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South Africa, 1930-32. (Chairman:
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UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

REPORT

OF

NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION

1930-1932

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

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1932

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ERRATA.

| Paragraph. | Line. | Correction. |
|------------|-------|---|
| 11 | 2 | <i>For djminution read diminution.</i> |
| 12 | 1 | <i>For primitve read primitive.</i> |
| 46 | 16 | <i>For diseases read disease.</i> |
| 46 | 17 | <i>For deseases read diseases.</i> |
| 93 | 7 | <i>For enegies read energies.</i> |
| 151 | 11 | <i>After with add the consent of.</i> |
| 153 | 3 | <i>For has read had.</i> |
| 161 | 1 | <i>For is read are.</i> |
| 164 | 2 | <i>For Pople read People.</i> |
| 166 | 5 | <i>For exceptoinal read exceptional.</i> |
| 167 | 3 | <i>For atlogether read altogether.</i> |
| 183 | 3 | <i>For relased read released.</i> |
| 189 | 15 | <i>Delete full stop at end of line.</i> |
| 190 | 4 | <i>After with add the.</i> |
| 241 | 8 | <i>For exclusive read exclusion.</i> |
| 260 | 11 | <i>For experimetnal read experimental.</i> |
| 281 | 7 | <i>For co-operaitve read co-operative.</i> |
| 299 | 3 | <i>For 80 read 60.</i> |
| 305 | 1 | <i>For Nongama read Nongoma.</i> |
| 374 | 1 | <i>For froegoing read foregoing.</i> |
| 385 | 2 | <i>For periad read period.</i> |
| 395 | 2 | <i>Add comma at end of line.</i> |
| 404 | 3 | <i>Footnote to Table. For increases read increase.</i> |
| 409 | 1 | <i>For 1925 read 1923.</i> |
| 506 | 3 | <i>Delete whole line and substitute :</i> Natives doing skilled work. At present trade unions insist that standard rates should be paid on such contracts, and this in practice confines the work to |
| 525 | 5 | <i>For livng read living.</i> |
| 527 | 6 | <i>For simliar read similar.</i> |
| 531 | 1 | <i>For Eeconomically read Economically.</i> |
| 547 | 2 | <i>For seeks read seek.</i> |
| 556 | 3 | <i>For permenantly read permanently.</i> |
| 558 | 1 | <i>For develoment read development.</i> |
| 638 | 4 | <i>For read substitute real.</i> |
| 662 | 9 | <i>For considerabel read considerable.</i> |
| 665 | — | <i>Immediately under heading Direct Taxation of Natives add—</i> NOTE.—Mr. Lucas does not agree with what is set forth in paragraphs 665 to 678. For his views, see Addendum, page 224. |
| 679 | 6 | <i>For him read them.</i> |
| 687 | 2 | <i>For Euorpeans read Europeans.</i> |
| 702 | 3 | <i>For prestnt read present.</i> |
| 714 | 1 | <i>Delete whole line and substitute :</i> Among the amaXosa and related tribes, the <i>ubulunga</i> beast, whether. |
| 771 | 3 | <i>For abstainence read abstinence.</i> |
| 823 | 1 | <i>For Mines read Mine.</i> |
| 839 | 3 | <i>For include read includes.</i> |
| 846 | 3 | <i>For 186 read 180.</i> |
| 863 | 3 | <i>For certficate read certificate.</i> |
| 870 | 2 | <i>For a distinction read no distinction.</i> |
| 919 | 4 | <i>For are read is.</i> |
| 931 | 7 | <i>For are read is.</i> |
| 1000 | 3 | <i>For hat read that.</i> |
| 1025 | last | <i>After at insert the.</i> |
| 1035 | 4 | <i>For prespect read prospect.</i> |
| Addendum | | |
| 11 | 5 | <i>For Eupropean read European.</i> |
| 12 | 1 | <i>For Euorpean read European.</i> |
| Annexure | | |
| No. 15 | | |
| Page 280 | | |
| Para. 3 | 1 | <i>After reasons, add of.</i> |

TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF CLARENDON, A MEMBER OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF SAINT MICHAEL AND SAINT GEORGE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN AND OVER THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the undersigned, Commissioners appointed by Commission ¹ issued by His Excellency the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa dated 9th June, 1930, have the honour to submit herewith our Report.

1. The Terms of Reference to Your Excellency's Commissioners are to inquire into and report upon:

- (1) The economic and social conditions of Natives especially in the larger towns of the Union.
- (2) The application to Natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment and for dealing with industrial disputes and/or the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purposes.
- (3) The economic and social effect upon the European and Coloured population of the Union of the residence of Natives in urban areas and the measures, if any, to be adopted to deal with surplus Natives in, and to prevent the increasing migration of Natives to, such areas.
- (4) What proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the Native population directly and indirectly. What proportion of the public expenditure may be regarded as necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to, the Native population.

PROCEDURE.

2. Accordingly, in discharging the duties entrusted to us, we held meetings ² whenever it was necessary for the purpose of dealing with routine matters; and we heard evidence ³ in public session at as many centres as we were able in the time available to us. Advertisements in the *Government Gazette* and in local newspapers, announcements through Magistrates and Native Commissioners, direct invitations, and letters to prospective witnesses, gave to the public notification of our sessions at various centres and of our desire to obtain evidence. Witnesses were assisted by means of printed documents, ⁴ whilst State and Provincial and urban officials were assisted by means of these as well as other documents. ⁵

3. Your Commissioners placed every facility in the way of all persons, who wished to do so, to tender evidence to the Commission, or give information, oral and written. We listened attentively to all evidence, a verbatim record of which was taken. The transcript of the evidence is voluminous; with the exception of a number of quotations, it has not been printed, but has been sent to the Government Archives, Pretoria, for safekeeping. A considerable amount of original documentary evidence was also submitted to us, and this, too, has been sent for safekeeping at the Government Archives, Pretoria; extracts from these documents are included in the Report.

¹ Annexures 1 and 2. ² Annexure 3. ³ Annexure 4.

⁴ Annexures 5 and 6. ⁵ Annexures 5-10.

4. We have given all evidence very careful attention, and we have in addition studied numbers of official publications and documents. We have, further, travelled to urban and rural typical areas, in order to gain first-hand knowledge of local conditions.⁶

5. We wish to state at once that we would have been seriously handicapped in our labours if we had not received generous help wherever we went in the Union. This help was accorded to us, cheerfully, by witnesses; by the public; by State, Provincial, urban, mining organization, and other officials; and by missionaries, teachers, and others; in our travelling, by the Railways and Harbours Administration and its efficient Tourist Agents, Government garage officials, motor transport contractors, and on occasions by non-officials who placed their private motor cars at our disposal. State and urban authorities, the Transkeian Territories General Council, and private persons—European and Native—placed accommodation at our disposal for the hearing of evidence and for the doing of our routine work. The officials, organizations, and private persons who assisted us are too numerous to mention by office or by name. Through their co-operation we were able to keep every appointment we made, and we wish here, at the beginning of our Report, to state that for the valuable help given to us by each and all of them we are most grateful.

ORDER OF SUBJECTS.

6. In drafting its Report your Commission found it impracticable to discuss the first and the third Terms of Reference apart. The whole question is so interwoven that reference had to be made in various parts of the Report to the influence of the Natives on the rest of the population. To have taken these matters out of their context in order to group them under the third Term of Reference could only have been done at the cost of clearness in presenting the results of the Commission's inquiries. These two Terms of Reference are therefore treated together. The second and the fourth Terms of Reference are treated separately.

TERMINOLOGY.

7. We have thought it advisable to prepare a short statement explaining the meaning attached by us to each of certain terms used in our Report, and have included this statement in an Annexure.⁷

⁶ Annexure 4 and text of Report. ⁷ Annexure 11.

PART I

THE RESERVES

The Approach to the Native Economic Question.

Two Conflicting Economic Systems.

8. When the Europeans first came into South Africa the Native population was living under a primitive subsistence economy. The white man came in with money economy. The conflict of the two systems lies at the root of much of the Native problem in its economic aspect.

9. The former is a system which, as we try to show below, meets with the requirements of a community at a certain level of development. The latter is in entire conflict with the former, and must ultimately disintegrate it completely.

10. The conflict of the two must result in either the extermination or the absorption or the development of the backward race.

11. Hitherto the contact has not resulted, as similar contact has done in most other countries lying in the temperate zones, in either the diminution of the number, or in the absorption, of the backward race.

12. The continued existence of a primitive subsistence economy in such close contact with an advanced money economy, as the two systems are in South Africa, must be expected to create serious maladjustments.

13. Absorption, i.e. miscegenation, is ruled out by the ideals of both races in South Africa.

14. *The Native economic question is therefore how best the Native population can be led onward step by step in an orderly march to civilization.*

15. The movement has already made some advance. Certain classes of Natives have made substantial progress. As a whole it has, however, not been an orderly march. The great bulk of Natives who have been influenced by European contact, has moved on in a haphazard manner, involving many definitely undesirable features. What is wanted is a gradual and substantial upliftment, of a nature in which a civilized community can take just pride.

Fundamentally the Problem Lies in the Reserves.

16. It is important that the country should clearly visualize not only the problem, but the steps necessary to deal with it in a rational fashion. It is of even greater importance that the country should realize that there need be no threat to the white community in the development of the Native, but that on the contrary this offers some hope of removing many of the economic maladjustments which exist to-day. In attempting to achieve this nothing save disaster can follow from neglect to start from the fundamental facts. The Native economic question is not primarily a problem of a small, vocal, dissatisfied, semi-civilized group of urbanized Natives; it is primarily a problem of millions of uneducated tribal Natives, held in the grip of superstition and of an anti-progressive social system. The former group must be fairly considered, and room must be found for them in the body economic. But their articulateness must not obscure the fact that they represent a less important part of the problem; that the real problem lies with the non-vocal millions; and that in many respects the approach to the problems of the former must proceed by way of the latter.

17. On its European side no useful approach can be found by allowing an undermining of the standards which the white community has built up by centuries of effort. The European is the bearer of civilization in South Africa, and anything which retards his civilization will ultimately react detrimentally on the Native as well.

18. The way in which the problem is approached is therefore of fundamental importance. Let us assume that a temporary Dictator granted the demands of the Natives in respect of many contentious matters in defiance of the opposition of the Europeans, and that his actions were irrevocable.

Then as soon as the Dictatorship disappeared, the Natives would indeed have these new rights; but they would have been purchased at the price of the goodwill of the Europeans, and this would continually hamper further progress. On the other hand, continuous progress is possible on any plan which enlists the goodwill of the European population in the cause of the civilization of the Native, however much a number of the latter may dislike some of the arrangements on which the Europeans refuse to yield.

19.

Your Commissioners endeavour to indicate in this Report some of the ways in which the apparently conflicting interests of black and white may be harmonized in the cause of national progress.

The Tribal Background of the Problem.

20.

It does not fall within the scope of the duties of your Commission to attempt to give a complete explanation of the original social systems of the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa, in all their local variations, nor do we consider ourselves qualified for such a task. There are, however, certain aspects of this subject which underlie very important social and economic considerations of to-day. It becomes necessary to touch briefly on the more important of these, because they form the setting for the whole subject of the economic development of the Native.

21.

When the Natives first came into contact with the Europeans they had a well-developed social and economic organization, which it would appear met their needs in a fairly satisfactory way. It had definite ways of meeting the various emergencies with which they were faced; definite explanations for the things regarded as supernormal; definite sanctions for the proper conduct of life; definite provision for securing the material goods necessary for economic and social life.

22.

When the social organization of a primitive people has had sufficient time to develop undisturbed, there emerges a customary standard of living and an appropriate remedy for every ill, the total cost of which does not exceed the aggregate of material goods which the society normally has at its disposal. When conditions are abnormal there is either feast or famine.

23.

Normally, however, there was frequently a shortage before the new crop could be harvested. A paragraph on this subject from Bryant's "A Description of Native Foodstuffs" (Pietermaritzburg, 1907) is true generally of primitive communities:

"He" (the Zulu) "has inherited nothing of the saving instinct. No sooner are the fruits of the new season mature and permitted for general consumption, than he forthwith initiates a wholesale attack upon them. This habit so materially reduces the amount left over for harvesting, that, after a few months, his total store of food is at an end. In perhaps eight families out of ten there is a normal annual recurrence of severe dearth throughout the spring or early summer months of August, September, October, and even later. During the whole of this period, members of all such families, children as well as adults, have to be usually content with but one full meal a day, generally taken in the evening time. Very often I have known whole districts of children who got not even that. This, then, is the period when they have recourse to the *amaThebe* and the other herbs of the veld described above."

24.

Famine is the great danger to every primitive community. The economic system must therefore have the prevention of famine as a main function. Accordingly it aims at the maintenance of a minimum standard of production. No family must be allowed to fall below this line, and so impose a strain on the resources of the community. Therefore the time-honoured methods of the tribe are consolidated into a series of rules of conduct; the disapproval of the community is generally enough to prevent individuals from transgressing these rules. Moreover there are generally ritual sanctions for the carrying out of the rules, and the fear of the unknown is—with rare exceptions—enough to keep even the boldest spirits in check.

25.

These rules disapprove of "dangerous" innovations. Considered on a purely rational basis, the individual who tries a new method of cultivation may fail, and secure no crops at all, and may therefore become a burden on the community until the next season. As the matter appears to primitive

man, one never knows whether tribal spirits will not be outraged by the new method; and outraged spirits may even give vent to their anger on the whole community, which allowed one of its members to engage in sacrilegious practices. Therefore the community stops innovation and, with it, progress to greater wealth.

26.

Moreover in a society in which kinship to the Chief's house is a principal source of distinction, it would be unwise for a commoner to have greater wealth than those above him. If a man became too rich, this was ascribed to witchcraft, against which "smelling out" proved to be an effective remedy. Even to-day the feeling that such wealth conflicts with the proprieties is still a strong factor. This probably largely explains the circumstance, noticed by us throughout the Reserves, that Natives who have learnt up-to-date methods on the European farms seldom practice them in their own area.

NOTE.—See observation by Mr. Lucas in paragraph 79 of Addendum.

27.

A natural corollary to the salutary maintenance of a lower limit to safeguard against starvation is the emergence of an upper limit, which inhibits the growth of what is regarded as undue individual wealth.

28.

Nature is seldom so unbountiful as not to leave a surplus after the elementary needs of mankind have been supplied. In a particularly good season further desires may be satisfied: the desire for personal adornment, and for ostentation. Time and labour are spent on making articles of adornment; and particular things come to be recognized as evidence of importance and prosperity.

29.

Among our Natives cattle have come to be regarded as a mark of the importance and prosperity of the owner. Once the possession of such things has become general the society concerned has advanced a stage on the path of progress.

30.

Unless land is plentiful, the increase of population soon begins to exert pressure on the community especially in primitive society, where fecundity is high and children are regarded as an asset. The pressure may be relieved by advance in the economic utilization of tribal assets; but this is generally in conflict with tribal organization because it involves innovations which are dangerous, and are always viewed with distrust by a primitive people; or it may be relieved by war, and this conforms to tribal organization. War keeps population in bounds; it aids polygyny; it gives the men an outlet for their energies, deemed worthy of their status; and wherever scarcity of land begins to be felt, it maintains the conditions necessary for the continuance of the social system. War is therefore endemic among primitive peoples; it is a necessary condition for the permanence of their economic system. War is a cure for over-population in a primitive community—advance in the arts serves the same purpose in a civilized society. The latter is now the only course open to the Natives of South Africa.

Ancestor Worship.

31.

Ancestor-worship, though a very important—perhaps the most important—part of the religion of these peoples, was not by any means the whole of it, but only part of the general system of spirit-worship. There were spirits other than those of ancestors, both benevolent and malevolent. Witchcraft or sorcery consisted in using the influence of malevolent spirits, whether ancestral or non-ancestral, and magic consisted in using the influence of benevolent spirits.

32.

It was in the power of the spirits to visit the living with drought or storm, locusts, pestilence among men and animals, defeat in war, and other calamities, disease and death. Accordingly sorcery had to be guarded against, lest evil-minded individuals should use the power of the deceased against the living. There were therefore numerous occasions when animals, chiefly cattle, had to be slaughtered to placate the spirits of the departed. This sacrificial slaughter is of considerable economic importance and will be referred to again.

The Importance of Cattle in the Social System of the Abantu.

33.

The cattle, from being used in religious ceremonies came to have a religious character: for example, the laudatory phrase (*serétó*) of the beast in Šuto is *Modimo wa nkó e meetse*, "The god with the wet nose" (Prof. Lestrade's evidence). In her evidence before the Commission, Mrs. Hoerulú gave a vivid picture of the sacrificial importance of cattle. She said:

"The cattle are a trust to the present generation from the past generation; they are a medium between the people who are here and those who are no longer here, as the Natives put it. . . . They are heirlooms; emblems of the status of the family. . . . When an animal is sacrificed, for example, they say "Father, here are your cattle; you have asked for cattle; here they are." That is why, when these cattle are used in marriage the ancestors must be appealed to to accept a transfer of the cattle to another kraal, because they are really the cattle of the ancestors. Therefore, always, in the original ceremony, an animal was sacrificed as part of the marriage ceremony, and through the groaning of the animal, or in some other way, the ancestors gave their assent to the marriage—accepted the woman into the kraal and allowed the cattle to go into another kraal."

34.

Thus the purely economic conception of cattle held by Europeans is entirely disruptive of the religious ideas of the Abantu. Their conception of cattle has become under present-day conditions one of the most far-reaching anti-economic inheritances of the Natives. It lies at the root of a great deal of the dissatisfaction about land, and will be referred to again.

The Strategic Position of the Hereditary Chief.

35.

The hereditary Chief is the link between the living and the dead. He is high priest, and with certain tribes he may become a "god" during his lifetime. He and, to a lesser extent, other persons of the blood, possess a *mana* which even a witchdoctor does not possess. The reverence for the Chief and his family is, therefore, a quality deeply ingrained in the Abantu. A number of educated Natives, and Natives who had never been ruled by Chiefs, pleaded very strongly before the Commission for some measure of restoration of the authority of Chiefs. This reverence, if properly used, is a factor of great potential importance for the good of the Native.

36.

With few exceptions, the Chief was not constitutionally an autocrat. He ruled with the help of his council, being in most instances the mouthpiece of the will of the people, expressed in public discussion of the council. Men and sometimes women of the blood were members of the council, together with certain outstanding commoners.

37.

Apart from the status which the Chief's family derived from their blood there was very general equality, and this was maintained by social custom.

38.

As it was a dangerous thing for a commoner to become ostentatiously rich, those who possessed large herds of cattle shared them under the *sisa* custom. By this custom beasts were lent to poorer relatives ("relative" has a wide connotation among the Natives), who enjoyed the benefit of their use.

Parental Authority.

39.

Parental authority was another strong feature of this society.

"The one great law that governed there" (in a Zulu home) says Bryant, "was the law of complete submission to parental authority; and that authority was drastically enforced. Unquestioning, unanswering obedience to the supreme power was demanded without distinction, of all alike, of mothers, of sons (some of them already middle-aged men with families of their own), of every child. . . . And what each inmate of the kraal saw practised by the father, he in turn practised in his own regard, demanding of all his juniors the same measure of obedience as was demanded of him by those above".—*"Olden Times in Zululand and Natal,"* p. 76.

40. What Bryant says of a Zulu home obtained generally in Native society. This strong parental authority has been seriously undermined. Under European rule, children who wish to escape from it can, by fleeing to towns, gain asylum, and even certain personal advantages which are not available to them in the kraal.

41. Bitterly do Natives throughout the Union complain of this break-up of parental authority. The flight of young people to towns is responsible for a large measure of "detrribalization", and for a great deal of immorality.

Morals.

42. In the matter of morals the Natives had worked out a very complete system. Granted that it differed from European conventional morality, it was still a self-consistent moral system which was kept intact in Native society by the sure infliction of certain definite punishments on transgressors. This system was governed largely by the idea of *lobolo* and by the cattle-cult. Owing to a wide conception of consanguinity it made sex-relationship between certain people incestuous where such relationship would not be so regarded among Europeans.

43. The breaking down of this system of morality, more particularly in European areas, is tending to loose morals, and the fact that there are no sanctions in urban areas to secure the observance of tribal morality is one of the factors making for the trek to the towns of young Natives, female as well as male. On the other hand the Native conception of consanguinity, as far as it persists in the towns, does set bounds to the practice of indiscriminate prostitution.

Food-Supply and Cattle.

44. In the matter of food the Native in his tribal state was accustomed to a very simple regimen. He grew a small quantity of grain by primitive methods of agriculture, enough for porridge and *mahewu* and beer. Pumpkins, beans, and a considerable number of lesser crops, found in different localities, gave variety to his diet. An important constituent was *imfino*, often, but not always, prepared from the succulent tops of various plants, e.g. the pumpkin and pigweed, and served as a relish or a condiment with his porridge. *Utywala* made from sprouted grain gave, in the opinion of some present-day medical practitioners, a further vitamin content.

45. Before the time of the present disastrous overstocking, milk was plentiful. Cattle, and other animals, are slaughtered on particular and usually ritual occasions, which are frequent. Then meat is plentiful, and is eaten in enormous quantities. The craving for meat would seem to be quickened by consumption of large quantities of *utywala*, which is generally abundant on ceremonial occasions. Some of the cattle paid as fines are also eaten by the members of the *mkandlu* (council) and serve as part of the Chief's entertainment allowance.

46. The use of their herds as a source of a regular meat diet is foreign to the Natives, and this is not conducive to an alleviation of the evil of overstocking.

"Meat" writes Bryant in his "A Description of Native Food-stuffs" (1907), "is partaken of only as a luxury, not as an ordinary or indispensable article of food. Hunts are rare, only occasionally occurring, not half-a-dozen times within the year in any given locality; and, when they do occur, it is only the favoured few who are blessed with a buck or pig to bring home. Beasts are slaughtered only when weddings or other ceremonial festivities require, or when the exigencies of ancestral worship or medical treatment demand. An ordinary Native of Zululand—apart from the young men gathered together for service in a military kraal, and who lived, in a great degree, on meat alone—may not let flesh pass his mouth more than half-a-dozen times in a whole year; oftentimes less: though among the wealthier "aristocracy", of course much more frequently. Animals that have died of diseases are eaten as readily as those that are healthy. Even such infectious or noxious diseases as anthrax and quarter-evil are not sufficient to deter them from partaking of the flesh of the dead beasts, the meat, of course, having been first rendered

harmless by boiling and disinfecting with such germicidal plants as the Knobthorn or *umNungwane* (*Sagara capense*) and the *ubuVimba* (*Withania somnifera*). These self-same disinfectants are used again in the case of meat already in an advanced stage of putrefaction, which, like our high venison, is by some regarded as particularly delicate".

47.

The main economic advantage derived by Natives from cattle is in the use of them for a certain amount of ploughing and transport; but in addition, in consequence of the present overstocking with the resultant negligible milk yield, cattle that die also now constitute a main economic advantage: they yield a meat supply, and the skins can always be sold.

Little Diversification in Bantu Society.

48.

In the matter of their articles of consumption there was not much difference between the highest and the lowest in the land. There was little of the diversification which marks inequality of wealth and status in more civilized communities.

"We have spoken" says Bryant, "... of 'kings' and 'queens'... Lest any exaggerated impression of greatness be therefrom inferred, let us hasten to say that these are merely 'titles of courtesy' intended to convey to the European a correct idea of comparative social relationships. From our point of view a Zulu King was no whit more majestic than any other Native man of standing; a queen no more elegant or less odoriferous than an ordinary Native housewife; their place no more magnificent than any large kraal; their kingdom no more extensive than many a Dominion farm."—"Olden Times," p. 73.

49.

Social difference, apart from that due to rank, was marked by the number of a man's wives and of his cattle.

50.

Herein the European has introduced a disintegrating factor with his diversity of articles of consumption. Luxury makes for inequality. Where there is no luxury there is little incentive to social stratification. The possibility, introduced by Europeans, of converting the surplus of one commodity into ever increasing new sources of enjoyment will put a severe strain on the Native custom of sharing food, and therefore on Native social communism.

Duties of Men and Women.

51.

There was a very clear division of labour between the sexes. The main duties of the men were defence, hunting, hut-building, and the care of cattle; and of the women, the household, the care of children, and the cultivation of fields. The European has practically deprived the men of the first two of these functions, and by giving them ox-drawn agricultural implements, has transferred part of the women's work to the men. In actual practice, except in certain advanced areas, the ploughing is largely left to adolescent boys. The cultivation of growing crops, the harvesting, have largely remained in the women's sphere. The introduction of additional needs such as clothing, education, money for paying taxes, sent a large number of men into a new sphere, that of wage labour.

52.

Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts consider that, in as far as it is true that ploughing is largely left to adolescent boys, the evidence shows this in the main to be due to need for money for taxes and food and other necessaries having compelled the majority of the adult able-bodied men to go away from their homes to work in European areas. The ploughing must perforce then be done in many areas by young boys, and sometimes even by the women.

Primitive Methods of Husbandry.

53.

The cultivation of the fields was done with hoes. In some areas these were made of fire-hardened wood, and in others, where smelting was known, of iron. Every wife, with her daughters, cultivated the fields belonging to her hut, and the harvested grain went to the grain store of her household.

54.

Fields were allocated to particular families, and generally speaking their boundaries were then respected by others. This was useful in preventing possible theft of crops. As a land became less fertile through overcropping it was abandoned and another applied for and given by the Chief or his deputy. That gave the soil a rest among a people who practised neither manuring nor rotation of crops: but it was a system that could only be maintained in a thinly populated country. Under present-day conditions it can no longer be maintained. Despite European influence, the use by Natives of the alternatives of manuring and rotation remains exceptional, and more extensive education in these matters is overdue. In the absence of knowledge of better agricultural methods, the limitation of area is closely connected with the universal cry of Natives for more land.

55.

The "doctoring" of land was practised, and is still common in many parts. The witchdoctor pronounced incantations and scattered certain substances over the land. In some instances a tree would be given the "power" of watching over the interests of the owner, thus acting as an ever-vigilant sentry of the spirits of the ancestors, and as a safeguard against theft of crops.

56.

The breaking-up and sowing could not take place until a particular field belonging to the Chief (Suto, *serapā*), had undergone the same treatment. This ensured that these operations would be performed at a time which the experienced elders of the tribe knew to be most favourable. Under modern conditions it militates against winter-fallowing; but it can be used to subserve the end of progress. A discerning demonstrator, by getting permission to work the Chief's field as a demonstration plot, could use it to overcome at least the formal objections to winter-fallowing.

57.

The Chief imposed and lifted prohibitions against cutting, say, a certain kind of tree when in the opinion of his advisers indiscriminate felling of it would tend to its extermination. This also was an economic factor and may be used by a demonstrator in winning co-operation in the same way as a Chief's *serapā* can be used.

58.

Harvesting could not begin until the Chief had given the sign. Where grazing is communal this has an obvious advantage in making all the fields available for the cattle at the same time. As the winter is dry no great harm can be done to the crops by delay in harvesting.

Tribal Organization of the Abantu.

59.

The foregoing résumé of the main points which are still of material significance tends to show that the Native organization was reasonable for the requirements and implications of the society by which it was developed. For that society it gave a cure for every known disease; it prescribed a proper way of dealing with every common problem; it gave a definite rôle to every individual; it prescribed proper conduct for all occasions; it gave a satisfactory explanation of all phenomena, normal or supernormal; in short it gave philosophic contentment in the security that there was always a right way of doing things, which worked for order and happiness.

60.

On its reverse side it was often cruel, on account of its superstitious foundation. Natural death could occur only in old age; otherwise it was "unnatural". Anything happening out of the ordinary was a thing to be feared. That is a perfectly intelligible attitude: but it implied that people getting larger crops than the normal might come under suspicion of practising witchcraft. So a case was mentioned to your Commission of a man who had learned better methods from the Europeans, and produced a larger crop than his neighbours, who was killed, in order that the soul of husbandry which had settled on him could be distributed to the benefit of all, by the witchdoctor.

The Paramount Need for Modernizing the Tribal System.

61.

The system is therefore opposed to progress, is reactionary, stagnant. Problems which it was developed to solve, such as the prevention of famine, have largely been solved by the advent of the European. New problems, arising from changes introduced by the latter, show up its weakness. The cause of this weakness is the attitude towards their environment which has been created among the Natives.

62.

Unless the tribal Natives can change this attitude for one which will permit of progress, theirs will be a dark future. Their survival as a people depends on their ability to adapt themselves to the new environment created by the impact of a higher civilization. But the system is not incapable of being utilized, transformed, improved, to serve as a basis for this adaptation. Too much has it been neglected in the past, too much of it that was valuable has been cast aside as lumber, too little has the European realized the value of starting from a basis which the Natives understood and prized, and developing from that to something higher.

63.

Many of the features described above could, with a slight change of outlook, be made to serve the ends of progress. If on the other hand those features are destroyed, it will be necessary to start afresh with a confused people who have seen many things they value rejected as worthless and know not where to turn. Whether such action be regarded from an educational or only from a purely economic standpoint, it is alike wasteful, and in conflict with the true course of progress.

The Impact of Western Civilization.

64.

The effect of the impact of Western civilization on the condition of the Bantu-speaking people was in time to change all the essential conditions on which their social system was founded.

65.

Particularly was this so in regard to land. The Native system postulated plenty of land for grazing and for cultivation. The Europeans put limits to the factors which diminished the pressure of both population and animals on land. At the same time they created new conditions which increased this pressure. Tribal war was succeeded by peace, enforced by the power of the white man, better transportation relieved famine, measures against human and animal diseases increased numbers. At the same time the white man, accustomed to a higher standard of living, occupied large territories on which the Native had hitherto fallen back in case of need.

66.

Increasing numbers began to press on land. The Native explained this phenomenon by saying "Man begets, but land does not beget". The great bulk blame the European for hemming them in, and point to the Land Act of 1913 as the repressive instrument of the white man.

67.

Leaving aside for consideration elsewhere the Natives Land Act, let us consider the fact of the change in the position of the Natives. With increasing numbers both of human beings and animals the methods hitherto found sufficient no longer met the case. Nor were they all available. War was no longer tolerated. The ruthless efficiency of the white veterinarians increased the numbers of the Native cattle and quarantine regulations limited access to the market, even in the small degree to which the Native was prepared to sell. Overpopulation became an evil in the Native territories, because numbers increased and knowledge of how to make the land itself "beget" more did not increase among the Natives or was neglected.

The Under-developed Condition of the Reserves.

68.

Overstocking followed the same path, because while the application of veterinary science prevented animal diseases from taking their full toll, next to nothing was done to teach the Natives to husband their grazing resources.

69.

The result is that we have now throughout the Reserves a state of affairs in which, with few exceptions, the carrying capacity of the soil for both human beings and animals is definitely on the downgrade; a state of affairs which, unless soon remedied, will within one or at the outside two decades create in the Union an appalling problem of Native poverty.

70.

The European rapidly changed the environment of the Native; but inside the Reserves he did very little to teach the Native how to adjust himself to the new environment. It cannot be too strongly stressed that a vast change of outlook on the part of the Native is an essential condition

for this adjustment. The sort of education required to bring about this changed outlook is, however, lacking. The natural result has been that the Native continued working his lands largely as he had done before, continued practising animal husbandry after the ways of his fathers.

71.

To what has this led? To a state of affairs in which, with the exception of a few favoured parts, a Native area can be distinguished at sight, by its bareness. Overstocking is so general in the Reserves as to have become an evil of the first magnitude. Your Commissioners wish to stress the fact that unless some limit can be placed to the universal overstocking, the very existence of large numbers of Natives in the Reserves will, in the near future, be impossible.

The Threat of the Creation of Desert Conditions.

72.

While this matter is dealt with in detail elsewhere, it is necessary here to give a brief résumé of the conditions as seen in the Reserves by your Commissioners. The worst effects of overstocking may be seen in some parts of the Ciskeian area, notably Middeldrift, Herschel, and Glen Grey. In Middeldrift there are large areas where the surface soil has been entirely eroded and no grass whatever grows. In adjoining parts the grass is being speedily supplanted by *helichrysum* and similar weeds. In Herschel and Glen Grey the vegetation of the mountainsides having almost disappeared, the rainstorms send torrents down the slopes which wash away periodically large parts of very valuable and fertile soil. These two areas with fertile valleys containing great depth of soil show some of the worst *donga* erosion in the Union. The difference between these and other areas is one of degree only. In Geluks Location actual desert conditions have in twenty years been created where once good grazing existed.

73.

Unless precautionary measures are taken against overstocking the condition in the Transkei and the Native areas in the rest of the Union will be to-morrow what that of the Ciskei is to-day. The same causes are at work there, and they will inevitably produce the same effects in the near future—denudation, donga-erosion, deleterious plant succession, destruction of woods, drying up of springs, robbing the soil of its reproductive properties, *in short the creation of desert conditions*. These are strong words, and people who have not had the opportunity of seeing conditions in detail, as your Commissioners had, may perhaps consider that the picture is overdrawn. Your Commissioners must however reiterate them, and continue reiterating them, if they hope for success in bringing to the notice of those concerned the extreme seriousness of the evil of overstocking.

74.

With the exception of certain parts of Zululand and Pondoland, every Native area is overstocked, and this overstocking will continue as long as Native cattle-holding rests primarily on a religious rather than on an economic basis.

75.

In agriculture the baneful effects of primitive subsistence economy show themselves in wholesale soil-robbery, which, save in a few localities where European agricultural methods have penetrated, seems to be the only kind of field husbandry known to the Native. Bearing in mind the exceptions already mentioned, fertilization is not practised even where there are large quantities of kraal-manure. Rotation of crops is unknown. In most areas, ploughing consists of scratching the ground once, four inches being the deepest to which Natives normally go; the use of deteriorated seed is the rule; stumps are not taken out nor, in many cases, chiefly in the Northern Transvaal, are the roots killed, so that the lands are dotted with growing bushes; it is generally regarded as satisfactory to weed the mealies once only; and the improved methods learnt and practised by the Native on the European farm are soon shed when he returns to his Reserve.

The Tribal Native must be Helped to Modernize his Outlook.

76.

It would be idle to blame the Native for all this. He acts according to his lights. He knows only his traditional methods, and nothing or little has been done to teach him others. In his primitive state, his mind is held by a system of superstition and animism, which makes it dangerous to depart too freely from the habits of his ancestors; his body is held by the agreeable *dolce far niente* which, with limited material needs in an equable climate, he regards as a sufficiency for a good life.

77.

It would be unwise to try to leave the Native in this fool's paradise. His light is insufficient for the new conditions of life. His mind must be freed from his animistic conceptions if he is to create worthy conditions for his descendants. He must learn to school his body to hard work, which is not only a condition to his advance in civilization, but of his final survival in a civilized environment.

78.

Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts do not agree with the assumptions which are made in paragraphs 76 and 77. They think that already experience, as testified to by many competent witnesses, has shown that there has been among the Natives a considerable loosening of the bonds of "superstition and animism" and that their power to restrict the Natives' progress can be easily exaggerated. As to their bodies being held by an "agreeable *dolce far niente*", the facts appear from the evidence to be that the food the Natives are able to get in their Reserves is not adequate to enable them continuously to perform hard physical work; when they go to work in European industries they must first be well fed before they can undertake hard work; otherwise they run the risk of getting scurvy. As nearly all adult able-bodied male Natives go out from the Reserves to do manual labour for Europeans for some period, at least every two years, their bodies may be said to be very effectively "schooled to hard work"; the need appears to be not so much for a greater amount of hard work when they are working as a fuller development and use of their inherent ability and intelligence so that better use can be made of the hard work they are, when properly fed, capable of doing.

79.

As regards the outlook for the rural Native, this is the position. As regards the ideal of a well-organized State, it is essential to put a stop to the ruination which is taking place on all sides, to introduce among the Natives a leaven of social education which will gradually, step by step, free the masses from their anti-progressive social heritage; and to create the economic conditions for their adjustment to the environment brought by civilization.

The Threat of Under-developed Reserves to the European Community.

80.

There is almost universal complaint among the European population of the impact of the Native on their civilization. This is only to be expected from the way in which two social systems, diametrically opposed in their outlook, and inconsistent with each other, have been allowed to continue side by side without a proper understanding among each section of the possibilities of the social system of the other.

81.

The white man has developed his own area, but he has done very little for the development of the Reserves. The Natives are not able to help themselves in this respect, because they are too backward as a race, too firmly held in the grip of primitive superstition and fear; nor do they, when freed from these obstacles, see the way clearly, as does the white man. But individuals can and do break loose from the dead hand of tribalism, and aspire to something better. Where can this be found? Only in the developed areas of the European. So year after year large numbers of the more advanced Natives break away from their tribal Reserves and stream into European areas. Possessed of a desire for better things, which they have learnt from the European, urged on by aspirations which they cannot fulfil in their own areas, they yet find the lot which falls to them among the Europeans a very meagre fulfilment of their hopes. With this they are discontented, while the European is displeased at their presence and has misgivings as to the influence of their competition on his own livelihood, and regards them as a "problem".

The True Orientation of the Advanced Native.

82.

The inevitable effect of the under-development of the Reserves is that the orientation of most advanced Natives has been towards the European. Instead of finding in their own area a fruitful field for using their energies and their knowledge to uplift their own people, they have been forced out from among them and have become "exiles" elsewhere. To develop the Natives, and the Reserves; to make the dead hand of tribalism relax its grip; to convert tribalism into a progressive force; to set the Native mass

in motion on the upward path of civilization, and to enable them to shoulder the burden of their own advancement—such must be, in the opinion of your Commissioners, the main approach to the solution of the Native problem in its economic aspect.

83.

This matter is of prime importance. The free resources given by nature are not so plentiful anywhere, and particularly not in the Union, that the community can afford to leave undeveloped such a large portion as is represented by the Reserves. The most promising factor in the whole economic position is the availability for development of such large potential sources of wealth as the Reserves undoubtedly possess. In the *economic* development of the Reserves must inevitably be sought the main solution for the Native economic problem.

84.

Here your Commissioners wish to sound a very earnest note of warning, namely, that unless this is undertaken soon, and on a large scale, the country must assuredly expect certain serious results:

(1) The rapid extension of the process of ruination which is now almost everywhere in evidence, where excellent areas are being worked according to the very backward methods of a primitive subsistence economy.

(2) The resulting rapid diminution of the carrying capacity of the Native areas for both human beings and animals.

(3) The rapid increase in the drift to the towns which has already assumed such a magnitude as seriously to disturb the European mind, and to create grave problems of urban housing, administration, and Native morality.

85.

The economic development of the Reserves—which postulates social educational development, as hereinafter defined, of the Natives in those areas—transcends in importance every other phase of the Native economic policy. It affects directly a very large proportion of the Native population. Indirectly it is at the root of the whole Native economic question. The undeveloped state of the Reserves, with the consequent pressure of the population on the land, is largely the cause of the universal Native demand for more land. It is directly one of the important causes of the steady drift to towns: the dead uniformity of life in the Reserves results in an emigration of a large number of Natives who desire to follow occupations other than primitive pastoralism and peasant farming. This includes many of the more advanced Natives. The Reserve Natives are thus continually being deprived of many of their people who, by following more advanced methods, would gradually work like a leaven throughout Reserve communities. "The exodus of Natives with brain and education," said one witness, "is having a terrible effect on the territories."

86.

These more advanced Natives come into European areas. There they, the more ambitious, the more progressive, the more energetic members of their race, inevitably come into conflict with the white population in the industrial sphere. Who of the white race are opposed to them? Not the most vigorous, the most able, the most skilled, but the weakest members of the white race. Those in the forefront of the battle are the men who through lack of skill, ability or training, have to be satisfied with the less lucrative occupations. Moreover, if any of these show signs of developing, they are withdrawn from the line of battle, and other and weaker members of their race pushed into the breach.

87.

The effect of this state of affairs has been a growing impenetration of Natives into occupations which were formerly filled by whites, accompanied by a growing white unemployment problem.

88.

Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts do not agree that there is "a growing impenetration of Natives into occupations which were formerly filled by whites" and hold that the analogy in paragraph 86 presents a misleading picture. That there is serious unemployment among Europeans is true but it is not to any appreciable extent due to Natives working in posts formerly filled by Europeans. The number of Natives doing or trained to do skilled work in occupations which the Europeans regard as their preserve is negligible. Unemployment among Europeans appears to be due in the main to the increase in the number of Europeans who have been driven by economic causes from

the land. They have not the skill or training to enable them to engage in skilled work. The only work of which in their present position they are capable is labourer's work, but they cannot maintain a European standard of living on the wage paid to labourers. Thus in practice such work, while open to Natives with their lower standard of living, is not available to Europeans. Until recently Europeans have not engaged at all in work of this kind but under Government subsidy, which makes the wage two or three times that usually paid to Natives, a number of Europeans is now being employed by public or Government-aided bodies on unskilled work, thus causing, for example on the Railways, a reduction in the number of posts open to and formerly filled by Natives.

89.

Owing to his virtual exclusion from unskilled work the European has not been able to find his way into certain higher classes of work. Through employment in labourer's work many labourers acquire the skill necessary for various kinds of semi-skilled work. Thus the European, being excluded from labourer's work, has been prevented from becoming qualified for such semi-skilled work, while Natives through working as labourers have become qualified for it. This handicap on the European has been aggravated by the fact that Natives when they are so qualified and actually do such semi-skilled work seldom get a wage higher than that which is customary for labourer's work. As the European did not undertake unskilled or become qualified for such semi-skilled work he cannot be said to have been driven out of it.

90.

Through the under-development of the Reserves Natives are driven to European areas and there the low wages paid for labouring work confine it to Natives while there is a serious and growing problem of unemployment among Europeans.

91.

Apart from specific urban problems which this immigration has caused, it has had a profound effect in creating in the minds of the majority of the European community serious misgivings as to the future of the white race in this country, for which we feel there is only too much justification if the economic position of Natives in the Reserves is not speedily improved.

92.

Your Commissioners have given long and serious thought to this question, which lies at the root of the whole Native economic problem, and in a wider sense, of the South African economic problem. We wish to express our conviction that in the past the Native has been given an entirely mistaken economic orientation. Through failure on the part of both Europeans and Natives to visualise the problem of the development of the Reserves, their carrying capacity has remained low. The maintenance of peace has encouraged the growth of population. European medical facilities, although meagre in relation to the large Native population, have tended the same way. Measures for combating animal diseases have largely increased the number of cattle. Normally, this should have increased the capacity of the country for carrying population; but the Natives' non-economic cattle outlook caused it to have an opposite effect. Overstocking even reduced the milk yield in spite of a large increase in the number of cattle. The recruiting of Natives for European industries and the need for cash had before this brought out large numbers to the European areas. As these factors gained in intensity and were reinforced by the filling up of the Reserves, the direction from which more income could be obtained was clear. The developed European areas began to support part of the Native population of the underdeveloped Reserves. As long as the Native was "raw", fit only for the crudest manual labour—which was wanted in plenty by the mines—the flow was looked upon by the European as a necessity, was even encouraged. We can go further and state that while this stage lasted it was beneficial to the European, in giving him labour, always scarce in a new country; and to the Native, in giving him an income and accustoming him to European methods of industry.

93.

But inevitably the same factors produced a further development. Education and contact with civilization gave a proportion of the Natives a taste for things better than could be obtained with the wages of the lowest form of manual labour. Where could these higher wages be obtained?

The undeveloped state of the Reserves limited them as a potential field. The most natural thing for the more progressive Natives would have been to use their energies in the advance of their own people. This indeed is their true orientation. But the Reserves offered a limited field for them. The alternative was to go to the towns.

94.

And so the process goes on. While there is lying fallow a great field of development of civilization in the Reserves, a large proportion of the Natives who have shown most progress are being drawn away from their own areas to compete with a section of the Europeans who are already struggling hard to maintain their own standards.

95.

Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts do not agree that the more advanced Natives come out to European areas to obtain employment there. The more advanced of the Native people, without exception, find employment as teachers, ministers, doctors, clerks, agricultural demonstrators among their own people. The movement of Natives to the towns is controlled by their need for money and not by any desire to oust the white man. The fact should be stressed that they must have money to meet the obligations of themselves and their families. This they cannot obtain in the Reserves.

The Proper Economic Synthesis of our Wealth-producing Factors.

96.

The cure, the proper economic synthesis of our wealth producing factors, lies in a wise, courageous, forward policy of development of the Reserves. A large proportion of the Reserves possesses agricultural potentialities which are not exceeded elsewhere in the Union. It would be wise to develop the wealth producing capacity of these excellent areas and thus secure a larger amount to go round, rather than to allow a continuance of the present struggle between black and white for a larger share in the wealth being produced from the developed areas. With these areas developed to a reasonably productive level there should be enough to make possible friendly co-operation between the races.

97.

It is manifestly impossible and, even if it were possible, undesirable for the European population of the Union to shoulder the material burden of raising to a civilized level a Native population outnumbering them by three to one. The Natives, however, require the guidance of the Europeans; they also require the initiation of the upward move to come from without. But the necessary energy and the effort must be supplied by them. How can this initiation best be given?

98.

Your Commissioners consider that it should be given by the inauguration of more progressive methods, particularly in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, as these still form the basis of subsistence for the great bulk of the Natives. As they produce more and more so will they have successive increments available for advancing themselves.

99.

The present level of efficiency of the Natives in European industry, and to an even greater extent in their own agricultural and pastoral activities, is low, and there is here a vast field for improvement.

Agricultural Demonstrators.

100.

Your Commissioners were impressed by the almost unanimous testimony of witnesses to the progressive influence exerted by the work of Native agricultural demonstrators. Progress in work of this nature must necessarily be slow at first. It involves overcoming not only the prejudices of a backward people but also many ideas rooted in their whole religious conception. In this respect it is encouraging to observe that some of the least progressive tribes have become enthusiastic supporters of the demonstrators.

101.

There is such extensive scope for progress in this direction that your Commission feels that money should be made available for training and employing as many demonstrators as can be usefully placed in the various Reserves. This will give young educated Natives, a class now apt to be

dissatisfied with their prospects, an excellent field of work for the improvement of their own people, while the results in the saving and husbanding of valuable soil, increasing the production of the Reserves, and improving the efficiency of the Natives generally will, we feel assured, be such as to make the expenditure very profitable.

102.

There are now 155 Native demonstrators at work in the Union. The Director of Native Agriculture informed us that he had plotted out the whole country in accordance with area and density of population, and that on this basis about 400 demonstrators would be the minimum required to make any real impression during the next ten years. Your Commissioners are of opinion that this number is a conservative estimate of requirements, and consider that no stone should be left unturned to reach this total in as short a period as is consistent with proper training.

Overstocking is a Pressing Danger to the Natives and to the Country.

103.

The appalling seriousness of the evil of overstocking has been described above. Your Commissioners have taken much evidence on the question whether educative measures will in a reasonable time be sufficient to cope with the evil. At the rate at which it is developing in the Reserves, it bids fair to convert many of these into deserts. It is well on the way to do this in the Middeldrift area, and it has already done it in other parts of Africa, e.g. parts of Kenya. Describing such conditions in that Colony, the Agricultural Commission of 1929, presided over by Sir Daniel Hall, reported:

“No space would be big enough for the Wakamba so long as they only aim at increasing the number of their stock without utilising them.”—Report, p. 29.

Our problem is therefore not only, as it is in agriculture, to teach the Natives how to use their land more economically, but it is also a race against time, to prevent the destruction of large grazing areas, the erosion and denudation of the soil, and the drying-up of springs.

104.

Your Commission considers that while education of the Natives on the evil of overstocking should be pressed forward as widely and intensively as possible, this alone will not suffice to save the Reserves. The evil should be attacked in every practicable way, and all avenues should be explored which might lead to a reduction in the number of cattle, and to the maintenance of better methods for the future.

105.

Even if the Natives' conception of cattle is sufficiently modified to allow them to trade freely with their cattle there will still remain a serious cause of overstocking in the communal system of grazing, as it is at present applied. Under this system, although many or even a majority of the Natives in a location may be fully convinced of the folly and danger of overstocking, it is not possible by the voluntary act of individual owners to bring about any necessary limitation of the number of cattle grazing on the commonage. If one owner reduces the number of his cattle any other owner is free correspondingly to increase his number.

106.

At the root of the whole evil, as already pointed out, is the outlook of the great bulk of the Natives in the Reserves, the religious rather than the economic way of regarding cattle. It is difficult for a Native to sell cattle in cold blood. Education must accordingly be directed towards modernizing his outlook; otherwise all other measures will be purely temporary in their good effects.

Demonstration Locations and Overstocking.

107.

It would be of great benefit to have demonstration locations at various points to serve as an object-lesson in the benefits of farming with good stock. Wherever in Reserves the people are prepared to limit the number of their stock, special measures of encouragement should be given. In such cases boundary fencing, and a certain amount of paddocking, are essential prerequisites. Locations which desire to adopt these improvements should receive fencing loans on liberal terms. Such locations should be provided with specially trained demonstrators, to guide the people in the economic utilization of their stock. They should be assisted as far as possible to sell their scrub stock and buy better animals. But at this point a word of warning is necessary. It is useless to introduce better stock if they are to

be left to struggle for their existence under the conditions obtaining in the Reserves to-day. Better feeding, either by hand or by grazing, is essential if improvement of breed is to be maintained. The present scrub stock has at least a high survival value under the strenuous conditions it is called upon to meet, and the danger of ill-considered attempts at improvement would lie in the possibility of merely exchanging it for pure bred scrubs which would have no such advantage. The Director of Native Agriculture drew the attention of your Commission to certain valuable qualities possessed by some of the Zulu strains of cattle, particularly the white, and in our opinion every effort should be made to preserve this strain and extend its development. Facilities for the marketing of dairy produce, and for the sale of surplus cattle, are essential to the success of such demonstration locations. Limitation to the carrying capacity of the land should of course be a strict condition of the grant of these special facilities. The Natives in Vryburg, Mafeking, and elsewhere, have already commenced dairy farming. Natives in Glen Grey have, under the pressure of economic stress, voluntarily approached their Native Commissioner with requests for assistance to fence.

108.

Another factor in the problem of overstocking is represented by donkeys and goats, which are very destructive of vegetation. It is most desirable that steps should be taken to limit the number of these animals in Reserves. Horned cattle as we show elsewhere in our Report fill an important part in the religious life of tribal Natives; but not so donkeys, and there seems to be no reason why any particular difficulty should be experienced in reducing these animals in Reserves where such action would be to the economic advantage of the local Natives; moreover, we think it might be possible to enlist the co-operation of the leaders of the Natives in this respect.

Stock Markets and Overstocking.

109.

Any scheme to deal with the problem of overstocking will have to face the question of marketing the present surplus stock. It is of no use transferring animals from one overstocked area to another. It is imperative that large numbers be slaughtered and converted to the best economic use. While the Native is generally averse to selling, circumstances will force a large number of cattle into a market, if such can be found. The Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories estimated that the Natives owe the traders an amount which if paid in cattle would represent about 20 per cent. of the cattle in the Territories. Much the same state of affairs obtains in most Native areas. This represents a point at which the evil can be profitably attacked, if markets are made available.

110.

Your Commissioners are much impressed by the extreme importance of finding such markets, if the grazing in the Reserves is to be saved. The question of how and where markets can be found is a matter for experts in this field. We should however be failing in the charge entrusted to us if we did not draw attention to the most pressing urgency and danger of the present state of affairs, and to the necessity of finding some outlet.

111.

Even when present numbers are reduced to reasonable proportions the problem of preventing the evil from recurring will be with us still.

112.

The Native, as we have explained, is not in the habit of slaughtering regularly for food. In any case there is the difficulty that the slaughter of a beast makes available a large quantity of meat which cannot be consumed economically by the family. If, by the organization of a trade in meat, the Native population could be persuaded to introduce this into their regular diet, a large local market would become available to the benefit of all. If the Natives will eat their cattle, it will help materially in preventing the cattle from eating out the Natives.

113.

There is a clamant demand on the part of the Natives for trading rights. The difficulties associated with this are dealt with elsewhere. We would at this stage, however, draw attention to the desirability of allowing Natives to have butchers' licences in the Reserves on the payment of a nominal fee for registration.

NOTE.—See observation by Mr. Lucas in paragraph 80 of Addendum.

Land Purchase by Natives and Overstocking.

114.

Another point at which pressure can be brought to bear, always assuming the existence of a market, is in the matter of land purchase. An organization to receive cattle when Natives wish to raise cash to buy land would provide another way in which Natives might be prepared to part with cattle. The possibility of success of such a scheme is shown by the fact that in 1926 the Additional Native Commissioner of Sekukuniland persuaded the Natives in that area to agree to sell 10,000 head of cattle, for which they were expected to receive an average of £3 per head. He was, however, not allowed to carry out the scheme, which was therefore dropped, although the Natives were willing to proceed with it.

Fencing and Overstocking.

115.

Education will have to shoulder a large part of the burden of preventing a relapse into the evils of the present system of Native stockholding; but by itself this can hardly achieve the object. The European farmer cannot farm with a good class of stock unless he has the advantage of fencing, and the Native, even more than the European, will require this aid. Fencing is an aid to the more economical use of grazing, but in Reserves it is essential for the very maintenance of the available grazing. Over large parts of the Reserves the good grasses no longer get an opportunity of seeding. The mixed grazing of cattle, donkeys, sheep, and goats leads to the destruction, down to the roots, of much of the good grass. Deleterious plant succession is rapidly reducing the carrying capacity of the veld. On the other hand wherever ground is fenced in, for example in the anti-soil-erosion camps, the good grass re-establishes itself in a short time. It is essential to make provision to rest the grazing. Under the present conditions even should an advanced location desire to adopt limitation of stock, it is at the mercy of all the surrounding locations.

116.

The magnitude of the problem is appalling. But the problem which will present itself, if the Reserves continue at their present rapid pace towards desert conditions, will be even greater and more appalling. A start should be made with location boundary fencing wherever possible. But even this would only be a start. The division of the location into at least two paddocks is almost as essential.

117.

The maintenance of these fences would at first present some difficulty. Natives have yet to learn the proper use and care of fences; and their love of their cattle is so great that many, faced with imminent starvation of their overcrowded herds, would at first not scruple to break through during the night if good grazing were available on the other side. The application of the spoor law has been recommended to deal with such cases. It is a method known to, and approved by, the Natives. Its application would have to be left largely in the hands of the Natives themselves, and this would fit into the system of administration recommended elsewhere in this Report.

Lobolo and Overstocking.

118.

Your Commission has considered very fully the question of lobolo in as far as it affects the evil of overstocking. A large number of witnesses expressed the view that the lobolo custom is the chief cause of overstocking. The argument is: the Native requires cattle for lobolo and must accumulate enough; there is therefore regular hoarding of cattle; this is accentuated by the fact that "lobolo cattle never die"; as number, and not quality, counts, the effect on cattle breeding is the reverse of progressive.

119.

Substitutes for cattle are known all over the country, a big impetus having been given to their use by rinderpest, and by East Coast Fever, with the accompanying quarantine regulations. The fiction that cattle pass in lobolo transactions is, however, always observed, so that the link with the religious background is maintained. Except where money is used, substitution does not seem to reduce the overstocking, but by extending the mixing of flocks and herds on the same pasturage it probably has an even worse effect. Where money is used it is frequently converted into stock on the first suitable occasion.

120.

Other witnesses of at least equal competence deny the proposition that lobolo is the cause of overstocking. They admit that a large number of cattle is required to maintain the system, but they point out that there is something even more fundamental and far-reaching in its effect, viz.: the rôle that cattle play in the Native conception of life, the cattle-cult or cattle complex. This being what it is, cattle are used in all important relations, and of these the most important in Native society is marriage. Your Commissioners are of opinion that this view is based on a more penetrating analysis of Native life, than that which links overstocking purely to lobolo.

121.

Consideration must also be given to the fundamental importance of lobolo in Native life. Without it Native society would be like a ship without a rudder. The subject is further explored elsewhere in this Report, but at this point your Commission wishes to express its conviction that no useful approach to the problem of overstocking is possible at this stage by the path of modification of the lobolo custom.

122.

The agricultural development of the Reserves will in all cases bring to the fore the question of manuring. The use even of kraal manure is at present the exception rather than the rule. This is due largely to—

- (1) lack of knowledge, or to
- (2) " its not being the custom ", or to
- (3) the additional labour entailed both in carting the manure on to the lands and to the extra cultivation which it involves.

But even if all these causes were removed there would still be the fuel question in large areas, notably in the Transkei and adjoining districts. The Transkeian Bunga, and the Forestry Department, have done some useful work in this respect, but a great deal remains to be done. The question of poles and laths for hut-building is also involved. Until there are enough plantations to supply fuel it is idle to expect that kraal-manure will be widely used as fertilizer. Yet this would be the cheapest and most useful fertilizer available to the Natives.

European-owned Stock in Reserves.

123.

The attention of your Commission was drawn to the fact that European-owned stock is grazed in various parts of Reserves. In view of the already overstocked condition of the Reserves this is very undesirable. It would appear that this practice is not in conflict with the provisions of the Natives Land Act. On the other hand it is certainly in conflict with the spirit of the Act, and it should be prohibited.

124.

In view of the ever-increasing overstocking in the Native areas, a statement has been obtained from the Department of Native Affairs showing what the present position is in regard to the holding of stock in Reserves by non-resident Natives and by non-Natives (Annexure 12). The holding of such stock in the Reserves for a limited period after the ravages of rinderpest and East Coast fever was undoubtedly a great boon to Native residents. Then it harmonised with the Native idea of the sharing of benefits. To-day it cannot be justified on that ground; indeed, the practice may be said to be now definitely in conflict with the Native system of communal grazing, since it no longer confers any benefit on Native residents but, on the contrary, is positively harmful. Your Commissioners would accordingly urge the desirability of active steps being taken to have such stock removed from the Reserves as soon as possible, and to the strictest limitation being imposed on the holding of stock in Reserves by persons other than Natives.

125.

We are of the opinion that the accepting of stock in Reserves as security for credit is in existing circumstances an objectionable practice, and that it can cease to be objectionable only if such stock is converted into money within a specified short time-limit.

126.

We consider that if proper warning is given to Natives and others concerned that the State intends to take these steps, any minor hardship which might result would be more than compensated by the benefit which would follow.

*Communal Grazing and Inequality in Stockholding.***127.**

Communal grazing presupposes a large measure of equality in stockholding among tribesmen. Among the Natives the *sis*a custom has the effect of reducing the worst evils of inequality. None the less, Natives who own large numbers of stock get an altogether undue share of the grazing and of the money spent on dipping in areas like Zululand where this is paid out of the Local Tax. An instance was quoted to the Commission where the cattle of one Native cost £32 per annum in dipping fees, toward which he himself contributed 10s.

128.

Perhaps the worst forms of this inequality were reported in the Queens-town Reserves where a European holding a four morgen lot (the Land Act does not apply in the Cape Province) runs 1,000 sheep, and a Native no fewer than 2,000 sheep, on the commonage. On all sides there is evidence that inequality in stockholding is considerable and on the increase. The very basis of communal grazing is therefore being seriously undermined. While this system lasts the inequality is reacting unfairly on the interests of the community as a whole.

129.

Mr. Lucas suggests that in these circumstances it should be practicable to persuade the Natives in Reserves to restore equality of rights in communal grazing. The tribe, by requiring each member to pay into the tribal fund—that fund being under the control of the tribe for its own exclusive use and benefit—a charge for each head of his stock grazing on the commonage, would restore that equality and make grazing land really the common property of the tribe. This system would have the added advantages of encouraging owners to keep fewer and better cattle than are being kept at present, and of preventing Natives or Europeans who live outside the Reserves from sending their cattle on to the commonage, unless they pay the grazing charge to the tribe to which the land belongs.

130.

In both ways overstocking would be reduced. In respect of land acquired by Natives in any "released areas," it should be stipulated that the total number of cattle must not exceed a certain figure, and that such a grazing charge must be made in respect of all stock.

131.

Many witnesses suggested a limitation of the number of cattle which might be held by one person on tribal land. Any form of limitation of stock by prescribing such a maximum number would not be practicable. It could not be effectively administered, because, to prevent overstocking, the limit would have to be so low as to preclude the more progressive Native from having enough oxen for his ploughing or transport needs while under the *sis*a custom many Natives would still be able to continue the inequality in stockholding which has been referred to in paragraphs 127 and 128.

*Water Supply.***132.**

In certain areas measures for the provision of a surface water supply are urgently needed. Considerable areas, e.g. in Sekukuniland, Potgietersrust, Rustenburg, and Matatiele, could be more profitably employed if drinking water were available for cattle within a reasonable radius. At present a great deal of land is being entirely denuded by cattle movements to the few water centres, and even then in some cases the animals drink only every alternate day. In some areas during dry periods they have to trek from eight to ten miles to water.

133.

There are certain areas throughout the Reserves which can, with a suitable scheme, be advantageously irrigated, and in some areas this is being done.

134.

Provided sufficient safeguards are observed against over-capitalization, there are certain advantages in irrigation in Native areas above European areas. As the land is communal all the advantages are shared by the community which provides the funds, in contradistinction to European areas where vested rights frequently derive an unearned increment from expenditure on irrigation works. As the Natives are already small-holders, irrigation

plots suit their form of organization. On the other hand irrigation water in the hands of people who are ignorant of its proper use constitutes a danger to the soil. Progress in this direction should therefore be carefully watched from the point of view of over-capitalization and of suitable agricultural education of the ploholders.

135.

Under the Native Taxation and Development Act provision is made whereunder a "community" may tax itself for an approved purpose. Unfortunately the legal ruling is that "community" means a location. In some cases a small number of ploholders would benefit by irrigation works, but it is obviously futile to expect that the whole location will agree to a levy to provide this differential advantage to a few. The Act is therefore not sufficiently elastic to meet the needs described, and should be amended in this particular.

Erosion and Soil-reclamation.

136.

Much valuable work is being done in certain areas in anti-erosion and soil reclamation work. Erosion is the result of a species of living on one's capital. By overstocking more is demanded from the soil than it can yield, and this results in a state of affairs which can only be remedied by the expenditure of a great deal of fresh capital. Many areas are so badly eroded that the cost of reclamation would considerably exceed the value of the soil. Particularly is this the case in the fertile valleys of Herschel, with its deep soil, and in Glen Grey. Where existing dongas threaten other areas, it is wise expenditure to stop them.

137.

Where the evil is attacked in good time, and the Natives are willing to do the work themselves, it can be cured with very little cost.

Afforestation is a Condition of Agricultural Progress.

138.

Provision for the establishment of numerous small forests should therefore be made. Each location should have its plantation or plantations, properly fenced and properly controlled as regards the right to cut wood. At present Natives frequently object to the enclosing of land for this purpose, because it involves a limitation of grazing. A Bunga delegate, at the 1931 session, said characteristically in regard to a proposal to fence off areas for thatching grass: "The mover of the motion takes pity on the grass, but he has no pity for the cattle."

139.

This is a problem which largely concerns the Transkei. It should become one of the duties of district councils to lay down and maintain a sufficient number of location plantations to meet the needs of their area.

Scope must be Given for Advanced Natives in Reserves.

140.

The development of the Reserves as areas where the advanced Native may find wider scope for his abilities involves a question of land policy of outstanding importance. At present the general rule in the Transkei is "One man one lot". In actual practice this means, with the scarcity of arable land, and the extensive use of excellent arable soil as grazing, that individual holdings are from three to five morgen in extent and sometimes even smaller. On the top of this there are many married men who have only residential sites, and no lands whatever. In the seven surveyed districts of the Transkei it was estimated from the tax records that, in 1928-1929, 11,000 married hut owners had no arable plots. In Victoria East there were 1,700 surveyed allotments in 1928, as against 2,776 adult male Natives.

141.

It has been the policy hitherto to give each family head as far as possible a land to work. This has meant that with certain exceptions, no one may have two lands. The rule is strictly enforced in the surveyed districts, and is common elsewhere.

142.

In these circumstances there is little scope for differentiation of functions. Every man must be a small farmer, whether he has any ability that way or not. Moreover as he cannot concentrate on one job he cannot become an employer of labour. He is his own builder, painter, shoemaker, smith. There is next to no scope in the Reserves for Natives trained in these handicrafts. There is no division of labour and everybody remains at a low level of skill in all the occupations. Those who have learnt some trade or other either go into the European areas, or revert to small peasant farming and in time lose much of what they had learnt.

143.

It seems to us that the Union has come to the parting of the ways in this matter. If the country is to go forward on the assumption that every Native in the Reserves, with the exception of a few employees of Government or of missionary societies or of traders, must be a peasant, the rule of one man one lot must needs continue. But your Commission is of opinion that this involves the maintenance of a system which cannot continue except on a very low economic level. It confines the development of special gifts in individuals within very narrow bounds, and deprives the individual and the community of the immense economic value which the development of such gifts under the influence of the division of labour has had in the progress of civilization. If scope is not given for this development that system will drain the Reserves of all the abler and more enterprising individuals who are not satisfied with such a narrow basis of existence, and drive them to the European areas where they are unwelcome.

144.

There is reasonable ground for doubt whether the standard of agriculture in the Reserves would have remained so uniformly low if more scope had been given to individual Natives to secure and work larger lands. In its tours the Commission came across instances of Natives who, profiting from the opportunity of securing more land, had bent their energies to the task of developing this, and had made a marked success of their undertaking. Bearing in mind the ease with which the tribal Native is satisfied and decides that greater effort is not worth while, these instances appeal to us as cases where substantial progress towards civilization has been achieved. The system now obtaining in the Reserves militates against such progress. Your Commission while bearing in mind the advantage to the Native of always being assured of a holding, considers that this system can only be maintained at the cost of progress, and that the time has come when the limitation of land-holding should be somewhat relaxed in the surveyed districts of the Transkei.

145.

It is not the view of the Commission that this should encourage non-beneficial occupation of the land, nor that it should open the door for land speculation. There should still be an upper limit, not to exceed, say, 50 morgen of dry land. For the present the proposal is necessarily confined to surveyed areas. It is suggested that in such areas individual Natives may be allowed to secure additional lands (not building sites) up to the prescribed limit.

146.

Mr. Lucas suggests that non-beneficial occupation would be discouraged, if not totally prevented, by the substitution for quit rent and taxation, in the areas to which the foregoing proposal is to apply, of a rent charge based on the unimproved value of the land and re-assessed at reasonable intervals. Such a rent, while providing the revenue necessary for the area, would make it unprofitable for a present or absentee plot-holder to hold land idle and would make land speculation impossible, while it would also make contributions to the tribal revenue depend on the benefits conferred on the payer by the tribe in the form of a right to use tribal land. It would conform to the tribal concept that land is the common property of the tribe.

147.

The limitation of such a right to seven districts in the Transkei and a few in the Ciskei will give an excellent opportunity for a study to be made of the economic progress under the system. It will be easy to stop the experiment if the results expected from it, in a quickening of economic progress, do not follow.

The Effect of Survey.

148.

The principle of extending European ideas in land-holding to Native areas was adopted as early as the grant of the so-called Sir George Grey titles, and was applied on a large scale under the Glen Grey Act in the district of that name, and subsequently in the seven surveyed districts of the Transkei. Your Commission made careful inquiries to ascertain whether the survey by giving individual title had had the effect in improvement of methods, which the scheme was intended to bring about. The opinion of witnesses best qualified to judge is that while the possession of the title gives the Native a large measure of personal satisfaction, there is very little difference to be noticed in the way in which land is worked as between

surveyed and unsurveyed districts. The work of the demonstrators has in this respect borne much more fruit. The nett economic effect up to the present would seem to be that the Natives paid out a large sum of money in survey fees, while any increase in production has been negligible and high land values have been created.

149.

Your Commission, however, hesitates to condemn survey on these grounds. It is more inclined to criticize the system under which it was granted. Either the survey should not have been introduced, or it should have gone further than it did. If the idea was to secure the added interest of private ownership of land, this should have been consistently applied. The granting of a title deed and the beaconing off of plots is not enough to secure economic progress. There is no magic in individual title to overcome the inertia of custom. Survey introduced the setting for progress, but instruction in better methods was required to enable advantage to be taken of it. Most of the Natives did not know how to set about improving their holdings. Many were satisfied if they got from them what they got before. But our chief criticism is that the holdings were not big enough to make agriculture a whole-time job for those who had the energy, the desire, and the skill so to make it, and the system made no provision for development to meet the needs of such men. On these grounds we consider that the change recommended above is a logical sequence of the survey and that it should be given a fair and reasonable trial.

150.

There are other matters in regard to the survey which your Commission also considers open to criticism. The object was to enlist the force of personal interest in the cause of progress. This should have developed to proper peasant farming. Under the conditions of the surveyed areas it cannot, however, attain any degree of success except on a basis by which the peasant can derive the fullest value not only of his soil, but also out of his stock. The latter he must keep both for his milk supply and for ploughing. Communal grazing must necessarily be controlled, if it is to be allowed at all before any good return is to be obtained from stock. But, until recently there was not a single fence on all the commonages of the surveyed areas, and even now there are very few. A much more instructed peasantry than the Native is could not make a success of small farming under such conditions. The district of Glen Grey in which this system has been longest in force is today going backward, and has been going backward for many years.

The Transition from Pastoralism to Agriculture should be Facilitated.

151.

The development of areas such as Glen Grey and the surveyed districts of the Transkei in particular and the Reserves in general must, wherever agricultural conditions make this possible, take the line of the change over from pastoralism to agriculture. This means that more and more land must come under the plough as time goes on. Even from the point of view of increasing the stock-carrying capacity of the land this is desirable, since cultivated land can be worked so as to yield grazing while the veld is non-productive. When the surveys were made, however, certain lands then in use were surveyed and the rest declared commonage. In Glen Grey very few separate building sites were surveyed, so that the bulk of the people are now squatting on the commonage. It was provided that with two-thirds of the plot-holders more lands might be surveyed. As the survey of new lands further restricts commonage, and as the Native considers that this reduces his grazing, he is naturally loath to agree to it. Consent has been granted in a few cases. It is, however, difficult to get more land for the plough, although a great deal that is now grazing is of as good quality as the surveyed arable. Your Commission considers that the provision requiring the consent of two-thirds of the plot-holders before more land may be surveyed, militates against the most economical use of the land, and that it should be abolished.

Certain Arable Lands in the Reserves should be made Available for Allocation.

152.

Our attention has also been drawn to the fact that in Glen Grey the surveyors, in marking off arable lots, left numerous plots unsurveyed which were not large enough for a normal holding. These lands are dispersed between the various arable plots. They serve a useful purpose at present in leaving some land on which the grass can seed during the summer when the animals are kept away from the cultivated lands. They could, however,

be more usefully employed as garden lots. As they are not surveyed it is at present not possible to give them out with Glen Grey title. A certain number was at one time given out by the Native Commissioner under certificate of occupation, but it was found that this was not legal and the issue of certificates was stopped. We are informed that there are about 2,000 morgen of such lands in the district. As there are about 4,000 landless Local Tax payers, some of whom are now sharing the surveyed plots with their owners, the giving out of these lands would relieve the pressure considerably. Your Commission is of opinion that the necessary steps should be taken to make this possible.

153.

In the unsurveyed Native areas the lands are in many cases wastefully dispersed. Instead of land adjoining land in an orderly way they lie scattered over the countryside higgledy-piggledy, as if a giant gambler has thrown them out of a dice pot. Much valuable arable soil is wasted in this way. The Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories informed the Commission that a certain amount of order had been brought about by a re-allocation of the lands which was carried out under his authority. Owing to lack of staff it could not be done generally. He estimated that an amount of £2,000 per district on the average would suffice to complete the work. In this way much idle land could be brought into use. Bearing in mind that sooner or later the work will have to be done, it seems to us that the shortage of land for Natives makes the present an opportune time to carry it out. The Chief Magistrate stated that there would be no practical difficulty in making any such re-allocation, but that the district councils could not bear the expense.

154.

In other areas of the Union the Commission found the same general state of affairs. Outside the Transkei the position is more complicated. The Chief is still generally the power that allocates lands. In addition the matter is mixed up with Native custom of landownership as explained in the next paragraph. Your Commission considers that this could suitably be dealt with by tribal councils of the type recommended elsewhere in this Report.

155.

In certain areas land lies idle for long periods on account of the custom attaching it to a particular family. In Sekukuniland the Additional Native Commissioner managed to bring a good deal of such land under cultivation by intimating that if the owners left it derelict the land would be re-allocated. This is however exceptional. In many parts the attention of the Commission was drawn to this type of idle land. A plot is given to a family and no one else dare work it without that family's consent, even if it is lying idle.

156.

It is theirs to use by right of Native law, although this right may be curtailed. When the land is worked out, or is considered to be too far away from a kraal, the kraal head applies for another plot, and may or may not relinquish the old one. If he does not relinquish it, it is allowed to lie fallow so long as may be needed, perhaps for some years. The owner is not deprived of his right even if he goes away from his kraal for a long period: in such instances it is customary that someone is left in charge during his absence. It is possible to deal with such cases under Native custom, but this should be rationalized and applied as a matter of course by the Native Commissioner, through the tribal council.

157.

In some Reserves the Natives have under their custom a reasonably secure right to the arable plots allotted to them. In others their holdings may be at the mercy of a grasping Chief or headman; there were quoted to us numerous instances of enlightened Natives who, having made better use than the average of their plots, were on some pretext or other deprived of them.

Title in Surveyed Areas.

158.

In the surveyed areas the title given has hitherto been subject to forfeiture in certain circumstances such as conviction for certain crimes. In Glen Grey the title may by proclamation be altered from time to time, which means that it is far from being a secure title.

159.

Under the Native Administration Act of 1927, Native law is to govern succession to land held under quit rent title—the title generally applicable to most, if not all, surveyed areas. Although this does not actually affect the security of the title it has the same effect as an insecure title in the mind of Native owners who have become accustomed to European ideas. Such an owner will maintain that there is no security for him for any improvements he may make, if on his death they must go with the land to his male heirs under Native law. Such an heir, if the owner has daughters only, may be a “red” Native and a total stranger, in which event the daughters may get no benefit from their father’s labour and expenditure on the land. In these circumstances there is certainly no security for the family of an owner, whose only children are girls.

The Need for Good Seed.

160.

In the opinion of the Commission it is important that Natives should have the encouragement to industry which flows from securing to the occupier the fruits of his labour on the land and protection in the possession of the improvements he makes on it.

161.

Facilities for the provision of good seed is essential to Native agricultural progress. At present deteriorated seed is being very widely used with understandably poor results on the crop. The rawest Native soon realizes the benefit of good seed, and he has no customs militating against its use.

NOTE.—See observation by Mr. Lucas in paragraph 79 of Addendum.

Concentration of Building Sites.

162.

Your Commission heard a good deal of evidence on the subject of concentration of building sites. The custom in this respect differs in various parts. Among the Suto-Chuana-Venda tribes one finds considerable villages, while among the Zulu-Xosa-Pondo tribes the huts are broadcast over the countryside.

163.

The advantage of this latter arrangement lies partly in satisfying the desire for privacy, but it has also its advantages from a health point of view in a community where sanitary arrangements are left to the sun, the pigs, dogs, and fowls. The system further overcomes the difficulty of water supply, and one does not see, as in some parts of the Transvaal, the same pool serving as cattle drinking-pool and as the source of supply of domestic water for the human population. On the other hand there are manifest disadvantages from the point of view of the most economical use of the land. The setting aside of “spaarveld”, or indeed any arrangement for resting any part of the grazing becomes well-nigh impossible. When fencing becomes general this dispersion of huts will introduce serious difficulties. As things are now, since cattle are brought home to the kraal at night (the lands being unfenced) the countryside is covered with innumerable stock-paths, which further reduce the grass-covered area. All of them are potential sources of erosion. This evil is increased by the number of footpaths made by human beings.

164.

From both a social and an economic point of view there are advantages in the concentration of building sites. People living together form a better basis for the development of social life, and the provision of education and medical facilities is made easier. Isolation tends to breed an anti-social type, while contact makes for progress. On the economic side the absence of proper sanitation militates against the development of pig and poultry industries. The absence of villages also means an absence of centres from which industrial and commercial developments can proceed, and in which amusements can be organized—useful aids in keeping the people on the land. In the sugar belt the danger of fire where homesteads are scattered makes grouping into villages essential.

165.

The path of progress will be on the line of concentration of building sites, and while the pace will naturally be slow, the ultimate goal should be kept in view in all land arrangements which have a bearing on this subject.

*Agricultural Credit Facilities.***166.**

Agricultural advancement has brought to the fore in certain areas, and for certain more advanced Natives, the question of credit facilities. This, however, is a subject which must be treated with great care and foresight. Several members of the Transkeian Bunga expressed the view that the individual Native can only in exceptional circumstances be trusted with the borrowing of money. Their great fear is that such money will not be used for productive purposes, but will soon be wasted, leaving the borrower in a worse position.

167.

There are undoubtedly strong grounds for this view. Where Natives have held their lands on a title which could be pledged as security for loans they have in a very large percentage of cases lost the ground altogether. It is therefore not the Commission's view that credit facilities should be easy. It is only in the case of more advanced Natives that a reasonable system of rural credit is at all practicable at this stage. The Commission is satisfied that the need does exist in certain areas, and that provision should be made in some way for advances for fencing surveyed or private land, and for the purchase of implements and fertilizers.

168.

The main difficulty is that of security. The Natives being still largely on the basis of subsistence-farming, and even of "subsistence-earning", have very little capital except in the shape of stock. This they are generally averse to selling. Those who have money are not accustomed to giving loans. Moreover there is no machinery to facilitate this, and in its absence the more advanced Natives prefer the security offered by European investment agencies. The principle of segregation in land-holding excludes European private capital. The prohibition against mortgage excludes what little Native capital there is. The withdrawal of this prohibition in favour of Natives would yet not meet the case as long as the principle of "one man, one lot" continues.

169.

A start has however been made with the organization of Native credit. There is in existence a considerable number of very small societies with investments of a few hundred pounds or even less. Two of the larger ones are the Mariannahill Peoples' Bank with deposits of £2,300 (April, 1931) and a Co-operative Society at Qumbu with deposits of £2,000 (November, 1930).

170.

Such efforts, while eminently praiseworthy, cannot be expected to make adequate provision for the credit needs of the Natives. In view of the virtual exclusion of European private capital the only other satisfactory way of meeting the demand would be by the creation of a Native Agricultural Bank.

171.

Unless the provision of credit facilities is to be a curse instead of a blessing to the Natives, very close watch should be kept on the use made of borrowed money. It must be remembered that to the Abantu money-economy is a new thing. "We Natives," said one witness, "regard money as something that should be taken to the store as quickly as possible." Provision of credit is therefore not enough. It should be accompanied by some measure of education on the use of credit. This can best be done by imposing very strict limits on the purposes for which money may be borrowed, and employing existing Native agencies, such as Councils and Chiefs to supervise this.

172.

An organization of this nature should offer facilities to Natives for investments in small amounts. The feeling that it is partly their own money which is being lent to them will do a great deal to strengthen the Bank. It will be an additional safeguard against abuse if they begin to take pride in the Bank as an institution of their own. It will also provide an alternative to the vicious method of putting all their savings into stock.

*Native Home Industries.***173.**

We have thus far discussed various methods of making more economical use of the existing Reserves. It seems inevitable that progress for a long time must be predominantly along the line of agricultural and pastoral improvement. At the same time it may be hoped that as development progresses opportunities will arise for the establishment of purely Native industries within the Reserves, and all possible encouragement and facilities should be given by the Government to that end.

174.

In the meantime efforts are being made by various missionary bodies to teach the rudiments of handicrafts, such as weaving, and carpet, basket, and chair making, with the object of starting minor home industries among Natives. Such home industries should not attempt to compete with machine-made products, in which competition they will be bound to fail. There should however be possibilities for sale, outside Reserves, of home-made articles possessing features of distinctive Native character and artistic merit; and we would suggest that efforts to establish home industries among Natives might best be directed to that object.

175.

Most of the missionary institutions maintain trade schools for teaching such work as carpentry, masonry, building, bootmaking, and smithing. As the Reserves develop, more and more need for such trades to serve Native society will be felt, and the training which is being given will serve a useful purpose.

176.

We now come to the universal demand of the Natives for more land. Before discussing this, it is necessary to consider the Natives Land Act.

The Implications of the Natives Land Act.

177.

The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913, lays down the principle of segregation in land-ownership as between Natives and other races. The implication of this principle which prohibits leasing of land to Natives and share-farming by them (what is generally referred to as "Kaffir-farming") is strongly resented by the Natives.

178.

The main principle of the Act secures the right of individuals or communities to hold land, not on any economic ground, but on the basis of their race. This principle is therefore non-economic, and may in practice be very uneconomic. Competition normally sets free the forces which tend to secure the most beneficial use of land. Under the Land Act, however, an individual may be prevented from becoming the owner of a particular farm, if he does not conform to the racial qualifications demanded in respect thereof. Thus the best use of that land can only be made by the person inside that race who knows how to make the best use of it. This is therefore a definite limitation of the beneficial use of the land. It does not matter whether a person of the other race can produce several times as much from the land. On account of his race, he is precluded from trying. Accordingly, if a condition exists by which, say, a European could produce a great deal more from a given Native area than its owners, the effect of the Land Act is definitely uneconomic.

179.

It can hardly be doubted that the total yield of an area like the Transkei could be many times increased if it were worked according to the methods of European agriculture, with sufficient capital and proper management. Demonstrators working only with the less efficient animals and implements of the Native owners, and without the aid of manure or fertiliser, have, by better cultivation, obtained on the average nearly three times the yield of the raw Native. Moreover, European methods would largely avoid the capital losses through extensive soil-robbery and overstocking which are so typical of Native farming.

180.

While in this respect therefore the Land Act is uneconomic, it may be possible to justify the subjection of economic to other considerations, regarded as having greater weight. The desire to safeguard land held by the Natives to persons of their own race is undoubtedly one of these, and few persons will today advocate that this protection should be withdrawn.

181.

That it is a protection there can be no doubt. Some witnesses were inclined to the view that if the Natives are allowed to buy freely they would, by joining together, be able to outbid the European for land. While this may result for a time from the present shortage of land for Natives, in the long run with increasing population the land will go to the people who can use it most productively. Your Commission found that in actual practice where Natives were at liberty to sell their ground to Europeans, the land did in a very large number of cases pass away from them. Improvidence and lack of knowledge of the dangers of credit were generally the causes.

182. On the other hand the Act is also a protection of the European area against the universally admitted evil of "Kaffir-farming", resorted to by Europeans who have not the energy, ability, or desire to work their own land. There can be no doubt that "Kaffir-farming" ruins a great deal of land. It was the unanimous opinion of witnesses who appeared before your Commission that it is doing an immense amount of harm on company farms and Crown Lands, where it is still permitted.

183. While therefore the necessity for a certain measure of interference with the most economical utilisation of the soil will be generally admitted, the point must not be lost sight of in regard to released areas. The necessity for the releasing of new areas for Native occupation, and the reasons therefor, are set out in paragraphs 192 *sqq.* Your Commission wishes to stress the point, however, that unless this process is accompanied by a sufficient measure of instruction to Natives in improved agricultural methods, the releasing of more ground will involve a potential diminution of the national wealth.

184. At this point we must, however, draw attention to the fact that the Natives outside scheduled areas in the Cape Province have not the benefit of this protection. In the case of Thompson and Stilwell vs. Kama the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court held "that pending a change in the franchise laws in force in the Cape Province the effect of section 8 (2) of the Natives Land Act is to exempt that Province from the operation of the restrictive provisions contained in section one."

Purchase of Land by Natives.

185. Prior to 1913 a certain amount of land was purchased by Natives, occasionally as individuals, but more frequently in groups or syndicates. Since the passing of the Land Act such purchases outside scheduled areas have, except in the Cape Province, been made subject to the consent of the Governor-General; with that consent purchases in released areas have continued to be made from time to time by tribes or syndicates of Natives.

186. The Native Affairs Department has endeavoured to protect Natives against paying exorbitant prices for land, but it is found that frequently they have paid much more than Europeans would have been prepared to pay. This is due partly to a scarcity of land for Native occupation in European areas, and partly to a tendency on the part of Natives to give little regard to the price of a farm which they wish to buy. In a number of instances inability to continue paying instalments has led to forfeiture of the land and loss of the money already paid.

187. Serious complications arise from the system of group purchase. Transfer of land bought by a syndicate has to be made in the names of all the members, and when a member dies or sells his interest the names of the new owners have to be inserted in the title deed. All the evils of co-ownership with undivided title are brought about by this system. Often the payment of the purchase price is not completed. Some members of the group cannot meet their share in the instalments and then the other members must make additional payments, or the rights of all will be lost under foreclosure of the mortgage bond. The Native Affairs Department has for some time adopted the policy of not recommending approval of a purchase of land by a group which comprises more than six members, unless the group can be regarded as a tribe in the name of which the title to the land can be registered. This limitation of the original purchase to groups of not more than six members, makes transfer easier than when large numbers are involved, but it is no protection against large numbers subsequently becoming members by purchase or succession. The Commission considers that where land is not held by a tribe, the system of undivided ownership should not be allowed to develop any further among Natives, and that where it already exists it should wherever practicable and with as little hardship as possible to those concerned be substituted by individual title.

Land Question.**188.**

To a people knowing only extensive methods in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, more land appears to be the natural and only cure for increasing economic pressure. In their primitive life they know of no other. When their lands lose their fertility they apply to the Chief for new ground. When grazing fails they trek to other areas. If this brings them into conflict with other tribes the dispute is settled by the arbitrament of war. A reasonable balance is therefore maintained between population and land.

189.

The European has come in and put a stop to the use of primitive remedies. He has also limited the Native area, and he has introduced new things, like taxes, and articles of consumption which the Native desires. He has therefore increased economic pressure and the Native blames him for it. The old tribal Native deploras the passing of the "good old times", and his view is that he should be able to enjoy all the sweets of his old system, and also such of the European innovation as he desires, without being worried by the cost. The more advanced Native wants to share in a large number of the new things, introduced by the white man, and is seriously worried at the cost. Why does not the European, who can do such marvellous things in other directions—who can "pick his path through the Milky Way and can tell the day and the moment when a certain star will cast its shadow over the moon and the sun"—create conditions wherein the Native may be happy in his own mode of life, while enjoying a reasonable share of the good things which the white man has introduced into the country? Many Natives are apt to jump to the conclusion that it is purely ill-will, and a desire for oppressing him which actuate the white man.

190.

Others again realise that "man begets but land does not beget", and appreciate the fact that economic pressure has become greater for the white man as well as for the Native. But they see in the promises of more land made in connection with Natives Land Act as far back as 1913, still unfulfilled, an outstanding obligation on the part of the white man, which, if redeemed, will at least for a time ease the burden on their race.

191.

Your Commission, engaged as it is on an economic analysis of the situation, is not concerned with political undertakings. It is, however, incumbent on us to stress the point that growth of population must be accompanied by a more economical utilization of the limited quantity of land available. This can be achieved only on the basis of the knowledge of improved agricultural methods which the European possesses and the Native does not. If the Land Act had been accompanied by an intensive campaign of Native agricultural education the cry of the Native for more land would, at this stage, have been less insistent and less urgent. As the Native could only be expected to make the use of land best known to him, the carrying capacity of the Reserves set aside in 1913 was naturally limited by his very primitive agricultural technique. Overpopulation is a purely relative term. But in relation to the main determinant, the way in which man uses the soil, the majority of the Native areas are now overpopulated.

*The Provision of More Land is Essential.***192.**

It follows therefore that, as a necessary corollary to the policy of agricultural development recommended by your Commission as a first essential, the provision of more land is also essential. The present yield of Native agriculture and stock-farming is so low that the Native areas will, with proper farming, be able to support a much bigger population than they actually do at present. But the introduction of better farming methods will be hampered in many parts by the congestion now existing, and it will be necessary to relieve the congestion.

*Need for Safeguards in Provision of More Land.***193.**

The mere provision of more land for Native occupation would be a serious error; to yield to the demand for more land to allow the Native to remain in his backward state would be to put back the wheels of progress; without better methods, new areas would inevitably follow the same downward path on which the Native areas are now moving at an accelerated pace. Unless the Union is prepared to undertake the responsibility for large scale education in better methods, the permanent interests of the Natives, or of

the country as a whole, will not be served by releasing further land for Natives. This would at least preserve these lands for proper development to maintain the large mass of Natives who will have to be employed by Europeans when the present destructive process of soil-robbery and scrub-stock farming has run its course. But the longer view requires the creation now of conditions under which a large rural Native population could support itself on a reasonable basis of agricultural production. And this postulates more land, and a great deal more agricultural education, both inside and outside the present Reserves.

194.

In view of the fact that the Government in providing more land will have the power to impose conditions, this power should be used by insisting firmly on the limitation of stock to the numbers that the land can reasonably carry. Your Commission must emphasise, even at the risk of repetition, that the Native conception of cattle represents a serious danger to the welfare of the Native himself, and of the whole country, and that no opportunity should be lost of bringing about a change in his outlook.

195.

In this connection your Commission desires to draw attention to the possibility of using the new land made available as a means of bringing pressure to bear on overstocking. This can be done by receiving cattle in payment of land. But where tribal entities are concerned, the release of new land may also be made subject to their accepting restriction of numbers in their present holdings. In this way the additional areas could be used to exercise a large and salutary influence on what is now the most perplexing problem of the Reserves.

Progress must be Grafted on Well-rooted Stock of Bantu Institutions.

196.

In pursuing the policy of developing the Native Reserves, it is essential to proceed from institutions which are known to the Abantu, and to evolve from these something which will suit the needs of the present.

197.

In the early contacts between Europeans and Natives, military needs and missionary endeavour played a large part—a part which led to the breaking down of much in the institutions of the Abantu. From a military point of view the Chief was always a potential source of trouble, and it was part of the policy of early days to weaken his authority. The considerations which led to the adoption of this policy lost their force when the subjugation of Native tribes was complete. The policy however continued, and gradually destroyed much of what might have been a valuable asset in ruling the Natives, namely their veneration for their Chiefs.

198.

The missionary found his progress hampered by barbarous practices based on witchcraft. His just condemnation of such practices frequently overshot the mark, and led to opposition to Native customs, like lobolo, which have a valuable social aspect. In many quarters there arose a tendency to condemn and to attempt to break down Bantu institutions, in order to clear the ground for the introduction of the more advanced institutions of a civilized people.

Adaptation—not Assimilation.

199.

The object was the laudable one of civilizing the Native. The method disregarded the fact that institutions are centred in the thoughts and customs of a people. It may be possible entirely to wipe out the customs of one race and substitute those of another. But your Commission is doubtful whether it is possible, and convinced that it is highly undesirable, and very uneconomical. Granted that it is essential to change much in the social system of a primitive people before they can be civilized, such change is brought about more easily, and with least harm to them, if the advanced ideas of the civilized race are grafted to the deep-rooted stock which already exists. This course saves much that is valuable in carrying out a task which is difficult enough even with the best of methods. The process of Europeanising the Native by destroying all his institutions as a preliminary, deprives him of the sheet-anchor of self-confidence, and substitutes for it an inferiority complex, engendered by the acquired belief that everything which is peculiarly his own is worthless and a hindrance in the path of progress.

200.

Professor Lestrade in his evidence classified the various schools of thought on the Native question as *repressionist*—tying down the Native or driving him back to barbarism; *assimilationist*—trying to make him a black European; and *adaptationist*—taking out of the Bantu past what is good, and even what is merely neutral, and together with what is good of European culture for the Abantu, building up a Bantu future. Your Commission unhesitatingly affirms its adherence to the last-mentioned standpoint, and considers that this is not only the most reasonable, but also the most economical approach to the Native question.

201.

Dr. Roberts finds himself unable to accept the conclusion that a mixed European and Native culture or civilization is full of hope for the future of the Native people. In his judgment there cannot be two civilizations in South Africa. And the way of progress for the Native people lies along the path of the Native assimilating as rapidly as possible the European civilization and culture.

202.

The European can, by assisting the Natives to transform and revitalise their institutions, introduce a leaven of progress which will work through the whole community. By trying on the other hand to introduce that leaven by means of institutions which they do not understand and appreciate he will meet with the inertia of conservatism, or even in cases with active opposition. The object should therefore be to use their institutions as far as this is possible.

203.

