away for a long time. Those generally return poor (4860). The men would do the work on the lands but they have to go away to earn money because they cannot otherwise find the money for taxes (4862). The wages paid in town to tribal Natives are too low (4854). The Dog Tax is collected with great harshness (4855). Trade when produce is plentiful is by barter, but in times of scarcity it is by cash (4865).

Thaba 'Nchu.

42. This Reserve is occupied by the Barolong tribe. They had always been a tribe friendly to Europeans. Their territory was annexed to the Orange Free State in 1884 and the Reserve which they now have was allocated to them with the understanding that besides Thaba 'Nchu such other locations as might be necessary should be set apart from time to time for the Natives. Notwithstanding this undertaking, such further land has not been set aside for them. Several Commissions have inquired into their conditions. A considerable number of farms were regarded as being in the private ownership of Natives who had been sub-chiefs or councillors and certain ground was given to sub-chiefs, captains*, and councillors in freehold as compensation for their loss of position and power. No Native was to be allowed to alienate, without the consent of the Government, and Natives were to be allowed to sell only to white persons. Mr. Justice Gregorowski made two Reports in respect of the newly annexed territory in 1885. In the first he expressed the opinion that farms granted by the Barolong Chief, through headmen and councillors, "must be considered as having been given for the people and as being subject to a servitude in their favour," and consequently inalienable by the grantees. In his later Report he somewhat modified his views on this point, but there can be little doubt that with the Barolong, as with Native tribes generally, the right of alienation of land from the tribe was not legally possible (see evidence of Barolong witnesses before 1884 Commission, pp. 80-81 and pp. 82 and 86 of Commission's Report). In 1887 the Government defined the rights of Native owners and occupiers of farms in the Moroka District.

* That is, headmen.

43. Under the Regulations then made, such Natives were subject to the following:

- (1) They were to pay yearly fees for the grazing of their stock.
- (2) Each head of a family was to have two morgen of land allotted to him for agricultural purposes, in return for which he was to pay to the owner one-fifth of the crop grown on such land, subject to a deduction of an amount representing the seed sown if such seed were not provided by the owner.
- (3) Such occupier was to pay the owner at the rate of £1 per morgen for any portion of such allotment which he neglected to cultivate.
- (4) The owner could agree to accept personal service in respect of such payment. If the occupier, on having judgment against him for any amount so due, failed to pay he could be required to vacate.
- (5) The damages for trespass of cattle on cultivated lands could only be claimed for trespass occurring between sunset and sunrise.
- (6) Occupiers were to have grazing rights over the whole farm.
- (7) If the owner required the occupiers to move he had to compensate them and give them a suitable new site.

44. On page 82 of the 1884 Commission's Report, the Commission states that in the annexed territory there were 2,120 men who possessed 5,073 horses, 24,058 head of cattle, 107,543 sheep. It recommended that in addition to the location at Thaba 'Nchu there should be four more locations beacons off, each 8,000 morgen in extent, on such farms as the Executive Council might decide and fix, and as far as possible from the Basutoland border.

45. Dealing with the District of Moroka, the Commission found (p. 86) that on the location ground there were 260 huts of families owning 3,718 head of cattle, 882 horses, 14,229 sheep and 1,504 goats, and that they had built over 613 morgen of ground. The Commission advised that the Magistrate should permit none but the followers of Sepinare Moroka to live there as the location would otherwise prove too small and the Government would be compelled under the Proclamation to supply more location ground. The Commission (p. 97) gave the following warning—"As long as Natives can find other places to reside on, they will not trouble the Government, but when the farms are filled up and more Native farms are sold, then the Natives will undoubtedly come to the Government for locations and if the Government locations are full as is now the case, then the Government must provide other accommodation and will not be able to carry out the conditions of the Proclamation".

46. Unlike the Natives owning land in freehold in other parts of the Union, many of the Native landowners in the Thaba 'Nchu district have not retained their land. They have got into debt recklessly and given bonds over their farms, which in the course of time have been foreclosed because the payments could not be met. There are at present 43 farms leased by Europeans from Natives (Thaba 'Nchu, p. 5). The land is very much overstocked, "in most cases the land is occupied by squatters who plough on the halves; there are a few good Native farmers, but the majority simply have squatters." (Thaba 'Nchu, p. 1.)

47. After the Land Act of 1913, a number of people went from the district to Bechuanaland where they had been told they could acquire land on which to settle. They were not able to purchase the land and had to return to Thaba 'Nchu (4898). Under the local regulations, if a man stays away over ten years, unless he pays 10s. a year, he loses his right to live in the Reserve. It was argued by Dr. Moroka that even if they were not able to get enough land in the Reserve they might, by being allowed to return, have a resting place from which they could go out to work (4900).

48. In the township of Thaba 'Nchu there are no resident Natives; those that work there go in from outside. The Natives in this district have lost hope and they live in fear of being deprived of the little land they have got. They believe that it is not the intention of the Government to help the Natives in any way, and the land is passing out of the hands of the Natives into those of Europeans (4920, 4924).

49. Thaba 'Nchu Natives want to live in Thaba 'Nchu, not in Natal (4927). The number of landless Natives in the district is alarming (4929) and the land would be inadequate even if the production were increased (4931). Twenty years ago the Natives asked for an agricultural college, but it was given to the whites instead (4932).

50. There are some Coloured people in the Reserve but they are regarded as Natives, except that they have separate schools (4938). It is said that Barolong do not like farm work and that this accounts for the large influx into the district from other parts in the last 15 years, particularly of Basutos (4940). The lands cannot carry even a small family; therefore most of the young people have to go away; in fact most of the Natives in Bloemfontein are connected with Thaba 'Nchu (4941). The Natives in this District still doctor their lands (4943). The custom of circumcision for girls and boys has died out among the Barolong (4944). The custom of *ugungena* still holds among them (4945). Civil marriage is becoming common among them because it is cheap (494). Nearly all Native farms are overstocked with cattle belonging to relations of the owner and to employees; these employees do very little work indeed (4947). To escape from this position some Natives let their farms to Europeans and so get an assured income, which they would not get if they farmed for themselves. Most of the farms owned by Natives are usually heavily mortgaged (4948).

51. There is no free education for the Natives (4949). The schools supply the discipline the tribes once gave, and the education the children get prepares them to take an intelligent interest and part in the affairs around them. There are about twice as many girls as boys in school, due to the fact that the boys are required for herding and the owners of cattle will not co-operate, so that each man, if he has one cow must send his boy to look after that one. Very often there are 20 boys looking after about 40 cows or even fewer. The District is well provided with schools so there is no excuse for keeping boys away from school until they are 17 or 18 years old (4851). The schools now have gardens attached to them where the pupils are taught elementary gardening. The Native demonstrator comes, from time to time to teach. This should have very excellent results. Generally the education is of a very low order. There would be many advantages in having Government control (4955). For financial reasons most of the teachers are unqualified.

52. The Barolong tribal system is breaking down rapidly; no use is being made of the Chiefs. To a great extent the marriages are by Christian rites. Co-habitation without marriage is rife and is to a great extent undermining the moral and physical stamina of the people. The lobolo system is dying out. The number of lobolo cattle given is from 3 to 8. Substitutes for cattle are sheep, horses, goats, and occasionally a cart. Overstocking is mainly caused by overpopulation. The only restriction on overstocking is that a certain number of stock are allowed free, while a small charge is made for any stock in excess of that number. The Natives will not part with their stock except for lobolo. Very few of the Natives manure the soil and they plant the same lands year after year. Vegetation is becoming scanty and the bush is being destroyed which is causing enormous soil erosion. All Natives possessing landed property prefer to make wills, and to follow the European law of succession. Large numbers of Basuto and amaXosa have drifted into the district from time to time and have remained working on the farms. Individual holding of land in this district has been a failure as the Natives are not sufficiently educated to farm scientifically. They are cheated by unscrupulous Europeans. When Native farms are purchased by Europeans a number of Natives are evicted. In some cases they go to other parts while some obtain sites in the Reserves. There are a few leases of land by Natives to Natives, but the rentals are too high for the lessees to make a success of them (Thaba 'Nchu).

OVERSTOCKING.

53. The extract given below from a statement submitted to the Commission by the late Mr. S. G. Butler, then Principal of the Tsolo Native Agricultural College, shows the effect of overstocking on cattle in the Reserves, and gives a reason for shallow ploughing there and even for the continued use of hoes instead of ploughs. After showing that there were approximately 1,500,000 cattle, 3,000,000 sheep, 1,150,000 goats, and a large number of horses and pigs in the Transkei, he proceeded to deal with the minimum number of cattle required by the people—about 1,000,000 Natives—as follows:

“ Minimum Number of Cattle Required by the People:

“ For agricultural transport purposes, it is estimated that there are 240,000 oxen available in the Transkei, so that each ox has to plough 3 to 4 morgen of ground, or a span of six oxen from 18 to 24 morgen. The amount of ground that the average span of six oxen ploughs may be estimated at 1 acre per diem, so that this span will have to plough from 36 to 48 days to complete this work.

“ The following factors have also to be considered :

“ (a) The animals may be in poor condition following the normal winter dry period ;

“ (b) the ploughing season is usually a short one of from 14 to 21 days as the majority of Natives plough in November and sow the seed at the same time.

“ It will be seen that the number of oxen available is not sufficient to fulfil the agricultural needs for tractive purposes.

“ To remedy this difficulty, cows and large calves are utilized in the Transkei, and also a certain amount of planting is done by hand by utilizing the Native hoe.

“ *Cows :*

“ The need of milk as a staple article of diet. There are approximately 625,000 cows in the Territories capable of producing calves. If this number of cows gave an average quantity of milk there would be ample milk for all the people in the Territories. Taking 300,000 cows in milk at any one time give half a gallon of milk per diem, or 150,000 gallons. Unfortunately the production is only a small fraction of this amount, due to—

“ (a) cows being of the scrub type and producing very little milk ;

“ (b) the general overstocking of commonages, making it essential for the animal to spend all its time looking for food to keep itself alive, particularly in the winter months ;

“ (c) the tendency for more and more deterioration due to lack of sufficient foodstuffs on the veld ;

“ (d) the rate of increase—the low ratio of calves to cows.

“ *Rate of Increase :*

“ The increase in the number of cattle from 31st August, 1927, to 31st August, 1929, was 135,777 (N.A. Census). The death rate during those two years was 88,262 in the preceding twelve months to 31st August, 1929, and approximately 86,000 for the previous year (These figures are based on a progressive death rate.) The total increase for the two years is, therefore, approximately 310,000. The animals sold for slaughter purposes is a relatively small number. The annual natural increase per annum is approximately 155,000 ; in other words, only 25 per cent. of the cows calve.

“ The only conclusion that can be come to is that large numbers of old cows are kept in the hope that these animals will calve once again. Due to overstocking, the teeth of the animals wear down very quickly and consequently the animals find it difficult to get sufficient food while they are relatively only of middle age.

“ *Conclusions :*

“ (a) Due to there being no open market, Native custom and so on, old animals are retained which should have been sold for the purpose of making beef extract, poultry foods, bone meal, and so on.

“ (b) Large numbers of cows could be disposed of and be replaced by animals showing more breed and giving a fair milk yield.”

FAMILY BUDGETS OF RESERVE NATIVES.

54. In his statement showing the income of a Native family in the Transkei—Annexure 14-II—Mr. Butler showed that there would over and above the maize requirements of the family unit be on an average a surplus of £2. 12s. 6d. per annum to pay taxes—£1. 10s.—and to buy clothing, extra food, and any other necessary articles. On Mr. Thornton's estimate the surplus is £4. 1s. Mr. Butler's figure of £13. 14s. 6d. for a Native who makes use of more up-to-date methods than generally prevail presupposes the existence of adequate marketing facilities and the relatively high selling price for maize of 10s. per bag.

55. For the Transvaal Reserves to which Mr. Thornton's estimates apply, the average surplus per family, after providing for rent and the purchase of the necessary staple food, maize, to meet the shortage in the production of that article but making no provision for taxes, clothing, or other food, is for a year for Moiloa's Reserve 15s. 1d. and for the Louis Trichardt specified Reserves, £1. 9s. 6d. (See Annexure 14-I.)

56. In his estimates of Native income for the Reserves in the Transkei and in the Marico and Louis Trichardt areas,* Mr. Thornton appears to have taken a very high value for land. His figures for all land, arable and pasture are:

Transkei.....	£2 10s. 0d. to £10, with an average of £5. 5s. 0d. per morgen.
Moiloo's Reserve....	£1. 0s. 0d. to £10, with an average of £5. 10s. 0d. per morgen.
Louis Trichardt.....	£2 0s. 0d. to £6, with an average of £4. 0s. 0d. per morgen.

He then values fuel, water, and house at £4. 10s. per annum in the Transkei, £1. 16s. 4d. in Moiloo's Reserve, and £4. 19s. in the Louis Trichardt area.

57. Land Companies in the Louis Trichardt area let land to Natives at £2 per annum per family for residence and ploughing and 3s. per head of cattle per annum for grazing. No charge is made for fuel, water or house. The evidence showed that the capital cost of a Native hut was usually negligible, while fuel in many areas consists of cattle dung.

58. Dr. Neveling in the Table for Native wages on farms given in Annexure 24-IX shows the value of arable and grazing land given to Native labour tenants as ranging from £2 per annum on chicory farms to £5 per annum in Zoutpansberg, with £11. 12s. per annum on maize farms in N.E. Orange Free State, where the value of land is high.

59. The estimates of Messrs Thornton and Butler allow only for mealie meal or kaffir-corn meal, and a very little milk and meat. Any other food, except wild herbs, must be provided by purchase. It is not surprising, therefore, that when a Native goes from the Reserves to work in European areas he is frequently not adequately nourished to perform hard work and must be kept at light tasks and be well fed for some days or even weeks before he can, without risking an outbreak of scurvy, be put to heavy work. It is also not surprising that the evidence showed that most Natives in the Reserves are in debt.

DISEASES ASSOCIATED WITH POVERTY.

60. Dealing with diseases associated with poverty, Dr. E. H. Cluver, Assistant Health Officer of the Union, in a statement which he presented to the Commission, under the title "Prevalence of Typhus in Transkeian Territories," said, "I investigated this during the second half of 1929. The disease is endemic in most of the districts and appears to be increasing. During the year ended 30th June, 1930, the number of cases notified among Natives in the Transkei was 1,530, of whom 165 died. The incidence is probably very much greater than these figures indicate, notification being very incomplete. I found the probable causes for this increased incidence to be, (a) wearing off of the immunity acquired during the very extensive outbreaks which occurred some six years ago; (b) the increasing poverty of the Natives resulting from various causes such as prolonged droughts and over-population.

"It was noteworthy that the incidence was highest in the districts which were very thickly populated and the inhabitants very poor, e.g., Glen Grey where the notifications were for year ended June, 1929: 205; and for year ended June, 1930: 339. In that district the children were noticeably suffering from the effects of mal-nutrition.

"One gained the impression in regard to both this disease and leprosy that the problem was to a very great extent an economic one. Both these diseases are associated with extreme poverty and will tend to disappear if mal-nutrition and overcrowding in huts were prevented."

61. Mr. F. W. Neethling, farmer in Potgietersrust district said, "We have so many kaffirs that are just shadows, and one feels that they cannot even earn 30s. a month."

62. Dr. Neil McVicar, of Victoria Hospital, Lovedale, said, "Patients showing signs of mal-nutrition are frequently seen among the out-patients at the Victoria Hospital. The worst cases are admitted, mostly small children, with swollen, painful limbs and haemorrhage of the skin, etc."

63. Dr. F. A. J. Brodziak, of Vryburg, dealing with the Bechuanas, said, "You will see mal-nutrition stamped on the race."

64. Mr. E. C. Thompson, District Superintendent in the Transkei of the Native Recruiting Corporation of the gold mines, said, "Everyone who goes out has to go out under economic pressure." Dealing with the Transkei he estimated "that practically every available fit labourer enters upon a term of employment within a period of two years." (Evidence, pp. 3657 and 3654.) Those who are recruited for the gold mines must contract for a period which will keep them away from their homes for not less than eleven months at a time.

* See Annexure 14—I.

TREND IN ECONOMIC CONDITION OF NATIVES.

65. These statements show how necessary it is for the able-bodied adult males to leave the Reserves to try by working for Europeans to earn money to meet pressing needs. They show too the strong pressure which must be exerted in that direction by the General Tax.

66. The Commission tried to get evidence upon which it could give a finding on the economic position of the Natives twenty-five to fifty years ago, and now. It was, however, not possible generally to get more than expressions of opinion. In many respects the Natives have advanced, but owing to a number of circumstances which are pointed out in the Report their economic position now is as a rule very poor.

67. The 1875 Blue Book on Native Affairs of the Cape Colony contains on page 59 this statement, "In the Middeldrift and Keiskamahoek districts the condition of the people is peaceful and prosperous." To-day the condition of those two districts is one of great poverty and overcrowding.

68. The late Revd. Dr. J. Henderson, Principal of Lovedale, in 1925 made an investigation into the conditions in Victoria East district and tried to compare them with conditions there in 1875. It was, however, not possible to make the comparison satisfactorily because the present Victoria East is only in area two-thirds of the district known by that name in 1875 and also because the information about prices and production in 1875 was too meagre and unreliable to afford any useful basis for comparison. There can, however, be no doubt of the deep poverty existing to-day among the Natives in Victoria East.

69. The recent investigation of the Ciskei Missionary Council into the economic position of the Native people in the Ciskei, showed that in only 13 per cent. of the districts was the regular diet of maize reported as "commonly supplemented by milk, which had formerly been an important and universal article of diet among the Native people; while meat, as a regular or even frequent element in the daily food, was rare." ("South African Outlook," March, 1928, page 50.) In many other areas the evidence was to the effect that milk was ceasing to be produced in sufficient quantities to form an important article of diet. The Superintendent of Natives, Vryburg, considered that the Natives there had become poorer in the last twenty-five years. On account of the scarcity of rain, good crops are reaped only once in about five years, and the conditions are such in the Reserves in his area that, he said, those Natives who had gone away did not wish to return to them.

70. In 1929, an investigation was made into the economic conditions existing in a Native village near Lovedale, this village being regarded as one of the more prosperous. There were 16 families, and of these 15 were in debt at the time of the investigation, the average sum owing per family being £13. 14s. Local traders were unanimous in their opinion that the purchasing power of Natives had declined in recent years.

DEVELOPMENT OF RESERVES.

71. In these circumstances it is not difficult to see the very close connection between the problems caused to the urban areas by the influx of Natives and the economic position of the Natives in the Reserves.

72. Natives who go out for the first time almost always return home. They have, however, acquired some experience of new conditions which must inevitably tend to break down their tribal traditions. After they have made two or three visits to urban areas the hold of the Reserves weakens and tribal and parental control becomes irksome. Then many tend to become permanent town-dwellers. Landless Natives of whom there is, as has been shown in the Report, a large number, must almost inevitably drift to the towns. Thus the difficulties of the urban problems are constantly being aggravated as a result of conditions in the Reserves.

73. The investigation of the Commission has driven it to the conclusion that those problems as well as the general economic welfare of the whole of the Union call imperatively for wise and sympathetic assistance to enable the Natives to develop their Reserves, so as to make these sufficiently productive and attractive to stop the present compulsory migration to the towns. There would be little of that flow to the towns if the Natives could produce enough in the Reserves to meet their very modest needs.

74. A great deal has been done to improve conditions in the Reserves, but progress has naturally been slow, and is likely to remain slow in the absence of very energetic efforts to assist the Natives to improve their methods.

75. The number of demonstrators is being slowly increased but it is still so small that the great majority of Natives are not in touch with them. Where they have been introduced, the results have almost always been gratifying but to achieve much success it will be necessary to have the able-bodied adult males available to take advantage of the instruction of demonstrators.

76. Shallow ploughing and failure to use manure on the lands in the Reserves are by no means always due to ignorance or conservatism. Some of the causes are shown in Mr. Butler's statement quoted in paragraph 53 above. Although there are so many cattle in the Reserves they are generally in such poor physical condition, because of the pasturage having been overstocked, that at the ploughing season they are not capable of deep ploughing. The absence of large numbers of the able-bodied adult males also affects the ploughing as only young boys or women are available for it. The shortage of wood has led to cattle dung being used as fuel, so that there is in many areas no manure which can be used for fertilizing the lands.

77. Though the Native is conservative in his methods the evidence shows clearly that he is ready and willing to change them, when he has had the reason for the change explained to him so that he can understand it.

