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Servant sent out from England ?- Yes; I suppose it is rather difficult for them to overstep the terms of their appointments; they are sent out, as we know, for a period of years. I think the failure is really due to the tradition that the Civil Servant - the Civil Service shall only remain within a few families. I am particularly remembering an article by a man named Nightingale, who said the British Civil Service has been recruited from a few families. I think what is really wrong in regard to the administration generally is that it does not throw its net wide enough to bring into the Service men who have advanced with the time - economists, for instance, and professional men who would be able to deal with the cattle troubles and things like that.

MR. LUCAS: What do you think are the prospects of development in the Protectorates which would require the presence there of Natives who now come to the Union ?- In Basutoland, I think a very good line would be fruit; I think it is a splendid country for fruit.

I did not ask you what they should do; but what is the likelihood of a change being made which will tend to cut off the supply of Natives there now as labourers ?- It is all very difficult to say whether there is any likelihood of a change; I am afraid there is very little possibility of a change in Basutoland, because of a recent incident which I have in mind, and in connection with which the Natives round Maseru made an application for an increase in their wages for road work, and they report that they never got a reply to their request. But from other sources I have learned it is decided not to go on with this matter because of its effect on the Natives employed

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in the Free State -- shewing the two were locked together, although they were supposed to be two separate entities. The rates of wages in the Free State were undoubtedly affecting the rates of wages in Basutoland, but they had to keep them slightly lower in Basutoland in order to encourage the Native in Basutoland to come out into the Free State. So that there must have been some kind of collusion between the British Administration and the Free State employers of labour.

Is the collusion necessary; might it not just be a feeling of the fitness of things? - That may have something to do with it. I do not think a British Official is any more inclined to be very much in contact with the Native than the White people in South Africa are supposed to be. If that is the point you mean. Socially they tend to cleave off with a definite bias against the Native from the colour point of view.

Is what you said about Basutoland and the prospects also true of Bechuanaland and Swaziland? - No. In Swaziland there are distinct signs of improvement. For instance, they are investigating or exploring the possibilities of co-operative dairy farming and the raising of better stock for export, particularly on the Italian market. The I.C.S. -- the Imperial Cold Storage, I think it is -- in that line shews remarkable development. Also tobacco.

These are Natives? - Yes; Natives down in the Hlatikulu District are doing remarkably well with tobacco growing. I might mention an incident there, recorded in the joint memorandum of Miss Hodgson and myself, where the farmers asked the Natives to come into the co-operative movement with them, in order generally to deal with the distribution and sale of the

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tobacco; and when we left Swaziland, there was a definite movement among a number of farmers to refuse any sort of dealing with the Native, seeing that they were not going to sit in the same room with the Native and discuss these matters, and they had even refused the suggestion of the Official, that a Government Official should be appointed by the Natives to act on behalf of the Natives' interests; shewing that even in a British Protectorate this idea of sitting down beside the Native had gone a bit further even than in the Union.

And in Bechuanaland, is there much development? - Well as regards Bechuanaland, I have only been as far as Serowe at the moment. I hope to go back there in June and will be able to say more about it later on. The reason why I do not want to say too much about Bechuanaland at the moment is because of the complications of the Masawa and Kalakadi questions -- or rather, the slave tribes attached to the Bakhlata; they complicate the question very much. In Betudi(?) one has a tribe extremely wealthy from the point of view of the feudal system. The Chief Regent, who has now given way to the Chief Proper, insisted on having a three years' supply of grain before he would allow any to be sold, and at the same time the Natives were compelled to find their 25/- a year tax and, in order to get that, they had to come into the Union to work in the mines or in some other occupation. Notwithstanding that fact, they were wealthy from the point of view of being guarded against one.

You told us about your asking a farmer to make an experiment at Ficksburg. Have you done anything else like

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that in the country ?- Well, In the first six months that I was here, I was in consultation with the Executive of the Farmers at Volksrust, and we had considered and generally discussed the possibility of written contracts, and a definite fixed minimum for Native work, worked out and based on the wage in kind and in money. We arrived at some sort of an agreement, and it was decided that I should come down and state the whole case to a farmers' conference. I arrived at Volksrust one Saturday morning and was told very bluntly that the farmers had decided not to hear me, and I could not get any further with them. But I certainly had a very good discussion with their Executive.

