

213

**SOUTH AFRICA.**

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**FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE**

RELATING TO THE

**AFFAIRS OF THE TRANSVAAL  
AND ORANGE RIVER COLONY.**

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Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

*February, 1904.*

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1904.

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126	To Governor Sir W. F. Hely-Hutchinson.	Cape	January 26	Acknowledges receipt of No. 108A, and states that copies of the resolutions passed at George and of the petition from Queenstown have been laid before the King.	327
127	Governor Viscount Milner.	Telegram 1.	January 28 (Rec. Jan. 29.)	Reports that the draft Labour Ordinance has passed the Committee stage, and describes the amendments made.	328
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SOUTH AFRICA.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

AFFAIRS OF THE TRANSVAAL AND  
ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

No. 1.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received February 23, 1903.)

[See No. 12.]

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 23, 1903.  
I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of the under-mentioned documents on the subject of the Loan arrangements made for these Colonies.\*

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

SCHEDULE OF ENCLOSURES.

1. From Messrs. H. Eckstein and Company. January 21.
2. To Messrs. H. Eckstein and Company. January 27.

Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

Messrs. ECKSTEIN AND COMPANY to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

SIR, P. O. Box 149, Johannesburg, January 21, 1903.  
FOR the purpose of having a record of the financial arrangements arrived at for this Colony and for the Orange River Colony, we beg to submit to Your Excellency the following digest of the arrangements arrived at :—

1st. That a loan of 35 millions be issued as soon as practicable, secured on the general revenue of the two Colonies, and bearing the guarantee of the Imperial Government.

We understand that this loan is to bear interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, and that a Sinking Fund of 1 per cent. is to be provided. The proceeds of

\* For previous correspondence see [Cd. 1552].

this loan to be used for the purchase of existing public works and railways, and to provide for the necessary railway extensions and other public works in the two Colonies, and to extinguish present liabilities.

We have been given to understand that the apportionment of the amounts to the two Colonies has been left by His Majesty's Government in Your Excellency's hands, but that approximately 28 or 29 millions out of the amount will be devoted to the Transvaal, and, as we have had enquiries from our co-guarantors upon this point, we should esteem it a favour if Your Excellency could let us know whether this is correct.

2nd. That a loan of 30 millions, bearing interest at 4 per cent. per annum, but without any provision for a Sinking Fund, be issued, and that the proceeds of this loan be paid over when received, free of all encumbrances, to His Majesty's Government as a voluntary contribution on behalf of this Colony towards the cost of the late war. That the service of this loan be a charge upon the general revenue of the Transvaal only. That the issue take place in three instalments of 10 millions each, an interval of at least 12 months being allowed between the issue of the instalments. That the first instalment be issued about January, 1904, and that the success of this issue be guaranteed by certain South African firms.

It is understood, as between the Government and the guarantors of the issue, that an independent arbiter be appointed to decide whether the condition of the money market, at the time the issue of the first instalment is proposed to be made, is sufficiently satisfactory. We understand from our London friends that Lord Rothschild is willing to act in this capacity if requested by the Imperial Government to do so, and we would therefore suggest to Your Excellency that he be thus approached by the Imperial Government.

Furthermore, in order to ensure the largest possible measure of success, not only of the first instalment of the War Loan, but also of the successive issues which are contemplated for 1905 and 1906, it is suggested that the two loans, as far as the revenue of the Transvaal is concerned, should rank *pari passu*. We consider that, as far as the security of the War Loan is concerned, this point is a very important one and should receive earnest consideration.

Furthermore, it is suggested that investors in Europe do not favour investments which are likely to be disturbed without sufficient notice, and we would therefore submit to Your Excellency that the right which is reserved to the Transvaal Government of redeeming the War Loan be not exercisable until a period of ten years after the issue of each instalment shall have elapsed.

We wish also to bring to the notice of Your Excellency the importance of two further points:—

- (A) In order to relieve to some degree the Exchequer of this Colony during the next five years, we think that the Imperial Government, in guaranteeing the reproductive loan of 35 millions, should consent to the suspension of the Sinking Fund until 1908-9. We quite realise that the final liquidation of the guarantee of the Imperial Government would by this action be increased from 47 to 52 years, but we think that it would materially help the Colonies without in the least impairing the security.
- (B) In order to enable this Colony to redeem both its proportion of the 35 millions Loan and the War Loan of 30 millions, we deem it expedient that all Crown Lands, Crown Assets and prospective Crown Properties be vested in a Board of Commissioners, and that to such Board be paid over the proceeds of the sale of any such assets or properties, in order that such proceeds may not go into the general revenue of the country as they in reality represent capital.

It is, of course, understood that should the loan be taken up at a premium, this premium would go to the Transvaal Treasury, and we beg to suggest that such premium be appropriated in the manner proposed in the preceding clause (B).

We are also given to understand that the Imperial Government will not ask for any contribution towards the cost of the war from the Orange River Colony, excepting in the case of unexpected prosperity or very large mineral developments,

but that under no circumstances will the Orange River Colony be called upon ever to contribute more than five millions at the outside.

In regard to the guarantee by South African firms of the issue of the first instalment of the 4 per cent. War Loan of 30 millions, above referred to, and which first instalment, it is understood, is to consist of 10 millions sterling, to be issued about January, 1904, we beg to inform you that this guarantee has been apportioned in London as follows:—

Wernher, Beit and Company	...	...	...	...	£1,000,000
S. Neumann and Company	...	...	...	...	1,000,000
Barnato Bros.	...	...	...	...	1,000,000
Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, Limited	...	...	...	...	1,000,000
L. Albu	...	...	...	...	1,000,000
Goërz and Company	...	...	...	...	1,000,000
Farrar Bros.	...	...	...	...	1,000,000
Anglo-French Exploration Company	...	...	...	...	
A. Bailey...	...	...	...	...	500,000
A. Dunkelsbuhler and Company	...	...	...	...	500,000
Lewis and Marks	...	...	...	...	500,000
Freeman Cohen's Consolidated	...	...	...	...	250,000
Bank of Africa	...	...	...	...	200,000
Transvaal Goldfields	...	...	...	...	100,000
Julius Friedlander	...	...	...	...	100,000
Symons and Moses	...	...	...	...	100,000
Compagnie Française de Mine d'Or et de l'Afrique de Sud	...	...	...	...	100,000
National Bank	...	...	...	...	400,000
Natal Bank	...	...	...	...	100,000
Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company	...	...	...	...	150,000

We shall esteem it a favour if Your Excellency will confirm the above, and have, &c.,

H. ECKSTEIN AND COMPANY.

To His Excellency  
 Viscount Milner, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,  
 His Majesty's High Commissioner  
 for South Africa, &c.  
 Johannesburg.

Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

HIGH COMMISSIONER to Messrs. ECKSTEIN AND COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN, High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg, January 27, 1903.  
 I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st January, with reference to the Loan arrangements for this Colony and the Orange River Colony.

In reply, I have the honour to inform you that the description of these arrangements contained in the first part of your letter, in the paragraphs headed 1st and 2nd, down to the words "guaranteed by certain South African firms," is correct, except that the rate of interest on the Guaranteed Loan is left open. It will certainly not exceed 3 per cent., but His Majesty's Government remain free, if the circumstances should appear to warrant it, to raise the loan at even a lower rate of interest. As regards the apportionment of the Loan between the two Colonies, it is not possible to make any precise statement at present, but I hope to take an early opportunity of doing so.

With regard to the statement that "it is understood, as between the Government and the guarantors of the issue, that an independent arbiter be appointed to decide whether the conditions of the market, at the time the issue of the first instalment is proposed to be made, is sufficiently satisfactory," I can only say that I am personally unaware of any such understanding. It is the practice of His Majesty's

Government, before issuing loans of importance, to consult with independent financial authorities as to the condition of the market, and as to the best time and manner of issuing such loans. But I do not think they would be likely to accept anyone, not even so high an authority as Lord Rothschild, as an "arbiter," having power to control their action and to determine whether the Loan should or should not be issued at a given time.

The rest of your letter, from the words "Furthermore, in order to ensure the largest possible measure of success," down to the words "five millions at the outside," consists of suggestions which admittedly do not form part of the original understanding. These suggestions will no doubt receive the most attentive consideration from His Majesty's Government, but I am not in a position to say what view may be taken of them.

There are, however, two points on which, without pledging His Majesty's Government, I feel that I can speak with considerable confidence. The first is with regard to possible premiums on the issue of any part of the War Loan. His Majesty's Government would not, I believe, desire to make any profit out of these premiums, the arrangement being that they should receive a definite sum of thirty millions in relief of the war burden on the British taxpayer. Any sum over and above that amount would go to the benefit of the Colonies. Furthermore, the contingent contribution of the Orange River Colony will not exceed five millions.

With regard to the other suggestions made by you, I must be distinctly understood to be expressing, in what follows, merely my personal opinion. I do not think that the proposal, that the two Loans should rank *pari passu* as regards the Revenue of the Transvaal, is practicable, and it hardly seems to me in accordance with the spirit of the agreement. Neither do I share the view, that it would be desirable to suspend the Sinking Fund on the Guaranteed Loan for five years, or even for one year. In my opinion the financial position of the two new Colonies does not require it. And, if I am right in that opinion, I am sure you will agree that it is not desirable to postpone the liquidation of our liabilities.

On the other hand, I quite agree with the suggestion that the power of redeeming the War Loan should not be exercisable until a certain number of years (not necessarily ten) after the issue of each instalment. And I most cordially agree that any sum realised by the sale of Crown Lands or other Crown Assets in the new Colonies, should not go into general Revenue, but should be treated as capital, and either devoted to works of development increasing the future Revenue of the country, or to the liquidation of debt.

I have to thank you for the information contained in the concluding portion of your letter as to the apportionment of the guarantee of the first ten millions of the War Loan between certain London firms.

I am sending you a copy of your letter and this reply to the Colonial Office.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER.

Messrs. H. Eckstein and Company,  
P. O. Box 149,  
Johannesburg.

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No. 2.

MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received February 25, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 3.]

120, Bishopsgate Street Within,  
London, E.C., February 24, 1903.

MY LORD,

WITH reference to certain correspondence which has taken place between our Johannesburg firm, Messrs. H. Eckstein and Company, and His Excellency Lord Milner, regarding a guarantee of £10,000,000 being the first instalment of the war



contribution to be made by the Transvaal, copies of which have been sent by Lord Milner to the Colonial Office, we beg to inform you that we have since received a cable from our Johannesburg firm reading as follows:—

War Contribution. Lord Milner is of opinion that guarantee should be addressed Home Government or Chancellor of the Exchequer.

We should therefore be pleased to hear what further steps His Majesty's Government wish us to take in this matter. Awaiting the favour of a reply,

We remain, &c.,  
WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY.

No. 3.

COLONIAL OFFICE to MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

Downing Street, March 3, 1903.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th of February,\* respecting the guarantee of the first instalment of the Transvaal War Contribution Loan, and to inform you that a further communication on the subject will be made to you after the return of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to this country.

I am, &c.,  
FRED. GRAHAM.

No. 4.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received March 9, 1903.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 16, 1903.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 28th of January,† I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of the undermentioned documents on the subject of the proposed form of guarantee in connection with the War Loan.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

SCHEDULE OF ENCLOSURES.

1. Letter from Mr. Birkenruth (of the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Limited), dated 12th February. (Enclosing copy of proposed form.)
2. Letter to Mr. Birkenruth, dated 16th February, 1903.

Enclosure 1 in No. 4.

CONSOLIDATED GOLD FIELDS OF SOUTH AFRICA, LIMITED, to PRIVATE SECRETARY TO HIGH COMMISSIONER.

The Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Limited,  
Johannesburg, February 12, 1903.  
DEAR SIR,  
I BEG to enclose herewith for His Excellency the High Commissioner's perusal, a copy of the proposed form of guarantee in connection with the proposed "War Loan" as drafted by the guarantors in London. The writer and Mr. J. A. Hamilton have been deputed by the local representatives of the "guarantors" to wait upon

\* No. 2.

† No. 1.

His Excellency in order to ascertain whether this draft is acceptable to His Excellency in its present form. We submit the proposed form of guarantee as drawn in London, and beg, therefore, to point out that at the date of drafting, the guarantors had not been advised of His Excellency's objection to the stipulation contained in the concluding portion, commencing with the words "and if in the opinion of a majority."

The writer and Mr. Hamilton will be glad to wait upon His Excellency at any time he may appoint.

Yours, &c.,  
E. BIRKENRUTH.

To the Private Secretary  
Of His Excellency, the High Commissioner,  
Johannesburg.

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To The Right Honourable VISCOUNT MILNER, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies.

Referring to the communications which have recently passed between the Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and the representatives of the Gold Mining Industry in the Transvaal Colony as to raising a Loan upon the credit of the Colony, we, the undersigned, hereby severally agree with you and with each other that in the event of the Government of the Transvaal Colony making an issue of a 4 per cent. loan of £30,000,000 (Thirty million pounds) at par by three instalments of £10,000,000 (ten million pounds) each the first of such instalments to be issued about the month of January, 1904, we respectively will subscribe and take up so much (if any) of the said first instalment as shall not be subscribed for and taken up by the public in such proportions as the several sums hereunder set opposite our respective names shall bear to the said sum of £10,000,000 (ten million pounds) to which said several sums our liability hereunder respectively is expressly limited provided that reasonable notice of the date of the proposed issue shall be previously given to us, and if, in the opinion of a majority of us in value communicated in writing to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies for the time being, such date should for any reason be deemed inopportune, the question of the date of such issue shall be referred to

whose decision shall be binding and conclusive.

Dated this 15th day of January.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 4.

HIGH COMMISSIONER to Mr. BIRKENRUTH.

DEAR Mr. BIRKENRUTH,

February 16, 1903.

WITH reference to your letter of the 12th February to my Private Secretary, enclosing a proposed form of guarantee in connection with the "War Loan," I am of opinion that it would be preferable that the guarantee should be given not to me but to His Majesty's Government, that is to say, either the Colonial Secretary or the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whichever may be thought best. Personally I am not in a position to commit His Majesty's Government as to the details of the issue of the Loan.

That being so, it is, perhaps, unnecessary for me to discuss the draft which you enclose. But I may just observe that that draft seems to contemplate that the whole of the £30,000,000 should be issued at 4 per cent. Personally I did not so understand the arrangement. I thought we were free to issue all or any part of it at a lower rate of interest if the market justified such a proceeding, although, of

course, if the first £10,000,000 were issued at less than 4 per cent. the guarantee of the houses which contemplated a 4 per cent. issue at par would fall to the ground.

Yours, &c.,  
MILNER.

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No. 5.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received March 16, 1903.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 23, 1903.  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 16th of February,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter from Mr. E. Birkenruth on the subject of the proposed form of guarantee for the "War Loan."

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 5.

THE CONSOLIDATED GOLD FIELDS OF SOUTH AFRICA, LIMITED, to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

The Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Limited,  
DEAR LORD MILNER, Johannesburg, February 17, 1903.

I BEG to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, contents of which I have communicated to the other "guarantors."

Personally I share the view you take (and I imagine it will be shared also by all who are interested in the matter) with regard to the terms of issue.

Believe me, &c.,  
E. BIRKENRUTH.

To His Excellency  
Viscount Milner, G.C.M.G., &c.,  
Johannesburg.

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No. 6.

MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received April 1, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 7.]

120, Bishopsgate Street Within,

MY LORD,

London, E.C., March 31, 1903.

WITH reference to our letter of the 24th ultimo,† and Your Lordship's acknowledgment under date of 3rd instant,‡ we shall be glad to hear whether His Majesty's Government is yet in a position to indicate what further steps it desires us to take in the matter of the guarantee of the first instalment of the Transvaal War Contribution Loan.

We might add that the various firms interested in this matter are anxious to come to a settlement as early as possible.

We remain, &c.,  
WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY.

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\* No. 4

† No. 2.

‡ No. 3.

No. 7.

COLONIAL OFFICE to MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT, AND COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

Downing Street, April 9, 1903.

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo,\* in which you enquire whether His Majesty's Government is yet in a position to indicate what further steps you should take with reference to the guarantee of the first instalment of the Transvaal War Contribution Loan.

2. In reply I am to state that as the conditions of guarantee involve some of the terms of issue which will materially affect the success of the Loan, and which it is impossible to fix so far in advance, Mr. Chamberlain thinks that it will be in the interest of all parties not to attempt to define those terms until it is possible to forecast with some certainty the date of the issue of the first instalment.

I am, &c.,  
H. BERTRAM COX.

No. 8.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received April 25, 1903.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, April 6, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of documents on the subject of labour for the mines.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure 1 in No. 8.

EXTRACT from "RAND DAILY MAIL," 1st April, 1903.

Sir George Farrar, who was one of the Transvaal delegates to the recent Inter-Colonial Conference at Bloemfontein, delivered an excellent speech last night at Driefontein, Boksburg, when he addressed a meeting of miners and residents of the East Rand, reviewing the Conference proceedings.

Sir George, who was enthusiastically received, said: It is not the first time by any means that I have been here to speak to the mine employees and residents at this end of the fields. I have been here previously in critical times, when I have seen trouble ahead, trouble which may be caused by misunderstanding, or perhaps by misrepresentation. As you all know, I am one of the largest employers of labour on these fields, and therefore it is my duty at the present juncture to take you thoroughly into my confidence, and explain to you all the problems of the present and future labour difficulties, for with the solution of these problems your welfare is so closely identified. To you who reside in Boksburg, it is a pleasure to see so many of you present to-night, and it is needless for me to say that you cannot prosper unless these mines which surround your town also prosper. It is, therefore, your duty, with due regard to the interests you have at stake, to take an intelligent interest, and assist us to solve this very difficult problem. I not only speak to this large gathering here this evening, but I hope the words I have to say will be carefully read by all working men on the Witwatersrand. I myself have no axe to grind. I have no ulterior motive to serve, and my only policy is to bring back prosperity to this industry, by assisting it to get to work at the earliest possible date. This I say with due regard for the welfare and protection of all you working men here, many of whom have fought in the war, and intend to make this country your home.

\* No. 6.

## RESULT OF THE CONFERENCE.

As you have probably read in the papers, I have been to Bloemfontein as a delegate from this Colony, to attend the Bloemfontein Conference, a Conference held for the purpose of discussing the Customs, railway, and labour questions, and other general subjects of South African interest.\* The conference was under the presidency of our High Commissioner, Lord Milner, and to show you how fully details were discussed, it was not until the third week of the Conference that a decision was arrived at. I shall not worry you with the details of the discussions, but only give you the result. The result is that a Customs Union has been entered into, to date from the 1st July, provided that the Convention be confirmed by the Parliaments of Natal and Cape Colony, and by the Legislative Councils of the Orange River Colony, Rhodesia, and this Colony. The outcome of this Customs Union will be that all Customs duties will be collected at the coast. Transit dues will be abolished, and the cost of collecting the duties will be charged to you at a reasonable rate. There will be a free interchange of South African products, except, I hope, in brandy, and there will be a material reduction to you in the rate of import duties. There will be a preferential tariff of 25 per cent. in favour of all British products and manufactures, but I am glad to say the Mother Country is not asked to give us reciprocity in return, since, on account of her present fiscal policy, it is impossible for her to do so. The same preferential treatment will be given to the other British Colonies, on condition that they give us the same in return.

## COST OF LIVING.

Now, at the Conference, the whole question of the enormous cost of living up here was gone into, and the great fight which took place was due to the representatives of this Colony insisting on a substantial reduction in the price of foodstuffs, in order that the working men might be enabled to live far cheaper than at present. For instance, you know that it costs a man almost double as much to live here as it does in the United States. Well, I am very glad to say that the result of the reduction in railway rates will be that the rates on groceries and foodstuffs will be materially reduced, and that also the rates on all building materials will be lowered. But I need not go further into the matter, because the details of the reductions have been made public. You will therefore see that our main effort at Bloemfontein was directed towards alleviating the position of our working classes here. At first we were offered an all-round reduction, and this we could have had, but we declined, saying that by far the greatest reduction must be on the cost of living, and therefore it is on this account that the freight on mining machinery and stores will not be reduced. The railway reductions, therefore, and the Customs Union, if confirmed by the various Parliaments, will come into force simultaneously on July 1st. To sum up the position, I think the result of our visit to Bloemfontein will be that you will be saved in taxation an amount of from £800,000 to £1,000,000 a year, half of which concession has been contributed by the maritime States.

## REDUCTIONS IN FOODSTUFFS.

Now to enable the storekeepers to give you the benefit of these reductions in groceries and foodstuffs, I think the copper coinage should be brought into circulation. My attendance at the Conference has, moreover, more than ever impressed me with the necessity for growing more produce in this Colony. The rainfall is more regular than in most parts of South Africa, and if we can only discover some artificial manure in the bye-products of the mines or the dynamite factory there is no reason why this Colony should not produce a large proportion of the mealies, vegetables, milk, and butter required by this community. It is needless for me to tell you that if this Customs Union is ratified, it will become a great Commercial Union, a Union which may in time extend after Responsible Government has been given you into a still greater Union, uniting all people of this country together into one great Federation.

Now, gentlemen, at the Conference the representatives of the maritime Colonies naturally fought for their own interests, but when they saw the justice of the claims of the inland States, and when they recognised how much these States had suffered by the war, they gave way like statesmen, and practically yielded everything the inland States asked for. Although it was a great fight, yet the feeling was always of the best, and the two Premiers of the self-governing Colonies, Sir Gordon Sprigg and Sir Albert Hime, behaved in the fairest and most broad-minded spirit.

I must also place on record the absolute fairness of Lord Milner; he stated that, in the Conference, he should regard the Transvaal to all intents and purposes as a self-governing State. Therefore the unofficial members as representing the Transvaal were absolutely given a free hand in asking for what this Colony was justly entitled to, and from what we asked we never wavered, nor were we influenced at any time to give away what we considered to be our just rights. I would like here to say that through all the negotiations the Orange River Colony behaved most loyally to the people of this Colony. They recognised that in one particular, that is, on the question of railways, there was a community of interest, a community which I hope will last and grow into an ever-increasing unity.

## NATIVE LABOUR QUESTION.

Now, gentlemen, we have finished the Customs question, which has no doubt been a pleasant subject to you, and we now come on to what has become in the minds of some people, through misrepresentation, an unpleasant subject. I refer to the question of native labour, and the

\* See [Cd. 1640] containing Minutes of Proceedings of the Bloemfontein Conference.

question of alien immigration. The outcome of the deliberations of the Bloemfontein Conference on the labour question is embodied in the resolutions which were published last week, and which have been distributed to you in the room this evening; there is, therefore, no necessity for me to go through them. On the native labour question the experts who discussed the matter were Mr. Stanford, the Administrator of the Transkei, probably one of the most able men on native questions in South Africa; Mr. Moor, the Minister of Native Affairs in Natal; for the Orange River Colony, Mr. Blignaut, who was a member of the late Orange Free State Government; Sir Godfrey Lagden, your most able Administrator for Native Affairs of this Colony; and Mr. Taylor, the Administrator for Native Affairs in Rhodesia. Now, gentlemen, what do these men say? They say that forced labour, that is, the Government bringing pressure on natives to work for private enterprise, is out of the question, and that no civilised country will tolerate it. They hold that the evils of polygamy, of which so much has been said, are greatly exaggerated, and that through civilisation and the use of the plough it has greatly decreased. There is also a strong opinion, especially in the upper states of Natal, that the natives should receive no political status, but this has been provided for by the Peace of Vereeniging, which makes it impossible for the native to receive any political status until such time as the new Colonies receive Responsible Government; and I feel sure that the majority of the people in these States will be absolutely adverse to the native receiving any political status. The Conference also confirmed the principle of total prohibition to natives of intoxicating drink, and, moreover, upheld that the reservation by the State of land for the sole use of the native, protection from violence, and other advantages of civilisation involved special obligations on his part to the State. This means that natives must pay a due proportion of taxation for the privileges of the protection and government they receive. Here, as you know, there is a poll-tax of £2 per head on every adult native, and £2 for every additional wife. This tax, if collected, will yield about £250,000 per annum, and when compared with the current native wage, is, in my opinion, sufficient. Some people are not satisfied and wish to raise the tax to a much higher figure, with a system of rebate to those who will work a portion of the year, but this, to my mind, means nothing but forced labour. I am told that any radical change in the laws relating to the natives in the self-governing States would certainly not be tolerated. There is already a very dangerous sect called the Ethiopian Episcopal Church at work amongst the natives, preaching seditious doctrine, especially in regard to their position in connection with the white man, and any radical legislation which would disturb the minds of the natives might probably incite them against the white man, only bringing in its wake trouble and unrest. For instance, civilisation amongst the natives is doing a great deal. It was pointed out that formerly in the Transkei the natives only used blankets and red ochre, but that now both the men and women largely wear clothes and boots, thereby contributing considerably to the indirect taxation of the country; moreover, as their wants increase, so must they necessarily do more work in order to satisfy them. It was, however, suggested that in order to improve the continuity of service on the Rand, we should induce natives to bring their families here. For instance, at the ports in the Cape Colony, locations have been established for boys at work there, which system largely increased their period of service. This plan, I think, if carried out here, would somewhat improve our supply, and the question is now under the consideration of Sir Godfrey Lagden as to whether it can be done.

#### SUPPLY NOT SUFFICIENT.

Let us now consider resolution No. 6, which practically states that the labour supply in South Africa south of the Zambesi is not sufficient for our normal or future requirements, and that, therefore, fresh recruiting fields are necessary; also that all British possessions in South, Central, and East Africa shall be thrown open to recruiting. Now, what is the population south of the Zambesi? The numbers, compiled by the highest authorities in the country, are as follows:—

Cape Colony	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,500,000
Basutoland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	260,000
Natal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	916,000
Orange River Colony	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	140,000
Transvaal (estimated)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	800,000
Bechuanaland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	130,000
Rhodesia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	314,000
Swaziland (estimated)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	130,000
Portuguese Possessions (estimated)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,500,000
Total (men, women, and children)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,890,000

#### PORTUGUESE—ONE MILLION.

I may here say that the Portuguese representative stated at Bloemfontein that their population is estimated at one million, but I have put it in at a million and a half, so that no one can say that his figure is under-estimated. The most liberal construction you could put upon this total is that possibly one in sixteen of men between eighteen and thirty-six could be induced to work continuously outside their own territories, provided that the various Governments are able to collect fair taxation, and that there are proper facilities for recruiting throughout this vast territory. That is to say, although one in ten might come out for six months, my estimate of one in sixteen for twelve months continuous work in the various towns

and agricultural districts and industrial centres in South Africa is very liberal. This will probably give you about 370,000 natives for the whole of the requirements of South Africa south of the Zambesi. At the same time you must not forget in looking at these figures, that the native is not by nature an industrial worker, but an agricultural worker, and if he can engage in agricultural pursuits he vastly prefers this form of occupation.

#### RAND REQUIREMENTS.

The requirements of labour for the gold and coal mines of this district, and for Johannesburg and suburbs only, as lately compiled by the leading engineers\* are as follows:—

Number of stamp mills, and present and future requirements of native labour for the gold mines of the Witwatersrand, and coal mines, Transvaal, and for the town and suburbs of Johannesburg:—

Number stamp mills working, Witwatersrand, February, 1903, 2,975; ditto, outside districts, February, 1903, 145—3,120.

Number stamp mills working, Witwatersrand, 1899, 5,970; ditto, outside districts, 400—6,370.

Number stamp mills now erected, 6,560; ditto, in contemplation next five years, 5,300—11,860.

A stamp mill crushes about 4 tons per day; daily production with 11,860 stamps, 47,440 tons.

Supply to-day:—Natives now employed on gold mines, Witwatersrand, 53,375; ditto, coal mines, Witwatersrand, 6,796—60,171.

Supply required immediately:—Total requirements, gold mines, Witwatersrand, to-day, 141,250; ditto, coal mines ditto, 10,000—151,250.

Deficiency in supply to-day:—Present shortage of labour, gold mines, Witwatersrand, 87,880; ditto, coal mines, ditto, 3,204—91,084.

Supply required five years hence:—Native labour required five years hence, gold mines, Rand, 250,000; ditto, coal mines, ditto, 25,000—375,000.

Labour supply, town and suburbs, Johannesburg:—Number of natives employed Johannesburg to-day, 35,000; estimated number of natives required five years hence, 60,000.

It is impossible to form an estimate of the requirements of agricultural and outside industries in the Transvaal; these are to-day fairly heavy, and likely to increase steadily.

Summary:—Deficiency of labour required to-day for coal and gold mines, 91,084; labour required five years hence for coal and gold mines, and Johannesburg and suburbs, 300,000.

Add to these the requirements of labour for the construction of the lines as sanctioned by the Conference, which have been estimated at from 30,000 to 40,000 natives. To this again must be added the requirements both agricultural and industrial for the whole of South Africa.

#### ABSORPTION OF LABOUR.

Take now the Transvaal.—Does one consider the labour that is now being absorbed by the army, police, railways, repairs to telegraphs, making good the ravages of war, to say nothing of the wants of the increased white population? When one considers this absorption, and also what labour is now at work on the mines and in Johannesburg—and the various other towns in the Transvaal, one is led strongly to the opinion that there is almost the same amount of labour now working as before the war.

With regard to Rhodesia, the requirements have been estimated by the President of the Chamber of Mines, and are as follows:—

Southern Rhodesia:—Able-bodied adult population, 110,000; (total population, 513,000).

Present requirements: Mines, 16,335; other employment, 19,500—35,835. Short of present requirements: Mines, 4,930; other employment, 2,500—7,430; actually at work, 28,405; of which 14,599 are local natives, and 13,846 are outside natives—28,405. (N.B.—Out of 11,405 boys at work to-day on the mines, only 1,779 are local boys.) Future requirements: Mines, 25,000; other employment, 30,000; total, 55,000. Plus present requirements: 35,835. Grand total, 90,835.

It may be that these estimated requirements would be found excessive, as it may, of course, be possible to bring in more labour-saving machinery, but it must always be remembered that in labour-saving machinery the cost of maintenance, at the high cost of skilled labour that we shall always have to pay, must be taken into consideration. Even making every allowance, it must be evident to all how inadequate the supply of labour is for the great and increasing demands of South Africa. Now, people have the opinion that natives do not work. Let us take some of the figures given by the South African authorities. For instance, in the Transkei, with a population of 810,000, 80,000 natives now go out to work outside their territory to various industrial centres. Mr. Stanford hopes that this will be increased to 100,000. He, however, states that these men only go out to work for six months in the year, so that for continuous work the above numbers must evidently be halved. Then we come to Natal, where everyone says that the natives do not work. I understand that out of a population of 916,000, approximately 180,000 natives are workers for an average period of five months in the year, but it is estimated that only about 18,000 of these go outside the boundaries of Natal. In addition, they have on order in India 17,000 indentured Indians. You will see, therefore,

\* See Report printed as Appendix.

that the estimate of one in sixteen of the whole population being workers is a liberal estimate of the number of able-bodied men which can be counted on as labourers. That finishes the question of demand and supply of native labour south of the Zambesi.

#### EXTENDING RECRUITING AREA.

I now come to the Conference Resolution No. 9, which advocates extending the recruiting area in South Africa and also across the Zambesi. This means that Natal, I hope, will become an open field for recruiting, and also Rhodesia, but in dealing with these countries, you must always bear in mind the figures I have given you, which show their own local demands, and when their railways are built, their demands will grow further. South of the Zambesi, we still have German North-West territory. The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association have sent there, and we might be able to obtain 1,000 natives, but the terms are so onerous and as there will be no prospect of getting any more, this source of supply is, therefore, of little or no use. North of the Zambesi, we have sent to Mossamedes, the Portuguese West Coast possessions, and we find that the authorities are against our bringing labour here. Furthermore, we have enquired into the prospect of getting labour in Monrovia and Liberia. We might possibly get from there a certain number of Ethiopian Episcopal gentlemen, but I do not think their increased presence in this country would be desirable. Again we have received offers from Morocco, probably the devastated hordes of the Sultan's army. These I do not think would be desirable natives of Africa to settle in this country. We have also enquired into the labour supply of Egypt, but we are given to understand that the supply is not sufficient for their local requirements. We then come to the districts of Uganda and British East Africa. I do not think that the population in these districts is what it has been represented to be, owing to tribal wars and the scourge of sleeping sickness. Moreover, when a country has spent £9,000,000 on a railway, it also hopes to develop industries of its own, and to employ its own natives. In British Central Africa, we have received permission to recruit a thousand natives, and I hope we shall get eventually a certain number of men from that district, but if they are only to be engaged for one year, as stated in the press telegram, then, taking into consideration that we have to bring them down, teach them their work, and repatriate them, such a short contract, I think, would be of little use. I trust, therefore, that the Foreign Office will see its way to extend the terms of their engagement. We must remember also that in British Central Africa they are building a railway themselves and they naturally require a certain amount of labour. We may, however, get a certain number of natives from this district, but the idea of obtaining a large supply, will, I think, be entirely out of the question. Finally, we have the Portuguese territories north of the Zambesi, from which I hope we shall some day be able to draw a supply, when law and order exist, but I must say that our last attempt at recruiting in this district terminated in the murder of two recruiters. You will, therefore, judge for yourselves what prospects there are of getting labour north of the Zambesi, and at the same time you must always bear in mind that in years to come these countries will have their own industries, for which they will require a large amount of labour. I think now you will agree that I have exhausted the question of native labour supply.

#### QUESTION OF WAGES.

Now, gentlemen, some of you will say that there is plenty of labour in South Africa, others again will say that there is not enough, but probably many of you will say that we have not given it a fair trial; also that we made a great blunder in reducing the wages, and that we created the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association instead of allowing free recruiting as in the days before the war. As to the reduction of wages, I have no defence to make. The only thing I can point out to you is that, had it been possible to keep the wages down to a fair remuneration, it would have been better for the whole of South Africa, but still the question of supply and demand must ever be a factor in the case. We pay now the same wages as we did before the war, and if it is possible to get more labour, I am prepared to pay even a higher wage. But you must always remember that if the mines pay a higher wage, you also have to pay more for your kitchen boy, and the farmer has to pay more for his labourers, which at to-day's rate of wages makes farming an impossibility.

#### W.N.L.A.'s DIFFICULTIES.

Now, as to the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, you say that if we will only return to the old order of recruiting we shall get plenty of boys. I must confess that this is hardly my opinion. I think the Association has had great difficulties to face, but my mind is quite open, and I say that as we were wrong about the scale of pay, so we may be wrong as regards this Association, and unless the present position changes very quickly, I for one would not oppose free recruiting in the same districts as before the war. What I want, however, to know is this: when we have all been forced to admit that the demand is much greater than the supply, where are we going to look for labour? Supposing we raise our wages. Supposing free recruiting be re-established, and supposing even then we do not get labour, where do you propose that we should look? Now, I am quite at one with you when you say that we have not exhausted the maximum number of boys Africa can produce, but as I hear that the crops are in places a failure this year, we shall obtain a very fair idea of what labour this country can produce under the most propitious circumstances. But supposing, after all, we do not get an adequate supply of labour, what are we going to do? Supposing we have, unfortunately, to look outside Africa for labourers, it would take at least eighteen months to two years to bring them here, and should I be worthy of the position I hold as trustee for the enormous amount of capital invested here by shareholders if I did not look at least eighteen months ahead, and it is for this reason that we have sent competent advisers to make enquiries in the East.



## A NATIONAL QUESTION.

Now, I come back to the opinion of the Conference on this point. What did the Conference think? The Conference says that the prosperity of the mines is not a Johannesburg question only; it is a question on which the whole of South Africa depends; that it is even a national question. These mines are the largest gold producers in the world, and it is absolutely absurd to think that they should be crippled for want of labour. Surely common-sense says that if you cannot get labour in Africa, you must get it elsewhere and get to work. Now, there is an insidious doctrine advocated by people in this community that you should use the labour supply of this country, but that outside this you shall not go, and, therefore, that you must regulate your output accordingly. That doctrine, gentlemen, which would mean ruination to us all, I am prepared to fight. Moreover, I think that when Consols are down to 90, it is high time that people woke up, and began to realise the seriousness of the position.

If the Governments of these Colonies had money, it would be a different thing; but what is the position of this Government financially, and those of all the Colonies of South Africa? This Government requires immediately £65,000,000; the Cape Colony requires money for all its railway extensions, and Natal requires money.

## AUSTRALIAN FINANCES.

To go outside Africa, New Zealand requires money; Australia, suffering from drought, requires money; whilst in Great Britain the annual estimates of expenditure exceed the revenue and in addition to this they will probably require large funds for the Irish Land Purchase Bill. No wonder money is scarce when the production and buying power of these fields has been stopped for three years, and when we consider the enormous cost of the war. Beyond these points, you have to look at the value of your mining investments. Shareholders have been very patient—will their patience last for ever, if the miserable doctrine of delay and declining to face the real position is allowed to prevail, in fact, if we absolutely shut the door to all labour supply from outside Africa? If this policy is pursued, I indeed think that shareholders will be justified in realising their holdings, and seeking investments in other parts of the world.

## THE SUPPLY INADEQUATE.

Now, all these vital questions the Conference realised. They laid down in clause 8 that the native population south of the Zambesi does not comprise a sufficient number of adult males capable of work to satisfy the normal requirements of the several Colonies, and at the same time furnish an adequate amount of labour for the large industrial and mining centres. The Conference, therefore, after long discussion, finally passed the following resolution:—

“This Conference is of opinion that the permanent settlement in South Africa of Asiatic races would be injurious, and should not be permitted. But that if industrial development positively requires it, the introduction of unskilled labourers, under a system of Government control only, by which provision is made for indenture and repatriation at the termination thereof, should be permissible.”

I may tell you that the question arose through the fact that it was desirable to have common legislation as to alien immigration into South Africa of both black and white. It was, therefore, at first proposed that Asiatic immigration into South Africa be permissible solely under Government control, provided, if possible, it be indentured and repatriated at the termination of the period of its engagement. Now the resolution in this form I absolutely opposed. I have been in the country twenty-five years, and I have seen the evil of the Indians holding land and trading in competition with white people, and on no account whatever would I be a party to any legislation that permitted this. You in Boksburg are agitating against Indians coming into the country, and against them trading and holding land. I am absolutely at one with you. There are 50,000 free Indians in Natal to-day; they are creeping in daily. We see them on the mines, we see them everywhere. I consider it imperative that the Government should legislate against their coming here, and, therefore, I entirely supported and voted for the resolution in the present form, which was eventually carried. It means that if Asiatic labourers unfortunately have to be brought into this country, they can only be brought in under Government control, and only as unskilled labourers, prohibited to trade, prohibited to hold land, or compete with any white man; and that they should be carefully indentured, and be repatriated at the termination of the period of their engagement to the country from whence they came. In fact, to make the rules more stringent, it is advocated that the date of the expiry of the indenture should terminate in their own country. Now, you Boksburg gentlemen, who have been agitating so much against the introduction of the Asiatic, if you support this resolution, I think that legislation, if carried out in terms of this resolution, will meet all your objections, with which I have always been in entire agreement.

Now, I come to one of the most important parts of my speech, where I have to explain my views to the workmen on these mines, and also to all the workmen on the Rand. Now, I may ask, how have these fields been built up? What have been the conditions of labour? They have been these: White skilled labour at high wages has been employed in conjunction with unskilled coloured labour in the proportion approximately of one to eight. It is true that the wages of the skilled men have been high, and in my opinion they will always remain high, because the skilled labour we require ranks with the best quality in the world. Now, since the war, we have been short of native labour, and owing to that shortage and in order to assist some of those who so gallantly fought in the war, a large amount of unskilled white labourers have been employed. This has been done as a temporary measure, with a

view to assisting those, who are unskilled, to become skilled, and to find permanent employment. During the past six months there has been a great controversy on the question of unskilled white labour, and we have heard the usual cry of those who knowing nothing of this country come to teach us our business which has taken us years to learn. At first they tell us we must send all our natives on to the land, and use nothing but unskilled white labourers in their places. That would mean that only the richest mines on these fields would be able to work, even if the wages of the skilled workmen were reduced by one half. Then we have the cry: "You must see what black labour there is in the country, and make up with unskilled white labour."

I think, as a temporary expedient a certain amount of unskilled white labour can be used, but it will not solve the great problem you have in front of you. Supposing for instance, unskilled white labour were to be largely used, it means that the price of your unskilled white labour is regulated by the price of your unskilled coloured labour, therefore, it means that we should have to find the cheapest class of unskilled white labour that would be prepared to compete. That means subsidising labour, in other words, bringing it into this country from all the sources of Europe. What would be the inevitable result? Why, that this unskilled labour would very soon become skilled labour, and compete against you. For my part, I am absolutely against indentured cheap white labour. Many of you were here before the war, and bore the brunt of the very anxious times that we have been through, and I say that if white labourers are to come into this country, let them come in of their own accord. The whole country is open to the white man who wants to make this country his home, let him, therefore, come in, not subsidised, but as a free agent, and compete in the open market for wages, which are always a question of supply and demand. You use to-day native coloured labour—and what are your special objections to bringing in unskilled Asiatic labour to make up the deficiency? They are these: that he might remain in the country, become a tradesman and compete against you, in which case you are afraid that you see Asiatic carpenters, fitters, &c., in fact, Asiatics in all the branches of skilled trade. Now what is my answer to this? My answer is, that it is quite possible to bring in Asiatic labourers properly indentured, solely under Government control (for instance, take the Trinidad Ordinance), and at the end of their contract to return them or repatriate them to the country from whence they came, not letting a single man remain behind. They must come here absolutely as unskilled labourers only, and, therefore, in order that your position may be absolutely secure, I would guarantee never to consent to any legislation on this question unless the following restrictions are embodied in that legislation:—

No mining, trading, spirit, or other licence whatsoever shall be granted to any immigrant or to any other person on behalf of, or as agent or trustee for any immigrant, nor shall it be lawful for any immigrant to hold any land, buildings, or fixed property, *mijnpachts*, claims or any right to minerals or precious stones either in his own name, or in the name of any other person on behalf of, or as agent or trustee for him, or be registered as a voter.

No immigrant shall be imported otherwise than as an unskilled labourer in this Colony, nor shall any immigrant be employed in, or undertake on his own behalf any work other than work ordinarily done by unskilled native labourers on mines in this Colony, and in particular and by way of enumeration, and not by way of limitation, no immigrant shall carry on any of the following trades or occupations—that is to say—carpenter, blacksmith, mason, electrician, bricklayer, fireman, amalgamator, assayer, miller, timberman, banksman, pumpman, platelayer, shipman, brickmaker, fitter, turner, or shopman generally, engine driver, wire-splitter and rigger, boiler-maker, patternmaker, sampler (mine and cyanide), cyanide shiftman, gardener, stoper or miner, drill sharpener, machineman, pipeman, trammer (underground and surface), millwright, sorting or crushing station overseer, hawker, shopkeeper, general or special trader, nor shall any immigrant hold a blasting certificate, or be employed in any clerical work on a mine or elsewhere.

If such enactments become law, then I consider that your position could be rendered secure. Surely you do not imagine for a moment that I should be so blind as to advocate the possible eventual introduction of Asiatic labour, if such introduction did not absolutely secure to the merchants, and to you miners, perfect immunity from competition, and absolute freedom from the danger that these labourers would settle in this country afterwards.

#### COST OF ASIATICS.

It has been said, and it will be said again, that we have kept back native labour because we wanted Asiatic labour. Now, let me tell you that Asiatic labour will cost us just as much as native labour costs us to-day, probably more. Moreover, look at the organisation necessary to bring in even 50,000 Asiatics to these fields. For instance, if we bring in Chinese, not only have you to repatriate them, but also in case of death, send their dead bodies back to China. The organisation necessary for carrying out such an undertaking almost frightens me, and makes me sometimes wish that I had not such heavy responsibilities to my shareholders.

Now, you will admit that I have endeavoured to exhaust every argument on this question. The position I take up is that, as we have opened up these fields, so must we continue, and that we can only carry on our work to the best advantage with skilled white labour, and unskilled coloured labour. Look back at the figures I have given you to-day. We are short to-day of practically 90,000 to 100,000 boys. If we could secure this number, it would mean an increase of about 15,000 skilled white men with their families.

Our critics, as you know, have said that the introduction of cheap coloured labour is only advocated for the purpose of increasing dividends. My reply is that it means infinitely more than this, that the value of these fields as a producer, or as a foundation for the expansion of South Africa depends upon the amount of ore that can be realised at a profit. The lower the working costs; therefore, the lower the grade of ore that can be worked, and the greater will be the number of mines open and the white men employed.

#### FIGHTING FOR A PRINCIPLE.

Now, gentlemen, I have dealt most fully with, I think, the most important subject since the early days preceding the war, and I am fully aware that in advocating this policy, I am a candidate for the position of the most unpopular man on the Rand; but I intend to fight for the principle which I lay down as follows, that if after reasonable time it has unfortunately been proved that there is not sufficient labour in Africa, then that the door shall be opened for the introduction of Asiatic labour under the legislation which I have thus roughly laid down for you to-night, so that our shareholders and the world at large may know that you are determined to restore this enormous industry to its fullest extent of production, an industry on which to-day the prosperity of the whole of South Africa is dependent. The principle that I have put before you to-night may be at fault, but if I am wrong I hope that the least you will do will be to believe that I am honest, and that I have proved in the days gone by that I have the interests of this country at heart, as deeply as any other man in South Africa, and, therefore, I sincerely hope that you will endorse the resolutions as passed at the Bloemfontein Conference. This question will not be decided in a day, but it will be discussed up and down the reef for many months to come, but I should like before closing to say to you that I always consider that my first duty is to my own men, and to the residents of this district who are so closely interested with us. I have, therefore, considered it my duty to come and tell you my ideas and my policy, so that if mischief, misrepresentation, and trouble arise, you can never turn round on me and say I never came to you and advised you what was for the best.

The speech was well received by the very large gathering—the building was crowded and two or three hundred persons ranged themselves outside the windows. Mr. Mather (Miners' Association), Mr. Pryce Rosser (Wolhuter mine), Mr. Outhwaite (White League), Mr. Constable (Boksburg), Mr. S. W. Fursey (Trades' Unionist), and the Rev. C. E. Greenfield, all took part in the very animated, but friendly discussion which followed. A descriptive account of the enthusiastic proceedings will be published in to-morrow's "Rand Daily Mail."

#### Enclosure 2 in No. 8.

EXTRACT from "TRANSVAAL LEADER," April 2nd, 1903.

"We pledge ourselves to prevent by every means in our power the carrying into effect the proposal for the introduction of Asiatics to work in the mines and other industries of the Transvaal."

Five thousand voices took that pledge in the Wanderers last night at a meeting which, in size and enthusiasm was strongly reminiscent of some of the famous gatherings held in the historic hall in pre-war days, when interest in high politics ran high. Ever since the British occupation the *bête noir* of the mineowners has been the scarcity of native labour, and now their suggested solution of the difficulty has become the *bête noir* of the mine workers and a section of the general public. The case for the owners was ably put on Tuesday evening by Sir George Farrar, President of the Chamber of Mines; last night the other side of the question was championed by Advocate Hutchinson and Mr. J. W. Quinn. At both meetings the greatest interest was shown in the all-important subject. At both the verdict went against the Asiatic.

Last night's mass meeting was organised by the Central Branch of the White League, the Association recently formed to fight all forms of colour and to win the Transvaal for the white man and the white man alone. The League first turned its attention to Indian and other coloured traders, and in more than one town along the reef their efforts have resulted in the expulsion of every yellow storekeeper. The League has now commenced a campaign against the importation of Asiatics to supplement the labour supply for the mines, and that their cause is strongly supported by the working classes was unmistakably proved last evening.

The Wanderers' Hall was crowded in every part by an audience which cheered to the echo every argument and every invective against the yellow labourer, and—which seemed less called for—hissed the name of every mineowner mentioned, including Sir George Farrar and Sir Percy Fitzpatrick. On the platform beside the Chairman (Mr. F. R. MacDonald) were a few well-known gentlemen and a number of ladies, but the meeting was essentially a working-men's one.

The Witwatersrand Trades' and Labour Council sent the following resolution:—"That this meeting of the above Council is in complete accord and sympathy with the meeting called to protest against the threatened invasion of Asiatics in this Colony."

"We give below a lengthy account of the proceedings.

## THE PROCEEDINGS.

The Chairman explained that the meeting was called by the Central Branch of the White League to discuss the all-important question occupying all their minds. He asked Mr. Hutchinson to propose the resolution to be put before the meeting. (Applause.)

Mr. Hutchinson, who was received with applause, said the resolution he proposed submitting was, in the fewest possible words, expressive of opposition to the project which we had heard so much of lately, namely that of introducing Asiatics to work in the mines and industries of the Transvaal. And by Asiatics he understood primarily Chinese and their kindred races, those who inhabited the central and eastern portions of the continent of Asia and the neighbouring islands. He had probably been asked to take a responsible position that night owing to the fact that he had had some opportunities of witnessing the evil consequences of allowing Asiatics to obtain a footing among European communities—(applause)—such as California and the Australasian Colonies, and he dared say that there was not a Californian or an Australasian in that great number who, hoping to make the Transvaal his home, did not look with detestation and alarm at such a proposition. (Applause.) The enormity of the danger was that the evil could not be sufficiently appreciated by those who had not seen it in operation, and a further danger was that, if an experiment were tried, it would be found by experience that a long time would be necessary to eradicate the evil results of even an experiment before it was recognised how ghastly a mistake it would be. It was interesting to notice the growth of this proposal. Six months ago it would only have been hinted at with hesitation and met with incredulity. The interval between that and the present time had been used in cultivating the suggestion made by various mines, until now it was advanced with confidence, and would have to be met with all the strength and determination they could oppose to it. (Loud applause.) The great men who controlled the great mining industry of the Rand had hitherto, through the directors of companies, had almost an unchallenged field in the matter of representing the question from their point of view. He desired to speak with all respect of those gentlemen with all the respect due to their ability in having secured the confidence of the great financial centres of the Old World, without whose assistance the development of the Rand would not have been so extended as it had been up till now. But he claimed the right to freely criticise their actions in respect of a matter of such vital public importance as this. (Prolonged applause.) And he must say that, with all their astuteness, they appeared to him to have under-estimated the depth of public feeling that they have aroused—(loud applause)—and that the public would not be frightened or cajoled into making or allowing such a retrograde movement as that suggested—a movement which it would take more than all the wealth of the Rand, in his opinion, to compensate. (Hear, hear.) He was glad that the Press had led the way in opposition to this design, and such evidence as was afforded by that big meeting was proof that the public had at last been roused, and had on such a question as this more than a general interest. In every civilised country in the world, almost without exception, the precious metals were declared to be the property of the State—(applause)—and the opening words of the Gold Law were: The right of mining, for and disposing of all the precious metals belongs to the State to the public at large. No doubt, for economic reasons, it was well that these points [? rights] should be delegated—should be licensed upon conditions, but it appeared to him that the gold magnates too often forgot that they were not the proprietors, but the lessees (Applause.) They were the trustees of everyone in the Transvaal, and they owned their rights subject to this condition, that nothing should be done in developing these precious metals to the detriment of the State. (Loud cheers.) And he asked them whether it would not be detrimental to the State in the best degree if those comparatively few, but powerful, people, introduced Asiatics to this their country? (Hear, hear.) He had spoken of Asiatics as comprising more especially the Mongolian races of Asia. Centuries of recession had debased them, had made them servile and cruel; the constant and ever-increasing pressure of population had cheapened their life, so that the Chinaman could be backed to overreach and undersell any other person brought into contact with him. They were industrious, they were frugal to a proverb, they were diligent, and it might be said, "Why then, object to them coming here?" It was because they were on a different footing to us. To meet them in competition, we would have to cancel ten centuries of civilization, and then they could not do it because the progress of these ages have made them no match for the Chinese. ("Oh, oh.") In California, 50 years ago, the gold discoveries attracted, among others, Chinese, and there was no objection made. But soon the trouble arose, and since then the most oppressive legislation had been taken by America to exclude them from the country on any terms whatever. But to-day the blot remained in Frisco, in that part called Chinatown, the population of which was not known, but which might be estimated at from 50,000 to 80,000. Into Chinatown even the police in strength could not penetrate, so debased, so lawless, so horrid was that community. The Chinaman had also followed the track of gold in the Australian Colonies, and had been admitted. It was said, however, that here every precaution would be taken to prevent the Chinese from mixing with the general community, and that they would be sent back to their own country when their term of service was over. (Applause.) It was suggested that the first batch to be obtained should number 10,000, and they would have seen from the newspapers that day that Sir George Farrar estimated that after five years there would be about 300,000. (Hisses.) They would first have 10,000, which number would be increased to 50,000, and further increased until at the end of five years they would have 300,000 Asiatics. Then, when the time came to send back the first lot, another larger lot would be coming, so that, presumably, the number coming in would not be less than the numbers going out. It would require a larger fleet of steamers than was employed in bringing out the British Army to South Africa. (Laughter.) The Indian Ocean would be covered with transports coming and going. (Hear, hear.) The idea was ridiculous, impracticable, and absurd. Let them suppose that some ten thousand were introduced, and see what would be the position of things at the end of the first twelve months. They would be in sealed compounds at the

several mines, and would be of no use whatever to the traders of the town. (Hear, hear.) Their miserable food and clothing would be indented for from a distance, and not one article would be obtained in the city. He made bold to say that, at the end of the first twelve months, there would not be a white man working underground, unless it were a few shift bosses, and not many overground either. It was absurd to say that the Chinese would only be employed in unskilled labour. Once they were imported, they would be employed in skilled labour if they became proficient. There were a great many of them who would become very skilful, if they were not already so. It would be perfectly absurd to say that they would not be employed in rock-drill work and where their abilities would seem to make them most useful. At the end of the first twelve months there would probably be not a single white man employed underground. The sealed compounds would become Chinatowns, and the Chinese would be living better than the white people. European doctors would, in justice to their own people, have retired. These miserable people would come and go their way into their fetid dens. There would be inspectors, but imagine anyone going through these places amongst the fumes of crude opium. The opium would not be a curse under the circumstances. It would be a solace and a quieter of quarrels. One thing it would perhaps make life shorter to the people living under such conditions. And now the coil came to the end of the five years. They would have 300,000 Chinese, as many as the whole white population of the Transvaal put together. Did they mean to say that the Chinese could be dealt with as they or their governors could desire. The foreigners would hold it in their hands to do just as they pleased. Why was this yellow horror to be brought upon us? Because it was stated the supply of black labour available for the mines of South Africa was insufficient. He begged leave to say that there had been no sufficient criterion to warrant their coming to such a conclusion. Since the war there had been an era of undisturbed rest. As many of them knew, the Kaffir's money had been plentiful through the war, but the number of natives obtainable for domestic and other purposes had been greater since the war than before. And now he wished to be permitted to say what was the underlying cause of a great deal of this insufficiency of labour. It was the number of low-grade mines on the Rand—mines in which these gentlemen, who were also powerful in the legitimate proposals, were interested on behalf of themselves and the shareholders whose capital they had been entrusted with. These low-grade mines were the crux of the whole disquiet and unrest which prevailed. They would be worked at a living wage, consequently it was necessary, in the opinion of these gentlemen, that wages, or working costs as they were called, should be reduced. In 1897, under the Boer regime, there was an Industrial Commission. It was said to be composed of men influential in connection with every industry, who gave evidence with the object of reducing the rate of Kaffir's wages by 33 per cent. That, however, was in the year 1897, and in the year 1898, when there were a lot of natives incapacitated through the promiscuous liquor traffic, the gold yield was 10½ millions sterling, and dividends were paid at 2½ millions. Next year the gold yield increased to 15 millions, and dividends were 5 millions sterling.

In the second year of the war there was a conference of mining representatives at Cape Town, when it was resolved that on the re-opening of the mines the Kaffir wages should be reduced 33 per cent. They would see then that under the British administration those having control of the mines, having failed under the Boer regime, put into practice this resolution as soon as possible. They knew that the rate of wages to Kaffirs was not 45s. per month but 30s., and that continued until within two months ago. The Kaffir was a savage and had been a child, but was not so much a child as not to know the difference between 45s. and 30s.—(cheers)—and he was sufficient of a savage to resent that reduction. (Cheers.) Consequently, until two months ago, wages had been reduced, so as to explain, almost to demonstration, why it was there was a deficiency in black labour. On the resumption of the old rate of wages, had not, he asked, the returns demonstrated beyond doubt that a large cause in the deficiency in the labour supply was due to the reduction of wages—(cheers)—for in February, the shortest month in the year, there had been an increase, and the month just ended had been called a record. These were patent facts, but the evil, the trouble, still remained. Low grade mines could not be worked at the present rate of wages. The running costs, as they were called, were too high, and the change reluctantly made by the Chamber of Mines did not remove the trouble. The payment of Chinese would be 7½d. per day, or, taking it by the month, 17s. 6d., and including travelling expenses, policing, &c., it would not exceed 25s. per month, as against 45s. to the Kaffir. That was the inducement, and he would ask them to keep that in mind. Tracing the growth of the question, he remarked that, perhaps, it was merely a coincidence that it took place shortly after Mr. Chamberlain's visit. The Chamber of Mines, quite naturally, had sent a missionary to China for information—(laughter)—but he had not gone north-east where China lay, but north-west where London lay. They had been told by the Chamber of Mines that the heads of information that were required were: (1) Number available; (2) the facilities of obtaining them; (3) the difficulties in the way; (4) the cost of transport; and (5) wages. The Chamber of Mines occasionally offered a prize of £500, and if they had offered such a prize they could have got here all the information they would get the other way, and much more cheaply too than the missionary would cost. He himself would have been inclined to enter such a competition, and would have said that the number available in the Chinese Empire alone was 427,000,000. As to facilities, that depended very much on the secret service run by the Chamber of Mines. The difficulties could be removed, money could do a great deal. Cost of transport could be fixed at £12 a head, with a reduction for a quantity—(laughter)—and the wages would be 7½d. per day. The next step in the campaign had been well sustained—despair on the part of the Chairman of meetings of shareholders. One after another had taken up the wail. Great regret had been expressed that certain recourse must be made to Asia. That had been the plea during the last few months, and these representations had been cabled to England and to the Continent, and they had been monopolising the

voice of the Transvaal. Now they must be corrected. (Cheers.) Lately there had been an inter-Colonial Conference at Bloemfontein, composed of some 26 delegates, not counting the Portuguese representatives, and of these six represented the Transvaal. If that was the sort of representative assembly at Bloemfontein to speak for the Transvaal, then they were, in what Shakespeare would call, "a parlous plight." They had Sir George Farrar—(hisses)—who very ably represented the mines and Chinese labour, and who was quite frank about it. Next they had Mr. W. Hosken—(boo's)—well and favourably known as the managing director of the dynamite factory, a survival of the greatest corruption that had been attributed to the old Boer Government. The other was Mr. N. J. Breytenbach. He had been trying to find out who Mr. Breytenbach was, but no one seemed to know. He had even asked a policeman. (Laughter.) Whom did Mr. Breytenbach represent, and who was he after all. The other twenty making up the quorum were called together at Bloemfontein ostensibly to discuss Customs duties and other questions of common South African interest. There were also representatives of the Orange River Colony, chosen in much the same way as those from the Transvaal. Then there was Sir Gordon Sprigg and a following, Sir Albert Hime and his following, and a delegation from Rhodesia. All those sat in conference, and came to resolutions which would be interpreted as that meeting's views, unless those present that night gave an emphatic negative to all of them. These resolutions were ten in number, but the only one of real consequence was No. 8. "That this Conference, after ascertaining all the available statistics, and hearing reports from the highest official sources of the several States, has come to the conclusion that the native population of Africa, south of the Zambesi, does not comprise a sufficient number of adult males, capable of work, to satisfy the normal requirements of the several Colonies, and, at the same time, furnish an adequate amount of labour for the large industrial and mining centres, &c., . . . . . Under these circumstances, it is evident to the Conference that new sources of labour supply are requisite in the interest of all the South African States." There was not a word about Asiatics, but the idea underlay it all. There was no doubt whatever about the meaning of the resolutions come to by the Conference, and come to by those miscellaneous delegates from all over South Africa, speaking on this vital question in the people's name without the people having an opportunity of being heard. (Cheers.) The speaker then referred to what had been said by Sir George Farrar on the subject of indentures at the meeting the previous evening. Sir George, they would remember, had a long list of callings of occupations, some 39 in number, in which he said it would be penal to employ these unskilled Asiatics. The list began with carpenters and ended with holders of explosive certificates. Sir George Farrar made a great point that the introduction of Asiatics should be accompanied by such prohibitions as these. They would fail to find a single word about these in the resolutions of the Bloemfontein Conference, and that was because it was simply absurd to suppose that they were going to have Asiatics in this country, and be able to prevent them from following any trade. (Voice: "Dynamite.") It had been borne in mind that since the war the efficiency of the native had been increased by perhaps 25 per cent. They had to bear that in mind when considering the figures in the able speech delivered by Sir George Farrar. Why should it always be "south of the Zambesi"? North of the Zambesi and south of the equator there was five times the area to what there was south of the Zambesi, and some 16 degrees latitude north of the equator, as the equator broadened out, twenty times more, and excluding altogether that northern part where the Arabs, the Moors, and the Somalis were, there were probably 100,000,000 negroes and Kaffirs available for recruiting among. (Applause.) What was the remedy for all this? As a postulate, the rate of wages must be fixed with regard to the cost of living. For a contented country, they must have a living wage. And then there must be a reduction in the cost of living here. (Applause.) Already they were promised something in that direction from the 1st July, but there was much more to be done in reforming the whole system of taxation. And then—and most important of all—there must be Government control of the labour supply. (Loud applause.) This was a national question and could not be left to a private limited company. (Hear, hear.) This question was vital to the Transvaal, and we would not allow such a company to judge this immense issue for us. (Applause.) The whole process of recruiting and distributing must be under Government control and under a Board sitting with open doors. Let the mining magnates give over, once and for all, the idea of importing Asiatic labour, and concentrate their great abilities in developing the great continent in which he believed there was such an illimitable supply. Let those men become true captains of industry. Let them engrave their names as such in the history of the Colony, or otherwise their names would be remembered with execration as people who wanted to bring the Chinamen into the country. What a travesty it would be, after three years of war, to bring in the Mongolian. ("Boo-oo" and hisses.) Was it for this that Great Britain gave of her bravest and had accumulated a debt greater than all the debts of all the wars of last century? Was it for this that the Colonies of Australia and Canada had also sent the flower of their manhood to help us? ("No.") He need not speak of the sacrifices all had made, but he asked if, after this seed-time of heroism, watered by blood and tears, was the industry, the harvest of the Transvaal, to be reaped by Mongolians. ("No" and prolonged cheers.) The decision must rest in the end with the Home Government, and until we had representative institutions it was only by such gatherings as that that the people could make their voice heard—(applause)—and theirs, he believed, would be heard in England before that time to-morrow, and might also have an echo in those self-governing Colonies which already had felt the suffering of this Chinese curse. It would be reflected also in the other Colonies of this sub-continent which were not to be judged by the action of these delegates at Bloemfontein. (Hear, hear.) Let them with all their power protest against the libel promulgated at the Bloemfontein Conference. He was well assured that if we had representative institutions this question would not be so much as raised to-day, and they would, were it raised, give such an emphatic answer that there would be no trifling with the question. (Hear, hear.) They could save the Transvaal by such meetings as that, and by the expression of opinion they would make that night. (Loud applause.)

There must be no compromise. (Applause.) There must be an out-and-out fight. (Cheers.) He moved, and he asked them to cordially support, the following resolution:—

“We pledge ourselves to prevent by every means in our power the carrying into effect of the proposal for the introduction of Asiatics to work in the mines and other industries of the Transvaal.”

The speaker sat down amidst a tremendous outburst of cheers, which were again and again renewed to the accompaniment of hat-waving and stick-waving, and ended with three rounds of hurrahs for Mr. Hutchinson.

#### MR. QUINN SPEAKS.

Mr. Quinn, in a strongly worded speech, seconded the resolution. Four years ago, he said, he had sat there to move a resolution to this effect: “That this meeting affirm the principle of equal rights for all white men south of the Zambesi.” (Hear, hear.) He little thought at that time he would ever have to stand there to assist in opposing the proposed immigration of Chinese into this country. And he remembered that a lot of the gentlemen now favouring the introduction of Chinese labour were amongst those who had stood there four years ago to insist upon equal rights for all white men south of the Zambesi. This question was the most important that this country had ever been called upon to decide since before the war. It did not only concern Johannesburg but the whole of South Africa. Mr. Quinn then referred to the argument of the pro-Chinese party that they could not get sufficient natives in South Africa, which he described as wrong. He affirmed that the country had not been sufficiently exploited. The Zambesi had not been recruited as it ought to have been. They had left off because a few of the recruiting agents had been killed. After quoting figures to show that before the war there was a sufficient number of natives to work the mines, the speaker stated that the last month had been most successful from a recruiting point of view, and that 7,000 natives had come to the Rand. (Hear, hear.) Since the arrival of Sir Godfrey Lagden, a notable change had taken place in the condition of the natives in regard to housing and food, and he was certain that if this was made generally known there would be a still further increase in the number of natives available for work on the mines. All authorities who had any claim to be listened to were unanimous that it was the greatest curse that could possibly befall the country. Mr. Pickering, one of the greatest authorities living, looked upon it as a crime to introduce Chinamen into a white man's country. When once they got them in no amount of contract could get them out again. The Chinamen would spend nothing here, and he would actually deny the earth the benefit of his mortal remains. (Laughter.) Then, again, what would become of the hundreds of thousands who were now profitably employed in these fields and other places from which, if the Chinamen came, they would be ousted. If the Kaffir could not compete with the Chinaman in the mine he could certainly not compete with him on the ground. The Kaffir would have no chance anywhere against the Chinaman. Then there were the Boers. Had we taken this country from them to hand it over to Chinamen. For his own part, and it was a very serious thing to say, he would a thousand times rather walk out of the country for ever, than see one Chinaman brought in. Sir George Farrar—(a voice: “Bring him here”)—had on two occasions—and Sir George was no coward—said that if he was going to be ruined he was going to fight. When a man like that, enormously wealthy, at this stage of the proceedings talked about ruin, what then, Mr. Quinn asked, was going to become of him and them. Their answer to that was that if they were going to be ruined, before they were ruined they would also fight for it. (Loud applause.)

#### RESOLUTION CARRIED.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried with the greatest acclamation, the building ringing with loudest cheers for many minutes.

On the call for a show of hands against the resolution, two hands were held up, and this led to wild shouts of dissent and cries of “Throw them out.”

The resolution was declared carried by 5,000 votes to 2.

Mr. Mather moved a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, and this having been vociferously accorded, the meeting ended.

No. 9.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received April 25, 1903.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, April 6, 1903.

WITH reference to my despatch of to-day's date,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of the undermentioned document on the subject of labour for the mines.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

\* No. 8.



## Enclosure in No. 9.

EXTRACT from "RAND DAILY MAIL," April 3rd.

## SPEECH BY MR. F. PERRY, CHAIRMAN, WITWATERSRAND NATIVE LABOUR ASSOCIATION.

The first annual meeting of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association was held in the Chamber of Mines yesterday afternoon, when Mr. F. Perry, who was appointed Chairman of the Association two months ago, made a lengthy defence of the Association in reply to the mass of criticism which has been levelled against it, and also dealt with the prospects of obtaining sufficient labour in South Africa.

\* \* \* \* \*

The attendance at the meeting included, in addition to the Chairman, Messrs. H. F. Strange, S. Evans, F. Drake, R. G. Fricker, M. Francke, Leon Sutro, J. G. Hamilton, A. Stone, G. H. Goch, F. Fergusson, F. W. Diamond, H. C. Boyd, H. R. Calvert, S. C. Black, W. Dettelbach, E. J. Way, L. Reyersbach, B. Kitzinger, J. L. Kuhlmann, E. Fraser, R. S. Strakosch, R. Heymann, H. P. Fraser, G. R. Airth, F. H. de Roos, T. J. M. McFarlane (Joint General Manager), and H. W. P. Steeds (Secretary).

## CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

The Chairman said: As it falls to me to move the adoption of the first annual report of the Native Labour Association, it is perhaps desirable that I should begin by making certain observations on the work of the Association during the past year and on its present position. I hope you will forgive me if I trespass at some length on your time and patience. In ordinary circumstances it might not be necessary to add very much to the record contained in the reports which are now before you. Unfortunately the circumstances are not ordinary. The question of obtaining native labour for the mines has been brought out of the ordinary run of industrial problems and has become a centre of public controversy. It has come to involve political as well as industrial issues. It has been hotly debated in the press and in the street. Indeed, I am sorry to say, it is the staple topic of common conversation. This Association and its work have been drawn into the discussion generally in the capacity of scapegoat. This was to be expected. We are the responsible body which the mining industry has organised to deal with this question. Our Board of Management is, for practical purposes, a standing committee of the Chamber of Mines, appointed to make provision for the supply of native labour. Since the question has become one of burning public interest, it is our duty to meet public criticism. We owe, not only to our members, but to the public, an explanation of our policy and a statement of our position. I shall endeavour to give you that. To do so, I must, in the first place, analyse the work that has been done in the past year, with especial reference to the attacks that have been made against the principles on which the Association was constituted; and, in the second place, I must summarise the present position and the future prospects of the native labour supply.

## CRITICS CRITICISED.

We have been told from time to time, for the last nine months, that the Native Labour Association is a hopeless failure; that it has not, and never can, obtain any quantity of labour for the mines; that the only salvation of the industry lies in a return to the old system of free and independent touting, which would at once provide all the labour required. Long before I was personally connected with the Association, before I had any detailed knowledge of the facts of the labour question, or any special interest in it, I was astonished and perplexed by these criticisms. Whatever else, good or bad, may be said about the leaders of the mining community, they have at least the reputation of knowing their own business. They are not the men to sacrifice for a theory the welfare of the industry. It did not seem reasonable to suppose that they were hanging up stamps, retarding development, groping in the dark for labour, when so many gentlemen were pointing out to them a safe and easy way of obtaining immediately all that was wanted. If the touting system, in spite of its admitted evils, had had such a great and glorious success in obtaining labour plentifully and quickly before the war, why on earth had they abandoned it, and why did they not return to it of their own accord? The critics did not as a rule offer any explanation of this singular state of things. They did not explain why men who knew about the question, and had the greatest interest in solving it, should blindly refuse to take a course which would solve it immediately, and which was obvious to everyone. One explanation, it is true, was sometimes offered; that the leaders of the mining industry did not want to get labour, that for secret reasons of their own, they were anxious to keep the industry back. I do not know whether those who offered this explanation believed it to be true. To me it seemed grossly improbable. The motives alleged for such conduct were too weak. The motives against it were far too strong. Moreover, I was aware of the constant and laborious attention and energy which the leaders of the industry had given to this matter the first moment when a resumption of mining seemed to be at hand. I knew the anxiety they had shown, the trouble they had taken, the pressure they had put on the Government that the negotiations with the Portuguese Government 15 months ago, in which I had some share, might be pushed on quickly and brought to a successful conclusion. If they had really desired to retard the resumption of the industry, nothing would have been easier than to impede and hang up those negotiations, by raising objections, or by asking for conditions impossible to obtain. Negotiations with a foreign power are slow at best, judged by a business standard, and you have only to haggle over small points and stand on your dignity, to prolong it for years. The supposed object would have been obtained; for the labour supply from the



East Coast would not have been opened, and unless that supply had been opened, you would not have had a thousand stamps running to-day. It did seem unlikely that sensible men should take so much pains to get the principal source of labour opened at once if they were really not anxious to obtain labour quickly. It would have been so much easier to let things drag on and throw the blame on the Portuguese. Besides, the personal equation counts for something. If men like Mr. Rouliot, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, Sir George Farrar, and other members of the Executive of the Chamber of Mines, constantly tell you, tell the Government, tell the public, tell each other, that the thing they most desire is to obtain a sufficient supply of native labour, and that they are doing everything in their power to the best of their judgment to obtain it, it is not creditable [? credible] that they are deliberately lying, and making believe to you and to themselves. No, gentlemen, that explanation, that the leaders of the mining industry do not or did not desire to obtain native labour is absurd on the face of it, and the deeper you go into it, the more absurd it appears. It is an explanation which does little credit, I think, to the persons who offer it. It is not characteristic of a British community. It savours too much of a tendency, which we pride ourselves on being free from, the tendency, I mean, to cry out "we are betrayed," whenever a great difficulty or misfortune has to be faced.

Then we come back to the question, how could we account for the behaviour of the industrial leaders if the criticisms on the Labour Association were correct? Why should they have gone on painfully recruiting through the Association, 4,000 or 5,000 natives a month, when there were men at every street corner who could supply at once anything from 15,000 labourers a month and upwards, if they were given the chance to try. This perplexed me. I believe it perplexed many. The criticisms were so confident, the assertions were so loud that hordes of natives were waiting in their thousands and tens of thousands, ready and eager to come to the mines. Quite a number of people began to think there must be something in it. They did not look into the matter. They supposed as most of us do, that anything they saw in print was at least three-parts true. They forget that the heads of the mining industry knew a great deal more of the touting system and its results than most of the critics, and that they probably had good reasons for discarding it and refusing to return to it.

#### THE TOUTING SYSTEM.

After all, the touting system is no new thing. It was in operation for many years previous to the war in exactly the form which we are advised to reintroduce. When we are assured of its immensely superior merits and are promised great results from adopting it, the first thing to do is to examine its past performances.

What were the actual performances of the touting system. Let us get down to facts and figures. We will take the two years previous to the war. We will go to the most trustworthy sources of information, the reports of the Chamber of Mines, which certainly could have no motive then for distorting or concealing the truth, and to other official sources.

At the end of 1897, the total number of natives employed on the mines is stated to have been 70,000. At the end of 1898, it was 88,000. That is an increase of 18,000 in the year—an average of 1,500 a month. Again, at the end of June, 1899, there were 97,000 natives employed on the mines. That was the highest point ever reached. You will observe it marks an increase for the six months of 9,000 natives—again an average increase of 1,500 a month.

I have taken the 18 months from January, 1898, to June, 1899, a period at the beginning of which the mines were working with 70,000 natives. I might take the previous years and show how that number of 70,000 was gradually built up, by slow increases over many years, never at the rate of more than 1,500 a month. I have not done so because it might be said that before 1898 the conditions were not the same, that there was not the same shortage of labour, the same necessity for straining every effort to obtain it. But as regards this period of 18 months, there can be no possible question. Native labour was short the whole time. According to the reports of the Chamber of Mines, there was a constant deficiency from month to month—sometimes the mines were as many as 20,000 natives short, never less than 12,000. Towards the end of the period, the shortage was growing greater; the increase of supply was not keeping pace with the increased wants of the mines.

At the same time, throughout this period of 18 months, the mines were as rich, as powerful, as well managed, and as anxious to obtain labour as they are now. At the same time the touting system was in its full force. There were absolutely no restrictions on competition. The mines would take labour from anyone who offered it. They asked no questions. They spent money like water. The manager of a single mine told me lately that in the twelve months previous to the war his own mine spent £11,000 in procuring labour, and with that, barely succeeded in keeping up its complement of natives. Another single mine spent over £20,000 in one year. Yet with all this expenditure, with all this anxiety to obtain labour at any cost, and by any means, the old system was only giving an increase of 1,500 natives a month, and was failing more and more every day to meet the increasing demands of the industry.

I have spoken so far merely of the increase. Now let us examine the actual number of native labourers recruited. This is a more complicated enquiry. I can only go into the matter for seven months of the year 1898 from May to November inclusive, because the figures do not appear to have been compiled in detail for the other months. But there is no reason to suppose they would differ in proportion. And again we can examine the first six months of the year 1899, for which we have the figures.

Taking first the figures for the months of May to November inclusive in the year 1898, we find that the average number of natives entering into contracts on the mines in each month was 11,700. That sounds a large and satisfactory number, but it represents much more than

the actual number of natives coming to the mines. There are very great deductions to be made. In the first place, you will find that the number of desertions of contracted natives during the same seven months amounted to an average of 3,900 a month. That must be deducted at once from the 11,700. As you know, one feature of the old system was that natives were induced after engaging themselves on one mine to desert in large numbers and re-engage on another. We may assume that this happened in the case of practically the whole of these 3,900 deserters, for they certainly were not absorbed in the town nor did they return to their homes. Therefore each of the 3,900 natives represents two contracts or engagements. Deducting that number from the 11,700, it leaves us with 7,800 genuine engagements.

#### EAST COAST BOYS.

That is still a large number, but it does not represent natives actually recruited, and arriving on the Rand. We have still to deduct the re-engagement of the East Coast natives. At least two-thirds of the whole number of natives employed came from the East Coast, from Portuguese territory. These natives contracted in the first place for one year, but, on an average they stayed for two—some for more, some for less; but it is generally agreed that about two years was the average, and that conclusion is borne out by other figures to which I shall come presently. Very well, during the seven months of which I am speaking, there was an average number of 53,000 East Coast natives on the Rand, putting them at two-thirds of the whole. As they stayed for two years on an average, half of them were re-contracting in every year. That gives us an average of 2,200 renewed contracts of East Coast boys every month. Deducting that from the 7,800, we are left with 5,600, as the average number of natives actually recruited in each month. Out of this 5,600, 2,200 would be newly arriving East Coast boys. The remainder, 3,400, would be boys from the Transvaal, Cape Colony, Natal, and Zululand, Bechuanaland and Basutoland, who engaged on shorter terms of service and stayed on an average about six months each. That is the net result for the seven months of 1898—2,200 boys recruited from the East Coast in each month; 3,400 from other parts of South Africa. The latter figure is probably too large as it takes no account of re-engagements; but let it stand.

Now take the first six months of 1899 in the same way. The average number of engagements is 11,900. The average number of desertions 4,350. Deduct one from the other, that leaves 7,550. Deduct again the re-engagements of East Coast boys at 2,500 a month. That leaves 5,050 boys actually recruited, 2,500 from the East Coast, the remainder from other sources. This calculation is perhaps rather less to be relied on than that for the seven months of 1898. I think that a greater number than the balance of 2,550 must have been actually recruited from the other sources excluding the East Coast. The discrepancy is probably to be explained by the fact that a proportion of the deserters were returning to their homes on account of the political unrest, instead of re-engaging on other mines as it is assumed in the calculation that they did. But take the two periods together, and put the case at its best. The net result is, that when the touting system was at its height, when competition was unrestricted, and expenditure unlimited, when there was a constant shortage of labour, and every inducement to use every effort, the best that could be done was to bring in a supply of long service natives from the East Coast at an average rate of about 2,500 a month, and a supply of short service natives from other parts of South Africa at an average rate of between three and four thousand a month.

In the face of these facts and figures, what becomes of the magnificent results of the touting system of which we hear so much, from not wholly disinterested persons? That system had its chance before the war; it had every advantage, every inducement, and this was the best it could do. What earthly reason is there to suppose it would do any better now, or that it would have done any better last year, when the natives were admittedly less willing to come to work than before the war, and that from causes which would have operated against individual independent recruiters just as much as they have operated against the recruiters of the Labour Association. Such causes, I mean, as the reduction of wages, the recent disturbance of the country, and the considerable sums of money accumulated by the natives during and after the war, which put many of them beyond the necessity of working for the time being.

Let us go into the question further. To do so, we must separate the question of recruiting on the East Coast from that of recruiting in the rest of South Africa. The cases must be treated separately, because they do not represent the same conditions.

I shall not apologise for the length of my remarks on this aspect of the question, because the main attack on the Labour Association has been based on the assumption that the touting system did produce in the past, and would produce if reverted to, much better results than the Association has yet produced, or ever can produce. The evils of the old system are admitted even by its advocates. Their one argument has been that it produced a better supply of labour. This assertion was originally put forward by interested persons and has been mainly supported by their steady outcry; but it has imposed itself by degrees on a great many people who have nothing but the welfare of the industry at heart. It is to these people that we have to explain ourselves. The policy that we have adopted, and are adhering to, is a matter that affects the whole population which depends directly or indirectly on the mining industry, and we owe them the fullest statement of our reasons. We have no right to leave them in the dark, to be led astray by wild assertions, which they cannot be expected altogether to disregard so long as they remain unchallenged.

#### SOURCES OF SUPPLY.

Let us take first the labour supply out of the East Coast. This is not in itself the most important part of the question. It happens to be a comparatively small matter both in the past and in the present. It is about this, however, that the greatest clamour has been raised.