Your Commission has been very strongly impressed with the harm which was done in the past by a disregard of the Native in dealing with Native problems. Many of the actions of European Governments in South Africa can only be explained on the apparent assumption that the Native is in his outlook in every way the same as a European. The fact that the Native had a religious conception differing fundamentally from that of the European, found no place in actual administration. The fact that there can be such a thing as a non-capitalist non-individualist economic organization hardly seems to have been recognized. Of course the facts were known. But they were known as facts having no relation or very little influence on action. The more your Commissioners tried to get at the root causes of the actions of the Europeans in their dealings with Natives, the clearer it became that the difference in the outlook of the Native was hardly recognized as a factor in the problem of the good government of the latter.

204.

Your Commission considers that this is not only wrong in the matter of the scientific approach to the problem, but that it is also extremely uneconomic. Whether we look at the question from the point of view of utilising existing institutions as the stock on which to graft the scion of progress, or whether we are merely concerned with the task of carrying out the measures thought necessary for the welfare of the Natives in the least costly manner possible, it is uneconomical to disregard the institutions which they understand, which they prize, which can be used with the least friction and cost to achieve this end. Where the Native Chief carries out the commands of the Supreme Chief, he is honouring himself by so doing; where the white man carries them out he is often regarded merely as the instrument of a frequently unwanted rule. By using Native institutions as part of the administration of the country, we shall give the Native a pride in the administration. By rejecting his institutions as worthless, or by giving them a European complexion even if we use them, we create in the mind of the Native the feeling that he is an outsider. Instead of enlisting the co-operation of the Natives such action leaves them indifferent to what the European is trying to accomplish, though it be for their own good. By disregarding their point of view, it even at times stirs up their active opposition.

205.

Thus far we have looked at the matter purely from the point of view of logical and economical administration. There is, however, another and possibly even more important side. If recognition is accorded to institutions in the administration of the Reserves, a great deal will have been accomplished towards meeting the aspirations of Natives to have a share in their own government. This must inevitably have a favourable influence in their whole outlook in regard to the European.

206. Your Commission received frequent complaints from tribal Natives concerning the impingement of European institutions on theirs, particularly in the matter of the administration of justice, but also generally. The effect created on their minds was one of utter confusion, not unmixed with wonderment that the European, otherwise so clever, could sometimes do things which to their minds appeared very strange.

207. Whether therefore we look for the soundest scientific approach to a problem, whether we consider the most economical way of achieving our purpose, whether we seek a means of giving a measure of contentment to a large part of the population of the Union, your Commissioners have come to the conclusion that it is desirable to associate Native institutions to a much larger extent than has been done in the past, with the administration of the Native areas.

208. Before we proceed to details, however, it is necessary to point out that this policy is no longer possible in all areas. Where Native institutions have ceased to be living dynamic forces, where the rule of the European has broken them down to such an extent that they are no longer understood, it would be as foolish to insist on re-imposing them as it is desirable to develop them where they still flourish.

The Position of the Transkeian Territories.

209. In the Transkeian Territories a system has been evolved which, while based on European institutions, has contributed materially to the advancement of that area. This system should be maintained and allowed to develop in any reasonable manner which will bring it more into line with Native sentiment and tradition. Amendments suggested by the Transkeian Territories United General Council to their own constitution and that of District Councils should therefore be given sympathetic consideration. The Transkei has benefited much from the able European administrators who have guided it through a long series of years, both in the General Council and in the District Councils. Such guidance, and also a certain measure of control, will continue to be required, but the achievement of the European officials will be greatest if by wise guidance, supervision, direction, education, they make it unnecessary to exercise their power of control.

210. In certain parts of the Ciskei the Natives declared that they were ignorant of many of the customs of their ancestors, and preferred to continue under the administrative system of the European, to which they had adjusted themselves. In such cases it would be futile to attempt to restore Native institutions, and the Natives should be assisted to evolve, from the institutions which they know, a system of local government that will satisfy their own aspirations.

211. The objection might be raised that this will disturb the uniformity which could be attained if all Native councils were shaped on the same pattern. Your Commission is, however, strongly convinced that it would be a mistake to expect uniformity. There are very considerable differences between Natives in different parts of the Union and standardisation of their institutions could be achieved only at the cost of a portion of their vital force.

212. In areas where the tribal institutions are still a vital force—and this applies to the greatest part of the Reserves outside the Cape Province—the policy should be to strengthen these, and to make them centres of progress from within.

The Position of Chief and Council.

213. The practical application of this principle leads us to a consideration of the position of the Chief and his council.

214. As we have indicated before, the religious character of the Chieftainship makes it an asset of very great importance if properly utilised in the cause of progress and good government. One of the outstanding impressions left on the mind of your Commissioners by the evidence of Natives is their

very keen desire to have their Chiefs accorded greater recognition. This demand was strongly expressed from the Bavenda in the North, throughout all the Native areas, including the Transkei, areas in the Ciskei where the Chief belongs to the past, and even among the urbanized Natives who have never been to the Reserves. When the rôle of the Chief in the religious system is borne in mind, this demand can be fully understood, and must be treated with the respect due to a sentiment which is enshrined in the deepest feelings of a people.

215.

In view therefore of the position of the Chief in Bantu psychology he can become a strategic point in the Government's dealings with the Natives.

216.

It is well, however, to consider at this stage certain objections which have been raised against investing Chiefs with greater power.

217.

At present the majority of Chiefs are uneducated and therefore reactionary and a brake on progress. This is admitted. It is a result of the neglect in the past to associate them adequately with the administration of their tribes. Your Commissioners do not recommend that additional powers should be given at once to all Chiefs. There are however some Chiefs who are fully qualified to play a large part in the administration and advancement of their own areas—men of ability, in many cases of considerable education, men of intelligence, possessed of a desire for progress.

218.

Some distinction will, however, require to be made for some time to come between the more advanced and the more backward Chiefs. Greater powers should be entrusted to the Chief and his council wherever the Government considers that they are fitted for it. This, in itself, will give a strong impetus to improvement.

219.

In all tribal areas the system of government through the Chief and council should be recognized, power, however, being retained by the Government to add, on the advice of the Native Commissioner, some members to the council, if necessary, to represent educated Natives. All reasonable means should be adopted to provide for prospective Chiefs being well educated for their position.

220.

A further objection is that in certain areas, e.g. in Northern Natal, some hereditary Chiefs have no land, and this prevents them from keeping their tribes together, and exercising a salutary influence on them. Your Commission is of opinion that this matter should receive early attention in connection with the provision of more land, referred to in paragraphs 192 *seqq.*

221.

It follows that if the Chiefs are to play a considerable rôle in the administration of their tribes, they must be guaranteed a position in which they can maintain the dignity attaching thereto. It has always been customary for the people to pay tribute to the Chief in various forms, and in many parts this custom still obtains. In addition the Government pays certain stipendia. A minimum income should be assured to the Chief, partly from the Government, partly from his people, on a determined basis. The tribe should be permitted to augment this, subject to the approval of the Government, in order to provide a safeguard against abuse.

222.

Mr. Lucas is of the opinion that Chiefs and headmen should have a fixed income, instead of their having to rely for any portion of it on tribute from their people. A careful estimate of the value of such tribute should be made, as was done a few years ago in Tanganyika, and as was done there the tribute should be commuted at that value. The sum so arrived at should be paid out of a tribal treasury to the Chief, the tribute being then abolished. (See paragraph 242.)

223.

Before considering in detail the functions which should be entrusted to Chiefs, it is necessary to lay stress on the point that in Native society the Chief is not a despot. He governs with the aid and advice of his council, and the council is generally powerful enough to check any arbitrary and despotic tendencies on his part. It is not constituted as are European councils, by popular suffrage, and it has no fixed personnel and constitution, but it comes into being in a way generally sufficiently elastic to ensure its being representative of the tribe.

Tribal Courts.

224.

Native tribes developed their own system of courts for the application of their own law and custom and there can be no doubt that the system was one which met their needs and was capable of natural development to meet new tribal circumstances. The policy of the Union, however, has in the main until recently been to subject the Natives to European tribunals, which, although their members attempted to apply Native law and custom in so far as they were not contrary to what were considered as elementary ideas of justice and humanity, yet interpreted that law and custom in the capacity of aliens.

225.

Since the passing of the Native Administration Act of 1927 a number of Native courts have been recognized, and where there exists a properly constituted council, there is a safeguard that Native law is administered by people who have a full knowledge of its principles, and implications, as a dynamic system, irrespective of the character, knowledge, or age of the Chief. This is generally a better system than administration of Native law by European officials who in many cases know it only from books and are ignorant of its subtle implications. Moreover in a Native court the facts of the case are much more easily verified than in a European court. Competent witnesses agree that substantial justice, according to Native conceptions, can generally be obtained in a Native court. European procedure is wholly strange to Natives, and is certainly not adapted to bring out the true facts when applied to a primitive people.

226.

Criminal jurisdiction has hitherto been entrusted to Native courts in exceptional instances only. To the Native mind there is no sharp distinction between civil and criminal law. Many cases which European justice would regard as criminal, would be dealt with in a Native court as civil cases. Your Commission considers that many petty cases, turning on Native law, in which Natives alone are concerned, could be advantageously transferred to recognized Native courts, irrespective of whether they are civil or criminal.

227.

That the right to hold these courts and have their decisions recognized is highly valued has lately been shown in one of the Reserves where the right was given to some Chiefs, but withheld from others on the ground that their general conduct was considered unsatisfactory. In two of the latter instances a speedy improvement took place and in them the right has been given and is being exercised to the satisfaction of the authorities.

228.

The Commission considers that in Native Reserves where Native courts are possible, the policy should be to recognize them and to allow them to deal with all classes of cases other than certain specific crimes such as, for example, murder, or witchcraft, with a limit on the punishment which may be inflicted. All proceedings of a Native court should be open to the Native Commissioner who should have the right to review any of them and to whom an appeal should lie, such appeal being taken, wherever possible, in the same place as the original trial. He should insist on proper records being kept of all cases and decisions.

Administrative Duties of Chiefs.

229.

In addition to civil and criminal jurisdiction, Chiefs could perform certain administrative duties. It would be invaluable in connection with a population census to have available the services of a large number of intelligent and educated Chiefs. Moreover, they could also be employed in bringing to the notice of their people matters which from time to time the Government wants to disseminate among them, such as veterinary and medical regulations, and also in helping to carry them out.

230. Your Commission considers that the converting of Chiefs' courts into courts of record, wherever Chiefs are able to keep records, will tend to raise wholesome Native laws and customs to a higher status than is the case at present, and is fully justified. We wish to emphasize the urgent desirability of Chiefs being permitted to keep such records in their own language.

231. Reference has been made elsewhere to the practice of the luring away of youths to labour fields, which has taken place in certain areas. There are administrative difficulties in the way of the enforcement of the law. These could readily be overcome by imposing on the Chief or his deputy the duty of certifying that the consent of the actual parent or guardian has been duly obtained.

232. Moreover in the larger matter of youths absconding from their homes and going to towns, against which the Natives complain bitterly all over the Union, the Chief could again fulfil a similar useful purpose. Your Commission is much impressed both by the complaints of parents of the breakdown of parental authority, and by the harmful effects which this absconding has on the young Natives themselves. It is certainly not in the interest of the Native population that the parental authority should thus be set at naught, and this evil can only be cured by co-operation between the administration and the Native Chief and his council.

233. There is a further matter in which the Chiefs can be usefully employed. Up to 1923 the registration of births and deaths of Natives was compulsory in the whole of the Cape Province and in parts of Natal and Transvaal: while a large number of these events was never registered the requirement had a useful effect in educating Natives to the need for reporting them. By the Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act No. 17 of 1923, registration was made optional in respect of Natives in rural areas. The result has been an absolute diminution of the number of events registered, as is shown by the following figures:

| | 1923. | 1930. |
|---|--------|--------|
| No. of Native Births Registered (Union) ... | 26,695 | 18,125 |
| No. of Native Deaths Registered (Union) ... | 34,702 | 26,582 |

234. All civilized States have found that the registration of vital events is necessary for efficient administration.

235. In the Union partial registration makes it impossible to determine what vital changes are taking place in the constitution of the Native population, except in so far as this can be done at censuses of the total population—the last of which was taken in 1921. It is admittedly difficult to obtain complete registration among an illiterate people. This can only be achieved in the long run by the educative effect of compulsory registration. The longer the start of this process is postponed the longer the culmination of total registration will be delayed.

236. In Native society the Chief is entitled to know what happens among his subjects, and it is therefore customary to report to him the births and deaths at least of important persons. It should be quite an easy matter to organize a fairly general system of registration through him, and in time this would cover the whole of the country. In this connection your Commission would like to point out that in his recent report on malaria in the Union, Dr. Swellengrebel drew attention to the need for registration of deaths of Natives. He referred to systems, similar to those proposed by your Commission, which exist in India and the Dutch East Indies, and concluded: "In view of the high importance attached even to a numerical registration, the least I can do is to recommend this matter to the serious consideration of the authorities"—(Annual Report of the Department of Public Health for 1931, U.G. 28-31, page 36.)

237. While therefore the Chief and his council could be usefully employed in many minor duties, the main benefit to be expected from recognizing them would be that of governing the Natives according to a method well understood by them and thereby gaining their good will and co-operation in the work for the advancement of the Reserves.

238.

The question of the creation of Native courts to deal with matters of Native law will have to be specially considered in areas in the Transkei, and Ciskei, where Native institutions have partly disappeared but Native law is still in force. Your Commission is convinced of the advantage of having Native law interpreted by the people to whom it is still a living system, and we consider it desirable that wherever necessary special arrangements should be made in consultation with the existing councils, for the extension of Native courts in those areas.

239.

In the matter of fines and fees the Native practice is indirectly referred to in paragraph 221. Your Commission feels that there are objections to this, but that it will be impossible to abolish it with a stroke of the pen. The ideal of having all fines and fees paid into revenue should be borne in mind and introduced gradually as opportunity offers.

240.

Messrs. Anderson and Lucas consider that, provided the Chief is allowed a reasonable income, there need be little difficulty in making the change here discussed, without much delay. The dangers of a system in which the judicial officer has a pecuniary interest in the fines he imposes are obvious, and they should be removed as soon as possible. No difficulty seems to have been met with in Tanganyika in making that change. There it is laid down by statute that all fees and fines shall be paid into the treasury of the tribe in the court of which the proceedings are taken.

241.

There is a very natural desire on the part of Natives that there should be more scope for educated men of their race in Government posts in purely Native areas. As against this, many competent witnesses, who cannot be suspected of anti-Native bias, put forward the view that the European official being generally a man of greater culture and education serves a useful purpose in advancing the standard of civilization in the Reserves. Both points of view have some substance in them, and neither should be pressed to the entire exclusive of the other. The greater use of Native institutions should provide a widening scope for educated Natives, especially as these institutions develop. On the other hand a certain number of European officials must necessarily continue to form the connecting link between the Government and the Native institutions.

242.

Messrs. Anderson and Lucas think that an important part of the development of Native institutions, as contemplated in this portion of the Report, would be the setting up of what may be called tribal treasuries into which would be paid local taxation, rent for land, grazing charges, and fines and fees of courts. These treasuries should be administered by the tribal council through the necessary officials. Such a system would provide openings for a number of advanced and educated Natives as clerks and record keepers, and would afford a good means of training the tribe in the administration of its own local affairs and developing a sense of responsibility in public money matters. Careful control of expenditure by the Native Commissioner and a thorough audit would be necessary, which for some time would need to be by Europeans. The Natives have hitherto been given very little opportunity of accustoming themselves to methods of public finance. (Cf. paragraph 222.)

243.

It will be evident from the general tenor of this Report that your Commission lays great stress on basing all action in regard to the Natives on an intimate knowledge of these people, of their languages, their mode of thought, their manners, and particularly of their social and economic systems. It was made abundantly clear to us how frequently misunderstanding arose and ill-feeling was generated owing to a lack of comprehension of these factors. We wish also to stress the need for Government officials being able to speak the local Natives' own languages. The general advantage to the State, in many ways, of a knowledge of the vernacular on the part of European officials, and police, is self-evident. Your Commission has also stressed the point at intervals in its Report that the failure on the part of the European to give due weight to the difference in the social heritage of White and Black has not contributed to the maintenance of good feeling between the two.

Implications in Regard to European Administration.

244.

In no matter is this more striking than in administration. The Native suffers from the suspicion of a primitive people in regard to any new things. The European has introduced many new things and particularly new ideas in the administration generally and the administration of justice in particular. In these matters it is of very great value to the Native to be able to speak to an official who has gained his confidence. This frequently takes years to achieve, and once achieved it is an asset of the very greatest importance.

245.

It is therefore very unfortunate that the system of appointment and transfer of officials in the Native Affairs Department does not always lead to the best possible use of this asset. Very valuable "goodwill" is frequently lost by the transfer of officials from an area where they have gained the confidence of the Natives, to another where this goodwill has not only to be acquired anew, but where the official may have to learn the language and customs of an entirely different tribe. Transfers of prominent officials also take place from predominantly European to predominantly Native areas, and *vice versa*.

246.

The question of the organization of the Native Affairs Department does not fall within our Terms of Reference and we therefore offer no suggestions for remedying this anomaly. We realize also that there are other considerations in the matter, to which due weight must be given.

247.

Your Commission would, however, be failing in its duty if it neglected to indicate that from the point of view from which it has approached the whole question, such transfers involve the loss of some of the most valuable material available for securing reasonable progress of the Natives. The Native Commissioner must frequently take the lead in economic development. In many cases marked success has been achieved by officials who remained sufficiently long in one area to accomplish something. If the policy of the development of Native areas which is recommended by the Commission is to be given effect to, it will be essential that there should be continuity of policy in those areas. Sustained effort which, by using all the forces available, succeeds in getting the Natives in a particular locality to shed the anti-progressive methods of subsistence economy, and substitute therefor methods more in conformity with their present-day needs, has a value far in excess of the achievement itself. It serves as an example for other localities, where such progress is rendered easier of accomplishment.

248.

This sort of work is so important, and so difficult, that the Government should, in the opinion of your Commission, do everything in its power to retain an officer in a post where he is in a position to modernize the outlook of even a small section of the Natives. Transfers frequently involve the loss of much valuable work. Among Natives the new incumbent of a post is not necessarily in the position that he can take up a task where his predecessor left off. By the time he has gained the confidence of the Natives he may have to start all over again, elsewhere.

Implications in Regard to Scientific Research.

249.

If the method of dealing with Natives in the Reserves which your Commission has outlined in the foregoing paragraphs is adopted, it will be necessary to devote more attention to the scientific study of the Natives than has hitherto taken place. The Universities have for some time devoted their attention to this subject, and a good deal of investigation has taken place by private research. Your Commission considers that greater encouragement should be given to such work, and that steps should be taken to facilitate co-operation between officials dealing with Natives and scientific investigators, to enable the results of such work to be used to assist in dealing with administrative questions dependent on a knowledge of Native customs.

Present Condition and Productive Capacity of Native Reserves.

250.

Though it was not practicable for the Commission to inspect in detail every Reserve in the Union, it visited the majority of them in each Province and endeavoured to form a general impression of the conditions in and the productive capacity of each area. The subjoined statement gives the Commission's impressions of the conditions in the areas visited.

Ciskei.**MIDDLEDRIFT AREA.**

251. The damage which overstocking has wrought in the land here constitutes one of the most effective object lessons of the fate which awaits all the Reserves of the Union if the conditions under which that damage has been brought about are allowed to continue. The area through which the Commission motored presents a desolate picture of denudation and erosion.

252. Dongas cut up the land in every direction and considerable stretches are bare of any vegetation, except scrub bush, the whole of the top soil having disappeared in what is known as sheet erosion.

253. The Reserve has of course been greatly reduced in its stock carrying-capacity. This is probably one of the most striking examples in the Reserves of the effects of overstocking and consequent damage to land.

254. Considerable areas of the Reserve where denudation has not gone so far appear to be reasonably fertile and, if the numbers of stock were reduced, could produce much more by way of agriculture than they are doing at present. But if the disastrous destruction of land continues, there can be no doubt that the Reserve will in the near future be quite incapable of supporting anything like its present population.

255. These remarks apply with almost equal force to the Keiskamahock area.

256. The Commission visited the Experimental Station and Agricultural School at Fort Cox. This institution has been established under the guidance of the Director of Native Agriculture, to serve Cape Province areas outside the Transkei, its cost being met out of the Native Development Fund.

257. It had only recently commenced operations at the date of the Commission's visit, but there can be little doubt that it will be of great value for the improvement and development of Native agriculture.

GLEN GREY.

258. In this District was established the first Native Council, the Glen Grey District Council, under Act No. 25 of 1894.

259. The Commission visited the District and inspected the Experimental Farm maintained by the Council. We were impressed by the energy and progressiveness of the Council, under the chairmanship of the Native Commissioner, which is shown by extensive anti-erosion works, as well as by a number of small irrigation works utilizing water from the river and streams of the District by means of small and inexpensive weirs.

260. We obtained from the Native Commissioner some figures of the cost of reclamation of eroded land which are of interest as examples of what can be done:

- " 1. About 4 morgen of badly eroded land on portion of the Council Farm near the commonage gate This land had been abandoned as useless and has now been entirely reclaimed at a cost of £140. The cost was high as it was largely of an experimental nature.
- " 2. About 5 morgen of the Matyantya location which was also very badly eroded, at a cost of £120. This was also in the nature of experimental and demonstration work and it is recovering very well.
- " 3. About 2½ morgen of the Bolotwa location—fenced, but not including cost of fence—as yet only part reclaimed, £8.
- " 4. Eight morgen—two arable lands which were saved just in time—£10 for supervisor, free labour supplied by the owners. A very useful illustration of what can be done if the work is undertaken in time.
- " 5. There are several other smaller works done by the Natives at no cost except their own labour."

261.

In spite of this good work, however, the overstocking evil appears to be as serious here as elsewhere, the measures taken against its effects not having removed the root of the trouble.

262.

According to Census figures a reduction in the Native population of the District from 1911 to 1921, from 49,629 to 41,836 is disclosed. The Director of Native Agriculture attributes this reduction to the effects of erosion due in the first place to overstocking.

Merschel District.

263.

This District falls within the belt of the 20-35 in. annual rainfall, but when visited by the Commission in January, 1931, was dry and generally bare of grass. Erosion everywhere was severe and the figures of stock for the year ending 30th June, 1930, to a total Native area of 680 square miles, are sufficient to account for the shortage of grazing which was apparent. The details are:

| | |
|--------------------------|--------|
| Cattle | 32,234 |
| Horses | 3,129 |
| Pigs | 3,276 |
| Donkeys | 1,710 |
| Woolled sheep | 83,107 |
| Non-woolled sheep | 10,426 |
| Angora goats | 22,011 |
| Other goats | 20,826 |

264.

The Commission was informed that a natural resource of certain Cape Native areas was being exploited by the collection of the latex of an indigenous tree known as *Euphorbia Adyheri* (Linn.). The trees are common in several Districts, and the latex from them is bought by a concessionaire operating from East London, who pays Natives at 6d. per gallon of the fluid brought in by them. The centres of collection are Breakfastvlei, Line Drift, Brighton Drift, and Healdtown. The average quantity collected by each Native is said to be between four and six gallons per day.

265.

The total amount collected was stated to the Commission by the Chief Native Commissioner, Ciskei, to be 2,185 gallons during June and July, 1931.

266.

It was reported to the Commission that difficulty was experienced in getting sufficient Natives to collect the latex.

Transkeian Territories.

267.

Your Commission carried out an inspection tour in a large number of Districts of the Transkeian Territories and heard evidence at Matatiele, Mount Fletcher, Kokstad, Flagstaff, Port St. Johns, Umtata, Engcobo, Cofimvaba. and Butterworth.

268.

Conditions over so large an area naturally vary, but speaking generally a favourable impression was formed by us of the natural fertility of the Territories. The annual rainfall ranges from 40 to 50 inches on parts of the coast and from 25 to 30 inches further inland, which may be said to provide unusually good moisture conditions, judged by general South African standards.

269.

The higher veld inland comprises large stretches of open rolling and generally well-watered country. As the coast is approached, bush is found varying from light thorn scrub to heavily wooded kloofs and valleys.

270.

Very large areas are potentially arable, and the agricultural production of the Territories could undoubtedly be very greatly increased. But everywhere the effects of overstocking are apparent though not to the same degree as in the Ciskeian Reserves.

271.

In Annexure 13 will be found a comparative statement by the Office of Statistics showing the numbers of livestock of various kinds carried by the Territories for the years 1904, 1911, and 1918 to 1930.

272. The following increases are shown as between the years 1918 and 1930:

| | 1918. | 1930. |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Cattle | 707,315 | 1,716,836 |
| Woolled and other sheep ... | 2,272,326 | 3,931,661 |
| Goats (Angora and other) ... | 1,026,653 | 1,203,942 |
| Donkeys | 4,719 | 10,575 |
| Horses | 80,382 | 138,343 |

273. The increase in cattle was steady from 1918, following a large reduction between 1911 and that year. The increase coincides with the introduction of dipping. The effectiveness of dipping as a protection for cattle is thus strikingly shown and it is an unhappy by-product of what should have been a purely beneficial veterinary measure, that it should have contributed largely to the overstocking of the country and all the problems which have followed therefrom.

274. One responsible witness before the Commission was led by the irony of these facts to suggest that the quickest cure for the overstocking of Native areas would be to abandon the enforcement of dipping. Complaints to the Commission from Native witnesses, stigmatising dipping measures as acts of tyranny against their people, show that even now many Natives oppose compulsory dipping, despite the fact that it has been demonstrated to them, beyond any doubt, to be efficacious in combating all tick-borne diseases. The abandonment of its enforcement would evidently not lack Native support, but the consequences of such a step to the country as a whole, as well as to the Native, rule it out from consideration.

275. In addition to the usual damage from overstocking represented by various forms of erosion, an effect immediately noticeable by the traveller in the Territories is the spreading over enormous areas of a yellow flowering weed, known by the Natives as *inkanga* (*Senecio juniperinus*, L.). This plant largely takes the place of the edible grasses of the veld and is valueless as food for stock, though when dry and withered it has a use among the Natives as fuel.

276. The effect of the spreading of this weed is cumulative and disastrous for the grazing capacity of the veld. It may serve to some extent as a counter agent against erosion, by holding up the soil, but good husbandry would not allow conditions to arise under which this service would be needed. We are informed that its spread can be controlled, and its eventual elimination secured by stoppage of grazing for a season or two. Suitable measures of control of grazing, which can only be adopted when the land has been fenced into camps or paddocks, are clearly indicated. If failure to take such measures is allowed to continue, the Territories must resign themselves to further extensive deterioration of their stock carrying-capacity.

277. The Commission were glad to note that in various parts of the Territories steps are being taken under direction of the Bunga to arrest erosion. As evidence of an awakening to the seriousness of the position, they are welcome, but by themselves they are pitifully inadequate to cope with the danger. Here and there it is possible to undertake small works, such as damming up and fencing off areas of threatened donga formation; but there are large areas where the evil has gone too long unchecked to allow of remedial measures now except at an uneconomic cost.

278. On this point we may quote from a report by the Director of Native Agriculture on one Reserve: "The Native Commissioner and Council backed up by the people are with great energy endeavouring to check or delay the ever more rapidly approaching desert conditions. They may, and probably will, retard awhile the hand of the moving clock, yet it will be but a little while, for in the end inexorable nature will prevail and the energy and money expended to-day will be largely lost. To overcome this peril, the people of the district and every other district must seriously consider the cause of this trouble. Remove the cause without delay and the effect will disappear; or, at least, man's ingenuity, aided by nature, will, over a term of years, restore the fertility of the country. The cause is OVERSTOCKING. Leave it untouched and no matter how hard we strive, outraged nature will exact her penalty and drive us off the land."

279.

There is no doubt in the mind of the Commission that, in spite of the ameliorative measures referred to, the Transkei is doomed to rival the unhappy condition of parts of the Ciskei at no distant date, unless the overstocking which now exists can be ended.

280.

That such a fate should befall a country so favourably endowed by nature for production and prosperity, would be a national tragedy.

281.

It was encouraging to find in the Transkei that a number of co-operative agricultural and credit organizations had come into existence and were doing useful work. Twenty-seven such societies were in existence in September, 1931, the total membership being 2,986. They had received deposits from their members amounting to £8,941, and had loans outstanding amounting to £4,911. The constitution of these societies was not covered by any law or regulations as in the case of European agricultural co-operative societies. Indeed, it seems to be doubtful whether they were not actually in conflict with the legislation of the Union on co-operation. Action is being taken to regularize the position of Native co-operation. The movement is one holding much promise for Native economic welfare, and it is to be hoped that every encouragement will be given to its development. The history of peasant agricultural co-operation in some European countries is striking, and the lessons to be learnt from it may prove to be of great value, if indeed not indispensable to the development of Native agriculture, which is so important an objective.

282.

Native agricultural shows are being held regularly in parts of the Transkei and should form a valuable means of awakening a desire for adopting better agricultural methods. Though their influence may not yet have reached the general mass of tribal Natives, there is no reason why it should not in time do so.

283.

The Commission visited the schools of Agriculture at Tsolo, Teko, and Flagstaff, and were much impressed by the excellent work being done by these institutions. These schools are maintained under the authority of the Bunga which votes monies for the purpose. The Tsolo School was established in 1913, and was the pioneer of agricultural education for Natives in South Africa.

284.

It was claimed that the policy of agricultural education and demonstration, developed during the past twenty years, had pointed the way to economic progress among the Natives of the Transkei. It was stated that certain definite indications of this progress were apparent and could be summarized as follows:

(1) The Transkei has begun to export grain, after being an importing country for many years;

(2) there is a demand for better agricultural implements, shown by the variety and number of these stocked at practically every trader's store;

(3) fertilizers are now imported into the area;

(4) there is evidence of better methods in every district, e.g. winter fallowing of land, use of maize planters and other machinery, manuring;

(5) there is a demand for better class rams. Until the recent drop in price of wool, the Bunga institutions were unable to meet this demand, and rams were being imported;

(6) there is a growth of interest in better agricultural methods, shown by support given to the Bunga's agricultural journal which has approximately 2,000 subscribers; agricultural and thrift societies are being formed;

(7) there is a gradual change to a more intensive system of farming shown by the growing demand for seeds of various crops, and for poultry and pigs at the Agricultural Schools.

285.

The area in the Territories normally under crops is estimated at 820,000 morgen. The present average yield of maize from Native cultivation in the Transkei is estimated at 4 bags to the morgen—a very low figure.

286. The significance of the work done by Native agricultural demonstrators in the Territories is strikingly illustrated by the following figures :

On 1,524 acres of ground worked by the demonstrators in 1929-1930 8,350 bags of mealies were reaped, *or 11 bags to the morgen*. On adjoining plots worked by the owners of the plots, from 1,904 acres of ground, 3,993 bags were reaped, *or approximately 4 bags to the morgen*.

287. On these figures it would seem that the doubling at least of the present maize production of the Territories should be well within the reach of its inhabitants.

288. In establishing Native Agricultural Schools which train and supply Native agricultural demonstrators, the Bunga has, in the opinion of the Commission, taken an important step towards making such an increase of production possible.

289. At East London the Commission visited a factory established by the Imperial Cold Storage Co., Ltd., to produce meat extract and other products from cattle drawn mainly from the Transkeian Territories. We have since been informed that the meat extract side of the factory has suspended operations owing, it is understood, to difficulties about marketing the product.

290. Such factories provide one of the most important practicable outlets for the surplus cattle of the Natives and consideration should be given to the granting of all possible facilities for their working.

291. The total number of cattle from the Transkei in Native areas received at the factory referred to, during the twelve months ended June, 1931, was given to the Commission as 3,434. During the same period, 3,355 cattle were exported from the Transkei to border districts in the Cape proper, and 707 to the Durban abattoir. This gives a total of 7,496 cattle during the year. It is evident that a much larger outlet will have to be found than now exists if an appreciable reduction is to be made in the number of cattle in these Territories.

292. The Senior Veterinary Officer at East London stated that the meat factory could use far more beasts than it was getting, but that apparently the prices paid were not attractive to the Natives, who could not understand the comparative worthlessness of the bulk of their scrub cattle.

293. At Umtata and elsewhere in the Territories, much was heard by the Commission on the difficulties created by the East Coast Fever regulations governing the movement of cattle. It was stated by several witnesses that restrictions were needlessly drastic and were preventing the sale of cattle and consequently accentuating the overstocking of the country, that for twenty years the whole area of the Transkeian Territories and Pondoland had been closed against export of cattle, and that no movement of cattle was allowed without a permit.

294. At the time of the Commission's visit to the Transkei in November, 1930, of the twenty-seven districts eighteen were and had for over two years been entirely free of East Coast Fever and nine were affected, but all were subject to the prohibition of the movement of cattle.

295. At the date of this evidence we were informed that East Coast Fever was in existence at Willowvale, Engcobo, Libode, Tsolo, Umzimkulu, and all the eastern districts of Pondoland. Great progress had been made in freeing the country of ticks but in the warmer parts of Pondoland, particularly, it was unlikely that the country could ever be entirely freed of them.

296. The Commission questioned the Senior Veterinary Officer at East London on this subject. He stated that it was impossible to meet the wish of the Transkei to declare the whole of the Territories an open area. Owing

to the complete lack of fencing, it would be a very dangerous thing to do. Even the supposed clean areas are such that cases of East Coast Fever are liable to occur at any time. A difficulty arose through illicit movements of cattle by Natives from one district to another, which, owing to the exchange of beasts, could not be checked by the ordinary system of tallies of numbers.

297.

There had, however, been certain relaxation of the regulations recently and cattle could be sent from clean areas of the Transkei to the abattoirs in Capetown, Durban, and East London, but before they could be moved anywhere else they would have to undergo thirty days quarantine on a fenced and tanked farm, a provision which is said by the Transkei officials to be, in effect, because of the absence of fenced areas for such quarantine, an almost total prohibition of movement of cattle for export.

Natal Native Reserves.

298.

The Commission visited in Natal the Adams and Umtwalumi Mission Reserves, and motored through Native Reserves in the Inanda, Pinetown, Umzinto, Port Shepstone, Harding, Ixopo, Bulwer, Richmond, and Pietermaritzburg Magisterial Districts.

299.

On Mission Reserves in the coastal area some sugar cane is being grown by Natives, and the Commission visited one Native cane grower of exceptional ability and industry who owned about 80 acres of cane from which he appeared to be making a very good living.

300.

On other coastal Native Reserves in Natal an effort is being made by the Native Affairs Department, under the direction of the Director of Native Agriculture, to encourage the growing of cane on small holdings of 10 to 15 acres. The scheme is regulated by a Government Proclamation, No. 42 of 1931. The scheme was brought into force during 1931, and promises to add a considerable amount to the volume of Native production.

301.

The Director of Native Agriculture informed the Commission that in his opinion 10 acres of cane is sufficient to provide a Native with a good living, and that the scheme is capable of large extension in Reserves in Natal and Zululand. Provision should be made for varying of rents for lots of different fertility and suitability for cane. Close supervision of the cultivation by European representatives of the Department is contemplated, and is an essential if the scheme as a whole is to succeed. In the Director's opinion there are approximately 100,000 acres of land suitable for cane growing within the Zululand Native areas. The total area allotted up to the present for cane growing under the Proclamation amounts to about 7,293 acres.

302.

Erosion and loss of good grass, by replacement with useless weed growth, is very bad in all the Native areas in Natal. The Director of Native Agriculture stated that, in many parts of these Reserves, conditions due to overstocking were as bad as in the worst parts of the Ciskei; experiments at Cedara Experimental Station had shown that in twelve years the good grasses could be completely killed and replaced by bad grasses. This condition is better than complete denudation of vegetation as it at least prevents entire erosion of the soil, but the grazing capacity of the land is heavily reduced.

303.

Fencing is entirely absent, as in nearly all Native areas, and is an essential, together with limitation of stock, for re-establishment of the pastoral value of the country. Efforts are being made to introduce aloë plants to serve as fences.

304.

Agricultural plots cultivated by individual Natives in Natal Reserves are scattered; they are seldom found in compact blocks. In the absence of fencing this arrangement is wasteful of land and grazing, though it can in many cases be attributed to the desire or need to select fertile patches, the country, generally speaking, being by no means of uniform quality.

Zululand.

305.

The Commission visited the Nongama, Ubombo, Hlabisa, Lower Umfolozi, Eshowe, Emtongjaneni, and Mtunzini Magisterial Districts in Zululand, travelling through the country by motor car.

306.

Generally speaking it was evident to the Commission that Zululand is much less crowded than any of the other Native areas visited, this observation being confirmed by the Director of Native Agriculture.

307.

We were informed, however, that there was local congestion in the Eshowe, Nkandhla, and Nqutu Districts. Overstocking and its effects are noticeable only here and there. It is probable that in considerable parts of the area, particularly nearer the coast, the nature of the soil and natural scrub render the land less liable to damage by erosion than in the Native areas to which we have already referred.

308.

Throughout the Zululand Reserves there has been no departure from the system of communal land tenure, allotments for crop growing being made by the Chiefs to individuals. As regards fertility, the soil is variable and uneven, areas of high fertility being interspersed with poorer soil. There are large areas on the middle veld and coast heavily wooded, particularly in the alluvial valleys.

309.

Factors of great importance militating against the economic as well as the social progress of the country, are the presence along the coastal belt and for some distance inland of malaria and tsetse fly.

310.

Malaria is probably responsible for a more backward state of the Native population in the lower lying lands than on the higher veld. There were severe outbreaks of malaria amongst the Native population two years ago, spreading from the areas where it is endemic to others where it is epidemic only or where it is in ordinary years entirely absent. The outbreak led to the organization of an anti-malarial service with specially trained Natives acting as inspectors and health instructors. The Commission were informed by the Department of Public Health that these Native inspectors were doing valuable work.

311.

The presence of tsetse fly, carrying the trypanosome of Nagana in domestic stock over large areas of Zululand, is responsible for heavy losses of cattle among Natives bordering the large Zululand Game Reserves. It also prevents the use of much land valuable for pastoral and in some parts for agricultural production. It is undoubtedly a very serious obstacle to the economic progress of the country and its conquest by scientific and other means would ensure a much brighter future for Zululand.

312.

There are four Game Reserves in Zululand, namely Mfolozi, 63,000 acres; Hluhluwe, 40,000 acres; Mkuze, 62,000 acres; and Ndumo, 24,000 acres.

313.

In Zululand, as in other Native areas, the introduction of dipping as a preventive of East Coast Fever is effectively combating most other tick-borne diseases, and has been the cause of increase in the cattle to an embarrassing extent. In parts of Zululand, we were informed, overstocking is already becoming serious and there can be no doubt whatever that unless something is done to stay the process, Zululand is set upon the same downward path of erosion and destruction as many other Native areas of the Union.

314.

Generally speaking, agricultural methods are considerably more advanced in the higher inland parts of Zululand than in the coastal area. In the thorn bush districts the cultivation is done in small isolated patches, the hoe being still commonly used as the principal means of soil tillage. The use of ploughs however is extending year by year. Where bush clearing is necessary before cultivation, the stumps of the trees are more often left in the ground than otherwise, causing broken and uneven cultivation and restriction of fields.

315.

Your Commissioners are satisfied that better progress than is now made could be achieved in Zululand, and in other areas where the tribal system is firmly rooted, if local Natives could be trained for employment there as agricultural demonstrators, in preference to Natives from other territories.

316.

In the meantime Native demonstrators trained at one or other of the Cape Agricultural Schools are doing valuable work. Results obtained by them in respect of the 1930-31 season, are shown in the subjoined statement obtained through the Director of Native Agriculture:

" 1. Average the whole of the Natal results, excluding No. 5 plot, for each type of fertilizer:

" (a) The eight Standard Mixture plots yielded at the rate of 3.8 bags per acre better than the unfertilized controls;

" (b) The eight Superphosphate plots yielded at the rate of 3.9 per acre better than the unfertilized controls.

" 2. (a) Taking the 4 plots (Nos. 3, 4, 6, and 7) which did best with Standard Mixture, the average extra yield per acre here was 4.6 bags per acre.

" (b) The average extra yield on the 4 plots with best results from Superphosphates was 5.5 bags per acre.

" These results are so good that one almost doubts their possibility. As the highest total yield recorded for the Standard Mixture plots is 5½ per half acre or 11 per acre and that for the Superphosphate plots 4½ bags per half acre or 9 per acre, the results do not seem to be at all impossible."

317.

We were informed that over a large part of the coastal area of Zululand a palm, known as the *lala* (*Hyphoene crinita*), is extensively found and is used by the Natives for making baskets and for other purposes. It is believed that its fibre, as well as that from sisal and furcraea, offer possibilities of an industry suitable to Native needs, which might be encouraged.

Orange Free State.**318.**

The only Reserves in the Orange Free State are Witziesshoek in Harrismith District, approximately 50,000 morgen, and Thabanchu and Seliba Reserves, totalling 24,289 morgen. Your Commission visited the Witziesshoek and Thabanchu Reserves.

WITZIESSHOEK.**319.**

About 6,000-7,000 morgen of this Reserve are arable and may be considered good mealie land, the whole of which has been allotted. The yield is very low, apparently—from figures quoted—less than one bag to the morgen. At one time the Reserve was able to export mealies, but now it has to import every year.

320.

The Commission was assured by competent witnesses that with better methods of cultivation the Reserve could support its present population, but with present methods it cannot. One demonstrator has been working in the Reserve since 1930 and is said to be obtaining good results. The water supply is plentiful but no irrigation is being carried on.

321.

The following figures show the numbers of stock carried in the Reserve in 1926 and 1930:

| | 1926. | 1930. |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Cattle | 8,026 | 7,790 |
| Horses | 1,759 | 1,798 |
| Sheep | 6,602 | 8,210 |
| Goats | 10,067 | 11,055 |
| TOTAL | 26,454 | 28,853 |

From these figures it appears that numbers have been more or less stationary in that period. The cattle are of the usual scrub variety. While the numbers are not disproportionate to the area under sound methods of control of grazing, under existing methods they are said to overtax the land. Erosion is taking place to some degree.

322.

Very little manuring of the land is done, especially as cattle dung is collected and used as fuel. Fertilizer is very little used, if at all. The cultivated plots are more or less grouped, with the exception of those on the mountain sides. Trees, particularly poplars, are being planted in dongas, with useful results. Small portions of ground about the huts are frequently fenced and good cultivation is being carried on inside these fences.

THABANCHU.

323.

The Commission visited and took evidence at Thabanchu, but circumstances did not allow of more than a cursory inspection of part of the Native areas in the District, one adjoining the town and another known as the Seliba Reserve a little way outside. The Seliba Reserve (17,658 morgen) is said to be very fertile, but the Thabanchu Location (6,631 morgen) is less fertile.

324.

The Reserves are occupied by the Barolong tribe, whose territory was annexed by the Orange Free State in 1834, the area which they now have being then allocated to them. Several Commissions appointed by the Orange Free State Government have inquired into the conditions of land tenure in the Reserves, and in 1887 the Government defined by regulation the right of Native owners and occupiers of farms in the District. A Commission which was appointed in 1884 reported a need for additional land being set aside for Native occupation in the Thabanchu area, but their recommendation in this matter has not been acted upon.

325.

Many Natives in the Thabanchu District have lost freehold land through foreclosure of bonds given by the Native owners to Europeans. There are still some farms held in freehold by Natives.

326.

There are at present (1932) forty-three farms leased by Europeans from Native owners in Thabanchu District. We were informed that these Native areas are much overstocked, and that soil erosion is serious. There is one agricultural demonstrator in the District, who is reported to be doing good work.

Transvaal.

327.

Your Commission visited Native areas in the Magisterial Districts of Potgietersrust, Zoutpansberg, Pietersburg, Letaba, Barberton, Lydenburg, Middelburg, and Rustenburg, in the Transvaal.

328.

The outstanding impression gained by the Commission from its tour of the Native areas visited was that there is general congestion, particularly of stock, and in some areas also of population.

329.

The evil effects of overstocking were not so marked here as in the Cape areas already described, partly because the numbers of stock have not yet become so disproportionate to the grazing and partly because the nature of the soil and vegetation in most of the Transvaal areas is not quite so much subject to erosion as are certain areas in some parts of the other Provinces.

330.

There can be no doubt that the problem of overstocking and destruction of the land is becoming here, as elsewhere, more acute year by year and that the evils already described are becoming more and more felt.

331.

Your Commission formed a favourable impression of the general fertility of the soil in the areas visited, but, generally speaking, the smallness of the rainfall is a limiting factor. In fertility it may be said to be rather above the average of South African soil, and in some of the Reserves, notably that of Sibasa in the Zoutpansberg District, where the rainfall is also high, the fertility is exceptionally good.

332.

Nowhere could it be said that full advantage is being taken of this fertility. The use of ploughs in place of the hoe is becoming commoner and will probably soon be universal, but cultivation is, generally speaking, too shallow. As in the bush areas of Zululand, where cultivation takes place, the ground is imperfectly cleared, stumps being nearly always left standing which cause patchy and uneven tillage. Poor and degenerate seed is in almost universal use, the advantage of seed selection and improvement having yet to be learnt.

333. Fencing is entirely absent, and, as elsewhere, its introduction will be an essential for the control and management of grazing.

334. The class of cattle kept is of the usual undersized scrub variety. Though hardy and possessing a high survival value under the strenuous conditions of its existence, it is very low in productive capacity.

335. In Sekukuniland your Commission was interested to observe that the arable lands were grouped together in large blocks. One such block comprised several hundred morgen of very fertile red loam, which should be capable of good production. The rainfall, however, is frequently deficient and commonly limits the return severely. In this area the spread of prickly pear was very noticeable, but it is said to be of value as a source of food both for the Natives and for their stock.

General Features of the Reserves.

336. In the foregoing paragraphs we have given in outline a picture from the agricultural and pastoral points of view of the Native Reserves of the Union as they impressed themselves upon the Commission in the course of their inquiry. It will be convenient to sum up the position as it presents itself to the Commission.

337. But at this point we think it well to sound a note of warning. The best laid plans for material improvements of Reserves will be only too apt to go awry, if they fail to carry the Native with them or if they ignore outstanding facts of Native mentality and tradition. In saying this, we wish to make it clear at once that such an axiom does not imply stagnation and must not be employed as an excuse for relapsing into a comfortable doctrine of laissez-faire.

338. The outstanding feature of the Native Reserves, common to all of them in varying degrees, is the overstocking which exists to-day. The seriousness of the position can hardly be overstated. It was emphasized to the Commission by witness after witness, and their evidence was amply borne out by its own investigations, as well as towards the end of the inquiry by an authoritative exposition on the subject given to us by the Director of Native Agriculture.

339. Your Commission believes that the tribal councils under their Chiefs could be made the most important avenue for the enlightenment of the people generally upon the over-stocking question. The cattle cult of the Abantu is far too deeply rooted a thing to allow us to look for quick or early results. But perseverance, together with sympathetic understanding of Native mentality and considerately applied persuasion, may help to achieve the desired end at a less distant date than might otherwise be expected.

340. We have already described the promising results which are being achieved by Native demonstrators in raising the level of Native agriculture. The degree of success thus attained should encourage the application of a similar idea to the pastoral methods of the Native.

341. Simple demonstration farms fenced and suitably paddocked but stocked in the first place with typical Native cattle might be established. The aim would be to show clearly and without too abrupt a departure from existing Native methods, what can be done towards grazing improvement and consequent betterment of stock by fencing and limitation of numbers to available feed. Beginning on the simplest possible lines such demonstration might be extended to showing the return to be gained from dairy produce, the sale of bullocks for meat and the improvement of breed by introduction of better class bulls. The existing agricultural colleges no doubt aim at something of the sort, but their object is probably to work on more advanced lines than are here contemplated. Care should be taken to advance in such a project step by step with the people themselves. To make this possible it would be important to enlist the Native interest through the medium of their own tribal institutions. Indeed the Commission feels that little result could be expected from such demonstrations—however admirable the spirit and execution of the idea—in the absence of tribal interest and approval. And if we are correct in thinking this it is but one more illustration of the vital importance of basing Native administration upon the known and familiar institutions of Native life.

342.

The next outstanding impression of the Reserves gained by the Commission was the general undeveloped condition in which they stand. The Commission saw for themselves that the Reserves include some of the richest land to be found in the Union. A comparison of a map of South Africa distinguishing the Native areas, with a rainfall chart, shows that the Natives as a whole have no reason to complain on the score of the moisture conditions of their lands judged by the general rainfall distribution of South Africa. This, together with that of comparative soil fertility, is a factor which is often left unmentioned when criticisms are made of the inadequate allotment of South African land to the Natives. Any comparison of the extent of the European area with that of the Native area which omits to take this factor into account, is only a partial presentation of the facts.

343.

Dr. Roberts desires to add to this paragraph the qualification that rainfall charts are usually misleading. To-day in Zululand, in the Transkei, in the Ciskei, there are large tracts of land coloured dark on the rainfall charts, where the land is held in an iron-bound drought, and famine broods over these unfortunate areas.

344.

The Commission has made it clear elsewhere in this Report that it believes the necessity for provision of further land for Native occupation to be established. But it is far from accepting the view that this necessity arises because a limit of development of the existing Native areas has been reached.

345.

The Commission is satisfied that there is room for very large development of the present Reserves, and it wishes to emphasize, with all the power it can, the desirability and the necessity in the interest of the country, European and Native alike, of placing a well planned scheme of improvement and development in the forefront of the national objectives.

346.

But it does imply that at the root of the problem lies a necessity for education, in the broadest sense of the word. The Commission has already suggested the need for a propagandist campaign against the overstocking evil, and it would give this as an instance of what it means by its use in this context of the term "education."

347.

The valuable work now being done by the Director of Native Agriculture would fall within the Commission's conception of what is required for development of the Reserves. In the short time in which this division of the Native Affairs Department has been at work, important results have been secured and the Commission feels that its aims and enterprizes hold out hope of great advancement in the material welfare of the Native people. The extension and further development of such work should be a most important object of the Native Affairs Department.

348.

At the risk of repetition the Commission would like to urge again that all schemes of improvement in the Reserves should be worked out in the closest possible harmony with the tribal institutions of Chief and council.

349.

But the problem is much too serious to permit of any shelving of it. As it was put to the Commission, it is now a race between the enlightenment of the Native and the complete destruction of his land. If "destruction" is allowed to draw much further ahead than it is now, the race will have been definitely lost, with irreparable consequences to the nation, white as well as black.

Family Budgets of Reserve Natives.

350.

A number of attempts were made by witnesses to show in detail the economic position of a Native family in the Reserves. Although the results arrived at could be only approximate they yet gave a picture more vivid than can be presented by a general descriptive statement. Two of the most valuable and interesting of these attempts, made by the Director of Native Agriculture and by the late Mr. S. G. Butler, then Principal of the Tsolo School of Agriculture, are given in Annexure 14—Statements I and II.

PART II

**NATIVES ON
EUROPEAN FARMS**

Labour Tenancy on Farms.

351.

NOTE.—Mr. Lucas does not agree with all that is contained in this portion of the Report and has dealt with the subject of labour tenancy in an Addendum which will be found on page 173.

352.

There was much complaint on the part of Native witnesses heard by the Commission throughout the Union of the terms under which labour tenants work and are remunerated on farms. Very few of these witnesses however were themselves labour tenants. The evidence of the individual farmers and representatives of Farmers' Associations heard by your Commission, on the other hand, was practically unanimous to the effect that farm labour was on the whole reasonably well paid, fed, and treated. At the same time farmers complain that the general run of Native labour available to them is unreliable, inefficient, and often insufficient in quantity.

353.

It was also urged on the Commission by farmer witnesses that the class of Native who made the complaints referred to was too often one which no farmer wanted and that a farm-to-farm inspection would show a great proportion of contended and decently treated Native labourers.

Definition of Labour Tenancy.

354.

Before discussing the question of labour tenancy it is desirable to state what the term implies. Different terms have been used in the past in the various Provinces to describe much the same sort of labour arrangement on farms. Thus the term "squatter" has been used in the Transvaal and Orange Free State to describe what is now more generally known as a labour tenant, but in Natal "squatter" implied a Native who was allowed to settle or squat on a piece of land either on payment of a cash rent or a share of the crops produced by him on the land which he occupied.

355.

For the purpose of this Report the term "labour tenancy" will be used to describe the system the main feature of which, subject to innumerable differences in detail from district to district and even in the same district, is the giving of services for a certain period in the year to the farmer by the Native and/or his family in return for the right to reside on the farmer's land, to cultivate a portion of land, and to graze his stock on the farm.

356.

In the early days when the system originated land was plentiful, cultivation was limited by the absence of markets, and in comparison with the amount of labour required there were sufficient Natives available for ordinary farm work. There was room in plenty for everyone and there was little cause for friction about privileges or amount of labour to be rendered.

357.

As population increased and land values rose there emerged the question of the more economical use of the available resources. Even now in some parts of the Union the farmer is in a position to give his tenants as much grazing and arable land as they want. This is, however, becoming exceptional. Hence the questions of the amount of remuneration for farm labour, and of the quantity and quality of labour supplied have come to the fore.

358.

The conditions which obtain to-day are largely the result of historical development, and the circumstances which determine the demand and supply have had a larger influence on the existing state of affairs, than any conscious attempt at establishing a logical system.

Main Features of Present-day Labour Tenancy.

359.

While therefore infinite variety is found, the following may be taken to represent the main features: In the Transvaal, and to a lesser extent in the Orange Free State and the Cape, the tenant is required to give ninety days' labour for his "place" on the farm. In Natal six months are generally demanded. During this period he may or may not get an additional cash wage. The spread of the service period used to be at the farmer's pleasure, which system is generally described as the "two-days a week" system. In actual practice it does not mean that the Native must work two

definite days in every week, but that he may be called on when required. Some weeks he would work in full, some weeks not at all. This does not necessarily mean that he is tied to the farm all the year round. He has to obtain a pass from his employer to seek work elsewhere. Unreasonable employers may of course use this power to inflict hardship on their tenants. This system is, however, rapidly dying out, and being superseded by continuity of the service-period. The labour is performed by the members of the family; but here again the conditions vary very much. The head of the family may or may not give a hand. If he has grown-up children he generally works only on exceptional occasions. His wife and daughters are frequently but not invariably required to do the house work and the washing. Sometimes they assist on the lands, chiefly with harvesting, but for this they generally receive additional remuneration. The principal source of labour for the farmer is the sons of the kraal head, who can be usefully employed at a fairly early age. The flight of many young Natives from the farms to the towns is referred to elsewhere. This gives rise to considerable difficulties and friction between employer and tenant,

360.

The privileges of the tenant again show extensive variation. Generally speaking land to plough and grazing must be granted. The quantity, however, is subject to agreement between farmer and tenant. Food is generally given to members of the tenant's family who are working for the farmer during the days they are at work. There are, however, exceptions to this, chiefly in the Northern Transvaal. Sometimes a varied ration is given. Sometimes the ration consists purely of mealies or mealie meal. The ration in these cases is generally in excess of what the recipient can consume, the surplus being regarded as a set-off for other articles of diet, which he must acquire either from the proceeds of his lands and his stock, or from his cash wages. Sometimes cash wages are given for the period of the tenancy contract. More frequently the tenant, or his family, must supply their cash needs during the free period of six to nine months per year. The tenant is generally given a building site, and allowed free use of such building materials as are to be found on the farm. Sometimes the farmer must supply poles and thatching grass whether they grow on the farm or not. Articles of clothing, chiefly second-hand from the farmer's household, are sometimes given; but this is a favour rather than a right. Animals which die are generally consumed by the Native tenants, who also have free use of fuel and water.

361.

The foregoing describes the main features of the system. Labour tenancy is, however, showing signs of disintegration in many directions. Some farmers will only allow on the farms labour tenants who will undertake to work for them all the year round. In these cases the prevailing rate of wages of the district is paid, either for the whole of the twelve months, or for the free period, a lower wage being paid during the time the tenant or his family is working for their "place". Some farmers in predominantly agricultural areas will not give grazing; others in certain pastoral areas refuse land to plough. Some farmers will not have labour tenants at all, and depend purely on wage-paid agricultural labourers.

362.

Your Commission was also informed that a type of tenancy exists in Natal whereby the tenant is charged a rental of between £3 and £5 per hut per annum, and is required to work off this rental either by his own labour or that of his family at ruling rates of wages. After the rental has been worked off the Natives are free to work elsewhere. This system was said to give much less ground for friction than the others described; but owing to the decline of the kraalhead's authority and power over his family it is giving way largely to a labour agreement pure and simple.

Many Causes of Friction.

363.

It will be obvious from the above description what a variety of types of contract exists, and what extensive causes of friction there are. When it is remembered that written contracts are the exception rather than the rule, and that the farmer and the Native are not necessarily well versed in each other's language, it will be clear what a fruitful field for misunderstanding and consequent friction the labour tenancy system offers. According to the evidence of a large number of Magistrates misunderstanding of the terms of the contract accounts for a considerable proportion of the cases tried in court under the Masters and Servants Laws.

364.

There was, on the part of many Native witnesses heard by your Commission throughout the Union much complaint about the terms under which labour tenants work: smallness of cash remuneration, limitation of stock, inadequacy of the food supplied by the farmer for the wants of his family, and poor quality of lands given for ploughing, were stressed.

365.

Individual farmers and representatives of Farmers' Associations were alike unanimous in condemning labour tenancy as uneconomical, as an evil, though a necessary evil, and in describing many of the tenants as unreliable and inefficient.

366.

The evidence of the farmers, while admitting that many instances were known of individual farmers who did not deal fairly by their labour tenants, also claimed that the reverse was as frequently true. It was claimed that the offending farmers were generally known in their districts, and that, except where there was a surplus of labour, Natives generally had, in the boycott, a powerful weapon against such farmers.

367.

No good purpose can be served by your Commission attempting to pronounce judgment on these claims as if the right is all on one side and the wrong all on the other. It will be more fruitful to examine the question as one of class and race relationships in which individual rights and wrongs characterize the action of individuals on both sides. The bulk of farm Natives are not dissatisfied with their conditions, although they would naturally appreciate better conditions wherever possible. The bulk of the farmers are not dissatisfied with their labourers, although they admit that only a low degree of efficiency can be expected as the general rule. Generally speaking the relationship on the farms is amicable, but the system of labour tenancy has drawbacks for both the farmer and the tenant. Some of these are due to the human factor, some to inherent defects in the system, some to the transition stage in which the system happens to be at the present day. We shall try to analyse the position, and to indicate possible lines of development.

Labour Tenancy an Uneconomic System.

368.

From the point of view of the farmer labour tenancy is definitely an uneconomic method of securing a labour supply. This point was stressed by farming witnesses all over the Union. The only reason why it is maintained on many farms is that there is at present no satisfactory alternative. It involves waste, inasmuch as it is generally necessary to keep more labour on the farm than the work warrants.

369.

As regards the Native, in areas where land values are high, remuneration in kind demands a better standard of agricultural and pastoral practice than most Natives have yet attained: there is therefore a disparity between the value of the grazing ground and lands to the farmer, and the income which the Native derives from these. The farmer complains of the high cost, the Native of the low income. This serves further to illustrate the point that it is uneconomical to have a large section of the population on a low level of productivity.

The Remuneration of the Labour Tenant.

370.

Generally speaking, the opinion of qualified witnesses is that in value, the privileges of a Native labour tenant are worth more to him than the wages which he would normally receive in town. These privileges are however not on a cash basis, and this fact has certain consequences which will be referred to below. The evidence led before your Commission has left no doubt in our mind that on the best farms the privileges are certainly worth a good deal more than the income which the same Native would earn in town. The opinion expressed by the Director of Native Agriculture, who has considerable experience both from the European and the Native side, would seem to summarize the situation with regard to most farms. He expressed the view that if all privileges are taken into account there is very little difference in value between the remuneration of the farm and the urban labourer. It is, however, clear to your Commission that the various ways in which remuneration is given has a material effect on the amount of agricultural labour available. Your Commission is satisfied that where farmers are poor, Natives are poor, and generally speaking the remuneration is better where agricultural conditions are more favourable.

371.

A factor which has a very considerable influence is the almost universal practice of granting grazing rights as part of the remuneration. This is an important consideration from the point of view of obtaining a labour supply for the farm, but as regards the support which it gives to the Native it has an effect which must be further considered. As we have explained elsewhere, the Native does not in the first instance regard his stock from an economic angle and he therefore does not get the income from them which he should. This is particularly instanced by certain northern districts of Natal where strong complaints were made by the Natives of the inadequacy of their remuneration on the farms; yet when we came to examine the cattle holding of these Natives, we found that it actually exceeded the total cattle holding of the Europeans, in spite of the fact that there are no Reserves in those districts. The following figures illustrate this point:—

POPULATION (ESTIMATED) AND CATTLE IN RURAL AREAS OF CERTAIN NATAL DISTRICTS, 1930.

| District. | Rural Population. | | Cattle. | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| | Europeans. | Natives. | European Owned. | Owned by Natives on European Farms. |
| Ngotshe | 900 | 27,000 | 26,229 | 51,787 |
| Paulpietersburg | 1,000 | 11,800 | 11,858 | 13,938 |
| Utrecht | 2,000 | 24,000 | 38,759 | 30,153 |
| Vryheid | 3,800 | 55,000 | 51,328 | 76,744 |
| TOTAL | 7,700 | 117,800 | 134,084 | 171,622 |

372.

In addition to the above-mentioned numbers of cattle the Natives in these Districts had the following other stock on European farms:—

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| Horses, mules and donkeys | 15,249 |
| Sheep | 17,271 |
| Goats | 154,795 |

With the low income-producing value of these cattle it is probably true that the Natives experience difficulty in making ends meet, in spite of the total number of stock which they possess. These Natives received the bulk of their remuneration in the form of grazing for their stock.

373.

Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts hold that *the fact* that the number of cattle of Natives in those districts exceeds the total number of cattle belonging to Europeans cannot be considered apart from the number of people owning those cattle. A glance at the Table in paragraph 371 will show that the cattle of the Natives represent approximately the same average per head of the population as occurs in many other parts of the Union. The Natives in these Northern Natal districts do complain bitterly about the inadequacy of their remuneration on the farms. When the number of Natives in these districts is considered it cannot be said that they get per individual more grazing privileges than are granted in many other parts of the Union where more favourable other conditions are given to labour tenants. The great dissatisfaction among the Natives in those districts may be traced to a number of causes, such as the fact that there are no Reserves in what was until comparative recently purely Native territory; that most of the Chiefs are landless; and that the large numbers of the Natives, all dependent for their homes on European landowners, make it impossible for the Natives to secure for their services remuneration which meets the minimum needs for a Native's standard of living.

374.

From the foregoing it is clear that purely economic considerations do not, alone, affect the amount of labour available for agriculture, and we therefore attempt to give an analysis of the factors operating in determining the supply of labour on farms.

*Farm Labour—Supply Factors.***375.**

Of the favourable factors, an exceedingly important one is the love of the Native for his cattle, and his desire to stay where he can get grazing. This factor will outweigh a considerable amount of economic hardship in other directions. It assures the farmer a considerable supply of labour in many parts of the Union: in fact it is the basis of the labour tenant system. That the farmer does not require to pay wages in cash, which is generally somewhat scarce on the farms, also tends to keep the system going.

*Agricultural Progress is Disintegrating the System of Labour Tenancy.***376.**

It is however well to draw attention to the fact that economic conditions are disintegrating the system and that more and more, as time goes on, European farmers, and the Natives on European farms, will have to adjust themselves to a different basis of labour. Where land values have risen and intensive cultivation is coming in, it is no longer economically possible for the farmer either to give the grazing which the Native wants or to allow him to work any portion of the land according to his own primitive methods. In such areas therefore labour shortage is beginning to be felt owing largely to the farmers' inability to remunerate in the manner which the Natives prefer. In other areas the number of cattle, which the Native is allowed to graze, is being severely limited. This again brings conflict between farmer and labour tenant. The farmer looks at the question from the point of view of the *value* of the land; the Native of the *number* of his cattle. If the farmer insists on the reduction of the number of cattle, the Native considers that he is being unjustly treated. There is nothing unreasonable in the farmer's attitude in view of the fact that the land has risen in value; to the Native the demand that he shall sell part of his stock in cold blood seems cruel and unjust. Frequently he will ask for a "trek pass" rather than reduce the number of his cattle, and in actual practice the result is very often that many of his animals die. In times of drought large numbers of Native cattle die, but the Native will proceed to gather together a herd again after the drought, only to go through the same Sisyphean cycle once more without marvelling at its futility.

377.

As time goes on the European farmers will have to insist on even further reductions in the number of Native scrub cattle, and the basis of the Native labour tenant system will disappear. At present, in fact, farmers in well developed districts experience some difficulty in getting sufficient labour at good cash wages without any other privileges, while in less developed areas Natives hold large numbers of cattle and complain bitterly of the inadequacy of the cash remuneration.

378.

Where the Native has few or no cattle the benefit which he derives from grazing rights is adversely affected. Frequently no other privilege is substituted. On the other hand Natives with few cattle find a place easily where grazing is scarce. Farmers, however, who have plenty of grazing prefer tenants with cattle, maintaining that such Natives have a greater stake in the farm and are therefore more likely to prove satisfactory workers.

379.

Another favourable supply factor is the low cost of prime necessities and the free use of many of these. Native witnesses have told your Commission that when a Native requires money he goes to work in town, but when he requires stock he goes to work on the farm. Further, the cost of feeding and housing the Native's family on the farm is undoubtedly very low in comparison with the town, where many things have to be paid for, which are obtained free on the farm.

380.

An additional favourable circumstance is the fact that the Native is accustomed to open spaces and when he settles down to family life he generally prefers the country to the town. This factor does not apply however to the young people and there is a continual stream of these going to town.

381.

There are, however, many factors which react unfavourably on the supply of farm labour.

*The Drift of Young Natives to Towns.***382.**

Under the labour tenant system the benefit of payment in kind goes to the head of the family. The system originated at a time when the Native family was a well-knit organization in which the benefit to the head of the family was also a benefit to the family as a whole. The family unity has broken down to a considerable extent under the influence of the European, and the young men, and even the young women are frequently dissatisfied with their position in the family. One of the outstanding migrational movements in the Union is the movement of the young Natives to towns. They frequently abscond from their homes leaving their work unfinished, leaving the cattle untended, and giving no notice to their parents of their intention.

383.

As against the monotony of the farm they have heard from their comrades of the glitter, the movement, the excitement of town life. In the eyes of a young Native a visit to Johannesburg frequently ranks with the circumcision school as a necessary preliminary towards the attainment of manhood. The solidarity of the family having ceased to be a factor holding back the young Native, he contrasts his life on the farm, where he gets next to nothing for himself of what he earns, with the attractive picture of life in town, which is brought back by those who have been there. There he will be able to spend all he earns on himself and as length of vision is not a strong point with primitive people, he disregards the problems which will arise when he wants to get married and settle down, and he freely and not very wisely spends the money which he earns in town. Parents complain that they have frequently to find lobolo-cattle and even money for taxes for their prodigal sons. The older Natives complain bitterly throughout the country that their children are not sending back money as they used to do. A large number of incentives, from the lowest to the highest, draws the young Native to town: potent drink, *amours*, fine clothes, better opportunities of education, contact with civilization.

384.

This factor introduces further difficulty in relations between farmer and labour tenant. The farmer takes on a labour tenant in order to obtain the labour of his children; the children abscond or do not come back when it is their turn to put in their period of labour; the farmer, finding that he does not get the labour which he requires, ejects the head of the family and this causes illfeeling.

385.

There is also a very striking conflict between the terms of service on the farms, particularly in Natal, and on the mines. The period of service for the labour tenant in Natal is generally six months. The period on the mines for recruited Natives is 270 shifts, which necessarily takes more than nine months to complete. Many farm youths are recruited, but being only free for six months they cannot possibly fulfil both contracts, and again dissatisfaction and difficulties between the Native kraalhead and the farmer result.

*Effects of Payment in Kind.***386.**

Another very important factor is the small proportion of the farm wage which is paid in cash. Generally the amount is not enough for the cash requirements of the labour tenant, and he must necessarily increase it by going to work elsewhere. Sometimes no cash is paid at all. The Native is apt to discount the benefits which he receives in kind. In his tribal state he has free use of the soil, and the idea of having to pay for its use is therefore strange to him. Under the influence of the European system he puts up with the necessity of having to work for his place on the farm. A large number of Natives who appeared before the Commission argued as if they got no remuneration for their labour at all, or alternatively contrasted the small cash wage on the farm with the larger urban cash wage. It is another example of the impingement of European ideas based on a money economy on those of the subsistence economy of the Natives.

387.

The large proportion of payment in kind on the farms means that when there is a crop failure the Native is left very badly off. Most farmers take off the keen edge of this in various ways. In the best cases they give the Native sufficient food to tide him over, without making a charge for it; more commonly they lend him the grain he needs and require him to work

it off afterwards. In bad cases the grain is charged for at a price which involves a usurious rate of interest, and in such cases Natives, averse as they are to selling their stock, find it difficult to get free of debt. Except in the last case, the action of the farmer means however that he lends his servant the wherewithal to get his food on terms which involve cheaper credit than the latter would normally obtain from the stores.

Gregarious Instincts of Natives.

388.

The gregarious instincts of the Natives also represent a factor unfavourable to the supply of labour on many farms. The farmer, who can keep a large number of Native families, seldom has difficulty in getting enough labour and frequently keeps more than he requires. The small farmer who has to count his costs is always at a disadvantage in this respect. This factor incidentally leads to a considerable waste of labour on many large farms. The gregarious instinct causes many Natives to go to town, and this is not entirely due to the fact that it is socially pleasanter, because under the system of social communism of the Native, it is also an insurance against hard times. In town at least there is little risk of starving. As one Native put it, "If he were living in a town, I guess he would be better off than the one living on a farm, because in a place where there are many human beings about, and houses, and smell of food, he would feel comfortable in his inside".

389.

It should also be remembered that in the tribal state most of the work was done by women. The Native male is no more fond of hard physical exertion than most Europeans, and prefers the less strenuous nature of many town jobs, like house work, newspaper selling, delivery work, to the relatively harder farm work. There is therefore generally no shortage of labour in occupations of this nature, whereas in occupations like mining or farming, which involve more strenuous application, the problem of a sufficient labour supply is continually to the fore.

390.

Your Commission has referred above to the conditions which have given rise to the growth of the labour tenancy system and its reactions upon European farmers and Native labourers. We have been forced to the conclusion that it has disadvantages for both parties and that in so far as its disadvantages are felt by the Natives, it must be regarded as a cause of their migration to towns.

391.

The system is disintegrating and is bound to disappear in time under the force of economic pressure, much as the "bywoner" system has already largely disappeared. It is, however, necessary to consider what steps should be taken to simplify the transition.

392.

It has to be recognized at once that it would not be practicable to abolish the system by legislation or administrative action or to substitute a universal system of cash paid labour on farms, however desirable a change that might be. The existing system is too deeply rooted in the special conditions of both European land holding and Native mentality to make possible any short cuts to its removal.

Written Contracts.

393.

Many witnesses, both European and Native, advocated the introduction of written contracts to put an end to the large amount of misunderstanding arising from the system of oral contracts. Attempts have been made by farmers' organizations to bring this about, but without success. Witnesses generally stressed the point that written contracts must be universal, and that any partial system would fail. Magistrates invariably favour the introduction of written contracts.

394.

Your Commission considers that the time has come for legislation to be passed to make the completion of a written contract between farmer and tenant obligatory.

395.

An official form of contract allowing latitude for variations in the detail of forms of remuneration to the labourer, should be made available farmers' organizations being consulted in its drafting.

396.

It would be desirable that the contracts entered into should be executed in some simple form before an official, but if that is considered not to be feasible it should be stipulated that all contracts should be notified to the Magistrate of the district and be recorded there.

397.

Further, your Commission considers that a trial might be made by farmers of a system under which all labour tenants' contracts would stipulate on the one side a nominal comprehensive cash wage, with or without food, agreed on by the parties, and on the other side either the payment by the labourer, or the deduction from his wage, of a regulated charge for the grazing of the Native's stock and for the use of the land he cultivates. These charges would have to be based upon the recognized value of the land as used.

398.

It is considered that such a system would offer certain definite advantages. The farmer would have a clear idea of the gross as well as the nett cost to him of his Native labour. He would realize when entering into agreements what exactly he was giving up in the way of potential land produce, agricultural and pastoral, through paying wages to his Native labour wholly or in part by giving up the use of some of his land.

399.

The Native on the other hand would know just how much he really was being paid for his labour. The Commission was assured by reliable witnesses that it is a common misconception in the Native mind that under labour tenancy arrangements where the return to the Native for his work is solely in the use of the farmer's land, he is getting no payment whatever. Though the plan proposed might not entirely remove this misunderstanding, it should help to bring the real facts home to him.

400.

The charge for grazing expressed in terms of cash would help to make the Native realize that he must certainly pay for his stock, whether good or bad, and would at least clear the ground for the beginning of the educative process which in time may bring him to an understanding of the advantages in productive capacity of good over bad stock, as well as the costliness of unlimited increase of numbers. It will therefore assist the transition to the purely economic outlook on cattle.

401.

The Native would further be in a much better position to compare his remuneration on the farm with what he could get in town. At present he is often misled by the prospect of a cash wage in the latter, into believing that he would be so much better off there; whereas he is in fact very often not actually improving his real position by migrating.

PART III

**NATIVES IN
URBAN AREAS**

Urban Conditions and Administration.

Growing Urbanization of Natives.

402.

There has been for some time a considerable measure of disquietude about the drift of Natives to the towns. It would have been very valuable to your Commission to have had the results of the total population Census of 1931 in order to measure the extent of this drift. Unfortunately the cancellation of the Census in respect of non-Europeans deprived us of such data. It is therefore necessary to use what fragmentary information is available.

403.

The Census of 1921 marked an increasing urbanization of the Native population, indicated particularly by the rate of increase in the number of female Natives in the towns. The figures are as follows:

NATIVES IN URBAN AREAS, UNION, 1911 AND 1921.

| | Number. | | Rate of Increase, Per Cent. |
|--------------|---------|---------|-----------------------------|
| | 1911. | 1921. | |
| Males..... | 410,161 | 439,707 | 7.20 |
| Females..... | 97,981 | 147,293 | 50.33 |

404.

Since 1921, Censuses of the Native population were conducted, for the year 1926, by the Union Office of Census on behalf of the Municipalities of Capetown, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Bloemfontein. Censuses of the Native population were also taken by the local administration in a number of towns. The percentage increases in comparison with those for the Europeans are given in the following Table:

| Urban Area. | Period. | Percentage Increase of Population. | |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------------------------------|------------|
| | | Natives. | Europeans. |
| Capetown..... | 1921-1926 | 36.51 | 9.66 |
| Port Elizabeth..... | " | 22.57 | 20.64 |
| East London..... | " | 44.17 | 12.56 |
| Bloemfontein..... | " | 23.06 | 13.15 |
| Pietermaritzburg..... | 1921-1930 | 27.5 | 17.0* |
| Graaff Reinet..... | 1921-1931 | 115.83 | — 1.53 |
| Kroonstad †..... | " | 99.1 | 20.6 |
| Pacys..... | " | 72.44 | 6.51 |
| Uitenhage..... | 1921-1930 | 71.35 | 19.64 |

* Europeans and Coloured (enumerated together).

† The 1921 figures are for the whole area; the later figures for the location only. If figures for Natives living on their employers' premises were available the percentage increases would be larger.

405.

As against these increases, Harrismith and Potchefstroom report slight decreases in the Native population.

406.

For the undermentioned areas information is available about the increase in the Native female population. The increase of females in an urban area is some indication of the increase of urbanization of the Native population. In the case of the last five areas the figures refer to women residents in the locations only. In some cases the rate of increase may have

been inflated by migration of women from the proclaimed area to the location. The date of the proclamation of the urban area under section 5 of the Urban Areas Act is given in brackets after each of these five towns.

| Urban Area. | Period. | Percentage Increase. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Capetown..... | 1921-1926 | 21.9 |
| Port Elizabeth..... | " | 21.5 |
| East London..... | " | 47.3 |
| Bloemfontein..... | " | 31.5 |
| Parys..... | 1921-1931 | 86.8 |
| Harrismith..... | " | 1.9 |
| Brakpan *..... | " | 58.6 |
| Germiston *..... | " | 158.9 |
| Krugeradorp *..... | " | 99.0 |
| Potchefstroom *..... | " | 20.0 |
| Pretoria † (1924)..... | 1926-1931 | 31.5 |
| Roo-depoort-Maraisburg † (1928)..... | 1925-1931 | 84.7 |
| Springs † (1929)..... | 1926-1931 | 67.4 |
| Vereeniging † (1932)..... | 1928-1931 | 46.4 |
| Witbank † (1928)..... | 1924-1931 | 160.4 |

* The 1921 figures were for the whole area: the later figures for the location only. If figures for Natives living on their employers' premises were available the percentage increase would be larger.

† Females resident in locations only.

407.

In the absence of a Census since 1921 it is not possible to state whether the experience of these towns is typical of the Union as a whole. It is, however, significant that in every one of those given in the Table the rate of increase of the Native population has exceeded, and sometimes considerably exceeded, that of the European population. When it is remembered that during this period there has been a marked urbanization of the European population, this fact is striking.

408.

Urban authorities throughout the Union expressed concern at the increase in the urban Native population, in view of the liability for housing which the Urban Areas Act imposes on them.

The Principles of the Urban Areas Act.

409.

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act, No. 21 of 1925, as amended by Act No. 25 of 1930, contains in respect of European areas two very important principles of public policy, namely:

- (1) The elimination of existing Natives slums, and the prevention of the formation of future Native slums;
- (2) The residential segregation of Natives.

410.

The details of this important legislation are set out in a statement prepared by the Department of Native Affairs, which appears as Annexure 15 to this Report. We deal here only with certain points, which are necessary for the comprehension of the Report itself.

411.

Under sections 2 and 3 of the Act, the Minister of Native Affairs may, if satisfied after local inquiry made in public that the housing provided in the area of any urban local authority is inadequate for the needs of Natives ordinarily employed there, require that local authority to make better provision; if the authority fails to do so within the time fixed, the Minister may have the work carried out at the expense of the area.

412.

The duty of providing for adequate housing of Natives is therefore thrown on the local authority. In practice, as private capital has no scope to build houses for Natives *inside the locations*, the local authority must either build them for its own account, or enable Natives to do so for theirs.

413.

As regards the second principle, section 5 of the Act as amended makes provision for the segregation of Natives, unless exempted under the Act. When an area has been proclaimed under section 5, a non-exempted Native may be called upon by the urban local authority to take up, within one month, his residence in an area set aside for the occupation of Natives. It

is a condition for serving such notice that the urban authority must be in a position to make accommodation available for him. After the expiry of the period of notice, the Native commits an offence by remaining in the proclaimed area, and the person who harbours him likewise commits an offence.

414. Natives who come to town to look for work must obtain a permit to do so. Natives who cannot find work within the time allowed them, may be required to leave the area.

The Implications of the Anti-Slum Provisions of the Act.

415. This therefore gives the urban, local authority a certain amount of power to restrict the entry of Natives. In view of the important financial obligations which an urban authority may be required to undertake in conformity with the anti-slum provisions of the Act, this is an essential corollary.

416. An unlimited influx of Natives into urban areas would, however, burden the urban authorities with an impossible task. The limiting provisions are therefore not an arbitrary limitation of the freedom of movement, but a corollary to valuable anti-slum legislation. On the other hand the administrative difficulties in the way of fully enforcing those powers are formidable. We consider that if the policy of the development of the Reserves outlined in this Report is carried out, it will have a material effect in reducing the drift to the towns.

Progress Achieved under the Act.

417. Your Commission is of opinion that the Act represents valuable social legislation, and we are glad to be able to report, from personal inspection and detailed investigation in a large number of towns, that considerable progress towards satisfactory Native housing has been made under it, although it has been in force only eight years. We feel that the Act holds out promise for the future. We accordingly make below an examination of its implications, with the object of throwing into relief certain considerations to which due weight must be given if the Act is to secure all the benefits for an orderly social system, which may reasonably be expected from it.

418. We draw attention below to the existence of slum areas in some of the larger towns. The existence of these is a challenge to the civic pride of some of the chief cities of the Union, and the work of reclamation is necessary from the point of view of both Europeans and Natives.

419. In order to give a picture of the existing position we set out certain salient features of Native housing in the nine principal urban areas of the Union.

Bloemfontein.

420. The Bloemfontein Municipality has in respect of its new location pursued the policy of assisting the Natives to build their own houses by making loans to them. In this respect Bloemfontein differs from other large urban areas, which have mostly provided Native housing largely, and in some places exclusively, by building on their own account. The old location at Waaihoek is gradually being demolished.

421. The Bloemfontein Council rents a Native the stand, for which he pays a rental of 6s. per month, which includes services, and advances to him an amount, which works out at £35 for a four-roomed house (rooms 12 ft. by 12 ft.), for the purchase of building materials other than bricks. These are made by the Native with material found on the spot. He also supplies the labour, hiring or obtaining from his friends such assistance as he requires. Bloemfontein possesses natural advantages for the carrying out of this scheme. It has suitable clay for brickmaking near the location, and a considerable number of its Natives have acquired sufficient knowledge, generally on farms, of the handling of builder's tools to be able to build for themselves. The location is well laid out, there is greater variety in the buildings than in most municipally-built locations, and generally the houses are larger. Many houses, especially the newer ones, are reasonably well built.

422.

There is a Native dispensary in the location with a full-time European doctor in charge. About 40 per cent. of the cases are treated free. For the rest a charge of 3s. 6s. per visit is made. Lectures are given on hygiene and are well attended. There is a Child Welfare Society with a staff of three qualified Native nurses. At Tempe Hospital for Infectious Diseases there are fifty-five beds for Natives. Adequate sports grounds are provided. There are twelve football and tennis clubs. A cinema is run by the Bantu Y.M.C.A. which also arranges debates, lectures, and indoor games, and keeps a library.

423.

Trading is carried on in the location and in the Native market. There are about 250 Natives carrying on trade as eating-house keepers and hawkers. There is also a number of builders in the location.

424.

There is a Bantu Loan Bank; and there are two Burial Societies, one of which has been in existence since 1896.

Capetown.

425.

Capetown has two Native locations, Ndabeni and Langa. Ndabeni was established by the Cape Government in 1902, for the prevention of the spread of plague. After the passing of the Urban Areas Act arrangements were completed by which the City Council took over Ndabeni, the intention being to transfer the population to a new location and to convert the area into industrial sites. In the meantime the Council had taken over from the Government certain land on the Vygekraal Estate, on which is built the Langa location, which was opened in September, 1927. It now has accommodation to house 5,000 Natives. The present population is under 2,000.

426.

It is the intention of the Council gradually to transfer the population of Ndabeni to Langa, but the Natives at Ndabeni object strongly to being moved. They have taken the matter as far as the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, where a test case was lost by them.

427.

The old Ndabeni location is certainly not suitable for a modern Native township as contemplated by the Urban Areas Act. It is squalid, dirty, and generally undesirable. On the other hand the Natives complain that Langa is too far away from Capetown. Complaints against the rentals were met by three successive reductions.

428.

At Ndabeni married quarters are rented at from 10s. to 20s. per month. At Langa single men now pay 7s. to 10s. per month, and families 15s. for a two-roomed cottage. These rentals represent in some instances a reduction of over 50 per cent. of the rental originally charged.

429.

The original rentals had been so calculated as to give an economic return on the capital of £238,328 expended on the location. The effect of the reductions was to make the subsidization of the rentals a necessity.

430.

In December, 1929, the Council resolved to relieve the township of the interest and sinking fund charges on the capital expended on roads, drains, and sewers. In spite of this there was at the end of 1930, when Langa, which is chiefly responsible for the loss, had been in existence a little over three years, an accumulated deficit against the Native Revenue Account of £42,496. It is estimated by the City Council that even if this deficit is written off there will be a further deficit of £11,800 during 1931. There would appear to be no hope of materially reducing this deficit until Ndabeni is closed down and the whole population transferred to Langa. The opposition on the part of Natives to the transfer to Langa is therefore not only retarding the cleaning up of an area which is already largely a slum, but is heaping up a deficit against the Native Revenue Account which will not be conducive to the provision of satisfactory housing for Capetown Natives in the future.

431.

The type of house and the lay-out of Langa are both good, and would attract Coloured and even European householders if the township were open to them.

432. On the other hand your Commission considers that it is unlikely, even if the whole population of Ndabeni is transferred to Langa, which would require the expenditure of more money for buildings, that housing can be provided there at an economic rental for a long time to come. The capital cost of the existing location is high owing to the fact that European labour was used in building it, and as pointed out below, the Native cannot be expected to pay rentals calculated on costs based on a much higher rate of wages than he is in a position to earn.

433. At both Ndabeni and Langa all the houses belong to the City Council. Sports grounds are provided at both these locations. There is an excellent hospital at Langa with eighteen beds and an out-patients department. Free medical treatment is given and the homes are visited by both the doctor and the nurses. The hospital is in the charge of a European matron, and there are one European sister, three qualified Native nurses, and three orderlies.

434. There are schools under the Education Department at both villages, and St. Cyprian's Mission also has its schools in both. There are four churches in Ndabeni, and three in Langa, under European supervision, and three in each under Native control.

435. Natives not housed in Ndabeni or Langa live inside Capetown, in properties the bulk of which are slums, or in villages outside the Municipal boundary, like Kensington, Windermere, and Elsie's River.

436. Your Commission inspected some of these slum properties, and found very disagreeable conditions. Natives in certain buildings pay 10s. per month for a place in which to sleep. Frequently there were as many occupants per room as could be accommodated on the floor. Many of these Natives are registered voters. In other cases the Natives are men who are required to be at their work at an early hour. While the problem of housing these Natives continues, the cleaning up of the slums in the dock area will be a difficult matter.

437. Natives who are registered voters in the Cape Province are exempted from the segregation provisions of section 5 of the Urban Areas Act. On the other hand the urban local authority may be required to provide accommodation for them. It would therefore appear that such Natives are free to demand accommodation at will and leave it when it no longer suits their convenience. Up to the present this has not been a matter of serious concern, but the Capetown Municipality pointed out the anomaly as one which may in future increase the financial burden of the Urban Areas Act. Your Commission considers that it is illogical to give the Native Parliamentary voter the right both of deriving benefit from the Act and of claiming exemption from it, whichever course suits him best at any particular time.

Durban.

438. The accommodation provided for Natives in the urban area of the Borough of Durban consists very largely of hostels for single Natives, men, and women. There are four hostels for males, with accommodation for 7,785 persons. The rental is 5s. per head per month. There is one hostel for females with accommodation for 305 persons. Electric light is supplied free of charge in the hostels. In addition there are 120 excellent cottages, for married Natives, provided with electric light, water-borne sewerage, individual water-supply and a shower-bath. Except for provision in the hostels for males, by which men receiving temporary visits from their wives can be accommodated in married quarters, these 120 cottages represent the sole provision made by the Borough for married Natives. The rental is 20s. per month, which includes all services. There are recreation halls in the hostels, where religious services are held by various denominations. Bioscope performances are also given in these. Football, cricket, and tennis clubs are in existence, using sports grounds in various parts of the town.

439. The Native population in 1921 was 29,011 and was estimated in 1930 to be 40,000. The persons representing the difference between this number and some 9,000 persons for whose residence the Council makes provision are housed in various ways. Domestic servants, predominantly males, estimated

by the Borough to number about 10,000 but by the Joint Council about 15,000, reside generally on the premises of their employers. A large number of Natives employed in industrial and commercial occupations are housed in private compounds, licensed for this purpose. A further class, consisting chiefly of exempted Natives, is housed in slums in the town under unsatisfactory conditions. Sufficient accommodation is not yet available for all the Natives who are normally working in the urban area. The Borough Council has set aside 425 acres for the creation of a Native village, and the carrying out of this scheme is an urgent necessity.

440.

In the absence of sufficient accommodation within the urban area many Natives have in the past taken up their residence in the so-called peri-Durban area, which until recently was not under the control of the Corporation. In this area slums developed which are as bad as the worst slum areas in Johannesburg, Capetown, or Korsten. The incorporation of this area in the Borough will give the Council a considerable, and very urgent problem of slum-reclamation.

441.

The housing hitherto provided has been generally let at a sub-economic rental. Durban has in the past been fortunate in having large profits from its Municipal beer, market, and eating house monopoly to meet losses on housing.

East London.

442.

The estimated present Native population of East London ranges from 18,000 to 20,000.

443.

There have been for many years two locations in East London, the East Bank and the West Bank. The former is 137 morgen in extent, and the latter 30 morgen. Before the passing of the Urban Areas Act both these locations were to no small extent uncared for.

444.

Since the passing of the Act the East London Municipality has awakened to its responsibilities, and to the already existing decent houses, the following additions have been made:

In the East Bank Location, the Municipal Housing scheme provided for the erection of 106 single-roomed houses, with wooden floors and asbestos roofing. Sanitary blocks, shower baths, wash tubs were also provided. The streets were kerbed, guttered, and made up.

The cost of the scheme for this location was £28,703. The price of each house, single rooms £130 and double rooms £242 was, however, excessive and meant an unwarranted load on the Native account.

In the West Bank Location the housing scheme consisted of 181 brick rondawels, and 40 two-roomed houses, of re-inforced concrete with antheap floors. As in the case of the East Bank Location the streets have been kerbed, guttered, and hardened. Two sanitary blocks were provided, and sufficient taps, shower baths, and wash tubs. The cost of the whole scheme amounted to £32,310, the rondawels costing £102 and the two-roomed houses £346. The rondawels are placed much too near one another. The rent charged varies from 15s. to 25s., according to the type of house occupied.

445.

In addition there are in the East Bank Location four Municipal lodging houses built prior to 1900. They are constructed of wood and iron, brick lined and wood-floored. There are 157 rooms and six kitchens in the four blocks.

446.

Native visitors put up at the houses of friends or at Native lodging-houses, of which there are several in the two locations. There is also a well equipped accommodation house run by a Native. There are fourteen eating houses, and thirty-two fruit shops in the locations run by Natives.

447.

In addition to the Municipal buildings there are in the East Bank Location 1,498 privately owned buildings, ranging in size from 234 one-roomed houses to 155 eight-roomed houses.

448.

In the West Bank Location there are 218 privately owned houses, ranging from forty-nine one-roomed to two eight-roomed dwellings.

449. In the East Bank Location there are fifteen churches ministering to fifteen different sects.

Johannesburg.

450. The Johannesburg City Council has established three Native villages, namely Klipspruit (population 8,907 in March, 1931), Western Native Township (population 16,333) and Eastern Native Township (population 3,309), and has recently acquired a further three thousand acres of land on which to establish a fourth village to accommodate 40,000 people. In addition it has three Native hostels, two for men—Wemmer (population 2,162), and Salisbury and Jubilee (population 314)—and one for women (population 11) near the Eastern Native Township. It has also acquired land for another hostel for men.

451. Many Natives working in Johannesburg live at Alexandra Township.

452. At Klipspruit, which is the old location, the majority of the houses were erected by the Natives themselves. They pay 8s. to 10s. per month per stand, which charge includes certain services. At the Eastern and Western Native townships the houses all belong to the City Council. They were built by white labour, at an approximate cost of £85 for a two-roomed, and £110 for a three-roomed cottage. Some stands are fenced, the cost being £7. 10s. per stand. The rent for a three-roomed cottage is 30s., for a two-roomed cottage 25s., and for a single room 20s. per month. This includes water, sanitary services, street lighting, and upkeep of roads. It is therefore not a pure rental but includes charges which would normally be covered by rates.

453. The charges at Salisbury and Jubilee, and at the women's hostel, are 7s. 6d. per month, and at the Wemmer hostel 10s. per month. These include the usual services.

454. At Klipspruit Natives hold forty-three trading licences. Provision is now being made for trading sites in the two other townships.

455. There are three schools in the Western Native Township, four at Klipspruit, and there is one at the Eastern Native Township. These schools are all denominational.

456. The Council has provided seven football and cricket fields and six tennis courts. There are twenty-four football and twelve tennis clubs. Eleven acres of ground have been purchased for a general sports ground, but this has not yet been put in order. The Council has further contributed £2,000 to the Bantu Sports Club. There is in each township a hall for the use of the inhabitants.

457. A medical practitioner visits each village three times a week, and once a week a clinic is open in each. There are two trained Native female nurses resident in each village.