Then in the Nylstroom area I also had a discussion with the Farmers' Executive there; but nothing further came of the discussion. I may say, in all these discussions, I have always had I.C.U. officials along with me and they have heard all that has gone on, and the farmers have not objected to their being present; although, at Nylstroom, it is supposed that two backwood farmers came along with revolvers and were going to kill the Natives and sjambok myself; but it did not take place.

CHAIRMAN: Do you come into contact at all with the arrangement that was being inaugurated last year in the Potgietersrust area, under which they hoped to get a body consisting of an equal number of European farmers and chiefs to arrange a definite system of apprenticeship of young Natives under the control of this Committee, to farmers ?- No, I have no experience, or very little knowledge, of that proposal; but I have heard, as you no doubt have, that it has broken down.

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Yes; I spoke to one of the chief Europeans interested in the matter recently, and he said that the chiefs took up the view that if they got labour for other things, they got a capitation fee, and they did not see why they should not get a capitation fee in this instance - which, of course, cut at the root of the whole system? - Well that, unfortunately, is not altogether confined to farming; it operates with regard to mining. Chiefs will get certain contracts for Natives going into the mines.

Unfortunately, it does amount to a form of exploitation. Whether one can see the possibilities of an agreement or a conference of that kind coming to some arrangement to apprentice the young Native or not does not matter. I think when you consider they claim a capitation fee of so much a head, a chief has no right to ask for a capitation fee for a Native; and I think that is one of the things the Native chiefs are finding very irksome at the moment, -- although there are some who would justify it and say the chief is entitled to a capitation fee; but I would not stand for anything of that kind, and I do not think the majority of the Natives who are out for the betterment of their people would stand for it either.

I understand that is the chief ground on which it has broken down and that at present it is rather in a modified condition? - Owing to the fact that it is a transference of the recruiting system from the European to the Native.; and if you object to recruiting by the European, I think you must also object to it by the Native, whether he is a chief or not.

MR. LUCAS: Do you take your stand definitely against recruiting of any kind? - Yes; recruiting in the form in which it is practised today for the distribution of Native labour

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I would like to see the setting up of Government Native labour agencies.

How could those be organized ?- Well, in the first place, it would require that very essential which we have lost, - the ~~xxxx~~census of the Natives; they would have to get a census of the Native population to know how one stands and then to ascertain in each area how many Natives are employed and how many are unemployed; you would have to do it from area to area. The setting up of sub-agencies, -- say one in Maquassi or some other district; and if there is work in Port Elizabeth, or they want some Natives there, then the Native could be given the opportunity of going to these places. That, briefly, of course, is how I would set it up. I think also there, in order to make it an effective organization, you would require a fairly good Native staff, because, if you put an European staff fully in control, you are never going to get the information that you want; I am perfectly certain of that. After three years in South Africa, I know that Europeans are too often hoodwinked in regard to Natives and their requirements generally.

You referred this morning to a visit to Queenstown and that district; did you make any special investigations there ?- Not very special; it was all done rather hurriedly and it was mainly consultation with Natives in the location there.

DR. ROBERTS: There are some questions on which I do not quite agree with you. On page 1, (b)1, under the heading "Neglected evidence of previous Commissions", you say that all commissions are weak because they have not got a Native representative. I think you, in reply to the Chairman

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said you understood yourself the difficulty there ?- Yes; but that does not take away a weakness; understanding a difficulty does not take away a weakness.

No; but the difficulty is very important ?- I think you must admit that you would gain very much more reliable evidence on the Native Affairs Commission and on this Commission if you had Native assessors sitting beside you and extracting information from the Natives.