It is there that the failure of the Labour Association is most insisted on and the most extravagant results promised from what is called independent recruiting. Nearly all the projects and promises of supplying natives in great numbers relate, not to the East Coast, but to the Transvaal, or Basutoland or the Cape Colony or Bechuanaland. In the first few weeks after I became Chairman of this Association, any number of schemes were brought to me by persons who knew other persons who would supply an immense number of labourers from one of these sources, generally from the Transvaal itself, at an extravagant price, and often on condition of a liberal advance of money. Now before the war, you had at the highest point 97,000 natives working on the mines. About three-quarters of these were East Coast boys. We have reliable statistics from the Portuguese Government, and from other sources, which show that the number was well over 70,000. If we put the number of other natives at 20,000 to 25,000 we certainly shall not be under-estimating it. The usual estimate is a little over 20,000. As I said a little while ago, the monthly supply from these sources may be reckoned at 3,500—that gives an average of about six months' engagement, which I believe is the period for which these natives generally stayed on the mines. Well then, in all the years before the war, you were never able to collect more than 20,000 natives or so, from these sources, through all the independent agents. Now we are told that this man and that man could have supplied 5 or 10 or even 15,000 natives a month from these same sources, that is to say, 30,000 or 60,000 or 90,000 in all, if the mines would only have employed him and abandoned the Labour Association. Many people appear to believe this, but is it common sense?

#### RECRUITING DRAWBACKS.

Everybody knows and admits how much these sources of supply were damaged during the past year by reasons independent of any system of recruiting, reasons which, as I said before, would have operated against any recruiters. Zululand and Natal have been entirely closed by special legislation passed during the war by the Natal Government, forbidding recruiting for the Transvaal in those countries. The natives of Cape Colony, of Basutoland, of Bechuanaland, refused altogether to engage themselves at the reduced rate of pay. The same objection was apparent to a great extent, though not so completely, in the case of natives of the Transvaal. Moreover, these latter had escaped all taxation for two years. Numbers of them had been earning high wages from the military. Many received considerable sums in compensation for losses of stock and other property. For the moment they had all the ready money they wanted, and no means of spending it, as the native stores were closed owing to the war, and there were no cattle to be bought at prices they would pay. Why should they come to work? As a matter of fact they did not. The number of natives coming from these sources—that is from sources other than the East Coast—employed on the mines on the 31st January last, was about 7,000. Now I admit at once that this compares very badly with the number obtained in the year previous to the war. Then the mines were obtaining regularly something like 3,500 a month of these short-service natives, giving a permanent number on the mines of something over 20,000. Last year, the average monthly supply was about 1,500. Part of this was taken by the railways; and the permanent number reached on the mines was 7,000, that is, only a third of the number reached before the war. It is here that the critics of the Association have their strongest case. They may say, "here is a case where the Association has obtained results only one-third as good as were obtained under the old system at its best." But to judge fairly, you must consider whether the circumstances were the same last year, as in the year previous to the war. You know that they were not, and you know that the change was entirely unfavourable to recruiting among these short service natives.

#### RETARDING INFLUENCES.

Let us recapitulate the unfavourable conditions which prevailed last year, and which did not prevail in 1898 and 1899. First, there was the disturbed state of the country; remember peace was only concluded in the middle of the year. Then the fact that the natives all over British South Africa, including the new Colonies, had opportunities of earning high wages on military works and transport, which employed many thousands of them. Then the fact that most of the Kaffir stores in the country were closed, and that there was no stock to be bought, so that the native had little opportunity of spending money, and little inducement to earn it. Then the fact that in the Transvaal no native taxes were collected for two years: another reason why the natives did not want money. Then that Natal and Zululand, two sources of supply which were open in 1899 were closed altogether by legislation passed in 1901. Then the great demand for labour outside the mines at higher wages. Last, and perhaps most important of all, the reduction of wages, which entirely stopped the supply from Cape Colony, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland, and which there is no reasonable doubt gravely affects it in the Transvaal itself. Now you will observe that every one of these disadvantageous conditions would have acted against recruiting on the old system just as much as they acted against recruiting by the Association. That is to say, if the old system produced 20,000 natives before the war, it would in all human probability have produced many fewer in face of the disadvantageous conditions which did not formerly exist. Of course, it is impossible to say with certainty how many fewer. You may say that under the changed conditions the old system of recruiting would have been no more successful than the new, or you may say that the deficiency was only partly caused by the change of conditions, and was partly due to the change of system. It is a matter of conjecture, but this much is certain, that the changed conditions counted for a great deal, and that it is absolutely unfair to judge the results of the two systems by comparing the figures of '98 and '99 as regards these short service natives with the figures of last year.

Moreover, though we can only conjecture, there is one argument, and a very strong one, for attributing the deficiency entirely to the new and unfavourable conditions, and not at all

to the change of system. Quite recently the unfavourable conditions have begun to be removed; and the deficiency in the supply from these sources has begun to disappear at the same time and in the same proportion. It is too early to speak with confidence, and we cannot expect the effect to be felt all at once, especially as one adverse factor; the increased demand for labour outside the mines, continues to exist in full force. But that which I have alluded to as the chief cause operating against the successful recruiting of short service natives, the lowered rate of wages, was removed at the beginning of the year, when wages were restored to their old level. The number of short service natives recruited immediately rose enormously. The very same agencies which had been recruiting natives by the dozen with difficulty began to send in hundreds. In February over 3,000 short service natives were recruited; in March over 4,000. In fact, as far as short service natives are concerned, we went back at once with a bound to very nearly the high water mark of recruiting reached before the war. It is too soon to say whether this will continue, but at least we should wait and see before pronouncing that the results of the new system are inferior to those of the old, or that the change of system was responsible for the deficiency last year.

So much for the short service natives recruited from British South Africa. Now let us turn to the other part of the question, that dealing with the Portuguese or long service natives. And in doing so I wish to emphasize the preponderating importance of this part of the subject, which is hardly recognised, I think, by the public. In discussing native labour, and especially in criticising the Association, people are apt to talk as if the prosperity or stagnation of the mines depended very much on the supply of labour obtained from the Transvaal or Basutoland or the Cape Colony. That is, perhaps, natural, as more men here are acquainted with those countries than with the interior of Portuguese East Africa. But, as a matter of fact, we know that the Portuguese native labourers on the mines were always three-quarters of the whole in numbers alone. Taking into consideration the fact that they are naturally better miners than the others, and that long-service men become much more skilful at their work than short-service men, it is not too much to say that in efficiency they represented four-fifths of the whole native labour on the mines before the war. They were the backbone of the industry. The rest of the labour supply was unimportant by comparison, and there is no reason to anticipate a change in the immediate future. As long as the mines rely on black labour, they stand or fall by the supply of Portuguese natives.

#### BEFORE THE WAR.

Well, before the war you had on the mines something more than 70,000 of these long-service natives. That number was reached, as Sir Percy Fitzpatrick said in his speech the other day, by a gradual process of building up, extended over many years. These natives were contracted for a year to start with. Some of them went home at the end of their year, but many thousands stayed for a second year and a third and fourth, either on the same mine, or re-engaging themselves from mine to mine. I have mentioned two years as the average period of their stay, taking one with another. That is a low estimate; judging by the figures, the average period must have been rather longer. We know, within a few hundreds, the results of recruiting on the East Coast for a year or two prior to the war. That is because the system there was, even then, fairly well organised. The actual recruiting was in comparatively few hands. Casual recruiting was not possible to the same extent as in other parts of South Africa. There are not many men who can or will live in that unhealthy country. Besides, recruiting was limited by heavy licences and by the regulations imposed by the Portuguese Government. Consequently we have to a great extent the recruiters' own figures of their results on the East Coast before the war; figures which are not available for other districts. We can say for certain that the average monthly number recruited never reached 3,000, taking one month after another. An estimate of 2,500 would be near the mark. And it was by this slow recruiting of long-service natives that the supply of East Coast labour on the Rand was built up. That supply disappeared during the war. The great majority returned home at the outbreak of war. Some thousands remained. The Portuguese Government estimated that 14,000 remained; but a number of these were employed in the town, not on the mines; and nearly all of those who stayed on the mines at the end of 1899 left in the course of the next three years, either to go home or to take other employment. Consequently the Association had to begin building up the supply entirely afresh from the beginning.

Now the arrangements to allow recruiting of natives on the East Coast were only completed in the middle of February last year. Practically recruiting was not in swing till March. Between the beginning of March and the end of last January, 39,552 Portuguese natives were recruited: an average of 3,600 a month for the eleven months. This is certainly a higher average than was ever reached before the war.

Of course most of the disadvantages which I have enumerated as operating against the recruiting of natives in British South Africa did not apply in the case of Portuguese territory. There was no question of remission of taxation, of employment by the Army at high wages and so forth. Two of these adverse factors did apply. There was the reduction of wages—it is difficult to say how far this affected recruiting on the East Coast, but no doubt it did so to some extent especially as regards the old mine boys.

#### OUTSIDE COMPETITION.

Then there is the factor of outside competition. It is certain that during the past year a very much larger number of Portuguese boys have been employed on the Rand outside the mines than was formerly the case, including many natives who had previously worked on

the mines. But in spite of these two disadvantages you will see that on the figures the new system actually comes out with better results than the old. In the course of the last year the Association recruited more natives on the East Coast month by month than were ever recruited month by month under the system in existence before the war.

Here, consequently, those who criticise the Association must shift their ground. They will say, "It is true that the Association has recruited as many Portuguese natives as were recruited in any equal period prior to the war, and more; but you must consider that at the beginning of 1903 there were in Portuguese territory 70,000 old mine boys, who would have come back with a rush if the old system of recruiting had been adopted, and who would have swollen the monthly returns to a much higher figure than they ever reached before." That is a reasonable argument and deserves consideration, but after all, it is a conjecture, not a statement of fact, and we have a right to examine it, and to oppose it by other arguments. Now very good reasons can be adduced, quite independent of the system of recruiting, why the East Coast natives who are employed on the mines before the war should not have come back with a rush. Some of these reasons have been alluded to in the general manager's report. Another is the reduction of wages and the natural reluctance of a boy who had actually been earning the high rate of pay to come back on a lower. They are only conjectures on the opposite side. But there is one argument, not resting on conjecture, but on actual experience and figures, which, I think, goes strongly to show that this theory of the old mine boys returning in a rush is not sound. If that theory were sound, its effect would have been apparent in the results obtained by the Association just as much as in the results obtained by a different system. It would have been as apparent in proportion though the actual figures would be less.

#### THE MINE BOYS.

If it had been true that the old mine boys were ready to rush back to work, the rush would have taken place in the first few months, under any system of recruiting. For the first three or four months large numbers would have come in, then there would have been a great falling off. Put it this way. Assume for the moment, for the sake of argument, that the old system was twice as efficient as the new. Then the old system, if it had been brought into operation at the beginning of 1902, should, on this theory of a rush to return, have turned out, say, 15,000 boys a month for the first five months, and then dropped to the old figure of 2,500 a month. For exactly the same reasons, the new system which was actually enforced, would have turned out half of this, say, 7,500 boys a month for the first five months, and then dropped to 1,200 or 1,500. But nothing of the kind took place. The actual returns of recruiting on the East Coast last year show no such variation. They were low in March, at the very beginning. It is true they were high in April, when probably many boys came in who had actually been collected the month before; but thence onward through May, June, July, August and September, they preserved a steady average never varying by more than 300 in a month. Then in October they rose a little, and in November and December, fell a little. In January and February, which have always been bad months for recruiting on the East Coast, they fell considerably. In March they have begun to rise again.

I think this goes to show that there is nothing in the theory of old mine boys returning to the Rand with a rush. It supports the arguments which have been mentioned against that theory, and proves that though the old boys are coming back, they are coming back gradually, and in a steady proportion.

We have examined the comparative results of the old system and the new, not on the basis of unproved and unprovable assertions, which anybody can make, but by the actual facts and figures which we know. Let us now look at the matter from a rather different point of view. There are other things to take into consideration. The actual results of the two systems so far as they are ascertainable, are not absolutely the only thing to compare when we are testing their merits. I quite admit the paramount importance of results, especially at the present moment. If it could be shown that the results of the new system were and must necessarily be inferior to those of the old; the results, I mean in the sense of the quantity of labour obtained in a given time; then at the present moment, when it is a question of restoring the industry to its old position, that single point of inferiority would be the strongest argument, and one which might perhaps outweigh all other considerations put together. But this has not been shown. On the contrary, we have seen, I think, that judging by the bare test of results, a very good case can be made out for the new system, during the single year for which it has been working. That being so, we have no right entirely to neglect and put on one side the other considerations. For after all the problem is not simply to get a certain amount of labour as soon as possible and be done with it; it is also to maintain the supply permanently, and increase it largely in the future. Therefore, in comparing systems, we must reckon with future as well as with past results.

I shall not trouble you by going at length into these other considerations. For even those who attack the Association hardly pretend to make out a case on any other point than that of immediate results. They admit the disadvantages and mischief of the old system on every other point. It is not necessary therefore to labour the argument; but there are one or two of the many points of comparison which are so important in themselves, especially from the point of view of future efficiency, that I cannot pass them over altogether.

#### DESERTIONS.

First of all, let me recall your attention to the figures which I gave before, of desertions from the mines during 1898 and 1899. The number of desertions amounted month by month

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to over 30 per cent. of the number of contracts, the number of desertions stood to the number of natives actually recruited and brought on to the Rand as 70 to 100. The enormous number of desertions was one of the direct consequences of the old system, under which the mines paid recruiting agents for boys delivered at the mine's mouth, without enquiring how or whence they had been obtained. Consider what this means. It means that under the old system nearly half the money and half the energy spent in recruiting was from the point of view of the industry as a whole, absolutely wasted. It was spent on enticing boys from one mine to another. For every 100 boys brought on to the fields, the mines, taken as a whole, paid for 170.

#### NEW SYSTEM'S ADVANTAGES.

Under the present system, there is a different state of affairs. The total number of desertions during the 11 months ending on the 31st January last is returned at 2,460, an average of 205 a month, 4 per cent. of the number of natives actually recruited. You may take it that most, if not all of these desertions were genuine, desertions of natives leaving the mines to seek other more lucrative employment in the town. But in any case you have 4 per cent. as against 70 per cent. There are two reasons for the change. One, of course, is the better and purer administration of the Pass Law, a benefit for which the mines have to thank the Department of Native Affairs. The other is the alteration of the system of recruiting. No purity or efficiency of administration could prevent desertions taking place in enormous numbers, if the mines had kept up or if they returned to the system of paying labour touts large bonuses for natives delivered at their doors, without ascertaining—as, indeed, it would be impossible to ascertain—that they did not come from the compound of some other mine. That is where the benefit of the new system comes in. The Association recruits, of course, mainly through its own permanent agents established in the various native districts. But whenever it employs outside agents who are in a position to obtain labourers, it absolutely refuses to take over the natives on the Rand. It takes them over and contracts them in the districts where they are actually recruited, and conveys them to the Rand at its own expense. This effectually put a stop to touting in the compounds. Do not suppose that the danger is dead; it is ready to spring up again the moment we give it a chance. In the short time I have been connected with the Association, several cases have occurred which show this. Men have come and offered to supply five hundred or three hundred natives. They have said they will recruit them in the Northern Transvaal, or the Eastern Transvaal, or some other native district and deliver them on the Rand, at a certain commission per head. The answer has been given that the Association will pay an equivalent commission for delivery at Pietersburg or Waterval Boven, or whatever may be the nearest railway station to the alleged recruiting ground, and will deduct merely the cost of conveyance to the Rand which it will arrange for itself. And these gentlemen have found themselves unable to deal on those apparently reasonable terms. They profess that for some reason which they never clearly explain, they can only make delivery on the Rand. That is their stipulation. It is a stipulation which the Association has refused, and will continue to refuse. To do so is the only way in which we can kill the traffic which cost the mines so much before the war.

#### FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

This question of so-called desertion is one point which I commend to the attention of those who wish fairly to compare the old system with the new. Here is another point still more important. The attitude of foreign Governments. This is really the most important of all, for we have drawn by far the greater part of our labour supply in the past and expect to draw it in the future, from foreign sources. First of all I will take the attitude of the Portuguese Government of East Africa. It is a matter on which I can speak with knowledge, for I was thoroughly acquainted from start to finish with the negotiations for the re-opening of recruiting in that territory, and before an agreement was come to I had the opportunity of discussing the question at great length in conversation with the Governor-General of the Portuguese Province, Sir Manuel Gorjao, to whose good-will and grasp of the situation the mining industry owes a great debt of gratitude. From the very first the Portuguese authorities took up the attitude that they would not even consider the re-establishment of the old system. They were inclined to propose that the whole of the recruiting in Portuguese territory should be left in the hands of the local Government. In the end they recognised the force of the very grave objections which were urged against this, and withdrew from that position. But they only did this on the distinct understanding that they would not be asked to deal with individual and irresponsible recruiters, but with a single organisation, which would have the weight of the Chamber of Mines behind it, and which would be absolutely responsible for the acts of all its agents in Portuguese territory. As the Chamber of Mines had already decided, on perfectly independent grounds, to establish the present Labour Association, there was no difficulty about complying with this condition; but the attitude of the Portuguese authorities was such that if the Association had not existed it would have had to be created. Now seeing that the industry at present depends, and has in the past depended, I will not say for its prosperity but for its existence, on the labour of Portuguese natives, here is a sufficient cause by itself for adhering to the new system. You may say that the Portuguese authorities could be brought to change their views; that they could be induced by diplomatic pressure to allow a return to the old system. But could they, even if we tried our hardest? They have almost every argument of reason on their side, and it is no case of a passing fancy. General Gorjao is a man who has given much thought and study to this question, and whose views are definite and well thought out. Till lately he has been Governor-General of the Province; now he holds a position of even higher authority as Portuguese Minister for the Colonies. He has the last word on the subject. That is the fact, and you must trim your sails to suit the wind. I do not for a moment mean to imply that we should change our policy if the Portu-

guese authorities were amenable. I merely wish to point out that the policy which has been adopted was, as it happened, the only one possible in face of the views of the Portuguese Government.

Then as to the future: What of the new sources of supply on which we must rely to meet the huge increase in the demands of the industry? Do you suppose that the Governments of Central Africa, whether British or foreign, will for a moment allow indiscriminate touting for labour in their territories, carried on by irresponsible individuals? It is out of the question. The difficulties are great enough in any case; but the mining industry could not even have approached these Governments with a proposal, unless it had been able to say that the recruiting would be carried out by a responsible organisation backed by the whole industry, and closely controlled by the heads of all the great industrial firms on the Rand.

#### CHARGES AGAINST THE ASSOCIATION.

I have given you one or two of the reasons which justify the action of the mining industry in forming and adhering to the Association. What is there to set on the other side? I think there are only two serious charges which I have heard made against the methods of the Association during the past year. The first is that it employs as its agents unsuitable men, men unknown to the natives, unacquainted with the country, and unused to recruiting labour; and that consequently it cannot expect to obtain such results as were obtained by the old labour agents, who, according to the critics, enjoyed the confidence of the natives and had enormous influence over them. The second charge is that the Association has offended the natives by sending them to the mines to which they do not wish to go, and more particularly by separating natives from the same kraal, who were used to work together, and sending them to different mines. You will observe that these charges, even if they are true, are not an indictment of the system; for these particular mistakes are not an essential part of the system. They are mistakes which can be avoided under this system as well as under any other. The indictment is against the methods that are said actually to have been pursued. The charges, if they are true, are against the management, not against the principle of the Association. But how far are they true? First let us take the charge of employing unsuitable men. Really one would think, if one listened to what has been said and written on this point, that the Association had gone out of its way to pass over all the agents most obviously suited to its work, all the men who were known to the natives and were successful in recruiting native labour before the war, and had imported a shipload of gentlemen from Colney Hatch, and dumped them down in the various districts.

What are the facts? I am not now speaking of the staff at headquarters—though I hardly think that anyone acquainted with this country will pretend that Mr. Goodwin or Mr. Macfarlane (two of the oldest and most successful mine managers on the Rand), or Mr. Nourse, who has been working with the natives in every part of South Africa for the past 30 years, are men ignorant of native industrial life, or of the conditions which are needed to encourage it. I am speaking of the district managers, and the district recruiters. They are the men whose competence and knowledge is attacked. The business of the headquarters staff is to organise and control, but it is on the district managers and agents that we depend for the actual recruiting; it is on their knowledge of and influence over the natives that we must rely. Well, gentlemen, what manner of men are they? Are they imported incompetents, as you may hear any day in the streets, or read any day in the papers? or are they men of tried experience and standing and influence among the natives? I will tell you who they are. They are the men who for many years before the war were the working heads of the various recruiting agencies which supplied natives to nearly every great mining group on the Rand. What else could you expect but that the mining houses who formed this Association should employ in one capacity or another the men who had served them best in the same business when they were acting separately. When I tell you that the heads of the principal recruiting agencies which before the war served the mines controlled by the firms of Eckstein, Farrar, Neumann, Barnato, by the Rand Mines, and the Consolidated Gold Fields, and the General Mining and Finance Corporation, as well as several others, that those men have been in the employment of the Association since the beginning, you will know how much value to give to the aspersions which are made on their knowledge of the native and of the work of recruiting. It is from among those men that the Association chose its district managers, and district recruiters, picking out, as was natural, the men who worked successfully before. This is especially the case on the East Coast. As I told you, the regular recruiting in that territory was always in the hands of comparatively few men, the majority of whom entered the service of the Association when it began operations there. A few remained outside—one or two—because they had other business or did not like the terms of employment; one or two because the Association did not wish to employ them; one or two, because for some reason or other, the Portuguese Government refused to grant licences to them, and so the Association could not employ them, through no fault of its own. But the great majority were and are employed wholly in the service of the Association, and have served it, I believe, loyally and to the best of their ability.

#### STRONG SPEAKING NECESSARY.

I speak strongly on this subject because I feel that some defence is due to these men, who, during the past year have been a constant mark for abuse and depreciation here in Johannesburg; and who all the time have been hard working and undergoing hardships of travel and climate, in the face of many obstacles and unfavourable conditions, to produce a result which, because it was less than was hoped for, has received little recognition, but which will not, I hope, be altogether forgotten.



One class of labour agent, it is true, the Association has left outside altogether, the man who recruited in the mine compounds. After all, it is a large class. They used to supply 4,000 boys a month. Now their occupation has gone. Many men must have lost lucrative employment in a pleasant climate, but the mining industry in being deprived of their services has not lost an asset of great value.

Now for the second charge, that the natives were sent to mines to which they did not want to go, and were not allowed to go to the mines which they affected, and that natives from the same kraal were separated and sent to different mines. We must admit that there has been a certain amount of truth in the first part, at any rate, of this charge. I do not say that the Association has been altogether free from blame in the matter, but it is fair to remember that it has not had a free hand.

In the first six months of last year there was no question of a choice of mines; certain definite mines were authorised by the military authorities to work up to a fixed number of stamps. All the labour recruited had to be sent to those mines, or it could not be used at all, and even those mines could only employ natives up to the number required to work their authorised number of stamps. It is quite possible that half the natives coming up in some particular month may have wished to go, say, to the Robinson Mine, but what was the use of that at a time when the Robinson Mine was only authorised to work with 50 stamps, and had already sufficient natives to keep those stamps working? It was a question of sending them to other mines, or not using them at all. There was no question of compulsion. The natives were not deceived. Every native that was engaged contracted himself distinctly not to go to any particular mine, but to go to any of the mines to which he might be allotted. This may have checked recruiting, but in the circumstances it was the only possible course, and, I think, the only honest course. The Association knew perfectly well that it would not have a free hand in the distribution of natives recruited by its agents. It knew that it would have to send them to the authorised mines and up to the authorised number. That being so, surely it took the fair and straightforward course in telling the natives that they must contract to serve on the mines generally, and that it could not promise to send them to any particular mine.

#### EQUAL DIVISION AMONG GROUPS.

That particular restriction, which was imposed while a state of war prevailed, has now come to an end, but there is still a restriction, which hampers us to a certain extent in the distribution of natives. It is the restriction imposed by the necessity of keeping an equality between the various groups of mines. That is a necessary restriction. It is obvious that the mining groups could only enter into an Association of this kind for the joint recruiting of labour on equal terms with one another. That is to say, the full complement of each mine must be fixed, and the labour which is actually obtained must be supplied to each in an equal proportion. But though that restriction exists and must continue to exist, it has been minimised as much as possible by making the division, not between single mines, but between mining groups. If we had to divide the natives whom we recruit, absolutely between mine and mine, in proportion to the full complement of each mine, I will frankly say that I think the system would be unworkable. Fortunately, that is not the case; we are only bound to keep the division equal between the mining groups. There are a few outside mines which have to be treated separately, but the vast majority of the mines fall into the eight groups controlled by the great mining houses, and it is between these groups that we have to keep the division equal. The distribution of the natives allotted to one group among the mines belonging to that group is a matter to be settled by the controlling firm, and as no group has a monopoly of popular mines, we can obtain a very considerable amount of latitude in the way of sending natives to the mines to which they wish to go. We have, of course, to obtain the consent of the controlling firms. We say, for instance, to the firm of Eckstein: We have 100 boys who wish to go to the Robinson Mine. We will allot them to your group as part of the percentage to which you are entitled, and you must send them to the Robinson. And we find that the controlling houses are perfectly ready to meet us in a matter of this kind.

In the same way, we can even recruit for a particular mine if we have reason to believe that we can get boys in that way who would not otherwise engage themselves. We have only to say to the controlling firm: "We want to recruit 100 boys in a certain district for such and such a mine. If we do so, will you take them as part of the percentage to which your group is entitled, and let them go to that mine?" This is limited to a certain extent by the necessity of preserving an equality between the groups, but in practice it gives a considerable discretion, and with the goodwill and assistance of the controlling houses, we shall be able, I think, to get over the difficulty of distributing natives according to their own preference. Of course we do not engage natives for a particular mine if they are willing to contract themselves to the mines in general, as a very great number are. It is plainly more advantageous to be able to allot them where they are required; therefore we recruit natives for the mines in general as far as we can. The natives who will engage on those terms are the best. Next come the natives who will engage for any mine in a particular neighbourhood. Last of all, the native who will go to one mine and no other. But even this last we do not leave on one side. We can make a special arrangement to get him, as I have explained, and we shall certainly do so, if we can get him in no other way. In this present month, as you know, we are recruiting on the East Coast for all the individual mines. We have told our recruiters to engage natives specially for each mine, with the assurance that they shall go to that mine. This will give any old boys of that mine, who may be unwilling to engage except on the assurance of returning to it, an opportunity of coming back.

As regards the other part of the charge, that natives belonging to the same kraal were separated. I can only say that this was one of the very first matters into which I enquired



after I became Chairman of the Association. I found that the greatest care was already taken to prevent this. I was assured that as soon as a large gang of natives arrived at the Association's compound, the boys were drawn up and told to fall into batches according to their kraals, and that each batch, with its own headmen, was sent to a single mine. Besides this, particular instructions have been given that if any boys arriving here have actually worked before on a mine and wish to return to that mine, they are to be sent to it, even if the mine in question is not at the moment entitled to a further allotment. In addition to this, you are of course aware that any boys applying for work on the Rand itself may apply direct to any mine they please, and be taken on. This covers the case of boys who have served a term of service with one mine and wish to exchange to another. They have merely to go to it and be taken on.

#### THE REDUCTION OF WAGES.

There is one other matter which is generally cast in the teeth of the Association, but for which it is really in no way responsible, that is the reduction of wages. It has always been recognised that the rate of pay is a question to be decided by the Chamber of Mines. The reduction of wages affected, of course, the work of the Association, but it was a condition imposed on the Association by the Chamber of Mines. It would have been imposed equally on independent recruiters, and would have affected them equally. Now I am not going to defend the reduction of wages. To reduce native wages on the mines after the war was an experiment, a bold experiment. It was one of the measures which are only justified to the public by success; and as it appears to have failed, it is no use trying publicly to defend it. But I will say this, that it is not for the general public of Johannesburg to cry out too loudly against the leaders of the mining industry in this matter. When the experiment was made, and the reduction decided on, they looked on, consenting and applauding. Throw your minds back a year and a half. You will remember, if your recollection tallies with mine, that the reduction of wages was very generally approved. A few men here and there—men inside as well as outside the Labour Association—disagreed and prophesied failure, but the mass of opinion was the other way. Not only the majority of those directly concerned in the mining industry, but I believe the great majority of the old residents of Johannesburg, as far as one could gather their opinion, seemed to have come to the conclusion—a conclusion quite justifiable on theoretic grounds—that native wages had been forced up by the competition of the last few years to a point out of all proportion to their old figure and to the actual value of the work done. This forcing up of wages had affected not only the mines but all other employers, and in this country every white man is an employer of natives. The resolution of the mines to reduce native wages made everyone else hope that they would be able to reduce also; and the step was applauded as wise and necessary. Well, the mines took the burden of making an experiment which everyone wished to succeed. They received no assistance from outside; naturally, as outside the mines the employers of native labour were not organised. Having begun the experiment, they carried it on—you may say too long, but you cannot look for success or failure to be settled in a month, or six months, in a matter of this sort. At any rate, the mines determined to give the experiment a fair trial before they abandoned it. Now they have abandoned it, wisely I think, seeing the condition of the industry and the country. But their conduct in the matter has not been fickle or purposeless, and if they made a mistake, it does not lie with us to blame them. Others may do so—the few who predicted failure. So may outsiders, if they please; but not the generality of people here, who looked on and approved of the experiment, and while they took no part in it themselves, hoped to derive their own advantage from its success.

#### HARD, THANKLESS WORK.

Now, gentlemen, I have finished my review of the past work of the Association. It has been mostly in the nature of a defence. It was right to make some reply to the enormous mass of criticism, honest and dishonest, well and ill-informed, which has been directed on this subject. I have been able to speak freely, and I think impartially, because I have been dealing with a period before I was connected with the Association, when I had no concern with and no responsibility for its doings. It has been easier for me, perhaps, than it would have been for my friend Mr. Strange, to undertake his defence; for when a man has done good work he is apt to be disinclined to point out its merits, and to excuse its inevitable shortcomings. It is easier for another to do that. If the case has suffered in my hands, it is from lack of ability, not from want of appreciation; though it is hard indeed to appreciate properly the greatness of the labour involved in forming an organisation like this; in reconciling so many competing interests and bringing them to work together to a common end; in starting and carrying on work of which the greatest difficulties gather round at the outset. This is the task that has fallen on Mr. Strange and those associated with him from the first. They have had the hardest and most thankless part of the work. They have been exposed to the attack and blame. Do not forget, if things go more easily in the future, that it is only because they have already laid the foundations.

#### PRESENT AND FUTURE.

So much for the past history. Now as to the present and the future. I shall not be equally lengthy on this. As to the present, you know how we are doing; as to the future, I am not going to prophesy, because I do not know how we shall do. I shall merely outline the objects which we have to set before ourselves, and one or two of the chief conditions which will affect our success or failure in attaining those objects.

The first object—and I will put it forward simply as an object to aim at, not as a promise of what we shall do—must be to bring the industry, with the least delay, to the same position in respect of native labour, as it stood in before the war. To do this, we must in the first place

build up the supply of long service labourers coming from Portuguese territory south of 22 degrees to the old number of 75,000. We have to increase that number by 30,000. The success which we have will be measured by the rate of increase. You may be sure that no efforts will be spared to accelerate it. We have, and I hope we shall retain, the goodwill of the Portuguese authorities. We have working for us in that country, men of the greatest experience that can be obtained. The natives of those tribes are naturally industrious. On the other hand we have the fact that, during and since the war, there has been a great growth of native agriculture in Portuguese territory, accompanied by a considerable rise in the local value of mealie crops. It is impossible to estimate at present the ultimate effect of this upon supply of labour from the East Coast. It may be small and temporary, or great and lasting.

In the second place, we have to obtain the old number of short service boys, 20,000 to 25,000. That is to say, we must recruit an average of nearly 4,000 a month during the next six months, and must maintain that average afterwards. Whether we can do this is doubtful. At the present moment we are working up to the number required, but you must remember that the outside demand for this class of labour is very much greater than ever before, and especially that the requirements of the Government for public works, both in the Transvaal itself and other colonies, have increased and are increasing. Also that the effects of the three years of war have by no means disappeared. If we work up to the old level you may take it that we shall be doing better than we have a right to expect, taking these circumstances into consideration.

#### SUPPLY SOUTH OF ZAMBESI.

Now, supposing for a moment that we attain this object; that, within a reasonable time, we build up the supply of long service labourers from the East Coast to its old figure, and that we get back to the old number of short service natives, or something near it, what next? We want more than 95,000 natives. This was the number on the mines in the autumn of 1899, and that was 20,000 short of the number required then, according to the estimate of the Chamber of Mines. At present the mines estimate their immediate requirements at 145,000. That may be said to be an outside figure, but you must remember that it does not allow for the opening up of new properties and deep levels. A great deal of work would be started in the course of the next year, if labour were available which is not allowed for at all in that estimate of 145,000. When we get a little further on, and ask what will be wanted in two or three years' time, the figures go up to 200,000 and 300,000.

#### NATIVES WILL NOT WORK.

Then there is the Transvaal itself and the rest of British South Africa. From this we have obtained in the past a standing supply of at most 25,000 mining natives. If we work up to this, can we expect any large increase from the same source? Here there is no question of exhausting the population. The natives of British South Africa number, roughly speaking, four millions. It is true, of course, that a number of these are required for work on farms and elsewhere. But, after all, the Orange River Colony, which has a total native population of less than a quarter of a million, has enough for its farms and to spare. Give the same number to Natal, Rhodesia, and the Transvaal, and twice as many to the Cape Colony; you still have 2½ millions left, half a million adult males. There are other mines, and there are industries and employments besides mining and farming, but add all their reasonable requirements of native labour together, they cannot absorb the constant labour of half a million men, or anything like it. Besides, in any case, we could compete with them. They have not the first call to be supplied. But the governing factor in the situation has been left out; that is, that these natives do not work. At most, they work a few months in the year, and that for only a few years. If the mass of the native population of South Africa worked as the mass of any white or brown or yellow population works, day in and day out, for twelve months in the year, and thirty years in a lifetime, I venture to think there would be no scarcity of labour in this country at present. However, there is the fact. They have not so worked in the past, they will not so work in the immediate future. In considering what increase, if any, on the old supply is likely to be obtained from these sources, you have to consider whether the natives of British South Africa are likely to adopt industrial habits, to work in large numbers, for more months in the year, or for more years together than they have hitherto. It is not, we can hardly expect to increase very much on the old numbers. Those numbers were all that could be obtained over a period of several years, when labour was greatly needed. Neither time nor money nor trouble was spared. Putting aside all question of the increased demand for native labour for other than mining purposes, there is no conceivable reason why we should be able to do very much better now than was done before the war, unless this great native population becomes suddenly more willing to work than it was then. Better organised and more thorough efforts might possibly result in a certain increase, but in nothing sufficient for our purposes, unless there is at the same time a marvellous change in the circumstances or the disposition of the natives themselves. Is such a change to be reckoned on? I think that if there is an improvement, it can only be a gradual one. There has been no great change of outward conditions, and there is hardly likely to be a sudden revolution in the native disposition. For a great immediate improvement there must be some adequate cause, and none is likely to arise.

#### COMPULSION NOT PRACTICABLE.

At this time of day no one regards physical compulsion of the natives to labour as a practical measure, even if he holds it to be theoretically justifiable. I do not mean because of opinion at home, though that would be an effective reason if there were no other. But if Great Britain were sunk in the sea to-morrow, I do not believe there would be the least like-

lihood of the re-introduction of slavery or even of systematic forced labour into South Africa, except possibly for public works. Then we have heard a good deal lately about the effect of taxation in inducing the native to work, and a great deal has been said in England about the iniquity of increasing native taxation for such a motive. Most of the indignation has been expressed by people who plainly did not know what they were talking about, and denunciation of that sort is always annoying. At the same time, I think it is a pity that the matter was ever put in that light or argued on those grounds. Many of us have thought for some time that native taxation in South Africa was far too low on purely financial grounds. It must be remembered that the present scale of native taxation in the greater part of South Africa was fixed many years ago, when the earning capacity of the native was not a quarter of what it is at present. It has remained at the same figure while his wealth and earning power have greatly increased, and while the taxation on other sections of the community has gone up by leaps and bounds. It is, I believe, generally admitted to be a sound financial principle that taxation should be proportionate to the ability of the taxpayer to contribute, and a scale of native taxation which may have been quite high enough fifteen years ago may be absolutely inadequate now, when not only the natives' wage-earning capacity, but the selling price of his agricultural produce has risen enormously. We can afford to treat the question of native taxation on its own merits, without reference to the question of labour supply. If an increased taxation does increase the labour supply, so much the better; but it is wiser to keep the questions apart.

#### REVISED TAXATION OF NATIVES.

Well, it seems there is some prospect of the scale of native taxation in South Africa generally being revised before long, and brought to a figure more in accordance with the present economic conditions of the native population. We must not build great hopes on the result. Taxes are not likely to be imposed beyond the point which the native can perfectly well afford to pay in his present circumstances, and at his present rate of industry. We cannot expect his necessities to be trenched on, but only a portion of his superfluity. It would be wrong to expect the Government either of this, or the other South African countries, to help us out by introducing any measure of taxation which could fairly be called oppressive or confiscatory, with the object of forcing the natives to engage universally in highly-paid industrial labour. Some people have spoken and written as if this were to be desired, but such action is outside the functions of a Government. We are rather too much inclined, I think, to believe in the powers of Government, and to look to it to take short cuts to results which may be desirable in themselves, but which ought to be reached by private energy, not by the arbitrary action of the State. In the present instance I would much rather trust to a development of trade among the native population than to increased taxation. It is generally said that one of the reasons why the natives work so little is that they have few wants. It may be added that they have few opportunities of forming or satisfying them. A native is not likely to want things which he has never seen and which he has no opportunity of buying. I have made some inquiries lately among the native stores which exist on the mines, about the trade which they do with the mining natives. It works out in some cases at 10s. a head each month, £6 a year. If you sell £6 worth of goods to a native in a year, the result from the point of view of the labour supply is just the same as if you taxed him £6 a year, and the native gets something in return. Therefore, I think, we should look to the development of native trade, not only on the Rand, but in the country, as a more effective inducement to work than any measure of increased taxation which can reasonably be imposed. But in any case, the effect will only be gradual. Increase of taxation or increase of trade in this and the neighbouring colonies, may produce a slow improvement, but they will not turn the 25,000 mine labourers who have been obtained hitherto from those sources into 100,000, not at any rate in a year or two years.

#### NORTHERN PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA.

How, then, are we to meet the increased demands of the Rand in the immediate future? Well, there are sources of native labour, not touched hitherto. First of all, there is the remainder of Portuguese East Africa, the portion north of 22 degrees. Part of this great territory is administered directly by the Portuguese Colonial Government, and in this we have already permission to recruit—under many restrictions, it is true—but the principle is accepted. Part is administered by Chartered Companies with which we have been in negotiation for the best part of a year. I am glad to say there is now some prospect of the negotiation being brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The country is very large, and in some parts thickly populated, but a great deal of it is almost unknown to any white man, and the natives are absolutely untried. During the past year the Association has spent a great deal of money in making an endeavour to open up the part of this country where we already have permission to recruit, and I should like to mention the work done by Mr. Nourse, the Joint General Manager of the Association, who made a prolonged visit to this extremely unhealthy region, and by Mr. Hanner, Mr. Philip Goodwin, and Mr. Mancini, who are at present working in the districts of Quilimane, Mozambique, and Angoche respectively. So far we have only obtained a few hundred natives from those districts. That was to be expected. The idea of leaving their homes to seek work was entirely new to the whole population, and until some number have been working for a time on the Rand and have returned with satisfactory reports, you cannot hope to recruit on a large scale. Moreover, the country is so little explored, and so disturbed that our actual operations have been very much hampered and restricted, both by the difficulty of moving about and by the reluctance of the Portuguese authorities to allow our agents to enter districts where their own authority was not firmly established. It is therefore impossible to predict at present how great a supply of labour can be obtained from the northern part of Portuguese East Africa. I am told that the natives whom we have brought thence, though difficult to deal with at first, have developed into good and able workers. If they turn out to

be fair specimens of their tribes, if other tribes, who have not yet been touched, turn out to be equally adaptable, if the natives of these northern districts turn out to resemble those of Gazaland and Inhambane, in their industry and capacity for mining work, and in their willingness to engage themselves for long periods, then we have a great and valuable source of native labour in addition to the sources available previous to the war. But we do not at present know whether any of those conditions will turn out to be true. We do not know whether these natives will be willing eventually to emigrate in large numbers, or whether the mass of them will be suited to mining work. We do not even know the total number of the population, for the estimates vary widely. And in any case, if all the conditions are favourable, it will take some time before we can obtain a large supply.

#### OTHER UNTRIED SOURCES.

Besides this, there is British Central Africa. First the Nyassaland Protectorate. We have just got leave to recruit 1,000 natives there by way of experiment. Most of what I have said about the northern part of Portuguese territory applies here also. We know a little more about the total population which Sir Harry Johnston estimated in 1896 at 800,000. But we do not know whether the natives will take to mining work or whether they will be willing to emigrate in large numbers. That we cannot tell till we have got the 1,000 here, have tried them, and have sent them back to assist us in further recruiting. It is something to know that there is a large population there. But there is also a large population in Natal and Zululand, from which the mines only obtained a few thousand labourers before the war. It is not thousands, but tens of thousands, that we need. All will depend on the disposition of the natives. Secondly, there is Northern Rhodesia, a vast country stretching from the Western Border of the Nyassaland Protectorate to the Eastern Border of Portuguese West Africa. Hitherto this country is untried. The mines of Southern Rhodesia have up to the present been able to keep it as a preserve for themselves. Now arrangements are under discussion for allowing us to recruit there jointly with them. But though the territory is vast, a great deal of it is certainly sparsely populated, and it is doubtful whether it compares as a prospective source of labour with the two countries already mentioned.

Beyond this there is British East Africa, and the Uganda Protectorate. Those countries were visited some months ago by Mr. Macfarlane, who reported that he thought a considerable number of the native population, which is very large, would be ready to emigrate on a long contract of service. However, the Foreign Office refused to allow any emigration to take place, and apparently is not disposed at present to withdraw its prohibition, though repeated representations have been made on the subject, which have been strongly supported by the High Commissioner, and though every guarantee has been offered.

#### MEDIAEVAL RESTRICTIONS.

You must remember that not only in this case, but in the case of all other proposals for engaging natives in these semi-tropical territories, particularly in British territories, we have found and still find the strongest opposition on the part of the small white population which is settled there. They allege the scarcity of labour to meet their own needs. That is slightly ridiculous considering that they do not themselves employ more than a few thousands; but there is a real reason for their opposition, that is, the rise in native wages which would very probably be caused by successful recruiting for the mining industry. For instance, I believe that the current rate of native wages in the Nyassaland Protectorate at present runs from 3s. to 5s. a month. If we engage many natives there at even 30s. a month, it is very likely that those who remain to work in the country will demand higher pay. Naturally the local employers regard that as an evil to be avoided at all costs. I am inclined to think that they are mistaken in their calculations, and that the large amount of money brought into the country by returning natives would more than compensate them in increase of trade for the rise in the local price of labour. However, naturally, perhaps, they take a different view; and they are supported by many of the professional friends of the native at home, who talk as if we were proposing to enslave men and carry them off against their will to labour in the mines. That is absurd. We do not ask the Governments of these native territories to bring any sort of compulsion or influence to bear on the natives. We merely ask for the removal of mediæval restrictions which prevent the native from carrying his labour to the best market. If the native is willing to engage himself, it is difficult to see how they can justify a refusal to allow him to do so, in order that the local inhabitants may continue to employ him at one-tenth the rate of wages which he can earn on the Rand. If he is not willing, he will not come. We have absolutely no means of compelling him, even if we desire to do so, nor could we deceive him if the contract were entered into, as we wish it to be, in his own country, before a magistrate, who would see that he understood the terms.

#### ASIATICS.

To return to the main subject, the possibilities of the future labour supply from Africa, north of the Zambesi. You will see that, assuming all extraneous obstacles are removed, assuming also that the conditions turn out to be most favourable, there may be a large supply, but not an immediate supply. It will not help us over our first problem, the restoration of the industry within a reasonable time, to the position which it had before the war. By no possible expenditure of money or energy can you hope to obtain a great number of labourers from those northern territories within the present year. For that we must rely on the old sources. If they prove sufficient, we shall have solved the first problem. If not— But if we do

solve the first problem, and if we do obtain from the old sources the native labour required to work 6,000 stamps, the second problem remains, that is, to provide sufficiently soon a further great number of native labourers for raw development. It is here that these new sources may help us. I do not say they will. I do not take a sanguine view, but they may. A certain time will have been given for trial of them. A certain breathing space will be allowed—not a long one. By that time we shall know whether the two assumptions which I have just indicated are to be fulfilled. If they are not, if insurmountable obstacles prevent us from recruiting, or if recruiting shows no sign of producing the numbers that will be needed, then again we shall be brought to a stop. The second problem will confront us as urgently as the first confronts us to-day. Now it is a question of obtaining 100,000 native labourers from the old sources. Then it will be a question of obtaining a second hundred thousand from the new. If it is plain that there is no prospect of doing that, you will have to choose between restricting the development of the mines, and obtaining labour elsewhere.

I now beg to move the adoption of the annual report and the accounts, which are before you.

Mr. E. J. Way, in seconding, said they must all agree that the W.N.L.A. was about the best abused institution of any institution ever founded on these fields, and he thought the reason for that was that most of them had a pet scheme of their own in regard to the supply of native labour. He thought the blame so unsparingly levelled on the Association should be more or less spent on the boys themselves. It would, he contended, be a bad day for these fields if the old system of individual touting was returned to.

The report was adopted.

Mr. Strange moved, and Mr. Francke seconded, that the auditors, Messrs. T. Douglas and W. M. Brown, be re-elected, and that their fee be 250 guineas each.

In proposing a vote of thanks to his successor, Mr. Strange said Mr. Perry had dealt with important matters, and his elucidation of the extremely knotty and difficult points which presented themselves to the Association would give the public a better knowledge of the working of the Association.

The meeting then terminated.

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No. 10.

MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received May 9, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 12.]

SIR, 120, Bishopsgate Street Within, London, E.C., May 8, 1903.

WITH reference to the very comprehensive speech which you delivered in the House of Commons, a report of which appeared in the "Times" on the 7th instant, we note that in regard to the issue of the Loan of £30,000,000 (concerning which negotiations took place, resulting in a number of mining firms and companies agreeing to guarantee the first instalment of £10,000,000 upon certain conditions) you only quoted the rate of interest of 4 per cent. as a condition that could not be varied without the consent of the persons who had subscribed to the guarantee.

We entirely share your hope and belief that the financial position of the Transvaal may justify the issue of the Loan at a lower rate of interest than 4 per cent., but we feel bound to draw your attention to another stipulation which was made by the guarantors, viz., that, as a safeguard against an unfavourable moment being chosen to bring out the Loan, some person, who would enjoy the confidence of His Majesty's Government and of those who would undertake the responsibility of guaranteeing the first £10,000,000, should be appointed to consent, on behalf of the guarantors, to the date selected.

We fully appreciate that His Majesty's Government would be anxious not to place this Loan upon the market at any but a favourable moment, and that, therefore, no difficulty would be likely to arise on that head; but the persons who are parties to the signing of the guarantee made the stipulation referred to, and it would be a very regrettable incident if any difference of opinion should arise at the time proposed for the issue, which might give the appearance of a desire on the part of the guarantors to withdraw from their obligation, which is certainly not the case.

It is quite possible that you had this point in mind, but did not think it of sufficient importance to include in your statement, but in case this should not be so,

we deem it our duty to draw your attention to it as the correspondence was conducted through us.

We are, &c.,  
WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY.

The Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain, P.C., M.P.

No. 11.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received 3.45 p.m., May 12, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 16]

12th May. No. 135. Transvaal Chamber of Mines anxious to send mission to West Africa, viz., hinterland of Lagos and Nigeria to ascertain whether suitable labour can be obtained for mines. In order not to lose time would you agree to mission of inquiry proceeding at once with the object (1) of obtaining information (2) if information favourable, of bringing back experimental batch of, say, 1,000 labourers on conditions to be determined by local authorities?

No. 12.

COLONIAL OFFICE to MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY.

[Answered by No. 15.]

GENTLEMEN,

Downing Street, May 15, 1903.

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant,\* respecting the conditions under which certain firms have undertaken to underwrite the first instalment of the Transvaal War Contribution Loan.

In a letter addressed on the 21st January last† to Lord Milner by Messrs. H. Eckstein and Company, for the purpose of putting on record the arrangements arrived at, they submitted the following observations on the point to which you refer:—

“It is understood, as between the Government and the guarantors of the issue, that an independent arbiter be appointed to decide whether the condition of the money market, at the time the issue of the first instalment is proposed to be made, is sufficiently satisfactory. We understand from our London friends that Lord Rothschild is willing to act in this capacity if requested by the Imperial Government to do so, and we would, therefore, suggest to Your Excellency that he be thus approached by the Imperial Government.”

In reply to this letter Lord Milner wrote, on the 27th January; “With regard to the statement that ‘it is understood . . . is sufficiently satisfactory,’ I can only say that I am personally unaware of any such understanding. It is the practice of His Majesty’s Government, before issuing loans of importance, to consult with independent financial authorities as to the condition of the market, and as to the best time and manner of issuing such loans. But I do not think they would be likely to accept anyone, not even so high an authority as Lord Rothschild, as an “arbiter” having power to control their action and to determine whether the Loan should or should not be issued at a given time.”

This matter was not mentioned to Mr. Chamberlain personally while in the Transvaal, and his only knowledge of it is derived from the correspondence quoted above. It is, therefore, evident that you have been misinformed, and that no such condition was proposed or accepted as part of the arrangement under which the first instalment was to be underwritten.

Lord Milner has correctly indicated what would have been the attitude of His Majesty’s Government towards such a proposal, if it had been submitted to them; but the interest of the Colonial Government in the success of this first issue of the

\* No. 10,

† In No. 1.

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Loan, which will clearly affect the prospects of the other two instalments, is so great that they will certainly not fail to avail themselves of the best advice on such a question as the moment of issue.

I am, &c.,  
H. BERTRAM COX.

No. 13.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to GOVERNOR SIR WILLIAM MACGREGOR (LAGOS).  
(Sent 11.50 a.m., May 26, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 14.]

Transvaal Chamber of Mines anxious to send mission to hinterland of Lagos and Nigeria to ascertain whether suitable labour can be obtained there. They desire first to obtain information; secondly, if information favourable to bring back experimental batch of, say, 1,000 labourers, on conditions to be determined by local authorities. I am aware that you have several times expressed opinions strongly adverse to recruiting labourers in Lagos for employment outside the Colony, but in view of the vital importance of doing everything that can be done to solve the question of labour for the Transvaal, I will not answer the Chamber of Mines until I hear from you whether circumstances have so changed as to enable you to modify (? the) views you formerly held.

No. 14.

GOVERNOR SIR WILLIAM MACGREGOR (LAGOS) to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.  
(Sent from Lagos 5.30 p.m.; received 9.55 p.m., June 9, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

Referring to your telegram of 26th May,\* hold strongly contrary best interests of this country send labourers Transvaal. Do not think that they would go from Lagos. Would meet with opposition from native members of Legislative Council all Chiefs. Cannot spare men. Am now trying to send 200 men Northern Nigeria.

Above view based solely on local consideration. If you think Imperial necessity must prevail let mission come to Lagos first.

No. 15.

MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY to COLONIAL OFFICE.  
(Received June 19, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 19.]

SIR, 1, London Wall Buildings, London, E.C., June 18, 1903.

In reference to your letter of May 15th,† we have the honour to inform you that as the guarantee, which was signed by the various houses, contained a specific provision in regard to an arbiter, it became necessary to call a meeting of the signatories with a view to its amendment. We are pleased to inform you that at a meeting held on the 8th June, the following resolution was passed:—

That this meeting, having considered the correspondence upon the subject of the guarantee of the first £10,000,000 of the Transvaal War Contribution Loan of £30,000,000, and feeling assured that His Majesty's Government will follow the course laid down in the Colonial Secretary's letter of 15th May, 1903, viz., that

“It is the practice of His Majesty's Government, before issuing loans of importance, to consult with independent financial authorities as to the

\* No. 13.

† No. 12.

condition of the market, and as to the best time and manner of issuing such loans,"  
 agrees to withdraw the condition contained in the guarantee dated the 15th day of January, 1903, as follows:—

"If, in the opinion of a majority of us in value communicated in writing to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies for the time being such date should for any reason be deemed inopportune, the question of the date of such issue shall be referred to . . . . . whose decision shall be binding and conclusive."

We may say that we have since obtained a formal consent in writing from all those who signed the guarantee to the withdrawal of the condition above mentioned, with the single exception of the Natal Bank, whose representatives in London wished the matter to be laid before their Board in South Africa. We may, however, mention that as their name only appears for the sum of £100,000, their adhesion or otherwise to the guarantee need not be considered of importance.

We have, &c.,  
 WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY.

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No. 16.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER.

(Sent 3.40 p.m., June 23, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

23rd June. No. 1. Referring to your telegram of 12th May, No. 135,\* your telegram of 27th April to Sir R. Moor† conveying message from Lagden was repeated here as Moor was on leave. I have referred matter to Moor, in whose judgment I have great confidence, and have informed him that I desire to assist Transvaal labour market by every means in my power. He has replied that, in his opinion, experiment if made would be entire failure unless backed by strongest Governmental personal influence and pressure, and in any event could not lead to establishment of labour market for South Africa. He points out that Southern Nigeria is hopelessly underpopulated owing to recent slavery and internal dissensions, labour not half sufficient for needs of country and no labour market exists. Interior tribes only just emerging from a state of perpetual civil war and slave raiding, and it would be regarded as recrudescence of slavery if Government brought pressure on labourers to leave country. Government has guaranteed effective support of house system to both coast and inland tribes, and to hold out any inducement to natives to go to South Africa without consent of chiefs would amount to breach of faith. Experiment would certainly cause much ill-feeling and would alienate friendly chiefs and tribes.

In face of this opinion I am reluctantly obliged to say that I see no prospect of advantage from such an inquiry as it was proposed to institute in Southern Nigeria.

After communicating with Governor of Lagos, I regret that there is no hope of obtaining labour from that quarter.

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No. 17.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received June 27, 1903.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, June 6, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, an extract from the "Rand Daily Mail" of 6th June—Report of Deputation of the White League, 2nd June, 1903, on the subject of the importation of Asiatic labour.

I have, &c.,  
 MILNER,  
 Governor.

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\* No. 11.

† Not printed.



## Enclosure in No. 17.

The "RAND DAILY MAIL," Saturday, June 6, 1903.

## SKILLED AND UNSKILLED LABOUR.

Mr. Hay, having presented to His Excellency a copy of certain resolutions, which were passed at a meeting held recently to protest against the introduction of Asiatic labour, said that the capitalists asked for Chinese labour on the ground that they could not afford to pay higher wages than they were at present. He contended that any business concern, which was making 33½ per cent. on the gross turnover, could afford to pay fairly high wages. In 1898 the gross production of the mines was £15,000,000, of which £5,000,000 was paid away in dividends. In 1898 each £1 recovered cost approximately 11s., and in 1902 each £1 cost approximately 13s., leaving, in the latter year, over 33½ per cent. profit. Their own figures disproved their contention that they could not afford to pay more for labour. But what would be the real effect of the importation of Chinese labour? One thing was certain, and that was that there would be a reduction in the number of white men employed. What would be the dividing line between skilled labour and unskilled labour? Mr. Rogers, at the Ferreira meeting, had made a statement to the effect that £26 per month was to be considered the minimum wage for skilled labour, and Mr. Albu, at the George Goch meeting, had stated that it was proposed to supersede unskilled labour by Asiatic labour. Mr. Henning Jennings, in his report, stated that the average pay on the mines was £352 per annum. That included mine managers, &c., &c., and brought down the number of those on the mines who received less than £26 per month very considerably. This would mean that approximately 7,600 would be dismissed out of every 10,000. It was a well-known fact that the Chinese would not work alongside what they termed "foreign devils." There was another point which should not be overlooked. At the present time about 85 per cent. of the shares in the mines in this country were held by people who resided out of the country. Thus, only the dividends on 15 per cent. of the shares remained in the country. In addition to this vast sum of money, which was annually going out of the country, the Chinese, if introduced, would take away practically all their wages with them. Chinamen did not eat as white people, nor did they dress in European garments. In the Straits Settlements the Chinese employed there regularly brought a six months' supply of rice and opium with them, so that they spent very little money in the country. They would do exactly the same in the Transvaal, with the result that all the money paid to them in wages would go out of the country. That being the case, they considered that it was their duty to protest against the importation of Asiatics.

## WHITE LABOUR ON THE MINES.

Mr. McDonald said that while he did not wish to say anything against the white labour at present employed on the mines, it certainly was not representative of the class of white labour which used to be employed there before the war. During the war he went down to Maritzburg to recruit refugees from Johannesburg for the Railway Pioneer Regiment, and, much to his surprise, he found that the people who had been joining were firemen and stokers from the ships in the harbours, which were in fact denuded of their crews. In very few instances were they refugees from Johannesburg. And those were the men who were now employed on the mines at 5s. a day. But they were by no means the same class of labour which was employed on the mines prior to the war.

Mr. Dewar suggested that the law referred to in the first resolution on the paper handed to His Excellency should be enforced against the Chinese—that they should be made to pay £10 on entering the Colony, and that they should also pay the annual tax of £25 provided in that law. He pointed out that there were a large number of shops, particularly in Jeppes-town and Fordsburg, which were run by Chinamen. They made a point of securing corner shops. But as to the question of whether there was or was not a sufficient supply of labour within South Africa, he thought that the first point was to find out what was required. There was another point, and that was, would it not be far better to recover the gold in the mines at a moderate rate than to work them out in a few years? Supposing, for instance of course such a thing was absurd—that all the gold was got out in a year, what would be the result to the country generally?

## TWO ABSURDITIES.

His Excellency: You have put forward an absurdity; let me put an opposite absurdity: Would it be better for the country that the mines should be made to last for, say, 100,000 years? To my mind, the faster the gold is recovered, the sooner shall we be able to establish those other industries upon which, in the long run, the prosperity of the country must depend.

Mr. Hay said they quite agreed with that. Gold did not make the prosperity of a country. But their point was this: Mines which were reckoned, say 10 years ago, to work out in 50 years, were being so worked now that they would be exhausted in about 12½ years. Would the country benefit by the rapid extraction of the gold? He did not think so. Before the war there were about 95,000 natives in the mines. At the present time there were about the same number, after deducting the 25 or 30 per cent. which in those days were unfit for work owing to drink, yet for some reason or other the mine owners were not running the same number of stamps. They could run the old number of stamps if they wished to with the labour that they had got. But the fact was that they wanted to get Chinese labour. And he was sure that, once they got Chinese labour, many white men would have to go. Drilling

was purely a white man's work. But if Chinese labour were imported this would soon cease to be their work, for it was well known that Chinamen would not work with "foreign devils." If it came to be a question of a few white men against, say, 3,000 Chinese, it would be the white men who would have to go.

#### WHY THE NATIVE WON'T WORK.

Mr. McDonald thought that little effort was being made to get boys. Further, the boys were not properly treated. He was for some time at Brakpan, where he found that some boys on a four months' contract were kept for six months at 17s. a month. At that time the Government Proclamation fixed the wages at 30s. a month. The boys were fine strapping Zulus. They did not complain, because they were afraid of Martial Law, which was still in force at that time. He felt certain that those boys would go home to the kraals and say: "Don't trust the British Government. They said we were to have 30s. a month, and we only got 17s." He complained to the Civil Authorities, but they took no notice. He thought the number of boys who were coming in at the present time, in spite of everything, was simply marvellous. He would go so far as to say that if the mine owner only went about it the right way they would get an ample supply of labour in South Africa without going to Asia. Years ago there was the same trouble about labour in Kimberley, when the diamond fields were first discovered. Then boys were getting on an average 10s. a month, but to go on the mines they demanded £5 per month. The mine owners asked to be permitted to import coolies, but the Cape Government replied to the effect that they would not allow it. If they could not work the mines with the labour in the country they had better close them down. Then the mine owners started to consider the comfort of the boys, their feeding and accommodation. The result was that now they had all the boys they wanted. Kimberley since that date had proved one of the finest training grounds for natives in South Africa. It was necessary to study the comfort of the boys, their food and accommodation. He could always get as many boys as he wanted, and he could get them for 1s. 6d. where other men would not get them for 2s. 6d. a day. The fact was natives either implicitly believed or absolutely distrusted. At the conclusion of the war they distributed to a considerable extent, and especially as wages were suddenly reduced. This stopped many boys from coming in to work on the mines.

His Excellency: When did you complain to the Civil Authorities about the boys being paid 17s. a month instead of 30s.?

Mr. McDonald: About a year ago—in May, 1902, I think.

#### THE MINE-OWNERS' POLICY.

His Excellency: I think had the mine owners known anything about it they would have severely censured the men who were responsible for it. I cannot make out what you think the policy of the mine owners is. You assert that they want to work out the mines at an excessive pace, but at the same time you affirm that they are rendering white labour impossible, and that they are not making the least endeavour to get natives.

Mr. Hay: They think they will be able to pay higher dividends once they get Chinese labour. Hence this policy.

His Excellency: I differ from you in thinking that Chinese labour will be cheaper.

Mr. Hay: I know that the Chinese will work for 10d. or 10½d. per day, and their keep, which works out at about 6d. per day. Skilled Chinese labourers—I mean those who can work machinery—get about 1s. 10d. per day and their keep. That is what the Chinese get in the Straits Settlements.

His Excellency: It does not follow, because they work for that wage where living is extremely cheap, that they are going to work for that wage here where living is extremely dear.

Mr. Hay: But the Chinese will work for very long hours. In Australia I know of an instance where they worked from sunrise and on so long as there was sufficient light to see by. But there is this point, they will not do day work. They must have an interest in the result of their labours.

His Excellency: But that is no argument against them.

Mr. Hay: As far as I am concerned I have an open mind. I certainly have a great prejudice against them. Every Colonial-born man has. And we have also some feeling for our wives and children and sisters. It cannot be disputed that the Chinese are most immoral. We believe that the Chinese will make this country intolerable for self-respecting people.

Mr. McDonald: In Natal the people were assured that when indentured coolies were first imported they would be sent home at the end of the term of their contract. After the arrival of the first batch, the Indian Government said that no more should be allowed to come unless Indians were permitted to hold property in Natal and to trade there. Gradually the restrictions were relaxed and what is the result to-day? Natal at the present time is over-run with Indians. Say 100,000 Chinamen came here, in all likelihood the Chinese Government would say, "You shall not have any more unless you allow Chinamen to reside in the Transvaal and to trade there, and to hold property there." In time the Government would yield. And where would it end? We would be in a worse position than they are at the present time in Natal. But have the mines really tried to get native labour? I know of cases where natives have been offered to the mines but they have refused them.

## THE W.N.L.A. A "HUGE DECEPTION."

His Excellency: The Native Labour Association is spending, I believe, something like £50,000 a year trying to get native labour. Is your theory then that that is merely a blind, that they are not trying to get natives, that in fact they are doing their best to keep them away from the mines, and that the Native Labour Association is a huge deception? Is that your theory?

Mr. Hay: Yes, it is our view.

Mr. McDonald: That was certainly done at first. But since they have been found out, they have started taking natives and making slight efforts to get them.

His Excellency: Then you admit that they are trying to get them?

Mr. McDonald: Yes, but only because public opinion has been brought to bear upon the Association.

Mr. Hay: We Colonial-born men feel that our country is being utilised by capitalists for the purposes of making money to spend the money they make outside the country. It is the fact of all this money going out of the country that makes us feel that our country will be ruined if Chinese labour is introduced, for the Chinese will take more money out of the country.

Mr. McDonald: How is it that in Canada we do not hear of this sort of thing? There, when they want labour they get white labour from home. Here we have an enormous supply of labour, and yet it is proposed to import Asiatics! And once the Chinese are brought here the natives will be neglected as they have been in Natal, and the same conditions which exist in that Colony to-day will in time exist here.

Mr. Dewar: This country somewhat resembles Ireland—there you hear of the absentee landlord, while here we have the absentee capitalist. We should all like to see Mr. Chamberlain's new fiscal policy carried out. But shall we see that end achieved by introducing Asiatic labour? I venture to say not. There is another point. Coolies are born traders, and if they came in any numbers to this Colony they would never become producers. They would merely help to circulate money, which can as easily be done by the many white people already here.

## HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

## NO COMPLETE ANSWER POSSIBLE.

His Excellency: I have to thank you for the expression of your views. I fear that I must reply at some length, as I propose to take this opportunity of dealing with all representations which I have received from the White League and to petitions got up by its agency. I owe an apology to the petitioners for not replying to them before. The reason, however, is not that I have neglected those communications, the importance of which I fully recognise. If no final answer has been given to your representations, it is because no complete answer is even now possible. To some extent, no doubt, the Government Notice of the 8th April, which has been the subject of protest by the British Indians, does give a practical answer, and goes a long way to meet your views, though it does not go all the way. But I am far from regarding the policy of the Government Notice as a final settlement. It is essentially a provisional measure, a "*modus vivendi*." No permanent solution can be found except in fresh legislation.

In dealing with it the Legislature of this Colony will, no doubt, be guided by local interests, and they cannot help being influenced to a great extent by local feeling. But they will also, have, in a very special degree, to take into consideration the views of the Imperial Government. It is no use passing a law to which His Majesty's Government could not possibly assent. However unwilling His Majesty's Government may be—and I am sure it will be very unwilling—to interfere with the decisions of the local Legislature, this is just one of the questions with regard to which they might be compelled to dissent, if action were proposed here which was entirely inconsistent with the interests of the Empire as a whole and with certain broad principles of Imperial policy.

## MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND PREJUDICES.

Bearing all these considerations in mind, I will ask you not to regard what I may say to-day as an authoritative intimation of what is going to be done. I am not in a position to give such an intimation. Indeed my only object in discussing the matter at all is to try and mitigate, if I cannot remove, some of the misunderstanding and prejudice in which it was enveloped.

The White League, as I understand, is anxious to see a great increase in the white population of this Colony. So are we all. It is anxious further that the white inhabitants, present and future, should be prosperous, able to keep up that fairly high standard of living which they, on the whole, at present enjoy, not struggling with themselves or others for a mere subsistence. That again is ground common to all. But if you go on to maintain that the increase and the prosperity of the white population will be promoted by a general crusade against Asiatics, by harrying those already here and by preventing any more from coming, for whatever purpose, then you take up very disputable ground. Personally I differ quite as much from that extreme as I do from the opposite extreme, from the demand, that is to say, that we should throw open the country without restriction to any and every Asiatic who

chooses to come here and accord him all the privileges of its white inhabitants. No reasonable man, fully acquainted with South African conditions, would advocate such a policy as that. Indeed it is not merely a question of Asiatics. Constituted as we are, we cannot admit an indiscriminate influx of people of a class which the country is as yet unable to digest either economically or socially, whether from Asia or from anywhere else.

#### A LEGACY OF THE PAST.

But now, before I say any more about Asiatic immigration, let me turn for a moment to the case of those already here. Whatever we may decide as to Asiatics coming here in the future, it cannot be right that we should maltreat those who are a legacy of the past. The Asiatic refugees at the coast had as much right to return as other refugees.

Mr. McDonald: I would venture to assert that there are more coolies here now than there were before the war—that one-third of the coolie population in the Transvaal at the present time was not here prior to the war.

His Excellency: It is no doubt the case, as I told the Indian deputation the other day, that a number of Indians came up without authority. But we have put a stop to this. I am speaking of Asiatics who were here before the war. Of course they cannot complain if, on their return, they remain subject to the laws formerly in force. But even in carrying out those laws we are bound to act with reasonable consideration, the more so as the British Government before the war protested with all its energy against any harsh application of the special treatment to which the Asiatics were, on sanitary grounds, subjected. The final position of the British Government in this matter was that it accepted, though not without reluctance, the principle of the segregation of Asiatics on sanitary grounds, but that it objected to any inequitable and unnecessary enforcement of it. The position of the Government of the Transvaal to-day is a similar one.

Whatever steps it may take with regard to the bulk of Asiatics, it means to respect acquired rights. Neither is it prepared to enforce regulations, which were professedly only made and can certainly only be justified by the low grade of civilisation and insanitary habits of many Asiatics, against men who are just as respectable, well-conducted, and as cleanly as their white neighbours.

#### TWO IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES.

I am speaking now of the position as it exists. But I may say that, in my opinion, whatever form future legislation may take, those two principles ought to be maintained, the respect for rights acquired before we ever took the country, and the exemption of Asiatics of a superior class from restrictions, which, in their case, would be unnecessary and degrading. People say it is difficult to make such distinctions. I say it is impossible not to make them. It is utterly contrary to justice and common sense, it is repugnant to the most honourable instincts and traditions of the British race to treat, or to speak of, Asiatics as a body, including the best of our Indian fellow subjects, as if they were so many raw barbarians.

The attitude is unjustifiable, and it is foolish. So far from strengthening, it weakens the case for what I yield to no man in holding to be our inherent right to regulate Asiatic immigration, and all immigration for the matter of that, in the defence of the highest interests of the community. We are here a minority of Europeans in the midst of a vastly greater aboriginal population, and for their welfare as well as for our own it is essential that we should maintain for ourselves a certain standard of civilisation. We cannot let that position be impaired by a great influx of people, whencesoever derived, whose permanent establishment in our midst would tend to pull us down. And such a lowering of the European standard might be brought about in two ways—either by mere contact with less civilised manner of life on the part of the immigrants, or by the successful competition of these immigrants, rendered possible by their lower standard of comfort and decency, impoverishing the present population. Whichever form it takes, we are entitled to guard against the danger. Every community has this right of self-preservation. We only obscure the issue and weaken the case by importing race-prejudice and colour-prejudice into the discussion. And the more so because, while we may have to resist, and should be justified in resisting, Asiatic immigration in one form, we may need it in another.

#### WHAT WE DO AND DO NOT WANT.

We do not want Asiatics, in large numbers, permanently settled in the midst of and mixed up with the European population. We do not want them, to put it frankly, taking the bread out of the mouths of the white men and lowering their standard of living by competing for work which those white men can perfectly well perform themselves. But we may want them in considerable numbers, for temporary purposes, and under control which will ensure their return to their own country, in order to do work for which it is economically impossible to pay wages on which a European can live in this country as he ought to live, work which is urgently required, and which, without external assistance, may have to remain undone. When I say that, I am not thinking mainly of the mines. I am thinking of works of public improvement, which concern me much more nearly. And there is absolutely no reason, that I can see, in nature or common sense, why we should not use indentured labourers—whether Asiatics or others—for purposes for which we may require them, and as long as we may require them, without being permanently saddled with them for all purposes. To say that such labourers, once here, must necessarily remain here always, because they may have remained in other

countries, where the danger of their so remaining was not foreseen and therefore not guarded against, seems a complete *non sequitur*. In this Colony we certainly shall guard against it. And that being so, I do not see why neighbouring Colonies should feel the least disturbed in their minds about the matter.

They have much more real cause for uneasiness in the prospect of the Transvaal making constantly increasing demands on their labour supply, already none too abundant, and forcing up their current rates of native wages to a crippling figure in the process. Indeed an economic tug of war between this Colony and its neighbours, the latter struggling to retain their own native labour against the attractive power of the Transvaal's, is by no means a remote contingency. There have even been signs that the other Colonies might go the length of using administrative and legal means to keep their natives for themselves. I trust that neighbourliness and a sense of the solidarity of South Africa will prevent this being done to any great extent. But the fact that the danger exists is an additional reason for our seeking to lighten the strain on all of us by opening new sources of supply.

#### AN ABSURD NOTION.

Now, when I say that, do not anybody rush to the conclusion that the importation of indentured labour is imminent. One can hardly take a newspaper now-a-days without seeing a rumour that so many thousands of Asiatics have actually been recruited for the Transvaal. I believe there are people who live in daily expectation of hearing that a whole shipload have been landed at Delagoa Bay. All that is absolute nonsense. We are a long way off anything of the kind. For one thing, we have not, so far, the slightest certainty that the people, whose rumoured advent so greatly disturbs some of us, would be prepared to come. Asiatic labourers may not care to go to a country where they have at least some reason for thinking that they will meet with a very unfriendly reception. Or, if the labourers themselves were willing to risk it, their Governments might refuse to let them. The Indian Government for one has already declined to consider a proposal for the introduction of Indian miners into Rhodesia, and has given, as one of its reasons, that it cannot feel certain that they would be properly treated there. But we have not only to consider the Indian Government but the Home Government. And the Home Government will not agree to our introducing indentured Asiatic labour, if they think that the mass of the European population are dead against it.

#### AWAITING THE VERDICT.

Now, as far as that is concerned, I adhere to the opinion that the attitude of the great central body of the community will ultimately be determined by its judgment on a question of fact. That question is whether the development, which this country so sorely needs and upon which the increase of its white population depends, can be proceeded with—I do not say at full speed—but at anything like a reasonable pace without the assistance of indentured Asiatic labour. Should that question be answered in the negative, I think public opinion would end by favouring the importation of such labour, if we could get it. It is all very well to say “Perish the mines rather than let any more Asiatics set foot on the soil of the Transvaal.” But the advocates of such extreme doctrines do not themselves venture to challenge a public verdict on this issue. They may begin by saying that the extinction of all our industries is preferable to the introduction of Asiatic labour, but they always go on to argue that its use is unnecessary, because (1) South African labour is sufficient, or (2) other African labour might be obtained, or (3) white labour might be resorted to. The question is how far these propositions are supported by facts?

It is an unfortunate circumstance that so many people seem unable to discuss this question of fact in a temperate manner, that they become partisans, so to speak, of a particular solution, and, while exaggerating everything that makes in favour of that solution, decline to see the plainest arguments on the other side. To listen to some of the extreme advocates of Asiatic labour you would think that this place was on the verge of total ruin. What is really the case? The production of gold even now is greater than in 1895 or 1896, when the Transvaal already was, and had been for some time, the marvel of the world in the matter of gold production. The world progresses no doubt, but what was fabulous wealth seven years ago is not abject poverty to-day. Not only that, but the rate of production is steadily increasing. It was 217,000 ounces for March, and 227,000 ounces for April. It is likely to be near a quarter of a million ounces for May. And this is due to the fact that, despite the enormous difficulty of getting it, native labour is clearly increasing. For several months there has been a net gain of at least 3,000 a month. That is a considerable increase and notable achievement. But, while it is absurd to paint the picture in too black colours, it is no use blinking the fact that the increase I have mentioned has only been obtained by a great rise in wages, by greatly increased expenditure in every direction and by immense and ubiquitous activity in recruiting. The pace is hardly likely to increase, yet at this pace it looks as if it would take a considerable number of years to obtain labour sufficient even for our actual present requirements, without going into the question of entirely new enterprises, of which there would, if labour could be found for them, undoubtedly be many. At the present rate it would, I say, take years to get the labour in South Africa, assuming it is there to be got.

#### NATIVE LABOUR INSUFFICIENT.

But is it? Personally I am convinced that it is not, and I have not arrived at that conclusion in a hurry. It is possible that we might, in the course of years, beat up a sufficient number of natives in South Africa, if nobody else wanted them. But everybody else wants

them. That was the fact, already sufficiently patent, which came out most strongly in the deliberations at Bloemfontein. I see the Government of the Transvaal has been asked to give the figures on which the Conference based its resolutions as to the sufficiency of native labour. The Conference itself declined to commit itself to figures, which could, under the circumstances, be only approximate, and about which there were wide differences of opinion. But the point is that, different as the estimates were, none of them showed an additional supply of native labour at all adequate to the demand. Moreover, the figures were only part, and to my mind, the least conclusive part, of the considerations on which the resolution of the Conference was based. The important fact was, that the Conference included amongst its members men who could speak with the greatest authority as to the present position of affairs in all the most populous native districts, and while each of them was hopeful of an increase in the supply from other districts, he was equally positive that no considerable increase was possible from his own.

#### A HOPEFUL VIEW.

You must not conclude from what I have said that I take a despondent view of this matter. In my opinion there will be a steady though slow improvement. The number of natives, and specially of male natives, will increase with the cessation of inter-tribal warfare. And as the natives become more settled, they will become more industrious. The more they are brought under the control of civilised administration, the more they acquire civilised for tribal ownership, the more work we shall get out of them. But these influences, though full of promise for the future, can go but a little way to solve the immediate problem.

Is Central Africa going to help us out of our difficulty? All I can say is that so far, though tapping at every door, we have met with little but discouragement. With the single exception of British Central Africa, from which we may in a year or so get an appreciable though not large number of labourers, there are so far nothing but vague hopes, which dissolve as you try to grasp them. And when you think of all the difficulties, the extremely low stage of civilisation of the Central African natives, their dislike of continuous work, their dread of leaving their own country, the reluctance of every one of the Governments we have approached to allow them to do so, and the fact that the white settlers almost everywhere, however numerous the black population by which they are surrounded, are themselves clamorous for more labour, it is impossible to feel any surprise at this disappointing result. By all means let us continue to try Central Africa. Let us try hard. This is no case of preaching without practice, for, whatever has been accomplished in that quarter hitherto, has been mainly through the active intervention of the Government.

I say let us get all we can out of Central Africa, for we cannot afford to lose any possible source of supply. But do not reckon on it to the neglect or even the relaxation of efforts in other directions. The chances of any great relief from that quarter within a reasonable time are far too small.

And so we are left with more white labour or with Asiatic labour, if, that is, we want to go ahead. We may maintain the position without either; we may even improve it a little. But it is hard to see how anything like rapid development is to come about without assistance from one or other of these sources. But why not both? Of all the extraordinary things about this muddled controversy the strangest is that white labour and Asiatic labour should be regarded as mutually exclusive. The strongest argument, it seems to me, in favour of unskilled Asiatic labour is that it will open up a field for the employment of a vastly increased number of whites, and of well paid whites. From that point of view, it appears to me that the regulated use of Asiatic labour should not only not encounter hostility, but obtain the enthusiastic support of the White League.

I for one do not desire that the wages of the white man—the real wages I mean—should be lower than they are to-day. Our welfare depends upon increasing the quantity of our white population, but not at the expense of its quality. We do not want a white proletariat in this country. The position of the whites among the vastly more numerous black population requires that even their lowest ranks should be able to maintain a standard of living far above that of poorest section of the population of a purely white country. But, without making them hewers of wood and drawers of water, there are scores and scores of employments in which white men could be honourably and profitably employed, if we could at once succeed in multiplying our industries and in reducing the cost of living. And the two things go hand in hand. With the development of agriculture and industry, the cost of living would fall of itself. In that case you could have a great increase in the white population without any diminution in the status of the individual white, for, though he might not receive the same amount of money as he does to-day, a less amount of money would represent a greater amount of commodities and comfort, and many enterprises could flourish which have no chance to-day, because white labour is essential to them and the price of white labour is prohibitive. However you look at the matter, you always come back to the same root principle—the urgency of that development which alone can make this a white man's country in the only sense in which South Africa can become one, and that is, not a country full of poor whites, but one in which a largely increased white population can live in decency and comfort. That development requires capital—we have got the capital—but it also requires a large amount of rough labour. And that labour cannot, to any great extent, be white, if only because, pending development and the consequent reduction in the cost of living, white labour is much too dear.

Mr. McDonald: If once we got Chinese labour they would end by supplanting the whites. You could not stop them. Any regulations you made would be gradually broken down.

#### WHERE LABOUR IS WANTED.

His Excellency: We must agree to differ about that. When I talk of development, I am not thinking of anything distant and speculative. I am thinking only of those immediate and urgent wants, without the satisfaction of which the Transvaal for years to come may just sit and look at its vast potential wealth. I am weary of reiterating that this country wants almost everything in the way of material equipment that a civilised country ought to have. Johannesburg alone, though it is far better off in this respect than any other place, wants immediately a large amount of labour for tramways, for drainage, for public buildings. Every other centre of population is in much worse plight. The other growing towns along the Rand and the country towns have, for the most part, not even a proper water supply, and they have nothing else. Town and country alike want railways, and the districts which cannot have railways must at least have decent roads.

How are we going to get all this work done with anything like reasonable expedition? We are already threatened with a deadlock over the very first item of our programme—I mean railways. We have to face the fact that we must either compete against the mines and other nascent industries for native labour, or bring in other forms of labour, or abandon or modify our railway programme. Some people seem to regard the last-named alternative with comparative equanimity. To my mind it would be an absolutely fatal error, because it would strike at the root of what I regard as the true policy for this country, especially from the point of view of making it a white man's country—the policy of bold, economic development. Means of communication are of the very first importance in such a policy. They are the foundation stone of the whole edifice. If you let yourselves be defeated by the first difficulty which besets the attainment of your first requisite, it looks rather like throwing up the game.

