

Well, it has not been tried, and until then I don't think you can say that. Nothing could be worse than this homelessness, the utter lack of inducement, the utter lack of security; and I think the problem for the Commission is to make the country face that fact. There are a million and a half natives, all said and done, whose prospects on the land are not what in a decently ordered community they should be. I know we disagree, but it seems to me that is the point.

I would like to have some guidance as to how to face the fact. It does not seem to me your suggestion will help. It seems to me it will be less efficacious as time goes on. The most advanced agriculturalist in the future will work the land ?--- Are you quite sure that anything like the full value is being got out of the land, out of High Veld farms ? It seems to me that the object lesson of this country is this obstinate folly. The country near Johannesburg, which is not nearly as good as the country around Ermelo, supports a big population, because the population is there. I simply refuse to be convinced that even the smaller High Veld farms are quite fully used. And with a more efficient native population - a population that can be efficient only if it has some decent prospects - you might actually get very much better results from the land we know here.

The fuller use involves even more advanced methods of agriculture ?--- What does ?

Than those of the High Veld ?--- I don't follow you.

The fuller use of the land involves even more advanced methods of agriculture than the High Veld ?--- Yes.

Do you think you are likely to get such methods from the native population in their present state of agricultural development ?--- Only by trying, anyhow. We are certainly

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not trying now; we are sort of sitting tight where we are.

MR LUCAS : In the paragraph in your statement where you were dealing with these points you say, "A much revised Master and Servant law is necessary." You say we ought to learn from countries like Tanganyika and Kenya. In what respects are their laws better than ours ?--- Well, if only that they are more modern. I cannot believe that what is really only a modified Act of 1828 (?), revised in 1880, is quite the last word.

I am trying to get guidance from you -- I don't know their law -- where improvements can be made in ours ?--- Well, I haven't got the thing before me. I would suggest that you might go into it. Have you got a copy ?

I haven't - have you ?--- I have some.

Perhaps you would make a short statement on that to us and send it in later ?--- I would like to compare it in detail with things like the 1880 law, and that is rather difficult for me.

You could do it later and send it in ?--- I think possibly I could do something about it, but it seems to me broadly the South African law has been far too much a law of masters for servants, and has not given nearly enough attention to securing decent conditions by protecting the weaker. The dice are rather loaded against the weaker, and the one suggestion I have put down there is that there really should be something like a protector of natives. That protector of natives might be a kind of labour inspector, and he really must have powers to deal much more speedily than is done now with complaints.

DR ROBERTS : I did not catch the whole of that ?--- I think he should be able to deal much more speedily than now with irregularities, with the endless complaints of

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natives of not being paid their wages.

Would you make him a magistrate - give him a status ?--- I think he is that in northern countries. It will be unpalatable in some circles, but if you really want to improve conditions, with native opinion developing as it is, I think it is important to take steps to meet his grievances much earlier than they are now met.

This officer the Native Affairs Department are creating, where distress would be looked into - would that be a help in any way ?--- That sounds all to the good.

They have a conciliation officer ?--- He does not touch the farms, does he ?

It is very difficult to touch them ?--- I am not quite sure how his position is working itself out. Unless he has some effective powers there is not much to be done.

No, he has not any ?--- We are prolific with advice.

MR LUCAS : On page 190 of your book you have a footnote dealing with taxation, and on the next page you say the rate is in effect in a good many cases £1 per morgen per annum. I don't quite follow how you get to that figure ?--- Oh, it was quite rough. The prairie value of land quite near Herschel was not much more than £1 a morgen; that is all I meant to say.

Oh, are you assuming each land as an average of a morgen and the tax as £1 ?--- That was the assumption there.

Have you gone into the history of native taxation in South Africa ?--- No, not in great detail. I know that some of our best mathematicians have tried very hard to find ways and means of making an estimate of the incidence of taxation on natives, particularly trying to estimate their share of indirect taxation; they have given it up as a bad job.

Who, to your knowledge, has tried to do that ?--- Dr Dalton I think has told me it was beyond him, that he could not.