I admit that in full, but the Native Affairs Commission goes round; our Native Secretary has to sleep in the car or sleep outside. We go to different places, and that is the end of it as far as he is concerned ?- Yes; although that is a difficulty, it is not an insurmountable one. I have had the same experience in the country, going to certain places in Natal, and was told that the Native who was along with me would have to stay outside. I said, "Well, there is a room; I am in the room, the Native can also go into the room". I realise the difficulties; but if some of us do not shew the whole thing is absurd, then it is always going to go on. You have no objection to taking your meals from the hands of a Native servant, and that is much more of a contact than a Native being inside a room with you. I know what it is always faced with: "Are you going to allow a Black man to marry your daughter?" and all that; that is always trotted out.

Coming to the next point:- "But since the fate of all these Commissions has been to have their reports pigeonholed....", -- do you hold on to that ?- Yes; I think you have all had your reports more or less pigeonholed from time to time.

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Do you know the 1883 Native report ?- Well, a little; not very much.

I advise you to read it ?- Was it put into operation fully?

Nearly. The point is it was not pigeonholed; neither were the 1902 and 1903 reports?- Well, I have read the 1903 one.

Neither will this report be pigeonholed ?- I have read the 1903 one and I do not know which part of it was put into operation.

MR. LUCAS: The 1913, Land Act ?- ----

DR. ROBERTS: Because the Government does print all the reports ?- The De Waal report in Durban was never published

That was in the form of a report to the Minister ?- Never mind, it was never published; and from time to time everything that comes forward -- this Native Service Contract Bill had 900 copies printed; how can they possibly get round to people who want them? The other day I rang up Pretoria and asked if they would give me a copy of this; they said they had none. That is what happens with the majority of these things; they are pushed through without people getting to know the contents of them.

CHAIRMAN: There is a very big difference between a public Commission like this and a Commission investigating a point for the knowledge of the Government - that naturally is not published, as a general rule, any more than a private memorandum of the members of the Public Service. In the case of a public Commission, I cannot remember a single case where a report was not published ?- I do not see the difference between this Commission and that conducted by Justice DeWaal

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in Durban, because that was public. Mr. Champion and myself both gave evidence before that Commission and it was public in so far as the public were allowed into it. I made enquiries and was told the report was put on the table of the House, and it was never published; and I still stand by it, - it should have been published.

DR. ROBERTS: Where do you get these classic lines, "Johannesburg's six most immoral men", and so on; what placards? - I am surprised at you putting them down as classic lines. Well, they occurred on the placards of a certain journals which were being sold on the streets of Johannesburg. The law of libel might stretch very far and I am certainly not going to mention those journals. It is only two of many of the same kind and I think that this matter itself is not taken up very seriously, and it ought to be taken up by the Minister of Justice. It is going to lead to no end of trouble; but at the same time I quite understand I shall probably be pilloried for having mentioned these things. They usually have a way of taking up people who are prepared to set their minds on these matters.

I am safe when I call them "classics" (Laughter). Now, here is another statement -- I am very sorry to differ from you on a good many of these -- page 9, "Rural Native", -- the last three lines, "Further it is clear that no Government, no matter what its political label, will release more land for Natives, as such a policy would lead to a Native labour shortage in the urban areas". Now, where have you got the view that the Government is not attempting and has not brought forward a scheme to release almost a tenth of the land? -

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Well, the 1913 Land Act was mentioned some time ago; it had certain provisions for the purchase of Native land, which have never been put into operation. That is one, is it not? And then, Doctor, surely you are aware of the way in which the Scotch people were driven into industry in the beginning, by means of the Highland Clearances, and how the English people were driven in by the Inclosure Acts.

I think it is a little unfair to say that no Government will do a thing like this, when there is a definite Bill being considered? - But, Doctor, are you at this time of day, having the experience that you have got, going to believe for one moment that the Government actually makes its own policy? Is not its policy dictated from time to time by other interests?

I would be very sorry to think that a stable Government would produce a proposal to give a very large area of land to the Native people and that it was all a sham? - Well, so far it has proved so, sir. When we see it actually put into operation, I shall certainly be the first to apologise and say the Government has really been genuine in giving the land to the Native; but so far they have not done it.