458. While substantial progress has been made in applying the principle of residential segregation, there is still a large amount to be done. The capital expenditure, so far, has been in round figures £650,000, and voting powers to expand for a further sum of £500,000 has been obtained. The area to which section 5 of the Act has not yet been applied comprises the undermentioned townships:

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Albertskroon. | Marshall's Town. |
| Albertsville. | New Clare. |
| Argyll. | New Doornfontein. |
| Bertrams. | Newlands. |
| Braamfontein. | Newtown. |
| Braamfontein Werf. | North Doornfontein. |
| City and Suburban. | Prospect. |
| Claremont. | Sophiatown. |
| Cottesloe. | Spes Bona. |
| Dunkeld West. | Sunnyside. |
| East Town. | Wanderer's View. |
| Hurst Hill. | Waterval. |
| Johannesburg. | Westdene. |
| Malay Location. | Wolhuter. |

459.

Your Commission inspected a number of the slum yards in the City, in the Doornfontein and Johannesburg Central area, and were impressed both by the urgent need of cleaning them up and by the magnitude of the problem which faces the City Council in carrying out this task. Through the Municipal Native Affairs Department we obtained a number of details of five slum properties. The following Table gives a vivid picture of the appalling condition in these slums. The inhabitants in many cases augment their incomes by taking in washing from homes in Johannesburg.

DETAILS CONCERNING JOHANNESBURG SLUM PROPERTIES, NOVEMBER, 1931.

| Property. | Sq. Ft. | No. of Rooms. | No. of Inhabitants. | No. of Inhabitants per Room. | Value. | | Annual Rental. Estimated.* | Percentage of Valuation. |
|-----------|---------|---------------|---------------------|------------------------------|--------|---------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| | | | | | Site. | Improvements. | | |
| "A"..... | 18,000 | 43 | 367 | 8.5 | £ 330 | £ 4,750 | £ 645 | 12.7 |
| "B"..... | 15,550 | 33 | 238 | 7.2 | 405 | 1,800 | 495 | 28.0 |
| "C"..... | 3,257 | 35 | 308 | 8.8 | 610 | 3,260 | 525 | 13.66 |
| "D"..... | 15,000 | 26 | 242 | 9.3 | 330 | 350 | 300 | 59.1 |
| "E"..... | 35,000 | 47 | 220 | 4.7 | 1,860 | 3,030 | 605 | 14.25 |

* The Johannesburg Municipal Native Affairs Department states that 23s. per room per month is the average rental charged for slum property.

460.

The density of population in these yards is over 4,000,000 to the square mile. There are on an average 64 square feet per inhabitant—a space 8 ft. by 8 ft.—for living rooms, yards, and space to hang out washing to dry. Like all slum property these yards are very lucrative to the owners. Such and similar yards are centres of illicit liquor trade and immorality, a danger to the health and a standing reproach to the whole community. It is gratifying to note that the City Council is taking energetic steps to put an end to this state of affairs.

Kimberley.

461.

There are three locations under the jurisdiction of the Kimberley urban authority, all three within the Municipal area, viz.:

(1) The Kimberley Location, formerly known as No. 2 Location. Some old houses erected before the passing of the Act are still there, but the bulk of the buildings are new and were built according to Municipal plans.

(2) Number 3 Location, on a portion of the Bultfontein farm.

(3) The Green Point Location, which in past days had not the most pleasing prospect, has since the coming into force of the Urban Areas Act been largely and distinctly improved.

462.

The Kimberley Location has the largest area and the largest population, which includes a proportion of Coloured people. The area is 173 morgen, and the estimated population (Natives only) 7,500. The City Council to whom the site of the Kimberley Location belongs makes no charge for the use of the site.

463.

The Green Point or Beaconsfield Location has an area of 140 acres and an estimated population of 3,500.

464.

No. 3 Location, like the Green Point Location, is also on De Beers' property, but beyond a nominal rental of £1 per annum, the Company makes no charge for those two locations. No. 3 Location has an area of 14 acres and an estimated population of 300.

465.

Since the passing of the Urban Areas Act, great advance has been made in the housing conditions of the Native Locations, especially of the Green Point Location.

466.

The cost to the Municipality up to the beginning of 1931 of a complete housing scheme has been £48,000. The scheme includes (1) two-roomed cottages, of which 180 have been built; (2) three-roomed cottages, of which 100 have been built; (3) single rooms, in blocks of six, of which 370 have been put up. The cost of these houses to the Municipality was for a two-roomed cottage £122 10s.; for a three-roomed cottage £155; for a block of six single rooms £333. No doubt the fact that the building of these cottages and blocks was put out to European and Coloured contractors added to their cost.

467.

At first the rental was :

| | £ | s. | d. | |
|---------------------------------|---|----|----|------------|
| for a two-roomed house | 1 | 0 | 0 | per month, |
| for a three-roomed house | 1 | 5 | 0 | per month, |
| for a single room | | 12 | 0 | per month, |

but these charges were found to be beyond the means of the average Native and in 1926 the rents of the cottages were reduced to 17s. 6d. and 20s., respectively, roughly 25 per cent. of the earning capacity of the head of a family.

468.

The revenue received during 1930 in the form of rentals was £3,587, which was sufficient to meet the charges against the scheme.

469.

The Kimberley Municipality has established dispensaries in Location 2 and in the Green Point Location. These dispensaries are in the charge of a fully qualified European nurse with a qualified Native nurse as her assistant. These also act as health visitors and conduct a Child's Welfare Bureau.

470.

The water supply of the three locations is obtained direct from the town mains and public delivery standpipes are placed at convenient points throughout the locations. There is no restriction in the quantity of water that may be taken by the householders.

471.

In all the three locations ground is set apart for tennis, basket ball, cricket, and football.

472.

An assembly hall has been erected at No. 2 Location for the cost of which a loan of £3,000 has been raised on the security of the town rates. This assembly hall will provide facilities for bioscope entertainments, dances, musical gatherings and other meetings.

Pietermaritzburg.

473.

In March, 1930, the number of Natives in the urban area of the City of Pietermaritzburg was according to the local census 13,551. No Native village was established under the Urban Areas Act until 1928, but two hostels, one for men (64 residents) and one for women (75 residents) were in existence before this date. The majority of Natives lived in their own houses, or rented some sort of dwelling or shelter, chiefly from Indians. Many of these Natives had, and have, good dwellings, but those who rented their abodes frequently had to put up with any sort of shelter. The number living under very bad conditions at the time of our visit was estimated at between 1,000 and 1,500.

474.

In the Native village 100 houses were completed in 1928, and a further section of 100 was being built when the Commission visited Pietermaritzburg. The houses are very neat, and the lay-out of the village is excellent. Your Commission noticed particularly in Pietermaritzburg, but also in Langa and in other centres, the advantage of fencing the stand as an assistance to the maintenance of cleanliness, and a help towards giving the Natives house-pride. We are of opinion that the advantage of this fencing fully reimburses the cost. Gardening is encouraged by the giving of prizes for the best gardens. Native householders are very much assisted in improving their ground by gifts of plants from the local Botanical Society. The gardens in this location present a very pleasing appearance.

475.

Semi-detached two-roomed cottages cost £135. 18s. 7d. and detached two-roomed cottages cost £148. 12s. to erect. The rental is 17s. 6d. per month for the former and £1 for the latter. This includes all Municipal charges. Electric light is laid on, at a fixed charge of 3s. per month, included in the rent. The location was built with European labour at standard rates of pay.

476.

The Education Department maintains a school in the village, while there are seven night schools in town, well attended by Natives. The Council has maintained a beer monopoly since 1908. Natives trade in other goods at the Native market. The Council has provided two football grounds and a tennis court. There is a free bioscope performance every Saturday night. Concerts are held in the beer hall.

477.

The Corporation pays £500 a year to Grey's Hospital, which maintains certain wards. There is also a Native clinic in town, and the services of a fully qualified Native midwife are available.

478.

The bulk of the Natives still live outside the location. Only part of the urban area has been proclaimed under section 5 of the Act. There is an area known as New England, in which Natives have freehold title. Many of these have good substantial dwellings. Others live as tenants of Indians in the lower part of the town. Since the Commission's visit one of the worst insanitary areas, known as Hathorn's Hill, has been cleaned up, while similar work is proceeding in other parts.

479.

Like Durban, Pietermaritzburg has been fortunate in having large profits from its Municipal beer monopoly out of which to make the payments mentioned.

Port Elizabeth.

480.

The New Brighton Location (population 7,327), situate five or six miles from Port Elizabeth, was established by the Cape Government in 1903, the three existing Municipal locations being closed. In 1923 this location was transferred to the Municipality. The houses built before 1923 were mostly of wood and iron, and are now described as verminous and difficult to maintain in a cleanly and hygienic condition. There are over 1,000 of these houses and they are let at rentals of from 6s. to 9s. per month, for two rooms and a kitchen.

481.

Since 1923 the Municipality has erected 310 brick dwellings together with a brick building to accommodate 240 single men. For all except ten cottages European skilled labour was employed. The cost was £132 for a cottage of two rooms, kitchen and separate E.C., and £112 for two rooms only. The rental for the former is £1 2s. 6d. and for the latter £1 per month. Water is drawn from standpipes situated at convenient intervals. The amount used is metered, and charged against the Native Revenue Account at 2s. per 1,000 gallons. Electric light is provided throughout. A new housing scheme was under consideration when the Commission visited Port Elizabeth.

482.

There are two grocer's and two butcher's shops in the location belonging to Natives. There are two tennis clubs and several football and cricket clubs. A hall is provided for concerts and dances, and for the Native choir.

483.

The housing available is not enough for the Native population for Port Elizabeth, and many Natives live in Korsten. This area was until recently a village controlled by a Village Management Board, but in August, 1931, it was incorporated in the Port Elizabeth Municipality. The village is inhabited by Europeans, Natives, Indians, Chinese, and other coloured persons, who live cheek by jowl in the closest proximity. Many Natives settled in Korsten after the closing down of the Municipal Locations in 1903 and bought stands on which they have built shacks of various descriptions. It is estimated that 1,000 Natives hold land in Korsten, either in freehold or under hire-purchase agreements. Your Commission inspected the area and saw living conditions in some parts which were indescribably filthy and insanitary. Most of the houses or shanties are built of wood and iron, the latter term including rusty paraffin tins. The area is very much overcrowded.

484. The water supply is drawn from three standpipes on the boundary of the village. This is quite inadequate. Queues of vehicles of all descriptions carrying water containers are lined up at these pipes all day. When they have obtained a supply of water they hawk it round the village at 2d. to 3d. per four gallon tin. Under the circumstances all the rain water that can be caught from the roofs is stored up, frequently in open receptacles which are not overclean.

485. Korsten represents a continuous menace to the health of Port Elizabeth, and its incorporation is a welcome sign that the Municipality is taking up a duty to people, most of whom earn their livelihood in that town.

486. There is a Native nurse in the East Bank Location and the Municipality has in contemplation the erection of a district Native clinic, an assembly hall, a reading and recreation room, and a sports ground. There is a Native Infant Consultation Bureau conducted by the ladies of the East London Child Life Protection Society.

Pretoria.

487. In Pretoria there are three Native locations, viz., Schoolplaats, Marabas, and Bantule. Schoolplaats is an old location which used to belong to the Berlin Mission but has now been taken over by the City Council. The number of Natives living in the three locations in 1930 was 9,663, as against an estimated Native population of 29,000 of which 3,000 are accounted for by Natives in the Artillery Barracks, Roberts Heights, Prisons, Mental and Leper Hospitals. There is a Municipal male Native hostel and there are two private hostels for females.

488. In Bantule there is an area set aside where Natives can rent a stand and put up their own buildings. For the rest the houses are provided by the Council. The Municipal houses were all built by European labour. The majority of the buildings are of concrete or brick. The cost of two rooms and kitchen in concrete was £130, and of three rooms and kitchen in concrete £185, and in brick £314. Rentals are 4s. per month for a stand only, 25s. for a two-roomed and 35s. for a three-roomed cottage. These rents include services.

489. There are sixteen Native traders in Marabas and four in Bantule. There are some twenty denominational churches, and five or six denominational schools.

490. Three football grounds, a number of tennis courts, sports grounds for children, and a general sports ground are in existence. There is a sports ground at Groenkloof, and the Council intends spending approximately £1,000 on another ground.

491. In the General Hospital 90 per cent. of the Native cases are treated free. For the rest the charge is 5s. 6d. per day. The Municipality conducts V. D. clinics and a Tuberculosis clinic. A Coloured midwife and nurses do service in the location, and the Assistant Medical Officer of Health conducts a daily dispensary for Native children at the Municipal compound.

492. The locations are now full, and the Council is considering a project of building a new location at Quaggaspoort alongside the Roberts Heights railway line. Land west of Bantule, and adjoining it, was originally surveyed for the extension of this location. Owing to objections from the West End ratepayers this has been dropped. The area is excellently suited for the purpose, and the expense of survey has already been made. The objection would appear to be that there are enough Natives in the western part of the urban area and that locations for other Natives should be found elsewhere. Your Commission considers this objection to be unreasonable. If logically applied it would lead to the establishment of a number of small locations dotted about urban areas. The application of the principles set out in paragraphs 409 *sqq.* of this Report would thereby be made more difficult.

493. The recent incorporation of Innesdale Municipality which has no Municipal locations, makes the problem of a new location area more urgent.

494. Many Natives who work in Pretoria live in the neighbouring villages of Eerste Rust, Riverside, Lady Selborne, and Eastwood, where they have freehold title.

495. We proceed to discuss certain important questions arising from the application of the Urban Areas Act.

Housing—How to be Provided.

496. In the main there are two methods of providing Native housing under the Act. The method which has been followed by the Johannesburg Municipality in its newer locations, under which all the houses are provided by the local authority and rented to Natives, is an example of one. The other is that followed by Bloemfontein in assisting Natives with building means to erect their own houses. For convenience we shall refer to these as the Johannesburg and Bloemfontein schemes, respectively.

497. For the Bloemfontein scheme certain definite advantages are claimed. It does not involve the urban authority in large capital commitments. It avoids the drab, sometimes hideous uniformity of many municipally-built locations. It gives the Native some choice in the design of his house, subject to its conforming to municipal building regulations, and therefore helps to develop in him a proper desire for the attractiveness of his surroundings. It makes use of his own labour and thereby makes available a home to him at lower cost. This tends to reduce overcrowding and avoids the evil of subsidization of housing, with its questionable effect on the wage-level of Natives. Moreover it gives the Native a personal interest in the location, which is in itself a valuable social asset.

498. As against this, various objections are urged. It is maintained that what success has been achieved by the Bloemfontein scheme is largely due to the favourable local factors, to which we referred above in describing the scheme. It is true that most other large urban areas do not have the same advantages. But as against this it may be pointed out that the absence of these factors would only mean that larger loans, repayable over a longer period, would have to be made to Natives. The cost would still be lower than that of the municipal schemes.

499. Again it is urged that the buildings put up by Natives cannot be expected to be so well-built, or so durable, as those built under the Johannesburg scheme with white skilled labour; that therefore there is risk of the location developing into a slum, and thereby defeating the main object of the Urban Areas Act. It has to be admitted that many of the buildings put up by Natives will not be so durable. But the location need not for that reason develop into a slum. The creation of slum conditions is a result of careless administration, or of poverty of the inhabitants. Many of the slum houses of European cities were the dwellings of the great in the past. Proper administration could prevent this evil, and poverty is not likely to be diminished, but rather increased, by the level of rentals now generally charged in locations under the Johannesburg and similar schemes.

500. A further objection is that the Bloemfontein scheme gives the Natives a fixed interest in the urban area, and therefore encourages their urbanization. Your Commission agrees that it is undesirable to encourage the urbanization of the Native population, but cannot admit that this is a valid objection to the Bloemfontein scheme. It is perfectly clear that a considerable number of Natives have become permanent town dwellers. No good purpose is served by disregarding this fact, or by acting on the assumption that it is not a fact. In the interest of the efficiency of urban industries it is better to have a fixed urban Native population to the extent to which such population is necessary than the present casual drifting population. It is, therefore, better in the national interest to organize the urban areas in such a manner as to give the most satisfactory results. To continue employing Natives in urban areas, but to treat them as if they should not be there, is both illogical and shortsighted.

501. Your Commission does not therefore regard the objections raised against the Bloemfontein scheme as valid. On the other hand we do not consider that this scheme is by itself adequate to meet the requirements of

large urban areas generally. In Johannesburg, for example, the task of cleaning up existing slum areas would proceed much more slowly if the initiative in building had to be left entirely to the Native. Moreover it will always be necessary to cater for the Native who is not a permanent town-dweller, or a permanent dweller in the same town. Persons of this description cannot build their own houses and are dependent on rentable premises.

502.

We consider that a scheme embodying both the Johannesburg and the Bloemfontein schemes should be introduced in all large urban areas. A joint scheme like this would cater for the needs of both classes of Natives, permanent town dwellers as well as temporary residents. The provision of housing loans, repayable in reasonable instalments, should be an essential part of this joint scheme.

503.

We consider too that some form of security of tenure should be given. At present, while there is very good security in practice, there is virtually none on paper. It would be better to recognize the actual state of affairs by giving the Native some form of secured title other than freehold.

504.

Your Commission is much concerned about the danger to the permanence of the Urban Areas Act, resulting from the need to subsidize Native housing in many large urban areas. Such subsidization is undesirable, but has to be resorted to now, because in many cases the Natives cannot pay an economic rent.

505.

It is due in part to the almost universal practice of building Native locations with European skilled labour. We have indicated in another part of this Report that the majority of your Commissioners consider that colour bar legislation is necessary to deal with the maladjustments caused by the interaction of racial groups at different levels of civilization.

506.

Such colour bar should, however, protect the Native as well as the white man. In Native locations there should be no prohibition against Natives to pay rent based on capital charges, created by much higher wages should be paid on such contracts, and this in practice confines the work to Europeans. Your Commission considers that it is unreasonable to expect Natives to pay rent based on capital charges, created by much higher wages than Natives in practice earn. This overcapitalizes the location *ab initio*, and frequently there is no escape from the necessity to subsidize rent. In time this will have a harmful effect on the location itself, inasmuch that urban authorities, faced by successive losses on the Native revenue account, will be chary of undertaking further expenditure. Your Commission considers that any attempt to apply the industrial colour bar against Natives in locations should be made illegal, in the same way as it is now done in respect of trading in locations. This is a question the settlement of which the community cannot leave to the self-interest of trade unions, since far-reaching national social issues are involved therein.

507.

The Urban Areas Act in its social implications can be of very great benefit both to the European and the Native inhabitants of the Union. With regard to the latter, however, it is essential to secure their interest and co-operation in the order and well-being of the locations. The problem of race relationship is different in town from what it is either in the Reserves or on farms. Generally speaking, in the latter the Native comes into contact with Europeans, with whom his relationship is largely determined by the occupation of the former. In the Reserves he meets with officials, missionaries, and traders; on the farms with the owner, his family, and his neighbours. In the towns, however, he meets Europeans of all classes, with a large number of whom definite standards of conduct are not a reciprocal rule. If a farmer is insulting to a Native his conduct involves certain definite effects on himself. If a European in town is insulting to a Native, who casually displeases him in the street, the effects are laid at the door of the white community. Passions are more easily stirred where people are congregated in large numbers, and these frequently give rise to hard and bitter words. The problem resulting from the concentration of large numbers of different races in close proximity is one which can only be solved by goodwill and cold constructive thought, and in it there is no room for explosive passion.

508.

The most useful approach to the question would be that of giving the Native in the urban area a sphere in which he can be happy, a sphere to the improvement of which he can devote his best energies, a position which is not galling to his feelings. By nature the Native is a dignified person. This is a quality which the Europeans have every interest in preserving. If the Natives are given a reasonable and recognized position in the management of the affairs of their own urban village or location, much will be done to give an outlet for their social energies, to make them interested in the order and good of the urban Natives generally, and to develop civic pride among them. The Urban Areas Act makes provision for the appointment of a Native Advisory Board in each location; but members of these Boards complain, frequently with justice, that they serve no useful purpose and that no notice is taken of their representations. In many instances no member of the urban local authority ever sees or hears the members of the Advisory Board. And yet if these bodies are properly used they can be of immense value in enlisting the aid of the other Natives in improving location conditions.

509.

The administration of Bloemfontein has derived great benefit from a system by which they enlist the services of the inhabitants themselves in maintaining order in the location. The location is divided into twelve blocks. Each block elects annually what is called a "Blockman." Immediately after his election, he calls a meeting of the residents of his block and they choose, by show of hands, a committee of ten to assist him in the general administration of the affairs of the block. The twelve blockmen, together with the Superintendent of the Location, constitute the Advisory Board. The blockman and his committee take upon themselves most of the work of maintaining law and order, and of settling disputes in their block. The committee considers any matters affecting its area, which should be brought to the notice of the local authority. The blockman sees to it that these matters are discussed by the Advisory Board and the opinion of the Board is conveyed to the local authority by the chairman. This system has produced excellent results. Your Commission is of opinion that a similar arrangement could profitably be introduced in other urban areas.

510.

In the larger locations it is not yet too late to use tribal loyalty as the basis for such an arrangement. Where large numbers of the same tribe are congregated together in an urban location this might be made the centre of co-operation. It has the advantage over a system of election that it is known to the Natives, who will derive the fullest benefit from the implications of the tribal system. It would also have the advantage of retarding the general break-up of the social system of the Abantu and thus simplifying the process of adjustment to the newer system introduced by the European.

511.

The advantage of associating the Natives to a greater extent in the administration of urban locations in the matter of the control of liquor is referred to in paragraphs 748 *et seq.*

Sanitation.

512.

With their wide open spaces and bright sunlight the Reserves as a rule present no serious problems of sanitation. Such problems arise only when there are aggregations of human beings in confined spaces, conditions which do not exist usually outside urban areas. It is generally necessary to give raw Natives coming to town some instruction as to the proper use of urban sanitary conveniences. In the absence of such instruction many urban authority officials have difficulty in controlling sanitation among Natives in urban areas.

513.

Your Commission considers that the assistance of the Natives themselves through the Advisory Boards should be enlisted in this matter, which, though simple in itself, is not without importance from the point of view of the health of Native locations.

Chairmanship of Location Advisory Board.

514.

In the present Advisory Boards the Location Superintendent is in many cases the Chairman. This arrangement works well when the Superintendent is a tactful and able official, who has the confidence of the Natives. When, however, he is failing in these qualifications difficulties frequently arise from the dual position which he holds. He may be placed in the invidious position of having to report to the Council criticisms expressed about himself by the Native members of the Board. Certain Native witnesses said that some Location Superintendents suppressed such criticisms, which therefore never reached the local authority.

515.

Your Commission considers that this arrangement is unsound in principle. In Pietermaritzburg the Chairman of the Native Administration Committee of the City Council is also Chairman of the Native Advisory Board, thus constituting a direct link between the two bodies. Similar arrangements exist in certain other areas. Your Commission considers that it is very desirable that a member of the local authority should be Chairman of the Advisory Board. Failing this it may be possible to obtain in this capacity the services of an official of the Native Affairs Department or some other citizen who is sufficiently interested to give his services. The Location Superintendent should be present at the meetings of the Advisory Board, but should not be the Chairman.

516.

Section 11 (2) of the Act gives the Minister the right to appoint one or more officers to inspect Native locations. This power has not hitherto been used. Your Commission considers that such officers would not only aid in carrying out the purposes of the Act, but could also be of material assistance to local authorities in sharing the experience of various centres, and thus help in bringing about the most economical organization of locations generally.

Separate Urban Native Revenue Account.

517.

Section 8 of the Act provides for a separate Native Revenue Account to be kept in respect of Native locations, villages, and hostels. Certain powers are vested in the Minister to enable him to control the credits and debits posted to the Native Revenue Account. In an arrangement like this, by which joint charges have to be divided between two accounts, difficulties are bound to arise from time to time. These are, however, largely of an administrative nature, or alternatively concern legal points. Your Commission does not consider that it can usefully enter into such matters. A statement, prepared by the Native Affairs Department, detailing the measures of control exercised under the Act, is given in Annexure 16.

Native Townships.

518.

The Urban Areas Act makes provision for locations and Native villages, in the latter of which Natives can obtain some form of leasehold tenure. The Act does not refer to freehold title for Natives. There are, however, in existence, townships established before the Natives Land Act came into operation in which Natives have obtained land in freehold.

519.

There is nothing to prevent Natives from buying land in the urban areas of the Union; as they may however be prevented from occupying such land under the Urban Areas Act they are not likely to buy any. Beyond the boundaries of urban areas no Native may acquire from a European land not in a scheduled Native area without the consent of the Governor-General. In practice therefore there is complete control of the alienation of land by Europeans to Natives.

520.

Your Commission has considered the question both of existing townships and of the creation of new townships in which Natives may obtain freehold title. As regards the former your Commission inspected and took evidence about a number of townships like Alexandra, near Johannesburg, Eerste Rust, Riverside, and Lady Selborne near Pretoria, and Korsten near Port Elizabeth. Evidence was also tendered about a number of others, which we did not have the opportunity of inspecting. Alexandra has been for some time under the control of a committee, consisting partly of Europeans and partly of Natives. Korsten was, until its incorporation with Port Elizabeth, under the control of a Village Management Board. In the majority of these townships, however, there is no local authority and therefore no provision for essential health services. It is difficult to obtain the necessary rates to provide for these services. The Native inhabitants are averse to their incorporation in neighbouring municipalities because they fear the imposition of rates. Generally speaking they are satisfied with the primitive health measures adopted in rural areas. In a closely settled community such measures, however, are apt to become dangerous to the health of the whole community.

521.

Your Commission considers that it is not practicable to abolish existing townships. Apart from the difficulty of settling the inhabitants elsewhere, abolition would meet with very great opposition from the Natives and would long rankle as a grievance. They should therefore be allowed to continue, but the sale to Natives of erven still in the hands of Europeans should be strictly limited to those included in the existing townships, and no extension of the townships should be permitted. It is, however, essential that such townships should be brought under some form of control, which should include power to prevent subdivision of holdings. This could be undertaken either by the Native Affairs Department, through its local officials, or by the neighbouring urban authority. Rating powers sufficient to provide for essential health services should be given. In case control is exercised by a neighbouring municipality the area should not become rateable on the municipal basis, but the Council should act as trustees for the inhabitants. Rating should be on land value and not on improvements, and the township owners or other European owners should pay rates on vacant erven. Provision should be made by the township owners for sufficient ground for public purposes.

522.

Such townships have been established by private owners and have not in the past been a success from the public point of view. Your Commission cannot recommend that authority be given to establish any others. We consider also that the control of the housing of Natives in urban areas should continue to be under the Urban Areas Act. Departure from this rule could easily bring about conditions which would nullify much of the good work which has been done and is being done in pursuance of the principles of this Act.

Europeans and Natives in Urban Areas.

523.

Industry in the Union in areas where the Native predominates used to be based almost entirely on European supervision and skilled work, and Native manual labour. This was a natural division of labour in the earlier period of the contact between the races. The European brought the knowledge, the skill, and the capital. The Native had only his untutored muscular strength to contribute. The European with an established civilization and a high standard of living could maintain these with the earnings of the economically more valuable occupations. The Native could easily satisfy his limited needs with the proceeds of unskilled labour, and also have a great deal of leisure.

524.

When, however, the land began to fill up and the struggle for a share in the material goods became keener, this division of labour began to change. On the one hand there arose a small but increasing number of Natives who aspired to the more lucrative occupations of the Europeans. On the other hand the Europeans realized that there were not enough jobs of skill or supervision to go round with a steadily increasing population, and that a certain proportion of the white population was not fitted by natural endowment for these jobs.

525.

As a result of these circumstances the clearcut division which formerly existed is disappearing. There is a slow but increasing infiltration of more advanced Natives into the non-manual occupations. On the other hand the introduction of Europeans into ordinary labouring work has been made difficult by the great disparity between the standard of living of even the poorest white, and the great bulk of Natives. It is obviously undesirable in the extreme to allow the standard of living of the European to fall. On the other hand the task of raising that of the Native to a reasonable level is one which, as we point out in various parts of our Report, is beset with no ordinary difficulties.

Factors in the Labour Problem.

526.

What are the factors in the labour problem of the Union? We have a small class of skilled white artisans, with a reasonably high level of efficiency and, as the Economic and Wage Commission pointed out, relatively very high wages. We have, secondly, a very large mass of low paid Native labourers who have such a low level of efficiency that their low wages do not constitute an international competitive advantage. In between these two we have a considerable class of white people, with a relatively low efficiency, albeit higher than that of the bulk of the Natives, but with a standard of

living which is difficult to maintain against Natives of a lower efficiency, but a very much lower level of wages. We have in addition a group of Natives who have achieved a level of efficiency comparable with that of the poor white man, who aspire to their standard of living but who are, in company with the white man, exposed to the competition of the great bulk of Natives. And we have the Coloured population who are largely, though not entirely, in the same position. The inevitable result is a chaotic labour market, which has harmful results for both Europeans and Natives.

527.

As regards the European, at present the gap between the wages of the Native labourer and the European artisan is so wide (the proportion is usually not less than one to six) that there is a steady pressure on employers to reduce to a minimum the number of such European employees and to get as much of their work as possible done by Natives. Work which, if the divergence between the wages of skilled men and of labourers were similar to the difference in Europe, would be done by the skilled man and thus help to keep up the number of posts for skilled men, is in South Africa wherever possible lopped off the skilled man's task and assigned to Native labourers.

528.

This gap is one of the causes operating against the training and employment of European youths. Wherever it is possible to substitute Native labour, this is done, and occupations which would normally be the training ground of youths for skilled work are considerably reduced in number.

Urban Conditions and Administration of Native Affairs in Urban Areas.

529.

The Natives in urban areas fall into certain distinct groups. In the first place there are those who have settled there permanently, have created homes, and are dependent on their earnings to support them. In this class there are many who, having been born in town and lived there all their lives, do not know the Reserves or the farms. A larger number originally came from rural areas, but have either married in town, or brought their families into town. This class must be looked upon as an urban population, and the majority of them are never likely to return to the country.

530.

There is also a class of temporary visitors to towns who go there for a period of months to earn money to pay taxes or to supply those needs which are normally obtainable only for cash.

531.

Economically these are distinct groups and the distinction is of the greatest importance and should be borne in mind in dealing with economic questions relating to Natives.

532.

In the past difficulty was experienced in obtaining a sufficient supply of labour for the industries of the country. The Native in a tribal Reserve, accustomed to a subsistence economy, having, under European rule, peace with plenty (except in a bad crop season) felt no urge to go out to labour. Not accustomed to anything more than his simple wants of tribal life he had really no incentive to work for more. The European Governments, wanting labour for their industries, decided to bring pressure to bear on the Native to force him to come out to work, and did this by imposing taxation.

533.

As time went on an increase of numbers in the Reserves unaccompanied by any more than a very slow improvement in agricultural methods, but accompanied by a rise in the wants, brought even greater pressure to bear on the tribal Natives. Larger and larger numbers therefore went out to work. But being free, except where they assumed obligations by taking advances from recruiters, they naturally tended to drift to the occupations most attractive to them. Moreover they were assisted in their attempts to get certain occupations in preference to others by the undermentioned circumstances. The Native will always share food, and persons looking for work in urban areas are generally maintained by their fellows, who are in employment, either from their own means, or from those of their employers. Moreover not being entirely dependent on their wages for the maintenance of their families, they had a greater choice of employment. During the present period of depression their freedom of choice has been considerably limited on account of the scarcity of work. But normally a Native goes on looking for work until he finds a job to his liking.

534.

A limitation was introduced into this freedom by the law under which a Native had to get a pass to look for work which was valid for a limited period, but could be renewed at the option of the authorities, and was frequently renewed. If at the end of that period he had not secured a suitable job, he was obliged to leave the urban area, but he could of course repeat his endeavours in the next. In an area like the Witwatersrand he could therefore wander about for a considerable time at the expense of the community.

535.

The contention has been put forward that this degree of freedom to look for work and the fact that his tribal assets supply at least a portion of his primary needs, enable the tribal Native to insist on a satisfactory level of wages. This reasoning is however faulty, inasmuch as it leaves the Native viewpoint out of account. The tribal Native will frequently prefer a congenial job at lower wages, to a harder and more distasteful job at a higher rate of remuneration. Not being entirely dependent on his wage and living very inexpensively, he has some latitude to satisfy his predilections in the matter of the class of work which he will take.

536.

Not so the urbanized Native. Having no source of income beside his wages, he loses income for every day on which he does not work. On the other hand, for the rural Native who does not require to work all the year round, a similar circumstance would only mean that that particular day is one of his days of leisure instead of another. The urbanized Native is dependent for the support of his family purely on his wages. He is not in the favourable position of the tribal or farm Native, whose lands supply all or at least part of his food. Moreover he has to pay out of his wages for things which the rural Native generally has free—or at most gets at the expenditure of a little time, during which he would otherwise have been at leisure—things like housing, fuel, water. In the country, too, much of this work falls on the women and children, while in towns it has to be paid for out of wages.

537.

If in regard to his articles of consumption the urban Native had maintained his tribal habits, it would still have been possible for him to live extremely cheaply, even with the extra costs incidental to urban living. But almost inevitably his standard of living underwent a change under the impact of European influence.

538.

In the original Native economy the variety of articles of consumption was limited. There was next to no difference between the articles consumed by the greatest in the land and by the poorest. In quality there certainly was a difference, but monotony and physical capacity set a limit to the amount which one individual can consume. The European, and civilized races generally, have opened up new avenues of enjoyment for those who had more than was necessary to satisfy the purely physiological requirements, by the introduction of conventional necessaries. This introduced a greater diversification, a larger interest, a more extensive scope, in the lives of individuals, and greatly increased the limits of possible personal and family expenditure.

Rising Standard of Living.

539.

The urbanized Natives have followed the Europeans in this. Instead of continuing on a standard in which the limits of personal expenditure for necessaries were determined by physical capacity, they have adopted the more diversified standard of living of the Europeans. This is a "higher" standard because it is more diversified, and therefore free of the monotony of eating merely to live; it is also higher because it is based on, and gives scope for, a higher development of the arts. The introduction of certain European articles of diet, e.g. tinned foods, is not necessarily an improvement on the simple diet of the Natives. For the reasons stated, however, the term higher standard of living is appropriate, and will be used.

540.

The higher standard of the urbanized Natives also involves more expenditure for dress, housing, furniture, amusements, education, and church fees.

541.

The urbanized Native therefore is not only entirely dependent on wages, but he also aspires to a higher and therefore more expensive standard of living. He is accordingly launched on a process in which new wants may always emerge, in which his standard of living has almost unlimited scope for rising higher. He has definitely set out on the path of progress introduced by the European.

542.

To what extent can the increasing desires be satisfied? Obviously only to the extent to which his wages or other sources of income, if any, can meet the cost.

543.

The urbanized Native—as distinguished from the rural Native, who is casually an urban worker—today aspires to a standard of living which his wages are inadequate to provide. In housing, in articles of diet, in amusements, in education, in religion, he has copied the Europeans among whom he lives. In all these respects he approximates more to the European community than he does to the tribal community from which he has sprung.

The Adverse Effects of Tribal Natives on the Urban Labour Market.

544.

In the matter of wage-rates, however, he cannot get away from the influence of his tribal brethren on the labour market. They come into towns in their thousands to supplement the living which they obtain from their tribal lands or from labour tenancy on the farms. They create a plentiful labour supply for urban occupations other than mining. Being purely casual labourers, they seldom rise to even reasonable efficiency. Supply plentiful, efficiency low, and we have the natural corollary of low wages. The effect on industry is bad, but of this more in another place.

545.

The position is also made more difficult for the urban Native by a widespread preference on the part of many employers for Natives from rural areas, the latter being found more docile and unsophisticated.

546.

For the Natives from the Reserves and the farms who come to town only to earn enough cash to pay taxes and buy the few things which they require, the urban wages are sufficient to maintain their present standard of living. In fact they do not require to work all their time to earn the small amount of cash which they need. They naturally give preference to the relatively lighter work required in urban occupations, than to the harder and more monotonous physical toil of mine or farm.

547.

But the pressure of their numbers far exceeding those of the urbanized Natives makes the competition very severe for the latter, who seeks on the one hand to sustain a higher standard of living, and on the other hand do not possess those assets which make the former less dependent on wages.

548.

Higher efficiency is certainly found among some of the urbanized Natives, and this has some effect in higher wage rates, which in many individual cases has a sensible influence in lightening the burden. The Native on the whole is, however, an unskilled worker and the scope of this factor is therefore limited. Moreover as soon as he becomes semi-skilled he comes into competition with the white man.

Influence on European Labour.

549.

There his position creates a further problem. The European population cannot be expected to remain indifferent to the lot of a large number of their own race, who are forced down to the lower strata of the white community by economic pressure. It would be easy to solve the problem of the urbanized Natives by opening to them the occupations now manned by whites in the lower strata at wages which to them are indeed low, but which to the Native would represent a considerable advance. If there were no colour distinction the weakest would sink to the bottom. It would, however, be unwise to disregard the ideal of the white community that a minimum civilized standard must be maintained. This standard is now being partly maintained by restrictions on the employment of Natives. As the number of civilized or semi-civilized Natives increase, however, this method will bear even harder on them, and will at the same time be less efficacious as a protection to the white man.

550.

It becomes necessary therefore to look at the economic and sociological position as a whole, embracing as it does the interests of both white and black.

The Root Cause of Low Native Wages.

551.

At the root of the evil of low Native wages in South Africa lies the economic outlook of a primitive people, accustomed to a subsistence economy. We have tried to show in paragraphs 537 and 538 that a subsistence economy is the natural concomitant of a limited range of articles of consumption. There is no incentive to produce more, because there is no use for it. When therefore the raw Native has enough for his wants he stops working and enjoys his leisure. Only when there are other enjoyments that he desires, when the desire for these becomes strong enough to overcome his enjoyment of leisure, will he work harder. In spite of increased economic pressure the bulk of the Natives of the Union even now work only part of the year and the "retiring age" comes much earlier than it does with the European.

552.

It is therefore necessary in the first instance to change the attitude of mind of a people before the Natives as a whole can become part of an orderly advanced economic system.

553.

The primitive Native's outlook on life gives a great deal less prominence to economic values than does that of a civilized man. This gives rise to a string of consequences, reaching right into our urban life.

554.

The under-development of the Reserves is largely the fault of European governments. But if a desire for fuller development had been present among the Natives, a great deal of development would have been possible without governmental encouragement. The position as it is throws a large number of Natives into the towns as casual labourers.

555.

The Native outlook on life also shows itself on the farms. As the Native does not work all the year round like a European farm labourer, the farmer, in order to be sure of a continuous labour supply, has to keep a larger number of Natives than he requires. A number of these go from time to time to earn cash wages in town.

Chronic State of Chaos of Labour Market.

556.

The labour market is, therefore, in a chronic state of chaos. No regular class of urban labour gets a chance to develop because those Natives who remain permanently in town are always subjected to the disturbing influence on wage rates of a large supply of unskilled labour. Without some degree of permanence in the labour force no high degree of efficiency can be expected, and the Native urban labour is notoriously lacking in permanence.

557.

State policy should, therefore, be directed to the object of giving more permanence, more stability, to the various classes of labour, and of reducing in so far as possible its casual nature.

These Evils Must be Attacked in the Reserves.

558.

The chief way in which this can be done is the development of Reserves, which has been fully dealt with elsewhere. This will have the effect of stemming the flow of labour to the towns, and of reducing the town labour problem to manageable proportions. As soon as the number engaged in urban occupations declines it will become both possible and profitable to train them in methods of greater efficiency and this will inevitably be followed by higher wages. Once a class of more efficient urban Natives has been created, the towns will lose a great deal of their attraction for the labourers from the Reserves, a certain number of whom will always go out to look for work, in the same way as peasants have to do all over Europe.

559.

This class will in course of time naturally gravitate to those occupations where there is a demand for hands to do work which does not require a great deal of skill and can well be done by casual labourers. In mining and farming there is a large demand for such workers.

560.

A permanent cure for an economic evil must not run counter to economic forces, but must utilize economic forces to achieve its purpose. The permanent cure for the urban wage problem must be looked for in the Reserves. By cutting off the flow of casual labour which now drifts to the towns, it must create conditions for efficiency and consequent high wages in towns. By development of the wealth-producing capacity of the Reserves they should absorb the surplus Natives who now make a tom-tiddlers ground of the towns at the cost of efficiency, to the detriment of their brethren who want to make the towns their homes, and at the risk of creating a large slum population.

561.

In order to encompass this it is essential that no time shall be lost both in developing the Reserves, and in reducing the present pressure on land, by making available more areas for Native occupation. While present conditions last the flow to the towns will continue, the pressure on the urbanized Native will increase, and the problem of Native wages in towns will become worse. State policy should be directed to reducing this pressure, in the interest of the welfare of a class of Natives who have made considerable progress in civilization, and with whose aspirations for conditions in which better living is possible, one cannot but have the fullest sympathy.

Can Immediate Remedies be Applied? .

562.

The measures advocated above must, however, inevitably take a long time to produce their full effect. While the pressure on the urbanized Natives will decrease as they progress, the question should be examined whether other measures cannot be undertaken, which will have a speedier effect.

563.

It has been suggested to your Commission that the drift to the towns should be stopped by placing artificial barriers in the way of the migrants. The Urban Areas Act makes some provision for this. We have expressed our views on the necessity for the maintenance of these restrictions, and we cannot suggest any further restrictions that might be imposed. Apart from the expense in administration which any effective system of restriction must necessarily involve, and the dissatisfaction among the Natives which it is bound to create, the idea does not commend itself for other reasons. It leaves untouched the problem of using the economic energies of the Natives thus restricted. A certain number would, no doubt, drift to the farms. But once this demand is supplied the country will be faced with the question once more. The broad fact is that the population of the country can become better off only if more wealth is produced, and the most promising source for this at present is the Native Reserves. Your Commission would therefore urge that the main attack on the urban wage problem be launched in the Reserves, where it can at the same time help to solve the much larger problem of the augmentation of the National Income.

564.

Apart from an attempt artificially to restrict the inflow of Natives into towns as an attack on the urban wage problem, it is possible to deal with the immediate problem by introducing restrictions on the free play of economic forces inside the urban occupations. This brings us to the Commission's second Term of Reference—the question of wage regulation—which is dealt with in Part V of our Report.

Recreation.

565.

The subject of recreation for Natives is receiving more attention now than formerly, as its social importance is becoming more clearly realized.

566.

The Native in his Native areas had many outlets for his energy and many ways in which to get recreation. The young boy lived in the open, playing, sticking-fighting, and wrestling with his fellows, chasing birds and hunting small game, swimming, and singing and dancing. The adult Native had his hunting and dancing, with the occasional excitement of tribal fights; he also filled up a considerable amount of his time in talking round the beer pot. When he entered European employment, no thought was given to the provision of substitutes for his traditional amusements and recreation, and as time passed and large numbers of Natives became congregated in towns, the need for an outlet for the Native's high spirits, in his free time, began to show itself in the establishment of *amalayita* gangs and in orgies of drunkenness. A very close connection exists between the need for recreation and the prevention of drunkenness and many forms of crime.

567.

The Manager of the Municipal Native Affairs Department of the City Council of Johannesburg, dealing with the measures for preventing the growth of amalayita gangs said, " I think one of the best methods would be to organize sports, get hold of them (Natives) somehow, and encourage them to take part in organized games as an outlet for their energy "; and dealing with the question of drunkenness he said, " At the Wemmer (Native men's barracks), I can say this that since I took over and organized sports there, which are usually played in front of their homes, there has been a great decrease in the number of Natives who were usually fuddled over the week-end—the decrease has been at least from 70 to 80 per cent. I attribute that to some occupation being given to them; they have something in which they can indulge now." He then proceeded to deal with the organization of sports among Natives, which he regarded as an essential part of the work of the Municipal Native Affairs Department. In this connection he said that it definitely has a bearing on the welfare of the Native population, for it affords them some legitimate outlet—and they are not able themselves to organize without assistance: that is to say, it is not in itself enough merely to give them a sports ground; more must be done—grounds must be prepared and kept going, and advice given as well as encouragement in the proper organization of sport. His views were supported by a large number of witnesses in many parts of the Union.

568.

Very beneficial results on the gold mines, in the prevention of crime and drunkenness, were also reported as a result of organized recreation. There is there an organized system of open-air bioscopes which are very popular. During recent years much has been done to develop sport among the mine labourers. Grounds are usually set aside on the mines for the playing of games, and most of the mines make contribution to the funds of Native sports clubs. In the mine compounds dancing is still one of the chief recreations, while much leisure time is spent on *marabaraba* (Suto), a game played on a marked surface.

569.

Tennis and football are among the most popular of the European games which have been taken up by Natives, and a high degree of proficiency has been attained in them by a number of players.

570.

In most towns, however, there is still very little provision for Native recreation.

571.

In Johannesburg, in the northern half of the town, there is no provision whatever for any recreation for Natives. In the southern half, through the munificence of Mr. Howard Pim and Mr. Hardy, a fine playground has been provided, known as the Bantu Sports Ground, on which recreation is possible for a large number of Natives.

572.

Your Commission considers that experience gained from providing recreation for Natives shows clearly that money spent on it has been effective in reducing by a far greater amount the expenditure or loss through crime and drunkenness. It is very desirable that local authorities and large employers of Native labour should make provision for recreation for Natives under the guidance of Native sports organizers.

573.

Many witnesses drew attention to the spread of gambling among Natives. There can be no doubt that this is a problem needing serious consideration.

PART IV

GENERAL

Native Education.*Historical.***574.**

Native education is at the present time just a little over a century old. In the very early days of the 19th century sporadic attempts to teach Natives the very rudiments of education were made by one or two of the first missionaries, but it was not till the settlement of certain Scottish missionaries in the Tyumie Valley of the Eastern Province and not till the Shaws, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, began their work in what is now the Transkei, that Native education had its real beginning.

575.

From the very start of organized missionary enterprise the duty was laid upon the missionary by the parent societies to endeavour to gather the young Native children into mission schools.

576.

It is to the honour of the missionaries that they never looked back from the difficult task they set before them in uplifting the Native people. They knew the magnitude of this task but were not deterred, they knew and experienced the hindrances in the way of progress but were never daunted in their purpose: they knew defeat, but were not dismayed.

577.

The missionaries were the first to reduce the Native languages to writing; and the first Xosa primers and reading sheets were printed at the Old Lovedale press in 1831.

578.

For over fifty years they bore the whole burden, financial and administrative, of Native education. It may be of interest to know that two leading missionary churches spent over a million pounds in furthering Native education in South Africa during the past century.

579.

There are few races who owe more to missionary effort than do the Natives of South Africa.

580.

For many years the missionary bodies met the whole cost of Native education. Even at this day they provide almost all the buildings and equipment necessary for the furtherance of Native education. The Government provided the ground for the schools, but beyond that in the early days of Native education they did nothing.

581.

The first half of the nineteenth century was almost over before the Governments of the Cape Colony and of Natal made any grants to Native schools. These grants varied with the attitude of the Governors to missionary enterprise. At certain times they were microscopic and the missionaries of the various churches experienced difficulty in keeping things going. In times of war schools and institutions often went up in flames.

582.

The first period of Native education, a period of ebb-and-flow, came to an end about the middle of the century. Progress thereafter became more certain, though it was still slow. The Governments helped to some small extent in the salaries of teachers.

583.

After the granting of Responsible Government in the Cape there arose a clear body of opinion, both in the Cape Colony and in Natal, in favour of extending the education of the Native people.

584.

By the year 1880 Native education was settled on broad and clear lines. There were the ordinary village schools, where standard IV was the high-water mark; the training schools, where teachers for the primary schools were trained; the industrial schools, originated by Sir George Grey, where instruction in printing, carpentry, and other occupations was given. The students were also taught gardening and other manual work; every student at Lovedale had to work two hours in the gardens or on the roads: this excellent practice continues to this day.

585. With the paucity of schools in the Eastern Province white children and Natives were taught in the same classes in the missionary schools in the early days. This had an important effect in regard to the medium of instruction, English being inevitably chosen in the circumstances in preference to the Native languages.

586. From 1880 to 1900 there was steady progress in Native education. Primary schools multiplied. The third generation of educated Natives was reached and this generation, like the present, saw the advantage that education would bring to their people. More Government funds were available, especially in the Cape Colony, for the furtherance of education, but even yet the main financial burden fell upon the mission churches.

587. The well known Native Laws and Customs Report of 1883 did much to put forward the claims of the Native people in this direction. A more systematised curriculum, so simplified as to meet Native needs, operated. The work of the various training schools was put on a more professional basis. Up to this time those who intended to become teachers obtained the same education as the other students.

588. For those who did not desire to become teachers, a division embracing secondary work was formed in several institutions, which divisions later became the Native high schools. At first the various Governments refused to assist this branch of work, but later as openings arose for Native clerks, interpreters, and similar workers, a small grant was given.

589. The Native Affairs Commission of 1903-1905, at the instance of Dr. Stewart, of Lovedale, urged the formation of an undenominational Native college. This institution came into being a few years later and is now the well-known South African Native College at Fort Hare. Following the missionary tradition, the education given at Fort Hare is entirely on European lines.

590. From 1900 onwards the important questions both of finance and policy began to assume a national aspect. As has already been indicated the steady expansion of Native education had placed a heavy burden upon the churches. The Government met or partly met the salaries of teachers, but the provision of buildings and equipment, especially the former, fell upon the missionary bodies.

591. In the early years of the Union the cost of Native education was financed by the Provincial Administrations, but in 1916 the Provincial Administration Commission reported:

“ The present division of education as between the Union and the Provinces leaves Native education in the hands of the Provinces divorced from all connection with the general Native policy of the country.”

592. In 1921 the Transvaal Administration imposed a direct tax on Natives as it considered that the increasing expenditure on Native education justified this course.

Financing of Native Education.

593. The Central Government however, by the Financial Relations Act of 1922, debarred Provincial Councils from imposing any direct taxation on the persons, habitations, or lands of Natives, and thereafter Native education ceased to be financed by the Provinces.

594. The Central Government undertook responsibility for the ordinary expenses of Native education. In addition the Treasury advanced, on the security of a proposed education tax, a sum of £250,000 to allow for expansion and for increase of salaries of teachers in Native schools. The repayment of this loan is proving a serious drain upon the resources of the Native Development Fund.

595.

In 1924 a meeting was convened in Durban between the Provincial Administrations and the Central Government, to settle what subsidy would be granted to the Provinces on the 1920-1921 basis of expenditure. The sums agreed upon were:

| | |
|--------------------------|----------|
| Cape | £240,000 |
| Natal | 49,000 |
| Orange Free State | 5,000 |
| Transvaal | 46,000 |
| | £340,000 |
| | £340,000 |

This sum indicates the amount expended on Native education by the Provinces ten years ago.

596.

In 1925 the Native General Tax was imposed. The Government decided that of this tax of £1 per adult male, four-fifths should go to the Treasury and one-fifth to the formation of the Native Development Fund. In addition to this one-fifth the Government agreed to place to the credit of the fund the sum of £340,000 already arrived at as representing the cost of Native education to the Provinces in the year 1920-1921.

597.

The Government assigned to the Native Affairs Commission the duty of administering this Fund. In entering upon this task that Commission decided upon certain lines of policy, set forth in the following terms:

“(1) The main object should be to provide elementary education for Native children.

“(2) The system of education should emphasize character training, habits of industry, use and appreciation of the vernacular, the official languages, health and hygiene, agriculture and other practical subjects.

“(3) To provide teachers for these schools a limited number of students should be trained at approved training institutions. These institutions should be selected on a regional rather than on a denominational basis.

“(4) There should be established in certain areas (on a regional rather than on a denominational basis) a limited number of Native high schools designed:

- (a) to train men as farm demonstrators;
- (b) to train women as home demonstrators;
- (c) to offer vocational training to a limited number of Natives, e.g., that of secretary to Native Chief or Native civil servant in Native areas, etc., and
- (d) to prepare students for admission to the South African Native College.”

598.

From the inception of the Development Fund, the Native Affairs Commission refused to confine expenditure from it entirely to education. Accordingly, to education they added agricultural training and, as far as possible, support to Native hospitals.

599.

In 1926-1927 the amounts paid out to the Provinces for Native education were:

| | |
|--------------------------|----------|
| Cape | £299,600 |
| Natal | 71,561 |
| Orange Free State | 18,813 |
| Transvaal | 61,450 |
| | £451,424 |
| | £451,424 |

and in 1929-1930, three years later, the corresponding sums were:

| | |
|---------------------------|----------|
| Cape | £331,155 |
| Natal | 103,108 |
| Orange Free tState | 36,006 |
| Transvaal | 92,051 |
| | £562,320 |
| | £562,320 |

600.

The present arrangement by which £340,000 plus 20 per cent, of the proceeds of the General Tax is credited to the Native Development Fund is confusing to many Natives, who maintain that only 4s. in the £ is made available to them. It would simplify the position if instead of £340,000 a percentage of the General Tax, approximately equal in amount, could be credited annually to the Native Development Fund.

601.

This brings the history of Native education down to the present day—when, from a few schools in an obscure valley a century ago, the number of schools has risen to over three thousand with three hundred thousand pupils. There are now twenty-six training schools, ten high schools, and a college; and the cost of Native education has risen in the same period from a meagre sum of a few pounds to a present expenditure of over £600,000 per annum.

602.

This is but a poor standard by which to measure the advance of a race in education, but it is a standard, and failing a better we must accept the clear indication it gives.

The Present Problem of Native Education.

NOTE.—See Paragraphs 645-664.

603.

In the matter of the content of Native education there are two outstanding categories. There is firstly the provision of education for a certain number of Natives, who are teachers, clerks, interpreters, medical practitioners, nurses, and so forth. It is in fact a type of technical education, having the object of qualifying its recipients in certain valuable accomplishments.

604.

There is secondly the provision of education in a very much wider sense, what we shall call social education, the sort of education needed to free the mass of Natives from their anti-progressive heritage, to aid in their adjustment to the demands of civilized life, and to instil in them the desire for progress in a civilized community—in short to fit them for the economic system which we visualize for the future, and which is now the only basis on which their community can continue an orderly existence. The main object of this sort of education is to create better social and economic environment for the whole race.

605.

In connection with the general analysis given in this Report of the economic condition of the Natives, and also with important questions affecting the financing of education, it is essential that we should have a clear conception of the purposes of Native education.

606.

Let us, from this point of view, consider the education which is actually being given at present. Its object is largely the former of the abovementioned categories. While intended to be "cultural," it is in fact preparing the Natives who receive a full measure of it (a very small proportion) for a few types of occupation; so much so that many Natives who want more education train for teaching, even if they wish to become clerks. The development of high schools and of the South African Native College is doing much to change this. In actual practice, however, the training of all these institutions is producing a number of candidates for non-manual work. The Natives, judging by their evidence, are largely satisfied with the content of this kind of education, but not with the amount available.

607.

This attitude, however, begs the question whether there is reasonable scope for the products of this education, and it leaves untouched the much larger question whether that is a reasonable education for the Natives as a race.

608.

As regards the former question your Commission was informed by the Principal of the South African Native College (Mr. Alexander Kerr) that the demand for the students of the College largely exceeds the supply, which is as yet small. The same cannot be said however of the students trained at teachers' training colleges, and of the pupils of the high schools. There is very general complaint that there is not sufficient scope for these, and a general demand that more openings should be found for them, chiefly in

occupations now manned by Europeans. We have in paragraphs 91 *et seq.*, and elsewhere, expressed our view of the considerations to which weight should be given in determining the question of the appointment of a European or a Native. In the case of teachers for Native schools, the question of relative salary cost is also an important consideration.

609.

Generally speaking, however, your Commission is of opinion that in these respects the supply now exceeds the demand, and that the development of the Native areas should be pushed on to enable the best use to be made of such Natives as qualify themselves for educational leadership of their people.

610.

As regards the second question mentioned in paragraph 604, the very suggestion on the part of a European that there should be a differentiation in the education of white and Native scholars at once rouses the suspicion of the Natives. The view is openly expressed that the European is thereby trying to foist some inferior substitute on the Native. Education is looked upon as a standard article and the Natives will not have anything other than this supposed "standard."

Much of Present Native Education is Ineffective.

611.

If one considers the details of the education now provided, one is immediately struck by the ineffectiveness of a large part of it. Nearly 60 per cent. of the Native children at school do not emerge from the sub-standards. Less than a third reach standard II. In actual practice this means that the great majority only learn to read simple words and to do simple sums. It would be interesting to investigate how much of this remains after the child has left school a few years.

612.

Moreover, a great deal of this education is given in a foreign tongue. There is now a salutary tendency to substitute the vernacular as medium of instruction in Native schools, for a European language. But this tendency is also treated by the Natives with suspicion. They are apt to regard education as a thing designed to teach them something which can be turned to monetary advantage. The European gets so much money because he is educated. The Native though essentially not of a mercenary disposition, wants the benefits conferred by money. In practice this postulates ability to read and write the white man's language. Therefore, he argues, education should start with this rather than waste time on the vernacular. That the race is backward because their minds are held in the grip of primitive ideas has penetrated to only a small number of advanced Natives.

613.

The nett effect of the action of scholastic authorities in giving way to Native prejudice has been that a good deal of what is taught in Native schools is mere parrot work. "School education," said Pastor Blohm, of Baziya, "has not yet become something genuine within Bantu life. It is foreign, and as an institution of the white man it has not the desired influence on the character of the Abantu. The white man's education without the white man's environment working on the Native must have other results than in a white community, and will be unable to make the Native an equal of the white man. If there is a blame in this, it is not on the side of the Native." An illuminating instance of the effect of this sort of education was related in his evidence by Professor Lestrade:

"I entered a (Native) school where there happened to be a geography lesson in progress—through the English medium. They were busy with the names of rivers, and these rivers were the Steelpoort and Elands Rivers. Then I asked the class in Sesuto, "Where is the Elands River?" The answer was, "No, we do not know." Then I asked, "Where is the Steelpoort River?" "No, we do not know." I asked the class, "What do you call the Steelpoort River in Sesuto?" "We do not know." Then I asked, "Have you never heard of the Tubatse?" "Yes sir, you have just crossed it." "And have you heard of the Lepelle?" "Yes sir, we know it well." "My father lives there." *Ergo*, they had enjoyed the teaching, but had failed to understand and appreciate its true import."

614.

Now it will be argued that the inadequacy in amount of the education given is due, in a large part, to lack of funds. There is no doubt that much larger numbers of Native children would go to a school if one were available within a reasonable distance. There is also no doubt that on its present basis the Native Development Fund cannot finance any great expansion of education. This brings us to the crucial point of the financing of Native education.

615.

Before discussing this it is necessary to go further into the statistics of Native education.

616.

There was in the Government and Government-aided schools in the Union at the end of 1930, a total of 283,150 Native scholars. In addition 18,515 attended private schools. This gives a total of 301,665.

Percentage of Native Children at School.

617.

Owing to the absence of knowledge of their age in the case of the large bulk of the Native population it is not known how many Native children are of school-going age. Two estimates have however been made. The first assumes that the proportion of Native children between the ages of 6 and 16 years, to total population, is the same as that of the European population, namely 24.9 per cent. It is probably too low, in view of the fact that the European population still contains a considerable proportion of immigrants.

618.

The second assumes that the ages of Natives given at the Census of 1911 were reasonably correct and that the proportions have not changed. On this basis children at these ages would represent 27.6 per cent. of the estimated Native population.

619.

On these two respective bases the number of Native children of school age would be approximately:

- (1) 1,373,000.
- (2) 1,525,000.

To be on the conservative side we use the lower figure. Of the Native children at school a certain proportion is above the age of sixteen. Disregarding this however it is a fair statement that on the present basis there is room in the Government and Government-aided schools for approximately 283,000 pupils. If therefore Native education were confined to children between six and sixteen there would be room in these schools for 283,000 or 20.6 per cent. (say 20 per cent.) of the total.

620.

The State expenditure in 1930 on these schools was £618,000.

621.

It would therefore require $£618,000 \times 5 = £3,090,000$ (say £3,000,000) to give all the Native children between six and sixteen the modicum of education now being provided. In addition considerable expenditure on buildings and equipment would become necessary. As we have pointed out, expenditure for these purposes has hitherto been borne largely by the missions. It is doubtful whether they can finance any large increase. Alternatively the expenditure would have to be met either by the Natives themselves, or by the Government.

622.

But what is this modicum of education? In 1930, 57.2 per cent. of Native children receiving primary and secondary education were in the sub-standards; 69.2 per cent. in the sub-standards and standard I; 77.5 per cent. in these and standard II. Only 0.5 per cent. were above standard VI. The figures for the lower standards would be higher still if all the pupils in the Cape Province could be classified according to standard. (See Tables in Annexure 17.)

623.

Disregarding the question whether this extremely low standard of general education has any value for the Native, let us consider whether there is a fair expectation of funds being made available for it within a reasonable time. Alternatively, should a change be made in the content and nature of Native education, which may in time solve the problem raised in this question?

A Broader Material Foundation is Required.

624.

Your Commission is convinced that the progress which can be expected from the former of these alternatives must in a short time slow down very considerably. Bearing in mind all the calls there are on the public purse it would be unwarrantable optimism to expect that the large additional funds, which will be necessary to make education permeate the whole or even a considerable part of the Native population, will be made available on the present system. Moreover the education must, to have much effect, proceed much further than it does at present, with consequent further increased expenditure. If therefore school education is to make any sensible change to the outlook of the Native, it is as well to consider at this stage the soundness of its foundations.

625.

On the present low productivity of the Natives they cannot hope to enjoy in any large measure the benefits of civilization. Whether these take the form of an improved standard of living, or of more education, they alike cost money. The European can aid the Natives to go furthest by developing their wealth-earning potentialities. Once these are developed the Natives will be able to pay for the measure of educational or any other advancement which they desire.

626.

Progress for the Natives will have to lie, as it has lain for the civilized peoples, along the path of harder and more efficient work, creating surpluses which can be used for further increasing their education and civilization—for building a scaffolding on which the edifice can be raised to greater heights.

627.

Whether therefore we consider the content of the present education, or the financial implications of an educational system which must ultimately encompass the whole of the Native race, we are forced to the conclusion that a change is required which will hold out more hope of sound development than does the present educational system. Your Commission can only state general principles, and we must leave details to be worked out by educationists. It is necessary to point out, however, that for the regeneration of a primitive people there are educational needs which precede ordinary school education. European school education is based on a civilized environment: for a great proportion of the Native people this civilized environment has still to be created. It is an educational task, but it is not solely the task of the ordinary school, although the school can in a measure assist in carrying it out.

Aims of Native Education.

628.

This "social" education of Natives which your Commission has in mind should embrace the following purposes:

(1) It should aim at freeing the mass of Natives from their reactionary conceptions—animism and witchcraft, certain phases of the cattle cult, the "doctoring" of lands as an alternative to proper cultivation, the insistence on a large amount of leisure, and all the mass of primitive fears and taboos, which are the real reasons for their backwardness. The removal or transformation of these is the first problem of Native education.

(2) It should not pursue a course which makes the Native dissatisfied with everything in his own background. But it should proceed from the foundations of Native society, and build up, giving the Native a pride in his own people, and a desire to develop what is good (and of this there is a great deal) in his own institutions.

(3) It should aim at making the educated Native a missionary to his own people, an instrument in advancing their material progress, without which they will never as a people achieve cultural progress.

Inadequacy of Present Native Education.

629.

The present education, altogether apart from its quantitative deficiency, is inadequate to encompass these ends. Its orientation is wrong. It tends to inculcate the idea, and is based on the assumption, that the Native must rise on the shoulders of the white man and in a non-Native, i.e. European, environment. The advancement of a race can only be achieved by improving its spiritual fibre, and progress can only be based on hard work. The Native is an apt imitator and can learn in the schools all the things that the

European can teach. But something more is required to make education a genuine thing in his life. Unless he can experience, unless he can achieve, unless he can move upward by developing the qualities which he possesses, his progress towards real civilization will be slow. The European must give the Native a start on his upward path. But the progress on that path is incompatible with a worship of the false gods of barbarism. Unless the Native can free himself from the idea that a good life consists of plenty of food, beer, and leisure, females to work for him, herds on which to feast his eyes, and occasional pacifying of the spirits (amadlozi) by animal sacrifices, he will make little progress towards civilization. Civilization can only be achieved by tireless effort, and the great bulk of the Natives are still at the stage when they have to master this lesson. The more the European does for the Native and the less he does for himself, the slower will his real advancement be.

630.

This line of thought has far-reaching implications for Native education. Instead of laying the stress on the Native achieving European "accomplishments", it must aim at transforming his whole outlook on life. The European bases his education on the three R's. But for the tribal Native there is a great deal that precedes the three R's and that is definitely more important than the three R's.

631.

The great bulk of the Native population will derive much more good from teachings on simple hygiene, elementary agricultural methods, and a comprehension of the fact that spirits, benevolent or malevolent, do not account for their good fortune, or their ill fortune, rather than from ordinary school teaching. Stress is however laid on the latter in the present system, while the former is largely neglected. While a measure of book education is essential, a redressing of the balance is clearly indicated.

632.

For a few thousands of individuals who must be trained for the occupations referred to in paragraph 603, a superstructure of school education must be erected on this foundation of social education. But the foundation must be laid first. Much of present-day Native education rests on an inadequate foundation. For the rest of the Native population, the carrying on and development of the present system of school education will involve certain financial responsibilities, which are referred to in paragraphs 642-644.

633.

A further implication of these views is the essential need for using the vernacular as medium of instruction. Proper comprehension of the fundamentals is of more importance than the learning of a single accomplishment, like a European language. Owing to the short school life of a Native, he learns the accomplishment badly and the fundamental not at all.

634.

From the purely economic point of view, therefore, the attempt to educate the Native through a strange medium involves a large amount of waste of the short time which he spends at school.

635.

The point of view which your Commissioners wish to stress is already represented in the administrative system of the Union. We have for example the Native Development Fund. The name contains a formula, which could comprise the views of your Commissioners. But actually the money of the Development Fund has been spent largely on the education of the type which your Commissioners consider inadequate, no doubt unavoidably in the circumstances prevailing. If the Development Fund were to fall more into line in improving Native agricultural methods, in making larger grants to Native hospitals and to the training of nurses, it would actually be accomplishing much that your Commission has in view.

636.

Again, the Native Affairs Commission has, in the statement quoted in paragraph 597, laid down broad lines of policy which conform largely with our views.

637.

But in practice the momentum of a system modelled on the lines of European education has been such that since these resolutions were passed only slight progress has been made in transforming that system. Moreover it cannot be completely transformed until a change comes about in the general approach of the State to the Native areas, on the lines recommended in this Report.

Suspicion of Natives about Differentiation in Education.

638.

We have referred in paragraphs 610 and 612 to the suspicion with which the Native regards any suggestion that his people may require a type of education different from that given to the European. The existence of this sentiment constitutes a real difficulty in the way of gaining the general co-operation of the Native people in the adoption of the principles we have suggested, but we believe that a proper presentment of the case must, by reason of its inherent soundness, eventually win over Native opinion. To accomplish this it will be essential to satisfy such opinion that no sinister motive lies behind the ideas expressed above. This may be helped in several ways, of which we may here suggest some :

(1) By placing emphasis on the importance of reaching the masses of tribal Natives, with a simple preliminary instruction tending to open their minds to fundamental principles, and to prepare the ground for the sowing of new ideas upon which their general advance to a civilized state must be based; and at the same time making plain how many difficulties for Natives themselves are likely to be created by the present unselective and incomplete form of instruction.

(2) By making liberal provision for the completer education of the future teachers and leaders of the Native peoples—showing thereby that there is a genuine plan to equip the Natives themselves with one of the principal requisites for national advance, namely an adequate supply of well educated men and women capable of fulfilling their natural task of leading their people on the upward march.

(3) By making plain that the present stage of Native development is an intermediate stage; that it rests largely with the Natives themselves, first to create the social and economic conditions which will make a more advanced system of education for the whole race possible and practicable, and secondly, when those conditions have been attained, to ensure that the fuller and more complete system for which they would then be ready, is made available to their people.

(4) By giving proof that it is the genuine wish and intention of the European to aid and inspire the Native to advance as quickly as possible along the road both of economic and educational development suggested.

639.

Your Commission feels strongly that the system of Native education should be remodelled on the lines set out above.

Control of Native Education.

640.

This brings us to the question of control. The Act of Union provides that "the control and administration of Native Affairs . . . throughout the Union shall vest in the Governor-General-in-Council". This has always been held to be subject to the provisions of *section 85 (iii)*, which vests the control of education other than higher education in the Provincial Councils. In view of the peculiar nature of Native education your Commission regards it as essential that it should be controlled from one source, and considers that the time has come for vesting the superintendence thereof in an officer of the Union Government.

641.

Native education in the past started from the same base as European education. It is necessary to retrace our steps and pay due attention to the undeveloped field, the proper cultivation of which is an essential to the progress in civilization of the whole Native race.

Financial Implications.

642.

Your Commission cannot deal in detail with the financial implications arising from this desideratum. We have laid stress in the earlier part of our Report on the essential need for the development of the Reserves. We lay stress in this section on the co-incident need of developing the Native himself. We are convinced that both are required in the interest of the whole country, and of all its inhabitants, whether white or black.

643.

These developments will inevitably demand considerable expenditure. Whether this expenditure is to be met entirely from revenue, or partly from revenue and partly from capital, is a question of the financial policy of the country. There is at present an expenditure of over £600,000 per annum

from State funds on Native school education. In the normal course expenditure of this type grows from year to year. We have pointed out the necessity of a further type of education. This will also require money. As a practical question, it will be well nigh impossible to prevent a growth of expenditure on the first, or to divert any of the present expenditure from the first to the second of these types.

644.

Assuming that the expenditure will be made from the Native Development Fund, this fund will require a considerably increased income if the development of the Reserves, which we consider essential for the progress of the Union, is to be carried out. The question of the allocation of expenditure between these two types of education is one which will require the most careful consideration of the Government. It is not a question on which hard and fast rules can be laid down in advance, since changing conditions resulting from the measures taken in one period will inevitably affect the allocation in the next. Your Commission does not feel that it can advance any views on this question.

645.

Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts, who disagree with much that is set out in paragraphs 603-644, express their views hereunder, in paragraphs 646-664.

646.

There is among the Natives in the Union a widespread and intensely keen desire for education both for adults and for children. Grown Natives in the towns may be seen in large numbers helping one another in their spare time to learn to read and write. Parents will make great sacrifices to get education for their children.

647.

Owing to the poverty of the Natives the quality and the extent of the education they can receive is as a rule very poor. Unqualified teachers, sometimes with no more than standard III or IV to their credit, wrestle with classes of one hundred pupils or more. Inadequate funds compel the schools to employ unqualified teachers even when qualified teachers are available. Native education has been until recent years mainly in the hands of missionaries whose funds would not permit of its being provided for more than a small proportion of the children of a school-going age. The Government out of Native revenue has contributed the amounts shown in paragraph 599 to cover teachers' salaries, all other expenses being met out of Native fees or mission funds.

648.

The Government's policy has been to restrict the expenditure on Native education to a portion only of the direct revenue derived from Natives. This policy has had and is having important consequences on both the social and economic position of the Natives, and offers little scope for further education for Natives.

649.

The educated Native is a more useful member of the community and he is a more regular worker than the uneducated. The educated Native can be trusted with responsible duties. Many Natives are employed in "cash on delivery" work which involves delivering goods, receiving the correct money for them, giving a receipt for it, and then accounting for it to their employers. The effect of education on the Natives may be summed up as being improved habits of industry and general adaptability. The educated Native lives on a far better standard than the uneducated. His earnings are generally higher and he spends them on better food, better housing, and better clothing than the raw Native, to the general benefit of the producers of that better food, housing, and clothing. Mr. A. Linton, a prominent business man and an ex-Mayor of Port Elizabeth, dealing with this question, expressed clearly, in his statement to the Commission, the view which is widely held by those with experience to qualify them to speak on the subject, when he said:

"A Native who can read and write is of greater economic value to the community and commands a higher wage than one who cannot; indeed, the manual work of shops and stores and factories could not be carried on without this qualification. It extends his horizon and opens up vistas of development which

otherwise are sealed to him, and the fact that, in an economic sense, the pressure of it is compelling the European to improve his standard is not an unmixed blessing. The European has greater facilities for reaching a higher standard, and can only expect to preserve his superior status by achievement. My experience is that most of the Natives who secured secondary and higher education devote themselves to work amongst their own people."

650.

Until very recently the only high school education available for Natives was the teachers' training course at certain institutions. A number of Natives desiring higher education went through that course although they had no intention of becoming teachers. The Rev. A. Cardross Grant stated to the Commission that an investigation into what had become of the Native teachers who had passed out of the thirteen teachers' training institutions in the Cape during the years 1924, 1925, and 1926, some 1,200 in all, showed that only forty-eight were at the time of the investigation without posts. (Evidence, p. 4378.)

651.

It is often urged that education makes Natives disinclined to work in mining or farming. The Native with education is generally capable of higher classes of work than are called for in the occupations open to him in mining and farming as at present organized. Many witnesses with a wide knowledge of the Natives stated that it was only the least intelligent as a rule that entered those occupations. The wages paid in them are quite inadequate to enable the educated Native to satisfy his normal needs in the social position to which his education has introduced him. It is therefore not surprising that he turns to more attractive work, which is at the same time better paid.

652.

In addition to the results which have just been mentioned, it is certain that education does counteract the reactionary conceptions due to the tribal system and can be developed without destroying what is good and worthy of preservation and development in that system.

653.

The intense keenness among Natives for education is an important factor in causing Natives to migrate from the farms, on or near most of which there is no provision for Native education. In towns the opportunities for education are more readily accessible than in the rural areas, and it is possible for adult Natives to join together to get, and to give each other, instruction in reading and writing. There is in this keenness and willingness to make sacrifices for learning an immense scope for the development of the Native peoples.

654.

Unfortunately there is, even among well educated Europeans, the belief that improvement of the Natives' standard of civilization means a progressive loss of opportunities for Europeans. This is really a variation of the fallacy of there being only a limited number of jobs, a fallacy long ago exposed by economists but still persisting among a large number of people. The Union is not enriched by keeping the Natives poor, and an increased capacity among Natives to produce wealth cannot impoverish the Europeans. Improvement in the Natives' position will, on the contrary, give increased opportunity to Europeans.

655.

In these circumstances the question arises whether the Union can afford to allow its Native peoples to remain uneducated. There can be no doubt, in face of all the evidence, that the Native can acquire knowledge and skill readily from education. By giving him education his standard of living and his ability to maintain that standard by increased efficiency can be raised and the great economic danger in the Union to European civilization arising from the wide divergence between European and Native standards of living will disappear. The European has less to fear from an educated than from an uneducated Native people, either in preserving European civilization or in maintaining a European standard of living.

656.

In justice to the Native and in his own interest the European must face the question of educating the Native peoples of the Union. It is necessary but not enough to teach the Native better agricultural methods and principles of hygiene. He must be taught to read and to write and to think clearly, so that throughout his life he may have open to him channels through which helpful knowledge may come to him.

657.

If such a policy is adopted—and the great majority of Natives are determined to get education somehow—the question of cost must be faced. It is commonly assumed that the Natives, a poor section of the population, must pay directly for all the services they receive, though no such rule is applied to any other poor section. It appears also to be assumed that all Government revenue, except that paid by Natives through the General Tax, is provided by Europeans and should not be available for Native services. The fact is overlooked that much, if not all, of that revenue is obtained from the joint efforts of Europeans and Natives. Thus in nearly all the important mining areas Natives are in fact excluded from any interest in mining rights, and the control of the profits from such rights lies in the hands of Europeans who are not necessarily Union nationals. The State's revenue from mining is therefore actually paid by Europeans, but its production is the joint result of European and Native work. On the gold mines of the Witwatersrand there are approximately 20,000 Europeans and 200,000 Native employees. It would serve no useful purpose to try to allot to each race the proportion due to it in the mineral production. The point is that the Natives may rightly urge that, when a calculation is being made as to what should be spent on social services for them, all revenue except direct taxation, which would not include revenue from mining, should be regarded as a joint European and Native contribution. The argument that any increased expenditure on Native education would have to be paid by taxation on Europeans may be correct, when the word taxation is limited to the person actually making the payment, but it is untrue when the facts are considered.

658.

The present burden of taxation on Natives, direct and indirect, is very heavy. It is quite impossible, without serious consequences to Native welfare, to increase it. As it is, they are the only section of the community which is paying school fees for primary education.

659.

The Native Development Fund makes inadequate provision for expansion of expenditure on education. Any increase in the Fund can be brought about only by an increase in the number of adult males, while the growth of the school population is taking place in both sexes.

660.

All civilized countries have realized the necessity and importance of educating their peoples. The necessity and importance are equally great for the Natives of the Union. They cannot pay for it in their present economic position. They are the poorest section of the community, and no country calls on its poorest section to pay for all the social services which are necessary for their well-being.

661.

In the rural areas where, as a rule, building materials are cheap and readily obtainable the Natives will be willing to provide and maintain school buildings. With a remission of the General Tax the Natives in the Reserves could probably pay the other expenses of education out of revenue which they would raise locally.

662.

In the urban and farming areas wages are so low that to-day they have to be supplemented by subsidized housing schemes, or by crime. Subsidized housing schemes and crime are expensive ways of paying for services. In these areas the cost of education must be met either by increased wages or by State subsidy. School buildings need not be expensive, and Native workmen can be employed in erecting and maintaining them. With the abolition of the numerous statutory technical offences of which few Natives can avoid at one time or

another being guilty, a very considerable proportion of the Police and Prisons Votes could be saved and diverted to Native education. Though an increase in the total amount now expended by the Government on Native education, all of which amount it must be remembered is provided out of Native taxation, must be anticipated, and should be encouraged, the increase, if the course outlined above is followed, need not be alarming.

663.

In the towns there are no schools and there is no work for most of the adolescent boys and girls. Many witnesses drew attention to the urgent problems which this is bringing about. Money spent on schools for these young people could well be regarded as an insurance premium against the loss to the community which will be involved if they drift into a life of crime. Educating them will probably be cheaper than policing them, and certainly more productive of good. For many of these boys and girls the Wayfarer and Pathfinder movements offer a valuable field for character development and training in social duties.

664.

Many Natives urged before the Commission the introduction of compulsory education for Natives. In Bloemfontein and Kroonstad they said they were willing to tax themselves to pay the additional cost of such education there. At present there are so many difficulties in the way of introducing compulsory education for Natives that we cannot now recommend it; but that a considerable expansion in the extent of education available for Natives is urgently necessary, we are convinced.

Direct Taxation of Natives.

Two Systems in Force in the Union.

665.

In the matter of direct taxation there are two radically different systems in force in the Union.

666.

In the case of the European population direct taxation is based on the so-called Faculty Theory, that is, on the principle of ability to pay. In the case of Natives, direct taxation proceeds on the primitive method of the poll tax or personal tax. The former is a system suited to a community which shows marked differences in individual wealth; the latter to a community in which individuals are on much of an equality in this respect.

667.

As long as each system is carried out in a community which conforms to it little harm is done. When the two communities start mixing in the economic sphere, when the interests of the individuals of the one become inextricably interwoven with those of the other, anomalies appear.

Is the Personal Tax Regressive?

668.

Much objection has been raised to the regressive character of the poll tax. Full analysis of this tax, however, shows up the fact that its regressive character is only part, and a lesser part at that, of the picture. Certainly it is regressive in the case of Natives who have become part of the European economic system; but in the case of the tribal Natives, and many of the farm Natives, it has no regressive character whatever.

669.

Direct taxation of Natives was largely connected with the desire to bring pressure to bear on tribal Natives to go out to work. While originally this was no doubt done only in the interest of the industries requiring labour, it did in fact force a certain number of Natives on to the upward path of progress. The question whether it was the best method of encompassing this need not detain us here. There is much to be said on both sides. At present it is an integral part of the administrative system of the country and it certainly exerts pressure where a great deal of pressure will continue to be required for a long time if the mass of the Natives is to advance at all.

670.

While, therefore, on the one hand it exerts a salutary influence, the personal tax can hardly be said to be regressive in its application to that part of the Native population which can still give a large part of its time to leisure.

671.

The claim, frequently advanced both by Natives and by certain Europeans, that the same system of direct taxation should be applied to Natives as to Europeans, is tantamount to a claim for the abolition of direct taxation of Natives.

672.

This claim is based largely on the alleged regressive character of the Native General Tax. As we have shown, however, this tax is not regressive in the case of the large mass of the Native population; much of this basis for the claim, therefore, falls away. We return below to the cases where it is regressive.

673.

Pursuing the matter further, the implication of the abolition of a large proportion of Native taxation is that the white community must bear an increased share of the cost not only of the maintenance of law and order but also of the social services required for the upliftment of the Natives. If this view becomes part of our governmental system it will have considerable adverse repercussions on Native social services. Your Commission is so deeply impressed with the urgent need for the developments which it has recommended, that it would be breaking down what it is trying to establish by recommending that the Natives should contribute less to State revenue than they do now. Enlightened Native opinion will raise little objection to the present system of Native direct taxation if a determined effort is made to raise the general level of the Native people.

Difficulty of Urbanized Natives.

674.

As regards the permanently urbanized Native population, on the other hand, the effect of the personal tax is definitely regressive. We have shown elsewhere that economically this section approximates more to the lower strata of the European and to the Coloured population than to the great mass of the Native population.

675.

We do not consider it desirable to suggest that the whole system of Native direct taxation be recast to meet this difficulty. A new tax is proverbially a bad tax. In regard to the Native population it is particularly undesirable to introduce changes at too frequent intervals, on account of the disturbing effect which such action has on their minds. The present system was very fully considered in all its implications by a Departmental Committee before it was introduced; it has now had time to settle down; it is a simple system well understood by the Natives, and it would therefore be undesirable to change it.

676.

To suggest exemption of urbanized Natives from the personal tax would raise not only the difficulty of defining this class adequately for administrative purposes, but also other serious objections. Your Commission particularly desires to avoid making suggestions which would tend to increase the urbanization of the Natives. The possibility of escaping taxation by becoming urbanized would undoubtedly be an incentive to a large number of Natives to seek this qualification. Your Commission is convinced that increased urbanization would be in conflict with the permanent interests of the Native population. Length of view is not an outstanding quality of a primitive people, and Natives are not likely to be deterred from becoming urbanized by a consideration that it will be worse in the long run.

677.

Exemption of any class of Natives from direct taxation would not be likely to be understood by the more backward people who will not qualify for it, and therefore there is a risk that their own differential liability to taxation will become a grievance. Such action would create more anomalies than it would solve.

678.

It is difficult to devise any system of taxation which does not bear hardly at some points. Your Commission is of opinion that more will be achieved towards removing Native grievances incidental to direct taxation by proceeding on the broad lines set out in our Report than by attempting to remove the disabilities of a small class at the expense of the larger group of which it forms a part.

Race Relations.**679.**

Native advancement is affected in many ways by the attitude taken up by Europeans towards Natives. Thus, as is pointed out in the section of this Report dealing with Mining, it is not considered advisable to entrust Natives underground with control of locomotives because Europeans might refuse to obey regulations about their use and the Natives in control would not be able to resist the European's pressure on him to break those regulations. (Cf. paragraph 844.)

680.

The evidence received by the Commission shows without doubt a great change in the attitude of Natives to Europeans, and vice versa. Generally, the attitude of Europeans is becoming more friendly, and this is stimulated by a desire to understand more clearly than formerly the needs and aspirations of the Natives. Our Universities are taking a keen interest in the Native as a subject for scientific study. The Urban Areas Act in the towns and the work of Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives have brought about a much better understanding among Europeans of Native needs and desires. Great prominence is given in many newspapers to Native questions and with the better information on this question a large proportion of the European population is beginning to appreciate the Native point of view. In rural areas missionaries, and in particular the Dutch Reformed Church missionaries, have done much to improve understanding among the rural European population of the Natives' needs.

681.

On the other hand the general tenor of the evidence is that the attitude of Natives generally towards Europeans and the European administration has become less friendly and trustful. The Native is inclined to blame the European for the passing of the "good old days" when he was not faced with the problems of the present day, and sometimes forgets that many of the evils of the "good old days" have disappeared under European administration.

682.

While a great deal of stress is laid on the action of Europeans or of the European administration in limiting the Natives in various ways, the point is generally overlooked that such limitation is not due to any ill-will on the part of the Europeans, but to the fact that with increasing population economic conditions have definitely become more difficult for both white and black. Much appreciation of the force of the underlying factors in a system which he only imperfectly comprehends cannot be expected from the Native. The increasing economic difficulties and the very definite advance which the Natives have made under European rule are frequently overlooked. Thus while there is a very general cry that wages are low, it is also very generally admitted that the standard of living of the Native has improved very considerably. There is however a general impatience that this improvement does not go at a greater pace. There is a general tendency to decry the smallness of the provision of educational and medical facilities, and to overlook the fact that not so very long ago the Native had next to nothing in this direction.

683.

That there is a large leeway to make up is generally admitted, but there is a tendency to take all good things which the Native has, for granted, and to lay all the stress on the good things which he has not yet attained. The point is very often overlooked that the task of raising millions of backward people to any reasonable level of civilization must necessarily be long and tedious.

684.

The more advanced and vocal Natives, many of whom have no great sense of perspective, have not been slow to take up the cry, and frequently to over-emphasize it. We are of opinion that the European will for a long time to come be blamed by Natives for things which are not to their liking, whether he is to blame or not. It is partly a responsibility which the exercise of political power brings; it is partly a compliment to the European, born of a belief on the part of the more backward Natives that his power over economic forces is such that he can put all these things right, if he only has the will to do so. But your Commission is convinced that economic difficulties, from which both races suffer, are at the root of much of inter-racial illfeeling. Concentration on the economic problem which requires cool analysis and as cool purposive action is the most hopeful approach to the problem of creating satisfactory race relations.

685.

There seem to be four main questions lying at the root of Native feeling against the European today. These are the shortage of land; the restriction upon individual liberty imposed by the pass laws; the colour bar; and the low scale of wages generally paid to Natives. The shortage of land affects primarily the rural Natives, but it is the urban Natives in particular who feel the pressure on the other points, and it is among them that fruitful soil is found for the operations of those Natives who wish to foment strife between the races. In the course of our Report we discuss these questions fully and we consider that a genuine attempt to deal sympathetically with them would go far to improve race relations.

686.

Large numbers of Natives read European newspapers and their feelings are often deeply stirred by what they read there. In his evidence before the Commission Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu said:—

“ . . . the Press does a great deal of mischief. Today the Natives are reading more than they used to and when they see statements in the Press which are unfavourable to them, it makes a bad impression on them. I would attribute it rather to the Press than to individuals. Natives do know how to excuse an individual, but when they see in the Press an article or the speech of a public speaker which speaks badly of the people, they take it far more seriously.”

Question, “ It must be true, because it is printed? ”

Answer, “ I suppose being in print it has that effect.”

We cannot too strongly urge that extreme caution should be observed both by public speakers and writers in the Press in dealing with Native questions. Ill-considered expressions and faulty information have a much greater influence on relatively uneducated people than on people who are capable of exercising a calmer judgment or of checking the accuracy of statements of alleged facts.

687.

Natives generally respect Europeans as a race, but such respect cannot be maintained where Natives and Europeans live side by side in the appalling slum conditions existing in most of our large towns.

688.

South Africa is faced with the difficulty of having a multiplicity of Native languages. The majority of Europeans do not speak any Native language. Large numbers of Natives who live in towns or come to work there acquire some knowledge of one or both of the official European languages.

689.

The construction of Bantu languages is entirely different from that of European languages, which adds considerably to the difficulties under which Natives labour in their contact with Europeans. What is regarded as stupidity in Natives is frequently due to their inability to understand the language in which they are addressed. Evidence established the fact that a large number of cases that come to court under the master and servants laws are due to misunderstanding arising from the parties not having understood one another's language. Charges of insolence or discourtesy are frequently due to the same cause.

690.

A number of Native witnesses complained that they are handicapped through not being able to learn Afrikaans in the schools. It would undoubtedly bring about a great reduction in the amount of misunderstanding between Europeans and Natives and smoothe away many difficulties in industry and in administration if more Europeans were induced to learn a Native language. Your Commission considers that it is very desirable that greater scope should be given to Native languages in the curricula of the European schools.

Development of Race Consciousness.

691.

The growth of a Native nationalism or race consciousness is a factor which is not as yet generally recognized by the Europeans of the Union, but it is one which must be kept clearly in view when questions affecting the Natives' social and economic position are being considered. It cannot safely be ignored or suppressed.

Segregation.

692.

The word "segregation" is frequently used in connection with Native questions. A great deal of confusion is caused by its employment in different senses, and it will therefore be advantageous to examine here some of these, in so far as they affect the social and economic conditions of Natives.

693.

Full economic segregation would mean that the Europeans and Natives would be put into separate areas and that they would not be allowed to work for each other. Nobody advocates this. It would be impossible, and uneconomical even if possible, because it would deprive the European of the labour of the Native and the latter of the guidance, management, and largely too of the capital of the European.

694.

What is generally advocated under the heading segregation may be termed *partial economic segregation*. Most people favour some form of this, but there is great divergence of opinion as to the degree of segregation which it would involve. Views have been expressed which would mean that the Natives should live in a part of the country set aside for them, and that individuals should be admitted into the European area on temporary permit to work: they should not, however, make their homes in the European area, and those who have so made their homes should gradually be transferred to the Native area. Your Commission cannot give any support to this view. Besides being impracticable, it would be unfair to Natives who have already become permanent town-dwellers or dwellers on European farms. Moreover it would mean that Native labour in the European area would always be casual labour, and if this were to continue there would be great difficulties in the way of increasing its efficiency. This would be a very bad outlook for European industry since the maintenance of the present low state of efficiency of Native labour must, as long as it lasts, continue to be a serious drawback to the attainment of higher efficiency in industries as a whole.

695.

There is, however, a form of partial economic segregation which lies at the basis of your Commission's Report. This consists in developing the Native areas sufficiently to make greater provision for the needs of the Natives resident therein. The effect of this will be that the classes of urban and rural labour will tend to crystallize to an extent which will enable greater efficiency to be achieved among both. The urban labourer will then be in a position that he can emerge from the present unfair competition of the casual rural labourer. The towns would be less inundated by the latter because the competition of more efficient regular town-dwellers would make the conditions less attractive to them. A considerable number of Natives from the Reserves would still have to come out from time to time, to work. They would, however, flow into channels where casual labour is regularly required. Mining would offer scope as at present for a large proportion of these labourers; and as the development of the Reserves would interest the Native in better agriculture, it might be expected that there would grow up a class of more or less specialized land workers from which there would be available a surplus of labour naturally gravitating to casual work on European farms as it was required there. The effect should therefore be to create a more economical distribution of the labour forces than obtains now.

696.

Territorial Segregation: Rural.—This is the principle of the Natives Land Act. It protects the Native in his land-holding against the European (see paragraphs 178 *sqq.*), and the European against "Kaffir-farming" and the undesirable condition of having Native and European farms intermixed.

697.

Urban Residential.—This is partly applied by the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. Exceptions are allowed under certain conditions, chiefly as a matter of convenience, as for example in the case of domestic servants. Apart from the social advantage referred to under rural segregation it has other points as an aid towards dealing with Native slums. It simplifies the question of administration, and it could by giving Natives a pride in their urban townships create among them a higher social life (see paragraphs 508 and 539).

698.

Segregation in Industrial Occupations.—This is enforced largely by the action of Trade Unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act. In principle it is contained in the Mines and Works Act which is, however, a statement of principle rather than an operative force. It is upheld by the European community, to place limits on the undercutting action of a lower civilization on a higher. As the lower rises, and the gap between the two lessens, it will diminish in importance.

699.

Social segregation does not apply only to inter-marriage and to relations which constitute a criminal offence under the Immorality Act, No. 5 of 1927, but also in a very much wider sphere. It is in conformity with the ideals of both Europeans and Natives, and may be regarded as a feature of the problem of race-relationships for the maintenance of which there is a large degree of unanimity.

Natives and Unemployment.

700.