Have you gone into the question of the imposition of taxation for the purpose of forcing the native out to work ?--- Well, that has gone out of fashion in theory.

The theory has gone out of fashion, but as an historian could you say whether that was the policy ?--- Oh yes, undoubtedly.

Can you point to any indication of that ?--- The Glen Grey, quite emphatically.

Was that the first occasion on which a tax was imposed with that object ?--- No, I don't remember; I should not think so, but I cannot put my finger on any labour tax. It was very much in the fashion just about that time. The Transvaal tried its hand at it when it imposed the £2 tax on squatters and the £1 tax on labour tenants.

Have you looked into the question of the administration of town locations ? You have mentioned one point to-day that the question of the manager being a native should be considered ?--- And, once more, those Advisory Boards should really have financial responsibility, responsibility of any kind. I would not generalise on anything more than that. But I certainly think that that is an obvious field for the employment of natives and for the training of them in responsibility.

Have you studied the Bloemfontein position at all ?--- No.

DR ROBERTS : Would you take out of the municipalities then the control of the native moneys, and give it to these boards ?--- I would like to see an experiment somewhat in that direction. I don't say that it could be taken out

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entirely, but I think they should have something to spend on themselves.

But wouldn't that be creating an imperium in imperio in that case ?--- Well, I would risk that in so much as we are making these townships so separate. It is the obvious opportunity, if we really mean them to live their own lives: let them learn to spend their own money and meet their own needs. That is surely part of it.

Surely the relation between the municipality and the European portion of it, and the location, is of such a nature that you could not deal with their moneys entirely separately ?--- Not entirely, but I should imagine that certain services might be made over to them.

MR LUCAS : Have you as a member of the Joint Council discussed with the Town Council the question of allowing the natives to build their own houses ?--- That has been generally favoured by some members of the Joint Council; I am not sure that they reached any final decision on it. The general policy I think of a Joint Council would be along the lines I have been indicating all the time, of having things a little bit less cut and dried for them, and allowing them some initiative. But I have not gone into it in detail, but there is a frightful want of initiative. It is a most depressing business to see model locations, assuming that no native can want anything more than a two or three roomed house. Again we are sort of imposing this dead level on them, which is not fair.

All exactly alike ?--- Peffectly deadly; worse than any English manufacturing row of villas, possibly.

DR ROBERTS : But there are houses that I have seen and been in in the Bloemfontein location containing six and seven rooms ?--- Not here. And I should say that the Commission will recognise that the natives again are becoming,

some of them, quite conscious of this grinding dead level.

THE CHAIRMAN : The point has been raised before this Commission by a number of natives ?--- Yes, I am sure it has.

MR LUCAS : Have you gone at all into the question of the application of the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wage Act to natives ?--- The Joint Council shied at a full discussion of it; there was no kind of general agreement.

I was asking for your own opinion at the moment. The Joint Council of Natives who appeared, did express an opinion ?--- I think I can speak for the Joint Council here in saying that it is almost universally recognised that with the Masters and Servants Act preventing anything like corporate action, the country is asking for an explosion unless it will take cognizance of the grievance the natives have about their wages; and that, for myself, I can see no reason, except the burden on Mr Lucas' time, why the Wage Board should not function to deal with acute grievances there.

THE CHAIRMAN : Mr Lucas can always find more time ?--- After all, the Wage Board tradition arises from the need for regulating the wages of the weakest members of society. Why the weakest members of society should be barred from the findings of the official Wage Board here, except at the white man's convenience, I cannot quite see. And it will be extremely inconvenient unless more timely notice is taken of native wage grievances.