Admitting that; there are a great many difficulties about it; but still your sentence would seem to imply that they did not mean to do it? - Well, there it is; 18 years since the 1913 Act was passed, and they have done nothing in 18 years. So have we any guarantee that they are going to do anything in the next 18 years.

Oh, yes? - Well, you are an optimist.

DR. FOURIE: On page 9, "Rural Natives", - "They are very largely paid in kind, and only obtain meat when an animal

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dies" ?- I am referring in general; I do not single out any particular Province in South Africa. Conditions do obtain like that on many of the farms; and I have the statements of my farming friends in various parts who tell me that that is true.

Yes, but you have put it quite generally here ?- Well, if you would rather that I put it "in the majority", I do not mind leaving it that way.

You say only when an animal dies do they get meat ?-Yes; I think it is true. Of course, when you are having a feast of some kind, you may have a bullock slaughtered.

Yes; but that is not "only when an animal dies" ?- Well, that is exceptional; it is not part of their ordinary diet, is it? And you may have the point which obtains in some parts, where a bullock is slain and the meat is eaten because a recruiter happens to be round about. We know that does happen.

On the farms ?- Round about the farms, yes, when he is recruiting.

CHAIRMAN: Yes; but is it not the case that, in connection with the Native's own tribal customs, there are two occasions when he has meat, apart from that given by the European ?- I am, of course, speaking of the rural farm Native. A tribal Native has many customs which can bring in the slaughtering of an ox. I have been at several of these ceremonies -- but he is not the Native I am referring to here.

But the tribal Native gets meat on two occasions -- ceremonial occasions and when an animal dies. As a matter of fact, it seems to me that the chief economic asset, as far as food is concerned, of the Native is when cattle die ?- Yes; but I think you will admit the general insanitary state of

Mr. Bellinger

affairs should not allow that the death of an animal should be the occasion for meat eating.

DR. FOURIE: Do not some farmers slaughter an animal at harvest time or at the ploughing season; do not they slaughter a goat or something like that for the Natives? - Yes, it is possible that happens; but that is all part of your desire to speed up production in just the same way as it does obtain in other parts of the world, of giving a person a pint of beer or a pot of ale or something like that. But the Native, I would just remind you once again, I am particularly referring to is the farm Native -- the one who is away from his tribal connection.

Many farm Natives are still tribal? - Yes; but the time he is on the farm he will not get meat.

MR. LUCAS: I think what you put here is true of a good deal of the Eastern Province, but it is not true everywhere. We have been into each important district. There are some districts where there is more or less a regular meat ration? - Well, the Eastern Province is the one I know a lot about; but it also obtains in the Free State.

Yes, some parts; that is why one has to be careful about making a general statement about Natives anywhere in South Africa? - Well, I do not know. More or less, of course, you always try to divide the country into four different Provinces, and say "This province has got a little bit better conditions" than another Province, and so on; but generally the position does obtain, as I have said. For instance, take this Bill here - this Masters and Servants Contract Bill; so far as we know, that is inspired by the sugar plantations of Natal. And there again you would say, "well, it

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seems rather surprising that people with an English tradition should come forward in a thing of this kind"; but, generally, in statements which I have made here it has applied in the main and I have said "largely"; that is sufficient cover, I think.

You mean, the "largely" to apply to both parts of the sentence? - Yes. There was one other point I wanted to mention to you -- in the course of things it has been overlooked. I have a number of statements here from Heilbron regarding the condition of farms and farm Natives in that area, which it would probably be better if I handed in so that you can read them over yourselves. I have not investigated them; I have only taken the statements from an I.C.U. Secretary there.

MR. ALLISON WESSEL GEORGE CHAMPION, called and examined:

CHAIRMAN: At the bottom of page 1, you refer to the view held by some Natives that the Christian Churches are the means employed by clever White people to rob them of their rights, and then you go on to state that they get all this from a certain class of European who mixes himself freely with all classes of Natives. What class of Europeans have you in mind there? - Before I reply to that, Mr. Chairman, I forgot I wanted to hand over this copy here which might help in the reply to the question: " 'L.S.D.' " 16th May 1931, - page 10, "Widow's tickes feed impudent kaffer". I may point out that that paper was handed to me this morning, when I told some of my friends I was coming here to give evidence. It seems to me that such a type of White people can be just as well included in what I have just said here in this paragraph (The extract referred to handed in.)