78. This was well illustrated in the evidence of the Revd. W. H. Hallows, who said: "I wish to speak about Native agriculture and overstocking. I wish to point out that, especially in the interior of Zululand, where the chief cost of mealies in the case of a famine is transport, the Natives are very badly affected, and very often get seriously into debt over getting their food. So especially in the remote districts it is a matter of great importance that they should be taught to grow their food and not be in need of imported food. At present in Zululand very, very little has ever been done to assist them or show them better methods of agriculture, and my own experience shows me that a comparatively small effort has a very great effect on them. About thirteen years ago I was sent into the Nkandhla district; I arrived there at a time of famine; mealies went up to £2 a bag locally, and the influenza caught them on the top of the famine, and I had to bury in the three weeks I was at my station, fifty-four Natives. It was influenza, plus famine, that killed them off in this way, and it stirred me up very considerably. So I looked at their fields; they were wretched. You would see kraals deep in manure; so deep in manure that after a rain I have known a calf to be drowned in the manure of the kraal; and immediately outside the kraal you would find the fields simply shrieking for manure and yet not getting any at all. I preached manure for all I was worth. At the time I went there I believe I could have emptied any kraal in the immediate neighbourhood for the asking, or at all events for a few shillings. Later on, after they had begun to manure and so on, and saw the effect of it, on one occasion I offered £5 for a kraal full of manure, and it was refused. The only way I could get any of that manure for myself was by taking half, on condition that I carted the other half to the man's land. So if an individual like myself could really make a difference to a considerable number of Natives, any real effort on the part of the Government—any appointment of instructors to show these Natives how to get more food, I am certain would be effective." (Evidence, pp. 1962, 1963.)

79. It is, in my opinion, necessary to draw attention to a factor brought out in evidence, namely, that there is a deep-rooted objection on the part of tribal Natives to using better seeds or producing better crops at present, because they fear that this would attract Europeans to settle in the Reserves and thus deprive them of their land.

80. The Commission has in paragraph 113 recommended, as one of the subsidiary measures for counteracting overstocking, the issue to Natives of butchers' licences at a nominal fee. In my opinion there is not much likelihood of any appreciable change being brought about if a licence is required. Natives can now hawk meat in Reserves without a licence. If they are to be induced to trade in meat in a shop it will be advisable not to impose on them any charge at all.

81. There were many complaints from Magistrates and Native Commissioners that they had little or no opportunity to discuss their problems with anyone who could help them. It appears to me to be important that such opportunity should be given. Probably the most helpful way for those officers and for the Native Affairs Department would be through periodical conferences of such officials and the head of the Department. The proper development of the Reserves will demand the closest possible co-operation between the Department and its officers.

82. It is also important that there should be careful and continuous study by the Department and in the Universities of the problems of other States possessing large populations of backward people, and the dissemination from time to time of any useful information so obtained, among officers of the Department and among the general public.

NATIVES IN RURAL AREAS.

83. In rural areas other than Reserves, Natives live on land companies' land, Crown lands, and farms occupied by Europeans.

84. Natives occupy land belonging to the land companies. Certain particulars of these holdings are given in an appendix to the Report of the Economic and Wage Commission, 1926, at page 365. The Transvaal Consolidated Land Company charges Natives occupying its land £2 per annum for each male adult, including one wife, £1 per annum for each additional wife, and £2 for widows, while there is a grazing fee per annum of 3s. per head of large and 6d. per head of small stock.

85. Certain Crown lands are occupied by Natives under squatting permits giving rights of residence and cultivation, together with wood and water for domestic purposes and grazing for ten head of large stock or twenty of small stock, at an annual rental of 30s. payable by each adult male. Further, grazing fees of 10s. per annum for each five additional head of small stock are charged.

86. There can be no doubt that these Crown lands and land company farms do much to strengthen the Natives' power to bargain about their terms of employment on neighbouring European farms and enable large numbers of Natives to live in the country who would otherwise be driven to the towns. On the other hand, as no steps are taken to require the Natives on these lands or farms to cultivate them properly, they are said to be losing their natural fertility.

87. The manual work on the farms occupied by Europeans is performed generally by Natives, in some areas mainly by labour tenants and in others mainly by hired labourers. In the Cape Province there are some share tenants and some cash rent tenants. The Land Act of 1913 is said to be evaded in some parts of the other Provinces, where such tenancy is illegal, so that there are also there some Natives in European areas who are in fact cash rent tenants or who are farming on shares. It is clearly not possible to make, except in the Cape Province, any estimate of the number of Natives who have those forms of tenancy. Several Magistrates and also a number of European farmers said that such illegal tenancy was quite common in certain areas.

88. The conditions of employment and rates of pay of labour tenants and of hired labourers on farms present a great number of variations. Hired labourers may be paid wholly in cash, partly in cash and kind, or wholly in kind. The practice of remunerating a Native farm employee in stock, though it still exists, appears from the evidence to be much less common than formerly and was reported from only a few districts.

89. Hired labourers are generally, except in areas where farming operations are carried on all the year round, required for part of the year only, that is, from the ploughing to the reaping period. That is the season when the Native who has land in a Reserve wishes to attend to it. Even if he wishes or feels compelled to go out he will not go where the wages will not exceed the return he may expect from his land, which very often farm wages do not. That is the season, too, when the labour tenant will be required to work for his landlord, and he will not then be available to work for another European. Farmers in the neighbourhood of Bloemfontein have in recent years, at the busy seasons, fetched unemployed Natives from that town to work on their farms.

90. There is a shortage in some areas of hired labourers for farms. It is difficult to see how it could be otherwise as long as they are required for part only of the year. There is no machinery for providing them with employment during the remainder of the year. Most of the farmers who appeared before the Commission said that those farmers who pay a fair wage had little difficulty in getting as many labourers as they require.

91. In the Orange Free State and the Eastern Province of the Cape it is common for labourers to be hired by the year, in which event they usually have their families with them and also any stock they may possess.

92. The evidence justified the conclusion that there is no shortage of labour tenants and that the labour tenancy system involves the presence on farms of large numbers of Natives who are not necessary for the farmer's purposes and who for longer or shorter periods of the year are compulsorily unemployed. There is in some districts a shortage of Natives available as hired labourers but as has been shown above Natives cannot be expected to hold themselves in readiness for the whole year to work for only a part of it.

93. Those farmers who live near Reserves generally get all the labourers they need. The farms, such as Daggakraal in the Wakkerstroom District, on which Natives have their own land, supply a number of labourers when these are needed by the neighbouring European farmers.

94. A number of particulars of the system of labour tenancy in different districts is set out below in the extracts from statements and evidence of witnesses.

95. In some districts Natives have been economically strong enough to boycott certain employers who have unfairly treated their Native servants. One instance was cited to the Commission of a cattle farmer who had in this way been compelled to sell his farm and leave the district. Such a boycott is, however, possible only in districts where access to land is relatively easy for Natives, so that they can find a place for their stock.

96. The labour tenancy system has been shown in the Report to be uneconomical for Europeans. The evidence shows, in my opinion, that it is also uneconomical for the great majority of Natives who come under it. At its best it gives a Native a chance to accumulate stock and a chance to learn farming, but in many areas he has to work for the owner of the land at the time when he should be attending to his own agricultural needs and his crop is often neglected. In any event he often does not get enough land to provide for the food requirements of himself and his family, certainly seldom enough to enable him to produce a surplus to sell. Even where he is able to produce such a surplus he has not the means of storing and so must sell immediately after reaping, when prices are at their lowest. A good season may give him enough food, a bad season will not, and he has then to depend on the goodwill of his employer to feed him and his family. The labour tenant has no security of tenure and no chance to carry over anything to the next year. To a farmer who has more land than he can work the cost of a labour tenant is little or nothing. In the figures of Dr. Neveling, contained in Annexure 24-VIII, the actual cost to the farmer for arable land in districts other than maize areas may generally be ignored, and that is also true of many of the districts to which Annexure 24-IX applies. The labour tenant must give services which on a three monthly basis in the Transvaal and a six monthly in Natal often constitute a very high rent.

97. Where the land-owner has a large area of land which he can leave for his Native labour tenants to use they are generally well off. They can grow most of their food requirements and accumulate stock. Such Natives are contented with the system. For the great majority of Native labour tenants there are no such prospects. The conditions under which they can be tenants are becoming harder as land values rise. The owner must restrict the number of cattle which the tenant may run on the farm. There is thus for such a tenant no prospect of improving his position. He has no security of tenure. He is subject in the Transvaal to three months' notice and according to the evidence of European farmers this is often not given, though the tenant is required to give notice. In a case which was recently tried in the Supreme Court (T.P.D.) evidence was led by a European farmer to prove that in his district it was customary for farmers to impose money fines on their Native employees for various alleged breaches of contract.

98. Because of the shortage of land in the Reserves and the Native's natural attachment for his cattle and for a rural life, he is placed in a very weak position for bargaining for a labour tenancy. He must have the land whatever the terms offered, the options being to become a wanderer with his family and stock or to give up his stock and become a town-dweller.

99. It seems clear that the system is certain in the course of time to disappear. Its two main attractions, to the European farmer the provision of labourers for little or no cash expenditure and to the Native the provision of land which will give him a life in the country and grazing for his cattle, will make it continue for some time yet. As is shown below in the extracts from the evidence, European farmers are coming to realize that it is more profitable for them to pay wages, even though they give the use of land, than to have "free" labourers who are dissatisfied because they think they are

working for nothing. The number of cattle which Native labour tenants may keep is being rapidly reduced and a Native who has no cattle gets no more by way of wages or privileges than a Native in the same district who has stock. Thus both those main attractions are beginning to lose their force and when they have gone there will be little life in the system.

100. In the absence of a careful survey of conditions in the farming areas it is not possible to appreciate from a general statement the great number of variations in the conditions under which Natives are employed on farms in the Union. It is essential for understanding the "economic conditions" of such Natives to have a description of those conditions in a number of districts. An attempt to give this has been made by means of the following extracts from, or summaries of, statements or evidence submitted to the Commission. They are presented hereunder, in paragraphs 101 to 188.

CAPE.

Adelaide.

101. A wage of 10s. per month is about the usual rate for Native adults. There are farmers who pay up to 15s. to 17s. 6d. per month to experienced Native workers who have been a long time in their service. They get other privileges. They are allowed to graze stock free and, in addition to wages, get mealies, the usual ration being from 25 lb. per week, and skimmed milk for their families. There are only a few cattle farms, but whatever milk is available is given to the Natives. There may be some Natives who never get any. This is mostly a sheep farming district. Farm Natives, though not possessing or earning much cash, live in better surroundings than the town Natives and are generally, if not in every case, well treated by their employers who are anxious to keep them in their service. One hardly ever has a complaint as to bad treatment by their masters and few complaints against labourers. The wealthier farmers buy second-hand clothing, tobacco and coffee for their boys and regularly pay their tax for them, which is not set off against the wages. Native farm labourers often are given a piece of land to plough, wherever possible. Most farmers make a practice of giving a sheep or a goat from time to time, to be slaughtered. (Native Commissioner.)

102. The average rate of wages paid to farm Native adults is from 7s. 6d. to 10s. per month and food. The food consists of 20 lb. mealies per week per servant and sometimes mealie meal is issued. When milk is plentiful, the separated milk is divided amongst all the Natives. They also get free grazing for their stock. Well-to-do farmers in this district ration their servants with meat once per week. Other farmers only give their servants meat when stock die. On the majority of farms young Natives are employed by the farmers who pay them 2s. 6d. to 5s. per month and food. (Sergeant-in-Charge, S.A. Police.)

Albany.

103. The labour tenant is not given food as a rule, and he builds his own hut. During the working season he receives 2s. a day without food or 1s. a day if food is supplied. Male labourers receive 15s. to £1 a month and 21 lb. of mealie meal or mealies a week, 1 lb. of sugar and one half to 1 lb. of coffee per week; also when milk is sufficient in a good season, a ration of milk each day. Two acres of ground are allowed to each family to plough for itself. Grazing for stock, not exceeding 12 as a rule, is given free. (Native Commissioner.)

104. An investigation into the economic condition of Native farm labourers in this district was made by the Rev. Ambrose Mazwai, Wesleyan Minister of Grahamstown, and the result is contained in the following extract from his statement:

"(1) *Number reported on.*—For the purposes of the Commission I have recorded details of 40 cases of Native Farm Labourers on farms in various parts of Albany District; the results may be taken as reflecting a fair average.

"(2) *Married.*—All these are married men. *Minor children* average three per family. Records of some unmarried men have also been made but are not included in this statement.

"(3) *Huts occupied.*—Do not average two per family.

"(4) *Years in Service of Same Employers.*—The average is 9 years, the periods varying from 6 months to 30 years.

"(5) *Men's Wages.*—The wages of these married men vary from 8s. per month with rations to 25s. per month without rations; he repays 5s. per month for the privilege of grazing 10 head of cattle. The *average wage* is just under 15s. per month with certain rations.

" (6) *Women's Wages*.—Wages of their wives, if employed, range from 3s. to 10s. per month but only 25 per cent. of them are regularly employed. Others are employed occasionally, and at wages varying from 6d. to 1s. per day, with or without rations.

" (7) *Food Rations*.—Rations, principally mealies in all cases, and solely mealies in some, are given for the men only in most cases unless the wives are employed as house servants.

" (8) *Land for Cultivation*.—In about half the cases a garden land is allowed, from $\frac{1}{2}$ acre to 2 acres in extent. Average a little over half an acre.

" (9) *Ploughing*.—In 35 per cent. of the cases, plough, and in some cases oxen are lent by the employer for ploughing these lands. Average one day.

" (10) *Food Grown*.—In no case does the food grown on such lands suffice (in addition to the rations given to the man) for the needs of the family. Some must be bought.

" (11) *Meat*.—Carcases of beasts, sheep and goats, which die of disease or of old age, are sometimes given to servants, and in some cases heads, feet and entrails of animals slaughtered by the farmer. But otherwise it is very difficult to get flesh meat to eat. Many complain of the monotony of mealie diet.

" (12) *Milk*.—On Dairy farms, separated milk is given. But on most agricultural farms the labourers receive no milk unless they have cows of their own.

" (13) *Grazing Cattle*.—In half the cases, free grazing is allowed for a limited number of cattle. In some cases a small charge is made for the privilege. In other cases part or the whole of the milk from the cows is claimed by the farmer, as well as the use of any oxen when required. If the whole of the milk is claimed it is usual to allow the servant some separated milk, also possibly a little whole milk. Even in a case where the man's wages are 12s. per month, the employer claims the milk in return for pasturage.

" (14) *Clothing*.—In one case a man is given one suit annually. Four are given a pair of trousers each annually, and one of these is also given a shirt. Old cast-off clothing is given occasionally or sold to servants at low prices. Women servants are given cast-off clothing or can buy at low prices. It is said that some farmers give trousers and shirts to men, and print dress lengths to women servants at Christmas time, but this does not seem to be very general.

" (15) *Poll Tax*.—In one-fifth of the cases the employer pays the Poll Tax, but reckons it as an addition to wages, which in these cases vary from 12s. to 20s. per month, so that is equal to an increase of 1s. 8d. per month. In most cases the employer advances the money, to be repaid out of wages. In one case the employer pays half.

" (16) *Supplies*.—Food supplies, in addition to the rations allowed, are usually obtained from the employers as advances against wages, and at prices fixed by them.

" (17) *Debt*.—All are in debt, and in most cases to their employers for food supplies or for money advanced for Poll Tax. In other cases they are in debt to shopkeepers.

" (18) *Dissatisfaction*.—Almost without exception Native farm servants are dissatisfied with their lot, but they see no way of improving their condition if they have families dependent on them, and so are afraid to complain to their employers. Some were evidently afraid to give me the details asked for lest they should get into trouble with their employers.

" (19) *Chief Grievances*.—In every case recorded the lowness of wages and the insufficiency of land for garden to supply the food needed for the families were mentioned as the chief grievances.

" (20) *Honesty*.—The more honest they are, the more difficult some find it to obtain the necessaries of life. A lot of stealing by a certain class may be explained by this.

" (21) *Length of service on farms* in part explained by the following facts:

" (a) Many have no right of residence in either Native Reserves or Town Locations, consequently they can only remove if they first obtain employment and a place to live on some other farm, and change of employer may not mean an improvement in conditions.

NB X

"(b) Some being in debt to their employers are unable to remove their cattle.

"(c) Being a pastoral people, it is the ambition of Natives to own cattle, and for the sake of keeping a few head of cattle some will patiently endure hardship.

"(d) Life-long habits incline to living on farms, and a little improvement in their conditions would go far to make them contented.

"(22) *Cost of Living*.—It should be noted that during recent years the cost of some necessaries, such as "Kaffir" Blankets and second-hand Police and Military Overcoats has been increased by heavier Customs Duties and the Poll Tax has been added. But Native farm servants' wages have not been increased to corresponding degrees."

Alexandria.

105. Wages locally are low (from 5s. to 15s. per month with food and a hut rent free). Should a Native own oxen, these are used when required by the employer to pay for grazing. Labour tenancy is disappearing gradually. Usually the head of the family alone is the labour tenant, but the wives and such children as can work are monthly servants. There is no fixed system. It is a matter of individual agreement. The Native has one or two areas to plough. "Since ploughing on the half shares or any interest in land has been prohibited, the life of a labour tenant is not so profitable as it used to be and they become monthly servants or have left the district." "The rise in the cost of living has not been compensated for in any way by means of higher wages on farms and the Poll Tax is a greater Tax in the country than in the larger towns. Natives locally live practically under less advantageous conditions than they did twenty-five years ago. Now he has little enjoyment in life and as little interest." (Magistrate.)

Aliwal North.

106. "A considerable number of Native farm labourers show signs of underfeeding on admission to gaol and I am afraid that in a number of cases the scale for rations supplied by the farmer is totally inadequate."

107. Wages—Native males 10s. per month up to 15s. and £1; females 5s. per month. "In addition to his pay the Native may receive two buckets of mealie meal per month and a small piece of tobacco. In most cases they are given the meat of dead sheep and cattle to eat—not always a wise policy as this leads to animals being found dead, which were apparently healthy. The male Native labourer has generally to build a house for himself and family on the farm or occupy an old one. The female labourer does not receive any food ration. If she works at the homestead on the farm she probably gets a meal or meals there." (Magistrate.)

108. "A Native child in the country is very much better nourished than the Native child in the town. They have access to milk very much better than the town Native . . . But I do not think that the same holds in regard to the adult Native . . . The farm labourer in my experience is badly nourished. I have a recollection of a number of post-mortem examinations which I performed on Natives on farms and they had hardly any superficial fat on their bodies. You found hardly any subcutaneous fat and their bowels were very thin. There was practically no fat, so I do think that the adult Native on the farm is very badly nourished . . . It seems to me that a Native ages a great deal earlier than he should . . . A Native in his fifties is pretty well worn out . . . To my mind it is entirely a question of nourishment . . . It is not so much a matter of quantity. If you have a diet of mealie pap without any fat, the balance is all wrong and that is the cause of it . . . There is one point which I have noticed in the gaol, and it is this—I can usually pick out the sheep stealers because they are well nourished . . ." An increase in the meat diet would undoubtedly tend to give them better health. (Dr. F. R. Luke, District Surgeon. Evidence, p. 3982.)

Barkly East.

109. The usual mode of payment to farm servants is in kind at the rate of 8 to 12 sheep per year. "The result of this system is that the servants never have the cash to purchase clothing, etc., unless they borrow from their employers and repay it by handing back some of the stock for which they have worked at the expiration of their contracts. As a result the majority of farm servants are clad in filthy rags. This system also means that when sheep are down in value as at present the unfortunate Native labourer on a farm only earns about £5, the value of 10 sheep for 12 months of service.

Out of his special earnings the Native has to pay £1 per annum for General Tax. This system of payment in kind is also detrimental to shopkeepers as Natives are very reluctant to part with any of their stock. The farm Native labourers are provided with quarters but in many cases they are not fit for occupation. The Native servants also receive rations which consist of mealies or mealie meal. It is, therefore, not surprising that farmers complain of the theft of their poultry and sheep." (Magistrate.)

Burghersdorp.

110. Farm wages range from 10s. to 20s. per month with free grazing, clothing and tobacco on occasion. There are Natives who work for 10s. a month and perhaps have no cattle and there are others who have cattle and they get the same wage. The conditions are very varied. Young boys and girls get from 5s. to 10s. a month. I give 3 lb. of mealie meal a day and every fortnight some meat, but in many instances employers are very sparing with meat. Shearers are paid from 10s. to £1 per 100 sheep. (H. J. Coetzee, p. 4000.)

111. A Native witness pointed out by name a certain farmer as being a very liberal employer because he paid 12s. per month to his Native labourers.

Carnarvon.

112. "Natives are generally employed here on monthly contracts, principally as shepherds. The wages range from between 10s. to 15s. and three slaughter sheep, three buckets of boer meal, one pound of coffee, one roll tobacco and soles for boots, also sufficient clothing per month. There are no Native labour tenants in this district. Natives are all in employment as herds, shearers and reapers." (Magistrate.)

Cradock.

113. "Native wages remain very low and it is difficult for them to obtain even necessaries." (Magistrate.)

114. Shearers are paid 1½d. a sheep and 1d. a goat. A good worker can shear from 16 to 25 sheep a day, but it has proved impossible to ascertain how much a shearer earns in a season. (Cradock Joint Council.)

Elliot.

115. "There are no labour tenants in this district. It is entirely a farming area and all Natives working on farms are wage labourers. The latter hire themselves to farmers for a period of usually about 6 or 12 months at a monthly wage, as regards adult males, of from 10s. to 15s. plus free food and housing. They are given occasionally some old clothes by the farmer. The adult Native females are hired at a wage of from 5s. to 7s. 6d. per month plus free food and housing and occasionally some old clothes. These wages are paid either in cash or in kind." For shearing the payment is 1d. per sheep plus food or in some cases 10s. per hundred sheep plus food. For reaping wheat or oats the payment is 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. per hundred bundles and for reaping mealies 2d. to 3d. per bag of mealies on the cob, plus food in both instances. (Magistrate.)