#### AN OBJECT LESSON.

The railway difficulty is a good object lesson. It illustrates the whole position and to my mind it ought to teach us that we must avail ourselves of all possible resources, and not each of us ride his particular hobby-horse to death. There are some railways which can, I believe, be built by local native labour, because the natives, who would work on these railways in their own districts, will not go to work at a distance, and in any case could not be got for the mines. Then we are, as you know, making an experiment with British navvies. We have got 500, and, although they are very costly, I for my part would gladly employ 5,000 if we could get good men. But that experiment illustrates the limits which present circumstances impose upon the employment of British workmen for rough work in this country. I have had the figures taken out, and though the navvy individually does much more work than the native, his wages, food, and accommodation cost so much more (and, mind you, he is not paid too highly), that the work is fully twice as dear as if done by natives. The Government, no doubt, can afford for a great public object and any relief to the strain on the labour market at present is such an object—to get some of its work done at what may be called a fancy price, but private enterprise, which must work for a profit, cannot be expected to follow suit. And there is clearly a limit to the extent to which even the Government can go in using such costly labour without a great curtailment of the programme. And, as you know, the programme, extensive as it is, still falls far short of all that is earnestly and reasonably demanded.

#### INDIAN GOVERNMENT APPROACHED.

Under these circumstances, we have approached the Government of India to find out whether they would be willing to let us have a certain number of Indian labourers with the understanding that they should be repatriated at the end of their time of indenture so that we might make at least one of the new lines exclusively with Indian labour. The Government of India is not very responsive, owing to our general attitude towards its subjects, and the British Government not only sympathises in that respect with the Indian Government, but is doubtful whether, in view of public opinion here on this question, the Legislatures of the new Colonies would approve of such a proposal. My own feeling is that it is always better to assume that one's fellow creature will be rational until they have proved positively that they are not. And the proposal to get a work of urgent public importance done by workmen from abroad, who will neither interfere with any of us while they are here, nor remain to compete with us when they are no longer wanted, rather than to leave that work undone, seems to me such absolute common sense that I for one should be surprised if it met with opposition even from those who, in a general way, are averse to Asiatic labour.

Mr. McDonald said it was a fact that the Natal railways were largely worked by coolies, and thought that in course of time the railways here would be largely worked by Asiatics, if they were allowed to be imported.

Mr. Hay thought that as Chinese would not work alongside the "foreign devils," the introduction of Chinese labour would ultimately mean that white men would be knocked out of the running altogether.

His Excellency: If I thought that, I should be as much opposed to it as you are. But I do not think so. Neither do I know why people always talk as if there was nobody in Asia but Chinese. The point I was just discussing was Indian labour.

FORCED LABOUR IMPRACTICABLE.

Mr. McDonald said he wished to thank His Excellency for his frank expression of opinion on the subject. But he could not help thinking that untold good would be done if the poor whites and natives in the country could be employed instead of importing Asiatics. He felt certain that there was enough labour in the country for them to work out their own salvation without going to Asia for it. Gradually they would get all they wanted. At present they were not getting large numbers of boys as they would not leave their kraals in the winter months to come to new districts.

His Excellency: I quite agree with you that there will be a gradual increase in the supply of native labour. The question is will it be large enough to meet the enormous demand, and a demand, mind you, which is ever increasing, for the development of the country.

Mr. Hay: There is just one more point which I should like to mention. I must confess that I believe to a certain extent in forced labour. There is forced labour in Natal.

His Excellency: I am very glad you have mentioned that point, as it is one I had forgotten. Whatever happens, I hope people will not be led away by this will-of-the-wisp of compulsion. You might possibly have a limited kind of conscription for public works. As you say they have it in Natal, though it seems to go a very little way to solve their labour problem. I see no objection to it in principle, but the practical difficulties are immense, and the relief it would afford in our present straits would be so trifling that it is not worth while wasting time over it. And any wider application of the principle of forced labour is totally out of the question. It is not practical politics. People may talk about it in a theoretical way, but no responsible politician will have anything to say to it. The representatives at Bloemfontein, including those of the self-governing Colonies, unanimously condemned it. For our purposes at present it is sufficient to say that public opinion in England would never tolerate it, and the Imperial Government would never allow it. But for my own part I do not believe that the advent of self-government would in any way alter the position in this respect. You cannot put back the clock, and slavery among civilised people is as extinct as the ichthyosaurus. And we ought to esteem ourselves fortunate that it is so. Quite apart from principle, there could be no greater practical blunder than to try and run great industrial undertakings with forced labour. Any such attempt in the present position of South Africa would be simply disastrous. It might lead to native war. It would certainly produce native unsettlement, and retard indefinitely any sound solution of the native question. The one thing it would never do would be to produce a regular, an abundant, and an efficient supply of native labour.

Mr. McDonald agreed with His Excellency that forced labour was not practical. He thanked His Excellency in the name of the deputation.

This concluded the interview.

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No. 18.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE) to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received 2.42 p.m., July 3, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 20.]

3rd July. No. 1. I have been requested by the Speaker of House of Assembly to transmit to you by telegraph following Resolution adopted by House yesterday:—

*Begins:* That this House, taking cognizance of the Resolution passed at the recent Conference held at Bloemfontein on subject of the qualified approval of the importation of Asiatic labour, desires to express its strong opposition to any such importation, as prejudicial to the interests of all classes of the people of South Africa. *Ends.*

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No. 19.

COLONIAL OFFICE to MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

Downing Street, July 6, 1903.

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th ultimo,\* with reference to the proposed guarantee in connexion with the first instalment of the Transvaal War Contribution Loan.

I am, &c.,  
FRED. GRAHAM.

No. 20.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE).

SIR,

Downing Street, July 10, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to request that you will inform the Speaker of the House of Assembly that I have duly received the Resolution of the House expressing strong opposition to the importation of Asiatic labour into South Africa, which was transmitted to me in your telegram, No. 1, of the 3rd instant.†

I have, &c.,  
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 21.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER.

[Answered by No. 39.]

MY LORD,

Downing Street, July 24, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you a copy of a letter from Mr. Leonard Courtney, enclosing an extract from one sent by General Botha to a friend in this country, which appeared in the "Times" newspaper of the 15th instant, in case you desire to offer any observations upon it. You will see that it contains many statements which are in contradiction to information which you have furnished to me. With reference to his comment on the expense incurred in administering repatriation and to a press telegram of the 17th instant, which states this expenditure to have been no less than one million four hundred thousand pounds, I should be glad to receive a statement of the cost of administration in connexion with repatriation work.

I have, &c.,  
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 22.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE) to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received 12.28 p.m., July 25, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 24.]

25th July. No. 1. I have been requested by the President of the Legislative Council to transmit to you by telegraph following Resolution of aforementioned Council on 21st July:—

*Begins:* That this Council, taking cognizance of the Resolution passed at the recent Conference held at Bloemfontein on subject of the qualified approval of the importation of Asiatic labour, desires to express its strong opposition to any such importation, as prejudicial to the interests of all classes of the people of South Africa. *Ends.*

\* No. 15.

† No. 18.

No. 23.

THE AFRICAN LABOUR LEAGUE to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Dated July 30, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Acknowledged by No. 31.]

African Labour League, comprising many principal business firms Johannesburg, appreciates endeavours to prevent deplorable Chinese invasion people Transvaal being rushed by forced depression. Commercial representation upon Labour Commission quite inadequate; mining and Stock Exchange element predominant. Decision of question should be postponed until representative institutions established; otherwise public opinion could not be honestly gauged.

No. 24.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE).

SIR,

Downing Street, July 31, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to request that you will inform the President of the Legislative Council that I have duly received the Resolution of the Council, expressing strong opposition to the importation of Asiatic labour into South Africa, which was transmitted to me in your telegram, No. 1, of the 25th instant.\*

I have, &c.,  
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 25.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received August 1, 1903.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, July 10, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you, at the request of the Transvaal Political Association, a copy of a resolution passed at their meeting of the 9th instant with regard to the importation of labour into this country.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 25.

ACTING SECRETARY, Transvaal Political Association, to High Commissioner  
VISCOUNT MILNER.

Transvaal Political Association,  
Johannesburg, July 10, 1903.  
YOUR EXCELLENCY,  
BY special vote I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended resolution, which was passed by a very large majority at a special general meeting of the above association, held last night, and I am further desired to ask if Your

\* No. 22.

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Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
G. D. JONES,  
Acting Secretary.

To His Excellency  
Lord Milner, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., &c., &c.,  
High Commissioner for South Africa, &c.

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RESOLUTION.

“That this Association co-operate with the Labour Importation Association in the objects for which the latter has been formed.”

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No. 26.

THE AFRICAN LABOUR LEAGUE to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received August 4, 1903.)

[Acknowledged by No. 31.]

SIR,

19, Jeppe Arcade, Johannesburg, July 13, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to enclose copies of a document issued by the African Labour League. The great object of the League is to foster the use of the native labour of South Africa in the Mines, and to urge the employment of cheap unskilled white labour upon the Railways; as members of the League are of opinion that the introduction of Asiatic labour in large quantities into South Africa, though possibly causing a short period of prosperity, will, in the long run, retard the advancement of South Africa as a large field for white immigration.

I have, &c.,  
ALFRED ROGALY,  
Secretary.

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Enclosure in No. 26.

EXTRACT FROM “THE STAR,” Wednesday, July 1, 1903.

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AFRICAN LABOUR LEAGUE.

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At a meeting held last night of the newly-formed African Labour League, presided over by Mr. J. W. Quinn, the committee were authorised to sign the following manifesto and issue it to the Press for publication:—

1. We believe in the future of South Africa and that it is eminently fitted to become the home of a great white nation, and we hopefully look forward to the amalgamation of the various white races.
2. We believe that this nation, occupying the strongest geographical position in the Southern Hemisphere will hold, in the event of any great European war, the key to the South and to the East, and that its future must never depend upon a race of helots.
3. We believe that the introduction, of however temporary a character, of labour of any Asiatic nationality, would be fraught with the gravest danger to the future welfare of South Africa, and that in the event of any great number of Asiatics being employed on the mines, no

restrictive laws that might be devised could ever be maintained if these Asiatics demanded the rights of free men.

4. We believe that the development of South Africa ought to be effected by Europeans, and that the true solution of all labour questions lies in their introduction; and further it is the duty of each Colony to consider the best means of introducing such immigrants into South Africa.

5. We believe that it would be in the highest interests of the country to employ white labour in the building of our railways and other public works, even at the higher cost involved, considering that this labour would become a source of strength to the State.

6. We believe that if this course were followed there is sufficient native labour in Africa for the development of the mines and for other purposes.

7. We believe that the present necessities of the mines are the greatest incentive to inventors of mechanical appliances, and in this direction lies the ultimate hope of extracting the last ounce of gold from the reefs of the Transvaal.

#### REASONS FOR THE FORMATION OF THE LEAGUE.

1. The constant and repeated statements at meetings and through a portion of the Press, exaggerating the present depression and reiterating the necessity of the immediate importation of Asiatic labour as a matter of the most urgent and imperative necessity, both to the mining industry, and to the community in general.

2. The feeling that the steady and substantial increase in native labour since the higher tariff of wages has been adopted warrants the conclusion that the shortage is chiefly due to insufficient inducements having previously been offered. The well-known fact that the cold season is the worst time of the year for recruiting strongly supports this opinion.

3. The opinion that African native labour has not yet been by any means thoroughly exploited.

4. The hope that by the further improvement of labour-saving mechanical appliances it will be possible to employ a larger number of white men, and thus add to the stability of the country.

5. The statements officially made that the question of importing labour is a matter which this country should decide for itself.

#### PRESENT EFFECTIVE LABOUR STRENGTH.

As regards the present state of affairs, while it has been freely stated that even at the present rate of increase it will be a very long time (a year or more has been mentioned) before the number of natives at work approximated to the pre-war total, and that any hope of expansion of the mining industry is out of the question, we know that the present labour supply is rapidly approaching the former effective value. In proof of this we would quote the statement of the manager of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, that at the end of April, 1903, the number of boys at work on the mines was estimated at something over 65,000, and to this must be added the net gain in May, 1903, of 3,222, making a total of not less than 68,222. The maximum supply of boys on the mines before the war was 96,704 (see Sir Percy Fitzpatrick's speech at the Chamber of Mines, 26th February, 1903).

In a despatch to Mr. Chamberlain, dated 14th March, 1903, Lord Milner stated:—

“Amid all the uncertainty which besets this perplexing question of native labour, there is one circumstance which can be regarded with unmitigated satisfaction. If the number of native labourers is far short of our requirements, their efficiency, especially in one respect, has greatly increased. In old times a large deduction had to be made from the labour power of the mines for natives incapacitated by drink. This deduction amounted at times to as much as 30 per cent. Now-a-days it may be doubted if there are at times as many as 1 per cent. of the native labourers so incapacitated.”

Taking the deduction at 20 per cent. which is certainly well within the mark it will be found that the 96,704 boys at work before the war only represented an actual efficiency of 77,363. As regards any deduction from the efficient value of the 68,500 boys employed to-day, for sickness and other causes, it should be borne in mind that, according to the statement prepared by the Chamber of Mines for Mr. Chamberlain, the work per native has on the average been increased by 10 to 15 per cent. by the system of piece-work which was recently introduced. The following is the clause referred to, page 20:—

“The task-work and piece-work system of paying natives is being introduced. Though difficult to establish, it is productive of good, as in some instances the work obtained per native is double, and on the average the work per native is increased 10 to 15 per cent. This method is tending therefore towards maximum efficiency. Payment on the basis of results is certainly a good moral training for the native.”

It will be seen, therefore, that, taking the 68,222 from the 77,363, leaves a deficiency of 9,141 boys at the end of May, 1903, a shortage which we may confidently hope will be made up, at the present rate of increase, during the next three months.

It is, of course, true that the output to-day is much less than it was before the war, but the reason for this is clearly shown in an article which appeared in the “Star” on the 13th May, 1903, from which the following is an extract:—

“For excellent business reasons the mining groups are making provision for the future by distributing numbers of natives to non-producing mines, which will shortly

emerge as producers, and accelerate our progress. That is a thoroughly wise policy, but the mining groups cannot both eat their cake and have it too. They cannot employ their available labour to broaden the basis of the industry, and at the same time, because immediate results are not visible, complain that the industry is stagnant."

In the same article it is stated:—

"The returns of the Government Mining Engineer show that on the last day of December the exact number of natives per working stamp on the producing mines was between 10 and 11, which means that if our present supply was concentrated on the producing mines we should have approximately our old industry."

In support of the contention that the shortage in native labour has been chiefly due to insufficient inducements having been offered in the past, we would cite the figures given in a letter from the W.N.L.A. to the Chairman of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, dated 23rd May, 1903:—

"The net increase in the number of natives employed on the mines which are members of the association, after deducting all desertions and deaths, was for February 2,866, March 3,746, April 3,062. This makes a net increase of 9,774 for the three months."

To this must be added the net gain for May of 3,222 showing a total net increase for the four months of 12,996. This record increase coming so soon after the increase in wages proves to our mind beyond a doubt the justness of our contention. It is fair to assume that the full effect of the increased scale of wages has not yet been obtained, and, especially when the warmer weather comes on, a still larger influx may be expected.

#### EXPLOITATION OF AFRICAN NATIVE LABOUR.

With regard to the opinion that African native labour has not yet been by any means thoroughly exploited, we would quote the opinion of no less an authority than Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, who, as President of the Chamber of Mines, stated at the annual meeting of that body on the 26th February, 1903, that the causes for the shortage are:—

"Dislocation caused by the war; the position of affluence and comfort which the native at present enjoys owing to the excessive rates paid by the military, and the bountiful harvest of the last two years; the low rate of pay; the incompetence of the Native Labour Association."

"Short cuts are attractive but unsound. The thing (the native labour question) has got to be worked out steadily and patiently and without a doubt we shall solve the difficulty. I cannot share the despondency which many feel or affect to feel regarding the African supply."

"I deprecate the hasty measures, the grasping at straws, the abandoning of experiments deliberately entered upon. I deprecate the want of courage and the want of sticking which prompts that counsel of despair, to let things rip because the sky is not all clear ahead. I deprecate the reckless aversion to the old order, which appears to me to be only manufacturing evidence that we have done our best, and that we have tried every expedient, and that Africa is exhausted. Gentlemen, I do not believe that Africa is exhausted; I am quite certain that we have not proved it to be. I am equally sure that our omniscient critics, who from week to week propose hasty and radical changes, are driving towards that condition of things in which people will believe that Africa is exhausted, and that there is nothing for it but the introduction of the Asiatic."

"We adhere positively to the position already defined by us, viz., that the resources of Africa have to be exhausted before we shall look elsewhere for unskilled coloured labour."

"I leave this, the most important subject of all, with the final word—Africa is our field, Africa—if it is to be a white man's country at all, with a different, a uniform, and a rational native policy; a policy not of mad, violent, and radical changes, but one of firm and gradual reform. It is our duty and our interest. When Africa has been proved inadequate, we may consider other alternatives."

"We have unbounded faith in South Africa's future; but the country is not one that yields its riches lightly. It is not one in which the labourer has but to 'tickle the land with a hoe to have it laugh into smiling harvest.' It is comparable rather with one of our deep levels, the future of which is absolutely certain, but the labour and the outlay in the development of which are great."

"For the life of me I cannot see one single point in the conditions of this place which is to our disadvantage as compared with our position before the war. In almost every respect—indeed, I can think of no solitary exception, the conditions are intrinsically better. Momentarily we suffer. For the time being our experience does not realise what cold reason tells us must happen; but, if we keep our eye upon the essential facts, we must know, you must know, and all the world must know, that a greater prosperity awaits this country than ever was dreamed of in the past."

Following on this we quote from Sir H. H. Johnston's letter to "The Times" of February 13, 1903:—

"Invited originally by Lord Milner to study this question in the early part of 1900, I have warmly advocated as a general principle, the coming and going of negroes between Central Africa and South Africa, for skilled and unskilled labour, because I saw that it would tend to the prosperity of South Africa, and the introduction of wealth into Central Africa."

"Properly controlled, the recruitment of the natives of tropical Africa will solve the South African labour problem, and redound to the prosperity of Central Africa. Improperly or insufficiently controlled, this system may lead to the greatest evils and abuses, and to serious injury inflicted on the African protectorates."

At the meeting of the Randfontein Estates, reported in "The Star" of April 22, 1903, the chairman stated:—

"The Native Labour Association has experienced a great difficulty in obtaining sufficient labour to enable the mines to work at full strength, but I regard this state of affairs as only temporary, and I believe that if we exercise patience we shall eventually secure sufficient labour in South Africa to enable us to carry out our work in an efficient manner."

Dr. Jameson, in a speech at Grahamstown on May 28, 1903, said:—

"I feel sure there is sufficient labour in the country to meet all requirements, especially when Uganda and Northern Africa have been tapped."

On June 2, 1903, the "Cape Times" published a telegram from Lake Nyassa stating that Mr. Nourse, the Chamber of Mines representative, had not experienced the least difficulty in recruiting a thousand natives. Thousands more, it was added, having offered their services.

Finally, Sir Godfrey Lagden, the Secretary of Native Affairs, in his recent report, stated:—

"It may be that there are five million natives south of the Zambesi, of which 800,000 might be sturdy men. If every man took his fair turn of labour there can be little doubt that South Africa has sufficient for all purposes."

We maintain that these various statements and figures justify the assertion that with a little patience an ample supply of labour will be forthcoming in this country.

In connection with the supply of African native labour, whilst it is very often admitted that very large numbers exist, it is stated that these natives will not work. In this regard we would point out that whilst 25 years ago it is probable that not more than 20,000 natives were employed on mines and public works in South Africa, to-day it may be estimated that the number is something like ten times as great. With adequate inducements and reasonable care for their health and comfort, and protection from drink, greatly increased numbers may be obtained in the future, sufficient to provide for a large expansion of the industry.

#### STOPE DRILL WANTED.

At the annual meeting of the Rand Mines on March 25, 1903, the chairman, Sir J. Percy Fitzpatrick, quoted and endorsed a statement of Mr. F. Eckstein, which had previously been made, to the following effect:—

"It is not yet entirely satisfactory, I admit, and we all acknowledge the cost, and in some respect the unsatisfactoriness, of the machine drill, but the experience is a comparatively recent one; we are improving all the time, and I think we may reasonably look forward to the introduction of a small stope drill, which will aid us immensely in solving our labour difficulty. The hope which I said is this—that by the development of the machine drill we can cut down our native labour to a very large extent, and in place of 50,000 or 60,000 natives we may yet be able to do with 10,000 or 15,000 white miners. This would be a most desirable consummation."

"I think, gentlemen, that it is a very ample vindication so far as our aims are concerned, and with all my heart I repeat those very words to-day. Unfortunately the hope expressed by Mr. Eckstein has not been fully realised; a great improvement, it is true, has been made in the machine drills, and an enormous extension has taken place in their use. Indeed, but for them we should be in a very poor position to-day; but the small, handy, economical stope drill to which we looked forward, has not yet been invented. A fortune awaits the inventor, and perhaps many fortunes await those who will have the benefit of his invention. Those who glibly talk of the extended use of mechanical appliances totally ignore what has been done. The results of enquiries made only this morning show that an average of fifteen boys would be required to do what one machine-drill does in each shift. If you take it that machine-drills work two shifts, which they can do, each machine represents thirty boys. There were at work on the Rand mines before the war 434 drills, so that if we had not introduced and developed the machine-drill as we have done (allowing for the fact that two boys are required to work each drill) our requirements would have been 11,284 boys more than the number of boys actually at work. I take it that that is a very ample justification of what Mr. Eckstein said. In 1898 the State Mining Engineer estimated there were 1,350 air drills at work on these fields. These drills would represent the labour of 55,500 boys.

The enormous saving in native labour as shown by the extended use of the rock drill, surely warrants the assumption that with all the mechanical genius we have on the Rand, some one will succeed in inventing the much-desired stope drill which, according to Mr. Eckstein, is calculated to effect an enormous saving in native labour, together with the much to be desired extended use of white labour.

It is estimated that building railways by means of white labour would mean an increase in cost of 33 per cent. We are of opinion that the benefits which would accrue to the white population would more than compensate for the extra taxation involved. There are in the country districts many of the Dutch population who would, no doubt, be glad to undertake the work, and every opportunity should be given to them to do so. The benefits to them and to the country would undoubtedly be very great. The Johannesburg Town Council have already acted on this principle by the employment of a number of Dutch drivers on their carts.

Should it become necessary to import labourers, we feel strongly that they should be races such as would assimilate with the Europeans already in the country, and be likely to prove good and useful citizens, and so become a source of strength to the State.

#### SUMMARY OF FIGURES.

Number of natives at work before the war ... ..	96,704
Average number incapacitated through drink (at a low estimate), say 20 per cent. ... ..	19,341
Effective value of labour employed before the war ... ..	77,363
Estimated number of boys at work at end of May, 1903 ... ..	68,222
Deficiency in effective value as against pre-war total ... ..	9,141

#### Statement of boys employed by mining companies which are members of the W.N.L.A. :—

Natives employed 1st March, 1902 ... ..	25,931
Ditto, 31st January, 1903 ... ..	49,506
Increase ... ..	23,575
Average per month ... ..	2,143
Average net monthly increase for last four months, February-May ... ..	3,249

#### THE COMMITTEE.

The following are the members of the committee of the African Labour League:—  
Messrs. J. W. Quinn (chairman), G. Mitchell (Gordon, Mitchell and Co.), J. Forrest (J. Forrest and Co.), Chas. Chudleigh (Chudleigh Bros.), D. Holt (Holt and Holt, Ltd.), J. Holdcroft (Garlick and Holdcroft), H. Amm (P. Amm and Sons), J. Jacobson (Lazarus and Jacobson), M. Leon (Elephant Trading Co.), W. J. Thorne (Stuttaford and Co., Ltd.), A. A. Noble (A. A. Noble), H. Evans (H. Evans and Co.), W. Scattie (Paddon and Brock), D. Starfield (Starfield and Starfield), Stuart Campbell (Stuart Campbell and Co.), J. H. Mackay (Mackay Bros.), J. Waldie Pierson, R. Whiteside, Alfred Roridy (hon. sec. pro. tem.).

#### No. 27.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER.

[Answered by No. 44.]

MY LORD,

Downing Street, August 5, 1903.

WITH reference to my despatch of July 24,\* I have the honour to transmit the accompanying extracts from the "Times" report of a debate in the House of Commons on July 30th, from which you will see that Mr. Sydney Buxton asked certain questions with reference to the money expended by the Compensation and Repatriation Boards. I should be glad if you would furnish me with the information promised in my reply to Mr. Sydney Buxton.

I have, &c.,  
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Enclosure in No. 27.

House of Commons, July 30, 1903.

Mr. BUXTON \* \* \* asked the right hon. gentleman to give them some information, perhaps in the form of a Return, as to the way in which money

\* No. 21.

had already been expended by the Compensation and Repatriation Boards. In General Botha's letter, published recently, considerable feeling was expressed in regard to this matter, both as to whether the money promised had been expended, and whether it had been spent in right and proper directions. He was expressing no insinuations, but it would be satisfactory to have some explanation, and to know also on what lines the repatriation had been carried out.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN \* \* \* Then the hon. member for Poplar also asked for a return of the expenditure upon repatriation and compensation, showing the lines upon which it has been carried through. As to the lines on which it has been carried through, I really think we have given him the information in the Blue-books which have been published. As regards the actual balance-sheet, I shall be very glad to lay papers upon that subject as soon as I can get anything that is at all complete. Meanwhile, I will inquire as to what can be done in that respect.

\* \* \* \* \*

No. 28.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received August 8, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 36.]

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, July 17, 1903.  
I HAVE the honour to forward, for your information, a translation of three Resolutions passed at the Public Meeting of the Burghers of the Heidelberg Town and District on the 2nd July. I have been requested to forward these Resolutions by ex-General Louis Botha.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor,

Enclosure 1 in No. 28.

MOTION.—C. Muller seconded by George Meyer *re* Education.

This meeting wishes respectfully to bring to the notice of the Government the profound disappointment of the people with regard to the present system of public education, and in particular with regard to the treatment of the Dutch language in the public schools.

The people of the Transvaal has not deserved that their language should be treated as a foreign language and expresses the conviction that there will be no contentment until the same privileges are accorded to Dutch, both in public and in the schools, as are accorded to English, and respectfully requests that the Education Law and other Laws be altered in such a manner that the same rights be accorded to Dutch which are accorded to French in Canada or to Dutch in the Cape Colony.

This meeting is further of opinion that it is necessary to give local control to parents over the education of their children through the election of local school committees in accordance with the former Laws and usages of the population.

This meeting authorises General Louis Botha to bring this resolution to the notice of the Government.

Certified a correct translation.  
LOUIS BOTHA.

Heidelberg,  
July 2, 1903.



## Enclosure 2 in No. 28.

MOTION.—A. Kock, seconded by P. J. Nys, *re* the War Debt.

This meeting has regretfully noticed that a War Debt of £30,000,000 (Thirty Million Pounds, Sterling) has been placed on the population of the Transvaal, besides a further loan of £35,000,000 (Thirty-Five Million Pounds, Sterling), part of which is also devoted to Military purposes.

This meeting draws attention to the fact that the representative Boer deputation which met Mr. Chamberlain at Pretoria on 8th January, 1903, respectfully requested the Secretary of State for the Colonies that no War Debt be placed on the Transvaal until the population thereof shall have consented thereto in a constitutional manner under self-governing institutions.

This meeting is further of opinion that it may be truthfully asserted that since the disruption of the American Colonies from England in the Eighteenth Century no tax or debt has been placed on a Colony for the benefit of England without the consent of the population of such Colony.

This meeting is further of opinion that the debt of £65,000,000 (Sixty-Five Million Pounds, Sterling) placed on the population of the Transvaal through the instrumentality of Mr. Chamberlain is not only the largest national debt in the world in proportion to the population, but is also contrary to all British Colonial traditions for more than a century.

This meeting further notes that this debt is put on the country at a time when the whole country has been destroyed and exhausted by one of the most bloody and destructive wars of modern times, and at a time when every effort should be made to restore the country to its former condition.

This meeting authorises General Louis Botha to draw the attention of the Government to these facts, and respectfully to request the Government to ask the Imperial Government that no effect be given to the imposition of the said War Debt until the people of the Transvaal has decided thereon in a constitutional manner.

Certified a correct translation.

LOUIS BOTHA.

Heidelberg,  
July 2, 1903.

## Enclosure 3 in No. 28.

MOTION.—H. Alberts, seconded by F. J. Bezuidenhout, *re* the Labour Question.

This meeting has regretfully noticed the attempts of the Mining Capitalists to introduce Asiatics into this country as a labouring population, and expresses the hope that the Government will not, as yet, allow these attempts to be carried into effect.

It is the opinion of the Meeting that it is of the greatest importance, not only for the white, but also for the coloured population of South Africa that South Africa shall be developed as a white man's country.

This meeting further points out the fact that the present white population of South Africa forms a small minority of its large coloured population, and that the importation of Asiatics as a working class will materially strengthen the coloured population of South Africa, and will largely contribute to the closing of the Transvaal for white immigration.

This meeting is, therefore, of opinion that the employment of Asiatics for the above purpose is not calculated to promote the permanent interests of the people of South Africa, and is, therefore, a measure which ought not to be adopted until such time as the white population of the Transvaal will be able to decide thereon under self-governing institutions; especially as no conclusive proof has been given yet that the labour capacity of South Africa is not sufficient for present purposes.

This Meeting authorises General Louis Botha to bring this Resolution to the notice of the Imperial Government through the Colonial Government.

Certified a correct translation.

I. LOUIS BOTHA.

Heidelberg,  
July 2, 1903.

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No. 29.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE) to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.  
(Received 9.50 p.m., August 17, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 30.]

17th August. No. 1. Referring to my telegrams of 3rd July, No. 1, and 25th July, No. 1.\* Following Minute received from Ministers to-day:—

*Begins:* With reference to resolutions passed unanimously by the House of Assembly and Legislative Council last July expressing strong opposition to importation of Asiatic labour into South Africa, which were transmitted by cable to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Ministers have the honour to inform His Excellency that the question was again discussed on Friday in Committee of Supply, when it became apparent that the feeling on subject was, if possible, stronger than before, and Ministers desire to avail themselves of this opportunity to submit their own views on this most important matter for information of Imperial Government.

In the first place it must be remembered that the coloured population to the south of Zambesi River is in an enormous majority compared with the white, and it is most undesirable to increase that preponderance by the introduction of another coloured race, especially at a time when every effort is being made to reduce it by encouraging white immigration.

Secondly, Government of this Colony is doing all in their power to civilize native population by inducing them, without any kind of compulsion, to work and so supply the great demand for labour in South Africa, and if Asiatics be introduced that means of civilization will be checked and the natives will remain in the state of barbarism from which they are slowly but surely emerging.

Thirdly, in relation to the policy of British South African federation which Ministers are most earnestly pursuing, they cannot but feel that the importation of Asiatics will greatly hamper its consummation, as it will introduce a highly discordant element between the European communities which will certainly complicate, if not altogether prevent, the union of all the Colonies under a Central Administration.

Fourthly, to effect a satisfactory solution of labour question in South Africa what is required above all is the exercise of patience, for Ministers are firmly convinced that if the continent to the south of Equator be explored sufficient labour is available, and can be secured not only for working mines in Transvaal but for all other requirements if a fair wage be offered and considerate treatment in the way of housing and food be accorded.

A long experience of South African affairs emboldens Ministers to place foregoing consideration on record in belief that it will be received in the spirit which the gravity of question demands, and with hope that His Majesty's Government take a firm stand in this matter, and intimate

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\* Nos. 18 and 22.

THIS VOLUME IS TIGHTLY BOUND

in the proper quarter their disapproval of a proposal which will if carried out prejudicially affect the future of this portion of Empire.

Ministers request that this Minute may be transmitted to Secretary of State for Colonies by cable. *Ends.*

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No. 30.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE).

SIR, Downing Street, August 22, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram, No. 1, of the 17th August,\* containing a Minute from your Ministers on the subject of the importation of Asiatic labour into South Africa.

In reply I have to request that you will inform your Ministers that I will not fail to bear their views and the resolutions of the Cape Parliament in mind when dealing with the important and difficult question to which they refer.

I have, &c.,  
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

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No. 31.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY.

SIR, Downing Street, August 28, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you copies of a letter and a telegram† which have been received from the African Labour League of Johannesburg on the subject of the suggested importation of Asiatic labour into South Africa, and I request that you will cause the Secretary of the League to be informed that I have duly received their representations.

I have, &c.,  
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

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No. 32.

THE WITWATERSRAND TRADES' AND LABOUR COUNCIL to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received August 31, 1903.)

[Acknowledged by No. 33.]

SIR, Box 3601, Johannesburg, August 8, 1903.

I AM instructed to forward the following resolution, which was unanimously carried on the 5th instant by the above Council:—

“That this Council, representing the majority of Artizans on the Witwatersrand, is entirely opposed to the importation of Chinese or Coolie labour.”

I would further point out that it has been brought to the Council's notice that undue pressure is being exercised by the leading officials on the mines to induce employees to sign papers favouring the importation of Asiatics.

I have, &c.,  
(Received unsigned.)

Secretary.

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\* No. 29.

† Nos. 23 and 26.

## No. 33.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY.

SIR, Downing Street, September 4, 1903.  
I HAVE the honour to request you to inform the Secretary to the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council, Box 3601, Johannesburg, that I have received his letter of the 8th of August,\* respecting the importation of Chinese or Coolie labour, a copy of which is enclosed.

I have, &c.,  
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

## No. 34.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE) to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.  
(Received September 5, 1903.)

SIR, Government House, Cape Town, August 19, 1903.  
I HAVE the honour to transmit to you, with reference to my telegram, No. 1, of 17th August, † a copy of a Minute from Ministers on the subject of the importation of Asiatic labour into South Africa.

I have, &c.,  
WALTER HELY-HUTCHINSON.

Enclosure in No. 34.

MINISTERS to GOVERNOR.

MINUTE.

(No. 1/410.)

Prime Minister's Office, Cape Town, August 17, 1903.

With reference to the resolution passed unanimously by the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council last July, expressing strong opposition to the importation of Asiatic labour into South Africa, which was transmitted by cable to the Secretary of State, Ministers have the honour to inform His Excellency the Governor that the question was again discussed on Friday last, in Committee of Supply, when it became apparent that the feeling upon the subject was, if possible, stronger than before; and Ministers desire to avail themselves of this opportunity to submit their own views upon this most important matter, for the information of the Imperial Government.

In the first place, it must be remembered that the coloured population south of the Zambese is in an enormous majority compared with the white, and it is most undesirable to increase that preponderance by the introduction of another coloured race, especially at a time when every effort is being made to reduce it by encouraging white immigration.

Secondly, the Government of this Colony is doing all in its power to civilise the native population by inducing them, without any kind of compulsion, to work, and so supply the great demand for labour in South Africa; and if Asiatics be introduced that means of civilisation will be checked, and the natives will remain in the state of barbarism from which they are now slowly but surely emerging.

Thirdly, in relation to the policy of a British South African Federation, which Ministers are most earnestly pursuing, they cannot but feel that the importation of Asiatics will greatly hamper its consummation, as it will introduce a highly discordant element between the European communities, which will certainly complicate, if not altogether prevent, the union of all the Colonies under a central administration.

Fourthly, to effect a satisfactory solution of the labour question in South Africa, what is required above all is the exercise of patience; for Ministers are firmly convinced that if the continent south of the equator be explored, sufficient labour is

\* No. 32.

† No. 29.

available and can be secured, not only for working the mines in the Transvaal, but for all other requirements, if a fair wage be offered, and considerate treatment in the way of housing and food be accorded.

A long experience of South African affairs emboldens Ministers to place the foregoing considerations upon record in the belief that they will be received in the spirit which the gravity of the question demands, and with the hope that His Majesty's Government will take a firm stand in this matter, and intimate in the proper quarter their disapproval of a proposal, which will, if carried out, prejudicially affect the future of this portion of the Empire.

Ministers request that this Minute may be transmitted to the Secretary of State by cable.

J. GORDON SPRIGG.

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No. 35.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received September 12, 1903.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, August 22, 1903.

In accordance with a request made by the members of the Labour Importation Association, I have the honour to forward a copy of a Resolution passed by a large majority at a Public Meeting held in the Recreation Hall of the Geldenhuis Deep Mine, Cleveland, under the auspices of the Association.

I also attach a copy of the Manifesto issued by the Association.

I am informed that there were about 300 people present at the meeting, and that only 17 voted against the Resolution.

I have, &c.,

ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 35.

Labour Importation Association,  
116, Exploration Buildings, Johannesburg.

Resolution above referred to.

"That in view of the gravity of the present situation brought about by the dearth of native labour, this meeting pledges itself to support the Labour Importation Association in their endeavour to secure unskilled Asiatic Labour."

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Enclosure 2 in No. 35.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION.

*Manifesto.*

The vital question which is occupying every section of the community at the present time is that of Labour.

The occasion has now arrived for a decision to be taken on this all important question, and the Labour Importation Association desires to lay before the Public its views and suggestions on the subject.

Whatever may be the opinions held in different quarters as to the possibility of an increase of Native Labour in the future, it is an obvious fact that at the present

time the supply is wholly inadequate, not only for the needs of the Mining Industry, but also for the requirements of the Farming and other important Industries, to say nothing of Public Works.

The situation on all sides is such as to demand the earnest consideration of thinking men.

The financial position in many quarters is becoming more and more serious, and this is owing solely to the enforced inactivity of our one and vital industry, crippled as it is through the lack of the motive power which can only be supplied by unskilled labour.

Notwithstanding every effort, including resort to diplomatic and other agencies, the rate of increase in the Native Labour supply is so small that a considerable period must, under the most favourable circumstances, elapse before the Mines return to their pre-war condition of activity.

Even were this most desirable consummation attained, provision would still have to be made for the opening up of new ventures and the development of Deep Levels, which at the present time is indefinitely deferred.

Meanwhile every section of the community is suffering, and will continue to do so until our main industry is once again flourishing, and none are suffering more than those whose skilled labour lacks employment from the mere want of unskilled backing.

Furthermore, it must not be forgotten by those who claim that the supply of Native African Labourers is sufficient, that only a very small percentage of those who are even willing to work will do so underground, especially owing to the ever increasing temptation to abandon this class of work for more congenial employment.

Serious as the position may be, it is by no means hopeless. The one and only difficulty to be overcome is Prejudice—the inveterate Prejudice against what is feared might become an Asiatic Invasion.

The Association, after most careful and thoughtful consideration, has come to the conclusion that the convictions of even the most conscientious objector cannot be allowed to weigh against the welfare of the whole community.

This Association is entirely at one with those whose aim it is to make South Africa a “White Man’s Country.” It does not, however, believe that this end will be attained through the importation and encouragement of lower class unskilled white labour, remembering what is really meant by a “White Man’s Country.”

The unskilled labour must be left to those alone who are best fitted by race and the conditions of life to undertake it.

The White Man must rule and rise in the social scale by his own skill and energy.

This is what the Labour Importation Association desires that he should do, at any rate in South Africa.

For the purpose of obtaining a decision on a question of so much moment to the whole community, the Labour Importation Association has been formed, and We, the undersigned, being the Executive Committee of this Association and speaking on behalf of its Members, pledge ourselves to work for the importation of unskilled coloured labour under the following provisions, viz. :—

- 1st That immigrants be admitted under legal indentures for a term of five years as a maximum period.
- 2nd That they shall only be employed on unskilled work on Mines in the Transvaal similar to that in which the present Native labourers are engaged.
- 3rd That heavy penalties be imposed on all who employ them on skilled labour.
- 4th To ensure the return of such labourers to their own country, each employer shall be bound to provide adequate guarantees to the satisfaction of the Government for their repatriation.

- 5th That a proper system of compounding shall be established. The provisions, clothing, and all requisites for the use of the immigrants are to be purchased locally and not to be imported by the employers, either directly or indirectly. Facilities for local traders to deal with the immigrants shall be provided.
- 6th That a proper pass system be devised, which will accurately define the name and occupation of the immigrant, and the name of the employer.
- 7th That severe penalties be imposed for any violation of the Indenture Law.

The above is a sufficiently accurate outline of the law which we should suggest as necessary for the protection of all interests.

We would point out that it is not any part of our aim to oust the Kaffir labourer. Our only wish is to supplement his efforts by the importation of unskilled workmen, so that this country may progress by means of an adequate labour supply.

G. H. GOCH,  
Chairman.  
J. W. LEONARD, K.C.,  
Vice-Chairman.  
H. F. E. PISTORIUS,  
Vice-Chairman (E. W. Tarry and Co.).  
A. E. BALFOUR.  
ROWLAND A. BETTINGTON.  
W. BLELOCH.  
THOS. DOUGLAS.  
J. DOWELL ELLIS  
(Stewarts and Lloyds, Limited).  
ALEXANDER FORSYTH  
(Forsyth and Reid).  
D. C. GREIG.  
J. N. GREENLEES.  
E. S. GROGAN.  
R. W. HEARLE.  
OTTO LENZ  
(Reunert and Lenz).  
F. R. McDONALD.  
ALF. H. NICOLSON  
(Hunt, Leuchars and Hepburn).  
H. B. PAPENFUS.  
J. ROY.  
GORDON SANDILANDS.  
J. N. SELLAR  
(J. N. Sellar and Company).  
H. DE V. STEYTLER  
(Tredgold, Steytler and Beyers).  
W. STUART, M.D.  
J. L. VAN ZYL.  
C. WOODS.

The Committee invite all those in sympathy to enrol themselves as members of the Association at 115, Exploration Buildings, Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.

JAMES B. MACDONALD, C.A.,  
Secretary and Treasurer.

6th July, 1903.

No. 36.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY.

SIR, Downing Street, September 17, 1903.  
 I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 17th of July,\* enclosing a translation of three resolutions passed at the public meeting of the burghers of the Heidelberg town and district on the 2nd of July, and to state, in reply, that I have duly noted the representations made therein.

I have, &c.,  
 J. CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 37.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received September 28, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 70.]

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, August 31, 1903.  
 IN accordance with a request received from the Executive of the Labour Importation Association, I have the honour to forward, for your information, copies of resolutions passed at public meetings held at Heidelberg, the Robinson Mine, Fordsburg, and the Simmer and Jack Mine, Germiston, in connection with the labour question.

At the meeting held at Heidelberg only two persons voted against the resolutions, and at Germiston only two voted against the resolution out of a total of about 600 people present. An amendment was put forward at the meeting at Fordsburg to postpone the question until Responsible Government has been established, but was lost, the voting being 215 against and 180 in favour of it.

I have, &c.,  
 ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
 Lieutenant-Governor.

Enclosure 1 in No. 37.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association,

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Johannesburg, August 21, 1903.  
 BY special vote, I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended resolution, which was passed at a public meeting held last night at the Robinson Mine, Fordsburg, under the auspices of this Association, to discuss the labour question. An amendment postponing the question until "Responsible Government" has been established, was lost by 215 votes against 180 in favour of it.

I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
 JAMES B. MACDONALD,  
 Secretary.

His Excellency  
 The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley,  
 Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal,  
 and His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner  
 for South Africa.

\* No. 28.



## RESOLUTION REFERRED TO.

That in view of the gravity of the present situation, brought about by the dearth of native labour, this meeting pledges itself to support the Labour Importation Association in its endeavour to secure unskilled Chinese labour, subject to the restrictions set forth in its manifesto.

P.S.—A copy of said manifesto is enclosed herewith.\*

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Enclosure 2 in No. 37.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION, Johannesburg, to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,  
Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association,

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Johannesburg, August 21, 1903.

By special vote, I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended resolution, which was passed by an overwhelming majority at a public meeting held last night in the Recreation Hall, Simmer and Jack Mine, Germiston, under the auspices of this Association, to discuss the labour question. There were about 600 people present, mostly from the neighbouring mines, of whom only two voted against the resolution.

I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,

JAMES B. MACDONALD,  
Secretary.

His Excellency

The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley,  
Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal,  
and His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner  
for South Africa.

## RESOLUTION REFERRED TO.

In [*See above Resolution in Enclosure 1*] and that a copy of the above Resolution be sent to the High Commissioner, with a request that it be forwarded to the Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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Enclosure 3 in No. 37.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION, Johannesburg, to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,  
Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association,

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Johannesburg, August 21, 1903.

By special vote, I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended resolutions, which were passed by an overwhelming majority at a public meeting held last night in the Town Hall, Heidelberg, under the auspices of this Association, to discuss the labour question. Only two persons voted against these resolutions.

I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the resolutions to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,

JAMES B. MACDONALD,  
Secretary.

His Excellency

The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley,  
Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal,  
and His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner  
for South Africa.

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\* See Enclosure 2 in No. 35.

## RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO.

1. That this meeting is of opinion that the native labour required for mining, agricultural and other industries is totally inadequate.

2. That in view of the gravity of the present situation, brought about by the dearth of native labour, this meeting is in favour of the immediate importation of indentured Asiatics, preferably Chinese, other than British subjects, for the purpose of unskilled labour in the mines, under stringent Government regulations providing for their restriction to such unskilled labour and for their repatriation at the expiration of contracts.

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No. 38.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received September 28, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 70.]

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, September 7, 1903.  
 WITH reference to my despatch of the 31st August,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, copies of letters and resolutions passed at public meetings held at Klerksdorp on the 27th August, 1903, and also at the New Herict Gold Mine, Cleveland, on the same date, on the subject of the native labour question.

I have, &c.,  
**ARTHUR LAWLEY,**  
 Lieutenant-Governor.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 38.

Mr. J. NESER to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Klerksdorp, Transvaal, August 28, 1903.

In compliance with the request of a public meeting of the inhabitants of this town and surrounding district held here last night, I have the honour to forward herewith a resolution passed by the said meeting in favour of the importation of Asiatic labour for the mines in this Colony; together with a duplicate of the resolution in question, which the meeting desired me to forward to the Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I pray Your Excellency to forward it to Mr. Chamberlain, or to grant me permission to send it direct, if such be deemed the better course to pursue.

I may mention that the meeting was well and widely advertised, and all were invited to come and express their views and record their votes, and that from two hundred and fifty to three hundred people attended, including ex-Generals A. P. J. Cronje and Liebenburg, and a few other farmers.

The honour of presiding was pressed upon myself, in spite of the fact that it was well known that strong views against precipitate action in this matter were held by me. These views were expressed with all the force at my command, and some other speakers also deprecated the passing of such resolutions before the Labour Commission has reported on the subject of native labour. Notwithstanding this, the resolution was endorsed by an overwhelming majority of those present.

I have, &c.,  
**JOHN NESER.**

His Excellency  
 The Lieutenant-Governor,  
 Pretoria.

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\* No. 37.

RESOLUTION passed by the Meeting held in the Stock Exchange Hall, Klerksdorp, on the evening of Thursday, the 27th August, 1903.

"That, provided the finding of the Labour Commission is that there are not sufficient natives in the country to provide unskilled labour for the requirements of the mines, this meeting pledges itself to support the importation of Chinese labour under stringent restrictions, the draft law dealing with such restrictions before being passed to be submitted to a Conference of all the interested Associations, centres and towns."

Certified to be a true copy of the original resolution passed at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Klerksdorp and surrounding district.

JOHN NESER,  
Chairman of the Meeting.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 38.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association,  
Johannesburg, August 29, 1903.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,  
By special vote, I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended resolution,\* which was passed at a public meeting held in the Stock Exchange, Klerksdorp, on Thursday, the 27th instant, under the auspices of this Association, to discuss the Labour question.

The resolution was carried with only a dozen dissentients in an audience of about 300.

I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
JAMES B. MACDONALD,  
Secretary.

His Excellency  
The Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal,  
Pretoria.

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Enclosure 3 in No. 38.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association,  
Johannesburg, August 29, 1903.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,  
By special vote, I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended resolution, which was passed at a meeting of the employees of the New Heriot Gold Mine, Cleveland, held on Thursday last, the 27th instant, in the Recreation Room, under the auspices of this Association, to discuss the labour question. There were about 85 people present, and the resolution was carried with only six dissentient votes.

I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
JAMES B. MACDONALD,  
Secretary.

His Excellency  
The Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal,  
Pretoria.

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\* In similar terms to the resolution in Enclosure 1.

## RESOLUTION REFERRED TO.

"That in view of the gravity of the present situation, brought about by the dearth of native labour, this meeting pledges itself to support the importation of unskilled Chinese labour under proper restrictions."

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No. 39.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received September 28, 1903.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, September 7, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 24th of July,\* enclosing a copy of a letter signed by Mr. Louis Botha, and asking to be furnished with particulars of the expenditure of the Repatriation Department in the Transvaal.

2. I enclose a copy of a statement which was laid on the table of the Legislative Council in pursuance of a motion moved by Mr. H. Solomon calling for certain information. This statement has given rise to a certain amount of criticism based, in my opinion, on a misunderstanding of the figures, which might have been avoided if a more detailed statement could have been presented.

3. The summary shows the expenditure divided into four heads:—(1) The value of Supplies (including chiefly food, implements, and seed) issued to the Burghers. (2) The amount of loans granted by the various local commissions under instructions from the Department. (3) The value of transport, *i.e.*, animals, vehicles and gear issued, and (4) the cost of administration.

4. It is this last item which has been criticised as excessive, and the criticisms have usually proceeded on the assumption that the first three items represent the whole value of the assistance rendered by the Department to the Boer population, and that the last item represents only the cost of the administrative machinery devised by the Government for the purpose of rendering such assistance, or, as it is usually put, that the Government have kept to themselves ten shillings for every sovereign which they have distributed.

5. I propose, therefore, to explain in greater detail what this amount of £1,400,638 really represents.

6. It is clear that the real cost of administering the assistance distributed through the Repatriation Department can only be ascertained on the final winding up of the Department, when a complete balance sheet can be presented. At present the figure given represents simply the difference between the sums drawn by the Department from the Treasury, and the amount for which it can take credit in respect of issues or advances or stocks and animals still in hand. This includes among others such items as the cost of carriage and handling of goods still held by the Department and the cost of feeding and maintaining the very large number of animals which have been required by the Department both for transport purposes and for issue or sale as breeding stock. These animals are now being disposed of as rapidly as circumstances will permit, and it is hoped that prices will be realised in the future as they have been hitherto, which will make good the departmental expenditure incurred in their acquisition and maintenance. In this connection, it should be remembered that a very large expenditure had to be incurred in the prevention and treatment of the various diseases which have afflicted stock of every kind in this country since the war. A large staff of veterinary officers has had to be employed in endeavouring to eradicate these diseases among the stock belonging to the Department, and to prevent their dissemination throughout the country.

7. The greater part of the expenditure incurred by the Department is in respect of the transport which had to be maintained for the purpose of conveying

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\* No. 21.

families to their homes, and for supplying them, after they had been returned to their homes, with the necessaries of life, and with the seed, implements, &c., required to enable them to resume their normal occupations. Of the thirty-nine depôts established as centres of supply twenty-four were on a railway line, and from them supplies had to be sent to individual farms, and to the depôts which were not so placed. Of these latter six were at a distance of over fifty miles, and one eighty miles from the depôt from which they had to be supplied, over roads which, after the wear and tear and neglect of the war period were frequently almost impassable. All this cost of transport—though, of course, it is a service rendered to the Burghers just as much as the issues of food and supplies—is not debited against them, but is included in the item “cost of administration.”

8. Another service to the Burgher population the cost of which is included in the sum referred to is the ploughing which was done by the Department in preparation for the summer crops of last year. This was undertaken, as you are aware, to assist the poorer class of farmers, who had not at that time been able to obtain ploughs and animals. A charge of 5s. per acre was made, as it was considered undesirable to render such services absolutely free, but this charge is about one quarter of the estimated cost of such services to the Department. About 30,000 acres in all were ploughed up under this scheme and, but for the extreme drought which prevailed throughout the season, the scheme would, I am convinced, have had the most beneficial effect in promoting the resettlement of the poorer class of farmers.

9. The Department is also made to bear the cost of certain services rendered to other Government Departments, at a time when the Repatriation transport was practically the only available transport in the country. For some months the mails in certain districts were carried by this means, in the absence of any other available transport, and all Government Departments requiring transport drew similarly, as far as possible, on the Repatriation Department. All such services are now charged for and paid by the Department concerned, but for some months after the establishment of the Repatriation Department this was not done.

10. Of the total sum of £1,400,638 in question, salaries and wages amount to £671,382; rations allowed to the staff of the Department and to the large number of natives employed (chiefly in connection with the transport) amount to £210,362; the cost of forage, &c., required for the animals belonging to the Department amounts to £489,790, and the balance of £29,104, is made up of rents of farms, buildings, printing, stationery and general charges. I may add that the total number of persons employed in the Department on the 30th of June, was 1,472 whites and 7,131 natives, and the total number of animals taken on charge by the Department from the beginning both for transport and for issue or sale to the farmers is 209,714.

11. The figures given are for the period from the establishment of the Department to 30th June, 1903. I do not at present think it advisable to mention a definite figure which would represent the ultimate cost of the Department in respect of its operations up to that date. Much depends upon the success of the Department in disposing of stocks and animals still in hand, and on the character of the ensuing season. Although, as you are aware, issues on credit were stopped after 31st May last, I am making arrangements, in view of the ruinous drought which prevailed during last season, to renew, for a short time (as soon as rains fall which will make ploughing possible) such issues of supplies and animals as may be necessary to enable those farmers of the poorer class, who can obtain land to cultivate, but who have been compelled meanwhile to resort to relief works, to return to the land and prepare for summer crops. Any such issues will be made from stocks now in the possession of the Department.

12. In these circumstances, with so many contingencies still to be faced, I am averse to making any statement of expenditure which may appear to be final. Establishments are being reduced as rapidly as possible, and every effort is made to ensure economical working. At the same time I consider it advisable, and, in the long run, economical, to continue to use the resources of the Department even at the risk of some additional loss, in assisting the poorer class of farmers to remain on the land, rather than to promote the formation of a class habitually dependent upon relief works or on casual employment in towns. I have no reason to think

that the final cost of administering the work of Repatriation, even with this extension, which could not be foreseen when the work was begun, will not be within the amount provided in the original estimate as embodied in the Transvaal Guaranteed Loan Ordinance of 1903.

I have, &c.,  
**ARTHUR LAWLEY,**  
 Lieutenant-Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 39.

TRANSCVAAL REPATRIATION DEPARTMENT.

A. The total value of issues in all Districts up to the 30th June, 1903:—

Supplies	...	...	...	...	£1,008,278	15	7
Loans	...	...	...	...	502,112	2	4
Transport	...	...	...	...	1,533,459	17	5
Total					£3,043,850	15	4

B. The total number of men employed in all Districts as at 30th June, 1903:—

White	...	...	...	...	...	1,472
Native	...	...	...	...	...	7,131
						8,603

C. The total value of supplies in the different Districts at 30th June, 1903 ... .. £895,736 6 3

D. The total cost of Administration up to the 30th June, 1903 ... .. £1,400,638 5 10

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TRANSVAAL REPATRIATION DEPARTMENT.

	A.				B.		C.	D.
	Supplies Value.	Transport Value.	Loans.	Total Issued to Burghers.	Whites.	Natives.	Supplies on hand.	Administration Expenses.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Barberton ... ..	18,555 15 1	36,334 2 10	400 0 0	55,289 17 11	67	162	55,730 9 5	60,632 11 0
Ermelo ... ..	24,164 4 4	67,029 9 0	64,203 5 0	155,396 18 4	50	192	18,929 15 0	24,278 4 9
Heidelberg ... ..	128,459 3 8	185,961 16 8	27,011 5 0	341,432 5 4	81	485	71,681 4 8	130,199 7 9
Krugersdorp ... ..	97,252 5 11	162,910 13 7	58,745 0 0	318,907 19 6	50	320	42,957 4 10	68,753 12 1
Lydenburg ... ..	34,018 8 0	61,276 18 2	7,030 0 0	102,325 6 2	64	266	23,689 15 7	43,995 19 5
Lichtenburg... ..	40,720 10 2	41,935 3 0	22,928 0 0	105,583 13 2	81	662	26,189 13 10	126,012 9 0
Middelburg ... ..	81,377 11 6	108,057 16 11	71,165 0 0	260,600 8 5	93	492	44,031 14 9	94,540 11 4
Marico ... ..	22,194 14 8	64,321 2 6	1,450 0 0	88,465 17 2	33	235	6,018 19 7	26,273 1 0
Potchefstroom ... ..	147,530 9 0	219,721 6 1	85,240 0 0	452,491 15 1	146	898	67,391 19 9	168,663 13 11
Pretoria ... ..	100,066 15 0	167,359 13 9	36,109 3 4	303,535 12 1	421	1,190	316,919 3 3	317,977 2 9
Rustenburg ... ..	59,618 10 0	83,911 11 5	38,089 14 0	181,619 15 5	32	140	16,400 9 2	11,511 6 0
Standerton ... ..	80,713 16 6	148,231 4 1	15,733 0 0	244,678 0 7	93	767	43,486 2 9	79,499 7 3
Wolmaransstad ... ..	48,637 13 9	47,607 15 0	10,467 0 0	106,712 8 9	84	569	43,580 10 6	101,599 4 3
Witwatersrand ... ..	5,973 17 2	—	26,338 15 0	32,312 12 2	14	2	737 13 0	4,158 15 3
Waterberg ... ..	24,379 5 3	11,300 10 3	13,420 0 0	49,099 15 6	27	131	14,213 15 6	19,006 11 7
Wakkerstroom ... ..	51,213 13 2	51,995 4 10	5,350 0 0	108,558 18 0	81	350	71,226 15 1	76,425 13 3
Zoutpansberg ... ..	43,402 2 5	75,005 9 4	18,432 0 0	136,839 11 9	55	270	32,550 19 7	47,110 15 3
Total ... ..	1,008,278 15 7	1,533,459 17 5	502,112 2 4	3,043,850 15 4	1,472	7,131	895,736 6 3	1,400,638 5 10

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No. 40.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY.  
(Sent 12.50 p.m., September 30, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 41.]

30th September. No. 1. It is stated in press that Transvaal Government has decided that present time is inopportune for construction of new railways in view of scarcity of labour. Please report by telegraph what truth in statement.

No. 41.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.  
(Received 9.15 p.m., October 2, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

2nd October. No. 1. Referring to your telegram of 30th September, No. 1,\* in view of existing scarcity of labour I have decided that the railways must suffer to some extent as well as the agricultural and commercial industries, and that our policy must be to go slowly at present. I therefore propose to limit the work on purely new construction to the following sections: (1) the completion of the Harri-smith Bethlehem line; (2) the completion of the Thaba Nchu-Modderpoort line; and (3) the completion of the Johannesburg-Vereeniging line. These works are now in hand, and I shall press on with them. I shall also push on the Springs-Ermelo Machadodorp extension which is urgently necessary for the relief of existing congestion on the Eastern line. At the same time I am continuing the relaying of portions of existing lines as well as other work on open lines which is rather in the nature of new construction than of maintenance.

The total number of boys employed on open lines and new construction is altogether 22,000. I do not feel justified just at present in increasing the strain by further demands, but I am making every preparation to carry out immediately further items of the approved programme of new railway construction as soon as conditions improve.

No. 42.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received October 3, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 70.]

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, September 12, 1903.  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 31st of August,† I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter from the Pretoria Trades' and Labour Council, on the subject of the importation of Asiatic labour.

I have, &c.,  
ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

\* No. 40.

† No. 37.



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Enclosure in No. 42.

PRETORIA TRADES' AND LABOUR COUNCIL to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Pretoria Trades' and Labour Council,  
 YOUR EXCELLENCY, P.O. Box 867, Pretoria, August 15, 1903.

THE above Council, having a membership of close upon 2,000 artisans employed in Pretoria in seven different branches of trade and industry, beg leave to place before you their opinion with regard to the proposed introduction of Chinese and Asiatic labour into South Africa.

After careful deliberation they have unanimously agreed that such introduction would be detrimental to the best interests of the country, both morally, socially and physically. Further, we are strongly of opinion that this is one of those far-reaching and important questions (affecting as it does most vitally, the future welfare of the Colony) which should not be finally settled until after the establishment of responsible Government.

We have much pleasure in transmitting to you a copy of the Resolution carried unanimously at the last meeting of the Council:—

“That this Council enters its most emphatic protest against the importation of Asiatic labour into South Africa, considering that it would be detrimental to the best interests of all sections of the community.”

We are also instructed to request that you will transmit this resolution, at your earliest convenience, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

If you could make it convenient to meet a deputation of this Council on the question, it would give us an opportunity to set before you more fully our opinions.

We have, &c.,  
 ALFRED ARNOLD,  
 President.  
 ARTHUR B. PARKER,  
 ALFRED POOLFORD,  
 Signed on behalf of the  
 Council.

To His Excellency  
 The High Commissioner and Governor.

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No. 43.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received October 3, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 70.]

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, September 12, 1903.  
 WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th instant,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter accompanying a resolution passed at Boksburg on the 27th August; also copy of letter and resolution passed at a public meeting held at Florida on the 4th September, 1903, on the subject of labour for the Rand Mines.

I have, &c.,  
 ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
 Lieutenant-Governor.

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\* No. 42.

Enclosure 1 in No. 43.

Mr. J. R. HUBBARD to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

P.O. Box No. 185, Boksburg,  
Transvaal, August 31, 1903.

Labour for the Rand Mines.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE the honour to forward to you the accompanying resolution, which was almost unanimously adopted by a large assemblage of residents of Boksburg and district (East Rand), on the 27th instant.

I am to ask you to be good enough to have a note made of this expression of opinion by a community which is deeply affected by the question at issue, and thereafter to transmit the resolution to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
JOHN R. HUBBARD.

To the Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley,  
Governor of the Transvaal Colony and  
High Commissioner for South Africa.

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RESOLUTION REFERRED TO.

[*In similar terms to the Resolution in Enclosure 1 in No. 38.*]

THOS. VIERVOGT,  
Chairman.

B. OWEN JONES,  
President, Chamber of Commerce.  
(Mover of Resolution.)

J. CAMPBELL MACNEILLIE,  
President, Local Section,  
East Rand Vigilance Association.  
(Secunder of Resolution.)

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Enclosure 2 in No. 43.

MANIFESTO of Labour Importation Association.

(*See Enclosure 2 in No. 35.*)

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Enclosure 3 in No. 43.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association, 115, Exploration Buildings,  
YOUR EXCELLENCY, Johannesburg, September 5, 1903.

BY special vote, I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended resolution,\* which was passed by a very large majority at a public meeting held last night in the schoolroom, Florida, under the auspices of this Association, to discuss the labour question.

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\* In similar terms to the resolution in Enclosure 1 in No. 37.

I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. 207

I have, &c.,  
JAMES B. MACDONALD,  
Chairman.

To His Excellency  
The Honourable Sir Arthur Lawley,  
Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal,  
and His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner  
for South Africa.

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No. 44.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received October 10, 1903.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, September 17, 1903.  
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 5th of August,\* transmitting extracts from the "Times" Report of a debate in the House of Commons on the 30th of July with regard to the money expended by the Compensation and Repatriation Commissions.

2. In reply I would invite your attention to my despatch of the 7th instant,† on the subject of the expenditure incurred in connection with Repatriation, which I think supplies the information asked for by Mr. Sydney Buxton in the House of Commons.

I have, &c.,  
ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

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No. 45.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received October 17, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 70.]

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, September 25, 1903.  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th instant,‡ I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter covering a resolution passed at a public meeting held at Potchefstroom on the 15th September, and copy of a letter containing a resolution passed at the Dynamite Factory, Modderfontein, on the 16th September, 1903, on the subject of the labour question.

I have, &c.,  
ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

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\* No. 27.

† No. 39.

‡ No. 43.

Enclosure 1 in No. 45.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION, Johannesburg, to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,  
Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association, 115, Exploration Buildings,  
YOUR EXCELLENCY, Johannesburg, September 16, 1903.

By special vote, I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended resolution,\* which was passed by a large majority at a public meeting held in the Lyric Theatre, Potchefstroom, on Tuesday, the 15th instant, under the auspices of this Association, to discuss the labour question. The theatre was crowded to its utmost capacity, and many were unable to gain admittance. There would be about 500 people present.

I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,

JAMES B. MACDONALD,  
Secretary.

His Excellency  
The Governor,  
Transvaal Colony,  
Pretoria.

Enclosure 2 in No. 45.

Mr. CULLEN to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

Dynamite Factory, Modderfontein,  
Transvaal, September 17, 1903.

Unskilled Labour.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE the honour to inform Your Excellency that at a meeting held here last evening, the following resolutions were passed:—

1. "That this meeting, being convinced that there can be no real prosperity in the Colony until there is an adequate supply of coloured labour, pledges itself to support the policy of the Labour Importation Association, as set forth in its manifesto."
2. "That a copy of the resolution passed be sent to the Governor of the Transvaal Colony, with the request that he should transmit it to the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

In accordance with the latter resolution, I hope you see your way to forward a copy of Resolution No. 1.

I might further mention that it was agreed to without a dissenting vote.

I have, &c.,  
W. CULLEN.

His Excellency  
The Governor,  
Transvaal Colony,  
Pretoria.

No. 46.

MR. LYTTELTON to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY.

(Sent 5.42 p.m., October 23, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 47.]

23rd October. No. 1. I notice a telegram from Johannesburg in press stating that as soon as report of Native Labour Commission is received draft Ordinance

\* In similar terms to the resolution in Enclosure 1 in No. 37.

authorizing Asiatic immigration will be published. Presume that there is no foundation for statement, as it is obvious that no such publication should be made without reference to me. 244

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No. 47.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 5.4 p.m., October 24, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

24th October. No. 1. Referring to your telegram, No. 1, 23rd October,\* no foundation for statement. No draft Ordinance on the subject will be published without reference to you.

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No. 48.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received October 24, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 70.]

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, October 5, 1903.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 25th September,† I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Labour Importation Association, Johannesburg, dated the 21st September, 1903, covering copy of a Resolution passed at Vereeniging on the 18th September, 1903; also the Manifesto‡ referred to, and a copy of a letter from the same Association covering a copy of a Resolution passed at a meeting of the employees of the Windsor Gold Mines, Limited, on the 31st August, 1903, on the subject of the Labour Question.

I have, &c.,  
ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 48.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION, Johannesburg, to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association 115, Exploration Buildings,  
Johannesburg, September 21, 1903.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,  
By special vote, I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended Resolution,§ which was passed unanimously at a Public Meeting held in the school-room Vereeniging on Friday, the 18th instant, under the auspices of this Association, to discuss the Labour Question.

There would be about 150 people present.

I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the Resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
JAMES B. MACDONALD,  
Secretary.

To His Excellency  
The Lieutenant-Governor,  
Pretoria.

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\* No. 46.

† N. 1.

‡ See Enclosure 2 in No. 35.

§ In similar terms to Enclosure 1 in No. 37.

Enclosure 2 in No. 48.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION, Johannesburg, to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,  
Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association, 115, Exploration Buildings,  
Johannesburg, September 23, 1903.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,  
I AM directed by the Chairman of the meeting to forward to Your Excellency the appended Resolution,\* which was unanimously passed at a meeting of the employees of the Windsor Gold Mines, Limited, held at Luipaards Vlei on Monday, 31st August, 1903, to discuss the Labour Question.

Out of some 56 men employed on the property some 50 were present, and recorded their votes.

The meeting was convened on a requisition signed by the men.

I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,

JAMES B. MACDONALD,  
Secretary.

To His Excellency  
The Lieutenant-Governor,  
Pretoria.

No. 49.

MR. LYTTELTON to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY  
(Sent 6 p.m., October 28, 1903)

TELEGRAM.

[.Answered by No. 50.]

(Extract.)

October 28. No. 2. Your telegram of 24th October, No. 1.† Substance of report of Labour Commission should be telegraphed to me as soon as you know it, and copies sent by first opportunity.

If the Commission finds that the supply of labour in South Africa is insufficient it will be necessary for me, before arriving at any decision, to know the feeling as to Asiatic labour in the Colony, so far as it is possible for this to be ascertained. The best way for ventilating the subject would, in my opinion, be for the mining representatives to introduce into the Council a Resolution, which can be fully debated, official members being given a free hand to speak and vote. Please keep me informed of what is done by telegraph.

No. 50.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Sent 3.25 p.m.; received, 7.55 p.m., October 30, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

(Extract.)

30th October. No. 1. With reference to your telegram of 28th October No. 2,‡ I anticipate that the Labour Commission Report, which I do not expect to receive before 7th November, will indicate necessity for Asiatic labour.

I agree with you that a Resolution in the Council adopting the principle of Asiatic labour should preface the introduction of an Ordinance.

That such a Resolution will be unanimous I am unable to foresee; but I assume that it will be adopted by a substantial majority. The financial position here to-day is most serious. I am of opinion, personally, that the only thing which stands between us and a general crisis is the sanguine hope of the early introduction of Asiatic labour.

As soon as I get it, I will telegraph the substance of the Commission's Report. I would send by post the full text of the draft Ordinance which I would propose to publish as soon as possible after the adoption of a Resolution by the Council, for the introduction of legislation on the lines of the Report. Such a Resolution, I am confident, will be passed by a substantial majority.

\* In similar terms to Enclosure 1 in No. 37.

† No. 47.

‡ No. 49.

No. 51.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTFELTON.

(Received October 31, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 70.]

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, October 12, 1903.  
 WITH reference to my despatch of 5th instant,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter dated 26th September, 1903, from the Secretary, Labour Importation Association, covering Resolution passed at Consolidated Main-Reef Mine on the 24th September, and copy of a letter dated 28th September, from the Secretary of the above Association, covering Resolution passed at Standerton on the 26th of September, on the subject of the importation of labour.

I have, &c.,  
 ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
 Lieutenant-Governor.

Enclosure 1 in No. 51.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION, Johannesburg, to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,  
 Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association, P. O. Box 164,  
 Johannesburg, September 26, 1903.  
 YOUR EXCELLENCY,  
 By special vote, I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended Resolution† which was passed with only one dissentient at a public meeting held in the Boarding House, Consolidated Main-Reef Mine, Maraisburg, on Thursday, the 24th instant, under the auspices of this Association, to discuss the Labour Question. There were about 150 people present, including men from the Aurora West and New Unified Mines.  
 I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the Resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
 J. B. MACDONALD,  
 Secretary.

To His Excellency the Governor,  
 Pretoria.

Enclosure 2 in No. 51.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION, Johannesburg, to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,  
 Transvaal.

Labour Importation Association, P. O. Box 164,  
 Johannesburg, September 28, 1903.  
 YOUR EXCELLENCY,  
 By special vote I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended Resolution† which was passed at a public meeting held in Standerton on Saturday, the 26th instant, under the auspices of this Association, to discuss the Labour Question. There were 78 votes in favour of the Resolution, and 23 against it.  
 I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the meeting by forwarding the Resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
 JAMES B. MACDONALD,  
 Secretary.

To His Excellency the Governor,  
 Pretoria.

\* No. 48.

† In similar terms to the resolution in Enclosure 1 in No. 37.

No. 52.

THE WITWATERSRAND NATIVE LABOUR ASSOCIATION, LIMITED, to  
THE TRANSVAAL CHAMBER OF MINES.

(Received in Colonial Office, November 2, 1903.)

Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, Limited,

Johannesburg, October 6, 1903.

SIR.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for the information of the President, Executive Committee, and Members of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, a copy of the Report of Mr H Ross Skinner containing an account of his mission to California and the Far East.

In view of the publicity which may be given to this Report, certain figures relating to the wages which it might be deemed advisable to offer to indentured labourers, should their importation be sanctioned, have been omitted.

I have, &c.

H. W. P. STEEDS,

Secretary.

To the Secretary,  
Transvaal Chamber of Mines,  
Johannesburg.

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Enclosure in No. 52.

REPORT of Mr. H. ROSS SKINNER furnished to The Witwatersrand Labour Association the result of his visit to the East to enquire into the prospects of obtaining Asiatic labourers for the Mines of the Witwatersrand.

GENTLEMEN, Roodepoort, near Johannesburg, September 22, 1903.

IN your letter of 14th February, 1903, you requested me to proceed as your representative to California and the Far East for the purpose of enquiring into :

- 1st. The conditions under which indentured Chinese labourers should be employed on the mines of the Rand.
- 2nd. The possibility of obtaining such labour.
- 3rd. Its suitability to supplement the present inadequate Kaffir supply.

I have just returned after carrying out your directions and beg to submit the following general report for your consideration.

Time only has been allowed me to collect material sufficient to lay before you a plain statement of facts for immediate use. This is presented with all deference as the result of an earnest endeavour towards assisting in arriving at a means by which the Transvaal mining industry can lessen the present shortage of unskilled labour on these fields, should it be decided to import labour from oversea.

My itinerary as affecting the objects of my mission may be summarised thus :—

Leaving Johannesburg on the 20th February last I reached London on the 14th March. In London introductions were furnished by and through the representatives of the Rand mining firms for use in California, British Columbia, Japan, Malay Peninsula, and China.

Crossing over from England, I arrived in California on 13th April, viâ New York and Chicago, thence viâ Portland, Seattle, to British Columbia, arriving there on 28th April. From British Columbia I sailed on the 5th May Westwards; was in Japan 18th to 22nd May; Hong Kong 26th and 27th May, and reached Singapore on 31st May.

After spending two weeks in Singapore and Federated Malay States, visiting the Raub gold mine and several tin deposits, I returned to Hong Kong on 17th June.

Cablegrams were handed me at Hong Kong enquiring as to Corean labour, and I deemed it advisable to send Mr. H. H. Noyes forward to visit that country for



the purpose of investigating into the quantity and quality of labour obtainable there, requesting him to rejoin me afterwards at Dalnay, the terminus of the trans-Siberian railway.

The subject of Corean labour, as well as that of Japanese, will be briefly referred to later.

On the China coast I visited, in connection with my mission, Hong Kong, Canton, Swatow, Amoy, Foochow, Shanghai, Chefoo, Tientsing, and Tongshan.

It is proposed in this report firstly to deal with the conditions of Chinese labour obtaining in the countries just visited, and then to offer remarks and suggestions as to the application of information received on the question of Chinese labour as affecting the Transvaal.

#### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The Census of 1900 shows that in that year there were some 90,000 Chinese resident in the United States proper. Of this number, 68,000 lived on the Pacific coast. The State of California is credited with about 46,000, and this aggregate exhibits a total reduction during the ten years, 1890—1900, of nearly 37,000, the Chinese population of California in 1890 having been between 72,000 and 73,000. This very substantial reduction is accounted for by the anti-Chinese legislation that has been enacted at different times by the United States Congress. As a tentative measure the Congress passed in 1881-82 a limitation and suspension treaty. It was later borne in upon the Legislature that this treaty did not go far enough, and in 1894 an Exclusion Law was introduced and enacted, which is at present in force in the States. This Exclusion Law is tantamount to total prohibition, and is intended once and for all to render further ingress of Chinese impossible. This legislation was the outcome of violent agitation, persistently prosecuted, commencing as early as the beginning of the sixties.

About the year 1850, the Chinese first introduced themselves to the American, and they were welcomed into California. It is freely admitted that the cheap labour thus obtained worked much benefit to the State in the construction of railways, clearing and reclaiming land, in making canals, and in many other ways assisting to develop quickly California's vast resources.

But the Chinese labourer, by his industry and frugality, gradually accumulated money, and insinuated himself as a competitor with the American into various branches of labour, principally in work of a lighter character. He also, in time, became a formidable rival in the world of commerce. He was willing to work for a less wage, and content to accept much smaller profits; in short, the Chinese standard of a fair competency was so much lower than that of the Americans that the latter found themselves unable to compete with the yellow man. Against this state of things the American labourer cried out long and loud until the present Exclusion Law was promulgated.

By the laws of the United States of America indentured or contracted labour for a term of years, or under any conditions is illegal. The Chinese were therefore free to come and go, free to engage in any class of work or to carry on mercantile business on whatever lines they listed. In my opinion, the Government adopted the only course open to them in order to protect their citizens from this alien encroachment.

#### DOMINION OF CANADA.

With regard to Canada the same remarks apply as to the United States. In Canada, however, the laws at present in force dealing with Chinese immigration are more of a restrictive than prohibitive nature. Instead of an Exclusion Act the Dominion imposes a capitation of \$100 on every Chinese immigrant. Strenuous efforts are now being made to have this tax increased to \$500, and thus act as an enhanced deterrent to Chinese coming into the country.

It is important to bear in mind the experience the American countries have come through relative to this Chinese question, and, if similar labour is to be introduced into the Transvaal, the Legislature, by their enactments, should make it abso-

lutely certain that the immigrant is securely indentured and his repatriation rendered compulsory on the termination of such indenture.

The following conditions I consider should be most carefully explained to the Coolie before he leaves China :—

- 1st. Term of service.
- 2nd. Class of work he will be permitted to engage in.
- 3rd. Hours of labour.
- 4th. That he cannot under any circumstances, or in any form whatsoever, engage in trade.
- 5th. That he cannot own land or vested property.
- 6th. Compulsory return on the termination of his period of service, unless he elects to apply for a renewal of his indenture.

The non-ability to enforce conditions of such a nature, owing to the character of the laws obtaining, has led in a very large degree to most of the troubles in connection with the Chinese on the Pacific coast.

The principal planks in the anti-Chinese platform, both in the United States and Canada, have been and still are :—

- 1st. The non-assimilation of the Chinese to Western ideas and customs.
- 2nd. The hoarding spirit inherent in the Chinese. The greater part of his earnings is either taken with him out of the country, or is remitted to his relatives in China.
- 3rd. The Chinese do not, as a rule, consume local products, and prefer to trade with their own people.
- 4th. The successful competition of cheap Chinese labour with white labour, brought about by—
  - (a) The longer hours the Chinese are willing to work.
  - (b) The very low standard of living obtaining amongst the Chinese, as the result of which they can exist and live in relative comfort on a much smaller sum than would decently maintain a white man, much less a white man who has to support a family.

Finally, as a free immigrant, allowed to mix, work alongside and trade with the general community, the evidence collected by the different Commissions appointed by the respective Governments to enquire into the question in the United States and Canada go to prove that the Chinaman has shown himself to be an undesirable member of a society constituted on European principles.

I should make it clear, however, that the grave objections existing in California and other American States to the presence of Chinese are entirely due to the absence of restrictive legislation at the commencement. If such legislation is passed in the Transvaal at the very outset, the conditions will be radically different to those existing in California, and I can see no reason to believe that the presence of Chinese will be injurious either to the State or to white workers.

While in California I was given the opportunity of inspecting the Chinese engaged in various classes of work, and especially did I make a study of the character and manner of their work in the "Hidden Treasure Gravel Mine," as far as was possible in the limited time at my disposal.

As miners they have proved themselves to be excellent workmen. But it must be borne in mind that in California the Chinese workman has, in most cases, had long experience in the department in which he works, and that in his own special branch of work he is really a skilled labourer. For many years he has been well paid and has lived comfortably. At the present time 7s. to 8s. per day is paid to Chinese miners in California. The class of labour obtained from experienced Chinese, such as these, is entirely different to what will be obtained from the raw Coolie the mines would be able to procure, at least for a very considerable time.

Most of the men in California are from the Southern Provinces of China, Kwangtung and Kwangsi, a great proportion being Cantonese.

In California, as in British Columbia, there is no question as to the Chinese capacity for work and the application he brings to bear on any duty assigned to him if he sees that it is to his profit to do so. If well fed and housed a very respectable daily output of work could be got from the average Chinese Coolie.

On the coal mines in Victoria the average rate of pay for surface hands is about \$1, or 4s. 2d. per day, but the underground Chinese labourer is paid higher. Of these latter there are not very many nowadays.

#### GUILDS OR COMBINATIONS.

A very potent force amongst the Chinese is a system of co operation somewhat akin to freemasonry. They understand well the power and advantage to be derived from combination. In San Francisco there are six Chinese Companies or Guilds, and to one or other of these the great majority of Chinese immigrants used to contribute and become members. The system is far-reaching, but in the general application exercises a wholesome influence. These Guilds transact business for their members, they supervise labour contracts, receive and deposit money, or remit same to China, and generally look after and take a lively interest in the welfare of the Chinese community. Another function of theirs is to make all the necessary arrangements, when so desired, to have the bones of deceased members sent to their relatives in China.

Such societies, comprehensive as they are, if established on the Rand, would have a very powerful bearing on the Chinese immigrants. In many ways, as in those mentioned above, they might be useful and beneficial, but their power might also become a danger, especially if they could suppose that the mines were entirely dependent on the Chinese for their unskilled labour. To avoid such an emergency it is plainly desirable that all the present efforts to increase the supply of Kaffir labour should be vigorously continued with a view to balancing, as far as possible, the supply of Kaffir, Chinese, and other unskilled labourers on the mines. This principle might also be adopted in the cases of Chinese from different districts. For instance, experience points to the fact that it is unlikely that Northern men would co-operate with the Southern Chinese.

#### FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

At Singapore and in the Federated Malay States, I was able to obtain much useful information as to the immigration of Chinese into these parts, and the inducements and prospects held out to them by the different States.

All the manual labour is performed by Asiatics, of whom the Chinese are by far the most numerous and most useful. For road, railway and estate work a fair number of Tamils from Southern India, and natives from other parts of that country, are used. These are said to be more amenable to European supervision than the Chinese. The Malays and other natives of the country do not figure prominently as labourers.

In 1901 it was computed that some 300,000 Chinese and 58,000 Tamils and other natives of India were resident in the Malay States, and these numbers are, and have been, continually on the increase.

In 1902 the total number of Chinese immigrants who arrived and were inspected at Singapore, and who were drafted off to the various ports, was 207,156. These were all from the Southern districts of China. Of course, large numbers of returning Chinese help to balance these figures. It must also be noted that of the 207,000, a small proportion only might be indentured Coolies. The larger number would be Chinese coming to the Peninsula of their own accord to engage in trade or labour. As the country neighbours Southern China, and the conditions of life are somewhat similar, there is naturally a considerable movement of population between the two countries.

The Chinese perform all kinds of labour, from that of the high grade craftsman to the lowest menial hand. Practically the whole of the chief industry of the

country is in the hands of the Chinese, viz. :—the digging and washing of tin deposit. They also take the lead in trade, and control commerce.

The method adopted usually to secure labour is to make arrangements with the headman of the gang—not with the individual Coolie. Contract or piece work appeals much more to the Chinese labourer than day wage, and, unless under special conditions, day work is unpopular, and to the employer unsatisfactory.

Chinese Coolie labour in the Peninsula is divided into two classes, free and indentured.

The free labourer comes into the country at his own expense, and hires out his services on terms most advantageous to himself. Or he is an originally indentured labourer, who has fulfilled his obligations, and is consequently free.

The indentured Coolie, on the other hand, has had advanced to him by his employer the amount of his passage money from China, cash for an outfit of clothes, and, perhaps, money to leave with his relatives to assist in supporting them until such time as he can remit some of his wages for that purpose. In return the Coolie agrees to serve the employer for a fixed period at a certain rate of wage (usually less than that paid to a free labourer), and binds himself to pay back by instalments all the money advanced to him, with interest. Such indentured men are locally termed "Sinkehs."

The system of bringing men from China under indenture is the one usually followed by the Chinese employers. Importation of indentured Chinese by Europeans, without first securing a Chinese go-between, is rarely successful, indeed European employers find it more satisfactory to hire free labour.

The term "mining, as applied to tin getting in the Malay States, is rather misleading. The "Mines" are mostly open workings, and the method of operation is briefly this :—The surface soil is stripped until the tin wash is exposed at a depth varying from five to thirty feet. This wash is taken to the sluice boxes to be cleaned and separated. Large hoes are used for digging the soil, and the ground is carried up inclined paths in two small baskets at each end of a shoulder pole or yoke.

Many of these deposits would not pay to work, even by the Chinese, if it were not for the prevalence of the "truck system," by which the owner of the ground or employer supplies the employee with all requisites in the way of food, clothes, &c., and acts generally as banker. This system finds favour with the Chinese workmen, and is especially popular with the employers.

Another, and perhaps more popular, method is conducted on the co-operative principle, in which the workmen share in any profits accruing after the advances made to them, the cost of food and supplies issued, and the initial outlay for tools, &c., &c., necessary to start work, have been repaid.

Regarding the rates of wages ruling in the Malay Peninsula :—At the Raub gold mine in Pahang, which I visited, the underground workmen were paid by the Company 60 cents, or one shilling, per day, while the surface hands received 50 cents (10d.). Contractors' underground men earned about 70 cents (1s. 2d.) and contractors, with a few men working under them, would expect to realize about 2 dollars (3s. 11d.) or upwards daily. At the Raub mine the Chinese lived apart and some distance from the workings. They provided their own food and housing.

I also visited tin deposits at Rawang, in Selangor. There the average wage paid was 65 cents (1s. 1d.) per day of six hours. Accommodation was provided, but the men had to buy food and purchase any other supplies from the employer. The Coolies' food cost 4d. per day.

The attractions which the Federated States offer to the Chinese immigrant, as compared with the conditions of things in the Transvaal, may be summarised thus :—

- (1). A country within four or five days' journey from their own, making return easy.
- (2). Cheap ocean passages in Coolie ships.

- (3). The prospect of engaging in trade on the termination of period of service.
- (4). The possibility of acquiring property and land.
- (5). The speculative chance of making money by some means or other, a chance for which much will be borne by the average Chinese.

As the Federated States are disposed to encourage Chinese immigration it is evident that, to influence the immigrant to travel a much further distance, and come to South Africa, more substantial inducements will have to be extended to him and compensating conditions proffered to counteract the disabilities under which he would labour in respect of the restrictions that would be imposed with regard to trading, ownership, &c., &c. The most forcible argument would be the offer of an enhanced rate of pay.

The quality of the unskilled labour in the Malay States was, on the whole, good, about equal, but not superior to our average Kaffir labour, assuming that both classes had the same amount of European supervision.

At Singapore, a town with an immense Chinese population, the Protector of Chinese kindly granted me facilities for visiting a few of the Government Coolie houses. The Coolies are lodged in these establishments pending such time as they can proceed to their destination.

It is borne in upon one at Singapore, that great care will have to be exercised in the medical inspection of all Coolies on the China side, not only in the all important matter of infectious diseases, but also in the matter of physique. The necessity too of providing suitable accommodation for the Chinese on arrival was clearly exemplified, and the need of framing adequate sanitary rules. There was also demonstrated here the importance of the proper handling of the Coolie, and of arranging that as few changes in the regime as possible are brought into play after they have settled into their groove.

In British North Borneo, a country about the same distance from China as the Malay Peninsula, the immigration conditions are that:—

- 1st. If the emigrant works for the Government or any other, he gets a clear 40 cents (or eight pence) per day, but has to supply his own food.
- 2nd. If the emigrant engages in agricultural pursuits the Government allows him \$4.50 (or 7s. 6d.) monthly for six months until he can get a return from his crops.

With reference to wages it is known for a certainty both from letters received from, and statements made by, various emigrants that, after being some six months in the country, and having proved themselves able workers, they receive an advance, bringing their wage to about 75 cents (or 1s. 3d.) per day and, in some cases, as high as \$1 (or 1s. 8d.).

#### CHINA.

At Hong Kong, Canton, and the various other ports in Southern China, such as Swatow, Amoy, and, to a smaller extent, Foochow, from which the bulk of emigration takes place, the information gathered, pertained to, and may be classified under the following heads:—

#### SUITABILITY OF CHINESE FOR WORK ON MINES IN TRANSVAAL.

In my opinion the better class of Coolies from both Southern and Northern China will be suitable to supplement the Kaffir labour supply. They are docile, law-abiding and industrious people, and will carry out whatever contracts they enter into and perform the tasks assigned to them. They must, however, be given clearly to understand to what country they are going, the conditions under which they engage, term of service, rate of pay, class of work, nature of food, &c., &c. Many disturbances have been caused, and much dissatisfaction has been engendered by Coolies starting from their country under the impression that they were bound for one place and being taken to another.

As an unskilled manual labourer, under close European direction, as is the practice in these goldfields, the Chinese Coolie will not give a better output of work per man than the Kaffir, both working under equal conditions, indeed, I venture to affirm until the Coolie gets used to our conditions, the output will not be so good. In intelligence he excels the Kaffir, and in this important respect has the advantage. Physically, his endurance would about equal that of the Kaffir, especially if he were well fed and housed. The long indenture will be much in favour of the Coolie, as he will become more and more skilled in his work as time goes on.

The Chinese Coolie will go underground without much trouble, but he must be tactfully handled by men who understand him. At the "Hidden Treasure Mine," in California, Chinese were working at a vertical depth of 900 feet at the end of an adit two miles long. At Comox, Vancouver, in the coal mines, they were also engaged underground; at the Raub gold mine, in the Malay Peninsula, at a depth of from 250 to 450 feet; and in the Tongshan Coal mines, in North China, at a vertical depth of 1,300 feet. In the last-named mine, between 3,000 and 4,000 Chinese were working.

#### SELECTION OF COOLIES.

The satisfaction that may be obtained from the labour will much depend on the care exercised in the selection of the emigrants. Naturally, the different villages and districts will endeavour to persuade the bad characters and weaklings to emigrate. These must be, as far as possible, persistently rejected. Round the coast ports and larger centres are many undesirables.

From a health point of view it is most essential that physically strong men be sent, as even using every precaution, it will be difficult to keep the death rate normal until the emigrants become acclimatised and used to their new surroundings. From an economical standpoint also, careful selection is imperative. The same initial cost applies to the unfit as to the fit, and the former has to be paid, fed and housed, for say three years, and returned again to his country, no matter what his capabilities for work may be. All this expense is a very serious matter, unless a fair return is given in labour. Numbers alone have not to be considered as representing the success or otherwise of the undertaking, but to numbers must be added quality.

Trained mine labour, in the ordinary sense of the word, is unobtainable in any quantity, but sturdy men can be procured who will very soon attain skill in their respective tasks. Sufficient Chinese labour can, I believe, be obtained to fulfil the present and immediate future requirements of the Rand.

#### RECRUITING.

As South Africa is almost an unknown country to the average Chinese, and is at a far distance from China, no large flow of emigrants—at least of suitable emigrants—will commence until the pioneers are able to send back reports as to their happenings, how they like the country, the local conditions, and that all is as was represented to them before leaving China. If these reports are favourable as to the country and to the conditions of service, no difficulty ought to be experienced in recruiting future supplies, provided always that the reports from South Africa continue to be of a satisfactory nature. In this connection I would strongly urge that small committees, composed of carefully selected Chinese, should be sent from the main districts from which it is proposed to recruit labour, who would accompany the first shipments of their countrymen to South Africa, and who would doubtless on their return, after a short sojourn here, be instrumental in influencing recruiting. The selection of these men could be left to the contractors or suppliers.

The best recruiting agent in China, however, will be the regular remittance by the emigrant of a portion of his wage. This tangible evidence of the benefit to be derived from a few members of a family emigrating for a term of years will do much to induce others to follow their lead.

Easy means of communication between South Africa and China should be arranged, to allow of easy interchange of letters and remittance of money to friends, and payment of a portion of wage on China side if such is desired by the Coolies.

In recruiting it will be of great assistance to be able to give the assurance that if any Coolie dies in South Africa, and the return of his bones to China is desired, the wishes of his relatives will be duly executed. This will be looked upon as a gracious concession, and will remove one objection to emigration from the minds of many Coolies. The bones could be sent back at stated times in returning ships practically free of cost.

The Southern Chinese are, and have been for many years, accustomed to leave home, in many cases for far distant countries, and the idea of South Africa as a field of labour for surplus population will not be in the nature of an innovation. It is from Southern China that the labour will have to be obtained in the first instance, especially if it is wanted at short notice.

In Northern China the idea of emigration to a far distance has to be brought home to the Coolie, but when this has been done (a process taking time and money) many fine men will be obtained from the North, especially from the province of Shantung.

The Northern man is of an altogether larger and heavier build than the Southern; but he is reported to be duller in intellect. He appeared to me to be stronger constitutionally, but on this point I should hesitate to pronounce an opinion, as we saw the Southern man apparently as healthy in one climate as in the other—as healthy in British Columbia as in the Malay Peninsula.

#### RESTRICTIONS.

Will the Coolie come over in face of the restrictions under which his employment on the mines would be permitted? The main points being:—

1. Indenture for a term of years.
2. The restriction to certain classes of labour and places of abode.
3. Prohibition to trade and inability to lease and own property for such purpose.
4. Compulsory return on termination of indenture unless indenture renewed.
5. The necessity of complying with English Laws and health regulations, both foreign to the Chinese traditions.

As already stated, these restrictions, although they will undoubtedly deter many, will not, in my opinion, affect the influx of sufficient numbers to meet requirements.

To permit native customs, domestic habits, and manner of living, and at the same time to insist on the due observance of health laws, will require tact and knowledge of the Chinese: but it can be done. If the Chinese are given the opportunity, they will be fairly cleanly and appreciative of good order. Long distance from home will, in some measure, render the immigrants more amenable to any local regulations imposed than perhaps they would be if nearer their own country. The careful inspection and selection of the Coolie would also tend to good behaviour, as it will, to a large extent, eliminate bad characters and the dregs of the population.

The assurance of a return passage on the termination of their indenture, will, especially at the beginning, be more of an inducement than otherwise; the Chinese not being permitted to settle down to trade, a trip home between indentures will be looked upon by many as desirable.

#### TREATMENT.

The long voyage might be regarded somewhat in the nature of a preparation for the work lying in front of the Chinese. They should be well-fed, and bathing and a moderate amount of exercise should be insisted upon.

Great care will have to be taken of the Coolies, both while bringing them over and when they arrive on these fields. The means wherewith to purchase suitable clothing must be advanced before they leave China, and supervision exercised to make sure that the garments are of a texture suitable for the Rand.

Ample supplies of suitable food such as the Chinese have been accustomed to should be laid in, and these must not be allowed to run out.

As little interference as possible with their own way of doing things should be the rule, provided they do not conflict with health regulations. This applies more pertinently to their religious observances, &c. For these the Chinese will bring all the necessary appurtenances with them, and future supplies can be arranged for.

#### HEALTH PRECAUTIONS.

To guard against the importation of contagious diseases with the immigrants is a matter that cannot be too carefully gone into. A medical officer, with eastern experience, should be appointed by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, whose duty would be to keep a vigilant watch on the Coolies employed on the mines and to inspect all fresh shipments. Cases might appear which had escaped the eye of the officers on the China side. With such precautions the danger alluded to should be reduced to a minimum.

All medical testimony from places where Chinese are wont to congregate points to the fact that, if left to themselves, they may become a menace to the health of the community, by reason of their overcrowding and persistent disregard of health regulations. Consumption among them is a prevalent disease. It is therefore imperative that care be taken to enforce on them a sanitary way of living, and that regulations be carefully formulated before their arrival.

On their coming out of the warm mines chills should be carefully guarded against.

#### ACCOMMODATION.

The better class of existing compounds, with some alterations, will suffice to house the Chinese. Stone and brick walls or iron building; with brick lining will be necessary to protect against cold. More air space than at present is allowed for in most of the compounds will be required, and eating rooms should be provided in addition to the sleeping accommodation. Before starting on any alterations, it would be well to have housing regulations carefully drawn up and approved so that afterwards work may not have to be done twice. The buildings should be so arranged that the rooms could be easily and quickly washed or sluiced out. Washing and bathing facilities should be placed at the disposal of the Coolies, and use of such made compulsory.

The cultivation of plots of ground adjacent to the compounds will find much favour among the Chinese, much on the same lines as the Kaffirs have their mealie patches. A small amount of water could be allowed for irrigation, and, given water, a large proportion of the necessary allowance of vegetable food would be produced.

#### FOOD.

The Southern Coolie will perhaps require to be more carefully dieted than his Northern brother. He should be given three meals daily, comprising:—

- (a) Rice of suitable quality, and as much of it as the Coolie cares to eat. It is not lawful to export rice from China proper, except under special permits, and then only in small quantities. It will be necessary therefore, to import it from other countries.
- (b) Salt and fresh fish, vegetables fresh and pickled, and light Chinese tea, with meat and pork as often as possible, to make the men fit and capable of hard work.
- (c) Dried spices, soy, and other small items, will have to be placed at the disposal of the Coolie.

All the above distinctive Chinese foods can be obtained in China at very cheap prices if arrangements are made.

The Northern man, instead of rice, chiefly uses kowliang or millet, as the staple article of diet. The other articles commonly consumed are much the same as those used by the Southern man. He should soon take kindly to our local mealie meal, cooked in the form of porridge or baked into cakes.



## TERMS.

After most careful consideration I am of opinion that the following terms will have to be offered, having regard to the restrictions under which the Coolie will have to place himself, the far distance from home, and lastly, and perhaps the most important consideration, the inducements held out by countries much nearer his home than South Africa:—

- (1) A free passage to and from South Africa, with food.
- (2) Advance, before leaving China, in order to purchase clothing and other necessaries, and to leave some money with his relatives, such advances to be deducted from his wage.
- (3) An average wage for adult male labourers at the rate of so much per day.
- (4) Free food, and with sufficient nutriment to sustain him for the performance of good work. The food to be agreeable to the Chinese.
- (5) Free housing and medical attendance.
- (6) Facilities for purchasing Chinese clothing and other necessary articles; also religious material at moderate prices.

Wherever possible, contract or piece work should be given on the basis of so much for a fair day's work. The Coolie should be encouraged to earn as much as possible, provided he gives good work in return.

In recruiting, the main factor will be the assurance that any individual Coolie can come to South Africa for, say, three years, and, if industrious and careful, can return to China at the end of that period with a fair sum to his credit, having been well fed and looked after all the time.

Taking into account the cost of return passage money, wage food, cost of recruiting, &c., the Coolie, on say a three years' indenture, will in no sense be a cheap labourer. Three years is the shortest period over which the cost of bringing the Coolie into the fields could be reasonably distributed. If it were found desirable to retain the services of the Coolie after the expiration of his first indenture, and get him to enter into a second, an inducement in the shape of a bonus equalling the incoming passage money would influence him in his decision.

## LABOUR COMPLEMENTS.

The composition of the complement of Chinese labourers for one mine would broadly be:—

- (1) One headman who would act as interpreter to, and work along with the Compound Manager.
- (2) Four under-headmen, two for underground and two for surface work, capable of talking or sufficiently intelligent to acquire soon a little English.
- (3) Oversmen or Boss Coolies: one for every thirty men, to act in the same capacity as the boss boys in gangs of Kaffirs.
- (4) One cook for every fifty men, with a young Coolie as assistant.
- (5) One Chinese doctor. He can act as headman in charge of the hospital under the local mine doctor. Many of the Chinese, especially at the outset, would insist on the option of being treated by a countryman of their own. To meet this, a supply Chinese medicines will require to be kept.

Individual mines will have to be manned by white skilled and Kaffir unskilled; or by white skilled and Chinese unskilled. No mixing of Kaffir and Chinese on any one mine should be permitted. Indeed, it would be advisable to prevent mixing in districts if it could be arranged.

Along with the first few thousands of Coolies, who would probably precede the main flow, men accustomed to Chinese ought to be brought to see that the Coolies are properly handled, and also to assist those mines likely to employ Coolie labour in the study of it, so that they will not have a new condition of things suddenly sprung upon them without some preparation.

### IMMIGRATION ORGANIZATION.

The broad outlines of the proposed organization and methods to be adopted in carrying out a scheme of immigration have already been submitted to you, and therefore need not be included in this general report.

### ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT.

In all likelihood the attitude of the Chinese authorities towards emigration will be passive. They may not actively assist, nor will they place insurmountable obstacles in the way. Before recruiting in the several districts, it will be necessary to interview the local authorities and secure their sanction to the arrangements to be put on foot.

Owing to famine and the very dense population emigration is finding more favour with the Chinese than formerly. The knowledge that the Government of the Transvaal would approve of the importation of Chinese indentured Coolies, and will create a Department to look after their welfare, and see that the conditions of the contracts are being fulfilled on both sides, will more than anything else cause the Chinese authorities, the Hong Kong Government, and our Consular Service to look favourably upon the scheme.

There are two questions, important on the bearing of Chinese labour, which I would now allude to, viz., the habit of opium-smoking and the disposal of the Chinese women-kind.

### OPIUM.

Is opium necessary to the Coolie? According to the opinions offered by many experienced Europeans, and nearly all the Chinese interviewed, it is not necessary. By its introduction, if it were permitted, the employer would only be lowering the standard of his labour. All Coolies showing signs of opium smoking should be rejected on the China side. Instead of opium, plenty of Chinese tobacco for pipes and cigarettes should be placed within their reach. This tobacco is very cheap.

### CHINESE WOMANKIND.

It would be advisable that, after the Coolie had shown that he was a suitable labourer for the mines, and had taken kindly to the work and the conditions on the fields, a certain number of free passages should be given to headmen to bring over women and families, and to any who proved themselves especially useful, as a reward and incentive to others. It would be understood that when such Coolies returned to China their womenkind and families must go with them.

This plan would conduce to good work and behaviour. The women might be given light employment about the compounds.

### GENERAL.

If the Chinese are introduced to these fields as unskilled mine labourers, under the proposed indenture, and kept strictly to their respective compounds and mine areas, except with special pass, they will be found to be no more objectionable neighbours to the towns and villages than the Kaffirs, after the European population have had some little time to get accustomed to them. The good or bad impression created amongst the Chinese—and, in fact, the future supply—will so greatly depend on the initial treatment and handling of the men, that the industry will be well advised to procure from the East a few capable and experienced men to deal with the matter, and to have them on the fields to make all arrangements prior to the arrival of the first Coolies.

The Chinese are, as a race, most easily led if matters are fully explained to them, and the reasons why and wherefore. On the other hand they will prove most stubborn if it is attempted to thrust new ideas or methods on them without due explanation through the headmen.

To my mind the way to ensure success and to get out of our present labour

difficulties is to proceed slowly and surely, making no mistakes. Mistakes made will create a bad impression on the minds of the immigrants, and once there they will be difficult to eradicate.

#### COREAN LABOUR.

This is, to a certain extent, obtainable, and the Koreans are said to be fairly good workers. But they have the general reputation of being a very dirty people. I should advise that the question of procuring Koreans should stand over until the the organisation brought to bear on the Southern and Northern Chinese labour, is fully under way. Afterwards a certain number might be recruited from Korea with a view of ascertaining whether any benefit is likely to accrue by obtaining labour from this source.

#### JAPANESE LABOUR.

While in America and Canada, also in Japan and China, I made general enquiries as to the qualities of the Japanese as workers, and whether they would be disposed to emigrate to South Africa.

The Japanese as a worker is reported to be ahead of the Chinese. In character he is more independent, and is also said to be more energetic, more apt and willing to adopt the manners and methods of the white man than the Chinese. At the same time he is more ready to fall into the white man's vices.

To sum up the salient features which call for a definite opinion, they are answered categorically as follows:—

(1) Suitability of Chinese for labour on the mines:

I have stated above that, in my opinion, the better class of Chinese Coolie will be suitable to supplement the Kaffir labour supply in the gold mines.

(2) Possibility of obtaining Chinese labour:

Sufficient Chinese labour can, in my opinion, be obtained to fulfil the the present and immediate future requirements of the Rand.

(3) Time necessary for obtaining Chinese labour:

If the reports to China from the first Chinese labourers are favourable, I consider that it would only be a matter of months before the labour supply from China would begin to affect very appreciably the production of these fields.

I would say that in making the statements I do in this report, I have never lost sight of the serious undertaking it is to bring into a country a large number of people of an alien race, whose whole idea of civilisation and manner of living is entirely at variance with that existing in the land they were brought into.

Only with unceasing care and watchfulness is the task to be accomplished in a manner satisfactory to the European population, and, whilst utilising the labour proposed to get over present difficulties, the policy of the country and mines should be the augmentation of the Kaffir labour supply by every means possible, looking forward to the time, distant though it may be, when South Africa can supply her own native requirements for both skilled and unskilled work.

Seeing that to-day the restarting and expansion of the mining industry is greatly retarded by the scarcity of unskilled labour, and, as a consequence, the development of the whole country is in suspense, it is difficult to see how the introduction of the indentured Chinese, under strict sanitary regulations and confined to their own mine areas, except under special pass, would be productive of other than good. They would supplement the present inadequate native labour supply, filling places that white labour would fill most reluctantly, if at all. Their labour, by allowing present mines to be re-worked and new properties to be developed, would allow of many openings for the white labourer, which, without such unskilled force, would not be at his disposal. As unskilled indentured labourers restricted to the same departments as the natives, they will not affect the price of skilled labour, but will give such more opportunity. There may be a certain class of labour that

would be affected, but such a class is affected to-day by the Kaffir, and to have to sustain it would keep back the development of the whole country.

I desire to record my thanks to His Excellency the High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States, His Excellency the Governor of Hong Kong, and to His Majesty's Consular Service in China for their courtesy and kindness, and the great assistance their influence has been. I would also sincerely thank the several gentlemen and business houses in all the countries I have visited in my tour who so kindly and generously placed their information at my disposal.

I am, &c.,  
H. ROSS SKINNER.

The Chairman and Board of Management of  
the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, Limited,  
Johannesburg.

No. 53.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received November 7, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 70.]

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, October 17, 1903.  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th October,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter from the Pretoria Trades and Union Council, dated Pretoria, the 8th of October, 1903, on the subject of the labour question.

I have, &c.,  
ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

Enclosure in No. 53.

PRETORIA TRADES AND UNION COUNCIL to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

Pretoria Trades and Union Council,  
YOUR EXCELLENCY, P.O. Box No. 867, Pretoria, October 8, 1903.  
AT a largely attended meeting, held on the 26th September in the Caledonian Hall, Pretoria, under the auspices of the above Council, for the purpose of giving the artizan and working classes an opportunity of expressing their views on the labour question, especially with regard to Asiatic importation, the following resolutions were carried, the first with five dissentients.

1. "That this meeting emphatically protests against the introduction of Asiatic labour into this Colony until Representative Government is instituted."
2. "That a copy of the previous resolution be sent to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, with the request that a copy of the same be forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

We are, &c.,  
ALFRED ARNOLD,  
President.  
J. M. SANDERSON,  
Secretary.

His Excellency the Governor,  
Pretoria.

\* No. 51.

No. 54.

HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received November 7, 1903.)

SIR, High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg, October 19, 1903.  
 WITH reference to my telegram (Transvaal) No. 1, of the 2nd October,\* I have the honour to forward for your information copies of correspondence noted in the annexed schedule, on the subject of the employment of native labour on the railways.

I have, &c.,  
 ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
 High Commissioner.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 54.

TRANSVAAL CHAMBER OF MINES to PRIVATE SECRETARY TO HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Transvaal Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg,  
 August 17, 1903.

SIR, I HAVE the honour to confirm my telegraphic message of the 14th instant, and your reply, with reference to a Meeting between a deputation from this Chamber, the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Trade, and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, Limited, and His Excellency the Acting High Commissioner, to-morrow, 18th instant, at 5 o'clock p.m., at the Office of the High Commissioner, Johannesburg.

The deputation will consist of the following gentlemen:—

For the Transvaal Chamber of Mines:—

Mr. J. W. S. Langerman, Vice-President.  
 Mr. Carl Hanau, and  
 Mr. J. N. de Jongh.

For the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce:—

Mr. G. Mitchell, President.  
 Mr. W. Hosken, and  
 Mr. J. W. Quinn.

For the Johannesburg Chamber of Trade:—

Mr. H. D. Solomon, President,  
 Mr. W. J. Green, and  
 Mr. J. D. Ellis.

For the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, Limited:—

Mr. R. W. Schumacher,  
 Mr. Francis Drake, and  
 Mr. R. G. Fricker.

I am directed to convey to His Excellency that it is the unanimous feeling of the deputation that the Meeting should be open to members of the Press, and I have telegraphed to you this afternoon to this effect, asking you to be kind enough to confirm.

I have also telegraphed the heads to be discussed between His Excellency and the members of the deputation as follows:—

1. That the deputation urge upon the Government in strongest possible terms that all new construction of Railways in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony be postponed for the present, as the drain on the native labour involved therein would be against the interests of the entire community at the present time.

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\* No. 41.

2. That the deputation make enquiry of the Administration as to what information is obtainable in regard to the railway lines now under construction, for which contracts have been signed, or which are worked departmentally, and the number of natives employed thereon; and if it should be found that such construction is of sufficient dimensions to seriously restrict the supply of labour to the mining industry, it be strongly urged, for the consideration of the High Commissioner, that such construction be curtailed or postponed as far as is economically possible.

3. That the High Commissioner be asked to institute a Commission of Enquiry, to report on the number of natives employed on railway works in the two Colonies, whether on maintenance, open lines or new construction, and whether departmentally or otherwise.

4. That the Administration be urged to take all steps to supply the deficiency of labour for the Central South African Railways as far as possible from areas which are closed to the Recruiters of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, and that no such labour will be drawn from the main sources of supply for industrial needs.

I have, &c.,  
J. COWIE,  
Acting Secretary.

The Private Secretary  
To His Excellency the High Commissioner,  
Pretoria.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 54.

EXTRACT from "THE JOHANNESBURG STAR" of Wednesday, 19th August, 1903.

NATIVE LABOUR ON THE RAILWAYS.

A deputation, composed of representatives of the Chamber of Mines, Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Trade, and Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, waited on His Excellency the Acting High Commissioner, the Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, yesterday afternoon at the High Commissioner's Office, with reference to the subject of native labour on the Central South African Railways. The members of the deputation were:--

Chamber of Mines. Messrs. J. W. S. Langerman (Vice-President), J. N. De Jongh, Carl Hanau, J. Cowie (Acting Secretary).

Chamber of Commerce. Messrs. G. Mitchell (President), J. W. Quinn, W. Hosken, and W. S. Adams (Secretary).

Chamber of Trade. Messrs. H. D. Solomon (President), J. D. Ellis, W. J. Green, and E. C. Lowe (Secretary).

Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. Messrs. R. W. Schumacher, R. G. Fricker, and F. Drake.

The Railway Administration was represented by the Commissioner, Sir E. P. Girouard; Mr. T. R. Price, General Manager; Major Micklem, Chief Resident Engineer.

Mr. P. Duncan, Colonial Treasurer, was also present.

The following are the resolutions passed at the combined meeting of representatives of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, and the Chamber of Trade, and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, which were the basis of the interview:--

- (1) That the deputation urge upon the Government in the strictest possible terms that all new construction of railways in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies be postponed for the present, as the drain on the native labour involved therein would be against the interests of the entire community at the present time.
- (2) That the deputation make inquiry of the Administration as to what information is obtainable in regard to the railway lines now under construction, or for which contracts have been signed or which are to be constructed departmentally, and the number of natives employed thereon; and if it should be found that such construction is of sufficient dimensions to seriously restrict the supply of labour to the mining industry, it be strongly urged for the consideration of the High Commissioner that such construction be curtailed or postponed as far as is economically possible.
- (3) That the High Commissioner be asked to institute a commission of enquiry to report on the number of natives employed on railway works in the two Colonies, whether on maintenance of open lines or on new construction, and whether departmentally or otherwise.

- (4) That the Administration be urged to take all steps to supply the deficiency of labour for the Central South African Railways as far as possible from areas which are closed to the recruiters of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, and that no such labour should be drawn from the main sources of supply for industrial needs.

MR. LANGERMAN'S STATEMENT.

Mr. Langerman, in introducing the deputation, said they had come before His Excellency in order to point out to him the disastrous effects that the policy of the Railway Department would have upon the mining and commercial interests of the Witwatersrand district, the serious nature of the matter and in what light they regarded it. A series of resolutions had been unanimously passed by them, and those resolutions were before His Excellency. To save time he would refer to the first one, which was as follows:

"That the deputation urge upon the Government in the strongest possible terms that all new construction of railways in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony be postponed for the present, as the drain on the native labour involved therein would be against the interests of the entire community at the present time."

He might briefly state what was the position of the mining industry to-day compared with what it was before the war. Prior to the war they had 6,000 stamps dropping and they employed 95,000 natives. To-day they were only two-thirds of the way towards regaining the position of 1899, and in spite of the most earnest endeavours, made at great cost on their part, to obtain and augment their labour supply. Through the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association they were now getting a surplus over and above what they required to replace wastage of 2,000 natives per month, that was to say they were augmenting their labour supply at the rate of 2,000 per month. Their total requirements in order to place the mining industry in the position it ought to occupy were from 140,000 to 150,000 natives. Now, with regard to the Railway Department, they believed that on the new lines in progress of construction, or in contemplation, something like 60,000 natives would be required in permanent employment for the next ten years, and if they calculated on the most liberal basis that the boys would be engaged for six months it meant that the Railway Department would employ new and fresh boys every year to the tune of 120,000. If they regarded that number in connection with the requirements of the mining industry, which totalled 140,000, it would be observed that the Railway Department would come into serious competition with the mining industry. Now, they knew, for various causes and various reasons that that competition would result in favour of the Railway Department. The net result would be, then, that not only would their surplus of 2,000 per month be entirely swept away, not only would they be unable to replace their wastage, but they feared, and he thought they were fully justified in fearing, that a considerable drain and inroad would be made upon their present labour supply. So that it came to this, that if new railway construction to the extent they feared were embarked upon and persisted in, they would, through want of labour, be forced to close down many of their mines, and that was a position which no serious person could lightly contemplate, or in any way assist in creating, having regard to the general welfare of the community. To show how seriously they regarded the danger which was threatening them, he might point to the second resolution, which was in the following terms:—

"That the deputation make enquiry of the Administration as to what information is obtainable in regard to the railway lines now under construction, or for which contracts have been signed, or for which arrangements have been made to work departmentally, and the number of natives employed there; and if it should be found that such construction is of sufficient dimensions to seriously restrict the supply of labour to the mining industry, it be strongly urged for the consideration of the High Commissioner that such construction be curtailed or postponed as far as is economically possible."

That resolution would show in what a serious light they regarded the matter, and to what extent they judged the interests both of the mining and commercial interests were jeopardised if this policy of new construction should be embarked upon and persisted in by the Government. They now came to the third resolution:—

"That the High Commissioner be asked to institute a Commission of Enquiry to report on the number of natives employed on railway works in the two Colonies, whether on maintenance, open lines, or on new construction, and whether departmentally or otherwise."

They had been prompted to urge that upon His Excellency, and to ask for that inquiry, because it was impossible for them to obtain exact data as regarded the number of natives employed at the present moment by the Railway Department. They would like information as to what number of natives was actually employed, and in what capacities they were so employed—whether on new contract works or on maintenance of existing lines. Under the head of maintenance they feared would be found some items which might justly and correctly be described as new construction. As far as they understood from the Railway Department, 15,000 boys were required for maintenance alone. Now they felt that 15,000 was far too high a figure compared with the numbers employed on the maintenance of lines elsewhere in South Africa. Then there was a feeling abroad that the natives at the disposal of the department were not being economically worked, and that a fair day's work was not being got out of them in the same sense as they on the mines got a fair day's work out of their native labourers. They freely admitted and recognised the claim put forward by the Department that it was of paramount importance that the railways should be at all costs maintained in the highest possible state of efficiency, because it was of the utmost importance, in order that the work of the mines

and the commercial people might be carried on efficiently, that the railways should be properly maintained. That fact had been demonstrated by the Mining Department in its agreement to furnish the Railway Department with 3,000 boys by the 1st of October next. If they took into consideration that they only had a surplus of 2,000 a month, after the most strenuous and earnest exertions on their part to get labour, it would show that they were making tremendous sacrifices in foregoing the whole of their surplus for the next two months for the benefit of the railways. Then there was the other question of keeping up the complement necessary for maintenance, and he thought they might reasonably ask the Railway Department not to ask the mining industry to keep up that complement, because if they did it would mean that for a future indefinite period the mines would have to sacrifice the whole of their surplus to the needs of the railways, and it would practically amount to this, that the labour supply of the mines would be at a standstill without. This was in itself sufficiently bad, but it did not take into the reckoning the total annihilation with which they were threatened if new construction works were being put forward. There were certain districts which were closed to the mining industry for recruiting purposes, and he thought they might reasonably ask the Government to exercise its powers and influence to get those districts opened up. The mining industry had failed, through no want of effort; for they had asked over and over again to have those districts thrown open to recruiting, to secure natives from there for industrial purposes, and they could therefore reasonably ask the Government to use its power and influence to open up those districts and allow the Railway Department at all events to draw their complement of natives for maintenance and other purposes from those districts.

His Excellency: What are those districts?—Nyassaland, Uganda, Natal, West Africa, and Rhodesia. Rhodesia is partially open to us, but they charge us 5s. per month per native.

His Excellency: I take it that Rhodesia is really a hopeless field.

Mr. Langerman: We attach no importance to it.

His Excellency: And Natal similarly?

Mr. Langerman, in conclusion, said they asked the Government to use its influence in that direction. He had so far confined his remarks to the view of the matter taken by the mining industry. There were several gentlemen present representing commercial interests, who would also like to address a few remarks to his Excellency, because they felt that their interests were identical with those of the mines.

#### THE COMMERCIAL INTEREST.

Mr. Mitchell said the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce held a meeting and discussed the proposals that had been put forward. They were quite in accord with the statement in regard to new construction work. In regard to the commercial interest it was certainly in the direction of having new railways, but they also thought that that was second, and considerably second, in importance to having the mines in a better state than they were at present. If the mines could get all the labour they wanted they would be very glad indeed. The commercial interests were only second to those of the agricultural industry in the desire to have new railways, but they were in accord with the suggestions of the Chamber of Mines. They thought that construction work should be stopped, because they believed that the interest of the mines was certainly the paramount interest in the country at present. That was the reason why they supported them in their representations in the matter. In regard to the other points he thought they were pretty well in accord; there was nothing to which they desired in any way to take exception. Of course, there were points on which discussion might be raised on which they might desire to make remarks, but speaking generally they desired to endorse the proposals which were put forward on behalf of the Chamber of Mines. He might say in regard to some of these extensions there was a feeling among many of the business men of the town in the present condition of affairs that some of them, at least, were not immediately justified. The proposal to augment the capacity of the railways to bring goods from Natal had been referred to as one which was at the present moment hardly necessary. There were other lines which had been proposed, simply for the purpose of opening up the country districts and enabling farmers to ensure the prosperity of the country and incidentally to reduce the cost of living in Johannesburg. These were all things which they, in an ordinary way, were only too anxious to support, but again they had to consider that they were secondary in the present condition of affairs.

Mr. H. D. Solomon said on behalf of the Chamber of Trade he cordially endorsed everything that Mr. Langerman had said. The position they took up was that unless the mines were fully supplied with labour, the railways were well enough staffed to take up what was required of them.

#### HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

His Excellency said: In regard to what has fallen from Mr. Langerman, I should like to say first of all that one of the most important points which was kept before the Inter-Colonial Council was the extension under discussion. It was considered that it would be most impolitic to embark on a large scheme of railway extension if it in any way involved the stifling of the gold mining industry of the Rand. I think the members of the Inter-Colonial Council—certainly it appears so to myself—realise that the mining industry's successful development is of paramount importance and is a very important factor in the situation, and we are not likely to lose sight of it. If I understood rightly, your mining requirements are about 140,000 boys?

Mr. Langerman: Yes.



His Excellency: That is for a month, not a year?

Mr. Langerman: That is in permanent employment—in continued employment.

His Excellency: If I may speak first of all, before discussing the question of arresting the progress of railway extension, perhaps I might give you some figures—Sir Percy Girouard will correct me if I am wrong—as to what is involved by the work the Government immediately contemplates. At the present time, if I understand rightly, on open lines the railway requirements amount to 16,000 boys, and that I understand to be their permanent requirements, not only to make good the lines which, as you all know, suffered severely during the past three years, but also to keep on the maintenance of open lines. I understand those are your normal requirements?

Sir P. Girouard: Oh, no; those are new works that are necessary to bring the lines up to a state of efficiency. A great deal of work is going on, which must be done, relaying the lines. Ultimately it would depend upon the programme of the Government.

His Excellency: I think it is not an unfair thing to say in round figures from 15,000 to 16,000 are the normal requirements of the railway on open lines.

Sir P. Girouard: Yes.

His Excellency: In addition to that there are at work on actual new construction at the present moment, work actually undertaken and begun, natives to the number of 3,000, approximately, and of these a very large number are Basutos who, it is believed, would not otherwise go out to work at all. I believe it is generally recognised it is hopeless to recruit in Basutoland for the mines; and the number of Basutos who are employed at present on new construction is considerable, chiefly, I believe because the work happens to be in close proximity to their country. I may say, I think we must accept the figures as 15,000 or 16,000 as really necessary to maintain the railway line in a state of efficiency—ordinary requirements. Then comes the question of new construction. At the present moment natives to the number of 3,000 are actually employed, and the further extension the Government contemplates would involve the employment of 3,000; that is to say, contracts are being called for 300 miles of railway construction, and one of the conditions of contract is that only ten natives per mile should be employed. So that if we carried into effect the scheme we have in contemplation, the total number of boys that would be employed on new construction is only 6,000, and they should consider the vital importance it was to get some of these lines built as soon as possible in the interests of the country. It is really a question whether it would inflict such serious injury at the present time on the mining industry as to warrant us stopping all construction. It is a step I would take with the greatest reluctance.

Mr. Langerman: Would you give us the assurance that the 6,000 would not be exceeded under present circumstances?

His Excellency: I think it may be argued that you do get boys to work on railway construction that you do not get on the mines. I think of that number of 6,000, if we turned them adrift to-morrow, a considerable portion would not work on the mines, and I do not think you could gain an additional 6,000 if we closed down the works to-morrow. There is no idea at the present moment of increasing the number of boys employed on new construction.

Mr. Langerman: It may be taken as satisfactory on the part of the mines if an assurance is given on the part of the Railway Department that those 6,000 boys would be recruited in districts outside our recruiting fields. That is our grievance against them.

His Excellency: Surely it was urged on us the other day that the railway should not recruit independently.

Mr. Langerman: Yes, that we should guarantee the upkeep of the Railway Department. For various causes they might dwindle down, and they would want us to make up the complement. Now they wanted to modify the arrangement, and get the railway to recruit for themselves outside of the districts where we can recruit, because we find it is impossible to keep to the arrangement without seriously injuring our own interests.

His Excellency: What you really ask is this: that we should abandon our present method, and that we should confine the recruiting for the railway to Central Africa.

Mr. Langerman: Then you have Basutoland, Cape Colony, and Zululand.

His Excellency: Do you not recruit in Cape Colony?

Mr. Langerman: No, they do not come up here. You have got the whole of Natal. Surely it is easy to get 6,000 to keep the Railway Department going.

His Excellency: And then we have the maintenance boys—22,000 in all, which is not an unreasonable number, I think.

Mr. Langerman: We undertake to keep up your complement, and it resolves into keeping up a wastage of 2,000.

Sir P. Girouard said that the agreement was that they should not employ more than 10,000 boys, and probably two-thirds of these were Basutos, attracted by the work being near their borders.

## MR. SCHUMACHER'S VIEWS.

Mr. Schumacher said, might he refer to the statement in connection with the 10,000 boys to which the Chamber of Mines agreed for construction work on the railways. He was not there at the time, and therefore he spoke subject to correction, but from what he gathered it was agreed that the railways should have 10,000 boys for construction work. It must, however, be borne in mind that when that agreement was entered into the conditions were very different from what they were to-day. It was believed by all parties—the Government, the railways, and the mines—that the railways would be able to recruit these 10,000 boys without touching the Northern Transvaal or the Portuguese East African possessions—in fact it was understood that they should not go there for the time being. Now, the railways made their attempt to recruit these 10,000 boys which they thought they could get, but it was soon found they could not get them, and an effort was made—without the knowledge, he believed, of the W.N.L.A. or the Chamber of Mines—to have these boys or a portion of them collected in the Portuguese East African possessions. He spoke subject to correction. As soon as the manager of the W.N.L.A. heard of this (accidentally he said) he, the manager, immediately arranged that a small deputation should go to His Excellency Lord Milner with the object of stopping such recruiting in the East Coast possessions, as it was believed that this recruiting would not be taken in hand by the railways themselves, but that it would be left to the Portuguese to do for them, and it was feared that if this was so the Portuguese would simply go to the camps of the W.N.L.A. and commandeer whatever boys were required. That, of course, would have created a panic, and the camps in question would remain deserted for a considerable time. There were precedents for that elsewhere, and such action had been followed with disastrous effects as far as recruiting was concerned. It was absolutely necessary to come to certain conditions with the railways, however, and it was provisionally agreed to that a thousand boys should be given to the railways; while the further request was made by them (the railways) that their complement of 15,000 should be maintained. Now, of course, under the present conditions the old promise of 10,000 for construction work for the railways could not be said to hold good. It was clear that these 10,000 could not be obtained by the railways unless they went to those districts from which they (the W.N.L.A.) drew their main supplies. Therefore, they—the mines and the railways—were to come into direct conflict, which was not contemplated when the agreement was come to. As regards maintenance alone, if the railways required 16,000 as their permanent staff for the same, and required that the W.N.L.A. should keep up its figure, it meant as Mr. Langerman had already pointed out that the little surplus of native labour that they collected together with the greatest difficulty month by month would go to the railways; in fact, it might mean that they (the W.N.L.A.) would not merely be standing still but be losing ground. If on the top of that, new construction work was to take place, it must of necessity be carried on to a greater extent with labour which would otherwise go to the mines. Then it was absolutely certain they would go back; and it was a question then as to how many mines would have to stop their work. With regard to the figures given by His Excellency, the 16,000 for the permanent staff, the 3,000 on construction now, and the other 3,000 referred to brought up the total to 22,000. The experience of the mines was that they had a monthly wastage of 5,000 out of a total of 60,000 employed. The wastage for the railways would be at least 2,000 per month—probably more; and there went out their small monthly surplus, which was barely 2,000.

## THE QUESTION OF COMPROMISE.

Now (continued Mr. Schumacher) he did not really think that the mines could make any compromise whatever on the subject of new construction work, unless they were prepared to see the mines stand hung up. He would not dwell on the effect of that. They knew it would be disastrous, especially at the present time when it was necessary for the country at large—not merely for the mining industry or commercial interests—that the credit of the country should not be impaired. He merely brought this forward, and it was the first issue of ten millions which was to take place at the beginning of next year. If the mines were hanging up stamps instead of working on a larger scale, would it be possible to issue this loan of ten millions on better terms than 4 per cent. at par as provisionally guaranteed? They hoped—-or they had hoped—-that better terms would be obtained, that the loan could be issued at  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $3\frac{1}{4}$ , or even 3 per cent., and it was clear what an immense saving that would be year by year.

“I will” (continued Mr. Schumacher) “merely say that this question is so serious that I would urge there can be no compromise whatever, that the whole question of new construction work should be dropped, because no new construction work is essential to the interests of the country at the present time.”

## MR. DE JONGH'S STATEMENT.

Mr. De Jongh said he thought he should add they had only come there driven by the strict necessities of the case. It had been their aim, since their return to Johannesburg, to try at any rate to re-establish things to what they were in the pre-war days, namely, the complement of six thousand stamps. In attempting to arrive at that position they had never been able to get together a labour supply. Part of their difficulty had been that they had suffered from the result of competition, a serious competition at the time when warlike operations were being carried on, and when there was a bidder in the market against them, namely, the military authorities, who could and did employ natives at far higher rates than they (the mines) were justified in doing and could possibly pay. The result of that had been that funds were accumulated by the natives in South Africa, and the accumulation of those funds kept large numbers away from the mines. To-day they were face to face with a similar competition. The railways could always beat them (the mines); there was no limit to the sums the railways could expend if it

was considered feasible to spend them. With them (the mines) they had a strict limitation. The cost of production in order to leave a margin of profit could not possibly go beyond a certain point. They could not, therefore, compete. They could not, however, hope to compete successfully. How did they endeavour to arrive at a solution of their native labour problem? They were faced upon every side with limitations. They were limited as far as their recruiting was concerned. They knew their experiences with regard to Natal; they had difficulties in Basutoland, limitations in German South West Africa, in British Central Africa, and other British territories, and from British Western Africa—the whole of it—they were entirely excluded. They knew, in spite of all their efforts, which had been made at heavy expenditure, and, as reported to them by the labour agents, that they could not hope to get a considerable augmentation of their labour supply from their present recruiting field; and there was, at the present time, no immediate prospect of fresh fields being opened to them. They were therefore at the end practically of their tether. They had a certain wastage to make good every month, which wastage was fixed at a normal figure. They added only a small number per month to their requirements, and at the present rate of progress it was slow. It would take them many months before they reached the pre-war position. Now, after seeing all this, they were faced with the serious danger of competition on the part of the railways—and that was why they had come to His Excellency that day. They had carefully gone into figures, and they could not hope to maintain their present labour supply, even to provide a small surplus, if they were to be called upon, out of their present recruiting fields, to supply additional natives for the railway construction schemes. That was why they were driven by the strict necessities of the case to come to His Excellency, and urge, as they did, that this construction should be stopped, and that if it was to be a question of precedence that preference should be given to the mines, until such times as they arrived at a pre-war condition, and were dropping 6,000 stamps. When that had been done—a thing they must strive to do in the interests of their shareholders, who were losing millions of money by the present partial stoppage of their works—when they reached that condition, it would be time enough to reconsider the position, and then to discuss the question of going in for these new construction lines which were contemplated.

#### THE FINANCIAL ASPECT.

Mr. Carl Hanau said he endorsed most strongly what had been said by the two previous speakers, when they urged the stopping of all new construction, and that where contracts had been issued and tenders accepted, only such labour should be employed as did not encroach upon the resources which the Native Labour Association was now tapping. Mr. De Jongh had introduced the word "shareholders" into his arguments, and he (Mr. Hanau) thought that was the right time to consider them. Up to the present the shareholders of gold mining companies, who were principally in Europe, had been very patient indeed. They had seen that the mines had greatly increased their output, they had been satisfied with the small dividends which they had received, in the belief that the mining industry was steadily going ahead. But if the labour which was at present available was taken away from them, it would mean not only that they could not increase their output, not only that the mining industry would stand still where it was to-day, but that it would actually go back. He as chairman of one of the largest companies on the Rand—K.ights—had unfortunately been in the position of having to decide to shut down the battery on account of the economic conditions in connection with labour. Labour was not available in sufficient quantities to keep up the development of the mine, and the board decided, in the interests of the shareholders that it should be shut down. That one instance had had the effect on the London market of depreciating the price of those shares in that one company to the extent of half a million sterling within the last four weeks. Now, if the fact of one company shutting down had such an effect upon the financial world, what would the result be if the labour which they could get to make up wastage was taken away from them, and they were compelled to shut down other mines, which, as Mr. Schumacher had said, would be bordering on disaster. That word was not too strong. At the present moment the Transvaal was, comparatively speaking, a new country. They had to establish their credit; they dare not do anything to impair it; and in view of the new loans which were coming out he thought the Government would see the force of the argument. It was no use building new railways unless the mining industry prospered. The mainstay of the country was the Witwatersrand mining industry, and unless they did everything they could to foster that industry they were bound to bring about disaster. He recognised that the Government were anxious to do everything they could to attain that end. They were all desirous of seeing the country prosperous, and they were all moving heaven and earth to bring about that prosperity to which the natural resources of the country entitled it. None of the bodies represented in that deputation was against the extension of railways, but they must wait until the time had come to warrant such extension until they could justly expect to get a fair return for their outlay. That time had not arrived, and would not arrive, until the mining industry was in the condition which they all prognosticated for it, and to which they were all fully convinced it would attain. It was going to be a marvellous, a wonderful industry, but it must have assistance, and not be hampered. He maintained that it would be absolutely disastrous to the industry if these new railway construction works were carried out at the expense of the labour of the mines. If the Railway Department wanted labour for the maintenance of existing lines let them get it from the sources which were closed to the mines, and where the boys would work under a four months' contract. The Chamber of Mines did not take any boys who would not engage under a six or twelve months' contract. He had nothing against the Railway Department, but he was bound to refer to figures which assisted him, and lay stress on them. He found from blue-books that in 1898 the railways of the Transvaal employed 6.27 natives per mile, and in 1899 the proportion was 5.18. To-day the figure was 14.5 per mile. They had taken the liberty of telegraphing to the Railway Department of Cape Colony in regard to this matter, and their reply stated that 13,104 natives were employed on the maintenance of open

lines, being 5.4 per mile. Now, without attributing blame to anybody, he said that if the Cape Colony railways were employing 5.4 per mile, and the C.S.A.R. were employing 14.5 the difference ought to be accounted for. If 5.4 was the right number then the natives which the railway wanted for new construction ought to be taken from the present number employed on maintenance. He strongly urged that this question of the number of natives employed on maintenance should be investigated and be made the business of a separate Commission. Going back to the credit of the country, he wished to point out that the Government in drawing out the estimates of revenue and expenditure for 1902 put in an item of expected revenue amounting to £500,000 for the gold tax, the profit tax. They had found it necessary to reduce that estimate this year already to £350,000, and if the boys were taken away from the mines that amount would have to be considerably reduced in course of time. So it was as much in the interests of themselves as that of the mining industry that the Government should assist them in getting all the boys that were available, and even if it cost a little to stop the lines that were being constructed they were justified in going even that far. To carry on all the new construction contemplated and at the same time insist on the complement for maintenance being maintained would be disastrous at the present juncture (hear, hear).

His Excellency: I am fully alive to the arguments of Mr. Schumacher, Mr. De Jongh, and Mr. Hanau, but I think they are based on some misapprehension of the actual facts to-day. My point is this, that in the actual construction work now being carried on only 3,000 boys are employed, of whom, we believe, 2,000 at least are Basutos who are only induced to work because the railway is being made in close proximity to Basutoland, and because it is work to which they have no peculiar antipathy. If we stop that work I doubt if it will relieve the situation, because I think you find that you cannot get these Basutos to work on the mines.

In reply to His Excellency, Major Micklem said the railway referred to was the Modderpoort line.

His Excellency: We have given a guarantee to the Orange River Colony that that work shall be finished before the end of the year. I do not think if these boys were released to-day that you would get them.

Mr. Hosken said wherever there was a draft upon the labour supply in Africa it must balance itself in some way or other. In Johannesburg they had a plain illustration of that fact just after the war. The various commercial industries in the town could not get enough labour, and they had no means of supply. The mining industry, however, brought in labour, and then the different stores and businesses in the town soon got supplied because they got the boys imported for the mines. They could afford to pay a higher rate of wage, because it cost them nothing to get the boys in. The mining industry paid those expenses. That kind of thing would occur wherever the labour was taken from. If the railway took 3,000, 5,000 or 6,000 that void would have to be filled up somewhere out of the native labour of the country, and seeing that the mines absorbed all the surplus labour in the country the loss would ultimately fall on the mines. If they took 6,000 natives from any source ultimately the mines would feel it.

Mr. Schumacher said that for the maintenance of railways they were recruiting in Portuguese East Coast possessions. They could not obtain all they wanted in Basutoland otherwise why should they get them there? Why should they go to the East Coast possessions, and why should they say to the Native Labour Association: "We must have 2,000 boys by August 20, and another 2,000 by the end of September." They could not recruit the boys outside the Northern Transvaal or the East Coast, and they went there and came in direct conflict with the mines.

Sir P. Girouard said he thought Mr. Schumacher was not aware of all the facts, and it would be just as well for him to explain. First of all there were the boys required for maintenance—they had to carry on maintenance. They had 13,000 boys for 1,400 miles, which worked out at about 9 per mile. The Cape and Natal, during the past three years, were in a position to spend money on their lines, and they spent, in the case of Natal, close on a million or more, and they spent a very large sum in the Cape. The C.S.A.R. were not in a position to make improvements, they were not allowed the money, and £65,000 was all the Imperial Government spent, whereas in the ordinary run they would spend about a million. That accounted to-day for a large number per mile, and they could easily satisfy the mining industry that these were absolutely necessary. It was possible that as improvements were made the proportion might go down. They never attempted to recruit 10,000 boys, because they did not require it. The line they had ready to construct was the Modderpoort line, which was to be hurried on as fast as possible, because it was promised to the Orange River Colony, and for that line they got 80 per cent. of their boys from the Basutoland border. They asked for a further 3,000 for new construction.

Mr. Schumacher: Is that included in your original 10,000?

Sir P. Girouard: We put that against the 10,000. The question of recruiting in Portuguese East Africa does not exist at all, because we never attempted it. We loyally supported the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association rather agreed with us that we should undertake our own recruiting, and we were promised a certain number of boys per month until they got on the basis of attempting to supply our own boys from outside sources—that is excluding Mozambique and the Northern Transvaal. We tried Rhodesia, we tried Natal and the Cape, and we have not met with much more success than the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. But, meanwhile, the boys for the maintenance fell off, compelling us to go to Lord Milner and say, unless we got 1,000 boys at once we must discharge several white workmen, and unless we can get 3,000 boys by October the lines

will suffer. And if you ask the chief engineer here, he will tell you the lines are not to-day in good condition. We never attempted to recruit there, and, until we saw, at the last moment that white men would have to be discharged, and absolutely necessary works to keep the line in good order would fail, we did not approach the Government. Proceeding, he said they got 1,000 natives under a promise which afterwards was gone back upon. One month they fell as low as 150 natives. It was understood that the labour superintendent should keep in touch with the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, and that they should work together; beyond that that they should do their utmost to recruit in Zululand and Rhodesia. In Rhodesia they had met with a blank refusal, and in Zululand they had done very little.

Mr. Schumacher: Did not you confirm what I say that you attempted to recruit outside of the Northern Transvaal and the East Coast possessions, that you failed, and that you suddenly went to the East Coast without first of all approaching the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, and made your own arrangements, which were bound to conflict with the mines?

Sir P. Girouard: We never went to the East Coast possessions. We went to Lord Milner.

Mr. Price said the Cape had got a large amount of new railway construction in hand, and so far from being able to get as much labour from that neighbourhood as they would like, recent information pointed to the fact that the Cape was seeking some of its labour outside Cape Colony. The other point, he would like to say, was that the Central South African lines had got into such a condition—they could speak frankly—a considerable section of the line had got into such a condition that it was not prudent to delay longer than necessary the relaying that portion of the line.

Mr. Schumacher: That is only a question of maintenance.

Mr. Price: The lines must be renewed.

Mr. Schumacher: They are not new lines.

Mr. Price: Not existing lines. That is the reason why we are employing more natives in one department than would ordinarily be the case. They had not only to maintain—

Mr. Fricker: Do you include that in your construction work?

Sir P. Girouard: The railway line is open lines. With regard to the increase in open lines you must always remember your tonnage has very largely increased since 1898, and has increased all through last year. That must again lead to an increase in maintenance.

Mr. Price: Not only that, it accounts for an increase not only in the traffic department, but also in the locomotive department. In dealing with locomotive work, I would like to say I quite realise the importance of our keeping our natives down as low as possible, but certain works must be carried out as soon as possible.

Mr. Drake asked if they could say how much they were carrying now as compared with before the war.

Mr. Price said the figures were sent out in the report. The increase was very considerable.

Sir P. Girouard: The heaviest month was from 60,000 tons to 105,000 tons.

Mr. Schumacher said he did not think anyone questioned the necessity of getting the lines in a state of efficiency.

Sir P. Girouard: I think the figures as to maintenance would be satisfactory.

Mr. Schumacher: The main point is new construction—whether that can be dropped now.

His Excellency: It seems to me you agree we cannot help ourselves—we have got to keep our lines in an efficient state.

Mr. Schumacher: Undoubtedly.

#### HIS EXCELLENCY'S FURTHER REPLY.

His Excellency: Then with regard to new construction, what is the position? We have given an undertaking to the Orange River Colony that at the end of the year the Modderpoort line shall be completed. To carry that out we require 3,000 boys, of whom 2,000 at least come from Basutoland; and in spite of the specious argument of Mr. Hosken, I am a little doubtful if you should release these boys from work you would find any increase in the boys for the mines.

#### THE MODDERPOORT LINE.

I do hope the deputation will not press us to go back on our word in regard to the Modderpoort line. I am particularly anxious to get it done. I think it will be of enormous assistance to that part of the country, and I do not think it is inflicting a hardship on the mines.

#### OTHER NEW CONSTRUCTION.

With regard to the other new construction work, this involves a further 3,000 boys, supposing any tenders be forthcoming, limiting the number employed to ten boys per mile. I must confess I am very reluctant to abandon this project altogether. If I felt assured that we should

seriously impede the work of the mining industry, I should try and persuade the representatives of the Railway Department here to meet you and abandon that work; but I do hope you will not press it, considering the comparatively little demand we make.

#### A PLEA FOR SUSPENSION.

Mr. De Jongh: We do not go so far as to suggest abandoning the work. It would, I think, meet our demands if the work were to be suspended for a certain period until we are more on our feet. It would at any rate assist us.

His Excellency: I am afraid we cannot suspend the Modderpoort line.

Mr. Langerman: You must be prepared to consider the 300 miles of new line?

Sir P. Girouard (replying to Mr. Langerman) said it was not a question for him (Sir Percy). It was a matter for the Government. Whatever the Government decided he carried out.

Mr. Langerman, replying, said that he took it, however, that the Government would adopt the policy recommended them by the Railway Department.

His Excellency: The Government and the Railway Department are at one that it is required. The immediate demand for 3,000 boys is so comparatively small, and the urgency of these lines is so great, that I really hope the deputation will not press the suspension of this work. I cannot help thinking from the figures you came with, Mr. Langerman, you were under the impression we had in contemplation the employment of a larger number of boys, and when you see the position it might modify your impression.

Mr. Schumacher suggested that the Railway Department should leave them (the W.N.L.A.) the northern part of the Transvaal and the East Coast for recruiting.

#### THE W.N.L.A. AND RAILWAY RECRUITING OPERATIONS.

Mr. Fricker (to the railway representatives): You tried to recruit in East Africa?

Sir P. Girouard: That is a mistake, Mr. Fricker.

Major Micklethorp: In respect of any breach of agreement on the part of the railway, it is due entirely to the absolute failure of the W.N.L.A. to keep the terms of their agreement. That is the root of the whole matter.

Sir P. Girouard said they never would have felt the want of the 3,000 boys if there had not been that failure.

Major Micklethorp: I do not think the Railway Department had any intention of recruiting in the East Coast, without giving full and fair notice to the W.N.L.A. I was directly in charge at the moment, and it was my full intention before we recruited a boy to inform Mr. Perry that we did propose to do so; but before I did that, I made primary enquiry whether there was any probability of getting boys, and I think that is the only actual arrangement made in connection with recruiting boys in the Portuguese country. There was no breach whatever, that I can see.

#### RAILWAY WORK.

Mr. Hosken asked how long it would be before the Modderpoort line was through.

Sir P. Girouard said that owing to the question of labour they were afraid they would get it through as promised to the O.R.C. Government. They ought to lay it at the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 miles per day, but they feared they would not, the mileage out before the end of the year. They had been going through extraordinarily slowly, though the earthworks were going on well.

Mr. Hosken said he was hoping they would say—Sir Percy Girouard would say—they were going on so well that the 3,000 boys could be released.

Sir P. Girouard said that the earthworks boys might possibly be released.

Mr. Hosken said if the work could stop for a while it would meet with general approval.

Sir P. Girouard said that the 3,000 boys who were Basutos, would not go elsewhere. Their work at present was near their homes. He did not think the boys on the Basuto border would come to the Rand.

Mr. Hosken said that the average of four thousand labourers—taking 1898 and 1899—who came to the Transvaal from the Transkei, had gone to Cape town, where they got 4s. 6d. a day. He thought they must face the position that it did not seem likely the work could be carried on on the 300 miles in question with any success.

Mr. Drake pointed out the difficulty which the W.N.L.A. had to face in regard to meeting the railways with the supply needed to make up wastage. They (the W.N.L.A.) were threatened by the railways using their pressure on the Portuguese Government to supply them if they (the W.N.L.A.) did not supply them. Mr. Drake added: We feel if we don't supply them we shall get nothing for our money.

His Excellency said they were agreed, he thought, that a certain number of boys—16,000 he thought—were required. They were agreed the Modderpoort line should go on. It then

came to this, that the deputation asked that the 300 miles of new construction should be suspended.

Sir P. Girouard said they had always said they would join with the W.N.L.A.

Mr. Drake: If we keep your maintenance up we should have nothing left. We feel that if we have to keep up your wastage that we will not be able to keep up ours.

Mr. Schumacher asked whether the urgency of these new 300 miles was so great that they should stop the progress of the mining industry, that they should risk its going back, and perhaps burden the country with an additional yearly debt of a very large amount, on account of not being able to issue this loan on favourable terms.

His Excellency: The credit of the country will be risked if it is known we have to suspend all railway construction we had in contemplation.

#### THE REAL ISSUE.

His Excellency: The immediate matter of discussion between us, the matter to be settled, is whether the 300 miles of railway should be gone on with or not. I think we are all agreed on the other points. I am sure you will see that it is a very important matter, and I would rather have an opportunity of discussing it with the Government and hearing their views on the subject.

Mr. Langerman asked what about the Modderpoort line?

His Excellency said they were pledged to carry that out. As to the 300 miles of railway, tenders had been asked for, and the number of boys to be employed on it was 10 per mile, which made an additional requirement of 3,000 boys.

Mr. Langerman: Does that include the coal line?

Sir P. Girouard: No, it does not.

Mr. Langerman: What about the coal line?

Sir P. Girouard: That contract is signed.

Mr. Langerman said they still felt that as no contract had been given away for this 300 miles of line they were justified in urging the Government to postpone the signing of that contract.

His Excellency: I can assure you that the matter shall be fully considered. The representations that you have made shall be laid before the Government, and every consideration given to them. I would rather not say definitely one way or the other at this moment.

Mr. Langerman: I won't press you for a reply now. I only want to express our feeling in the matter.

His Excellency: I fully realise the position you take up.

Mr. Schumacher asked, with regard to keeping up the complement of boys for maintenance, would His Excellency be kind enough to consider that matter carefully? Was the mining industry to bear the onus of supplying the railway with 1,000 boys or more a month for an indefinite period?

His Excellency: They have agreed to it.

Mr. Schumacher: They have not agreed.

Mr. Drake: We agreed to supply the 3,000.

Sir P. Girouard said if the Native Labour Association did not supply them with the labour they would have to form an independent association to recruit where they would come into competition with the W.N.L.A. The Railway Department had never gone into the market to outbid the mines, but they would have to do so if it were necessary. Hitherto the Department had said that they would rather the Native Labour Association would recruit for them, because then there would be no suspicion of competition.

Mr. Schumacher: You are determined not to recruit in areas we cannot touch?

Sir P. Girouard: No. Certainly we will try our best to do so.

Mr. Schumacher: You will come into competition if you do not get these boys from us.

Sir P. Girouard: How can we help it? The railways must be kept up to a state of efficiency.

Mr. Price: Much as we dislike it, there is no escape from the position that we shall have to look to the W.N.L.A. for 1,000 boys a month over and above what we can secure for ourselves. It may be that we can do a little more than we are doing, and if so it will relieve the Association to the extent of that increase. That was the arrangement I made with Mr. Perry and Mr. Wyndham. I think we had better not part without frankly facing the position that over and above all that we can do to help we shall have to come to you for a thousand boys a month. If we can do with 799 we won't ask you for 800, but we have to keep the lines going.

Mr. Schumacher: Would you use your own recruiting agents in Portuguese territory?

Mr. Price: No. We will not go to Portuguese territory so long as we come to you. We are to do all we can, and then come to you and say, "We can secure so many boys and we

look to you for the remainder." All the resources at our disposal will be used to relieve our demands upon the Native Labour Association.

Mr. Langerman: Will you make efforts outside our recruiting grounds?

Mr. Price: I undertake to use all the efforts that we can. All the resources that your association can suggest to us shall be utilised; but it is no use building castles in the air. All these resources have proved to be very poor.

Mr. De Jongh pointed out that there would be a danger if the Railway Department went on dealing out contracts of the contractors offering higher wages than the mines could afford to pay. This would have the effect of drawing away boys engaged in railway maintenance, and the Railway Department would look to the mining industry to supply the shortage.

Sir P. Girouard pointed out that the sanction of the Inter-Colonial Council had to be obtained in dealing with such contracts.

Mr. De Jongh said he took it that the Inter-Colonial Council acted on the advice of the Railway Department.

Sir P. Girouard said the department would not think of recommending the construction of railways at such ruinous prices as would enable contractors to pay the high wages suggested.

Mr. Quinn asked when the white navvies employed on the line at Krugersdorp would have finished.

Sir P. Girouard replied about the end of the year. They had some more navvies on the Ermelo line.

Mr. Quinn: What will you do with them?

Sir P. Girouard: They will go on the Ermelo line.

In reply to another question, Sir P. Girouard said these men would be employed till their contract was expired. They only engaged for a year.

Mr. Hanau: Are they a success?

Sir P. Girouard said he could not exactly say they were a success. They must be very much more expensive than black labour. The trouble was that they would not take piece work. If they would then the department might have a fairer chance. Many of them were not the stamp of men expected. The work at Krugersdorp was hardly a fair test, but the employment of white navvies on the Ermelo line would work out better, but it would never compare favourably with native labour.

Mr. Langerman thanked His Excellency for the courtesy and patience with which he listened to the deputation, and expressed a hope that he would give their representations serious consideration.

His Excellency said he thought they would find that they were not faring so badly as they thought they were.

The proceedings then terminated.

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#### Enclosure 3 in No. 54.

CHAMBER OF MINES, Transvaal, to GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

SIR, Lieutenant-Governor's Office, Pretoria, August 20, 1903.

I HAVE had an opportunity of considering the proposals made to me by the representatives of various associations whom I had the pleasure of meeting in conference yesterday, and also of ascertaining more precisely the number of native labourers required to carry out the construction work immediately contemplated by the Government. Before going into any details, it is, I think, desirable to review the position generally.

#### THE GENERAL POSITION.

In the first place, I think we are agreed that the full complement of natives required to ensure that the existing open lines are brought up to a state of efficiency and maintained in such a condition must be secured to the railway. The number so required is stated to be 16,000. In considering whether such a number is disproportionate to the mileage or not it must be borne in mind that:—

- (1) During a continuance of the war the maintenance of the railway lines in a state of efficiency was impossible. The repairs to damage done during that period are still far from complete. The injuries from wear and tear which should have been dealt with then have still to be made good.



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- (2) The introduction of heavier engines has necessitated the relaying of many portions of the line with heavier rails, and though this work may appear to take the form of new construction it is absolutely necessary to ensure the safe working of the line.
- (3) A great increase in the tonnage of goods carried over the lines.

#### RAILWAY'S NORMAL REQUIREMENTS.

Under the circumstances, I do not consider that the estimated number is excessive. We may, I think, assume that at all events for some little time to come the normal requirements of the railways for the efficient maintenance and working of open lines is 16,000. I do not imagine that anyone would wish to suggest a reduction of the number if such a reduction were to involve a risk of the safety or efficiency of the existing lines being impaired.

#### NEW CONSTRUCTION.

Coming to the question of new construction. At the first session of the Inter-Colonial Council at the beginning of last month a resolution, proposed by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, was adopted that the number of aboriginal natives employed on new construction works should be limited to 10,000 at any one time. This number was accepted, I understand, as reasonable by the Chamber of Mines. It was accepted less than two months ago; and I venture to think that conditions have not changed to so appreciable a degree as to warrant an entire departure therefrom. At all events, the railway authorities basing their calculations on the assumption that such a number would be available, proceeded to enter upon arrangements to carry into effect a portion of the scheme of railway extension approved by the Council. I regret that I had not before me yesterday a complete statement such as I now have, and that I therefore under-estimated the number of boys required to complete the works and contracts already entered upon, which, I think, it was generally agreed should be carried to completion.

#### NUMBER OF NATIVES REQUIRED.

Where employed.	No.
Workshops, Vereeniging ... ..	32
Springs Eastward, No. 1 Division ... ..	100
Klerksdorp-Fourteen Streams, No. 1 Division...	13
Rand Mines Railway ... ..	583
Johannesburg-Vereeniging Railway ... ..	139
Harrismith-Bethlehem Railway ... ..	328
Bloemfontein-Modderpoort Railway ... ..	2,326
Springfontein-Jagersfontein Railway ... ..	31
New Construction Stores ... ..	186
Survey ... ..	100
Head Office ... ..	10
	3,848
Natives required for contracts let:—	
Harrismith-Bethlehem Railway ... ..	750
Johannesburg-Vereeniging Railway ... ..	600
N.C. Stores for off-loading, P.W. material, &c....	150
Plate-laying on Bloemfontein-Modderpoort and Springs Eastward Railways, and building of stations, &c. ... ..	700
	2,200

I am afraid it would be quite impossible to abandon or even suspend any portion of the works which I have just enumerated. In connection with these works I should like to emphasise the fact that many of the natives employed thereon are

those who will only consent to enter upon engagements for short periods of from one to three months, and that a large number of the natives employed upon the Bloemfontein-Modderpoort Railway are Basutos, who are, as I believe, only willing to undertake this work owing to the fact that it is of a congenial nature, and that it lies in close proximity to their homes, so that if this number were released from railway work it is doubtful whether they would swéll the number available for the work of the mines.

#### WORKS IN CONTEMPLATION.

There remain the works in immediate contemplation, for which contracts have been invited but not entered into:—

These are:—

	Natives required.
(1) Springfontein-Jagersfontein Railway ...	750
(2) 300 miles (limited to 10 boys per mile) ...	3,000
(3) Springs Eastward masonry ...	200
	3,950

That is to say that the number of boys required for railway purposes, concerning whom the present discussion arises, amounts to 4,000. It is urged that such "a drain on the native labour involved therein would be against the interests of the entire community at the present time." It must be borne in mind that one condition of the contracts is to the effect that contractors are not allowed to recruit in Portuguese East Africa, nor in the Transvaal north of the latitude of Pretoria. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that the main sources from which the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association draws its supply will not be affected. Of the urgent necessity of railway extension in this country there can be no question whatever. Every month's delay means a delay in the development of commercial and industrial industries of every kind, and a postponement of the reduction of the cost of living, which is so ardently desired by all classes. It is hoped that, by the introduction of various kinds of machinery the construction of new railways may be effected with the employment of a number of boys per mile greatly reduced in comparison with the number employed on the construction of lines previously built in South Africa. If my anticipations in this respect are realised, it means a revolution of the existing ideas of the requirements in the matter of manual labour for railway construction and vastly increased facilities for the achievement of further railway development.

#### AN IMPORTANT POINT.

At the present moment a staff of engineers, numbering, together with their subordinates, some 200 white men, have been definitely engaged for the work about to be undertaken, and the cancellation of their contract alone would involve a monetary loss of several thousand pounds. Against the prospective advantages for the whole country, which I have indicated, there is to be considered a diminution in the supply of labourers for the mines of some 4,000 boys.

#### EXAGGERATION?

I realise as fully as anyone can do that the successful development of the mining industry is of paramount importance to this Colony, but I cannot help feeling that the detriment which it is anticipated will result to the industry if a further demand is made for the comparatively small number of 4,000 boys for railway construction has been exaggerated, and I must confess that I have difficulty in convincing myself that the conditions have so materially altered during the past two months as to warrant a withdrawal of the promise given by the Chamber of Mines, that the railway authorities might count on a supply of 10,000 boys for construction work apart from maintenance. Such a cancellation would throw out of employment over 200 white men, would involve a pecuniary loss of several thousand pounds, and would unduly retard the general development of both the Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

After weighing deliberately the arguments which have been adduced, and giving full consideration to the various interests concerned, I do not feel justified in acceding to the proposal that the new railway construction about to be undertaken should be postponed. I am, however, prepared to give the following undertaking, namely, to reduce the staff of both burghers and natives now employed upon the roads, and to utilise the surplus upon the railways. The numbers at present employed upon road work throughout the Transvaal are approximately as follows:—Burghers, 2,000; natives, 2,500. I have given instructions to the Director of Public Works, that the numbers employed on the roads are to be reduced to 1,000 burghers and 1,000 natives. All the burghers whose services may be dispensed with under this arrangement will be offered employment upon the railways, and similar employment upon the railways at a similar rate of wage will be offered to any white man whether a burgher or not. It will be seen that in addition natives to the number of 1,500 will be released from road work, and available for railway work. Our experience is that the value of work done by burghers is considerably in excess of that done by natives, and I reckon that by this arrangement the undertaking of the proposed new construction works will scarcely involve any increase in the present demand for native labour by the railways.

#### OTHER MATTERS.

In regard to resolutions Nos. 2 and 3, as to the number of natives employed on maintenance, open lines, or construction works, and as to whether employed departmentally or otherwise, full enquiries are being made by the Railway Committee, and full information will be forthcoming on these points. In this connection I should like to remark that the figures quoted at our recent conference were somewhat misleading, as the proportion of boys per mile on open lines works out at 9 per cent., and not 14 per cent., as stated. I cannot help thinking that the calculation made was based upon the figures of 1898, when neither the Pietersburg nor the Thaba Nchu railways were included in the mileage of Government railways. As I have already stated, I do not think that, in view of the condition of the railways after the events of the past four years, this proportion can be regarded as excessive. In regard to No. 4, I gladly give an assurance that all steps will be taken to supply the deficiency of labour for the C.S.A.R. as far as possible from areas which are closed to the recruiters of the W.N.L.A., and that no such labour will be drawn from the main sources of supply for industrial needs.

I have, &c.,  
 ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
 Governor

Enclosure 4 in No. 54.

TRANSVAAL CHAMBER OF MINES to GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

Transvaal Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg,

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

August 28, 1903.

I HAVE the honour, by direction of the Executive Committee of this Chamber, to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of the 20th instant, in reply to the representations made by the joint deputation which met Your Excellency on the 18th instant, for the purpose of discussing the supplies of Native Labour and the requirements of the Central South African Railways.

I am further directed to confirm the following telegraphic message, which was despatched by Mr. Langerman, the Vice-President of the Chamber:—

From LANGERMAN, Vice-President Chamber of Mines, to PRIVATE  
 SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR, Pretoria.

Kindly transmit by telegram the following message to His Excellency:—

*Begins:* The reply received from Your Excellency to the deputation from the Chamber of Mines, Commerce and Trade and Labour Association, is receiving serious consideration. In the meantime pending Your Excellency's return, and an opportunity to the bodies

to again approach you, and in view of the serious nature of the matter, I beg respectfully to request that no further contracts for railway construction than those already given out at the date of the deputation should be entered into. *Ends.*

August 25, 1903.

I am to state that Your Excellency's reply to the views of the Deputation is under serious consideration of the Chamber, and I hope, in due course, to be able to again address Your Excellency on the subject.

I have, &c.,  
J. COWIE,  
Acting Secretary.

His Excellency the Governor of the Transvaal,  
Pretoria.

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Enclosure 5 in No. 54.

CHAMBER OF MINES, Transvaal, to GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Johannesburg, September 19, 1903.

THE deputation which waited upon Your Excellency on August 18th begs to acknowledge Your Excellency's reply of August 20th.

2. The deputation has been informed by the Commissioner of Railways that, in response to Mr. J. W. S. Langerman's telegram of August 25th, Your Excellency has directed that no further action should be taken in the matter of entering into contracts for new construction of railways until the deputation has had another opportunity of laying its views on the question of native labour supply for railways before Your Excellency on your return. The deputation desires to express its appreciation of the consideration shown to its request.

3. The deputation has now considered Your Excellency's letter of August 20th, and begs leave to submit the following observations thereon for Your Excellency's further and favourable consideration.

4. As regards maintenance, the deputation recognises the necessity of keeping the open lines in a state of thorough efficiency.

#### NEW CONSTRUCTION.

5. The deputation sincerely regrets that it cannot share in the opinion expressed by Your Excellency that the conditions regarding railway affairs have not changed appreciably since the agreement was arrived at on April 9th last, that the maximum of 10,000 natives should be employed on the construction of new railway lines.

The deputation would respectfully submit to Your Excellency that they think the situation has changed in the following ways:—

Firstly: In April it was understood that 12,000 natives was the maximum number required for the maintenance of the existing lines, whereas it now appears that 16,000 natives are required for maintenance.

Secondly: An integral part of the above agreement was the condition stated in the letter of the Commissioner of Railways, dated the 22nd April: "That the natives to be employed should be recruited from territory other than the Northern Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa"; whereas it is now declared by the Railway Department that for maintenance requirements alone, apart from new construction work, it will be necessary for them to recruit from the Portuguese East Coast possessions, unless the Kaffirs required are supplied to them by the mines.

Thirdly: At the time when the above agreement took place, the Chamber of Mines was influenced by the hope which was held out that it would be possible to

realise the views expressed in the letter of the Chamber of Mines to His Excellency the High Commissioner, dated March 7th, the substance of which was that if the Government had decided that the construction of new railways was necessary, such railways, in the opinion of the Chamber, should be built by means of imported coloured labour.

Fourthly: At the time of the agreement above referred to the requirements of the railways for maintenance were distinctly understood to be 12,000 natives, which, together with the 10,000 agreed upon as the maximum number to be employed on construction work, made a total of 22,000 natives required. Now, however, it is stated that 16,000 natives are required on maintenance work, 6,048 on lines under construction, and 3,950 for lines in contemplation, making a total of nearly 26,000 natives, or, in other words, 4,000 natives in excess of those agreed in April last to comprise the maximum requirements of the Railway Departments.