Unemployment is the non-fulfilment of the desire to be employed. Where this desire does not exist there can be no unemployment. Among the Native population in the Reserves and on many farms there is a desire for employment for wages during part only of the year, or of a cycle of years. This is partly due to tribal habits and partly to the divorce between the places of residence and the centre of employment. Even if tribal Natives should desire employment throughout the year, they will not in practice be able to have this in European labour centres, because they cannot be expected to be away from home all the time. The undeveloped state of their Reserves limits the extent to which they can be economically employed there.

701.

In the sense defined above employment has affected the Native only at odd times. Endemic employment, such as Europeans are accustomed to, has not yet become a feature of Native life. It is true that there are generally some Natives without employment in our towns. But this is more frequently due to unwillingness on their part to take such employment as offers, or to the knowledge that congenial employment will be available in a short time, rather than to absence of opportunities for employment. Time so lost is not a very serious matter to them. The universal custom among Natives of sharing means they will never starve while their neighbours have food. Moreover as Natives who are not fully urbanized always have a certain amount of "lost time", it does not matter greatly to them which days belong to this category. A Native will frequently travel long distances to get to a satisfactory job, not troubling at all about the time so lost. While for the European a day's labour lost is generally dead loss, the Native does not so regard it.

702.

As the Natives however come more under the influence of the European money-economy this state of affairs will undergo material modification. During the present depression the Natives have felt, for the first time strongly, what unemployment means. The low price of wool and maize forced out to work many Natives from areas where normally a sale of these articles provides some of their cash requirements. The gold mines have therefore had a full complement of Native labourers, whereas there is, generally, a shortage. This is illustrated in the Graph which appears as Annexure 18. For a brief period the mines found it necessary to curtail recruiting.

703.

Under a subsistence economy such crises as occur are generally caused by the failure of nature, or the destructiveness of man, rather than by failure of the relatively simple social machinery to function properly. Under an advanced money economy the failure of nature is less disastrous, and limits are set to the destructiveness of man (with occasional exceptions in wartime), but the involved machinery required to achieve this does not always work smoothly. As the Natives advance in civilization they will come under the influence of the latter factor to an increasing extent. At the present time, however, apart from periods when the whole country feels the economic stress of depression, unemployment has not yet become a serious factor among the Native population.

Lobolo.

704.

Lobolo has contributed much towards preserving tribes and keeping them intact, and is continuing to do so in the stage in which they are found to-day. The whole social structure of the Abantu rests largely on lobolo, since it is an integral part of their life; the social life of families is concentrated around lobolo. Through it, intertribal relations are established by the marriage of Chiefs and of their sons and daughters with persons of the blood from other tribes. In the same community it establishes an even closer bond, between various family groups. The tribe is a "large family" consisting of an organized community of families; and marriage is exogamous.

Lobolo cannot be overlooked in relation to the social and juridical status of both man and woman, more particularly of the woman: it upholds the worthiness of the woman in society, and is a spur to the man to be a person of status and so ensure his social position. The laws governing tribal life are mostly the laws governing family life.

705.

Marriage is fundamentally a family affair; and among the Abantu it is this predominantly. Among them it is the family that brings about marriage, concludes the contract, arranges all, and pays all. The compact is solemnly sealed through the medium of lobolo, which constitutes a warranty on the part of the bridegroom that he is "no longer merely 'playing' (dlala), but is in earnest", and is a token of his acknowledgment of his obligations. Moreover, in many tribes it ensures the maintenance in certain contingencies of the bride by her father or guardian. On the part of the bride it constitutes an acceptance guaranteeing wifely conduct. The principle underlying these bonds on husband and wife is the keeping of the family intact. Thus lobolo determines the validity or otherwise of marriage, and thence the legitimacy or otherwise of children.

706.

By strengthening family ties in this way, it holds high the rights and authority and dignity of the head of the family: it is a symbol of the union and cohesion, the solidarity, of the family.

707.

Hence lobolo sustains the moral concept underlying a true and legal marriage, since it is lobolo which imparts to marriage the seal of genuineness, consonant with the usages of tribe and family and in the interest of both: it preserves the sanctity of marriage and thence the honour of the family and wellbeing of the tribe. In these respects it works beneficially, and has a far-reaching wholesome effect on the morality and character of the society, the tribe, family, and of individuals.

708.

As far as your Commission is aware, divorce as understood in our society was unknown in the society of the Abantu of South Africa. Despite the influence of our law, divorce is still regarded by the great bulk of Natives with grave repugnance: they look upon it as a rupture of a solemn covenant, as an essentially shameful occurrence, an aggression on fair name and fame. Thus lobolo rears a wall against divorce.

709.

Among a number of tribes a deflowered girl is a dishonourable person, of small account, who represents diminished lobolo; hence the virginity examination (uguhlola) in certain circumstances; for to a family a *virgo intacta* is a great treasure. Transgression was severely punished, by torture and even by death.

710.

Through lobolo a maid attains honourable status: it gives her a feeling of shelter and security. For these reasons Native women, both tribal and educated, feel most strongly that they are not really married until lobolo has been contributed. Thus lobolo proscribes licentiousness.

711.

All religions have a social colouring, and among the Natives the *societas* is *religiosa*. The tribe is a social as well as a religious community, and so is the family. Most usages of Natives are social-and-religious, or religious-and-social. Thus in so cardinal a matter as marriage a religious ceremony must be observed to solemnize it, to mark the going-over and giving-over of a member from one socio-religious group to another. Therefore the main transaction connected with this, that which makes it legally valid and confirms and seals it, namely the passing of lobolo, must be grounded and rooted in the religion of the groups concerned. It is indeed a religious transaction. As one witness said, "Lobolo to the Natives is a religion". It is not a matter for individuals: it is a matter for family groups, for tribe, or for nation, depending on the status of the contracting parties and following the usages of the society to which they belong. Hence the people want to see the living cattle. According to the present-day conception of the Abantu, it is the beast alone which has actual value as lobolo: all substitutes are inferior, for proper religious significance must be imparted to the transaction in full measure. "Real wealth is not money, but cattle," said John Dube pointedly. That is why Natives turn money into stock. The religious worth represented by the beast must obviously

be taken into account: for the ceremony is not completed by the handing over of the cattle to conclude the contract; in addition beasts are slaughtered, in keeping with recognized ritual, in order to give a religious seal to the contract and to the alliance. Even nontribal Natives acknowledge, as they do by their conduct, that here money is *infra dignitatem*; but these may execute the contract without cattle, for they have largely abandoned their tribal usages.

712.

The only true wealth among the Abantu, at least since they became pastoral people, has consisted of cattle and other stock (goats and sheep included). To this day most Natives take this view of cattle. Land-holding is naturally foreign to them: that is a development of later date, which appears to the Abantu as an aping of the individualistic European; but cattle, many cattle, that is real wealth. It is this kind of wealth that determines the economic status of a family, for there is no possession to compare with it. A beast is "our" beast: the sense of possession is shared by all members of the family, and eventually by the whole society. Lobolo then is a gauge of a family's economic position. Many cattle bespeak many wives, and many wives a large family, adding strength and worth to the community.

713.

Lobolo is also in a sense a form of compensation to the bride's family. It constitutes an indemnification for deprivation suffered through the loss of the potential (also economic) worth represented by the member of the family who leaves as bride, and this is made good by means of cattle. The plain fact of the matter is that the *pretium puellae* is what is also reproductive, what can breed, living animals. Life is given for life, blood for blood. For if a bride should prove to be barren, then her family will provide a sister to fill the office of vicarious motherhood.

714.

Among the so-called detribalized Natives, lobolo has degenerated, that given temporarily or permanently, is of economic importance to the bride. It is a kind of dowry, but also possesses a deeper, religious and ritualistic significance.

715.

Among the so-called detribalised Natives, lobolo has degenerated, that is, an attempt is made by them to maintain it and make it fit where new environment and outlook and economic conditions have made it difficult to apply, or they have through force of circumstances or voluntarily been party to its destruction. The position that exists among these people may conveniently be summarized thus:

(1) Lobolo is contributed in money. Where this is done, the basis of the social and religious ideas of the system has been completely altered.

(2) There is no ceremony as a necessary element of the contract. Here the religious and social functions disappear.

(3) Where a dispute arises and it becomes a vital matter, they plead ignorance of the correct procedure. Here the conception of justice and the feeling of responsibility are undermined.

(4) There is no tribal standard or scale of the amount of any money substitute. A sacred usage, affecting a law of the life of tribe and family, is here left to unregularized arrangement by individuals.

(5) There is a general slighting of the legal guardian and true protector of the maid. Guardianship is arbitrarily assumed by someone, male or female, who discharges the functions of the office clumsily. From this there follows a disregard and wanton defiance of authority.

(6) The bridegroom acts all alone, neither consulting his father or guardian, nor obtaining his consent, and thus he ignores and undermines the authority of the head of his family.

716.

The effects are clear to any observer. They are:

(1) A lowering of social status, i.e. denationalization;

(2) A spiritual decline;

(3) A weakening and breaking up of family ties;

(4) Neglect of what is right and becoming in their society;

(5) The adoption of European marriage rites, usually for the purpose of evading the lobolo custom;

717.

(6) A forsaking of tribal moral law, leading to moral straying and collapse.

Among non-tribal and semi-tribal Natives, dowry is sometimes given and is equal in exchange value to the lobolo or even exceeds such value. This seems to point to the beginning of a transition from lobolo to European dowry. This practice must necessarily with the passing of time either develop or decline: the non-tribal Native blends usages which are in conflict, for he lives now in an environment which, to him, consists of a world of contradictory ideas. The normal and sound and gradual development of his tribal usages appears to him to be hopeless in his altered environment.

718.

For these reasons, your Commissioners are of opinion that the illegalization of lobolo would throw the whole tribal life of the Natives into serious chaos, and be in immediate conflict with the idea underlying our Report.

719.

Your Commission is of opinion that the number of lobolo cattle contributed or claimable in respect of any marriage should not be determined by the State, but should be determined by the parties to the contract; and that, in order to check lobolo disputes, there should be a formal registration of all marriages in respect of which lobolo passes. Your Commission is further of opinion that Native Chiefs exercising jurisdiction in the Reserves should be entrusted with the duty, wherever they are able to perform it, of keeping the register of such marriages within their respective areas of Reserve jurisdiction, and that where this is done any lobolo dispute arising out of a marriage so registered by a Chief should be adjudicated upon by his court, subject to the usual right of appeal; and that the Chief's decision in all such cases should be formally recorded by him and be duly reported to the Native Commissioner of the District. What is stated in this paragraph applies to all the Provinces, including Natal where a policy different from that suggested has hitherto prevailed.

Pass Laws.

720.

The Commission listened to many complaints on the subject of the Pass Laws by Natives in the Transvaal, Natal, and Orange Free State. In the Cape Province no Pass Law system is in force, except in the Transkei and in the districts generally known as British Bechuanaland, where permits for entrance and exit are required. Magistrates with long experience of the Cape freedom in this respect are critical of the effects of the pass requirements in the other Provinces.

721.

Judging by the Statistics of Crime the Pass Laws would seem to be chiefly of importance in the Transvaal. The figures for the year 1930 show that of 42,000 convictions for Pass Law offences 16,000 were obtained in the Witwatersrand Police Division and 23,000 in the rest of the Transvaal. The figures for previous years tell the same tale.

722.

There can be no question that the pass requirements of the northern Provinces are onerous upon the Native people and that an undesirable effect of their enforcement is the creation of a large volume of technically criminal offences, which involve little or no moral opprobrium. By this means large numbers of Natives are introduced to the machinery of criminal law and administration, and become familiar at an early age with gaol, which thereby loses its deterrent effect; too often they suffer moral deterioration in the process. The cost to the State of administering the pass laws, even after allowing for the compensating collection of pass fees, is heavy.

723.

The system has undoubted reactions upon the well-being of Natives, and it was therefore the duty of your Commission to consider carefully what justification exists for its perpetuation.

Reasons for Enforcement.

724.

Reasons generally given for the enforcement of the system are:

(1) It affords a protection to the rural Native who comes into surroundings which are entirely new and strange to him;

(2) in so far as the pass represents a service contract it affords a further means of protection to the Native;

- (3) the pass is necessary as a means for identification;
- (4) it assists the employer in preventing strange Natives from living or sleeping on his property;
- (5) it prevents absconding from farms or other forms of employment;
- (6) in general it prevents crime;
- (7) it affords some means of stopping wholesale entry of Natives into towns where, if not required to carry passes, a large number will deliberately refrain from being employed and will loaf and ultimately live on their wits.

725.

These are reasons of practical convenience affecting the good order and well-being of the community, but many people question whether they are sufficient to justify the imposition of such drastic restrictions on liberty of movement as the pass laws require. In our opinion the reason and justification for them must be looked for in the fact of the contact between the higher European civilization and the primitive indigenous society of the Native. In the case of the town, how far can the European social order allow free intermixture with the Native with his generally low standard of living? In the case of the farms, is the Native too irresponsible, too untied to his employment by his living requirements to be allowed complete freedom of movement without economic disorganization of agriculture resulting from it? And if so, can some form of regulation of his movements be devised without injustice or the creation of intolerable hardship to him?

726.

As regards the town problem, anyone who has had the opportunity which the Commission had, of inspecting slums of the larger towns of the Union, might hesitate to assent to a statement that no control of entrance to and residence in the towns by Natives is necessary.

727.

The town slums of the Union are a blot upon the country, which it is in the public interest to remove as soon as possible. Through the operation of the Urban Areas Act much has already been done in that direction, and the process of cleaning up and eliminating the slums is going on. It might be argued that the same end could be attained by the provision of decent housing, that in fact the slum problem is a housing problem alone; but it is difficult to see how, on his present low economic basis, decent Native housing in towns can be made financially available to him without considerable contribution from the European community, which fact sets a practical limit to the extent to which Natives can be allowed to congregate in towns, without giving rise to impracticable housing demands. This aspect is discussed in the section of our Report devoted to Native town problems, but at this point the important bearing which it has upon the need for regulating and controlling movements of Natives outside Native areas must be stressed.

Simplification of Pass System.

728.

The Commission found that the desirability of some comprehensive registration of Natives was generally admitted, both in their own interests and those of the community, but it was equally generally urged that some simplification of the existing pass system is overdue. As an instance of the complexity of the requirements as they stand, particulars were given to the Commission showing that under certain conditions of locality, time, and occupation in Johannesburg, a Native might be required to carry four separate passes, or permits, in the absence of any one of which he might find himself liable to arrest and punishment.

729.

The question of Native pass laws was dealt with in detail by the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Pass Laws (1920), whose Report your Commissioners have studied and with whose conclusions we are in general agreement. A valuable historical statement regarding the origin and development of the Pass Laws will be found therein, which obviates any necessity for a further survey here. We recommend that the Report be brought up-to-date and acted upon. In recommending this we do not contemplate the extension of the pass system to the Cape Province.

730.

We wish to draw particular attention to paragraphs 37 and 38 of the Committee's Report, which read:

" 37. We recommend that a Registration Certificate shall be carried whenever a Native goes beyond the Ward in which he is ordinarily resident.

“ 38. To require Natives to carry Registration Certificates and yet remove all machinery for ensuring their doing so would stultify the effect of the provisions. It is therefore necessary to make provision for demanding certificates but at the same time to ensure that this right will be wisely and sympathetically exercised.

“ In this connection, we cannot too strongly record our opinion that there should be no indiscriminate stopping of Natives by the Police for the production of the Registration Certificate *per se* as the harassing and constant interference with the freedom of movement of law-abiding Natives is without any doubt the most serious grievance which the Natives have against the Pass Laws and is one of the principal causes of the recent agitation against the existing systems. All officers of the South African Police examined by us are in agreement that no good purpose is served by the indiscriminate demanding of Passes and that movements of Natives should not be interfered with by the Police unless they come under suspicion when they should be dealt with in the same manner as other members of the community.”

731.

From several quarters the suggestion was made to your Commission that the tax receipt should be combined in some form with a permanent registration certificate to take the place of, or serve as, an identification pass. Though the Inter-Departmental Committee declared against a similar suggestion, the conditions which influenced their decision have since been to some extent modified by the Native Taxation and Development Act, and it seems a reasonable suggestion which may now be recommended for further consideration. Your Commission does not think it necessary or desirable to go into detail as to the form of certificates to be adopted. That is a matter which could be more effectively dealt with departmentally. We wish however to emphasize that the present complexity of the pass laws is a matter of legitimate grievance to the Native people, which should be removed.

732.

As regards the farm side of the question, many witnesses complained to the Commission that the pass system at present in force does not give the full measure of assistance desired by farmers for the prevention of desertion.

733.

The Commission considers it is undesirable that the liberty and movement of Natives should be further restricted.

734.

The Commission is of opinion that these difficulties should be met in the manner suggested by the Inter-Departmental Committee and by the introduction of written contracts as proposed in the section of this Report relating to labour tenancy.

735.

In dealing with the former point the Committee said:—

“ 41. It has already been recommended that the carrying of the Registration Certificate by a Native beyond the border of the ward in which he resides should be compulsory and *we now recommend that it shall be an offence for any person to engage a Native not in possession of a Registration certificate: that employers be required to report within seven days, the engagement of a Native—other than a casual labourer—furnishing particulars in regard to his identity and registered number, etc., to the local Registering Officer: and in order that there may be a record of the movements of Natives throughout the Union the establishment of a Central Bureau to which local Registering Officers would advise the engagement of Natives other than those domiciled and registered in their districts.*

“ 42. As the above recommendations would only cover the whereabouts of Natives actually in employment *we further recommend that owners or occupiers of land and heads of kraals, shall without delay, report the presence of unauthorized strange Natives other than passing travellers, to the proper authority for transmission of such reports to the local Registering Officer.*

“ By these means we consider that a record of all Natives moving about the country would be built up at the Central Bureau and in the event of a Native not being at his home or recorded at the local registration office as being in the district an enquiry at the Central Bureau should establish his whereabouts.

*“(a) Registration of Contracts of Service
entered into by Natives.*

“ 43. Under headings (2) and (b) a system has been recommended which will enable a Native to have free and unrestricted movement throughout the Union subject to registration, the carrying of the registration certificate outside the Ward in which he resides, the production of the certificate on demand by an “ authorized officer ” and on obtaining employment.

“ The question now arises as to whether any further measures are necessary to protect the interests of employer and employee when the Native has secured employment.

“ Evidence on this point from both European and Native witnesses is overwhelmingly in favour of the registration of all contracts of service entered into by Natives, but as regards contracts entered into in rural districts, i.e., farm and small industrial concerns in outlying parts of the country, fear was expressed by the majority of witnesses that the difficulty of providing machinery for the efficient and convenient attestation of contracts—so essential to secure the co-operation of the employer—rendered the proposal impracticable.

“ We share this fear and with reluctance find ourselves unable to recommend the compulsory registration of service contracts entered into by Natives outside proclaimed industrial or urban areas although we realize that the absence of such compulsory registration deprives the Native of a large measure of protection.”

736.

The Committee suggested in paragraph 44 of its Report a scheme for dealing with this difficulty. Your Commission does not consider that this is practicable as yet in rural areas, but recommends that in such areas all contracts of service for a period in excess of three months should be registered.

737.

It is considered that the adoption of the system of registration herein proposed will go far to check desertion, by enabling individuals to be traced in a way which cannot be done at present.

Advanced Natives and Passes.

738.

As a general principle, the Commission consider that it should be regarded as a reasonable aspiration of the Natives that they should in proportion to their development from an uncivilized and primitive state of life and society to something nearer European standards, become increasingly free from restrictions such as the pass system imposes. The Commission would favour a liberal use of such privileges in the matter of Pass laws as individual progress justified. (Compare paragraphs 742-747.)

739.

On the question of the application of pass restrictions to Native women, the feeling of Natives is extremely strong. They strenuously resent and object to any interference with the movements of women, except that need is felt for maintaining parental control over unmarried girls. Any power on the part of the police to demand passes from, and arrest, women for failure to produce them, opens the way to grave abuse. The only point urged in favour of it was the power which it gives to control the residence in urban areas of dissolute and immoral women.

740.

The Commission is of opinion that no real need for the application of pass requirements to Native women has been shown. In saying this we do not refer to the “ certificates of approval ” provided for in *section 12* of the Urban Areas Act (as amended), which strictly speaking are not passes.

741.

Dr. Roberts wishes to say that while appreciating the liberal view that his colleagues on the Commission take with regard to this question, he is convinced that the time is opportune for a final and complete abolition of passes for Natives, in any form. He is quite sure that such an act on the part of the State would have a very great and wholesome influence on the Native mind, and would be a gesture of understanding and of consideration that would be recognized as such by the great mass of Natives all over South Africa.

Exemption.**742.**

A great deal of dissatisfaction among Natives arises from the fact that laws which may be perfectly sound in respect of the uneducated Native are quite anomalous when applied generally. This is particularly the case when such laws are applied to the more educated and more advanced individuals, of whom there is quite an appreciable number who live on a fairly high civilized standard.

743.

In dealing with the Natives we are dealing with an emerging race. Those who have emerged, and those who are still on the way, should be treated in a manner different from the great bulk, in regard to whom there is at present no need to distinguish.

744.

There are already in existence various forms of exemption. Without going into detail on this matter, your Commission would suggest this represents a useful way of dealing with cases where hardship would result from applying the laws which are still required in respect of the great bulk of the Native population. Your Commission would suggest that there might be various grades of exemption from the operation of particular laws.

745.

We were very much impressed with the difficulties which arise from the application of Native law with regard to inheritance in the case of Natives who have already adopted a European outlook in this matter, but who still live in areas where Native law is normally applied.

746.

Your Commission feels that such and similar matters affecting the conflict of two codes of law should be dealt with by means of exemption granted in particular cases on the merits of each.

747.

The matter is of considerable complexity and it would not serve any useful purpose to discuss details in a Report dealing with general principles. It is, however, brought forward here, as your Commissioners feel that it can be of material use in removing hardships consequent upon the necessity of maintaining, for a long time to come, Native law concurrently with European law.

Liquor.**748.**

In respect of the heading in your Commission's Terms of Reference, "the social conditions of the Natives," a very considerable amount of evidence both of Natives and of Europeans was devoted to the question of the manufacture and supply of liquor for Natives. Generally speaking the Native is allowed considerable latitude both in Reserves and on farms in the matter of the making and consumption of utywala, a drink of a very low alcoholic content in its pure state. On the other hand, as far as urban areas are concerned, the general tendency has been to lay stress on absolute prohibition to the Native of all alcoholic beverages. This statement is subject to certain important qualifications notably as regards municipalization in Natal and the permission to carry on home-brewing in certain urban areas elsewhere. Generally speaking, however, it is correct.

749.

It has always been a cardinal and a very salutary principle of European administration that the Native must be protected from the stronger alcoholic liquors. The attempt to extend this to total prohibition, even of the mild alcoholic drinks of the Native, has had an effect diametrically opposed to that intended. It did not wean the Native of his desire for beer. But as the possession of alcohol became a crime, he turned his attention to the subject of how to avoid being caught.

750.

In this respect utywala has serious drawbacks. It is required in bulk, from the point of view of economical manufacture and of producing the desired stimulating effects. It is therefore difficult to hide. Moreover the process of production takes a considerable time, and its smell readily betrays its presence. The problem, therefore, arose of inventing a drink which could be made and stored in small quantities, easy to hide, which could be matured in a few hours, and could have its alcoholic effect quickly. These qualities are possessed only by drink with a high alcoholic content. The prohibition of utywala, therefore, led to the consumption of the very article which the Europeans desired, and very wisely desired, to prevent.

751.

The development of quickly manufactured drinks of high alcoholic content has been one of the most disastrous results of the prohibition of utywala. Appallingly noxious drinks were invented. Anything which quickly increased the alcoholic content was added; calcium carbide, methylated spirits, tobacco, molasses and sugar, blue stone, are only a few examples. It can be imagined what the effect of such concoctions is on the people who consume them. Once more the European found that his interference, however well intentioned, with the simple habits of the Native, produced effects disastrous to the latter. In this matter your Commission after seeing the results of the measures originally intended for the good of the Native, have no hesitation in expressing as strongly as possible the view that the harm done has been worse than any evils that could result from the wholesale consumption of utywala.

752.

Moreover these measures have produced a very difficult problem for the Police. The Natives are freely devoting their ingenuity to the task of outwitting them. The latter are bound by the somewhat cumbrous proceeding necessary to obtain a conviction in a European Court. The sympathies of the former are all with the evasion of a law which they consider an unfair and unnecessary curtailment of their liberty and an unwarranted interference with their normal habits. The Police are, therefore, looked upon as enemies.

753.

To secure a conviction the Police must prove possession, or sale. The illicit sellers bury their stock-in-trade. The Police have considerable success in finding buried liquor. But unless they can prove possession, prosecution is not worth while. The liquor so discovered is destroyed, but the loss to the owner is slight. It would require many times the present number of Police to destroy systematically all the liquor made.

754.

Proof of possession is accompanied by many difficulties. Warning is speedily given if strangers approach. Your Commissioners inspected an illicit liquor yard in Johannesburg. From the car to the yard was a matter of two minutes. There were some twenty Natives, men and women, in the yard. There was an all-pervading smell of alcohol, but no drop of liquor, no utensils which might have contained it, were to be seen. Where the liquor is buried in a yard, there may be several families living in shacks round the yard. To which person does the liquor belong? Hostility on the part of the Natives to the interference with their habits makes it very difficult for the Police to find the owner. In cases where a house is tenanted by only one family, as in urban locations, the liquor is often not buried on the stand, but the street is dug up for this purpose. How is this to be brought home to a particular location dweller? In the Cape Province where Coloured people are allowed to buy European liquor, and where they frequently live next to the Natives, it is easy to carry on illicit trade. On the whole this may even be better than the position in Johannesburg, since the European liquor sold at Langa, for example, is of a less harmful character.

755.

Only a small proportion of illicit liquor transactions reaches the law courts. The heavy fines inflicted are readily paid, which shows how profitable the trade is. In addition many witnesses expressed the opinion that the trade is associated with immorality.

756.

From whatever point of view we look at it therefore the attempt at enforcing prohibition among the Natives has failed. And worse, it has brought in its train many evils.

757.

It has been a grave mistake to attempt to deprive the Native of his beer. The alcoholic content of properly made utywala is about twice that of ginger beer. It is, therefore, not a particularly harmful drink. The view has also been advanced to us, on medical grounds, that it is an important source of vitamins in the diet of the Native and that, unless substitutes are provided, its absence deprives the Native of an essential article of food.

758.

Your Commission is so strongly under the sense not only of the failure of total prohibition, in regard to utywala, but also of the harm which it has worked, that we must conclude that its abandonment is the only reasonable course that can be taken.

759.

But when it comes to a consideration of alternatives, the position is not by any means simple. Your Commission has considered many suggestions, and we have come to the conclusion that there is none to which objection cannot be raised on one score or another. It is therefore rather a question of the choice of evils than of finding an ideal system.

760.

The system of municipal beer halls has existed in Natal for a considerable time, and from some points of view it has been successful. There is, however, considerable objection on the part of the Natives to it, not only on the score of expense, but also because of the atmosphere attaching to it. It has been described as "drinking in a cage." The beer hall system seems to be based on the idea that it is wrong for the Native to have his beer; but, to make allowance for his weakness, he is permitted to have it under unsociable conditions.

761.

It appears to your Commission to be wrong to grant the Native the right to have beer but to attach a stigma to the manner in which he may obtain it. The exclusion of his national drink from his home, and the view that he can only be allowed to have it "in a cage" under the eyes of a European certainly does attach a stigma to it—a stigma which the Native feels and to which he objects. It is wiser not to interfere with the normal course of the Native's life, except where this proves to be necessary. In Native life the use of beer is as much an aid to conviviality as it is among Europeans. The attitude in this, as in so many Native customs, should not be to destroy it unless there is a valid reason for maintaining it, but to maintain it unless there is a valid reason to destroy it. It is a curious fact that many persons who would entrust the Native with advanced rights in matters entirely strange to him, are yet averse to trusting him in a matter which is part of his everyday life.

762.

The demand of the Natives generally is for home-brewing. Certain objections against this will be considered below. Your Commission feels, however, that the demand of the Native in this regard should be considered not from the point of view that it can only be granted if a case is made out for it, but that it should only be refused if a strong enough case can be made against it. This follows from the Commission's opinion that the institutions and customs of the Natives should not unnecessarily be broken down.

763.

We shall, however, proceed to examine the objections. It is maintained that if home-brewing is permitted it will become even more difficult than at present to deal with noxious concoctions, a view which seems to be based on the assumption that the bulk of the Natives prefer these. A certain proportion of the Natives have acquired the taste for a stronger drink, and this class will always have to be reckoned with. But the general impression left on our mind by Native witnesses was that this class is a small minority, and that many Natives now consume these liquors because they are the only ones to be had. If wholesome utywala can be obtained without breaking the law many will revert to it. Instead of giving the police a liquor problem which affects a large part of the Native population, home-brewing would narrow it down to stronger drink. It is admitted that the opportunities of making this would be greater. This problem your Commission would suggest should be dealt with in the manner set out in paragraph 766 below.

764.

It is further pointed out that home-brewing would not meet the case of unmarried Natives, who have no facilities for doing their own brewing, and that this would inevitably lead to the sale to them of home-brewed beer. This conclusion may be admitted. But it does not appear to your Commissioners as a serious objection, for the following reasons:

(1) If the right to sell were admitted, competition would soon rid the system of the large profits now attaching to it, which is the basis of much of the present evil. If immoral women, for the purpose of attracting Natives of a particular type, increased the alcoholic content of the drink they provided, they would soon segregate the goats from the sheep and simplify the police problem. The method discussed in paragraph 766 would also assist to deal with this evil.

(2) The Natives who are satisfied with utywala would tend to congregate in groups based on tribal loyalties. A certain standard of conduct would obtain at such gatherings, which would utilise the institutions of the Natives in the cause of law and order.

765.

Port Elizabeth has a system by which the location is divided into "wet" and "dry" areas. This is done to give the Native who does not wish to be associated with beer-drinks the opportunity of segregating himself, and is a salutary measure. The "wet" area is again divided into three sections, each of which is allowed to brew one week, and required to be "dry" for the two succeeding weeks. It is not clear what advantage is gained from this elaboration. The system does, however, permit of a certain amount of home-brewing. Selling is prohibited, but, according to evidence, does take place. The system seems to work reasonably well.

766.

Home-brewing could undoubtedly be better controlled if the good services of the Natives themselves could be enlisted to guard against abuse. The idea of instilling in the Natives some pride in their own locations is dealt with more fully elsewhere. In this connection your Commission feels that a great deal of good could be done. Owing to the existing prohibition, home-brewing could be used as a privilege to be enjoyed as long as it is not abused. The inhabitants of a location could quite easily keep the system within bounds, and would be quite willing to do so if they understood clearly that this is a condition of their having it at all.

767.

It has also been suggested to your Commission that licensed houses, run by Natives, should be established. The idea is worth considering, inasmuch as it would give licencees an interest in suppressing illicit trade. Your Commission is, however, of opinion that if home-brewing is ruled out State or Municipal beer-shops would be a better alternative than licensed houses.

768.

As we have remarked above, no system which has been tried or advocated is free from objection. Opinion is strongly in favour of the view that the sale to Natives and the use by Natives of European liquors and of noxious concoctions, now so largely used, should be dealt with severely.

769.

As regards utywala your Commission would suggest that prohibition should disappear, but that alternative schemes should be tried in different areas, particularly in labour centres. These experiments should be continued for a sufficient period to enable the authorities to judge of their merits and defects and to enable them to frame a policy for regulating the making and consumption of utywala.

770.

As a large number of Natives are teetotallers, provision should be made for "dry" areas in locations, following the example of Port Elizabeth. It was admitted in evidence before us, by many witnesses, that among educated Natives there is much less drinking than among the uneducated. A mine manager told us that on his mine about twenty per cent. of his Native labourers are teetotallers.

771.

We are of opinion that useful propaganda could be carried out at schools and by other educational means to combat drinking among Natives and to encourage total abstinence.

Crime.

772.

The general consensus of opinion throughout the Union of responsible witnesses is that the Natives are a law-abiding people. Under their tribal system discipline was well maintained and the habits so instilled into them persist to-day in the majority of Natives.

Serious Crime.

773.

There is, however, a considerable amount of serious crime. During 1930, 14,116 Natives were convicted of offences listed as serious crime in the statistics of the Union. On the basis of the estimated population of the Union, this represents 25.95 convictions per 10,000 of the Native population as against 13.39 for the Europeans, 10.7 for the Asiatics and 43.98 for other Coloured. Crimes of violence, frequently committed under the influence of drink, or in tribal quarrels, and stock-theft account for a large portion of these. Examination of the detailed figures shows that theft of stock (excluding poultry and domesticated game) (3,238 convictions) and assault

with intent to do grievous bodily harm (4,459 convictions), represent 54.5 per cent. of these convictions. Other predominating offences are: Public Violence (1,915); Culpable Homicide (821), Theft by Violence (472), and Indecent Assault (383). Serious crime accounting for the greatest number of convictions of Europeans is also closely connected with Natives: Europeans convicted of selling liquor to non-Europeans account for 990 cases or 41 per cent. of the convictions of Europeans.

Other Offences.

774.

The following list shows the more important offences not classed as serious crime, of which Natives were convicted in 1930, with the numbers. It will be noticed that statutory offences play a considerable part:—

Convictions of Natives, 1930.

| | |
|--|--------|
| Drunkenness | 15,995 |
| Illegal Possession of Native Liquor... | 35,777 |
| Municipal Offences | 25,912 |
| Common Theft | 13,435 |
| Common Assault | 18,166 |
| Master and Servants Acts... .. | 15,861 |
| Pass Laws | 42,262 |
| Urban Areas Act | 20,877 |
| Native Taxation Act | 49,772 |
| Native Labour Regulation Act | 23,293 |

775.

Many of the offences are not crime in the ordinary sense. The effect of sending Natives to prison, for them, must be on the one hand to bring them in undesirable touch with hardened criminals, and on the other to make prison lose its deterrent effect. Any steps, such as more extended use of the suspended sentence, which mitigate these must necessarily have a beneficent effect on the administration of justice.

Influence of Illicit Liquor.

776.

The Chief Inspector of the South African Police, Johannesburg, said that, in his opinion, 75 per cent of assaults to harm in his area could be traced to illicit liquor; and that fairly large numbers of Native women were convicted of serious assaults. They mostly belonged to the liquor selling class. He said, "One very important aspect of Native life on the Rand which has a great bearing on illicit liquor and crime lies in the lack of suitable housing and recreation for Natives when not at work".

777.

Major H. S. Cooke, then Director of Native Labour, said, "The drift of Natives to the towns and the contaminating influence to which they are there subjected (in which dissolute Native women play a prominent part) are productive of a large number of Natives of the idle, dissolute, and criminal classes, though the percentage is not high".

Amalayita.

778.

In the larger towns of the Union there exist predatory gangs of Natives, formed mostly by youths who indulge in various criminal acts, including terrorization and homicide, usually of other, and solitary Natives, and generally after nightfall and in dark places. The gangs are called by Natives *amalayita* (Zulu, more correctly *olayita*, sing. *ulayita*), a name derived from the English word *light*, supposed to have been originally adopted by Native street hooligans in Johannesburg; the name is now known throughout the Union.

779.

In the Reserves, as is well known, boys spend most of their time out on the veld, the younger herding goats, and the elder, cattle. There, with the free life, lads of one locality, usually of a like age, often form themselves into bands, each under the leadership of one of their number, called in Zulu *ingqwale*, the masterful boy. They play at soldiers, and organize "attacks" on neighbouring bands. Each band calls itself *ibuto*, a regiment. Foliaged branches and clods of earth are their principal weapons. Boys who distinguish themselves by pluck or in dancing are given *izibongo* (praises). Under the Native regime, this practice constituted good training for the more serious undertakings of life, when, for example, boys were required to leave home as baggage carriers for their fathers or relatives, in real military service, and later as recruits for tribal or national regiments.

780.

It is easy to understand that this veld spirit of boys is brought by them to the towns and cities, when they go there to work; but the environment there is different, and they sooner or later find that their exuberance brings them into conflict with the law, and they are then called amalayita. What they are able to do in their Reserves, as wholesome exercise, and with enjoyment, is not tolerated in towns: they therefore in time seek ways of evading the police, and thus often come under the leadership of desperadoes and criminals; ruffians, big boys, and even men, are here found among the amalayita. Then the veld spirit manifests itself in a new and strange form, and directly leads to undesirable developments. The more experienced an amalayita leader is, and the more he can come unscathed through physical dangers, the more is his position in his gang enhanced. Booty taken is laid before him to divide, and he helps himself first. An ulayita who has been chiefly instrumental in taking booty is sometimes "decorated" or "promoted" by his leader. Among some gangs there appears to be specialization for certain deeds. Gang spirit is maintained. Rendezvous are arranged, for secret meetings, for outwitting the police, and for hiding booty. Amalayita activities have become definitely anti-social.

781.

Much good is done by the police in combating amalayita activities, but at best the result is little more than the punishment of culprits. More good to all concerned would probably follow from an outlet being afforded to young Natives in towns for their surplus energies, by way of recreation and competitive games during their spare time, opportunity being given them for healthy "deeds of daring"—even in make-believe—and for acts that go to form manly character.

782.

It is only among Natives in the cities and larger towns that amalayita can organize, since in the smaller towns and villages the comparative fewness of the inhabitants and the nearness to the countryside and to home life, afford no setting for amalayita.

Repatriation of Criminals.

783.

The Urban Areas Act authorizes the deportation of a Native from a town to the District to which he belongs if a Magistrate or Native Commissioner adjudges him to be an idle or disorderly person, or he may be sent to a farm colony, work colony, or similar institution for a period not exceeding two years. Representations were made to your Commission in various Native areas against the provision for deportation, the exercise of which appears to have been the cause of the introduction into law-abiding areas of hardened criminals. This is bitterly resented by the Natives, who point out that they are in no way responsible for these Natives having become criminals. They claim that such criminals have been created by contact with urban conditions, and that the urban areas should take the responsibility of caring for them. On the other hand, many Native tribal witnesses maintained that such persons are in the Reserves soon made to submit to tribal discipline. The Commission is satisfied that it is unwise and dangerous to send back hardened criminals to Native areas.

784.

A farm colony to which such Natives may be committed under the Urban Areas Act has been established at Leeuwkop, about 18 miles from Johannesburg, where the Natives committed to it are mainly engaged in the growing of crops. Since its establishment in 1925, 702 Natives have been sent to it.

785.

In order to test the efficacy of a sojourn in the farm colony as an incentive to reform, the Director of Native Labour (Major Cooke) made a comprehensive check in January, 1930, in respect of the Natives who had been released up to the end of 1928, that is, after they had had a year's freedom. The result in respect of 263 Natives is attached as Annexure 19 to this Report.

786.

Commenting on this check, Major Cooke said, "When it is remembered that the inmates of this place of discipline are those who have for years come constantly under adverse notice and shown pronounced criminal and lazy tendencies, the figures disclosed in the analysis may be regarded as showing that the nett result has been distinctly good".

Infantile Mortality.**787.**

Infantile mortality among Natives has recently been made the subject of scare headlines in newspapers, and alarmist articles have been published about figures which are not worth the paper on which they were written. Infantile mortality rates of 800, 900, and even 2,250 per 1,000 births have been published in all seriousness.

*Why the Figures are Misleading.***788.**

These figures are obtained by relating the number of births and infantile deaths *registered* in a given area for a given year. But no account is taken of the question whether the number of events registered corresponds to the number that actually took place. There is in fact a very wide disparity between these, as the undermentioned factors illustrate:

(1) Although registration of births is compulsory inside urban areas, we know as a matter of fact that a large number of these events are not registered by Natives. All deaths on the other hand are registered because a burial order is required to bury or otherwise dispose of the corpse. The resulting understatement of births tends to exaggerate the death rate.

(2) Where, according to Native custom, a woman goes for her first confinement to her maiden home, and this happens to be outside the area of registration, the birth will not be registered there. If she subsequently returns and the baby dies the death will again exaggerate the infantile mortality rate.

(3) Many women bring their children to urban areas for medical attention. Owing to the high cost of this in relation to the income of the Native it is frequently put off until it is too late to save the infant. Deaths so occurring are registered in the urban area, but there is no corresponding birth-registration.

(4) As the migration of Natives is almost entirely from the country to the towns, a certain number of infants born in rural areas, will certainly be brought into the towns. For any of these who die there will be no corresponding birth registration.

789.

These four factors all tend to exaggerate the death rate, while there is an almost complete absence of tendencies working the other way. From these alone, therefore, it must be obvious that information based on the incomplete registration of births cannot be relied on to give any information about the rate of infantile mortality among Natives.

790.

It is a matter of considerable difficulty to obtain data on which to give an estimate of the true position. For Europeans the registration of vital events is reasonably complete. As the normal place of residence of the mother is also registered, the Office of Statistics has no difficulty in transferring the registrations to the place of residence of the Mother. In the case of the Natives, however, the registration is optional outside urban areas, and very incomplete in these. There exists, therefore, no material on which accurate statistics of Native infantile mortality can be based.

*Data Obtained by the Commission.***791.**

Your Commission has gone to considerable trouble to obtain data, which, in the absence of material for official statistics, can be regarded as sufficiently accurate to give a reasonable approximation.* In this we have received valuable assistance, for which we wish here to record our indebtedness, from:

(a) The Municipal Native Affairs Department of Johannesburg in respect of the Native urban areas of Klipspruit, Eastern and Western Townships;

(b) the City Health Department of Port Elizabeth in respect of New Brighton Location;

(c) the then Additional Native Commissioner, Kingwilliamstown, in respect of 46 rural locations in the district of Tamare;

(d) Mrs. J. E. H. Mylne, of the Grahamstown Joint Council, in respect of a very careful investigation of 355 cases in the Grahamstown Municipal and Fingo Locations.

* See Tables in Annexure 20.

In these investigations information was obtained from married women about the following points:

- (a) the number of children born to them, and
- (b) the number of these children still alive.

In certain cases further information was obtained, showing the approximate age of the woman at the time the information was collected, and the number of children who had died before their first birthday. This additional information must necessarily be less reliable. While, therefore, the infantile mortality rates calculated from them cannot be regarded as quite accurate, they represent the best information which we possess on the subject. If, however, they are compared with the figures given below of the ratio between births and deaths at all ages, it will appear that they give a reasonably true picture of the situation.

Infantile Mortality Rates Based on these Data.

792.

The infantile mortality rates so calculated are as follows for the areas in respect of which information is available:

Urban, Johannesburg.

| | <i>Deaths, per 1,000 Births.</i> |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Klipspruit Location | 174 |
| Western Native Township | 139 |
| Eastern Native Township | 100 |

Rural, Kingwilliamstown.

| | |
|-----------------|-----|
| Tamare | 224 |
|-----------------|-----|

793.

It should be noted that Urban and Rural refer to the areas where the information was collected, not to the areas where the vital events took place.

794.

We further give in Annexure 20 (III) the figures based on the more reliable data of the number of children born to each woman, and the number alive at the date when the information was obtained from her. For purposes of comparison we give the corresponding figures derived from the Census of 1926, in respect of the European population.

795.

The figures in the last line of Table III in Annexure 20 show the absurdity of some of the high infantile mortality figures which have been published from time to time about the Natives in South African and foreign papers. The highest rate there given is 500 for all deaths during the lifetime of the mothers from whom the information was obtained. It is obvious that the infantile mortality rate must be considerably lower.

796.

For purposes of comparison we give below the infantile mortality rates of the European population of the Union, and also of some countries with a rate exceeding 100.

INFANTILE MORTALITY RATES.

| Country. | Year. | Rate per 1,000 Births. |
|--|-------|---------------------------|
| UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (EUROPEANS)..... | 1929 | 64 |
| Newfoundland..... | 1928 | 112 |
| Italy..... | 1928 | 120 |
| Austria..... | 1928 | 120 |
| Spain..... | 1929 | 123 |
| Japan..... | 1927 | 142 |
| Czecho-Slovakia..... | 1929 | 142 |
| Lithuania..... | 1926 | 146 |
| Egypt..... | 1928 | 151 |
| Hungary..... | 1929 | 182 |
| Rumania..... | 1927 | 209 |

Mining.

797.

Mining has played a great part in the lives of a large proportion of the Native population of the Union. All forms of mining have been carried on with Native labourers under European managers and supervisors. The gold mines of the Witwatersrand alone employ over 200,000 Native labourers. During 1930 the diamond mines and diggings were working on a much smaller scale than in several previous years, but the total number of Natives and of Coloured people other than Asiatics employed in all mines was 315,003. The total for 1929 was 309,756. The number of Coloured people as distinct from Natives is not shown, but is comparatively small.

Territorial Analysis.

798.

The following table shows a territorial analysis of Natives in possession of passports as at 31st December, 1930, employed on the mines and in other occupations for the Witwatersrand Labour District:

| Country. | Mines. | Other Employ. | Number. | Total. |
|--|---------|---------------|---------|---------|
| UNION. | | | | |
| Cape..... | 79,108 | 13,269 | 92,377 | 186,353 |
| Natal..... | 5,992 | 10,128 | 25,120 | |
| Orange Free State..... | 1,329 | 4,909 | 6,238 | |
| Transvaal..... | 12,494 | 50,124 | 62,618 | |
| NON-UNION. | | | | |
| Basutoland..... | 27,424 | 2,152 | 29,576 | 118,631 |
| Bechuanaland..... | 2,793 | 1,195 | 3,988 | |
| East Coast- South of Latitude 22° South..... | 74,042 | 229 | 74,271 | |
| Northern Rhodesia..... | 9 | 54 | 63 | |
| Nyasaland..... | 134 | 1,370 | 1,504 | |
| Southern Rhodesia..... | 44 | 3,026 | 3,070 | |
| South-West Africa..... | 2 | 26 | 28 | |
| Swaziland..... | 4,733 | 1,150 | 5,883 | |
| Tropicals..... | 72 | 33 | 105 | |
| Others..... | 5 | 138 | 143 | |
| | 208,181 | 96,803 | 304,984 | 304,984 |

799.

This Table shows in what a wide area the Natives are directly affected by the gold mines of the Witwatersrand.

Assisted Voluntary Scheme.

800.

Table I in Annexure 21 shows the rapid growth of the assisted voluntary scheme which was introduced in 1928. Under this scheme a Native wishing to go to the Witwatersrand to work in a gold mine may have his railway fare paid and receive the usual advance of £2 against his wages. This gives the Native the position of a non-recruited worker, the advantages of which are described below. The scheme saves the Native any interest upon the railway fare or the advance, whereas formerly a Native who wished to go forward to the mines without being recruited had, if he could not pay his own fare, to get the advance against wages and for his fare from the local trader, who, in a number of instances, charged him usurious rates of interest.

801.

The Table also shows that there is a salutary tendency for a substantial majority of Union Natives engaged on the mines to prefer to be engaged voluntarily rather than to be recruited. The great bulk of Natives from Pondoland are still recruited. Table II in Annexure 21 shows the districts, apart from Pondoland, where the number of recruited labourers preponderates over non-recruited.

Non-Recruited and Recruited Natives.

802.

Non-recruited Natives are free to choose the mine on which they wish to work and also the length of time for which they will contract to work, subject to the mine they choose being prepared to take them for that period. There are four mines which engage by the month Natives who come to them voluntarily. Others will take them for not less than a three

months', four months', or six months' period. Natives who are recruited have to agree to work for not less than 270 shifts, which are equivalent to 10½ months, and to go to any mine to which they may be assigned subject to their being allowed a preference for any Witwatersrand mine which is able to take them. All Natives, other than Portuguese Natives, for the gold mines are recruited through or pass through the hands of the Native Recruiting Corporation, Limited (N.R.C.), the members of which are the different Witwatersrand Gold Mining Companies.

803.

Natives from Portuguese East Africa pass through the hands of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, Limited (W.N.L.A.), the members of which are the gold mines and the coal mines of the Transvaal. Natives in Portuguese East Africa are not recruited, but the Association has agents in different parts of that territory, who direct Natives to the nearest centre at which the Association has offices and from those centres the W.N.L.A. forwards the Natives to the Witwatersrand.

804.

The main value of recruiting from the point of view of the gold mining industry would appear to be its effect upon the distribution of Natives during the shortage which generally commences between February and May and reaches its greatest dimension in December (see Graph, Annexure 18).

805.

The total cost of recruiting Natives and of the services rendered by the W.N.L.A., excluding the cost of the assisted voluntary scheme in 1930, is approximately £435,784 per annum or 1.78d. per Native per shift worked, of all Natives, not merely those recruited; or nearly one-half of the feeding cost of Natives employed on the mines, the figure for feeding costs per shift worked on those mines, for which separate figures are obtainable, being 3.85d.

806.

In the Cape Province the recruiting for the gold mines is largely in the hands of traders, who act as agents for the N.R.C. and who receive a capitation fee of £1 10s. to £2 2s.—according to the service rendered by the recruiter—for each Native sent forward by them to that Corporation. The traders have in the past played a considerable part in developing the Native labour supply, particularly in the Transkei, and still help materially in keeping it up.

Seasonal Factors Influencing Labour Supply.

807.

The supply of labourers for the mines is always greater in a period of drought or depression than in normal and prosperous times. The Native is satisfied and happy in his simple tribal life, and he would not go out to work if his Reserves provided enough for his needs. This, however, the Reserves do not do. During periods when there is no shortage of food the supply of labour is low: on the other hand when food becomes scarce, or where need for money for taxes and other cash requirements begins to press, the flow of labour increases. Except during times of considerable shortage among the Natives, such as the present, the gold mines have always been short of the number of labourers which they could employ. This has been the reason for justifying the importation of Natives from extra-Union territories to work on the mines, and is also the foundation for a demand for the right to import Natives from territories North of 22 degrees south Latitude, that being approximately the latitude of the most northerly point of the Union. The immigration of Natives into the Union from such territories is prohibited by the Immigrants' Regulation Act of 1913. There is in the Act a section specially permitting the admission of Natives from Portuguese East Africa south of that latitude.

East Coast Natives.

808.

On 30th September, 1928, the number of East Coast Natives in service on the gold mines was 91,034. There were in addition about 12,000 to 15,000 employed in the Transvaal collieries. In that year the Mozambique Convention was entered into and it now regulates the maximum number of Portuguese East African Natives who may be employed in the Union at any one time.

809. The Convention provides that the maximum number should be at 31st December:

| | |
|---------------------|---------|
| 1929 | 100,000 |
| 1930 | 95,000 |
| 1931 | 90,000 |
| 1932 | 85,000 |
| 1933 and thereafter | 80,000 |

810. On 31st May, 1931, the East Coast Natives on the gold mines numbered 65,802 consisting of 57,036 Natives subject to the new Convention and 8,766 subject to the old, this latter number being one which will gradually disappear.

811. The average service of East Coast Natives on the gold mines in 1928 was calculated at slightly less than 20 months each. Under the new Convention no East Coast Native may serve for more than 18 months without being repatriated, and he may not be re-engaged before a lapse of at least six months. Except for periods of drought and depression, such as the present, when unusually large numbers of British South African Natives are available for mine work, the gold mining industry would, but for the Convention, ordinarily employ about 90,000 East Coast Natives each serving on the average about 20 months. The Convention has resulted in the substitution for these of 57,000 who serve less than 18 months, plus, at present, about 9,000 who are under no restriction. The reduction in East Coast labour has to be made good with British South African labour of which the average period of service is 10 or 11 months per Native, the wastage in the personnel of the latter being nearly twice as great as that of the East Coast Native.

812. The number of Natives which, under the Convention, the mines are allowed to obtain from Portuguese East Africa has not recently been reached, the number employed being about 20,000 less than the number allowed. Of this number, approximately 2,000 are accounted for by Natives who have been turned back as not required because of the increased supply of British South African Natives. The remainder appear to be accounted for by the reduction in the length of the period of service from an average of 20 months to a maximum of 18 months, a number having been repatriated and not, under the terms of the Convention, being eligible for re-engagement until they have remained at home for at least six months. Assuming that prior to the Convention all Natives who wished to come to the mines from time to time had done so, this would automatically reduce the number available for service on the mines.

813. The following figures show the number of East Coast Natives employed on gold mines in the first five months of the years 1930 and 1931, respectively:

| | 1930 | 1931 |
|----------|--------|--------|
| January | 83,202 | 71,618 |
| February | 82,808 | 70,391 |
| March | 81,933 | 68,164 |
| April | 80,436 | 66,890 |
| May | 78,034 | 65,802 |

814. No information is available as to the length of time individual East Coast Natives remain at home between their spells of work on the gold mines. A test check was made by the Director of Native Labour in regard to 10,583 British South African Natives arriving in Johannesburg, with a view to showing the number of new arrivals, the number previously employed on the mines and other work, and the duration of periods spent at home as stated by them. An analysis of this test check is shown in Table III in Annexure 21.

Length of Service of Mine Natives.

815. A test check was made by the Chamber of Mines in 1931 of the length of service of Natives working on the mines. The result showed an average period of 10.88 months.

816.

The average duration of periods spent at home, calculated from the test made by the Director of Native Labour, is 8.1 months. For the purpose of this calculation "12 months and over" has been taken as 12 months. The result is therefore on the conservative side. From the result of these two tests it appears that the mine Native spends approximately seven months at work and five months at home during the year. The Table shows that nearly 40 per cent. returned to the mines within six months, while 44 per cent. stayed away twelve months or more. These figures may not be representative, as they were compiled in respect of a period of severe depression.

817.

The standard of feeding of Natives in the Reserves is generally not adequate for the hard work required of them in the gold mines, and for some weeks after their arrival this factor has to be borne in mind. For this reason, and also because of overhead charges and of new Natives being inexperienced in the work required of them, the mines are anxious to increase the period of service for which a Native labourer remains with them. At one time the period for which the Natives were recruited was 180 shifts, but this has now been extended to 270. A Native who remains continuously on the mines for more than 270 shifts is paid, after the expiration of that period, a bonus of 5s. a month or 2d. a shift. A Native who goes home but returns, if a British South African Native, within four months, or if an East Coast Native, after not more than six months, is paid this additional 2d. a shift when he resumes work. Table III in Annexure 21 shows that only about 25 per cent. of the British South African Natives return in time to preserve their right to the bonus. Leave is however sometimes granted to a Native to stay away longer without losing the bonus, and when a Native is re-engaged in a special job occupied by him before he left, he gets the rate of pay at which he left off.

Average Earnings.

818.

The average earnings per shift of Natives calculated during June, 1930, were as follows:

| <i>Class of Work.</i> | <i>Earnings per shift.</i> | |
|--|----------------------------|------|
| | s. | d. |
| Underground: | | |
| Machines—Piecework | 2 | 8.3 |
| Hammers—Piecework | 2 | 6.6 |
| Tramming and Shovelling—Piecework | 2 | 3 |
| Tramming and Shovelling—Day's Pay | 1 | 11.9 |
| Shaft Sinking | 2 | 9.8 |
| All other Underground | 2 | 1.2 |
| Total Underground | 2 | 2.1 |
| Total Surface | 2 | 0.1 |
| General Average—Surface and Underground | 2 | 1.7 |

819.

In addition to the cash wages, free board, quarters, medical treatment and other privileges are supplied—the value of which, if provided by the Native, would cost him about 1s. 4d. or 1s. 5d. per day.

820.

The figures as to the separate cost to the mines of these items—board, quarters and hospital treatment—have been worked out in respect of a number of mines but not for the industry as a whole. The figures available show hospital costs as being equivalent to 1.04d. per Native per shift worked and .85d. per day in service. The feeding costs respectively are 3.85d. and 3.16d. Other costs to the mines represent 5.42d. and 4.45d., respectively, the totals being, respectively 10.31d. and 8.46d. The phrase "other costs" includes rail fares and repatriation expenses for sick Natives, irrecoverable advances to Natives, compound entertainments, surcharges of Native correspondence, certain recruiting charges including re-engagement bonus, burial charges, and other less important items. In regard to the recruiting charges, the mines contend that "a portion of these charges are fairly to be looked at as an advantage to the Native because at the present time his facilities and experience for obtaining employment independently of a reputable recruiting organization are limited". The mines also pointed out that in their accounts it is not customary to charge in "Coloured labour sundries" any figures in respect of interest or redemption of land values or cost of compound or hospital buildings or other buildings used in connection with the Native labour force and that, therefore, in addition to wages and the sundry Native costs just mentioned, the Native labour force received accommodation in compounds in respect of which no charge was reckoned in the figures given above.

821.

Table IV in Annexure 21 shows that out of 161,714 Natives employed underground, 12,246 received 1s. 8d. per shift or less, 34,377 received 1s. 10d. per shift or less, and 96,789, or approximately 60 per cent. received 2s. per shift or less.

822.

On the Transvaal coal mines, 3,515 Natives on the surface earned 1s. 10·7d. per shift and 7,803 employed underground earned 2s. 0·3d. per shift. Among the latter, two classes of Natives, coal cutters and drillers, normally earned higher wages, from 3s. upwards. These Natives receive food, quarters, and medical aid.

823.

The average wage at the Premier Diamond Mines is 3s. 2·4d. per shift. Natives on the diamond mines are provided with quarters but feed themselves.

824.

The wages earned by Natives in the gold mining industry in the Transvaal amounted in 1930 to £7,055,729 or an average of 57s. 6d. for each employee per month.

825.

On the same mines the average pay of European employees in 1930 was £376. 7s. per annum or £31. 7s. per month.

826.

The total wages for Native labourers on the diamond mines was £630,368 or an average of 74s. 9d. per month.

827.

It is not possible with the information available to make a comparison between the wages of Natives in most classes of work in 1914 and of those in the same classes in 1930. In 1914 over 44,000 Natives were employed on machine and hammer work combined, whereas the corresponding figure for 1930 was 18,500. The number employed on shovelling and tramping increased in the same time from 38,000 to 72,000 and the number employed in connection with support of workings from 8,000 to 26,000, the total number employed underground having increased from 124,000 to 152,000. Somewhat more than 25,000 formerly engaged in drilling are now employed in classes of work which are on the whole likely to be less remunerative.

828.

The average for all underground labour was approximately 2s. 0½d. per shift in 1914 and 2s. 2½d. in 1930.

829.

Information is not available as to the proportion of Native employees on piece work in 1913. The proportion in 1930 was about one-third. The difference between the 1914 average wage and the 1930 average wage is primarily due to an increase in the number of piece workers and to the fact that the average pay of 18,500 drillers is now between 5d. and 6d. per shift higher than that of the 44,000 drillers employed in 1914. The quantity of ore obtained from the 44,000 hand and machine drillers was, for the last six months of 1914, under 11,000,000 tons, while that of the 18,500 drillers in the first six months of 1930 was over 14,800,000 tons.

Nett Cash Earnings.

830.

The nett cash earnings of Witwatersrand mine Native labourers for 270 shifts, the number for which Natives are recruited for the mines, are shown in the Tables below. The nett cash earnings are arrived at by deducting rail fares, travelling expenses, and by making provision for two pairs of mine boots. The travelling expenses are taken at 10s. for the two journeys and the boots at £1. 5s. The return rail fares from the centres included in the Tables are Butterworth £4. 5s. 6d., Kingwilliamstown £4. 2s. 10d., Kokstad £3. 17s. 4d., Queenstown £3. 8s., and Umtata £4. 11s. 2d. The number of months required to complete 270 shifts is taken as 11, which assumes no loss of time through illness or accident, but allows about a week for travelling and formalities each way to and from the mines. The centres taken are the main points from which Natives travel from the Transkei and Ciskei, those Natives in 1930 numbering 79,108, out of a total of 98,923 Union Natives working on the mines. Many Natives have in addition to their railway

journey to travel on foot or by bus before reaching rail head, but no allowance has been made for this. The rail fare which has been taken is the revised rate which came into operation early in 1931, and represented an increase in many instances over the previous rate of 33½ per cent. The travelling expenses of Natives from the Transkei working on the gold mines represent from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. of their total cash earnings. (Compare paragraphs 897 and 919.)

A.

| | <i>Nett Cash Earnings.</i> | | <i>Total Gross Cash Wage.</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| | <i>For 270 Shifts.</i> | <i>Per Month.</i> | |
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | |
| Butterworth..... | 22 18 9 | 2 1 9 | } 28 18 3* |
| Kingwilliamstown..... | 23 0 5 | 2 1 10 | |
| Kokstad..... | 23 5 11 | 2 2 3 | |
| Queenstown..... | 23 15 3 | 2 3 3 | |
| Umtata..... | 22 12 1 | 2 1 1 | |

* Average cash wage of all Natives working on the mines, whether on the surface or underground 2s. 1·7d. per shift.

B.

| | <i>Nett Cash Earnings.</i> | | <i>Total Gross Cash Wage.</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| | <i>For 270 Shifts.</i> | <i>Per Month.</i> | |
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | |
| Butterworth..... | 23 7 9 | 2 2 6 | } 29 7 3* |
| Kingwilliamstown..... | 23 9 5 | 2 2 8 | |
| Kokstad..... | 23 14 11 | 2 3 2 | |
| Queenstown..... | 24 4 3 | 2 4 0 | |
| Umtata..... | 23 1 1 | 2 1 11 | |

* Average cash wage of underground workers: 2s. 2·1d. per shift.

C.

| | <i>Nett Cash Earnings.</i> | | <i>Total Gross Cash Wage.</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| | <i>For 270 Shifts.</i> | <i>Per Month.</i> | |
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | |
| Butterworth..... | 21 2 9 | 1 18 5 | } 27 2 3* |
| Kingwilliamstown..... | 21 4 5 | 1 18 7 | |
| Kokstad..... | 21 9 11 | 1 19 1 | |
| Queenstown..... | 21 19 3 | 1 19 11 | |
| Umtata..... | 20 16 1 | 1 17 10 | |

* Average cash wage of surface workers: 2s. 0·1d. per shift.

D.

| | <i>Nett Cash Earnings.</i> | | <i>Total Gross Cash Wage.</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| | <i>For 270 Shifts.</i> | <i>Per Month.</i> | |
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | |
| Butterworth..... | 18 15 6 | 1 14 2 | } 24 15 0* |
| Kingwilliamstown..... | 18 17 2 | 1 14 4 | |
| Kokstad..... | 19 2 8 | 1 14 10 | |
| Queenstown..... | 19 12 0 | 1 15 8 | |
| Umtata..... | 18 8 10 | 1 13 7 | |

* Total for 270 shifts: 1s. 8d. per shift for first 90 shifts; 1s. 10d. per shift for second 90 shifts; 2s. for third 90 shifts.

831.

As is shown above Native labourers receive in addition to those wages food, quarters, medical aid and certain other privileges during the time they are on the mines.

832.

The average nett wages shown in the Table above, ranging from £1. 13s. 7d. to £2. 4s. per month, plus food and quarters, are lower than the usual wage paid to Natives in towns for much less arduous labour than is required of labourers in mines and are about the same as the wage paid on some farms, while it is very little more than the usual wage of a shilling a day which is paid for casual labour on many farms. In these circumstances, it is probable that the low level of wages on the mines is a large factor in preventing the requisite number of labourers from among British South African Natives being available for mine labour.

833.

Only a very small proportion of the Natives employed in the gold mining industry is ever likely to be permanent dwellers on or near the mines. At present there are only 1,518 married Natives with their families housed on the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. Because of the comparatively short periods of continuous service of the Natives on the mines, the incidence among them of miners' phthisis is much less than the incidence among European miners who work continuously for a number of years.

•
Phthisis.

834.

Native labourers in the mines are examined for the purposes of the Miners' Phthisis Acts by the mine medical officers acting as examiners under the Acts. The Miners' Phthisis Medical Bureau exercises a general supervision and control over the work of the examiners. All Natives suspected to be suffering from silicosis or tuberculosis, who are detected by the examiners, are sent forward for examination by the Bureau. During the year 1930-1931, 1,834 Native cases were so sent forward for investigation. Of that number, 464 were found to be free of "compensatable disease," the remainder, 1,370, being classified as follows: 420 with simple silicosis, 270 with tuberculosis with silicosis, and 680 with simple tuberculosis. The total number of compensation cases has not varied greatly over a number of years.

835.

As is shown in paragraph 935, compensation for miners' phthisis for Natives is very much lower than the compensation given to Europeans.

•
"Wastage."

836.

The "wastage" of Native employees on the gold and coal mines of the Transvaal, "wastage" covering those taking their discharge, those deserting or sent to gaol, and those who died, was 211,228 in 1930 as against a total average number of 217,376 employed.

Health, Housing and Feeding.

837.

The health, feeding, and housing conditions of Natives in the mines are governed by the provisions of the Native Labour Regulation Act, 1911, and are under the control of the Director of Native Labour for the Union.

Mines and Works Act Amendment Act, No. 25 of 1926.

838.

This Act authorizes the Government to make regulations providing that certificates of competency in the occupations of mine managers, mine overseers, mine surveyors, mechanical engineers, engine drivers, miners entitled to blast, and of such other classes of persons employed in, at, or about mines, works and machinery as the Governor-General may from time to time deem it expedient to require to be in possession of certificates of competency, shall be granted to the following classes of persons only: (a) Europeans, (b) persons in the Cape known as Cape Coloured or Cape Malay; (c) persons in the other Provinces who, if they were in the Cape would be regarded as either Cape Coloured or Cape Malays; (d) the people known as Mauritius Creoles, or St. Helena persons, or their descendants born in the Union. The Act also provides that regulations under any other paragraph of section 4 of the main Act of 1911 may restrict particular work to, and in connection therewith impose duties and responsibilities upon, the classes of persons mentioned above, and may apportion particular work as between those classes and other persons and may require such proof of efficiency as may be prescribed.

839.

The occupations covered by section 4 of the main Act are mines, works, buildings, roads, railways and other structures and enclosures on or above the surface of the ground. The term "works" include mechanical, metallurgical, reduction, dressing, petroleum, salt, drug making, lime, and pottery works; sugar, flour, and saw mills, and any places where machinery is erected or used, and dams, reservoirs, and other appliances for conserving water or for producing or transmitting energy, or for transporting water or material over the same, with the exception of dams or reservoirs outside proclaimed fields and used solely for agricultural purposes or for a public service.

840.

Prior to the Amendment Act, regulations had been made under the main Act of 1911, purporting to restrict a grant of certain mining certificates of competency to Europeans. When these regulations were declared *ultra vires* the Amendment Act was passed by Parliament. Regulations under this Act have provided that certificates of competency for certain operations in mining shall be limited to the four classes mentioned above. No other use has been made of the Amendment Act.

" Colour Bar " Act.

841.

There is, however, apart from the Act, a very definite " Colour Bar " which is enforced chiefly by Trade Unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act. Many Natives and Europeans have raised very strong objection to the so-called " Colour Bar Act ", frequently in ignorance of the fact that the Act itself does not apply except in the limited sense indicated above. The protest is really directed not against the Act but against the principle of exclusion of men from certain occupations on account of colour.

842.

The mining industry is the only one to which the Mines and Works Amendment Act, 1926, popularly known as the " Colour Bar " Act, applies. There is at present and has been during most of the lifetime of the gold mining industry a customary colour bar which brought about differentiation of occupations according to the colour of the employee. This was recognized in the Labour Importation Ordinance (Transvaal), No. 17 of 1904, which regulated the importation of Chinese labourers into the Transvaal. It set out in Schedule I the occupations in which such labourers should not be employed, and such occupations have continued to be claimed as belonging exclusively to Europeans.

843.

Under the Mines and Works Act of 1911, regulations were framed purporting to restrict certain occupations to Europeans, but in the case of *Rex v. Hildick Smith* (1923) these regulations were held to be *ultra vires*. The force of custom was sufficiently strong to prevent any change in the existing position after that judgment. In 1926 the " Colour Bar " Act was passed. It re-instated, in effect, the colour bar which had been held *ultra vires* in the case cited above.

844.

The contention of the Mines Department is that in certain occupations Natives are necessarily excluded, because in practice it is found that where the safety and health of a number of workers are concerned, a Native is wanting in authority to enforce order. The example given in support of this was the position of a driver of a locomotive. If such a driver is a Native it is found he has no authority over white persons who are desirous of breaking the regulations by riding on the locomotive or doing other prohibited acts. If the driver is a white man, he either succeeds in warning such persons off the train or he declines to drive, but a Native driver is often overruled by the white man and the law is broken. It was stated that accidents with resultant loss of life had actually happened from this cause. It is urged that however competent a trained Native may be from a purely technical point of view, because he is at present a social inferior on the mines, he has not the influence over the actions of either whites or of other Natives that the white man has and for that reason cannot enforce due observance of the regulations.

Free Competition and Civilized Standards.

845.

The " Colour Bar " Act is not so much an operative force as a statement of a principle which applies in a large measure in different directions. Your Commission has carefully considered the question of the probable economic effect of the removal of this discrimination, and finds itself unable to agree that this can safely be done at the present juncture. State policy cannot allow free competition between peoples living on such widely different levels of civilization as the Natives and the white population of the Union, and we do not consider that free competition would be to the ultimate benefit of the Natives. Differentiation is recognized in other spheres, and differentiation in industry is necessary to prevent the lowering of white standards of living, which is sure to be followed by a lowering of the standards of efficiency and of culture. Should this be allowed, it will be necessary, after the process has worked itself out, and a new society has been created on a lower level, to start rebuilding what has been destroyed in that process.

846.

Your Commission has pointed out elsewhere in this Report that the "Colour Bar" should be applied fairly, and not only against Natives (see paragraphs 186 and 506). It is, however, essential in dealing with these matters, to look at the position as a whole, and not claim for one section of the population adventitious advantages which are in conflict with the carefully balanced scheme of race relations which your Commission has tried to visualize throughout its Report.

847.

Dr. Roberts wishes to state that there are two cardinal principles which should govern the movement and employment of all citizens of the Union, namely freedom of movement, and freedom of occupation; and that to endeavour to limit the occupation or the movement of Natives is therefore an infringement of their rights as citizens of the land.

848.

Mr. Lucas submits as a result of the investigation the following conclusions on the subject of the colour bar:

849.

The exclusion of Natives on the ground of colour from certain occupations, by law or custom, or by Government or trade union action, has served to embitter the attitude of Natives towards the European administration. Behind the phrase "Colour Bar" there has gathered the resentment which has been caused by the substitution for Natives engaged on public works of European labourers whose wages are subsidized out of general taxation, to which Natives contribute; by the actions of certain Industrial Councils which have used Industrial Council Agreements to cause the dismissal of Natives from posts which they had long occupied; and by the fact that the colour bar draws no distinction between civilized and uncivilized Natives but assumes that all are uncivilized. The opposition to a colour bar in the sense here described is very widespread. It was shown before the Commission in every part of the country. The colour bar undoubtedly plays a great part in creating ill-feeling towards Europeans in the minds of the Natives.

850.

The colour bar is looked upon by the Natives as depriving them of a fundamental right to develop their own powers and to employ them lawfully as they please. It affords plentiful ammunition for Natives who speak and write against Europeans, and in this way does harm which far outweighs any possible advantage which it could secure for the European workman.

851.

It is preventing the pupils in training institutions for Natives from taking up trades, and it is depriving the Natives in the rural areas, to which the Act was not intended to apply, of the services of their own people, without making similar services available from any other sources.

852.

The colour bar is no protection to white civilization among the large number of untrained and unskilled Europeans. It cannot be effectively applied to labourers' work. The number of Natives who are qualified for skilled work is actually very small. Native witnesses stated they were quite willing to be required by law to accept for such work nothing less than is paid for it to Europeans. In those circumstances the performance of such work by Natives cannot injure white civilization. Several trade unions have now realized that their standard of living is not jeopardised by admitting to membership Coloured people and Indians, provided they are not allowed to work for a wage lower than the standard wage, and the same reasoning is valid in respect of Natives.

Diamond Diggings.

853.

The number of Natives employed on the alluvial diamond diggings as shown in the Government Mining Engineer's Report for 1930 was 37,104. The Mining Commissioners estimated the number employed in July, 1931, in the three mining districts of Barkly West, Klerksdorp and Lichtenburg at 30,000. The economic and living conditions on these

diggings of both Europeans and Natives are very bad. On some of the older diggings quite substantial and what might be called permanent dwellings have been erected of clay or green brick with thatch or iron roofs, but on many of the newer diggings, more especially on those proclaimed in recent years, the Natives' shelters are of the most primitive description, consisting of a frame work of sticks with a covering of sacking or old tins beaten flat. The conditions of employment do not require the employer to provide accommodation for his labourers. It would not be practicable as a rule to do so because the work is of a temporary nature, and the diggers and labourers keep moving from one diggings to another.

854.

Certain areas such as Barkly West and Herbert have been proclaimed labour areas under the Native Labour Regulation Act, 1911. There the Native is required to enter into a monthly contract of service with his employer, the contract being registered. It sets out the rate of wages and other conditions. In other areas the Natives, being employed on a day to day basis, can work or not as they or their masters think fit.

855.

In the Barkly West mining district the prevailing rate of pay varies from 5s. to 15s. per week, but the average during the middle of 1931 was stated by the Mining Commissioner to be about 7s. per week for adult Natives. It is only in comparatively few cases and when the Native has been long in the employ of his master that a wage of 15s. a week is paid. It sometimes happens that no wage at all is paid where the employer is doing badly, and then the Natives work for food only.

856.

Out of his weekly wage the Native has to find his own food and quarters, and make provision for his family and for the payment of any taxes for which he may be liable.

857.

Many of the Natives on the alluvial diggings in the Barkly West district have grown up on the diggings and know no other home.

858.

In the Klerksdorp mining district, after the opening of the Grasfontein diggings in the Lichtenburg area, wages rose to 25s. per week, but they have gradually declined since then.

859.

The ruling rates of wages in the Klerksdorp district were stated by the Mining Commissioner to be from 7s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. per week without food, Natives working in an area where the claims are under water being paid 12s. 6d. He considered the average wage of the district to be 10s.

860.

The number of Natives on the Lichtenburg diggings is now, because of the reduction in the demand for labourers, much in excess of the needs of the diggers, and the wages paid have fallen considerably. Some Natives work for their food only, while a wage of 4s. a week with "nothing found" is common. Owing to the poverty of the diggers many Natives work for little or no pay, on the understanding that the digger will pay them something out of the proceeds when diamonds are found.

861.

The Native population at the diggings in the Lichtenburg area is estimated by the Commissioner at between 40,000 and 50,000 people. Fuel and domestic water are expensive. The Mining Commissioner pointed out that poverty was the main cause of sickness and disease there, and that many cases of enteric had been traced to the consumption of contaminated water drawn from claim holes. It was also stated that the Deverminization Officer had noted that whereas cases of pneumonia, typhus, and enteric were frequent in locations housing Natives who were either unemployed or in receipt of a low wage and thus without washing or heating facilities, locations housing the better paid labourers were singularly free from serious disease or sickness. Very little is done to safeguard the health of Natives on the alluvial fields. At one time in the Barkly West district, the District Surgeon paid periodical visits to the locations on the alluvial diggings, but this, it was stated, had been stopped on the grounds of economy. At Bakers, in the Lichtenburg area, a section of the diggers' field hospital with thirty beds is set aside for the accommodation of Natives. This is quite inadequate and patients are accommodated on the floor of the wards.

*The Position of Natives under the Mining Laws of the Union.***862.**

The mining laws of the Union have not yet been consolidated and, with the exception of the Precious Stones Act, 1927, which deals with prospecting and mining of precious stones throughout the Union, and the Reserved Minerals Development Act, 1926, which makes provision for the working of minerals on land alienated by the Government (subject to a reservation of minerals to the State), the laws relating to prospecting and mining are those passed by the various South African Governments before Union.

UNION.

863.

Precious Stones Act, No. 44 of 1927.—All persons desiring to prospect for precious stones must be in possession of a prospecting permit which can only be issued to a natural person who holds a digger's certificate. There are two important exceptions to this rule, namely, (a) the owner of private land who may prospect his land by himself or his servants without a prospecting permit, and (b) the surface owner of land held under title containing a reservation of precious stones to the State, either of whom may obtain a prospecting permit without holding a digger's certificate.

864.

A claim licence authorizing the pegging of claims can be issued only to holders of diggers' certificates. Such a certificate may be issued only to a person of good character over the age of eighteen who is enrolled or entitled to be enrolled as a voter at an election of members of the House of Assembly. It follows, therefore, that a Native of the Cape Province who is entitled to the franchise has the same privilege under the law as Europeans, but in the other Provinces where there is no Native franchise no Native can acquire any rights under the law unless he be the holder of the precious stones rights or the surface owner of Crown land.

865.

Prospecting in the Reserves may be carried out only under the authority of a prospecting permit and with the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs.

866.

If a Reserve is proclaimed an alluvial digging, the acquisition of claims there would be governed by the same principles as govern proclaimed land elsewhere but special provision is made for protecting the occupational rights of the Natives living in such Reserves and compensating them for the loss of the use of such land as the result of proclamation.

867.

Section 24 of the Precious Stones Act provides:

- (a) That the persons occupying such land shall retain their right to graze their stock, provided such right does not interfere with mining and digging operations;
- (b) for the reservation of their use, of dwellings, stock kraals, land under cultivation, and sufficient water for domestic and irrigation purposes and watering their stock;
- (c) if the location is on Crown land, there shall be paid to the Minister of Native Affairs for their benefit one-half of the claim licence moneys collected by the Government in respect of such digging, and in the case of a mine, 2s. 6d. per month for each claim area of 2,025 square feet comprised in such mine or mining area;
- (d) if a Chief or tribe is the owner of the land, the holder of the precious stones rights shall be entitled, in addition to any discoverer's rights which may be granted to him, to the rights conferred by the Act upon the owner, but such rights may not be alienated without the approval in writing of the Minister of Native Affairs.

868.

Portion of the farm Klipgat in the District of Ventersdorp, owned by Natives, was proclaimed after the precious stones rights had been disposed of by the Native owners to a European firm, the valuation of those rights being considered by the Mines Department and by the Master of the Supreme Court on behalf of the minor co-owners as fair and reasonable. The owners of the precious stones rights received 235 owners' claims, but the Natives retained the right to one half of all claim licence moneys collected and the trading and water rights. The water rights have been leased on conditions which include payment to the owners of 7½ per cent. of all profits.

869.

Reserved Minerals Development Act, No. 55 of 1926.—The only qualification required of a person to obtain a prospecting licence under this Act is that he must be the owner, licensee, or lessee of the holding so that in respect of the rights granted under this Act, the Native is in precisely the same position as the European.

Precious Metals.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

870.

Act No. 31 of 1898 as amended by Act No. 45 of 1905, and Act No. 16 of 1907.—Under these Acts there is a distinction as to race or colour and the Native is, therefore, in precisely the same position as to the acquisition of prospecting or mining rights for precious and base metals as the European.

NATAL.

871.

Act No. 43 of 1899.—Section 94 of this Act provides that “no person not being of European birth or descent shall be entitled to hold any licence or to peg out or to be engaged in work on any licenced holding otherwise than in the service and under the supervision of a duly licenced person, except as is otherwise in this Act provided”. Provided no excavation is made, any person may prospect for minerals on Crown lands without a licence. Only a person of European birth or descent can take out a prospecting claim licence under which to peg off claims.

872.

The rights of the Native owner are protected by Section 43 of the Act which reads, “Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Act, an owner of land not being of European birth or descent may, in respect of land owned by him and of any minerals, metals or precious stones found thereon, exercise all the rights and powers conferred by this Act”. The portion of that section dealing with precious stones has now been superseded by the Precious Stones Act, 1927.

873.

The Trustees of Native Trust lands have the right to grant “to any person applying for the same” permission to enter into and prospect for metals in such lands. Other provisions of the Act restrict this right to persons of European birth or descent and it follows that Natives are debarred from acquiring prospecting or mining rights in respect of Native Trust lands. The Trust receives one-half of the moneys collected by the Government in respect of any licences, claims or other licensed holdings or rights granted on such Trust lands.

ORANGE FREE STATE.

874.

Under *Ordinance No. 3 of 1904 (Orange Free State)*, the right of every landowner to prospect for precious metals on his own land without a licence is recognized. Except to a landowner, a prospecting licence may be issued only to a white person. As regards Crown lands, the Governor-General has a discretion as to the persons to whom he may grant permits to prospect. Only holders of claim licences may peg claims and such licences may be issued only to persons of European descent. Owner's rights accrue to the owner of a farm without any distinction as to colour. Prospecting rights and owner's rights can, therefore, be acquired by a Native only if he happens to be the registered owner of the land in freehold.

TRANSVAAL.

875.

By section 130 of the *Precious and Base Metals Act (Transvaal)*, 1908, it is laid down that except as provided in section 24 in regard to reservations in Native areas, no right may be acquired under the Act by a Coloured person and Coloured persons are prohibited from residing on or occupying any ground under any right to mine. The Act definitely restricts the issue of prospecting permits and licences to white persons. The provisions of section 24 as to rights in Native Reserves are almost identical with those set out in paragraph 867 in respect of the Precious Stones Act.

Recruiting.

876.

Apart from the mining industry, which has been dealt with separately (see page 117), recruiting of indentured labourers takes place mainly for the sugar producers in Natal, but a certain amount is being carried out constantly by commercial recruiting agencies for farms and other industries throughout the Union.

877.

It is estimated that approximately one third of the Native labourers employed in the sugar industry are recruited, the bulk of them coming from Pondoland and Transkei. The period of the contract is usually 180 shifts and the standard wage at the time of the Commission's inquiry was 1s. 4d. to 1s. 8d. per shift for adult males, with food, quarters, and medical attendance. It is understood however that owing to the present depression, combined with the effects of severe drought in Zululand and the consequent unusually plentiful labour supply, some reduction in this scale of wages has recently occurred.

878.

The Commission took evidence in Durban from the Natal Sugar Millers' Association and the Natal Coast Labour Recruiting Corporation on the question of recruiting labour for the sugar industry. This Corporation was formed about 1920 to serve the labour requirements of coast industries, largely on the representations of the Director of Native Labour, who urged the need for an organization on the model of the Native Recruiting Corporation of the Rand Mines. It was a non-profit making organization. It was never able to obtain a monopoly of recruiting for the sugar producers. The Corporation is now in liquidation.

Luring-Away of Juveniles..

879.

During its tour of the Transkei, your Commission heard many complaints of what was described as kidnapping of juveniles by recruiters who were said to carry off these boys to Natal, the parents having no knowledge of where their sons had gone and in some cases losing sight of them entirely.

880.

The matter was discussed by the Pondoland General Council in June, 1930, when strong feeling appears to have been evinced by the members, many of whom testified to a very unsatisfactory state of affairs prevailing. It was said that the recruiting of boys under 18, without the consent or knowledge of their parents, by licensed recruiters who forwarded them mainly to the sugar estates in Natal, was common.

881.

It was stated that motor buses were constantly used for the purpose throughout the country, and picked up boys who were taken without passes into Natal. The Magistrates informed the Council that there was difficulty in stopping the practice or obtaining convictions, principally on account of the facility with which passes could be obtained for the boys after they had reached Natal.

882.

Under the provisions of Act 15 of 1911 a labour agent is debarred from recruiting Natives under eighteen years of age. We were informed, however, that the Government shortly after the Act was brought into operation permitted by administrative relaxation of the law, the recruitment of Natives below that age for agricultural labour, subject to certain safeguards and conditions to which the recruiter was obliged to conform. A copy of the latest circular from the Department of Native Affairs now governing the procedure in regard to such recruitment will be found in Annexure 22.

883.

In Durban the Commission questioned the representatives of the Natal Coast Labour Recruiting Corporation on the subject. About 20 per cent. of the total recruitment of labour (as apart from the voluntary local labour) for the sugar industry was made through this Corporation, the balance, in 1930, being supplied through the agency of commercial recruiting firms. It was stated by those representatives that, under instructions of the Director of Native Labour, the permission of the parents or guardians of juveniles must be obtained before recruitment, but that in practice such boys had often been attested by the licensed recruiters without such permission. They stated that when these irregularities came to their notice the boys were immediately repatriated at the recruiter's expense, but they agreed that the administration requires considerable tightening up in this regard.

884.

The Commission questioned Major Cooke, then Director of Native Labour, on the subject. He stated that only individual recruiters were licensed by the Department, that under the law there was no effective control of the organizations employing such licensed recruiters, but that if gross

misconduct on the part of such organizations were shown they could be dealt with administratively. One such case had within his recollection been dealt with, and the organization had been eliminated. In the case of licensed individual recruiters, many inquiries had been held by order of the Director and many licences had been cancelled.

885.

In Annexure 23 will be found a statement showing the names and numbers of all recruiting organizations working within the Union, numbers of licensed individuals in each Native area, and numbers of licences cancelled by the Director after inquiry into charges of misconduct.

Recruited Labour in Natal.

886.

By resolution of the Bunga a deputation representing that body was sent during 1931 to investigate conditions of housing, feeding, and work of Native labourers on the Natal coast and in the Natal coal mines. Their report was to the effect that on the large estates, generally, the housing and feeding were satisfactory, but that on some of the smaller farms visited the conditions were found to be "deplorable," while in others they were "all that could be desired." On the larger estates hospitals were provided and the treatment appeared to be adequate. On the small farms the owner gave such medical attention as was possible or sent the patient to hospital at his discretion. The delegates considered that in cases of illness steps should be taken to prevent labourers from being detained on plantations until such time as their lives were endangered, but did not suggest any way of doing this. They objected to juveniles under sixteen years of age being employed on plantations.

Integration.

887.

After considering all the evidence on the subject the Commission feels that there is much that is unsatisfactory about the present state of recruiting of Native labour for farming and industries other than the mines. In the case of the latter, which has been dealt with elsewhere in our Report, it is generally agreed that the Native Recruiting Corporation, which serves the mines, has reached a high degree of efficiency, that their recruiting work is carried on with due regard to the interests of the Natives, and that generally speaking there are no complaints of abuses such as those which have been referred to in the case of minor private recruiting organizations. The Native Recruiting Corporation has a monopoly of the supply of labour to all the Rand mines and it is no doubt in the main due to this form of rationalization of recruiting, that this satisfactory position has been attained. By working on so large a scale it can keep down overhead charges, select a good class of recruiter, and properly supervise them.

888.

A comparison of the recruiting methods and results of the N.R.C. with those of the other private recruiting bodies, leads the Commission to the opinion that an effort should be made to organize the agencies for obtaining labour for industries, other than mining, into larger units. They should, if possible, be of a co-operative nature and every assistance should be given towards the formation of such corporations. Where they are formed on such a basis and without a direct profit-making object, it should be possible to give them the monopoly of supplying labour to specified industries or areas.

889.

The scheme suggested here requires careful examination in detail and special legislation would probably also be required.

890.

It is strongly urged, however, that in any event provision should be made that private recruiting organizations, if they are to continue to exist, should have to be licensed in the same way as individual recruiters. Full responsibility should be made to attach to the organization as well as to the individual recruiter for the occurrence of such abuses as the luring away of juveniles without the consent of their parents or guardians.

891.

Cancellation of licenses in both cases should follow the proof of any such irregularity.

892.

As regards the recruitment of juveniles, while the Commission does not consider that it should be entirely prohibited, it seems clear that it should be allowed only subject to strict regulation, which should cover conditions of housing, feeding, and medical attention, as well as consent of parents. There should be a limit of age below which no recruiting of boys should be permitted.

893.

In another part of this Report the Commission has suggested that the services of tribal Chiefs should be made use of to help in the due control of recruiting of juveniles.

Recruited Labour in Malarial Areas.

894.

The Assistant Health Officer of the Union in Durban, in evidence before the Commission, strongly urged the view that the employment in malarial districts of Zululand, which he defined for practical purposes as north of the Tugela, of Natives recruited from non-malarial areas, was uneconomic and a source of danger to the parts of the country from which they came and to which they returned. He instanced outbreaks of malaria as far south as Port St. Johns which were attributable to the return of Native labourers carrying malaria from sugar estates where they had been working in malarial country. He suggested that:

“ Labour for north of the Tugela would have to be local and preferably from the coast flats of Zululand and Mozambique, as far north as the Limpopo which affords (unlike Lat. 22°) a definite landmark and accords with our sleeping sickness regulations.

“ At present Natives of Tongaland and all those of Mozambique, who are invaluable to us because of their partial immunity to malaria, go to the Transvaal mines, where the immunity to malaria is of no value; and a class of labour highly acceptable to the mines is recruited for our malarial belt. The one balances the other and the present position is uneconomic. There is not sufficient immune Native labour in Zululand to staff the sugar belt north of the Tugela, and we would have to draw on Mozambique a quota equal to that recruited from the highveld, which could be diverted elsewhere.”

895.

Your Commission is impressed by the force of these arguments and stresses the importance of some arrangement being made between the mines and the industries requiring labour in the low veld of Zululand, whereby a quota of Natives from Portuguese East Africa might be available for the latter, for which they are particularly suited. When this arrangement has been made, recruiting in non-malarial areas for work in the low veld should be stopped, thereby releasing an additional supply for the mines.

896.

It seems clear that, as long as recruited labour is required for malarial areas, it is uneconomic as well as very undesirable from the health point of view, to bring it up from the Transkei, while much labour nearer home and free from the disadvantage of high susceptibility to malaria, is sent away for work in the mines.

Cost of Transport of Recruited Labour.

897.

In paragraphs 830 and 919 we give figures showing the cost to recruited Native labourers of travelling to and from the place of their employment and the nett balance of remuneration which remains to them. The extent of this cost is sometimes lost sight of when account is taken of the rates of pay which Natives are able to earn. It is plain that the expense is a serious drain on their earnings, and the recent increase on South African Railways in Native labourers' fares has, unfortunately, added considerably to the burden of it.

Wages.

898.

It requires an investigation involving considerable detailed work to give satisfactory wage statistics. This is particularly difficult when wages are paid partly in cash and partly in kind. Moreover the point must not be overlooked in dealing with wages in urban and rural areas, respectively, that the same amount of money will, in the latter, represent a considerably higher real wage. There are things which the rural labourer enjoys free of charge, or at a nominal cost, for which the town labourer has to pay, like housing, water, sanitation.

899.

As regards *wages in urban areas*, we give certain details which were collected by the Office of Statistics, by the Wage Board in the course of its investigations, by the Director of Native Labour in Johannesburg, and by local investigators in a few of the smaller urban areas. See Annexure 24—Tables I-VI.

900.

Wages for *mining* are given in the section dealing with this subject, and wages paid to *railway employees* have been furnished by the South African Railways and Harbours Administration and are given in Annexure 24—VII.

901.

As regards wages on *farms*, the collection of satisfactory information bristles with difficulties, in view of the fact that payment in kind plays such a large part and that, except in the sugar industry, there is still no large class of agricultural cash-wage labourers. In 1928-1929 Dr. J. C. Neethling and Dr. C. H. Neveling analysed farm-wage statistics available in the Department of Agriculture in respect of certain farms in Alexandria, Pietersburg, Zoutpansberg, North-Eastern Orange Free State, and Western Transvaal. A Table giving the results of this investigation, with explanatory notes, appears in Annexure 24—VIII.

902.

Your Commission approached the Secretary for Agriculture to have a further investigation carried out in like manner. A form was prepared in collaboration with officers of the Division of Economics and Markets, and information was detailed on this form by Extension Officers of the Department of Agriculture. For certain areas the returns collected were not sufficient in number to warrant tabulation but for five areas tabulations were made, namely in respect of the Western Transvaal, Northern Transvaal, Western Orange Free State, Cape (Border), and the Natal-Transkei Border. The figures obtained represent the estimated cost of the labour tenants to the farmer. The form on which the information was collected and the tabulated results are given in Annexures 9 and 24—IX.

903.

We draw attention here to a few of the results.

904.

The number of family units living on the farm, the number of full-time man-work-units supplied by them, and the percentage of their time worked on the farm were as follows:

| | Western Transvaal. | Northern Transvaal. | Western O.F.S. | Border. | Natal-Transkei. |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------|---------|-----------------|
| Family Units..... | 4.94 | 6.07 | 5.18 | 6.34 | 7.74 |
| Man-work Units..... | 1.76 | 0.60 | 2.06 | 1.77 | 1.90 |
| Percentage of Time Worked..... | 85.82 | 85.56 | 86.35 | 82.79 | 50.49 |

905.

The cash wage varied from 16.77 per cent. of the total in the Western Transvaal to 54.35 per cent. in the Natal-Transkei Border.

906.