Elliotdale.

116. "Natives residing in these parts would not look at farm labour and smaller wonder. Those who return to the Territories after years of farm work come back broken in health and as paupers—a burden to their relatives. The wages generally paid for such labour is barely sufficient to keep the labourers clad. I do not think anything would induce a flow of labour to the farms except adequate wages." (Magistrate.)

George.

117. Wages on farms are for males 10s. and food and females 8s. with food and accommodation. (Magistrate.)

Kuruman.

118. "The average wage on farms is 10s. per mensem and rations." (Magistrate.)

Lady Grey.

119. "In many cases the wage paid to the Natives is very low (from 5s. to 10s. per month), the contract being usually for a fixed period of not under six months and it is mainly in such cases that complaints of desertion of service are made." (Magistrate.)

Mafeking. Labour Tenants.

120. "Usually a Native will receive only a piece of land to plough for himself and certain grazing privileges; rarely does he receive any cash or anything in kind. The three consecutive months period predominates in this district. They usually work on the share system, the Natives to supply their own food. Housing is provided if available, otherwise not. Most farmers treat the Natives well in order that they may remain on the farm. Usually after each Native has given his period of service he may go elsewhere for the rest of the year in order to earn money. Usually Europeans assist labour tenants by giving advice in regard to the best methods of ploughing, etc. Some farmers are a real help to their tenants. In this district the Natives who plough and cultivate correctly have generally been taught by Europeans." (Superintendent of Natives.)

Matatiele.

121. "The labour tenant feeds himself and usually a hut is supplied with milk. In all cases, as far as I am aware, a small piece of land is allotted to each tenant on which to grow crops to feed his family. The tenant is not permanently employed but only called on to assist the farmer at various seasons of the year. During the period of employment the tenant receives small monetary remuneration which averages about 12s. per month. When not working they tend to their own land. He is allowed to graze a limited number of stock free; in some instances he is assisted by the farmer in his ploughing."

122. Labourers' wages average from 10s. for boys to 30s. for adults. In some cases on farms the boys prefer to work for 6 months or a year for stock. Married men are paid 20s. to 30s. per month and these bring their wives and families to live on the farm. "The farmer does not consider that he pays a low wage considering the indirect benefits the labourer derives from his employment." (Magistrate.)

Pearston.

123. "There are no labour tenants. For farm labourers the customary wage varies from 5s. to 20s., but the average is about 10s. per month for adult males, in addition rations, grain and meat. Clothing is also in some cases provided. Some farmers allow the head of the family to run a limited number of small stock on the farm." (Magistrate.)

Peddie.

124. Labour tenants are called upon to perform service whenever required by the farmer. Males are paid 1s. a day and females 6d. a day. The regular farm labourer receives a monthly wage, rations for himself alone and in some cases grazing for a limited number of stock. He is also provided with free quarters, but receives no land. Female labourers generally sleep at their homes in the neighbouring locations. The labour tenant receives no extra privileges when working, beyond the daily wage in cash. (Native Commissioner.)

Queenstown.

125. Natives are paid from 12s. to £1 per month and in some cases even a little more. They are allowed to keep sheep and cattle. From 12s. to 15s. is the usual wage. The farmer generally gives the Native clothes and shoes. (W. A. Landman, pp. 4075 and 4090.)

126. "Usually the farmer separates the milk from the Native's cattle and takes the cream. The amount of cream that comes from the Natives' cows is very small, but there is that principle underlying it to make the Native realize that after all the master is looking after his cattle and looking after him and, therefore, he must have some say in the matter." (E. S. Pugh, p. 4236.)

Sterkstroom.

127. Wages for farm labourers are: for males 2s. per day without food; females, 3d. per day plus food. (Magistrate.)

Stockenstroom.

128. Wages vary from 5s. to £3 per month and food. Natives on farms where the pay is 30s. a month and food and the treatment good, have no desire to leave the farm to go to Johannesburg or anywhere else. Employers who pay 5s. find it hard to get servants and complain of the shortage of labour. (I. Masole, p. 7454.)

Swellendam.

129. "Native male farm labourers are paid from 10s. to 30s. per month with varying food rations and housing accommodation in addition. Native females earn from 6s. to 12s. per month and get food generally off their mistresses' table in addition." (Magistrate.)

Venterstad.

130. Native male farm workers are paid from 8s. to 12s. 6d. per month plus food consisting of mealies or mealie meal, coffee, sugar and a weekly ration of meat. They usually are given a hut in which to live. (Magistrate.)

Vryburg.

131. The usual wage of Natives on farms is from 8s. to 20s. per month plus food, quarters, free firewood and water. Special food allowances are made for married men with families. "The Native is also allowed free grazing and water for his stock which are never very many. There are a few farmers who allow Natives to plough a small patch of ground for themselves." (Superintendent of Natives.)

Wellington.

132. The Native male adult daily paid labourers receive from 2s. to 3s. per day. If they undertake to work for any length of time for an employer, they are provided with quarters for themselves and their families. (Magistrate.)

Willowmore.

133. "All Non-European farm labourers usually receive the same wage, namely from 10s. to £1 per month plus food, tobacco and articles of clothing amounting to about £2. (In all £2 10s. to £3 per month.) In addition to the above he is in some cases allowed to graze a small number of stock free. Other male members of the family are also expected to work for the farmer, but generally without remuneration." (Magistrate.)

Wodehouse.

134. Wages of farm labourers are—males 10s. per month with a ration of two mugs of mealie meal per day, a hut and tobacco. He is usually given a small piece of land to cultivate and has free grazing for a few head of cattle—from 6 to 10. A meat ration is not stipulated for and the servant usually obtains the carcase of any sheep which has died. "Employers complain that the servant cannot be trusted and no wonder when under circumstances like these, the smallest article must attract a temptation out of proportion to its value." (Magistrate.)

NATAL.

Alfred.

135. Labour tenants are allowed a certain amount of ploughing land and are generally helped by the farmer with oxen. They probably get firewood where wattles grow and they receive from 10s. to 20s. per month and their food. (Farmers' Association, p. 2137.)

Babanango.

136. The whole of this district consists entirely of private farms owned or occupied by Europeans with from 30,000 to 35,000 Natives resident on these farms, and almost all who are able to work, work for their masters in the district. Some farms have Natives squatting on them. These Natives do very little work. They are allowed certain privileges such as ploughing and free grazing and dipping and for this they must go and work when called upon. In the majority of instances the Native receives no wages, "but has to give his services for the privilege of living on the farm and, therefore, the social and economic effect rather savours of serfdom." The only migration that takes place is from farm to farm and very little of that, for once a Native works for a landlord he has little chance of getting away. The period of service is 6 months in the year. Male wage labourers are paid from 10s. to 15s. a month. Food and quarters are provided by the employer. Other privileges are practically nil, but in some cases meat is given twice a week. A labour tenant may leave the farm for a stipulated period, but not for more than 3 or 4 months, "but farmers are now becoming chary about giving this permission as Natives invariably remain away for much longer periods. A large number work all the year round because owing to desertion and sickness it takes them 12 months to complete their 6 months contract." (Native Commissioner.)

Bergville.

137. A labour tenant renders service for 6 consecutive months of 30 days each. He is usually given as much land to cultivate as he can reasonably be expected to tend properly—4 to 5 acres, and grazing rights for some 10 head of large stock or their equivalent of small stock. (Magistrate.)

Camperdown.

138. "Native tenants on some European lands are paying as much as £5 per hut per annum which they readily do in preference to living under the conditions of a farm labour tenant." (Magistrate.)

Dundee.

139. Labour tenants have to work 6 months without pay. Those who work are fed by the farmer. The obligation to provide workers is on the kraal head and he can substitute as he desires. It includes the services of the wife or wives for washing, female children for house work and the male children for general farm work. Generally a small amount in cash is paid the wives and children. If grown up male Natives work outside the 6 months' free service, they are paid from 10s. to 20s. per month with food, and females are paid 5s. per month. There have been cases where the wages for Natives working outside the free 6 months were as low as 5s. per month for males and 2s. 6d. per month for females. The labour tenant is given land to cultivate up to ten acres, but he rarely ploughs more than five. He is sometimes assisted with his ploughing but this is not the universal practice. After working 6 months he is allowed to leave the farm. If he remains on the farm he is sometimes hired as a daily labourer. (Magistrate.)

Klip River.

140. The average rate of pay for agricultural service is 10s. per month per adult male and from 2s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. per month for juveniles. The kraal head with his family is allowed to reside on the farm rent free and gets free grazing and dipping for his stock and sufficient land for his cultivation. On completion of 6 months' service the kraal head or member of his family is allowed to leave the farm to work elsewhere. "Good arable land is not plentiful in this district and naturally landlords take the best for themselves after allotting to their squatters land of very inferior quality from an agricultural point of view. This naturally means that in lean years the squatter cannot reap sufficient for the maintenance of his kraal. He has to buy and how he manages to do so out of his meagre wages cannot be explained." (Magistrate.)

Kranskop.

141. The wattle farmer is already finding it more economical to employ only paid labour in place of labour tenants. The usual system in vogue in this district is for the males to work 6 months per annum and the females 4 months. Some farmers supply their labour tenants with food during the period of service, while others do not. The tenant receives land to cultivate on his own account and the right to run a limited number of stock. No further facilities are usually provided. Wages are paid to the head of the family and children. (Magistrate.)

Lion's River.

142. Practically all farmers in this district pay their Natives on the basis of shifts worked, "in fact we find employers who desire that a contract for a calendar year shall be worked out on a basis of 365 working days; but the tendency is to pay the Natives not according to the days on which they render service, but according to the days on which they render satisfactory service. Employers interpret a contract to work 180 days as a contract to complete 180 tasks." (Magistrate.)

Melmoth.

143. The labour tenant generally works from 4 to 6 months and in a few cases 9 months. Some receive no pay, others receive from 5s. up to 40s. per month. The labour tenant is generally given food and sometimes lodging while working but not at other times. He is given land to cultivate and allowed to graze a certain number of cattle and he often receives assistance in ploughing. After he has completed his service, he may leave the farm to seek work elsewhere on condition that he returns within a stipulated time. (Native Commissioner.)

Newcastle.

144. Grown-up Natives do 6 months' work in each year and are paid 10s. per month and their food. In the majority of cases the Natives have free grazing. There is also what is called the "Lekelela" system under which the farmers just call out the Natives when they want them and do not give them any pay at all. (A. Wood, p. 1183.)

145. The father is given grazing and ploughing and in return his sons work for 6 months in the year during which they usually get 10s. per month with food. (Magistrate, p. 1198.)

Nkandhla.

146. Some landlords demand free service from their tenants up to periods of 9 months in the year. During the tenant's 6 months' period of service each year a wage averaging 10s. a month is usually paid. The tenant is supplied with mealies whilst at work and may lodge free on the landlord's premises. He usually has free use of as much land as he is able to cultivate and has grazing rights for all his stock. In some instances he is limited to a number and is called upon to pay a grazing fee for cattle in excess of the limited number. He borrows oxen, gear and plough for his own ploughing free of charge. (Native Commissioner.)

Nqutu.

147. The obligation of a labour tenant includes his wives and children and other kraal inmates. No wages are paid as far as I know. Service has to be rendered for every resident on the farm. The tenant is supplied with food and lodging whilst working for his landlord. He is usually assisted by the landlord by loans of oxen to plough. He usually gets free grazing and is assisted in various ways. He is generally well looked after if he performs his part of the contract. (Native Commissioner.)

Richmond.

148. The labour tenant is allowed a kraal site, grazing for approximately 10 head of cattle and is given land to cultivate according to his needs. For this he gives his services and all males over the age of 10 and females for togt labour during the cultivating and reaping period. For males the period of employment is 6 months per annum for which the adults are paid from 15s. to 25s. per month. When not employed by their landlord in most cases they are liberty to seek work elsewhere and should they wish to remain and work for their landlords they are paid 30s. per month. Rations are always included. Female togt labour is from 6d. to 9d. per diem, sunrise to sunset. A custom has arisen here whereby a Native invariably wants an advance of money before starting work and in order to obtain his services the master is almost bound to make the advance. Most of his labour tenants are indebted to masters in amounts beyond their means and whilst indebted to the master he only earns 15s. per month, whereas if not so indebted, his wages would be from 20s. to 25s. per month. This is decidedly against the interest of the Native. This indebtedness is due to the running short of supplies and he has to purchase grain from the master at his figure, usually 2s. or 3s. per bag above the market price. When a tenant is not allowed to seek work outside the district, he is given permission to seek togt labour within it. (Magistrate.)

Utrecht.

149. The labour tenant gets land to plough and grazing for his live stock. He gets a place and the materials with which to build his kraal and a few farmers also plough their natives' land for them or allow them the use of their implements or oxen for that purpose. As a rule the Native gets no wages in cash or kind and is thus compelled to go to the towns and industrial centres in order to earn money to pay taxes and purchase clothing, blankets, agricultural implements, etc. A few farmers pay their servants cash wages but the vast majority do not. The general period of service is 6 months. In a comparatively few cases the period is 12 months' service on the farm and 12 months off; sometimes 3 months' service and then 3 months off. The periods of service are always in one spell. Usually the Native only gets the inferior lands. (Magistrate.)

ORANGE FREE STATE.

Bothaville.

150. Natives are usually engaged from September in one year to September in the next. Wages are from 5s. to 10s. per month plus food and about 4 acres of ground. (Magistrate.)

Fauresmith.

151. Natives are employed on monthly contracts only, the wage being from 10s. to 15s. per month, plus free grazing, free quarters and rations. (Magistrate.)

Ficksburg.

152. "Head of family and family allowed to build themselves a hut and live on the farm. Grazing for on the average 5 head of cattle is allowed. He gets paid in cash about £1 a month and in many instances gets food for himself (5 bags of maize per annum). Wife gets one acre ploughed and planted for her. She cultivates it. For this she must go to the house once a week for cleaning up of the yard and washing. She further must do reaping when called upon but gets paid cash for this. The children can work if they wish, but are not compelled to do so as a rule—they get paid for their work in cash. If huts are available they are allowed to use them—no rent is charged. They must buy or provide their own roofing material. I know of two cases where Natives farm on farms or on portions of farms belonging to Europeans. The terms are partly these—they must on these portions grow crops in the proportion of 3 bags of seed for the owner and 1 for themselves. Their own lands are kept apart, however. They are not allowed simply to give three-quarters of the whole crop to the owner. The owner supplies seed and fertilizer and pays threshing costs and reaping costs for his own portion of the crop. The farms in the cases mentioned are well looked after, as well as if the owner himself farmed them." (C. W. Kops, Statement, p. 3.)

Fouriesburg.

153. In this district it is common for a pass to be given to a Native servant on a farm saying that he has so many days to seek work and is indebted to the person giving the pass in such and such a sum. No trek pass is issued to the Native and his stock is left on the master's farm as security for the debt. He cannot release his cattle unless he can find a prospective employer willing to advance him the amount of the debt and so he starts his service with his new master in debt. "The result is that at certain times of the year, especially after the crops have been reaped, numbers of Native labourers are roaming over the country looking for work." (Magistrate.)

Harrismith.

154. "Squatters are allowed certain lands to plough and certain grazing rights in return for which they can be called upon by the owner of the farm to perform any farm duties required of them. In very few cases is there any monetary wage, with the result that frequently these squatters are given a pass by their master to go on leave for 3 or 4 months (at the time most suitable to the master) to earn sufficient cash to pay the Native Tax." (Magistrate.)

Heilbron.

155. "All Natives in this district are supposed to be wage labourers. The terms are—adult males, 10s. per month with food which consists of mealies or mealie meal; females, 5s. per month and food; youngsters, 2s. 6d. per month and food. The head of the family only is as a rule given three acres of land and grazing for his stock. The period of hiring is either 6 or 12 months. It is alleged that a great deal of illegal ploughing on shares goes on. Generally only Natives in possession of a span or more of draught animals are taken on. Some Natives owe accounts (to farmers) which at the average wage of 10s. per month they can never repay. If they wish to leave their employer he gives them a trek pass but stipulates, for example, 'Pass bearer to look for work. He owes me £5, or £10, as the case may be.' It is almost impossible to find an employer who is willing to engage a strange Native and pay the former employer £10. The result is the Native is nothing less than a slave to the first employer until the debt is paid. There are many of these cases. The result is Natives are not able to find a new master and desert from service and risk years of imprisonment so long as they can get away from the place they are at. . . . Persons who for some reason or other cannot keep servants gladly lend them £2 or £3 to hire them knowing that on the wages paid the Native has no hope of ever refunding the money." (Magistrate.)

Jagersfontein.

156. "All labour tenants are engaged by the year and called upon for their services whenever required and are not allowed to leave the farms on which they reside. The obligation of the labour tenant as a rule includes the services of the whole family whenever required but not other kraal inmates unless they are dependents of the tenant. Wages paid to adults

vary in the case of males from 10s. to 20s. per month and females from 6s. to 10s. per month plus in either case free rations and housing and in a few cases free clothing. The tenant is paid his wages irrespective of whether he works or not. He is not given land to cultivate as agriculture in this area is not practicable except under irrigation, but he is allowed free grazing for his stock." (Magistrate.)

Kroonstad.

157. The great majority of labour tenants sign on for 12 calendar months and work all the year round. If they are given a small piece of land it is ploughed, planted and cultivated for them, so that the Native's services are always at the disposal of the farmer. The average monthly wage for males is from £1 to £1. 5s. per month with food and quarters. The usual practice is to stipulate for the payment of so many bags of mealies as food for the contracting Native and his family for the 12 months of the contract. If a dwelling is available, it is handed over; if not, the Native is permitted to erect one. "A certain amount of grazing is allowed but the number of cattle is regarded with jealous eye and grazing fees are charged in many instances." (Magistrate.)

Parys.

158. "Some farm labourers are paid pitiful wages." (Magistrate.)

Reddersburg.

159. Male farm workers are paid 12s. a month plus food and quarters and females 5s. per month plus food and quarters." (Magistrate.)

Reitz.

160. "The usual remuneration for a Native's services, which frequently include the services of other members of his family, is a portion of land ploughed and planted either by the employer or the Native. Consequently the remuneration is entirely dependent on the seasons which are very uncertain and on other factors such as insect plagues affecting the crop. In bad seasons when the Native realizes that there is little or no hope for a crop for him he becomes discontented and trouble arises between his employer and himself. A certain amount of food, usually mealies or mealie meal is provided for in the contract and is frequently inadequate. . . In bad seasons the Native is faced not only with no remuneration for his services but with a possible scarcity of food as well. Further the lack of any wage in cash or in kind convertible into cash makes it necessary for the Native to borrow from his employer in order to pay his Taxes, buy clothing, sugar, tobacco, etc. He gets into debt with his master who thus obtains a further hold over him . . . The non-payment of cash wages is a principal cause of the failure to pay Tax. An increasing number of farmers are paying Taxes for their Natives either as an advance or as portion of their remuneration in order to avoid the inconvenience of the Natives being arrested and prosecuted, but about half the farmers do not. It should be remembered, however, that a large number of employers of Native farm labour belong to the "bywoner" or agriculturist class who are themselves in straitened circumstances." (Magistrate.)

Senekal.

161. "The practice in this district is for farmers to engage a labourer with his wives and children for a small wage, some land to cultivate and grazing for animals. The conditions often become onerous when there is a bad year. It appears that few Natives under these conditions have any opportunity for bettering themselves. The housing is generally poor. The law (Master and Servants' Act) is very much in favour of the employer, but on the other hand, the close proximity to the Basutoland border makes it easy for Natives to desert . . . If housing conditions could be improved, they would have more self respect and become more cleanly. Decent quarters and an insistence on personal cleanliness have a very salutary effect. The 12 months contract is mostly favoured in this district. Labour tenants have land sown for them and while crops are growing, mealies will be advanced by the farmer." (Magistrate.)

Smithfield.

162 "The wages paid are in many cases very poor and when there is a surplus of labour advantage is often taken of Natives who offer their service for inadequate wages resulting in dissatisfaction and frequently desertion. When there is a shortage of labour, there is no rise above the average of normal times. When the contract is for wages in kind, the remuneration is often inadequate. Many Native servants are very indifferent workers and have little or no sense of responsibility and some means of control is necessary." (Magistrate.)

Thaba 'Nchu.

163. "Most of the cases tried (under the Master and Servants' Act) were for desertion. In the majority of cases it was observed that the Natives had been very poorly paid and fed. Farm labourers' wages are from 10s. to 25s. per month. Male labourers usually receive grazing for a number of stock and in some cases a small piece of land for cultivation." (Magistrate.)

Vredefort.