6. The deputation, whilst thanking Your Excellency for your assurance that no labour for the railways shall be drawn from the main sources of supply for industrial needs, would respectfully point out that although it may be true that the natives engaged on new lines would in many cases be unwilling to work on the mines, yet it is clear that if these natives were not engaged on railway work they would be supplying some portion of the labour required in other industrial occupations in the country, thereby relieving, a certain amount of the tension in the labour market, at present felt alike by the mining, industrial and agricultural communities. Unless industrial requirements other than mining are so supplied, the labour brought in for mining purposes is certain to be ultimately utilised to meet this demand, and consequently would bring about a further shortage on the mines.

7. The deputation wishes, therefore, respectfully to impress upon Your Excellency the dangers attendant upon the continuance of the present railway policy. It is not merely a question of the employment of 3,000 or 4,000 extra boys beyond the number agreed upon,—it is one of far wider importance to the whole community.

8. The Government have always expressed a wish to help the mines in every possible way through the present critical stage, and it is for this reason that the deputation respectfully ventures to point out the danger of absorbing for railway construction large quantities of labour which must of necessity affect the supply of native labour for all requirements. The deputation, therefore, urges the necessity of stopping all new railway construction in the country, with the exception of the Bloemfontein-Modderpoort and Johannesburg-Vereeniging lines, until there is some prospect of satisfying the industrial and agricultural needs for labour.

9. The deputation further ventures to suggest that full publicity should be given to the number of natives employed on all works by the railways, whether departmentally or through contractors; and proposes, for Your Excellency's consideration, that monthly reports should be issued giving as much detail as possible regarding where the boys are employed, by whom, at what wage, &c. The deputation would hope that statistics might be given in such reports of the number employed in all Government departments which use native labour on a large scale.

We have, &c.,

For the deputation,

GEORGE FARRAR,

President of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines.

GEORGE MITCHELL,

President of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce.

H. D. SOLOMON,

President of the Johannesburg Chamber of Trade.

His Excellency  
The Governor of the Transvaal,  
Pretoria.

Enclosure 6 in No. 54.

## SIR ARTHUR LAWLEY'S REPLY.

SIR.

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, September 29, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a letter dated the 19th September, signed by yourself and the Presidents of the Chambers of Commerce and Trade, as representing the deputation which waited upon me in August last, regarding the number of boys required by the railways for maintenance and construction purposes.

At the time I had the pleasure of meeting the deputation, the full complement of boys required for maintenance work amounted to 16,000, and for new construction works already in hand to 6,000, making a total of 22,000. It was contemplated at that time that an additional number of 4,000 boys would be immediately required for the undertaking of new construction works. In view, however, of the representations made to me on that occasion, I have decided not to enter upon any new construction works which will involve any increase in the number now employed. In view of the urgent necessity of increasing the railway facilities of the country, I do not think that this number can be regarded as excessive. Nor do I feel justified in giving any undertaking to reduce that number at present, though I am making an effort to lessen the demand by Government departments upon the labour market, and thus to assist the mining industry in every reasonable way during the present crisis.

I have reduced the number of boys employed on the roads by 3,500, and I have issued instructions that no fresh work on the roads is to be undertaken which would necessitate any increase in the number of boys now employed, until the whole condition of the labour market is in a more satisfactory state.

You are familiar with the programme of railway extension which it is considered desirable to undertake with the least possible delay. It is now urged that all railway extension should be suspended. But there is a portion of the programme which I think it would be neither expedient nor wise to suspend. I propose, therefore, to push on with what I consider to be absolutely necessary work, with the 6,000 boys detailed for new construction. The following works are now in hand, and we are practically under an obligation to carry them to an early completion: (1) the final portion of the Harrismith-Bethlehem line in the Orange River Colony; (2) the Thaba Nchu-Modderpoort section; and (3) the Vereeniging-Johannesburg section. The work on these three sections is in so far advanced a state that it would be false economy to suspend operations now.

The congestion on the Eastern line is such that some relief is urgently necessary. And this relief can only be secured by pushing on the Springs-Ermelo-Machadodorp connection and relieving the strain which is caused at present by the coal traffic on the Eastern line. I propose, therefore, as the boys now employed on the new construction works to which I have referred may be released, to utilise their services on the Springs eastward extension. I regard this extension as essential to the efficient working of the traffic from Delagoa Bay, with which at present we have great difficulty in coping, and vital to the interests of the country.

The policy which I have indicated will not increase the existing strain upon the labour demands, inasmuch as native labour will not be employed on the Springs eastward work until the new construction work now in hand is completed.

It is with great reluctance that I accede to the request for the postponement of other new construction works.

In regard to open lines, I think that we are agreed it is absolutely necessary to restore them to a thorough state of efficiency with the least possible delay. I have, therefore, desired the General Manager to push on all work on open lines which is in the nature of new construction, especially the relaying of the Bloemfontein-Vereeniging section with heavier rails. This is necessary to enable us to make full use of the heavier class of engines which have recently been imported. This work comes under the head of maintenance, though it is really in the nature of construction. But it is one of those items which go to swell the number of boys employed

on open lines. When this and other work of a similar nature is finished a reduction in the number of boys will be possible. Meanwhile, I hope to secure an immediate reduction of the number by utilising prison labour wherever it may be practicable.

I am pressing on as fast as possible the reduction in the number of boys employed by the Repatriation Department. Thus it will be apparent to you that every endeavour is being made to reduce the demands by Government upon the labour supply as far as it is possible to do so.

I feel that by postponing the undertaking of new construction, by reducing the number of boys upon the roads, and in the Repatriation Department, and by utilising prison labour on open lines, the Government is doing its utmost to assist the various industries of the country as far as it legitimately can, bearing in mind the urgent demand which exists for the early improvement of railway facilities.

I do not anticipate any difficulty in being able to supply the Labour Association with the statistics asked for regarding the employment of boys on Government works of all kinds.

I have, &c.,  
ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
Governor.

The President,  
Transvaal Chamber of Mines,  
Johannesburg.

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Enclosure 7 in No. 54.

SECRETARY, Railway Department, to ACTING-SECRETARY, Inter-Colonial Council,  
Johannesburg.

SIR, Commissioner of Railways, Johannesburg, September 30, 1903.

WITH reference to the verbal communications which have been received from His Excellency the High Commissioner in regard to Native Labour for New Construction, I have the honour, by direction of the Commissioner of Railways, to state that the instructions are understood to be as follows:—

That the number of natives employed on New Construction by the Chief Engineer is to be restricted to 6,000, who may be employed where, and as may be found most convenient.

The Commissioner will be glad to receive His Excellency's formal confirmation of this, if correct.

I have, &c.,  
N. S. NATHAN, Major,  
Secretary to the Railway Department.

The Acting Secretary,  
Inter-Colonial Council,  
Johannesburg.

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Enclosure 8 in No. 54.

ACTING-SECRETARY, Inter-Colonial Council, Johannesburg, to SECRETARY TO  
RAILWAY DEPARTMENT, Johannesburg.

SIR, High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg, October 3, 1903.

WITH reference to your letter of the 30th September, I am directed by His Excellency the High Commissioner to inform you that the number of natives to be employed on New Construction by the Chief Engineer is correctly

stated by you as 6,000. These natives may be employed where, and as may be found most convenient so long as they are used only on those lines the construction of which His Excellency has informed the Chamber of Mines will be continued.

I am, &c.,  
R. H. BRAND,  
Acting-Secretary to the Inter-Colonial Council.

Secretary to the Railway Department,  
Johannesburg.

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No. 55.

HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received November 7, 1903.)

SIR, High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg, October 19, 1903.  
WITH reference to my despatch of even date,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of the undermentioned documents on the subject of the construction of the bridge over the Vaal River between Klerksdorp and Vierfontein.

I have, &c.,  
ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
High Commissioner.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 55.

SECRETARY TO RAILWAY DEPARTMENT, Johannesburg, to the ACTING SECRETARY,  
Inter-Colonial Council, Johannesburg.

Commissioner of Railways, Johannesburg,

SIR, September 29, 1903.

I HAVE the honour, by direction of the Commissioner of Railways, to request that the following matter may be brought to the early notice of His Excellency the High Commissioner.

In connection with the construction of the bridge over the Vaal River between Klerksdorp and Vierfontein, the Chief Engineer reports as follows:—

“In the course of a conversation with His Excellency the Acting High Commissioner on Saturday last, the 26th instant, His Excellency instructed me not to go on with the Vaal River bridge for the present. As I propose to employ only 100 boys on this work for the present, I would strongly urge that masonry be proceeded with at the present very favourable time. A large bridge of this kind cannot be completed quickly, even when the condition of the river is favourable, but if a start is deferred for three months I do not think any work will be possible till May or June next year, after the floods have subsided, and then we shall have the girders, which have already been ordered, waiting for the piers to be built.

“There is no question about the need for this crossing of the Vaal, and if everything else on the Rand stops, the De Beers Company will still require coal at Kimberley, and would, I am sure, pay for the whole structure, and the branch to Vierfontein, if asked.”

I am to state that the Commissioner of Railways will be glad to receive His Excellency's instructions as to whether this work should be proceeded with.

I have, &c.,  
N. S. NATHAN,  
Major,  
Secretary to the Railway Department.

The Acting Secretary,  
Inter-Colonial Council,  
Johannesburg.

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\* No. 54.



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Enclosure 2 in No. 55.

SECRETARY TO RAILWAY DEPARTMENT, Johannesburg, to the ACTING SECRETARY,  
Inter-Colonial Council, Johannesburg.

Commissioner of Railways, Johannesburg,

October 8, 1903.

SIR,

WITH reference to this Office letter, of the 29th ultimo, I have the honour, by direction of the Commissioner of Railways, to enquire as to whether you are yet in a position to favour me with His Excellency's instructions in connection with the construction of the bridge over the Vaal River between Klerksdorp and Vierfontein.

I have, &c.,

TOM H. CARLISLE,

For Secretary to the Railway Department.

The Acting Secretary  
to the Inter-Colonial Council,  
Johannesburg.

Enclosure 3 in No. 55.

ACTING SECRETARY TO THE INTER-COLONIAL COUNCIL, Johannesburg, to SECRETARY  
TO RAILWAY DEPARTMENT, Johannesburg.

High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg,

October 12, 1903.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th October, with regard to the construction of the bridge over the Vaal River between Klerksdorp and Vierfontein.

His Excellency the High Commissioner desires me to inform you that he is prepared to sanction the continuance of this work, provided that it does not involve the employment of a number of boys in excess of 6,000 on new construction.

I am, &c.,

R. H. BRAND,

Acting Secretary to the Inter-Colonial Council.

The Secretary  
to the Railway Department,  
Johannesburg.

No. 56.

HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received November 14, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 63.]

SIR, High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg, October 26, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to forward copies of correspondence noted in the margin,

Letter from Commissioner of Railways  
and enclosure, August 18, 1903.

Letter from Commissioner of Railways  
and enclosure, October 20, 1903.

with regard to the employment of two gangs  
of English navvies on railway construction.

I have, &c.,

ARTHUR LAWLEY,

High Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 56.

MAJOR NATHAN to IMPERIAL SECRETARY, Johannesburg.

SIR, Commissioner of Railways, Johannesburg, August 18, 1903.  
I HAVE the honour to enclose, for the information of His Excellency the High Commissioner, copy of a report received from the Chief Engineer, setting forth the progress made on new construction by the gangs of navvies.

I have, &c.,  
N. S. NATHAN,  
Major,  
For Commissioner of Railways.

The Imperial Secretary,  
Johannesburg.

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Progress Report.

COMMISSIONER OF RAILWAYS,  
Johannesburg,

Office of the Chief Engineer,  
Johannesburg, August 5, 1903.

As you will probably be interested to hear what the navvies are doing, I beg to forward, in advance of the usual monthly progress report, Mr. Blackett's report on their first month's work. You will notice that the work done by the first batch works out to no more than 2.5 cubic yards per navvy per day, and as each navvy costs us over 13 shillings on daily pay, the rate works out to rather more than five shillings per cubic yard.

Both Mr. Blackett and I have tried to persuade the men to take on piece work, but so far without success, and the reason is clearly because they are not navvies at all, and are determined to loaf through their year's agreement while doing as little as possible.

I am going out again to-morrow to see what I can do to persuade them to work better.

A deputation from the camp came to see me yesterday, and said they were entirely satisfied with the food and camp arrangements.

B. P. WALL,  
Chief Engineer.

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From DIVISIONAL ENGINEER, No. 1 Division, Springs East Line, to CHIEF ENGINEER, Johannesburg.

Progress Report for the Month of July.

August 1, 1903.

I have the honour to report as follows on the progress of work done by navvies *ex* "Alnwick Castle" and "Gaul" during the month of July, between Chains 145 and 410, No. 1 Division, Springs East Railway.

The first lot of workmen *ex* "Alnwick Castle," who arrived at Springs on 26th June, started work at Chain 145 on 30th June, and are working onwards from that point.

Owing to non-delivery of tools and barrows at Springs only eight of the ten gangs could be supplied with their full quantity at first, the other two gangs had to be kept on odd jobs, such as deepening the well, fixing up a powder magazine, and

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getting the second navvies' camp ready, up to 21st July, when a further supply of barrows came to hand, and the men were put to earthwork.

I estimate the total quantity of earthwork done by the eight gangs up to 30th July at 11,400 cubic yards, and that done by the other two gangs from the 21st to 30th July at 800 cubic yards, giving a total of 12,200 cubic yards for the month. During this time the eight gangs had a total of 4,437 working days, so that their daily output comes to 2.57 cubic yards per man.

The two gangs had a total of 438 working days on earthwork, so that their daily output comes to 1.82 cubic yards per man.

The total output of 12,200 cubic yards, divided by the total number of working days, 4,875, gives an average daily output per man of almost exactly 2.5 cubic yards.

The whole of this work is similar to what Messrs. Erskine and Wayland have priced at 1s. per cubic yard on their contract from 0 chain to 145 chain, so that it may be taken as absolutely certain that these so-called navvies are not doing enough work to pay for their food alone.

In addition there are a number of men who appear to have come out with the intention of doing no work, as 13 men have absented themselves from work for six days and over in the month. One of these men, Worth, No. 91, has only been out to work one day, and Flynn, No. 67, has been out at work 11 days.

I have tried to get the men to take on the work on piecework at reasonable rates, but have met with no success so far, as the men want 2s. 6d. per cubic yard for work that is only worth 1s., and even at this rate of 2s. 6d. per cubic yard, if their output is not increased, they would not pay for their wages and food. They also object to take on piecework on account of the loss of time which may be expected when the rains come on, and to the presence of a number of men in the batch who have no intention of working, and who will only be a burden on the men in the gangs to which they belong who are willing to work.

I must confess that I can see no way of getting any show of work out of the men until the loafers are dismissed or punished in some way, but according to their agreements the only punishments which are in my power to inflict are a fine not exceeding 5 per cent. per month of the employe's wage, and the non-payment of the 5s. per week retention money on the completion of the men's agreement, which both become rather dead letters in the case of a man only working one day in the month.

#### Second Batch, *ex* "Gaul."

The second batch of navvies *ex* "Gaul" arrived at their camp on 22nd July, and, after spending two days in doing nothing on account of the clause in their agreements which says that the half pay due for the voyage is due and payable on their arrival at camp, with which it was impossible for us to comply, started work on 25th July. I estimate that they had done 4,300 cubic yards of earthwork, with a total number of 1,229 working days, which gives an average daily output of 3.5 cubic yards per man.

I enclose a progress section showing the earthwork done from 0 chains to 410 chains.

JAMES M. BLACKETT,  
Divisional Engineer.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 56.

SIR, Commissioner of Railways, Johannesburg, October 20, 1903.  
FURTHER to my letter of the 18th August last, I have the honour to enclose, for the information of His Excellency the High Commissioner, copy of a

report received from the Chief Engineer setting forth the progress made on new construction by the gangs of navvies.

I have, &c.,  
TOM. H. CARLISLE,  
For Commissioner of Railways.

The Acting Secretary,  
Inter-Colonial Council,  
Johannesburg.

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Central South African Railways, Office of Chief Engineer,  
Johannesburg, October 8, 1903.

Springs Eastward Railway.

Commissioner of Railways, Johannesburg,

The result of another month's work done by the two camps of English navvies has just come in, and I think you will be glad to hear that the men have continued turning out a reasonable amount.

No. 1 Camp:—

6.1 cubic yards per man per day on piece work.  
2.8 cubic yards per man per day on daily wage.

No. 2 Camp:—

5.7 cubic yards per man per day on piece work.  
2.4 cubic yards per man per day on daily wage.

In the two camps there were 16 gangs, with 16 gangers and 360 men on piece work, and 4 gangs with 4 gangers and 86 men on daily wage.

One of the gangs on piece work actually averaged 8.5 cubic yards per man per day, a record, I should think, for any country outside Great Britain.

With men working as hard as these were, there were naturally no complaints as to food and accommodation during the month. The record would have been better but that the trenching plough was disabled for 14 days during the month.

B. WALL,  
Chief Engineer.

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No. 57.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received November 14, 1903.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, October 24, 1903.  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 17th October,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter from the City and Suburban Gold Mine, Johannesburg, dated the 13th October, 1903, covering copy of a Resolution on the subject of the labour question.

I have, &c.,  
ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

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\* No. 53.

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Enclosure in No. 57.

CITY AND SUBURBAN MINE, Johannesburg, to GOVERNOR.

City and Suburban Mine, Johannesburg,

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

October 13, 1903.

BY special vote, I am directed to forward to Your Excellency the appended Resolution, which was passed at a public meeting held in the Boarding House, City and Suburban Mine, on Monday, the 12th instant, to discuss the labour question.

The voting was confined to the employees on the Mine, but free discussion from outside was allowed, in which members of the Labour Importation Association, the White League, and other societies, took part. An amendment that "If it be conclusively proved that there is not sufficient native labour available in this country, the people shall be balloted as to whether Asiatic labour shall be introduced or not," found no supporters. The Resolution was, thereafter, carried unanimously, about 130 men voting.

I am desired to ask if Your Excellency would favour the Meeting by forwarding the Resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
 GEORGE BLIGHT,  
 Chairman.

His Excellency the Governor,  
 Pretoria.

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RESOLUTION REFERRED TO—

"That in view of the gravity of the present situation brought about by the dearth of native labour, this meeting pledges itself to support the Labour Importation Association in their endeavour to secure unskilled Asiatic labour (under the restrictions set forth in their manifesto) and that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor with a request that he forward it to the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

GEORGE BLIGHT.

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No. 58.

HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received November 14, 1903.)

SIR. High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg, October 26, 1903.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 19th October,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of the undermentioned documents on the subject of the employment of native labour on the railways.

I have, &c.,  
 ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
 High Commissioner.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 58.

TRANSVAAL CHAMBER OF MINES to GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

Transvaal Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg,

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

October 5, 1903.

I AM desired by the members of the Joint Deputation from the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and the Johannesburg Chamber of Trade, which waited upon Your Excellency on the 18th August to

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\* Nos. 54 and 55.

acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's letter of 29th September, in which Your Excellency makes the notification that no new construction works will be entered upon by the Central South African Railways beyond the following, which are already in hand:—

1. The final portion of the Harrismith-Bethlehem line.
2. The Thabanchu-Modderpoort section.
3. The Vereeniging-Johannesburg section.

subject to the further stipulation that as the natives now employed on the above-named construction works may be released, their services will be utilised on the Springs Eastwards extension.

The deputation recognised the efforts made by Your Excellency to reduce the unskilled labour resources in other public works in order to provide the means of continuing the railway construction of the three sections above named without reducing the number of native labourers already in the employ of the Railway Department.

I have, &c.,  
 GEORGE FARRAR,  
 President, Transvaal Chamber of Mines.

His Excellency  
 The Governor of the Transvaal.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 58.

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal, to CHAMBER OF MINES,  
 Johannesburg.

SIR, Lieutenant-Governor's Office, Pretoria, October 13, 1903.

I AM desired by His Excellency to acknowledge the letter of the 5th instant from your President to the Governor of the Transvaal referring to the New Construction Works, and to thank you for the expression contained in the final paragraph.

His Excellency wishes me to inform you, with reference to the Vaal River Bridge, that construction on the piers of that bridge will probably be continued, and it will necessitate the employment of 100 boys, but it is clearly understood that these boys are not in excess of the number agreed upon to be employed by the Railways, and I forward you this information in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding should a report reach you that the work is going on.

I have, &c.,  
 G. GLYN,  
 Private Secretary.

The Secretary,  
 Chamber of Mines,  
 Johannesburg.

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No. 59.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 7.55 p.m., November 17, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 60.]

17th November. No. 1. Matter most urgent. I expect Labour Commission Report to-morrow. Considerable excitement here on the subject and public will complain if publication is withheld. Please sanction by telegram publication of Report as soon as received.

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## No. 60.

MR. LYTTELTON to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY.

(Sent 6.30 p.m., November 18, 1903.)

## TELEGRAM.

18th November. No. 2. Your telegram, No. 1, 17th November;\* publication approved.

You will, of course, report substance immediately by cable and send home by first opportunity report and evidence.

## No. 61.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 10.25 p.m., November 19, 1903.)

## TELEGRAM

19th November. No. 3. Have just received Report of Labour Commission. † Two members of Commission, consisting of thirteen, Quinn and Whiteside, decline to sign Report, but I have not yet received any minority Report. The findings of majority are as follows:—

1. That the demand for native labour for agriculture in the Transvaal is largely in excess of the present supply and as the development of the country proceeds this demand will greatly increase.
2. That the demand for native labour for the Transvaal mining industry is in excess of the present supply by about 129,000 labourers, and whilst no complete data of the future requirements of the whole industry are obtainable it is estimated that the mines of the Witwatersrand alone will require within the next five years an additional supply of 196,000 labourers.
3. That the demand for native labour for other Transvaal industries, including railways, is greatly in excess of the present supply and will increase concurrently with the advancement of mining and agriculture.
4. That there is no adequate supply of labour in Central and South Africa to meet the above requirements.

## No. 62.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received November 21, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 70.]

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, November 2, 1903.  
 WITH reference to my despatch of the 24th October, ‡ I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter dated Johannesburg, the 7th

\* No. 59. † The Report is published separately in [Cd. 1894], January, 1904. ‡ No. 57.

October, 1903, containing a resolution carried at a meeting held at the Wanderers' Hall, Johannesburg, on the 3rd October, 1903, on the subject of the labour question.

I have, &c.,  
ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 62.

Mr. F. ROWLAND to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

P.O. Box No. 4375, Johannesburg,

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

October 7, 1903.

I AM directed to send you the following resolution, carried at a meeting held at the Wanderers' Hall, Johannesburg, on Saturday, the 3rd instant, for your own information, and for the favour of transmission to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

“That in view of the very unsatisfactory state of the Transvaal mining industry, caused through the inadequate supply of native labour, we, as scientific and technical men, thoroughly conversant with the requirements of the said industry, and with the economic conditions prevailing here, and having carefully considered the various alternatives that have been proposed, are fully convinced that the permanent employment of large numbers of unskilled white labourers is too expensive, and that there are no present indications that the demand for unskilled labour can be materially reduced by the further adoption of labour-saving devices; and we are therefore strongly of opinion that immediate steps should be taken for the introduction of unskilled Chinese or other coloured labourers, under proper restrictions for their importation, employment and repatriation.”

I am also to inform you that the meeting was formed of over 300 representatives of the following scientific and technical societies:—

Chemical, Metallurgical and Mining Society of South Africa, South African Association of Engineers, the Mechanical Engineers' Association of the Witwatersrand, the Geological Society of South Africa, the Transvaal Medical Society, the Transvaal Pharmaceutical Society, the Transvaal Association of Architects, the Society of Accountants and Auditors, the Transvaal Branch of Chartered Accountants, the South African Society of Electrical Engineers, the Institute of Mine Surveyors, the Institute of Land Surveyors (Transvaal), and the Transvaal Dental Society.

The resolution was carried with but six dissentients.

I have, &c.,  
FREDK. ROWLAND,  
Secretary to the Meeting.

His Excellency the Governor,  
Johannesburg.

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No. 63.

MR. LYTTTELTON to HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY.

[Answered by No. 121.]

SIR,

Downing Street, November 21, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 26th October,\* forwarding reports on the work of the second batch of English navvies engaged for the Central South African Railways.

2. I notice that a great improvement was apparently effected between the dates of the Chief Engineer's two reports on this matter. I assume that the improvement was due to the change from day work to piece work, but I should be glad

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\* No. 56.



to have a report as to this subject, and also as to the very large variations in the output of the navvies.

I have, &c.,  
ALFRED LYTTTELTON.

No. 64.

MR. LYTTTELTON TO HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY.

(Sent 5.46 p.m., November 21, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 71.]

21st November. No. 1. Report by telegram revenue and expenditure for Transvaal and Central South African Railways for October and also customs receipts. Similar monthly returns should be sent by telegraph for the present as soon as available.

No. 65.

HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY TO VISCOUNT MILNER.

(Received in Colonial Office, November 23, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 67.]

21st November. The result of importing navvies for construction work Central South African Railways after seven months' experience proves most unsatisfactory. If we keep them to the end of their year's agreement the cost of the line increases by 115,000*l.* There is a clause in their contract by which we could give one month's notice and return them to England. If we do this at once we shall save at least 40,000*l.* In any case we must return them to England at the end of their contract and I would urge the advantage saving 40,000*l.* if we can.

No. 66.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY TO MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received 10.57 p.m., November 27, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

27th November. No. 5. The following are the findings of the minority of two of the Labour Commission\* :—

- (1.) That there is sufficient labour in Central and South Africa for present requirements although effort will be required to obtain it.
- (2.) That the present so-called shortage in the Transvaal is largely due to temporary and preventable causes.
- (3.) That, understanding future requirements to mean such as, if satisfied, will benefit the country as a whole, we consider that there is also sufficient labour in the territories named above for the future requirements.
- (4.) That in many ways the supply of native labour could be supplemented and superseded by white labour.

\* The Report is published separately in [Cd. 1894], January, 1904.

No. 67.

MR. LYTTELTON to HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY.

(Sent 5.40 p.m., November 28, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[See No. 69.]

28th November. No. 1. Your telegram to Milner 21st November.\* Under circumstances stated, there seems to be no alternative to termination of agreement of navvies.

No. 68.

MR. LYTTELTON to VISCOUNT MILNER (MADEIRA).

(Sent November 29, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

Referring to our recent conversation, after the debate in the Legislative Council on the Resolution to be moved by a non-official member and before the introduction of any Government measure, you should cable full notice if the Transvaal Government desire to introduce such measure and if you concur you should give as full details as possible of the course of the debate and of the composition of the majority by which the Resolution may be carried. You should give full information as to the manner in which the debate has been received in the country and of the feeling to which it has given rise, and state, for the information of His Majesty's Government, whether, in the light of the study which you will, by that time, have made of the report of and of the evidence taken by the Transvaal Labour Commission and of the other indications of public feeling and opinion which you have observed since your return, you are able to advise His Majesty's Government that there does undoubtedly exist in the Transvaal a preponderance of feeling in favour of the introduction of Asiatic labour.

No. 69.

HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 9.55 p.m., November 30, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

November 30. No. 348. Your telegram No. 1 November 28.† I have instructed Commissioner of Railways to give navvies one month's notice and return them to England. Correspondence follows by mail.‡

No. 70.

MR. LYTTELTON to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY.

SIR,

Downing Street, December 4, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches§ of the dates noted in the enclosed schedule, forwarding communications with reference

\* No. 65.

‡ See No. 89.

† No. 67.

§ Nos. 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 48, 51, 53 and 62.

to meetings which have been held in the Transvaal to consider the question of the importation of labour. I shall be glad if you will inform the writers of these communications that I have duly received them.

I have, &c.,  
ALFRED LYTTTELTON.

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Enclosure in No. 70.

SCHEDULE.

31st August, 1903.  
7th September, 1903.  
12th September, 1903.  
12th September, 1903.  
25th September, 1903.  
5th October, 1903.  
12th October, 1903.  
17th October, 1903.  
2nd November, 1903.

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No. 71.

HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received 8.40 p.m. December 4, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

December 4. No. 353. Your telegram No. 1, 21st November\* ; following are figures for October asked for :—

Transvaal revenue, 345,425*l.*, made up of (1) Customs revenue, 145,399*l.*; (2) other revenue, 200,026*l.*

Transvaal expenditure, not including Crown Agents' expenditure for October, approximately 252,120*l.*

Railway revenue, 412,647*l.*; railway expenditure, 295,594*l.* Figures for railways are only estimated.

Similar monthly return will be sent as soon as figures available.

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No. 72.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received December 5, 1903.)

[*Answered by No 112.*]

SIR, The Governor's Office, Johannesburg, November 16, 1903.  
I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a Draft Ordinance to regulate the introduction into the Transvaal of Foreign Labour.

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The introduction of this Ordinance is entirely contingent upon the adoption by the Legislative Council of the principle of Asiatic Labour and the sanction of the introduction of legislation by His Majesty's Government.

The Draft Ordinance indicates the lines upon which the Government of the Transvaal considers legislation should be enacted in the event of such contingency as I have alluded to.

Although I have not yet received the Report of the Labour Commission, I anticipate from the evidence which has been brought before the Commission that the Report will be to the general effect that the Labour Supply of South Africa is quite inadequate, and I foresee that pressure will be brought to bear on this Government to provide for the deficiency to be supplemented from other countries with the least possible delay. I am, therefore, anxious that you should be in a position at the earliest moment to know the proposed policy of this Government in respect of the importation of Asiatic Labour. It is with this view, and in order to avoid delay, that I am anticipating events by forwarding to you the Draft Ordinance, and I shall be obliged if you will inform me by telegraph as soon as possible of your views upon the proposals embodied in the Draft Law.

I have, &c.,

ARTHUR LAWLEY,

Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 72.

DRAFT ORDINANCE to regulate the introduction into the Transvaal of unskilled non-European labourers.

Whereas it is desirable to make provision for regulating the introduction from outside Africa South of 12° North of the Equator into this Colony of unskilled labourers not being of European descent to be employed in the working of mines situated in the Witwatersrand District.

Be it enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof as follows:—

**Interpreta-  
tion of  
terms.**

1. In this Ordinance and all rules and regulations made thereunder unless the context otherwise requires the following expressions in inverted commas shall have the meaning placed opposite to them; that is to say:—

“Commissioner” means the Commissioner for Native Affairs;

“Labourer” means a labourer belonging to a non-European race introduced into this Colony under contract of service from any place other than Africa, South of 12° North of the Equator;

“Unskilled labour” means such labour as is usually performed in this Colony in the exploitation of minerals by persons belonging to the aboriginal races or tribes of Africa South of the Equator;

“Unskilled labourer” means a labourer as above defined employed in unskilled labour only;

“Importer” means the person introducing labourers into this Colony;

“Country of origin” means in the case of any labourer the country from which such labourer is introduced;

“Contract” means the contract of service entered into by a labourer as provided in this Ordinance;

- "Employer" means an employer of labourers under this Ordinance who has obtained a license under section *eight* hereof;
- "Imprisonment" means imprisonment either with or without hard labour;
- "Inspector" means an Inspector appointed under the provisions of this Ordinance;
- "Superintendent" means the Superintendent at the head of the Labour Importation Department;
- "Premises" includes the place where labourers are actually engaged in working and one mile in every direction from such place.

*Labour Importation Department.*

2. There shall be, and is hereby established, under the control of the Commissioner for Native Affairs, a Department known as the Labour Importation Department. Labour Importation Department.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor may appoint a Superintendent of labourers (hereinafter styled the Superintendent) who shall be at the head of the Labour Importation Department, and shall have under the control of the Commissioner, the general management, superintendence and direction of the said Department, and of the officers thereof, and shall perform such duties as may be imposed on him by this Ordinance or by regulations made thereunder, and shall have all the powers of an Inspector under this Ordinance. Superintendent of labourers.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time appoint such Inspectors Medical Officers, Clerks, and other Officers as may be necessary for the performance of the duties of the Labour Importation Department, and may from time to time assign the districts within which they shall respectively act. The Superintendent, Inspectors, Medical Officers, Clerks and other Officers shall be paid such salaries and allowances as the Lieutenant-Governor shall authorise. Inspectors and other officers.

5. The Superintendent may at any time enter upon the premises on which labourers are employed, and inspect the condition and general treatment of such labourers, and the condition of their housing accommodation and hospital accommodation, and may enquire into any complaint which an employer may have against a labourer or which a labourer may have against his employer and may require any labourer to be brought before him on any such visit, and may either before or after such enquiry as aforesaid make a complaint or lay an information in his own name on behalf of a labourer against the employer or against any other person before the Magistrate of the District. General powers of Superintendent.

6. (1) The Superintendent may summon any person as a witness whose evidence he considers necessary for the proper determination of any enquiry held by him; such summons shall be served in the same manner as a summons issued by a Magistrate is required to be served. Power to summon witnesses on enquiry. Penalties for refusing to be sworn and for giving false evidence.

(2) Every person on whom such summons has been duly served who without any reasonable excuse refuses or neglects to attend at the time and place mentioned in such summons shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding ten pounds, and in default of payment to imprisonment not exceeding one month.

(3) The Superintendent may require every statement given by any person at an enquiry held by him to be given upon oath, and for such purpose he is hereby authorised to administer an oath to every such person.

(4) Every person who refuses to be so sworn when thereto required shall be deemed to have hindered the officer holding the enquiry in the execution of his duty, and shall be liable to be punished accordingly.

(5) Every person who, after being so sworn, wilfully makes a false statement as to anything material to the proper determination of the matter then in question shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and shall be liable to be indicted, and if convicted punished accordingly.

*Importation of Labourers.*

7. No labourers shall be introduced into this Colony except under the provisions of this Ordinance; any person contravening this section shall be liable to a penalty of one hundred pounds for every labourer introduced by him, and shall further be bound, on demand made by the Commissioner, to return every such labourer to his country of origin, and shall be liable to a penalty of five pounds for every day he is in default in complying with such demand. Prohibition of importation of labourers except under this Ordinance.

- Who may import labourers and where they may be employed.
8. (1) The Lieutenant-Governor may grant a license to any person to introduce unskilled labourers into this Colony for the exploitation of its minerals.
- (2) No such licence shall be granted unless and until the Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied that suitable accommodation for the housing of such labourers on the premises on which they are to be employed will be ready on their arrival in this Colony, and that proper security in terms of section twenty-five has been given by the applicant for the repatriation of such labourer. On every such licence there shall be paid the sum of . . . . .
- (3) No such labourer shall be employed elsewhere in this Colony than in the Witwatersrand District; but the Lieutenant-Governor may, after a resolution to that effect has been passed by the Legislative Council, proclaim any other district of this Colony as a district in which labourers may be employed under this Ordinance.
- Contracts with labourers—how executed.
9. Every person obtaining a license under the last preceding section to introduce labourers shall for such purpose enter into a contract in writing through a duly accredited agent with such labourers in their country of origin; the said contract shall be signed by the labourers to be bound thereby or by the person authorised in writing to contract on their behalf.
- Such contract shall be of full force and effect in this Colony as soon as it is registered in the office of the Commissioner.
- Importation of labourers subject to conditions.
10. The importation of labourers shall be subject to the following conditions which shall be embodied in the contract between the importer and the labourers;
- (a) that so long as the labourer remains in this Colony he shall be employed only on unskilled labour in the exploitation of minerals;
- (b) that he shall serve the person introducing him or any other person who has obtained a license under this Ordinance to introduce labourers and to whom such first mentioned person may lawfully assign his rights under the contract for a term of service to be fixed by the contract;
- (c) that on the terminations by effluxion of time or otherwise of the contract or a renewal thereof the labourers with their wives and children if any shall be returned without delay at the expense of the importer to their country of origin.
- Period of contracts. No contract to be registered until bond mentioned in section . . . . . entered into.
11. (1) No such contract as aforesaid shall be for a longer period than three years, nor shall it be renewed for any period or periods which together with the first period thereof exceed five years; nor shall any such contract be registered at the office of the Commissioner, which does not contain the conditions prescribed in the last preceding section nor until the bond mentioned in section twenty-five has been entered into and lodged with the Commissioner.
- (2) Any person introducing or employing labourers under a contract not including the conditions prescribed in section ten shall be deemed to be guilty of a contravention of this Ordinance, and liable to the penalties in section seven hereof.
- Transfer of contracts.
12. Any employer may with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor and under the regulations made by him assign by deed to any other employer his rights under any contract with any labourer, and thereupon such labourer and such other employer shall be bound by all the terms of such contract as fully as if such other employer had been a party thereto originally; provided that no such assignment shall be valid until the Superintendent is satisfied that the labourer has given his consent thereto. Notice of every such assignment shall be given to the Commissioner, and a certified copy of the deed of assignment shall be registered at his office.
- Wives and Children of Labourers.*
- Importation of wives and children.
13. It shall be lawful for any importer, subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, and of the regulations made thereunder to introduce with the labourers their wives and children under sixteen years of age on such terms subject to the provisions of this Ordinance as may be agreed on between him and such labourers.
- Contracts of services by women and children.
14. It shall be competent for the wives and children over the age of fourteen years introduced under the last preceding section to enter into contracts with the importer for the performance of such labour as the Superintendent shall decide to be suitable for them, and at such rate of wages as he may think fair and reasonable; provided that no woman or child under the age of sixteen years shall be allowed to perform any labour underground; and provided further that for the

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purposes of such contracts children shall be represented by their fathers or on their decease by the Superintendent.

15. Every male child introduced into this Colony under this Ordinance shall on attaining the age of sixteen years in the event of his not entering into a contract with the importer to perform unskilled labour be returned at the expense of the importer to his country of origin, and in the event of his entering into such contract he shall be deemed and taken to be a labourer introduced under this Ordinance, and the conditions laid down in section ten thereof shall be embodied in such contract.

Contracts of service by male children over the age of sixteen.

#### Control of Labourers.

16. Every importer shall, on the registration of the contract made by him with the labourers introduced by him, deposit with the Superintendent a return showing;

Returns by importer on registration of contract.

- (a) the number of labourers and of their wives and children if any introduced by him;
- (b) the place or places at which such labourers are to be employed;
- (c) such other particulars as may from time to time be required by regulations;

and there shall be lodged with such return an abstract of the certificate of some Medical Officer as to the health and fitness for labour of each such labourer.

17. No mining, trading, or other license whatever shall be granted to any labourer or to any person on behalf of or as agent or trustee for any labourer; nor shall it be lawful for any labourer to acquire lease or hold any land, building, or fixed property or any mynpatch claim or any right whatever to minerals or precious stones either in his own name or in the name of any other person on behalf of or as agent or trustee for him.

Labourer not allowed to trade or to acquire lease or hold land.

18. The importer shall on the registration of the contract between him and the labourers introduced by him obtain from the Superintendent for every one of the persons imported by him over the age of ten years an identification passport in the form in the schedule to this Ordinance, which shall contain a complete record by which the holder may be identified, and his or her movements traced, and shall in any Court of Law be, *prima facie*, evidence of the facts therein recorded.

Tin ticket to be issued to every labourer.

The said passport shall always be carried by the person described therein when outside the premises of his employer, and shall be renewed on the first day of January of every year. There shall be paid to the Superintendent by the employer the sum of one pound on the issue, and on every renewal of such passport.

19. The Superintendent shall keep a register of labourers, and shall assign a particular number to each, proceeding by regular numerical progression, and shall distinguish therein under different heads the number, name, age and country of origin of every labourer; the place at which such labourer is employed, the name of his employer, the time when such employment commenced, the cost of the return of such labourer from this Colony to his country of origin, and the name of the person importing such labourer.

Register of labourers to be kept by Superintendent.

20. The importer shall cause a register to be kept of all labourers with their wives and children introduced by him, and shall enter in the said register all births deaths and desertions occurring among such labourers and shall cause a return to be made to the Superintendent within the first seven days of every month of the number of labourers introduced by him during the preceding month, the number of labourers actually employed by him on the last day of that month, and the number of births, deaths and desertions which have occurred during such month.

Register to be kept by importer.

21. The register kept under the last preceding section shall be open at all times to the inspection of the Inspector who shall be entitled to demand from the importer such further information as he may require in respect of the entries in the said register, and the returns made under the last preceding section.

Register kept by importer to be open to inspection.

22. Labourers with their wives and children if any shall reside on the premises of the importer on which they are employed, and shall be provided with accommodation, which, in the opinion of the Superintendent is sufficient and suitable, and shall be in charge of a Manager appointed by the employer, and approved of by the Superintendent. The name of such Manager shall be notified by the employer to the Commissioner, and every change in such appointment shall be similarly approved of and notified.

Labourers must reside on premises on which they are employed.

Labourers must be provided with permits in case they be absent from premises on which they are employed.

23. No labourer or woman or child introduced under this Ordinance shall leave the premises of his employer without a permit signed by some person authorised thereto by the importer; provided that no such permit shall authorise the absence of such labourer from such premises for more than forty-eight hours from the time when it was issued.

The said permit shall bear the date on which, and the period for which, it was issued, and also the name of the labourer to whom it was issued, with his registered number.

Every person contravening the provisions of this section shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding ten pounds, and in default of payment to imprisonment not exceeding one month.

Production of tin ticket and permit may be demanded from any person suspected to be a labourer by member of town police or South African Constabulary.

24. It shall be lawful for any member of the Town Police or South African Constabulary to demand from any person whom he has reason to suspect is a person imported under this Ordinance, and is absent from the premises at which he is employed the production of the passport mentioned in section eighteen, and of the permit mentioned in the last preceding section, and on the failure of such person to produce such passport or permit or proof by him that he is not a person imported under this Ordinance, or if so that he is not absent from the premises of his employer to arrest him and take him before the nearest Court of Resident Magistrate to be dealt with according to law.

#### *Return of Labourers to their Country of Origin.*

Bond to be entered into by importer for return of labourers to their country of origin.

25. (1) Every importer shall prior to the introduction by him of labourers into this Colony, enter into a bond with two sufficient sureties, in the form in the schedule hereto annexed, undertaking to return such labourers and their wives and children, if any, to their country of origin, in accordance with his contract, and the provisions of this Ordinance.

(2) The amount of such bond in respect of each labourer shall be fixed by the Superintendent, and shall be sufficient to pay for the return of such labourer to his country of origin.

(3) If such bond be not entered into by the importer prior to the introduction of such labourers as aforesaid, the license granted to him shall be cancelled, and the introduction of the said labourers shall be deemed and taken to be a contravention of section seven of this Ordinance, and the importer shall be liable to the penalties provided in that section.

How period of service to be reckoned.

26. In reckoning the term of service of any labourer, for the purpose of ascertaining the time when such period expires, all periods of time shall be excluded during which the labourer has been absent from his work for any of the following causes, that is to say:—

- (a) imprisonment, after conviction of any offence;
- (b) desertion;
- (c) unlawful absence from his work duly certified as such by the Superintendent;

provided that no labourer shall be deemed to have been absent from his work within the meaning of this section on account of any desertion unless he has been duly convicted thereof; and provided further that this section shall not apply to any imprisonment, desertion, or unlawful absence, which is not duly recorded in the register required to be kept by the importer under section twenty of this Ordinance.

Labourer refusing to perform service for which he has contracted may be ordered to be returned to his country of origin.

Return of labourer to country of origin on conviction of an offence.

27. If any labourer who has contracted to serve in this Colony shall on or after his arrival refuse without good and sufficient reason to proceed to the place where his service is to be performed or to perform such service he may, at the discretion of the Commissioner, and in addition to or substitution for any penalty provided by this Ordinance, be ordered to be returned to his country of origin. The Commissioner may likewise order the return of any labourer whenever it may appear to him to be expedient or necessary.

28. The Lieutenant-Governor may, in the event of any labourer being convicted of any offence and sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine, order the return of such labourer to the country of his origin at any time during the period of such imprisonment or on the expiration thereof; provided that if such order is not given until after such labourer has completed his sentence of imprisonment, the importer may take him back into his service for the unexpired portion of



the period for which he has contracted, in which case such order shall be withdrawn; provided further that the period of imprisonment shall not be taken into account in computing such period of service.

29. It shall be the duty of the importer to return at his own expense to their country of origin the widow and children, under the age of sixteen, of any labourer who may die in this Colony, or become imprisoned for a period exceeding three months before the expiration of the term of his contract, unless such widow being under a contract of service with the importer elects to remain in this Colony, and continues to perform services under such contract until the expiration of the period of the contract by which her husband was bound.

Return of wife and children of labourer who has died.

30. (1) Every labourer, and every woman and child who, under the provisions of this Ordinance, is required to be returned to his country of origin shall be placed by the importer within seven days after the request made by the Superintendent under the direct charge and custody of the Superintendent who shall, at the expense of the importer, detain the person to be returned as aforesaid in some suitable place properly set apart for the purpose, and take the necessary steps for his prompt return to his country of origin.

How labourers to be returned to their country of origin.

(2) The Superintendent shall provide a free return passage for every labourer at the expense of the importer, and the expense in providing such free return passage together with the cost of detention mentioned in the last preceding subsection shall be recoverable from the importer as if such expenses and costs were a debt due to the Crown.

31. Any labourer bound by his contract or by the provisions of this Ordinance to return to his country of origin and refusing to return shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or to both such fine and such imprisonment, and shall further be ordered to be taken out of this Colony and forcibly returned by the first available opportunity to his country of origin.

Penalty if labourer refuses to return to his country of origin.

#### *Regulations.*

32. The Lieutenant-Governor may make regulations for any of the following purposes:—

Regulations.

- (1) for the grant, refusal, or revocation of licenses to importers under section eight of this Ordinance, and for limiting the number of labourers to be imported under the said Ordinance;
- (2) for the registration, identification, and inspection of all labourers, and for the issuing and renewing of passports to them;
- (3) for the registration and proper enforcement of contracts with labourers, and of all transfers, renewals, or alterations of such contracts;
- (4) for the expulsion of labourers from this Colony under the provisions of this Ordinance;
- (5) for ensuring the return of all labourers to their country of origin on the expiration or sooner determination of their contracts or any renewal thereof;
- (6) for the introduction, repatriation, and regulation of women and children accompanying labourers;
- (7) for making correct returns, and keeping proper registers under section twenty of this Ordinance; and for the proper inspection of such registers;
- (8) for the proper control of labourers;
- (9) for the medical examination of labourers on arrival in this Colony and during their residence therein;
- (10) for the proper housing, clothing, rations and food of labourers, and the observance of all requisite sanitary precautions;
- (11) for the payment of fees in connection with the introduction and employment of labourers;
- (12) for the protection of the property and rights of labourers;
- (13) for dealing with the corpses of labourers;
- (14) for the care of sick and injured labourers;
- (15) for the inspection of the premises on which labourers reside;
- (16) prescribing the duties of the officers employed by the Labour Importation Department;

- (17) for preventing breaches of the peace or disorderly conduct in the celebration of religious rites and festivals by labourers or otherwise;
- (18) for preventing desertion from service by labourers;
- (19) generally for the proper administration of this Ordinance.

Penalties  
for  
breaches of  
regulations

33. The Lieutenant-Governor may prescribe penalties for the breach of any regulations made by him in virtue of the powers conferred by this Ordinance. Such penalty may consist of any or all of the following:—

- (1) In the case of a labourer;
  - (a) a fine not exceeding twenty pounds;
  - (b) imprisonment not exceeding six months;
  - (c) deportation;
- (2) In the case of any other person;
  - (a) a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds;
  - (b) imprisonment not exceeding one year;
  - (c) forfeiture of any license granted by virtue of this Ordinance;
  - (d) inability to hold any such license in future.

#### *Offences.*

Offences  
against  
this Ordinance.

34. The following persons shall be guilty of offences against this Ordinance, and shall be liable on conviction to the penalties herein specified in respect of such offences.

- (1) Every person who fails to keep the register, make the returns, or give the information required under sections twenty and twenty-one of this Ordinance, or who wilfully keeps a false register or makes a false return, or gives false information,—fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding six months.
- (2) Every importer who unlawfully withholds any wages or portion of wages earned by a labourer,—fine not exceeding fifty pounds, and in default of payment, imprisonment not exceeding three months.
- (3) Any person who employs labourers otherwise than on unskilled labour,—fine not exceeding five hundred pounds, and in default of payment, imprisonment not exceeding two years.
- (4) Any person who knowingly transfers or attempts to transfer, or procures the transfer of any labourer to a person other than one licensed to introduce labourers,—fine not exceeding five hundred pounds, and in default of payment, imprisonment not exceeding two years.
- (5) Any person who shall knowingly sell, lease, or otherwise transfer or attempt to transfer any land, fixed property, mynpacht, or other mining title, to any labourer or to any person on behalf of or as agent or trustee for any labourer,—fine not exceeding two hundred pounds, and in default of payment, imprisonment not exceeding one year.
- (6) Any person who shall knowingly hold, purchase, lease, or otherwise acquire, or attempt so to do any land, fixed property, mynpacht, or other mining title, or shall carry on any trade or business on behalf of, or as agent or trustee for, any labourer,—fine not exceeding two hundred pounds, and in default of payment, imprisonment not exceeding two years.
- (7) Any person who shall obstruct any duly authorised officer in the discharge of his duties under this Ordinance or any regulations made thereunder,—fine not exceeding fifty pounds, and in default of payment, imprisonment not exceeding three months.
- (8) Any person who shall harbour or conceal any labourer who has deserted his lawful employer, or who has committed any breach of this Ordinance,—fine not exceeding fifty pounds, and in default of payment, imprisonment not exceeding three months.
- (9) Any labourer who shall desert the service of his employer, or shall refuse to work for him as an unskilled labourer when required to do so, or who shall unlawfully absent himself from work, or who shall perform any work or carry on any business other than that of an unskilled labourer,—fine not exceeding twenty-five pounds, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding two months; deportation.

- (10) Any labourer who shall have any interest whether as partner or otherwise in any trade or business,—fine not exceeding fifty pounds, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding three months.
- (11) Any importer who shall contravene the provisions of section thirty of this Ordinance,—fine not exceeding five hundred pounds, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding two years.

The foregoing penalties shall be independent of any other punishment to which the offender shall be liable.

35. The provisions of the Masters and Servants Law, 1830, and of Law No. 3 of 1885, or any amendment thereof shall not apply to any labourer introduced under this Ordinance or to any contracts made thereunder.

36. Nothing in this Ordinance contained shall apply to the introduction into this Colony by the Lieutenant-Governor of British Indians to be employed on the construction of railways and other public works; provided always that such introduction shall be subject to such regulations as the Legislative Council may approve of.

37. This Ordinance may be cited for all purposes as the Labour Importation Ordinance, 1903.

Certain laws not to apply.

Introduction of British Indians for employment on railways. Title.

#### SCHEDULE "A."

Know all men by these presents that A.B. of \_\_\_\_\_ C.D. of \_\_\_\_\_ and E.F. of \_\_\_\_\_ are held and firmly bound unto our Sovereign Lord, Edward VII by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, in the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ for each labourer imported by the said A.B. under a contract dated \_\_\_\_\_ made under the provisions of the Labour Importation Ordinance, 1903, to be paid to our said Lord the King his heirs and successors, to which payment well and truly to be made we bind ourselves and everyone of us jointly and severally for and in the whole our heirs executors and administrators by these presents.

The condition of this obligation is such that if the above bounden A.B. returns the labourers imported by him under the aforesaid contract in accordance when required so to do with the provisions of the aforesaid Ordinance then this obligation shall be void otherwise it shall be of full force and effect.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

in the presence of \_\_\_\_\_

No. 73.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Sent 10.5 a.m. ; received, 10.50 a.m., December 7, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 77.]

December 6. No 1. I have been expecting to receive instructions regarding the first instalment of the War Contribution Loan from Lord Milner. In view of financial position here and at home I have asked him to consider question of postponement. Not having heard from him I am anxious to know whether we are to pass necessary Ordinance during ensuing session of the Legislative Council, and if so, what should be form of Ordinance having regard to existing guaranteed loan. I will if necessary explain fully prospects for present financial year.

No. 74.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE) to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 6.50 p.m., December 9, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

December 9. No. 1. I am sending by mail to-day letter from Dr. Jameson regarding introduction of Asiatics into South Africa and at his request have consented to cable summary to you.

*Begins*: Writes with a view to steps being taken to ensure that under no circumstances should it be possible for an imported Asiatic to find his way into Cape Colony even should he be admitted into neighbouring Colony. Feels that much can be done by friendly representations to those responsible for administration of Transvaal and requests me to convey to them strength of feeling of Cape Colony European, native, and coloured population. In the absence of legislation under which Chinese who may come to other parts of South Africa can be entirely and effectually prevented from immigrating into Cape Colony, he suggests desirability of approaching Secretary of State for the Colonies to secure promulgation of regulations on following lines (1) to prevent any Chinaman entering Cape Colony without permit signed by Governor on advice of Executive Council and (2) to empower the Government to deport any Chinaman who is not in possession of such a permit. Feels no hesitation in assuring me that a course such as he suggests would receive cordial approval of electorate of Cape Colony. For welfare of South Africa prefers friendly representations through me, rather than what he considers useless and possibly harmful public agitation. When Parliament meets it will be for those elected to consider what class of legislation is necessary to prevent any influx of Asiatics into Cape Colony, but till then he feels Imperial authorities have it in their power to protect interests of people of Cape Colony. *Ends*.

Ministers, to whom I have submitted letter, say that they have already placed on official record their strong opposition to introduction (of) Asiatics and that they have not been yet informed that it will be permitted. Should it be sanctioned it will be duty of the Government of Cape Colony to submit to Legislature measures to prevent their entry into Cape Colony.

Correspondence will be laid before High Commissioner on his arrival.

No. 75.

HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received December 12, 1903.)

SIR, High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg, November 23, 1903.  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 26th October,\* I have the honour to enclose for your information a copy of a letter from the Commissioner of Railways (with enclosure), on the subject of the employment of Navvies on Railway Construction.

I have, &c.,  
ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 75.

Captain H. L. PRITCHARD to the ACTING SECRETARY, Inter-Colonial Council, Johannesburg.

Commissioner of Railways, Johannesburg,  
November 17, 1903.  
SIR, I HAVE the honour to forward, for the information of His Excellency the

\* No. 56.

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High Commissioner, the attached copy of Progress Report with regard to the work done by navvies on the Springs Eastward Line during the month of October.

I have, &c.,  
H. L. PRITCHARD,  
Captain, Royal Engineers,  
For Commissioner of Railways.

The Acting Secretary,  
Inter-Colonial Council,  
Johannesburg.

CENTRAL SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS.

*Memorandum.*

FROM DIVISIONAL ENGINEER, No. 1 Division, Springs Eastward Line, to CHIEF ENGINEER, New Construction.

November 3, 1903.

Progress Report on work done by Navvies during the month of October.

I beg to submit herewith the following report on earthwork done during the month by No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3 camps during the month of October.

NO. 1 CAMP.—CHAIN 145—346 and 776—950.

I estimate the total amount of work done by No. 1 Camp to the 31st October at 76,374 cubic yards of which 21,979 cubic yards have been done during the month.

Eight gangs comprising eight gangers with 163 men are working on bonus, and one ganger with 36 men is still on day work.

The total number of days worked by the eight gangs on bonus is 3,606, during which they have turned out 21,219 cubic yards or 5.9 cubic yards per man per day on the average.

The total number of days worked by the one gang on the day work is 737, during which they have turned out 760 cubic yards of earthwork, or 1.03 cubic yards per man per day, but they were employed for three days in blasting some boulders out of a cutting for which no measurement can be given; and for several days on odd jobs connected with the fixing up of the new camp.

The work this month is less than last month, owing to loss in time in shifting camp from five and a half miles to 16 miles.

Out of the total of 21,979 cubic yards done during the month, 5,500 cubic yards were ploughed, and 16,497 cubic yards not ploughed. Another 11,000 cubic yards of ploughed earth are ready for the men to work on as they shift onwards.

NO. 2 CAMP.—CHAIN 346—549 AND 950—1,050.

I estimate the total amount of work done by No. 2 Camp to 31st October at 66,234 cubic yards, of which 17,112 cubic yards have been done during the month.

All the gangs, that is, ten gangers and 202 men, are now working on bonus, but one gang, with one ganger and 23 men, worked on day work up to 17th October.

Total number of days worked by the ten gangs on bonus is 3,826, during which they have turned out 16,911 cubic yards, or 4.4 cubic yards per man per day on the average.

The total number of days worked by the one gang on day work is 160, during which they have turned out 201 cubic yards, or 1.3 cubic yards per man per day on the average. In addition 854 days were expended in shifting camp and fixing up new camp.

The work done this month is less than last month, owing to the loss of time in shifting camps from eight and a half miles to 19½ miles, and also owing to there being only about nine to ten inches of earth overlying the rock on the part of the

line on which they have been working from chain 950 to 1,015, which rendered the use of the plough dangerous and risked breaking it.

The plough is now at work from 1,040 onwards, which will help the men next month.

No. 3 CAMP.—CHAIN 549-776.

This batch of men arrived on the work on the 1st October, and I estimate the total of work done by them to the 31st October at 14,645 cubic yards.

Nine of the gangs comprising nine gangers and 190 men are working on bonus, and one gang with one ganger and 28 men are on day work.

The total number of days worked by the nine gangs on bonus is 3,881, and the total output is 14,341 cubic yards, or 3.7 cubic yards per man per day on the average.

Only one of these 9 gangs has earned any bonus.

The day work gang of one ganger and 28 men has worked a total of 617 days, and their output is 304 cubic yards, or .5 cubic yards per man per day on the average, but they have been occupied to a large extent on odd jobs about the camp, such as fixing up latrines, &c.

Out of the 14,645 cubic yards 600 cubic yards have been ploughed and the remainder not ploughed. The ground beyond 715 chain to 776 chain is all ploughed, and there are about 11,000 cubic yards of ploughed earth ready for the men as they shift on to it.

A progress section showing the state of the work from 0 miles to 20 miles on the 31st October, 1903, is enclosed herewith.

JAMES M. BLACKETT,  
Divisional Engineer.

No. 76.

MR. LYTTTELTON to HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY.

(Sent 6 p.m., December 12, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 78.]

December 12. No. 1. Please telegraph gross receipts and working expenses of Central South African Railways for July, August, and September last.

No. 77.

MR. LYTTTELTON to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY.

(Sent 1 p.m., December 12, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

December 12. No. 1. Referring to your telegram No. 1 6th December.\* I fully discussed issue of first instalment with Lord Milner. I do not consider it desirable at present to approach guarantors as to date and terms of issue but shall do so before long probably, and will inform you of the result. All necessary provision in respect of Guaranteed Loan and otherwise for conditions of issue is made in the draft Ordinance forwarded in my despatch of the 22nd of August.† Ordinance should be passed exactly as drafted; otherwise market difficulties may arise here. It is most important that fullest information should be furnished to me as soon as possible as to prospects for present financial year.

\* No. 73.

† Not printed.

No. 78.

HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 3.2 p.m., December 14, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

14th December. No. 360. Your telegram No. 1, 12th December.\* Following are earnings and working expenditure of Central South African Railways in round figures:—

July, 477,000*l.* 332,000*l.*  
 August, 421,000*l.* 334,000*l.*  
 September, 421,000*l.* 319,000*l.*

No. 79.

MR. LYTTELTON to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY.

(Sent 6.45 p.m., December 14, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 80.]

14th December. No. 3. My telegram No. 1 of 12th December.† You will of course understand that provisions in draft Ordinance for sinking fund are a suggestion only, and cannot be carried out without concurrence of guarantors. If you agree as to advantages of sinking fund I will communicate with guarantors and let you know the result.

No. 80.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 4.55 p.m., December 16, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

16th December. No. 1. Your telegram No. 3 of 14th December.‡ Sinking Fund considered essential by Executive Council. In view, however, of present financial prospect they feel strongly that its operation should be deferred for five years.

No. 81.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE) to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received December 19, 1903.)

SIR, Government House, Cape Town, December 22, 1903.  
 THE proposal to introduce indentured Chinese labourers into the Transvaal, which is believed to be now under consideration, has aroused a considerable amount of feeling in the Cape Colony. A petition, of which a copy is enclosed, is being circulated for signature, and I shall doubtless be asked to forward it in due course. I send copies of articles§ which have appeared in the local press on the subject.

I have, &c.,  
 WALTER HELY-HUTCHINSON.

\* No. 76.

† No. 77.

‡ No. 79.

§ Not printed.

## Enclosure in No. 81.

"THE SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS," Friday, November 27, 1903.

## A NATIONAL PETITION

## AGAINST THE INTRODUCTION OF ASIATICS INTO SOUTH AFRICA.

The following Petition is being circulated for signature. Copies may be obtained at the office of the "South African News" :—

To His Most Gracious Majesty Edward the VII., by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

May it please your Majesty : We, the undersigned inhabitants of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, most humbly beg to lay before your Majesty this our humble petition.

We have noticed with alarm and dismay that a proposal has been made to seek the permission of your Majesty's Government for the importation and employment of Asiatic labour in the gold mines situated in that part of your Majesty's dominions known as the Transvaal, and also in those territories administered under your Majesty's Royal Charter by the British South Africa Company, known as Rhodesia. Your petitioners represent a Colony containing the largest European community in South Africa, as well as vast numbers of aboriginal natives and persons of colour, and they have for many years enjoyed the privileges of self-government open to every class and colour.

During the last session of the Colonial Parliament both Houses of the Legislature passed unanimous resolutions protesting in the strongest terms against the proposed introduction of Asiatic immigrants.

Your petitioners are concerned to see that, despite the action of their Parliament, the efforts of the mine-owners to introduce this class of labour have not ceased, and that it is shortly proposed to seek the necessary authority from your Majesty's Government to carry out their intent. For this reason your petitioners crave leave most humbly to lay before your Majesty some of their objections to these proposals. Regarding as they do the interests of the whole of South Africa as one and indivisible they consider that the introduction of Asiatic labour into any part would bring a new element into a population already weighted with a heavy responsibility arising out of a mixture of races, and would assuredly tend to frustrate the efforts that are being made, not without success, to civilise and elevate the aboriginal natives by means of honest industry.

Such an immigration hampered and restricted as it is proposed to be by stringent regulations, would, even if it were possible to enforce such regulations, which is doubtful, introduce a servile element, alien to the country, destitute of rights, or interests, either in the present or future of South Africa, and worked for the benefit of masters, in many cases non-resident, thus constituting what would practically be a slave state, in close contact with the other free communities of South Africa.

Your petitioners feel that the introduction of such a class of labour would place an obstacle in the way of the natural growth alike of European and native elements in the population.

They dread that, following the experience of other communities which have been subjected to similar inroads, the newcomers would tend to oust the existing population from trades, occupations and eventually from the ownership of land, and that the result would be to assimilate South Africa to an Asiatic dependency. Your petitioners most respectfully take leave to record their opinion, that the introduction into this country of persons with alien morals, creeds and habits of life would operate as a fatal bar to the civilisation and settlement of this portion of your Majesty's dominions.

Such an importation would decide whether South Africa is in future to constitute one of those great free communities under the British flag, the growth of which shed so much lustre on the reign of your august predecessor, or whether it is to be ranked as a mere plantation worked in the interest and for the benefit of foreign holders.

Your petitioners therefore most earnestly pray that your Majesty may be pleased to withhold your sanction from any measure having for its object the importation of Asiatics into South Africa, and by so doing save them and those who may come after them from consequences that will be fatal to their peace and prosperity.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

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No. 82.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received December 21, 1903.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, November 28, 1903.  
 WITH reference to my despatch of the 17th September,\* I have the honour to forward, for your information, twelve copies of an Account of Transvaal Treasury Receipts and Issues for the period 1st July to 30th September, 1903.

I have, &c..

ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
 Lieutenant-Governor.

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\* Not printed.



Enclosure in No. 82.

ACCOUNT OF TREASURY RECEIPTS AND ISSUES FROM 1ST JULY, 1903, TO 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1903.

REVENUE AND OTHER RECEIPTS.	In the Month of September, 1903.	From 1st July, 1903, to 31st August, 1903.	Total from 1st July, 1903, to 30th September, 1903.	Vote No.	EXPENDITURE AND OTHER ISSUES.	In the Month of September, 1903.	From 1st July, 1903, to 31st August, 1903.	Total from 1st July, 1903, to 30th September, 1903.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balances, 1st July, 1903.		4,182,120 1 1	4,182,120 1 1	I.	Pensions and Gratuities	160 4 11	425 14 7	585 19 6
Balances, 1st September, 1903.	3,096,235 15 3			II.	His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.	200 0 0	1,990 0 0	2,190 0 0
				III.	Executive and Legislative Councils.	1,267 0 0	2,247 0 0	3,514 0 0
CUSTOMS ... ..	138,112 16 9	343,965 4 4	482,078 1 1	IV.	Colonial Secretary ...	6,596 12 3	8,878 13 10	15,475 6 1
				V.	Public Works—Establishment and Maintenance.	40,987 19 0	80,128 13 2	121,116 12 2
MINING REVENUE—				VI.	Public Works — New Works.	67,239 13 0	92,763 0 11	160,002 13 11
Profit Tax (Gold Mines).	2,211 19 9	19,754 14 0	21,966 13 9	VII.	Education ... ..	25,597 0 6	56,204 18 4	81,801 18 10
Prospecting Licences.	20,305 7 1	64,201 14 3	84,507 1 4	VIII.	Public Health ... ..	4,501 16 4	4,929 9 11	9,431 6 3
Diggers' Licences	1,558 11 1	9,443 7 1	11,001 18 2	IX.	District Hospitals and Dispensaries.	3,011 18 10	9,500 0 0	12,511 18 10
Mynpacht Dues ...	2,957 12 0	3,777 2 1	6,734 14 1	X.	Pretoria Hospital ...	1,390 0 0	3,482 0 0	4,872 0 0
Miscellaneous (Licences and Dues).	882 9 8	3,752 4 1	4,634 13 9	XI.	Government Printing Office.	11,250 4 0	12,372 16 1	23,623 0 1
POST OFFICE ... ..	16,131 16 0	33,266 6 0	49,398 2 0	XII.	Grants-in-Aid .. ..	4,563 13 6	13,490 13 4	18,054 6 10
				XIII.	Attorney-General ...	3,540 18 6	6,375 17 7	9,916 16 1
TELEGRAPHS ... ..	9,367 17 11	22,569 11 4	31,937 9 3	XIV.	Commissioner of Patents.	354 3 4	679 17 2	1,034 0 6
				XV.	Registrar of Deeds ...	904 18 9	1,756 4 0	2,661 3 6
LICENCES AND TRADE TAXES—				XVI.	Master of the Supreme Court.	892 16 5	1,755 10 3	2,648 6
Trading, Professional, and Liquor Licences.	2,767 15 9	45,951 14 4	48,719 10 1	XVII.	Superior Courts ...	3,853 1 0	6,856 6 3	10,709 7 3
Auction Dues ...	1,908 6 5	5,182 4 11	7,090 11 4	XVIII.	Prisons ... ..	12,412 8 6	20,550 4 4	32,962 12 10
Market Dues ...	102 16 11	106 1 7	208 18 6	XIX.	Magistrates ... ..	10,896 17 5	19,324 13 6	30,221 10 11

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ACCOUNT OF TREASURY RECEIPTS AND ISSUES FROM 1ST JULY, 1903, TO 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1903—*cont.*

REVENUE AND OTHER RECEIPTS.	In the Month of September, 1903.	From 1st July, 1903, to 31st August, 1903.	Total from 1st July, 1903, to 30th September, 1903.	Vote No.	EXPENDITURE AND OTHER ISSUES.	In the Month of September, 1903.	From 1st July, 1903, to 31st August, 1903.	Total from 1st July, 1903, to 30th September, 1903.
NATIVE REVENUE—				XX.	Police ... ..	27,552 19 3	46,771 12 5	74,324 11 8
Passes ... ..	15,684 2 0	29,653 14 0	45,337 16 0	XXI.	Lunatic Asylum ...	1,400 0 0	2,410 9 6	3,810 9 6
Poll Tax ... ..	10,558 0 0	42,514 8 0	53,072 8 0	XXII.	Native Affairs ... ..	9,684 9 6	19,536 0 0	29,220 9 6
Miscellaneous (Taxes and Fees).	1,937 8 6	8,723 19 0	10,661 7 6	XXIII.	Treasurer ... ..	1,250 0 0	4,310 15 4	5,560 15 4
TRANSFER DUTY	14,993 11 6	43,056 7 3	58,049 18 9	XXIV.	Revenue Offices ...	630 0 0	1,610 0 0	2,240 0 0
ESTATE DUTY ...	3,237 15 5	3,976 14 1	7,214 9 6	XXV.	Audit Office ... ..	1,150 0 0	2,872 17 0	4,022 17 0
STAMP DUTY ... ..	16,617 7 6	37,975 0 5	54,592 7 11	XXVI.	Customs ... ..	3,500 0 0	7,912 16 10	11,412 16 10
BANK NOTE DUTY ...	...	...	...	XXVII.	Postal and Telegraph Department.	24,346 10 2	64,854 14 9	89,201 4 11
COMPANIES' CAPITAL DUTY.	877 17 6	9,519 0 0	10,396 17 6	XXVIII.	Transport and Immigration.	2,264 6 0	3,345 11 0	5,609 17 0
LAND REVENUE—				XXIX.	Transvaal Volunteers...	6,468 7 3	29,569 11 9	36,037 19 0
Farm Tax... ..	1,191 7 6	4,578 16 7	5,770 4 1	XXX.	Mines Department ...	10,853 18 9	20,105 4 2	30,959 2 11
Erf Tax ... ..	1,415 6 0	5,659 15 8	7,075 1 8	XXXI.	Land Department ...	2,000 0 0	8,013 2 10	10,013 2 10
Stand Licences ...	2,997 9 10	13,511 1 3	16,508 11 1	XXXII.	Irrigation and Water Supply.	...	7,600 0 0	7,600 0 0
FINES AND COURT FEES.	3,586 6 8	7,650 15 0	11,237 1 8	XXXIII.	Surveys ... ..	2,003 19 6	4,071 15 10	6,075 15 4
RENT OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTIES.	3,783 11 9	3,995 16 9	7,779 8 6	XXXIV.	Agriculture and Forests	10,541 19 0	26,472 15 11	37,014 14 11
INTEREST ... ..	835 7 9	17,734 12 1	18,569 19 10	XXXV.	Census ... ..	...	...	...
Carried forward	274,023 1 3	780,520 4 1	1,054,543 5 4	XXXVI.	Miscellaneous ... ..	3,027 8 6	1,533 8 0	4,560 16 6
					Transvaal Contribution to Revenue of Inter-Colonial Council.	200,000 0 0	...	200,000 0 0
					Compensation to Hatherley Distillery Company, Limited, for cancellation of Concession.	..	220,000 0 0	220,000 0 0
					Total Revenue Issues	506,295 4 2	814,702 9 4	1,320,997 13 6

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	274,023	1	3	780,520	4	1	1,054,543	5	4
MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE.	*62,325	16	8	28,298	7	1	90,624	3	9
Total Ordinary Revenue.	336,348	17	11	808,818	11	2	1,145,167	9	1
EXTRA RECEIPTS ...	588	1	10	3,558	4	10	4,146	6	8
Total Revenue with Opening Balance.	3,433,172	15	0	4,994,496	17	1	5,331,433	16	10
Loans (Inter-Colonial Council).	186,112	11	0	...			186,112	11	0
Advances Repaid ...	84,332	13	8	2,597,745	12	11	2,682,078	6	7
Deposits ...	4,008,823	19	7	6,493,892	14	7	10,502,716	14	2
Drafts and Remittances	706,261	4	7	778,069	6	10	1,484,330	11	5
Total Receipts with Opening Balance.	8,418,703	3	10	14,864,204	11	5	20,186,672	0	0

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	506,295	4	2	814,702	9	4	1,320,997	13	6
LOAN ISSUES—									
Land Settlement ...	15,026	6	8	105,598	1	6	120,624	8	2
Public Works ...	6,622	3	1	25,865	19	9	32,488	2	10
Telegraphs... ..	8,000	0	0	25,000	0	0	33,000	0	0
Issues against Imperial Grants.	252,275	16	4	536,880	15	10	789,156	12	2
Total Expenditure Issues.	788,219	10	3	1,508,047	6	5	2,296,266	16	8
Temporary Loans Repaid.	...			3,000,000	0	0	3,000,000	0	0
Advances ... ..	98,407	14	11	58,079	8	3	156,487	3	2
Deposits Repaid ...	4,223,241	11	4	6,676,596	8	5	10,899,837	19	9
Drafts and Remittances	674,583	2	1	525,245	13	1	1,199,828	15	2
Total Payments ...	5,784,451	18	7	11,767,968	16	2	17,552,420	14	9
Balances, 31st August, 1903.	...			3,096,235	15	3	...		
Balances, 30th September, 1903.	2,634,251	5	3	...			2,634,251	5	3
Total ... ..	£ 8,418,703	3	10	14,864,204	11	5	20,186,672	0	0

\* Includes an amount of £52,154 14s. 3d., being the proceeds of certain Debentures of the Netherlands Railway held by the late Government.

Treasury,  
19th November, 1903.

JAMES BURNS,  
Accountant-General,

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## DISTRIBUTION OF CASH BALANCES AT END OF SEPTEMBER, 1903.

	DEBIT.		CREDIT.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Bank ... ..	61,456	7 1		
Remittances Outstanding ...	25,803	1 4		
Cheques Outstanding .. ..			10,554	18 0
Imprest Balances, viz. :—				
Crown Agents ... ..	2,496,018	3 9		
Sub-Accountants (Revenue) ...	58,528	11 1		
Net Balance . . . . .			2,634,251	5 3
Total ... ..	£ 2,644,806	3 3	2,644,806	3 3

No. 83.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received December 21, 1903.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, November 30, 1903.  
 WITH reference to my despatch of the 6th November,\* I have the honour to forward, for your information, two copies of the statistics of the Mines Department for the month of October, 1903.

I have, &c.,  
 A. LAWLEY,  
 Lieutenant-Governor.

Enclosure in No. 83.

MINES DEPARTMENT, TRANSVAAL.

STATISTICS for the Month of October, 1903.

ABSTRACT.

The following are the principal items to be noted in connection with the Statistics for the Month :—

LABOUR (Statements Nos. 6 and 6A.), GOLD MINES :—

District.	Whites.	Coloured.
Witwatersrand ... ..	11,812	65,775
Other Districts .. ..	613	5,655
Totals for the Transvaal ...	12,425	71,430†

Percentage of coloured persons not at work on the last day of the month—9·4 %.

LABOUR, COAL MINES :—

District.	Whites.	Coloured.
Totals for the Transvaal ... ..	480	9,307†

Percentage of coloured persons not at work on the last day of the month—13·5 %.

\* Not printed.

† Actual number of coloured persons in the employ of Companies and Companies' Contractors.

## GOLD OUTPUT :—(Statements Nos. 1, 2 and 3.)

District.	Fine Gold.	Value.
Witwatersrand ... ..	ozs. 274,997·871	£ 1,168,115
Other Districts ... ..	10,507·916	44,634
Total for the Transvaal ...	285,505·887	1,212,749

## COAL OUTPUT :—(Statement No. 4.)

District.	Tons.	Value.
Total for the Transvaal ... ..	159,190	£ 74,718

## SILVER OUTPUT :—

District.	Fine Silver.	Value.
Total for the Transvaal ... ..	ozs. 33,366·011	£ 3,623

## DIAMOND OUTPUT :—(Statement No. 5.)

District.	Weight.	Value.
Total for the Transvaal ... ..	Carats. 28,783·14	£ 39,234

## MINES DEPARTMENT, TRANSVAAL.

## STATISTICS FOR THE MONTH OF OCTOBER, 1903.

*Issued by the Government Mining Engineer's Office, Johannesburg.*

- \*Statement No. 1.—Output as declared by Gold Mining Companies.
- \*Statement No. 2.—Output as declared by Metallurgical and Chemical Works.
- \*Statement No. 3.—Output as declared by Non-crushing Mines, Tailings Syndicates, and Alluvial Workings.
- Summary of the Gold and Silver Output of the Transvaal.
- \*Statement No. 4.—Output of Coal Mines, with progressive totals from October, 1902.
- \*Statement No. 5.—Output of Diamonds, with progressive totals from October, 1902.
- Statement No. 6.—White and Coloured persons at Work, with progressive totals† from October, 1902.
- Statement No. 6A.—Coloured persons in the Employ of Companies and Companies' Contractors, with progressive totals† from October, 1902.
- \*Statement No. 7.—Summary of Accidents which occurred during the month of October, 1903.
- \*Statement No. 8.—Explosives issued and exported.
- \*Statement No. 9.—Boilers registered and used during October, 1903.

NOTE.—Owing to the fact that inaccuracies occur in some of the returns furnished to this Department, these figures are subject to revision, such corrections as are necessary being shown in the Bi-Annual or Annual Reports of the Government Mining Engineer.

\* Not printed.

† For progressive totals see enclosure in No. 119A.

Summary . October, 1903.

SUMMARY OUTPUT. TRANSVAAL.

Gold and Silver.

From :—	Witwatersrand.		Heidelberg Magisterial District.		Potchefstroom Magis- terial District (including Klerksdorp).		Pretoria District (Barberton, Lydenburg, and Pietersburg).		Grand Totals.		Figures for previous Month.	
	Fine Gold.	Value.	Fine Gold.	Value.	Fine Gold.	Value.	Fine Gold.	Value.	Fine Gold.	Value.	Fine Gold.	Value.
	Ozs.	£	Ozs.	£	Ozs.	£	Ozs.	£	Ozs.	£	Ozs.	£
Statement No. 1 ... ..	268,804·009	1,141,806	3,291·878	13,982	277·002	1,177	6,684·925	28,396	279,057·814	1,185,361	269,911·898	1,146,515
.. No. 2 ... ..	6,061·206	25,746	—	—	—	—	166·131	707	6,227·637	26,453	6,643·083	28,217
.. No. 3 ... ..	132·656	563	—	—	57·560	244	30·220	128	220·436	935	231·671	984
Totals ... ..	274,997·871	1,168,115	3,291·878	13,982	334·562	1,421	6,881·576	29,231	285,505·887	1,212,749	276,786·652	1,175,716

[STATEMENT No. 6.—OCTOBER, 1903.]

LABOUR.—WITH PROGRESSIVE TOTALS FROM OCTOBER, 1902.

A.—Number of Employees (White and Coloured) at Work on the last Full Working Day of October, 1903.

DISTRICT.	GOLD MINES.						COAL MINES.						METAL- LURGICAL AND CHEMICAL WORKS.	TAILINGS SYNDI- CATE <sup>d</sup> .	AL- LUVIAL WORK- INGS.	DIAMOND MINES.						GRAND TOTALS.				
	PRODUCING.		NON-PRODUCING.		TOTALS.		PRODUCING		NON- PRO- DUCING.		TOTALS.					PRO- DUCING.		NON- PRO- DUCING.		TOTALS.		Whites.	Coloured.			
	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.				Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.					
WITWATERSRAND AREA :																										
Johannesburg ... ..	4,556	22,135	374	719	4,930	22,854	...	...	...	...	...	...	77	181	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,007	23,035				
Germiston ... ..	3,176	18,274	1,307	5,077	4,483	23,351	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	85	7	93	...	...	...	...	4,507	23,529				
Krugersdorp ... ..	1,527	10,216	872	2,691	2,399	12,907	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,399	12,907				
TOTALS ... ..	9,259	50,625	2,553	8,487	11,812	59,112	...	...	...	...	...	...	94	266	7	93	...	...	...	...	11,913	59,471				
HEIDELBERG MAGISTERIAL DIS- TRICT ... ..																										
PRETORIA DISTRICT (Barborton, Lydenburg and Pietersburg)...	251	2,510	167	1,343	418	3,853	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	7	159	1,400	4	25	163	1,425	582	5,285		
POTCHEFSTROM MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT (including Klerks- dorp) ... ..																										
SPRINGS-BRAKPAN AREA ... ..	18	170	22	119	40	289	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	20	...	...	...	...	2	5	2	5	44	314	
MIDDELBURG AREA ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	170	3,445	2	2	172	3,447	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	172	3,447			
OTHER DISTRICTS... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	204	3,498	6	61	210	3,559	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	210	3,559			
GRAND TOTALS ... ..	9,603	54,090	2,822	10,653	12,425	64,743	472	7,987	8	63	480	8,050	94	266	9	113	1	7	159	1,400	6	90	165	1,430	13,174	74,609

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Statement No. 6A. October, 1903.

COLOURED LABOUR, WITH PROGRESSIVE TOTALS FROM OCTOBER, 1902.

A.—Number of Coloured Persons in the Employ of Companies and Companies' Contractors on 31st October, 1903.