The wage per man-work-unit per annum is remarkably even, varying from £22.41 in the Northern Transvaal to £26.51 in the Western Orange Free State. The average family wage earned on the farm showed considerable difference, the lowest being £13.45 per annum in the Northern Transvaal, where the family gave only 0.6 man-work-units a year, to £54.62 in the Western Orange Free State, where 2.06 such units were supplied.

907.

These investigations represent the most careful work hitherto undertaken to give accurate information on the cost of farm labour. In view of the small area covered, and the limited number of returns, the results must be regarded as provisional.

908.

Your Commission considers that more detailed work should be undertaken on these lines, to make available reliable information about Native wages on farms.

909. On mines in the Cape and diamond mines in the Transvaal, Native labourers receive quarters but must provide their own food. On other mines food and quarters are provided by the employer. Domestic servants are almost always housed and fed by their masters. In other occupations in urban areas the practice varies. This, as well as a fair sample of wages paid to Natives in Johannesburg, is shown in a Table which was prepared for the Commission by Major H. S. Cooke, Director of Native Labour. See Annexure 24—II.

910. In Capetown the prevailing wage for labourers has been about 4s. 6d. a day with nothing found. This level was fixed by the standard of living of Coloured people which is higher than that of Natives. The introduction of Natives from the Northern Provinces at northern rates of pay for Natives is tending to bring down the Capetown rate.

911. At Port Elizabeth a common rate, since the conference of Natives and employers in 1929, is 4s. a day with nothing found, but very many Natives receive less.

912. In Bloemfontein a minimum wage of 3s. 6d. a day, or £1 per week for unskilled work in some sixteen trades or occupations is in force under a determination under the Wage Act.

913. In Pretoria the wages of 3,000 Natives, employees of the Municipality and 117 firms, were tabulated. The wages of four-fifths of the Natives ranged from 40s. to 70s. a month with food and lodgings and from 50s. to 80s. without food and lodgings. The average wage was 45s. a month with food and lodgings and 65s. without food and lodgings. A questionnaire issued by the Pretoria Joint Council of Europeans and Natives in Marabas Location, and filled up by 50 householders there, including teachers, ministers, interpreters, and policemen, as well as labourers, showed the average wage for the heads of the households was £5. 1s. 1d. per month. The average monthly earnings of the women were 14s. 8d. and of the children 4s. 6d. and the average contribution for rent by lodgers was 5s. 7d.

914. Table III in Annexure 24 gives a summary of Native wages made from returns furnished by employers to the Wage Board during its investigations between 1926 and 1929 into certain trades, including the manufacture of sweets, clothing, biscuits, boots, saddlery, furniture, baking, and certain other smaller industries. Returns were obtained from almost all employers in the industries concerned. When food or quarters were provided by the employers these were valued at 13s. per month for food and 8s. 8d. per month for quarters, and those values were included in the rate given in the Table, such rates representing the total remuneration in cash and kind. The Bloemfontein figures do not include the figures obtained in connection with the investigation which led up to the determination for unskilled workers in that town. Those figures are shown separately in the Table IV in Annexure 24. See also a Wage Board Table in Annexure 24—V.

915. The wages paid to Natives in a few of the smaller towns are shown in Annexure 24—VI. These figures were obtained from extracts from the evidence, or from replies to questionnaires sent out by the Commission.

Natal Sugar Estates.

916. The wages on the sugar estates in Natal for adult males are from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 8d. per shift, plus food and quarters, and medical attention. The cash wage for local Natives is thus from £1 14s. 8d. to £2 3s. 4d. per month of 26 working days. On many estates Sundays are paid for, provided the Native has worked during the whole of the preceding week: in these cases the wages range from £2 to £2 10s. per month. This does not apply to recruited labourers. The position of the recruited Natives, who represent one third of the labour force, is different, though they actually cost the employer more than the local Native. The former come mainly from Pondoland or other parts of the Transkei. The planter has to pay a recruiting fee of £2 5s. for each recruited Native; he has no guarantee that the labourer when he arrives will be capable of working; he has little protection against desertions, which on certain estates are frequent; and he has to make an advance of the railway fares from the Native's home to the estate, as well as a cash advance of about £2.

917. Recruited farm labour is generally more expensive than local cash labour, but has to be resorted to owing to local labour not offering in sufficient numbers.

918. The railway fare of the recruited Native to Durban, from which centre recruited Natives are generally distributed to the sugar estates, is about £1 10s. for the single journey. He also gets a small advance for food on the journey. The planter therefore has to find, before the labourer can begin work, from £5 15s. to £6, plus the fare from Durban to the estate. The planter is entitled to recover, from the labourer, the advance for travelling expenses and the cash advance. Travelling expenses, which, except in the case of desertion, the Native has to bear both ways, are for the Durban area 60s. and for the Empangeni area 85s., to which must be added not less than 5s. for food. Taking the Native's wage for 180 shifts at 1s. 4d. per shift, which is the common wage, his total earnings will be £12. Owing to weather conditions, illness, and other causes, it is estimated that the 180 shifts will not usually be completed in less than from seven and a half to eight months. Travelling takes approximately a week each way.

919. If travelling expenses are reckoned at £3 5s. for a Native at Durban and £4 10s. for one working at Empangeni the average nett cash wage of a recruited Native for those centres during the time he will be away from home are shown in the following table:

Average Monthly Nett Cash Wage for absence from Home, of:

| | 7½ months. | 8 months. | 8½ months. |
|------------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| Durban | 1 3 4 | 1 2 0 | 1 0 7 |
| Empangeni | 1 0 5 | 18 9 | 17 8 |

The railway fare and travelling expenses of £3 5s. for a Native going to Durban represent 27 per cent. of the total cash earnings. The corresponding figure for Empangeni is 37½ per cent. (Compare paragraphs 830 and 897.)

920. Young Native boys who are recruited for the sugar estates get 8d. a shift, which leaves them a nett cash wage of from 5s. to 7s. 6d. a month for the time they are absent from home.

921. It is understood that since the date of your Commission's investigation, there has been general reduction in the wages paid to local labourers in the sugar industry.

Advances.

922. Under the Natives' Advances Regulation Act, No. 18 of 1921, the Governor-General is given power to regulate or limit the amount of an advance to any Native by any person who employs him. The advance is defined as "any sum of money, or an equivalent thereof or substitute therefor, in any form whatsoever, given or promised to a Native upon a condition expressed or implied that he or any dependant of his should enter upon, or continue in any employment".

923. By regulations issued under the authority of this Act, the amount which may be advanced to any Native recruited under the Native Labour Regulation Act, 1911, is limited to £2, but in the case of farmers—except sugar, tea, and wattle planters—to £5 or one head of horned stock.

924. The Native generally does not allow himself to be recruited until he is in a position when he must immediately have money to pay his General Tax or to provide for some other urgent need. At one time advances of large sums of money were made, and this led to considerable abuse. The present system is not entirely free from abuse, but the limitation of the amount effected a considerable improvement, and the Commission considers that no increase should be permitted.

925. Magistrates in a number of districts stated that it was common for farmers to make to Natives cash advances of such an amount that the Native, with the wages he would receive, would not be able to repay for a considerable time. A number of Magistrates recommended that no advances of money to a Native should be legal for any amount in excess of one or two months' cash wages.

Deferred Pay.**926.**

The policy of the gold mines has been to encourage thrift among their employees. The individual mines accept against receipts issued on their credit moneys from their Native labourers on deposit or for remittance to their nominees. Over the period of five years from 1926 to 1931 a total sum of £730,924 was so remitted. Under the system which is in operation the individual mines place 75 per cent. of the sums deposited in one central account, invested in Government securities, the balance of 25 per cent. remaining with the individual mines, from which are paid current claims against the account.

927.

A system of voluntary deferred pay in respect of British South African Natives was brought into operation in 1910 under which any mine Native labourer from the Union or Protectorates can decide to receive his earnings at home less 10s. paid in cash monthly to him at his place of employment. The growth of the popularity of this system is shown by the fact that in 1920, 27.9 per cent. of recruited Natives, in 1925, 32.8, and in 1930, 52.4 per cent. elected to come under the system. For the Cape Province, which is the main source of Union labour for the mines, the percentages for December, 1930, and January and February, 1931, were 76.2, 66.8, and 63.0 respectively.

928.

Payments of deferred pay are usually made through the district agents of the Native Recruiting Corporation, and the sums remitted to the homes of Natives under this system average between £15,000 and £18,000 a month. The amount of deferred pay paid out for the five years 1926 to 1930 was £775,061.

*Deferred Pay Board of Control.***929.**

The interest from deposits for safekeeping or remittance and of sums retained under the deferred pay system amounts in the aggregate to a considerable sum, but the sum in respect of each of the individuals concerned is so small as to make it impracticable to distribute the interest among them. In these circumstances, a trust board called the Deferred Pay Board of Control, consisting of three Government and three mining representatives with the Director of Native Labour as chairman, was formed. Money deposited for safekeeping or remittance or retained under the deferred pay system is invested in Government securities, and the accruing interest is administered by the trust board which makes grants in aid to or finances undertakings particularly designed for the benefit of Natives.

930.

The existence of this fund and the excellent work which it does are not generally known among the Natives, and greater publicity would be an advantage.

931.

Complaints were made in certain Native areas that Native labourers on the mines are not remitting to their homes as much money as was done in former years, and it was urged that deferred pay should be made compulsory either for all mine Natives or for all those who are minors. The Commission does not consider that such a provision should be made. It would be a serious interference with the rights of the persons concerned. The percentage of those making use of the voluntary system are quite high, as shown in paragraph 927. In 1928 a delegation of Government officials from Basutoland on a visit to the Rand opposed any system of compulsory deferred pay. They stated that the reason for the unpopularity of the deferred pay system in Basutoland was that the parents took the deferred pay of mine labourers on their return home and that, therefore, the man who did the work and earned the money did not benefit from it as he should, and had little control over its expenditure.

932.

There is now under the Mozambique Convention a compulsory deferred pay system in regard to East Coast Natives, under which 1s. per shift of their earnings, after they have worked for nine calendar months, is retained to be paid to the labourers when they return to Portuguese territory.

933.

In regard to Natives employed otherwise than on the mines of the Witwatersrand, there are a few unimportant deferred pay systems but, in the main, Natives have to rely on the Post Office. All Native Commissioners' offices throughout the Union function as remittance agencies for transmitting, free of charge, the earnings of Natives which they wish to send to their homes.

934.

In the case of juveniles recruited with their parents' consent it is a common practice to stipulate on the contract sheet that the employer shall pay out to the worker a small proportion only of his pay, the balance being either remitted monthly to the parent or held for payment in a lump sum to the worker on completion of his contract.

Compensation.

935.

Lump sum benefits are paid by way of compensation to Natives employed on mines and works under section 22 of the Native Labour Regulation Act on the following scale:

for permanent partial disablement—from £1 to £20;
for permanent total disablement or death—from £30 to £50.

The amounts paid over by the Director of Native Labour for the past two years under this section were:

1929: £46,381.
1930: £44,049.

936.

There is no provision for temporary disablement, which frequently lasts for a long time and necessitates repatriation. The Transvaal gold mines recognizing this defect in the law, make compassionate grants according to a recognized scale. Physical disability as a factor in impairing prospects of earning a living is usually more serious to a Native than to a European, as the former is ordinarily a manual labourer and the latter can use his education or intelligence in securing some appropriate post. On the other hand under the Native communal system, the disabled Native is frequently cared for by his relations.

937.

Under the Miners' Phthisis Acts compensation varies from one-and-a-half to two years' earnings calculated, as in the case of compensation for disablement, on cash earnings only. The awards made during the past two years in respect of Miners' Phthisis compensation to Natives were:

1929: £67,348.
1930: £60,132.

938.

Natives employed otherwise than on Mines and Works have to rely on the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act and, in this connection Major Cooke said, "It may be assumed that owing to the necessity to comply with the conditions stipulated in the Act in regard to the giving of notice, etc., and to lack of appreciation of their rights, many Natives fail to secure compensation in circumstances where they would be entitled to do so".

939.

Under the Act, no compensation for accident is payable to Natives employed as domestic servants or in agriculture.

940.

Natives have the ordinary common law remedy for damages arising from accidents.

941.

The principle of lump sum benefits to Natives embodied in existing legislation probably took cognizance of the communal life of the Native tribes and contemplated the acceptance of family or tribal responsibility for individuals. As the Native people develop, they are becoming more individualistic, and the unfit cannot rely to the same extent as formerly on the group affording them the means of subsistence. It follows that where there is lack of wisdom in the investment of awards for compensation, coupled with physical inability to earn a living, the beneficiaries are ultimately left without the means of support. Where the disability is substantial, it seems desirable that compensation should be made by way of periodical payments.

Trading.*In Rural Areas.***942.**

Under the communal system which existed among the Natives in their tribal state, trade was not practised on the basis of a medium of exchange: such limited trade as existed was carried on by barter. This is probably sufficient to account for the fact that the aptitude for trading is as yet only slightly developed among Natives. There are instances of Natives successfully carrying on business for themselves, but they are at present few. In the Reserves trading rights were acquired by Europeans before any demand to hold these rights arose among the Natives. In the Transkei it is the practice that no licence for a trading site shall be granted within less than five miles from an existing trading site. These sites are all in the hands of Europeans, and this practice created for them a monopoly of trading in the Transkei. In other areas also a virtual monopoly has been obtained by Europeans. Many Natives are employed in stores in Native areas as assistants, and even managers, evidently with satisfactory results to the employers.

943.

The Commission considers that opportunities to Natives to trade in the Reserves should be given freely, and that in the issue of any new licences preference should be given to Natives. In the Transkei the five mile rule should be modified in respect of the more thickly populated areas.

944.

In most of the Native areas, trade by means of barter is universal. Maize and other agricultural products are taken in exchange for goods, and apparently no distinction is made in respect of different qualities of the produce.

945.

In the Transkei wool is generally bought by traders for cash, but owing to lack of grading the man who produces wool of good quality receives no more than the man whose wool is inferior; all kinds are thrown together and sold as inferior wool.

946.

The Bunga is endeavouring to find some method of breaking down the system of barter, and to substitute for it cash purchase and sale, but as yet without any success. The system of barter is regarded now by large numbers of Natives as a grievance.

947.

The trade done with Natives which formerly comprised mainly what was known as "kaffir truck," blankets and beads and copper wire, is now approximating more and more closely to trade with Europeans. The demand for certain classes of goods, for example prints and blankets, is subject to changes in fashion. The development of mail order business, and of motor transport, is bringing Natives in rural areas more into touch with shops in the large urban centres, to the detriment of the turnover of the local traders.

948.

Witnesses in the Transkei estimated that the book debts of traders in that area are not less than one million pounds. The bad debts, however, do not appear to be excessive, though a trader frequently has to wait an unduly long time for payment. Many witnesses commented upon the honesty of Natives in paying their debts, however long they had been outstanding, the tribal Native not recognizing any law of prescription of debts.

949.

A complaint which was stressed before the Commission is that the Native, particularly in the rural areas, has to pay more for the same article than would a European, while for the same class of goods of the same quality he would receive less than would a European.

*In Urban Areas.***950.**

In urban areas in the Cape, Natal, and Transvaal, a number of Natives have established their own businesses, and though these are conducted on a small scale, the length of time that they have been in existence testifies to the fact that the owners have been able to make a living out of them. In Queenstown we were told of a Native who has carried on his own business continuously for thirty-five years.

951.

Major H. S. Cooke, ex-Director of Native Labour, dealing with trade between Natives on the Witwatersrand, said:

"In the locations on the Witwatersrand there are some 500 Native shops, the highest numbers being at Klipspruit (Nancefield) 40, Germiston 28, and Benoni 22. At the Alexandra Township there are approximately 45.

"The small capital at the disposal of the Native trader precludes him from buying on the most advantageous terms. It is, however, a common sight in Johannesburg to see this class of Native purchasing considerable quantities of goods at clearance sales and the like. The stocks carried are usually small, but I have been impressed by the wide range and good quality of those of general dealers. Trading is popular amongst Natives and in places like Nancefield and Benoni it has been found necessary to restrict the number to ensure a legitimate amount of business. Their clientele is almost exclusively amongst their own people within the Location.

"The average trader seems to do reasonably well and few seem to fail to make a living. I know of none who can be regarded as prosperous. I am of opinion that trading by Natives in locations set apart for their occupation is a legitimate aspiration and that their efforts, so far, have been sufficiently successful to justify the belief that experience, coupled with some uplifting of the economic depression of the location dwellers in urban locations, will improve their condition and prospects."

952.

The licence fee for trading, which is fixed on the basis of European trade, is a very heavy burden upon the small Native shops.

953.

In Durban and Pietermaritzburg, under an arrangement between the local authorities and the Union Treasury, the local authorities are allowed, in respect of their Native markets and Native locations, to let out booths for trading to Natives under one licence for the whole building which contains those booths. Such a system, if extended, would be helpful and would be much appreciated by Natives.

954.

In the Orange Free State general dealers' licences are very seldom granted to Natives, even in the Native locations. No convincing reason has been advanced to the Commission, against granting these licences, but the influence of the opponents on the local authorities in that Province has so far been sufficiently powerful to prevent the issue of any licences to Natives. Similar influence has prevented the granting of trading licences in a number of town locations in the other Provinces. Your Commission considers that it is unreasonable to prevent Natives from obtaining trading licences inside Native locations, and that trading by Natives in their locations, under licence, should be encouraged.

955.

There is provision in *section 22* of the Urban Areas Act as amended by the Amendment Act of 1930, that a local authority may, and if directed by the Minister of Native Affairs after consultation with the Administrator and after due inquiry at which the local authority shall be entitled to be heard, shall let sites to Natives in the location for trading. So far the procedure there laid down has in the Orange Free State prevented the letting of trading sites or the issue of trading licences. In the opinion of the Commission an absolute discretion should be granted to the Minister to issue such licences whenever he deems it right to do so.

956.

In areas where the trader is the agent for the recruiter, indebtedness to the trader may be used as a lever to compel the Native to allow himself to be recruited. The trader receives a capitation fee, which varies in amount, but is frequently about £2. He often has to make an advance, the amount of which is now limited by law to £2, to the Native to enable him to make some provision for his family before he draws his first pay, the amount of the advance being recovered from the Native's employer out of his wages.

Interest.

957.

Natives have suffered considerably from usurious interest on their debts. A common rate of interest used to be 2s. 6d. per month on £1 or 150 per cent. per annum, while interest at 1d. per week on 1s. or over 400 per cent. per annum was also common.

958.

The Usury Act, No. 37 of 1926, has done something to protect a number of Natives, but its provisions appear not to be generally known and the evidence suggests that its terms are often evaded because of the Natives' ignorance of the protection the law was intended to give them.

Token System.

959.

On certain coal mines, in Natal, a system of credit has grown up based on tokens. In one instance the storekeeper has a concession or monopoly of trading with the employees of the colliery, at a rental calculated at the rate of 1s. 6d. per month per Native employed. Each day's work by a Native is noted on his ticket which also shows how much he is paid per day. When the Native produces his ticket at the store, he is considered good enough to be given credit for the amount shown as due to him on his ticket. If he decides to ask for credit for £1 he is given tokens and he pays for purchases from time to time with them. Tokens once issued cannot be redeemed in money. About two-thirds of the Natives at this mine take credit under this system from the store. The company gives the storekeeper each week a list of the Natives who are to be paid that week, and the storekeeper attends at the office at the time when the employees are being paid and collects the amounts which they owe to him. This system was very strongly condemned by all the officials of the district concerned, who pointed out that it led to serious extravagance, and it was also strongly condemned in the report of the delegation from the Transkeian Bunga which inspected labour conditions on the collieries in July, 1931. The tokens are taken for payment for beer, in the beer canteen, which is at the entrance to the compounds. The system is said to have been introduced to enable the Natives to keep count of all they spend. The management of the mine appears to approve of the system because as a result of the Natives spending their wages freely they have to remain longer in service before returning to their homes than they otherwise would. The families of the Natives, on the other hand, are opposed to the system because of that result. In the opinion of the Commission the system is pernicious, presenting many of the features of the truck system, and should be prohibited.

Marketing.

960.

Very little organization for the marketing of Native produce has as yet been effected. The amount produced for sale by up-to-date Native farmers is not as yet large. Owing to the custom of traders to lump all Native produce into one class, the up-to-date farmer does not as a rule get the benefit which his better product should bring him. To meet this difficulty, the Director of Agriculture of the Bunga in the Transkei assists Natives to market their wool, maize, eggs, and other produce that is of suitable quality for marketing alongside the produce of European farmers. The Citrus Co-operative Exchange is marketing in Europe oranges grown by Native farmers in the Western Transvaal.

Changes in the Position of Women.

961.

Considerable changes have been brought about in the position of Native women, through the contact of Natives with European ideas. With the introduction of ploughs, the breaking up of land for agriculture changed from women's work to men's work. Prior to the introduction of the plough, women had to break up the land with hoes. They were not allowed to handle cattle. With the introduction of the plough, the handling of cattle was necessary for ploughing and this work passed over to the men. This meant a considerable reduction in the burden of hard work which fell upon the women; but to-day, in some areas, because of the absence of the men at work on the mines or in the towns, women have to attend to the ploughing of their lands which involves their handling cattle. The carrying of wood, crops, and water, which was women's work, is now occasionally done by means of animal transport.

962.

European fashions in clothing have not materially affected the Native women's style of dress in Native areas, but the use of European cloth of various kinds has penetrated to the remotest parts of the countryside. Outside the Reserves European clothing is steadily taking the place of the old Native dress.

963.

Considerable progress has been made by Native women as a result of the spread of education among them, and educated Native women are taking a prominent part in Native activities. Education of Native girls presents the most promising means of bringing about a rise in the Natives' standard of living which will give the required incentive towards a higher production by the Natives from their land. In the towns Native women quickly adapt themselves to local conditions.

964.

The policy of the Urban Areas Act is to discourage the permanent settlement of Natives in towns. As a Native who has a family with him in a town is much more likely to become a permanent town-dweller than a single man, obstacles are placed in the way of women coming to the towns. The Act allows under proclamation the Governor-General or a local authority:

“ to prohibit any female Native from entering the proclaimed area after a date to be specified in such proclamation without a certificate of approval from the urban local authority and to require any female Native after having entered such area to produce such certificate on demand by an authorized officer :

“ Provided that—

- “ (i) no such certificate shall be issued to any female Native who is a minor in law without the consent of her guardian ; and
- “ (ii) subject to the necessary accommodation being available, a certificate shall upon application be issued to any female Native who produces satisfactory proof that her husband, or in the case of an unmarried female her father, has been resident and continuously employed in the said area for a period of not less than two years.”—Section 7 (a) (d) of the Native (Urban Areas) Act, 1923, Amendment Act, 1930 (No. 25).

965.

There is in many towns a number of female Natives who were there before the passing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923, Amendment Act, 1930. In a number of these towns there is no accommodation provided for single women who are not living with their families. In urban locations the general rule is that a municipal house will not be let to a woman, so that the position of a woman who is a widow, or unmarried, may be one of considerable hardship and even of danger. In some towns, hostels have been provided for Native women either by the local authority or by private enterprise, and generally such hostels are serving a very useful purpose and are well patronized. In almost every town, however, it may be said that there is inadequate provision for the housing of Native women.

966.

Owing to the low wages which their husbands earn, most Native wives in urban areas have to do something to supplement the family income. In some instances this is done by illicit means, such as selling of beer and other liquor. In the majority of instances the income is supplemented by laundry work, charring, or other domestic service. This work frequently involves the absence of the mother from her home, to the detriment of her family. Native communism ensures that neighbours will in such cases keep an eye on the children of an absent mother ; but such help is not always available or adequate, and there is consequent neglect of children. The earnings of women from laundry work are often small.

967.

In some towns Native women take part in discussions at Native public meetings. It appeared to be the general opinion that changes in the position of women in tribal areas are taking place very slowly, but much faster in urban areas.

968.

Among Native girls, much progress is being made by the Wayfarer movement which is conducted on lines similar to those followed by the Girl Guide movement among Europeans. There are also certain purely Native movements of the same character.

Domestic Service.

969.

The great bulk of domestic servants in South Africa are Natives. In Capetown and generally throughout the Western Province, Coloured servants predominate. In the other parts of the Cape Province and in the Orange Free State, the preference is for females as domestic servants, while in the Transvaal and Natal males are generally employed in the towns and in certain rural areas.

970.

There are clear reasons for this peculiarity. There is especially the historical reason that the old Cape Colony came far earlier into contact with the Natives. In addition to this in the Cape Province the Native villages are nearer to the towns than they are in the other parts of South Africa. In several instances the village is actually in the town, as for example in the old towns of Kingwilliamstown, Queenstown, Grahamstown, Cradock, Kimberley. When these Native villages were established they were outside the towns, but with the growth of the towns they were steadily surrounded, thus producing problems. From the domestic point of view the nearness of the village gave ample opportunity for the employment of female servants. There was in the Cape Province less disinclination on the part of Native parents to allow their daughters out to work, indeed very often a mother would bespeak her daughter long before she was ready for service to some home where she herself had been a servant in her youth.

971.

On the other hand, in Natal and in the Transvaal the Native villages are rarely near the town.

972.

Then with Natives who are still in their tribal state, there is disinclination to allow their women folk to go out to service. Among other reasons they regard the dangers of town life as being too serious.

973.

Yet there is a growing desire on the part of many Europeans in the Transvaal and in Natal to employ more females as domestic servants; and to aid in this direction missionary and philanthropic bodies have organized hostels in several of the large towns. These hostels are still in their infancy and often are looked at askance by Natives, while there is frequently objection on the part of the Europeans to the establishment of such hostels in European residential areas. That they are meeting a need is proved by the fact that in Johannesburg alone there are 5,000 female servants employed, which is one-fourth of the number of males so employed.

974.

In the Transvaal or in Natal it cannot be said that the European homes make any definite and distinctive arrangements for the housing of female servants. This has been a great hindrance and will remain so to Natives allowing their women-folk to take service in towns remote from their homes. The permanently urbanized Native population is now providing a steady supply of female domestic servants.

975.

Lately classes have been begun in domestic science at several Native institutions. The girls so trained obtain employment very readily, although, in general, mistresses prefer to train their own servants.

Housing.

976.

On the mines, housing of Natives is generally in compounds or barracks. On the Kimberley Diamond Mines, to avoid the smuggling of diamonds, labourers are confined to their compound for the total length of their service, but on the Witwatersrand gold mines, Natives are allowed to leave the compounds from time to time on certain conditions. The housing is generally good, particularly on the newer mines. The provision of housing in labour areas, as defined by the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911, is controlled under Government regulations. On some of the gold mines there are married quarters for Natives but the total number of married Natives for whom accommodation of this sort is provided is only 1,518. All such accommodation is eagerly made use of by Natives.

977.

The compound system on the gold and diamond mines involves separation of the inmates from their family life for the period of their service. Officials of the Native Affairs Department, and of the gold mining industry, consider that it is not to-day feasible nor desirable to make provision for large numbers of Natives working on the mines to have their families with them.

978.

In Natal there are certain regulations applying to farms in the sugar belt, issued under the Public Health Act, in regard to housing, but these have not been generally or effectively applied. As to the sugar mills, housing is controlled under the Native Labour Regulation Act.

979.

On the railways married quarters are provided on the Cape Midland system for 400 Natives, in Johannesburg for 103 families, and in Pretoria, at a rental of 10s. per month and 2s. 6d. for light per month, for 66 Natives. In other parts accommodation is not provided for married Natives.

980.

The general practice in farming areas is that the Native puts up a Native type of hut, with materials obtained on the farm.

981.

The value of good housing in attracting and keeping Native labourers is frequently overlooked. In certain areas very satisfactory results in attracting Native labourers have been obtained by employers providing good housing.

982.

In Zululand the substitution of wattle and daub huts for the old Zulu huts is considered by the Rev. John L. Dube as representing a deterioration in the standard of housing in the country and detrimental to the health of the people.

983.

The problem of making all Natives live in their locations is difficult, if not insuperable. In many cases where a Native's work begins very early or ends very late, the distance of the locations from his place of work makes it impossible while he retains that work and while the European employer wants him for it, to live in a location. This is especially true of the Langa Location in Capetown.

984.

The Urban Areas Act has led to a considerable improvement in the housing of the Natives in most towns. As we have shown in the portion of our Report dealing with urban conditions local authorities which erect houses for Natives have to charge sub-economic rents because the tenants cannot pay an economic rent. Even so the rent charged is generally such a severe tax on the resources of the Natives that large numbers of them are driven to take in lodgers. For this reason there is frequently overcrowding even in the new locations, with the likelihood of the growth of slum conditions in them.

985.

The houses provided by local authorities are, because of the cost, small, two rooms being the usual size. Such houses do not permit of privacy, a position which is aggravated when, as frequently happens, there are lodgers as well.

986.

Housing bears an important relation to the question of the employment of female domestic servants. Housing for domestics is usually provided in a building situated apart from the dwelling of the employer. Such housing is often unsuitable for an unprotected female employee. In Johannesburg, where three hostels have been provided in different suburbs for Native female servants, it has been made possible to employ Native female domestic servants in those suburbs.

987.

Housewives living sufficiently near to the Native locations to make it possible for their domestic servants to go home every night are beginning to make use of female Native domestic servants.

Indigency and Mutual Aid.

988.

The poverty of individuals which occurs among Europeans is not common among Natives. Their communal system cares for all its people. Broadly speaking there is no starvation because each man will share his food with others. This is the explanation of so very little having been needed from public funds in the way of poor relief for Natives, despite the low standard of income of large numbers of them. One Native witness expressed the Native view forcibly in the phrase that among the Natives "a needy family was a disgrace to the State". Instances were quoted in towns of a Native who had work giving it up for a few days in favour of another who is unemployed. In this way, while helping each other, they avoid being ordered to leave the town because of not being employed.

989.

Such poverty as exists, therefore, applies to the whole of the community among which it occurs, but urban conditions are beginning to break down the communal traditions, and instances were quoted to us of Natives who found it necessary to hide what food they have, because sharing would tend to leave them without the necessaries for their own subsistence. When Natives are trying to live in urban areas on the wages they receive there, the coming of friends puts a strain on their limited resources. Evidence led in Capetown seemed to show that among Natives there, separated as they are from their own tribal background, the breakdown of communal sharing has proceeded at a rapid rate.

990.

The Native bears his own indigency problem as a rule, but many Magistrates report the need for a poor relief fund for Natives in their areas.

Home for Aged, Infirm, and Maimed Natives.

991.

A Home for aged, infirm and maimed Natives and for children who have no relatives capable of supporting them has been established at Driehoek, near Germiston. It is administered by a Welfare Committee and meets the needs of a class of Native which deserves the greatest sympathy. The average number accommodated is approximately sixty. The institution has great value as a social measure. The inmates are not required to find any payment at all as they are just the derelicts of employment. The Home at Driehoek is financed by the Deferred Pay Board and by contributions from the City Council of Johannesburg, some other local authorities on the Reef, and by private individuals, with a grant from the Provincial Administration in respect of paupers, and for committed children from the Union Department of Education.

992.

The maintenance of every poor white or every poor Native who cannot support himself has to be contributed by someone. The European population cannot face the prospect of having to maintain many hundreds of thousands of indigent Natives. The growth of poverty among the Natives, unless it is checked and reversed, will give rise to very difficult problems of poor relief. The improvement of the economic position of the Natives will, on the other hand, lead to an improvement in the level of the national wealth.

PART V

WAGE REGULATION

Wage Regulation.

993. The second of your Commission's Terms of Reference directs us to inquire into and report upon:

The application to Natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment and for dealing with industrial disputes and/or the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purposes.

994. We have drawn attention in paragraphs 529-564 to the difficulties which face the urbanized Native in his attempt to raise his standard of living in the face of the competition of his tribal brethren, subsidized as they are by the income from their tribal holdings. We cannot, however, agree that the extension of the laws relating to the regulation of wages represents a suitable way of dealing with this question. We are, on the contrary, of opinion that in the chaotic state of the Native labour market, which we have brought out fully in our Report, the introduction of wage regulation for Natives will tend not only to increase the chaos, but also to inflict grave harm on the economic structure of the country generally.

995. We set out below the reasons which have influenced us in coming to this conclusion.

Conditions of Native Labour Market not Conducive to Wage Regulation.

996. The continual shock to the creation of a permanent labour-force resulting from the drift of the tribal Natives into and out of the urban areas has been explained. Whatever wage regulation is introduced will always be influenced by the subversive factor of the continuous disintegrating effects, on the urban labour market, of large numbers of casual labourers from Reserves and farms.

997. To attempt to regulate the wage factor, when the labour-supply factor is subject to influences which defy regulation, can only have a harmful effect on the economic life of the community as a whole. Wage regulation at all times reduces the elasticity of the economic system and the power of the community to adjust itself to changing circumstances. In European countries where wage regulation has been applied, the labour supply-factor is reasonably calculable. The position in the Union as regards Native labour has no such stability, and unless such stability can be achieved we consider that wage regulation can hardly be regarded as even a possibility.

Need for Elasticity.

998. The need for elasticity and power of adjustment is particularly of importance in a period of falling prices, when these factors are at a premium owing to their value for the restoration of economic health. The Union has suffered for a considerable period from falling prices, and the economic outlook of the world gives little confidence in the view that this process will be reversed in the near future. To put a greater strain on the economic machinery in such a period would be very unwise.

Regulation and Economic Health.

999. Regulation in matters economic followed "laissez faire" on account of the inadequacy of the latter to provide social justice. Its object seems, however, to have been completely forgotten. It is no longer regarded as an instrument for furthering the economic health of the community, but as a lever with which to re-distribute wealth, even at times at the cost of economic health. In a period of falling prices real wages rise if nominal wages remain stationary. The avowed object of those who desire wage regulation for the Natives is to increase their nominal wages. When their real wages are rising, and the fall in prices is inflicting a very heavy burden on those whose duty it is to keep the wheels of industry in motion, it is scarcely a proper time to introduce a further rise.

Tendency to Drift to Towns.

1000. The tendency of the Natives to drift to the towns, and to prefer town jobs to mining and farm work, is almost certain to be strengthened by improved pay in such jobs. There can be no doubt that one must expect that more attractive conditions in occupations for which the Natives already have a marked preference will tend to draw more Natives to them.

1001. Your Commissioners are all agreed that the increasing urbanization of the Natives would not be to their advantage. The introduction of wage regulation would not only encourage the present strong tendency to urbanization, but it would make the development of the Reserves more difficult, which your Commissioners unanimously consider to be the most hopeful method of dealing with the Native economic problem.

1002. We consider that whatever advantage the urban Natives might obtain from increased wages, under wage regulation, could easily be lost through reduction of employment, through the liability which they always shoulder of maintaining from their own means those out of work, and through the effects of an increasing drift to the towns on the salutary objects of the Urban Areas Act.

The Example of Bloemfontein.

1003. Some witnesses argued that no diminution of employment would result from an increase in wages, and quoted Bloemfontein where there has been wage regulation for Natives for some time, to support their contention. We cannot, however, agree that there is any good ground for departing from the well-established maxim that more expensive things are used less freely. As regards Bloemfontein, there was an increase in employment after the introduction of a minimum wage. But this increase synchronized with a considerable extension of building operations, which included important public works. Even so, the Superintendent of the Location estimated that in February, 1931, there were 1,500 to 1,600 male Natives unemployed, which represents about 15 per cent. of the male Native population apart from boys of school-going age. He expressed the view that when the building contracts were completed unemployment would become aggravated. Subsequent figures supplied by him show that there was a steady decline in employment since February, and that in July, 1931, the number of Natives employed was about 800 lower than in February.

1004. As regards the Urban Areas Act, we have shown in our Report that the Union is now engaged on an intensive campaign of reclamation of Native slums. To put the strain on this important social work, which would result from increasing urbanization of Natives, would be a very great disservice to the Native population.

Margin of Production in Mining and Farming.

1005. The reactions of wage regulation on industries in which it does not directly apply must also be considered. These would be primarily mining and farming. These industries have this in common, that the margin of productive enterprise is determined largely by the productiveness of natural resources. An artificially created higher level of urban wages must necessarily increase wages in these industries. This would depress marginal production, of which there is a great deal not only in respect of low-grade ore, but also of all classes of farming, and would thus directly reduce the national income. This would not be to the advantage either of the country as a whole, or of the Natives as a group.

1006. We therefore recommend that the laws applicable to the regulation of wages, either in their present state or in an amended form, be not extended to Natives in urban areas.

1007. Messrs. Anderson and Lucas and Dr. Roberts are not in agreement with the views of the majority of the Commission on the second Term of Reference, paragraphs 993-1006. Their views are set out in the following paragraphs, 1010-1056.

1008. Mr. Lucas gives his views on further matters falling within this Term of Reference in an Addendum. See page 221.

1009.

Messrs. Anderson and Lucas and Dr. Roberts report as follows on the Commission's second Term of Reference:

1010.

The fact that wages paid to Natives are generally low creates certain tendencies which it is important to recognize. Thus there is too often an absence of incentive to increase the efficiency of Native labour; it is apt to be used wastefully; the employer is inclined to continue the use of manual labour instead of introducing mechanical improvements which would in the long run add to efficiency and economical production. The undoubted existence of these tendencies in the field of industry and employment in the Union, added to the fact that the consuming power of the Native is correspondingly low, thus limiting the market for production and trade, makes it doubtful whether the low paid Native labour supply is an undiluted asset to the country. The questions raised in this paragraph have been fully discussed in the Report, more particularly in paragraphs 526, 544, 551, 560, and 563.

1011.

On the other hand the existence of a large supply of labour on a low economic basis of living and payment does make possible and encourage certain forms of industry which could hardly be carried on without it.

1012.

The low grade ore mining of the Union is the principal instance of this, and much of the agriculture of the Union is in a similar position. The place which these industries hold in the economic life of the country makes it necessary to consider their position with extreme care when regulation of wages of unskilled labour is contemplated. We believe that it is possible to make use of the machinery of the Wage Act to raise the level of wages of urban Native labourers, and that if this is done gradually and circumspectly there need be no damage to the industries just mentioned.

1013.

In considering any question affecting the employment of Europeans and Natives, the outstanding factor is the wide gap between the wages paid to Europeans and those paid to Natives, the gap corresponding largely to the difference between the standard of living of the European and that of the tribal Native. This question has been dealt with in paragraphs 527 and 528 of the Report.

1014.

In addition to the effects there mentioned there is another. If a skilled employee loses his occupation he has not the position of a labourer to fall back upon. In Europe, if a skilled artisan becomes unemployed, he can, without any great hardship, accept for a time a labourer's post, because the labourer's wage is based on the maintenance of a standard of living similar to his own. It is, however, not only the spread between the wages of skilled Europeans and Native labourers' wages which operates in this way; the difference in the standard of living of the poorest white and the tribal Native on the generally accepted view, is still not less than a ratio of two to one. Native wages have generally been fixed for a standard of living comparable more with that of the tribal Native than that of a person living in a civilized community. Where 2s. 6d. a day is regarded as quite a reasonable, and in many instances a very good wage for a Native labourer, it is generally considered that not less than 5s. a day can be offered to a white labourer for unskilled work.

1015.

There is a very big margin between the white unskilled worker's minimum of 5s. per day, and the Native's wage of 2s. 6d. a day, or in many cases considerably less, which is not covered by any increased return in the value of the services rendered. The effect is obviously a direct incentive to the employment of Natives in preference to whites, and although for many years efforts have been made to encourage the employment of whites on unskilled work in place of Natives, no appreciable success has been achieved in any but Government occupations, where the loss in increased costs has been borne out of general revenue or from railway rates.

1016.

The only openings which could be filled by the large class of Europeans who are not capable of becoming skilled workers, are labouring occupations or occupations for which the necessary skill is easily acquired. Nearly all such openings, outside Government service, are to-day filled by Native workers. The poorer Europeans, therefore, have a very direct interest in the economic position of the Natives.

1017.

Unless the Natives are assisted to become so prosperous in their own areas that they will not come out to work for Europeans, thus necessitating the employment of Europeans on unskilled work, or unless the Government is prepared to subsidize the employment of European unskilled workers to the extent of approximately 50 per cent. of their cost, there can be little prospect of employment for that large body of Europeans that is not capable of, or not trained for, work above that of labourers. The direct welfare of large numbers of Europeans, and the almost as direct welfare of all the European population in the Union, therefore, depends upon the lessening of the gap between the wages of Europeans and of Natives; and as Europeans cannot live on the wages at present paid to Natives this involves an improvement of the economic position of the Native population of the Union.

1018.

Economic and other pressure on the Natives in the Reserves and in other rural areas has been driving Natives into the urban areas where the difficulties, due to their presence, are now becoming almost insuperable. The solution of these problems can, in our opinion, be attained only by the improvement of the economic position of the Natives throughout the Union. To obtain this improvement, it is necessary that the proposals of the Commission for the development of the Reserves shall be carried out wholeheartedly and generously. If this course is followed, the position of the Natives in the urban areas would in time be materially improved.

1019.

At present, the very large supply of Native labourers in the towns makes it possible for employers to keep Native wages at a very low level. Even with any likely improvement in the rural areas, the improvement in the urban Natives' position will not be such as to enable the standard of living of most Natives to rise, without assistance, to anything like the level of the standard of living of the poorest whites. The machinery necessary to bring about a rise in the Natives' standard of living can only be provided through some form of wage regulating legislation. However true it may be that work which is now performed by low-paid man-power can be more economically performed by well-paid employees aided by mechanical power, the pressure necessary to produce the change from man-power to mechanical power is not likely, in any reasonable time, to operate sufficiently to bring about the change; and even if such change were made, there would still be the tendency to employ as few well-paid whites as possible and to substitute, for them, wherever possible, low-paid Native workers.

1020.

In the increased production which can be obtained by efficient organization and careful training of employees there is in most industries scope for the provision of higher rates of pay than rule to-day for unskilled and semi-skilled work. In the training for greater productiveness of Native employees and of the Europeans whose only future is that of labourers, there lies the possibility of great expansion in all branches of South African industries at wages which will make possible a civilized standard of living for both Europeans and Natives.

1021.

As has been shown in the general Report, it is improbable that a degree of segregation which will involve removal of the whole of the urban Native population from any town can be attained. Prosperity in the Reserves should help appreciably to reduce that population in urban areas by attracting numbers from them to the Reserves, but the fact must be faced that, for good or ill, there is and in all probability there will always be a relatively large Native population in each urban centre, where there is such a population to-day. There is, therefore, a poor prospect of employment for European labourers except where, in fair competition, they can give services equivalent in cost to those given by Native labourers. They must be prepared to lower their standard of living to that of the Natives, or steps must be taken to raise, as rapidly as possible, though with the greatest care to avoid dislocation of industry, the standard of the Natives to a level at which the employer will not be driven on the score of cost to prefer them to Europeans. The question then being decided, not only in justice to the Native, but also in the interests of the Europeans, that the Natives' standard of living must be raised, there remains to consider the method to be adopted.

1022.

In urban areas the Native is, in the interests of the general health and welfare of the community, required—at any rate in theory—to live in houses and in surroundings which satisfy the requirements of the health bye-laws. To achieve this it is under existing conditions necessary to subsidize his

housing out of the general revenue of the local authority. This amounts to a subsidization of employers of Natives by the community as a whole, while there is lost all the incentive of personal interest on the employer, which the necessity of paying higher wages would exercise upon him to improve his efficiency, and of the personal interest of the employee, which the prospect of providing out of his wages his own home, would exercise upon him to make him a better workman. The slum problem, the housing problem, the general problem of raising the Native standard of living to approximate more nearly to that of a simple European standard of living, are dependent mainly upon the Native's wage level. We feel little doubt that the Native is capable of greater efficiency than circumstances have as yet either encouraged or allowed him to exhibit. The objective, therefore, should be the raising of both his efficiency and his wages, the one reacting on the other, thereby securing a higher Native standard of living and consuming power which will be as much to the advantage of the community as of the Native. On the question of subsidization of Native wages see also paragraph 506 above.

1023.

The part, however, which State regulation of wages can play in bringing about general economic improvement, is limited; if applied injudiciously or too quickly or with insufficient comprehension of the economic and human factors which at present largely govern industry and employment, the result might be quite other than that hoped for. It is as much a two-edged weapon as is a protective tariff. But a country which believes in and makes use of a "scientific tariff" should not be afraid of the use of scientific wage regulation. The arguments for the application of the Wage Act to unskilled Native labour were set forth in the Report of the Economic and Wage Commission (1925). We believe they are sound, and that the advantages of making use of such regulation outweigh its disadvantages.

1024.

The Wage Act, for some time to come, will be more suitable for regulating Native wages than the Industrial Conciliation Act. Under the latter Act, wages have been laid down for unskilled workers in the baking and the furniture trades on the Witwatersrand, while wages for dock labourers, a large number of whom are Natives, have been prescribed in Capetown. Under the Wage Act wages have been determined for unskilled workers in a number of individual industries, but only in one area, Bloemfontein, have the wages of unskilled workers as a class in a large group of industries been determined by law.

1025.

The need for provisions such as those contained in the Wage Act to enable effect to be given to agreements upon wage rates was well illustrated in Port Elizabeth. In that town in 1929, a conference consisting of representatives of the Town Council, Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Industries, and the Master Builders' Association, together with a number of Native representatives, agreed that for Port Elizabeth there would be a minimum wage for unskilled workers of not less than 3s. 6d. per day until 1st June, 1930, after which date the minimum wage should be 4s. per day. The Town Council and a number of individuals in the other organizations represented at the conference adhered to this recommendation, but the general body of employers in Port Elizabeth failed to carry out the agreement made at the conference, and the wages of large numbers of Natives in Port Elizabeth are now below the minimum then agreed upon. Apart from the serious consequences of the great dissatisfaction caused among the Natives by the conference minimum not being accepted and acted on generally, those employers who are paying that minimum feel that they are placed at a serious disadvantage in relation to competitors who are paying very much lower wages. By applying the provisions of the Wage Act, effect could have been given to the conclusions of the conference, which obviously would have had the support of a responsible body of public opinion. Without the application of the machinery of the Wage Act, it will not be possible to give effect to any such agreement as was come to at Port Elizabeth conference.

1026.

Capetown furnishes another instance where public opinion favouring better wages for unskilled workers is unable, when there is no means to give effect to that opinion, to prevail against the forces working for low wages.

1027.

In 1925, the Capetown Master Builders' Association, as a party to the local Industrial Council for the building trade, agreed to a minimum wage for builders' labourers of 7½d. per hour, or 27s. 6d. per week of 4½ hours, this wage being laid down as one of the provisions of the Industrial Council Agreement for the building trade in the Capetown area. In subsequent

agreements, the wage for builders' labourers was not included, but the Master Builders of Capetown volutarily agreed among themselves to continue paying that minimum wage. The minimum wage for labourers in Capetown has for many years been from 4s. to 5s. per day, and the Master Builders, in their agreement, were merely maintaining the existing rate for unskilled workers. Since 1925, a number of large building contracts have been given out in Capetown by public tender. A number of contractors from other Provinces, where the building labourer's wage is about 2s. 6d. per day, or 15s. per week, tendered for these contracts on the basis of such a wage. A number of large contracts was secured by these contractors who then imported into Capetown Native labourers from their headquarters at wages of 2s. 6d. to 3s. per day. There are, therefore, in operation in Capetown two different wage levels for the same class of work, a wage to Natives from those other Provinces of 2s. 6d. to 3s. per day, and a wage for Capetown Coloured men and Natives of 7½d. an hour, or 5s. for an eight-hour day.

1028.

It is obvious, with the influx in recent years of such Natives to the towns, that, in the absence of some intervention, the wage of Capetown Coloured and Native labourers must be reduced to near the up-country Native wage level. This prospect is not confined to Coloured and Native workers. The Government has tried during the past three or four years to introduce into the building trade in the erection of Government buildings European labourers at the rate of 1s. an hour. Difficult as it is to maintain the employment of European labourers at that rate when the prevailing rate is only 7½d. an hour, it is likely to be still more difficult if that rate is reduced to about 4d. an hour.

1029.

Without the operation of machinery such as that provided in the Wage Act, the standard of living of the Coloured people in Capetown must be substantially reduced, without any compensating advantage to the community as a whole, and with all the distress which such a reduction will involve, while the position of Europeans, already parlous, will become still worse. In view of the serious position in Capetown because of the low wage level of Native labourers, which has already led to a reduction in the standard of living and the level of wages of its Coloured population, and to a large and continuing drain upon its financial resources in the need to provide and subsidize the housing scheme at Langa, the Capetown City Council in 1930 applied to the Government for a determination under the Wage Act for unskilled workers' wages there.

1030.

In Durban, where it was admitted before the Commission by the representatives of the Chamber of Industries that Natives are underpaid, and where more or less serious rioting has at times occurred, the Borough Council applied to the Government at the beginning of 1930 for a determination under the Wage Act for unskilled worker's wages.

1031.

After the riots which occurred among the Natives in the Bloemfontein area in 1925, the Bloemfontein Town Council appointed a Commission called the "Native Wages Commission" to inquire into and make recommendations on the question of a fair basic wage for unskilled Native labour in Bloemfontein. This Commission recommended a minimum wage of 3s. per day and asked that the Wage Board be approached to make that rate binding on all employers.

1032.

Immediately after the appointment of the Wage Board in 1926, the Town Clerk of Bloemfontein asked for the application of the Wage Act with a view to getting wages for Native unskilled labour in the Bloemfontein area settled on a permanent basis. In his letter to the Wage Board he said:—

"As you are aware, there are thousands of unskilled Native labourers in Bloemfontein, and we wish to prevent any dissatisfaction taking root in the minds of Natives through instigations from representatives from Native organizations that they are not being fairly treated."

1033.

During the course of the Wage Board's investigation at Bloemfontein in 1927, representatives of employers and of employees agreed to the Board recommending a minimum wage of 3s. 6d. per day to come into operation on 1st January, 1930, the minimum wage in the meantime to be 3s. per day until 30th June, 1929, and 3s. 3d. per day until 31st December, 1929. A determination for unskilled workers' wages was duly made in terms of that agreement, and is now in operation.

1034.

No complaints against this determination were made by any of the witnesses who appeared before the Commission, while many of them expressed satisfaction at its results.

1035.

From the facts given above it seems clear to us that in spite of a wide measure of agreement among employers in the larger towns that the wage level of unskilled Native labour is unreasonably low, there is little or no prospect within a reasonable time, and in the absence of a regulated wage determination, of any improvement in the rate of wages.

1036.

Effective combination of Native labourers to protect their interests cannot in the present state of development be looked for. Further, the statutory restrictions contained in the provisions of the Masters and Servants Acts and Native Labour Regulation Act would debar them legally from making use of the strike weapon, which is normally open to wage earners.

1037.

The objections have been urged that the present conditions of depression make any wage regulation specially difficult and dangerous and that the fall of commodity prices has effected a general rise in real Native wages which makes any present raising of their money wages unnecessary.

1038.

As to the first of these points we are bound to consider the question put to us from the point of view of normal economic conditions. We cannot assume that the present depression is permanent but, whether permanent or temporary, both these difficulties would necessarily come within the consideration of the wage regulating authority. It is reasonable to believe that they would be given due weight in any award made by it.

1039.

Even allowing for the fall in prices which has occurred and its effect upon the real wages of urban Natives, the present level of their wages is in our opinion too low to provide for a decent standard of living for a Native with a family. A common wage in Johannesburg at present is £3. 10s. a month with nothing found. Out of that sum the Native living at the Western Native Township, where there is a population of nearly 15,000, must pay 25s. a month for rent, 10s. a month for transport, and 7s. 8d. a month for his Poll Tax. That leaves him, for food, clothing, education for his children, and any other necessary expenditure, a sum of £1. 13s. 4d. Dr. A. J. Orenstein, Medical Director of the Rand Mines, Ltd., who is especially competent to speak on the subject, considers that on the Rand £3 is necessary for a man, his wife, and two children for food alone, as a minimum to provide a diet consistent with reasonable maintenance of health.

1040.

Objection is taken to the application to unskilled workers of wage regulating legislation on the grounds that it would encourage the migration of Natives to the towns and thus cause further unemployment of Natives there; that it would make the lot of the farmer, who is now struggling for an existence, harder than ever; that it would add to the burdens of the local authorities because they would have to provide additional housing; that it would tend to urbanize and industrialize Natives faster than is happening at present; and that the stress should be laid on developing the Natives in their own Reserves.

1041.

As far as the drift of Natives to the towns is concerned, your Commissioners have made their position clear in the general Report that that drift can best be prevented and reversed by improving the condition of Natives in the Reserves and other non-urban areas; but however successful that policy may be, its success will not for a considerable time become apparent in material results, or in a reduction of the Native population in the towns by a migration to rural areas.

1042.

The Natives are by nature and tradition a rural people. The factors causing migration to the towns are mainly factors of economic pressure, such as have been causing migration among our European population, as well as among European populations in all other countries, but the pressure in South Africa on the Natives, because of their love of a rural life, has to be much greater to urge them to towns than it has to be on Europeans to urge them there.

MESSRS. ANDERSON AND LUCAS AND DR. ROBERTS.

1043.

When the policy recommended by your Commission has been carried to a successful issue, the Natives in rural conditions will have achieved a standard of living which will appeal to and attract them more than the ability in the towns to live on a simple European standard of living, and any question of accentuating the drift to the towns will cease to be of importance. In the meantime, however, there are the urgent problems in the towns which must be attended to; and these cannot wait for the successful application of the policy recommended by your Commission in respect of the Reserves.

1044.

The economic position of the Natives in towns is too difficult, and an improvement of that position is urgently needed. There remains then to consider the question of the effect, upon the townward drift, of wage regulation to improve the position of urban Natives, pending the development of the policy recommended for Reserves.

1045.

As we have shown above, in only one area in the Union, namely Bloemfontein, has there been any general wage regulation for unskilled workers. There is no evidence to show that the improvement in Native wages in Bloemfontein, as a result of this wage determination, has led to any increase in the migration of Natives to that town. In Bloemfontein after the enactment of the wage determination at the end of 1929, there was an increase in 1930 of over one thousand Natives employed on unskilled work. There were a number of local reasons for this, and it cannot be claimed that this increase in employment was due to the wage determination. What information there is about the population figures for Bloemfontein, shows no increase in the migration to that town. There have always been many Natives employed in Bloemfontein who have come in for more or less short periods from the farms to earn money. In 1931 the number of Natives employed on unskilled work reverted to what it was when the determination first came into operation, but a striking fact in respect of Bloemfontein is that the number of outside Natives coming in to work there has lately shown a marked tendency to decrease. The Manager of the Native Administration Department of Bloemfontein, reported in August, 1931, as follows:

"I would, however, estimate the total number of outside boys, including those issued with permits to seek work, to average 200 per month, although the figures point to a decrease during the past three months."

1046.

The subjoined statement shows the number of Natives employed in the urban area of Bloemfontein during the period 1st February to 31st July, 1931:

NOTE: L. = Local Natives.
O. = Outside Natives.
T. = Total.

| | February. | March. | April. | May. | June. | July. |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Natives in employment at beginning of month.... | 7,578 | 7,321 | 7,100 | 6,758 | 6,665 | 6,744 |
| 2. Natives issued with permits to seek work during current month | L. 522 O. 326 T. 848 | L. 574 O. 280 T. 854 | L. 489 O. 182 T. 671 | L. 379 O. 141 T. 520 | L. 425 O. 149 T. 574 | L. 412 O. 156 T. 568 |
| 3. Natives issued with service contracts during current month | L. 380 O. 190 T. 570 | L. 396 O. 202 T. 598 | L. 311 O. 116 T. 429 | L. 374 O. 123 T. 496 | L. 363 O. 132 T. 495 | L. 317 O. 88 T. 405 |
| 4. Natives discharged during month..... | 827 | 839 | 771 | 509 | 416 | 569 |
| 5. Total number in employment at end of month. | 7,321 | 7,100 | 6,758 | 6,665 | 6,744 | 6,580 |

From this statement it will be seen that there was a reduction of more than 50 per cent. in July, as compared with February, in the number of outside Natives, i.e. Natives from outside the Municipal area, seeking and obtaining work in Bloemfontein.

1047.

The evidence also shows that the migration to Kroonstad, where there is no wage determination, has been relatively greater than anything that has happened in Bloemfontein.

1048.

Although farm wages in many parts of the Orange Free State are extremely low, the facts do not show any increase in migration to Bloemfontein as a result of the increase in wages under the wage determination. There was also no evidence that farmers in the neighbourhood of that town had found any shortage in the supply of farm labourers or had had to pay any higher wages because of the determination.

1049.

As far as the drift to the towns is caused by economic pressure, and that is the chief cause, such drift would take place even if the present level of wages were lowered. The urge now is the need for ready cash to meet certain pressing calls, such as money to pay the General Tax, money to provide for food, money to provide for clothing. The evidence shows that, for all practical purposes, all Natives who can be spared from the Reserves, even at great loss to their development, already go out to work. It further shows that the conditions in many farming areas are such that Natives must leave those farms to go to the towns, temporarily or permanently, to earn money—and many of those who go temporarily now remain permanently.

1050.

The married Natives on the farms find it extremely difficult to move from the farms to the towns. They are tied down by the need to provide accommodation for their families, and by their attachment to cattle, for which they can get grazing on the farms but not in the towns.

1051.

We, therefore, think there is no justification for the fear that the raising of the level of Native wages in the towns will aggravate the present townward drift either from the Reserves or from the farms.

1052.

An increase in Native wages in the towns might even have the unexpected effect of reducing the number of Natives coming to town. Those Natives, and they constitute a large number, who come to town because of the need of a certain sum of money, might return home when they had obtained that sum, or, if they stayed to earn a larger sum would be able to live longer on it at home before they would need again to go to work in a town.

1053.

It is also urged that there would be evasion, by unscrupulous employers, of any wage determinations that might be made. It is probably true that evasion does take place, just as, despite a general legal prohibition against them, murders are committed. If a reasonable measure of enforcement at a reasonable cost were not possible, this might be a good ground for repealing industrial legislation, but the argument that some evasion might take place is hardly a valid reason for not applying industrial legislation to Natives while retaining it for Europeans.

1054.

Economic principles are not affected by differences of race or colour, and attempts to apply industrial legislation to Europeans to the exclusion of Natives are likely to fail. The Industrial Conciliation Act by excluding Natives from the definition of "employee" made that attempt with unfortunate results for European employees in the baking and furniture trades. In them industrial council agreements laid down minimum wages for European workmen. It became a criminal offence to employ a European at a wage lower than that prescribed by the agreement, but no such sanction applied to the employment of a Native, however low his wage. There resulted the dismissal of Europeans in posts where special skill was not needed, and the substitution for them of low-paid Natives.

1055.

We, therefore, recommend that the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment should be made to apply to Natives in the industries to which those laws are applicable, due care being taken not to proceed so rapidly as to prevent trade and industry from being able to adapt themselves to any changes.

1056. We agree with the conclusion of the Economic and Wage Commission that it is not practicable to bring employees in agriculture within the operation of wage regulation.

PART VI

SHARE OF NATIVES

IN

PUBLIC REVENUE

AND IN

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

FOURTH TERM OF REFERENCE.

1057.

Your Commission's fourth Term of Reference reads :

"What proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the Native population directly and indirectly. What proportion of the public expenditure may be regarded as necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to, the Native population."

1058.

Your Commission experienced great difficulty in giving an exact connotation to the terms "necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to, the Native population." It is not usual in treatises on Public Finance to consider taxation and public expenditure from the point of view of any one class of persons: the expenditure which the State considers necessary is regarded as a charge against the whole community, and it is the task of the Government to distribute this equitably among the various classes of persons which constitute the State. The view generally taken is that if expenditure from which any class of persons (e.g. old age pensioners) gain a differential advantage, is considered necessary, the taxes required for meeting it may be raised from another class, even if no individuals in that class (e.g., payers of super-tax) derive any direct benefit from such expenditure. Public expenditure is, therefore, joint expenditure, not expenditure in which any particular class has to raise the whole amount of money expended by the State on that class. The question whether such expenditure is necessitated by the presence of any class of persons does not therefore normally arise, because it is not considered to be a true criterion of the amount of revenue which should be raised from a particular class. In dealing with this Term of Reference your Commission has taken the view that what is required is an analysis of the existing state of affairs, rather than an investigation of the question as to what taxes the Natives ought to pay, which question we do not regard as falling within this Term of Reference.

1059.

It is therefore necessary for this purpose to regard the Natives and the rest of the community as separate units, and to distribute the expenditure on as reasonable a basis as possible between the units. There is no difficulty when the expenditure is incurred entirely in the interest of one of these classes, such as expenditure from the Native Development Fund. When, however, the expenditure is a joint expenditure in respect of which there is no information which may assist in determining whether either unit derives a differential advantage, it becomes necessary to fix on some arbitrary ratio.

1060.

We wish to stress that, in making the calculations required for dealing with this Term of Reference, we were faced in many instances with an entire absence of information. We spent a considerable time in analysing in minute detail all figures on which we could bring to bear any information at our disposal. None the less, the final result can be regarded only as a very rough approximation. We give a certain amount of detail in respect of the more important items, so as to enable anyone who wishes to go over the same ground to understand the methods which, in the absence of reliable data, we have adopted to arrive at our estimates.

1061.

The material for determining the most reasonable ratio is very scanty. The late Professor Lehfeldt in his "National Resources of South Africa" estimated that the National Income of the Union in 1918 was £137,200,000, of which he ascribed £30,000,000 or approximately 22 per cent. to the non-European population. Your Commission considers that the share of the Indian and Coloured population in this latter total will considerably exceed the proportion of their numbers to that of the Natives. The former classes not only have a higher earning capacity per head, but they are remunerated largely on a cash basis. On the other hand a large part of the wealth of Natives consists of cattle of a low income earning capacity. The Union also receives a certain amount of revenue from dividends paid to persons resident abroad, and this has the effect of reducing the liability of taxpayers resident in the Union generally and therefore of the Natives in particular.

1062.

Bearing these considerations in mind we estimate the share of the Natives in the National Income as about one-eighth, and we have accordingly used this ratio in debiting against the Natives a share in the joint expenditure as defined above. This ratio is referred to below as the National Income Ratio (N.I.R.). Wherever we have found it possible to debit more accurate amounts against either unit we have done so.

1063.

For the purpose of our calculation we took the figures for the financial year 1929-30, the latest year for which audited accounts were available when our investigation began. It should be noted that this year was the peak year of Union Revenue and Expenditure, and that Customs receipts were very high.

1064.

A considerable number of non-Union Natives derive an income from employment in the Union. It is however quite impossible to separate this class from the rest of the Natives, and we have, therefore, treated them as Union Natives for the time being.

The total revenue and expenditure was as follows :

| Revenue and Expenditure, 1929-1930. | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | Revenue. £ | Expenditure. £ |
| Union..... | 30,496,458 | 24,414,770* |
| Provinces..... | 5,234,805 | 11,344,925 |
| TOTAL..... | £35,721,263 | £35,759,695 |

* Nett expenditure after deducting subsidies, which are included in the Provincial expenditure.

1065.

We estimate that the Native contributions to Revenue, Direct and Indirect, including a share in "Public Estate," are as follows :

REVENUE ALLOCATED TO NATIVES, 1929-1930.

Union :

| | £ | £ |
|------------------------------------|---------|------------------|
| Customs..... | 693,000 | |
| Excise..... | 237,000 | |
| Licences..... | 14,500 | |
| Stamp Duties..... | 10,000 | |
| Native Taxes..... | 993,600 | |
| Native Pass and Compound Fees..... | 27,800 | |
| Fines and Forfeitures..... | 133,000 | |
| Departmental Receipts..... | 80,000 | |
| Public Estate..... | 240,000 | |
| | | <u>2,428,900</u> |

[For details see Statements 1-3 below.]

Provinces :

| | £ | |
|------------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| Cape..... | 394,481 | |
| Natal..... | 139,200 | |
| Orange Free State..... | 46,598 | |
| Transvaal..... | 313,738 | |
| | | <u>894,017</u> |
| TOTAL..... | | <u>£3,322,917</u> |

[For details see Statements 4-5 below.]

1066.

Mr. Lucas, for the reason given in the note on Public Estate, paragraph 1095, considers that this amount should be increased by £510,000 which would make the total of revenue contributed by Natives, £3,832,917.

1067.

We estimate that the proportion of public expenditure reasonably chargeable to the Native population is as follows :

EXPENDITURE CHARGED AGAINST NATIVES, 1929-1930.

| | £ |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Union :</i> | 3,414,528 |
| <i>Provinces :</i> | |
| Cape..... | 404,248 |
| Natal..... | 150,204 |
| Orange Free State..... | 53,498 |
| Transvaal..... | 162,222 |
| TOTAL..... | <u>£4,184,700</u> |

[For details see Statements 6-9 below.]

1068.

We give below statements showing the revenue and expenditure of the Union and Provinces, the distribution under the different heads, and explanatory notes on the basis of allocation of the different items.

A. REVENUE.

STATEMENT 1.—CUSTOMS REVENUE.

1069.

The distribution of Customs Revenue between Natives and the rest of the community was a task of no ordinary difficulty, since in many cases there was next to no information to guide us in the investigation. In dealing with this subject your Commission divided the commodities into the following classes:

- (1) Commodities imported wholly or predominantly for Native consumption.
- (2) Articles which the Natives consume in sufficient quantities to make feasible a distribution of the amount of duty collected for each.
- (3) Articles which enter to a small extent into Native consumption.

1070.

In arriving at the amount of duty to be credited to Natives we bore in mind that even if an article is only ultimately used by the Native as a second-hand article, it still possesses a residual value, which would, therefore, include a residuum of the original duty paid. We bore in mind also that expenditure on imported goods, which goes into the cost of selling other articles (e.g. commercial vehicles) is also borne to some extent by the Natives and we made allowance therefor.

1071.

It is possible that some articles imported entirely for Native consumption may enter also into the consumption of poorer Europeans, Asiatics, or other Coloured. We have, however, no data by which the amount can be ascertained, and such amount is not likely to be large.

1072.

We give below the figures in the various classes:

CLASS I.—ARTICLES IMPORTED CHIEFLY FOR NATIVE CONSUMPTION.

| Tariff Item. | Commodity. | Gross Duty Paid. | Allocated to Natives. |
|--------------|---|------------------|-----------------------|
| | | £ | £ |
| 61 a i. | Cotton blankets, rugs, and shawls..... | 197,181 | 208,671 |
| a ii. | | 133,756 | |
| a iii. | | 52,883 | |
| 65 d. | Blanketing and Kaffir-sheeting..... | 87,242 | 52,883 |
| 69. | Second-hand overcoats, coats, vests, etc..... | 15,735 | 70,000 |
| | Beads..... | | 15,735 |
| | | | £347,289 |

CLASS II.—ARTICLES NORMALLY OF EUROPEAN CONSUMPTION USED TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT BY NATIVES.

| Tariff Item. | Article. | Gross Duty Received. | Allocated to Natives. |
|--------------------|---|----------------------|-----------------------|
| | | £ | £ |
| 2 b. | Yeast..... | 3,370 | 500 |
| 13 a. | Coffee..... | 88,408 | 9,000 |
| 19 e. | Tinned Fish..... | 59,491 | 6,000 |
| 32 a i. | Condensed Milk..... | 72,851 | 24,000 |
| 43 c. | Sugar..... | 170,378 | 64,141 |
| 45 b. | Tea, in bulk..... | 93,750 | 12,000 |
| 63 a. | Linoleum..... | 23,000 | 1,000 |
| 65 a and b i. | Ready-made Clothing..... | 177,534 | 19,000 |
| 65 b ii. | Underclothing (not shirts)..... | 521,332 | 20,000 |
| | Hats, Caps and Bonnets (new and second-hand) | 125,812 | 8,000 |
| 70. | Socks and Stockings..... | 82,442 | 2,000 |
| 76 (a)..... | Cotton Piece goods..... | 85,190 | 22,000 |
| 80. | Yarns, Cottons, Threads..... | 30,738 | 5,000 |
| 86 (a)..... | Bicycles and Tricycles..... | 48,532 | 10,000 |
| 87 ii. | Nails and Bolts..... | 13,336 | 1,000 |
| 99. | Cutlery..... | 206,093 | 4,000 |
| 129 and 130. | Motor-cars, Trucks, Chassis, and Spare Parts... | 980,630 | 20,000 |
| 172 b. | Glassware, Chinaware, Porcelain..... | 42,095 | 2,000 |
| 195. | Motor Spirit..... | 711,425 | 15,000 |
| 200 b ii. | Paraffin..... | 71,868 | 5,000 |
| 203. | Paints, Pigments, and Ground Colours..... | 72,471 | 2,000 |
| 231. | Medicinal Preparations..... | 64,192 | 8,000 |
| 251. | Boots and Shoes..... | 333,363 | 42,000 |
| 260. | Motor Tyres and Tubes..... | 426,166 | 8,000 |
| 260 c. | Bicycle Tyres and Tubes..... | 70,000 | 16,000 |
| 300. | Clocks and Watches..... | 49,673 | 1,000 |
| 303. | Gramophones, Phonographs, and Records..... | 111,193 | 3,000 |
| 305. | Musical Instruments..... | 47,700 | 2,000 |
| 335. | Unclassified..... | 258,665 | 10,000 |
| | TOTAL..... | | £341,641 |

CLASS III.—ARTICLES ENTERING BUT SLIGHTLY INTO NATIVE CONSUMPTION.

1073.

This class includes a large number of articles, none of which is sufficiently important to form the basis of a separate estimate. The more important articles are: Cocoa, Jam, Starch, Sago, Sweets, Perfumery, Superior Textiles, Household and Sanitary Buckets, Hardware, Spoons and Forks, Enamelware, Hollow-ware, Electric Light Bulbs, Lamps, Down-piping and Guttering, Sewing Machines, Stoves, Glass Paper, Wood, Brushes.

1074.

We have added £30,000 to represent duty paid by Natives on these articles. We arrive, therefore, at the following totals:

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Class I..... | £347,289 |
| Class II..... | 341,641 |
| Class III..... | 30,000 |
| TOTAL..... | <u>£718,930</u> |

1075.

The total, however, includes payments made to other States in the Customs Union. These payments represented 3·76 per cent. of the total in 1929-1930. To arrive at the figure for the Union, therefore, this percentage must be subtracted. This gives us a total of £692,824 or in round numbers £693,000.

STATEMENT 2.—EXCISE REVENUE.

1076.

The following Table shows the details of Revenue from Excise and the amount allocated by us to the Natives:

EXCISE REVENUE, 1929-1930.

| | Gross Revenue Collected. £ | Allocated to Natives. £ |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Spirits..... | 615,000 | 60,000 |
| Beer..... | 238,000 | — |
| Cigarettes and Tobacco..... | 899,000 | 90,000 |
| Sugar..... | 178,000 | 71,000 |
| Matches..... | 81,000 | 18,000 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 2,249 | — |
| TOTAL..... | | <u>£237,000</u> |

1077.

While prohibition is the law in regard to the use of spirits by Natives there is a considerable amount of illicit drinking in addition to drinking under the tot system. We have therefore allocated about 10 per cent. of the revenue to Natives.

1078.

In regard to sugar the Natal Sugar Millers' Association made available to the Commission the results of certain investigations carried out by them, from which it appeared that approximately 40 per cent. of the sugar consumed in the Union is consumed by the Native population. This percentage has been applied to Customs and Excise Revenue from sugar.

STATEMENT 3.—OTHER REVENUE OF THE UNION.

1079.

(a) Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, £4,073,231.

As the income of this Department is payment for the services which it renders, we consider that the expenditure should be set-off against the income and we have, therefore, allocated nothing under this head.

1080.

(b) Mining, £1,736,027.

See under Public Estate below.

1081.

(c) Licences, £150,836.

After examination of the details we have allocated £14,500 of this amount to the Natives.

1082.

(d) Income Tax, £6,713,557.

Death Duties, £647,540.

The amount paid by Natives is negligible.

1083.

(e) Stamp Duties and Fees, £1,012,762.

These duties and fees are chiefly payable in respect of transactions in which Natives have little share. We have, however, credited £10,000 to them out of this total.

1084.

(f) Native Taxes, £993,600.

The whole of this amount is allocated to Natives.

1085.

(g) Native Pass and Compound Fees, £55,668.

One half of this amount (£27,800) is allocated to Natives for the reason given in dealing with the same item under the Provinces. See Statement 4, Section 3.

1086.

(h) Quitrent and Farm Taxes, £116,708.

See Public Estate below.

1087.

(i) Forest Revenue, £93,877.

See Public Estate below.

1088.

(j) Rents of Government Property, £201,870.

Interest, £1,867,561.

See Public Estate below.

1089.

(k) Fines and Forfeitures, £133,000.

It appears from the Crime and Prison Statistics that while a much bigger percentage of Europeans pay their fines than do Natives convicted, the total number of the latter who pay fines is so large that we have halved this item between the two races.

1090.

(l) Departmental Receipts, £729,992.

A large part of this total is represented by Public Estate (see below), or by services which require no allocation. Of the latter item, however, £80,000 representing Prison Labour, has been allocated to Natives.

1091.

(m) Recoveries of Advances, £7,583.

See Public Estate below.

1092.

(n) Reparation Receipts, £100,000.

As we have debited nothing against Natives for war expenditure, we allocate nothing to them under this head.

1093.

(o) Miscellaneous, £446,450

The Natives are not concerned in any of these items except Mint and Reserve Bank profits, which are dealt with under Public Estate.

1094.

(p) Public Estate.

Included in the total of the revenue for 1929-1930, there was a sum of £1,927,000 which may be classified as "Public Estate." This includes such items as Mining Revenue not credited to Income Tax, State Mining, Quitrent, Forest Revenue, Rents of Government Property, Mint and Reserve Bank Profit, Recoveries of Advances, and a part of Departmental Receipts. (See *Official Year Book*, No. 12, p. 757.) Public Estate belongs to the community as a whole and we have, therefore, credited the N.I.R. of this amount to the Natives. The total is £240,000.

1095.

Mr. Lucas considers that even though a National Income Ratio may possibly give an approximately fair result in allocating between Natives and non-Natives items of revenue from taxation, it is not a reasonable basis in making a division of the income derived from national property such as mining or Crown land. The value of such property is created by the community as a whole. It is idle to contend, because there would be no mining if there were no Europeans in the Union, that therefore all that value must be considered to be the creation of Europeans. It would be equally idle to argue, because there would be little or no mining if there were no Natives to work in the mines, that therefore all or nearly all that value must be credited to the Natives. It is a joint

creation of both. When it is remembered that the Natives employed in mining outnumber the Europeans by more than ten to one, it would not be unfair to put the contribution of each at half. In view of the contention that certain mining land cannot be mined except with the aid of low paid labour, it would seem to be generally believed that, if Native miners' wages could be reduced, the State revenue from its mining rights would increase while the Natives' contribution would be less than when their wages were higher. In those circumstances it cannot be validly urged that an allocation of income from Public Mining Estate should be made on the basis of a share in the National Income, the principal part of the Natives' share in which is wages. It is suggested that the proportion of the income from Public Estate to be allocated as the Natives' contribution should be one half of that which comes from State property, while the National Income Ratio may be applied to other items. Included in the sum of £1,927,000 is a sum of £1,360,000 received under the head of Public Estate in respect of mining, State Mining, Quitrent and Farm Taxes, Forests, Rents of Government Property, the remainder—£567,000—consisting of Departmental Receipts, Recoveries of Advances, and Miscellaneous. One half of the former sum, or £680,000, and one-eighth of the latter, or £70,000, give a total of £750,000 to be allocated instead of £240,000 as the Natives' contribution in respect of Public Estate.

STATEMENT 4.—REVENUE OF THE PROVINCES.

EXPLANATION OF THE BASIS OF ALLOCATION OF THE PRINCIPAL ITEMS.

1096.

1. *Native Education Grant*.—This is the amount allocated to each Province from the General Account of the Native Development Fund to defray the expenses of Native education.

1097.

2. *Motor Vehicle Tax*.—In dealing with Customs Revenue we estimated that Natives pay 2 per cent. of the duty on motor vehicles, chassis, and spare parts. We therefore credit them with approximately the same percentage of this tax.

1098.

3. *Native Pass Fees*.—Under Act No. 10 of 1913, revenue derived from employers of Natives in the Transvaal, generally known as Pass Fees, is paid over to the Transvaal Provincial Administration. This payment would not seem to be directly connected with the services which the Province performs for Natives. These fees are payable by employers, but partake of the nature of a tax on wages. It is difficult to determine the incidence of this tax. The older economists considered that taxes on wages were always borne by the employers. The more modern view is, however, that where wages are above the level necessary for subsistence the tax is borne by the wage earner. In this case the tax falls in the first instance on the employer, but the fact that it has to be paid may, of course, influence the level of wages. It seems certain that the tax is not borne entirely by either employer or employee. In the absence of any definite data on which to make the allocation we have placed one-half to each section.

1099.

4. *Licences*.—The amount allocated to Natives has been arrived at after a detailed examination of the items.

STATEMENT 5.—ALLOCATION OF PROVINCIAL REVENUE.

Cape :

| | Total Tax. | Allocated to Natives. |
|-----------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| | £ | £ |
| Native Education Grant..... | 345,181 | 345,181 |
| Entertainment Tax..... | 94,059 | 5,000 |
| Immovable Property Tax..... | 252,959 | 10,000 |
| Motor Vehicle Tax..... | 346,533 | 7,000 |
| Fines and Forfeitures..... | 2,432 | 1,200 |
| Licences..... | 387,962 | 23,000 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 418,485 | 3,000 |
| TOTAL..... | | £394,381 |

Natal :

| | £ | £ |
|-----------------------------|---------|----------|
| Native Education Grant..... | 110,000 | 110,000 |
| Entertainment Tax..... | 45,614 | 3,000 |
| Motor Vehicle Tax..... | 168,838 | 3,300 |
| Wheel Tax..... | 7,508 | 500 |
| Fines and Forfeitures..... | 4,875 | 2,400 |
| Licences..... | 136,117 | 10,000 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 114,113 | 10,000 |
| TOTAL..... | | £139,200 |

Orange Free State:

| | £ | £ |
|-----------------------------|--------|----------------|
| Native Education Grant..... | 35,998 | 35,998 |
| Entertainment Tax..... | 15,391 | 1,000 |
| Motor Vehicle Tax..... | 9,557 | 200 |
| Wheel Tax..... | 75,904 | 3,000 |
| Licences..... | 62,733 | 3,500 |
| Fines and Forfeitures..... | 1,798 | 900 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 44,650 | 2,000 |
| TOTAL..... | | £46,598 |

Transvaal:

| | Total Tax. | Allocated to Natives. |
|-----------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| | £ | £ |
| Native Education Grant..... | 92,258 | 92,258 |
| Motor Vehicle Tax..... | 199,682 | 4,000 |
| Native Pass Fees..... | 391,958 | 195,979 |
| Fines and Forfeitures..... | 8,140 | 4,000 |
| Licences..... | 255,322 | 14,500 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 68,385 | 3,000 |
| TOTAL..... | | £313,737 |

B. EXPENDITURE.

STATEMENT 6.—ALLOCATION OF UNION GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE.

1100.

The following table gives your Commission's estimate of the amounts chargeable against the Native population. The figures in the third column are taken from the Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for the year 1929-1930, pp. 88-214:

| Vote. | Expenditure 1929-1930 (Pounds only). | Allocated to Natives. |
|--|--|--------------------------|
| | £ | £ |
| 1. H.E. the Governor-General..... | 23,072 | 2,384 |
| 2. Senate..... | 36,224 | 5,886 |
| 3. House of Assembly..... | 123,157 | 15,394 |
| 4. Prime Minister and External Affairs..... | 71,061 | 2,997 |
| 5. Treasury..... | 42,187 | 5,273 |
| 6. Public Debt..... | 4,864,389 | 303,399 |
| 7. Pensions..... | 3,465,281 | 179,537 |
| 8. Provincial Administrations (See also Statement 9, <i>post</i>).. | 5,595,794 | 1,595 |
| 9. Miscellaneous Services..... | 149,793 | 16,922 |
| 10. High Commissioner..... | 45,657 | 5,707 |
| 11. Inland Revenue..... | 150,505 | 12,000 |
| 12. Customs and Excise..... | 232,154 | 16,582 |
| 13. Audit..... | 72,219 | 9,027 |
| 14. Justice..... | 84,188 | 10,523 |
| 15. Superior Courts..... | 250,183 | 80,000 |
| 16. Magistrates and District Administration..... | 598,021 | 200,000 |
| 17. Prisons and Reformatories..... | 716,168 | 528,468 |
| 18. Police..... | 2,555,013 | 800,000 |
| 19. Defence..... | 1,019,714 | 127,464 |
| 20. Interior..... | 211,752 | 10,481 |
| 21. Mental Hospitals, etc..... | 553,004 | 138,251 |
| 22. Printing and Stationery..... | 291,250 | 24,270 |
| 23. Public Health..... | 441,241 | 235,700 |
| 24. Native Affairs..... | 371,539 | 371,539 |
| 25. Mines and Industries..... | 584,494 | 73,061 |
| 26. Union Education..... | 854,722 | 8,261 |
| 27. Child Welfare..... | 235,610 | — |
| 28. Agriculture..... | 805,880 | 50,367 |
| 29. Agricultural Education..... | 203,249 | — |
| 30. Forestry..... | 191,417 | 23,927 |
| 31. Posts and Telegraphs..... | 3,231,431 | — |
| 32. Public Works..... | 1,083,438 | 135,429 |
| 33. Lands..... | 161,093 | 10,000 |
| 34. Deeds..... | 49,345 | 3,084 |
| 35. Surveys..... | 70,932 | — |
| 36. Irrigation..... | 218,173 | — |
| 37. Public Service Commission..... | 25,874 | 2,000 |
| 38. Labour..... | 232,469 | 5,000 |
| 39. Relief of Distress..... | 99,089 | — |
| TOTAL ALL VOTES..... | 29,997,782 | 3,414,528 |

STATEMENT 7.—EXPLANATION OF THE BASIS OF ALLOCATION OF THE PRINCIPAL ITEMS
OF UNION EXPENDITURE.

(Unless otherwise explained the N.I.R. has been applied.)

1101.

Vote 1.—His Excellency the Governor-General.

N.I.R. of Vote less Service G—Entertainment Allowance.

1102.

Vote 2.—Senate.

Four Senators are appointed to represent the interests of the Natives and one-half their time has been charged against Natives. Against the rest the N.I.R. has been applied.

1103.

Vote 4.—Prime Minister and External Affairs.

N.I.R. of Services A (Head Office) and G (Redundant Officers). Nothing has been charged against Natives for representation abroad.

1104.

Vote 6.—Public Debt.

In view of the fact that the Natives have not shared to the same extent as the Europeans in the benefits accruing from development of the country, only one-half of the N.I.R. has been debited.

1105.

Vote 7.—Pensions.

N.I.R. of Vote less Services E (War Allowances) and N and P (Old Age Pensions), and Votes K, L, and O (various War Services).

1106.

Vote 8.—Provincial Administrations.

N.I.R. of A (Salaries and Allowances). Services B to F (Subsidies) are excluded because they come in for detailed examination under the various Provinces.

1107.

Vote 9.—Miscellaneous Services.

N.I.R. of Vote, less E (War Graves).

1108.

Vote 11.—Inland Revenue.

Of the revenue collected by the Inland Revenue Department in 1929–1930 approximately 8 per cent. is credited by us to the Natives. This percentage of the cost of the Department has therefore been debited to them.

1109.

Vote 12.—Customs and Excise.

Of the revenue collected by this Department approximately 7½ per cent. is credited by us to the Natives. This percentage of the cost of the Department has therefore been debited to them.

1110.

Votes 15 and 16.—Superior Courts, and Magistrates and District Administration.

See Vote 18 below.

1111.

Vote 17.—Prisons and Reformatories.

The expenditure under this Vote has been calculated on the basis of the relative daily average of prisoners, multiplied by the estimated cost of maintaining Native prisoners. An allowance for prison labour performed by Natives has been made under Revenue.

1112.

Vote 18.—Police.

Your Commission experienced considerable difficulty in allocating this Vote. A detailed investigation of Police activities could no doubt divulge the amount of time spent by the Police on Native and other cases respectively. This would, however, not only be a very expensive investigation, but it would also throw no light on a further very important question of prime importance: the cost of policing is partly due to the number of offenders and partly to the need to protect property. On the former count the bulk of the expenditure should be ascribed to the Natives; on the latter to the Europeans. Actually both factors enter into the calculation, but they react on each other in such a way as to make it quite impossible to disentangle them.

1113.

Your Commission, therefore, approached the subject from another angle. There is a considerable difference in the cost per head of population between urban and rural areas. As regards rural areas the cost of policing an almost exclusively Native area like the Transkei gives some indication of the cost of policing Natives. As regards urban areas we took the number of offences for which the Europeans as property owners could not be held responsible in any sense—such as offences against the liquor laws, the Urban Areas Act, and the Labour Regulation Act. The total which we give can, therefore, be regarded as a charge against Natives to which no reasonable objection can be raised.

1114.

A somewhat similar proportion, given in round numbers, has been applied to Votes 15 and 16 (Superior and Inferior Courts).

1115.

Vote 20.—Interior.

N.I.R. of Vote except Services B (Archives), D (Immigration and Asiatic Affairs), E (Museums), F (Astronomy), and G (General).

1116.

Vote 21.—Mental Hospitals.

The cost of Natives in mental hospitals has been estimated at one-fourth of the total cost, from information about the numbers of Natives in these institutions and the cost of keeping a Native patient.

1117.

Vote 23.—Public Health.

This estimate was made by the Department of Public Health from statistics in its possession.

1118.

Vote 24.—Native Affairs.

The whole of this Vote has been debited against the Natives.

1119.

Vote 26.—Union Department of Education.

Services B 11 (Schools of African Life and Languages) and C 1 (South African Native College) have been debited against Natives.

1120.

Votes 28, 33, and 34.—Agriculture, Lands, and Deeds.

As these Departments exist primarily for Europeans, but Natives derive some benefit from their work, one half of the N.I.R. has been debited against Natives.

1121.

Vote 31.—Posts and Telegraphs.

The Revenue of this Department is approximately set off by its expenditure. As it renders service for its charges, nothing has been brought into account either on the Revenue or on the Expenditure side.

1122.

Vote 27.—Child Welfare.

Vote 29.—Agricultural Education.

Vote 35.—Surveys.

Vote 36.—Irrigation.

Vote 39.—Relief of Distress.

} Nothing has been debited against Natives for these Votes.

STATEMENT 8.—EXPLANATION OF BASIS OF ALLOCATION OF THE PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURE.

1123.

General Administration.—In the case of the Union Government, we have allocated the N.I.R. to certain items of general administration. As the functions which the Provinces carry out in respect of Natives are more limited than those of the Union Government, we consider that one-eighth is too high a ratio and have adopted a ratio of one-twelfth.

1124.

Education of Native Children.—This represents the actual expenditure as given in the audited accounts.

1125.

Hospitals and Charitable Institutions.—These estimates are based on data supplied by the Provincial Administration, but do not necessarily cover all the costs to hospitals of treating Native patients.

1126. *Roads, Bridges, and Local Works.*—Two per cent., representing roughly the amount of customs duty credited to Natives on importation of petrol, plus another 1 per cent. for the use of roads by animal-drawn vehicles, represent the basis of this estimate.

1127. *Game Preservation (Natal)*—This expenditure represents the cost of measures taken against Nagana in which the Natives as cattle-holders have a large interest.

STATEMENT 9.—ALLOCATION OF PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURE.

PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURE.

Cape :

| | Total. £ | Allocated to Natives. £ |
|--|-------------|-------------------------------|
| Vote 1. General Administration..... | 148,025 | 12,300 |
| „ 2 A. Education—General Administration..... | 22,001 | 1,800 |
| „ 2 K. Native Education..... | 347,548 | 347,548 |
| „ 2 L1. Examination..... | 10,148 | 500 |
| „ 2 L2, 3, 4. Pensions, etc..... | 89,426 | 3,000 |
| „ 2 L5. Printing and Stationery..... | 10,007 | 800 |
| „ 3. Hospitals..... | 236,986 | 23,000 |
| „ 4. Roads, Bridges, and Local Works..... | 396,708 | 12,000 |
| „ 6. Interest and Redemption : | | |
| (a) Hospitals..... | 27,469 | 2,700 |
| (b) Roads, Bridges, and Local Works..... | 20,899 | 600 |
| TOTAL..... | | <u>£404,248</u> |

Natal :

| | £ | £ |
|--|---------|-----------------|
| Vote 1. General Administration..... | 46,207 | 3,800 |
| „ 2 A. Education—General Administration..... | 8,190 | 700 |
| „ 2 M. Native Education..... | 104,604 | 104,604 |
| Printing and Miscellaneous..... | 3,594 | 300 |
| „ 3. Hospitals..... | 200,077 | 25,000 |
| „ 4. Roads and Bridges..... | 265,837 | 8,000 |
| „ 5. Game Preservation..... | 12,427 | 1,000 |
| „ 6. Interest and Redemption : | | |
| (a) Roads and Bridges..... | 77,752 | 2,300 |
| (b) Educational Buildings..... | 47,482 | 4,000 |
| (c) General..... | 6,970 | 500 |
| TOTAL..... | | <u>£150,204</u> |

Orange Free State :

| | £ | £ |
|-------------------------------------|---------|----------------|
| Vote 1. General Administration..... | 34,749 | 3,000 |
| „ 2 A. Education..... | 11,379 | 900 |
| „ 2 K. Native Education..... | 35,998 | 35,998 |
| Printing and Miscellaneous..... | 5,915 | 500 |
| „ 3. Hospitals..... | 59,356 | 4,100 |
| „ 4. Roads and Bridges..... | 217,996 | 6,500 |
| „ 6. Interest and Redemption : | | |
| Roads and Bridges..... | 85,037 | 2,500 |
| TOTAL..... | | <u>£53,498</u> |

Transvaal :

| | Total. £ | Allocated to Natives. £ |
|---|-------------|-------------------------------|
| Vote 1. General Administration..... | 88,711 | 7,400 |
| „ 2 A. Education—General Administration..... | 23,025 | 2,000 |
| „ 2 K. Native Education..... | 95,922 | 95,922 |
| „ 2 L1. Examination Expenses..... | 7,350 | 500 |
| „ 2 L4 and 5. Printing and Miscellaneous..... | 7,166 | 600 |
| „ 3. Hospitals..... | 372,933 | 37,000 |
| „ 4. Roads, Bridges, and Local Works..... | 476,353 | 14,300 |
| „ 6. Interest and Redemption : | | |
| (a) Hospitals..... | 14,799 | 1,500 |
| (b) Roads, Bridges and Local Works..... | 97,609 | 3,000 |
| TOTAL..... | | <u>£162,222</u> |

1128.

Finally, your Commission desires to place on record their appreciation of the untiring diligence of the Secretary, Mr. C. Faye, and of the ability and energy with which he carried out the administrative work of the Commission. His thorough knowledge of the customs and mentality of the Natives and his proficiency in the Zulu language were of great assistance to us, while his willingness to assist in all directions did much to lessen the burden of the work of the Commission.

J. E. HOLLOWAY,
Chairman.

R. W. ANDERSON.

H. C. M. FOURIE.

F. A. W. LUCAS.

[Signed subject to additions and reservations
contained in Addendum to Report, pages 173-228.]

A. M. MOSTERT.

A. W. ROBERTS.

P. W. LE R. VAN NIEKERK.

C. FAYE,
Secretary.

PRETORIA,
23rd January, 1932.

PART VII

ADDENDUM

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 Middledrift (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 Afrikander 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 Witziesshoek 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 beaconed 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 Barolongs 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 do 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. |
| Moiloa'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 Moiloa'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 kaffr-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 Keiskamahoe 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. Hallowes, 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.

“(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.)

Alival 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.)

Ngutu.

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.)

Kronstad.

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 any sons 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 | 3,885 | 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

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

Krugersdorp.—Similar collections here were for:

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

And at *Benoni* were for:

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

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.

| | <i>Number Examined.</i> | <i>Percentage Positive.</i> |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 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 | 1,814 | 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 Asiatics, 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.

PART VIII

ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE 1.