164. "The procedure in this district is for the farmer to engage a Native for a term of a year at a time and in return for his services or labour the Native receives a certain acreage of land which is ploughed and planted for him and payment of £1 per annum representing his Tax. This system is a decidedly bad one depending, as it does, on the varying sense of justice possessed by the different employers and on the extent of wealth of the farmer. While one farmer possessing perhaps a keen sense of justice will grant a Native a reasonable tract of land and facilities, another farmer will not be so reasonable, in fact instances continually occur where the Native has perforce had to accept most unreasonable conditions. The elements and state of the market also control the Native's earnings. It is not uncommon for a Native who has perhaps given of his best services for a year to find himself at the end of it rewarded only to the extent of £1 for his Tax and sufficient to have merely existed during the year in the way of food. The system, further, tends to make the Native head who does not possess any family unpopular as the farmer being limited by legislation as to the number of heads he may keep or by the extent of his farm, naturally desires as much labour as he can get under the circumstances and the bigger the family of the head, the more popular he is. There is also very little room for the man who by virtue of his old age or other disability is unable to render the service a younger or more fit man can. The Native in this district, and probably in the rest of the Free State is, to my mind, a bad worker and this I attribute to lack of proper nourishment, a circumstance forced on him by the condition of his employment. Through malnutrition from childhood he lacks the stamina to do a day's hard work. Prospects of any progress under the system are stifled from the commencement, resulting in lack of ambition and a barrier to learning the art of responsibility. . . . From the farmer's point of view, and correctly too, the Native is well cared for. He is allowed to cultivate lands which to the farmer should be of more value than the labour value of the Native, but this does not work in practice." (Magistrate.)

TRANSVAAL.

Barberton.

165. Very few contracts for lengthy periods are entered into. Nearly all the Natives are employed as monthly servants on wages varying from £1. 10s. to £3 per month with food and quarters. Natives residing on occupied farms are not squatters in the true sense. They are ordinary monthly servants for which they get more or less the same wage as the outside Native. In some cases they give three months free labour and are paid the ordinary wage for the other 9 months. (Magistrate.)

166. The wage labourer is paid from 30s. to 35s. for 30 shifts. As soon as he can drive or plant or do really useful work he gets from 40s. to 50s. This rate is due to competition with the Mines. In addition they get rations of 25 lb. of mealie meal per week plus a pound of beans or monkey nuts and meat occasionally. (E. T. K. Andrews, p. 513.)

Benoni.

167. The conditions of Natives on European occupied farms have generally tended to become harder. (Native Commissioner.)

Ermelo.

168. The usual contract is that the labour tenant works 6 months for the farmer and 6 months for himself. Where a Native has a family of sons and daughters who are old enough to work, he gets a place to live on, land to plough and grazing for his stock in return for the services of his family. They do not get paid but if the head of the family is short of food, he is supplied with mealies by the farmer. (Magistrate.)

Heidelberg.

169. "The conditions (of labour tenants' contracts), generally speaking, are one-sided and are oppressive from the Natives' point of view." In a contract which came before the Court "the Native was required to work for a period of 9 months during the year as and when required by the farmer. In return for his services he was permitted to cultivate a strip of land . . .

under 2½ acres . . . Generally speaking, the Natives in the Heidelberg District are on or below the border line of poverty. The periods of service given by squatters (labour tenants) . . . vary from 3 to 9 months service during the year . . . The obligation of a labour tenant . . . generally includes the service of his wife and children. Under some contracts wages are paid in cash, others in kind for the services of the wives and children . . . So far as I am aware, there is no customary rate of pay (for wage labourers) . . . Wages vary from a few shillings to £1 a month. Usually male and female wage labourers are supplied with food and quarters in addition to wages which vary very considerably. Small strips of land for cultivation and limited grazing rights are given to the squatter and sometimes assistance in ploughing and provision of seed." (Magistrate.)

Letaba.

170. "It is an almost universal practice in this district that all Natives, male and female, of employable age living on a farm occupied by an European farmer have to render free service to the occupier for the right of the family concerned to reside, cultivate lands and graze such stock as they are allowed to have on such farm. The period of free service of labour tenants is normally fixed at 90 days in respect of males and females of 18 years of age and over, but as the majority of farm labourers in this district give their free labour on the basis of 2 days in each week, the period of free service usually extends to 104 days. Many of the younger men, however, work for 90 days at a stretch in order to obtain permission to seek work elsewhere. Members of the family under 18 years usually work about 6 months in each year, i.e., they work each alternate week or month.

171. "Certain farmers of the more progressive type prefer to pay their Natives for their labour, but in such cases the Natives are required to render continuous employment for the greater part of the year. Wages for adult male wage labourers vary from 25s. to 35s. per 30 days worked. Usually the labour tenant is supplied with one meal per day when he works his two days in each week, but labour tenants who work continuously or are employed as domestic servants are usually fed. Domestic servants usually get lodging while at work, but otherwise labour tenants live in their own dwellings on the farm . . . Farmers on their part suffer great inconvenience owing to the failure of such Natives to return when their time of service arrives. Some farmers assist their tenants with ploughs and oxen with which to cultivate their land." (Native Commissioner.)

Lydenburg.

172. In some places labour tenants have to do 90 days' work, but in others they must work at any time during the year when called upon. Usually it comes to less than 90 days work. If those who want to go away cannot be spared I offer to pay them £2 a calendar month which is the usual wage. Boys of 18 get £1. 10s. a month and all found. One Native has his own horse and cart and £100 in the bank. (E. de Souza, page 759.)

Nelspruit.

173. Every male Native on a farm is called upon for 90 days' free labour for the owner. The Native is given free residence, grazing, fields to plough and free dipping. Those Natives who prefer to continue to work for their landlords after the three months are usually paid at the rate of from £1. 5s. to £2 per month. (Native Commissioner.)

Pietersburg.

174. Labour tenancy. The contract generally entered into in this district is 90 days' service by the Native in return for the right of residence, which includes the right to plough a few acres of land and the grazing of a limited quantity of stock. Unfortunately some farmers allow the Native to work two days a week only. In most cases the obligation of the labour tenant is not confined to the head of the family alone but includes the services of women and children of the family. The only time a wage is paid either in cash or in kind is when the Native works beyond the period of the labour contract. The labour tenant in most cases brings his own food and is not housed but returns to his kraal after the day's work. In some few instances the farmer ploughs for the labour tenant. In a very few cases is a limit placed on the area of land which may be cultivated. Stock of late is being limited. (Native Commissioner.)

Pilgrims Rest.

175. "Many farmers assert that they never see 50 per cent. of their labour tenants who remain away for indefinite periods at various labour centres. They return to their kraals but hide and are away again without any endeavour or intention to commence their obligations to landlords in

respect of the tenure of their families on those farms . . . It should be borne in mind, however, that after all the unwilling and absentee labour tenant forms a very small percentage of the population as a whole . . . The advantage to the farmer of this form of tenancy is considerable when one bears in mind that each tenant is supposed to render 90 days' free service in each year in lieu of rent . . . Compute the service of each at £2 per month, he is receiving £6 value as against 30s. or £2 paid annually by the rent-paying tenant on another farm in respect of residence. Adult male wage labourers receive 30s. to £2 without food. A labour tenant feeds and lodges himself. He does not as a rule receive assistance in ploughing, but there are instances where the owner lends him cattle." (Assistant Native Commissioner.)

Potgietersrust.

176. Under the Farm Labour Bureau scheme drawn up by the Farmers' Union it was agreed that the minimum wage for an adult male Native should be 30s. per month plus rations. No Natives have as yet been recruited under this scheme. (Native Commissioner.)

Rustenburg.

177. Labour tenants perform for the normal, so-called free, service usually 90 days' work per annum in return for the right to cultivate land and graze their stock. This system affords little security of tenure to the Native, especially in the case of a change in the ownership of the land when Natives who have already performed service for the late owner are called upon by the new owner for further service. In most cases the contract includes the services of the tenant's wives and children. While working they receive food and quarters. Farmers usually assist their tenants with food during droughts and bad seasons although they have completed their labour obligations. Most farmers give their Natives time to plough and cultivate their land. Their stock is allowed to graze free with their master's stock. Most farmers allow their servants to plough and cultivate their own land with their oxen and plough. From one to three morgen of land is given to the servants to cultivate. (Magistrate.)

Springs.

178. Almost all the big farmers take on Natives on contracts of 180 shifts at 1s. 4d. per shift with food and quarters. (Magistrate.)

179. Archdeacon Hill, representing the Church of the Province of South Africa, Diocese of Johannesburg, submitted a statement which he described as typical, showing the change in the condition of Natives on the farms. His statement showing what had happened on a farm in the neighbourhood of Springs during the last 25 years, was as follows:

"The farm is the property of a Land Company. Before the South African War about 20 Bakgatla Native families lived on the farm and each paid £10 a year in rent.

"By arrangement among themselves they ploughed the arable lands and were allowed the rest of the farm for pasturage. In a good year an industrious tenant could raise 200 bags of mealies and sell them at 15s. to 18s. a bag. Between 1903 and 1913 the Company rented the farm to European farmers and the Natives were retained on the half-share system. They still continued to plough with their own ploughs and oxen, but the result of the new arrangement was that in a good year their rent of half-share went up to the neighbourhood of £70 to £80 instead of £10 previously paid. In 1913 or soon afterwards the farmers called the Natives together and told them that the half-share system had come to an end, and if they wished to remain on the farm they would be given a few morgen to plough for themselves, but that they must now plough the rest of the lands for the farmers with their own oxen and ploughs and that for the pasturage of their cattle they must be prepared to do the transport of produce to the market.

"This was a great blow to all the Natives. Half of them refused the new arrangement and went off to seek better terms on other farms. We have traced the history of one of the most prosperous of them. He first found a place as a squatter for two years until new terms of service were dictated to him, and he went to another farm for three years and then to the Vischkuil Colliery farm for another three years. He is now on another farm as a servant giving ninety days' service, not consecutive days, but spread out over half the year. He gets no wage. His own ploughing and skoffeling has to be done after he has done the farmer's, and often too late to secure a decent harvest. He is not allowed to keep any cows, sheep or goats, and only such oxen as are useful to the farmer. His sons are married and are living in Springs and Brakpan Locations.

“ Some of the Natives remained on the farm to see how the new arrangement would work. Very few of the original occupants are there to-day. There are 10 families there at present but they come and go. One faithful old man, a Catechist of the Church, once prosperous, but now very poor, has remained all through. In a bad year food is short and the people have to borrow food from the farmer and pay for it by extra labour the following year.

“ There has been a steady decline in the last 25 years in the economic status and condition of the farm Natives. The boys and girls go away to the town to earn money at the earliest possible time in order to buy clothes and to supplement the home food supplies.”

180. Dealing with the need for security of tenure, his statement proceeded as follows:

“ Very little is done to encourage young people to remain on the farms. Schools are discouraged. No interest is taken in their social and recreational life. In recent years some farmers have demanded £12 a year for a Church building erected by the Natives themselves on his farm. Sometimes when a farm is sold or sub-divided the new occupant objects to the Church or school on his farm and the Natives have to abandon their building and build another a few hundred yards away on the other side of a fence.”

Standerton.

181. “ The labour tenant system is the general practice in this district. The customary form of labour tenancy in this district is nine calendar months of service. During the remaining three months the labourer may work for the master for some cash payment or go out and look for work. There are a few variations from the 9 months, but they do not occur to any marked extent. During the 9 months the general rule is that no cash wage is paid at all to the man or his children but often a small cash wage is paid to the wife for doing washing. In most cases they provide their own food. The average size of land given for cultivation is apparently about 3 morgen. The labourer receives grazing for his stock but the number of head is limited. The general custom is that the master supplies oxen and plough. Very seldom is a labourer allowed more than 8 head of large stock and two horses.” (Magistrate.)

Vereeniging.

182. The practice among farmers here is not to pay their tenants in cash. They are given a piece of land to cultivate for their own purposes. Throughout the district the labour tenancy is for 12 calendar months' service. Sometimes wages are paid in kind, i.e., cattle. The tenant is supplied with food—mealies—until his own crops are ready for reaping when he has to supply his own food. The children when working are supplied by the landlord with food and quarters. Should the tenant possess oxen, these are made use of by the landlord for a very small consideration, generally a few bags of grain, to the tenant. If the tenant possesses no oxen, the landlord ploughs the land for him. ((Magistrate.)

Wakkerstroom.

183. Labour tenants work 6 months in one spell. They get sufficient land for cultivation and grazing purposes. They get food and lodging while working and generally receive assistance in ploughing. (Native Commissioner.)

Waterberg.

184. “ Farmers in this district are under the impression that the children of the head of a family are under the same obligation as the head to render service. Their minds have been disabused on this point.” (Magistrate.)

Wolmaransstad.

185. Labour tenants get free use of 4 acres of land ploughed for them, free grazing of stock, and the men are paid 15s. to £1 per month and the women 5s. to 12s. 6d. (Magistrate.)

Zoutpansberg.

186. On some farms the labour tenant is at the beck and call of the land owners and is required to work two days in each week year in and year out. Such a form of contract ties the Native to the farm to such an extent as to make it impossible for him to go out in search of work and thus earn sufficient money to maintain his family on. Natives living on farms under this form of contract are usually in poor circumstances, heavily in debt and unable to pay their Government Taxes. The Native is tied to the farm by the labour contract and is unable to go out to earn money without the consent of his landlord, which is often refused. The big majority of Natives are not in favour of becoming labour tenants owing to their being tied by the labour conditions of contract.

187. This form of contract is not at all popular with the Natives and accounts in a very great measure for the falling off of the numbers who take up residence on farms where such contracts are in vogue. The forms of labour tenancy contracts in this district are as follows:

- (1) 90 consecutive days of service;
- (2) 90 working days spread out over the year.

188. The obligation of a labour tenant includes the services of his wives, children and other kraal inmates. No wage in cash or kind is paid unless they are in service on a wage basis after having completed their farm labour obligations and only then in respect of the labour performed over and above their labour contracts. In the majority of instances the labour tenant and his family have to feed themselves whilst in work. The farmer usually makes it a condition of the contract that he has the use of all manure from the tenant's cattle kraals. Assistance in ploughing is very seldom given. (Native Commissioner.)

LABOUR CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT ON FARMS.

189. Major E. W. Hunt, President of the South African Agricultural Union, in a statement submitted by him in his private capacity as a farmer, said:

"Coming to the Natives on the farms, I can unhesitatingly say that these have a remarkable attachment for the older section of the farming community. There is a wonderful understanding between them. It would be impossible for this attachment and understanding to have developed in the manner in which it has had not the Natives been well and humanely treated by the farmers and their wives.

"Natives remain with these families generation after generation, and this fact in itself is incontestable evidence of good treatment.

"I admit that instances do occur from time to time of gross cruelty to Natives on farms, but such are isolated and rare exceptions to the general treatment of farm Natives by farmers.

"As a steady thing, Natives prefer the rural to the urban life. They are very fond of working amongst cattle, sheep and goats and the surroundings of the farm in general, and I feel confident that this desirable state of affairs will continue.

"A large body of progressive farmers have come to recognize that it pays to encourage efficiency amongst their farm servants by paying for it, that it pays to take an interest in the welfare of their farm Natives generally, particularly in regard to housing and rationing.

"That the mines and factories are able to, and do, pay higher wages than can the farmer is an undoubted fact, but farmers are more and more realizing that it pays to keep servants who understand farming methods, and to pay them well. I can testify to the wisdom of this system."

190. In an article by Drs. C. H. Neveling and J. C. Neethling jointly, published in *Farming in South Africa* for September, 1930, the statement is made that the figures for grazing varied from 1s. 6d. per head per month in the Orange Free State to 6d. per head in the Zoutpansberg. The writers showed the percentages of wages represented by land and grazing in the total wage in the following Table*:

Area.	Land.	Grazing.	Together.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Chicory farms.....	6.5	6.5	13.0
Pietersburg.....	16.1	11.2	27.3
Zoutpansberg.....	2.6	2.8	26.4
Maize Farms.....	23.8	32.2	56.0
Tobacco Farms.....	—	—	10.6
Potchefstroom Settlements.....	—	—	4.0

191. That statement then proceeded as follows:

"As payment in the form of land and grazing decreases, cash wages have to increase. The following figures show the payments in cash and in kind as percentages of the total wage:

Area.	Cash.	Kind.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Chicory farms.....	46.8	53.2
Pietersburg.....	41.8	58.2
Zoutpansberg.....	43.4	56.6
Maize farms.....	27.8	72.2
Tobacco farms.....	62.1	37.9
Potchefstroom settlements.....	60.2	39.8

* See Annexure 24—VIII.

" It should be noted that, where land and grazing constitute a high percentage of the total wage, wages are subject to important variations from year to year. The Native bears the risk of a poor crop on his few morgen, in consequence of which his wage may be materially reduced, nor does his number of animals remain constant. In substituting cash for land and grazing in an area where these two forms of payment still prevail, we find that, the risk having been removed, the Native is prepared to accept a cash wage which is lower than the average payment in kind. It is to the advantage of the farmer to pay cash. Thus, the Orange Free State maize farmers who paid cash and rations only averaged £17. 12s. per Native per year, as against a payment of £19. 2s. per labourer per year by maize farmers who paid no cash.

" . . . stock is about the only form of investment open to the Native farm labourer, and if no grazing can be secured (land may not be rented) he would prefer leaving the farm to sacrificing his stock. As regards the land, its cultivation is largely in the hands of the Native women, who would probably not do productive labour otherwise. In most cases the Native's land should not be considered as a reduction in the area of the cultivated land of the farmer, but as an increase in the cultivated area of the farm as a whole.

" In order to ascertain the effect of size of farm on wages, the data for 106 maize farms for two years have been tabulated in size-groups, as follows:

Wages on Maize Farms by Size-groups (Per Labourer per Year).

Size.	No. of Farms.	Cash.	Land.	Grazing.	Rations.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£
100- 250 morgen.....	26	3.1	5.1	3.8	3.5	15.5
251- 400 "	29	3.4	5.9	5.2	2.8	17.3
P401- 550 "	2	4.4	3.1	5.2	2.9	16.6
551- 700 "	22	4.1	5.1	7.2	2.6	19.0
701- 850 "	23	5.4	4.8	6.8	3.9	20.9
851-1,000 "	29	6.3	4.5	6.3	3.2	20.3
1,001-1,150 "	17	5.7	4.5	7.1	2.9	21.2
1,151-1,800 "	17	7.3	4.8	7.3	2.8	22.2
1,801-3,100 "	18	7.8	5.8	8.5	4.0	26.1

" It appears from this Table that the larger farms pay more per labourer than do the smaller farms, mainly as a result of the increased number of stock allowed and of a small increase in the cash payments. The larger farms probably attract a better class of Native, on account of increased grazing facilities, and pay slightly better in cash. It is interesting to note that the item, land, remains fairly constant in all size-groups; the Native demands the same number of morgen whether farms be large or small."

192. The figures given in Annexure 24-IX represent the estimated cost to the land owners of the wages in cash, in kind, and in privileges which they give to their Native labour tenants. Those wages are in fact, because of the Natives' low standard of agriculture, worth very much less to them than the estimated cost to the employer. Thus it appears from Annexure 24-IX that the average value of grazing to the employer in the Cape Border area is 21s. 7d. per head of cattle per annum. It is quite clear that the Native tenant's cattle cannot be worth enough to stand the payment of any such sum. So, too, the tenant in the Western Transvaal area, who is said to receive on the average £16. 13s. 4d. worth of food for himself and his family, of which about £12 is represented as the cost of food from the employer's table, would not be likely to be able to afford to buy such food. Nowhere in the evidence before the Commission was it suggested that in fact a labour tenant got food from the farmer's table.

193. From the figures in Annexure 24-IX it may be seen that the cost to the farmer in 1930 for the labour tenant's ninety days' service varied from £4. 6s. 2d. for the Pietersburg highveld to £7. 7s. 1d. for the Western Transvaal maize district. The labour tenants in the Pietersburg highveld area average very much less over four years than did monthly labourers in the same area, the figures calculated for 300 working days being £14. 9s. and £19 respectively. In the Northern and North-eastern Transvaal where the system of requiring the tenant to give two days' work a week or to work when called on throughout the year is still fairly common, the tenant serves at a remuneration which when valued at its cost to the land owner is about £5 or £6 a year and when taken in terms of the value of the product to the Native may be less. The economic position of such a tenant is very low. As such Natives can generally not obtain any remunerative work during the days when they are not required by the land owner they have no other means of augmenting their income except by sending to work in the towns and the owner cannot insist shall work for him.

194. In some areas where the two-days-a-week system exists the labour tenant and his wife and children must all give free service, the tenant and wife 90 to 104 days, and the children six months each, in a year, no privileges or payment being given them beyond the occupation of land. In such instances the rent which is paid by the Native, calculating the wage for the work done at the rate paid to hired labourers in those districts would be :

Tenant, 90 days at 1s. per day	£4 10 0
Two children, 6 months each at 5s. per month	3 0 0
Wife, 90 days at 6d. per day	2 5 0
TOTAL	£9 15 0

In one district where these conditions prevail the tenant is limited to ten head of cattle. At the land companies' charges to Natives residing on their farms in that district, such a tenant would pay on a land company's farm, £2 for rent and £1. 10s. for grazing or a total of £3. 10s. for the year.

195. The labour tenant is tied down to the farm for a whole year and can leave it only with the consent of the owner; while if he fails to give any of the services contracted for, that is, to pay his rent, he may be prosecuted and imprisoned under the Master and Servants Act. The Natives on the land companies' farms are free to come and go when they wish and there is no criminal sanction to enforce payment of rent.

196. The labour tenant's position from the point of view of the rent he must pay is still worse in those districts in Natal where no cash wage is paid. There he must give six months' free service a year instead of the usual ninety days' of the Transvaal. One effect of the Land Act has been to substitute this six months' service for a rent of £2 or £3 a year.