District.	Gold Mines.			Coal Mines.			Metallurgical and Chemical Works.	Tailings Syndicates.	Alluvial Workings.	Diamond Mines.			Grand Totals	
	Producing.	Non-producing.	Totals.	Producing.	Non-producing.	Totals.				Producing.	Non-producing.	Totals.		
<b>Witwatersrand Area—</b>														
Johannesburg ... ..	24,458	1,000	25,458	—	—	—	190	—	—	—	—	—	—	25,648
Germiston ... ..	20,203	5,534	25,737	—	—	—	85	93	—	—	—	—	—	25,915
Krugersdorp ... ..	11,366	3,214	14,580	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14,580
Totals ... ..	56,027	9,748	65,775	—	—	—	275	93	—	—	—	—	—	66,143
Heidelberg Magisterial District ... ..	873	703	1,576	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,576
Pretoria District (Barberton, Lydenburg, and Pietersburg).	2,535	1,350	3,885	—	—	—	—	—	7	1,593	25	1,618	—	5,510
Potchefstroom Magisterial District (including Klerksdorp).	104	90	194	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	5	5	—	219
Springs-Brakpan Area ... ..	—	—	—	3,925	2	3,927	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,927
Middelburg Area ... ..	—	—	—	3,964	61	4,025	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,025
Other Districts ... ..	—	—	—	1,355	—	1,355	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,355
Grand Totals ... ..	59,539	11,891	71,430	9,244	63	9,307	275	113	7	1,593	30	1,623	—	82,755

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No. 83A.

MR. LYTTTELTON to HIGH COMMISSIONER VISCOUNT MILNER.

(Sent 7.30 p.m., December 22, 1903.)

December 22. No. 2. Referring to your telegram, 14th December, No. 360.\* Percentage of working expenses of railway this year shows considerable increase over estimates. Please report fully by mail as soon as possible causes of this and whether likely to be permanent.

No. 84.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE) to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received 3.16 p.m., December 23, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

December 23. No. 2. Chairman of anti-Chinese meeting held on 19th December in Cape Town requests me to cable fact that he has presented to me for transmission resolutions against importation of Chinese into any Colony of British South Africa passed by overwhelming majority at largely attended meeting. Resolutions follow by post.

No. 85.

COLONIAL OFFICE to MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY.

[Answered by No. 97.]

GENTLEMEN,

Downing Street, December 24, 1903.

WITH reference to the letter from this Department of the 6th of July, † and to previous correspondence respecting the proposed guarantee in connection with the first instalment of the Transvaal War Contribution Loan, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to inform you that he has had under his consideration certain questions arising with regard to that loan.

2. The necessary legal provisions for raising the loan have been embodied in a draft Ordinance which was forwarded some time ago to the Governor of the Transvaal, and which will be submitted in due course to the Legislative Council of the Colony, but an important point connected with the form of the Ordinance remains unsettled.

3. It is the opinion of the Colonial Government that provision should be made for a sinking fund in connection with the loan, but that the operation of that fund should, in existing circumstances, be deferred for a period of five years. You are, of course, aware that under the original arrangement with the guarantors no sinking fund was contemplated, and Mr. Lyttelton now desires to be informed whether they would be prepared to reconsider the matter and to accede to the view of the Colonial Government.

\* No. 78.

† No. 19.

4. It is hardly necessary to observe that it is to the interest of the guarantors with their large stakes in the Transvaal to do everything possible to ensure the success of the loan. Mr. Lyttelton is advised that the depreciation which has occurred in the price of many Colonial Government Inscribed Stocks during recent years is largely due to the abandonment by the Governments concerned of the principle of providing for the redemption of their loans by sinking funds. Apart from the fact that the existence of these funds, under the management of competent trustees of recognised standing, tends to inspire the investor with confidence, the system of relying on the ability of a Colony to re-borrow on favourable terms at the precise period when a large debt falls due for repayment is not one which is free from risk.

5. It should be added that the proposal to defer the commencement of the Sinking Fund for five years is one to which Mr. Lyttelton is prepared to agree unless the guarantors with their exceptional knowledge of the resources of the Transvaal consider that a shorter postponement would suffice to enable the additional charge to be met.

I am, &c.,  
FRED. GRAHAM.

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No. 86.

THE UNITED TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA  
to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received December 28, 1903.)

[*Answered by No. 109.*]

Trades Council Office, Trades Hall, Grote Street,

SIR,

Adelaide, November 10, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to convey to you the following copy of a resolution carried by my Council at a recent meeting (October 9):—

“That this Council protests against the introduction of coloured labour into South Africa to work the mines.”

My Council would most respectfully submit that the best interests of the people of South Africa will be jeopardised by the importation of coloured labour to displace white and native labour in the working of the mines, and I have to express the hope that the influence of the British Government will be exerted against such a policy.

I have, &c.,

F. S. WALLIS,  
Secretary.

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No. 87.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received December 28, 1903.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December 7, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, an extract from the “Transvaal Leader” containing Report of Proceedings at Meeting of the Johannesburg

Chamber of Mines on the 2nd December, on the subject of the Report of the Transvaal Labour Commission.

I have, &c.,  
A. LAWLEY,  
Lieut. Governor.

Enclosure in No. 87.

THE LABOUR QUESTION.

CHAMBER OF MINES MEETING.

A special meeting of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines was held yesterday afternoon. Sir George Farrar (President) occupied the chair, and there were present: Messrs. C. H. Barkly, B. T. Bourke, B. Bradley, F. J. Carpenter, H. S. Caldecott, Dr. H. D. Crook, W. Dalrymple, F. Elkan, L. Fraser, M. Francke, G. H. Goch, F. Hein, R. M. Holgate, E. Heneage, John Jolly, W. H. Lilienfeld, Max Langermann, R. V. Middleton, W. A. Martin, A. Mackie Niven, John E. Orr, H. G. L. Panchaud, John Pitts, C. J. Price, A. Reyersbach, F. Raleigh, J. H. Rainier, H. A. Read, H. A. Rogers, J. H. Ryan, W. S. Smits, H. D. Solomon, H. F. Strange, C. Stuart, C. F. Tainton, J. A. Thorburn, H. H. Webb, G. E. Webber, E. Wolfes, E. Williams, K. F. Wolff, A. R. Sawyer, L. Albu, A. A. Auret, G. R. Airth, Major the Hon. W. L. Bagot, T. J. Ball, S. C. Black, J. V. Blinkhorn, R. Camerer, F. D. B. Chaplin, F. Cadell, W. H. Dawe, J. N. de Jongh, J. L. de Roos, T. Douglas, F. Drake, J. Durham, F. W. Diamond, A. Epler, S. Evans, H. P. Fraser, R. G. Fricker, A. French, G. C. Fitzpatrick, C. Gluyas, R. E. Griggs, P. E. Haw, R. Heyman, W. G. Holford, H. C. Hawkins, S. J. Jennings, J. L. E. Kuhlman, C. R. Kehler, T. Krause, Chas. Marx, C. E. Peirson, R. Raine, Leon Sutro, R. W. Schumacher, A. J. Sharwood, D. Symons, R. S. Strakosch, M. Torrente, H. O. K. Webber, E. Wilkinson, R. M. Wood and T. Reunert.

The Chairman said that the Executive of the Chamber had promised that immediately on the publication of the report of the Labour Commission, members would be given an opportunity of expressing their views thereon, and of deciding what future action it would be best to take. He called on Mr. Chaplin to move the resolution which stood in his name.

Mr. Chaplin moved:—

1. That in view of the finding of the Labour Commission that there is no adequate supply of labour in Central and Southern Africa to meet the requirements of the agricultural, mining, and other industries of the Transvaal, the Chamber do urge upon His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor the necessity of immediate legislation to provide for the introduction of indentured coloured labourers under such restrictions as will ensure their employment as unskilled workmen only and their return to their native country on the completion of their contracts.

2. That a copy of the preceding resolution be forwarded to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.

He said he did not think the resolution which members had before them stood in need of much explanation. It seemed to him to follow very naturally from the report of the majority of the Labour Commission. They had all followed very carefully the evidence given before that Commission, and they had all read carefully the reports, both of the majority and the minority, which had recently been presented, and he thought, too, as he saw recorded in one of the newspapers the other day, they were the people who were especially interested in this subject, and considering all that had taken place during the past two years, more or less, were in a position to have an opinion on the matter, and to be able to give expression to that opinion and to take their share of any responsibility which the holding of that opinion might involve. At the same time he recognised that there were other people in this country who had not the same opportunities of considering the question, and who, although vitally interested, were not so directly interested; therefore, although anxious as they were rather to have this matter settled with the least possible delay, he thought that the word "immediate" in the resolution must be read in a sense meaning rather "with the least possible delay," because it was quite obvious that they could not ask the Government to come forward with a draft law and to proceed to discuss that draft law at once. The draft law must be published for the information of the people in the country districts, who, as he had stated before, were vitally interested in this matter because it vitally affected the whole future of the country. They must have time to consider it, and he thought that, considering the probable nature of that law, they had everything to gain by allowing reasonable time to elapse before the matter was brought forward for final discussion. He did not think he need go into the first part of the resolution. The introduction of imported labour was advisedly kept out of the reference to the Commission, but as he had said before, it seemed to follow naturally upon the finding.

If there was not sufficient labour in South and Central Africa to meet the demands of the country it followed that they must look for it from outside. Nor did he think it necessary to enter into details regarding the manner in which these labourers were to be introduced, because he took it

they were all agreed that the only condition under which labourers could be imported into this country from Asia was on a strict indenture system, under such restrictions—as the resolution had it—as would ensure their employment as unskilled workmen only, and their return to their native country on the completion of their contracts. On this point they were all agreed, and he thought not one of those present would propose that these people should be introduced except with such safeguards as were described in the motion. Although he thought the resolution followed naturally from the report of the majority of the Commission, it was useless to shut their eyes to the fact that there was in England and in other countries, as well as in this Colony, a considerable opposition which had got to be faced, and which had to be converted if possible into support. He would take the first opposition of which lately they had heard a good deal—the opposition from Cape Colony. He did not propose to say much about it. He thought that, so far as the whole of one side was concerned and a large part of the other side, the opposition was nothing but an electioneering device. (Hear, hear.) He did not think they need trouble themselves seriously about it. (Hear, hear.) They were not introducing labour into Cape Colony. That was a matter for the people of Cape Colony to decide. They knew, of course, that Cape Colony was short of labour, but considering what they heard from the leaders on either side in this election—how both sides declared emphatically that there was no need for Asiatic labour and that they would not have it—he thought that in future they would have some difficulty in getting it, and he would leave them in that state of affairs. Cape Colony had never been backward in profiting by the prosperity enjoyed here, and he thought if, as they hoped and believed, permission was given to them to introduce Asiatic labour for working on these mines, and if, as a result of that, there was a great increase in prosperity in this country, he had not the smallest doubt that Cape Colony would do its very best to profit by it. There was also a suggestion put forward that other Colonies which came to the support of the Transvaal in the war would not allow this Colony to do as it pleased with regard to the introduction of Asiatics.

He thought that opposition came chiefly from the Australian Colonies. He would be one of the first to recognise the services which the Australian Colonies rendered during the war, and he would not attempt to deny the existence of a strong progressive spirit throughout the whole of these Colonies. They had had a very practical illustration of it during the past few days, since it was the Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth, he believed, that had provided what was known as the “general ticket.” (Laughter.) He could not, however, admit that this gave the Australian Colonies the right to dictate to them in this matter. So far as he was competent to judge, he did not think they had managed their own labour difficulties, whether of black or white, with any particular skill, and in any case he thought this question, so far as it related to Australia or public opinion in England, must be settled solely by the broad principle which Mr. Chamberlain laid down here, and to which expression had been given since in the organs of the Press in England, that this Colony must decide for itself. It was no one else’s business to interfere with them in their settlement of this matter. That brought him to this point: Holding the view regarding the position they might have to face in the Cape, in Australia, and in England, he turned to the real opposition—that which existed here, and which they would have to convert into support. He thought it fair to take, as a sample of the opposition which existed in the Transvaal, the report of the minority of the Labour Commission. They had there a long statement which went fully into the various reasons why those gentlemen who had signed the minority report considered they were not justified in pressing for the introduction of Asiatic labour. He had no fault whatever to find with Mr. Quinn and Mr. Whiteside for taking up the position they had done—they were thoroughly entitled to their own opinion.

He had had the pleasure of sitting on the Town Council for more than eighteen months with Mr. Quinn, and though he did not always agree with him, he knew the excellent work which Mr. Quinn had done for the town, and he hoped that he would continue that work in the future. (Hear, hear.) For the reason that he thoroughly appreciated the services which Mr. Quinn had rendered to the town he was sorry that he had put his name to that report, because he contended the report was not worthy of Mr. Quinn. He should have thought that when these two gentlemen found that they were not in agreement with the majority they would have taken the evidence as a whole, would have sifted it, and would have brought up an independent report, dealing with every point of the evidence as it arose. But they had not done so. He found on perusing the minority report that a great part of it was nothing whatever but criticism of the report of the majority. It was not an independent report. He found, further, that it was impossible to justify the conclusion at which that report arrived—unless they accepted the extraordinary and arbitrary manner in which they had dealt with the amount of labour which was required for the proper development of the mines, and the equally extraordinary and arbitrary allocation which they had made of the labour which was available for other purposes. He confessed that he preferred in these matters to trust the opinions of those excellent engineers whom they had gathered to these fields from every mining centre of the world. He thought they would hardly get a body of men more able and more unbiassed, and he regretted that he could not agree in any way with Mr. Quinn or Mr. Whiteside in their allegation that the basis on which these engineers had estimated their requirements was in any way artificial. He did not think they had in any way strengthened their case by the stress which they laid upon the evidence given in another place six years ago by certain engineers who were at that time in Johannesburg. As those engineers had been referred to by name, it would not be unfair if he followed the example of the report. Mr. Hall was quoted as an authority in support of certain statements which were made. Mr. Hall, as he would have been the first person to admit, was not a mining engineer at all. Mr. Hall had great experience in hydraulic matters, and he was employed here by the firms who engaged him in the investigation of water matters, and Mr. Hall never professed to have any special knowledge of mining matters at all.

Then he came to the argument which was based upon the evidence given by Mr. Leggett before the Industrial Commission. Mr. Leggett was then arguing upon a perfectly different point—he was arguing that in the interests of this country, and more especially in the interests of the mining industry, the cost of living and the cost of mining should be reduced, and could be so reduced if the

Government would consider the advisability of reducing certain charges which were then weighing upon the industry, and which to a smaller extent, but still to a great extent, were weighing upon it now. Those charges were embraced in railway rates, in Customs dues, and in the cost of explosives; but to base upon the evidence given by Mr. Leggett an argument that he would now be in favour of working these mines with unskilled white labour, and would not countenance the employment of rough, cheap native labour, was to him absolutely incomprehensible. He had there a letter which was written on August 29th, 1902, to the Chamber of Mines by Mr. Leggett, which he had obtained permission from Messrs. Neumann and Co. and from the President of the Chamber to quote a small extract from. This was what Mr. Leggett said on this question of unskilled white labour:—"A certain comparatively small proportion of unskilled white workmen will always be at work here, as in all other mining districts, learning to become good miners, machinememen, etc. This, however, is simply the natural course of events. It is, in my opinion, out of the question to attempt to use unskilled white labour to replace the Kaffir, either underground or on the surface. Such a course would only result in gradually increasing the working costs and very materially reducing the dividends of the mining companies. It should be recognised that the Kafir is an integral part of this country, who cannot be eradicated, Nor is it desirable that he should be. For this reason any attempt at working the mines by white labour only is sure to be unsuccessful, especially from the all-important financial standpoint. Wherever white and black labour come in contact the white labourer will always refuse to do certain classes of work performed by the black." Again, a little later, Mr. Leggett said:—"I think the importation of unskilled white labour would be a most serious mistake. From the recent English papers I note that the idea seems to be gaining a foothold there, and I trust immediate steps will be taken to remove the evident impression which is being created as to the necessity of this labour to the Rand." He (Mr. Chaplin) wished to be perfectly fair in this matter, and he was not going to quote Mr. Leggett as an advocate of Asiatic labour. At that time, apparently, Mr. Leggett did not think that any need for the introduction of Asiatic labour existed, for he said:—"I have had no experience of Indian, Chinese, or other Asiatic labour in mine working. The importation of Chinese or Asiatic labour may be necessary later on, but to my mind it certainly is not so to-day." He ventured to say that that letter dispelled the impression which was created, and he supposed was intended to be created, by the report of the minority of the Commission, that Mr. Leggett, as an expert who had had experience of mining matters in America, was strongly of opinion that these mines could be worked with unskilled white labour.

That brought him to the portion of the report to which he held the strongest objection, and that was to the endorsement which was given in that report to the insinuations—insinuations which he held were both malicious and entirely without foundation—that directly (according to Mr. Creswell or indirectly according to Mr. Wybergh) the financial houses here had for reasons of policy so influenced their technical advisers as to prevent a fair trial being given to what were called white labour experiments. Against that insinuation he vehemently protested. (Applause.) Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside, in studying this matter, appeared to have—very properly in his opinion—bestowed special attention upon the various speeches made by directors and officials of the Goldfields Company. Now, if they had only accused the officials of the company of holding the opinion that unskilled white labour was no solution of the present difficulty and that Asiatic labour was the best solution, he would have had no objection whatever to that charge, but would have pleaded guilty at once. On the information which they had before them, and after the most careful consideration, they had come to the conclusion that Asiatic labour was the best solution, and as soon as they had come to that conclusion they came out into the open and said so. They thought so then and they thought so now, and were not ashamed of their conviction. He further said that so far as one could see the evidence given before the commission completely justified the entertainment of that conviction.

The position of the Goldfields Company in this case was clearly laid down in a speech made by Mr. Fricker at the annual meeting of the Simmer and Jack Proprietary Mine on the 29th September, 1902. That speech seemed to have escaped the attention of Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside, and he would make them a present of it and ask them to bestow upon it their careful attention. He hoped the Chamber would forgive him for fatiguing them with a small extract:—"When I look at the map of the Rand and see the enormous number of properties already floated and only waiting for labour to develop them, and the huge tracts of country lying to the south of the reef, ready to be floated into deep level companies, as capital can be found; and when I consider the possibilities of the expansion of this main reef series to the east and to the west, to say nothing of the future possibilities of outside districts such as Barberton, Lydenburg, and Pietersburg, I confess that I am very sceptical that enough native labour is available in this country to supply the increased demand; indeed, I doubt very much whether South Africa can supply the two or three hundred thousand which we shall shortly require for mine development alone, in addition to the continually increasing number that will be needed for agricultural and other purposes throughout the country. Feeling as I do upon this question of native labour, I maintain that it is our duty and the duty of all of us to consider, supposing the supplies of this country fail, from what quarter our needs are to be supplied. Some there are who advocate the importation on a large scale of unskilled white labour to take the place in some measure of Kafir labour. This, from a purely political point of view, may or may not be an alluring suggestion, but when one considers the high cost of living prevailing—and likely to prevail in this country for many years to come—the great difference between the wages for which it is reasonable to suppose a white man, however unskilled, can work and those with which native labourers are content, and the small difference in the value of the work done by the two classes, I cannot think that scheme is in any sense practicable. The Rand is not composed of a few rich mines making large profits. The bulk of its returns is derived from the low-grade mines, of which your company is eminently an example, and which are indeed the backbone of the industry, and to which the increase of two or three shillings per ton in their costs would mean an enormous loss. I gladly acknowledge that the unskilled white labour which lately has been and to some extent is now being employed on the Rand has been of the very greatest use in supplementing the meagre supply of natives now allotted the mines, but I cannot conceive anyone who knows the condition of affairs here can or will seriously advocate the introduc-

tion of white labour on the mines so long as cheap native labour can be secured. These mines have been brought to their present state of efficiency by cheap labour, and can only retain that efficiency so long as cheap labour is assured to them. It follows, therefore, that unless the efforts of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association are crowned with success (and from the activity with which the work of that Association is being pursued, I feel sure it will bring the natives, if they exist in sufficient number to be brought) we shall be compelled to look outside Africa for a compensating cheap labour supply. It behoves us to do nothing in haste, but if we find that we cannot supply ourselves from the African Continent, we cannot afford to hinder the development of the country or stifle its industries for the sake of sentiment, and I think, under these circumstances, it is the duty of all of us to make such enquiries as may show us from what source we can make up our deficiencies at as nearly as possible the same rate of pay as we are at present giving."

He contended that that was a fair statement of the case, and he denied entirely that it lent any colour to those insinuations to which he had referred. So far as they were concerned, he admitted at once that they thought it would certainly be a misfortune for the country, if it should be found necessary to work these mines with cheap white labour, that was to work such mines as would be possible. Did they wish to see the country flooded with poor whites of the class which was the only class that could afford to work at the wages they could afford to pay? They must remember that there would be no chance of repatriating these people. Did they want to see the people of the class they had now, the best artisans in the world, have their wages brought down by 50 per cent.? Would it be possible for these men, then, to breed up a race in this country to be the backbone of the country in the future? And when the mines were worked out, did they want to see the country flooded with the scum of the Latin races of Europe? But unpromising as that state of affairs would be, he claimed that the view that they had held was not the only reason which had decided them that white labour was no solution of the problem. The experiment had been tried, and it had been found wanting. It had been tried by the test of whether it was an economic success. Bad as that prospect would be, did anybody suppose that sooner than face the position of importing Asiatic labour they would not have taken this labour that was said to be ready to their hand, and used it no matter what the future prospects might be, if the voice of the country had been overwhelmingly against their supplementing their supply from Asia. Whatever the view that might be taken of that question, he said there was nothing whatever in their attitude to justify the insinuation that the question had not been judged on its merits.

He was not going to discuss the evidence of Mr. Creswell nor his experiment on the Village Main, nor the evidence of Mr. Wybergh. As far as Mr. Wybergh was concerned, he must say that he did not think he had the smallest justification for going down in his official capacity, or rather outside it, to the Labour Commission without a single fact, a single figure, or an ounce of experience to back him up, and there practically accuse them of poisoning the minds of their engineers against the course which he (Mr. Wybergh) advocated. He saw in a morning paper that Mr. Wybergh had stated that he had resigned his position for political reasons and because this Government was being administered in the interests of the financial houses. He also saw that the evening paper advised them to pause before agreeing to the resolution. If the Government was being run in the interests of the financial houses, that was a matter for the Government, and not for them to answer. So far as he was concerned, he did not think they had lately concerned themselves very much with Mr. Wybergh's political opinions—(cheers)—but they had with his lack of decision, his failure to keep in touch with the industry that was so important to them all, with the requirements of that industry, and the general lack of capacity with which the important department under his control had been conducted. (Cheers.)

He thought he need say no more on this unpleasant side of the subject. Before leaving the minority report he wished to refer briefly to the argument that this question was looked at by the people connected with the mines in a narrow spirit in the interests solely of the mines and of the absentee shareholders and the capitalists and the people who lived in Park Lane, and all the rest of that argument, and that in bringing forward a motion like the present they had no regard whatever for the interests of the country at large. He wished to say this, that they could never have brought forward a motion like the present if they had not been honestly convinced that the course which they proposed was not merely in the interests of all classes, or in the interests of absentee shareholders—who, after all, had some stake in the country—and if they had not been convinced that it was absolutely the best solution which they could offer of this difficulty with which the whole country was now face to face. He did not think it was necessary to an audience like that of the Chamber of Mines to labour the point that the success of the mines and the success of the Transvaal meant the prosperity of all South Africa. He did not think it was necessary to labour the point that if the mines did not progress more rapidly than they did at present, every estimate all over South Africa would have to be cut down. What would become of all the schemes which had been thought out and agreed upon by the whole opinion of this country for the improvement of railway communication, for the improvement of education, and for the improvement of everything else which made a country a white man's country in the best sense of the word? What became of the interest of this town if the mines were not to prosper? What would be the value of the assessment of this town? It would not be worth the paper it was written upon. (Hear, hear.) He thought in this connection, when they were dealing with matters which concerned them closely, perhaps they were inclined to forget the interests of the farming population. He claimed confidently that this matter affected the interests of the farming population just as much as it affected the mines. Where was the farmer going to find a market for his goods? How was he going to get the railway to bring his goods into the market if there was no money in the till? The prosperity of the mines meant the prosperity of the Government, and the prosperity of the whole country, and he said, without fear of contradiction, that if any man got up there and said that this country could go on independently of the prosperity of the mines, that man must be blind to the first signs of what was necessary to make progress in any country in the world. (Hear, hear.) There was one other point he wished to touch upon, and that was the argument which had been put forward that they ought not to ask the Government and the Legislative

Council to settle this matter until representative government had been established and until there were proper means of ascertaining the wishes of the whole people. He thought that it was a curious fact that some of those gentlemen who were their most bitter critics and opponents, and who were the strongest in the use of the argument that the matter should be left to the decision of the whole people, whenever that decision could be obtained, that these very people committed themselves to the statement—such as the statement he saw in a paper the previous day or the day before—that Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside represented three-fourths of the white population of the Transvaal and seven-eighths of the white population of South Africa.

Now, if there were no means of ascertaining what the opinion of the public was, how were those figures obtained? Whether it was so or not, he contended that having once made up their minds that this was the proper solution—proper not only for them but for the whole country—they would be wanting in their duty, not only to the individual interests they represented but to this town and to the whole country, if they did not take the responsibility of coming forward and asking the Government of this country to carry into execution the project which they now recommended, and to relieve the country from the intolerable difficulty under which it was now suffering. He confidently believed that if the Legislature of this country acceded to their request, the people who were now opposed to this proposal would, in time to come, recognise that it was in their interests, as well as in the interests of the mines that they had brought it forward. He would not be there to move this resolution if he was not honestly convinced that it was the best thing in the interests of all of them to do, and that once they were conscientiously satisfied that it was the best thing to do, then they should not shirk the responsibility of giving expression to their views and should trust to the future to show their justification. (Applause.) He concluded by formally moving the resolution standing in his name.

Mr. Strange, in seconding, said he quite agreed with Mr. Chaplin in saying that it was the obvious duty of this Chamber, representing as it did the mining industry of this great centre and the mining industry of the Transvaal, to adopt a course which was obviously indicated by the findings of the Commission. In the motion they would notice that they began by saying that "in view of the finding of the Labour Commission we find it necessary to impress the necessity of immediate legislation to provide for the introduction of indentured coloured labour." Mr. Chaplin had gone over the whole ground so very fully and had dealt in a general manner with the evidence and the finding of the Commission, and the circumstances of the country, that there was really very little to add; but after all they had been so accustomed in recent times to the repetition of all the arguments and of the evidence on this subject that perhaps it was right if he dealt with some of the points which had led to that finding, and which led to the motion now before the Chamber. In saying that they dealt with the finding of the Commission he desired to draw a distinction between the finding of the great majority and the report of the minority. The finding of the majority was the finding of the Commission, the report of the minority is a reason for dissenting from the finding of the majority. He drew a great distinction between the majority finding and the minority report, and he thought the Government and the public would draw a similar distinction; he sincerely hoped they would do so. In referring to the finding of the Commission, it seemed to him necessary to again repeat the position which the Chamber of Mines took up before that Commission. It was a well considered position, a well considered representation, and he did not find anything in the evidence which was brought before the Commission which could be seriously taken as in any way impeaching the conclusions which the Chamber placed before the Commission for their consideration and that of the public.

In the mass of information which came before the Commission and before the public, one was apt to lose sight of the actual issue. He found in the statement of the Chamber of Mines that (a) "For the proper working and development of the mineral fields and of the present and future industries of this country large numbers of unskilled labourers were required." No one denied that. It was not denied in the Cape Colony, it could not be denied in Natal, and it would be ridiculous to deny it here. Therefore, (b) "In order to enable these fields and industries to be profitably worked, it is necessary that these labourers should be found at a rate of pay not beyond a certain limit. (c) That the rate of pay was already so high that it operated against low grade propositions being profitably worked. (d) That all the information submitted to the Chamber shows that the want of unskilled labour is felt not only in the Transvaal, but throughout the whole of South Africa. (e) That the present recruiting fields of African native labour are almost or quite exhausted, and that new fields are either not open or cannot be developed for a period of years. That under the present conditions and the cost of living the use of unskilled white labour is economically impossible." The conclusion was that there was no other solution then to allow the importation of suitable unskilled labour from all available sources. He took it that the Chamber in making that statement to the Commission understood exactly what that statement meant, and he took it also that the Chamber had had no evidence and not the slightest reason for varying in the least degree from the proposition and the conclusions which they had laid before the Government Commission.

The finding of the Commission was very interesting and very significant if compared for a moment with the recommendations the Chamber placed before the Commission. The majority report contained the following paragraph:—"The belief which was generally and confidently entertained that there is in Central and South Africa an ample supply of native labour for all our needs, and that only organisation and capital are necessary to secure it, has been completely dispelled." It went on to say: "That the demand for native labour for agriculture in the Transvaal is largely in excess of the present supply, and as the development of the country proceeds the demand will greatly increase. That the demand for native labour for the Transvaal mining industry is in excess of the present supply by about 129,000 labourers, and, whilst no complete data of the future requirements of the whole industry are obtainable, it is estimated that the mines of the Witwatersrand alone will require within the next five years an additional supply of 196,000 labourers.

That the demand for native labour for other Transvaal industries, including railways, is greatly in excess of the present supply, and will increase concurrently with the advancement of mining and agriculture. That there is no adequate supply of labour in Central and South Africa to meet the above requirements." He regretted that the scope of the enquiry of the Labour Commission had been restricted (perhaps unavoidably) to enquiry into the ability or otherwise of South Africa to furnish a sufficiency of unskilled labour.

The fact that it was so limited rendered it more necessary that a responsible body, such as the Chamber of Mines, should take the course which they had taken that day. It seemed almost a waste of time to reiterate the statement that the most genuine efforts to obtain labour had been persisted in by the Chamber of Mines and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. He did repeat, however, and that with the utmost force and with the special experience acquired by himself from his connection with the Chamber of Mines and the Labour Association, that no effort, no money had been spared, and nothing left undone which could be done in their endeavours to obtain the supply. He was extremely gratified from that personal point of view to find in the majority report of the Commission, in the paragraph "Causes of the Labour Scarcity," the following:—"The enquiry into the causes of the scarcity soon showed the long-standing character of the trouble, and indicated that it was the outcome of deeply-seated conditions." The enquiry into the administration, methods and results obtained by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association was of a most searching character, as accusations against the sincerity of its efforts had been freely made. No evidence whatever was brought forward in support of these accusations, and the Commission is satisfied that the officials of this particular organisation carried out their work zealously and efficiently, and are as a whole, well qualified for their special work. Money has been freely spent, and the attempt to meet the shortfall of labour on the mines has been, in the judgment of the Commission, genuine and well directed. It had been pointed out recently that they were able to compare their efforts and able to judge how far the limit was beyond which they could not go, either by work or the expenditure of money—in fact, that they were limited by the supply of labour. For a very long time he had been one of those who believed that they could in this country utilise the services of the natives living in the country. This was an object they all most earnestly desired to see accomplished, an object which they would still endeavour to accomplish, that they might not have idle natives scattered over the country living lives of ease which no white man in no country could afford to do. The Bloemfontein Conference had seriously passed a resolution that there was not sufficient native labour available for its industries. That conference was composed of gentlemen qualified by experience or their official capacity, and their finding had been supplemented and carried to greater extent by the report of the Commission which was then being considered. The Commission had given the opportunity to all gentlemen to state freely their views. Numbers of letters had appeared in the columns of the Press, and remarks had been made in the street by people who said that if the W.N.L.A. were abolished and they were permitted to recruit, the difficulty in supplying the mines with labour would be at an end. They had the finding of the Commission on that point after they had examined everyone who wished to come forward and give evidence—that they were unable to make any solid recommendation as to the improvement of the supply which was at their doors.

True, it was suggested in the report of the minority of two members of the Commission that they were doing very well, and that the supply would increase gradually, and that they must be content to do that. He could hardly treat seriously such a statement or take it as an argument at all. It had been said that in the address of the Chairman of the W.N.L.A. that gentleman indicated that a condition of improvement might be expected. He did not remember it, but he did remember that Mr. Perry, in his single-hearted and best endeavours to get natives, had stated that the Association "hoped for improvement." He quite agreed with that, but he noted that Mr. Perry in his closing remarks said: "You will see that, assuming all extraneous obstacles are removed, assuming also that the conditions turn out to be most favourable, there may be a large supply, but not an immediate supply. It will not help us over our first problem—the restoration of the industry within a reasonable time to the position which it had before the war. But if we do solve the first problem, and if we do obtain from the old sources the native labour required to work 6,000 stamps, the second problem remains, that is, to provide sufficiently soon a further great number of native labourers for new development. It is here that these new sources may help us. I do not say they will. I do not take a sanguine view; but they may." It had been the endeavour of the Labour Association, supported in every possible way by the Chamber of Mines, to develop to the utmost the native labour supply, and although it had become apparent to all of them that they could not get that supply here in Africa, the Chamber and the W.N.L.A. had not relaxed their efforts to utilise such supply as there was. He need not remind them of the way in which the necessities of the mining industry and other industries were impressed upon Mr. Joseph Chamberlain when he was here. He need not remind them of the permission given to them after many delays to obtain 1,000 natives from British Central Africa, and he was sorry to say he need not remind them that the natives from that source had not been found as good as they expected by a long way. (Hear, hear.) They had also pressed forward their efforts to get natives from Portuguese Nyassaland, and they succeeded in obtaining permission to get them. They had not got them yet, and when they did get them they would not be sufficient to meet the present deficiencies. The future requirements of the mines were still entirely unprovided for. It had been said over and over again that the policy of the Chamber had been to obtain such a supply of unskilled labour, coloured labour, as would justify the managers of the mines, looking at the matter as they were compelled to do—from a financial standpoint and from an economic standpoint—to maintain a number of highly-paid skilled white workmen.

That had been and would be the policy of the Chamber, and he thought it was the proper policy, and he thought that to introduce into this country under any circumstances of pressing necessity what one might really term "pauperised white labour" would be an irrecoverable disaster. It had never been the policy of the mining houses of the country to beat down white labour in its price. As a member of the executive of the Chamber for several years, he had had opportunities of knowing the views of the executive, and he had never yet heard the suggestion that they should take into consideration the question of reducing the wages of white labour as a means of reducing costs. A



reduction in the cost of living might possibly lead to a difference in wages, but it would not lead, he sincerely hoped, to a difference in the margin between that "living wage" to which they did not wish to see their white employees beat down and the remuneration they actually received. (Applause.) If some of our labour agitators, and some of the people who were trying to mislead the white population of the country against the progress of the mining industry, would consider for a moment what it would really mean to bring in the competition of the unskilled white man, labouring as a kaffir, and hoping to get out of that position as soon as possible, and ready to beat down the wages of the men who were above him, he thought that would convince many of those who to-day were unconvinced and misinformed. Now, the question of where they were to get their labour was of course the one which was most present in their minds.

They did not want necessarily to confine their operations to China; they did not want to exclude British India if it was available. He ventured to say that if they did not impress upon the Government the necessity of importing labour from somewhere, the people of this country would themselves look for that labour and insist upon its being imported. They had had enquiries made as to the sources from which they could get labour, and the most encouraging reports which they had received were of the large quantities of unskilled labour, cheap enough to allow them to continue working their mines, and perhaps extend the working of them, which was available in China. Chinese labour seemed to have been a terrible bugbear. None of them wished to introduce alien labour; none of them wished to keep alien labour here longer than it was necessary. But with the indisputable findings of the Labour Commission before them, they felt bound as a Chamber to ask their members to support them in a recommendation to the Government that their hands might be freed to get such labour as the Transvaal required under such restrictions as the people of the Transvaal should insist upon. They had been told that labour importation of Indians into Natal had its disadvantages. He believed that that was so. There were many free Indians whose return to their country was not secured under the limited powers which the Government of Natal had at that time, and many of them were there in the streets that day. He believed that the same thing had happened in other countries. He noted in Mr. Skinner's report on the question the remark that if California had legislated before the Chinese came instead of afterwards, that California would not have had its trouble—with which it had successfully coped even under its then disadvantages. They could take a lesson from them and go into the matter with careful preparation, and he believed it was quite a reasonable proposition that they could import labour—Chinese or coloured—and that they could import it under such legal restrictions as would satisfy the people, and not only be legal, but practically capable of being carried out by themselves and their Government. If it were not so they would not ask the people to support them, but they knew quite well that whatever the interests of the mines might be, as Sir Arthur Lawley said in a recent speech, until the people required the labour it would not come, and under such restrictions as the people would demand. That was perfectly just and right, and they did not ask for anything else.

They would gladly assist in the formulation and carrying out with the utmost strictness all such regulations as proved, upon examination, to be necessary. Then their white labour could look forward to an increased demand for its services. There would then be work for all the white labour in the country, and for their sons to learn their duties in the mines, which would give them the scope to which they were entitled and the prospect of living that they should have. He was obliged to differ from Mr. Chapman in one respect. Mr. Chapman had said: "Give a reasonable time." Yes, of course; but had they not had reasonable time? (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Sir George Farrar and he had fought that question out in private, in the Chamber of Mines, and in the W.N.L.A. He (the speaker) said that they would not agree, many of them, most of them, to any question of importing labour until they were satisfied that they could not get it here. First a year was spoken of; that year had long since elapsed and they had not succeeded. They were not succeeding as fast as to be reasonably contended as a pretext for further delay. What did delay mean? Mr. Chaplin had laid before them the effect that checking the development of the mines—of the only industry in the country to-day—would have upon every auxiliary to that industry. The farmer, the grocer, and the servant, everybody was dependent upon the spending of money by the mines. To let that money wait undeveloped underground, apart from all recondite questions of interest, would be fatal. They had the knowledge that an ounce of gold gained and produced in any country in the world cost something to produce, an amount that in many cases closely approximated to the actual value of the gold itself. It was laid before them in the evidence before the Commission, it was common knowledge that the production of an ounce of gold left only a small margin. The money was spent in the country. A huge proportion was in wages, a large part in stores, some in machinery and goods imported, to which last each paid its share to the revenue. If they checked their progress and stopped their expenditure, or even limited their expenditure to what it was that day—if they could maintain it—and where would the revenue of the Transvaal be, leaving on one side that of the Cape and Natal, in 1904; and where would they and their workmen be? That was the point they had to consider, and as the Chamber had taken the first step in following out the logical conclusion of the Commission's report, he claimed that it was its right as well as its duty to lay these facts before the people of the country. (Cheers.) He seconded the resolution.

#### MR. FRANCKE'S SPEECH.

Mr. FRANCKE said it was hardly necessary for him to say that he was going to support the resolution. He had gathered the personal conviction that there was not sufficient native labour in the country to meet the requirements of the country, that the employment of white unskilled labour to any large extent was impracticable, and the only course was to import unskilled coloured labour from other countries. He joined in Mr. Chaplin's regret that two members of the Commission had not seen their way clear to sign a unanimous report, and he regretted even more the shape in which the minority report had been presented, because it contained most distinctly a suggestion that the evidence which was brought forward by the Chamber, and more particularly their estimated requirements as brought forward by the leading engineers of the community, was not *bonâ fide*, and that the figures were higher than was justifiable. In his capacity as Chairman of the Engineers' Committee he was in a position to refute that insinuation. That committee worked absolutely in private, and did not know that its report would be made public. The way in which the complements

required by the various mines were arrived at as by certain technical and scientific bases. It was figured out by the engineer representing that mine, and that figure was put forward for discussion by the full committee. An engineer might have an inclination to put his figure a bit higher than his actual needs, but there were always the other engineers there to cut it down. He might further mention that this committee worked under exact instruction from the Executive of this Chamber that the developing mines should not be taken into consideration at all, in order to give as many natives as possible to the crushing and producing mines. The result of this was the following statement:—"It has been stated that the members of the W.N.L.A. require 164,000 natives for present requirements." The figure which had been submitted by the Chamber to the Native Labour Commission was 172,000 natives, which was practically in accordance, because in the figures of the committee the requirements of the developing mines were left out.

He thought, therefore, that the figure which had been suggested by the minority report, of 91,000, was quite out of the question. It might be asked: "How was it that in view of the enormous figure they required the mining industry had raised a complement of only 65,800 natives, and had managed to run 4,275 stamps in the month of October, and to produce gold equal to 1·2 million pounds sterling?" His reply was that the mining industry, not only in their own interests, but in the interests of the whole country, had done their utmost to keep up, and if possible to increase, the gold output of the mines, and that in consequence they had undertaken certain steps which from a purely technical point of view would not be correct, provided, of course, that sufficient native labour was available. He had already alluded to the fact that developing mines had received only secondary consideration in the allotment of natives, and he might further state that it had been very difficult on the crushing mines to keep up development work. Another technical feature was that owing to the scarcity of native labour, sorting on many mines had been abandoned entirely, while on other mines it had been reduced. He did not propose to follow the example of the framers of the minority report and give them a technical lecture, but he might point out that the shortage of labour had had the effect of increasing the quantity of ore going to the mill, and this had been accentuated by another measure which had to be taken, viz., the employment of rock-drills in stopes under circumstances which from a technical point of view were not satisfactory. Here, again, he did not propose to give them figures.

These rock-drills reminded him of the so-called labour-saving appliances which had so often been recommended to them by outsiders, and again recommended by the minority report. They had seen that the use of labour-saving machines could be overdone, but apart from that he thought he could give the assurance that every engineer on the Rand paid the greatest attention to it, and wherever it was possible to supplant manual labour by machine energy, and in every plant which is being erected and going to be erected, the point how they could save labour had and would have prominent attention. Engineers in other countries had thought out this self-same problem, and always had found that limits were drawn to the supplanting of human energy by machine energy. It was open to everyone to see from the statistics of the Chamber of Mines that the differences caused by the shortage of labour in the matter of sorting of ore, &c., was a very important point, and it was natural that the mines affected thereby were suffering.

He did not suppose that any other country in the world would have been in a position to withstand such blows as had been inflicted upon the gold industry of this country; but while he readily admitted that the enormous possibilities of the country were responsible for it to a great extent, he thought that a great deal was also to be ascribed to the confidence that the public and the investor had in the people who were responsible for the direction of mining affairs. (Applause.) They now saw that it was impossible to get the labour required in South Africa; they were wasting year after year and losing enormous sums of money; it was quite clear that it was not possible to employ white labour to any large extent, and therefore the only remedy left was the one proposed by Mr. Chaplin, and which he (the speaker) begged to support. (Applause.)

#### MR. SCHUMACHER'S SPEECH.

Mr. SCHUMACHER said the subject they were discussing was such an important one that he was sure the Chamber would forgive him some amount of repetition, and would allow him to speak of the policy of the firm of which they had heard in recent times, through indirect sources from Messrs. Wybergh, Creswell, and certain sections of the Press. One of the things with which they ought to be extremely pleased was the result of the Labour Commission. He re-echoed Mr. Strange's words when he said that the report of the Commission was the report of the majority of that Commission, and they had reason to be pleased because the findings of that majority coincided so exactly with the evidence put forward by the Chamber of Mines. The findings of the majority report were, of course, the result of an enormous amount of labour after the most careful research, and he thought there was not a clause in the majority report to which they could take exception. As regarded the minority report of Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside, he could not help repeating the words that had already fallen from the lips of Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Strange to the effect that the report was extremely disappointing. They had expected something better. It was unconvincing, it was incorrect, as he proposed to show later on, and it was, to a great extent, merely an attack upon the Chamber of Mines.

Reviewing the position from shortly after the close of the war, Mr. Schumacher pointed out that after the British occupation of the country they found there were on these fields 14,000 natives. Immediately prior to the war, in August, 1899, they had something in the neighbourhood of 100,000 natives. Their first efforts were to endeavour to increase the supplies of natives. Mr. Strange and Mr. Francke had shown them what the efforts of the W.N.L.A. resulted in. He would quote figures to supplement those remarks, according to which there had been collected and recruited by the W.N.L.A. from March, 1901, to October 31st, 1903, no less than 145,698 natives. Those figures alone would show whether the mines had been in earnest, whether they had been serious in their endeavours. There was in the earlier days after the British occupation no thought whatever of importing Asiatics or any other labour. They thought then that they would be able to obtain the labour they required for their work on these fields from African sources. Their experience since then was true for a period of more than two years, and they had come to the conclusion—a conclusion that all regretted—that the labour they required for the mines could not be obtained

from South African or Central African sources only. The rate of progress about six months ago, when Mr. Perry, as Chairman of the W.N.L.A., gave evidence before the Commission, was in the neighbourhood of 3,000 a month, as he believed he then stated. This was the reference to which the minority report alluded, but since then the rate of progress had been less satisfactory. At the end of May, 1903, they had employed on the gold mines of these fields 57,000 natives—the exact number was 57,014. At the end of October they had 64,127. Therefore, in the course of these five months, the increase amounted to only 7,000, or, say, an average of 1,400 per month. Mr. Fraucke had already dealt with the complement required by the mines at present. These figures had been carefully compiled by the engineers of the large groups, and had recently been increased from a total of 145,027, as they stood before, to 163,973, and this figure was correct. Whereas to-day their producing and working mines were only 100,000 natives in arrear, the majority report estimated the total shortage at 129,000, allowing 29,000 for mines not actually working to-day, and for the shortage five years hence an additional number of 196,000. Adding 129,000 and 196,000 they had 325,000. If the rate of increase in the supply was not faster than it is to-day, how long would it be before they got up to their normal requirements?

He proposed to deal at some length with the question of unskilled white labour. After the war when they had this shortage of native labour on the mines they naturally looked around to see by what means their supply could be supplemented. It had been proposed at the time of the disbanding of the irregular corps that they should give employment to the men to enable them to obtain a footing in the country and remain here. They sprang at the idea, and were sincere and whole-hearted in the matter. The statistics and figures he would give would show that the insinuations made by the gentleman, who the day before was Commissioner of Mines, but who was now so no longer—(hear, hear)—were unjustified and inaccurate.

They were first asked to give employment to 1,000 men. He had not the figures for all the mines, but those for the Rand Mines, Ltd., he would present. In September, 1902, that group gave employment to 653, in October to 663, in November to 592, and the figures had from then slightly decreased, until to-day the Rand Mines, Ltd., gave employment to no less than 503 unskilled white labourers. The Crown Reef employed 123, the Village Deep to 26, the New Modderfontein to 50, the Village Main Reef to 155, and the Wolluter to 40, making on these mines alone a total of 902. Did this go to show that they had been insincere in their efforts to give work to unskilled labourers on these fields? It must be borne in mind that they who had the control of these companies and their policies had none of them any pet theories under which they had to work their practice. They rather concentrated their efforts upon the practice and then formed their theories, and they employed unskilled white labour only where they could so when they considered it to be economical and to the advantage of the mines, if not the whole system would be unnatural and unsound, and they would come to grief.

In connection with the Rand Mines, he would like to give some of the latest figures and impressions of some of the managers as to the advantage or otherwise of the employment of this class of labourers. He could only give the results from a few mines, but they were indicative of the answer to the question as a whole. On the Crown Deep they employed 58 unskilled whites, of whom 52 were Dutch; and the following were the answers of the manager to certain questions put to them:—"If native labour could be obtained, would you employ as many unskilled whites as you are doing at present?—No." "Is there any likelihood under present conditions of more unskilled whites being employed on the mines?—No." The Rose Deep employed 105 unskilled whites, of whom 64 were Dutch; the Jumpers Deep 54, all of whom were ex-irregulars; the Nourse Deep 90, of whom 67 were Dutch; and the Langlaagte Deep 44, of whom 33 were Dutch. The answers in every case to the question was that the managers were not willing to employ more white unskilled labourers if natives could be obtained to do the work, with the one exception of Langlaagte, from where the manager wrote: "At the present time as many unskilled whites as come for work are taken on and put to shovelling on contract, but not many present themselves. Thirty or forty is about the average likely to be employed at present."

It would be of interest to read a letter received to-day from the general manager of the Rand Mines, Limited, and in which he recorded his opinion as to the advisability or otherwise of using this unskilled white labour. It was addressed to the speaker as director of the Rand Mines, Limited, and read as follows:—"In accordance with your request for an expression of opinion regarding our experience with the employment of unskilled white labour on the Rand Mines, Limited, group, I beg to give you the following:—

"As you will remember, the employment of white men on labouring work dates back practically to June and July, 1902, when, in accordance with representation made by the Commander-in-Chief, it was decided by this group to give employment to some 1,000 ex-soldiers on this class of work.

"This number was duly put on at the various mines of the group, but I cannot say that their engagement, as a whole, was much of a success, either to themselves or to the companies employing them, and it was very soon found out that a large number of the men took but little interest in their work, and others, who gained a certain amount of proficiency, left to seek other more congenial employment.

"The policy, however, of employing a certain number of white men on unskilled work whilst native labour continued inadequate was kept up, and has been continued to the present time. In pursuance of this policy there have been employed on the group an average of 418 men per month for the 17 months ending 31st October last, the total number engaged during this period amounting to about 4,702 men. The great disparity between the number engaged and the average number working shows how unreliable this class of labour has been. It is true that in a good many cases men have worked with a will, but as a whole the experience gained from their employment does not encourage the continuation of this class of labour indefinitely, apart even from any question of economy. An exception can be made in many cases to Dutchmen, of whom there have been a large number employed, who have generally performed their work very satisfactorily, and although receiving much larger pay than the average native, in certain cases, as shown in contracting for shovelling and tramming

underground, they have proved nearly as economical as regards cost per ton as native labour.

"The efficiency of the average white man employed over the native labourer is most difficult to determine, but the general figures arrived at by the managers of the group indicate a ratio of about 1.6 to 1. As the rate of pay has averaged about 10s. per day for the whites, as against, say, 2s. 6d. per day for the natives all told, it will thus be seen that the employment of the former when taking into consideration their increased rate of pay over the natives has not been successful from an economic point of view.

"On the other hand, unskilled white labour has resulted in some benefit to the companies, inasmuch as in certain departments of the work the labour force has been strengthened by their employment, and has thus allowed operations to be carried on on a larger scale than otherwise would have been the case, although naturally at a reduced rate of profit.

"The principle of employing white labour in our mines side by side with the native and at a rate of pay which only a man having no family to support can accept is one that in my opinion cannot result in any benefit to the community, and, as we have seen, certainly in no economic benefit to the companies. With the living conditions in the Transvaal to-day, a man working for 10s. per day cannot compare his lot with labourers in other parts of the world getting the same rate of pay; this rate of pay cannot be improved upon as it even now makes it prohibitive in a good many mines on the Rand to employ this class of labour on any considerable scale.

"The policy of our group has been to give employment to as many unskilled whites as could be done with consistency, and, from the number so employed, raise to higher positions and pay as competency was shown and opportunity occurred, but the continuation of this policy, judging from our past experience, would not be justified when an adequate native labour force is obtainable, excepting in the case of a certain number which in any case it is desirable to retain for purposes of training for higher positions.

"G. E. WEBBER,  
"General Manager."

That letter, he thought he might say, reflected the view of all the members of the firm of Eckstein and Co., and also of the directors of the Rand Mines, Limited. (Applause.) He thought perhaps he should not be wrong in saying that it reflected the view of most of the other mining houses on these fields. (Applause.) With their permission he would like to state what had been the policy of his group of mines towards white labour. On the Rand Mines group alone they had, during the last year, spent over £100,000 in erecting cottages for married men and quarters for single men, and they were now in course of spending another £30,000 or £40,000 more. They were at the same time doing their best to train the young men who were coming on, and were giving every opportunity for apprentices to learn their work in the different departments. It was their wish to help the rising generation and to make this a country in which they would wish to live with their families. He noticed from the Minority Report that certain documents were handed in purporting to indicate the policy of the large houses towards their white employees. He regretted that the signatories of the Minority Report had apparently overlooked some very important statements which had been made in recent times upon this subject. If they would allow him he would read what was stated by the Chairman of the Glen Deep on the 14th October. He stated: "We on our part are doing everything in our power to attract men by giving good wages and by erecting suitable housing accommodation. We want to assist to people the country with Englishmen, and so far as we can we give special facilities to married men to settle down with their families on these fields. We do this not for philanthropy, but because it pays us. We want good men and we want contented men, for that is the way we can get the best work done." That short sentence contained the kernel of their policy. Contrast that with the ideal of Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside, who wanted to flood the country with a mass of paupers living at a starvation wage, who would not be able to maintain their families in this country, who would be dragging down, as had been pointed out, the wages of white skilled labourers, and working in competition with them. Which did they think the working man would prefer? He would deal shortly with some of the points arising out of the Minority Report. It would be impossible for him to deal with all the supposed facts it contained. That would take too long; he would therefore merely select the most glaring from the evidence of Mr. Wybergh, late Commissioner of Mines. In his evidence that gentleman made a quotation from a conversation which he had with Mr. Hennen Jennings some time before. He put into the mouth of Mr. Jennings the following words: "White labour is inevitable. It must come, but I do not want it to come." That quotation again appeared in the Minority Report. He did not wish to deal with the question of whether hearsay evidence should have been brought in in the first instance, or used in the second by the signatories of the Minority Report. He would confine himself to informing those present that he had very opportunely by the last mail received a letter, or rather Mr. Sidney Jennings had received a letter from his brother, in which he made the following remarks: "The evidence of Wybergh seems to me to be as extraordinary as that of Creswell. (Laughter.) The conversations I had with Wybergh were at a social dinner at Creswell's, and at a private visit he paid one Sunday afternoon. I then talked to him unreservedly, as it was my desire to convince him that my conversation was entirely friendly and private, and with no connection to his official position. His account of our conversation seems to me highly imaginative, as I have never recognised that white labour would be inevitable in South Africa." They would see, therefore, that Mr. Wybergh's version was altogether incorrect. Dealing next with Mr. Wybergh's insinuation that the leading houses were insincere in their efforts to give employment to unskilled white labourers, he would merely refer to the statements he had already made, and the figures he had already quoted. They, he thought, would show to everybody that these insinuations were incorrect and unjustifiable.

He would next deal with the reference made in the report to Mr. Creswell's evidence, and in doing so he had more or less of a personal standing as the present local chairman of the Village Main Reef, although he had only held that position for a short time. Mr. Creswell was not the only

THIS VOLUME IS TIGHTLY BOUND

one of the managers who endeavoured to use white labour on his mine. It was not a solitary case, as many people seemed to think, but Mr. Creswell was one of many, although he made himself more conspicuous than many of the other managers who succeeded in doing better work. He would not refer to Mr. Creswell's evidence at any great length, because the report of the consulting engineer, Mr. Robeson, had been issued lately and circulated in the Press. They would all have seen it and seen his conclusions, and they would gather whether the experiment had been a success as made by Mr. Creswell in a rather more extreme form than it was made by others. He would refer them to the letter of the official secretary of the company, dated November 20th, in which he stated: "Mr. A. M. Robeson, after most careful investigation, which occupied his time for several weeks, clearly shows that: (1) Mr. Creswell's experiment in the use of unskilled white labour has beyond all doubt proved a failure from an economic point of view. (2) That by taking results from January to September the working costs of the Village Main Reef have been 5s. 8d. per ton higher under Mr. Creswell's system than they would have been had the same work been done under exactly similar conditions by use of black labour instead of unskilled whites. (Laughter.) Mr. Robeson did not deal with the result which this policy would have on the skilled white men of any mine, as that side of the question did not come within the scope of this investigation, but from the data in his (the speaker's) possession, the result would have been just as disastrous to the skilled workmen as it had been to the shareholders. They would not misunderstand him on that subject. He did not wish to say that they should have employed no white men. They were employing a large number, and intended to do so as long as they could do so with benefit to the company, there would not be any absolute reversal of the policy of Mr. Creswell, but they would use these men in a very reduced number. Mr. Creswell's tactics as general manager of a mine under a Board of Directors he would not criticise, he would leave that to others, but because they had a case of a man in the employment of a certain Board who had encouraged him, as, for instance to make an experiment, who had helped him against strong opposition in their earnest endeavour to see whether this experiment was sound or not. Now this experiment had proved a failure owing to its having been carried beyond the point of benefit to the company.

It was, however, not allowed to stop at that point. The manager gave evidence which he (the speaker) considered was of a most misleading nature. He quoted a letter received from London, which again contained hearsay evidence, evidence which he (the speaker) might repeat as utterly incorrect. Surely their attitude and policy here did not agree with the policy laid down by Mr. Tarbutt in his letter, and which was circulated by Mr. Creswell, knowing full well that the impression which was created was a false one. He would not criticise it any further. He might state that in connection with the letter reprinted in the Minority Report, which was signed in November of last year by Messrs. Price, Skinner, and Spencer, with regard to the working of the Village Main Reef, he had that day received a few notes from Mr. Price to the effect that his experience of the last year was such that he found it necessary to modify in a considerable degree the opinion stated by him in this letter of 1902.

Mr. Price stated that the quality of the unskilled labour has been unsatisfactory, and that he was now using no more of it in his mine because they had disorganised his work, and had done more harm than good. That was one instance, though he (Mr. Schumacher) did not mean to say in consequence that other mines had no right to use unskilled white labour to a limited extent. There was a further reference in the Minority Report to evidence given by Mr. Leggett in 1897, which had already been alluded to by Mr. Chaplin. Now, the whole of Mr. Leggett's statement was based upon the fact that the white men in America were receiving from two and a-half to three dollars per day, that is to say, about 10s. or 12s. He had already dealt with this subject, and others had dealt with it before him. It was meant to apply to an unskilled class of white labourers for which there was no beneficial employment in this country. They must remember that the Witwatersrand was, after all, only 15 or 16 years old. It was not 100 or 150 years old like America. When this industry was 100 years old we should be able to give employment to unskilled whites at 10s. to 12s. per day. But they could not hurry things; they must allow them to take a natural course. The comparison therefore was altogether unsound, viz., the salaries paid in America and the salaries paid here on the Rand to-day.

The next point to which he wished to refer was the number of natives per stamp that were required upon these fields. The signatories of the Minority Report rejected the whole of the evidence given by the Chamber of Mines; they rejected all the evidence that had been brought forward from the companies on the Witwatersrand—which, after all, were the great requirers of labour in this country—and they turned to the Transvaal Gold Mining Estates. They said in the report: "The real requirements of natives for the gold mining industry have been greatly exaggerated, and a fair estimate of this at the present time would be about 11 per stamp. In support of this figure we may quote Mr. Hughes, general manager of the Gold Mining Estates, as follows:—

11,604. Mr. Perrow: What number of boys do you require per stamp on the mine where you are general manager?—Roughly, it would work out at about 11 boys.

11,605. What size is the reef on the average?—About nine inches to one foot. But we have no blasting; it is all pick work.

This statement is also supported by Mr. Ingle's evidence as to Australian mines. (3860.70).

In reply to this, he (Mr. Schumacher) wished to state that the general manager of the Gold Mining Estates made no such statement at all. The statements referred to were made by the general manager of Glynn's Lydenburg mine. Mr. Schumacher then read the following letter, which he had that morning received in connection with the matter from Mr. S. Evans, who was the Chairman of Glynn's Lydenburg, as well as the Gold Mining Estates:—

R. W. Schumacher, Esq., Johannesburg.

Dear Sir,

October 23rd, 1903.

In proof of their contention that 11 natives per stamp would be sufficient for the gold mining industry, Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside quote question No. 11,604, which they state was answered by Mr. Hughes, general manager of the Transvaal Gold Mining Estates. The authors of the Minority Report are mistaken, as this question was asked of

and answered by Mr. Neale, manager of Glynn's Lydenburg. Now Glynn's Lydenburg is a very small and compact mine, working under very special conditions, and is in no way comparable with mines on the Rand. It requires no dynamite whatsoever to mine the ore, it does no sorting, it works its mill by water power, and it deals with its tailings and slimes by gravitation.

Yours faithfully,  
 SAMUEL EVANS,  
 Chairman Transvaal G. M. Estates and Glynn's Lydenburg.

This was the basis that the authors of the Minority Report relied upon that upon the Rand generally not more than 11 boys per stamp were required! The whole tendency of the Minority Report went to show that in the opinion of Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside, and, if they might take the editor of the "Star" as a reliable authority, the opinion of seven-eighths of the white population of South Africa, was to the effect that the local production here was to be limited by the native labour supply, supplemented, as far as they could do so, by white labour skilled or unskilled. He would like in connection with this point to make clear what the position of the industry is to-day. It has, as he said at a company meeting the other day, never been in a sounder position.

But the industry, as he said the other day, had never been in a sounder position than it was now. They had endless enterprises ready to start, assuming they had the labour. The capital could be found if the labour could only be obtained. In their own group there was a number of mines on which they would like to erect more stamps and work them if they could only do so. These were the Rose Deep, the Geldenhuis Deep, the Jumpers Deep, the Langlaagte Deep, the Henry Nourse, the Wolhuter, and several more. Then there was another class of mines—those which had been formed into companies for which the working capital had been subscribed, but which it was impossible to work at all because there was no labour, and because the policy had been pursued of supplying as far as possible the mines actually producing in preference to those whose work would be preliminary and developmental. Then there was another class—those companies ready to be floated and ready to start work if they could only find native labour. As regarded their own group merely, there was the South Crown and the area known as Booysens Estate. These two strips of ground were in probably the richest portion of the field, and it was doubtful if any strip of mining country in the world could beat them. But they had to wait until, as the Minority Report stated, there should be a sufficiency of native labour obtainable in South Africa.

He was not in a position to deal with, or discuss at length, the agricultural position of the country, neither was he in a position to deal accurately with the requirements for the railways. Mr. Quinn and Mr. Whiteside limited the requirements of the railway to 20,000 natives. They were employing more than 20,000 to-day, and surely it was not to be said that they were never to extend their railways and never to employ a larger number of natives than they had that day.

He would conclude by referring to one more clause of the Minority Report, wherein it was said that "the mineral wealth of the Transvaal is the property of the people of the Transvaal, both white and coloured, and not of the foreign investor, who is entitled to nothing more than good interest on the capital he invests." If the foreign investor was entitled to no more than good interest—and he took it "good interest" would be 5, 6, or perhaps 8 per cent.—who would they find ready to put up the money and embark in the enterprises connected with these fields? Perhaps it was suggested that the money could be obtained locally, but did those who argued like that know the cost of mining enterprises? Mining was not a certainty, as even Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside, little as their knowledge of the subject, should know. There were a great many blanks in the lottery, and if there were not a few big prizes no one would invest. Did Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside suggest that the millions required should be put up here? Every big deep-level mine meant an expenditure of one to one and a half millions, and where was the money to come from if not from the investor? At Home, who waited for a chance to make a big return? If they shut them out, they would have stagnation, misery, and poverty. The policy of the minority report was very similar to that adopted with such disastrous effects in Australia, and very similar to the policy of Kruger before the war.

If they worked on a large scale they would have a large trade with the Home country. They all knew what sacrifices the Home country had made for them. Were they going to do nothing in return but stagnate? Another point, which had been touched upon by Mr. Strange, he briefly alluded to. No matter to whom the mineral wealth of the Transvaal belonged, to get it from the earth money had to be spent. Every ton of ore cost about 25s. to work, and of that 25s. probably not less than 20s. was spent in the country on labour and supplies. He took the pre-war basis of 6,000 stamps at work as an instance. Assuming the work done was five tons per stamp per day, that would mean 30,000 tons per day, or in the neighbourhood of 10 million tons crushed per year. Ten million pounds would, on this basis, be paid out in wages and for supplies on these fields for the year. If they increased the basis—increased the amount of work by an additional 6,000 stamps—that would mean an additional 10 millions sterling per annum. Surely that was a great advantage, which this country could never, never lose. That money must be here. Any profits to the investor would probably bring fresh capital for investment in this country.

As regarded the motion, he supported it most heartily. A year ago he personally believed that in South Africa and Central Africa there were sufficient natives for their needs. He had changed his opinion, and was one of many. He thought to-day that they must go elsewhere unless they wished to remain to face the present position. Whether they went to China or Japan, or to any other country, he did not care, because he considered it to be in the interests of the country, as well as of themselves, in the interests of the agriculturist, the mining industry (in which they were primarily interested), and of South Africa as a whole. He therefore supported the motion with all his heart.

MR. J. N. DE JONGH.

Mr. J. N. de Jongh, in supporting the motion, said the findings of the two reports of the Labour Commission constituted a startling contrast—directly negative one to the other. They had themselves studied these questions and followed the evidence given before the Labour Commission, and they would be able to decide for themselves—as the great mass of public opinion could and



would be able to decide for itself—which of these two findings was the true finding in accordance with the evidence. There was one feature of the minority report to which he felt called to draw their attention, and that was the deplorable suggestion of motive which was made therein. At all times it was dangerous and in questionable taste to impute motives to people, and it was additionally hazardous when the suggestion of motive came from men who were not themselves engaged in the work against the labours performed by a body like the Chamber of Mines. In the stress and turmoil of life here one was inclined to overlook the efforts, gigantic efforts, made by the mining industry for the benefit of this country and of the whole of South Africa. Here, at any rate, their work was understood and appreciated. Of all this work of theirs, extending over a period of years, what was to-day the result? They had a certain agreed position to deal with, and no number of theories or doctrines could explain away the facts as they found them. They knew that before the war they had in round numbers 6,000 stamps dropping, and they knew that since the British occupation of this country, in spite of all the efforts which had been made to obtain a stable and efficient supply of unskilled labour, they had to-day only 4,300 stamps dropping, or, roughly speaking, 1,700 stamps short of what they had before the war broke out in 1899. The question was, what were they to do? He need not go into the question of what their efforts had been in the past, because the bonâ-fidè character of those efforts was admitted frankly on all hands, by the minority as well as the majority of the Commission. They knew that those efforts had so far in great part failed, and though offers had been from time to time made to them to relieve the situation, those offers had in the majority of cases proved to be more or less amiable theories or doctrines, affording no practical solution of the present difficulty. It was to solve that difficulty that the Chamber of Mines took the matter up. They found themselves, so far as African resources were concerned, practically at the end of their tether, and they came forward, not with amiable theories or doctrines, but with a clear and defined proposal of a remedy. The conclusion to which the Chamber had come, and to which the men who controlled the destinies of the industry had come, was not one which had been arrived at off-hand.

Many leading men here previously held different views, but the inexorable logic of facts had compelled them to change their opinions and to come forward as they now did and declare that the only hope for the future was an entirely open door—an open market so far as the recruiting for unskilled labour was concerned. The time for amiable theories was now passed, and a clear and definite remedy was put before them. It must not be thought that the Chamber had come to this conclusion without reluctance—he might say considerable reluctance. No one would accuse them of going far afield and taking great additional risks for an article which could be obtained at home with a minimum of risk, but their position to-day was one of compulsion. If they could find labour in Africa, they would not go to China. The proposal put before the meeting was in general terms, and he did not wish to go into any analysis of what the law should be or what the law might be, but it was fair to say that, so far as the Chamber was concerned, the fears of the public as to the settlement in the country of the imported unskilled labourers were hardly justified. He had no doubt that due provision would be made in the law, should it be put before the Legislative Council, to deal with the subject of repatriation, and it was only on the lines of the strict and rigid enforcement of the conditions relating to repatriation that the Chamber agreed to the suggestion. The resolution seemed to him a common-sense proposal; it did not suggest a remedy here or a remedy there, or point out a particular country or territory to the exclusion of others, but it dealt with the question on broad lines, and as such he thought it would commend itself to them as the soundest and best and the only complete remedy which was before them at the present moment. (Applause.)

#### A UNANIMOUS VOTE.

Sir George Farrar said, before he put the motion he would detain them for a few moments. Mr. Chaplin had referred to the clause in the motion referring to immediate action. He felt sure that members of the Chamber did not wish to show impatience or force the hands of the Government at the present juncture, because they must always remember that in a Colony under Crown Government they must go cautiously and carefully. He would point out that before legislation could be introduced it must be published for such length of time that every man in the Colony could study every word in an important Ordinance like that which would contain this legislation. It was necessary that the report of the Commission be not only printed, but put in English and Dutch. It would be a few days before a special "Gazette" could be printed in Dutch containing the report, so that both the English and Dutch people throughout the Colony could make themselves perfectly familiar with the report before legislation was introduced. Referring to the clause regarding restrictions, he would say with Mr. De Jongh that the members of the Chamber had only asked for the introduction of unskilled coloured labourers on the condition that there was no loophole left, and that these people were repatriated at the end of their time. They would go further and accept restrictions that would prevent their being employed as anything but unskilled labourers. These restrictions would be included in the Bill in such a way that the position of the white workmen of to-day would be in no way jeopardised, nor any loophole left by which this coloured labour could compete with them. They wanted to maintain the position of the skilled white man. They recognised that the industry had been built up by the employment of the highest class of skilled labour, in conjunction with coloured labour, and they wanted merely to supplement the coloured labour so that the position of these workmen would be the same in the future. Another statement to which he would like to allude was this: "It is very obvious that the carrying out of their duties as guardians of the financial interests of the people living outside the Colony, but represented on the Chamber, is to see that the mines under their control pay the largest dividend possible to their absentee members, and this without any regard for local opinions or feeling." He had been connected with the Chamber since the very early days of its foundation under their late president, Mr. Hermann Eckstein; he had sat for many years on the executive of the Chamber, consisting of Englishmen and men of other nationalities representing the foreigners interested in the industry, and never during those years—the last 14 years—had the question been raised by any of those gentlemen whereby the mines should be managed and controlled in any way opposed to the interests of the

people of this country. He was proud to be president of the Chamber—to have been connected with it for 14 years, with men who had controlled their mines in the best interests of the country. There were mines composed of foreign shareholders, and practically controlled by them, and in no way had they failed to support them here. All their supplies they bought locally, and no one could point to a mine here where it was held that no workman of any other nationality except their own countrymen could find employment there. These foreign mines were open to English workmen and English goods in the same way as mines controlled by Englishmen. He gave that statement that he had quoted the flattest contradiction in every possible way, and he said that it reminded him of the dark days of 1889, when an emissary was sent to the controlling heads of the industry by the old Government with a proposal that they should come to terms over their industrial differences, and that a settlement should be made. An answer was given to them, and he would guarantee that that same answer would be given in similar differences in the future—that their differences, their future, were wrapped up with the welfare of the country. “Settle with the people and you settle with us.” He proudly put the resolution to the meeting.

The resolution was carried without dissent.

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No. 88.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received December 28, 1903.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December 7, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, an extract from the “Transvaal Leader” containing Report of Proceedings at Meeting of Johannesburg Chamber of Trade, held on 4th December, on the subject of the Report of the Transvaal Labour Commission.

I have, &c.,

A. LAWLEY,

Lieut.-Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 88.

A special general meeting of members of the Chamber of Trade was held in the Board Room, Exploration Buildings, yesterday, under the chairmanship of Mr H. D. Solomon. Among those present were: Messrs. J. D. Ellis (representing Stewart and Lloyd's, Ltd.), A. H. Nicholson (Hunt, Leuchars, and Hepburn), W. E. Park (Fraser and Chalmers, Ltd.), R. Niven (J. and R. Niven), W. Blane, Harry Sladden, E. H. Green (Robey and Co., Ltd.), H. A. Neame (Lingham Timber and Trading Company, Ltd.), W. G. Stevens (Hansen, Schrader and Co.), J. T. Perry (John T. Perry and Co.), H. Briggs (Sandyeroft Foundry Company, Ltd.), V. Hansen (Hansen, Schrader and Co.), C. H. Hirtzel (Bell's Transvaal, Ltd.), G. Hannaford (A. L. Secretan and Co., Ltd.), B. C. Bartley (S. Sykes and Co.), R. Blane (Blane and Co., Ltd.), T. Begbie (Thos. Begbie and Sons), G. Sandilands (Technical and Commercial Corporation, Ltd.), W. J. Green (Harry Mosenthal and Co.), R. Hamilton (Hamilton and Co.), G. F. Wills (Edgar Allen and Co., Ltd.), O. Baerecke (Baerecke and Kleudgen), Watson (Reid Bros., Ltd.), G. Gerhardt (United Engineering Company, Ltd.), H. A. Clarke (Reunert and Lenz), A. E. T. Beck (Barsdorf and Co.), Thienhaus (Andrew Thienhaus and Co.), H. Elsner (Norwegian African Company, Ltd.), O. Flatow (Arthur Koppel, Ltd.), Hubert Davies (Hubert Davies and Spain), C. C. George (C. C. George and Co.), T. P. Rice (Western Electric Company, Ltd.), W. Leslie Daniels, (W. Rockey Rayleigh and Rockey Agency Syndicate, Ltd.), R. G. Rees (R. G. Rees and Co.), A. G. Burden (Harvey and Company, Ltd.), Hugo Hillman, J. W. Kirkland (South African General Electric Company), and Hubert C. Fisher (Chas. Cammell and Co., Ltd.).

The business before the meeting was the discussion of the following resolution, brought forward by Mr. Parker:—“That, in view of the finding of the Labour Commission, this Chamber affirms the principle of importation of unskilled coloured labourers, and urges upon His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal the necessity of immediate legislation to this end under restrictions which will provide for their employment as unskilled labourers only, and for their return to their native country at the expiration of the contracts.”

The Chairman said that at a meeting on the 19th February the question was discussed, at which a conference was suggested. The delegates were instructed not to vote for importation until the lack of labour in South Africa had been absolutely proved. That had been done by the majority report of the Labour Commission. It had been an understood thing that as soon as that report was public property the members of the Chamber would be called together to discuss the matter. That occasion had now come.

THE COMMERCIAL STANDPOINT.

Mr. Parker said it gave him great pleasure to move the motion standing in his name because he had been one of the first to bring the matter before the Chamber at a time when there was a great



diversity of opinion on the question. At that time many were against the proposal and some were doubtful. At a gathering of Associated Chambers of Commerce and Trades of South Africa, held at Kimberley, their Chamber instructed its delegates—on a question brought forward by the Capetown Chamber of Commerce asking for a resolution absolutely excluding all foreign labour—to vote that the time was inopportune to absolutely exclude Asiatic labour until they knew whether this labour would be necessary or not. Subsequent events had proved they were quite right in that view, although the Associated Chambers at that time voted for exclusion. He was not going to speak long on the matter, for they had all studied the data and facts placed before them, at such meetings as those of the Chamber of Mines, by gentlemen eminently qualified to speak on the subject. No one particularly loved Chinamen in preference to Kafirs, and if it could be proved to him that they could get sufficient native labour in this country he would be the first to get up at a street corner and preach against the importation of any labour, Asiatic or otherwise. Mr. Wybergh, in his recent letter of resignation, had referred to the capitalists as running this country, or at least to capitalistic legislation. That had been turned to imply that the capitalists influenced the Labour Commission in the strong report they had presented in favour of Chinese labour. A capitalist was just as fond of making money as were the men who did not call themselves capitalists. Why should the capitalist spend hundreds of thousands of pounds on the W.N.L.A. and then finally call for Chinese labour? Some people said that the capitalists did not want Kafir labour, and that if they did they could get it. In the name of common-sense what could they gain by putting Chinese in place of Kafirs, when, even at the low price at which Chinese would be obtained, they would cost more than Kafirs from Central or South Africa? The questions were practically these—"Do we require a large increase of low-priced unskilled labour?" He thought everyone would admit that, even those members of the Labour Commission who signed the minority report—for Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside had admitted a large deficit in numbers. Their advice, however, was "Sit down and wait." If they took the rate of increase at present, in about ten or fifteen years Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside's prediction that the supply would be sufficient might come true. The next question was "If we do need them are they to be obtained in this country?" He failed to find many people who would assert they could be, except the signers of the minority report, and even these did not tell how the labour was to be obtained. The third question was "If there are not enough labourers in this country where can we get them?" A great deal had been said about Chinese. They had been held up as being a bugbear. He could speak from experience, and Chinamen were amongst the best labourers in the world, and he would much rather see them come to the country than an immense amount of Italian labour. The Chinese, under proper supervision, would be much cleaner in their habits of living and eating than the poorer class of Italian labourers, and not so filthy or dirty as the Kafir if left alone. Another question arose, and that was that, if Chinese were imported would they in any way lower the wages of white skilled labourers? The statement that they would do so was just as absurd as the prediction when railways were introduced that there would be no more use for horses, or when dynamos came in that the doors of engine-houses would be closed. As a matter of fact they had now more horses and more engines in use than ever before. In Johannesburg there were to-day hundreds of skilled workmen out of work. If to-morrow the labour required could be obtained there would not be one of these men out of work in a month. (Hear, hear.) He had worked with Chinese, and had found them very good workers. They were not nearly so bad as they were represented. Anyone who had been in California knew what the Chinaman had done there. When the settlers first went there and planted their orchards and vineyards, the fruit rotted on the trees for want of labour to pick it. The mines and the railways also suffered from the same cause. Everyone knew the position of that State to-day, and were familiar with the extent and importance of its orchards and vineyards. When the Chinaman came along he undoubtedly did much to make the country. He was imported under no restrictions; that was bad. When the Chinaman had become more or less a plague, legislation was introduced, but it was a case of closing doors when the horse had gone. Even in spite of the lateness of the action, the matter was now in hand, and the Chinaman was no longer a nuisance. As a matter of fact, there was a large party in the State in favour of the importation of more Chinese. That day they were called together to affirm a principle. As regarded the law, that would be framed and submitted to the public later. Apart from the principle embodied in the resolution, they had to say whether the business of the country should be sent ahead, as with its wonderful material resources it should, or whether they were to sit still as they had during the last two or three years. He formally moved the resolution before the meeting.

Mr. R. Niven, in seconding, said that members of the Chamber had on many occasions been charged with indifference on the subject of the questions brought before them from week to week, but on this question they were all interested alike. They could not afford to be indifferent, because to a marked degree it affected every commercial firm in the place. There was nothing new to say on the subject, but it had received a fresh interest from the publication of the report. He believed, however, that they had all made up their minds, and no arguments that might be adduced now would affect their decision. The position of the merchants of the town was peculiarly precarious. They were dependent for their very existence upon the well-being of the industry, and all traders were dependent in a greater or less degree. If they shut down the mines there was no Johannesburg and no trade. Unless something was done, and done quickly, the condition of the town and of the commercial people would be most serious, for it was quite impossible that business should be conducted month after month at a loss. As far as the restrictions were concerned, the law could easily be framed to obviate the disadvantages of which they had all heard so much.

Mr. Hanson, in supporting, said they had been going from bad to worse, and the strain had come to breaking point, but still they were only talking. It was not a question that affected any section of the community in particular. In one quarter the risk of undue haste had been pointed out, but they must remember that for years past all South Africa had been trying to grapple with the problem and discover a remedy. They hoped and believed that the country was a sixty-million proposition, and only immediate action would prove whether or not they were to depend on the internal supply of labour, and so make up their minds to cut their coat according to their cloth. The speaker then

proceeded to quote various examples of the benefits conferred by imported Chinese labour, such as California, the Straits Settlements, and Dutch Sumatra.

Mr. William Blane said that no one could fail to be struck by the moderation of the speeches made at the Chamber of Mines. It was quite in the power of that Chamber to import thousands of whites to the Rand at about a third of the wages at present paid, a step that would seal the doom of the white worker in this country. In its great consideration for the community the Chamber of Mines had refrained from adopting that course, and had bent its energies towards the importation of coloured labour. In the days to come when, as they all hoped, the imported labour would become necessary, the proposed restrictions would lead to the return of all the imported labourers and leave the country with as clean a slate as they had at present. Alluding to the minority report, he would only say that one at least of the signatories had hopelessly prejudiced his finding by his utterances, even before he was appointed to the Commission. It had been said that still seven-eighths of the white population of South Africa were opposed to the importation. At any rate the opinion of Johannesburg was not against it. He concluded with an appeal to the Chamber to forward the matter by a unanimous vote.

Mr. Beck, speaking as a storekeeper, said that he and his fellow traders along the reef were taking a leap in the dark. Other members of the Chamber connected more or less with the mining industry could fairly well calculate the result, but he would suggest an amendment to the effect that present trading rights of the community should remain unimpaired.

Mr. Rockey said that he had no doubt that the restrictions to be imposed by the Government would amply suffice to prevent the Chinese from offering the least competition to the smallest white trader.

The Chairman said that even if it were granted that the small trader to a certain extent lost his trade from the Kafirs and that that trade was not replaced by trade with the Chinese, the loss would be more than made up by the increased trade that would follow the large augmentation of the numbers of white employees. The spending capacity of the community would be enormously enhanced, and to that enhancement must follow the increased prosperity of the commercial community.

Mr. Nicholson supported prompt action. They had gone through a very severe crisis, and had not perhaps yet got through the worst of it, and it was their duty to assist the development of their chief standby, the mines.

Mr. Ellis commented on the absence of the opposition that had made itself so prominent in the past. That absence of opposition was simply a reflection of the opinion of the man in the street. The Home Government was inclined to let them decide this matter for themselves. The report of the Commission was, to his mind, unanimous, and possibly the delay that had taken place had only had the result of leaving them in a stronger position than if the matter had been rushed through.

The Chairman, in putting the motion, commented on the tone of the meeting as disproving the allegation that the commercial community was opposed to the importation of Chinese.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Hamilton then proposed that the executive be instructed to lay the resolution before the Legislative Council.

The resolution was carried without dissent.

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No. 89.

HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received December 28, 1903.)