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Yes; but you speak here of Europeans will mix with Natives and will teach them these things ?- Yes.

What type of European have you in mind there ?- I have said here Europeans who work side by side with them in the farms, in the factories and on the mines, and I have also gone further and said those Europeans who sell liquor to the Natives, and those Europeans speak lightly and dangerously to the Natives -- such as the one quoted in that paper.

And they create the impression that it is the White man's dodge to do the Native out of his rights ?- In fact, there are White men who tell the Native freely there is no God and that it is waste of time to come to church. If you visit the Native churches you will find they are not even half filled at the present time; I attribute that to these White people who go about the country talking loosely.

On page 3, you recommend a Native Advisory Board should be on the lines of the Durban one. Would you be a little more explicit on that point ?- The Native Advisory Board in Durban, to which I am alluding, has a certain amount of status. In the first place, all the organizations in Durban are allowed to send their own representatives; they elect their own men and the Advisory Board itself has got the status of a Committee of the Town Council: they meet with the elected councillors as one body and they elect their own chairman from that number -- which is 10 Natives and 4 European Town Councillors, and their Secretary is the Town Clerk himself. They conduct their meetings in the same way as the Town Council conducts its affairs. The Manager for Native Affairs has no say in that Committee; he comes there to make reports whenever he is required to make a report, but he is not allowed

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to discuss matters affecting the Natives in Durban, because, as a matter of fact, he is the man who is being discussed by the Committee.

So your three points are: firstly, that the Native representatives are selected by Native organizations and not by all the Natives as one constituency ?- Yes.

Secondly, that it has direct access to town councillors, by having town councillors on the committee ?- Yes.

And, thirdly, that the location superintendent is not a member of that body ?- Yes.

Those are the three points that you wish to put forward ?- Yes.

Are there any others ?- I think those are all.

Now, on page 4, you state that you find it is a proven fact that it is the town Native that undercuts the tribal Natives. Now, hitherto, all the witnesses have said it the other way round. What support can you adduce for this statement ?- I have listened to many witnesses who have given evidence on this point and my only reply to that would be this, that I am definitely certain they are only speaking from hearsay. They do not know anything about the tribal and detribalised Natives. I have studied this question for the last six years as an officer of the I.C.U., and, before that, I can say, right from 1918 I have studied this question. On the other hand, the position I find is just the opposite. I know it is a fact that a boy born in Klipspruit Location will take a job for £2, whereas a boy from home would not take a job at £2. That is a fact.

Well, that is one factor in support of your view. Have you any others ?- Now, if it is not a fact, what is the other fact? If I quote an instance -- if a man takes the

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lowest pay possible that a tribal Native would not take, that means to say this boy in town undercuts the boy from home; whereas the force of argument, I think, that has been given to you is a boy from home will take any wage, whereas a boy from town would not take it; but I think if you went through the passes in the Pass Office, you would find the position is just the opposite of what I am saying. This point, Mr. Chairman, is very important -- I happen to be single handed, and I would very much like that a reference should be made to the Native Pass Office to find out how many boys receive lower wages who are born in the towns, than those who come from the country.

I mast say, though, that all the other witnesses have put it the other way round ?-----

MR. LUCAS: Why do you say a boy born in a town will work for less than a man from the country ?- Mr. Chairman, a boy brought up in town has nowhere to go; he is living under unfavourable conditions in his home -- his home is the municipal locations; in fact, many of the boys in town have no future. They think of nothing so long as they can get a place to sleep and eat in; wheress the boy from the country thinks of the expenses at home and of himself.

But are you referring to young married men now, or are you referring to married men living in the location ?- Many of the married people living in the location are old hands in town and they generally lose work; I am referring to boys who are grown up, and young people.

You say the old men generally lose work ?- They do not generally lose their work; they are old hands with their employers.

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