197. The labour tenancy plays a large part directly and indirectly in causing the drift of Natives to the towns; directly, in so far as it compels the tenants or members of their families to go to the towns to earn the money they need, and which the system does not give them, to meet their taxes and to provide such items as food, clothing, and school fees; indirectly, because the sons and daughters, who have to work for what is in effect their father's rent, seeing no return for their labour, run away to the towns, this in itself leading to eviction of the tenant who, because he has no children to work for the landowner, cannot get another tenancy and is also driven to the towns.

198. Labour tenancy to ensure the European farmer all the labour he requires means tying the Native tenant to the land for part of each year, often involving him in compulsory idleness for another part or, where the farmer does not retain him as a hired labourer after he has completed the required number of months' service as a tenant, it means he must go elsewhere, usually to the towns, to earn money. As he cannot remain continuously at any class of work he can become nothing but a casual or unskilled worker.

199. It is clear that among "the measures to be adopted to prevent the increasing migration of Natives" to urban areas, there should be measures in connection with labour tenancy and general farm labour conditions.

200. In this connection the facts which were established by the evidence and which are relevant to the issue appear to be :

(1) for the type of labourer engaged in farming, usually untrained, uninterested in his work or its result, and frequently unsuitably fed for hard work, higher wages cannot as a rule be paid;

(2) labour tenancy is very uneconomical for most Europeans and Natives;

(3) a great deal of European farming is inefficient and involves wasteful use of the labourers employed;

(4) the labour tenancy system produces compulsory idleness of the tenants for part of the year;

(5) as the labour tenancy system continues to grow less common the need on the farms for the presence of a supply of labourers living near their work will become urgent;

(6) there is at the busy times of the year, i.e. at the periods of ploughing and reaping, a shortage of labourers in a number of areas;

(7) Natives cannot be expected to hold themselves in readiness for calls from farmers who need them only at certain periods of the year, unless they are in a position profitably to occupy themselves and to earn a living during the rest of the year;

(8) the system ties the Native down to working for food and clothing with no means of saving or investment; his stock cannot increase because the numbers he may have are restricted and his earnings are generally too small to allow of any saving;

(9) the system gives no incentive to progress and gives no security of tenure.

201. An improvement in the conditions of Natives engaged as farm labourers will involve much reorganization and change of methods. In the interests of both Europeans and Natives such a change is necessary.

202. Several measures could, with due regard to the conditions set out above, be adopted "to prevent the increasing migration to urban areas". Among such measures are:

- (1) a system of cash rent leasing to Natives;
- (2) a change in the form of labour tenancy contracts;
- (3) the appointment of a number of inspectors of Native labour on farms.

CASH RENT TENANCY.

203. Very many Europeans hold far more land than they can, or are willing to use. Drs. Neveling and Neethling, in their article quoted in paragraph 190 above, said, "In most cases the Native's land should not be considered as a reduction in the area of the cultivated land of the farmer, but as an increase in the cultivated area of the farm as a whole."

204. Without departing from the principle of the 1913 Land Act, that ownership of land in certain areas of the Union shall be reserved to Europeans, it would be possible until the European population of the Union is large enough profitably to make use of that land and to furnish the labour necessary for farming, to allow Native tenants, with reasonable security for tenure for their improvements and without any obligation to render service to the landowners, to make use of some of the at present unused land. This would be to the benefit of the landowner, the Native tenants, and the community as a whole.

205. It should be made possible, under the control of local committees, for land to be leased to Natives on a cash rent basis, subject to stipulations as to proper cultivation and proper usage of the land, including adequate fertilizing. The term of the tenancy would need to be long enough to encourage the tenant to make necessary improvements and to give him a sense of security, while provision would have to be made for compensation for improvements in the event of a tenancy not being renewed. This would give the father of a family a definite status; it would put him in a position to bring up his family; it would afford the stimulus of self-interest to him to make the best use of his land; his standard of agriculture, especially if the help of demonstrators were made available to him, would improve considerably; he would have his family with him under conditions where he could control them, and where they would have a means, while living at home, of earning money for themselves by working for the landowner or for neighbouring farmers. Native small holders on farms such as Daggakraal in the Wakkerstroom district, Klipgat in Ventersdorp district, and Evaton in the Vereeniging district, to-day provide voluntary labourers for the farmers in their neighbourhood. The same result would follow from a system of Native tenancy on European farms, which would be advantageous both to the landowners and to the Natives.

206. In this way there would be available, and resident in the neighbourhood, the labour which is necessary to meet the farmers' shortage at the busy season.

207. The land which would be leased to such tenants would be brought into use instead of being allowed as at present to lie idle. The owner of the farm would receive an income from it, which would help to finance him in his own farming and especially to provide more attractive conditions than he can at present give to his Native labourers. The Native tenant would have scope for his ambition and an interest in life to stimulate him to raise his standard of agriculture while the success that may reasonably be expected from such a system would set an example in tenant farming which might make a similar tenure attractive to European tenants.

208. What is here suggested bears no resemblance to the system which was formerly known as "Kaffir-farming," and under which a fixed sum of from £2 to £5 per annum was paid by a Native for his hut site, no limit being set to the number of huts on a farm. Under that system no steps were taken

to see that the Natives made any proper use of any of the land they were squatting on. The system suggested would impose conditions of proper use on the tenant and would encourage the class of Native who is to-day becoming a good farmer with modern ideas.

209. It should be introduced in a number of areas and sympathetically and actively supported. Such a scheme would do much to reverse the forces which are now driving Natives from the farms to the towns. That the Native can, when properly trained and when placed in circumstances in which he can exercise his ability, make a good farmer, was amply established by the evidence, but like people of any other race he needs the benefit of instruction from those who have the necessary knowledge and experience.

210. The question of an amended form of labour tenancy agreement has been dealt with in paragraphs 393 to 401 of the Report.

211. Although the labour tenancy system is expensive and leads to inefficiency both in management and in work, it is at present useless to think of trying to abolish it. As far as its abolition can be attained by education, any possible educative measures should be taken to that end. Meantime measures should be devised to mitigate the disadvantages both for European farmers and for the Native labour tenant. The system recommended in paragraphs 394 to 397 of the Report should, if sympathetically tried, do much to this end.

INSPECTORS OF NATIVE LABOUR.

212. Much of the trouble which arises between farmers and their labour tenants is due to misunderstanding. The farmers who wilfully ill-treat or defraud their Native employees are probably only a very small percentage of the total number, but the number who could improve the conditions of their employees with little or no expense, if their attention were drawn to the matter, must be large. A desirable method of achieving such improvement, to the common advantage of both farmers and Natives, would be by the appointment of Inspectors whose work it would be to draw attention to conditions which need changing and which it would be advantageous to change, and to persuade the employers to make those changes. There should be no measure of compulsion introduced, the officer's duty being merely to bring to the notice of the employer what could and should be done. Many employers appear still not to be aware of the fact that a contented worker is of much more value than one who is discontented or even that good food and good housing can compensate in increased efficiency and capacity for the increased expense they may cause. Often with the same amount of money as is being spent at present, considerable improvement could be made by a wiser selection of food or by better housing.

213. What is here suggested is in principle similar to the provisions of the Potgietersrust District Farm Native Labour Bureau agreement, which laid down that the Farmers' Union and the Chiefs' Native Advisory Committee, the constituent bodies of the Bureau, should have the right to appoint one or more of their members to act as welfare officers, who if approved by both bodies, were to be furnished with letters of introduction by the Executive Committee entitling them to visit the farms of employers at all reasonable times to inquire after the welfare of apprentices or labourers and to hear their complaints.

214. An inspector would be able to achieve much to keep Natives on farms by adjusting misunderstandings between employer and employee of the kind which now end in prosecutions under the Master and Servants laws, with loss of time and money to the employer and sometimes injustice to the employee and a feeling in him of resentment against Europeans; or through his understanding of Native customs and outlook he could show the employer who is not acquainted with them how in a friendly way many difficulties might be avoided.

URBAN AREAS.

215. The Commission has found that the main cause of the influx of Natives from the Reserves to urban areas is the undeveloped state of those Reserves and has recommended that the most effective measure for preventing such influx lies in helping the Natives to make better use of their land. It is quite clear that the vast majority of Natives prefer to live in rural rather than in urban areas. It is as a rule only very powerful pressure that makes them forsake the rural areas even for a short time. They go to work or live in the towns only at the last moment; when they must have money for urgent needs. It is not high wages or glittering attractions that take them there. Among the most urgent of those needs is money for payment at the prescribed time of the General Tax. At the same time recruiting is intended to urge as

many Natives as possible to go to work in the urban areas. Both of these factors are in conflict with a policy of trying to stem the drift of Natives to the towns. It is therefore necessary to remove as early as possible the pressure exerted by those causes, by raising the required revenue in a way that will encourage industry in the Reserves and not force the people there to leave them, and within a reasonable time by substituting for recruiting some system which will not urge Natives to leave the Reserves but which will give to those who desire to come to work in European areas information of the places where Native workers are required. It will be idle to expect very much reduction in the migration to the towns as long as two such strong incentives as the General Tax and recruiting continue to stimulate that migration.

216. While those incentives are operating irresistibly to force Natives into the towns, various efforts are made to prevent their coming in. The Native comes to town with the perfectly innocent and, in the interests of the prosperity of the country, with the quite laudable desire to pay his way and improve his economic position. When he gets to town he is required under the Urban Areas Act and municipal by-laws to live in a certain type of house. With the wage he gets he cannot pay for such housing and the local authority must provide it for him, often at considerable cost to itself. The local authority, thus subsidising the employers of Natives within its area, comes to look upon every Native entering it as an added burden which justifies placing restrictions on his freedom of movement. It is the low wages paid to Natives and the consequent subsidisation of employers through the housing of Natives at sub-economic rents that makes the Urban Areas Act press heavily on local authorities and leads to the belief that the European population has to pay for the services provided for Natives. The fallacy behind this belief can be easily seen, if a position be conceived in which the Natives do the work they do now and are paid no wages at all. Certain social services would have to be provided for them and the whole of such services would then appear to be paid for by the Europeans. At present this burden is not felt by the Europeans in Natal because there the large towns have accumulated profits—in themselves a form of tax—from their beer fund, this fund having hitherto been sufficient to do the necessary subsidising of Native wages in the form of sub-economic rents and to pay for hospital accommodation and all other services provided for Natives. It is also not felt in Bloemfontein where the Natives pay the whole cost of Native administration including medical services out of their own Native Revenue Account. They are able to do this because in the Bloemfontein location Natives build their own houses, with some assistance from the Union housing loan, and because under a wage determination there is prescribed by law a minimum wage higher than prevails in any other town.

217. Local authorities are allowed by law to charge the Native Revenue Account the same price for services as is charged to Europeans. The rendering of those services to Europeans is often much more expensive than to Natives. The Manager of the Native Affairs Department, Johannesburg, considered that if only the actual cost of sanitary services were charged to the Eastern and Western Native Townships of that city there would probably be a saving to the Native Revenue Account of £5,000 per annum.

218. Already there are signs of the beginning of land speculation in urban locations. In one which the Commission visited the monthly lease of a plot for which a fixed rental had to be paid to the local authority and on which there was a structure worth not more than £5 was recently sold for £20.

219. In Bloemfontein location the Natives pay 1s. 6d. per month as ground rent for a plot of 75 ft. by 50 ft. Allowing for a deduction of one third of the total area of the location for streets and open spaces, this rent represents an interest of about 15 per cent. on the assessed value of the land which is approximately £50 per acre. The rent is credited to the Native Revenue Account.

220. While there can be no doubt of the great improvement brought about in the housing conditions of Natives in towns in consequence of the provisions of the Urban Areas Act, the Act is not very popular with Natives. They are not in most towns sufficiently consulted in the conduct and administration of their affairs. Everywhere Natives complain of the unnecessary restrictions and discipline imposed by local authorities on Natives living in locations. The Revd. John L. Dube, dealing with this point, said:

“ The principle of the Urban Areas Act is to restrict the urban Native to certain regulations that are cumbersome. They have to have so many hours, or so many days, for passes to seek work; there are so many regulations in regard to hospitals and Native locations, and if they do not comply with these regulations they get into difficulty and into gaol, and so on; and besides, it seems to us Natives

that you want our labour, but as soon as you have finished with us you want us removed so far away from you that you do not want to see us until certain hours when you again want our labour. We are just so many horses that have to be stabled after they have been working—just as though we are not human beings. We have not got the freedom which we should have. It seems to us that the Urban Areas Act restricts our freedom of movement and action . . . Here in Durban, for instance, Indians are allowed freedom to reside in certain places in the town, but the Native is obliged to go into the Native Barracks—we have no freedom at all.”—(Evidence, p. 6263.)

221. Life in urban areas is so different from the life in which the rural Native has been brought up, that it is very desirable that the local authorities should take steps to teach Natives in towns about the problems which they must face and how they can adjust themselves to their strange surroundings. A great deal is done in this way by Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives and by various Welfare Societies and individuals. Local authorities, by calling in the aid of such bodies, could do much at very little cost, to smooth away difficulties which arise in the adjustment of the relations between Europeans and Natives in towns, where generally each race knows little of the outlook and aspirations of the other.

222. In some towns Natives are not admitted to the local market either for the purchase or sale of produce. Bloemfontein has a market in its Native location, and a similar provision might well be made in other centres.

223. In very few municipalities are the ordinary public buildings available for the use of Natives. They cannot hire public halls for their meetings, and museums and libraries and art galleries are generally closed to them. In one town the museum is open to Natives on the same terms as to Europeans while in another town the museum is open to Natives on one day a week. The provision of small libraries for Natives would be highly appreciated and would be of great value in assisting in the education of town Natives.

224. By co-operation with existing agencies local authorities could do a great deal to improve conditions at little or no expense to themselves. As an example of this an instance was quoted to the Commission of a town where the Provincial Hospital, which made provision for treatment of Natives, was situated about two miles from the Native location. This very considerably impaired its usefulness for the Natives, as there was no means of transport, except the expensive one of taxis, between the location and the hospital. The hospital authorities were quite prepared to set up in the location an out-patient department for Natives, but the Province would not bear transport expenses. Through the provision by the municipality of the slight sum involved, for such expenses, it became possible to provide such a department in the location, where it is now functioning to the satisfaction of the authorities and the Natives and is able to do effectively the work for which it was established.

225. In many Native locations, no street lighting is provided. In European areas the provision of street lighting is regarded as one of the chief methods of protection of life and property. The absence of this provision in Native locations is a testimony to the law-abiding character of the Natives. For necessary convenience, however, for the residents, the provision of street lighting should be regarded as essential. In some towns electric light is provided to houses in Native locations, this having been found to be economically possible.

226. In some towns water-borne sewerage is provided in the locations and this too has been found, through the capital cost being spread over a number of years, to be more economical than the less hygienic pail system.

227. The water supply in many locations is extremely unsatisfactory. The usual method is to have standpipes at intervals along each street, but in one location with several hundred inhabitants, there was only one standpipe with a half-inch tap for the whole location, while in another town the only water supply for the location was by means of a one-inch standpipe a quarter of a mile from the nearest point in the location, to which all water had to be carried in buckets.

228. It is very important that the greatest care should be shown in the choice of a suitable person as Superintendent of Locations or of Native Affairs in urban areas. The post of Location Superintendent should be a well paid one and the conditions attaching to it should be such as to enable the local authority to select a man of high character and integrity, of tact and ability, a man with a knowledge of and sympathy with Native habits and customs. In some instances Location Superintendents are men of a very fine type, who have earned the trust and confidence of the Natives in their locations, but in

others, the Superintendents appear to be very unsatisfactory and to be lacking in sympathy in their treatment of the Native residents. In all the towns, except two, along the Witwatersrand, the Location Superintendent is subordinate to the Sanitary Inspector, to whom he must report and through whom his reports go to the local authority. A Superintendent should not be required to report to the Council through any official but the Town Clerk. He should be helped to make use, from time to time, of courses at the Universities in Bantu Studies and in local administration. Much good could be done, if one or more officials, with successful experience in administering locations, were appointed from time to time to visit town locations and explain to the officials and Advisory Boards of those locations, what has been done where the system is successfully administered, and what changes would help to produce success where it has hitherto been lacking. Consultations between Location Superintendents at conferences held periodically would far more than repay in improved management and conditions in the locations and better understanding between Europeans and Natives, the expense incurred in holding such conferences.

Native Advisory Boards.

229. The form of Native self-government through the "block" system and the Native Advisory Board is very successful in Bloemfontein. Mr. J. R. Cooper, the Manager of the Native Administration Department of that town, dealing with this system, said:

"There is a form of modified self-government in the location. The laws and regulations are there and the majority of them are carried out with the assistance of the Native Advisory Board. The Board advise their people on various matters in regard to the regulations, and they tell them what they must do and what they must not do. If anything is wrong, it is reported to me immediately, but we could not control this location, and I say it openly, without the assistance of responsible Native opinion, and I must say that it is acting extremely well in Bloemfontein. It has been a huge success." —(Evidence, p. 5194.)

He further expressed the opinion that the Natives showed remarkable initiative in managing the affairs of the location, and that in his opinion the Native Advisory Board was invaluable.

230. In the matter of administration of urban locations as in many other of the proposals made by the Commission, there should be no attempt to lay down one general system for all areas. The evidence showed that it would be very much in the interests of all sections of the community that the Natives in town locations should be encouraged to take upon themselves the duty of administering the affairs of the locations. They are anxious to do so and their wish should be granted. The method of procedure need not be uniform but information about the different methods adopted in different towns should be made generally available.

231. Local authorities should be encouraged to make use of the Natives' power of self-government, and bodies should be set up in certain of the town Native locations with power to carry on the administration of them, subject to the advice and guidance of a suitable sympathetic superintendent, acting as representative of the local authority, power being reserved to the local authority for good and sufficient reason to veto any proposal of such Native Council. Such a procedure offers the only really hopeful method by administrative means of combating the illicit liquor traffic in locations.

FAMILY BUDGETS OF URBAN NATIVES.

232. Dr. A. J. Orenstein, Medical Director of the Rand Mines, Limited, estimated the lowest cost of a diet consistent with the maintenance of reasonable health, for a Native family of four, consisting of a man, his wife, and two children, one of five years and one of two, to be, in Johannesburg, approximately 60s. per month.

233. Major H. S. Cooke, Director of Native Labour, made an attempt to ascertain actual budgets of Natives living in the Witwatersrand locations. He encountered the usual difficulties which were to be expected in dealing with expenditure which was being made in small sums at various shops by people who were not experienced in keeping accounts. As a result of his investigation Major Cooke said that in his opinion:

"It would probably be true to say that a minimum of £6 (per month) in the way of income is essential to the well-being of a Native family of four persons residing in a location or Native village in Johannesburg and that the average is well below that figure."

234. Major Cooke's estimate approximates fairly closely to the estimates arrived at by Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives in several centres and to those submitted to the Commission by Native and other witnesses.

235. Adolescent Native boys and girls present a serious social problem in the towns. There is little scope for them in the schools and even where these are available the fees make it difficult for parents to allow their children to continue at school. There are few openings for such boys and girls. The boys are physically not strong enough for labourers' work and the small wage at which adult Native men can be hired makes the saving in wages through the employment of young boys so small as to give an employer no incentive to engage them.

236. The evidence showed that Natives, in order to save their wages to take them home, often over-economize in food, with consequent ill effects on their health. This evidence was supported by the statement of the S.A. Railways and Harbours on this point.

NATIVE EMPLOYEES OF S.A. RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS ADMINISTRATION.

237. The S.A. Railways and Harbours employ a large number of Native labourers. That Department controls all railways and harbours within the Union of South Africa and the Mandated territory of South West Africa, and, in addition, works, on behalf of the Rhodesia Railways, Ltd., the railways between Vryburg and Bulawayo.

238. The total number of staff employed by the Department at the end of each year since 1916 is shown in the following Table:

As at 31st December.	Europeans.		Coloured.	Indians.	Natives.	Total.
	Graded.	Labourers.				
1916.....	28,655	4,128	2,860	2,495	23,873	61,921
1917.....	30,067	4,273	3,821	2,446	25,710	66,317
1918.....	30,524	4,427	4,179	2,385	25,664	67,179
1919.....	34,370	4,624	5,306	2,369	30,136	76,805
1920.....	37,076	4,961	6,131	2,438	33,730	84,336
1921.....	33,834	4,144	3,985	2,138	26,827	70,928
1922.....	31,283	3,692	4,274	2,035	27,193	68,477
1923.....	31,579	3,231	5,124	1,988	29,823	71,745
1924.....	33,086	5,954	3,685	1,850	30,353	74,928
1925.....	36,387	10,612	5,745	1,719	31,227	85,690
1926.....	37,338	12,464	6,519	1,408	27,919	85,648
1927.....	39,389	13,017	6,155	1,079	26,548	86,188
1928.....	40,116	14,275	6,630	910	27,595	89,526
1929.....	40,930	14,887	6,602	845	29,849	93,113
1930.....	39,897	14,065	5,763	764	29,620	90,109

NOTE.—“ These figures include all staff employed under the control of the Department. Owing to separate records not having been maintained it is not practicable at this date to divorce from the figures in respect of past years the staff who are not employed within the Union.”