SIR, High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg, December 7, 1903.  
 WITH reference to my telegram, No. 348, of the 30th November,\* I have the honour to forward copies of correspondence noted in the margin, on the subject of the return to England of the English navvies employed on railway construction in the Transvaal.

Letter from Commissioner of Railways, November 18.  
 Letter to Commissioner of Railways, November 30.

I have, &c.,  
 ARTHUR LAWLEY,  
 High Commissioner.

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\* No. 69.

Enclosure 1 in No. 89.

COMMISSIONER OF RAILWAYS to ACTING SECRETARY TO THE INTER-COLONIAL COUNCIL,  
Johannesburg.

SIR,

November 18, 1903.

I BEG to forward, for the information of His Excellency the High Commissioner, a letter from the Chief Engineer, giving full details of the results of the experiment made by importing English navvies for work in this country upon railways.

We now have the results of seven months' work, consequently the system has received a thorough test. You will observe from the Chief Engineer's letter that the facts now before us show that it has been financially a hopeless failure, and that though from the experience gained we might in future agreements arrange to reduce the cost considerably, it would always be financially impossible to construct railways by imported English navy labour.

You will observe that the Chief Engineer points out that if we persist in keeping these men to the end of their twelve months' agreement, we shall raise the cost of the line by £115,000, whereas if we avail ourselves at once of the clause in these men's contract which enables us to give them one month's notice and return them to England we shall save £40,000 of the anticipated excess of £115,000.

I therefore beg to urge that I may at once be authorised to instruct the Chief Engineer to send these men back to England in order that we may save the sum of £40,000 which we cannot afford to lose.

As regards the Chief Engineer's remarks concerning the importation of Indian labour, I have already brought this matter before His Excellency. If the difficulties which arose in this matter are likely to be removed I consider the importation of Indian labour for new construction a most desirable measure, unless such an unforeseen event should occur as a very rapid and complete solution of the labour difficulty of this country, in which case Kaffirs would become available for railway construction and be preferable to Indians.

I have, &c.,  
RICHARD SOLOMON,  
Commissioner of Railways.

The Acting Secretary  
to the Inter-Colonial Council,  
Johannesburg.  
D.A.—Copy of report from Chief Engineer.

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Central South African Railways,  
Office of Chief Engineer, Johannesburg,  
November 14, 1903.

LABOUR STATISTICS.

In reply to your letter of the 28th October, I think I can now give reliable statistics regarding the cost of earthwork when performed by white and black unskilled labour.

The first subject which I will deal with will be the work and out-turn of the navvies imported by the Railway Administration.

Statement "A" has been prepared from actuals to the end of October, and proportionate quantities and amounts to the end of February, 1904. It will be noticed that by the 29th February it is pretty certain that earthwork executed by navvies will still be costing 4s. 10.8d. per cubic yard, or, allowing for hardness of

soil, four times the amount that the same work would cost if a contractor were employed.

At the present rate of working, I calculate that the navvies will execute 30 miles of earthwork during the period for which they were engaged, and in order to arrive at the cost of an average bit of their work, I submit statement "B," showing actual quantities of earthwork from mile 20 to mile 30 of the Springs-Eastward Railway, and the cost worked out at navvies' rates.

It will be noticed that the rate works out to £5,230 per mile. At Mr. Pattison's rates for the section from mile 30 to mile 120, the amount is rather less than £1,400 per mile. Granted that these figures are correct, the 30 miles of navvies' earthwork will have cost £156,900 against £42,000, which Mr. Pattison would have done it for, showing a loss to Government of £115,000, or practically £1,000 per mile on the whole length of the line from Springs to Ermelo.

I would submit that the whole of this sum is not lost yet, and it would result in the saving of a large proportion of it if orders were received to ship the navvies home by an early steamer.

Assuming that the navvies were allowed to remain at work till the sections that they are at present engaged on were completed, they will have finished about 16 miles by then. As shown in Statement "A," the rate per cubic yard decreases slightly every month, so the cost of these 16 miles will be slightly higher than if 30 miles were completed. Say that it will be £5,500 per mile. We have then:—

Cost of 16 miles at £5,500 per mile ...	...	...	£88,000
Cost of 14 miles at £1,400 per mile ...	...	...	19,600
			<hr/>
Cost of 30 miles ...	...	...	£107,600
			<hr/>

Deducting this from the cost of 30 miles, if navvies are allowed to complete their year of agreement (£156,900—£107,600=£49,300), the saving to Government would still be £49,300. It is probable that if the navvies heard they were to be shipped home, they would practically do no more work, so, making allowance for this, £40,000 might easily be still saved to Government.

Railage to Cape Town, return steamer fares, half-pay on voyage home, and other similar charges do not affect the question, as they have to be met now or at the expiry of the agreement.

#### *Other White Labour.*

Two hundred men (chiefly Boers) have been intermittently employed during the month of October on earthwork on the Klerksdorp-Val section.

Statement "C," herewith enclosed, shows the quantity of work done and the rates and the amount paid. The *mean* rate earned works out to 4s. 8d. per day of nine hours.

Statement "D" shows the individual earnings of all the men who worked, and it will be seen that the highest rate earned is 9s. 7d. (a Scotchman), the lowest is 1s. 8d. per day (a Boer). The highest Boer rate is 6s. 8d. per day. The rates at which the men were paid are higher than work was tendered for by contractors, but they are not sufficiently high to affect our estimates to an important degree. Work done on these terms would, perhaps, cost the railway £1,600 per mile for earthwork.

#### *Natives.*

About 250 natives on piece work put in 37,496 hours of work, during which they earned at the same rates as white men, £671 16s. 8d. Of this amount, 12 per cent., or £81, went to gangers, and £9 6s. 6d. to repairs of tools, leaving £582 to

be divided among the men. This gives them a *mean* rate of 2s. 9d. per day of nine hours, or 67s. per month of 216 hours, out of which they have to find everything.

The highest rate earned by a gang of natives has been 3s. 9d. per day of nine hours, and the lowest 2s. 2d. per day.

Statement "E." shows the actual out-turn with rates and amounts of the natives producing the above results.

I am somewhat surprised to see how low the average earnings of the natives has been, especially since I noticed it publicly announced that at the rates which I offered, every native would be able to earn 8s. or 9s. a day, and the mines would be denuded of boys.

With reference to the last paragraph of your letter, I would suggest that terms be introduced into the navvies' agreements so that the other party to the contract should benefit to a small extent also. At present the navy gets his passage out and home, half-pay both ways, his food free, 5s. a day if he duly holds on to a barrow while the time-keeper calls his name, free bedding, tents, furniture, medical attendance, and so on. He *should* come out on similar terms to those on which he would work in England, that is, he should be made to find all his necessaries and luxuries out of his earnings.

The attraction to him would be higher rates, more regular employment, an excellent climate, and unequalled opportunities for bettering himself in every way.

By actual experiment we have proved that whole gangs of British navvies can average  $6\frac{1}{2}$  cubic yards per man per day. The least I suppose we could offer for this would be 9d. per cubic yard. Food costs 3s. 6d. per man per day, shelter, camp equipment, passage money, supervision, and other incidental expenditure, would not come to less than 3s. per man per day. The total cost would, therefore, be:—

					s.	d.
Wages	...	...	...	...	4	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Food	...	...	...	...	3	6
Sundries	...	...	...	...	3	0
Total					11	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per man per day.

Even at these rates, the earthwork would cost a great deal, 50 per cent. to 75 per cent., according to locality, more than the same work could be done for by contract. Most of the lines on our present programme would probably stand this, but later on, when we come to consider less promising propositions, this extra cost would cripple them, or, perhaps, prevent them being taken in hand at all.

The result of all this argument is that white unskilled labour cannot be economically imported for employment on railways out here on what is considered in this country a living wage. This is certainly true when Government agency is employed in bringing navvies out from England, and it remains to be seen how contractors would make it pay.

#### *Indian Labour.*

I think I may appropriately add here a few notes which I have obtained concerning the labour recruitment on the Uganda railway.

Mr. Rawson, who has recently retired from the post of manager of that line, writes:—

"Most of our Coolies are Punjabis, who came from districts round Lahore, Amritsar and Umballa. You can easily exclude Pathans and Afghans if you do not want them. The Indian Government will not recruit

for you. Ours is done through an agent in India. Messrs. McIvor, Mackenzie and Company, of Kurrachee, are at present the agents. They are supplying the Berber-Suakin Railway with Indian labour, and would, no doubt, be glad to take you on too. We paid our Coolies 12 rupees (16 shillings) and rations of flour, dhal, ghee, chillies, &c. Jemadars (gangers) in charge of 50 men received 25 rupees (33s. 4d.).

Tents and blankets were supplied. You should have a clause in men's agreement that they can be put on contract for earthwork, as they never work well on monthly pay. If you do get men from India, be sure and give each man a brass number, and be most careful in registering them all when they first arrive."

Should the Transvaal Government decide to import Indian labour, I can think of no one better than Mr. Rawson to act as our agent in that country. He would, of course, act with Messrs. McIvor, Mackenzie and Company, and would be our disbursing officer there. Having been on the Uganda Railway as Auditor, and afterwards as Manager for several years, he would know exactly what would suit us, and see that we were not saddled with incompetents or decrepits. I see no way of constructing all the lines on our programme and others which are urgently required, except by importing some kind of unskilled labour, and if you agree with me that we have wasted all that we can afford on local experiments, I would ask that Mr. Rawson be asked if he would undertake the agency of sending us Indians, and in that case, he might be cabled to to see the Commissioner in England, and, if possible, accompany him out to this country, to consult with us on the spot. Mr. Rawson's address is:—F. Rawson, Esq., 7, Pen-y-wern Road, Earl's Court, London.

B. WALL,  
Chief Engineer.

"A."

ESTIMATE of cost of White Labour to 29th February, 1904.

Nos. 1 and 2 camps.

Date.	No. 1 Camp.	No. 2 Camp.	Total earthworks to date.	No. of days to date.	Total Cost to Date	Cost per Cubic yard.	Cost per man per day.
31st July, 1903 ...	c. yds. 12,200	c. yds. 4,300	c. yds. 16,500	10,677	£ 17,167 6 4	£ 1 0 9·7	£ 1 12 11·9
31st August, 1903 ...	30,673	24,896	55,569	24,740	25,316 6 7	9 1·3	1 0 5·5
30th September, 1903	54,395	49,122	103,517	38,399	36,076 9 1	6 11·6	18 9·5
October, 1903 ...	—	—	151,465	52,058	45,767 13 3	6 0·5	17 7·0
November, 1903 ...	—	—	199,413	65,717	55,458 17 5	5 6·7	16 10·0
December, 1903 ...	—	—	247,361	79,376	65,150 1 7	5 3·2	16 4·9
January, 1904 ...	—	—	295,309	93,035	74,841 5 9	5 0·8	16 11·1
February, 1904 ...	—	—	—	—	84,532 9 11		
Add proportion of Return passages, etc. ...					3,200 0 0		
					87,732 9 11		
Deduct 50 per cent. value P. and M. ...					3,576 1 2		
Total estimated cost of work, 29th February, 1904 ...					£84,156 8 9		

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"B."

## No. 1 Division Springs-Eastward Railway.

ESTIMATE of Earthwork only from mile 20 to mile 30 if done by White Labour.

Description of Work.	Quantity.	Item.	Rate.	Amount.
C. Formation :—			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Cutting earth ... ..	37,759	Cubic yards	0 5 0	9,439 15 0
„ gravel... ..	6,546	„ „	0 7 0	2,291 2 0
„ hard rock ... ..	18,154	„ „	0 15 0	13,615 10 0
Borrow pits earth ... ..	85,504	„ „	0 5 0	21,376 0 0
Lead 600 feet ... ..	7,900	„ „	0 1 0	395 0 0
„ 1,200 feet .. ..	16,500	„ „	0 2 0	1,650 0 0
„ 1,800 feet ... ..	3,154	„ „	0 3 0	473 2 0
Surface forming ... ..	27	11 chains	3 0 0	81 0 0
Forming station yards ... ..	5,000	Cubic yards	0 5 0	1,250 0 0
Trimming formation... ..	528	11 chains	0 10 0	264 0 0
Station roads ... ..	20	„ „	1 0 0	20 0 0
Level crossings ... ..	500	Cubic yards	0 5 0	125 0 0
Metal to level crossings ... ..	700	„ „	0 10 0	350 0 0
Catchwater drains ... ..	3,400	„ „	0 5 0	850 0 0
Inlets and outlets ... ..	500	„ „	0 5 0	125 0 0
Total ... ..	...	...	...	52,305 9 0

"C."

## Klerksdorp-Kroonstad Railway.

White Labour, on Piecework.—Work done for month of October.

Class of Work.	Amount worked and rate paid.	Cost.
Borrow Pit to Bank :—		£ s. d.
Earth ... ..	108 cubic yards at 1s. 0d. ...	5 8 0
„ with lead ... ..	1,135 „ „ 1s. 2d. ...	66 4 2
„ „ ... ..	883 „ „ 1s. 1d. ...	47 16 7
	814 „ „ 1s. 5d. ...	57 13 2
	10 „ „ 1s. 9d. ...	0 17 6
Hard ground with lead ... ..	285 „ „ 1s. 7d. ...	22 11 3
	107 „ „ 1s. 8d. ...	8 8 4
	33 „ „ 2s. 1d. ...	3 8 9
Carried forward ... ..	...	212 7 9

Class of Work.	Amount worked and rate paid.	Cost.
Brought forward ... ..	... ..	£ s. d. 212 7 9
Borrow Pit to Bank— <i>cont.</i> :—		
Boulders with lead ... ..	41 cubic yards at 2s. 5d. ...	4 19 1
Hard gravel with lead ... ..	57 „ „ 1s. 6d. ...	4 5 6
Loose rock ... ..	80 „ „ 2s. 6d. ...	10 0 0
Cutting to Bank :—		
Boulders with lead ... ..	20 „ „ 2s. 9d. ...	2 15 0
	1 chain „ 50s. 0d. ...	2 10 0
	½ „ „ 70s. 0d. ...	1 15 0
Surface Formation ... ..	1¼ „ „ 90s. 0d. ...	5 12 6
	¾ „ „ 180s. 0d. ...	6 15 0
	½ „ „ 100s. 0d. ...	2 10 0
Various Items... ..	... ..	2 14 10
Total ... ..	... ..	£256 14 8

Rates are as per Schedule "A."

"D."

Klerksdorp-Kroonstad Railway.

White Labour, on Piecework.—Earnings for October, 1903.

Party No.	Nature of Work.	Earned.	Less Repairs.	Net Earnings.			Remarks.	
				—	Hours Worked.	Rate per Hour.		Rate per 9 Hours.
1	Formation ...	£ s. d. 4 12 6	—	£ s. d. 4 12 6	227	d. 4·9	s. d. 3 6	Forer.
2	Earthworks ...	3 18 4	—	3 18 4	231	4·07	3 0	„
3	„ ...	8 4 2	—	8 4 2	317	6·21	4 8	„
4	„ ...	8 18 4	—	8 18 4	277	7·72	5 9	„
5	„ ...	6 15 6	—	6 15 6	192	8·46	6 4	„
6	„ ...	5 1 3	—	5 1 3	204	5·95	4 6	„
7	„ ...	6 14 7	—	6 14 7	370	4·95	3 3	„
8	„ ...	8 18 5	—	8 18 5	386	5·5	4 2	„
9	„ ...	7 5 8	—	7 5 8	291	6	4 6	„
10	„ ...	8 11 0	—	8 11 0	342	6	4 6	„
11	„ ...	8 13 3	—	8 13 3	429	4·85	3 8	„
12	„ ...	6 19 6	—	6 19 6	390	4·29	3 3	„
13	„ ...	7 2 10	—	7 2 10	390	4·4	3 4	„
	Carried forward	91 15 4		91 15 4	4,046			



Party No.	Nature of Work.	Earned.	Less Repairs.	Net Earnings.			Remarks.	
				—	Hours Worked.	Rate per Hour.		Rate per 9 Hours.
	Brought forward	£ s. d. 91 15 4		£ s. d. 91 5 4	4,046	d.	s. d.	
14	Earthworks ...	8 5 8	—	8 5 8	367	5.42	4 1	Boer.
15	„ ...	7 0 0	—	7 0 0	351	4.8	3 7	„
16	„ ...	0 14 0	—	0 14 0	74	2.7	1 8	„
17	„ ...	10 9 1	—	10 9 1	613	4.1	3 1	„
18	„ ...	14 7 11	—	14 7 11	522	6.6	4 11	„
19 )	„ ...	32 2 0	4 6	31 17 6	855	8.95	6 8	„
20 )								
21 )	„ ...	24 14 10	—	24 14 10	880	6.8	5 1	„
22 )								
23 )	„ ...	16 14 5	—	16 14 5	628	6.41	4 10	„
24 )								
25	„ ...	17 12 6	—	17 12 6	394	10.74	8 0	British.
26	„ ...	3 8 3	—	3 8 3	64	12.8	9 7	Scotch.
27	„ ...	1 2 2	—	1 2 2	34	7.8	5 10	British.
28	„ ...	0 15 10	—	0 15 10	23	8.26	6 2	„
29	„ ...	13 15 10	—	13 15 10	580	5.8	4 4	Boer.
30	„ ...	12 18 5	—	12 18 5	484	6.4	4 10	„
31	„ ...	0 18 5	—	0 18 5	21	10½	7 11	British.
	Total. ...	256 14 8	4 6	256 10 2	9,936	6.2	4 8	Mean.

"E."

## Klerksdorp-Fourteen Streams Railway.

RETURN showing cost of Works, &amp;c., Black Labour, on Piecework, October, 1903.

Class of Work.	Amount worked and rate paid.	Cost.
Borrow pits to Bank (bank completed) :—		£ s. d.
Earth picked (with lead) ... ..	3,676 cubic yards at 1s. 1d. ...	199 2 4
Ploughed earth ... ..	911 „ „ 0s. 9d. ...	34 3 3
„ (with lead) ... ..	785 „ „ 0s. 10d. ...	32 14 2
Hard ground (with lead) ... ..	441 „ „ 1s. 4d. ...	29 8 0
Boulders ... ..	7 „ „ 2s. 4d. ...	0 16 4
Ploughed earth (bank not trimmed) ...	240 „ „ 0s. 6d. ...	6 0 0
Carried forward ... ..	... ..	302 4 1

Class of Work.	Amount worked and rate paid.	Cost.		
		£	s.	d.
Brought forward ... ..	... ..	302	4	1
Catchwater Drain :—				
Earth picked (with lead) ... ..	29 cubic yards at 1s. 1d. ...	1	11	5
Loose Rock ... ..	105 „ „ 2s. 3d. ...	11	16	3
Hard ground (with lead) ... ..	80 „ „ 1s. 6d. ...	6	0	0
Trimming bank under 12 inches deep	1,139 „ „ 0s. 3d. ...	14	4	9
Catchwater drains to spoil :—				
Ploughed gravel ... ..	6 chains „ 19s. 0d. ...	5	14	0
„ earth ... ..	46 „ „ 15s. 0d. ...	34	10	0
Earth picked ... ..	24·01 „ „ 19s. 0d. ...	22	16	2
Hard Ground picked ... ..	13·63 „ „ 23s. 0d. ...	15	13	6
Boulders picked ... ..	1·00 „ „ 50s. 0d. ...	2	10	0
Cutting to Spoil :—				
Ploughed earth ... ..	331 cubic yards „ 0s. 10d. ...	13	15	10
„ ... ..	541 „ „ 0s. 9d. ...	20	5	9
Earth picked ... ..	1,157 „ „ 1s. 1d. ...	62	13	5
Gravel picked ... ..	763 „ „ 1s. 4d. ...	50	17	4
Boulders ... ..	47 „ „ 2s. 4d. ...	5	9	8
Solid Rock ... ..	13 „ „ 3s. 9d. ...	2	8	9
Surface and Formation (cutting) :—				
Hard ground 6 inches deep ... ..	5 chains „ 60s. 0d. ...	15	0	0
„ 12 „ ... ..	1½ „ „ 100s. 0d. ...	7	10	0
Earth 9 inches deep ... ..	4 „ „ 70s. 0d. ...	14	0	0
„ 12 „ ... ..	2½ „ „ 90s. 0d. ...	11	5	0
Trimming bank previously excavated on day wages ... ..	1,825 cubic yards „ 0s. 3d. ...	22	16	3
Labour Supplied :—				
31 days at 3s. without food ... ..	... ..	4	14	0
Various small items ... ..	... ..	24	0	6
Total .. ..	... ..	£671	16	8

Rates are as per Schedule "A."

Enclosure 2 in No. 89.

ACTING SECRETARY TO THE INTER-COLONIAL COUNCIL, Johannesburg, to  
COMMISSIONER OF RAILWAYS.

SIR,

High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg, November 30, 1903.

WITH reference to your letter of the 18th November, I am directed by His Excellency the High Commissioner to authorise you to instruct the Chief Engineer to give the English navvies now employed on the Springs-Eastward Railway one month's notice and to return them to England.

I enclose a copy of a telegram which has been received from the Secretary of Tel. from Sec. of State, 28 Nov., No. 1. State on the subject.

I am, &c.,

R. H. BRAND,

Acting Secretary to the Inter-Colonial Council.

The Commissioner of Railways,  
Johannesburg.

No. 90.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE) TO MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received December 28, 1903.)

[Answered by No. 110.]

SIR,

Government House, Cape Town, December 9, 1903.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 2nd December,\* I forward a letter which I have received from Dr. L. S. Jameson asking, with reference to the proposals for the introduction of Asiatic labour into the Transvaal, that steps may be taken so as to make sure that, should Asiatics be admitted into any neighbouring Colony, under no circumstances would it be possible for any imported Asiatic to find his way into the Cape Colony.

2. I have been requested by Dr. Jameson to communicate the substance of his letter to you by cable, as it is understood that Legislation on the subject is about to be submitted to the Transvaal Legislature, and time presses. I am complying with his request, and in the meanwhile have laid his letter before Ministers with a Minute of which a copy is enclosed.

3. Copies of the correspondence will be laid before the High Commissioner on his arrival here on the 15th instant.

4. The feeling against the introduction of indentured Chinese labourers into the Transvaal, referred to in my despatch,\* does not decrease. I send you a report of a meeting which has taken place at Paarl, at which Mr. Merriman was the chief speaker, and articles† which have appeared in the "South African News" and "Cape Times" on the subject.

I have, &c.,  
WALTER HELY-HUTCHINSON.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have received from Ministers the Minute, of which a copy is enclosed, stating that if Asiatic immigration into the Transvaal be sanctioned it will be the duty of the Government to submit to the Legislature the measures which they consider necessary to prevent the entry of Asiatics from the neighbouring Colonies into the Cape Colony.

W. H.-H.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 90.

Dr. JAMESON to GOVERNOR.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Groote Schuur, Rondebosch, December 5, 1903.

IN view of the fact that legislation dealing with the introduction of Asiatics into South Africa will probably be considered during the coming session of the Legislative Council of the Transvaal, and bearing in mind the resolutions opposing such introduction unanimously passed by the Legislature of this Colony, I would approach Your Excellency—now that no Parliament is in existence—with the view of steps being taken so as to ensure that, should they be admitted into any neighbouring Colony, under no circumstances would it be possible for any imported Asiatic to find his way into this Colony.

I feel that much can be achieved towards this end by friendly representations to those responsible for the administration of the affairs of the Transvaal, and I would therefore ask Your Excellency again to convey to them the strength of the feeling of our European, native and coloured peoples on this subject.

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\* No. 81. † In "South African News" and "Cape Times," of December 8, 1903: not printed.

In the absence of legislation under which Chinese who may come to other parts of South Africa can be entirely and effectively prevented from migrating into this Colony, and in order to render it impossible for them to do so, I beg, under the existing exceptional circumstances, respectfully to suggest to Your Excellency the desirability of approaching His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, in order to secure the promulgation of regulations on the following lines:—

1. To prevent any Chinaman entering this Colony without a permit signed by Your Excellency, on the advice of the Executive Council.
2. To empower the Government to deport any Chinaman who is not in possession of such a permit.

During the period that Parliament is not in existence no person can speak authoritatively as to the views of the Electorate, but having personally travelled over a great portion of the Colony and discussed the question with the people, and having also had an opportunity of hearing from others the views of those in districts which I have not visited, I feel no hesitation in assuring Your Excellency that a course such as I have ventured to recommend would receive the cordial approval of the electorate of this Colony.

I realise that the future prosperity and advancement of this Colony depends, to a great extent, upon the character of its relations with the neighbouring Colonies, and it is for that reason that I suggest friendly representations through Your Excellency, rather than what I consider useless and possibly harmful public agitation.

When Parliament meets it will be for those elected to consider what class of legislation is necessary to prevent any influx of Asiatics into this Colony, but, until such time, I feel that the Imperial Authorities have it in their power to protect the interests of the people of this Colony.

I have, &c.,  
L. S. JAMESON.

To His Excellency  
Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, G.C.M.G.,  
&c., &c., &c.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 90.

GOVERNOR to MINISTERS.

MINUTE.

Government House, Cape Town, December 7, 1903.

The Governor forwards, for the consideration of Ministers, a letter, which he has received from Dr. L. S. Jameson, on the subject of the question of the introduction of Asiatics into the Transvaal.

The Governor has informed Dr. Jameson that copies of his letter will be forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies and to the High Commissioner.

Should Ministers desire to offer any observations on the subject, the Governor will be glad to transmit them.

WALTER HELY-HUTCHINSON,  
Governor.

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Enclosure 3 in No. 90.

The "SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS," Tuesday, December 8, 1903.

Mr. Merriman was the chief speaker at a meeting held yesterday at the Paarl in opposition to the proposal to introduce Asiatic labour into South Africa. The meeting was held at the Pavilion Hall, and was well attended by the farmers of the district and the townsmen. Representatives of the Malay and coloured communities were also present, and one of them who spoke had a most hearty reception. There were 130 to 150 gentlemen present, which in view of the pressure of farming work at the moment was considered excellent. Mr. A. B. de Villiers, ex-M.L.A., presided, and said if ever there had been a question upon which South Africans of

all races and colours should stand as one man it was this, and that if the meeting had been advertised for a longer period and more widely the attendance would have been much greater.

#### MR. MERRIMAN'S SPEECH.

Mr. Merriman, whose entrance and whose rising to speak were signalised by great and prolonged cheering, spoke as follows:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am afraid I am late, and, therefore, I will go at once into the subject. You must excuse me for beginning without any preliminaries. I only wish that any poor words I can say would be able to bring home the importance of the subject we are here to discuss. Many things have happened in South Africa, many grievous things at different times. We have had great troubles to overcome, but we have never had any trouble threatening us like the one we are to discuss, for of all the troubles we have had, whether they were wrestling with nature or with savage tribes or the terrible war which has just passed, they have all had this effect, that they have strengthened rather than weakened the population of the country. Men can only become strong and great by passing through trouble and difficulties. But the question we have before us in the proposal to flood this country with Asiatics is of a totally different kind. If successful it will demoralise and weaken the whole population; it will be to the disadvantage of every man who makes South Africa his home. War and the effects of war, drought and the effects of nature, time and nature will repair, but if our population is once demoralised by the importation of Asiatics those who come after us will feel the effects of it, and this country and this population will never recover from the curse that will befall it. The effect will be not to strengthen the population—and the population of a country is, after all, the best thing in a country; far better than wealth, far better than ease of life, is the character of the population in a country. The importation of Asiatics will have a directly contrary effect. It will be the means of corrupting and demoralising the population; of dragging this country down instead of lifting it up.

The people it is proposed to bring here will never in any sense amalgamate with any section of the population in this country, but they will corrupt and demoralise every section, from the lowest to the highest, from the rich man who thinks himself secure in his opulence, down to the native labourer, who is toiling to struggle up, to lift himself up by means of our guidance. Every class will be demoralised by the introduction of an Asiatic strain. And from where has the demand for the introduction of the people come? Not from the people of the country, not from those who make their homes in South Africa, but from financiers and shareholders who live far away from this land, and upon whom the effects—the detrimental effects—of the introduction of these people will never come. The proposal is backed up, and is advocated in the strongest possible way by a section of the British press. I have yet to learn that the people of this country are to be governed by leading articles in the British press, or to have their affairs settled 6,000 miles away by the people—irresponsible people—who write in the newspapers. (Hear, hear.) I don't know whether any of you have studied the telegrams which appear almost daily in the press telling us what the "Morning Post" thinks of our affairs in this country; how they say that it does not matter whether the population is corrupted or not by this importation, and that whether it is detrimental to the population of South Africa or not, the mines are of far more importance than the population, and the Chinese must come. To that I think there can only be one answer, and it is the answer which should come from the whole body of the people, and that answer is to say that much as we value the mines, anxious as we are to promote the prosperity of the mines in every possible way, at the same time there is something we value far more, and that is the integrity of the population of this country. (Cheers.)

And it is not as if these people attempted to deceive you or to deceive themselves as to the effect of the introduction of these people. No; they acknowledge—they frankly acknowledge—with a kind of cynical disregard of the future of this country and of our feelings out here—they say, "Yes, we know that wherever the Chinaman comes into contact with Europeans he has a demoralising influence. If a Chinaman once comes into a country he fastens down upon that country, and unless he is prevented by strong measures he ousts the Europeans from many occupations. He will introduce an element which accentuates ten times over the difficulties we already have in dealing with the large mixture of population in this country." They know all that—they acknowledge all that—and yet, notwithstanding they say, "Never mind what happens to the people of South Africa; the mines and the interests of the shareholders in the mines are paramount, and we must neglect the feelings of the people in the country; we must neglect their future; we must shut our eyes to the evil effects so long as we get increased dividends, and so long as a few more mines can be worked." There are papers in England, leading papers—I will mention two—the "Standard" and the "Spectator"—which down to a few weeks ago were very strong in opposition to this. They said that it would destroy this country, as a white man's country for the future, that it would destroy this country as a European country, that it would put an end for ever to the proposal that South Africa should stand in the British Empire alongside Canada and Australia. They recognised all that; they enforced that in the strongest possible way; but they have now turned round and acknowledging all that, they say that the Chinaman must come in order that a few people in England may put more money into their pockets, which are already bursting with gold taken from this country.

Now let me in this connection just quote a short passage from the London "Times" to make perfectly clear to you what I mean with regard to the attitude that is taken up towards this country by a section of the British press. This is from a leading article that I think came out by the last mail. Speaking of the importation of Chinese into this country, the "Times" says:

There is an American experience to show that it will not do to receive the Chinaman as a simple immigrant. He is a very undesirable citizen, and he has an unpleasant

way of not doing the hard work he is wanted for, and of insinuating himself instead into the more congenial occupations of petty commerce and light labour. Consequently if he is introduced at all it must be on some system of rigid contract, which shall keep him to mine work, isolate him from the community, and provide for his deportation when he has served his term. It remains to be seen whether the Chinaman will come upon these terms, and for wages which the mine-owners can afford to pay.

Now, the real meaning of that is that you are to try to bring the Chinaman here as a slave, to introduce a system of practical slavery in the Transvaal. That will be impossible. The next thing is that the Chinaman will break away from that, and he will creep and his friends will creep into every occupation in this country. He will begin by driving out the white artisan; he will then drive out the small shopkeeper, and he will then put himself on the land. And he will destroy our chance of making a living out of the land. This is not speaking vaguely; it has been tried before, and wherever the Chinaman has come he has been found, as the "Times" says, to insinuate himself and to oust other people from their occupations, because—make no mistake about the Chinaman—he is one of the most industrious, one of the most painstaking, and one of the most useful people in the whole world. We dread him not because of his vices, as I have said before; we dread him because of his virtues. He is going to compete with us, and he is going to render the position of Europeans impossible in this country, unless they occupy the position of what are called the magnates. Understand distinctly, the interests of the people are pulling one way and the interests of the mine owners are pulling in another way. The interests of the settled population, of the people who make this country their home, are in one direction, the interests of those people who come out to South Africa to make their fortunes and who then go away and spend it in all kinds of lavish ways outside South Africa are in another direction, and it is for us, the people of South Africa, who are settled here, to say which shall be considered in this most important matter.

You may perhaps think it is an overdrawn picture when I say the Asiatic is going to oust people from their occupations. But you have got an object-lesson at your own doors. I ask anyone who has doubts upon that subject to go to the sister colony of Natal. You may go to the up-country villages there—and a sad sight it is—and you will find the streets lined with what are called Arab traders. They are Asiatics who followed the coolie out to Natal. If you go down to the coast you find the agricultural land passing into the hands of the same class. And recollect this: These people were brought out to Natal under indentures. It was said they were going to be sent back to their own country, that they were never going to form part of the permanent population of Natal. How is that borne out? At the present moment there are 74,000 Asiatics in Natal and only 62,000 Europeans. The Asiatic has got ahead, and he is gradually and slowly working the European out with increasing rapidity. And, mind you, the coolie is a very small danger compared to the Chinaman, because the Chinaman is a far better man than the coolie. In certain respects he is almost as good as—nay, in certain respects, I might say he is almost better than—the European. In some of his peculiar characteristics—in his love for his family, his love for his parents, the Chinaman might set us an example. In another aspect, the Chinaman, as a commercial man, is one of the most honest men in the whole world and a Chinaman's word is taken anywhere in the East as readily as any European's bond. A man like that is not lightly to be brought into a country where he is to compete with a scattered population already working under great difficulties, and I say if they were introduced we can say "Good-bye" to any hope of standing by Australia and Canada as one of the free communities under the British flag. Study the experiences in other British communities throughout the world, where Chinamen have been introduced. In Australia they have got them in. They found very soon that in certain trades and occupations the Chinaman was turning the white man out, and then they set to work. Many of them, no doubt, treated the Chinamen very badly. They passed very stringent laws to prevent any more coming in, and I have no doubt they wish to get all of them out. The same in Canada and America. The fact is, there is a natural instinct in a European—the instinct of self-defence—which points out to him that he cannot tamper and play with Chinamen like that. Yet these people want to bring them here! What do they care about the population of this country? So long as they get money they will sit by and see this wrong take place.

I remember many years ago discussing the question of Chinese with a man who then knew more about it, probably, than any man in the world—the late General Gordon. He, at any rate, did not under-rate the danger the Chinese were to our race. On the contrary, he had often told me that some time or other the Chinese would break up, roll forward, and sweep us away, and he regarded the Chinese race as one of the most dangerous foes of the European in the whole world. Therefore, let us be careful we do not make South Africa an outpost of the Chinese people. I was amused to see a telegram to the papers giving the opinion of the Governor of the Straits Settlements. He said that 200,000 Chinese came into Singapore every year, and that they made most excellent citizens. Yes, let them go to Singapore. It is a Chinese country by this time. It is a tropical country, and the European race cannot make their homes there. The Chinese have practically taken possession of Singapore and the Malay States. Let us take care that they do not take South Africa, which can be the home of the European race with a duty to perform—the duty of raising and uplifting the other races in this country, which we discharge under great difficulties, and, on the whole, in not an unsatisfactory manner. A step of this kind will put an end to all hope for the future, and however anxious we might be to see labour of this kind introduced for the mines, I think any thinking man should hesitate and consider the position very carefully indeed when he sees some of the reasons put forward for the introduction of this class of labour. That has made me stronger, if possible, in my opposition to it than anything else.

It is, of course, as far as I am able to judge from reading very carefully the reports of this Labour Commission, undoubtedly true that labour is required. It has been put forward, and I have never seen it contradicted, that elsewhere under more unfavourable conditions for mining and the cost of fuel and water and so forth mines are worked by Europeans, who receive very high wages, and the mines are worked at a profit. The natural question is, why don't you add to your European labour on the mines? If you find you have not a sufficiency of native labour, increase your European labour and work your mines more economically. The answer to that comes pat. I don't know whether any of you have read a letter that was addressed to Mr. Cresswell, the engineer, a man who I know is a gentleman and whose word can be thoroughly relied upon. He was most anxious to see more Europeans introduced into the mines and to see a system adopted under which higher wages should be paid for better work. Well, what sort of a letter did he get? He got a letter from the chairman of his company, who is also what is called a mining magnate, which is well worth the attention of anyone who takes an interest in this question. This is the letter:—

Dear Mr. Cresswell,—With reference to your trial of white labour for surface work on the mines, I have consulted the Consolidated Goldfields people, and one of the members of the board of the Village Main Reef has consulted Messrs. Wernher, Beit and Co., and the feeling seems to be one of fear that, having a large number of white men employed on the Rand in the position of labourers the same troubles will arise as are now prevalent in the Australian colonies, viz., that the combination of the labouring classes will become so strong as to be able to more or less dictate not only on the question of wages but also on political questions by the power of their votes when a representative government is established.—Yours sincerely,

PERCY TARBUTT.

There you have it. These people are anxious to discourage Europeans. (Cheers.) Let there be no mistake. This movement is intended to discourage Europeans, because of course Europeans will have rights. Of course they say they wish to bring in Asiatics so as to employ more Europeans to look after them, but anyone who knows anything at all about Chinese labour knows that Chinese will only work under their own overseers. The white man is not the only man who can strike. The Chinese will only work under Chinese, and soon after they are here it will be said to the white workmen "we are very sorry, but you see how it is. These people will only work under their own foremen. We are very sorry, but we must get rid of you." I believe that the whole scheme is a plot to minimise the white population of the Rand, so as to put the Transvaal solely in the power of the magnates, and with the Transvaal in their power what is to become of the rest of South Africa? (Cheers.) I regard the importation of Asiatics as the first step towards bringing us all under the thumb or under the heel as you prefer it of the mining houses who have already had so sinister an effect upon our fortunes in this country. (Cheers.) Nor is the letter which I have read an isolated example. In the Labour Commission Minority Report a number of instances are given all tending in the same direction of minimising the white labour. And why? Because white labour has rights. White labour will insist upon having rights. It is for us to stand up for whites being brought into the country, because they will help to make it prosperous, and make their homes here, whereas the Asiatics will, the magnates hope, be servile and have no civil rights here. Are we to be a free South Africa or are we to be a vast slave State, with a few enormously wealthy men at the top, a few mean whites next, and at the bottom a native population left to swelter in its barbarism?

When I think of the specious reasons given for this deplorable war—how it was to give white men political rights, to increase the number of white men who would make their homes here, and then I read a letter like that and see what is being done in order to minimise the white population, I don't know whether to be more astonished at the hypocrisy of these people who raised that cry or to be more sad when I think that even one of my own countrymen can for a moment subscribe to such a policy. We ought to welcome every European here, for European settlers help to raise all the races in South Africa, but to check Europeans because you fear they will have political rights seems to me one of the most extraordinary doctrines I have ever heard of. There is another side of this great matter in which I feel I have some right to speak, as being in some sort still a representative of 70,000 to 80,000 of our native people, and that is the bearing of this on the future of our coloured and native races. (Hear, hear.) I saw, and a significant thing it was, the other day in a Rand paper a sneering article on the native vote at the Cape. It is true we have adopted a liberal native policy at the Cape. We have set an example to other white communities in similar circumstances. We have tried to work with these people, to give them rights, and it has been a success. We have more natives in Cape Colony working to-day than ever there were before, they are advancing in civilisation, many of the native and coloured classes are raising themselves—all honour to them!—thanks to their own exertions and our just policy. How will all that be affected? If you set up a slave State in the Transvaal it will be a little oligarchy of financiers, controlling employees who will scarcely dare to call their souls their own and at the bottom will be a vast mass of people without rights and without the idea of raising themselves and without any feeling for South Africa. (Cheers.)

But do not think it can be confined to the Transvaal. It will demoralise the whole of South Africa. It will spread all over. We shall put the clock back. The work the Europeans are trying to do to raise the natives—not without success—will be stopped, and although the Europeans will suffer the natives and coloured people will suffer more. (Cheers.) What the result will be I do not like to contemplate. I know there is a strong feeling on the part of the natives, because they feel that primarily this is directed against them. It will have an effect upon the whites, but the first effect will be on the natives and coloured classes, and

I fear the result. We do not want more trouble, but I know that as sure as the sun will rise to-morrow if vast masses of Chinese are taken into the Transvaal trouble will arise among the natives and among the white men there unless the white men of South Africa are differently constituted from what they are in Australia, in Canada, and in the United States. Nay, trouble is contemplated, because I have here a cablegram published the other day which says that one of the London papers says that the South African Constabulary had better be kept at its full strength "in case of collision between the whites and the Chinese at the Rand" (Cheers.) Think of it! A paper in Great Britain can sit down and contemplate calmly the possibility of trouble through forcing Asiatics on free Europeans, and because the Europeans exercise what they feel to be their instructive right in objecting to the Asiatics! (Cheers.) I cannot think of a more horrible thing. It ought to make us as one man lift up our voices against this proposal. (Cheers.) What can we do? I know there are great forces against us. We have a great section of the press advocating Chinese, even in this Colony—quietly at first, but more and more strongly as the time goes on. Only to-day I read a leading article in which it was gravely attempted to draw a comparison between the proposal to import Europeans and their families to work on farms in this and adjoining districts—imported skilled labourers—and the proposal to bring in hordes of Asiatics brought here for the purpose of minimising the political rights of white men! That shows how far the press will go, and how dangerous our opponents are.

#### SIR G. SPRIGG'S ATTITUDE.

The Government, our Government, is I think with us, but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that Sir Gordon Sprigg while he in Parliament went as far as anybody against this—farther than I—was so painfully weak at Bloemfontein as to second a resolution in favour of the introduction of Asiatics! (Cheers.) Mind, I believe in the sincerity of Sir Gordon Sprigg. I believe in his inmost heart he is as much opposed to Chinese as we are, and that he sees the danger of it, but I attribute that action of his at Bloemfontein to a deplorable weakness, and it shows you the influences brought to bear even upon those who feel that the step would be grievously wrong to South Africa. Understand me that this is no political question. It is not a question of one party being in favour of Asiatics and another against them. The rich men who control the Rand are in favour of Asiatics, but the people in general, whether called Progressives, South African party or Bond, who have the interests of the future in view, are opposed to this. And I believe that there is nothing which could do more to make a true South African party, composed of all races and all colours, standing together upon this question. And that is what we have got to look to. We must co-operate, and we must not ask if the man who stands beside us is a Progressive or a Bondsman so long as he is working to keep our country free of this evil. (Cheers.) Let us all work to keep the population as pure and as free as we can. (Cheers.) Do not let us adopt the policy laid down in that letter. Do not let us be afraid of white men because they may have political rights, and may exercise those rights in a way which we at the moment do not like. Let us welcome every white man who will live here and use his political rights, because that will build up a strong country. I see that the other day a gentleman addressing a Rhodesian meeting said that there must be Asiatic importation if Rhodesia was to prosper—Rhodesia, which was to provide homes for thousands of white workers!—and that the anti-Asiatic agitation at the Cape was due to the wish of the Bond to prevent the development of the Transvaal and Rhodesia, because the more their mines were developed the more work would there be for Europeans. That comes well from people who object to Europeans because they will have political rights!

Fifty years ago it was proposed to bring convicts into South Africa, and the effect of that would not have anything to compare with the effect of this because most of the convicts were not morally bad persons, but political prisoners. But your fathers said they would keep South Africa free from the stain of having convicts as settlers, and they were strenuous men, and they carried their point. This proposal is far worse than that because the colonists belonged to our race, and they might gradually have become useful citizens, as they have done elsewhere, but we are asked to corrupt the population at the very foundation, in such a way that you can never bring it back to its original purity. Can we afford to be less strenuous, more apathetic, than they who lived 50 years ago? It is a thing upon which all South Africa must stand shoulder to shoulder—the man who wishes to raise himself, the man settled upon the land, the man who is doing his share to make South Africa better, and who wishes to hand it on to his children—all of us ought to stand as one man, if we wish to make this country like New Zealand and Australia and Canada, a country happy and prosperous, without interference in its internal affairs, not looking to newspapers in England or to mining magnates in Johannesburg, but looking to our own Parliament under the British flag—all of us should resist at the outset and protest against as strongly as we can the proposal to introduce Asiatics into this country. (Loud cheers, during which the hon. gentleman resumed his seat.)

#### DR. HOFFMAN'S VIEWS.

The other speakers included Dr. Hoffman and Mr. P. J. Cillie, late M.L.A.'s and present candidates for the division. Dr. Hoffman in the course of an interesting speech, said that he hoped that meeting would set a ball rolling which would not stop until their object had been attained. (Hear, hear.) When the anti-convict agitation arose 50 years ago, 7,000 of their forefathers stood for seven hours in the pouring rainstorm, while the resolutions were passed protesting against the introduction of convicts, and the people, because they stood together without thought of race or politics, carried their point. (Hear, hear.) Since then South Africa had become a centre of interest to the civilised world, and especially during the last 10 or 15 years it had drawn to itself thousands of men who had come here to work the diamond and gold mines, and many of them had obtained fortunes. Many of these men had done



good, by developing South Africa, as it would not otherwise have been developed. But alongside with them were classes who were a danger to South Africa. These were the great gold and diamond kings, who were applying themselves more and more to political matters, and whose influence he could not say had been in all respects for the good of South Africa. One of the results of their political activities was the terrible war through which we had lately passed. He did not wish to speak ill of these men unnecessarily. Had he been one of them and had the same pressure of interests upon him he would probably have acted in the same way. It was natural. But the other sections of the community had the right to remember that there was such a thing as self-preservation, and must protect themselves as far as they could from the mistaken and injurious views of the gold men. The latter's latest proposal was to introduce Asiatics. He would not go back to the issues of the war, but all would remember that early in 1899 it was said that if only the British flag floated at Pretoria everything would be well and prosperity would be assured. The war party had had its way. We were all under the British flag now, and yet things were worse. The people in the new colonies had nothing to say, and power tended to pass more and more into the hands of a small number of men, many of whom lived in Europe. These magnates wished to get all the mineral rights of South Africa into their hands, and in regard to labour all they cared about was to get it as cheap as possible so that their dividends might be made larger. Therefore they wished to go for labour to two of the most thickly populated countries in the world—China and India. China had 400 millions of people, and India 200 millions. It was a sad fact that many millions of people in India had to work for 1½d. and 2d. per day, and many of the Indians lived on the verge of starvation. India had to support a great body of Civil Servants who were very highly paid, and who also drew a vast sum in pensions. The Transvaal also was becoming a very costly place as regarded Government. When under the old regime the head of the State drew £8,300 as salary and allowances an outcry was raised by every Jingo paper in the land, yet the present head of the State drew £13,000 in salary and allowances, and all round the Government was costing much more. Yet under the old regime the country was prosperous, while under the new it was the reverse, and the great mass of the people was impoverished. Hence it was proposed to bring in these people who were earning 1½d. and 2d. a day in Asia. At first it was proposed to bring in 100,000. Now it was to be 400,000 or 450,000. It meant simply that white South Africa was to be overcome. If, on the other hand, the magnates had their way and these Asiatics were brought here as chattels and kept without rights, it would mean slavery, and what a disgrace that would be, and how the decent-minded people in the Empire would burn at the thought of it. Nowhere where the Chinese had been brought in had the European people been able to civilise them according to our ideas; nowhere had they been able to assimilate with them. It might be said, how did this affect the Cape Colony? In many ways. First, it took away from our native and coloured people the chance of work. Then, we were even now beginning to have bad times. Men were going about seeking work and finding none. This was one of the effects of the war, but even when we regained our normal state our financial position was such that if our people could not earn money but had a horde of cheap labourers dumped down to take the bread out of their mouths they and we would suffer severely. But the greatest thing was that it would set back the whole life of the community and the character of the people. The Chinaman was a pure materialist, and had no idea of any kind beyond this world. He acknowledged that there were civilised and advanced Chinamen—but they were not mine labourers. Once the Chinese got here it would be idle to attempt to get them out, for they would say they were British subjects, and came from Hong-Kong, a British colony. (Cheers.) He appealed to all, Bond, Progressives, South African party men, Independents or anybody else, to stand together and try to ward off a danger which would do immense harm to the country in the immediate future and still more in generations to come. Let them hold meetings, sign petitions, and in every way possible strengthen the hands of the Legislature in this matter. Many men, on both sides, were saying now, "With a little more tact, a little more patience, we might have averted this sad war." Do not let us have to say the same thing regarding a calamity even worse than war. (Cheers.) He hoped that meetings would be held all over the country, and that to the Paarl would belong the honour of beginning a great movement to save South Africa from civil and moral degradation. (Cheers.)

#### OTHER SPEECHES.

Mr. John Biecard said that once open the floodgates to the Chinese and South Africa would go under as the Nile country went under when the Nile was in flood.

Mr. A. A. Sparenburg expressed the opinion that the coming of the Chinese would mean a revolution as far as the native races were concerned, and would certainly bring about complications with them.

Mr. P. J. Cillie, who was cordially received, made an earnest appeal for co-operation to those of the Progressive party who were permanent settlers and wished to save the country from the Chinese peril. He asked such persons not to judge the South African party by opposing newspapers, but to come and work with it, and see if it were not perfectly loyal and perfectly resolved to maintain the existing Governments in South Africa, but only desirous that the people of the country should have the same say in affairs which the people of Canada and Australia have. The coloured people had also among them men who were suspicious of the South African party, but these facts were beginning to tell, and the coloured people began gradually to see that that party had no animosity against them but wished to help them and to see them raise themselves. Whether with all their efforts they would keep the Asiatics out of the Transvaal and Rhodesia he did not know, but at all events let them try, and let them resolve that come what might these people should not come into the Cape, and if they did come should be put in gaol or sent back to their own country. (Cheers.)

## AN ENGLISHMAN'S ADVICE.

Mr. Hutcheson, an English colonist, long resident at the Paarl, followed with a pithy speech. He referred to Asiatics as a curse, and said that if need be colonists must fight to keep them out. (Great cheering.)

Field-cornet Le Roux endorsed what Mr. Cillie had said, and remarked that the fact that English gentlemen such as Mr. Merriman and the Messrs. Molteno held leading places in the South African party showed that that party welcomed English colonists. (Cheers.) It was not the mines that wrought the mischief. When the diamond mines were worked by individual diggers all went well. It was the great companies who had wrought the ill.

## A REMARKABLE INCIDENT.

A remarkable incident followed. The Chairman gave the representatives of the coloured people present a cordial invitation to speak, and, in response,

Mr. Arie Mackriel came forward, being heartily greeted. In a brief speech he said he had hitherto voted with the Progressives, but he felt strongly on this question, because he saw that if some hundreds of thousands of Asiatics were brought in, there would be so much less money for the natives and coloured people to earn, while they would have to pay taxes from which the Asiatics would be free. (Hear, hear.) Was it not the fact, however, that the Bond itself was responsible for assisting Hollanders, Germans, and other European artisans to come here?

Dr. Hoffman said no.

## THE RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

Moved by Mr. A. A. Sparenburg, seconded by Mr. Isaac Marais:

“This meeting earnestly protests against the wrong sought to be done against the South African community by the importation of Asiatic labourers, to work in the mines, and resolves to use all possible means to oppose such importation. It further declares that should such importation—in opposition to the principle of self-government—be carried through, it pledges itself to use its utmost efforts to bring about the repatriation of Asiatics.”

Moved by Mr. G. Mynhardt, seconded by Mr. S. J. du Toit:

“This meeting addresses a solemn appeal to all who love South Africa and wish to see it flourish with other similar communities under the British flag, to unite in strenuous opposition against a measure which will alter the whole character of our population and be a fatal hindrance to progress.”

It was decided to send the resolutions to the Governor for transmission to the Secretary of State.

Dr. Hoffman moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Merriman, and said that if the movement succeeded, Mr. Merriman's name would be honoured by future generations, as was that of Mr. Adderley in connection with the anti-convict agitation. (Hear, hear.)

The motion having been carried by acclamation,

Mr. Merriman briefly acknowledged the vote, and with the passing of a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting came to an end.

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Enclosure 6 in No 90.

MINISTERS to GOVERNOR.

(Minute No. 1/642.)

Prime Minister's Office, Cape Town, December 9, 1903.

Ministers have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of His Excellency the Governor's Minute, No. 775, of the 7th instant, forwarding, for their consideration, copy of a letter received from Dr L. S. Jameson, on the subject of the question of the introduction of Asiatics into the Transvaal.

In reply, Ministers have simply to observe that they have already placed on official record their strong opposition to the proposal to introduce Asiatics into South Africa, and they have not yet been informed that immigration of that character will be permitted. Should it, however, be sanctioned, there is no doubt that before the entry of these immigrants occurs, the new Parliament of this Colony will be in session, and it will be the duty of the Government here to submit to the Legislature the measures which they consider necessary to prevent the entry of Asiatics from the neighbouring Colonies into the Cape Colony.

J. GORDON SPRIGG.

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No. 91.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Sent, 7.25 p.m., 28th December ; received, 5.45 a.m., 29th December, 1903.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 113.]

(Extract.)

28th December. No. 1. Since my return I have been engaged on a careful study of the financial question. The position will, I hope, be made as clear to you, as it is to myself, by a despatch\* which is being prepared. I think however it is desirable to let you know main features at once.

The immediate prospect is very bad. There is complete stagnation in commerce and enterprise owing to labour difficulty and it affects almost every branch of revenue, especially the railways. The falling off in gross traffic of railways is aggravated by high expenditure due to temporary causes which despatch will explain.

The result is that taking Transvaal and Intercolonial budgets together we must be prepared for a deficit which on the present financial year may be as much as £350,000. The Orange River Colony is all right and will be able to make both ends meet, besides contributing its proportion of the increased deficit on the Intercolonial Budget due to the falling off of railway revenue.

As regards the year 1904-5 we cannot in the absence of a complete change in the state of business make our collective budgets balance except by introducing severe retrenchments in the Transvaal Estimates and by reducing the strength of the South African Constabulary.

I think it is a matter for the serious consideration of His Majesty's Government whether it would not be better to defer for a year the raising of the first instalment of the war loan. No one could possibly contemplate such a postponement with greater reluctance than I contemplate it, but it would in my judgment be a grave financial and political mistake to raise the loan before the country is able to pay the interest on it. It would greatly damage our credit, as the terms on which we should have to borrow in the present crisis would be out of all proportion to our real financial capacity and all parties in the Colony would be united by it in a protest which might in the end go much further than the immediate question. There is, I am perfectly convinced, a strong feeling here in favour of fulfilling the obligation to contribute the 30 millions, even at a considerable sacrifice. Although there will always be some popular opposition and grumbling, that opposition would not, in my opinion, be serious or alienate the loyal section of the population if the burden was imposed gradually as we became able to bear it. If, however, His Majesty's Government insist on the obligation being carried out at once without regard to the serious, and in itself wholly unforeseen, crisis which has arisen since the obligation was undertaken, it will, I fear, while putting a most formidable weapon into the hands of those already disaffected, permanently injure the strong attachment which undoubtedly exists among the loyal population to the mother country. If, on the other hand, His Majesty's Government was to take the initiative itself in postponing the loan, the consideration thus shown for the embarrassments of the country would strengthen the desire of the well-affected to discharge the obligation as soon as the means were available, and would, I consider, increase the likelihood of its ultimate discharge in full and without a quarrel.

I am as convinced as ever of the ability of the Colony, under normal conditions, to fulfil all its obligations. I mean by "normal conditions" the power to use its present equipment for the production of gold without any question of further expansion. But

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\* See paragraph 2 of No. 117.

by that is meant our obtaining at least 50,000 labourers, and I can see no prospect of doing that for another twelve months or even of materially increasing our present number in that time. We have reached the end of our local resources and even if the prohibition of foreign coloured labour was removed at once it would take several months before we could obtain a single man and much longer before we could get more than a few thousands. A diminution rather than an increase of revenue is in the immediate prospect, and I do not believe that any considerable recovery can be shown by the revenue before the latter part of the next financial year, even assuming that everything is done to hasten the turning of the tide.

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No. 92.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to Mr. LYTTELTON.

(Received 10.40 p.m., January 3, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

[*Answered by No. 112.*]

January 3rd. No. 1. I have conferred with the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of Executive on the situation created by the vote of the Legislative Council on Sir George Farrar's motion.\* They are all unanimous in thinking that the Government ought without unnecessary delay to introduce legislation on the lines laid down in that motion, and I have agreed to their doing so. A draft Ordinance in English and Dutch will therefore be published and widely circulated next week, and will be introduced in the Council when it meets again. The Council has adjourned to the 18th.

I realize the gravity of this decision but have no shadow of doubt as to its wisdom. There are no signs of an adequate amount of labour being obtained from existing sources of supply. The consequent depression in every kind of business is increasing daily, the revenue is falling off, many people are out of work, and if the situation does not soon change a considerable exodus of the white population is inevitable. On the other hand there is nothing wrong with the mines except insufficiency of labour. They are fully equipped for a production at least 60 per cent. above the present, and plenty of capital for further development is assured if only labour is forthcoming. It appears unjustifiable to refuse to try any remedy not in itself intolerable for a state of things which is causing grave distress to all classes of people in this Colony and affecting the whole of South Africa. No one, indeed, any longer supposes that the experiment of Asiatic labour, even if successful, can do more than supplement the local supply or would justify any relaxation in the immense efforts being made to develop the latter. Anything like a sudden and very abundant influx of Asiatics is out of the question. But in the opinion of the best judges we may hope gradually to obtain an amount of labour from Asia which will substitute steady and substantial progress for the present complete stagnation.

The vote in the Legislative Council, in my opinion, faithfully reflects the present state of public opinion and the great change which has come over it. A year ago Sir George Farrar's proposal would have found very few supporters in the country. When I left here in August, though opinion was rapidly changing it was still almost equally divided. To-day I consider the scale has turned decisively in favour of imported labour.

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\* The motion was as follows :—

“That the attention of the Government be called to the report of the Transvaal Labour Commission; that the Government be requested to introduce a draft Ordinance providing for the importation of indentured unskilled coloured labourers for the purpose of supplementing the supply of labour on the mines within the Witwatersand area under such restrictions as will ensure their employment as unskilled workmen only and their return to their native country on the completion of their contracts; and that in order to secure full consideration of the important issues involved, such draft Ordinance be published in English and Dutch for a reasonable time before being introduced into this Council.”  
—See No. 120, page 245.

The unofficial members of Legislative Council are really representative men, who have from the first shown themselves independent of Government, while sensitive to public opinion. Of these non-official members, 14 in number, 9 voted for the motion, while 4 voted against it and I did not vote. Of the 9 supporters, 4 were Boer members, who all spoke as well as voted for the motion. The fifth Boer member took no part. Of the other 5 non-official supporters of the motion, 2 are mining men, 2 are leading men of business, and 1 is a British farmer who has lived in the country for years and possesses in an exceptional degree the confidence of both Dutch and British. Four of the 9 supporters are from Johannesburg and the other 5 are from the districts of Heidelberg, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Carolina, and Zeerust; that is, from the most diverse parts of the Transvaal. The minority was composed of 2 members from Pretoria and 2 from Johannesburg, all of British race.

One of the latter is a leading member of the Trade Council, and his vote no doubt reflects the feeling of a section of the working class, though not, I think, of the majority. On the contrary, there is every indication that the white miners are now preponderantly in favour of Asiatic labour, while the rest of the artizan class is divided. It is a strong minority of the working class generally, with a number of small traders and a few score of professional and commercial men, who at present constitute the active opposition amongst the public. But they are dwindling in numbers, and show nothing like their former keenness.

With regard to the Boer members of Council it may, of course, be said that they only represent a section [? as] the most prominent of the Boers who fought to the end did not accept seats on the Council. But on the present question Boer opinion is not divided on at all the same lines as it was on the political question. The one Boer member of Council who belongs to the "late surrender" class—and he is very typical of his fellows—supported the motion quite as strongly and on the same grounds as his colleagues who surrendered at an earlier stage of the war.

All the official members supported the motion, it being distinctly understood that they were absolutely free to vote according to their individual convictions. An attempt was made beforehand to discount them as out of touch with local feeling and lacking in experience of the country. As a matter of fact two of them are born South Africans, four others are permanent residents in the country, and the average residence of those not born in the country is seven years.

Significant as the vote is, the debate itself was even more important and has made a deep impression on the public. I never remember a discussion in which the weight of argument was more completely on one side. The debate turned almost wholly on the evidence given before the Labour Commission, which several of the speakers had thoroughly mastered. That evidence has for some time past been steadily influencing public opinion but the cumulative effect of it as brought out in the debate is overwhelming and virtually leaves no room for doubt that the choice lies between a prolonged stagnation of industry and agriculture and a resort to imported labour. It is the recognition of this fact alone which in my opinion has transformed public opinion. There is no change in the general aversion to Asiatics as permanent residents. But those who carry this aversion to the point of refusing to admit Asiatics as indentured labourers under condition of repatriation, even in the face of a proved insufficiency of other labour, are a small minority both among Boer and British. They were reinforced at first by thousands who were honestly convinced that there was plenty of labour to be had in South Africa if it was only properly recruited and that Asiatics, if once introduced, would swarm over the whole country in enormous numbers, invading every trade and acquiring a permanent hold of the land. The former idea is now seen to be a delusion while the proposed legislation will guard against the latter evil. Even before the debate the change of public opinion was evident. On 1st April a great mass meeting held in Johannesburg condemned Asiatic labour with hardly a dissentient voice. A similar meeting held on 14th December was a complete fiasco and the opponents of Asiatic labour were obliged to fall back on a ticket meeting of 200 people in a small hall. The decision of the Council has been received with loud approval and a general sense of relief, and I see no signs of active opposition to it, least of all in the country districts. Efforts originating from outside the Colony have, indeed, been made to work up an agitation against it amongst the Boer farmers but so far they have met with little success.

While I am strongly of opinion that the question, at any rate in its present phase, only concerns the people of the Transvaal, it may be useful to His Majesty's Government to know what, as far as I can observe, is the attitude of the other South African colonies. In Rhodesia as you are aware there is a strong demand for imported labour. In Natal, which itself depends for prosperity on such labour, there is a marked unwillingness to interfere in the controversy going on in the Transvaal. This attitude of neutrality, which was adopted in the Natal Legislature at a much earlier stage of the controversy, is now endorsed by the press of that colony. From the Orange River Colony there are no important expressions of opinion either way. As far as I can judge, the attitude of the majority of the people is precisely what I believe to be that of the Boers in the Transvaal, namely, that as long as they are not troubled with Asiatics living among them as farmers and traders they would heartily welcome any increase in the supply of labour, from the scarcity of which they themselves suffer acutely. In the Cape alone is there any marked opposition. But this is, in the main, quite clearly due to electioneering. The Bond is seeking to make up for the votes lost to it through disfranchisement by a bid for the native vote, and the natives of the Cape Colony, though they no longer come in any appreciable numbers to work in the Transvaal, have been frightened by the picture of a flood of Asiatics sweeping all over South Africa and supplanting them in their own country. The Progressives on their side cannot afford entirely to lose the native vote, so both parties are competing with one another in protesting against Asiatic labour. I do not mean to say that all the opposition is of this character. There is in every part of South Africa a number of men of unquestionable sincerity who are opposed in principle to imported labour under any circumstances. But I believe it is quite a minority even in the Cape.

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No. 93.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received January 4, 1904.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December 12, 1903.  
I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, covering Resolutions passed at a General Meeting of Members held on the 8th instant, on the subject of the Report of the Labour Commission.

I have, &c.,  
A. LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 93.

JOHANNESBURG STOCK EXCHANGE to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

SIR, Johannesburg Stock Exchange, Johannesburg,  
December 10, 1903.  
I HAVE the honour to forward you herewith copy of Resolutions carried unanimously at a General Meeting of the Members of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, specially convened, held on Tuesday, 8th December, 1903.

I have, &c.,  
CHAS. POWER,  
Secretary.

To His Excellency  
The Honourable Sir Arthur Lawley, K.C.M.G.,  
Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal.

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605

RESOLUTIONS passed at a General Meeting of Members held on Tuesday,  
8th December, 1903.

*Resolution No. 1:—*

“That in the opinion of the Members of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, legislation for the importation of indentured unskilled coloured labour, under proper restrictions, for the use of the mines, should be passed with the least possible delay to supplement the present inadequate supply of African Native Labour.”

*Resolution No. 2:—*

“That a copy of the Resolution be forwarded to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.”

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No. 94.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received January 4, 1904.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December 12, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter and resolution from the Johannesburg Chamber of Trade on the subject of the Report of the Labour Commission.

I have, &c.,  
A. LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 94.

JOHANNESBURG CHAMBER OF TRADE to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, Transvaal.

Johannesburg Chamber of Trade,  
25, 26 and 27, London House, Loveday Street, Johannesburg,  
December 5, 1903.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE the honour, by direction of my Committee, to forward, for your information, the following resolution unanimously passed at a Special General Meeting of the Members of the Johannesburg Chamber of Trade, held yesterday, at which the firms, enumerated on the accompanying schedule, were represented.

*Resolution:—*

“That in view of the finding of the Labour Commission, this Chamber affirms the principle of importation of unskilled coloured labourers and urges upon His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal the necessity of immediate legislation to this end under restrictions which will provide for their employment as unskilled labourers only, and for their return to their native country at the expiration of the contracts.”

I have, &c.,  
E. C. Lowe,  
Secretary.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor,  
Pretoria.

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JOHANNESBURG CHAMBER OF TRADE

Present at Special General Meeting of Members, held on the 4th December, 1903:—

- Mr. H. D. Solomon, representing British Engineers' Alliance, Limited (Presiding).
- Mr. J. D. Ellis, representing Stewards and Lloyds, Limited.
- Mr. H. D. Nicolson, representing Hunt, Leuchars and Hebburn.

Mr. W. E. Park, representing Fraser and Chalmers, Limited.  
 Mr. R. Niven, representing J. and R. Niven.  
 Mr. W. Blanc.  
 Mr. Harry Sladden.  
 Mr. E. H. Green, representing Robey and Company, Limited.  
 Mr. H. A. Neame, representing Lingham Timber and Trading Company Limited.  
 Mr. J. T. Perry, representing John T. Perry and Company.  
 Mr. H. Briggs, representing Sandycroft Foundry Company, Limited.  
 Mr. V. Hansen, representing Hansen, Schrader and Company.  
 Mr. C. H. Hirtzel, representing Bell's Transvaal, Limited.  
 Mr. G. Hannaford, representing A. L. Secretan and Company, Limited.  
 Mr. B. C. Bartley, representing S. Sykes and Company.  
 Mr. R. Blane, representing Blane and Company, Limited.  
 Mr. W. Begbie, representing Thos. Begbie and Sons.  
 Mr. G. Sandilands, representing Technical and Commercial Corporation, Limited.  
 Mr. W. J. Green, representing Harry Mosenthal and Company.  
 Mr. R. Hamilton, representing Hamilton and Company, Limited.  
 Mr. G. F. Willis, representing Edgar, Allen, and Company, Limited.  
 Mr. O. Baerecke, representing Baerecke and Kleudgen.  
 Mr. H. Watson, representing Reid Brothers, Limited.  
 Mr. G. Gerhardi, representing United Engineering Company, Limited.  
 Mr. A. A. Clarke, representing Reunert and Lenz.  
 Mr. F. E. A. Beck, representing Barsdorf and Company.  
 Mr. O. Thienhaus, representing Andrew, Thienhaus and Company.  
 Mr. W. H. Elsner, representing Norwegian-African Company, Limited.  
 Mr. H. Flatow, representing Arthur Koppel, Limited.  
 Mr. J. Hubert Davies, representing J. Hubert Davies and Spain.  
 Mr. C. C. George, representing C. C. George and Company.  
 Mr. E. P. Rice, representing Western Electric Company, Limited.  
 Mr. W. Leslie Daniels.  
 Mr. W. Rockey, representing Raleigh and Rockey Agency Syndicate.  
 Mr. R. G. Rees, representing R. G. Rees and Company.  
 Mr. A. G. Burden, representing Harvey and Company, Limited.  
 Mr. Hugo Hellman, representing British General Electric Company, Limited.  
 Mr. J. W. Kirkland, representing South African General Electric Company.  
 Mr. Hubert C. Fisher, representing Chas. Cammell and Company, Limited.  
 For the Johannesburg Chamber of Trade,  
 E. C. LOWE,  
 Secretary.

No. 95.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPT) TO MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 2.45 p.m., January 4, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 106.]

January 4. No. 1. Referring to my telegram of August 17, No. 1,\* following minute received from Prime Minister:—

*Begins*: January 2. Prime Minister requests that Secretary of State for Colonies may have his attention directed by cable to the Minute of Ministers of August 17th last relating to the proposal to import Asiatic labour into South Africa, and be informed that the Prime Minister, who is charged with the whole administration of native affairs in this Colony, in which an enormous native population resides, desires to impress on Imperial Government that

\* No. 29.



nothing has occurred since that minute was drafted to cause him to alter in the slightest degree the views therein expressed as regards the natives, and especially as affecting the great question of federation. *Ends.*

No. 96.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELLY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE) to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received January 4, 1904.)

SIR,

Government House, Cape Town, December 15, 1903.

WITH reference to my despatches noted in the margin,\* I have the honour to forward a Petition to His Most Gracious Majesty the King against the proposed immigration of Asiatics into South Africa.

2nd December, 1903.  
9th December, 1903.  
14th December, 1903.

2. In the letter transmitting the Petition, a copy of which is enclosed, Mr. J. Iverson states that the Petition has been signed by three thousand, seven hundred and thirty-five residents, and that many other Petitions of similar import will follow.

I have, &c.,

WALTER HELLY-HUTCHINSON.

Enclosure in No. 96.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

P. O. Box 686, Cape Town, December 14, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith Petitions† to His Majesty the King, adverse to the proposed immigration of Asiatics into South Africa.

These Petitions are signed by 3,735 residents, and I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that many others of a similar import will follow.

I have taken the liberty to send these as the time is pressing, and the importance of the question does not admit of delay.

I desire most humbly to request Your Excellency to forward them, at once, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies for submission to His Most Gracious Majesty the King.

I have, &c.,

J. IVERSON.

His Excellency,

Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, K.C.M.G.,  
Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

No. 97.

MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT & Co. to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received January 7, 1904.)

[Answered by No. 116.]

1, London Wall Buildings,  
London, January 6, 1904.

SIR,

*Transvaal War Contribution Loan.*

IN reply to your letter of 24th December,‡ we have the honour to inform you that, at a meeting of all the firms and institutions interested in the issue of the Transvaal War Contribution Loan held at our offices yesterday, it was unanimously resolved that we should forward to you the enclosed expression of the views of the meeting.

We have, &c.,

WERNHER, BEIT & Co.

\* Nos. 81 and 90.

† See Enclosure in No. 81.

‡ No. 85.

## Enclosure in No. 97.

At a meeting held at the offices of Messrs. Wernher, Beit & Co. on 5th January, 1904, to consider the letter of the Colonial Secretary, dated 24th December last, it was unanimously resolved that Messrs. Wernher, Beit & Co. be requested to communicate the following expression of the views of the meeting to the Colonial Secretary:—

Upon consideration of the Colonial Secretary's letter of 24th December,\* with regard to the proposed guarantee of an issue of 10,000,000*l.*, being part of a total contemplated issue of 30,000,000*l.* 4 per cent. Transvaal War Contribution Loan, the meeting expressed itself in favour of the principle of a sinking fund for the reasons set forth in the letter referred to, provided it be not in reduction of the interest, and that the persons interested be consulted and give their consent in regard to points of detail still to be settled.

As they have before them no data upon which an opinion can be founded as to the practicability of the suggestion, it follows that they are unable to say that it can be forthwith decided upon. They desire the Colonial Secretary to furnish them with the latest statistical information as affecting revenue and expenditure, which has been supplied to him by the Transvaal Government.

These figures are, of course, essential in relation to the sinking fund, and, with greater force, to eligibility of the loan from the investor's point of view.

The meeting felt, moreover, that the letter of the 24th December,\* assuming it foreshadows a proposal on the part of His Majesty's Government to make an early issue, arrives at a very untoward period in view of the present disturbed position of affairs in the Far East, and the unfavourable condition of industry and trade in the Transvaal.

In this connection it was resolved to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to a letter dated May 15th, 1903,† in which the Colonial Secretary, quoting from a letter of Lord Milner's, dated 27th January, wrote that—

“It is the practice of His Majesty's Government, before issuing loans of importance, to consult with independent financial authorities as to the condition of the market, and as to the best time and manner of issuing such loans.”

And further stated that—

“The interest of the Colonial Government in the success of this first issue of the loan, which will clearly affect the prospects of the other two instalments, is so great that they” (the Imperial Government) “will certainly not fail to avail themselves of the best advice on such a question as the moment of issue.”

In conclusion, the meeting confidently relied upon these assurances of His Majesty's Government.

## No. 98.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received January 9, 1904.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December 18, 1903.  
WITH reference to my despatch, of the 18th inst.,‡ I have the honour to enclose for your information a copy of the Statement of Collection of Revenue in the Transvaal for the month of October, 1903.

I have, &c.,  
A. LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

## Enclosure in No. 98.

(Transvaal.)

## COLLECTION OF REVENUE IN THE MONTH OF OCTOBER, 1903.

	£	s.	d.
Treasury ... ..	22,930	7	3
Customs ... ..	145,398	17	2
Post Office ... ..	27,250	0	0
Carried forward ... ..	195,579	4	5

\* No. 85.

† No. 12.

‡ Not printed.

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					£	s.	d.
Brought forward...	...	...	...	...	195,579	4	5
Amersfoort	...	...	...	...	25	16	0
Barberton	...	...	...	...	5,116	15	2
Belfast...	...	...	...	...	61	1	3
Bethal...	...	...	...	...	108	4	0
Boksburg	...	...	...	...	17,771	18	2
Carolina	...	...	...	...	172	11	0
Ermelo	...	...	...	...	361	5	3
Germiston	...	...	...	...	3,132	15	4
Heidelberg	...	...	...	...	10,379	6	6
Klerksdorp	...	...	...	...	5,804	0	6
Krugersdorp	...	...	...	...	18,347	14	10
Lichtenburg	...	...	...	...	407	0	8
Lydenburg	...	...	...	...	4,654	15	6
Marico...	...	...	...	...	631	10	5
Middelburg	...	...	...	...	1,983	10	8
Piet Retief	...	...	...	...	346	10	6
Potchefstroom...	...	...	...	...	1,532	3	10
Pretoria	...	...	...	...	24,445	15	6
Rustenburg	...	...	...	...	1,129	7	11
Standerton	...	...	...	...	892	14	10
Ventersdorp	...	...	...	...	121	10	6
Vereeniging	...	...	...	...	232	18	0
Volksrust	...	...	...	...	334	18	2
Wakkerstroom...	...	...	...	...	651	5	7
Waterberg	...	...	...	...	1,651	19	3
Witwatersrand...	...	...	...	...	64,594	14	4
Wolmaranstad...	...	...	...	...	544	14	10
Zoutpansberg...	...	...	...	...	12,202	19	10
					<u>£373,219</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>
Owner's Share	...	...	...	...	30,781	5	11
Approximate Revenue, October...					<u>£342,437</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>

STATEMENT of Revenue collected from 1st July to 31st October, 1903,  
compared with that for the corresponding period of the preceding year.

	1902.		1903.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
July ... ..	303,329	7 2	463,186	8 3
August ... ..	327,339	18 9	345,632	2 11
September ... ..	413,203	4 2	336,348	17 11
October... ..	528,397	9 7	342,437	16 10
	<u>£1,572,269</u>	<u>19 8</u>	<u>£1,487,605</u>	<u>5 11</u>

JAMES BURNS,  
Accountant-General.

The Treasury,  
Pretoria, November 25, 1903.

No. 99.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to Mr. LYTTTELTON.

(Received January 9, 1904.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December 18, 1903.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th December,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a newspaper report of a Public Meeting held in Johannesburg on Monday last for the purpose of discussing the Labour Question.

I also enclose a report† of a meeting held here on the 1st April last, at which the same subject was discussed, and, in doing so, would call your attention to the great change in the attitude of the general public as regards the proposed introduction of Asiatic labour. This revulsion of feeling is doubtless attributable to the evidence laid before the Labour Commission, in whose labours great and sustained interest has been taken by all classes of the community.

I have, &amp;c.,

A. LAWLEY,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 99.

"STAR," 15th December, 1903.

LAST NIGHT'S MEETING.

Johannesburg has been the scene of many notable demonstrations, rowdy as well as enthusiastic but none quite so unique as that which took place in the Wanderers Skating Rink last night. Early in the evening the trains from the East and West Rand brought in large contingents of mining men, who immediately flocked to the appointed rendezvous; many townsmen, anticipating a big rush, were also early on the scene; and by 7 o'clock there was not a seat and very little standing room available within the capacious hall. Still the crowd round the doors continued to grow in size, and surging and jostling, insisted on obtaining admittance. The result was that fully half an hour before the time at which the formal proceedings were due to commence every inch of space was literally packed. Inside, a number of adventurous spirits clambered up the pillars at the sides, and perched themselves on the joists which support the lower portions of the roof; outside, others climbed on to the roof itself and were rewarded for their enterprise by witnessing the proceedings through the open windows.

The meeting was convened at the instance of the African Labour League for the purpose of "urging upon the Government the holding of a Referendum on the question of the importation of Asiatics." To this intimation, issued on Saturday, the Labour Importation Association replied yesterday morning with a counter-notice to the following effect:—"Meeting to-night in Wanderers Hall suddenly called by African Labour League, when they will endeavour to stop the absolutely necessary importation of indentured coloured labour. Come, and come early, unless you wish to see the country ruined." Other placards emanating from the same quarter accused the African Labour League of seeking to prejudice the issue by a deliberate attempt to "snatch a catch vote." Appeal and counter-appeal did not fail to agitate the public mind. From the outset it became apparent that a very large majority of those who secured admission were hostile to the objects of the anti-Chinese faction and the object for which they had summoned the meeting. These amused themselves for the best part of an hour by singing of popular ditties, "God Save the King," and indulging in good-humoured banter. Prominent in front seats, next the Press tables, were a body of miners, who at intervals shouted in unison "What's the matter with the Chinaman?" and promptly furnished the answer. "He's all right—you bet!" every time. "Who's all right?" "The Chinaman!" Another favourite party cry was, "Who are, who are, who are we?" To this came the rhyming response, "We are the people who want the Chinese." Some of the quips were of a more personal character, as, for instance, "Who's Mr. Quinn?" "He's the man who wants the white slaves." So far the tone of the meeting had been good humouredly boisterous. As the chief actors, or rather those marked out as the chief actors, in the proposed debate began to arrive, they were greeted with cheers or groans, followed by counter-demonstrations on the part of their supporters or opponents. By twenty minutes to eight o'clock, Mr. Howard Pim, who had been deputed to take the chair, stepped on the platform from the stage door, his appearance evoking loud cheers, and still more vigorous groans, cat calls, and whistling. For the next five minutes the boisterous element was allowed to enjoy full sway, and they made the most of the respite from the more serious business of the evening, the hall resounding with the cries of which we have given samples, groans for the leaders of the League, and counter-cheers from the adherents of that organisation.

On the Chairman's right sat Mr. J. W. Quinn, and on his left Mr. W. F. Monypenny, while among those who also occupied seats were about equal numbers of the more prominent members of the African Labour League and the Labour Importation Association. Among these were the following:—Messrs. J. Forrest, J. R. Williams, H. Graumann, J. N. Greenlees, C. H. Barclay, J. W. Philip, L. J. Williams, R. Dawson, Carl Hanau, W. T. H. Frost, Stuart Campbell, A. R. Dewar, G. W. Higgins, Advocate Hutchison, J. Crampton, H. A. Warren, C. Plunkett, W. E. Park, R. Shanks, Francis Drake, H. S. Lyons, R. Camerer, C. Chudleigh, T. Bettington, J. W. Leonard, K.C., H. O.K. Webber, J. Pitts, W. Beachy Head, T. J. Britten, H. A. Rogers, F. Hiner, G. H. Goch,

\* No. 94.

† "Star," April 2, 1903: not reprinted. See Enclosure 2 in No. 8.

A. Lilienfeld, P. Whiteside. At a later hour, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, Mr. W. Dalrymple, Mr. J. Jeppe, and Mr. F. D. P. Chaplin also put in an appearance.

Various were the estimates made as to the number of people within the precincts of the hall. Of these the more accurate seemed to be those which placed the total at between 5,000 and 6,000. To return to the story of the abortive attempt to carry out the original programme.

The Chairman, whose words were only audible for a brief distance beyond the reporters' table, in the course of a few remarks, interjected in the lulls of the continuous uproar, said he wanted every speaker to be given a fair and proper hearing. He said he was not appealing for himself, but for every speaker who would address them that night, no matter what his opinions might be. He then asked the special indulgence of the meeting for Mr. Quinn, who, he regretted to say, was far from well. Mr. Quinn would move the first resolution, which would be seconded by Mr. Shanks. Amendments would then be laid before them. He called upon Mr. Quinn to move the first resolution.