COMMISSION.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ATHLONE, KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH, KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE, KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER, COMPANION OF THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER, PERSONAL AIDE-DE-CAMP TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING, HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR SOUTH AFRICA, AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN AND OVER THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

To Dr. John Edward Holloway, D.Sc.,
Major Ralf William Anderson,
The Reverend Dr. Hermanus Cornelis Martinus Fourie, D.Th.,
Advocate Frank Archibald William Lucas, K.C.,
A. M. Mostert, Esquire,
Dr. Alexander William Roberts, D.Sc., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.E., and
Senator the Honourable Pieter Wynand le Roux van Niekerk.

GREETING :

Whereas it is desirable that certain investigations be made into matters described and hereunder set forth :

Now, therefore, reposing great trust and confidence in your knowledge, discretion and ability, I hereby appoint you the said Dr. John Edward Holloway, D.Sc., Major Ralf William Anderson, the Reverend Dr. Hermanus Cornelis Martinus Fourie, D.Th., Advocate Frank Archibald William Lucas, K.C., A. M. Mostert, Esquire, Dr. Alexander William Roberts, D.Sc., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.E., and Senator the Honourable Pieter Wynand le Roux van Niekerk, to be my Commissioners, with you the said Dr. John Edward Holloway, D.Sc., as Chairman, to enquire into and report upon :

- (1) the economic and social conditions of Natives especially in the larger towns of the Union;
- (2) the application to Natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment and for dealing with industrial disputes and/or the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purposes;
- (3) the economic and social effect upon the European and Coloured population of the Union of the residence of Natives in urban areas and the measures, if any, to be adopted to deal with surplus Natives in, and to prevent the increasing migration of Natives to, such areas;
- (4) what proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the Native population directly and indirectly. What proportion of the public expenditure may be regarded as necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to, the Native population.

And I do hereby authorize and instruct you to report to me under your hand with all convenient speed upon the matters herein referred to and submitted to you for consideration.

Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of the Union of South Africa this Ninth day of June, in the year of Our Lord One thousand Nine hundred and Thirty.

(Signed) ATHLONE,
Governor-General.

By Command of His Excellency the
Governor-General-in-Council.

(Signed) E. G. JANSEN.

ANNEXURE 2.

* No. 1074.]

[13th June, 1930.

It is hereby notified for general information that His Excellency the Governor-General has been pleased to appoint a Commission to inquire into and report upon:

- (1) the economic and social conditions of Natives especially in the larger towns of the Union.
- (2) the application to Natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment and for dealing with industrial disputes and/or the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purposes.
- (3) the economic and social effect upon the European and Coloured population of the Union of the residence of Natives in urban areas and the measures, if any, to be adopted to deal with surplus Natives in, and to prevent the increasing migration of Natives to, such areas.
- (4) what proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the Native population directly and indirectly. What proportion of the public expenditure may be regarded as necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to, the Native population.

His Excellency has further been pleased to appoint the following gentlemen as members of the said Commission:

Dr. John Edward Holloway, D.Sc., Chairman,
 Major Ralf William Anderson,
 Reverend Dr. Hermanus Cornelis Martinus Fourie, D.Th.,
 Advocate Frank Archibald William Lucas, K.C.,
 Andries Mauritz Mostert, Esquire, J.P.,
 Dr. Alexander William Roberts, D.Sc., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.E., and
 Senator the Honourable Pieter Wynand le Roux van Niekerk.

ANNEXURE 3. (See Paragraph 2.)

I.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AT MEETINGS OF THE NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

First Meeting

held in the Office of the Minister of Native Affairs, in Z.A.S.M. House, 499 Market Street, Pretoria, beginning at 10 a.m. on Thursday, 19th June, 1930.

Present:

The Honourable ERNEST GEORGE JANSEN, M.P., Minister of Native Affairs and of Irrigation.

DR. JOHN EDWARD HOLLOWAY, Director of Census and Statistics, Chairman of the Native Economic Commission; and the under-mentioned Members of the Native Economic Commission:

MAJOR RALF WILLIAM ANDERSON.

REVEREND DR. HERMANUS CORNELIS MARTINUS FOURIE, D.TH.

ADVOCATE FRANK ARCHIBALD WILLIAM LUCAS, K.C.

ANDRIES MAURITZ MOSTERT, ESQUIRE, J.P.

DR. ALEXANDER WILLIAM ROBERTS, D.SC., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.E.,
 Member of the Native Affairs Commission.

SENATOR THE HONOURABLE PIETER WYNAND LE ROUX VAN NIEKERK,
 Member of the Native Affairs Commission.

JOHN SCHILLER ALLISON, Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

C. FAYE, Secretary, Native Economic Commission.

Sy Edele die Minister het die Kommissie verwelkom en sy genoeë te kenne gegee om die lede van die Kommissie te ontmoet. Hy het die hoop uitgespreek dat hulle hul moeilike pligte bevredigend sou uitvoer.

Daar sommige van die lede nie Afrikaans verstaan nie, het die Minister die Kommissie verder in Engels toegespreek.

[Translation: *The Honourable the Minister* welcomes the Commissioners, and expresses pleasure at meeting them. He hopes they will be able to carry out satisfactorily their difficult task.

As the Commissioners do not all understand Afrikaans, the Minister continues his address in English.]

The Minister expresses his pleasure at meeting the Chairman and Members of the Commission.

In the course of his remarks regarding the purpose for which the Commission has been appointed, the Minister stresses that this is a fact-finding Commission. The Government wants facts. He also points out that in the Terms of Reference emphasis is laid upon conditions in the larger towns.

The Minister states, in reply to *Senator van Niekerk*: The first Term of Reference includes conditions on the platteland (country districts), but it emphasizes conditions in the larger towns of the Union.

The Minister, in reply to *Mr. Lucas*, states: The inquiry by the Commission is confined to Union territory.

No further questions.

Dr. Holloway thanks the Minister for his address, and for his replies to questions.

Minister leaves.

Mr. Allison leaves.

AGENDA.

Drafting of List of Subjects.—Agreed that a printed list of subjects indicating scope covered by the Terms of Reference is necessary, and that such list be prepared by Chairman and Mr. Lucas.

Itineraries.—Decided that apart from visiting urban areas, the Commission should make itself acquainted with conditions in typical rural areas, by visits. Names of areas to be visited mentioned, provisionally.

Recording of Evidence.—Decided that verbatim reporting of evidence is necessary. Persons appointed for this work must be competent and experienced.

Typists.—Decided that two typists will be required by the Commission. In request for their appointment, emphasis must be laid on necessity for competent and experienced typists being provided.

Public Notices.—Commission will require authority from Treasury to publish official notices on its own initiative, in cases of emergency.

Publicity of Sessions.—Unless the Commission directs to the contrary, its sessions for the hearing of evidence shall be open to the public.

Persons to be Invited to give Evidence.—The Commission will obtain, through the Secretary for Native Affairs, the names of persons—ex-officials and others—who should be invited to give evidence, and in its discretion will issue such invitations direct.

Adjourned 12.45 p.m.

Resumed 2.45 p.m.

Interpreting.—Application to be made to the Secretary for Native Affairs for the assistance of his Department in obtaining interpreters in Native languages (except Zulu), when required.

List of Subjects of Inquiry.—Further considered, and decisions taken, Adjourned 4.55 p.m. until 10 a.m. on Monday, 28th July.

Second Meeting

held in Office of Minister of Native Affairs, Z.A.S.M House, 499 Market Street, Pretoria, beginning at 10 a.m. on Monday, 28th July, 1930.

Full attendance.

Typists.—Position considered.

Itineraries.—Witbank to be included for a visit, if convenient.

Third stage of tours to be taken as soon as possible after second stage.

Natal country districts to be visited after Transvaal country tour. Monday, 8th September, set down provisionally as date for leaving Pretoria for Natal tour.

Monday, 27th October, set down provisionally as date for beginning of Transkei tour. Commission will thereafter adjourn country touring until early in 1931.

Evidence Procedure.—Details of procedure to be adopted in regard to hearing of evidence to be allowed to develop with progress of work.

Wages of Natives.—Obtaining of information from Department of Native Affairs, from Location Superintendents, and through investigators, in regard to wages and classes of work of Natives, considered. Nature of information to be sought discussed. Form for filling in, indicating nature of particulars wanted, to be prepared by Commission.

Special investigation to be made in regard to European farming areas. Form to be prepared for this purpose, for filling in.

Mr. D. W. Hook, Assistant Native Commissioner, Pretoria, attends before the Commission, in regard to wages and classes of work of Natives in Pretoria. He states fairly accurate information can be obtained on subject from official records. Details discussed. Mr. Hook will go into matter and submit statement to Commission.

Adjourned 1 p.m.

Third Meeting

held in the Louis Trichardt Hotel, Louis Trichardt, during luncheon hour, on Friday, 1st August, 1930.

Full attendance.

Agreed that Commission visit Messina, and take evidence there, on 5th August; that Senator van Niekerk, Dr. Fourie, and Mr. Lucas remain at Louis Trichardt, to hear evidence; and that application be made for assistance of Professor G. P. Lestrade in regard to evidence of Natives in Transvaal.

Fourth Meeting

held at Pietersburg, on train in Chairman's compartment, beginning at 8.50 p.m. on Saturday, 9th August, 1930.

Full attendance.

Decisions taken on Natal tour itinerary.

Agreed that, as a general rule, information from State employees be obtained by the Commission through their respective Departments.

Adjourned 9.10 p.m.

Fifth Meeting

held in Royal Hotel, Nongoma, Zululand, on Wednesday, 25th September, 1930, beginning at 4.45 p.m.

Full attendance.

Natives' Wages.—Procedure in obtaining information regarding Natives' wages discussed.

Times for hearing Evidence.—Agreed that hours of sittings of Commission for hearing evidence shall, as far as circumstances allow, be:

Weekdays, from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.
Saturdays, from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.

Timely Distribution of List of Subjects.—Agreed that Native Commissioners be reminded, through the ordinary official channels, to distribute, in good time, the printed lists of subjects in regard to which the Commission particularly wishes to obtain information.

Routine.—Minute from Secretary for Finance, dated 13th September, considered. Decided that Chairman draft reply.

Procedure—Evidence of Chiefs.—Agreed that evidence of Native Chiefs, as such, be obtained from them in person, or in any instance where this is not practicable, through their duly accredited representatives.

Adjourned 6.35 p.m. .

Sixth Meeting

held in Court Room, Eshowe, Zululand, on Tuesday, 30th September, 1930; beginning at 4.50 p.m.

Full attendance.

Transkei Itinerary.—Minute from Secretary for Finance, dated 24/25th September, considered. Decided that, in reply, a communication be despatched stating that the General Questionnaire being prepared by the Commission is necessary for the benefit of witnesses; and that as regards the Transkei tour, the Commission adheres to its itinerary.

January 12th, 1931, set down provisionally as date for leaving Pretoria for Cape Province (Ciskei) country tour.

Question of desirability of Commission visiting Umtata from most convenient point during Ciskei tour, to observe Bunga proceedings, discussed. Agreed that a decision be taken at a future meeting.

Adjourned 5.30 p.m.

Seventh Meeting

held in small Court Room, Ladysmith, Natal, on Tuesday, 14th October, 1930, beginning at 5.10 p.m.

Full attendance.

Farming Areas.—Procedure considered regarding the obtaining of information concerning Natives resident on farms, including their wages. Agreed that Secretary for Agriculture be asked whether his Department will allow Departmental Extension Officers to obtain and supply information to the Native Economic Commission, detailed forms for this purpose to be provided by the Commission.

Question of areas in respect of which information is to be sought considered.

It is suggested that scope of information should be intensive over small homogeneous typical areas, rather than extensive over all areas, and should embrace:

1. Eastern Transvaal high veld;
2. Northern Transvaal—Potgietersrust, Waterberg, or Rustenburg;
3. Orange Free State high veld;
4. Orange Free State maize area;
5. Northern Natal—one district;
6. Natal sugar area;
7. Natal wattle area;
8. Eastern Cape—Queenstown to Stutterheim; Herschel; Glen Grey.

Wage Determination Reaction.—Agreed that Treasury be asked to authorize expenditure not exceeding £10 for the purpose of making confidential inquiries at Kingwilliamstown and East London, and report to the Native Economic Commission, as to the reaction there to the Wage Board Determination in regard to the Sweet Industry as affecting Native and Coloured employees, particularly on the questions: How does the determination affect their manner of living? Has it made other Native and Coloured employees discontented?

Mr. Mostert and Dr. Roberts disagreed, being of opinion that it would be more appropriate were authority for the making of such an inquiry to be sought by the Wage Board itself—in whatever manner the Wage Board thinks it best to make the inquiry. Mr. Mostert and Dr. Roberts consider that the Native Economic Commission can, in the usual way, obtain any required particulars from local witnesses.

Adjourned 6.10 p.m.

Eighth Meeting

held in Court Room, Queenstown, on Wednesday, 21st January, 1931, beginning at 11.20 a.m.

Full attendance.

Second Ciskei Tour Itinerary.—Considered and decisions taken. The first session on this tour will open in East London on Wednesday, 18th March.

Orange Free State and Bechuanaland Tour Itinerary.—Considered and decisions taken. The first session on this tour will open in Kroonstad on Tuesday, 17th February.

Natives and Post Office Savings Bank.—Agreed that an inquiry be addressed to the Postmaster-General, asking him whether he is able to provide the Commission with statistics showing amounts invested by Natives in the Post Office Savings Bank.

Natives and Insurance.—Agreed that statistics be obtained, if possible, showing amount and state of insurance business done by Natives.

Adjourned 12.50 p.m.

Ninth Meeting

held in Native Commissioner's Court Room, Kingwilliamstown, on Tuesday, 27th January, 1931, beginning at 9.5 a.m.

Full attendance.

Remaining Period of Public Sessions.—Minute from Secretary for Native Affairs, dated in Capetown, 20.1.1931, considered, and decision taken as to reply to be submitted.

Tours.—Agreed that the Commission proceed to the Lichtenburg District, via Mafeking.

Decided that the Chairman alone visit Umtata, on behalf of the Commission, to attend the annual meeting of the United Transkeian Territories General Council.

Decisions taken regarding Second Ciskei Tour.

Adjourned 10.5 a.m.

Tenth Meeting

held in train at Bethlehem Railway Station and after train had started for Bloemfontein, on Saturday, 21st February, 1931, beginning at 8.15 a.m.

Full attendance.

General Questionnaire.—Agreed that General Questionnaire be sent to persons selected by Commissioners, as well as to the head office of the Department of Native Affairs and through that office to Native Commissioners and to Magistrates and thence to all persons who may be helpful to the Commission.

Adjourned 8.50 a.m.

Eleventh Meeting

held in train between Vryburg and Mafeking, on Saturday, 28th February, 1931, beginning at 10.45 a.m.

Full attendance, except that Mr. Mostert is absent.

Ciskei Tour.—Agreed that Commission proceed from Port Elizabeth to Durban, instead of to Capetown, and thence to Pietermaritzburg; and that the Commission's visit to Capetown follow as soon as possible thereafter. Monday, 20th April, fixed provisionally as the date on which the Commission will leave Pretoria for Capetown. Commissioners take this decision for the purpose of avoiding being in Capetown during the Easter recess of Parliament, in order to facilitate the hearing of evidence from Members of Parliament who may wish to appear before the Commission.

Adjourned 11.20 a.m.

Twelfth Meeting

held in Town Hall, Port Elizabeth, on Wednesday, 25th March, 1931.

Present: Chairman and all Members.

Agreed that the Commission's public sessions in Johannesburg be held after Capetown sessions, beginning on Monday, 20th April.

Thirteenth Meeting

held in New Labour Building, Corporation Street, Capetown, on Friday, 24th April, 1931, beginning at 11.20 a.m.

Full attendance, except that Dr. Roberts is absent.

Procedure.—Agreed that Commission be in session to-morrow, Saturday, beginning at 9 a.m., for the purpose of hearing evidence.

Adjourned 11.30 a.m.

Fourteenth Meeting

held in Room 50, New Labour Building, Corporation Street, Capetown, on Tuesday, 29th April, 1931, beginning at 12.50 p.m.

Full attendance.

Procedure as to Johannesburg public sessions discussed. Agreed that Major H. S. Cooke, Director of Native Labour for the Union, be invited to tender evidence in Johannesburg, as the Commission's first witness there. The order of attendance of other witnesses will be decided in Johannesburg in collaboration with Major Cooke.

Adjourned 1.10 p.m.

Fifteenth Meeting

held in New Law Courts, Johannesburg, on Monday, 18th May, 1931, beginning at 12.30 p.m.

Full attendance, except that Senator the Hon. P. W. le Roux van Niekerk is absent.

Procedure.—Agreed that inspection of mine areas be made on Wednesday, 20th instant; that night inspection with Rev. Ray E. Phillips be made on night of Friday-Saturday, 22-23 instant; that Pretoria public session begin on Wednesday, 3rd proximo, Mr. R. W. Thornton, Director of Native Agriculture for the Union, to be invited to attend as the first witness; that the Chairman and Mr. Lucas be on Committee of the Commission for the purpose of interviewing Heads of Departments in Pretoria concerning information required by the Commission; that the first Johannesburg public session end during the current week; and that no session be held during July, this month being devoted to Commission routine work.

Adjourned 1.10 p.m.

Sixteenth Meeting

held in Room 60, New Law Courts, Johannesburg, on Friday, 12th June, 1931, beginning at 4.45 p.m.

Full attendance.

Procedure.—Agreed that the Commission adjourn to-morrow, Saturday, and that the date for the opening of the Pretoria public sessions be fixed, provisionally, for Wednesday, 2nd September, 1931.

Outstanding Evidence.—Decisions taken regarding details of what evidence has still to be obtained by the Commission.

Adjourned 5.30 p.m.

Seventeenth Meeting

held in Room 11, Block 1 of Old Railway Buildings, 469 Market Street, Pretoria, beginning at 10 a.m. on Wednesday, 2nd September, 1931.

Full attendance.

Procedure.—Agreed that Commission deliberate upon Report from to-day until Saturday, 5th instant, and then adjourn until Monday, 14th instant, to allow of Commission routine work being done in the interim.

In deliberation upon Report to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.10 p.m.

Eighteenth Meeting.

Thursday, 2nd September, 1931.

Same place.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.55 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 4.55 p.m.

Nineteenth Meeting.

Friday, 4th September, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.55 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Twentieth Meeting.

Saturday, 5th September, 1931.

Same place.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.15 p.m.

Adjourned until 10 a.m. on Monday, 14th instant.

Twenty-first Meeting

held in Old Veterinary Office, Block 6 of Old Railway Buildings, 469 Market Street, Pretoria, on Monday, 14th September, 1931, beginning at 10 a.m.

Full attendance.

Routine.—Minute from Secretary for Finance, asking for estimate of cost of Commission from 1st instant, considered and dealt with.

Commission in deliberation upon Report to 1.5 p.m., and from 2.30 p.m. to 5.10 p.m.

N.B.—The remainder of the Commission's meetings were all held in the Old Veterinary Office, Block 6 of Old Railway Buildings, 469 Market Street, Pretoria.

Twenty-second Meeting.

Tuesday, 15th September, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.55 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.10 p.m.

Twenty-third Meeting.

Wednesday, 16th September, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.5 p.m.

Twenty-fourth Meeting.

Thursday, 17th September, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.10 p.m.

Twenty-fifth Meeting.

Friday, 18th September, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Twenty-sixth Meeting.

Monday, 21st September, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 4.55 p.m.

Twenty-seventh Meeting.

Tuesday, 22nd September, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Twenty-eighth Meeting.

Wednesday, 23rd September, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.

Resumed 2.15 p.m.

In deliberation upon Report.

Commission Committees appointed for preparing draft of whole Report. Adjourned 5.10 p.m. until 10 a.m. on Monday, 2nd November.

Twenty-ninth Meeting.

Monday, 2nd November, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Thirtieth Meeting.

Tuesday, 3rd November, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Thirty-first Meeting.

Wednesday, 4th November, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 4.45 p.m.

Thirty-second Meeting.

Thursday, 5th November, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.45 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Thirty-third Meeting.

Monday, 9th November, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 10 a.m. to 12.50 p.m.

Resumed at 2.15 p.m.

In deliberation upon Report.

Agreed that after meeting on Friday, 13th instant, Commission will adjourn until 10 a.m. on Monday, 30th idem, to allow of Commission routine work being done meantime.

Adjourned 5.5 p.m.

Thirty-fourth Meeting.

Tuesday, 10th November, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Thirty-fifth Meeting.

Wednesday, 11th November, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 4 p.m.

Thirty-sixth Meeting.

Thursday, 12 November, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.40 p.m., and from 2.20 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Thirty-seventh Meeting.

Friday, 13th November, 1931.

Full attendance, except that Mr. Mostert is absent.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.45 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Thirty-eighth Meeting.

Monday, 30th November, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 10 a.m. to 12.55 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Thirty-ninth Meeting.

Tuesday, 1st December, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Fortieth Meeting.

Wednesday, 2nd December, 1931.

Full attendance, except that Mr. Mostert is absent.

In deliberation upon Report from 9 a.m. to 12.55 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Forty-first Meeting.

Thursday, 3rd December, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 4.45 p.m.

Forty-second Meeting.

Monday, 7th December, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.45 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Forty-third Meeting.

Tuesday, 8th December, 1931.

Resumed 9.30 a.m.

Full attendance.

Agreed that Commission meet on Wednesday, 16th instant.

In deliberation upon Report.

Adjourned 12.50 p.m.

In deliberation upon Report from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m., and from 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. Adjourned until 9 a.m. to-morrow.

Forty-fourth Meeting.

Wednesday, 9th December, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9 a.m. until 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Adjourned until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

Forty-fifth Meeting.

Thursday, 10th December, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Adjourned until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

Forty-sixth Meeting.

Friday, 11th December, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 10 a.m. to 12.55 p.m.

Resumed 2.15 p.m.

Procedure point raised by *Mr. Lucas*. *Mr. Lucas* holds that a Commissioner has the right to include in the Report any matter which he considers should be included, even if the opinion of the majority of Commissioners is that such matter cannot very well be regarded as being within the Terms of Reference.

Chairman states that in the last resort such an issue would have to be decided by the Governor-General.

Chairman's own ruling is that a matter considered by a majority of Commissioners to be outside their Terms of Reference must be regarded as irrelevant.

Adjourned 5 p.m. until 9.30 a.m. on Monday, 14th instant.

Forty-seventh Meeting.

Monday, 14th December, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.55 p.m.

Resumed 2.15 p.m.

In deliberation upon Report.

Agreed that Commission meet on evening of Thursday, 17th instant, if necessary.

Adjourned 5.10 p.m.

Forty-eighth Meeting.

Tuesday, 15th December, 1931.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.55 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Forty-ninth Meeting.

Wednesday, 16th December, 1931.

Full attendance, except that Rev. Dr. Fourie is absent.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.55 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Fiftieth Meeting.

Thursday, 17th December, 1931.

Full attendance, save that Mr. Mostert is absent.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.45 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.45 p.m.

Adjourned until 9.30 a.m. on Tuesday, 5th January, 1932.

Fifty-first Meeting.

Tuesday, 5th January, 1932.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.7 p.m.

Fifty-second Meeting.

Wednesday, 6th January, 1932.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.

Resumed 2.15 p.m.

In deliberation upon Report.

Agreed that Commission will not meet on Friday, 8th instant.

Adjourned 5.10 p.m.

Fifty-third Meeting.

Thursday, 7th January, 1932.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.45 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.25 p.m.

Adjourned until 9.30 a.m. on Monday, 11th instant.

Fifty-fourth Meeting.

Monday, 11th January, 1932.

Full attendance, except that Mr. Mostert is absent.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.10 p.m.

Fifty-fifth Meeting.

Tuesday, 12th January, 1932.

Same attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.45 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.10 p.m.

Adjourned until 9.30 a.m. on Thursday, 14th instant.

Fifty-sixth Meeting.

Thursday, 14th January, 1932.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5.10 p.m.

Fifty-seventh Meeting.

Friday, 15th January, 1932.

Resumed 9.30 a.m.

Full attendance, save that Rev. Dr. Fourie is absent.

In deliberation upon Report.

Agreed that Commission adjourn to-day after finishing outstanding drafts, until Tuesday, 19th instant, and that then Commission meet during evenings in addition to day meetings. Meantime, Commission's Committee on Fourth Term of Reference will press forward with its work.

Adjourned 12.50 p.m.

Resumed 2.15 p.m.

In deliberation upon Report.

Adjourned 3 p.m. until 9.30 a.m. on Tuesday, 19th instant.

Fifty-eighth Meeting.

Tuesday, 19th January, 1932.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Fifty-ninth Meeting.

Wednesday, 20th January, 1932.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m., and from 2.15 p.m. to 6.10 p.m.

Sixtieth Meeting.

Thursday, 21st January, 1932.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 12.50 p.m.; from 2.15 p.m. to 5.15 p.m.; and from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m.

Sixty-first Meeting.

Friday, 22nd January, 1932.

Full attendance, except that Mr. Mostert is absent.

In deliberation upon Report from 9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.; from 2.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.; and from 8 p.m. to 11.10 p.m.

Sixty-second Meeting.

Saturday, 23rd January, 1932.

Resumed 9.30 a.m.

Full attendance.

In deliberation upon Report.

Adjourned 1.20 p.m.

Resumed 2.15 p.m.

Full attendance, except that Rev. Dr. Fourie is absent.

In deliberation upon Report.

Adjourned 5.20 p.m.

II.**Committee Meetings.**

Many meetings of Committees of the Commission were held, for the purpose of drafting material for the full Commission, towards the preparation of the Report.

III.**Note.**

On 16th June, 1931, a communication was addressed to the Secretary for Finance, inquiring whether Commissioners who are not Public Servants are entitled to payment in respect of time during which they work on the Report at home.

The Secretary for Finance replied:

“ . . . the rule [for the Administration of Government Commissions] to which you refer applies in cases where a Member is engaged upon a special piece of work on behalf of a Commission: It sometimes happens that information is required by a Commission on matters connected with its work, which necessitates personal investigation by one of the Commissioners, and in such cases the Member concerned is entitled to payment at the same rate as if he were actually attending meetings.

“ The rule was not intended to cover time spent by a Commission in studying and considering evidence and reports during intervals between meetings . . . ”—29.6.1931.

ANNEXURE 4. (See Paragraphs 2 and 4.)

LIST OF WITNESSES WHO TENDERED ORAL EVIDENCE.

The undermentioned persons tendered oral evidence before the Commission, in the order in which their names appear and on the dates and at the places set opposite their names.

The evidence is typewritten, double line spacing, on foolscap size paper, the last page of which is numbered 9224. This evidence was heard at one hundred and sixteen public sessions.

| Date. | Place. | Witnesses. |
|--------------|---|---|
| 1930. | | |
| JULY. | | |
| Tuesday 29 | Potgietersrust..... | F. W. Neethling. A. Gilbertson. |
| AUGUST. | | |
| Friday 1 | Louis Trichardt..... | Chiefs Khutama and Sinthumula. Peter Mbau and others. Colonel J. C. V. Lyle. |
| Tuesday 5 | "..... | Namarangone and Mashapa. Takalane. Shipango. Piet Boy. Nentabane. Kik Rasangane. Rev. J. W. Daneel. Chas. R. MacGregor. |
| Thursday 7 | Messina..... Pietersburg..... | A. B. Emery. J. F. Kirsten. F. C. Menne. D. N. Doring and P. B. N. Elffers. Dr. P. A. Green. Chiefs represented by Thomas Moloto, Maseti Ramekgopa. Juel Matlata, Nkupu Mareli, Chief Maashaahane. |
| Friday 8 | Duivelskloof..... Medingen Mission Station. Modjadje's Tribal Headquarters. | J. F. van Rensburg. Rev. F. L. Reuter. Numeri Modjadje. |
| Saturday 9 | Pietersburg..... | Bishop J. L. Fuller. J. M. Richards. H. A. Visser J. H. le Roux, D. le Roux, and C. Hofmeyr. H. Courzyn. |
| Tuesday 12 | Barberton..... | Chiefs Masoi and Mdouli. |
| Wednesday 13 | "..... | Lobase, Solomon Ngwandi, Johannes Temba, and Rev. Peter John Mti. Rev. G. Wickstrom. Fungwana, Mapikelela Nkosi, Maahila Matebula, and Gwagwe Mazibuko. E. T. E. Andrews. Dr. J. H. Sypkens. W. P. G. Macpherson. |
| Friday 15 | Nelspruit..... | S. C. Brown. L. J. Hall. Ephraim Zwane, Daniel Bafelwa Mahlabi, Atwell Nqolase, and Stephen Mtetwa. |
| Monday 18 | Lydenburg..... | W. A. Preller. Onesimus Phokanoka, Stephen Ntseo, Dirk Kana, Bernard Serote, Isaac Twala, Simon Moganedi, Amos Mtembe, and David Mokwena. |
| Wednesday 20 | "..... | Major D. R. Hunt. Headman Frank Maseromole, Chief Kgolokoe, Elias Chake, Edward Motubatzi, Chief Manok, Kgobolale Schukumi, Edward Paaha, and Petrus Masangu. E. de Souza, M.P., and H. Neethling. |
| Thursday 21 | "..... | M. J. van Rensburg. Rev. G.T. F. Schwellnus. |
| Friday 22 | Middelburg..... | J. G. Yates. N. L. B. van Veen (Town Clerk). H. J. Walters. J. P. McLees and V. P. Rose (Town Councillors). Dr. J. A. Levitt (M.H.O.). |
| Saturday 23 | "..... | Chief Sekoati. Chief Tsekelekoko. Chiefs Seth Ramamba and Jonas Mahlangu. Headman Isaac Magape. Daniel Makomezulu, Jonah Khomo, and Paul Sefoka. P. J. Bosman and J. J. Williams (Farmers' Association). |
| Wednesday 27 | Rustenburg..... | Rev. J. C. E. Penzhorn. Rev. G. P. Stegmann. T. A. Cheere Emmett. |
| Thursday 28 | "..... | Mutle Mokhatle, and Chiefs Herman Selon, Johs. Mamogale, Filius Mogale, Solomon Mabi, Bethuel Ramokoka, Ofense Pilane, Z. Shongoane, Botman Ntuane, Kalafi Sedumedi, Solomon Moshome, and Sefanyetso Sefanyetso; and Shadrach Zibi. |
| SEPTEMBER. | | |
| Tuesday 16 | Newcastle..... | O. J. T. Schumann, J. N. Crook, Johs. van Schalkwyk, and H. G. Foretick (Town Councillors). J. Grice-sel. Angus Wood. H. H. Hudson. Philemon Yeni, Petrus Nene, Thompson Tembe, and Chas. Barlen Dlamini. Rev. W. J. Wentzel. |
| Wednesday 17 | Dundee..... | J. A. Graham, A. N. Stenkamp, F. Weesela, P. R. Vermaak, F. Helberg, and Gordon Smith, for Farmers' Associations. W. Stein. J. J. Kemp and D. J. Uys. I. W. de Jager. Benjamin Moses Kunene, Philip Mtemba, and Rev. Enoch A. Mahamba. Town Councillors Oldacre, Hardy, and McKenzie. |

| Date. | Place. | Witnesses. |
|--------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Thursday 18 | Vryheid..... | Archdeacon A. W. Lee. |
| Friday 19 | „ | Dr. G. S. v. d. Merwe, J. C. Pretorius, and J. Werndle, representing Town Council. R. H. Smith. B. E. Rabe, W. Birkenstock, J. J. Botha, L. H. Schulze, and C. H. A. Lilje. Colonel W. E. Peachey. J. J. Birkenstock. |
| Saturday 20 | „ | P. G. Armstrong. Chief Bikelabani. W. W. Ndlovu. D. Ntyangase. Acting Chief M. Zondo. Native witnesses. Dr. M. Kuper-Cooper. W. J. Bennette and R. C. Menne (Farmers' Association). W. W. Ndlovu (<i>contd.</i>). M. L. E. Malling, Solomon Dennis Mashaba, Amoni Kubeka, Samuel Zulu, and Z. B. Kambule. |
| Monday 22 | Nongoma..... | Dr. W. H. Haupt. Rev. L. E. Osocroft. C. F. Adams. |
| Wednesday 24 | „ | Chief Mgixo. Shiyabanye Mawango, Mkwintyi, and Timoti Kumalo. |
| Thursday 25 | Mtubatuba..... | C. A. Wheelwright, C.M.G. |
| Friday 26 | Empangeni..... | G. W. Higgs. Chief Msiyana Mtembu. Zululand Farmers' Union. E. Coppinger. |
| Monday 29 | Melmoth..... | H. T. James. Rev. J. E. Hallendorff. E. N. Braatvedt. Sir Charles Saunders, K.C.M.G. Chief M. Biyela, Nikolase Mpungose, and Mose Ntuli. |
| Tuesday 30 | Eshowe..... | Meshaoh Mkize and Victor Ngcamu. F. Rodseth. Rev. W. H. Hollowes. |
| OCTOBER | | |
| Thursday 2 | Stanger..... | G. H. Hulett. N. H. George. Rev. T. M. Leisegang. Chief Josiah Mqwebu and others. |
| Friday 3 | Verulam..... | R. F. Lake. Chiefs Luzulane and Gibizwe Ndlovu. |
| Tuesday 7 | Port Shepstone..... | Dr. H. G. Phibben. R. D. Lyle. H. C. A. Garrett. |
| Wednesday 8 | Harding..... | H. Sangmeister. W. A. Hutchinson and others (Farmers' Association). F. L. Ferguson and J. Johnson (Farmers' Association). R. Mayne. |
| Thursday 9 | Ixopo..... | H. B. Wallace. C. E. Hancock (Farmers' Association). G. E. Francis. Rev. A. E. Kumalo and Chief Mdibaniso Dlamini. Paulus Conco and Japhet Mtembu. |
| Friday 10 | Bulwer..... | Chief Maqeleni Dlamini and others. L. C. French. H. K. Franz. |
| Monday 13 | Estcourt..... | W. Elliott, F. C. Robinson, and Colonel D. W. Mackay (Farmers' Association). F. C. Carless and P. H. Despard (Farmers' Association). W. H. Pitcher and Dr. J. P. Odendaal (representing Town Council). |
| Tuesday 14 | Ladysmith..... | Major C. L. R. Harries. Rev. Nathaniel Pamla, Chiefs Walter Kumalo, Theophilus Ntombela, Mbekwa Shabalala, Bevu Zondi, Stini Nkosi, Mbuyisazwe Hadebe, and Bands Sitole. Frank Sikosana. |
| Wednesday 15 | „ | B. H. Currin and J. Corrigan (representing Town Council). C. W. Wright (Farmers' Association). W. N. Shum and T. W. Holmes. A. W. Iling, J. H. Potgieter, and V. J. Bristowe (Farmers' Association). Rev. K. A. Johnston. F. A. Stead. |
| Wednesday 29 | Matatiele..... | J. Ward (Farmers' and Traders' Association). C. W. Gray, W. M. van Heerden, and J. J. Turnbull (representing Town Council). Mordekai Baleni and other Native witnesses. |
| Thursday 30 | „ | Mordekai Baleni and other Native witnesses (<i>contd.</i>). Chamber of Commerce. D. D. Nthoba and M. H. Madapuna. |
| Friday 31 | Mount Fleoether..... | Moses Leqela, W. P. Mlandu, W. W. Dana, and Rev. N. P. Makaluza. J. H. Keightley and E. W. Nelson. E. T. Cundill. |
| NOVEMBER. | | |
| Saturday 1 | „ | W. W. Dana (<i>contd.</i>). Chief S. M. Lehana and S. Lesuthu. |
| Monday 3 | Matatiele..... | D. D. Nthoba (<i>contd.</i>). W. M. Seymour. |
| Tuesday 4 | Kokstad..... | C. K. Scott. J. C. Ross. Rev. G. R. Veel. F. H. Brownlee. |
| Wednesday 5 | „ | F. H. Brownlee (<i>contd.</i>). L. D. Gilson, M.P., and G. W. Young. |
| Thursday 6 | Emfundisweni Mission Station. | Rev. S. Williams. |
| Friday 7 | Flagstaff..... | Rev. A. Schweiger. W. Cingo. W. F. Hunter. Dr. F. S. Drewe. A. R. Welsh. E. Zizi. |
| Monday 10 | Port St. Johns..... | B. S. Ncabene, G. Jico, and F. Sorujwa. E. J. P. Almon. Commander Zacheus Marsh. H. M. Nourse. |
| Tuesday 11 | Umtata..... | Bunga delegates. |
| Wednesday 12 | „ | Bunga delegates (<i>contd.</i>). W. T. Welsh (Chief Native Commissioner) and G. M. B. Whitfield (Secretary to General Council). Bunga delegates (<i>contd.</i>). |
| Thursday 13 | „ | W. T. Welsh and G. M. Whitfield (<i>contd.</i>). Bunga delegates (<i>contd.</i>). |

| Date. | Place. | Witnesses. |
|--------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Friday 14 | Umtata (<i>contd.</i>)..... | Dr. M. R. Mahlangeni. Rev. J. J. Xaba. S. G. Butler and F. R. B. Thompson. Rev. W. F. K. Blohm. T. M. Makiwane. |
| Monday 17 | " | A. O. B. Payne, M.P. Elisha Mda and Mackay Noah. Rev. A. A. Hoadley. G. K. Hemming. Rev. R. Mure. W. H. H. Green. |
| Tuesday 18 | " | W. T. Brownlee (ex-Chief Magistrate), A. T. Wood, and L. P. Moore (representing Transkeian Territories European Civic Association). W. T. Welsh (Chief Native Commissioner), R. D. H. Barry, and G. M. B. Whitfield (Secretary to General Council) (<i>contd.</i>). |
| Wednesday 19 | " | W. T. Welsh, R. D. H. Barry, and G. M. B. Whitfield (<i>contd.</i>). E. C. Thompson and M. O. Sayer. J. W. D. Hughes. W. Meaker, M.P.C. Colonel W. H. C. Taylor. Chamber of Commerce. B. R. Simmons. T. Makiwane. |
| Thursday 20 | Engcobo..... | Rev. C. C. Harris. J. B. Clarke. W. J. Clarke, sen. A. Qunta. T. Poswayo. J. Guma and N. Kula. |
| Friday 21 | Cofimvaba..... | Members of United Transkeian Territories General Council: Councillors S. S. Matoti, M. Mgudlwa, I. Mgudlwa; and J. Qongqo, Rev. W. Mpamba, and E. Mdolomba. R. Haigh. J. J. Yates. |
| Saturday 22 | " | L. W. Masiza. |
| Monday 24 | Butterworth..... | H. Bikitsha, P. Lavisa, H. H. Bulube, S. Sopola, Fred U. Soga, N. A. Mazwai, G. Mate, Rev. J. S. Mazwi, and S. Mvambo. W. E. Werner. B. J. Ross. J. Hay. R. Fyfe-King. |
| 1931. | | |
| JANUARY. | | |
| Wednesday 14 | Aliwal North..... | Dr. W. Stevenson (M.O.H.), A. W. Lessing. Dr. F. R. Luke. Rev. J. Masikinya. J. J. G. Carson. |
| Friday 16 | Burghersdorp..... | D. H. J. Coetzee. D. Taegare. P. J. J. van der Walt. E. W. Lowe. |
| Monday 19 | Queenstown..... | C. M. Mallett. R. Jayiya and G. Sodidi. W. A. Landman. Native witnesses, representing Lesseyton, Oxkraal, and Kamaston areas. |
| Tuesday 20 | " | Rev. C. K. Hodges. Archdeacon H. E. Rowley. A. C. Gaylard. R. H. Impey. Dr. J. Cranke (M.O.H.). Julius Mazwi and S. B. Matakikiza. |
| Wednesday 21 | " | E. S. Pugh. A. G. B. Rein. |
| Friday 23 | Lady Frere..... | H. Ashworth and P. J. du Plessis. S. Nongxa, P. Mzazi. H. Mangu, W. Time, D. Boto, Ch. V. Mhlonhlo. E. L. Harries and T. B. Smith. |
| Monday 26 | Kingwilliamstown..... | Rev. A. Cardoos Grant. G. D. Ross. H. J. Every. Major M. G. Apthorp (Chief Native Commissioner). |
| Tuesday 27 | " | G. S. Kama. D. D. T. Jabavu. C. Sigila. P. Nyatana. R. Stamper, Chief J. Mrwebo, and E. Marambana. James Hedshe and Albert Tywakadi. C. Labase, S. Sonjica, S. Peteni, and Rev. V. Kwatsha. S. Mgyui. |
| Wednesday 28 | " | Rev. R. H. W. Shepherd, A. Kerr, and P. Leomond. G. Njokweni. Rev. R. H. W. Shepherd, A. Kerr, and P. Leomond (<i>contd.</i>). A. M. Jabavu. W. F. Laurie. Major M. G. Apthorp (Chief Native Commissioner) (<i>contd.</i>) and J. W. Ord. |
| FEBRUARY. | | |
| Tuesday 17 | Kroonstad..... | Rev. W. V. Ranford. O. Wallpole. V. R. L. Ross. J. R. Brent. J. B. Crutse. H. K. Binda, J. A. Thapani, and T. K. W. Mote. J. Kokozella. Mrs. Khisa. J. W. Loubser. R. A. Sello and H. K. Binda. T. W. K. Mote. |
| Thursday 19 | Rydal Mount..... | A. L. Clark, Rev. J. J. Ross, sen. J. J. Ross, jun. Chief C. N. Mopeli, A. Mabbola, and Chief Silas K. Mota. |
| Friday 20 | Thaba 'Nchu..... | Dr. C. S. Moroko. W. Fenyang and S. Pula. Rev. F. E. Gilks. G. J. van der Riet and J. M. de Wet. Rev. M. D. O. Groenewald. |
| Saturday 21 | Bloemfontein..... | H. F. C. Kuschke. |
| Monday 23 | " | D. G. Nkwanazi. W. R. Clarke and six others. Abram Fischer. Simon Elias. Rev. J. G. Strydom. |
| Tuesday 24 | " | J. R. Cooper. Bishop Carey. T. M. Mapikela and B. Mpolongwana. Amos Matihave. Dr. J. Lobius. M. H. Raath. |
| Thursday 26 | Kimberley..... | Rev. G. Kuhn. Sol. Plaatje. E. W. Mowbray. W. I. Macdonald. Z. R. Mahabane. J. S. Likhing. D. Modiakotia and H. Masiza. T. P. Klaaste. |
| Friday 27 | Vryburg..... | C. St. Quentin. C. E. Stewart. H. D. Grace, T. Macquire, and P. Osborne. P. F. Hugo, H. J. Saunders, and G. I. Combrink. Chief Thibogang Lethogile, G. Mahma, and K. Mowwaie. Rev. F. W. A. Peasley. Dr. F. A. J. Brodzniak. |

| Date. | Place. | Witnesses. |
|---------------|-----------------------|--|
| MARCH. | | |
| Thursday 19 | East London..... | J. I. Lloyd. R. H. Godlo. Clements Kadalie and Bennett Ncwana. |
| Friday 20 | " | Clements Kadalie and Bennett Ncwana (<i>contd.</i>). Captain G. L. Lister. Dr. W. B. Rubusana. J. B. Cummins. |
| Monday 23 | Grahamstown..... | Dr. F. A. Saunders. H. Broome. Rev. A. Maswai. H. Rushmere. D. Ganca, N. Calata, E. M. Vambo, and D. R. Moyake. Dr. J. E. Duerden. Rev. G. H. H. Jacques. Dr. E. M. Britten. Mrs. O. C. Mylne. Dr. G. F. Heathcote. |
| Tuesday 24 | Port Elizabeth..... | Dr. D. L. Ferguson. S. C. Bain and J. T. Burnett. H. A. Schultz and S. Lallo. H. J. Harraway and R. W. Freger. H. Relton. L. S. v. d. Walt. |
| Wednesday 25 | " | C. K. Scheepers. J. M. Dippa. B. J. Blom. F. H. M. Zwide. J. P. McNamee. H. Mbelle. Chief Njokweni. |
| Thursday 26 | " | J. W. Tshangana. Rev. C. D. Kwatshe. C. Mngaka. A. F. Penda. |
| Friday 27 | " | A. C. van Ronen. A. F. Penda (<i>contd.</i>). D. Anderson, H. C. W. Newell, P. Adonise, and G. Vusani. E. J. Kama. Zadok Amani. W. J. Mama. A. C. van Ronen (<i>contd.</i>). |
| APRIL. | | |
| Wednesday 1 | Durban..... | Dr. G. A. Park Ross (Assistant Medical Officer of Health, Union). H. C. Lugg. Acting Chiefs Maqiyana and Gebeleweni. |
| Thursday 2 | " | Natal Sugar Millers' Association, Rev. J. L. Dube. J. A. Erlanson. A. J. Lutuli and S. Mkulisi. Miss Violet S. Makanya. |
| Saturday 4 | " | Miss Violet S. Makanya (<i>contd.</i>). Rev. H. Cotton, Mrs. Mabel Palmer, Mrs. I. Sililo, A. Z. Mazingi, M. Webb, S. Mkulisi, and Dennis J. Shepstone. |
| Tuesday 7 | " | Rev. J. Kerautret. Mrs. Mabel Palmer (<i>contd.</i>). D. R. O. Thomas, A. P. Sibankulu, and A. S. Kumalo. Borough Council Representatives. Durban Chambers of Commerce and Industries. Mariannahill Mission and Catholic African Union. J. M. Ngcobo and D. L. D. Dopela. A. F. Matibela. S. A. F. Oellerman. D. Ntombela. |
| Wednesday 8 | Pietermaritzburg..... | Chief Njengabantu Ngubane. Headman Lugubu Mbata. Rev. Isaiah Shembe. Chief Solomon Zulu. J. B. K. Farrer. R. J. Spiers. |
| Thursday 9 | " | L. H. H. Greene. Colonel F. E. Foxon and F. C. Pope-Ellis. W. M. Goodwin and E. T. Walker (Natal Municipal Association). D. McKinnon Malcolm. E. Holden. Colonel A. Fawcus, Major W. Comrie, A. H. Cockburn, W. E. Antel, T. Hackland (Farmers' Association). Chief S. G. E. Majozi. Sikweletu Nyongwana. |
| Friday 10 | " | Rev. C. D. Robinson. R. W. Stevens, A. E. Harwin, J. McGibbon, Dr. W. J. Wood (M.H.O.), representing City Council, Pietermaritzburg. M. Mtambu. Chiefs Mguquka Mkize, Langalake, Stephen Mini, and Dirk Sioka. J. T. Gumede. Native Welfare Society. |
| Thursday 23 | Capetown..... | Sir Clarkson H. Tredgold, Kt. Rev. Abner Mtimkulu. |
| Friday 24 | " | A. Z. Berman. G. C. Fecheyr. |
| Saturday 25 | " | N. R. Veldsman. J. D. Ngojo. B. W. Mama. Sam Hoho. |
| Monday 27 | " | Sam Hoho (<i>contd.</i>). M. J. Adams. J. McOmbring. B. H. Harris. Rev. C. N. J. Savage. A. O. Sutton. |
| Tuesday 28 | " | W. Brinton, G. P. Cook, Dr. T. S. Higgins (M.O.H.), on behalf on City Council, Capetown. L. de V. van Winsen. |
| Wednesday 29 | " | Major Thomas and J. Preston. J. Peacock. J. H. Tandy. |
| MAY. | | |
| Monday... 4 | Johannesburg..... | Major H. S. Cooke (Director of Native Labour). |
| Tuesday 5 | " | Major H. S. Cooke (<i>contd.</i>). H. M. Taberer. H. Britten (Chief Magistrate). |
| Wednesday 6 | " | H. M. Taberer (<i>contd.</i>). Dr. P. ka I Seme. H. S. Msimang. Samuel Tema, J. B. Rathebe, H. Selby Msimang (<i>contd.</i>), I. B. S. Masole, R. V. Selope Tema, and H. Dlomo. |
| Thursday 7 | " | S. S. Tema, S. Msimang, I. Masole, and H. Dlomo (<i>contd.</i>). O. E. R. Lloyd and E. G. Woolley (representing Charlestown Town Board). Prof. W. M. MacMillan. |
| Monday 11 | " | Archdeacon W. F. Hill, Rev. S. Carter, and Miss D. R. Maud. J. P. Erasmus. A. J. Hoffman. |
| Tuesday 12 | " | Dr. A. J. Milne. G. Ballenden. |

| Date. | Place. | Witnesses. |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Wednesday 13 | Johannesburg (<i>contd.</i>)..... | Prof. S. H. Frankel and Prof. Edgar H. Brookes. |
| Friday 15 | " | Alexandra Township Ratepayers Association (represented by E. P. M. Zulu and S. W. Meagar). Krugersdorp Native Advisory Board, represented by J. W. Monogane. Native Advisory Board, Western Native Township, represented by S. Ntoba. Springs. Native Advisory Board, represented L. Moteane and H. Mogafe. R. H. Selope Thema. |
| Saturday 16 | " | Prof. S. H. Frankel and Prof. Edgar H. Brookes (<i>contd.</i>). |
| Monday 18 | " | H. D. Tyamzashe and T. Mbeki. A. Friedheim. S. K. Lepere and G. W. Crowe. Miss M. L. Hodgson. |
| Tuesday 19 | " | W. G. Ballinger (<i>contd.</i>). A. W. G. Champion. |
| Thursday 21 | " | Patrick Hayes. A. W. G. Champion (<i>contd.</i>). G. Grimmer and Mrs. L. M. Campbell. G. Grimmer and Mrs. L. M. Campbell (<i>contd.</i>) and S. W. Meager (<i>contd.</i>) and J. K. Morupe. |
| Friday 22 | " | Johannesburg Municipal Native Affairs Department (G. Ballenden (<i>contd.</i>) Dr. A. B. Xuma. |
| JUNE. | | |
| Wednesday 3 | Pretoria..... | R. W. Thornton (Director of Native Agriculture, Union). Rev. J. W. Alcock. |
| Thursday 4 | " | Dr. C. H. Neveling. S. P. Metsake and C. B. Mbolekwa. E. J. Motau. |
| Friday 5 | " | Prof. G. P. Lestrade. Shadrach Zibi and Isaiah Bud Mb'elle. |
| Monday 8 | " | M. G. Nicholson, Dr. G. D. Laing (M.O.H.) and P. C. Lowe, representing City Council, Pretoria. Rose-Innes Chake. F. Bruyn, I. B. Morce, E. H. Chake, and P. Ramutle. |
| Tuesday 9 | " | Prof. G. P. Lestrade (<i>contd.</i>). J. B. Wolmarans and H. M. Slade. J. A. Karvie. |
| Wednesday 10 | " | J. C. Yates (<i>contd.</i>). R. W. Thornton (<i>contd.</i>). F. W. B. van der Riet. |
| Thursday 11 | Johannesburg..... | J. D. Rheinallt Jones. |
| Friday 12 | " | J. D. Rheinallt Jones (<i>contd.</i>). Transvaal Chamber of Mines and Native Recruiting Corporation, represented by F. G. A. Roberts, C. L. Butlin, H. Mayer, A. J. Limebeer, and J. B. Gedyo. |
| Saturday 13 | " | Mrs. Justine Mdaka, Mrs. Margaret Lupuzi, Mrs. Sophia Koerkop, Mrs. Rachel E. Masole, Mrs. Margaret Gweze, and Mrs. Maria Kondile, and Ngqozi and James Zini. Prof. R. F. A. Hoernlé and Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. M. M. Padi. |

ANNEXURE 5. (See Paragraph 2.)

LIST OF SUBJECTS. N.E.C. 8.

A.—The following list of subjects, though not intended to be exhaustive, indicates the more important heads upon which the Commission desires to obtain evidence. Information is wanted, wherever possible, of changes which have taken place or are taking place in respect of any of these matters.

1. TRIBAL AND DETRIBALIZED NATIVES.

- (1) Factors leading to Detribalization. Reasons for Detribalized Native sacrificing his Tribal economic assets.
- (2) Advantages/disadvantages of Tribal conditions.
- (3) Economic results and social aspects of Detribalization. Effects on efficiency and earning capacity.
- (4) Native Customs. Economic function of *Lobolo*—extent of use of substitutes for cattle.

2. LAND.

- (1) Types of tenure and contracts for the use of land, and their effects upon production, settlement, and migration. Squatting and its effects on farming and on urban industries.

3. LANDLESS NATIVE POPULATION.

- (1) Economic and social effects of presence of.
- (2) Future of.

4. NATIVE MIGRATIONS.

- (1) Rural to urban areas.
- (2) Inter-rural areas.
- (3) Economic effects of this and of introduction of Natives from extra-Union Territories.

5. NATIVE AGRICULTURE.

- (1) Standard of.
- (2) What is being done to develop.
- (3) Effect upon, by Natives working for Europeans.
- (4) Effect upon European farming caused by employment of Natives.

6. RURAL NATIVE AREAS.

- (1) Administration.
- (2) Adequacy and congestion.
- (3) Afforestation.
- (4) Obstacles to more economical use of land.
- (5) Occupation of, in relation to concentration of residential plots and economical grouping of arable and grazing lands. Housing and housing material. Sanitation.
- (6) Mortality among adults and children.
- (7) Stock. Types of. Overstocking—methods of combating this evil.
- (8) Irrigation and water supply.

7. URBAN NATIVE AREAS.

- (1) Administration.
- (2) Adequacy. Nature of housing and rentals charged. Sanitation.
- (3) Recreation.
- (4) Industrial and other diseases and provision for their treatment.
- (5) Liquor.
- (6) Mortality among adults and children.

8. NATIVE LABOUR.

- (1) General labour conditions. Labour Supply. Recruiting. Housing, feeding, sanitation, and conditions of employees.
- (2) Wages. Comparison of Native income in farming and urban and other occupations. Amount, nature, method, time of payment. Effect of Native wage level on use of machinery. Adequacy of wages in respect of Tribal and Detribalized urban Natives. Advances of wages to Natives and effects thereof.
- (3) Domestic male and female servants. Advantages and disadvantages of employment of.

9. GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

- (1) Absentee landlordism and its effects.
- (2) Industrial disputes.
- (3) Banking and co-operative systems.
- (4) Cost and standard of living of Natives in rural and urban areas.
- (5) Credit system.
- (6) Indigency.
- (7) Development/improvement of Native handicrafts.
- (8) Native products—markets and facilities for sale of.
- (9) Competition of Natives with Europeans and Cape Coloured.

10. EDUCATION OF NATIVES.

- (1) Its extent and nature in rural and urban areas and oversea.
- (2) Its results and value.
- (3) Occupational training.
- (4) Occupations in which educated Natives are engaged.
- (5) Effect of education on earning capacity and wage rates.

11. NATIVE TAXATION.

- (1) Extent.
- (2) Modes of.
- (3) Effect on cost and mode of living and general welfare of Natives.
- (4) Effect on labour supply.

12. CRIME AND LITIGATION IN RELATION TO NATIVES—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS ONLY.

- (1) Causes.
- (2) Classes.

13. INTER-RACIAL RELATIONS.

Promotion of inter-racial good feeling and co-operation. Aids and obstacles.

14. TRADE.

Between Natives and between non-Natives and Natives. Economic aspects.

15. LEGISLATION SPECIALLY AFFECTING NATIVES, CONSIDERED WITHIN TERMS OF REFERENCE ONLY.

- (1) Industrial Conciliation Act.
 - (2) Master and Servants Acts.
 - (3) Mines and Works Act.
 - (4) Native Administration Act.
 - (5) Native Labour Regulation Act.
 - (6) Natives Land Act.
 - (7) Native Taxation and Development Act.
 - (8) Natives (Urban Areas) Act.
 - (9) Pass Laws.
 - (10) Squatting laws.
 - (11) Wage Act.
 - (12) Wage Determinations Validation Act.
- Any other economic legislation affecting Natives.

B.—Evidence upon any of the abovementioned heads or upon any other points which may appear to fall within the general terms of reference of the Commission will be welcomed, and it is desired that, where possible, a written statement be submitted to the Commission in advance upon points regarding which witnesses intend to give evidence.

C.—Organised groups are invited to nominate a spokesman or spokesmen to represent their views.

D.—Dates and places of sessions of the Commission will be made known in good time to enable persons to give evidence.

E.—The terms of reference were published in Government Notice No. 1074, dated 13/6/1930, on page 545 of *Government Gazette* No. 1880, and are :

- (1) The economic and social conditions of Natives especially in the larger towns of the Union.
- (2) The application to Natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment and for dealing with industrial disputes and/or the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purposes.
- (3) The economic and social effect upon the European and Coloured population of the Union of the residence of Natives in urban areas and the measures, if any, to be adopted to deal with surplus Natives in, and to prevent the increasing migration of Natives to, such areas.
- (4) What proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the Native population directly and indirectly. What proportion of the public expenditure may be regarded as necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to, the Native population.

F.—Communications and inquiries to be addressed to :

SECRETARY,
Native Economic Commission,
Box 384,
PRETORIA.

17th July, 1930.



ANNEXURE 6. (See Paragraph 2.)

I.

INQUIRY REGARDING NATIVE AFFAIRS.

DEAR SIR/MADAM,

The Native Economic Commission would highly value any information which you may be disposed to give, under any of the headings shown in the enclosed document.

Commissioners naturally do not expect exhaustive replies on every detail, but would much like to have the benefit of your knowledge and experience in Native Affairs on such matters as you feel they should take into account.

They assure you that they will welcome whatever information you may be good enough to supply, and that they will consider it carefully.

Your reply may be sent post free if the covering envelope is marked :

O.H.M.S.

Secretary,

Native Economic Commission,

Box 384,

Pretoria.

with :

N.E.C. 57/1—and your name in the bottom left-hand corner.

Yours faithfully,

C. FAYE,

Secretary, Native Economic Commission.

PRETORIA,

20th February, 1931.

II.

General Questionnaire.

Statement by

Postal Address

Scope of Statement.

1. Please state precisely to what District or area your statement applies.
2. (a) To what groups or classes of Natives do your remarks refer?
(b) What is the (i) length and (ii) extent of your experience with them?
3. What is the nature or extent (a) of your knowledge or experience of the employment or control of Natives, or (b) of the administration of Native Affairs?

Tribal System.

4. What in your opinion are the (a) advantages and/or (b) disadvantages of the Tribal system of the Natives?
5. (a) Is the system breaking down? (b) If so, what are the factors causing such breakdown? (c) Should the breakdown be (i) assisted, or (ii) retarded, or (iii) allowed to continue unimpeded?
6. (a) What use is being made at present of Chiefs? (b) Should greater use be made of them? (c) If so, what? (d) What responsibilities have Chiefs now? (e) Have they power commensurate with such responsibilities?

Native Customs.

7. What influences are exerted upon the (a) moral character, (b) industry and (c) progress of Natives (men and women) by (i) polygamy, (ii) *lobolo*?

8. In how far are Native marriage customs being broken down by resort to (a) Christian rites; (b) cohabitation without marriage?

9. What connection, if any, is there between overstocking and (a) *lobolo*, (b) any other Native custom?

10. (a) What is the customary number of *lobolo* cattle contributed for a commoner? (This does not apply to Natal.) (b) Should anything be done to (i) maintain or (ii) regulate the custom of *lobolo*?

11. (a) What has been, or (b) is being employed for *lobolo*, and (c) what have been the causes and (d) what are the effects of any changes in the nature of what is used?

Overstocking.

12. (a) Have any attempts been made to prevent the continuance of overstocking? (b) If so, (i) what, and (ii) with what measure of success? (c) Is the overstocking worse than it was ten years ago? (d) What in your opinion are the chief causes of overstocking, and (e) what steps are possible to prevent it?

Change in Quality of Soil.

13. (a) Have you observed any change in, say, the past twenty-five years in the quality of the soil or the vegetation in your District or area, and (b) if so, to what do you attribute it?

Social and Economic Condition of Natives.

14. What is your opinion of the social and economic status and condition of Native men and women compared with that of twenty-five years ago?

15. Is there a growing tendency on the part of Natives in your District to adopt European dress, houses, furniture, recreation, amusements, reading, education, customs in marriage and in the employment of servants? Give any particulars known to you illustrative of this tendency.

16. In what way do existing laws of Native succession and inheritance (a) help, or (b) hinder the social or economic advancement of Natives; (i) men, (ii) women?

Native Migration.

17. A. Have you observed any increased tendency in the past (a) five, (b) ten, (c) twenty years, of Natives to migrate:

- (i) from European-owned farms to Native areas;
- (ii) from Native areas to European-owned farms;
- (iii) from such farms to towns;
- (iv) from towns to such farms;
- (v) from Native areas to towns;
- (vi) from towns to Native areas;
- (vii) from Province to Province;
- (viii) from the Union to extra-Union territories;
- (ix) into the Union from beyond its borders?

B. If so, please give what you think is, or was, for each of those periods the cause of such movement.

18. What are the social and economic effects of such migration upon: (a) Natives, (b) Europeans?

19. What measures, if any, should be adopted (a) to deal with surplus Natives in urban areas and (b) to prevent the increasing migration of Natives to such areas?

Land Tenure by Natives.

20. Do you favour (a) the communal or (b) the individual system of land tenure (i) for Natives, or (ii) for any particular class of Natives? Please state your reasons.

Landless Natives.

21. What in your view will become of the Native population for which no reserved land is available?

Farm Evictions.

22. (a) Have there been in the past five years any evictions of Natives from European-owned farms in your District or neighbourhood? If so, please (b) give the number of cases known to you and (c) enumerate the causes of such evictions. (d) What generally became of the evicted Natives?

Natives on Farms.

23. Can you comment on the desirability of Natives being employed in farming on the basis of:

- (a) share farming;
- (b) labour tenancy;
- (c) cash rent tenancy;
- (d) cash wages;
- (e) wages in kind?

Native Labour Tenants on Farms.

24. A. What, in your opinion, are the (a) advantages, (b) disadvantages, of the labour tenant system in your District from the point of view of: (i) the farmer, (ii) the Native?

B. (a) What changes have occurred or (b) appear to be occurring to cause the (i) extension, (ii) continuance, or (iii) disappearance of the system?

Replacement of Farm Workers.

25. (a) Has there been, or (b) is there any tendency to replace one race of farm workers by another? e.g. Indians by Natives, Coloureds by Natives, or Europeans by Natives, or *vice versa*?

26. The following variations of labour tenancy exist in various parts of the Union. (a) Which of these occur (i) in your District or (ii) in any part of your District? (b) To what extent do they occur? (c) Are you aware of any other variation? If so, please give particulars.

- (i) three consecutive calendar months, or ninety consecutive days of service;
- (ii) ninety working days or shifts in one spell;
- (iii) ninety working days spread over the year;
- (iv) four, six, nine, or twelve calendar months of service.

27. A. Is the obligation of a labour tenant to render service (a) confined to the head of the family alone, or (b) does it include the service: (i) of his wife or wives, (ii) of his children, or (iii) of both his wife or wives and children, (iv) or of other kraal inmates?

B. Is a wage paid (a) in cash or (b) in kind to: (i) the head of the family, (ii) his wife or wives, (iii) his children, (iv) other kraal inmates, when they are required to work?

C. What is the customary rate of pay for Native (a) male, (b) female adult daily paid labourers?

D. On what terms or conditions as to (a) pay, (b) feeding, and (c) housing, and (d) privileges are adult (i) male, (ii) female wage labourers, as distinct from labour tenants, employed in your District or area?

28. Is the labour tenant, or any member of his family, given: (a) food, (b) lodging, (c) both food and lodging, (i) while working, or (ii) at any other time?

29. When the head of a family, or any of his sons, has given the service required of him as a labour tenant, (a) is he allowed to leave the farm to seek work elsewhere, or (b) is he required to remain for the rest of the year on the farm: (i) as a wage labourer, (ii) merely as a resident, or (iii) on any other conditions?

30. A. What privileges are given to the labour tenant in respect of (a) land to cultivate for himself, (b) grazing rights for his stock, (c) assistance in ploughing, (d) fertilizer, (e) any other matter?

B. What limitation is placed (a) on the area of the land which may be cultivated and (b) upon the number of (i) large and/or (ii) small stock for which grazing is allowed?

31. (a) Are there any farms in your District or area owned by European companies or by Europeans, but not occupied by Europeans, which are occupied by Natives, and (b) if so, on what terms?

32. What are the effects of such occupation by Natives: (a) upon the farm so occupied and (b) upon the supply of farm labourers for European farms in the neighbourhood?

Farming by Natives.

33. In what classes of farming are Natives engaged on their own account in your District or area?

Marketing of Native Produce.

34. (a) How is Native produce marketed in your area? (b) Can you suggest practical methods (i) for improving Native agriculture and (ii) for the marketing of Native produce?

Natives Leasing Land to Non-Natives.

35. Are you aware of any instances of Natives leasing land to non-Natives? If so, give particulars.

Employment of Europeans by Natives.

36. Do you know of any instances of individual Natives employing Europeans? If so, please give particulars.

Recruited Native Workers.

37. (a) Are there recruiters of Native labour in your area? (b) If so, are their methods satisfactory? (c) What capitation fee do they receive? (d) Can you say whether a recruiter increases to any substantial extent the number of Natives who go to work for Europeans, or (e) whether he merely effects their distribution among various employers?

38. (a) From what Districts do recruited Natives, if any, come to your area, and (b) what is the fare they must pay from the principal point(s) of departure?

39. Are any steps taken to see that recruited Natives are returned to their homes at the end of their contracts?

Recreation of Native Employees.

40. Is provision made by employers in your District for (a) games, or (b) other forms of recreation for their Native employees?

Effects of Absence of Natives from Home.

41. What are the social and economic effects of the absence of Natives (a) males, (b) females, from their homes, while working on farms or in mines or towns: (i) upon themselves, (ii) upon their families, (iii) upon their marriage ties, (iv) upon the standard of agriculture and (v) its development?

Native Domestic Servants.

42. Are domestic servants in: (a) urban, (b) rural parts of your area generally Natives? If so, (i) which sex is usually favoured, and (ii) why?

Organization of Native Employees.

43. To what extent are Natives organized, to your knowledge, for protection as employees?

Trade with Natives.

44. (a) Do traders trade with Natives on the basis (i) of cash purchase and sale, or (ii) of barter, or (iii) both? (b) Is there much competition between traders? (c) Are Natives protected against unduly high prices of goods they purchase? (d) Is there any system (i) of credit or (ii) of tokens at stores? (e) If so, please give particulars and (f) state what in your opinion are the (i) social and (ii) economic effects of any such system.

45. (a) Are there any Native storekeepers trading on their own account in your District? (b) If so, please give their names, and (c) if you are able, state how long each has carried on his business.

Effect of Education on Natives.

46. What has been the effect of the education of Natives in respect to (a) their habits of industry, (b) general adaptability to changing conditions, (c) earning capacity?

Openings for Educated Natives.

47. (a) What openings exist in your area for educated Natives? (b) What further openings are possible to them? (c) What obstacles stand in the way of further openings becoming possible, and (d) should steps be taken to remove any such obstacles? Give reasons.

Native Industries in Native Areas.

48. What gainful industries, in your opinion, could in the near future be established for Natives in Native areas?

Laws Affecting Native Workers in Towns.

49. What are your views about the application to Natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of (a) wages and (b) conditions of employment and (c) for dealing with industrial disputes?

Effect upon Natives of Certain Legislation.

50. What have been the (a) social and (b) economic effects upon Natives and (c) what are the reactions of those effects upon Europeans of:

- (i) Natives Land Act, 1913.
 - (ii) Mines and Works Act ("Colour Bar" Act).
 - (iii) Native Labour Regulation Act.
 - (iv) Native Administration Act.
 - (v) Native Taxation and Development Act.
 - (vi) Natives (Urban Areas) Act.
 - (vii) Master and Servants Act.
 - (viii) Pass Laws.
 - (ix) Squatting, or labour tenant, laws.
 - (x) Industrial Conciliation Act.
 - (xi) Wage Act.
 - (xii) Apprenticeship Act.
- any other legislation specially affecting Natives?

Are there any factors tending (d) to minimize or (e) to accentuate such effects?

Natives and Coloured Persons in Towns.

51. What effects have (a) the presence of Natives in, and (b) their migration to towns or farms, upon (Cape or other) Coloured people where these people form a large proportion of the population?

Good Feeling between Europeans and Natives.

52. (a) Has there in the past twenty-five years been any change in the attitude of Natives towards the Europeans in your area? (b) If so, please describe it, and (c) state to what causes you attribute the change. (d) What steps are being taken, and (e) what further steps should be taken (i) to promote and (ii) to maintain good feeling between Europeans and Natives?

Your replies, with any further statement you may wish to make, should be in the hands of the

SECRETARY,
NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION,
P.O. BOX 384, PRETORIA,

not later than 30 April, 1931. The Commission would much appreciate your sending, if possible, eight copies of your replies and/or statement, preferably typewritten.

You are invited to be good enough to give particulars which you consider will be useful or helpful to the Commission.

J. E. HOLLOWAY,
Chairman, Native Economic Commission.

PRETORIA,
3rd February, 1931.

ANNEXURE 7. (See Paragraph 2.)

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MAGISTRATES AND NATIVE COMMISSIONERS.

Scope of Statement.

Please give particulars for the District in which you are now stationed, and where possible, for other Districts where you have been stationed.

1. Please specify in each instance (a) with what District/s you are dealing in your statement; and (b) in what capacity; and (c) for how long you have been stationed there.

Land Transactions Affecting Natives.

2. (a) Have European individuals or Associations been consulted about the proposed purchase by Natives of land in your District, or are they consulted? If so, (b) what has been their attitude; and (c) its effect upon the proposed purchase?

3. Have Native purchasers of land in your District, after paying portion of the purchase price, lost (a) the land and (b) their money, through inability to complete payment? Quote instances, if any.

4. (a) Is there any tendency for land held by Natives in freehold to be sold to Europeans, where this is permissible? If so, (b) for what reasons?

Use of Land held by Natives.

5. What use is made by Natives of land held by them (a) in individual tenure or (b) as syndicates? (c) Are steps taken to prevent overstocking on such land? (d) Do the owners make better use of their land than squatters, labour tenants, or Natives in Native areas?

Recruited Native Labourers.

6. (a) How long does it usually take a recruited Native to complete the number of shifts for which he has contracted? (b) What factors tend to prolong the term? (c) Taking into account these factors, what is the net average earning per calendar month of a recruited Native for the period from the day he leaves home to the day he gets back?

7. (a) What do you think would be the attitude of Natives to a Government Labour Bureau from which advances on behalf of individual employers could be made to them, if thereby recruiters' capitation fees could be added to their wages? (b) What would be the effect upon the number going forward voluntarily (i) to farms, or (ii) to labour centres, of such an addition to their present net earnings? (c) Can you quote instances of such a method of getting labourers having been tried anywhere?

Master and Servants Act.

8. How many cases were tried in 1930 in your Court in which (a) employers of Natives, (b) Natives, were charged with offences under the Master and Servants Act?

9. (a) Please give your views on the working of that Act, including its social and economic effects upon Natives and their employers; and (b) state in what respects, if any, you consider it needs amending.

Crime Committed by Natives.

10. (a) Is there much crime committed by Natives in your District? (b) To what social or economic factors is what crime there is attributable?

Poor Relief for Natives.

11. (a) Is there any provision for poor relief for Natives in your District? If so, (b) what, and (c) to what extent is it (i) needed, and (ii) supplied?

Sanitation.

12. (a) What sanitary accommodation exists for Natives attending your Court and offices; and (b) is it adequate?

Shelter for Natives at Courts.

13. Is suitable waiting-shelter provided for Natives attending your Court and offices?

General.

14. In addition to the particulars asked for here, would you kindly reply to the General Questionnaire on such matters as you consider you can give helpful information to the Commission.

15. Generally, Questionnaires need not be answered by officials who have tendered evidence before the Commission, or who have already submitted statements, unless fresh points are brought in by the Questionnaires on which such officers consider they can give the Commission help.

16. Are there any matters falling within the Commission's Terms of Reference, not covered by the Questionnaires, upon which you desire to make representations? If so, please do so.

Please submit eight copies of your statement, typewritten, and send it at your early convenience to: The Secretary, Native Economic Commission, P.O. Box 384, Pretoria.

ANNEXURE 8. (See Paragraph 2.)

QUESTIONNAIRE N.E.C. 57/3 FOR UNION DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS.

The Native Economic Commission desires to be supplied with eight copies of a statement embracing the best available information under the following heads, reflecting the position as at 31.12.1930:

Ownership and Purchase of Land by Natives.

1. (a) How many Natives in each Magisterial District own their own land in individual tenure? (b) What are the sizes of the holdings, and (c) what is the total area so held?

2. How many farms have been purchased in each District by Natives (a) as Tribes or communally, (b) as societies or companies, and (c) as individuals?

3. What steps are taken to protect Natives against paying unduly high prices for land?

Land held under Lease by Natives.

4. How many Natives in each Magisterial District hold land under leasehold tenure from non-Natives? (b) What are the sizes of the holdings, and (c) what is the total area so held?

Use of Native Local Tax of 10s.

5. (a) How is the revenue from the local tax of 10s. expended in each District? Details are required showing (a) number, (b) occupations, and (c) pay of (i) Europeans and (ii) Natives who are paid for their services wholly or in part out of such revenue, and the total amount paid (iii) to Europeans and (iv) to Natives for the calendar year 1930.

Stock in Native Areas.

6. In respect of Native areas in each Magisterial District:

A. (a) Is there too much stock on Native land for the needs of the Natives living on that land, as distinct from the capacity of the land itself to carry so much? (b) What official action is being taken about this, and (c) what further action, if any, is it recommended should be taken? (d) What use do Natives make of stock (i) for food, (ii) for trade, (iii) for farming? (e) What number of stock is considered necessary to meet the needs of the Native for (i) milk, (ii) ploughing, (iii) transport? (f) On what are these various estimates based?

B. (a) What stock, if any, is there in Native areas belonging to non-Natives? (b) Are figures given here estimates or from checked records? (c) If estimates, on what based? (d) (i) Is it desirable that stock belonging to non-Natives be kept in Native areas (give reasons), and (ii) what official action is taken in this respect?

C. (a) What official action is now being taken to increase the capacity of the land to carry more stock? (b) What further action, if any, is it considered should be taken?

Recruited Native Labourers.

7. (a) Are adequate steps taken to see that recruited Natives are physically fit for the work for which they are recruited, and that they are properly (b) housed and (c) fed while in employment? (d) What recommendations, if any, are offered as to these matters?

Natives Engaged in Trade or Business.

8. (a) What is the position concerning Natives carrying on trade or business on their own account, and (b) what recommendations are submitted to the Commission in this regard?

Pretoria,
8.1.1931.

ANNEXURE 9. (See Paragraphs 2 and 902, and Addendum 58, 96, 192.)

NATIVE FARM TENANTS.

N.B.—By a Native farm tenant is to be understood a Native who lives on a farm with his family, is given land to work for himself, and usually may run, free of charge, a number of cattle on the farm.

N.B.—The details to be filled in in the schedule below must cover a full financial year.

1. Name of Farm.....
2. Magisterial District.....
3. Owner of Farm.....
4. Lessee, if leased.....
5. Period covered..... 1929, to.....1930
6. Name of Head of Native Family.....
7. Terms of Contracts in brief. State also clearly conditions and basis(es) (calendar month or thirty-day shift) governing service of individual members of family :.....
8. Wages :—
A.—PAID IN CASH AND/OR IN KIND (OTHER THAN FOOD AND PRIVILEGES).

| Family. | No. | Period not on Farm. | Period on Farm but not Employed. | Free Service. | Paid Service. | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-----------|---------|
| | | | | | In Cash. | | | In Kind (e.g., Cattle, etc.). | | | | |
| | | | | | * Months. | * Months. | * Months. | * Months. | Per Month. | Total Cash Wage. | * Months. | Nature. |
| Head..... | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wife(ves)..... | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Males under 18..... | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Males 18 and over... | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Females under 18... | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Females 16 and over | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL..... | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Number of months per annum.

B. 1.—FOOD SUPPLIED TO FAMILY.

When at Work.

| Months. | Maize. | | Maize Meal. | | Skimmed Milk. | | Meat. | | * | | From the Table. | Other. |
|----------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | Quantity. | Farm Value. | Quantity. | Farm Value. | Quantity. | Farm Value. | Quantity. | Farm Value. | Quantity. | Farm Value. | Farm Value. | Farm Value. |
| 1929. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1930. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL YEAR.... | | | | | | | | | | | | |

When not at Work.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1929. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1930. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL YEAR.... | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Any other item necessary to specify.

C.—PRIVILEGES.

1. Land Cultivated.

| Family. | Land Cultivated. | | | Maize. | | | Kaffir Corn. | | | Other Products. | | | Value of Fertilizer Supplied Free of Charge. | Value of Seed Supplied Free of Charge. |
|--------------------------|------------------|--------|-------------|---------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|--|--|
| | Area. | | Per Morgen. | Morgen. | Total Yield. | Total Farm Value. | Morgen. | Total Yield. | Total Farm Value. | Kind of Produce | Total Yield. | Total Farm Value. | | |
| | Morgen. | Value. | Rental. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Head..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wife(ves)..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Males under 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Males 18 and over..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Females under 16..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Females 16 and over..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL..... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

1. State what operations and times per operation (ploughing, planting, harrowing, cultivating, harvesting, and threshing) are done at the expense of the Landlord.....

2. Where tenant performs all the operations, state implements and number of oxen, if any, supplied by Landlord.....

3. In calculating the Farm Value of the Native's products the basic market price should vary as little as possible within an area.

2. Grazing and Other Privileges.

| Family. | Grazing: Current Hire of, per Annum. | | | | | | Dipping on the Farm if Free. | †Housing. | Apparel. | Transport Use of Landlord's Wagon and/or Oxen. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------------------------|-----------|----------|--|
| | Large Stock. | | | Small Stock. | | | | | | |
| | * Number. | Per Head. | * Total Value. | * Number. | Per 100 Head. | Total Value. | Value. | Value. | Value. | Value. |
| Head..... | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wife(ves)..... | | | | | | | | | | |
| Males under 18..... | | | | | | | | | | |
| Males 18 and over..... | | | | | | | | | | |
| Females under 16..... | | | | | | | | | | |
| Females 16 and over..... | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL..... | | | | | | | | | | |

* Number of livestock running on the farm.

† Unless housing involves a capital expenditure to the farmer it should not be enumerated.

STATE:—

(a) Carrying capacity of grazing land:—

(i).....morgen per.....head of large stock.

(ii).....morgen per.....head of small stock.

(b) Value of grazing land per morgen £.....

9. Use made, if any, by landlord of tenant's oxen, cows, etc:—

| Kind. | If not Paid for. | | | Cash. | If Paid for. | |
|-------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Number of Units. | Farm Value per Unit. | Total Farm Value. | | In Kind. | |
| | | | | Total Payment. | Details. | Farm Value. |
| * Ox-labour (days)..... | | | | | | |
| Milk (gallons)..... | | | | | | |
| Cream (gallons)..... | | | | | | |
| Manure (tons)..... | | | | | | |

* E.g., a span of 16 oxen working a full day would give 16 units or 16 ox-days.

10. When tenant has fulfilled his labour contract for the year, state whether—

(1) He is free to seek work elsewhere.....

(2) If not, on what terms he must remain on the farm.....

ANNEXURE 10. (See Paragraph 2.)

I.

Box 384, PRETORIA,

2nd June, 1931.

TOWN CLERK,
.....

DEAR SIR,

I am directed by the Chairman and Members of the Native Economic Commission to send you the enclosed document, N.E.C. 57/6, and to ask that you be good enough to cause it to be attended to at your early convenience.

Replies may be sent O.H.M.S. if on the left-hand bottom corner of the covering envelope the words "Reply to N.E.C. 57/6" are endorsed over your signature or initials, and designation.

Commissioners hope very much that they may have the benefit of your help in obtaining the best available particulars under the various headings enumerated, the classification shown in the document being adhered to in the replies submitted.

It would be much appreciated if you would please cause eight copies of your reply to be submitted, should this not be too inconvenient, so as to meet the requirements of the Commission.

Yours faithfully,

C. FAYE,

Secretary, Native Economic Commission.

II.

PARTICULARS IN REGARD TO URBAN AREAS.

The Native Economic Commission desires to obtain from urban authorities, through Town Clerks, the best available information on the matters specified in this document, and would much appreciate this being sent, as early as possible, to:

Secretary,
Native Economic Commission,
Box 384,
Pretoria.

I.—NATIVE POPULATION.

1. *In Urban Native Location.*

(1) If in the area of your local authority, there is a location for Natives, will you kindly give the latest figures showing:

Its Population—(i) adults, (ii) male, and (iii) female;
(iv) juveniles, (v) male, and (vi) female;
(vii) number of families,

giving the date in respect of which the figures are submitted.

(2) It will be appreciated if you can give corresponding figures for earlier years.

(3) Has your local authority at any time since 1910 made any efforts to ascertain from time to time the number of its Native population? (b) If so, please give the results so obtained.

2. *In Urban Area outside Native Location.*

Similar particulars in respect of the same groups.

II.—NATIVES IN EMPLOY OF URBAN AUTHORITY.

3. (a) What wages are paid to Native employees of your urban authority?
(b) Please specify the occupations in which they are employed, and (c) state whether:

(i) food,
(ii) quarters—(1) single and/or (2) married,
(iii) any other privileges

are provided or given, and

(iv) to what extent, if any, this affects the wages paid.

III.—NATIVE MIGRATION TO URBAN AREA.

4. (a) Has there in recent years been any marked influx of Natives into your urban area? (b) If so, (i) has it been continuous, or intermittent, (ii) when, roughly, did it begin, (iii) at what periods has it been most marked, and has the urban authority made any investigation into its causes? In that event, what was (c) the nature and what was (d) the result of such investigation? (e) Whence did these Natives principally come? (f) Has there been a time in the life of your town when its Native population has, relatively to the total population, been an insignificant number? (g) If so, and if you now have a substantial number of Natives, at what period did the influx become marked?

IV.—NATIVE DOMESTIC SERVANTS.

5. (a) Are domestic servants in your urban area generally Natives? If so, (b) which sex is usually favoured, and (c) why?

6. Is anything done by your urban authority in seeing (a) that Native domestic servants are properly housed by their employers where such servants have to sleep on the employers' premises, and (b) that adequate sanitary conveniences are provided for these servants?

V.—NATIVE VISITORS.

7. What provision is made for accommodation for Natives (a) visiting, or (b) passing through your urban area? (c) Is any charge made on householders by your urban authority for Native lodgers or visitors? If so, (d) on what basis and (e) why? (f) Do any householders let accommodation to Native lodgers, and (g) if so, on what basis?

VI.—OBSERVANCE OF LAW AND ORDER.

8. Is the Native population (a) in your urban Native Location, (b) in the remainder of your urban area, law-abiding?

VII.—INDIGENCY.

9. (a) Are there in your urban area any indigent Natives? (b) Is any provision made for such Natives? (c) If so, please state of what nature.

VIII.—EDUCATION.

10. What facilities are there (a) in your urban Native Location, (if there is such a location), (b) in the urban area elsewhere, for the attendance of Natives at (i) day, and (ii) evening school, (iii) church?

IX.—RECREATION.

11. What facilities are provided for the recreation of Natives, (a) by the urban authority, (b) otherwise, in the area of your local authority?

X.—HEALTH.

12. (a) What is the health condition of Natives in your urban area outside the urban Native Location? (b) What provision is made for the medical treatment of these Natives, and (c) what charges are made?

XI.—URBAN NATIVE LOCATION (IF ANY).

(1) *Lots or Stands.*

13. What is the area of lots or stands?

(2) *Nature of Tenure.*

14. On what tenure do Natives hold the lots or stands?

(3) *Housing.*

15. (a) Are houses in the location provided by your local authority? If so, please state:

- (i) Number—Single quarters, married quarters, separately;
- (ii) type, i.e. detached and/or semi-detached;
- (iii) size;
- (iv) number of rooms in each type;
- (v) number of rooms available for being let singly;
- (vi) material of which houses are constructed;
- (vii) whether built by European, Coloured, or Native labour;

- (viii) cost of building ;
- (ix) probable life for purpose for which erected ;
- (x) annual charge for maintenance and repairs.
- (b) If any dwellings are erected by renters of plots, please state :
 - (i) whether your local authority assists the Natives with loans ;
 - (ii) whether there is any other source from which such loans are or may be obtained ;
 - (iii) description of style of dwelling ;
 - (iv) type, i.e. single and/or married quarters ;
 - (v) size ;
 - (vi) number of rooms in each type,
 - (vii) materials of which dwellings are constructed ;
 - (viii) estimated cost of building ;
 - (ix) probable life for purpose for which erected,
 - (x) attitude of local authority in regard to the erection of such dwellings by the Natives.

(c) (i) Are there families living in single rooms? (ii) If so, what number of persons are known to be living in a single room? (iii) Is overcrowding common?

(4) *Rentals.*

16. What rent is charged by the local authority for (a) land only, (b) house and land? (c) (i) What percentage on the capital invested in building does the rental yield after deducting cost of services and rental of land? (ii) Please show how this percentage is arrived at.

(5) *Lodgers and Visitors.*

17. What conditions, if any, govern the stay of Native (a) visitors, (b) lodgers, in the Locations? (c) What provision is made for the housing of Native visitors (i) men, (ii) women, (iii) families, (iv) boys and girls unaccompanied by their parents?

(6) *Nature of Employment.*

18. (a) In what classes of occupation and (b) at what wages are Natives of the location employed?

(7) *Female Workers.*

19. Do Native women of the location (a) go out to work, or (b) get work to be performed in the location? (c) What provision exists for caring for children while their mothers are out at work?

(8) *Native Beer.*

20. (a) Is beer (i) brewed and (ii) sold in the location? (b) Is brewing for home consumption allowed? (c) (i) Are the Natives satisfied with your present system? (ii) If not, what are their objections? (d) (i) What evidence, if any, have you of the occurrence and extent of illicit brewing of intoxicating beverages? (ii) Have you any suggestions to make for the more satisfactory control of the production by, and the sale of liquor including Native beer to, Natives in your area? (e) Please give the number of convictions for brewing or sale of liquor in your location (i) for 1929, (ii) for 1930.

(9) *Trade by Natives.*

21. (a) Are any trading licences issued to Natives to trade in the location? (b) If not, why? (c) Are licences to carry on any other business or occupation in the location issued to Natives? (d) If so, what are they? (e) If not, please indicate the reason.

(10) *Stock.*

22. (a) Are the Location Natives allowed to run stock on your Town Lands or Commonage? (b) If so, on what terms? (c) If not, what is the reason?

(11) *Cultivation of Land.*

23. (a) Are (i) the Location Natives or (ii) any other Natives in your area given opportunities to cultivate land? (b) If so, (i) what and (ii) what use is made of such opportunities?

(12) *Health.*

24. (a) What is the Health condition of the inhabitants of the Location? (b) What provision exists for their medical treatment and (c) what charges are made?

(13) Services Rendered by Urban Authority.

25. (a) What services are provided for Natives, e.g. (i) water, (ii) light, (iii) fuel, (iv) sanitary, (v) refuse removal, (vi) roadmaking, (vii) transport, etc.? (b) State to what extent the services are rendered, i.e. (i) whether to each house, or (ii) if not, in what way they are given. (c) What charge is made for such services (i) to Europeans, (ii) to Natives in the Location? (d) Are Natives allowed to use public institutions such as museums, libraries reading rooms? (e) Are there any such institutions provided specially for their use?

(14) Financial Accounts.

26. Please give the figures reflected in the last completed year's financial accounts.

XII.—NATIVE VILLAGE.

27. (a) Is there (i) in or (ii) near your urban area a Native (iii) village or (iv) township or (v) other area in which Natives may (vi) buy land, or (vii) lease it for long periods? (b) What is the view of your urban authority (i) as to the establishment of such places and (ii) as to their management?

XIII.—NATIVE ADVISORY COUNCIL.

28. (a) Is there a Native Advisory Council or similar body in your urban area? (b) If so, please describe (i) its membership, (ii) its functions, (iii) the measure of its success, and (iv) the extent to which it is consulted by your local authority.

XIV.—SPECIAL REPRESENTATIONS BY URBAN AUTHORITIES.

29. Any special representations which your urban authority may wish to make to the Native Economic Commission, may be entered under this heading.

XV.—TERMS OF REFERENCE.

30. In terms of Government Notice No. 1074, dated 13.6.1930, the Commission has been appointed to inquire into and report upon:

(1) The economic and social conditions of Natives especially in the larger towns of the Union.

(2) The application to Natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment and for dealing with industrial disputes and/or the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purposes.

(3) The economic and social effect upon the European and Coloured population of the Union of the residence of Natives in urban areas and the measures, if any, to be adopted to deal with surplus Natives in, and to prevent the increasing migration of Natives to, such areas.

(4) What proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the Native population directly and indirectly. What proportion of the public expenditure may be regarded as necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to, the Native population.

J. E. HOLLOWAY,

Chairman, Native Economic Commission.

JOHANNESBURG,
8 May, 1931.

ANNEXURE 11. (See paragraph 7.)

TERMINOLOGY.

I.

Commission.—Strictly speaking, the designation of the Commission is Commission of Inquiry into the Economic and Social Conditions of Natives. For the sake of convenience the designation Native Economic Commission has been adopted.

Native.—This word is now in common use throughout the Union for the Bantu-speaking peoples, and in that sense has acquired the force of a proper noun. It is accordingly used widely in the Report, and is written with a capital initial letter. It is not a very suitable word, however, inasmuch as it excludes all other people who are likewise "native" to the country. It also leads to such contradictions as "indigenous Natives" and "foreign Natives".

The Commission has also employed the words **Abantu** (as a noun) and **Bantu** (as an adjective), which would be more suitable than *Native* for general use.

Location is used, as regards *urban areas*, of areas set aside by urban authorities under the Urban Areas Act for occupation by Natives; and as regards *rural areas*, of more or less clearly defined divisions of Reserves, such for example as the rural wards of Chiefs or their headmen in the Province of Natal.

Native Townships is adopted for areas where Natives hold title to land in or near towns. Such are, for example, Korsten, Eersterust, Alexandra, Lady Selborne.

Native Village is used as a synonym for "location" in urban areas.

Reserves is used of rural areas set aside for Native occupation, and therefore includes rural Native Locations and Mission Reserves. Accordingly, *Mission Reserves* is used as a distinctive term only when necessary.

II.

In regard to Bantu words, the Zulu terms have generally been employed in our Report. The following terms occur in the Report:

Amasi.—Bryant in his Zulu-English Dictionary has: "Thickened curds of milk, a chief article of diet with the Zulus".

Imfino [*Xosa umFuno* or *umFunofuno*, further south *eMbo*, Suto *merózá*—Bryant has "imi-Fino (*collect. no sing.*), n. 5. Any wild-growing vegetable or edible herb cooked as vegetables for food."

Lobolo (*Xosa ikazi*, Suto *bogadi*)—the marriage consideration.

Mahewu (*Xosa marewu*)—fermented mealie-meal porridge.

Sisa (*Xosa ngoma*, *Venda fsha*)—indicating the custom whereby men who are rich in cattle lend some to "relatives," who have the benefit of their use for milking and draught purposes. Bryant has: "Sisa, *v.* Place live-stock (*acc.*) in the kraal of another person (*acc.* and *ela* form) that he take care of it for the owner".

Teleka—*Xosa* term for the keeping of a married woman or her child by her nearest blood-relations, until outstanding lobolo has been contributed.

Utywala—Native-made beer, excluding European liquors.

ANNEXURE 12. (See Paragraph 124.)

STOCK IN RESERVES.—REPLIES TO QUESTIONNAIRE N.E.C. 57/3, HEADINGS 6B AND 6c (SEE ANNEXURE 8).

I.

COPY OF DOCUMENT FROM SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, DATED PRETORIA,
21ST AUGUST, 1931.

Question.—What stock, if any, is there in Native areas belonging to non-Natives?

Answer.—Except in the Transvaal the grazing rights of traders resident in Native areas are clearly defined. Whether the traders adhere to or exceed the figures laid down cannot be definitely ascertained.

Traders in Native areas are allowed to graze the number of stock shown hereunder:

| | <i>Head of Stock.</i> |
|---|-----------------------|
| In the Transkeian Territories | 200 |
| In the Ciskei | 30 |
| In the Transvaal | 30 |
| In Natal | 75 |

In Zululand—

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| 20- to 100-acre sites | 100 |
| Sites under 20 acres | 75 |

It may be mentioned that under the Transkeian Territories Grazing Proclamation, No. 235 of 1926, *stock* is defined as including cattle, horses, asses, mules, sheep, goats, pigs, and ostriches.