239. The latest available figures show that at the 31st March, 1931, there were 24,284 Natives employed within the Union. These were distributed as follows:

Open Lines: Regular Staff	16,443
Casual Staff	1,075
Major new works and new construction	6,766

240. The Railways have found the supply of Native labourers sufficient to meet all their normal demands and only rarely have Natives had to be recruited at points other than those at which their services were required.

241. The proportion of Railway revenue which is derived from Native traffic was estimated by the Department for the year ending 30th June, 1931, at £1,676,831, that sum representing approximately 33 per cent. of the total revenue derived from passenger traffic during that period. It was not possible to separate Native goods traffic from European but the amount must be considerable.

MIGRATION OF NATIVES WITHIN UNION.

242. A portion of a tribe at Middledrift in the Ciskei, where the congestion of population is very great, some six or seven years ago purchased land in the Rustenburg area and has now settled there. This migration has been very successful. As an indication of what can be done in this way a summary of the evidence of their *induna* (leader), Zibi, about that migration is given in the following paragraph.

243. To obtain the purchase price for the land and pay the expenses of moving, those who left Middledrift sold their cattle, none of the cattle being taken north. About a quarter of the tribe, some 150 families, moved. The remainder cannot go until the provision of water for them is assured. Those who moved to Rustenburg are better off than those who stayed behind. No levy was necessary to raise the purchase price of the land. Members of the tribe contributed voluntarily what was needed. As there was very little money left to buy cattle the tribe had to get their ploughing done by European farmers in the neighbourhood. Very satisfactory relations have been established between the tribe and those farmers. Members of the tribe work for European farmers in the country round at the seasons when they are needed. Some go to work on the mines. Relations are very friendly with neighbouring Native tribes. Besides mealies and kaffir corn, monkey nuts and beans are grown, the nuts and beans being sold. The tribe has engines for pumping water and a windmill. A dam is being made, a European being engaged to build it. Members of the tribe look after the engines. Other members, who were trained at St. Matthews', are plumbers for the tribe, making such things as dishes, buckets, and baths. They are paid cash for their services. A trained Native carpenter is being obtained. He will get a good deal of work in connection with buildings. Local conditions, particularly ants, compel the members of the tribe to build better houses than they had in the Ciskei. The houses are being built in villages and not scattered, in order to avoid wasting the grazing. The people feel more secure and prosperous than they did in their old home and they are beginning to show this in better housing and better conditions generally. The chief difficulty of the people is the long distance from the railway and from any market. At first there was some trouble about schooling because there were many denominations and there was only one place of worship and that had to be used as a school. That trouble has now been overcome and there is now one tribal school. It is provided by the members of the tribe. The parents pay fees. There is a Government grant for teachers' salaries. The affairs of the tribe are governed by a tribal council elected "according to Native ways", the council consisting of commoners and not as in some tribes of the Chief's uncles and brothers. The law does not give Chiefs power to do much. It "gives them responsibilities without authority or power". Native district surgeons should be appointed for Native areas and there should be Native nurses. The district surgeon is never seen in the Native areas and there is no hospital. A demonstrator comes out occasionally to the tribe's land. It would be a great advantage to have one resident there.—(Evidence, pp. 8636-8664.)

244. As illustrating the effect of good conditions on the land in preventing the drift to the towns and reversing it, the Rev. J. C. E. Penzhorn, missionary in the Rustenburg district, said:

The Natives in that area are learning good methods in farming. They are reaping 50 to 75 bags of mealies from five or six morgen, and from that they live well and have a surplus with which to buy clothing and furniture. There are many progressive Natives who are farming on quite a large scale, two producing each as much as 500 bags of mealies in a year. In the past five years the Natives have progressed and they no longer go out of the Reserves to work in the mines or on other farms. This represents one of the great changes that has been taking place of late years among the Natives. (Evidence, p. 965.)

245. Similar instances were met with in the neighbourhood of Umtata in the Transkei. One witness in the Vryheid district, a wattle grower, was able to point to migration back to the wattle farms from the towns, because the wages wattle farmers can pay in that district are sufficiently attractive to bring Natives back to agricultural pursuits.

246. The Assistant Native Commissioner of Pilgrims Rest reported that during the past ten years some ten or twelve Native families had migrated to his district from the Cape Province. Of these eight had returned to the Cape. Five families had come from Natal to settle in his district.

247. The Additional Native Commissioner for Zoutpansberg said that migration of Natives was taking place in that district from farms and Reserves to urban areas and from European-owned farms to Reserves. The latter was due principally to evictions and to the dislike of the majority of Natives for the labour tenancy conditions which existed on nearly all the farms occupied by Europeans.

248. The range in the movement of Natives to towns is well illustrated by the following extracts from statements showing the amount of General Tax collected during 1930 in various towns on behalf of other districts:

Bloemfontein.—The amount so collected was £3,269, out of which £723 was collected on behalf of Thaba 'Nchu, and approximately two-thirds of the total was on behalf of Orange Free State districts. There were collections on behalf of almost every district in each Province.

Johannesburg.—The amounts collected here were on behalf of districts in

Province.	£
Cape	33,873
Natal and Zululand	25,266
Orange Free State	3,639
Transvaal	46,441
TOTAL	<u>£109,219</u>

Krugersdorp.—Similar collections here were for:

Province.	£
Cape	6,461
Natal and Zululand	430
Orange Free State	82
Transvaal	2,362
TOTAL	<u>£9,335</u>

And at *Benoni* were for:

Province.	£
Cape	31,487
Natal and Zululand	3,626
Orange Free State	540
Transvaal	12,350
TOTAL	<u>£48,003</u>

MIGRATION OF NATIVES INTO UNION.

249. There has been an infiltration into the Union of Natives from Nyassaland. It was estimated that there are some 500 of them in the Rustenburg, 200 in the Pilgrims Rest, and several hundred in the Waterberg districts. The Immigrants' Restriction Act appears not to be enforced against them. Evidence of European and Native witnesses was unanimous that their presence had very harmful effects upon the Natives in the districts mentioned. Feeling among the Union Natives against these Nyassaland Natives is indeed very bitter. It was shown that they undercut the Union Natives, whose wages were small; that they had introduced dangerous criminal practices, particularly knifing; and that they enticed to live with them local Native women whom, when they left the district, they abandoned. Just as white people in the Union have determined that their standard of living and civilization should not be jeopardized by permitting unrestricted immigration into the Union of Europeans of low character and civilization, and who are not likely easily to be assimilated into European South African civilization, so the Natives of the Union claim they should be protected from immigration, even if only for restricted periods, of Natives of a different civilization and culture from their own, with customs and habits which would only still further complicate the Union's already complex conditions.

IMPORTATION OF EXTRA-UNION NATIVE LABOURERS.

250. The social and economic condition of the Natives of the Union is very greatly influenced by the importation into it of extra-Union Natives. These come now mainly from the adjoining territories of the Protectorates and Portuguese East Africa. Immigration from territories north of latitude 22° South is prohibited by the Immigrants' Restriction Act, 1913. Prior to that Act immigration from such territories was permitted but, on humanitarian grounds, because of the high death rate from pneumonia among such Natives on the mines it was subsequently prohibited. It is now urged that, with the advances made in medical science for the prevention and treatment

of pneumonia, the reason for such prohibition no longer exists, but Dr. E. H. Cluver, Assistant Health Officer of the Union, in a paper published in the "Journal of Industrial Hygiene", 1929, p. 207, said that medical opinion was not unanimous that this was so.

251. There are in the Union large numbers of Natives who are involuntarily unemployed or only partly employed, while there are large numbers more who, if employed, are wastefully employed. It is impossible to give actual numbers, but the evidence went to show that probably any shortage of Native labourers there may be in the Union is due to maladjustments in the organization of the supply and in particular industries is due to unattractive wages and other labour conditions. Mine labourers, whose work is arduous and has to be performed underground, are paid generally lower wages than are paid in towns in the neighbourhood of the mines for much easier and more congenial work on the surface.

252. Were it not for importation of Native labourers the position of Union Natives to bargain for better wages on the mines and in other industries would be much strengthened. Here it may be noted that pass fees and recruiting costs which the mines must pay for their Native labourers, but out of which those labourers get no benefit, represent not less than 2½d. per Native per shift worked. That sum diverted to Native wages would probably go a long way to make mining more attractive to Union Natives and so increase the number willing to work in the mines.

253. The importation of Native labourers—as distinct from the voluntary immigration of Natives from territories adjoining the Union—is in my opinion not compatible with the improvement of the economic condition of Union Natives. Imported Natives, if they are not to be added to the present Native population of the Union, must be comparatively short term labourers. As is now said about Union Natives, it will then be said about imported Natives that it will not be worth while to devote much time or effort in training them. In these circumstances, their wages would not be likely to vary much from the present level and there would be a continuous tendency to keep down Native wages and make time spent on training for efficiency unprofitable, while the ruinous gap between the European and Native levels of wages would be maintained, with its consequent unemployment for Europeans and miserable living conditions for Natives.

254. As long as the mines could import East Coast Natives who would stay for long periods it was natural that they should be preferred to Union Natives for the posts of "boss boys". When the Mozambique Convention was entered into in 1928 and the period for which the East Coast Natives could remain in the Union was limited to 18 months, Union Natives came to be looked upon as worth being trained for such posts and they have shown themselves to be quite satisfactory in them.

EFFECTS OF LONG ABSENCE OF NATIVES FROM HOME.

255. The Report shows that large numbers of Natives go from the Reserves, and also from the farms to work in the urban areas. This absence from home is frequently of long duration. An examination of records of 2,043 British South African Natives, who were discharged from gold mines in November, 1930, showed an average length of service of 10.88 months each. The following Table shows the length of service of individuals classified as recruited, non-recruited, Natives engaging under the "Assisted Voluntary Scheme" described in the chapter on Mining, and local Natives, the last-named being those who transferred from other employment to that of the mines or transferred from one mine to another:

Length of Service in Months.	Recruits.	Non-Recruits.	A.V.S.	Locals.	Total.
Up to 4.....	22	79	16	6	123
Over 4 and up to 5.....	1	60	39	11	111
" 5 " 6.....	4	98	25	9	136
" 6 " 7.....	40	89	25	5	159
" 7 " 8.....	69	98	13	10	190
" 8 " 9.....	39	96	15	6	156
" 9 " 10.....	51	93	26	3	173
" 10 " 11.....	290	75	10	5	380
" 11 " 12.....	85	46	7	5	143
" 12 " 13.....	64	37	8	7	116
" 13 " 14.....	29	24	4	2	59
" 14 " 15.....	16	34	2	1	53
" 15 " 18.....	30	38	1	5	74
" 18 " 21.....	24	33	—	4	61
" 21 " 24.....	9	17	—	3	29
" 24.....	12	52	—	16	80
	785	969	191	98	2,043

From this it will be seen that the length of absence from home of these Natives is usually considerable. Another test covering 1,071 British South African Natives who took their discharge in 1924 showed the following length of service with the mines:

	Natives.	Months' Service.	Average.
Cape Province.....	727	6,897	9.4
Natal.....	52	604	11.6
Transvaal.....	100	1,500	15.0
Basutoland.....	120	1,377	11.5
Bechuanaland.....	26	211	8.1
Swaziland.....	46	464	10.1
TOTAL.....	1,071	11,053	10.3

To this length of service must be added, to arrive at the period of absence of the Natives from home, the time they take in travelling to and from their homes.

256. The effects of such absence were commented upon by a large number of witnesses. It was described as seriously undermining Native marriage customs and morality and family life.

257. The Rev. John Dube, dealing with this question, said "They (the Natives) lose their home life; and the other objection is that parental control is weakened, and all that which goes to make a nation strong is lost when the father of the house is away."

258. This prolonged absence from home of the men has probably contributed to the growth of insubordination of children towards their parents, and the general lack of parental control over the young men and women.

259. Mr. Germond, Lecturer in Agriculture at the South African Native College at Fort Hare, showed the serious effect of this long absence of the adult able-bodied male Natives on agriculture in the Reserves. In his statement he said, "The absence of males from their homes during the greater part of the year is invariably reflected in the cultural operations of the land and the resultant low yields. Even while the responsible male times his visit home to coincide with the ploughing and seeding season, agriculture suffers. It allows of no preparatory cultivation nor does it enable him to take advantage of favourable rainfalls. It necessitates leaving to the women and to juniors the major part of the work. There can be no organized system of working. The standard of agriculture, therefore, is low and there can be no development.

"It would appear that the custom of entrusting the work of ploughing, etc., to a friend during the landowner's absence is recognized. Such an one may be considered as a partner in the use of the absentee's oxen. Two or more absentees may entrust the cultivation of their land to the same man who naturally will give first consideration to the working of his own plots."

260. This statement was borne out by evidence taken in many other parts of the Union. On the other hand, the absence from home of the Natives has had certain beneficial effects upon the men themselves. They have learned habits of regular industry, and in many cases have become serious responsible men. "Some, however, suffer in health either (1) from over-economizing in food in order to save their wages to take home, (2) from living in crowded quarters and getting infected with tuberculosis, and (3) from misconduct resulting in venereal disease. The last, in my experience, is less common than the first two causes of ill health." (Dr. Neil McVicar.)

VENEREAL DISEASE.

261. Throughout its inquiry much evidence was tendered to the Commission on the subject of venereal disease. The outstanding feature of the evidence as a whole was its contradictory nature. Thus, in one town a local practitioner with a large Native practice drew an alarming picture of the prevalence of syphilis in the town and district, estimating that from 30 per cent. to 50 per cent. of all Natives were infected. The District Surgeon on the other hand declined to accept this statement and estimated that the rate of infection did not exceed 2 per cent.

262. The evidence established the fact that there is a large body of competent opinion throughout the Union which is seriously perturbed over the spread of venereal disease among the Native population, though the exact degree of infection seems to be a subject upon which few reliable statistics are available.

263. During its tour of Pondoland the Commission questioned on this subject Dr. F. S. Drewe, Medical Superintendent of the Holy Cross Mission at Flagstaff. He was good enough to undertake for our information a special investigation among Natives in that area in order to obtain by means of a sample test some indication of the extent of syphilitic infection. He took blood samples from 235 male Natives, representative of the population over a fairly wide area. These samples were subjected to the Wassermann test by the South African Institute of Medical Research with the following results:

	Per cent.
Negative.....	83.4
Positive.....	12.1
Doubtful.....	4.3
Positive and Doubtful.....	16.4

Notes by Dr. Drewe:

"(1) Specimens of the blood of men were taken. It was found that to attempt the taking of bloods of women would be likely to cause family complications in the event of their being positive.

"(2) Only roughly 10 per cent. of the total of 235 were dressed Natives.

"(3) The bloods were taken at the Chiefs' meeting, comprising men who were for the most part heads of kraals."

264. Dr. E. H. Cluver, Assistant Health Officer of the Union, after an investigation into the causes of the very much higher mortality in the gold and coal mines of the Transvaal among the Basuto and Bechuana labourers than among Natives of other tribes, reported that "the most important single cause appears to be the much greater incidence of Venereal Disease among the Basutos". During that investigation, Dr. Cluver caused specimens of blood obtained from 1,200 Native recruits who had been passed as medically fit by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association's Medical Officers to be tested with a view to ascertaining the number of positive Wassermann reactions occurring among these apparently healthy male adult Natives. The result of the tests is shown in the following Table:

Wassermann Reactions of 1,200 Native Recruits on the Witwatersrand Mines.

	Number Examined.	Percentage Positive.
Transvaal Basutos.....	200	29.5
British Basutos.....	200	25.5
Bechuanas.....	100	22.0
Pondos.....	200	8.5
East Coast Natives.....	300	7.0
Cape Province Natives*.....	200	2.0

* 199 Xosas and 1 Fingo.

265. Commenting on this Table, Dr. Cluver said, "since these examinations were made on apparently healthy Natives who had passed two clinical examinations, it may be reasonably assumed that the proportion of syphilis would be even higher in the territories where they were recruited, since Natives clearly unfit because of syphilis would obviously not be recruited. It cannot, however, be assumed that all of these Natives had become infected in the territories where they were recruited because they may have (and probably in many cases had) worked on the mines on previous occasions. The difficulty in all investigations of this kind is that Natives at the end of their term of contract on the mines return home and when next they come to the mines start again from the beginning as 'recruits' without any medical history of previous service.

"There is thus little doubt that the Basutos are much more heavily syphilized than the Union labourers on the mines. That such undermined constitutions are more likely to be susceptible to and to succumb to pulmonary ailments seems probable".

266. Dr. D. Huskisson, District Surgeon of Sekukuniland, in a statement submitted to the Commission, said, "of the 17,031 attendances at the Hospital during 1930, there were 6,841 venereal attendances, i.e., 40 per cent.; of these 2,768 were new cases. Syphilis is widely prevalent, and many treat it as inevitable and do not try to obtain treatment. It is taken as a matter of course that they should have had syphilis, much as the European admits having had measles as a child. In my opinion this does not of itself suggest any great immorality, as among the present generation at least, in a very large proportion of the cases seen, the disease is either congenital, or has been contracted during childhood.

"One great difficulty in the treatment of all complaints and more markedly so in the case of syphilis, is the way in which, in spite of instructions to the contrary, the patient fails to attend for treatment as soon as the symptoms subside, and only reappears when the disease again makes itself manifest. When one considers, however, that they may be living as far as 40 miles away from the Hospital outstations, they may well be forgiven for not walking 80 miles for a treatment when they have no pains or unpleasant symptoms to urge them on."

267. The evidence which has been referred to above indicates clearly the need of an investigation of the subject of venereal disease among Natives and of adequate steps being taken to deal with it.

MASTERS AND SERVANTS ACTS.

268. There are separate Masters and Servants Acts in each of the Provinces. The chief statutes are the Cape Act, No. 15 of 1856, Natal Ordinance No. 2 of 1850, which makes special provision in respect of Native servants, Transvaal Law No. 13 of 1880, based on a Cape statute of 1841, and the most recent, that of the Orange Free State, Ordinance No. 7 of 1904, which differentiates between white servants and Coloured servants, and contains some very important departures from the older South African legislation on the subject.

269. The definition of servant, which is common to the older statutes, is as follows: "Any person employed for hire, wages, or other remuneration, to perform any handicraft or any other bodily labour in agriculture, or manufactures, or in domestic service, or as a boatman, porter, or other occupation of a like nature". These Acts, therefore, differing from the industrial legislation which has been dealt with elsewhere, apply to agriculture and domestic service. By Transvaal Act No. 27 of 1909 the phrase "other remuneration" in the definition of service was extended to include "a right of the person employed or occupied, to cultivate land of the employer other than a direct money rent or share of produce". The definition of servant is a wide one, but the Courts have interpreted it as narrowly as possible, because as Innes, C.J., said in the case of *Clay versus Rex*, 1903, "the legislature has, under certain circumstances, attached criminal consequences to the breach of what is essentially a civil contract: the Master and Servants law must, therefore, be very strictly construed. When it is sought to subject any person to the penalties of the law he should receive the benefit of any doubt that may exist as to its application in his case." The Court there held that the occupation of a navvy, although one of bodily labour, was not connected with agriculture, manufacture, or domestic service, and that a navvy was, therefore, not a servant within the meaning of the law. The Orange Free State Ordinance, which was passed after that case, has a much wider definition of servant than that in the other laws, as it includes after the words "domestic service" the words "mining, building, engineering, or other like employment".

270. In the laws of the Cape, Natal, and Transvaal, agricultural or farm servants of any description falling under the definition of servant, are subjected to heavier penalties for some offences than other servants. The distinction between agricultural and other service is not found in the Orange Free State Ordinance, the distinction there being between white and coloured servants, the latter being treated far more severely than the former. The Masters and Servants laws of the Transvaal and Natal were amended by Act No. 25 of 1926 which made the Masters and Servants Acts applicable to labour tenancy contracts. Many employers contend that a servant to whom a loan has been made is subject to the Masters and Servants law in respect of that loan until it has been repaid.

271. Contracts for a period not exceeding a year under the Masters and Servants laws do not require to be in writing. A very great deal of trouble arises under these laws because of the uncertainty of the terms of oral agreements. There was an almost general consensus of opinion among Magistrates, European witnesses, and Native witnesses, in favour of contracts for agricultural service being reduced to writing before a suitable official.

272. Some employers do not explain their conditions of employment to their Native labour tenants or labourers. Many employers cannot, and some will not, speak to their employees in the employees' language, and the employees' knowledge of the employer's language is frequently very slight. It is only natural that misunderstandings should in this way occur. When, in consequence, a case comes before a Magistrate for trial, he is placed in the difficult position of having to decide between the word of the European employer and that of the Native servant. The Native view, now very widely held, is that the word of the white man is always accepted against a Native,

273. There can be no doubt that the Masters and Servants law is a cause of very great dissatisfaction among the Natives. Some Natives describe the law as one for legalising slavery. There can be no doubt that there has been much abuse by certain types of employers of the provisions of the Acts. The Magistrate at Standerton reported as follows: "I get the impression that many Natives consider the Act, as worked, reduces them to a state bordering on serfdom owing to the creation of conditions which have the effect of tying them down for years to one farm and one master whether they like it or not". Several Magistrates reported cases of employers laying charges against their Native servants with the object of getting their own travelling expenses and witness fees allowed on a visit to the Court town. Several employers stated that it was not worth their while to lay a charge against a Native servant because of the expense involved and the waste of their time in attending Court. There is no doubt that in a number of instances employers have suffered substantial loss in money and time by bringing charges against their servants. On the other hand, there can also be no doubt that the law has been oppressively enforced against servants in numerous cases. Several Magistrates stated that their popularity among the Europeans in their areas was in proportion to the severity with which they punished Native servants under the Act.