MR LUCAS : This question of the organisation of natives which would involve an amendment to the Industrial Conciliation Act, have you studied that at all ?--- No, I haven't really gone into it in detail. I think the answer though, broadly, is that - what I have tried to say more

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than once - this hard and fast line between natives and whites on all these points, if only the country would begin to get used to the idea that there are some few thousands of natives who are reaching the position of needing the protection of things like the Industrial Conciliation Act, the better. It is not for all the millions, but there is that class up at the top who are being barred and barrier'd at every turn. We are asking for an explosion unless we meet them, and the country for its part would get less excited if it would realise that the number who have to be provided for, for whom a way through has to be found, is not a very large one. We keep looking five hundred years ahead instead of a few years. By getting a few natives included in the operation of Conciliation Acts, or whatever else it may be, then you will learn by experience what the next step will be, and take the next step when it arises.

What do you consider are the obstacles in the way of doing that? I did put to you the economic and social side, the fears we have had expressed to us in one way and another by Europeans. Are there any other obstacles you can think of other than on the ground of fear?--- No, I think it is largely a matter of fear.

So that this may be just narrowed down to the question of meeting that fear?--- Yes.

Is there any way of doing that?--- The one point I suggested just now is, try to convince the country that the number of rising natives who have to be met is not so large as to be in any danger of swamping anybody. On the contrary there are much more likely to be dangers, discontent and explosions if nothing is done, and we merely blind ourselves and allow for no expansion.

You are looking at the question from the point of view of the comparatively few in the towns, but is not the

question very different from the farm natives' point of view, where you have farmers saying they cannot farm if they have to pay more ?--- Well, that is an old song.

It is an old song, but as long as it is sung those who want to alter things will have to devise a way of developing a new tune

MAJOR ANDERSON : Have you gone into the correctness or otherwise of that statement that they cannot afford to pay ?--- Well, I bring in the paradox I once suggested, that they won't be able to pay better wages until they do -- if you follow me. Have I made the point clear ? I think that is literally the position.

It is rather noticeable in going round the country, wherever we have come to districts where a more profitable kind of farming has been practised, wattle growing, sugar farming, wages are a good deal higher ?--- That is just the point I am trying to make.

I don't think that is due necessarily to better farming; it is due to local circumstances and local resources ?--- And more profitable crops. But even generally, I think the more efficient farmers can contrive to pay better wages and get better results.

That particular efficiency comes from local circumstances, and that being so, it suggests that there may be some basis to the statement that the average farmer cannot afford to pay more; if his circumstances were better, wages would automatically rise ?--- I think it is a paradox, but all history is full of examples of the same kind of thing, that the backwardness of the farmer is responsible for the backwardness of the native, and the backwardness of the native for that of the farmer.

In the case of the wattle farmers, who now pay a considerably higher level of wages, they did not do so before they took to wattle farming - they just happened to be on that land ?--- I think what is wrong is the persistent tendency of the country to look at it from the point of view of not even one half of the country - "The farmer cannot pay." Does that settle it ? Is the native to be considered at all ?

Supposing that is correct, what are you going to do with the farmer ? Let him go out of business altogether ?--- I don't think it is correct.

THE CHAIRMAN : Isn't farming all the world over seriously affected ?--- It is one of the depressed trades.

I go further: in farming you are bound to be forced down to the margin every time ?--- Yes.

I think I can invoke economic theory to support that ?--- Yes.

And therefore that is where you will always find the worst wages, because there is the industry which gives the worst returns and margins. After all your margin of productivity has to be borne in mind ?--- May I suggest you try the experiment of trying to establish more farmers, including some natives ?

MR LUCAS : Can you account for the fact that wages are so much higher in growing mealies in the Transvaal than they are in the Eastern Province, or in many parts of the Free State ?--- No. That is broadly so, I know.

I think - I am not quite sure - that land values are higher in the Eastern Province than they are in the mealie parts of the Transvaal ?--- I have always put it down, so far as I tried to explain it at all, to the fact that the Eastern Province never fully recovered from the breaking

up of native life in the Kaffir Wars, and had a rather larger population who dug in their roots to such land as remained, and rather than venture out, stayed where they were. Where can they go to, after all ? The population is far denser.