"*Sisa-d*" *Stock*.—It is well known that what amounts to a partnership between certain Europeans and Natives exists, where the Europeans' stock is grazed by Natives in locations under certain conditions. This stock is known by the Native term as *sisa-d* stock. In some cases the Native has a small share in the increase, and almost always the Native has the right to use the cattle for ploughing, etc., and the milk produced. This is a most profitable form of farming for the European, especially in parts of Zululand where the pasture is not over-stocked. He can run hundreds of head of cattle at practically no cost, as neither rent on land nor labour costs have to be met; at the same time the custom may benefit impoverished Native families, and is one to which the Natives themselves are much attached.

No figures can be obtained, as the European will disclaim ownership, and the Native claim ownership, if questions are asked. The *sisa* custom is age-old between Native and Native, which makes it easy of performance between European and Native and extremely difficult to trace.

It is probable that a few non-Native farmers who own farms in or bordering on the Native areas obtain grazing for their animals at times in such areas, but, of course, no figures are available to show whether this is actually so.

Question.—Are figures given here estimates or from checked records?

Answer.—There is no fixed traders' rights laid down for the Transvaal, as there is for all other Native areas in the Union, so I have allowed the same number as for the Ciskei, which is less than half the next lowest, and it is felt that this is a very conservative allowance.

Question.—If estimates, on what based?

Answer.—This question is answered above.

Question.—Is it desirable that stock belonging to non-Natives be kept in Native areas (give reasons)?

Answer.—It is necessary to allow each trader a sufficient number of cattle for transportation purposes and a few cows to supply himself and his family with milk. It is thought that one span of fourteen or sixteen oxen, three milking cows, and two riding horses, would meet these requirements.

Question.—What official action is taken in this respect?

Answer.—These rights that the traders enjoy to-day were in most instances granted many years ago, at a time when the number of cattle grazed by Natives were relatively small, and the number owned by traders did not materially affect the available pasture; moreover, roads, road motor and rail transport in most instances were non-existent. In those days the bringing in of supplies and carting out of produce taken in trade to the nearest port or town was a task of great magnitude. This state of affairs is entirely altered to-day, as we find roads, road motor and rail transport available in practically all Native areas.

No official action is being taken in this connection at present.

II.

EXTRACT FROM MINUTE 64/276, ADDRESSED TO THE COMMISSION BY THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, DATED PRETORIA, 11TH NOVEMBER, 1931.

Traders are the only class of persons who have any appreciable rights in respect of the grazing of stock in Native locations and these have already been indicated in the replies previously referred to. It should be noted, however, that the number of seventy-five given in respect of traders in Natal and Zululand has since, under Proclamation No. 123 of 1931, been reduced to fifty.

Missionaries are accorded reasonable grazing privileges according to the circumstances of each case.

The Department has no reason to believe that the *sisa* custom, dealt with on page 3 of the Annexure to my Minute of the 21st August last, prevails to any appreciable extent as between non-Natives and Natives outside the Natal Province.

Generally speaking, Native locations are so congested and so overrun with scrub cattle that there is no inducement for the European farmer or stock-owner to place his cattle with Natives in the locations.

Special legislation bearing on the subject is contained in the Transkeian Grazing Proclamation, No. 235 of 1926, in Part III of the Natal Location Regulations promulgated under Proclamation No. 123 of 1931 referred to above, and in so far as the Glen Grey District is concerned, in the regulations published under Government Notice No. 936 of 1919.

Section 83 of the regulations published under Government Notice No. 936 of 1919 provides that traders and missionaries in lawful occupation of land shall have grazing rights free of charge in respect of such stock as may be required for their personal use not exceeding twelve head of large and fifty head of small stock and the young of such stock under the age of three months.

In so far as the remaining Ciskeian locations are concerned the grazing privileges of traders are as set forth in the accompanying copy of an Identical Minute issued by the Department on the 10th June, 1914. (See III below.)

In so far as the Bechuanaland locations are concerned no definite provision exists, but traders are allowed to keep sufficient stock for their domestic use and to depasture it free of charge upon the adjoining location.

As regards stock which may be kept by traders in the Transvaal locations, the number is specified in the trading permit issued in each case. No uniform number has been prescribed and the Department is largely guided by the recommendation of the local officer in each case.

III.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS,

Pretoria, June 10th, 1914.

No. 106/14/F.881.

Identical Letter.

GRAZING OF STOCK BY TRADERS HOLDING CERTIFICATES OF OCCUPATION UNDER ACT No. 30 OF 1909 (CAPE).

THE RESIDENT MAGISTRATE,

.....

I am directed to inform you that His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council has been pleased, in terms of section *four* of the Trading Stations Act, 1909 (Cape), to approve of the following as a special condition attached to Certificates of Occupation which have been or may be issued under that Act in respect of the Cape Province Proper:—

9. That the occupier shall be entitled to graze free of charge on the common grazing ground set aside for the use of Natives of the Location but subject to any regulations which may from time to time be in force in respect of such common grazing ground 16 oxen or donkeys, 3 horses or mules, 6 cows and calves, and 25 sheep or goats (including lambs or kids).

Will you kindly advise the traders in your District who may be affected and at the same time add that this concession is purely temporary and may be withdrawn or altered at any time.

E. BARRETT,

Under Secretary for Native Affairs

ANNEXURE 13. (See paragraph 271.)

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.—LIVE STOCK.

The figures given in the subjoined Tables are for the area now known as the Transkeian Territories, i.e., East Griqualand, Tembuland, Transkei, and Pondoland.

Particulars of Live Stock, etc., in the Cape Colony, published in connection with the "Statistical Register" are also available for the period 1891-1899, but figures for Pondoland were included only since 1896. As figures are not published for separate Magisterial Districts in the Transkeian Territories for the period in question, deductions cannot be made for the Districts of Maclear and Elliot, which were included in the Territories during that period.

Census and Statistics Office,

Pretoria, 9th September, 1931.

CLASSIFICATION OF EUROPEAN OWNED CATTLE IN THE TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES FOR THE YEARS 1926 AND 1930.

| Year. | Cattle under 1 year. | Cattle 1 year and under 2 years. | Bulls 2 years and over. | Cows and Heifers 2 years and over. | Oxen 2 years and over. | Total. |
|-----------|----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|---------|
| 1930..... | 21,380 | 18,882 | 1,607 | 50,312 | 45,046 | 137,227 |
| 1926..... | 23,046 | 20,096 | 1,829 | 52,586 | 47,858 | 145,415 |

CLASSIFICATION OF CATTLE OWNED BY EUROPEANS AND NATIVES ON EUROPEAN OCCUPIED FARMS IN THE TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES FOR THE YEAR 1921.

| Year. | Cattle under 1 year. | Cattle 1 year and under 2 years. | Bulls 2 years and over. | Cows and Heifers 2 years and over. | Oxen 2 years and over | TOTAL. |
|-----------|----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| 1921..... | 33,641 | 26,838 | 2,345 | 68,492 | 64,383 | 195,699 |

CLASSIFICATION OF ALL CATTLE, EUROPEAN AND NATIVE OWNED, IN THE TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES FOR THE YEARS 1911 AND 1904.

| Year. | Bulls. | Cows. | Oxen. | Other Cattle. | Total. |
|-----------|--------|---------|---------|---------------|-----------|
| 1911..... | 28,423 | 375,569 | 302,078 | 367,967 | 1,074,037 |
| 1904..... | 24,295 | 215,684 | 163,049 | 226,899 | 629,727 |

ANNEXURE 13 (continuation).

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

Cattle (including Calves).

| Year. | European owned. | Owned by Natives on European-occupied Farms. | Owned by Natives in Reserves, etc. | Total. |
|-----------|-----------------|--|------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1930..... | 137,227 | 10,862 | 1,568,747 | 1,716,836 |
| 1929..... | 136,888 | 12,600 | 1,518,619 | 1,668,107 |
| 1928..... | 141,546 | 11,384 | 1,459,438 | 1,612,368 |
| 1927..... | 142,986 | 11,158 | 1,383,842 | 1,537,986 |
| 1926..... | 145,415 | 10,693 | 1,303,337 | 1,459,445 |
| 1925..... | 144,275 | 11,114 | 1,199,090 | 1,354,479 |
| 1924..... | 146,072 | 9,834 | 1,141,761 | 1,297,667 |
| 1923..... | 150,163 | 10,178 | 1,001,901 | 1,162,242 |
| 1922..... | 165,595 | 10,007 | * | * |
| 1921..... | 195,699 | | 786,960 | 982,659 |
| 1920..... | 184,500 | | * | * |
| 1919..... | 147,303 | | * | * |
| 1918..... | 134,452 | | 572,863 | 707,315 |
| 1911..... | * | | * | 1,074,037 |
| 1904..... | * | | * | 629,727 |

* Particulars not available.

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

Woolled Sheep (including Lambs).

| Year. | European Owned. | | | Owned by Natives on European occupied farms. | Owned by Natives in Reserves, etc. | Grand Total. |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------------|---------|--|------------------------------------|--------------|
| | Merino. | Other Woolled Sheep. | Total. | | | |
| 1930..... | 725,167 | 3,258 | 728,425 | 4,628 | 3,188,201 | 3,921,254 |
| 1929..... | 687,075 | 3,308 | 690,383 | 3,996 | 2,968,263 | 3,662,642 |
| 1928..... | 656,016 | 2,137 | 658,153 | 4,835 | 2,867,828 | 3,530,816 |
| 1927..... | 570,446 | 2,268 | 572,714 | 4,743 | 2,794,539 | 3,371,996 |
| 1926..... | 474,442 | 4,580 | 479,022 | 4,724 | 2,495,953 | 2,979,699 |
| 1925..... | 446,362 | 2,047 | 448,409 | 3,493 | 2,335,673 | 2,787,575 |
| 1924..... | * | * | 384,958 | 4,461 | 2,144,364 | 2,533,783 |
| 1923..... | * | * | 327,964 | 3,217 | 2,001,840 | 2,333,021 |
| 1922..... | * | * | 309,085 | 1,874 | * | * |
| 1921..... | * | * | 363,218 | | 1,817,089 | 2,180,307 |
| 1920..... | * | * | 360,930 | | * | * |
| 1919..... | * | * | 301,630 | | * | * |
| 1918..... | * | * | 323,056 | | 1,720,223 | 2,043,279 |
| 1911..... | * | * | * | | * | 1,856,590 |
| 1904..... | * | * | * | | * | 1,902,764 |

* Particulars not available.

ANNEXURE 13 (continuation).

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

| Year. | Non-Woolled Sheep (including Lambs). | | | | Woolled and Other Sheep (including Lambs). GRAND TOTAL. |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---------|---|
| | European owned. | * Owned by Natives on European-occupied Farms. | Owned by Natives in Reserves, etc. | Total. | |
| 1930..... | 340 | 934 | 9,133 | 10,407 | 3,931,661 |
| 1929..... | 846 | 717 | 6,504 | 8,067 | 3,670,709 |
| 1928..... | 262 | 588 | 7,468 | 8,318 | 3,539,134 |
| 1927..... | 127 | 666 | 5,440 | 6,233 | 3,378,229 |
| 1926..... | 482 | 611 | 3,455 | 4,548 | 2,984,247 |
| 1925..... | 866 | 591 | 2,561 | 4,018 | 2,791,593 |
| 1924..... | 1,973 | 398 | 43,181 | 45,552 | 2,579,335 |
| 1923..... | 723 | 387 | 27,463 | 28,573 | 2,361,594 |
| 1922..... | 1,753 | 487 | * | * | * |
| 1921..... | | 3,109 | 3,845 | 6,954 | 2,187,261 |
| 1920..... | | 3,330 | * | * | * |
| 1919..... | | 3,340 | * | * | * |
| 1918..... | | 2,187 | 26,860 | 29,047 | 2,072,326 |
| 1911..... | | * | * | 81,956 | 1,938,546 |
| 1904..... | | * | * | 185,359 | 2,088,123 |

* Particulars not available.

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

Angora Goats (including Kids).

| Year. | European owned. | Owned by Natives on European-occupied Farms. | Owned by Natives in Reserves, etc. | Total. |
|-----------|-----------------|--|------------------------------------|---------|
| 1930..... | 1,000 | 1,772 | 81,095 | 83,867 |
| 1929..... | 875 | 1,977 | 74,517 | 77,369 |
| 1928..... | 1,363 | 1,776 | 80,383 | 83,522 |
| 1927..... | 962 | 958 | 70,370 | 72,290 |
| 1926..... | 1,391 | 1,145 | 60,186 | 62,722 |
| 1925..... | 1,906 | 920 | 59,759 | 62,585 |
| 1924..... | 2,308 | 1,182 | 69,112 | 72,602 |
| 1923..... | 2,243 | 592 | 57,966 | 60,801 |
| 1922..... | 2,747 | 666 | * | * |
| 1921..... | | 2,767 | 60,047 | 62,814 |
| 1920..... | | 3,500 | * | * |
| 1919..... | | 4,930 | * | * |
| 1918..... | | 3,128 | 66,590 | 69,718 |
| 1911..... | | * | * | 97,989 |
| 1904..... | | * | * | 127,244 |

* Particulars not available.

ANNEXURE 13 (continuation).

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

| Year. | Other Goats (including Kids). | | | | Angora and other Goats (including Kids). GRAND TOTAL. |
|-----------|-------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|-----------|--|
| | European owned. | Owned by Natives on European-occupied Farms. | Owned by Natives in Reserves, etc. | Total. | |
| 1930..... | 2,191 | 1,988 | 1,115,896 | 1,120,075 | 1,203,942 |
| 1929..... | 1,992 | 1,448 | 1,167,977 | 1,171,417 | 1,248,786 |
| 1928..... | 2,688 | 4,257 | 1,189,203 | 1,176,148 | 1,259,670 |
| 1927..... | 2,325 | 5,829 | 1,168,208 | 1,176,362 | 1,248,652 |
| 1926..... | 2,328 | 7,072 | 1,119,095 | 1,128,495 | 1,191,217 |
| 1925..... | 2,733 | 7,004 | 1,114,201 | 1,123,938 | 1,186,523 |
| 1924..... | 3,171 | 5,671 | 1,068,833 | 1,077,675 | 1,150,277 |
| 1923..... | 4,590 | 5,882 | 1,047,965 | 1,058,417 | 1,119,218 |
| 1922..... | 7,039 | 5,885 | * | * | * |
| 1921..... | 15,373 | | 972,792 | 988,165 | 1,050,979 |
| 1920..... | 22,320 | | * | * | * |
| 1919..... | 17,220 | | * | * | * |
| 1918..... | 10,617 | | 946,318 | 956,935 | 1,026,653 |
| 1911..... | * | | * | 802,369 | 900,358 |
| 1904..... | * | | * | 1,224,465 | 1,351,709 |

* Particulars not available.

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

Pigs (including Sucking Pigs).

| Year. | European owned. | Owned by Natives on European-occupied Farms. | Owned by Natives in Reserves, etc. | Total. |
|-----------|-----------------|--|------------------------------------|---------|
| 1930..... | 10,198 | 1,400 | 180,075 | 191,673 |
| 1929..... | 7,676 | 1,325 | * | * |
| 1928..... | 8,802 | 1,215 | 161,742 | 171,759 |
| 1927..... | 8,019 | 1,520 | 162,997 | 172,536 |
| 1926..... | 7,928 | 1,661 | 160,271 | 169,860 |
| 1925..... | 6,748 | 1,491 | 141,172 | 149,411 |
| 1924..... | 7,414 | 1,231 | 149,296 | 157,941 |
| 1923..... | 8,397 | 1,478 | 152,084 | 161,959 |
| 1922..... | 12,348 | * | * | * |
| 1921..... | 11,797 | | 191,692 | 203,489 |
| 1920..... | 12,889 | | * | * |
| 1919..... | 15,528 | | * | * |
| 1918..... | 13,875 | | 204,644 | 218,519 |
| 1911..... | * | | * | 215,351 |
| 1904..... | * | | * | 141,364 |

* Particulars not available.

ANNEXURE 13 (continuation).

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

| Year. | Donkeys (including Foals). | | | | Ostriches (including Chicks). European owned. |
|-----------|----------------------------|---|--|--------|---|
| | European owned. | Owned by Natives on European- occupied Farms. | Owned by Natives in Reserves, etc. | Total. | |
| 1930..... | 1,549 | 155 | 8,871 | 10,575 | — |
| 1929..... | * | * | * | * | * |
| 1928..... | * | * | * | * | * |
| 1927..... | * | * | * | * | * |
| 1926..... | 2,026 | 115 | 5,371 | 7,512 | — |
| 1925..... | 1,905 | 120 | 4,161 | 6,186 | 1 |
| 1924..... | 2,089 | 144 | 4,128 | 6,361 | 5 |
| 1923..... | 2,246 | 117 | 3,609 | 5,972 | 1 |
| 1922..... | 2,461 | 89 | * | * | — |
| 1921..... | 3,395 | | 2,830 | 6,225 | 17† |
| 1920..... | 2,800 | | * | * | 30† |
| 1919..... | 2,688 | | * | * | 140† |
| 1918..... | 3,129 | | 1,590 | 4,719 | 450† |
| 1911..... | * | | * | 2,784 | 180‡ |
| 1904..... | * | | * | 181 | — |

* Particulars not available.

† Including ostriches owned by Natives on European-occupied farms, if any.

‡ Including all Native-owned ostriches, if any.

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

Horses (including Foals).

| Year. | European owned. | Owned by Natives on European- occupied Farms. | Owned by Natives in Reserves, etc. | Total. |
|-----------|--------------------|---|--|---------|
| 1930..... | 7,024 | 4,805 | 126,514 | 138,343 |
| 1929..... | * | * | * | * |
| 1928..... | * | * | * | * |
| 1927..... | * | * | * | * |
| 1926..... | 8,513 | 4,536 | 115,440 | 128,489 |
| 1925..... | 8,714 | 4,242 | 110,256 | 123,212 |
| 1924..... | 9,159 | 3,912 | 106,990 | 120,061 |
| 1923..... | 9,404 | 3,657 | 111,701 | 124,762 |
| 1922..... | 10,959 | 4,100 | * | * |
| 1921..... | 16,733 | | 103,788 | 120,521 |
| 1920..... | 15,062 | | * | * |
| 1919..... | 13,822 | | * | * |
| 1918..... | 12,904 | | 67,478 | 80,382 |
| 1911..... | * | | * | 85,043 |
| 1904..... | * | | * | 87,203 |

*Particulars not available.

ANNEXURE 13 (continuation).

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

Mules.

| Year. | European owned. | Owned by Natives on European-occupied Farms. | Owned by Natives in Reserves, etc. | Total. |
|-----------|-----------------|--|------------------------------------|--------|
| 1930..... | 300 | 3 | 230 | 533 |
| 1929..... | * | * | * | * |
| 1928..... | * | * | * | * |
| 1927..... | * | * | * | * |
| 1926..... | 435 | 1 | 820 | 1,256 |
| 1925..... | 269 | 1 | 580 | 850 |
| 1924..... | 292 | 2 | 553 | 847 |
| 1923..... | 195 | — | 384 | 579 |
| 1922..... | 205 | 2 | * | * |
| 1921..... | 485 | | 288 | 773 |
| 1920..... | 274 | | * | * |
| 1919..... | 195 | | * | * |
| 1918..... | 352 | | 210 | 562 |
| 1911..... | * | | * | 2,239 |
| 1904..... | * | | * | 760 |

* Particulars not available.

ANNEXURE 14. (See Paragraph 350 and Addendum 54 *et seq.*)

I.

STATEMENT FROM MR. R. W. THORNTON, DIRECTOR OF NATIVE AGRICULTURE, DATED PRETORIA, 15.4.1931, RELATING TO RESERVE NATIVE FAMILY BUDGETS.

COST OF LIVING FIGURES APPLICABLE TO PERIOD PRIOR TO PRESENT ACUTE DEPRESSION.

TRANSKEI.

Figures worked on to arrive at Income of Native Farmers in the Transkei.

1. Area 4,000,000 morgen of land, exclusive of trading sites, towns, etc., given, on a population basis of 1,000,000 (or 200,000 family units of five) = 40 acres of land per family.

2. Estimated that 800,000 morgen is cultivated = 4 morgen or 8 acres per family.

3. Small stock: 3,000,000 sheep and 1,500,000 goats.

4. The number of cattle has not been considered, as veterinary restrictions have rendered sales impossible, but dead meat and skins have been considered. There are, however, approximately 1,750,000 cattle.

5. Grain return per acre is taken at 2 bags per acre.

i. Allowance of grain per unit: 2½ bags per annum (of this 90 per cent. is maize and 10 per cent. Kaffircorn—Census agreement with Transkeian authorities).

Transkei: 1,000,000 people at 2½ bags each = 2,750,000.
Amount consumed per family unit of 5 at 2½ bags for each member = 13½ bags.
Value @ 10s. per bag = £8. 17s. 6d.

ii. Merino Sheep: 3,000,000 (including lambs). Per unit 3 sheep or 15 sheep per family. Average returns of wool: 4 lb. per sheep, or 60 lb. per family at 6d. per lb. = £1. 10s.

iii. Milk:

Allowance ½ gallon per family unit of 5 per diem @ 6d. per gal. = £2. 5s. 6d.

iv. Each family has approximately 8 acres under cultivation, which gives a total of 16 bags of grain, so that the family has a surplus over requirements of $2\frac{1}{2}$ bags at 10s. = £1. 2s. 6d.

v. Capital value of 40 acres of land at £5 per acre = £200 at 6 per cent. = £12.

This is a varying amount in different parts—say: £50 to £200: Interest £3 to £12: Average, say £7. 10s. But if you take free fuel, water, house = £12 on the average.

vi. 70,000 cattle died in the Transkei in 1928.

Value of skins @ 10s. each = £35,000.

Income from skins per family unit of 5 = 3s. 6d.

vii. Meat value of carcasses at £2 = £140,00; each family unit of 5 = 14s.

viii. Small stock: 4,500,000. Allowing 5 per cent. for sales and deaths: 225,000.

Value of skin and meat per family unit of 5: 10s. = £225,000.

i.e. 8s. 9d. for meat and 2s. 6d. for skins = 11s. 3d.

ix. Poultry sales and consumed per family of 5 per annum:

Eggs sold: 12 doz. @ 6d. = 6s.
Fowls sold: 3 @ 6d. = 1s. 6d. } 7s. 6d.

Eggs eaten: 3 doz. @ 6d. = 1s. 6d.
Fowls eaten: 18 @ 6d. = 9s. } 10s. 6d.

x. Beans and other produce sold and consumed:

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Beans eaten..... | £ | s. | d. |
| Pbmpkins eaten..... | | 0 | 15 |
| Tobacco used..... | | 0 | 2 |
| Potatoes and vegetables used..... | | 0 | 10 |
| | | | 0 |
| | £2 | 7 | 6 |

Beans and other produce sold, 5s.

xi. Income from pigs sold, .4 per family at 25s. = 10s.

FAMILY UNIT OF FIVE.

| <i>Upkeep of Home.</i> | | <i>Produce sold and invested in taxes, blankets, food, etc.</i> | |
|-------------------------|---------|---|---------|
| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
| Grain..... | 6 17 6 | Grain sold..... | 1 2 6 |
| Milk..... | 2 5 6 | Wool..... | 1 10 0 |
| Rent..... | 12 0 0 | Hides..... | 0 3 6 |
| Meat (cattle)..... | 0 14 0 | Skins..... | 0 2 6 |
| Meat (small stock)..... | 0 8 9 | Poultry and eggs..... | 0 7 6 |
| Poultry and eggs..... | 0 10 6 | Beans, etc..... | 0 5 0 |
| Beans, etc..... | 2 7 6 | Pigs..... | 0 10 0 |
| | £25 3 9 | | £4 1 0 |

MARICO—MOILOA'S RESERVE ONLY.

Figures worked on to arrive at income of Native farmer in above Reserve, allowing for a normal or very good season:

1. Area 123,891 morgen of land, given on a population basis of 20,000 (or 4,000 family units of five) = 30.67 morgen or 64.74 acres of land per family.

2. Estimated that 9,284 morgen are cultivated = 2.32 morgen or 4.9 acres per family.

3. Grain return is taken at 1.25 bags per acre = 24,500 bags.

4. Cattle: 16,502 or 4.12 per family.

5. Small stock: 5,818 or 1.45 per family.

6. Pigs: 2,136 or .53 per family.

7. Donkeys: 1,928 or .48 per family.

8. Fowls: 23,987 or 6 per family.

9. Allowance of grain per unit 2.75 bags per annum or 13.78 bags per family (including green mealies eaten, for making beer, fowls food, etc.).

20,000 people each 2.75 bags = 55,000 less 24,500 bags produced = 30,500 shortage, or a shortage of 7.625 bags per family.

9. Allowance of grain per unit 2.75 bags per annum or 13.75 per family. (Including green mealies eaten, for making beer, fowl food, etc.) 19,855 people each 2.75 bags, 54,601 less 26,804 bags produced, 27,797 shortage, or a shortage of 7 bags per family.

i. Income from grain produced 6.75 bags: value 10s. per bag = £3. 7s. 6d.

ii. Income from sale of sheep .196 per family at 20s. = 3s. 11d.

Income from sale of goats 2.53 per family at 10s. = £2. 5s. 3d.

iii. Income from sale of cattle .45 per family at 80s. = £1. 16s.

iv. Income from sale of pigs .27 per family at 25s. = 6s. 9d.

v. Income from sale of donkeys .11 per family at 15s. = 1s. 8d.

vi. Income from poultry:

Eggs sold: 8 doz. @ 6d. = 4s.
Fowls sold: 8 @ 9d. = 6s. } 10s. 0d.

Eggs eaten: 3 doz. @ 6d. = 1s. 6d.
Fowls eaten: 6 @ 9d. = 4s. 6d. } 6s. 0d.

vii. Milk: $\frac{1}{4}$ gallon per family of 5 per diem for 6 months at 6d. per gallon = £1. 2s. 6d.

viii. 700 cattle died—Value of hides 5s. each = £175 = 10d. per family. Meat value of carcasses at £2 each = £1,400 = 7s. per family. 1,100 sheep and goats died—Value of skins 4d. each = £18. 6s. 8d. = 1d. per family. Meat value of carcasses at 10s. each = £560 = 2s. 10d. per family.

ix. Beans and other garden produce, etc., sold and consumed:

Eaten: Valued at £1.
Sold: Valued at £1. 10s.

x. Capital value of 25.52 acres at £2 per acre = £51. 2s. at 6 per cent. = £3. 1s. 4d. This is a varying amount in different parts—say: £25. 10s. to £76. 12s.: Interest £1. 10s. 4d. to £4. 11s. 8d.; average £3. 1s. But if you consider free fuel, water, housing, etc. = £8. on the average.

xi. As each family unit only produces 6.75 bags of grain but requires 13.75 bags, there is a shortage of 7 bags. 7 Bags at 15s. = £5. 5s.

xii. Upkeep of Home:

| <i>Upkeep of home.</i> | | | <i>Produce sold and income utilized to purchase necessities and pay taxes.</i> | | | <i>Grain shortage.</i> |
|------------------------|-----|-------|--|----|-------|------------------------|
| | £ | s. d. | | £ | s. d. | £ s. d. |
| Grain..... | 3 | 7 6 | Sheep sold..... | 0 | 3 11 | |
| Milk..... | 1 | 2 6 | Goats sold..... | 2 | 5 3 | |
| Rent..... | 8 | 0 0 | Cattle sold..... | 1 | 16 0 | |
| Meat (cattle)..... | 0 | 7 0 | Pigs sold..... | 0 | 6 9 | 7 bags @ 15s... 5 5 0 |
| Meat (small stock)... | 0 | 2 10 | Donkeys sold..... | 0 | 1 8 | |
| Beans, etc..... | 1 | 0 0 | Poultry and eggs sold | 0 | 10 0 | |
| Eggs and poultry eaten | 0 | 6 0 | Hides sold..... | 0 | 0 10 | |
| | | | Skins and beans, etc... | 1 | 10 0 | |
| | £14 | 5 10 | | | | |
| | £8 | 14 6 | | £8 | 14 6 | £5 5 0 |
| | £21 | 0 4 | | | | |
| Less..... | 5 | 5 0 | | | | |
| Total Income.... | £15 | 15 4 | | | | |

II.

EXTRACT FROM STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE LATE MR. S. G. BUTLER, THEN PRINCIPAL OF TSOLO AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL, DATED UMTATA, 14.11.1930.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE AVERAGE NATIVE FAMILY.

Taking the family unit of the Transkei as being five—man, wife, and three children—then the amount of land per family unit, if each person had the same amount of land, and if every person had land, would be:

Arable land, 8 morgen \times 5 = 40 morgen.
Pasturage land, 3.5 morgen \times 5 = (say) 17 morgen.

The estimated yield per morgen of ground is 4 bags to the morgen.

On the 17 morgen of ground it is estimated that 3.5 head of large stock, or 17 head of small stock, could be carried.

We find, however, that on each 17 morgen of pasturage there are at present 7.5 head of cattle, 15 sheep, and 5 goats.

The Food Needs of the Family.

On the basis of 2.75 bags of grain per unit of population, the food needs would be 13.75 bags of grain. In addition there is the small amount of milk provided by the cows and a small amount of meat from the stock.

Cash Value of the Surplus.

Taking the average yield per morgen as being 4 bags or 16 bags to the 4 morgen, there would be 2.25 bags of grain as a surplus. From the stock there is little return except in the case of sheep, which average approximately 4 lb. of wool per animal or 60 lb. for the flock of 15.

| | | | |
|---|----|---|-------------|
| 2.25 bags of mealies at an average price of 10s. per bag... | £1 | 2 | 6 |
| 60 lb. of mealies at an average price of 6d. per lb. | | 1 | 10 |
| | | | 0 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | £2 12 6 |
| | | | <hr/> <hr/> |

A total of £2. 12s. 6d. to be utilized in paying taxes, buying clothing, extra food requirements, and so on. From these figures it will be realized the necessity for so many of the Native men seeking employment at the mines each year.

How the Average Native Income is Expended.

After paying taxes, the purchase of the following articles is usual:

(a) *Additional Articles of Food.*—1. Sugar; 2. Tea; 3. Paraffin (for lighting purposes); 4. Meal (wheaten); 5. Soap; 6. Coffee; 7. Condensed Milk.

(b) *Clothing.*—1. Sheeting (cotton); 2. Blankets; 3. Clothing.

Luxuries.—Tobacco.

It is significant that tea and sugar are being used as substitutes for milk, in spite of the enormous cattle population.

There is an increased demand for wheaten meal. This is a move probably in the wrong direction in an area where maize is so largely grown.

In some stores the demand for clothing is greater than the demand for blankets.

The demand for tobacco at the stores appears to be decreasing, probably due to the increased production by the people themselves.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION WHERE A BETTER AND MORE INTENSIVE SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE IS PRACTISED.

Three morgen of land producing 5.6 bags of grain per acre (average amount produced by Native demonstrators on 1,524 acres of ground in all parts of the Territories) equal 33 bags less 13.75, showing a surplus of 19.25 bags:

One morgen of ground utilized for the production of winter foods (lucerne, oats, wheat, etc.) for feeding cattle, sheep, poultry, and pigs, after the production of vegetables and fruit.

This would enable 6 head of large stock and 14 sheep to be kept on the estimate of 2 morgen per head of large stock and 1 acre per head of small stock.

There would be no overstocking of the commonage if this were adhered to.

Cash Value of Surplus.

| | | | |
|--|----|---|-------------|
| 19.25 bags of grain at 10s. per bag | £9 | 2 | 6 |
| 14 sheep shearing 6 lb. wool at 6d. per lb. | | 2 | 2 |
| Sales of vegetables, poultry and eggs | | 2 | 0 |
| | | | 0 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | £13 14 6 |
| | | | <hr/> <hr/> |

Present Cash Value of Surplus Produce, plus Savings on Six Months' Labour on the Mines.

It is estimated that the average man remits and/or saves £10 during his six months period at the mines. This amount, plus the sale of surplus produce, gives a cash surplus of £12. 12s. 6d.

With a fully intensive system of agriculture involving the growing of lucerne as a permanent crop, the development of poultry and pig rearing, it is probable that a larger income could be obtained.

ANNEXURE 15. (See Paragraph 410.)

MEMORANDUM SUPPLIED BY NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, DATED
PRETORIA, 25.8.1931.

NOTE.—Suggestions and expressions of opinion contained in memoranda supplied by the Department of Native Affairs are those of the officials who compiled them, and are not regarded as the considered recommendations of the Department.

NATIVES IN URBAN AREAS.

Before Union the control and administration of matters affecting Natives in urban areas were vested in the local authorities having jurisdiction. These functions were exercised through regulations framed under statutory powers and subject, before promulgation, to the approval of the Central Governments of the various colonies. There were thus two ways in which the law regarding such Natives might differ from Colony to Colony. In the first place the powers granted by statute to the local authorities varied to a very great extent, and in the second place the policy of one Central Government, as demonstrated by its oversight of regulations, was to restrict the action of local authorities, while that of another was to allow every latitude in the control of the Native population. The Act of Union (*section 85*) granted to the Provincial Councils power to make Ordinances in relation to all matters affecting local authorities and all matters which in the opinion of the Governor-General-in-Council were of a purely local or private nature. *Section 147* of that Act, however, vested in the Governor-General-in-Council the control and administration of Native affairs throughout the Union. The question arose immediately after Union whether in the exercise of their powers in regard to Natives the local authorities were to be subject to the Provincial or to the Union Government; in other words whether regulations differentially affecting Natives framed by the local authorities required merely the approval of the Executive Committee or whether they required in addition the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council. Further, soon after Union the several Provincial Administrations introduced measures consolidating the laws governing urban local authorities in each Province and the question arose whether provisions affecting Natives could be included in such Ordinances. In both cases the matter was decided in favour of reserving to the Central Government, in view of *section 147* of the South Africa Act, the powers in question. The Native Affairs Department has, therefore, since Union been concerned in connection with, firstly, the oversight of all regulations submitted for approval and, secondly, the preparation of legislation.

For many years the condition prevailing in the urban locations in all the provinces of the Union were very unsatisfactory. Various Commissions which found it within their province to touch upon the subject did not hesitate to condemn the state of affairs that existed. Amongst these may be mentioned the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-5, the Assaults on Women Commission, 1913, and the Tuberculosis Commission, 1914. The influenza epidemic of 1918 afforded a startling revelation of the distressing conditions under which Natives lived in our urban centres, conditions of squalor, misery and vice which were a standing menace to the health of the whole population, European and Native alike. The steady influx of Natives into the cities as a consequence of the combined demand for labour and the spreading knowledge of the attractions of town life, in addition to the natural increase of the Native population within municipal areas, also emphasized the need for remedial action. In 1911 the total Bantu population of the Union was approximately four millions, being 67 per cent. of the total population. Of that number 508,000 or 12.64 per cent. were resident in urban areas, forming 34.38 per cent. of the total urban population of 1,477,000. Thirty-one of the urban areas of the Union had Bantu populations of over 2,000, while 68 had Bantu populations ranging from 500 to 2,000. These numbers have increased and must continue to increase with the

industrial development of the country. For a number of years the Department could make little headway in procuring an amelioration of the conditions under which the Natives lived in the towns and villages. This was due to three main causes: (1) the inadequacy of the legal powers under which administrative action might be taken, (2) the failure of local authorities to appreciate their responsibilities towards the Native population, and (3) the apathy and even the opposition of the Natives themselves. The need for legislation was urgent and this was eventually supplied in the shape of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, No. 21 of 1923. This Act was brought into operation on the 1st January, 1924. It is a comprehensive measure providing, in terms of its preamble,

- (1) for improved conditions of residence for Natives in or near urban areas and the better administration of Native affairs in such areas;
- (2) for the registration and better control of contracts of service with Natives in certain areas and the regulation of the ingress of Natives into and their residence in such areas;
- (3) for the exemption of coloured persons from the operation of the pass laws;
- (4) for the restriction and regulation of the possession and use of Kaffir beer and other intoxicating liquor by Natives in certain areas; and
- (5) for other incidental purposes.

These are the broad divisions of the Act under which the various sections are grouped. Its two outstanding principles are (1) that, subject to adequate powers of governmental oversight and control the responsibility for the accommodation and well-being of the Natives in their areas of jurisdiction is placed upon the local authorities; and (2) the segregation of the urban Native population. The Act is a consolidating enactment and repeals or amends in whole or in part no less than forty-one laws previously in force in the four provinces of the Union.

The system of segregation in locations, for racial and social reasons, the Native population in European towns and villages had been adopted and was generally in vogue in three of the four Provinces many years before the passage of the Act. In terms of *section 1*, local authorities are empowered subject to the approval of the Minister, after reference to the Administrator, to set aside land for locations or Native villages; to provide hostels—within or without the limits of a location or Native village—for Natives not living under family conditions; to provide dwellings in a location for Native families, and, lastly, to require employers of Natives on work of a temporary nature to provide or hire approved accommodation for their employees in locations, hostels or elsewhere. In this connection it may be noted, in passing, that under *section 27 (3)* of the Act locations which were in existence prior to its commencement are deemed to be locations established under the Act except in the Free State where, in terms of the proviso to the section, the Minister before deeming a location to be so established may require the local authority to set aside a portion thereof for the residence of coloured persons, which portion must be excluded from the location where separate provision has thus been made for coloured persons, these persons do not fall under the regulations governing the location but under the old Free State laws relating to urban locations, subject to the qualification that, in terms of *section 28* of the Act, they are freed from the necessity of carrying passes. The old laws referred to include coloured persons as well as Natives within their scope. Where, however, no separate area has been set aside for coloured persons, they are, whilst they reside in Native locations, subject to the same regulations as Natives.

The site of any new location or extension of an existing location requires the approval of the Minister under *section 1 (1) (a)* and this is given only when he is satisfied as to the suitability of the area set apart, the general plan and lay-out of the proposed location and the provision made for water, sanitary and other necessary services. The approval of the Minister is published by Government Notice in the *Gazette* and thus a formal record of it is readily available—a useful factor when disputes or legal difficulties arise. Particulars of the extent, situation, and boundaries of the location are included in the Notice.

Approximately 220 locations have been formally defined, chiefly in the Cape and Orange Free State Provinces. In the Transvaal there are locations attached to nearly all urban centres, but the great majority of them were established under the laws in force before the Act and so were deemed in terms of *section 27 (3)* to be locations established under the Act. In Natal only six locations have up to the present been defined under the Act, namely, at Greytown, Vryheid, Louwsberg, Paulpietersburg, Estcourt, and Pietermaritzburg.

In terms of sub-section (2) of *section 2* no location may be removed, curtailed or abolished except with the consent of the Minister and upon such terms and conditions as to compensation and otherwise as he may direct. The Department must be satisfied that due provision will be made elsewhere for the Natives displaced, and in regard to compensation the approved procedure—failing agreement between the Natives and the local authority—is to appoint a valuation board consisting of an equal number of representatives each of the local authority and the Natives, with the Magistrate as umpire. This procedure has generally proved satisfactory. An equitable basis of compensation is the award of an amount equivalent to the value of the hut plus a percentage for the inconvenience and trouble occasioned by the removal and the expense to which the occupier is put by being required, as he usually is, to erect a better type of dwelling in the new location. It is usual also to permit the Native to remove to the new site such of the materials of the old dwelling as can be suitably incorporated in the new.

Sub-section (1) of *section 2*, in contra-distinction to *section 1*, which is permissive, provides that if it appears to the Minister, after the holding of a formal enquiry that the accommodation for Natives in an urban area is inadequate or unsuitable, he may by written notice given through the Administrator, direct the local authority within a stated time to make due provision for the residence of Natives. Should the local authority fail to carry out the Minister's order, the Minister himself may in terms of *section 3* "carry out such works and do all such things as may be necessary" to effect the necessary improvements and recover the cost from the defaulting authority. Up to the present it has been necessary in only one case to appoint a committee of enquiry and in this case the committee's recommendations were readily accepted by the local authority concerned.

Section 4 prohibits under heavy penalty the acquisition of any lot or premises in a location or of any interest therein by any person other than a Native. This provision is in conformity with the segregation principle and is designed to prevent non-Native landlordism in the locations. This section should, however, be read in conjunction with *section 26* which provides for certain exceptional cases, e.g. the establishment of churches and schools by European bodies. *Section 4* further provides that coloured persons who lived in a Native location at the commencement of the Act and their descendants may continue to reside therein and that if coloured persons resided in a location at the commencement of the Act other coloured persons must be permitted to reside there until such time as a separate area is provided for such persons. Coloured persons, however, who were living in a Native location at the commencement of the Act or their descendants cannot be compelled to remove to a separate coloured area established after its commencement, but it would seem that this could be insisted upon in the case of coloured persons admitted to a location after the commencement of the Act.

As a corollary to the establishment of locations, means are provided by *section 5* of the Act for enforcing the residence of Natives therein. Under this section the Governor-General may by proclamation declare that from and after a date specified therein all Natives within the limits of any urban area or any specified portion thereof, shall, subject to the provisions of the section, reside in a location, Native village or Native hostel. In the Transvaal and Orange Free State compulsory segregation in locations was provided for by the laws in force prior to the commencement of the Act and these provisions are by *section 27 (3)* continued in operation until superseded by a Proclamation under *section 5*. Under these laws store boys and other classes of Native employees housed on their employers' premises are exempted, but under the Act only domestic servants are so exempted and then only where the accommodation provided by the employer is approved by the urban authority. Certain other classes are exempted but they are of minor importance. Formerly no request by any urban authority for the issue in respect of its area of a Proclamation under *section 5* could be entertained unless and until the Department was satisfied that adequate and suitable provision had been made for the accommodation of the Natives who under such Proclamation were required to reside in a location, Native village or hostel. In the cases of *Solly Abelman v. Rex (T.P.D.)* and *Lammas v. Rex (E.D.L.D.)*, however, the Supreme Court held that the mere provision of a dwelling site in a location would not suffice for the efficacy of such a Proclamation and that housing accommodation must be provided for the Natives affected. The result was that the section was rendered largely inoperative as not many local authorities were in a position to show, in advance of the issue of a Proclamation that they had provided in their locations sufficient houses for all the Natives to be removed from the town. Now, however, in consequence of the amendment of the Act by Act No. 25 of 1930 an urban authority can procure the proclamation of its area for segregation purposes even though it has not provided the requisite housing accommodation. No Native can, however, be forced to remove until such accommodation

is available for him in the location. The amendment has the advantage that an urban authority which is not in a position immediately to provide accommodation in the location for all the Natives it wishes to segregate may proceed to do so piecemeal by removing at a month's notice individuals or families as it provides accommodation for them; while no Native coming to the town after the issue of the Proclamation may, unless he falls within one of the exempted classes, reside elsewhere than in the location.

Under *section 6* no person may, except with the approval of the Minister, allow the residence or congregation on any property owned or occupied by him outside but within three miles of the boundary of an urban area, unless the Natives are *bona fide* employed by him and any Native residing on such property who is not a *bona fide* employee of the owner or occupier commits an offence. This is intended to reinforce the segregation provisions of *section 5* by preventing the congregation under uncontrolled conditions on the outskirts of the town of Natives who should be residing in the town location. Townships lawfully established prior to the commencement of the Act, or, if established subsequently and specially exempted by the Minister do not fall under these provisions.

Section 7 confers upon urban authorities special powers for the acquisition by purchase or, if necessary, by expropriation, of land for location purposes, for the borrowing of moneys for the construction of dwellings and for the advancement of money or material to approved Natives to assist them in providing dwellings. Under this section an urban authority may similarly purchase or expropriate any Native-owned property in the town, or any property owned or lesser interest in land held by a Native who, under the provisions of the Act, as, for instance, the segregation clause, is not entitled to reside on such property or land. No Native in the Cape Province may, however, be compelled to part with his property but if the urban area has been proclaimed for segregation purposes and the Municipality has made him a *bona fide* offer to acquire the property at a price fixed by an arbitrator approved by the Magistrate and he has declined the offer, he can nevertheless be compelled to remove if he is an unexempted Native.

Section 8 provides for the keeping of a separate account, the Native Revenue Account, in respect of all urban locations, and is intended to secure the principle that all revenue derived from such locations shall be expended exclusively upon them. The section specifies in detail what moneys are payable into this account and what services are chargeable thereto. The Minister is given control over these accounts by virtue of the fact that the appropriation of moneys from them can take place only in accordance with estimates of expenditure approved in writing by him. Subsidiary to this section is *section 9*, sub-section (2), which provides that the charges debited against the account for water, light, sanitary and other like services must not exceed the ordinary charges to the townspeople for similar services.

In terms of *section 10* a Native Advisory Board must be established for each location, consisting of not less than three Native members together with a Chairman who may be a European (usually the Location Superintendent or a member of the urban local authority). The provisions of this section are obligatory. When such a Board has been established and is performing its functions for any location, no regulation for the location may be made, amended or withdrawn without consultation with the Board. It should be clearly understood that the Board's functions are in no sense executive but are purely advisory. With few exceptions these Boards have been found to work well, and to be of practical assistance to the local authority by keeping it in closer touch than it might otherwise be with the views and feelings of the Natives and with conditions generally in the locations. It is generally recognized that the establishment of an advisory board is required for each location, and every series of location regulations includes provision for the constitution and procedure of such a Board.

All officials charged with the superintendence of locations must be licensed under *section 11* (1). The object of this provision is to secure a satisfactory type of municipal official for the administration of the locations. No whole-time inspectors have up to the present been appointed under sub-section (2) of this section, but the Magistrates of the more important centres have been appointed *ex officio* as inspectors.

The next three sections, Nos. 12 to 15, coupled with *section 23* (1), provide for a comprehensive system of control over Natives and their employers in urban and large industrial and mining areas. This is effected by means of the registration of contracts of service—what is known in the Transvaal as the monthly pass system. In any urban or industrial area proclaimed under *section 12* every male Native not belonging to certain exempted classes must carry and may be required to produce on demand either a permit to seek work or a duly registered service contract, in order to establish his right to be within the area. Natives not lawfully in the area or failing to find employment within the prescribed period may be ordered to leave and if they fail

to do so may be removed under *section 17* of the Act. Monthly fees, payable by the employer, are imposed to cover the cost of the system which has been applied to all the principal towns in the Transvaal, to Kimberley and Cape-town, to Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and to Bloemfontein and sundry other urban areas in the Orange Free State. Regulations are promulgated for each proclaimed area under *section 23 (1)* to enable the exercise therein of the powers conferred by *section 12* and in the Transvaal these regulations are administered by the Government in continuance of the system in vogue prior to the commencement of the Act. Outside the Transvaal they are administered by the urban local authority concerned in each instance. It must be emphasized that the fees, which in cases where the regulations are administered by the urban local authority are payable to the Native Revenue Account, are not intended as a source of revenue but solely to cover the cost of administering the regulations. The Amending Act has amplified the provisions of *section 12* in various respects, in order, *inter alia*, to check the growing tendency of Natives to bring their wives and families into urban areas where they seek work. Provision has accordingly now been made to prevent the influx of surplus females [*section 12 (1) (d)*] and also to enable the more effective control of Natives working on their own behalf [*section 12 (1) (h)*].

The amending Act also by means of the licensing of premises provides powers for checking slum landlordism [*section 5 (4) and (5)*], for prohibiting the influx of surplus Natives into an urban area [*section 5 (6)*] and for enabling an urban authority to rid itself of its unemployed Native population [*section 1 (1) (f)*] read in conjunction with *section 23 (2) (g)*.

Undesirables can be removed from urban or proclaimed areas under *section 17* either to the place to which they belong or to a farm colony. The new Act amplifies the classes of Natives who may be dealt with under the section and provides particularly for the elimination of the undesirable or surplus female who presents a serious obstacle to the maintenance of good order and the effective application of the segregation provisions of the Act in the large urban areas.

The effect of *section 18* appears to be that an employer of fifty or more Native labourers may be required to provide approved accommodation for them.

Sections 19, 20 and 21 relate to liquor and Kaffir beer. The municipal monopoly system has not yet been adopted outside Natal. In the Orange Free State the system of domestic brewing is fairly general, the quantity being prescribed by regulation under *section 23 (3)*. In the Transvaal, with one or two exceptions, prohibition is the general rule, while in the Cape Province the balance between prohibition and domestic brewing is fairly even, prohibition being in force in the larger centres. It should be noted that the Act restricts the domestic brewing system to locations, and in centres where that system is in vogue the position elsewhere in the urban area is that *section 19* of the Act—in other words prohibition—applies. This prohibition also applies to any intoxicating liquor other than Kaffir beer.

Section 22 of the Act deals with trading in locations, restricting this—again in conformity with the segregation principle—to Natives or to the urban local authority. This section has been amended by the new Act to enable the Minister to override the decision of an urban local authority that may unreasonably refuse to grant trading facilities to Natives in its location. Under this section an urban local authority has power to prohibit or to regulate hawking in the location. No application has yet been made by any urban authority for the right to carry on trading in any location.

Section 23 provides for the making of a variety of regulations to give effect to the objects and policy of the Act. These fall into three classes, those which may be made by the Governor-General, those which may be made by the Minister, and those which may be made by urban authorities. Regulations for the exercise of the powers of registration and control under *section 12* in proclaimed areas are made by the Governor-General. Such regulations may provide for medical examination which must obviously be coupled with registration, for the management of hostels or reception depots for Natives seeking work and for the regulation of the relations between master and servant. Such regulations are already in force in the various proclaimed areas.

Regulations for the control of Kaffir beer, including powers of search and confiscation, are made by the Minister under *sub-section (2)* of the section and such regulations have been applied to a large number of urban areas throughout the Union. Under this sub-section the Minister is also empowered to make regulations prescribing the conditions under which and the procedure whereby the removal of unemployed Natives may be effected by an urban local authority under *section 1 (1) (f)*.

The powers of regulation assigned to urban authorities subject to the approval of the Administrator and the Minister are those set out in subsection (3). Their wide scope and diversified nature are at once apparent and they form perhaps the most important feature of the administrative work thrown upon the Department by the Act. For the guidance of urban authorities model regulations for locations and Advisory Boards were drawn up and the regulations framed by urban authorities are largely based on these. They have proved on the whole a satisfactory code, although in some respects it has been necessary to vary them in order to meet local conditions. Generally the policy of the Act is to confine the right of residence in locations to Natives ordinarily employed in the urban area for normal requirements, and it is clearly contrary to the policy of the Act to provide accommodation in a location for Natives employed outside the urban area. The term "ordinarily employed for normal requirements" is held to include not only Natives employed by Europeans in the town but also a reasonable number temporarily unemployed or in search of work and a reasonable number of Natives working on their own account to serve the needs of their compatriots. Under this head fall petty tradesmen or handicraftsmen, teachers, and ministers of religion. For these it is essential that reasonable provision be made. Provided the local supervision is efficient the provisions of the model regulations are regarded as generally adequate for the preservation of law and order in the locations. The regulations include suitable provisions with regard to essential services such as health, water supply and sanitation which are definite responsibilities imposed upon urban authorities by the Act in the general interests of the public health.

Section 24 provides for co-operation between neighbouring urban authorities in carrying out the requirements of the Act, and in regard to this and the remaining sections, it seems unnecessary to go into detail as they deal with matters merely incidental to its general objects. It should be mentioned, however, that curfew regulations have been added by the amending Act, and that these are bi-sexual.

The Act has been in operation for several years and has undoubtedly resulted in an improvement in the housing conditions and in the general amenities of urban locations, although much still remains to be done.

Since the commencement of the Act loans amounting to over £300,000 have been granted for the specific purpose of providing housing accommodation for Natives, to various local authorities, through the medium of the Provincial Administrations from funds provided by the Central Government under the Housing Act, 1920.

LIST OF TOWNS OF WHICH (a) THE WHOLE OR (b) PART HAS BEEN PROCLAIMED AS AN AREA WITHIN WHICH NATIVES MAY NOT RESIDE.

(a) *Whole.*

| Cape Province. | Transvaal. | O.F.S. | Natal. |
|---|--|--|---|
| Aliwal North. Barkly West. Bathurst. Cambridge. Capetown. Cedarville. Hofmeyr. Kimberley. Kingwilliamstown. Lady Grey. Maclear. Middelburg. Simonstown. Umtata. Vryburg. Walmer. | Alberton. Amersfoort. Balfour. Barberton. Benoni. Boksburg. Brakpan. Breyten. Brits. Ermelo. Germiston. Heidelberg. Hercules. Kinross. Krugersdorp. Middelburg. Pretoria. Rodepoort- Maraisburg. Springs. Sabie. Vereeniging. Witbank. Wolmaransstad. | Bloemfontein. Brandfort. Frankfort. Heilbron. Kroonstad. Lindley. Parys. Senekal. Winburg. | Estcourt. Paulpietersburg. Vryheid. |
| | (b) <i>Part.</i> | | |
| Matatiela. | Johannesburg. | — | Durban. Pietermaritzburg. |

ANNEXURE 16. (See Paragraph 517.)

MEMORANDA SUPPLIED BY DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS,
DATED PRETORIA, 25.8.1931.

NOTE.—Suggestions and expressions of opinion contained in memoranda from the Department of Native Affairs are those of the officials who compiled them, and are not to be regarded as considered recommendations of the Department.

LOCATION TARIFFS AND THE NATIVE REVENUE ACCOUNT.

I.

Under *section 23 (3)* of Act No. 21 of 1923 regulations may be made by urban local authorities prescribing the charges for residence in locations, Native villages or Native hostels under their control. Such regulations require the approval of the Administrator and the Minister of Native Affairs. The charges may, in addition to rent, include fees for water, sanitary, health, medical or other services provided by the local authority for the benefit of the Native residents. *Section 9* of the Act further provides that the rent charges for accommodation in any location, Native village or Native hostel shall be such as the Minister may in all the circumstances consider to be fair and reasonable and that the charges for water, lighting, sanitary and other services rendered to a location, Native village or hostel or to any inhabitant thereof shall not exceed the ordinary charges made for the like services rendered by the urban local authority in any other portion of its area.

It is not possible to lay down hard and fast rules for the determination of location tariffs, owing to the variety of the conditions prevailing in the different urban areas and the disparity between the services rendered by the local authorities. All tariffs submitted for approval are, however, carefully scrutinised and every effort is made to ensue that they are fair and reasonable and bear a proper relation not only to the services rendered but also to the economic capacity of the Natives. Each case is considered on its merits and no proposals for increasing a tariff are approved without investigation, even in cases where the Native Advisory Board has signified its acquiescence therein. Except as regards the larger urban and industrial centres and those where housing accommodation has been provided by the local authority out of moneys borrowed by it for the purpose, the question of location charges presents little difficulty. In the smaller towns and villages the houses in the locations are erected by the Natives themselves, and in these cases the local authority charges rent for the site only. This may be either an inclusive charge covering water and sanitary services supplied on a communal basis, or separate fees may be charged for these services. In the more remote and primitive hamlets where the water supply for the location is derived from a near-by stream or furrow or from a bore-hole and the sanitary provision consists of perhaps a single latrine for each sex, where the conditions are more rural than urban in character and the standard of wages very low, the charges are usually in the same ratio—as little indeed as 1s. and 1s. 6d. per mensem in a few cases. In Bloemfontein the total amount paid by the householder is 6s. 6d. per mensem, while in most other Orange Free State towns it is less, although in a number of cases the location enjoys a piped water supply and a fairly good sanitary service. The same applies in many towns in the Cape Province. In Natal only six locations have been established. In the Transvaal, especially in the industrial centres, the charges are somewhat higher owing to higher wages and costs, and also to the fact that the services are generally on a better scale. The tariffs are highest in Pretoria, Johannesburg and other Reef towns and Capetown. In these centres the local authorities have gone to considerable expense in extending and improving their locations and the services provided for the occupants.

Some forty towns have undertaken municipal housing schemes for their locations through the medium of loans obtained under the Housing Act, 1920. The general range of rents for such houses outside the large industrial centres is from 5s. to 10s. for single-roomed and 12s. 6d. to £1 for two-roomed houses, inclusive of the usual municipal services. In Pretoria the rents are £1. 5s. per mensem for a two-roomed house with kitchen and £1. 15s. for a three-roomed house, inclusive in each case of water, sanitary and rubbish services. The general employment of European labour has enhanced the cost of location housing schemes and made it difficult to let the dwellings at an economic rent. But for the fact that urban authorities have been able to obtain long-period

loans on easy terms, it would not have been possible in many cases to let the houses at rentals within the compass of the Natives. Complaints to the Department in regard to location tariffs have been very few. One instance, that of Capetown, may be cited. The Natives represented that the charges for houses at the Langa Township were beyond their means, although the houses there were admittedly superior. In this case the Department was able to persuade the local authority to make a substantial reduction in the rentals.

It has been the Department's policy to encourage urban authorities to improve the housing accommodation for Natives ordinarily employed in their areas for normal requirements, and apart from the loans obtained by the forty towns above referred to (amounting to approximately £300,000), the following towns have spent the sums mentioned on Native housing:

| | |
|-------------------------|----------|
| Johannesburg | £658,000 |
| Capetown | 264,000 |
| Pietermaritzburg | 32,000 |

II.

Control over the charges made by local authorities against the Native Revenue Accounts maintained by them under *section 8* of the Act is exercised by means of a careful scrutiny of the estimates of expenditure which, in terms of sub-section (4) of the section, require the approval of the Minister of Native Affairs. The principal objects of such scrutiny are to ensure that all charges for which the estimates provide are confined to services actually and necessarily rendered by the local authority in respect of locations, Native villages and Native hostels under its control, that they are in accordance with the provisions of *sections 8* and *9 (2)* of the Act, that overhead charges for *general* administrative services rendered by officials of the local authority other than those, e.g. location superintendents employed *directly* in connection with these Native institutions, are fair and reasonable, and that generally no items are included which are obviously unreasonable or objectionable in principle. All items are scrutinized in detail and where they appear high or show any substantial increase over previous years the matter is fully investigated and the expenditure is not approved unless the Department is satisfied that it is legitimate and proper. Particulars are obtained as to the basis on which the charges for municipal services—water, sanitation and light—are calculated and also as to the charges paid by the townspeople for similar services, in order to ensure that the location is not being overcharged in this respect. Occasionally charges for poor relief and medical attendance on paupers and individual Natives are included but these are not admitted as such services are for the benefit of individuals rather than for the general benefit of the location residents and are not regarded as falling within the provisions of sub-section (2) of *section 8*. Where, however, the local authority supplies medical services to the location as a whole on the same lines as other municipal services, the charge is, of course, admitted. Items for isolation hospitals, V.D. clinics, and for the suppression of infectious diseases are usually approved subject to the condition that the local authority obtains such refunds from the Union Health Department, as it may be entitled to under the Public Health Act, 1919, and credits the amounts to the Native Revenue Account.

Certain urban authorities have attempted to debit the Account with charges for rent for portions of commonage or townlands set apart by them for location purposes. The Department has disallowed such charges on the ground that a local authority cannot legitimately charge rent where the land set aside is vested in it by way of free Government grant to be used for public purposes, as the establishment of a location for the accommodation of Natives in an urban area is an essential service which the local authority is under a legal duty to provide and land used as a location is clearly used for public purposes. Where land has necessarily to be purchased or hired by a local authority for location purposes, the position is different and in such cases the Department raises no objection to the Native Revenue Account being debited with rent or interest and redemption charges in respect of the purchase of such land.

In certain towns in Natal the local authority has erected sanitary conveniences in various places, in the urban area, for the special use of Natives. The cost of maintaining these is held by the Department to be an ordinary public health charge against the General Account of the local authority. The Native Revenue Account is not intended to provide for the maintenance of essential urban public services shared by the Natives in common with other sections of the community, and where public sanitary conveniences for Natives are erected in various parts of the town it cannot be held that they are for the exclusive benefit of Natives. They represent a general health service in which the community as a whole has an interest.

The Department has been at variance with certain urban authorities in Natal on the questions dealt with in the last two paragraphs and also on the question of overhead charges for general administration. These charges are intended to cover what are generally described as Departmental Charges, that is, all general administrative charges exclusive of direct expenditure of books, stationery, telephones, printing and other items specifically incurred on the Native Revenue Account, and inclusive of all indirect expenditure on such items as part-time services rendered by permanent municipal officials, general printing and stationery, telephones and office rent except where specific accommodation is set apart for Native Revenue Account officials. So far as possible the Department endeavours to apply a percentage of income scale in respect of such charges, as follows: .

On the 1st £1,000 of income, 10 per cent.

On the 2nd £1,000 of income, 7½ per cent.

On the 3rd £1,000 of income, 5 per cent.

On the 4th £1,000 of income, 2½ per cent.

On the 5th £1,000 of income, 1 per cent.

This scale is considered fair and reasonable, particularly when it is borne in mind that every penny of administrative costs that can be directly allocated to the Native Revenue Account is so allocated and that the abovementioned scale is to cover only Head Office expenses which cannot be so allocated. The question of the proper basis for computing administrative charges is, however, a difficult one, and a number of urban authorities consider the Departmental scale (which was adopted on the recommendations of the Provincial Auditor, Natal) inadequate. In one or two cases where the charges exceed this scale the Department has not enforced its adoption, as in these cases the local authority meets a substantial deficit on the Native Revenue Account from its General Account.

In the course of examination of estimates, of statements of account, audit reports, etc., many criticisms are made and questions of financial principle discussed, involving considerable correspondence with local authorities, Provincial Auditors, and sometimes with Magistrates.

Copies of all approved estimates and statements of account are forwarded to the Provincial Auditors simultaneously with the communication of the Departmental approval to the local authority.

ANNEXURE 17—I. (See Paragraph 622.)

GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENT-AIDED SCHOOLS FOR NATIVES, 1930.

NATIVE SCHOLARS IN EACH PROVINCE.
(The figures do not include students at the Training Colleges.)

| Standard. | 1 Cape. | | 2 Natal. | | 3 Orange Free State. | | 4 Transvaal. | | TOTAL. | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| | No. | per cent. | No. | per cent. | No. | per cent. | No. | per cent. | No. | per cent. | Cumulative. |
| Below Standard..... | 67,836 | 49.2 | 29,687 | 61.9 | 15,484 | 61.9 | 48,853 | 67.6 | 161,860 | 57.2 | 57.2 |
| Standard I..... | 16,324 | 11.9 | 6,141 | 12.8 | 3,564 | 14.2 | 7,859 | 10.9 | 33,888 | 12.0 | 69.2 |
| " II..... | 11,611 | 8.4 | 3,977 | 8.3 | 2,095 | 8.4 | 5,844 | 8.1 | 23,527 | 8.3 | 77.5 |
| " III..... | 9,444 | 6.8 | 2,894 | 6.0 | 1,701 | 6.8 | 4,030 | 5.5 | 18,069 | 6.4 | 83.9 |
| " IV..... | 6,327 | 4.6 | 2,033 | 4.2 | 1,203 | 4.8 | 2,739 | 3.8 | 12,302 | 4.3 | 88.2 |
| " V..... | 3,518 | 2.6 | 1,379 | 2.9 | 551 | 2.2 | 1,737 | 2.4 | 7,185 | 2.5 | 90.7 |
| " VI..... | 2,359 | 1.7 | 1,105 | 2.3 | 356 | 1.4 | 1,110 | 1.5 | 4,930 | 1.7 | 92.4 |
| Unclassified below Standard VII..... | 19,986* | 14.5 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 19,986 | 7.1 | 99.5 |
| Standard VII and above..... | 479† | 0.3 | 746 | 1.6 | 62 | 0.3 | 116 | 0.2 | 1,403 | 0.5 | 100.0 |
| | 137,884 | 100.0 | 47,962 | 100.0 | 25,016 | 100.0 | 72,288 | 100.0 | 283,150 | 100.0 | — |

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* The figures of distribution of pupils by standards are, in the Cape Province, obtained at the annual inspection. The figure of 19,986 here given represents children in schools, which were not inspected during the year. It is impossible to distribute them by standards, and it should, therefore, be noted that the figures for the various standards of the primary school are understated.

† Includes the matriculation course at the South African Native College (80 pupils).

1. Present at Inspection, Year 1930. The average enrolment during 4th Quarter was 137,804.

2. Enrolment 4th November, 1930.

3. Enrolment 5th November, 1930.

4. Enrolment 31st December, 1930.

ANNEXURE 17—II. (See Paragraph 622.)

GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENT-AIDED SCHOOLS FOR NATIVES, 1930.

(Students at Training Colleges are included in the figures for Natal, but not for the other Provinces.)

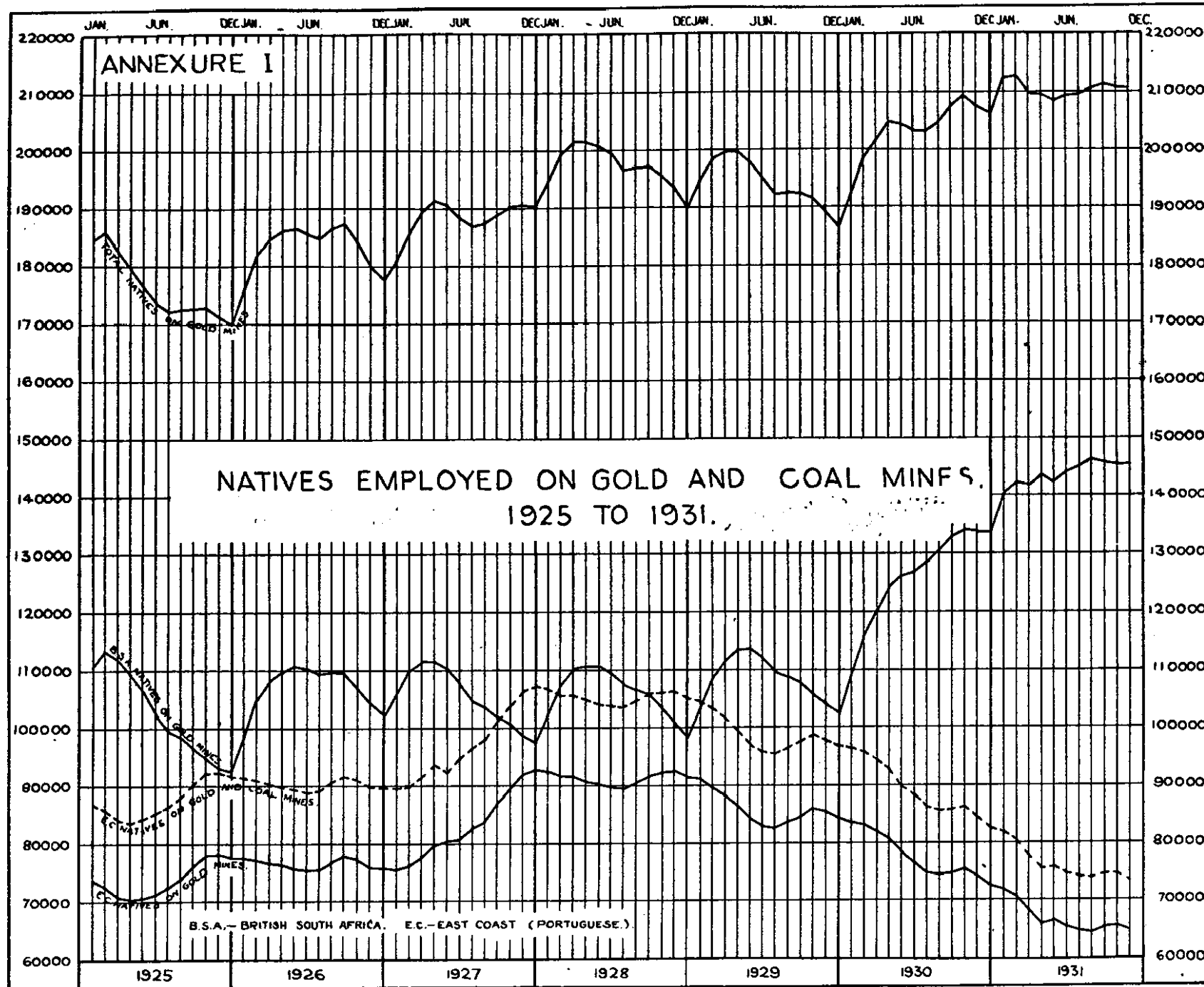
| | Schools. | | | Training Colleges. | Special Schools. | Total. | Total Pupils. | | Total Expendi- ture. | Average Expendi- ture. |
|------------------------|----------|--------------------|--------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------|---------------|----------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Primary. | Beyond Primary. | Total. | | | | Males. | Females. | | |
| | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | £ | £ s. d. |
| Cape..... | 1,698 | 6 | 1,704 | 14 | 20 | 1,738 | 59,317 | 78,487 | 366,357 | 2 13 2 |
| Natal..... | 615 | 75 | 690 | 6 | — | 696 | 19,564 | 28,961 | 108,745 | 2 4 9 |
| Transvaal..... | 581 | 6 | 587 | 4 | 3 | 594 | 36,606 | 36,195 | 103,636 | 1 8 6 |
| Orange Free State..... | 208 | 6 | 214 | 2 | — | 216 | 11,643 | 13,477 | 39,229 | 1 11 3 |
| UNION..... | 3,102 | 93 | 3,195 | 26 | 23 | 3,244 | 127,130 | 157,120 | £617,967 | £2 3 6 |

ANNEXURE 17—III. (See Paragraph 622.)

PRIVATE SCHOOLS FOR NATIVES, 1930.

| Province. | Schools. | Scholars. | | |
|------------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| | | Males. | Females. | Total. |
| | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| Cape..... | 82 | 1,666 | 1,948 | 3,614 |
| Natal..... | 175 | 3,604 | 3,139 | 6,743 |
| Transvaal..... | 184 | 4,666 | 3,492 | 8,158 |
| Orange Free State..... | — | — | — | — |
| TOTAL..... | 441 | 9,936 | 8,579 | 18,515 |

ANNEXURE 18. (See Paragraphs 702 and 804.)



ANNEXURE 19. (See Paragraph 785.)

COPY OF DOCUMENT RECEIVED FROM THE DIRECTOR OF NATIVE LABOUR, UNION, DATED JOHANNESBURG, 30.4.1931.

ANALYSIS OF PASS OFFICE RECORDS MADE IN JANUARY, 1930, IN RESPECT OF NATIVES RELEASED FROM THE LEEUWKOP FARM COLONY AFTER SERVING TERMS OF DETENTION UNDER SECTION 17 OF THE NATIVES (URBAN AREAS) ACT.

| | No. | Serious subsequent offences. No. |
|--|-----|-------------------------------------|
| Natives released from 1st January, 1927, to 31st December, 1928 | 263 | |
| (a) No further record since obtaining permits to seek work | 80 | — |
| (b) Passes issued to proceed home to other parts and no subsequent record..... | 24 | — |
| (c) Ordered home under <i>section 17 (1)</i> of Act No. 21 of 1923, having failed to find employment..... | 16 | 2 |
| (d) Declared prohibited immigrants and repatriated..... | 3 | 1 |
| (e) Died in Gaol Hospital..... | 3 | — |
| (f) Sent to Mental Hospital, Pretoria..... | 1 | — |
| (g) Sentenced to a further term at Leeuwkop. (Of these 11 failed to find employment and 5 were registered for short terms of service)..... | 16 | 4 |
| (h) Convicted of serious offences..... | 9 | 9 |
| (i) Number who became registered to employers but who were subsequently convicted of serious offences..... | 26 | 26 |
| (j) Number who became registered to employers and have not since been convicted..... | 85 | — |
| TOTALS..... | 263 | 42 |

In regard to the 42 Natives convicted subsequent to release, the following serious offences (excluding minor offences) are recorded as having been committed by them prior to committal to the farm colony:

| Natives. | Previous convictions, each. |
|----------|-----------------------------|
| 7 | None. |
| 11 | 1 |
| 5 | 2 |
| 7 | 3 |
| 6 | 4 |
| 3 | 5 |
| 2 | 6 |
| 1 | 7 |

The convictions for serious offences recorded against the same 42 Natives subsequent to release from the farm colony were:

| Natives. | Convictions. |
|----------|--------------|
| 33 | 1 each. |
| 7 | 2 " |
| 1 | 3 " |
| 1 | 4 " |

making in all 54 convictions, which were in respect of the following offences:

| | |
|--|----|
| Theft, one month and over..... | 28 |
| Housebreaking and theft, one month and over..... | 14 |
| Robbery, one month and over..... | 3 |
| Assault, 3 months and over..... | 7 |
| Forgery, one month and over..... | 1 |
| Gold Law, one month and over..... | 1 |

NOTE.—The summary discloses that :

| | |
|---|------------|
| There is no final history of the Natives referred to under headings (a), (b), (c), and (d), who may or may not have reformed, to the number of..... | 123 |
| In the circumstances, no opportunity accrued to those under headings (e) and (f) to show the result of committal to the number of | 4 |
| Those who definitely are known to have reverted to previous life [headings (g), (h), and (i)] numbered..... | 51 |
| Those who may be assumed to have definitely reformed [heading (j)] numbered..... | 85 |
| TOTAL..... | <u>263</u> |

| | |
|---|------------------|
| | <i>Per cent.</i> |
| The number of Natives who are known to have reverted to previous life [headings (g), (h), and (i)] represent..... | 19·4 |
| The number of Natives known to have been subsequently convicted of serious offences represent..... | 16·0 |
| The number known to have reformed represent..... | 32·3 |

ANNEXURE 20—I. (See Paragraph 791 *et seq.*)

EXTRACT FROM SPECIAL REPORT BY MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH TO PUBLIC HEALTH COMMITTEE, ADDRESSED TO TOWN CLERK, CITY OF JOHANNESBURG, 16TH FEBRUARY, 1931.

INFANTILE MORTALITY—JOHANNESBURG COUNCIL'S NATIVE TOWNSHIPS.

MAY, 1930.

KLIPSPRUIT LOCATION.

| | Births 1928. | Traced as alive 12 months after Birth. | Died 12 months and under. | Left Township untraced. | Age at Time of Death. |
|----------------|-----------------|--|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| January..... | 11 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2, 7, and 4 months 7 days (?). |
| February..... | 9 | 5 | — | 4 | — |
| March..... | 15 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 7, 5, 11, and 2½ months 3 days. |
| April..... | 8 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 9 months. |
| May..... | 14 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 9 and 2 months, 7 weeks and 2½ days. |
| June..... | 6 | 4 | — | 2 | — |
| July..... | 14 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 7 months and 6 weeks. |
| August..... | 17 | 7 | 1 | 9 | 10 months. |
| September..... | 12 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 7 months, 6 weeks and 9 days. |
| October..... | 12 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 8 and 2 months. |
| November..... | 6 | 11 | 2 | 3 | 6 and 3½ months. |
| December..... | 8 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 10 days. |
| TOTALS..... | 142 | 69 | 26 | 47 | |

EASTERN NATIVE TOWNSHIP.

| | | | | | |
|----------------|----|----|---|---|---------------------------|
| January..... | 3 | 2 | 1 | — | 8 months. |
| February..... | 3 | 2 | — | 1 | — |
| March..... | 3 | 2 | — | 1 | — |
| April..... | — | — | — | — | — |
| May..... | 4 | 2 | — | 2 | — |
| June..... | 3 | 3 | — | — | — |
| July..... | 1 | — | 1 | — | 3 days. |
| August..... | 5 | 3 | 2 | — | 1 premature and 1 day. |
| September..... | 3 | 2 | — | 1 | — |
| October..... | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 premature and 9 months. |
| November..... | 1 | 1 | — | — | — |
| December..... | — | — | — | — | — |
| | 30 | 18 | 6 | 6 | |

WESTERN NATIVE TOWNSHIP.

| | | | | | |
|----------------|-----|----|----|----|---------------------------|
| January..... | 14 | 3 | — | 11 | — |
| February..... | 14 | 1 | — | 13 | — |
| March..... | 18 | 3 | 1 | 14 | 7 months. |
| April..... | 6 | — | 1 | 5 | 3 months. |
| May..... | 12 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 6 months. |
| June..... | 13 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 7 and 8 months. |
| July..... | 14 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 1 premature and 3 weeks. |
| August..... | 15 | 11 | — | 4 | — |
| September..... | 13 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 15 days. |
| October..... | 11 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 and 1 month and 3 days. |
| November..... | 15 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 1, 1 and 1 month. |
| December..... | 23 | 8 | 2 | 13 | 8 and 10 months. |
| | 168 | 57 | 16 | 95 | |

As will be seen from the above, a serious effort was made by investigation of the individual registered births to arrive at an Infantile Mortality figure for each of the Council's Native Locations and Townships. The resultant figures, however, do not carry us very far. Analysed, they show that, excluding "untraced" births, the Eastern Native Township gives the highest infantile rate and the Western Native Township, with a very large percentage of "untraced" births, the lowest rate, and that none have a higher rate than 200 per thousand of investigated births, also that the average for all townships is 141. These figures are given for what they are worth, which is perhaps not a great deal, though they are certainly of some value, which the figures given in Dr. Bernstein's report are not.

ANNEXURE 20—II. (See Paragraphs 791 *et seq.*)

EXTRACT FROM PAGES 29-31 of "ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH ON THE PUBLIC HEALTH AND SANITARY CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE MUNICIPAL AREA OF PORT ELIZABETH FOR THE YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE, 1930."

NEW BRIGHTON LOCATION.

Population.

| | |
|---------------------|--------------|
| Native males..... | 3,918 |
| Native females..... | 3,409 |
| TOTAL..... | 7,327 |

Births.

310 births, among residents of the location, were registered as occurring in the location.

The birth rate was, therefore, 42·30 per 1,000 of the population.

Deaths.

279 deaths were registered, giving a death rate of 38·08 per 1,000 of the population, compared with a rate of 42·53 in the previous year.

Causes of Death.

| | Males. | Females. | Total. |
|--|------------|------------|------------|
| Enteric fever..... | — | 2 | 2 |
| Whooping cough..... | 7 | 7 | 14 |
| Influenza..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Tuberculosis of respiratory system..... | 33 | 22 | 55 |
| Other tuberculous diseases..... | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Cancer, malignant tumours..... | 3 | — | 3 |
| Haemorrhage, apoplexy..... | — | 2 | 2 |
| Heart disease..... | 9 | 5 | 14 |
| Acute bronchitis (inc. unqualified under 5 years)..... | — | 1 | 1 |
| Pneumonia..... | 24 | 34 | 58 |
| Other diseases of the respiratory system..... | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Diarrhoea and enteritis (under 2 years)..... | 13 | 22 | 35 |
| Diarrhoea and enteritis (over 2 years)..... | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Cirrhosis of liver..... | 3 | — | 3 |
| Acute and chronic nephritis..... | 4 | — | 4 |
| Diseases of female genital organs..... | — | 1 | 1 |
| Other accidents and diseases of pregnancy..... | — | 3 | 3 |
| Congenital debility and malformations..... | 10 | 13 | 23 |
| Old age..... | — | 1 | 1 |
| Violent deaths..... | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Suicides..... | 1 | — | 1 |
| Other diseases..... | 19 | 16 | 35 |
| Diseases not stated or ill-defined..... | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| TOTALS..... | 138 | 141 | 279 |

The number of deaths from pulmonary tuberculosis is high, the rate being 7·50 per 1,000 of the population. This is lower than last year but compares with a rate of ·62 in Europeans and 2·83 in non-Europeans in the city.

Infantile Mortality.

103 deaths of infants under 1 year of age occurred.

This would give a rate of 332·26 per 1,000 births but this rate is not very reliable owing to the abnormal composition of the population.

Deaths in Children, Ages 1 Year to 5 Years.

| 1 to 2 Years. | 2 to 3 Years. | 3 to 4 Years. | 4 to 5 Years. | Total. |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------|
| 37 | 18 | 7 | 6 | 68 |

Last year 53 children between one and two years died and the reduction this year accounts for the fall in the general death rate.

ANNEXURE 20—III. (See Paragraphs 791 *et sqq.*)

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF EUROPEAN AND CERTAIN GROUPS OF NATIVE MARRIED WOMEN.

| | European Women. | Native Women.—Urban. | | | | | Rural. |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|
| | Union Census, 1926. | Grahamstown. | Port Elizabeth. | Johannesburg. | | | Tamare. |
| | | | | Klipspruit. | Western Native Township. | Eastern Native Township. | |
| Number of cases investigated..... | Total Population | 355 | 309 | 827 | 1,783 | 577 | 460 |
| Average age (years)..... | 37 | 46·5* | 39·9 | † | † | † | † |
| No. of births per woman..... | 3·59 | 5·65 | 6·06‡ | 4·31 | 3·68 | 3·98 | 8·65 |
| Average No. of children died..... | 0·62 | 2·63 | 2·99 | 1·42 | 0·87 | 1·05 | 4·33 |
| Average No. of survivors..... | 2·97 | 3·02 | 3·07 | 2·89 | 2·81 | 2·93 | 4·32 |
| Deaths per 1,000 births§..... | 173·5 | 465·5 | 493·4 | 329·1 | 237·5 | 264·5 | 500·6 |

* Average taken on 199 women for whom data available.

† Not known.

‡ Including premature births and still-births.

§ Not infantile deaths, but all deaths during the lifetime of the mothers.

ANNEXURE 21—II. (See Paragraph 801.)

STATEMENT SHOWING (1) DISTRICTS, OUTSIDE PONDOLAND, WHERE NUMBER OF RECRUITED LABOURERS PREPONDERATES OVER NON-RECRUITED, AND (2) TOTALS, FOR PROVINCES, OF RECRUITED AND NON-RECRUITED LABOURERS, 1928-1930.

Compiled from Statistics submitted by Transvaal Chamber of Mines. Gold Producers' Committee. Dated Johannesburg, 23/6/1931, and Revised 5/1/1932.

| | 1930. | |
|-----------------------|------------|----------------|
| | Recruited. | Non-recruited. |
| CAPE— | | |
| Alice..... | 359 | 288 |
| Capetown..... | 286 | 6 |
| East London..... | 1,189 | 100 |
| Elliotdale..... | 2,316 | 894 |
| Fort Beaufort..... | 192 | 107 |
| Glen Grey..... | 3,003 | 947 |
| Herschel..... | 700 | 286 |
| Indwe..... | 630 | 19 |
| Kimberley..... | 864 | 18 |
| Kingwilliamstown..... | 1,994 | 1,687 |
| Komgha..... | 359 | 291 |
| Maclear..... | 305 | 58 |
| Matatiele..... | 2,169 | 495 |
| Middelrift..... | 1,037 | 366 |
| Mount Fletcher..... | 965 | 192 |
| Nqgeleni..... | 1,998 | 788 |
| Peddie..... | 506 | 476 |
| Port Elizabeth..... | 145 | — |
| Port St. Johns..... | 1,062 | 67 |
| Queenstown..... | 468 | 102 |
| Sterkstroom..... | 291 | 9 |
| Xalanga..... | 425 | 79 |
| NATAL— | | |
| Ladysmith..... | 442 | 75 |
| Pietermaritzburg..... | 2,196 | 237 |
| TRANSVAAL— | | |
| Pretoria..... | 1,263 | 244 |
| Zoutpansberg..... | 106 | 70 |

TOTALS, FOR PROVINCES, OF RECRUITED AND NON-RECRUITED LABOURERS.

| | 1928. | | 1929. | | 1930. | |
|----------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| | Recruited. | Non-Recruited. | Recruited. | Non-Recruited. | Recruited. | Non-Recruited. |
| Cape (including Pondoland) | 29,863 | 35,939 | 30,025 | 35,354 | 26,626 | 41,795 |
| Natal..... | 1,952 | 2,355 | 2,732 | 2,871 | 3,820 | 3,297 |
| Transvaal..... | 1,637 | 3,723 | 1,702 | 3,871 | 3,609 | 5,519 |
| TOTALS..... | 33,452 | 42,017 | 34,459 | 42,096 | 34,055 | 50,611 |

ANNEXURE 21—III. (See Paragraphs 814, 816, 817.)

Copy of Document received from Director of Native Labour, dated Johannesburg, 3.4.1931.

Analysis of Test Check made by Director of Native Labour, Union in regard to Natives arriving in Johannesburg with a view to Showing: Number of New Arrivals, Number Previously Employed on the Reef, and the Duration of Periods spent at Home, as stated by them.

| A. | B. | C. | | D. | | Period (in months) Natives under Column "D" spent at home as stated by them. | | | | | | | | | | | | Per cent. of Natives 12 months and over to "D." |
|-------------------------|---------------|--|--------------|--|--------------|--|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------------|---|
| | | Number not previously employed on W.W. Rand. | % of "B." | Number previously employed on W.W. Rand. | % of "B." | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. | 12 months and over. | |
| MINES. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape Province..... | 4,139 | 669 | 16.16 | 3,470 | 83.84 | 93 | 137 | 218 | 220 | 224 | 264 | 175 | 159 | 165 | 108 | 34 | 1,673 | 48.21 |
| Transvaal..... | 785 | 143 | 18.22 | 642 | 84.70 | 29 | 37 | 49 | 41 | 50 | 52 | 28 | 42 | 34 | 16 | 13 | 251 | 39.10 |
| Natal and Zululand..... | 264 | 66 | 25.00 | 198 | 75.00 | 11 | 18 | 15 | 8 | 3 | 18 | 9 | 11 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 90 | 45.45 |
| Basutoland..... | 1,336 | 268 | 20.06 | 1,068 | 79.94 | 132 | 80 | 96 | 95 | 68 | 67 | 39 | 29 | 23 | 18 | 6 | 415 | 38.86 |
| Bechuanaland..... | 426 | 36 | 8.45 | 390 | 91.55 | 18 | 35 | 37 | 55 | 27 | 43 | 15 | 13 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 130 | 33.33 |
| Swaziland..... | 441 | 141 | 31.97 | 300 | 68.03 | 31 | 28 | 20 | 25 | 18 | 36 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 4 | 111 | 37.00 |
| TOTAL..... | 7,391 | 1,323 | 17.90 | 6,068 | 82.10 | 314 | 335 | 435 | 444 | 390 | 480 | 276 | 262 | 242 | 156 | 64 | 2,670 | 44.00 |
| Percentage to "D"..... | — | — | — | — | — | 5.17 | 5.52 | 7.17 | 7.32 | 6.43 | 7.91 | 4.55 | 4.32 | 3.99 | 2.57 | 1.05 | 44.00 | — |
| OTHER EMPLOY. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape Province..... | 210 | 48 | 22.86 | 162 | 77.14 | 4 | 7 | 12 | 11 | 6 | 15 | 15 | 14 | 9 | 11 | 7 | 51 | 31.48 |
| Transvaal..... | 1,410 | 404 | 28.65 | 1,006 | 71.35 | 56 | 71 | 78 | 81 | 66 | 127 | 56 | 53 | 53 | 39 | 15 | 311 | 30.91 |
| Natal and Zululand..... | 1,513 | 269 | 17.78 | 1,244 | 82.22 | 39 | 81 | 66 | 108 | 80 | 168 | 79 | 75 | 67 | 61 | 32 | 368 | 29.58 |
| Basutoland..... | 59 | 16 | 27.12 | 43 | 72.88 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | — | — | 23 | 53.49 |
| TOTAL..... | 3,192 | 737 | 23.09 | 2,455 | 76.91 | 102 | 162 | 177 | 201 | 155 | 311 | 153 | 145 | 131 | 111 | 54 | 753 | 30.67 |
| Percentage to "D"..... | — | — | — | — | — | 4.15 | 6.60 | 7.21 | 8.19 | 6.31 | 12.67 | 6.23 | 5.91 | 5.34 | 4.52 | 2.20 | 30.67 | — |
| TOTALS. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mines..... | 7,391 | 1,323 | 17.90 | 6,068 | 82.10 | 314 | 385 | 435 | 444 | 390 | 480 | 276 | 262 | 242 | 156 | 64 | 2,670 | 44.00 |
| Other Employ..... | 3,192 | 737 | 23.09 | 2,455 | 76.91 | 102 | 162 | 177 | 201 | 155 | 311 | 153 | 145 | 131 | 111 | 54 | 753 | 30.67 |
| GRAND TOTAL... | 10,583 | 2,060 | 19.47 | 8,523 | 80.54 | 416 | 497 | 612 | 645 | 545 | 791 | 429 | 407 | 373 | 267 | 118 | 3,423 | 40.16 |
| Percentage to "D"..... | — | — | — | — | — | 4.88 | 5.83 | 7.18 | 7.57 | 6.40 | 9.28 | 5.03 | 4.77 | 4.38 | 3.13 | 1.36 | 40.16 | — |

ANNEXURE 21—IV. (See Paragraph 821.)

PARTICULARS SUPPLIED BY TRANSVAAL CHAMBER OF MINES.
GOLD PRODUCERS' COMMITTEE.

STATEMENT I.

RATES OF PAY OF ALL NATIVES ON GOLD MINES ON 19TH MAY, 1931.

| Number at Rate shown in Fourth Column. | | | Rate per Shift. | Number at Rate shown in Fourth Column. | | | Rate per Shift. |
|--|----------|--------|----------------------|--|----------|---------|-----------------|
| Under-ground. | Surface. | Total. | | Under-ground. | Surface. | Total. | |
| 1,171 | 4,714 | 5,885 | Less than 1s. 8d. | 181 | 15 | 196 | s. d. 4 3 |
| | | | s. d. | 147 | 39 | 186 | 4 4 |
| 11,075 | 8,222 | 19,297 | 1 8 | 140 | 1 | 141 | 4 5 |
| 1,755 | 1,347 | 3,102 | 1 9 | 423 | 104 | 527 | 4 6 |
| 20,376 | 3,713 | 24,089 | 1 10 | 92 | 6 | 98 | 4 7 |
| 2,333 | 283 | 2,616 | 1 11 | 239 | 57 | 296 | 4 8 |
| 60,079 | 9,598 | 69,677 | 2 0 | 130 | 11 | 145 | 4 9 |
| 5,886 | 844 | 6,730 | 2 1 | 102 | 11 | 113 | 4 10 |
| 18,311 | 1,954 | 20,265 | 2 2 | 70 | 2 | 72 | 4 11 |
| 7,449 | 1,063 | 8,512 | 2 3 | 274 | 60 | 334 | 5 0 |
| 8,109 | 738 | 8,847 | 2 4 | 41 | — | 41 | 5 1 |
| 3,796 | 91 | 3,887 | 2 5 | 154 | 6 | 160 | 5 2 |
| 3,722 | 1,712 | 5,434 | 2 6 | 59 | 1 | 60 | 5 3 |
| 1,348 | 97 | 1,445 | 2 7 | 86 | 16 | 102 | 5 4 |
| 2,148 | 605 | 2,753 | 2 8 | 24 | — | 24 | 5 5 |
| 1,458 | 122 | 1,580 | 2 9 | 115 | 7 | 122 | 5 6 |
| 970 | 191 | 1,161 | 2 10 | 35 | 1 | 36 | 5 7 |
| 658 | 14 | 672 | 2 11 | 66 | 6 | 72 | 5 8 |
| 1,521 | 334 | 1,855 | 3 0 | 70 | 3 | 73 | 5 9 |
| 313 | 17 | 330 | 3 1 | 30 | 4 | 34 | 5 10 |
| 994 | 116 | 1,110 | 3 2 | 28 | — | 28 | 5 11 |
| 390 | 50 | 440 | 3 3 | 70 | 13 | 83 | 6 0 |
| 529 | 133 | 662 | 3 4 | | | | s. d. |
| 318 | 11 | 329 | 3 5 | 136 | 7 | 143 | 6 4 to 6 6 |
| 820 | 182 | 1,002 | 3 6 | 160 | 11 | 171 | 6 7 to 7 0 |
| 173 | 4 | 177 | 3 7 | 87 | 4 | 91 | 7 1 to 7 6 |
| 631 | 45 | 676 | 3 8 | 48 | 2 | 50 | 7 7 to 8 0 |
| 355 | 16 | 371 | 3 9 | 28 | 1 | 29 | 8 1 to 8 6 |
| 265 | 71 | 336 | 3 10 | 15 | — | 15 | 8 7 to 9 0 |
| 217 | 2 | 219 | 3 11 | 25 | — | 25 | 9 3 to 11 6 |
| 814 | 174 | 988 | 4 0 | | | | |
| 141 | 3 | 144 | 4 1 | 161,714 | 36,888 | 198,602 | |
| 510 | 34 | 544 | 4 2 | | | | |

STATEMENT II.