274. The Native Commissioner of Zoutpansberg reported that in that district the working of the Act had tended to drive Natives off farms where labour tenancy is in vogue. He also said, "The bringing of a Native labourer rendering service to the landlord in respect of residence on the farm under the definition of servant in terms of the Act has economically acted as a distinct hardship on such Natives."

275. The Magistrate of Newcastle expressed the opinion that if the Masters and Servants Act were not enforced in that district, one quarter of the Police Force could be dispensed with there. The Magistrate of Utrecht drew attention to the increasing tendency of farmers there to take civil action for damages against their employees, although the alleged futility of such action is urged as the chief reason for maintaining under the Masters and Servants law the criminal sanction of breach of a civil contract. The Magistrate for Vryheid pointed out that most of the offenders were youths getting no pay, and that there were a large number of cases against girls between the ages of 10 and 20 years. The Magistrate of Ladysmith stated that it was possible to gauge the character of a farmer in the district as an employer by the number of complaints he laid under the Master and Servants Act. Professor Lestrade stated that he knew the Natives considered the provision of a criminal penalty for breach of contract under the Masters and Servants Act most unjust.

276. The statistics of Native cases under the Masters and Servants Acts in the different Provinces show a marked difference between the Cape on the one hand and Natal and Orange Free State and Transvaal on the other, the number for the Cape being strikingly less, actually and relatively to population, than in the other Provinces. The number of cases in each Province in 1930 were:

<i>Province.</i>	<i>Natives.</i>
Cape.....	1,795
Natal.....	6,406
Orange Free State.....	2,869
Transvaal.....	4,791

277. It is sometimes urged that these Acts protect Native servants from assaults because of the power of the employer to get them punished in a Court. A Native has the further benefit, assuming he has evidence to support his word against that of his employer, of an inexpensive means under the Act, of recovering wages which have been withheld from him. The employer has the advantage of exercising certain pressure on the employee to perform his obligations under his contract. On the other hand, the employer has the inconvenience of taking his Native servant to Court before he can get any redress or get such pressure exercised. A remedy which cannot be speedily applied undoubtedly loses a great deal of its value. A measure which would enable the employer to avoid the expense and trouble of going to town, and of taking his servant to town, would be welcome. An effort to achieve this result has been made in Tanganyika by the appointment of District Labour Officers, with power to hear and decide on the spot cases between employers and employees.

278. In a report by a Commissioner on labour in the Tanganyika Territory in 1926 there occur these passages:

"I am strongly of opinion that these District Labour Officers should have magisterial powers, limited in scope but summary. Any serious offence should be treated by the ordinary Courts as at present, but it is highly desirable that means should be provided for dealing with the many petty offences which at present go unpunished or else entail a criminal case at a possibly distant Government station. . . . Such an arrangement would, I believe, be welcomed by employer as well as employee, both of whom suffer from the existing system. It would, in addition, have the great advantage of freeing the Native from an appearance in the criminal courts. . . . I believe that he (the Native) would consider such prompt and paternal settlement of any trouble a welcome alternative to being haled by the Police before a criminal court. . . . A tactful and sympathetic officer will have little difficulty in gaining the confidence of Native employees, especially when they have grown accustomed to his visits and understand his object."

279. Many Magistrates and some Location Superintendents are able, as a result of tactful discussion with the parties, to prevent cases between masters and servants actually going to trial. It is probable that a very large proportion of the cases which are now brought under the Masters and Servants Acts, could, as a result of a little sympathetic discussion with a trusted official, be disposed of without criminal proceedings.

280. With the provision of Native Welfare Officers or Inspectors of Native Labour, who could discuss any disputes with the parties and remove possible misunderstandings, and with the power of the employer to recover damages for any breach of contract through attachment in proper form of Native cattle, criminal prosecution for breach of contract of service should not be necessary. By requiring labour tenancy contracts always to be in writing, many and probably the great majority of cases like those which now go to court, based as they are on misunderstanding, would no longer arise. Of the remainder most could be dealt with by the judicious intervention of a Welfare Officer or Inspector. In the final remainder the Magistrate would find no difficulty in deciding the terms of the contract and the serious disability under which servants now labour in court would be removed. Such cases would be so few as not to warrant the retention of what is an out of date method of protecting employers and penalising employees and which is a source of much dissatisfaction among Natives.

281. In the towns there appears to be no justification under modern conditions, for the criminal provisions for enforcing a civil contract of service under the Masters and Servants Acts or the corresponding provisions of the Native Labour Regulation Act. These provisions make it impossible for Natives to organize to protect themselves against exploitation. The Masters and Servants law is of no value in respect of daily paid, and of little value in respect of weekly paid, employees.

282. The power of the employer of Natives to enforce with criminal sanction the Natives' contract of service stimulates the preference of employers for Native as against European employees and increases the already great difficulty which the wide disparity in wage levels of Europeans and Natives places in the way of the former obtaining employment.

OPENINGS FOR EDUCATED NATIVES.

283. Much evidence was laid before your Commission about the lack of openings for educated Natives in the Union. Those Natives with their widened outlook on life cannot be expected to live contentedly at the same level as the tribal Native. The view of an educated Native on this point was well put by him in the following terms:

"On the matter of the effect of education on a Native, I would like to say it is clear that education is an exceedingly helpful thing, but although we may ask for a much further advanced education than is mostly available for us now, I wonder what would be the value of it to us. To which country could we go to live and make use of our education? Supposing we were to get it and were to go to another country to use it, what would we do; how could we be employed? I am at a loss to understand how advanced education could be of much benefit to us here, although we realize that education as education is a valuable asset to any person. Education is an affliction to us at present; if I am educated I want to be decently dressed; I want to

keep my body clean; I want to have better food, or more varied diet . . . and generally my tastes are more difficult to please than the tastes of the uneducated Native.

"It seems to me that the present state of affairs, despite what anyone will do, will persist to Domesday, and the more I go into the matter, the more I am driven to the conclusion that as long as the black man is black, so long will the present difference of feeling between white and black, the disadvantage of being black persist . . .

"We black people must be content to remain black; you are white and we cannot alter you. I find no fault with anyone, I merely say this is a provision which has been made by the Almighty. It seems to me that so long as fat remains fat and water remains water, so long will black be black and white white. I have been working now for white people for about twenty years. I have done my best to get education which will help me on in life and although I am on excellent terms with my employers, who are lawyers, it is always brought home to me that the lawyer is a white man and that however friendly he may be to me there is a boundary."—(Evidence, p. 2058.)

284. The Revd. A. J. Haile, Principal of Tiger Kloof, presented to the Commission a statement in which he gave the results of an analysis of the records of all the industrial apprentices who had passed through that institution, since the training of such apprentices was begun in March, 1904, up to December, 1930.

285. His statement covered the trades of:

Masonry and Carpentry combined as one trade, 1904-1910.

Masonry and Carpentry separate, from 1910.

Tailoring, from 1912.

Tannery and Leather Work, from 1926.

It may be summarized as follows:

Altogether 415 cases were examined.

Builders and Carpenters combined	61
Carpenters	139
Masons	96
Tailors	98
Tanners and Leather Workers	21

Of the 234 who completed their course, thirty have died. Of the remainder 124 or 60 per cent. are working at their trades and of these 105 are working for themselves or in company with other Natives, while nineteen are working as employees. Thus 51.5 per cent. of the trained artisans sent out from the institution are working for themselves in definitely Native trades and only 9.3 per cent. are working for European employers. Of the 105, 51 are in rural areas and the small towns and 41 are in urban areas, such as Johannesburg and its Native townships, Bloemfontein, and East London. Of the forty-one in urban areas, the great majority are by birth and upbringing town dwellers and for them it is not a case of a drift to the towns, but simply working at home. Experience has shown that the rural boy on completion of his apprenticeship may go to a town to get business experience, but he generally returns to his home in the course of time. Of the nineteen working for Europeans, eight are in rural areas; and eleven are in urban areas, working in shops or factories, principally in Johannesburg. Thus only eleven out of 204 or just over 5 per cent. can be said to be in the European labour market of the big towns.

286. Mr. Haile stated that he "could find no support at all for the statement that trained boys such as ours 'take the bread out of the white man's mouth'". Mr. Haile considered that the chief thing that drove the skilled man to the town was the uncertainty of regular payment in the Reserves.

287. Mr. Kerr, Principal of the South African Native College at Fort Hare, stated that there was a greater demand than could be satisfied at present for teachers possessing fairly advanced qualifications and also that posts in the Civil Service were available which could not at present be filled. He drew attention to the need for trained Native medical men and said that many Natives wished to qualify as doctors but they could not get the training in South Africa and were hindered from getting it elsewhere by the expense of going overseas. He considered that there was nothing to prevent any Native student who had received a sound education from entering upon any course of professional study open to the youths of any other colour.

288. Were the building and repairing of Native houses in town locations open, as is recommended by the Commission, to Natives there would be ample scope for the Natives who could be trained in the existing training institutions.

ADDITIONAL EFFECTS OF RESIDENCE OF NATIVES IN URBAN AREAS.

289. There are, in addition to the effects upon the European and Coloured population of the Union of the residence of Natives in urban areas, which have been dealt with in the Report, certain others.

290. The Native does not hoard his earnings. They quickly pass back into circulation. On a wage of £2 to £3 a month in the town or a cash wage of £6 a year as in some rural areas, he can be but a poor customer for European industry. The Commission saw the homes of certain Natives who were receiving wages of £2 a week or more. They were spending their money in better food, by which the farmer and the tradesmen benefited; in better clothing, by which the manufacturer benefited; in better furniture, which meant more employment in the furniture manufacturing trade.

291. The low level of Native wages makes it possible for all but the poorest Europeans to have a Native servant. European children learn to expect Natives to do everything for them and manual work comes to be looked on as degrading for Europeans.

292. It appears that the existence of the European and Native standards of living side by side in the towns cannot continue without their approximating more and more to each other. The European standard must be pulled down unless a supreme effort is made to raise that of the Natives.

INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION.

Second Term of Reference.

293. The *Industrial Conciliation Act*, No. 11 of 1924, as amended by Act No. 24 of 1930, provides for the registration as corporate bodies, with power to hold property and to sue and be sued in the Courts, of organizations of employers and employees. "Employee" is, however, defined in the Act so as to exclude a person whose contract of service or labour is regulated by any Native Pass Laws and Regulations, or by the Native Labour Regulation Act, No. 15 of 1911, or any amendment thereof, or any regulations made thereunder, or by Law No. 40 of 1894 of Natal, or any amendment thereof. It will thus be seen that the right of "employees" to organize into a corporate body is, under the Act, limited to persons other than pass-carrying Natives. Natives in the Cape Province are not excluded from the Act, but those in Natal and Transvaal definitely are, while the position of Natives in the towns of the Free State is obscure. In that Province there is no general provision for passes for Natives but municipalities are empowered to make regulations controlling the residence, meetings, and rights of cattle grazing of "Coloured people", which term includes Natives. There are in Capetown some small registered unions, the membership of which consists largely, or almost entirely, of Natives.

294. In all Provinces Native contracts of service are generally governed by either the Native Labour Regulation Act or the Masters and Servants Act, which makes it a criminal offence for the employee to break his contract of service, i.e., to strike, but these Acts in practice are generally not of much force in respect of daily or weekly employees. Except, therefore, in the Cape Province where Natives, who are daily or weekly employees, may combine for their mutual protection, there is in practice no power by which Natives can organize to improve their position or resist exploitation.

295. The *Industrial Conciliation Act* provides for organizations of employers and "employees" in a trade forming an industrial council for that trade, for the consideration and regulation, in accordance with the provisions of the Act, of matters of mutual interest to these organizations, and for the supervision and settlement of disputes between employers and "employees" in that trade. If the Minister is satisfied that the Industrial Council is sufficiently representative within any area of the particular trade for which it has been formed, he must register the constitution of the Industrial Council. Such a Council must consist of an equal number of employers and of "employees". Where there is no Industrial Council, a registered Trade Union or a registered organization of employers, or any number of "employees" or employers, which the Minister considers to be sufficiently representative of the trade in a particular area, may apply for a Conciliation Board for the consideration and determination of any dispute in that trade, and the Minister may appoint such a Board, which must consist of equal numbers of "employees" and employers.

296. The Conciliation Board is expected to try to settle the dispute and must report the result of its efforts to the Minister. The Minister may further appoint a mediator between the parties to try to bring about the settlement of a dispute. On the application of a majority of the representatives of the employers or "employees" on an Industrial Council or a Conciliation Board the Minister may appoint to settle the dispute an arbitrator whose decision will be final.

297. The Act makes it unlawful to indulge in a strike or a lock-out during an arbitration or during the period of an award. On the application of an Industrial Council or a Conciliation Board, the Minister may, if he is satisfied that the parties to an agreement are sufficiently representative, make the agreement binding upon all employers and "employees" in the industry.

298. The Minister has power to exempt from the operation of an agreement, any scheduled area under the Natives Land Act, 1913, or any land set apart under section *one* of the Urban Areas Act, or he may exempt from the operation of the agreement any particular class of work in such area.

299. The policy of the Industrial Conciliation Act is to provide for home rule in industry. This policy has, however, been departed from in section *nine* (4) of the Act as amended. Under this section, if an Industrial Council or Conciliation Board reports to the Minister that in its opinion any object of an agreement, which is or has been the subject of an application to the Minister to make an agreement binding upon all employers and all "employees" in a trade, is being, or would probably be defeated by the employment of Natives in that trade at rates of wages, or for hours of work other than those specified in the agreement, and the Council or Board recommends to the Minister minimum wages to be paid to Natives and the maximum number of hours of work, as being necessary to prevent such defeat of the agreement, the Minister may, by notice in the *Gazette*, specify the minimum wage and maximum number of hours for Natives in that trade, and such notice will thereupon become binding upon every employer of any Native in that trade.

300. It will thus be seen that although a Native cannot be a member of a Trade Union, and may know nothing about the negotiations for wages and hours between employers and European or Coloured or Indian employees, and though the occupation in which the Native is engaged may be one in which no member of the Trade Union is engaged, he may have his wages and hours of labour laid down for him, without any consultation with him or consideration for his interests by employers and "employees" who for mutual concessions to themselves, may be prepared to sacrifice his interests.

301. One result, prior to the amending Act of 1930, of the limitation of the Industrial Conciliation Act to non-Natives was the dismissal in a number of trades, notably the baking and furniture trades, of Europeans whose wages were regulated by an Industrial Council agreement, and the substitution for them of Natives whose wages were not so regulated. To remedy this state of affairs, the Wage Board was requested by the Minister to make recommendations for wages and other conditions of labour of employees in those trades who were not governed by the Industrial Council agreements, that is, for Natives. This procedure, however, was often not satisfactory because the Wage Board could not always see eye to eye with Industrial Councils and also it was unsatisfactory to have two wage regulating instruments applicable to one trade. To meet this difficulty, section *nine* (4), the effect of which has been set out above, was included in the amending Act of 1930. That section is, however, of no avail, when, as has already happened, one party to the Industrial Council will not agree to make the necessary recommendation to the Minister.

302. In unskilled work where an employee may frequently change his occupation from one trade to another, organization of employees for their mutual protection is extremely difficult. This has been recognized in European countries with a homogeneous population. When strong feeling is aroused as a result of a sense of wrong or injustice, organizations of unskilled workers will suddenly become powerful and have a large membership, but as soon as the trouble has disappeared, or in the case of a strike the employees have succeeded or been defeated, the organization becomes almost defunct. This is equally true of unskilled workers in South Africa, who are almost entirely Natives. It is almost impossible to organize Natives in a particular trade, such as the furniture trade, because Natives who to-day are working in that trade may to-morrow be working in a laundry or a foundry or a store.

303. Owing to the existence of colour prejudice, there has in the past been strong opposition from European employees against admitting non-European workers into Trade Unions. The evidence shows that a rapid change is taking place in this. A number of Trade Unions in Capetown are freely admitting Native members. Almost all Trade Unions in Capetown admit coloured persons as members. It was, therefore, not a very great step further for them to admit Natives. In Capetown the lowering effect of workers with a low standard of living on those with a higher standard of living has been most marked. With the growth of inter-Provincial Trade Union Conferences, and the presence at them, first, of Coloured people, then of Indians, and now of Natives, the appreciation by European Trade Unionists of the need for co-operation of all workers in a trade to protect their joint interests is rapidly becoming clearly realized.

304. Natives regard it as a great grievance that they are excluded from the operations of the Industrial Conciliation Act, and therefore cannot combine to improve their position, while the Masters and Servants Acts and the Native Labour Regulation Act prevent them from taking any of the customary steps to improve their position. They argue that they are prepared to make use of constitutional means but that these are not open to them.

305. There does not appear to be any good ground for depriving Natives of the benefits of the Industrial Conciliation Act. They should be allowed, as they are now an integral part of the industries to which the Act applies, to organize for their mutual protection as freely as Europeans or Coloured people or Indians are now allowed to organize. European Trade Unions should be advised and encouraged to attend to, assist in, and guide the organization of Natives and every effort should be made to avoid in any trade the creation on racial grounds of independent Unions. Europeans and Natives now often work side by side at the same bench or at the same machine. In a number of trades in Capetown Europeans find no difficulty in sitting round a table with Native members, and already the history of industrialism in South Africa should be sufficient to satisfy the European workers that it is impossible to separate in a trade, on the ground of colour, the interests of the workers in that trade.

306. For unskilled workers in trades in which there is no organization of employees, it should be possible to form a general union of labourers. For such a union an amendment to the Industrial Conciliation Act would be necessary because that Act, with its policy of providing for control of an industry by an industrial council for that industry does not permit of a General Workers' Union covering a number of independent trades being registered.

307. It was suggested to the Commission that at discussions by an industrial council of conditions for the particular trade for which it had been set up, there should be present a European official to represent Native employees; this official to be a go-between between the council and the Native employees. There is a number of objections to this proposal. In the first place, Native employees in many trades have now become so clearly conscious of their status in industry as to resent the idea of such indirect representation. They are very suspicious and distrustful of Europeans as protectors of their interests, and such an official as is contemplated in the suggestion would not, in many instances, be regarded as a satisfactory representative of Native interests. In the second place there is the practical objection that it would be very difficult for such an official to resist unaided the combined pressure from employers and European employees, to sacrifice the interests of the Natives. It has already happened on a number of occasions that the employers and the well paid European employees have agreed, in return for concessions to these employees, to sacrifice the interests of the unorganized and poorly paid employees, irrespective of race. When it is remembered that generally on industrial councils the "employees'" representatives come from the well paid section of the employees, it is easy to understand that, by some further concessions to them, the employers may secure their assistance to oppose concessions to those really in need of protection, whatever their race, colour, or sex.

308. It was urged that European employers or employees will not sit at a conference table with Native employees. This, however, though still true of a number of employers and employees, is by no means generally true, and that attitude is rapidly changing.

309. There has been far too little consultation in the past between employers and their Native employees about conditions in which they are mutually interested. The Natives recognize clearly the important part they always have played in the Union's industries, and they claim a right to

consultation in matters affecting their welfare and conditions in those industries. Natives have suffered from the introduction of industrial council agreements through the absence of this consultation. For example, qualified Native cabinetmakers have been dismissed as a result of the furniture trade industrial council agreement.

310. The general attitude in the past of Europeans to Native organization and to consultation with Natives on matters affecting them, is strikingly similar to the attitude of employers to employees in Europe less than a hundred years ago. There it was illegal for employees to combine for their own protection. They were regarded as hardly human beings and certainly as a class apart from employers.

311. The grant to Natives of the power to organize would remove a source of constant irritation and give an opportunity for proper consultation about, and consideration of, Native grievances in industrial life.

312. Some form of consultation between employers of large numbers of Native employees and those employees could with advantage to both be devised. It would be preferable to have some form of standing committee in the nature of an advisory board at which the employer's point of view could be stated clearly and authoritatively to the employees. Many difficulties between employers and employees would disappear by sympathetic discussion leading to the removal of misunderstandings.

313. There has been some organization of Natives for collective bargaining among the employees of the S.A. Railways and Harbours. In a statement submitted to the Commission by that Department this subject was dealt with as follows:

"It is known that a number of railway Natives are members of the I.C.U. and grievances and representations have been submitted to the Department through that body and disposed of satisfactorily. The activities of this organization are less prominent than in former years.

"There are three local trades unions amongst the harbour workers at Capetown, the "Cape Stevedores and Dock Workers", the "Alfred Docks Waterside Workers", and the "Cape Peninsula Quarry and Stone Workers". There are other organizations in various parts of the country amongst which may be mentioned the "African National Congress", the "African Peoples Organization", and the "Independent I.C.U."

"These organizations have gained a certain measure of support from Natives in the Service, but they are not recognized by the Department in the same way as the European staff organizations.

"The tendency is growing in some districts for the Natives to support a system of collective bargaining in order to achieve the highest reward possible for their labour."

314. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, commonly known as the I.C.U., was never a trade union in the accepted sense and could not have been registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act. The I.C.U. is at present torn by internal dissensions but when it was first formed it obtained a large membership and was the means of securing by negotiation and by proceedings in the Courts, the redress of a number of Native grievances.

315. The *Wage Act*, No. 27 of 1925, as amended by Act 23 of 1930, set up a Wage Board, to make recommendations to the Minister upon which he could determine what should be the wages and hours of work and other conditions of labour of employees in trades to which determinations could be applied. The Act does not apply to persons employed in agriculture, domestic service, or the Public Service. It is intended to secure protection for sweated or unorganized employees.

316. The Minister cannot alter a recommendation of the Wage Board; he must either accept it in full or reject it in full. The Wage Board has no power to initiate investigations into wages or conditions of labour; it can function only when it is set in motion in one of the two ways prescribed in the Act:

(1) On a reference from the Minister, or

(2) on the application to it (i) of any registered Trade Union or registered employers' organization, or (ii) where no registered Trade Union or registered employers' organization exists, of any number of employers or employees which, in the opinion of the Board, is, in the area specified in the application, sufficiently representative of the employers or employees in the trade in which they are engaged.

317. The Board is required, if so directed by the Minister, or upon an application, which is in order, to make a recommendation providing for all, or any number of matters including a minimum wage (free of all deductions), ascending scales of wages for juveniles and unqualified adults, the maximum number of juvenile and unqualified adults which may be employed in proportion to the number of qualified employees, and generally any other matter affecting conditions of employment. When, however, having regard to the conditions in the industry which is being investigated, such as the ability of employers to carry on if they are required to pay higher wages, the Board finds it cannot recommend in respect of the employees, a wage upon which "they may be able to support themselves in accordance with civilised habits of life", it may not make a recommendation but must report the facts to the Minister who may then, if he desires, direct the Board to make such recommendation as it may deem fit.

318. As the wage level of unskilled workers in South Africa is mainly determined by the wage level of Natives, and as that level is one upon which employees cannot support themselves in accordance with habits of civilized life, it has been necessary for the Board in all industries in which its reference covered unskilled workers to report that it could not recommend a civilized wage.

319. It was this procedure that put an end to the investigation upon the application of Kroonstad Natives for a recommendation for unskilled workers in that town. The Wage Board, on that application, made an investigation, as a result of which it was bound under the Wage Act to report that it could not recommend a civilized wage. As the Minister gave no further direction to the Board under the Act, it was unable to proceed any further.

320. Under the first regulations made under the Wage Act it was possible for the Wage Board to consider an application for an investigation from any unorganized body of Natives who could show that they were authorized to make that application. However, in 1929 the regulations were amended and they now require all persons supporting the application to sign it themselves, which in practice makes it impossible for any large body of Natives to make a successful application within the terms of the Act and the regulations, and since the promulgation of the amended regulations no application from Natives has been received by the Board.

321. The Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wage Act do not apply to agriculture. The Industrial Conciliation Act does not apply, except in certain circumstances, to any undertaking carried on by the Government; and the Wage Act does not apply to officers in the Public Service or to domestic servants in private households.

322. The *Apprenticeship Act*, No. 26 of 1922, as amended by Act No. 15 of 1924 and Act No. 22 of 1930, provides for the training of juveniles in certain designated trades, the operating of the Act being entrusted to apprenticeship committees, consisting of equal numbers of employers and employees, and a chairman appointed by the Minister.

323. As apprenticeship is intended for training skilled workers, the operation of the Act is generally restricted to those trades in which well trained operatives are required. In such trades the employers are almost entirely Europeans and the great majority of the employees are also Europeans. The apprenticeship committees therefore have been European committees and they have always prescribed conditions, for example, education qualifications, for apprentices, which in practice exclude all but Europeans. The qualifications make no provision for distinction on the ground of race or colour, but the education facilities for the non-European races are so meagre in comparison with those for Europeans that whereas almost all European children possess the qualification of an education up to standard VI or VII, very few non-Europeans can attain to that standard. The requirement of a minimum education qualification of standard VI is rapidly turning into completely European preserves, occupations where previously non-Europeans have been able to satisfy the requirement of employers as to skill, even at the wages paid to Europeans.

324. With the introduction of automatic machinery, or machinery requiring very little skill in its operation, the need for a lengthy apprenticeship is becoming less and less necessary. In these circumstances apprenticeship is in fact often used as a means of exploiting low paid labour and amounts to a substitution of child unskilled labour for adult unskilled labour.

TAXATION.

325. Although a few Natives pay income tax the number is insignificant. The direct taxation paid by Natives is the General or Poll Tax of £1 per head per annum on males of 18 years of age or over and the Local Tax of 10s. per hut or dwelling in a Native Reserve, payable by the Native occupier. The Local Tax is not paid by a Native who is the owner of any allotment of land held under quitrent title in the Reserve in which his hut is situated. The amount of the Local Tax paid by any one Native in a year is limited to £2.

326. Exemptions from those taxes may be granted to—

(1) any Native who satisfies the receiver that he is indigent and is prevented from working by reason of age, chronic disease or other sufficient cause or that he is in necessitous circumstances and is prevented by causes not within his own control from earning sufficient to enable him to pay the tax;

(2) any Native whose permanent home is outside the Union but who is residing within the Union to perform labour therein and produces proof that he has discharged his liability to pay the current taxes imposed under the law of the territory of his permanent home;

(3) any Native who satisfies the receiver that in consequence of his regular attendance at an educational institution approved by the Native Affairs Commission he has been precluded from earning wages which would enable him to pay the tax.

327. A Native who pays income tax is, up to the amount so paid in any year, exempted for that year from the General Tax.

328. There is no Union tax, similar to the General Tax, levied upon Europeans, Coloureds, or Asiatics. The total number of Income Tax payers of all races in 1929-1930 was 66,699. The number of Natives who, in the same period, paid General Tax was 1,184,241.

329. The amount of General Tax paid by Natives in the various Districts of each Province is shown in the Tables given in Annexure 25. In these Tables the figures in the column headed "Collected Outside Home District" are included in the column headed "Total".

330. The undernoted additional statistics are given regarding the General Tax:

*Number of Exemptions Granted.**

Province.	1929.			1930.		
	Indigency.	Other Causes.	Total.	Indigency.	Other Causes.	Total.
Cape.....	3,257	1,614	4,871	3,651	1,937	5,588
Natal.....	2,032	1,600	3,632	2,284	2,269	4,553
Orange Free State.....	933	1,076	2,009	1,099	1,379	2,478
Transvaal.....	2,917	1,997	4,914	2,897	2,072	4,969
TOTALS.....	9,139	6,287	15,426	9,931	7,657	17,528

* NOTE.—Able-bodied Natives are generally not granted exemption on the ground of indigency only.

Number of Convictions for Non-payment of General Tax.

Province.	Year.				
	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.
Cape.....	2,806	5,279	8,644	7,968	8,914
Natal.....	4,338	10,971	14,176	15,961	16,110
Orange Free State.....	2,394	5,420	6,177	6,385	6,796
Transvaal.....	13,986	12,887	18,871	14,652	17,951
TOTALS.....	24,024	40,657	47,868	44,967	49,772

331. There is in Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal a Provincial Poll Tax levied on Europeans, Coloureds, and Asitaics, but not on Natives. The exemptions from Poll Tax were:

Natal.....	616
Orange Free State.....	1,953
Transvaal.....	14,141

In Natal all married persons whose income is less than £250 a year are automatically exempt. If the Natal tax were applicable to Natives their low income would exempt all but a negligible number of married Natives. In the Cape there is no form of poll tax on any race.

332. In every Province, even in the Reserves, glaring anomalies arise from this differential taxation. In the Transkei a European farmer with a 2,000 or 3,000 morgen farm, who does not pay income tax, escapes direct taxation whereas a Native with a 2 or 3 morgen plot, or even no plot at all, pays 20s. and, if he has a hut, not less than 30s. a year in direct taxation. In the Cape Province a Coloured person or a European, in any of the towns or villages, who does not pay income tax, pays no direct tax to the Government, but the Native, whatever his earnings, must pay not less than 20s. and if he has a hut in a Reserve, an additional tax of not less than 10s. In Natal an Indian or a Mauritian or a European, who does not pay income tax, pays no direct tax to the Union Government, but a Native pays the General Tax, and in most instances, the Local Tax.

333. In respect of farming areas there is the anomaly that while the great majority of farmers escape direct taxation all their Native male employees over the age of 18 must pay it. In the towns and on the diamond diggings the anomalies of the difference in the systems of taxation applied to Natives on the one hand and to the other races on the other hand are even more glaring. There will be living side by side in a slum Europeans, Coloureds, Asiatics, and Natives, all equally poor, but only the Natives pay direct taxation, the amount in many towns and on the diggings often being the whole of a month's total wages in cash or kind.

334. In all the Provinces Coloured people, although they pay no direct taxes, are eligible for old age pensions, but Natives are not.

335. At one time an avowed object of the Poll Tax was to compel the Natives in the Reserves to leave them to work for Europeans. Today the effect is still in fact the same as when it was first introduced. Natives are being driven by the tax out of the Reserves to the farms and to the towns and off farms to the towns. The Natives' system of subsistence farming with no money basis made it imperative for them to go where money could be obtained. Hence arose most of the present urban problems including inefficiently organized industries, based on casual labourers, white unemployment, maladjustment in race relations, and to it was largely due the development of farming on a basis which leaves no opening for European farm workers. Hence too was caused much of the breakdown of tribal and of parental control. Though the results have pressed heavily on the Natives they received a certain amount of push in the direction of material progress which was not possible under their tribal conditions.

336. The problems remain to be solved. Their magnitude and complications appear throughout the Report. Their solution must involve the reversal of much of the earlier policy and the substitution for it of one which, while calling on the Europeans for all the help their wider knowledge can give, will set the Natives on the road to active development of their natural abilities.

337. The General Tax in the Reserves is in direct conflict with any form of segregation and is equally in conflict with the recommendations of the Commission for the development of the Reserves, and the consequent reduction of the drift of Natives to the towns. In addition to driving Natives to towns it keeps there, for at least the time necessary to earn the tax, those who have had to go there to earn money to meet other requirements. The Local Tax has somewhat the same effect with an additional pressure towards crowding in huts.

338. On the European owned farms the effect of the General Tax is definitely to drive Natives to the towns. Their cash wages being often either nothing or so small as to be insufficient to meet their simple needs, they must, to obtain the money to pay their tax, go to the towns to earn it.

339. If then there is to be a genuine attempt to stem the drift of Natives to the towns it will be essential to recast the whole system of Native taxation. The question of the amount of Natives' contribution to the revenue of the State is discussed elsewhere. In my opinion it is possible in the Native areas to obtain the necessary revenue in a way which will create a reasonable

relation between that revenue and the wealth or the wealth producing capacity of the Natives in those areas and which will not impose any obstacle in the way of the free production of such wealth, while at the same time obviating a number of present-day evils such as absentee ownership of plots, which often are left unused; inequality of interests in tribal land through the holding by one man of a large number of plots while others have none; and the disintegration of family life and parental control by forcing young boys out of the Reserves to earn their own and their parents' tax money in the towns.

340. As according to Native law and custom land is the common property of the tribe and as it is the source of all the tribe's wealth, it is reasonable that the needs of the tribe and its obligations to the Supreme Chief should be met from that land. In these circumstances the amount chargeable to Natives in any Reserve should be assessed at whatever sum the Union Government, as representing the Supreme Chief, claims for the services it renders to those Natives. This amount, if not already covered by indirect taxation, should be raised by a charge levied on each arable lot, while local revenue needed by the tribe for its own administration could be raised by a similar charge, as well as, in respect of grazing land, a charge for each head of stock grazed on it.

341. To arrive at the amount of the charge, each plot, in areas where there is individual title, as in the surveyed areas, might be valued separately by the Native Commissioner and the Chief, by an inexpensive method which need not be meticulously accurate, but in other areas as all the plots will be approximately of equal value they can be taken as equal unless the Chief-in-council together with the Native Commissioner agrees that a differentiation in value exists and should be taken into consideration. In any valuation only the unimproved value of the land should be taken. It is essential that there should be no charge levied upon any improvements made by the occupier of a plot. Whatever value is taken a charge based on that value could be levied. In respect of grazing land, which to-day is in theory common land but in reality is appropriated by the owner of large herds and gives no rights or return to the Native with no stock, the carrying capacity of the land should be calculated and a reasonable grazing charge based on the number so arrived at should be made for all stock grazed there, the total proceeds being retained by the tribe for its own purposes.

342. To conform with the policy of Native self-government which the Commission has recommended, the charge for land and grazing could be collected by officials of the tribal fund—there being paid out of that fund the amount claimed by the Supreme Chief. The balance would be available for local administration by the Chief-in-council. The collection and control of treasury funds would need to be subject to supervision by the Native Commissioner and to full audit. Such audit would have to be undertaken by a European, until such time as it could be undertaken by a Native.

343. The charges which are here recommended would have beneficial tendencies in place of the detrimental tendencies which have been shown to flow from the General and Local Taxes. There would be an incentive for the Native plotholder to make better use of his plot than he does at present because a direct connection would be established between that land and the payment to be made. It would soon be realized that the man who made good use of his land could meet his obligations while the inefficient worker would have to go out to the farms or towns to earn the money to pay his charge. Such a lesson could be reinforced by the provision of marketing facilities to make it possible for such payment being made in kind.

344. The system proposed would not, as does the existing taxation, make children who have no plots of their own feel emancipated, or destroy parental control.

345. Then again no allotted plots could be kept idle without a proper contribution being made for them to the community's funds, while anyone holding more than one plot would make his full payment for each, which would give everyone in the tribe an interest in those plots.

346. Finally the Government would not incur the odium of being the collector of a tax which like the present General Tax is considered unduly high and burdensome and the proceeds of which the Natives argue are used for purposes which do not benefit them.

347. If the proposal which has been made were adopted the differential taxation of Europeans and Natives in areas other than the Reserves could be repealed without any tendency being thereby set up to induce Natives to leave their Reserves and the present pressure of the General Tax on farm servants, forcing them to the towns, would cease to exist.

348. Any taxation which in the non-Reserve areas might be imposed on Europeans could then without discrimination be imposed on Natives, provided the same principles as to exemption apply to both. There would then not be aroused any feeling of injustice such as now exists because of the present differentiation in taxation between the races.

349. As long as the General Tax is retained in any area it will be unwise to repeal it anywhere else. If it were abolished in the Reserves but retained in the other areas it would tend to drive Natives away from farms to the Reserves and would cause even greater dissatisfaction than exists at present in the towns, where the burden of the tax is very oppressive. If the tax were removed in the towns but retained in the Reserves a direct tendency to a drift to the towns would be set up. As long, however, as that tax is retained, there is no reason why the Natives on any Reserve or in what is known as a "released area" should not be allowed or even encouraged to pay to the State, out of their tribal fund, the tax due by the adult males of the tribe. The payment could be made out of the fund on behalf of each individual person liable to the tax or in a lump sum calculated on the number of individuals so liable. In either event each adult male in the tribe would be given by the Native Commissioner a document which would be equivalent to a tax receipt. By such a procedure some of the bad results of the General Tax could be avoided.

350. It is reasonable to require the Natives in the Reserves to make some contribution for the protection they receive from the State; but it might be claimed that this is adequately paid for by their contribution in indirect taxation, which falls very heavily on them. It would probably be reasonable to require the cost of education, health, and veterinary measures to be met out of the tribal funds, the extent and standard of the services being laid down by the Central Government but the execution and administration being left in the hands of the Chief-in-council under the supervision of the Native Commissioner, or, where such a Chief or council cannot be recognized, in the hands of the Native Commissioner with any council or committee of Natives which he may call together. By such a method it should be possible to reduce considerably the cost of administration in Native areas.

351. While it is obvious to most Europeans that there must be contributions from each district to the revenue of the Central Government without any question of the full amount of the contribution from a particular district being spent there, it is not so obvious to Natives unaccustomed to European methods of government. It is not difficult to see how dissatisfaction can be felt in, say, Sibasa, which in 1929 paid in General Tax £22,334, while because of its isolation the cost to the Central Government in administering that area and providing the salaries of school teachers probably did not much, if at all, exceed one-fifth of that sum. The amount spent by the Government in this area on education per annum is £1,883, and the cost of administration for the year ending 31st October, 1931, was £2,138, or a total under those heads of £4,021.

352. The cost of administration and the interests of an area such as that of Sibasa are easily separable from those of other areas, and the same is true of many other Reserves. The policy of development of the Reserves recommended by the Commission will involve a considerable development in local self-government by the Natives and will require the provision of larger local funds than are at present available.

353. Natives, particularly in the Reserves where blankets form an important article of clothing by day as well as covering by night, complained bitterly about the burden thrown upon them by the Customs duties since 1925 on cotton blankets and "kaffir" sheeting. The duty on such sheeting is 1s. to 1s. 3d. a lb. with a maximum of from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per article. The value of sheeting, kadungas, cotton blankets, and cotton shawls imported in 1930, according to a return furnished by the Customs Department, of goods imported for Native trade, was £381,218 and the amount paid in duty on that amount was £208,336 or 52 per cent. of the value. The value of cotton blankets for which the rate of 1s. per lb. was paid was £40,256, the duty being £36,431 or 90 per cent. of the value. The value of beads, also for Native trade, was £22,478, the duty on these being £11,270 or 50 per cent.

354. In several Reserves the evidence showed that the rise in the price of blankets and clothing which was caused by these duties, had led to Natives reverting to the use of skins as blankets and clothing.

355. The textile industry of the Union is engaged mainly in manufacturing cotton sheeting and blankets for the Native trade. The Wage Board reported that the total number of employees in the industry in March, 1931, was 750, of whom 382 were Europeans, 64 Coloureds, 200 Indians, and 104 Natives. Of the Natives there were 16 engaged in manufacturing work, the remainder being employed on unskilled work.

356. The manufacture of clothing, stock size, and shirts for the Native trade is an important industry in the Union. There were, according to a Wage Board Report, employed in the clothing trade in February, 1931, in Capetown, Durban, Port Elizabeth, and Kingwilliamstown, a total of 3,546 persons of all races, 23 of that number being Natives. The minimum wages of employees in those towns have been determined under the Wage Act. On the Witwatersrand there were 2,717 employees, of whom 489 were Natives. In this area the minimum wages for European and Coloured employees have been prescribed by an industrial council agreement. There is no prescribed minimum wage for Natives. Of the total number of 489 Natives 176 were in February, 1931, receiving under £1 per week, with nothing found.

357. For the purpose of arriving at a ratio for allocating taxation the investigation of the Commission led it to adopt 12½ per cent. of the National Income as the income of Natives in the Union. The late Professor Lehfeldt in "The National Resources of South Africa" estimated the National Income for 1917-1918 at £137,000,000 while the Economic and Wage Commission estimated the "Nett product of South African Industry (including agriculture and services), 1923," at £186,000,000. Of these sums 12½ per cent. is £18,000,000 and £23,000,000 respectively. With a Native population of 5,500,000 these amounts represent respectively an income of about £17 and £22 per annum for each family unit of five persons. The amount of revenue from taxation, but excluding income from Public Estate, which the Commission has estimated to be contributed by Natives is a little over £3,000,000 per annum. The Natives therefore pay in taxation between one-fifth and one-sixth of their income when the figure based on Professor Lehfeldt's estimate is taken, and between one-seventh and one-eighth if the Economic and Wage Commission's estimate is accepted.

ADD AFTER PARAGRAPH 741, PAGE 108, UNDER HEADING :

PASS LAWS.

358. Mr. Lucas desires to associate himself with the views expressed by Dr. Roberts in paragraph 741; and to add that the evidence, of which there was a considerable amount in all three of the pass-law Provinces, does not reveal any necessity for or value in the pass laws. For the Native going out of his Reserve for the first time and unable to speak either of the official languages—and, in some circumstances, for any human being—there is an advantage in being in possession of a document by which he can be identified, but such a document need not involve any restriction of movement of the bearer in his own homeland, and it is not what is known as a pass.

359. In the Cape Province there is in European areas no pass law, and no complaint on this score came from that Province. In the remainder of the Union there are pass laws; that in the Transvaal, where there were 39,000 out of a total of 42,000 convictions in the Union for offences under those laws, being the most effectively applied. Yet the demand for the maintenance of the law, or for an even stricter pass law, came at least as strongly from European witnesses in that Province as from any of the others. The desire for the maintenance of these laws appears to be based on a mistaken view of their value and efficacy. There is no more crime among Natives in the Cape, with no pass law, than there is in the Transvaal which has a very strict law. There is no more overcrowding and no more difficulty in dealing with Natives and there are no worse Native slums in the towns, in the Cape, than there are in Natal or the Transvaal. Judging from the comparative smallness of the number of Master and Servants cases in the Cape, there would seem to be fewer desertions from farm service there than in the Transvaal.

360. Every Native bitterly resents the pass laws. He considers that they impose on him a stigma of inferiority; that they treat him as an alien in his native land; that they deprive him of the right that belongs to every free man of being entitled, within limits applicable to the whole population, to move freely from place to place.

F. A. W. LUCAS,

Member, Native Economic Commission.

C. FAYE,

Secretary, Native Economic Commission.

Pretoria,

10th February, 1932.