That does not mean that farming cannot pay better wages in the Eastern Province; it means that there is so much competition between the employees that farmers are able to keep the wages down ?--- I think that is so: there is a far bigger native population. I think the congested population does suggest that it is competition amongst these people; the worst wages in the country are in the Eastern Province, I have always found.

MRJOR ANDERSON : The question of wages paid by farmers is governed I think also to a great extent by the extent of their farming; the larger their production, the lower their costs per bag, or whatever it is. And where you have got small farmers it is correspondingly difficult for the farmers to pay high wages. We have got to take things as they are. Unless you are going to eliminate the small farmer altogether, how are you going to make it possible for him to pay higher wages ?--- I think on that wages question you had better deal with Dr Frankel when he comes along.

DR ROBERTS : Just one question, to which you have given a good deal of study: with regard to your remarks upon education (page 5, Question 24-25), wherein you say that it is the lack of schools, and not anything wrong with the method of education ?--- Yes, I think I stick to that.

We have had a great deal of theory that education was all wrong and should be on completely other lines. You don't agree to that ?--- I simply don't agree, for the simple reason that, if I can just explain the bare sentence...

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There cannot be two systems ?--- There cannot be two systems of education. All education begins with learning to read and write - and supposing they do spend four years on that, we spend longer probably. And moreover I do think it is important to recognise the growth amongst intelligent natives of a very sore feeling of protest that they are not going to be fobbed off with education specially adapted to natives. They want education. I am really quoting evidence there: native opinion is extremely touchy on that; and I think that should be recognised.

You think there should be only the one system ?--- I think so.

There has been only one system from the Greek days down to the present ?--- Why we should adapt it to what we think the natives need, I cannot say. But the more important thing certainly is, I have had at first hand repeated protests amongst intelligent natives in a good many parts against that idea.

You will forgive me going back on your argument: in the same paragraph you say, "The future depends on what we can get natives to do for themselves, not so much on what Europeans do for them." When I ventured to suggest it was their business to break up the strait waistcoat, I think you differed from me ?--- I did not necessarily differ. I opened my mouth, that was all. I think we are sitting on that strait waistcoat a bit, and we shall feel some of the bump unless we get out of the way.

MR LUCAS : Is there no way of breaking that strait waistcoat to-day except by violence: that is why you hesitated ?--- That is why I hesitated.

DR ROBERTS : Even supposing you have violence, the Kingdom of Heaven suffers violence: may this not be the

same ? I mean, there is no progress without violence. Progress itself is a violent thing; it is a change ?--- Oh, change there must be.

DR ROBERTS : I am greatly indebted to you for these remarks on education.

THE CHAIRMAN : In evidence which we have got in various places, it has been put to us that the standard which the European has built up very laboriously is being undercut to some extent by the Cape coloured man, and to some extent by the advanced native. The Cape coloured man has complained to us bitterly that the advanced native, and then the tribal native, is under-cutting his standard. And the advanced native again has complained to us repeatedly that the tribal native is under-cutting his standard. Now I think you will agree that the under-cutting of a standard which has taken a great deal of trouble to build up, is not a thing which one can look at with equanimity. Can you suggest any means by which on the one side the room for development of the less advanced groups can be allowed, while safeguarding the standards of the more advanced groups ?--- I think you ought perhaps to go on to say, "Why stop with advanced natives and backward Europeans ?" Why not go on to less advanced Europeans and the more advanced Europeans, which is very much nearer the point - men and women ?

You can make subdivisions in these groups ?--- Something of that kind must go on. I don't see that it is different essentially from the problem that is still being faced where women are coming into the semi-skilled trades, or the war-time problem of dilution in the engineering factories. It is all just the same thing: there is no final solution. The only thing is to deal with things as they arise.

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With this difference, in the infiltration of women it was still part of the same population, and some of the earnings of the women who have come in and diluted, to use the war term, have gone to the benefit of some of the men who have been dispossessed ?--- I confess I am not going to attempt to suggest a solution of a problem of that kind save only the old one: the ultimate adjustment required is to increase the spending power of the poorer native. It all comes back to this: improve the adjustment of the country, and the more advanced men will find opportunities in other directions. I cannot really see any other answer. I refuse to be afraid of that process. I think the country, any country, and particularly any class, is likely to be obsessed by its own particular difficulties; and only a long view is of the slightest use in the matter. In the long run the progress of the class further down really helps the one beyond.