NATIVES EMPLOYED ON VARIOUS CLASSES OF SUPERIOR OR SEMI-SKILLED WORK,
WHO WERE PAID IN EXCESS OF 2s. 3d. PER SHIFT ON 19TH MAY, 1931.

EXCLUDING ALL PIECE-WORKERS.

These figures are included in the foregoing table.

| Under-ground. | Surface. | Total. | Rate per Shift. | Under-ground. | Surface. | Total. | Rate per Shift. |
|---------------|----------|--------|-----------------|---------------|----------|--------|-----------------|
| | | | s. d. | | | | s. d. |
| 2,190 | 521 | 2,711 | 2 4 | 121 | 179 | 300 | 3 6 |
| 1,378 | 52 | 1,430 | 2 5 | 16 | 4 | 20 | 3 7 |
| 1,670 | 1,471 | 3,141 | 2 6 | 13 | 44 | 57 | 3 8 |
| 495 | 56 | 551 | 2 7 | 14 | 14 | 28 | 3 9 |
| 1,036 | 541 | 1,577 | 2 8 | 8 | 73 | 81 | 3 10 |
| 919 | 97 | 1,016 | 2 9 | 11 | 2 | 13 | 3 11 |
| 370 | 185 | 555 | 2 10 | 22 | 155 | 177 | 4 0 |
| 295 | 15 | 310 | 2 11 | | | | s. d. |
| 373 | 311 | 684 | 3 0 | 31 | 146 | 177 | 4 1 to 4 6 |
| 53 | 15 | 68 | 3 1 | 8 | 141 | 149 | 4 7 to 5 0 |
| 239 | 107 | 346 | 3 2 | 6 | 30 | 36 | 5 2 to 5 6 |
| 53 | 47 | 100 | 3 3 | 2 | 27 | 29 | 5 7 to 6 0 |
| 74 | 128 | 202 | 3 4 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 6 2 to 6 6 |
| 21 | 17 | 38 | 3 5 | 1 | 11 | 12 | 6 8 to 7 0 |
| | | | | — | 7 | 7 | 7 4 to 8 4 |

ANNEXURE 22. (See Paragraph 882.)

I.

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS,
JOHANNESBURG.

4TH APRIL, 1925

No. 1237/13/D. 53.

Circular Minute "D" 4/25.

TO MAGISTRATES, NATIVE COMMISSIONERS,
AND SUB-COMMISSIONERS, THROUGHOUT
THE UNION.

Recruitment of Natives apparently under 18 years of age.

1. With reference to the permission which by Administrative relaxation is extended to duly licensed labour agents to recruit for agricultural purposes Natives who are apparently under the age of 18 years, please note that all instructions previously issued in regard to this subject are cancelled and the following substituted:—

2. Magistrates are authorized within their discretion to issue to labour agents already licensed permits to recruit for agricultural employment Natives apparently under the age of 18 years.

3. Applications to Magistrates for such permits must be supported by the following documents:—

- (a) A letter from the agent's employer assenting to the proposed extension of the applicant's activities;
- (b) A letter from the proposed agricultural employer appointing the agent as his representative;
- (c) A copy of the agreement between the parties;
- (d) A copy of the form of contract upon which the Natives will be attested.

4. As it is recognized that it is impossible for labour agents to submit agreements between themselves and every individual farmer for whom they may desire to recruit farm labourers, certain Labour Organizations who make a practice of supplying farm labour have been specially recognized as organizations for the distribution of farm labour and labour agents have been licensed to such organizations who are regarded to a limited extent as employers of farm labour.

5. It is therefore unnecessary to call for the production of the documents (a) to (d) referred to in the third paragraph of this Circular, provided labour agents' licences are already endorsed to recruit for any individual employer of farm labour or for one of the undermentioned Farm Labour Organizations, and Magistrates may in their discretion extend facilities to such labour agents to recruit Natives under the apparent age of 18 for farm work subject to the other terms and conditions detailed in this Circular being observed. *It should be borne in mind that the patrons of these Organizations are not necessarily by virtue of this paragraph to be regarded as "approved employers" for the purposes of paragraph 3 (b) of the permit:—*

Natal Coast Labour Recruiting Corporation, Limited.
Hadley's Farm Labour Organization.
Theron's Farm Labour Organization.
Lazarus' Farm Labour Organization.
Horsfall's Farm Labour Organization.
Kantor's Farm Labour Organization.

6. The permit will be issued by the Magistrate in duplicate subject to the conditions enumerated thereon, and must, before being handed to the labour agent, be subscribed to by him, both with respect to the original and the duplicate copy, in the form appearing at the foot thereof. The latter is to be retained by the Magistrate and filed of record in his office.

7. As it seems undesirable to deal with Natives under the apparent age of 16 years from the point of view of recruiting, no mention has been made of them in the permit. Natives falling under this category can be apprenticed by their guardians under the various Masters and Servants Laws, the terms of which should be closely observed.

8. In regard to condition (3) it is contemplated that in cases where the consent of parents or guardians is not formally given in person, elder brothers or other credible persons will be in a position to testify as to the willingness of his parent or guardian to the youth's going forward for labour.

9. The effect of the new arrangement, it will be seen is—

- (1) To make it necessary to deal with every Native who is apparently under 16 years of age under the Masters and Servants Laws in force in such Native's Province of domicile.
- (2) To allow of the recruitment of Natives apparently between the ages of 16 and 18 years for employment beyond the Province of domicile if satisfactory evidence of parental consent is forthcoming and the locality and conditions of employment have been approved by the Director.
- (3) To allow of the recruitment of such Natives for employment within the Province of domicile at the attesting officer's discretion.

10. It is to be clearly borne in mind by attesting officers that Native youths must be excluded from malaria and generally unhealthy areas, of the existence of which Magistrates will from time to time be advised by the Director.

11. All permits at present in force are suspended by those contemplated herein and should be withdrawn without delay but in any case within one month from this date.

12. Where application for these facilities accompanied by the necessary documents and Magistrate's recommendation is found to have been made with the annual application for a licence, the permit will be issued from this office.

13. As it is recognized that the system of Deferred Pay would be a desirable term in the contract under which the particular class of labour which is the subject of this Circular is recruited, it is intended to secure its introduction wherever in the exercise of his discretion the Director deems such a course both reasonable and advisable.

14. Magistrates and other officials to whom this Circular is addressed are requested to exercise a careful supervision over the working of the system to ensure the rigorous suppression of illicit methods by unlicensed agents and to notify this office immediately it is discovered that any agent or employer is guilty of culpable enticement or that the privilege is being in any other way abused, in order that proceedings under Section 11 (2) of Act No. 15 of 1911 may be taken against the offending party.

15. A small supply of the form of permit above-mentioned is forwarded herewith and will be replenished from time to time on requisition to this office.

(Sgd.) H. S. COOKE,
Director of Native Labour.

II.

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS,
JOHANNESBURG.

Mr.....

Authority is hereby granted to.....of.....holding Labour Agent's Licence No.....to recruit Natives under the apparent age of 18 years in the Districts of.....(as set out on the above Licence) for service as agricultural labourers under Contract to.....at..... on the following conditions:—

- (1) That the provisions of Act No. 15 of 1911 and the Regulations published thereunder will be strictly applied except as regards the age limit.
- (2) That all Natives are duly attested on recruitment and re-attested in the District of employment to the individual employer.
- (3) That the attestation of Natives apparently between the ages of 16 and 18 years may be effected:—
 - (a) For employment within the Province of domicile if the attesting officer is satisfied that the terms and conditions of employment are suitable;
 - (b) For employment outside the Province of domicile if the Magistrate is satisfied, either by assurance of the parents or an elder brother or otherwise, that the consent of the parents or guardians has been given, and further that the locality and conditions of employment have been approved by the Director.

- (4) That no contract of labour entered into with a Native apparently under the age of 18 years shall exceed seven calendar months and that the labour agent furnishes a written undertaking that he will, if required, forthwith at his own expense repatriate any Native who has been recruited under Section (3) of this permit, and that in any case he will ensure that all Natives recruited under this authority will be repatriated within seven calendar months from the date of such contract.
- (5) That no advance except for rail fare and food will be made provided, however, that the Attesting Officer may authorize a cash advance not exceeding 20s. if he is satisfied that this is desirable in the interests of the Natives.
- (6) That this permit be revocable at pleasure by the issuing officer, and contravention of its terms will constitute misconduct in terms of Section 11 (2) of Act No. 15 of 1911.

.....
Magistrate.

I.....hereby agree to accept
 (full Christian names and surname)

and abide by all the conditions set out above subject to which this authority is granted to me.

.....
Signature of Labour Agent.

Date.....

III.

Recruitment of Natives under the apparent age of 18 years for agricultural work.

I.....parent/guardian of Native.....
 recruited for agricultural work by Mr.....
 Labour Agent for the.....District
 consent to the said recruitment.

Witnesses :—

- 1.....
- 2.....

.....
Parent's/Guardian's Mark.

Place.....

Date.....

ANNEXURE 23. (See Paragraph 885.)

SCHEDULE OF LABOUR RECRUITING ORGANIZATIONS AND OF
 LABOUR AGENTS EMPLOYED BY EACH ORGANIZATION IN
 MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS OPEN TO RECRUITING.

I.

Recruiting Organizations :

- Bethal Farm Labour Organization.
- Hadley's Farm Labour Organization.
- Kantor's Farm Labour Organization.
- Lazarus' Farm Labour Organization.
- Natal Coast Labour Recruiting Corporation, Ltd.
- Native Recruiting Corporation, Ltd.
- Renaud's Farm Labour Organization.
- Theron's Farm Labour Organization.

II.

*Bethal Farm Labour Organization.**Cape.*—Herschel, 1.*Transvaal.*—Marico, 1; Pretoria, 2.*Hadley's Farm Labour Organization.**Cape.*—Bizana, 2; Butterworth, 2; Flagstaff, 1; Glen Grey, 2; Herschel, 1; Kentani, 1; Kingwilliamstown, 1; Libode, 3; Lusikisiki, 3; Maclear, 2; Mafeking, 1; Matatiele, 2; Mount Ayliff, 1; Ngqeleni, 1; Port St Johns, 1; Queenstown, 2; St Marks, 2; Tabankulu, 1; Umtata, 2; Vryburg, 1; Xalanga, 1; Qumbu, 1.*Natal.*—Durban, 1; Himeville, 2; Pietermaritzburg, 1; Richmond, 1.*Orange Free State.*—Bloemfontein, 1; Harrismith, 1; Thaba 'Nchu, 1.*Transvaal.*—Pilgrims Rest, 1.*Kantor's Farm Labour Organization.**Cape.*—Butterworth, 1; Mafeking, 1.*Orange Free State.*—Bloemfontein, 1.*Transvaal.*—Marico, 1; Pietersburg, 1; Potgietersrust, 1; Pretoria, 1.*Lazarus' Farm Labour Organization.**Cape.*—Bizana, 1; Kimberley, 1.*Natal.*—Durban, 1; Pietermaritzburg, 1; Richmond, 1.*Transvaal.*—Marico, 1.*Natal Coast Labour Recruiting Corporation, Ltd.**Cape.*—Bizana, 2; Butterworth, 1; Flagstaff, 2; Libode, 1; Maclear, 1; Matatiele, 1; Mount Fletcher, 1; Mqanduli, 1; Ngqeleni, 1; Port St. Johns, 2; Umtata, 2; Willowvale, 1; Xalanga, 2; Indwe, 1; Qumbu, 1.*Natal.*—Durban, 1; Himeville, 1; Ingwavuma, 1.*Native Recruiting Corporation, Ltd.**Cape.*—Bizana, 7; Butterworth, 8; Elliotdale, 14; Engcobo, 5; Flagstaff, 12; Glen Grey, 23; Herschel, 4; Idutywa, 9; Kentani, 16; Kingwilliamstown, 14; Libode, 11; Lusikisiki, 11; Maclear, 4; Mafeking, 1; Matatiele, 10; Mount Ayliff, 7; Mount Fletcher, 10; Mqanduli, 12; Ngqeleni, 22; Nqamakwe, 7; Peddie, 6; Port St. Johns, 9; Queenstown, 5; St. Marks, 15; Tabankulu, 9; Taung, 1; Tsolo, 9; Tsomo, 4; Umtata, 16; Umzimkulu, 1; Victoria East, 1; Vryburg, 1; Willowvale, 16; Xalanga, 6; East London, 2; Fort Beaufort, 2; Indwe, 4; Keiskama Hoek, 8; Kimberley, 1; Komgha, 2; Middledrift, 8; Port Elizabeth, 1; Qumbu, 13; Sterkstroom, 2; Cape, 1.*Natal.*—Durban, 1; Emtongweni, 1; Eshowe, 1; Harding, 2; Himeville, 1; Ingwavuma, 5; Ixopo, 1; Klip River, 1; Mahlabatini, 1; Nongoma, 1; Nqutu, 1; Pietermaritzburg, 3; Port Shepstone, 1; Vryheid, 1.*Orange Free State.*—Bloemfontein, 1; Harrismith, 1; Thaba 'Nchu, 1.*Transvaal.*—Lydenburg, 2; Marico, 1; Middelburg, 1; Pietersburg, 3; Piet Retief, 2; Pilgrims Rest, 3; Potgietersrust, 1; Pretoria, 2; Rustenburg, 3; Zoutpansberg, 2.*Renaud's Farm Labour Organization.**Cape.*—Bizana, 1; Lusikisiki, 3; Matatiele, 1; Mount Ayliff, 1; Umzimkulu, 1.*Natal.*—Durban, 1.*Theron's Farm Labour Organization.**Cape.*—Mafeking, 1.*Transvaal.*—Marico, 1.*Others.**Cape.*—Bizana, 7; Flagstaff, 9; Lusikisiki, 10; Mafeking, 1; Mount Ayliff, 3; Mount Fletcher, 2; Ngqeleni, 2; Port St. Johns, 1; Tabankulu, 7; Umtata, 1; Umzimkulu, 1.

Natal.—Durban, 1; Eshowe, 1; Harding, 7; Ixopo, 3; Mahlabatini, 2; Ngotshe, 1; Pietermaritzburg, 2; Port Shepstone, 6; Richmond, 1; Vryheid, 4.

Transvaal.—Middelburg, 2; Pietersburg, 1; Pilgrims Rest, 1; Pretoria, 2; Zoutpansberg, 2.

III.

EXTRACT FROM MINUTE FROM THE DIRECTOR OF NATIVE LABOUR, DATED 19TH OCTOBER, 1931, ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

“ Five hundred and ninety Labour Agents were licensed during the period 1st October, 1930, to 30th September, 1931.

“ Three Labour Agents have been convicted and one enquiry was held in terms of Section 11 (2) of Act No. 15 of 1911, during the period 1st October, 1930, to 30th September, 1931.

“ Four licences were cancelled during the above period.”

ANNEXURE 24—I. (See Paragraph 899.)

STATISTICS OF NATIVE WAGES.

The following figures show the tabulated results of figures of Natives wages collected from a large number of employers by the Union Office of Statistics in 1931. Whatever a sufficient number of returns were received the figures have been tabulated. The figures distinguish Natives paid per day, per week or per month, and for daily and monthly-paid labourers between those who received an inclusive cash wage, and those who received cash plus food and lodging. The estimated monthly value of these privileges is also given.

| How Paid. | Cape Peninsula. | | Port Elizabeth. | | East London. | | Kimberley. | | Pietermaritzburg. | | Durban. | | Pretoria. | | Witwatersrand. | | Bloemfontein. | | Natal Sugar Mills. | |
|---|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|---------|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------|
| | No. | Wage. | No. | Wage. | No. | Wage. | No. | Wage. | No. | Wage. | No. | Wage. | No. | Wage. | No. | Wage. | No. | Wage. | No. | Wage. |
| Cash only..... Daily wage..... | 1,128 | s. d. 3 3 | 311 | s. d. 3 7 | 539 | s. d. 2 11 | 44 | s. d. 3 0 | 19 | s. d. 2 11 | 530 | s. d. 3 4 | 209 | s. d. 2 8 | 490 | s. d. 3 1 | 95 | s. d. 3 7 | — | s. d. |
| Cash plus food and/or lodgings { <i>Daily wage value of food and lodgings per month</i> } | 357 | { 2 4 34 0 | 181 | { 2 4 18 6 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 118 | { 1 11 18 8 | 999 | { 1 11 21 1 | 2,319 | { 2 0 16 5 | — | — | — | — |
| Cash only..... Weekly wage..... | 514 | 27 1 | 416 | 24 6 | 569 | 21 6 | 212 | 20 3 | 144 | 19 4 | 935 | 19 2 | 660 | 18 3 | 2,140 | 21 7 | 395 | 21 6 | — | — |
| Cash plus food and/or lodgings { <i>Monthly Wage Value of food and lodgings per month</i> } | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 188 | { 48 8 24 7 | 1,977 | { 51 1 20 8 | 168 | { 54 8 15 6 | 907 | { 55 9 20 3 | — | — | 1,972 | { 47 9 12 1 |

ANNEXURE 24—II. (See Paragraphs 899 and 909.)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY DIRECTOR OF NATIVE LABOUR, UNION, DATED
30th APRIL, 1931.

RATES OF PAY OF NATIVES IN JOHANNESBURG.

NOTE.—The letters to the left of the "Rate of Pay" column represent individual firms.

| Class of Work. | Rate of Pay. | If Quarters Provided. | If Food Provided. |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Transport..... | A. 15s., 16s., 20s., 25s. p.w..... | Yes | No |
| | B. 2s. 6d., 3s. 4d., 3s. 9d., 4s. 2d. p.d.... | Yes | No |
| | C. 17s. 6d., 20s., 22s. 6d., 25s. p.w..... | No | No |
| | D. 2s. 2d., 2s. 3d., 2s. 4d. p.d..... | Yes | No |
| | E. 2s. p.d..... | Yes | Yes |
| Canvas and Rope Works..... | A. 15s., 18s. p.w..... | No | No |
| | B. 20s. p.w..... | Yes | No |
| | C. 16s., 17s., 18s., 20s. p.w..... | Yes | No |
| Clothing Manufacturers..... | A. 55s., 60s., 80s., 100s. p.m..... | Yes | No |
| | B. 12s. 6d., 15s., 20s. p.w..... | No | No |
| Engineering..... | A. 20s., 22s. p.w..... | Yes | No |
| | B. 18s., 22s. p.w..... | No | No |
| | C. 3s., 3s. 4d., 3s. 6d. p.d..... | Yes | No |
| | D. 2s. 8d. p.d..... | Yes | No |
| | E. 16s., 18s. p.w..... | No | No |
| | F. 15s., 17s. 6d., 20s. p.w..... | No | No |
| Bakers..... | A. 20s. p.w..... | No | No |
| | B. 15s. p.w..... | Yes | Yes |
| Milling..... | A. 60s., 65s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| | B. 2s. 11d. per shift, 5½d. p.h. overtime | No | No |
| | 2s. 6d. " 4½d. " " | | |
| | 3s. 6d. " 6d. " " | | |
| | 3s. 9d. " 6¾d. " " | | |
| | 4s. 1d. " 6¾d. " " | | |
| 4s. 2d. " 7½d. " " | | | |
| Mineral Waters..... | A. 20s., 30s., 40s., 50s., 60s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| | B. 50s., 60s., 70s., 80s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| Printing..... | A. 22s. 6d. p.w..... | No | No |
| | B. 22s. 6d. p.w..... | No | No |
| | C. 25s., 27s. 6d., 30s., 35s., 37s. 6d. p.w.. | Yes | No |
| Quarries..... | A. 55s., 60s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| | B. 3s. p.d..... | Yes | No |
| | C. 2s. 6d. p.d..... | No | No |
| Meat Industry..... | A. 30s., 40s., 50s., 60s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| | B. 15s., 17s. 6d., 20s., 22s. 6d., 25s. p.w.. | Yes | No |
| | C. 40s., 50s., 60s., 80s., 95s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| Hotels and Boarding Houses | A. 60s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| | B. 50s., 55s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| | C. 70s., 85s., 90s. p.m..... | Yes | No |
| | D. 80s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| | E. 70s., 85s., 87s. 6d., 100s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| | F. 40s., 50s., 70s., 80s., p.m..... | Yes | Yes |
| Shop and Office Cleaners..... | A. 3s. 4d. p.d..... | No | No |
| | B. 3s., 3s. 4d., 3s. 6d. p.d..... | No | No |
| | C. 20s. p.w..... | Yes | No |
| | D. 15s., 18s., 20s., 22s. 6d., 27s. p.w..... | Yes | No |
| | E. 70s., 80s., 90s., 100s. p.m..... | Yes | No |
| | F. 100s. p.m..... | Yes | No |
| | G. 100s. p.m..... | Yes | No |
| Stone Crushers..... | A. 1s. 6d., 2s., 2s. 6d., 2s. 9d., 3s. p.d. 60s., 70s., p.m. | Yes | No |
| | B. 2s. 6d., 4s. p.d..... | Yes | No |
| Timber Yards..... | A. 3s. 4d., 4s. p.d..... | Yes | No |
| Smelters..... | A. 1s. 9d., 2s. p.d..... 40s., 52s. 6d., 60s. p.m. | Yes | Yes |
| Electricity..... | A. 2s. 4d. p.d..... | Yes | No |
| | 50s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes |

| Class of Work. | Rate of Pay. | If Quarters Provided. | If Food Provided. | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-----|
| Breweries..... | A. 30s., 40s., 45s., 50s., 55s., 57s. 6d., 60s., 70s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | B. 2s. 6d. p.d..... | Yes | No | |
| | 1s. 6d., 1s. 8d., 2s., 2s. 3d. p.d..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | 30s., 35s., 40s., 45s., 50s., 55s., 60s., 65s., 70s., 72s. 6d. p.m..... | Yes | Yes | |
| C. | 50s., 55s., 60s., 70s., p.m..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | D. 2s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 2s. 8s. p.d..... | Yes | No | |
| | Brickmakers..... | A. 12s., 14s., 15s. p.w..... | Yes | No |
| | | B. 1s. 4d., 1s. 6d., 1s. 8d. p.d..... | Yes | Yes |
| 40s., 50s. p.m..... | | Yes | Yes | |
| C. 1s. 4d., 1s. 6d., 2s. p.d..... | | Yes | Yes | |
| D. | 10s., 15s., 20s., 25s., 30s., 40s., 45s., 50s., 60s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | D. 1s. 6d. p.d..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | 25s., 30s., 40s., 42s. 6d., 45s., 50s., 60s. p.m..... | No | No | |
| | 5d. per cubic yd. (50 hrs. per week)... | Yes | Yes | |
| E. | 20s., 25s., 30s., 35s., 40s., 45s., 50s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | F. 30s., 40s., 45s., 50s., 55s., 60s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | G. 30s., 60s., 65s., 80s., 90s., p.m..... | Yes | No | |
| | H. 2s. 6d. p.d..... | Yes | Yes | |
| Municipality— | 20s., 40s., 45s., 50s., 55s., p.m..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | 20s., 40s., 45s., 50s., 55s., 60s., 65s., 70s., 75s. p.m..... | Yes | No | |
| | Electric Supply..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | Water Supply..... | Yes | Yes | |
| Town Engineer..... | Yes | Yes | | |
| Stores..... | Yes | Yes | | |
| Sanitary..... | Yes | Yes | | |
| Estates, Swimming Baths, etc..... | Yes | Yes | | |
| M.O.H..... | Yes | Yes | | |
| Native Affairs..... | 2s., 2s. 1d., 2s. 2d., 2s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 2s. 5d., 2s. 6d., 2s. 8d., 2s. 10d., 3s., 3s. 6d. p.d..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | Transportation..... | No | No | |
| | 2s., 2s. 1d., 2s. 2d., 2s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 2s. 5d., 2s. 6d., 2s. 8d., 2s. 10d., 3s., 3s. 6d. p.d..... | No | No | |
| | Laundries..... | Yes | No | |
| A. | 17s., 22s., 24s., 30s. p.w..... | Yes | No | |
| | B. 45s., 60s., 70s. p.m..... | Yes | No | |
| | C. 40s., 50s., 60s., 65s., 70s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes | |
| | D. 30s., 40s., 50s., 60s., 70s. p.m..... | Yes | Yes | |
| Furniture Making..... | A. 15s., 17s. 6d., 20s., 21s., 23s. 6d., 25s. p.w..... | No | No | |
| | B. 21s., 22s. 6d., 32s. 6d. p.w..... | No | No | |
| | C. 22s. 6d., 25s. p.w..... | No | No | |

ANNEXURE 24—IV. (See Paragraph 914.)

WAGE BOARD TABLE.

UNSKILLED EMPLOYMENT IN CERTAIN UNDERTAKINGS,
INDUSTRIES, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS IN BLOEM-
FONTEIN, MAY, 1928.

| Weekly Wage Scale. | No. of Employees. |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 15s. and under | 355 |
| 15s. 1d. to 17s. 6d. | 88 |
| 17s. 7d. to 20s. | 1,074 |
| 20s. 1d. to 22s. 6d. | 76 |
| 22s. 7d. to 25s. | 81 |
| 25s. 1d. to 27s. 6d. | 13 |
| 27s. 7d. to 30s. | 47* |
| TOTAL EMPLOYEES | 1,734 |

* Includes 21 Europeans.

NOTE.—Food or lodging, or both, generally given only in case of hotels, boarding-houses, and butchery establishments.

ANNEXURE 24—V. (See Paragraph 914.)

I.

WAGE BOARD.—TABLE No. XVIII.

SHOWS DISTRIBUTION OF CLEANERS, LABOURERS, STOREBOYS, LORRY DRIVERS,
AND MESSENGERS, ACCORDING TO WAGES, RACE AND AGE, 1930, IN ALL AREAS.

| Wage Group per Week. | European. | | | Native. | | | Asiatic. | | Coloured. | | | | Total. |
|-------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| | M. | | F. | M. | | F. | M. | | M. | | F. | | |
| | A. | J. | J. | A. | J. | A. | A. | J. | A. | J. | A. | J. | |
| Under 15s..... | — | — | 16 | 709 | 129 | — | 11 | 24 | 10 | 56 | — | — | — |
| 15s. 0d.—17s. 5d. | 1 | — | 2 | 511 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 31 | 2 | 3 | 955 |
| 17s. 6d.—19s. 11d. | — | 1 | — | 720 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 11 | 28 | 1 | 2 | 775 |
| 20s. 0d.—22s. 5d. | — | — | — | 1,343 | 2 | — | 2 | 8 | 48 | 14 | 5 | 2 | 1,416 |
| 22s. 6d.—24s. 11d. | — | 3 | — | 645 | 2 | — | 3 | 2 | 40 | 11 | 4 | 1 | 711 |
| 25s. 0d.—27s. 5d. | — | 1 | — | 473 | — | — | 1 | — | 61 | 11 | — | 1 | 548 |
| 27s. 6d.—29s. 11d. | — | 1 | — | 249 | 1 | — | 7 | — | 57 | 4 | 1 | — | 320 |
| 30s. 0d.—34s. 11d. | — | 1 | — | 265 | — | — | 4 | — | 106 | 6 | — | — | 382 |
| 35s. 0d.—39s. 11d. | 3 | 2 | — | 64 | — | — | 3 | — | 84 | 1 | — | 1 | 158 |
| 40s. 0d.—44s. 11d. | 5 | — | — | 38 | — | — | 8 | — | 87 | — | — | — | 138 |
| 45s. 0d.—49s. 11d. | 3 | — | — | 15 | — | — | 8 | — | 56 | — | — | — | 82 |
| 50s. 0d.—54s. 11d. | 4 | — | — | 7 | — | — | — | — | 51 | — | — | — | 62 |
| 55s. 0d.—59s. 11d. | 6 | — | — | 2 | 1 | — | — | — | 7 | — | — | — | 16 |
| 60s. 0d.—64s. 11d. | 14 | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | — | 16 | — | — | — | 34 |
| 65s. 0d.—69s. 11d. | 3 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | 6 | — | — | — | 10 |
| 70s. 0d.—74s. 11d. | 16 | 1 | — | 2 | — | — | 3 | — | 11 | — | — | — | 33 |
| 75s. 0d.—79s. 11d. | 9 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | 11 |
| 80s. and over..... | 49 | 1 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 7 | — | — | — | 58 |
| TOTAL..... | 113 | 11 | 18 | 5,044 | 156 | 2 | 58 | 37 | 667 | 162 | 13 | 10 | 6,281 |

NOTE.—Of 5,044 Natives employed, chiefly as labourers, 3,283 were receiving, including the value of any board or lodging supplied to them, less than 22s. 6d. per week; 1,940 receiving less than 20s. per week.

II.

WAGE BOARD TABLE.

WAGES OF NATIVES IN CERTAIN TRADES TO WHICH WAGE DETERMINATION APPLIED SUBSEQUENT TO WAGE DETERMINATIONS.

| Wages per Month. | Totals. | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| | M. | | F. | | Totals. | |
| | A. | J. | A. | J. | Nos. | Per Cent. |
| 10s.-19s. 11d..... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 20s.-29s. 11d..... | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| 30s.-39s. 11d..... | 9 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 16 | .7 |
| 40s.-49s. 11d..... | 22 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 32 | 1.4 |
| 50s.-59s. 11d..... | 65 | 21 | 5 | 1 | 92 | 4.2 |
| 60s.-69s. 11d..... | 99 | 6 | 12 | 10 | 127 | 5.7 |
| 70s.-79s. 11d..... | 144 | 52 | 2 | 1 | 199 | 9.0 |
| 80s.-89s. 11d..... | 367 | 11 | 11 | 1 | 390 | 17.6 |
| 90s.-99s. 11d..... | 371 | 4 | 14 | 4 | 393 | 17.7 |
| 100s. and over..... | 926 | 9 | 30 | 4 | 969 | 43.7 |
| TOTALS..... | 2,004 | 108 | 77 | 30 | 2,219 | 100.0 |

NOTES.—(1) Does not include any Natives in respect of whom Wage Determination for unskilled workers in Bloemfontein applies.

(2) Wage Determinations for Grade II, i.e. unskilled employees, mainly Natives, vary from 20s. to 22s. 6d. per week, out of which they may be required to pay not more than 3s. for food and and 2s. for quarters per week.

ANNEXURE 24—VI. (See paragraphs 899 and 915.)

WAGES OF NATIVES IN URBAN AREAS.

STATISTICS FROM LOCAL INVESTIGATORS, IN RESPECT OF CRADOCK, KROONSTAD, LADYSMITH, PARYS, POTCHEFSTROOM, SOMERSET EAST.

CRADOCK. (Joint Council.)

(a) In industry, mainly building, wages are about 2s. 6d. per day. A few men, chiefly employed in garages, earn £5 a month and upwards.

(b) Store boys earn from 1s. 6d. to 2s. a day.

(c) Gardeners and house boys earn from £1 to £3 a month, usually with some food.

(d) Women in domestic service earn from 6s. to £1. 15s. a month.

(e) Washerwomen are paid from 18s. to 25s. per household, and the maximum number of households washed for by an individual is said to be three.

(f) Casual labour, mainly employed in cleaning furrows, is paid 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. a day.

The Superintendent of the KROONSTAD Location took a census of the wages of certain classes of male Natives in that location. A small number of juveniles is included in the figures. A summary of his figures is shown below. Only employees in Group 2 received food or quarters in addition to wages.

“Group 1, comprising Municipality, shops, business firms, office boys, bioscopes, and petrol pumps.”

| No. | Wage range per month. | Total. | Average per month. |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| 595 | 40s. to £7 | £1,660. 4s. 9d. | £2. 15s. 10d. |
| | | (474 being at £3 or under.) | |

The biggest group consists of 205 Natives at £3 per mensem.

“Group 2, comprising domestic servants, hotels, cafés, boarding-houses, and yard boys.”

| No. | Wage range per month. | Total. | Average per month. |
|-----|-----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 98 | £1. 10s. to £10 | £255 | £2. 11s. 7d. |
| | | (56 being at £2 or under.) | |

The biggest group consists of 20 Natives at £2 per mensem.

"Group 3, comprising garages, blacksmiths, workshops, brickfields, mineral water factories, cold storage, and building trades."

| No. | Wage range per month. | Totals. | Average per month. |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 147 | 15s. to £5. 10s. | £373. 18s. 6d. | £2. 10s. 10d. |
| (80 being at £2. 8s. or under.) | | | |

The biggest group consists of 33 Natives at £3 per mensem.

"Group 4, comprising S.A. Railways, dispensaries, hospitals, and Post Office."

| No. | Wage range per month. | Totals. | Average per month. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| 255 | £1 to £4. 16s. | £905. 5s. | £3. 11s. 4d. |
| (128 being at £3. 15s. or under.) | | | |

The biggest group consists of 88 Natives at £4. 4s. per mensem.

"Group 5, comprising laundries."

| No. | Wage range per month. | Totals. | Average per month. |
|-----|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|
| 8 | £1. to £1. 10s. | £8. 5s. | £1. 5s. |

| Group. | No. | Total. |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| | | £ s. d. |
| 1 | 595 | 1,660 4 9 |
| 2 | 154 | 315 2 0 |
| 3 | 147 | 373 16 6 |
| 4 | 255 | 905 5 0 |
| 5 | 5 | 6 5 0 |
| TOTALS..... | 1,156 | £3,260 13 3 |

Omitting from the figures given above the group of employees who receive food and quarters in addition to wages, i.e. Group 2, the totals for the other groups are:—

| No. | Total Wages. | Average. | |
|-------|------------------|---------------|----------|
| | | Per month. | Per day. |
| 1,002 | £2,945. 11s. 3d. | £2. 12s. 10d. | 2s. 3d. |

The predominant wage of Native females in Kroonstad ranges from 15s. to £1 per mensem, with food and quarters.

LADYSMITH. Municipal employees.

35s. per month, labourers;
45s. per month, sanitary service;

plus half a bag of mealie meal, one bag of wood, and one bag of coal per month, and 1 lb. meat per week; single quarters are provided.

PABYS.

"Night soil removal, £4 per month and married quarters.
"Slop service, £2 per month and married quarters.
"Office boys, £3. 5s. per month, no quarters.
"Native labourers, £3 per month, no quarters.

"The quarters given do not affect the wages paid, as some boys have their own huts in the location and yet they get the same pay.

"Location Natives are mostly employed in shops and commercial houses, ordinary labourers, and as garden boys. Females as domestic servants, the wages ranging from £1 to £4 per month without food for males, and 10s. to 30s. plus food for females."

POTCHEFSTROOM.

"Commercial, £3 to £5 per month, no food.
"Domestic, males, £2. 10s. to £4 with food; females from £1 to £3 with food.
"Industrial, 2s. 6d. to 3s. per day, no food."

SOMERSET EAST.

"Average of 18s. per week—labourers."

ANNEXURE 24—VII. (See paragraph 900.)

RATES OF PAY OF NATIVES EMPLOYED BY SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS
AND HARBOURS ADMINISTRATION.

The rates of pay and allowances for Natives employed by the South African Railways and Harbours have recently been reduced from 7d. to 6d. per day. The rates paid in the various sections of the Administration were, on 16.11.1931:—

Cape Western System.

| Capetown—Belville—Simonstown. | | s. d. |
|---|--|----------------------|
| Natives whose families reside in Cape Peninsula..... | | 3 0 per day. |
| Rising after 12 months' service to..... | | 3 6 " |
| Natives whose families do not reside in Cape Peninsula..... | | 3 6 " |
| Remainder (except Port Goods Branch)..... | | 2 6 per day. |
| Rising to..... | | 3 0 " |
| Port Goods Branch flat rate..... | | 4 0 " |
| Coal trimmers..... | | 5 0 " |
| Winchmen..... | | 5 6-6s. 6d. per day. |
| Riggers..... | | 6 6 pcr day. |

Cape Northern System.

| De Aar—Beaconsfield and Kimberley..... | | s. d. | s. d. |
|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| | | 2 6 rising to | 3 0 |
| | | 1 6 " | 2 0 |
| | | { 1 8 " | 3 0 |
| | | { after 3 years' service. | |
| Transvaal Stations controlled by Kimberley. | | Self Fed. | Departmentally Fed. |
| | | s. d. | s. d. |
| | | 1 10 | 1 5 |
| | Rising after 2 years' service to..... | 3 0 | — |

Cape Midland System.

| | | s. d. |
|---|--|-------|
| Port Elizabeth..... | | 2 6 |
| Rising after 2 years' service to maximum..... | | 3 6 |
| Outside areas..... | | 2 0 |
| Rising after 2 years' service to maximum..... | | 3 0 |

Where rations are supplied, the rate will be 6d. per diem less.

Cape Eastern System.

| East London labourers..... | | s. d. |
|---|--|-------------------|
| | | 2 6 |
| Rising after 2 years' service to maximum..... | | 3 6 |
| Casuals..... | | 2 10 |
| Casuals employed on lighters..... | | 3 10 |
| | | £ s. d. |
| Deckhands and firemen on tugs and dredgers..... | | 3 17 0 per month. |
| Rising after 2 years' service to maximum..... | | 5 2 0 " |

Orange Free State System.

| Bloemfontein..... | | s. d. |
|---|--|-------------------------------|
| | | 1 10 per diem. |
| Rising after 3 years' service to maximum..... | | 3 6 |
| | | Self Fed. Departmentally Fed. |
| | | s. d. s. d. |
| Other areas..... | | 1 10 1 5 |
| Rising after 2 years' service to maximum..... | | 3 0 2 6 " |

Natal System.

Labourers 30s. 8d. to 47s. and food, per month, the rise being spread over 30 to 36 months.
Drivers 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. per day, after 12 months' service.

Western Transvaal System.

| | | Self Fed. | Departmentally Fed. |
|---------------------------------------|--|-----------|---------------------|
| | | s. d. | s. d. |
| Labourers..... | | 1 8 | 1 3 |
| Rising after 2 years' to maximum..... | | 2 9 | 2 3 |

Eastern Transvaal System.

| | | |
|---|-------|-------|
| District I.—Waternal Boven—Pretoria: Certain branch lines, same as Western Transvaal. | | |
| | s. d. | s. d. |
| District II.—Waternal Onder—Komatipoort..... | 1 8 | 1 3 |
| Rising after 1 year to maximum..... | 2 0 | 1 6 |
| District III.—Komatipoort—Beitbridge..... | 1 6 | 1 2 |
| Rising after 1 year to maximum..... | 2 0 | 1 6 |

In all sections Native police sergeants receive somewhat higher rates of pay. These rates reach 4s. per diem as the highest—except in the Port Goods Branch in Capetown, where sergeants may be paid 7s. per diem.

ANNEXURE 24—VIII. (See Paragraph 901 and
Addendum Paragraphs 96, 190.)

WAGES OF NATIVES ON FARMS.

COPY OF PAGES 255-256 OF "FARMING IN SOUTH AFRICA," VOL. V, No. 54,
SEPTEMBER, 1930.

Since the question of farm labour is of vital importance to every farmer, Drs. C. H. Neethling and J. C. Neethling, Economists, Division of Economics and Markets, have written this article in which they discuss the wage standard in certain areas, together with the methods whereby the wages of the various types of farm labourer are generally fixed.

Labour cost is unquestionably one of the most important items in the total costs of agricultural production. The position it holds, however, differs according to the climate, system of farming, and the general economic conditions of the particular country or region. In a purely agricultural area, where hand-labour is required, labour cost forms a higher percentage of the total than in a purely pastoral area; for instance, on maize farms in the north-eastern Orange Free State, labour accounts for 43 per cent. of the total farm expenses, whereas on a Karroo sheep farm the figure is only about 20 per cent. Again, in regions where the farm work is not uniformly distributed over the whole year, the labour cost is increased; in order to provide for the seasonal demand for labourers, the farm has to retain the greater part of its workers during the periods of slackness. This is the main reason why many of our farmers employ more Natives than the regular work on the farm justifies: the difficulty of obtaining casual labourers during the ploughing and harvesting seasons compels the farmer to provide for a potential labour-supply on his farm. And the squatter is the result of this system of labour management.

Farm Labourers and their Form of Wages.

However, in this country we do not only find regional differences and differences in the system of farming, but we also meet with differences among the farm labourers themselves. In the western Cape Province and in the major part of the western Cape, the Cape Coloureds are the farm labourers, while the remaining portion of the country is dependent upon the Native. The Coloured population varies from bastards to pure Hottentots; the Natives, again, vary from individuals who have lived for generations on European farms to the "raw" kaffir direct from the kraal. These differences mean differences in the usefulness and efficiency of the farm labourers, and thus variations in farm wages, both as to the amount and method of payment.

The most important characteristic of agricultural wages the world over is part payment in kind, a form of payment which was formerly practised by the manufacturing industries. In the same way as the farmer himself obtains an important part of the agricultural products consumed in his home directly from his farm, so also the labourer receives part of his wages in the form of agricultural products for direct consumption. In South Africa, where we have to deal with a low-standing labourer who is dependent upon the soil for the greater part of his consumption, it is clear that payment in kind must be of first consequence in agriculture; in a few isolated regions of the country no cash wages are paid, but the Native receives only squatting rights and produce or animals as compensation for his services. In the greater part of the country, however, farm labourers are paid both in cash and kind, the latter representing one or more of the items: squatting rights, land for own cultivation, grazing for a number of animals, rations, and sometimes animals.

The following figures show the total wage the farmer has to pay per labourer per year in different areas of the country:

NATIVE WAGES ON FARMS, 1928-29.*
(Per labourer, per year of 300 working days.)

| Area. | Number of Farms. | Cash. | Land. | Grazing. | Rations. | Total.† |
|---|------------------|-------|-------|----------|----------|---------|
| | | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Chicory farms (Alexandria).. | 20 | 7·2 | 1·0 | 1·0 | 6·2 | 15·4 |
| Pietersburg highveld..... | 26 | 6·9 | 2·6 | 1·9 | 5·1 | 16·5 |
| Zoutpansberg..... | 23 | 8·2 | 0·6 | 4·5 | 5·7 | 18·9 |
| Maize farms (N.E. Orange Free State.....) | 199 | 5·8 | 4·9 | 6·7 | 3·3 | 20·7 |
| Tobacco farms (W. Tvl.)... | 126 | 15·7 | | 2·7 | 10·7 | 25·3 |
| Potchefstroom settlements... | 82 | 18·0 | | 1·2 | 10·7 | 29·9 |

* The data were obtained from investigations by the Economists, Dr. J. C. Neethling (Mealies), and with C. H. Spamer (Chicory), W. Pretorius (Tobacco), S. J. de Swardt (Settlements), and S. P. Naude (Northern Transvaal).

† Total does not include house-rent and such minor items as firewood and cast-off clothing.

Excluding the chicory farms, where the wage standard is much lower than in the northern areas, it appears that the total wages increase as agriculture becomes more intensive; for Pietersburg, the annual wage is £16. 10s. per Native, while the settlements pay £29. 18s. per Native per year, or almost double the amount; the semi-intensive maize area pays £20. 14s. per Native per year. The more intensive farms demand a better class of labourer and, in addition, have to face stronger competition for the available labour supply; therefore they have to offer a higher wage.

In the northern Transvaal the squatter, as a rule, works for the farmer for only 90 days in the year; in the Orange Free State the period of service is generally one year; while on the settlements, with the large percentage of White family labour on small plots, the Native is mainly a casual labourer, who does not work and reside on the farm permanently. In order to obtain comparable figures, the wage per Native has been calculated on the basis of 300 working days per year. The total wage per labourer in the various areas thus denotes the sum the labourer costs the farmer if he worked throughout the year, as was generally the case on the maize, tobacco and chicory farms; the total wage does not always mean the sum received by one Native.

An analysis of the wages shows that the item rations remains more or less the same for the various regions, with the exception of the settlements, where prepared food from the farmhouse is supplied at a proportionately higher value. Rations average about 30 per cent. of the total wage; for the maize farms, the percentage is 16.2 per cent.

Cash Wages Cheaper.

The main difference in the wages of the various regions is to be found in the cash, land and grazing payments. The table below gives the percentages represented by land and grazing in the total wage.

PERCENTAGES OF WAGES REPRESENTED BY LAND AND GRAZING IN THE TOTAL WAGE.

| Area. | Land. | Grazing. | Together. |
|--------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | <i>Per cent.</i> | <i>Per cent.</i> | <i>Per cent.</i> |
| Chicory farms..... | 6·5 | 6·5 | 13·0 |
| Pietersburg..... | 16·1 | 11·2 | 27·3 |
| Zoutpansberg..... | 2·6 | 23·8 | 26·4 |
| Maize farms..... | 23·8 | 32·2 | 56·0 |
| Tobacco farms..... | — | — | 10·6 |
| Potchefstroom settlements..... | — | — | 4·0 |

On the smaller farms, as, for example, on the settlements, land and grazing represent only a small percentage of the total wage, but in the maize area the percentage is as high as 56 per cent., the average area of land per Native being 3 morgen. The value of the land was calculated from the actual production of the Native or not lower than rent-value,* and in the case of grazing on the rent-value per animal unit, which varied from 1s. 6d. per head per month in the Orange Free State to 6d. per head in the Zoutpansberg.

* For Pietersburg and Zoutpansberg the basis of calculation was interest on capital invested in the land.

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. |
|--------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| | <i>Per cent.</i> | <i>Per cent.</i> |
| Chicory..... | 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 |

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.

The Squatter Problem.

However, it appears practically impossible to obtain a permanent labour supply unless the Native is given land and grazing. This problem is causing our farmers much difficulty, and is to a certain extent responsible for the labour scarcity which exists on many farms. Often the Native is not prepared to take service with the farmer if he cannot secure grazing for his stock and a few morgen of land to cultivate for himself. In the old days, when land was plentiful, there was sufficient for both master and servant. To-day, however, farms are relatively small in many areas and, apart from the question of inferior kaffir-cattle and inefficient agricultural production, the farmer is not always in a position to grant his Natives land, much less grazing.

On the other hand, 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 do no 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.

Size of Farm and Wages.

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. | Number of Farms. | Cash. | Land. | Grazing. | Rations. | Total. |
|-------------------------|------------------|-------|-------|----------|----------|--------|
| | | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 100-250 morgen..... | 26 | 3·1 | 5·1 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 15·5 |
| 251-400 morgen..... | 29 | 3·4 | 5·9 | 5·2 | 2·8 | 17·3 |
| 401-550 morgen..... | 22 | 4·4 | 4·1 | 5·2 | 2·9 | 16·6 |
| 551-700 morgen..... | 22 | 4·1 | 5·1 | 7·2 | 2·6 | 19·0 |
| 701-850 morgen..... | 23 | 5·4 | 4·8 | 6·8 | 3·9 | 20·9 |
| 851-1,000 morgen..... | 29 | 6·3 | 4·5 | 6·3 | 3·2 | 20·3 |
| 1,001-1,150 morgen..... | 17 | 6·7 | 4·5 | 7·1 | 2·9 | 21·2 |
| 1,150-1,800 morgen..... | 17 | 7·3 | 4·8 | 7·3 | 2·8 | 22·2 |
| 1,801-3,100 morgen..... | 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.

Squatter Labour.

While there are many farmers who pay cash wages only, our agriculture, with the exception of the Coloured labour areas of the Cape, is mainly dependent on squatter labour. The squatting system appears to be the only means of ensuring a permanent number of workers on the farm. If farmers did not make provision in this way, the problem of scarcity of labourers would be even more acute. The Reserve Native is generally not too favourably inclined towards farm work: he is attracted by the higher cash wages in the cities, where there is nearly always an under-supply, and where he easily finds employment. The Native who leaves the Reserve for only a few months of the year, prefers cash wages, and in order to draw this class of labourer farmers will have to bring their cash wages more into line with city wages. Often, farmers do not sufficiently realize that a high wage is not the only attraction; housing, rations and general conditions of living are also potent factors in favour of the cities, and farmers will have to give more and more attention to these items.

The squatting system, though it has its disadvantages, at present answers its purpose, viz., to supply the farmer with Native labourers. The system cannot be discussed here, but it is hoped to do so in a later article. As regards wages, however, it may be pointed out that though the squatting system appears to be more expensive than cash wages, it has the advantage of making it possible for the farmer to pay his labourers in the most suitable form, viz., in the products of the farm, whether rations, land, grazing, or animals.



ANNEXURE 24—IX. (See Paragraphs 2 and 902, and Addendum 58, 96, 192.—Compare Annexure 9.)

STATISTICS COMPILED IN DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, BY DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND MARKETS.

SUMMARY WAGE SURVEY NATIVE FARM LABOUR TENANTS.

I.—FAMILY.—FAMILY WORKERS AND DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS AND TIME.

| | Western Transvaal. | Northern Transvaal. | Western O.F.S. | Border (Cape). | Natal-Transkei Border. |
|--|---|---------------------------|--|---|--|
| | Lichtenburg, Ventersdorp, Wolmaransstad, Bloembhof, Schweizer Reneke, Christiana. | Pretoria and Pietersburg. | Bothaville, Kroonstad, Hoopstad, Boshof. | Stutterheim, Komgha, East London, Kingwilliamstown. | Polela, Ixopo, Alfred, Umzimkulu, Mt. Currie, Matatiele. |
| No. of Records..... | 77 | 185 | 45 | 50 | 19 |
| No. in Family..... | 4.94 | 6.07 | 5.18 | 6.34 | 7.74 |
| No. in Family Working..... | 2.46 | 2.02 | 2.91 | 2.64 | 4.05 |
| No. of Workers Reduced to Man-Work-Units*..... | 2.045 | 1.68 | 2.38 | 2.14 | 3.20 |
| Total Number of months served by Man-Work-Units..... | 21.06 | 7.18 | 24.68 | 21.26 | 22.82 |
| Number of Full Time Man-Work-Units..... | 1.76 | 0.60 | 2.06 | 1.77 | 1.90 |
| Distribution of Service among Members of Family (reduced to Man-Work-Units)— | | | | | |
| Head..... Per cent. | 43.96 | 58.02 | 35.51 | 46.73 | 29.63 |
| Wife/Wives..... Per cent. | 16.72 | 19.58 | 21.73 | 19.63 | 9.88 |
| Males under 18..... Per cent. | 10.83 | 10.00 | 8.41 | 13.08 | 13.17 |
| Males 18 and over..... Per cent. | 21.65 | 7.74 | 21.50 | 12.15 | 27.98 |
| Females under 16..... Per cent. | 2.22 | 3.70 | 3.74 | 1.40 | 5.76 |
| Females 16 and over..... Per cent. | 4.62 | 0.96 | 9.11 | 7.01 | 13.58 |
| Distribution of Year of the Man-Work-Units— | | | | | |
| Period not on Farm..... Months | 0.36 | 2.68 | 0.22 | 0.06 | 0.63 |
| Period Unemployed on Farm..... Months | 3.12 | 10.32 | 3.67 | 4.36 | 14.08 |
| Period Served for Privileges..... Months | 8.48 | 5.29 | 0.83 | 0.48 | 0.10 |
| Period Served for Cash or Kind..... Months | 12.58 | 1.88 | 23.81 | 20.78 | 22.72 |
| Total Period Available..... Months | 24.54 | 20.17 | 28.53 | 25.68 | 38.36 |
| Total Period Served..... Months | 21.06 | 7.18 | 24.64 | 21.26 | 22.82 |
| Total Period Served..... Per cent. | 85.82 | 35.56 | 86.35 | 82.79 | 59.49 |

* 1 Child = $\frac{1}{2}$ Man-Work-Unit. 1 Woman = $\frac{1}{2}$ Man-Work-Unit.

II.—TOTAL WAGE* PER FAMILY AND PER MAN-WORK-UNIT.

| | Western Transvaal. | | | | Northern Transvaal. | | | | Western O.F.S. | | | | Border (Cape). | | | | Natal-Transkei Border. | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|
| | Family. | Man-Work-Unit. | Man-Work-Unit. | Per cent. | Family. | Man-Work-Unit. | Man-Work-Unit. | Per cent. | Family. | Man-Work-Unit. | Man-Work-Unit. | Per cent. | Family. | Man-Work-Unit. | Man-Work-Unit. | Per cent. | Family. | Man-Work-Unit. | Man-Work-Unit. | Per cent. |
| | p.a. £ | p.a. £ | p.m. £ | | p.a. £ | p.a. £ | p.m. £ | | p.a. £ | p.a. £ | p.m. £ | | p.a. £ | p.a. £ | p.m. £ | | p.a. £ | p.a. £ | p.m. £ | |
| Cash..... | 7.49 | 4.26 | 0.36 | 16.77 | 2.62 | 4.37 | 0.36 | 19.48 | 15.12 | 7.34 | 0.61 | 27.69 | 14.47 | 8.18 | 0.68 | 32.42 | 27.03 | 14.23 | 1.10 | 54.35 |
| Kind— | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Stock or Produce.. | 0.98 | 0.56 | 0.05 | 2.19 | 0.26 | 0.43 | 0.04 | 1.93 | 0.24 | 0.11 | 0.01 | 0.41 | — | — | — | — | 0.70 | 0.37 | 0.03 | 1.41 |
| Food..... | 16.67 | 9.47 | 0.79 | 37.33 | 2.94 | 4.90 | 0.41 | 21.86 | 20.83 | 10.11 | 0.84 | 38.14 | 13.51 | 7.63 | 0.63 | 30.26 | 7.39 | 3.89 | 0.32 | 14.86 |
| Land†..... | 12.87 | 7.31 | 0.61 | 28.82 | 2.04 | 3.40 | 0.28 | 15.17 | 6.36 | 3.09 | 0.26 | 11.66 | 4.87 | 2.75 | 0.23 | 10.91 | 7.37 | 3.88 | 0.32 | 14.82 |
| Grazing..... | 5.44 | 3.09 | 0.26 | 12.18 | 4.91 | 8.18 | 0.68 | 36.50 | 9.08 | 4.41 | 0.37 | 16.63 | 8.42 | 4.76 | 0.40 | 18.86 | 6.64 | 3.49 | 0.29 | 13.35 |
| Other Privileges‡.. | 1.21 | 0.69 | 0.06 | 2.71 | 0.68 | 1.13 | 0.10 | 5.06 | 2.99 | 1.45 | 0.12 | 5.47 | 3.37 | 1.90 | 0.16 | 7.55 | 0.60 | 0.32 | 0.03 | 1.21 |
| TOTAL..... | 44.66 | 25.38 | 2.13 | 100.00 | 13.45 | 22.41 | 1.87 | 100.00 | 54.62 | 26.51 | 2.21 | 100.00 | 44.64 | 25.22 | 2.10 | 100.00 | 49.73 | 26.18 | 2.18 | 100.00 |

* Value received from farm only. The wage here given does, therefore, not portray total family earnings since members of the family may work off the farms or supplement farm earnings by means of home industry.

† The value of the privilege land has been calculated on the farm value of the total production on such land. In the agricultural areas, e.g. maize-belt, the landlord generally ploughs, plants, harrows and often also cultivates the tenant's land, leaving only the harvesting and threshing to be done by the Tenant and his family. To arrive at the actual cost to the landlord, the value of the tenant's labour towards production was thus deducted from the farm value.

Where, however, the landlord supplies the land only and the Tenant has to supply the other factors of production such as labour, implements, oxen, etc., only the rental value of the land has been charged against the farm, i.e., it is considered that the tenant rents the land but instead of paying in cash he pays in the form of service. This system is common in the more extensive farming areas, e.g. Northern Transvaal.

‡ Other privileges include such items as clothing, tobacco, firewood, use of landlord's wagon, etc. No rental charge has been made for tenant's hut since capital expenditure is negligible.

III.—ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RE PRIVILEGES.

| | Western Transvaal. | Northern Transvaal. | Western O.F.S. | Border (Cape). | Natal-Transkei Border. |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| LAND. | | | | | |
| Area cultivated per family— | | | | | |
| Total.....Morgen. | 7.55 | 5.83 | 2.83 | 1.23 | 5.18 |
| Maize..... | 5.24 | 4.16 | 2.78 | 1.14 | 4.42 |
| Kaffir Corn..... | 2.31 | 1.64 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.66 |
| Total production per family— | | | | | |
| Maize.....Bags | 29.57 | 19.31 | 20.49 | 9.50 | 27.58 |
| Kaffir Corn..... | 9.61 | 6.04 | 2.73 | 0.60 | 3.05 |
| Value Total Production— | | | | | |
| Crops per family.....£ | 15.81 | 10.35 | 9.12 | 5.60 | 15.70 |
| Maize per family.....£ | 9.75 | 6.95 | 7.16 | 4.82 | 11.06 |
| Kaffir Corn per family.....£ | 5.06 | 3.32 | 1.47 | 0.34 | 2.32 |
| Other Crops per family.....£ | — | 0.08 | 0.49 | 0.44 | 2.32 |
| Value of Labour, etc., supplied by family.....£ | 2.46 | 8.33 | 2.95 | 0.98 | 8.32 |
| Value of Seed and Fertilizer supplied by Landlord.....£ | 0.63 | 0.02 | 0.19 | 0.25 | — |
| Average Production— | | | | | |
| Maize, bags per morgen..... | 5.65 | 4.64 | 7.36 | 8.33 | 6.23 |
| Kaffir Corn, bags per morgen..... | 4.16 | 3.70 | 7.09 | 10.00 | 4.64 |
| Average Value— | | | | | |
| Maize per bag.....£ | 0.33 | 0.36 | 0.35 | 0.51 | 0.40 |
| Kaffir Corn per bag.....£ | 0.53 | 0.55 | 0.54 | 0.58 | 0.76 |
| Total Rental per family.....£ | 0.33 | 1.04 | 0.32 | 0.04 | 0.75 |
| Average Rental per morgen.....£ | 0.13 | 0.21 | 0.36 | 0.75 | 0.23 |
| Per Cent. Families where Landlord supplies land only..... | 9.09 | 83.24 | 11.11 | 2.00 | 31.58 |
| STOCK. | | | | | |
| Number of Large Stock per family..... | 8.31 | 11.25 | 10.71 | 8.00 | 11.68 |
| Number of Small Stock per family..... | 7.04 | 11.82 | 13.95 | 0.66 | 1.58 |
| Value of Hire of Grazing per family.....£ | 5.44 | 4.91 | 9.08 | 8.42 | 6.64 |
| Rental per Month per Head, large stock.....£ | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.05 |
| Rental per Month per 100 small stock.....£ | 0.59 | 0.46 | 0.62 | 0.61 | 0.50 |
| FOOD. | | | | | |
| Maize per cent. of Total Food..... | 14.74 | 51.42 | 23.50 | 43.11 | 60.56 |
| Milk per cent. of Total Food..... | 7.75 | 10.80 | 8.39 | 13.49 | 9.49 |
| Meat per cent. of Total Food..... | 2.87 | 24.31 | 16.39 | 4.17 | 10.69 |
| From Table per cent. of Total Food..... | 71.88 | 4.95 | 42.58 | 21.88 | 4.55 |
| Other per cent. of Total Food..... | 2.76 | 8.52 | 9.14 | 17.35 | 14.71 |
| Total per cent. of Total Food..... | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

PART IX

**ANNEXURE
TO
ADDENDUM**

ANNEXURE 25. (See Addendum Paragraphs 3 and 329.)

RETURNS SHOWING, IN RESPECT OF EACH DISTRICT, THE RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS 1928 AND 1929 FROM THE GENERAL TAX.

NOTE.—For the Orange Free State, except Bloemfontein, and for some Districts in the Cape Province, particulars are no longer available for 1928.

I
CAPE.

| District. | 1928 Tax. | | | | 1929 Tax. | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|
| | Collected in 1928. | Collected Subsequently. | Total. | Collected Outside Home Districts. | Collected in 1929. | Collected Subsequently. | Total. | Collected Outside Home Districts. |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Aberdeen..... | 95 | 97 | 192 | 79 | 74 | 36 | 110 | 35 |
| Adelaide..... | 977 | 136 | 1,113 | 335 | 967 | 95 | 1,062 | 309 |
| Alexandria..... | 1,280 | 411 | 1,691 | 314* | 1,410 | 261 | 1,671 | 315* |
| Alice..... | 2,131 | 848 | 2,979 | 1,811 | 2,192 | 664 | 2,856 | 1,788 |
| Aliwal North..... | 1,464 | 272 | 1,736 | 423 | 1,423 | 199 | 1,622 | 496 |
| Barkly East..... | 849 | 155 | 1,004 | 228 | 823 | 59 | 882 | 211 |
| Barkly West..... | † | † | † | † | 2,539 | 885 | 3,424 | 1,101 |
| Beaufort West..... | 18 | 96 | 114 | 44 | 76 | 39 | 115 | 33 |
| Bedford..... | 1,083 | 214 | 1,297 | 326 | 1,129 | 125 | 1,254 | 346 |
| Bellville..... | 74 | 16 | 90 | 20 | 39 | 23 | 62 | 29 |
| Bizana..... | 7,188 | 4,622 | 11,810 | 3,163* | 6,439 | 4,365 | 10,804 | 4,899 |
| Bredasdorp..... | 4 | 13 | 17 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 14 | 1 |
| Britstown..... | † | † | † | † | 33 | 24 | 57 | 16 |
| Burghersdorp..... | 1,045 | 213 | 1,258 | 533 | 897 | 197 | 1,094 | 492 |
| Butterworth..... | 4,249 | 1,827 | 6,076 | 3,354 | 4,093 | 1,648 | 5,741 | 3,107 |
| Cala..... | 3,942 | 705 | 4,647 | 2,056 | 4,137 | 702 | 4,839 | 1,832 |
| Caledon..... | 10 | 8 | 18 | 3 | 12 | 2 | 14 | 1 |
| Calitzdorp..... | 7 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 3 | — | 3 | — |
| Calvinia..... | 11 | 11 | 22 | 9 | 17 | 2 | 19 | 11 |
| Capetown..... | 169 | 136 | 305 | 56 | 140 | 86 | 226 | 39 |
| Carnarvon..... | 11 | 9 | 20 | 4* | 395 | 48 | 443 | 34 |
| Cathcart..... | 1,434 | 426 | 1,860 | 478 | 1,518 | 298 | 1,816 | 485 |
| Ceres..... | — | 4 | 4 | — | 2 | — | 2 | — |
| Clanwilliam..... | 3 | 5 | 8 | — | 7 | 2 | 9 | — |
| Cofimvaba..... | 9,341 | 2,959 | 12,300 | 7,817 | 9,013 | 3,266 | 12,279 | 7,687 |
| Colesberg..... | 842 | 138 | 980 | 296 | 579 | 164 | 743 | 301 |
| Craddock..... | 1,465 | 430 | 1,895 | 428 | 1,563 | 228 | 1,791 | 421 |
| De Aar..... | † | † | † | † | 154 | 33 | 187 | 74 |
| Dordrecht..... | 1,247 | 152 | 1,399 | 380 | 1,293 | 129 | 1,422 | 451 |
| Douglas..... | † | † | † | † | 1,410 | 225 | 1,635 | 528 |
| East London..... | 5,319 | 1,255 | 6,574 | 2,488 | 4,579 | 1,843 | 6,422 | 2,153 |
| Elliot..... | 900 | 129 | 1,029 | 225 | 906 | 90 | 996 | 256 |
| Elliotdale..... | 6,926 | 2,782 | 9,708 | 4,744 | 7,471 | 2,506 | 9,977 | 4,332 |
| Engoobo..... | 16,850 | 2,979 | 19,829 | 9,948 | 17,291 | 2,037 | 19,328 | 10,315 |
| Flagstaff..... | 6,428 | 2,591 | 9,019 | 3,972 | 6,090 | 2,389 | 8,479 | 3,987 |
| Fort Beaufort..... | 1,831 | 504 | 2,335 | 1,402 | 1,598 | 531 | 2,129 | 1,242 |
| Fraserburg..... | 12 | 17 | 29 | 4 | 6 | 14 | 20 | 5 |
| George..... | 142 | 62 | 204 | 41 | 122 | 43 | 165 | 37 |
| Glen Grey..... | 15,904 | 2,037 | 17,941 | 9,925 | 16,540 | 1,958 | 18,498 | 9,853 |
| Graaff-Reinet..... | 1,206 | 317 | 1,523 | 374* | 1,142 | 232 | 1,374 | 374* |
| Grahamstown..... | 2,539 | 851 | 3,390 | 726 | 2,600 | 657 | 3,257 | 762 |
| Griquatown..... | † | † | † | † | 981 | 482 | 1,463 | 118 |
| Hanover..... | † | † | † | † | 128 | 36 | 164 | 69 |
| Herschel..... | 5,210 | 4,937 | 10,147 | 5,678 | 7,804 | 2,559 | 10,363 | 6,238 |
| Hofmeyr..... | 349 | 93 | 442 | 146 | 378 | 45 | 421 | 146 |
| Hopefield..... | 21 | 2 | 23 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 9 | 6 |
| Hopetown..... | † | † | † | † | 367 | 76 | 443 | 221 |
| Humansdorp..... | 983 | 222 | 1,205 | 208 | 1,000 | 171 | 1,171 | 171 |
| Idutywa..... | 6,822 | 2,605 | 9,427 | 5,365 | 7,023 | 2,139 | 9,162 | 5,292 |
| Indwe..... | 734 | 79 | 813 | 339 | 496 | 47 | 543 | 251 |
| Jansenville..... | 450 | 54 | 504 | 73 | 470 | 24 | 494 | 81 |
| Keiskamahock..... | 3,423 | 1,063 | 4,486 | 2,823 | 3,239 | 1,012 | 4,251 | 2,522 |
| Kenhardt..... | † | † | † | † | 64 | 5 | 69 | 4 |
| Kentani..... | 10,020 | 2,433 | 12,453 | 6,324* | 8,885 | 3,402 | 12,287 | 6,240 |
| Kimberley..... | † | † | † | † | 3,139 | 587 | 3,706 | 977* |
| Kingwilliamstown..... | 13,757 | 2,228 | 15,985 | 8,113 | 13,094 | 1,984 | 15,078 | 7,259 |
| Knyasa..... | 123 | 13 | 136 | 11* | 113 | 12 | 125 | 9 |
| Kokstad..... | 1,594 | 517 | 2,111 | 575* | 1,273 | 610 | 1,883 | 512* |
| Komgha..... | 2,925 | 1,290 | 4,215 | 2,342 | 2,078 | 1,031 | 3,109 | 1,483 |
| Kuruman..... | † | † | † | † | 2,053 | 870 | 2,923 | 1,222 |
| Ladismith..... | 3 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 5 | — | 5 | 2 |
| Lady Grey..... | 322 | 62 | 384 | 102 | 328 | 31 | 359 | 121 |
| Laingsburg..... | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| Libode..... | 6,190 | 2,244 | 8,434 | 3,737* | 5,216 | 2,853 | 8,069 | 3,728* |
| Luaikisiki..... | 9,939 | 6,235 | 16,174 | 6,238 | 11,225 | 4,656 | 15,881 | 6,882 |

* Estimated. † 1928 returns not available.

CAPE—(continued).

| District. | 1928 Tax. | | | | 1929 Tax. | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Collected in 1928. | Collected Subsequently. | Total. | Collected Outside Home Districts. | Collected in 1929. | Collected Subsequently. | Total. | Collected Outside Home Districts. |
| Maclear..... | £ 655 | £ 188 | £ 843 | £ 164 | £ 654 | £ 121 | £ 775 | £ 181 |
| Mafeking..... | † | † | † | † | 6,552 | 1,389 | 7,941 | 4,221 |
| Malmesbury..... | 21 | 20 | 41 | 4 | 28 | 12 | 40 | 3 |
| Matatiele..... | 9,438 | 2,499 | 11,937 | 4,479 | 8,860 | 2,959 | 11,819 | 4,738 |
| Middelburg..... | 642 | 197 | 839 | 239 | 639 | 159 | 798 | 259 |
| Middledrift..... | 4,044 | 2,910 | 6,954 | 4,970 | 3,945 | 2,373 | 6,318 | 4,536 |
| Molteno..... | 517 | 142 | 659 | 241 | 514 | 90 | 604 | 244 |
| Montagu..... | 1 | — | 1 | — | 1 | — | 1 | — |
| Mossel Bay..... | 36 | 9 | 45 | 7 | 37 | — | 37 | 7 |
| Mount Ayliff..... | 5,290 | 1,262 | 6,552 | 2,789 | 5,562 | 1,095 | 6,657 | 3,139 |
| Mount Fletcher..... | 7,454 | 1,367 | 8,821 | 3,364 | 7,542 | 1,313 | 8,855 | 3,459 |
| Mount Frere..... | 9,189 | 3,300 | 12,489 | 7,149 | 9,386 | 3,140 | 12,526 | 7,465 |
| Mqanduli..... | 11,427 | 1,068 | 12,495 | 5,360* | 11,207 | 1,384 | 12,591 | 5,400* |
| Murraysburg..... | 62 | 22 | 84 | 13 | 87 | 10 | 97 | 20 |
| Ngqeleni..... | 9,402 | 2,741 | 12,143 | 5,328 | 8,654 | 3,069 | 11,723 | 5,264 |
| Nqamakwe..... | 7,610 | 2,234 | 9,844 | 5,722 | 7,478 | 1,845 | 9,323 | 5,422 |
| Oudtshoorn..... | 29 | 47 | 76 | 19* | 35 | 25 | 60 | 18* |
| Paarl..... | 44 | 34 | 78 | 15 | 48 | 13 | 61 | 13 |
| Pearston..... | 240 | 73 | 313 | 73* | 277 | 87 | 364 | 85* |
| Peddie..... | 4,195 | 1,765 | 5,960 | 3,302 | 4,404 | 1,333 | 5,737 | 2,808 |
| Philipstown..... | † | † | † | † | 134 | 49 | 183 | 66 |
| Piquetberg..... | 11 | — | 11 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 10 | 1 |
| Port Alfred..... | 1,450 | 785 | 2,235 | 503 | 1,666 | 549 | 2,215 | 469 |
| Port Elizabeth..... | 1,496 | 1,085 | 2,581 | 628* | 1,560 | 827 | 2,387 | 510 |
| Port St. Johns..... | 3,076 | 2,494 | 5,570 | 2,435 | 3,329 | 1,941 | 5,270 | 2,323 |
| Prieska..... | † | † | † | † | 97 | 31 | 128 | 36 |
| Prince Albert..... | 5 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| Queenstown..... | 2,009 | 539 | 2,548 | 1,013 | 1,965 | 530 | 2,495 | 1,049 |
| Qumbu..... | 6,357 | 3,767 | 10,124 | 4,650* | 7,266 | 2,577 | 9,843 | 4,520* |
| Richmond..... | 125 | 62 | 187 | 70 | 124 | 34 | 158 | 71 |
| Riversdale..... | 11 | — | 11 | — | 9 | — | 9 | — |
| Robertson..... | — | 12 | 12 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 4 |
| Seymour..... | 1,311 | 225 | 1,536 | 592 | 1,218 | 247 | 1,465 | 578 |
| Somerset East..... | 1,449 | 296 | 1,745 | 398 | 1,411 | 221 | 1,632 | 443 |
| Somerset West..... | — | 4 | 4 | — | 4 | 7 | 11 | 5 |
| Springbok..... | — | 6 | 6 | — | 33 | — | 33 | 1 |
| Stellenbosch..... | 6 | 8 | 14 | 8 | 11 | 2 | 13 | 6 |
| Sterkstroom..... | 581 | 94 | 675 | 200 | 664 | 51 | 715 | 257 |
| Steynsburg..... | 517 | 66 | 583 | 204 | 490 | 77 | 567 | 154 |
| Steytlerville..... | 235 | 56 | 291 | 25 | 262 | 22 | 284 | 34 |
| Stutterheim..... | 2,187 | 764 | 2,951 | 1,173 | 2,183 | 595 | 2,778 | 1,106 |
| Sutherland..... | 19 | 3 | 22 | 3 | 21 | 2 | 23 | 3 |
| Swellendam..... | 5 | 12 | 17 | 4 | 11 | 2 | 13 | 1 |
| Tabankulu..... | 8,163 | 3,287 | 11,450 | 5,137 | 7,735 | 3,291 | 11,026 | 5,954* |
| Tarkastad..... | 714 | 295 | 1,009 | 303 | 741 | 226 | 967 | 307 |
| Taungs..... | † | † | † | † | 5,246 | 539 | 5,785 | 3,492* |
| Tsolo..... | 7,297 | 3,098 | 10,395 | 5,082 | 7,675 | 2,565 | 10,240 | 5,090 |
| Tsomo..... | 5,816 | 2,127 | 7,943 | 4,980 | 5,730 | 2,051 | 7,781 | 4,828 |
| Tulbagh..... | 53 | 18 | 71 | 16 | 35 | 8 | 43 | 15 |
| Uitenhage..... | 2,980 | 610 | 3,590 | 403 | 2,999 | 457 | 3,456 | 960 |
| Umtata..... | 10,970 | 2,496 | 13,466 | 6,013 | 10,259 | 2,483 | 12,742 | 6,383 |
| Umzimkulu..... | 8,812 | 3,333 | 12,145 | 6,232 | 9,118 | 2,724 | 11,842 | 6,399 |
| Uniondale..... | 239 | 16 | 255 | 10 | 228 | 33 | 261 | 22 |
| Upington..... | † | † | † | † | 15 | 3 | 18 | 11 |
| Van Rhynsdorp..... | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Venterstad..... | 231 | 37 | 268 | 100* | 216 | 38 | 254 | 112* |
| Victoria West..... | 2 | 13 | 15 | 4 | 336 | 58 | 394 | 7 |
| Vryburg..... | † | † | † | † | 3,683 | 766 | 4,449 | 1,172* |
| Wellington..... | 49 | 14 | 63 | 5 | 41 | 4 | 45 | 7 |
| Whittlesea..... | 1,895 | 736 | 2,631 | 1,420 | 1,884 | 598 | 2,482 | 1,326 |
| Williston..... | 10 | 2 | 12 | 2 | 10 | 1 | 11 | 1 |
| Willowmore..... | 79 | 80 | 159 | 30* | 70 | 46 | 116 | 33 |
| Willowvale..... | 11,182 | 2,608 | 13,790 | 7,622 | 10,429 | 2,846 | 13,275 | 7,494 |
| † Worcester..... | 77 | 24 | 101 | 21 | 70 | 15 | 85 | 18 |
| Naauwpoort..... | — | 37 | 37 | 11 | 160 | 63 | 223 | 47 |
| TOTAL..... | £300,577 | £100,504 | £410,081 | £190,643 | £335,164 | £95,668 | £430,832 | £204,513 |

* Estimated.

† 1928 returns not available.

II.

NATAL.

| District. | 1928 Tax. | | | | 1929 Tax. | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Collected in 1928. | Collected Subsequently. | Total. | Collected Outside Home Districts. | Collected in 1929. | Collected Subsequently. | Total. | Collected Outside Home Districts. |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Babanango..... | 2,230 | 206 | 2,436 | 741 | 2,168 | 164 | 2,332 | 695 |
| Bergville..... | 4,740 | 186 | 4,926 | 1,508 | 4,620 | 295 | 4,915 | 1,540 |
| Bulwer..... | 5,720 | 481 | 6,201 | 2,424 | 6,510 | 462 | 6,972 | 1,879 |
| Camperdown..... | 4,903 | 256 | 5,249 | 1,551 | 5,000 | 211 | 5,211 | 1,761 |
| Dundee..... | 7,879 | 760 | 8,639 | 4,645 | 7,978 | 680 | 8,658 | 5,315 |
| Durban..... | 348 | 111 | 459 | 44 | 640 | 66 | 706 | 72 |
| Empangeni..... | 3,326 | 361 | 3,687 | 499 | 3,187 | 503 | 3,690 | 310 |
| Eshowe..... | 10,365 | 1,172 | 11,537 | 4,851 | 9,568 | 1,494 | 11,062 | 4,787 |
| Estcourt..... | 9,464 | 1,035 | 10,499 | 3,026 | 9,432 | 1,087 | 10,519 | 3,777 |
| Greytown..... | 8,113 | 711 | 8,824 | 2,992 | 8,230 | 626 | 8,856 | 3,543 |
| Harding..... | 6,600 | 1,828 | 8,428 | 3,639 | 7,581 | 752 | 8,333 | 3,662 |
| Helpmakaar..... | 2,170 | 31 | 2,201 | 777 | 2,155 | 105 | 2,260 | 993 |
| Hlabisa..... | 4,291 | 305 | 4,596 | 1,044 | 4,409 | 225 | 4,634 | 1,150 |
| Howick..... | 2,874 | 121 | 2,995 | 344 | 3,001 | 68 | 3,069 | 396 |
| Impendhle..... | 2,907 | 116 | 3,023 | 937 | 2,961 | 83 | 3,044 | 1,005 |
| Ingwavuma..... | 9,757 | 1,218 | 10,975 | 6,043* | 9,987 | 952 | 10,939 | 6,023 |
| Ixopo..... | 13,188 | 1,051 | 14,219 | 4,791 | 13,201 | 475 | 13,676 | 4,658 |
| Kranskop..... | 4,909 | 384 | 5,293 | 2,190 | 5,627 | 235 | 5,862 | 2,425* |
| Ladysmith..... | 11,569 | 732 | 12,301 | 5,114 | 11,414 | 633 | 12,047 | 5,308 |
| Louwsburg..... | 6,309 | 640 | 6,949 | 1,998 | 6,159 | 453 | 6,612 | 2,054 |
| Mahlabatini..... | 4,052 | 547 | 4,599 | 1,971 | 4,078 | 487 | 4,565 | 1,820 |
| Mapumulo..... | 9,394 | 604 | 10,058 | 5,763 | 8,073 | 1,595 | 9,668 | 5,944 |
| Melmoth..... | 3,919 | 845 | 4,764 | 1,518 | 4,228 | 520 | 4,748 | 1,598 |
| Msinga..... | 14,356 | 1,594 | 15,950 | 8,711 | 14,000 | 1,601 | 15,601 | 9,815 |
| Mtanzini..... | 6,151 | 386 | 6,537 | 2,282 | 5,653 | 609 | 6,262 | 2,267 |
| Ndwedwe..... | 8,348 | 774 | 9,122 | 4,813 | 8,374 | 783 | 9,157 | 5,006 |
| Newcastle..... | 7,608 | 832 | 8,440 | 3,917 | 7,804 | 634 | 8,438 | 4,111 |
| New Hanover..... | 5,567 | 294 | 5,861 | 1,817 | 5,368 | 367 | 5,735 | 1,976 |
| Nkandhla..... | 7,877 | 1,447 | 9,324 | 4,677 | 8,615 | 1,007 | 9,622 | 4,826* |
| Nongoma..... | 4,546 | 426 | 4,972 | 1,598 | 4,694 | 376 | 5,070 | 1,561 |
| Nqutu..... | 8,690 | 747 | 9,437 | 5,778 | 8,480 | 734 | 9,214 | 6,297 |
| Paulpietersburg..... | 3,376 | 211 | 3,587 | 1,234* | 3,476 | 168 | 3,644 | 1,253* |
| Pietermaritzburg..... | 8,057 | 602 | 8,659 | 1,776 | 7,959 | 429 | 8,388 | 1,631 |
| Pinetown..... | 12,376 | 1,269 | 13,645 | 6,213* | 12,069 | 1,851 | 13,920 | 6,338* |
| Port Shepstone..... | 8,974 | 888 | 9,862 | 2,458* | 9,635 | 427 | 10,062 | 2,496* |
| Richmond..... | 5,796 | 380 | 6,176 | 1,668 | 5,924 | 193 | 6,117 | 1,767 |
| Stanger..... | 9,502 | 708 | 10,210 | 3,583 | 7,796 | 673 | 8,469 | 3,143 |
| Ubombo..... | 4,245 | 133 | 4,378 | 1,900 | 4,322 | 207 | 4,529 | 2,146 |
| Umzinto..... | 13,585 | 1,614 | 15,199 | 3,243 | 14,317 | 701 | 15,018 | 3,777 |
| Utrecht..... | 5,766 | 544 | 6,310 | 2,817* | 6,009 | 446 | 6,455 | 2,882* |
| Verulam..... | 2,096 | 130 | 2,226 | 697 | 2,348 | 150 | 2,498 | 745 |
| Vryheid..... | 7,649 | 1,364 | 9,013 | 5,229 | 8,087 | 992 | 9,079 | 4,680 |
| Weenen..... | 3,626 | 751 | 4,377 | 1,128 | 4,644 | 498 | 5,142 | 1,757 |
| TOTAL..... | £287,288 | £28,855 | £316,143 | £123,949 | £289,781 | £25,017 | £314,798 | £129,189 |

* Estimated.

|| Including Himeville.

III.

ORANGE FREE STATE.

| District. | 1928 Tax. | | | | 1929 Tax. | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|
| | Collected in 1928. | Collected Subsequently. | Total. | Collected Outside Home Districts. | Collected in 1929. | Collected Subsequently. | Total. | Collected Outside Home Districts. |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Bethlehem..... | — | — | — | — | 4,656 | 239 | 4,895 | 975 |
| Bethulie..... | — | — | — | — | 1,100 | 66 | 1,166 | 385 |
| Bloemfontein..... | 8,745 | 712 | 9,457 | 1,154 | 8,656 | 553 | 9,209 | 1,356 |
| Boshof..... | — | — | — | — | 2,204 | 142 | 2,346 | 715* |
| Bothaville..... | — | — | — | — | 1,805 | 116 | 1,921 | 321 |
| Brandfort..... | — | — | — | — | 1,972 | 89 | 2,061 | 490* |
| †Bultfontein..... | — | — | — | — | 1,002 | 30 | 1,032 | 169 |
| Clocolan..... | — | — | — | — | 1,625 | 133 | 1,758 | 336 |
| Dewetsdorp..... | — | — | — | — | 1,275 | 71 | 1,346 | 289 |
| Edenburg..... | — | — | — | — | 1,246 | 40 | 1,286 | 339 |
| †Edenville..... | — | — | — | — | 656 | 85 | 741 | 321 |
| Fauresmith..... | — | — | — | — | 1,205 | 47 | 1,252 | 320* |
| Ficksburg..... | — | — | — | — | 2,185 | 89 | 2,254 | 354 |
| Fouriesburg..... | — | — | — | — | 1,704 | 69 | 1,773 | 258 |
| Frankfort..... | — | — | — | — | 3,552 | 153 | 3,705 | 737 |
| Harrismith..... | — | — | — | — | 6,680 | 374 | 7,054 | 1,873 |
| Heilbron..... | — | — | — | — | 3,471 | 226 | 3,697 | 1,098* |
| Hoopstad..... | — | — | — | — | 2,261 | 76 | 2,337 | 654 |
| Jacobsdal..... | — | — | — | — | 512 | 27 | 539 | 113 |
| Jagersfontein..... | — | — | — | — | 469 | 26 | 495 | 115 |
| †Kestell..... | — | — | — | — | 1,155 | 10 | 1,165 | 318 |
| Koffiefontein..... | — | — | — | — | 405 | 18 | 423 | 62 |
| Kopjes..... | — | — | — | — | 1,412 | 74 | 1,486 | 387 |
| Kroonstad..... | — | — | — | — | 4,398 | 765 | 5,163 | 1,332 |
| Ladybrand..... | — | — | — | — | 2,560 | 115 | 2,675 | 397 |
| Lindley..... | — | — | — | — | 2,248 | 100 | 2,348 | 644 |
| †Marquard..... | — | — | — | — | 1,893 | 50 | 1,943 | 369 |
| Parys..... | — | — | — | — | 1,184 | 73 | 1,257 | 491 |
| Phillippolis..... | — | — | — | — | 549 | 37 | 586 | 150* |
| Reitz..... | — | — | — | — | 3,912 | 187 | 4,099 | 745 |
| Rouxville..... | — | — | — | — | 987 | 36 | 1,023 | 242 |
| Senekal..... | — | — | — | — | 4,033 | 169 | 4,202 | 857 |
| Smithfield..... | — | — | — | — | 896 | 50 | 946 | 244 |
| †Steynsrust..... | — | — | — | — | 1,326 | 76 | 1,402 | 327 |
| Thaba 'Nchu..... | — | — | — | — | 4,061 | 299 | 4,360 | 1,260 |
| Trompsburg..... | — | — | — | — | 473 | 31 | 504 | 114 |
| Ventersburg..... | — | — | — | — | 1,814 | 115 | 1,929 | 500* |
| †Viljoensdrift..... | — | — | — | — | 920 | 66 | 986 | 106 |
| †Viljoenskroon..... | — | — | — | — | 1,283 | 79 | 1,362 | 762 |
| Vrede..... | — | — | — | — | 5,416 | 308 | 5,724 | 1,202 |
| Vredefort..... | — | — | — | — | 1,162 | 83 | 1,245 | 417 |
| Wepener..... | — | — | — | — | 1,184 | 83 | 1,277 | 266 |
| Winburg..... | — | — | — | — | 4,256 | 170 | 4,426 | 971 |
| Witzieshoek..... | — | — | — | — | 1,790 | 176 | 1,966 | 914 |
| Zastron..... | — | — | — | — | 1,174 | 144 | 1,318 | 232 |
| †Petrus Steyn..... | — | — | — | — | 1,782 | 116 | 1,898 | 850* |
| †Warden..... | — | — | — | — | 1,434 | 72 | 1,506 | 550 |
| †Excoelsior..... | — | — | — | — | 12 | 41 | 53 | 14 |
| TOTAL..... | £8,745 | £712 | £9,457 | £1,154 | £101,955 | £6,184 | £108,139 | £25,941 |

* Estimated.

† Special Justice of the Peace Areas.

‡ Office opened 1/11/1929.

IV.

TRANSVAAL.

| District. | 1928 Tax. | | | | 1929 Tax. | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Collected in 1928. | Collected Subsequently. | Total. | Collected Outside Home Districts. | Collected in 1929. | Collected Subsequently. | Total. | Collected Outside Home Districts. |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Barberton..... | 9,867 | 1,331 | 11,198 | 1,985 | 10,430 | 934 | 11,364 | 1,880 |
| Belfast..... | 2,336 | 89 | 2,425 | 1,066* | 2,615 | 88 | 2,703 | 801 |
| Benoni..... | 1,483 | 405 | 1,888 | 449 | 1,304 | 366 | 1,760 | 430 |
| Bethal..... | 5,000 | 254 | 5,254 | 870 | 5,376 | 241 | 5,617 | 1,228 |
| Bloemhof..... | 843 | 26 | 869 | 267 | 841 | 21 | 862 | 308 |
| Boohem..... | 3,959 | 246 | 4,205 | 2,488 | 4,185 | 242 | 4,427 | 1,889 |
| Boksburg..... | 770 | 196 | 966 | 401 | 668 | 183 | 851 | 285 |
| Carolina..... | 4,599 | 192 | 4,791 | 1,013 | 4,755 | 216 | 4,971 | 1,061 |
| Christiana..... | 516 | 56 | 572 | 213 | 522 | 29 | 551 | 185 |
| Ermelo..... | 8,778 | 291 | 9,069 | 2,092 | 8,934 | 254 | 9,188 | 2,103 |
| Germiston..... | 1,159 | 309 | 1,468 | 500 | 1,105 | 307 | 1,412 | 496 |
| Groot Spelonken..... | 11,342 | 1,023 | 12,365 | 8,258 | 11,393 | 1,085 | 12,478 | 8,118 |
| Hamanskraal..... | 8,999 | 983 | 9,982 | 6,172 | 10,367 | 859 | 11,226 | 6,830 |
| Heidelberg..... | 6,848 | 730 | 7,578 | 2,372 | 7,100 | 730 | 7,830 | 3,637 |
| Johannesburg..... | 3,908 | 1,239 | 5,147 | 586 | 3,319 | 889 | 4,208 | 514 |
| Klerksdorp..... | 2,992 | 139 | 3,131 | 805 | 3,185 | 189 | 3,374 | 725 |
| Kruger National Park... | 355 | 96 | 451 | 180* | 348 | 163 | 511 | 200* |
| Krugersdorp..... | 3,704 | 530 | 4,234 | 2,342 | 3,504 | 565 | 4,069 | 2,256† |
| Leydsdorp..... | 2,613 | 272 | 2,885 | 1,575 | 2,776 | 246 | 3,022 | 1,519 |
| Lichtenburg..... | 8,699 | 405 | 9,104 | 4,179 | 7,550 | 472 | 8,022 | 3,223 |
| Louis Triohardt..... | 18,306 | 1,895 | 20,201 | 11,002 | 19,199 | 1,766 | 20,975 | 11,367* |
| Lydenburg..... | 4,575 | 217 | 4,792 | 1,865 | 4,740 | 202 | 4,942 | 1,938 |
| Middelburg..... | 4,859 | 216 | 5,075 | 1,289 | 5,047 | 226 | 5,273 | 1,450 |
| Nylstroom..... | 8,372 | 689 | 9,061 | 2,816 | 7,710 | 557 | 8,267 | 3,286 |
| Pietersburg..... | 19,016 | 2,135 | 21,151 | 12,481 | 19,982 | 1,678 | 21,660 | 11,594 |
| Piet Retief..... | 6,920 | 453 | 7,373 | 2,164 | 7,172 | 293 | 7,465 | 2,163 |
| Pilansberg..... | 6,172 | 344 | 6,516 | 3,280 | 6,481 | 363 | 6,844 | 3,200* |
| Pilgrims Rest..... | 13,454 | 894 | 14,448 | 7,067 | 13,853 | 1,206 | 15,059 | 7,623 |
| Pokwani..... | 7,125 | 686 | 7,811 | 5,251 | 7,372 | 580 | 7,952 | 5,373 |
| Potchefstroom..... | 4,724 | 480 | 5,204 | 1,656 | 4,712 | 474 | 5,186 | 1,715 |
| Potgietersrust..... | 11,417 | 1,188 | 12,603 | 4,930 | 10,755 | 1,129 | 11,884 | 5,070 |
| Pretoria..... | 8,096 | 1,087 | 9,183 | 2,531 | 8,435 | 939 | 9,374 | 3,106 |
| Rayton..... | 5,548 | 464 | 6,012 | 2,473 | 5,642 | 523 | 6,165 | 2,570 |
| Rustenburg..... | 10,881 | 1,010 | 11,891 | 5,984 | 10,670 | 1,023 | 11,693 | 6,659 |
| Schweizer Reneke..... | 1,802 | 41 | 1,843 | 264 | 1,728 | 43 | 1,771 | 481 |
| Secocoenie..... | 9,952 | 1,843 | 11,795 | 8,180 | 10,502 | 1,384 | 11,886 | 8,051 |
| Sibasa..... | 19,399 | 2,561 | 21,960 | 14,401 | 19,832 | 2,502 | 22,334 | 14,034 |
| Springs..... | 3,335 | 431 | 3,766 | 1,283 | 3,194 | 467 | 3,661 | 1,085 |
| Standerton..... | 6,496 | 339 | 6,835 | 1,392 | 6,259 | 365 | 6,624 | 1,541 |
| Tzaneen..... | 11,252 | 1,034 | 12,286 | 6,773 | 11,522 | 937 | 12,459 | 6,350 |
| Ventersdorp..... | 4,734 | 308 | 5,042 | 2,251 | 5,103 | 317 | 5,420 | 2,631 |
| Vereeniging..... | 4,232 | 394 | 4,626 | 1,359* | 4,204 | 405 | 4,609 | 1,354* |
| Volkarust..... | 2,151 | 99 | 2,250 | 755 | 2,107 | 138 | 2,245 | 781 |
| Wakkerstroom..... | 5,367 | 162 | 5,529 | 3,205 | 5,555 | 172 | 5,727 | 3,378 |
| Witbank..... | 2,226 | 195 | 2,421 | 425 | 2,185 | 175 | 2,360 | 424 |
| Wolmaransstad..... | 2,669 | 132 | 2,801 | 769 | 2,546 | 135 | 2,681 | 732 |
| Zeerust..... | 6,526 | 792 | 7,318 | 2,980 | 7,113 | 497 | 7,610 | 3,020* |
| TOTAL..... | £298,376 | £28,999 | £327,375 | £146,639 | £303,897 | £26,576 | £330,472 | £148,744 |

•

* Estimated.

† Large proportion collected by Roodepoort within district.

PART X.—INDEX.

ONLY paragraph numbers are shown in this Index.

A hyphen after a paragraph number indicates that the subject indexed is referred to in that paragraph as well as, in a general manner, in the context immediately following.

The letter *A* before paragraph numbers refers to paragraphs in the Addendum by Mr. Lucas, e.g. *A* 5-6, 10 refers to paragraphs 5, 6, and 10 of the Addendum.

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