It is part of an international problem, of course ?--- I can say, very forcibly, in talking the other night to a skilled trade union group, they were very sympathetic with the native's hard deal, as some of them were calling it. They were still more concerned by the fact that the rise of the native might mean the loss of the privilege of the skilled artisan class - his place.

You would suggest that the only reply is laissez faire ?--- I don't know. You are very fond of phrases.

DR ROBERTS : Call it solviter ambulando ?--- They did translate it into "Let things develop." That is another of the points I have been hammering at all the time: the country must get out of the habit of trying to think so far ahead, and deal with things piecemeal.

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THE CHAIRMAN : You are quite satisfied with the formula solviter ambulando, but I would like to have some light on how to mind my step in following that out ?--- The country is wrong in looking for solutions. There is only one next step. Take one step at a time.

What is the next step ? Your suggestion at present to my mind is laissez faire ?--- I have tried to make a few suggestions, after all.

With regard to the question of dilution, the impression you have left on my mind is laissez faire ...

MR LUCAS : Isn't everything we have been dealing with part of the same question ? You improve the position of the native in the reserves, you make a smaller number available for dilution. You raise the wages in as many industries as possible, and you weaken the dilution there. It is not a separate question ?--- It does come back to this, what makes that displacement a menace even is the extreme backwardness in the last resort of the bulk of the natives. Therefore the answer to it is, begin back in the reserves and improve the conditions on the farms, as Mr Lucas has put it. The only possible way out of it is to reduce the difference between the most backward and the most advanced.

THE CHAIRMAN : Up to the present the method followed has been to lay down certain barriers. You object to those barriers. You put forward the view that you should start lower down and improve things from there. In the meantime until you have done any of that work, what about your barriers ?--- I am all against barriers, myself.

You would take away the barriers at one fell stroke now ?--- If you are asking me personally, I would certainly take away a great many of them.

A great many ? Would you take them all away ?--- I am not a dictator.

Suppose, for the guidance of the Commission we were to ask, which would you take away ?--- I don't like these general questions, but I would suggest this, that while the country is going about on these very large issues, if history teaches anything it teaches this, that the really dangerous explosions have come from the pin-pricking irritations of things like Pass Laws. It is the irritation of the man in his ordinary daily life that causes more distress and anxiety than anything else - which is another point that I really have not enlarged on, that you did not raise. On this general question of administration, I suggested that it is most ominous, the way in which the magistrate is encroaching on the Civil Commissioner.

MR LUCAS : I forgot to ask - I did not understand that ?--- I was trying to get at the point that the administration of laws which are not interesting involves the magistrate in so much bench work that he cannot be an adviser and mediator, as he should be.

THE CHAIRMAN : The old type of Civil Commissioner has gone; administratively the magistrate has even more functions now ?--- I think it is a very significant fact that the magistrate had displaced the Commissioner. It means that we are not recognising that growth of a native opinion, and you cannot merely stamp that opinion.

The magistrate is not a Civil Commissioner now, but one of the chief things the magistrates object to is that all this administrative work of all Government Departments -- I get blamed for it as much as anyone else -- are forced

on them. The magistrate has infinitely more administrative work now than he had in the old days of the Civil Commissioner ?--- Again, follow the East African practice and delegate the bench work to a magistrate who should be a junior official, and make the administrator who is carrying on the ordinary work of government a person who can get about and mediate.

THE CHAIRMAN : Professor Macmillan, I wish to thank you very heartily on behalf of the Commission. You have given us a great deal of your time, and we on the other hand have given you quite a number of difficult questions to answer. We are indebted to you for coming here and for the answers you have given us.

at 4 pm.

THE COMMISSION adjourned^{at 4 pm.} until Monday,
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