#### MR. QUINN.

Mr. Quinn rose shortly before eight o'clock amid a hullabaloo which for many minutes was unbroken by a perceptible lull. A penny trumpet sounded at intervals above a medley of indescribable noise, and Mr. Quinn was unable to get beyond the initial word "Gentlemen."

A quarter past eight was reached amidst the same uproar, when a gentleman who had been prominent in stimulating the various "gag" songs and who was apparently tired of the disorder he had raised, mounted the reporters' table with the object of trying to check it. It was a vain hope, the uproar becoming all the more pronounced, and the gentleman himself had to be ejected from his point of vantage by a constable. A loud burst of cheering followed his discomfiture, the audience being in the mood to applaud anything that savoured of providing a little excitement, and the "cat calls" were continued, alternated with cries for "Jim Leonard" to take the floor. That gentleman sat immovable on the left of the chairman, while Mr. Quinn remained standing on the right of the chair, still waiting imperturbably for a chance to speak. One could not but admire his pluck in the circumstances, and it was soon evident that he was determined to see the thing through, despite the chaffing of the crowd and the pot-shots aimed at him with rolled-up papers. Presently Mr. Auret, a solicitor, tried his hand at calming the tumult, but the attempt was likewise futile, and just afterwards a commotion occurred at the back of the platform, in the course of which an excited-looking individual had to be forcibly ejected. Then the vast crowd stood up like one man and sang "God Save the King," winding up with a prolonged outburst of cheering. The crowd was in the humour to catch on to anything—songs, with words or without—to keep the ball rolling, and though their lungs must have suffered considerably, they carried out the idea with a pertinacity that was astonishing. No more remarkable scene has been witnessed in this or any other country. The vast audience surged to and fro in their excitement, shouting until they were hoarse, and perspiring every man as though in a Turkish bath. There was apparently no method of allaying the uproar, though several of the leaders of both factions tried repeatedly. The men had come in determined to oppose any attempt to prevent the introduction of imported labour, and to oppose it in their own way. Words could not be heard above the din, so that argument or pleading was useless, and the promoters of the meeting, together with their opponents, were compelled to let matters take their own course. It was to be deprecated, and was as unexpected as it was hopeless to contend with.

In the meantime Mr. Quinn remained at his post, determined that, if not allowed a hearing, he would at all events hold the platform, until the next day if necessary, and presently someone cried, "Postpone the meeting." The cry was taken up by several in the audience, and the crowd began to press forward towards the platform.

At this time there were none too many police in the hall, and almost before anyone could realise what had happened a man named Ruck, along with another individual, had sprung upon the reporters' table, Ruck making a dash at Mr. Quinn. In a moment all was excitement. The crowd surged on to the pressmen, who were compelled to leave their seats and themselves mount the table. Ruck, in the meantime, had laid hands on Mr. Quinn, but was speedily shaken off and removed by the police. The aspect of affairs looked so threatening at this juncture that several of those on the platform, to stem the rush that seemed imminent, seized the table which had been placed in front of the chairman and hurled it down at the crowd, knocking over a couple of pressmen in the process. The prompt action of the police probably saved the meeting from something more serious, and it was felt necessary to send for reinforcements, which duly arrived later on. The audience, however, made no further effort for a time to rush the platform, but resumed its obstructive tactics with unwearying and monotonous precision.

When Mr. Quinn's assailant was removed, that gentleman, supported by the Chairman, Mr. Hutchison, and Mr. Stickland, again took their stand, and composedly faced the howling crowd. The reporters had resigned their table in the rush, and a cordon of police was quickly thrown across the hall to prevent any further personal violence being directed towards Mr. Quinn. The crowd who occupied the standing room between the seats and the platform became more dense, and the police had to lever themselves off the reporters' table and push with their dead weight on the crowd to force them back what could not have been more than a few inches.

The situation became critical, and it looked as if the handful of police could not stem the wave of bravny, stubborn miners. Messrs. Quinn and Pim continued to face the music with surprising composure, and what must have been annoying placidness, and when someone at this stage made a suggestion, Mr. Quinn said he would hold his ground until midnight, and be the last man to leave the hall. The police were now largely reinforced, inspectors and superintendents began to arrive, and the crowd began to recognise the futility of bringing matters to a crisis. They were determined, however, that no progress should be made with the meeting, and when Mr. Quinn at nine o'clock, after standing for an hour, made another essay with "Gentlemen," he was howled down. The cries of "Who are, who are, who are we? We are the people who want the Chinese," were shouted with redoubled vigour, and confusion once more reigned supreme in the front of the hall, while the people on the side galleries and in the body of the hall contented themselves with straining their necks to see what was happening. Some of Mr. Quinn's supporters forced their way to the front, and

began to make themselves heard by shouting "Good old Quinn. Stick to your guns." No confirmation was apparently necessary, as Mr. Quinn's determination was frequently expressed to his friends. Mr. Mackie Niven offered counsel, which had no effect, and the babel of confusion continued.

Then came a diversion. Mr. Quinn obtained a Union Jack, with "Fair Play" printed across it, which he displayed, and aroused general enthusiasm. He waved it vigorously, and when the cheering had partly subsided, he ventured to find the effect of his appeal for "fair play." He got as far as "Gentlemen, for a few minutes," when the uproar and the din seemed to become intensified, and the sweltering crowd in front were again in motion, swaying backward and forward, while the police came in for a rough time by holding their ground; but the barrier they formed was impenetrable, and several detectives who worked their way to the centre of the disorder helped them considerably. The monotony of the party cries was varied by the singing of "We won't go home till morning," which seemed to be a self-evident truism. It was then suggested that Mr. Quinn should go outside and hold a meeting, but the invitation was refused, and a few moments later a prominent gentleman connected with the Labour Importation Association suggested that half a dozen men should go amongst the crowd to try and quieten them, and in his reply Mr. Quinn was heard to reiterate his determination to be the last man to leave the hall. Mr. Leonard, however, endeavoured to carry the suggestion into effect, and he appeared at the back of the hall, and it was announced that he would address a meeting outside. Whatever the effect of this move was on the pressure at the back of the hall, it did not relieve the congestion in front in the slightest degree or tend to assuage the feelings that prevailed. The cries, however, of the partisans of the Chinese became slightly subdued through the hoarseness begotten by over three hours' solid shouting, and their opponents, who seemed to be congregating in a body on the left of the hall, started "Good old Quinn" in the same measured emphatic tones that the other side had applied in their stock cries. The feelings on the other side were re-aroused, and what looked like a determined rush was directed towards the platform, but the police were three deep in front, and displayed the greatest forbearance.

Mr. Quinn's supporters sang "For he's a jolly good fellow," and, seeing that he had a measure of support, Mr. Quinn delivered what must be regarded as his speech. Above the din he was heard to shout "Referendum." Cries, howling, and counter-cheers followed. Then came a series of interpellations by Mr. Quinn, which added fuel to the fire. He shouted in succession, "No terrorism," "No Chinamen," "No packed meetings," "Freedom in politics," "Don't sell your political ideas," "Chinamen are the result of the war." The scene that followed these remarks can be imagined better than described, and a free fight was started by two men.

It came to an abrupt termination by a man who had worked his way next to Mr. Stickland on the very edge of the platform suddenly throwing himself forward on to what was the reporters' table. His intention was apparently to bring Mr. Stickland with him, and possibly Mr. Quinn, who was on the immediate right. "Treachery" was shouted, and before the police could lay hands on the man Mr. Quinn had him by the legs, and, with a powerful pull landed him high and dry on the platform, and he was ejected by the police. Mr. Quinn reassured his supporters by again waving the Union Jack. The seemingly inexhaustible energy of the crowd found vent once more in party cries; people standing shoulder to shoulder were now on opposite sides, and showed excellent humour to which must be attributed the absence of serious result.

At a quarter past ten some gentlemen connected with the Labour Importation Association endeavoured to put an end to the proceedings by taking the sense of the meeting. Mr. Greenlees, on the right of the platform, supported by Mr. Park and others, held up at arms' length a piece of linen, with "For Chinese," printed on it. Cheering reverberated through the hall, and the master-stroke, as it must be called, for a time dumbfounded the opponents of the Chinese. "Against Chinese" was next displayed, and this induced vigorous hooting on the one side and cheers on the other. The "Against Chinese" flag was snatched by some one and the platform became the centre of attraction. A rush followed, but Mr. Greenlees diverted attention by displaying the flag "For Chinese." Mr. Pim endeavoured to interfere, and asked the Commissioner of Police to order the flag to be taken down. Mr. Showers, however, looked upon the proceedings as a safety valve, and refused to interfere. The flag was, however, secured by the opponents of Chinese and thrown into the crowd. A regular tug-of-war followed, and different sections secured pieces, which were held aloft, and then thrown back on the platform. Mr. Greenlees secured a piece, and waved it, while Mr. Quinn waved the Union Jack, and shouted "We've the old flag, they have a new one." The party on the right of the platform were not to be outdone, and they obtained another Union Jack. "God Save the King" was then sung by everybody. It was now half-past ten, and there was no sign of any abatement in the excitement, and to speak was impossible. Additional excitement was provided by the action of a pickpocket, whose first endeavour was luckily directed to a detective, who promptly closed with his man. To arrest him was out of the question, and the pocket-picker was passed on from policeman to policeman till he was ejected.

Half an hour later Mr. Quinn, to checkmate the display of the "For Chinese" flag, held up a poster with "For Referendum" printed on it in large characters. Both were now displayed, and there was continuous cheering and boing, while at intervals the different sides shouted "Bravo Quinn!" and "Voetsak, Quinn!" The extinguishing of some of the lights notified that it was getting towards midnight, and people began to leave the hall gradually to catch the last trains eastwards and westwards. Mr. Quinn's supporters were strengthened by reinforcements from the back of the hall, and at a quarter to 12 he found that he had a pretty solid body of supporters directly in front, who were able to shout down the other side. He mounted a chair and displayed the "For Referendum" poster, and by this means he rallied his forces. He then held up the resolution, which he did not attempt to read, and declared it carried by a large majority. Advocate Hutchison advised formalities should be complied with, and Mr. Shanks seconded the resolution, Mr. Pim declared it carried, and this led to the inevitable cheering and counter-cheering. Lights were gradually extinguished, the people filed out orderly, and at midnight the most extraordinary meeting ever held at the Wanderers terminated.

The police behaved throughout in an excellent manner, and the people, even those most excited in the front of the hall, showed considerable good humour and forbearance considering the intense excitement that prevailed.

## THE RESOLUTION.

The following is the resolution that Mr. Quinn endeavoured to move:—

This meeting affirms the principle of the government of the people by the people for the people; and in the absence of representative government, calls upon the Legislative Council, as the only present means of legislation, to pass a law permitting a Referendum to be promptly taken on the proposal to introduce indentured unskilled coloured labour under restrictions as to employment and repatriation.

## OUTSIDE THE HALL.

Outside the entrance to the hall the scene was one of disorder and confusion. Like ants men streamed in and out of every door, one line attracted by the uproar poured in, the other stilled by the smoke laden, vitiated atmosphere, and wearied with the din, poured out for a breath of fresh air, and finding the evening still young, attended, at the invitation of men with stentorian voices, who were stationed in every gangway, the overflow meeting in the sporting arena, where it was estimated that upwards of 8,000 people had assembled by nine o'clock. The "grand stand" was crowded with spectators. The roof of the hall was occupied by youths, who looked down upon the Bydlam within, and their shouts, mingling with the thundrous din, caused by the seething mass of organised discontent, and which could be heard a considerable distance away, were the only elements that disturbed the overflow gathering, which was as orderly as the average mass meeting. There were good-humoured interjections, but nothing in the way of disorderly interruptions. For instance, one speaker, who referred sympathetically to the employment of cheap white labour, was asked why the navvies had gone away. The laughter that followed was intensified by the provincial remark "Yus! wen yu've spent eight pounds a month fer rent there's nowt left for 'skoff." Nothing more serious than that took place, and the speakers had a fairly good hearing.

## THE OVERFLOW MEETING.

Long before the commencement of the overflow meeting, which was held in the grounds, over 3,000 persons surrounded the temporary rostrum erected outside the pavilion, and it was apparent from the quips and cranks passed that the meeting-making allowances—was going to be a comparatively orderly one, and, although the more reflecting section regarded the matter as a vital one, the majority took it in a jocular and good-natured fashion. As the hour for holding the meeting approached, people who could not gain admission to the hall—and, in fact, never attempted to do so—began to throng into the grounds, and at eight o'clock, when Mr. A. Mackie Niven, the chairman, ascended the platform, there must have been fully 7,000 faces looking towards him. It was even then a rapidly-increasing crowd. Every available coign of vantage was seized, the pavilion-seats and various stands being occupied at an early juncture. Mr. Mackie Niven was supported on the dais by Messrs Charles Marx, A. T. Schmidt, Michael Dodd, J. Littlejohn, C. E. Rutzen, A. Dickson, R. Hamilton, F. A. Stokes, J. Crabbe, F. D. P. Chaplin, F. C. Liddle, G. H. Turner, Sprinz, W. T. H. Frost, and many others.

## MR. MACKIE NIVEN.

Mr. Mackie Niven, at the outset, explained the difficulty of speaking against the wind in the open air, and asked the assemblage to change around to the south as much as possible. A general move was made for the railway end of the ground, and within a few minutes there was exceedingly little standing room left between the inside fence and the speaker.

The Chairman complimented the people of Johannesburg for turning out in such large numbers and at such short notice. Few of them who read their newspapers knew of it that morning. A smaller few, who read the advertisements, knew of the meeting on Saturday, and they informed their friends possibly on Sunday. As regarded the African Labour League, he thought they had a distinct grievance against that body for calling the meeting at such a short notice. Some of them were the men who expressed impatience in connection with the work of the Labour Commission and the time it took to bring out the report. Happily, the Labour Importation Association were to be complimented upon the fact that, although the notice was so short, they had been able to bring together such a large gathering. The meeting inside and outside numbered fully 10,000. Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Dodd would address the meeting here, but he hoped that all who desired to oppose the resolution it was proposed to bring forward would be given an opportunity to do so, and that every speaker for or against would be given a fair hearing. Personally he considered the suggested Referendum would be a disastrous thing to the Colony, but it was more in the scope of a chairman's duties to lay the objects of the meeting before his hearers than to expatiate upon them. He called upon Mr. Dodd to move the resolution.

## MR. DODD.

Mr. M. Dodd then moved:—

That this meeting, being convinced that the delay which is involved in the proposed Referendum will be disastrous to the people of this Colony, calls upon the Government to publish a Draft Ordinance as soon as possible, providing for the introduction of unskilled coloured labour, under proper restrictions as to employment and repatriation.

In supporting his resolution Mr. Dodd said that about six months ago a great many came to the conclusion that there was not sufficient labour in South Africa to work its industries. A Commission was appointed, and it, too, came to the conclusion that the supply of labour was totally inadequate. Such being the case, it was thought that all interested in the welfare of the mining and other industries would seek to remedy the grievous position in which they found themselves. Instead of that, a great crowd had assembled in the adjoining hall to discuss what is called the question of the referendum. After six months' postponement of the labour question they sought to postpone it for a further period. The time had come when immediate action was necessary, and the introduction of unskilled labour was absolutely essential. A great many had formerly opposed the introduction of Asiatics as a matter of principle and expediency. They believed that the time would shortly come for Representative Government, and he for one trusted that it would not be long

postponed; but when the time came the council should legislate entirely, and not by little bits. It was a great mistake to legislate piecemeal, as by so doing the entire work of the legislators would be spoilt. The speaker then went on to congratulate Messrs. Quinn, Raitt, and Shanks on their attitude in the recent Town Council elections, and characterised their action with regard to the purchase of the sewage farm as manful, but he could not understand why such men sought to further delay the mining industry by protesting against the introduction of unskilled labour. What else, he wanted to know, could the referendum mean but the waste of time? It could not be taken until an Act was passed by the Legislative Council as to how and when it had to be taken. They would then have to set to work to compile registers, and, in consequence a still greater delay would be occasioned. It had taken six months to compile the voters' roll for the Town Council elections within a radius of six miles. He would like to know, therefore, how long it would take to compile rolls for the whole of the Transvaal with a radius of 400 miles? The matter, he considered, had been discussed long enough for them to have made up their minds, and they (the Labour Importation Association) had brought that resolution before the meeting to settle the business, and not to leave it any longer. Referring to the economic side of the question, the speaker said that there were 3,000 stamps on the Rand, which, if they were all working, would result in £450,000 being disbursed among the community. Continuing, the speaker said: "We want labour, and cannot afford to wait any longer." (A voice: "Why not have white labour?") Mr. Dodd took up the question, and said those who read "The Star" last evening would have noticed that the English navvies brought out for the construction of Transvaal Railways were to be sent back to England. They did not want white labour from the slums of Italy, and the mines could not afford to pay the wages required by English labour. They did not want the scum of Europe here to spoil the labour market, and they would take care that if the Chinaman came he would not do white man's work.

Mr. Dodd was frequently interrupted by calls from the crowd, in which applause and jeers were frequently commingled.

#### MR. CHAPLIN.

Mr. F. D. P. Chaplin, in seconding the resolution said the proposer had fully explained why they were against the referendum proposal, which Mr. Quinn was about to fully explain and extol inside the hall. The reason why they were against the referendum was that it was unreasonable to put the question before the people of the country unless they could put the other question whether they were to remain stagnant or develop the natural resources of the country. He thought there were few present who had not already made up their minds on the subject. It would take a year or two before they could get a reply to a question so put, and if they were to wait for two years before they made up their minds incalculable harm would be done. He preferred a man who made up his mind at once rather than one who procrastinated. There was little use for the man who hesitated to make up his mind on such an important subject. (Calls of "No use for Chinamen," and "What price houses in Park Lane.") They wished to develop the resources of the country at once; they did not wish to introduce the scum of Europe here, but to introduce labour to assist in the development of the country. They were in favour of Asiatic labour. (Cries of "Boo" and counter cheers.) Those who shouted against Asiatic labour, and said they would not permit its introduction had little to fear or shout about. The fears that Chinamen would overrun the country were groundless and without foundation. They (the audience) were all business men, and as such they surely could not think that those who spent enormous sums of money to bring this labour out here were going to keep them in the towns. They were going to keep this labour on the mines. He would not stand there to support the resolution unless he honestly thought it best for the country, and for South Africa. How were they going to exist without labour? How were they to build their railways and develop other resources when they could not get sufficient black labour? Their common object was to reduce the cost of living, to have cheaper food and rents. This country at the present time owed a lot of money to the British Government, which had to be repaid according to an undertaking to do so, and he asked was there any one present who would be mean enough to hint that they were not to keep their obligations? How then were they to meet their obligations but by working the mines? (A voice: "The Government will work them.") That was a good argument, but the Government could not work them unless it had money and labour in order to do so. (Another voice: "The money is in the ground; let us have a bit of it.")

Mr. Dodd: You must get it out first. (Laughter.)

Mr. Chaplin, concluding, said the time had come when an end would have to be put to the difficulty, and they should have a settlement. They did not mean to put it off for Mr. Quinn, or a referendum, or for anything else.

#### AN AMENDMENT.

The Chairman then introduced Mr. R. J. Stickland, who he stated would move an amendment to the resolution.

Mr. Stickland, whose reception was far from flattering, said that he had gone there with the idea of calling a meeting on the question of Chinese labour. There had been no effort or idea of "snatching a vote," and those present had been asked to attend by advertisement or poster. Sir George Farrar, before the official report of the Labour Commission was received, had moved a resolution in the Legislative Council in favour of the introduction of Asiatics, an action which he characterised as "indecent." Continuing the speaker said that the promised restrictions on the movements of the Asiatics was an attempt to "catch votes." He held that they all had bought their rights and franchise, and considered that an attempt was being made to deprive them of their votes. "They want," he said, "to bind you and your votes," and had made up their minds six months ago, when they got a majority on the Labour Commission (cries of "Shame" and hoots). He held that with that majority it was a foregone conclusion what report they would bring in. At this stage the speaker's voice was hardly audible, and both the Chairman and Mr. Dodd had to appeal to the crowd to give him a hearing. Continuing, Mr. Stickland said that it was not right to rush the matter before the Legislative Council before the people had a chance of voting on it. He admitted that the audience before him was "respectable" (laughter, and cries of "Sit down") and wanted to



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know if they were going to legislate for "those people." He had never seen such short-sighted policy in his day. They were told that passes will be given the Chinaman to come into town but he very much doubted if ever they will return again. The Premier of Australia had recently said that it was a shame to bring a people into a country and make helots of them, and, in his opinion, there was little doubt but that helots would be made of the Chinese, if they were introduced into this. The interruptions then became more frequent, and the Chairman had to again interpose, upon which Mr. Stickland brought his remarks to a close by moving that an amendment.

To urge upon the Government the necessity of legislating for the purpose of holding a Referendum on the question at an early date.

Mr. Lorimer, in seconding, maintained that the question was of such vital importance that it should be submitted to the country for the unmistakable voice and vote of the people.

Here a party of men at the back of the crowd struck up a chorus their "music" partly drowning the speaker's remarks.

The Chairman having requested fair play and order, Mr. Lorimer proceeded to say why the meeting was called so hurriedly was to hear what there was to be said before Sir George Farrar brought on his resolution in the Legislative Council. (Cries of "What have you to do with it," "Did you live here before the war?")

At this juncture, Mr. Lorimer created a little diversion by misquoting the phrase relative to driving a coach and horses through a law, which, he said in effect, was being done as regards the importation of Chinese. When they had 200,000 Chinese here this would cease to be a white man's country. The law as it stood restricted the emigration of Asiatics. They had 11,000 white miners in this country, and if their work was to be undertaken by Chinese they would want 440,000 of the latter. The people should see that they were accorded their rights and that the nominated Legislative Council should not legislate to the detriment of their interests and the interests of the country.

The Chairman said that as both the proposer and seconder were agreed that their amendment was a negative to the proposal it was no amendment at all. Those who were against the proposal could signify it, and then putting the resolution to the company, the show of hands resulted in its being carried by a large majority.

The announcement was greeted with cheers and counter-cheers, and shortly afterwards the assemblage dispersed, only a comparative few remaining to ascertain the result of the meeting in the hall.

#### ANOTHER OUTSIDE MEETING ADDRESSED BY MR. LEONARD.

When the hour of 10 approached, Mr. J. W. Leonard, K.C., and Mr. Mackie Niven appeared at the back of the hall, and to this portion of the building the attention of those in the vicinity was quickly attracted. Mr. Leonard, in order to relieve the congested condition of the crowd inside the building, suggested an adjournment outside for the purpose of holding another meeting, but his attempt was only partly successful, as few followed his lead. When the band stand was reached there were not over a hundred people present, but the cheers of those assembled there, which cheers were raised for the purpose of attracting those inside the rink, were more successful, and within the space of a few minutes several hundred were in attendance.

Mr. Leonard, at the unanimous invitation of the audience, made a speech, in the course of which he said that he regretted that the other side had not a hearing, because then those who differed in opinion would have a chance of replying and winning by votes as well as by voice. The feeling of Johannesburg had been shown on the right side (cheers), on the side of common sense and on the side of which they should all stand together if they were to bring back prosperity to the country. (Applause.) They had taught the other side another thing, that on matters which affected the welfare and prosperity of the country it was useless to try and jump a snatch vote for circulation at Home, and to tell the people what was not the truth. (Hear, hear.) He charged the people who got up the meeting with attempting, on the shortest notice, to catch such a vote for the purpose of cabling to England the result. For every one present that evening that supported the fancies and fads of those who summoned the gathering there were 50 present opposed to them. (Cheers.) The country was a young country—it was only in its infancy—and if its resources were to be developed, labour should be procured. (Hear, hear.) They knew what the report of the Labour Commission was, and they were assured that outside labour was necessary to develop the resources of the country and the requirements would be greater when the calls of Heidelberg, Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom and the diamond and coal mines of the O.R.C. and other districts were considered. If sufficient provision was made to meet these demands there would be ample work for every artisan and white miner, and for ten times the number at present in the country. (Cheers.) The influence at the bottom of the agitation against the importation of labour could be traced to the machinations of the Afriander Bond. Those people, it might be thought, were too far away to influence the feelings of Johannesburg, but they worked with subtlety and wide-spreading effect, and their idea was to keep out the white population—mainly British. Their ambition was to retard the real prosperity of the country till there was such representative government as would give them almost all the votes, and thus to secure a Bond-ridden South Africa for ever and ever. ("Ikona.") He wanted those present to understand that his sentiments were not anti-Dutch. He had been brought up amongst the people of the country. He spoke their tongue, and he was convinced that the best of them would follow the lead of honest men—but at present they were under the heel of a clique that had existed and caused trouble since 1877. These men were against the British, and against progress, and it was for residents of the Transvaal to stand up and say that they were to develop their Colony in their own way, and that no one should interfere with them in their honest, sensible efforts to carry their own burdens, and even those of the ports and railways. The Cape people were, after all, only carriers and forwarding agents for the Transvaal, (laughter and cheers), and let them be told to keep "hands off." (Cheers.) The efforts of the Progressives, he said, were to secure a white man's country, three-quarters black, in order to capture the niggers' vote. (Cheers and laughter.) They were told that they wanted to flood the country with Chinese, but he contended that all they desired

to do was to import that labour without which they would be all ruined men, and they should see proper legislation passed and rigorously enforced in this respect. (Cheers.) Johannesburg had given its views in a decided and sensible voice, and he moved for rational progress under proper laws, however it was attained. (Loud cheers.)

A vote on this motion was taken, and it was carried unanimously, and the meeting ended, the people immediately entering the rink again.

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No. 100.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received January 9, 1904.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December 18, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, six copies of my address, delivered on the 7th of December, 1903, at the opening of the second session of the Legislative Council of the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,

A. LAWLEY,

Lieutenant-Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 100.

ADDRESS by His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal on the occasion of the opening of the Second Session of the Legislative Council of the Transvaal.

Legislative Council, Pretoria,

December 7, 1903.

GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,

It is with great satisfaction that I welcome your return to this House for the second session of the Legislative Council. When opening the first session of this Council I had occasion to refer to the lateness and insufficiency of the rainfall, a circumstance which, in the previous year, tended to delay the re-settlement of the agricultural population. I have this year to record that early in October the dry season gave way to rains which have since fallen with frequency, if not with unusual abundance. The population hitherto employed upon roads have in large numbers returned to the cultivation of the land, relief works will have terminated before January 1st, 1904, and important steps have been taken towards the winding up of the Repatriation Department. While arrangements have been made to dispose of existing stocks as rapidly as possible without any undue disturbance of the market, all local depôts situated away from the railway line were closed on the 30th of November, and the main depôts on the railway line will be closed for repatriation purposes at the end of the present month.

COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY.

The conditions of the country have been profoundly modified by the circumstances of the late war, and it has been thought advisable that re-settlement should be preceded by careful investigation in many directions. The last five months have therefore been remarkable as a period of economic and administrative enquiry. A Commission has been appointed to report upon the scarcity of housing accommodation in Johannesburg. The registration of mining rights has engaged the attention of a second Commission. Both these bodies are expected to report upon their respective references at an early date. The Colonial Treasurer, with the assistance of the Director of Customs and the Auditor-General, has conducted an enquiry into the system of provincial administration, and has prepared suggestions which, together with the more settled conditions of the country, should enable the Government to effect economies in this direction. A Conference of Veterinary experts at Bloemfontein are at the present moment considering the possibility of concerted action between the Colonial Governments of South Africa for the eradication of stock disease.

THE LABOUR COMMISSION.

The agricultural, mining and other industrial undertakings have been embarrassed by difficulties in obtaining a supply of labour sufficient for their expansion. The importance of ascertaining how far the supply of labour available in this country is adequate to its needs was recognised during the last Session of this Council, and a

Commission was appointed to enquire into and report upon the subject. This Commission has now reported after protracted labours. Although not unanimous in its conclusions, it has elicited information which should enable the public to base their opinion not upon conjecture but rather upon facts carefully ascertained. I cannot leave this subject without some recognition of the energy and ability brought to bear by the chairman and members of this Commission upon a task at once exacting and difficult.

The labour supply of this country is a question of supreme importance, upon the right solution of which its continued prosperity will depend. During the course of the present session, and at an early date, this Council will be asked to discuss whether, in view of the conclusions furnished by the Commission and taking into consideration the liabilities to which this country is committed, it is advisable to supplement the supply of labour available in Africa by the importation of indentured labourers. I need scarcely add that on this subject the Government of the Transvaal will adopt an attitude conformable to the wishes of the people of this country. No legislation, therefore, will be introduced until after the views of this Council have been heard, and the sanction of His Majesty's Government has been obtained.

#### PROPOSED LEGISLATION.

It is proposed during the course of the present session to introduce legislation for the amendment of the Gold Law, for dealing with stock thefts, to provide for the fencing of farms and for the branding of cattle. Ordinances dealing with minor matters of administration will also be submitted for your consideration.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Effect has been given to the legislation passed in the last session of this Council providing for the establishment of Municipalities and Urban District Boards. Municipalities have been established in Boksburg, Germiston, Heidelberg, Klerksdorp, Krugersdorp, Middelburg, Pietersburg, Potchefstroom, and Standerton, and a Municipality will shortly be established in Barberton.

Proclamations have been framed in accordance with Chapter IX. of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance establishing Urban District Boards in twenty-two of the smaller towns, and elections have already been held in six of these districts.

The boundaries of the local authorities in some instances require revision, but alterations of this nature were delayed until the views of bodies directly representative of the districts concerned could be heard. It is also the desire of the Government to effect without delay a settlement of Town Lands in consultation with the new authorities on the lines indicated in my address to this House at the opening of its first session. They will be asked to assist in deciding what areas it will be necessary to retain for the purposes of the Government of this country, so that with these exceptions the lands may be placed under the control of Municipalities and Urban District Boards.

Difficulty has been experienced in inducing persons entitled to the franchise to register themselves on the voters' rolls. It is to the local authorities in future that the Government must listen as voicing the people inhabiting each district in matters affecting their local interests, and it is therefore of the utmost importance that these bodies should be representative in fact as well as in name and that they should hold their office by virtue of the suffrages cast, not by one section, but by the whole body of electors. I trust that in the elections now pending it will be found that the voters who have failed to record their votes are few and that the suffrage established by this Council is recognised less as a privilege to be enjoyed than as a duty which every citizen is called upon to discharge.

It is not my purpose to review the work of the various departments of Government, inasmuch as the Administrative Reports which are now in course of preparation will shortly be laid on the table of the Council.

In conclusion, I commend you to the guidance of Almighty God, and I fervently pray that all your consultations may tend to the advancement of His Glory and the prosperity of this State.

I now, in the name of His Majesty, declare this the second session of the Legislative Council in the Transvaal to be open, and trust that God's blessing may rest upon your labours.

No. 101.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received January 9, 1904.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December 18, 1903.  
I HAVE the honour to forward, for your information, two copies of the Yearly Report of the Government Mining Engineer for the Statistical Year ending the 30th June, 1903.

I have, &c.,  
A. LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

Enclosure in No. 101.

TRANSVAAL MINES' DEPARTMENT.

YEARLY REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT MINING ENGINEER FOR THE STATISTICAL  
YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE, 1903.

Office of the Commissioner of Mines, Johannesburg,

September 15, 1903.

SIR, I HAVE the honour to forward herewith the Annual Report of the Government Mining Engineer for the Statistical Year ending June 30th, 1903.

I have, &c.,  
W. WYBERGH,  
Commissioner of Mines.

To His Excellency  
The Lieutenant-Governor.

Office of the Government Mining Engineer,

Johannesburg, September 1, 1903.

SIR, I HAVE the honour to present my report for the year ended 30th June, 1903. This report is divided into the following Sections:—

- I. Labour.
- II. Mineral Output.
- III. Accidents and Prosecutions.
- IV. Machinery.
- V. Explosives and Stores.
- VI. General.

The following Appendices are also attached:—

- Appendix A.—Report on the establishment of Benchmarks along the outcrop of the Main Reef Series.
- Appendix B.—Specifications and Plans of Married Quarters erected on the Geduld Proprietary Mines, Ltd.
- Appendix BI.—Specifications and Plans of Staff Quarters erected on the Geduld Proprietary Mines, Ltd.
- Appendices C, C1, and C2.—Letter from G. C. Fox, Esq., Consulting Mechanical Engineer to Messrs, Goerz & Co., regarding new Compound being erected at the May Consolidated Gold Mine, with specifications and plans.
- Appendix D.—Report on the Winding Ropes in use in the Mines of the Transvaal.

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SECTION I.  
Labour.

The increase in the proportion of European to native employees on the mines mentioned in my previous reports has been maintained during the past year. The employment of European labour on work which previous to the war was generally performed by natives is more noticeable with regard to the surface than to the underground employees.

In the majority of the crushing mills the native has been entirely replaced by the European, the tendency being to employ the former in the mine on such work as drilling, shovelling, and tramping, in the carrying out of which work it is considered the employment of the native is more economical than the European.

In my last annual report I drew attention to the increased proportion of European to native workers, brought about by the large number of discharged soldiers then seeking employment and to the great scarcity of native labour at a time when most of the mines were getting ready to commence work again.

At the beginning of the Statistical Year—after the declaration of Peace, a large number of members of Irregular corps obtained work as unskilled labourers on the gold mines at a low rate of pay, viz., 5s. per day and free board and lodging. On the whole the employment of these unskilled labourers proved unsatisfactory, partly perhaps because a large majority simply took this work in order to obtain their discharge from military service in this Colony. Where, however, such men have remained at work on the mines sufficiently long to become efficient, excellent results have been obtained, notably in rapid shaft sinking; e.g., on the Wolhuter Gold Mine in the month of October, 1902, 204 feet were sunk entirely by white labour, and a total of 952 feet were sunk during the half-year July-December, 1902.

As a result of the employment, at the beginning of the year, of these unskilled whites, the ratio of white to coloured employees on the gold mines of the Transvaal, which on an average previous to 1899, was as 1 : 7.56, dropped to 1 : 4.93 in June, 1902, and is now—June, 1903—as 1 : 5.03.

The following table illustrates the great increase in the ratio of white to native employees on the mines in the Transvaal:—

Year.	Gold.		Coal.		Alluvial.		Total.		Ratio of Whites to Coloured.
	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	
1893	4,207	30,081	169	2,295	41	170	4,417	32,546	13.5 : 100
1894	5,615	42,309	202	2,873	37	195	5,854	45,377	12.9 : 100
1895	7,497	53,988	286	3,702	26	139	7,809	57,829	13.5 : 100
1896	9,366	63,983	443	5,645	9	29	9,818	69,657	14.0 : 100
1897	9,519	69,098	472	6,661	11	29	10,002	75,788	13.1 : 100
1898	10,684	82,062	391	6,901	17	43	11,092	89,006	12.4 : 100
1902	7,482	29,895	267	5,172	1	2	7,750	35,069	22.1 : 100
Half Year to 30 June, 1903.	11,233	52,487	388	6,996	1	9	11,622	59,492	19.5 : 100
1903 June only.									

*Labour on Gold Mines.*

The average number of white employees at work on the Gold Mines in the Transvaal, taken half-yearly since the restarting of the industry is as under:—

		Increase.
July—December, 1901 ... ..	2,552	—
January—June, 1902 ... ..	5,627	3,075
July—December, 1902 ... ..	9,337	3,710
January—June, 1903 ... ..	11,233	1,896

Of these the mines on the Witwatersrand alone employed :—

97.96 per cent. for July—December, 1901.  
 98.19 per cent. for January—June, 1902.  
 96.83 per cent. for July—December, 1902.  
 95.23 per cent. January—June, 1903.

The average number of coloured persons employed on Gold Mines of the Transvaal taken half yearly since the restarting of the industry is as under :—

					Increase.
July—December, 1901	...	...	...	13,248	—
January—June, 1902	...	...	...	24,527	11,279
July—December, 1902	...	...	...	35,264	10,737
January—June, 1903	...	...	...	52,487	17,223

Of these the mines on the Witwatersrand alone employed :—

97.12 per cent. for July—December, 1901.  
 97.48 per cent. for January—June, 1902.  
 94.06 per cent. for July—December, 1902.  
 90.10 per cent. for January—June, 1903.

It is a matter of interest to note that the concensus of opinion of the mine managers on these fields with regard to the relative amount of work performed by the European as against the native unskilled labourer, is that the native, whose net cost to his employer is about one-third to one-fourth of that of the European labourer, is capable of performing nearly an equal amount of unskilled work where mere strength is required. Therefore, it is probable that for some time to come the European will be more especially employed on work requiring a greater amount of intelligence than the average native possesses and that the number of Europeans employed by the industry will largely depend upon the number of coloured workers available and upon the extent to which labour-saving appliances requiring intelligent supervision is introduced. This view is perhaps strengthened by the fact that in addition to the higher wage paid to the European unskilled labourer as against that paid to the native, there exists a prejudice on the part of the former against being employed on the same class of work as the native and in company with him.

I am indebted to Mr. M. Francke, representative of Messrs. Goerz & Co. in this country, for the following letter, which deals with this question. The letter is especially worthy of note since the writer, Mr. H. B. White, has not only taken a keen interest in regard to the labour for the mines, but has endeavoured by actual experiment to satisfy himself whether or no the substitution of white for native unskilled labour in the mines could not be made a success :—

*Unskilled White Labour.*

The Central Geduld Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 41,

DEAR SIR,

Springs, August 10, 1903.

IN reply to your letter of the 5th instant requesting me to send you some data in connection with the work done by unskilled white labour lately here, I beg to state as follows :—

From the 15th of November, 1902, to April the 30th, 1903, I have employed here an average of 45 men, the largest number being 61, employed during February. The work done was in commencing 3 new five-compartment shafts (30' 2" x 7' 10") over timbers, and sinking them to a depth not exceeding 110 feet.

The standard wage paid was ten shillings (10s.) per shift of 9½ hours, and tents were provided by the company.

They applied for employment on the property, and throughout the time I had no difficulty in maintaining the supply required, such as it was.

Ten shillings per shift is the usual rate paid in this district for this class of labour. They were of various nationalities, but principally Dutch and British.

I early discovered that the best results were obtained from the Dutch, the Britishers, as a rule, being of the unsettled class who work for a few days only, or if a better type, only remained until he could better himself.

The Dutch were a hardy lot, and turned out steady as long as they lasted. When broken in I consider they did as much work as any white labourer would do in these mines. (42)

Near the surface, where the work was principally pick and shovel work and soft ground, the most satisfactory comparisons were made to native labour, but below 40 feet, where the ground became harder and a little water was encountered, they then commenced leaving one or two at a time. In this way there was an average of 20 per cent. in vacancies to make up each month, which was a disadvantage, as almost all the new arrivals had to be trained to drilling and many to pick and shovel work, which took from a week to a fortnight before their hands were hard and they became used to the work.

Throughout the period they were employed all the hand drilling done on the shafts was double-handed, this being more economical than to accustom them to single-handed work, and in the "diabase" the average work rarely exceed one hole per man 2 feet 6 inches deep.

In February last the best results were obtained, 40.5 men sank 55 feet, their labour costing £7 8s. 2d. per foot, the ground sunk through being easy ground, with only three thousand (3,000) gallons of water per 24 hours in the shaft.

The following month, in the same shaft, 34.1 men sank 30 feet, costing £14 16s. per foot, the ground sunk through being diabase, the depth from 80 feet to 110 feet, and water not exceeding four thousand gallons per 24 hours. The men worked in two (2) shifts of 9½ hours each.

Wherever maximum speed is required in shaft sinking double-hand drilling is a great disadvantage with unskilled labour, as so much more space is taken up and unduly limits the number of holes being drilled in the bottom simultaneously. Also for speedy work unskilled labour cannot be relied upon, as whenever they are pushed by the foreman, especially in a wet shaft, or when difficulties are encountered, they are liable to, and do, leave at a moment's notice, and when it is perhaps impossible to replace them.

In my case only in one shaft was there a little water, yet they were always coming and going here.

In conclusion, from my own experiences and those of my foreman in charge of the labourers, I can state that in pick and shovel work and in soft ground a white labourer's maximum work is equal to that of (2) two natives, but as soon as ordinary sinking or mining conditions occur they are not more than equal to the work of one Kaffir, who would be more reliable and under better control, and I would certainly prefer the Kaffir.

The difference in cost is three shillings (3s.) per shift for the native, as against ten shillings (10s.) per shift for the white labourer.

The native cost being made up of: Two shillings (2s.) per shift wages, and one shilling (1s.) per shift in feeding, recruiting and passes. The net saving thus being seven shillings (7s.) per day in favour of the native.

I remain, &c.,  
H. B. WHITE,  
General Manager.

M. Francke, Esq.,  
P.O. Box 1961, Johannesburg.

A very considerable shortage in native labour still exists, and a large number of stamps throughout the Transvaal are idle through this cause.

Every effort has been made by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association and by the representatives of the mining industry to procure native labour from all parts of Africa. The facilities for travel organised by the Labour Association have been of material assistance to natives, both in journeying to the Transvaal and in returning to their homes on the termination of their contracts.

In spite, however, of the exertions of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, the total number of natives obtained from all sources is quite inadequate to meet the requirements of the industry.

From this cause, therefore, not only are the majority of the crushing mines unable to run their full complement of stamps, and the normal development work curtailed, but mines ready to commence crushing are debarred from doing so.

The necessity for an immediate increase in the supply of unskilled labour is universally recognised, but the measures to be adopted as to the best means of securing the same have been the cause of much argument.

The principal proposals are:—

- (1) To import European labour.
- (2) To import Asiatics (Indian or Chinese).
- (3) To rely solely on the supply that can be drawn from the races indigenous to Africa.

The whole question is receiving the attention of a Commission appointed by His Excellency Lord Milner to enquire into the matter. I, therefore, need not do more than briefly refer to it here.

In the first place, it is considered doubtful, taking into account the present high cost of living and the conditions present in this Colony, whether the European labourer would be bettering himself by coming to work here at a weekly wage of £2 10s. 0d. to £3 per week. On the other hand, the opposite argument is used against the importation of Asiatics, it being stated that the presence of Chinese would be detrimental to making this a "White Man's Country." With regard to the feeling amongst the miners on this point, Mr. Stonestreet, Inspector of Mines, Krugersdorp District, reports as follows:—

"I have taken every opportunity of ascertaining the views of the white men employed in the mines (in my district) as regards the introduction of Asiatic labour; I found generally that there is no deeply rooted objection thereto. Argument against its introduction takes the line that such labour would be used to eventually supplant many of the minor occupations usually carried out by white men, such as gangers in stopes, air winch drivers, pumpmen, greasers in engine rooms, firemen in boiler sheds, &c. The men say, if this could be absolutely prevented, the introduction of Asiatic labour would be probably beneficial, in that more work would be provided by such increase of labour in the mines."

*Strikes.*—Only one strike of any importance is to be recorded during the year. On one of the large mines in the Johannesburg District, 103 white men went out on the 25th September; of these, 46 were rock-drill machine men, 49 were rock-drill helpers, and the remainder were variously employed.

The cause of the strike was the objection of the machine men to superintend the running of more than two machines, although each machine was manned by two white helpers.

It has to be mentioned that the general practice on the mines previously was for one white man to run two machines, each manned by natives.

The strike appears to have been undertaken more as a matter of principle than as a protest against any increase of labour or reduction of earnings.

Of the men who did not strike, each took charge of three machines, and this number was increased as the helpers acquired sufficient skill to need little superintendence.

It is apparent that the employment of only white men on machine drills will tend to increase the supply of labouring men of a good class who, while doing labouring work, are learning their craft, and will soon increase the number and efficiency of machine men, and should result in the development of a class of machine stopers earning fair wages according to individual skill, and not dependent for their means of livelihood on the supply of native labour.

*Statistics, 1899.*—Owing to the various statements made with regard to the number of persons employed in the mining industry in the year 1899, considerable attention has been directed to the investigation of the various records that are available relating to the subject. Complete statistics for the year 1899 are unobtainable owing to the outbreak of the war. There was, therefore, considerable doubt as to the reliability of estimates given.

In the past there is no doubt that the statistics dealing with the number of natives employed in the mining industry, compiled from the returns forwarded by the Mining Companies, were to some extent incorrect, inasmuch as it has been found that in some cases these returns were made on the basis of "shifts worked"—thus



giving the average number of natives at work during the month—whereas in other cases the actual number of natives in the service of the Company—whether at work or not—was returned.

The late Government in its returns asked for the average number of natives *working per day of 24 hours—not the number in the Compound*. These returns may be accepted as approximately correct, but it must be remembered that they represent an average of the number of natives *at work*, and therefore do not take into account the average surplus of natives who were off work through sickness, drunkenness, and other causes.

(It is generally agreed that the percentage of drunkenness included in this last surplus varied in the different mines according to the locality and facility offered for obtaining drink.)

Mr. H. H. Webb, Consulting Engineer to the Consolidated Gold Fields, was the first to investigate this matter, and at his instigation the Chamber of Mines issued a circular requesting Managers of Mines to forward the number of natives employed on their mines during the month of July, 1899, from the records contained in the mine books.

These figures were, through the courtesy of the Chamber of Mines, forwarded to this Department, and by the aid of statistical records of the late Government it has been possible to arrive at the following results, which may be taken as an approximation sufficiently accurate for most purposes :—

NATIVES EMPLOYED ON THE GOLD MINES AND KINDRED WORKS ON THE  
WITWATERSRAND IN JULY, 1899.

96,935	natives employed by 71 Producing Gold Mines, Witwatersrand.
10,547	„ „ „ 34 Non-producing Gold Mines, Witwatersrand.
345	„ „ „ 4 Miscellaneous Works.
107,827	

According to the Registers of the late Government there were *at work* on these mines and works :—

82,888	natives on the 71 Producing Gold Mines, Witwatersrand.
8,251	„ „ „ 34 Non-producing Gold Mines, Witwatersrand.
345	„ „ „ 4 Miscellaneous Works.
91,484	

The records of the late Government show that there were 4,279 natives at work on the seven producing coal mines on the Witwatersrand. As these figures are returned on the basis of the average number of natives *at work* on the coal mines and do not take into account the natives off work through sickness, &c., it is probable that the actual number *in the employ* of these companies was in excess of the numbers returned.

From the above figures it will be seen that in July, 1899, there were :—

107,482	natives employed by the Witwatersrand Gold Mines.
4,279	„ „ at work on the Witwatersrand Coal Mines.
345	„ „ employed by Miscellaneous Concerns on the Witwatersrand.
112,106.	Total for the Witwatersrand.

The average number of Europeans at work on the Witwatersrand Gold Mines during the month of July, 1899, recorded in the register of the late Government was 12,530, of whom :—

11,109	were employed on the Producing Mines.
1,421	„ „ „ „ Non-producing Mines.

The total number of persons (European and native) *at work* on the Witwatersrand Gold Mines in July, 1899, was therefore 103,669, whereas the total number of persons actually *in the employ* of the Witwatersrand Gold Mining Companies at

that date would be at least 12,530 Europeans and 107,482 natives, making a total of 118,912 persons.

Comparing these figures with the returns for June, 1903, compiled on the same basis, we find that there were, on the Witwatersrand :—

47,256	natives employed by	48	Producing Gold Mines.
12,944	”	”	” 65 Non-producing Gold Mines.
387	”	”	” 7 Miscellaneous Works.
<hr/>			
60,587			
<hr/>			

Of these there were at work on the last full working day of the month (June, 1903) :—

41,895	natives on the	48	Producing Gold Mines.
11,663	”	”	” 65 Non-producing Gold Mines.
382	”	”	” 7 Miscellaneous Works.
<hr/>			
53,940			
<hr/>			

There were also 3,990 natives in the employ of the six producing and two non-producing coal mines on the Witwatersrand, of whom 3,184 natives were at work on the last full working day of the month.

From these figures it will be seen that there were 64,577 natives in the employ of the gold and coal mines and kindred works on the Witwatersrand, of whom 57,124 were at work on the last full working day of the month.

The number of Europeans employed on the gold mines on the Witwatersrand on the last full working day of June, 1903, was 11,187, of whom—

7,886	were employed on the	Producing Mines.
3,301	”	” Non-producing Mines.
On the coal mines during the same month there were :—		
134	at work on the	Producing Coal Mines,
49	”	” Non-producing Coal Mines,

making a total of 183 Europeans employed on the Witwatersrand Coal Mines in June, 1903.

A summary of these figures shows that the number of persons in the employ and at work on the mines and works on the Witwatersrand in June, 1903 :—

In Employ.	At Work.	
60,200	53,558	Gold Mines.
387	382	Miscellaneous Works.
3,990	3,184	Coal Mines.
<hr/>		
64,577	57,124	
<hr/>		

Add Europeans on :—

11,187	Gold Mines.
128	Miscellaneous Works.
183	Coal Mines.
<hr/>	
68,622	
<hr/>	

We find, therefore, that the number of Europeans *at work* on the Witwatersrand gold mines during these periods are nearly coincident, being :—

Europeans at work	July, 1899	...	...	12,530
”	”	June, 1903	...	11,187
		or as 100 :		82.4,

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whereas there is a great disparity between the number of natives at work on the Witwatersrand Gold Mines at these periods, being:—

Natives at work July, 1899 ... ..	91,139
"    "    June, 1903 ... ..	53,558
or as 100 : 58.7.	

The number of natives in the employ of the Witwatersrand Gold Mining Companies, being:—

Number of natives on Companies' books, July, 1899 ...	107,482
"    "    "    "    "    June, 1903 ...	60,200
or as 100 : 56.0.	

The following comparative statement illustrates the chief points with regard to the labour and output of the mining industry on the Witwatersrand area for the months of July, 1899, and June, 1903:—

Producing Gold Mines.—Witwatersrand.—July, 1899-June, 1903.

Month.	1. No. of Mines Crushing.	2. Stamps at Work.	3. Tons Milled.	4. Per- centage of Waste Sorted.	5. Output of Gold.*	6. Yield per ton.	7. Fine Gold ozs. per person em- ployed.	8. No. of Em- ployees on the Produc- ing Mines, per stamp at work.	9. No. of Persons at Work.		
									Whites.	Colour- ed.	Total.
1899—July	71	5,875	795,444	20.44	Fine ounces. 383,913.301†	dwts. 9.653	4.084	15,999	11,109	82,888	93,997
1903—June	48	3,500	488,041	14.40	226,318.184	9.275	3.496	14,223	7,886	41,895	49,781

Ratios.	July, 1899.	June, 1903.
1. Output ... ..	100	58.95
2. Whites employed ... ..	100	70.99
3. Coloured employed... ..	100	50.54
4. Persons employed ... ..	100	52.96
6. Yield per ton ... ..	100	96.08

\* Inclusive of Bye Products sold to Metallurgical and Chemical Works.  
† Output as returned by the Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines.

The proportion of European to native labour on the Witwatersrand gold mines has considerably increased, the ratio before the war averaged as 1 : 7.56, whereas during the statistical year under review it was as 1 : 4.08.

The number of non-efficient natives in the service of the gold mines on the Witwatersrand in July, 1899, as against June, 1903, has decreased by 4.17 per cent.; the total number of natives in the service of these companies has decreased by 47,282, or 43.99 per cent.

The ratio of producing to non-producing gold mines on the Witwatersrand has decreased, being:—

In July, 1899, as 1 : .51.

In June, 1903, as 1 : 1.55.

The output of gold from the Witwatersrand mines has decreased, being:—

July, 1899 ... ..	383,913.301 fine ounces.
June, 1903 ... ..	226,318.184 ,, ,,

showing a difference in favour of July, 1899, of 41.05 per cent.

The number of native labourers available for the mining industry has therefore not only been unequal to its requirements, but the returns of the number of natives in its employ at any time during the year compares very unfavourably with those for the year 1899.

Various causes have been put forward to account for this falling off in the available supply of native workers for the industry. On this point there is much difference of opinion.

NATIVES ON MINES—1902-1903.

*Gold Mines.*

Month.	Actually at Work.	On Companies' Books.	Percentage Working.
1902—July ... ..	29,516	32,616	90·50
August ... ..	30,950	35,255	87·79
September ... ..	34,358	37,874	90·72
October... ..	37,398	41,503	90·11
November ... ..	38,618	43,455	88·87
December ... ..	40,745	45,698	89·16
1903—January ... ..	43,307	48,058	90·11
February ... ..	46,917	51,540	91·03
March ... ..	51,962	56,577	91·84
April ... ..	55,340	60,557	91·38
May ... ..	57,898	64,480	89·79
June ... ..	59,491	66,221	89·84

Per cent. inefficient :—9·8.

*Coal Mines.*

Month.	Actually at Work.	On Companies' Books.	Percentage Working.
1902—July ... ..	5,264	5,857	89·88
August ... ..	5,376	6,380	84·26
September ... ..	5,740	7,098	80·87
October... ..	5,723	7,174	79·77
November ... ..	6,223	7,568	82·23
December ... ..	6,191	7,359	84·13
1903—January ... ..	6,542	7,271	89·97
February ... ..	6,873	7,361	93·37
March ... ..	6,943	7,495	92·64
April ... ..	6,938	7,479	92·77
May ... ..	7,286	7,619	95·63
June ... ..	7,394	8,468	87·32

Per cent. inefficient :—12·2.

The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, acting under the necessary permission from the Colonial and Foreign Offices, have Agents in many of the African States and Territories under British and European protection. It would appear that all efforts to obtain native labour in this Continent are first to be exhausted before seeking it elsewhere.

This Association has appointed District Managers at central points in the various territories where labour is available. Each District Manager has sole

charge of the recruiting in his own district. He engages recruiters, establishes receiving stations at various points, and arranges for the transport, feeding, and clothing of such laborers as are willing to contract for work on the Rand.

The minimum contract period is six months, and they contract to work either on a particular mine or on the mines in general, just as they please. If a native has been at the mines before he will probably prefer to return to his old working place, and on being engaged is given a ticket with the name of that mine on it.

The territories at present being recruited are: Portuguese East Africa (excluding the territories of the Mozambique, Nyassa, and Zambezia Companies), the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Swaziland. Also British Central Africa and German South West Africa to the extent of 1,000 labourers each.

A Recruiting Station has been established in the Shire district within the Central African Protectorate, where permission has been granted for 1,000 natives to be collected and forwarded to the Witwatersrand. A few of these natives recruited at Port Herald have recently arrived and are at work on the mines.

So far, this particular class of labour has been adversely commented upon by the managers of the mines on which they are employed—though apparently of a finer physique than the native from Portuguese Territory they are described as being largely imbued with that inherent dislike of work so evident in most of the African races. Moreover, possibly due to the change of climate, a large number have been incapacitated for work through sickness; the mortality also has been high.

It is hardly possible to draw any definite conclusions as to the value of these natives as workers, but the present results are not encouraging; and it has become apparent that the question of climate must be largely taken into account as affecting the future supply of labour for these fields from sources north of the Zambesi.

The increase in the supply of natives during the last six months of the year under review, was at a very much faster rate than the preceding six months. This may be largely accounted for by the fact that a revised rate of pay authorised by the Chamber of Mines, was adopted which permitted the native to earn up to 60s. per month. Further, it was also agreed to adopt the schedule of wages in vogue immediately prior to the outbreak of war, and that "time expired" natives should be offered a bonus for a further twelve months' contract. It was also decided to introduce the principle of payment by results or "piece work" in order to encourage the native to work and to permit the more efficient native to earn a higher wage per month.

It is apparent that the higher rate of wage now offered, the great improvement in the housing accommodation and rations provided, the extra freedom granted to the natives in allowing them to choose their own mines on coming to these fields, has had a most beneficial effect.

A comparatively large number of "Cape boys" have come up to the mines seeking work since the increased rate of wages came into force. Possessed of a higher intelligence, this class of worker is much more efficient and economical than the native.

#### SALARIES AND WAGES.

The total amount paid during the twelve months under review by the mining and metallurgical and chemical concerns which come under the supervision of this Department was £4,721,744.

This amount may be separated into the following main heads:—

For	Gold Mines.	Coal Mines.	Diamond Mines.	Metallurgical and Chemical Works.	Other Mines and Works.	Total.
Salaries ... ..	£ 608,223	£ 48,653	£ 3,205	£ 9,962	£ —	£ 670,043
Wages to white workmen ...	2,736,061	77,899	8,346	27,227	44,247	2,893,780
Wages to native workmen ...	949,730	138,479	7,912	12,586	49,214	1,157,921
Totals ... ..	4,294,014	265,031	19,463	49,775	93,461	4,721,744

*White Wages.*

The rate of wages paid to skilled white workmen remains practically at the same level as obtained before the war. White helpers on rock-drill machines—practically unskilled—have increased in number during the year, and earn on an average 10s. to 11s. per shift. Unskilled white surface labourers earn about 9s. 6d. per day.

*Native Wages.*

The following table, which shows the average monthly wage paid to natives on gold and coal mines, also illustrates the variation in the rate of pay before and since the war:—

	Gold.	Coal.
Monthly average rate for 1898 ... ..	47s. 1d.	46s. 11d.
Monthly average rate for the Statistical Year 1901-2 ... ..	26s. 8d.	34s. 2d.
Monthly average rate for the half-year ending 31st December, 1902 ... ..	32s. 9d.	35s. 0d.
Monthly average rate for the half-year ending 30th June, 1903 ... ..	42s. 5d.	38s. 11d.

*Native Food.*

In addition to native wages paid, an amount £362,833 was expended by the mines and works of the Transvaal for food, of which the sum of £282,769, or 77.93 per cent., was spent by the gold mines in the Witwatersrand area.

The principal distribution of this sum is as under:—

Gold Mines	£315,176, or a ratio to Native wages as	£1 : £3.01.
Coal Mines	£43,790, " " " "	£1 : £3.16.
Diamond Mines	£2,472, " " " "	£1 : £3.20.
Met. and Chem. Works	£1,395, " " " "	£1 : £9.02.

That is, that on the mines and works of the Transvaal for every £3 1s. 1d. paid as wages to natives, an additional £1 is expended on their food.

The following statement shows the amounts expended by mines and works on the different kinds of food supplied:—

Description.	Gold Mines.		Coal Mines.		Diamond Mines.		Metallurgical and Chemical Works.	
	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%
Mealie Meal, Kaffir Corn, etc.	200,384	63.58	33,511	76.52	2,213	89.52	1,108	79.43
Meat ... ..	84,355	26.77	7,349	16.78	243	9.83	272	19.50
Vegetables ...	29,604	9.39	2,700	6.16	—	—	2	1.14
Salt ... ..	833	2.6	230	5.4	16	6.5	13	9.3
Totals ... ..	315,176	100.00	43,790	100.00	2,472	100.00	1,395	100.00

The cost of the different classes of food thus consumed works out at:—

Description.	Gold Mines.		Coal Mines.		Diamond Mines.		Metallurgical and Chemical Works.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Meal, per bag... ..	23	8	24	0	28	11	24	7
Meat, per lb. ... ..	5	6.2	6	4.2	6	0.6	5	5.4
Salt, per lb. ... ..	1	1.6	1	2.9	1	3.6	1	9.4

Vegetables were supplied by 77, or 59.6 per cent., gold mines out of the 129 which supplied food; by 12 coal mines out of a total of 20, or 60 per cent., and by one Metallurgical and Chemical company.

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This compares favourably with the figures for last year, which were:—

Gold Mines, 42 out of 104, or 40.38 per cent.

Coal Mines, 4 out of 14, or 28.57 per cent.

The cost of food supplied to the native employees by the mines and works in the Transvaal averaged 11s. 10.4d. per native per month, as against 9s. 6.2d. for the year 1901-2.

On Gold Mines the average was 11s. 11.7d.

On Coal Mines the average was 11s. 5.4d.

On Diamond Mines the average was 13s. 11.3d.

On Met. and Chem. Works the average was 5s. 9.2d.

In addition to wages and food coloured employees are provided with housing, heating, lighting, cooking, medical attendance, hospital, &c., free of charge.

#### *Natives.*

There has been a general tendency on the part of the Mining Companies to treat their coloured employees in a much more generous manner than has hitherto been the case.

The increased variety and better quality of the food now provided for the native, together with the greater care bestowed on its preparation, has brought about a marked improvement in the general health of the native employee on the mines, and scurvy, a disease formerly so prevalent amongst them, has now been greatly restricted and in some compounds entirely eradicated.

In connection with this subject—the care of the native—the Principal Medical Officer, Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, together with mine compound overseers, visited Kimberley, in order to study on the spot the arrangements in practice at the diamond mines as to housing, clothing, feeding, recreation and hospital treatment.

At the commencement of the year, scurvy was very prevalent amongst the native employees, and its presence was generally attributed to monotonous diet and the large proportion of American kiln-dried mealies which was their staple food.

During the year, permission has been granted to many of the Mining Companies to fence in sufficient land held under mining licences to form vegetable gardens. This permission has been taken full advantage of, and has been productive of good results.

An Ordinance, No. 32 of 1902, was also promulgated, permitting the brewing of Kaffir beer (Twala), to contain not more than 3 per cent. of alcohol, for distribution amongst the natives. This beer, whilst containing a small percentage of alcohol, is a very healthy and nourishing food, and appears also to be an effective antidote against scurvy.

In practice, the Inspectors of Mines report that this system of issuing Kaffir beer to the natives is working well; that the general conduct is no less orderly; and that it conduces to better work.

The illegal traffic in Kaffir beer (mixed with spirit) outside compounds, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mines, is still carried on in some parts of the Witwatersrand, and various convictions have taken place.

It is regrettable that white persons have been guilty of selling spirits to the natives, and it is reported that this curse is greatly on the increase.

With regard to this matter, Mr. Moses, the Inspector of Mines for the Germiston District, reports:—

“Adjoining the Mines, a number of houses are erected upon claims, permission for which in some cases was granted by the late Government. They are mostly used for dwellings and Kaffir stores. The latter are most objectionable, as the police continually report that illicit liquor traffic is being carried on in these places.”

The same Inspector writes the following very interesting remarks with regard to the diet provided for the natives:—

“The beneficial effects produced by their improved treatment are still apparent from the steady increase in the number of natives for the mines. A marked advancement in the health and general appearance of the natives can positively be seen at those mines where the daily diet has

been increased and improved, and especially at mines where Kaffir beer is served out.

"I made a special visit to the May Consolidated Mine, where it had been reported to me that a great improvement in the appearance of the natives was apparent. By the courtesy of the Manager, who is naturally proud of the results, I was given the following information with regard to the rations served out.

"The introduction of manioc flour, which is supplied raw to the natives, has had a most beneficial effect. The natives buy 'pea nuts,' which are dissolved and boiled with the flour."

The weekly rations are:—

Mealie Pap	...	...	...	...	...	Daily.
Beans	...	...	...	...	...	Twice weekly.
Meat, with fat and onions mixed	...	...	...	...	...	Once weekly.
Pumpkins and cabbage from Mine gardens...	...	...	...	...	...	Twice weekly.
A quart of Kaffir beer (fermented 24 hours, containing 2½ per cent. alcohol) is served out to each native every evening at 6 p.m.						

This description of the food given to the natives in the May Consolidated Gold Mining Company's compound may be taken, with some slight variations, as an average diet now provided by nearly all the mines on the Witwatersrand, and is a distinct advance on that obtaining before the war.

#### *Native Compounds.*

Considerable improvements have been introduced in the construction and arrangements of the new compounds for native employees.

These compounds are not only more commodious, but, from a sanitary point of view, are greatly in advance of compounds hitherto erected.

As a typical example, the new compound now being erected (designed by Mr. G. C. Fox, engineer to Messrs. Goerz and Co.) at the May Consolidated Gold Mine may be instanced, plans and specifications of which I attach in Appendices C, C 1 and C 2.

It will be noticed that each room is constructed to accommodate twenty-eight natives, and that it contains about 5,930 cubic feet, or about two hundred and twelve cubic feet per native. The fire-place provided in each room has been found to conduce to the comfort and health of the natives, and to be less wasteful in coal than the primitive method often adopted by natives of making a fire in an oil tin, placed in the centre of the room.

I would draw special attention to the bunks, which are movable and interchangeable and can be brought outside during the day and exposed to the sun and, in case of an epidemic of sickness, can be dipped in a central bath of disinfectant fluid. These bunks rest on angle iron, supported by iron uprights (boiler tubes), and therefore may also be readily cleansed and disinfected when necessary.

In the early history of the mining industry in the Transvaal, the native was often considered to be sufficiently cared for if he was housed in a semi-portable hut, consisting of a few sheets of corrugated iron nailed together, and supplied with mealie meal porridge for his daily food, together with about 1 lb. of meat per week—the quality of the mealie meal and of the meat being sometimes of an indifferent character. There was no record kept—official or otherwise—as to the death rate of the native, and if sickness appeared to a marked extent in a compound it was often considered to be due to some mysterious disease peculiar to the native.

Happily this state of things lasted but a short time, and to-day the conditions of life under which the native lives in some of the compounds erected on the Witwatersrand Mines compare favourably with those of his kraal.

#### *Health of Employees.*

*Housing.*—It has been the general practice since the inception of the mining industry for the owner of the mine to provide the necessary housing accommodation for the employees.

The necessity for such an arrangement has no doubt arisen through the high cost of building materials and to the difficulty in obtaining land by individuals for residential purposes.



On the majority of the mines, more especially those in the Witwatersrand Area, the quarters provided, both for the married and single employees, are of a substantial nature, those for the former being often fitted up with bathrooms, water service, verandahs, and other conveniences calculated to promote the comfort of the tenant.

By the kindness of Mr. G. C. Fox, Consulting Mechanical Engineer to Messrs. Goerz and Co., I am able to attach (see Appendices B and B 1) plans and specifications of quarters erected on the property of the Geduld Gold Mining Company, Limited, which may be taken as being descriptive of the class of cottage recently erected for the use of married employees by some of the mining companies.

I understand that on the properties of the subsidiary companies of the Rand Mines, Limited, three classes of houses are to be built for the use of the white employees—detached, semi-detached, and terraces.

I am informed that a sum of £100,000 has been voted for this purpose, and also that each house is to have a garden attached with a water service laid on; that the water and sanitary service is to be provided at the expense of the Company; and that the rent is to be fixed so as to yield only a moderate rate of interest.

It is unfortunate that hitherto no scheme has been devised, however, whereby workmen can secure for themselves sufficient ground on which to build their homes.

Married men, who, together with their families, occupy a house, the property of the Company for which they may be working, do not enjoy any security of tenure, since the tenancy of the house they inhabit ceases with the termination of their employment by the Company, which, in most instances, requires but one minute's notice.

It is probable that, in spite of the high cost of living in this country, many workmen who have left their wives and children in oversea homes, would bring out their families if they were able to secure a suitable plot of ground on which they could build themselves a home within reasonable distance from the mines.

The accommodation provided by some of the Mining Companies is of an indifferent character, and owing to the absence of proper "Change Houses," the miners have, after their day's work, to take off their working clothes in their rooms, where there are no special facilities afforded for drying these before the commencement of the next ensuing shift. Many of the rooms are not provided with the means for thorough ventilation, and in such cases especially the presence of these clothes, often soaked with perspiration and impregnated with gases, the products of explosives after blasting, must certainly tend to vitiate the atmosphere in the room.

*Miners' Phthisis.*—With reference to this subject—Health of Employees—a Commission was appointed by His Excellency the Governor to enquire into and report upon the prevalence and causes of the disease known as "Miners' Phthisis," and to make recommendations as to the preventive and curative measures which should be adopted.

The work undertaken by the Commission and the recommendations contained in its report have been of the greatest interest to all persons connected with the industry and the report cannot fail to ameliorate the condition of the miner, inasmuch as it definitely states the cause of the disease and indicates the nature of the preventive measures that should be adopted.

The report, dealing as it does with matters directly affecting the health of the employees and the conditions under which they live and work, is of such importance that it is necessary for me to make reference to it here.

Briefly it states that Miners' Phthisis is "a silicosis produced by the inhalation of minute particles of inorganic matter with which the mine atmosphere is charged."

"Although the incidence of the disease appears to be more marked in miners who have been working rock drills for some years, yet it is also found to prevail amongst miners who have never worked them."

The disease is present amongst the mine employees to a very serious extent; and it is particularly insidious, frequently the "sufferers only begin to notice any symptoms when the disease is quite in its last stage."

The high percentage of C.O. and C.O.<sub>2</sub> gases, coupled with the fact that miners are comparatively frequently overcome by these gases either wholly or partially, clearly indicates the pressing necessity that exists for a more efficient supervision of the ventilation of the mines.

"More careful attention should be bestowed with regard to the condition of the explosives used, and the miners using them should be instructed with respect to the more intelligent use of the same."

The recommendations of the Commission were:—

1. To prevent the discharge into the mine atmosphere of the minute hard angular particles of dust already referred to, which are largely produced by blasting and rock drill operations.
2. To supply the working places throughout the mine with air in sufficient quantities and in such a manner as to render harmless and sweep away all vitiated atmosphere.
3. To maintain underground workings in every mine in a clean condition and to provide for this purpose a suitable sanitary system.
4. To provide Change Houses suitably warmed and within reasonable distance from each shaft, where the miners can dry and change their clothes.
5. To avoid the use of low flash point lubricants in the air cylinders of compressors and to provide that the air intake be outside the engine house so as to insure a pure supply.

I have much pleasure in recording the keen interest many of the mine managers have taken in all questions affecting the health of the miner, and that in many instances they are conducting experiments in order to test the efficiency of the various water injectors, sprays, &c., patented in most cases for allaying the dust created by mining operations.

In the Germiston District the Inspector of Mines reports:—"That nearly all the managers recognise where possible the advisability of sinking winzes instead of putting up rises. More care is taken in the ventilation of the workings and a great interest is being taken by those concerned in having all the workings practically clear of explosives fumes before the workmen are allowed to proceed into their working places."

It is a matter of regret that up to the present none of the respirators tried on these fields have been found to be thoroughly efficient.

The following are the chief points to be considered in the construction of respirators, and it is upon the due observance of them that their efficiency depends:—

1. The whole of the inspired air should pass through the filtering material.
2. The filtering material should be capable of arresting all the minute angular particles of dust found in the atmosphere of the mines, but should not impede respiration.
3. The mask should be fitted with an outlet valve through which the expired air may escape.

#### *Ventilation.*

The question of mine ventilation on these Fields is occupying considerable attention since there are reasons which make it appear that natural ventilation aided by the exhaust air from machine drills, pumps, &c., hitherto so largely depended upon, will be inadequate in the deeper workings.

In the outcrop mines there has been but little difficulty in getting a supply of fresh air which, if properly directed, would be sufficient to adequately ventilate all the workings of the mine, but in the deeper workings there is a tendency to diminish the shaft area in proportion to the area of the property to be worked. The time that must necessarily elapse before the drives from the various shafts of such a property are connected will be considerably greater than in the case of outcrop properties.

In the deeper workings, owing to the time that it takes to raise and lower persons between the surface and the mine, there will be a tendency on the part of the management to cause the miners to remain below during the whole shift. It will be necessary, therefore, to cause the ventilation of such mines to be more under control than has hitherto generally been the case, since, where the ventilation of a mine depends solely upon the difference in the pressure of the air due to atmospheric conditions, it is liable to vary greatly, and at times to become exceedingly bad.

A considerable amount of work has been done by officers of this Department in the matter of collecting data with regard to the amount of air circulating in the shafts; but owing to the frequent variations in the quantity of air passing into the mines and the varying directions of currents in the shafts owing to atmospheric changes, moving machinery, &c., it has been extremely difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions without making a great number of experiments over an extended period. These investigations have, however, shown that the engineers on these fields have not given the important question of mine ventilation that attention and consideration which it is entitled to receive.

An increasing amount of attention is now being paid to the more efficient splitting up and direction of the air in the underground workings of the deep level mines. Doors and brattice cloths are hung at suitable points in the mine, and by these means the incoming air is directed towards the more remote workings.

The natural ventilation is in some cases assisted by such means as the placing of drill sharpeners' furnaces at the bottom of the up-cast shaft; building up one or more of the compartments of the up-cast shaft for some distance above the level of surface; carrying light pipes of eight inches or more in diameter along the level from near the face of the drives up into an up-cast shaft or winze.

The necessity for the introduction of some efficient system of ventilation is clearly demonstrated by the fact that there were during the year two Europeans and twelve natives suffocated by poisonous gases in the mines.

It is significant that such "accidents" have been entirely confined to the gold mines, in which the proportion of explosives used both as regards quantity and power is greater than in the coal mines.

Several cases have occurred where persons have been gassed and remained unconscious for some hours, but have been resuscitated by means of artificial respiration; such cases, however, are not officially reported to this Department.

From the evidence given before the Commission already referred to, it is apparent that the purity of the air forced into the mine by means of air compressors is liable to become contaminated from various causes, chiefly perhaps from the use of inferior lubricating oils in the air cylinders, and from the custom of permitting the air-intake to be situated inside the engine-room and often close to cylinders where the atmosphere is overheated and probably charged with impurities. It is satisfactory to notice, however, that in the compressor plants recently erected the air supply is taken from outside the engine-room.

With reference to the fouling of the air whilst passing through the compressor, the fact that the valves frequently become coated with solid residues of the lubricant that has vaporised indicates that dissociation and possibly combustion continually occurs.

There is no doubt that flaming does take place in the air compressors at work on these fields, and two explosions due to this cause have occurred during the past year, causing serious damage to plant.

In connection with this matter I am given to understand that a Turbo Air Compressor has been ordered for one of the Witwatersrand Gold Mines. Air passing through such a compressor should not be liable to vitiation from the cause referred to.

The following average results of the analysis of three samples of compressor air taken from the air pipes in the underground workings is published in the Report of the Miners' Phthisis Commission:—

Oxygen.	20.76
C. O <sub>2</sub>	0.05
C. O.	0.08
H.	—
N.	79.12

The contamination of the mine atmosphere is largely due to the products of the explosives used in blasting operations. It is well known that the gases resulting from the decomposition of nitro-glycerine explosives vary according to their quality and the manner in which they are used. It is possible in practice, by the intelligent and judicious use of explosives, to reduce to a great extent the harmful nature of the resultant gases. There is of necessity a tendency on the part of a miner to overcharge owing to the loss of time—and if he is working on contract—loss of money occasioned by the use of a charge which fails to "carry the load." The overcharging of holes and the use of damp or weak detonators are perhaps two points that require close attention on the part of the miner. The question as to the quantity of explosive necessary in each case can only be arrived at by practical experience.

With regard to the use of damp or weak detonators the following interesting statement occurs in the Report of the Miners' Phthisis Commission:—

"It has been demonstrated when blasting with nitro-glycerine explosives that mis-fires will result if the initial detonation is too weak, and that detonators, although originally of good quality and sufficient strength, will rapidly deteriorate when exposed to a damp atmosphere such as exists in the mine workings. It would, in our opinion, therefore, be very beneficial

if the practice were adopted of allowing a margin of safety in the strength of detonators used; for instance, where in the past a No. 6 detonator has been employed to explode charges, we recommend that it should be replaced by a No. 8 detonator in the future—and further, the miners should be instructed to use every care that the detonators in their possession are enclosed in ‘damp proof’ boxes or wrappers and stored in as dry a place as possible. These precautions, moreover, should strongly appeal to the miner, since, by their proper observance, not only will the generation of harmful gases be decreased but an economy in the use of explosives be effected on account of the more perfect explosions obtained.”

*Mine Sanitation.*

It has become recognised, in view of the increased depth of the mine workings, that the installation of a suitable sanitary system is necessary. In such mines the employees have not easy access to the surface, and it is therefore apparent that sufficient sanitary conveniences should be provided on every level where work is carried on for the use of the miners.

The Inspectors of Mines report that the managers of mines on the Witwatersrand are giving considerable attention to this matter, and in mines where no system had previously existed there is now being established a well organised underground sanitary service.

Of 39 gold mines specially reported on I find that 19 had a bucket system in use, and it would appear that this system is generally considered the most suitable.

Considerable difficulty has been experienced in compelling the natives to make use of the conveniences provided, but with properly conducted underground police supervision this carelessness on the part of the native has been overcome.

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[COLONIAL OFFICE NOTE: The remainder of the Report, which is very bulky and mainly concerned with technical matters, is not reprinted.]

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No. 102.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR A. LAWLEY to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received January 9, 1904.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December 18, 1903.

WITH reference to my despatch of even date,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter from the Labour Importation Association, dated Johannesburg, the 15th of December, 1903, covering copy of a resolution passed at the Wanderers' Club, Johannesburg, on the 14th December, 1903, on the subject of the introduction of unskilled coloured labour.

I have, &c.,  
A. LAWLEY,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 102.

LABOUR IMPORTATION ASSOCIATION to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

Labour Importation Association,  
115, Exploration Buildings, Johannesburg,  
15th December, 1903.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

THE appended resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority at an overflow meeting held in the grounds of the Wanderers' Club, Johannesburg, last night, at which some 6,000 people were present.

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\* No. 99.

Would Your Excellency favour the meeting by forwarding the resolution to the Secretary of State for the Colonies?

I have, etc.,

A. MACINTOSH,  
Chairman of Meeting.

His Excellency  
the Lieutenant-Governor,  
Pretoria.

RESOLUTION REFERRED TO.

"That this meeting, being convinced that the delay which is involved in the proposed referendum will be disastrous to the people of this Colony, calls upon the Government to publish a draft Ordinance as soon as possible, providing for the introduction of unskilled coloured labour, under proper restrictions as to employment and repatriation."

No. 103.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (Cape) to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received January 9, 1904.)

SIR,

Government House, Cape Town, December 23, 1903.

I have the honour to transmit to you, with reference to my Despatch of 15th instant,\* the documents specified in the annexed schedule, enclosing resolutions passed at public meetings held at Kimberley and Middelburg, respecting the introduction of Asiatic labour into South Africa.

I have, &c.,

WALTER HELY-HUTCHINSON.

SCHEDULE OF ENCLOSURES.

1. December 15, 1903.—Letter from the Town Clerk, Kimberley.
2. December 15, 1903.—Extract from the "Cape Times."†
3. December 18, 1903.—Letter from Mr. S. A. van Leersum, Middelburg.

Enclosure 1 in No. 103.

TOWN CLERK, Kimberley, to GOVERNOR.

Borough of Kimberley.

Town Office, Kimberley, December 15, 1903.

SIR,

In pursuance of a resolution passed at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Kimberley held in the Town Hall on the 14th instant, and by direction of His Worship the Mayor, Chairman of the meeting, I have the honour to enclose herewith for Your Excellency's consideration copies of two resolutions passed on that occasion on the subject of the introduction of Chinese labour into British South Africa; also, two further copies thereof, one of which His Worship, on behalf of the meeting, asks Your Excellency to be good enough to transmit to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the other to His Majesty's High Commissioner.

The Mayor desires to emphasise the fact that these resolutions were carried by acclamation by one of the largest public meetings ever held in Kimberley, as large as when Kimberley took action in regard to the Uitlander question, if not larger.

I have, &c.,

C. K. O'MOLONEY,  
Town Clerk.

His Excellency

The Hon. Sir W. F. Hely-Hutchinson, G.C.M.G.,  
Governor of the Cape Colony,  
Cape Town.

\* No. 96.

† Not reprinted.

- (1.) "That the inhabitants of Kimberley view with extreme concern the probability of the introduction of Chinese labour into British South Africa, and place on record their earnest conviction that the entry of large numbers of Chinese into any one Colony would be to the detriment of the whole of South Africa; that such entry would be a hindrance to the prosperity of the white and coloured population of this country; and that it would seriously injure the aboriginal inhabitants of this part of the Empire by retarding their natural development in the paths of industry and civilization."
- (2.) "That the inhabitants of Kimberley pray that the Imperial Government will withhold its sanction to any legislation introduced in any of the Colonies of British South Africa facilitating the importation of Chinese labour into British South Africa."

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Enclosure 3 in No. 103.

MR. S. A. VAN LEERSUM to PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR.

Middelburg, Cape Colony,  
December 18, 1903.

SIR,

By direction of a public meeting held at Middelburg on the 12th of December last, I have the honour to enclose a copy of resolutions unanimously adopted, and would request that it may please His Excellency to forward them to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
S. A. VAN LEERSUM,  
Secretary.

The Private Secretary  
to His Excellency the Governor,  
Cape Town.

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RESOLUTIONS.

I.

This meeting records its emphatic protest against the wrong that it is proposed to inflict on the whole South African Community by the introduction of Asiatic labourers for work at the mines, and it pledges itself to resist such importation by every lawful means, and if carried out in disregard of the views expressed in a constitutional manner by the Legislature of the Colony, to use its utmost endeavours to obtain the repatriation of such immigrants.

II.

This meeting calls on all who love their country and who desire its future development upon the lines of similar free communities under the British Flag, to join in strenuous opposition to a step which will alter the whole character of the population and place a fatal obstacle in the way of its future progress.

III.

To send the resolution to His Excellency The Governor for transmission to the Hon. Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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No. 104.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (Cape) to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received January 9, 1904.)

Government House, Cape Town,  
December 23, 1903.

SIR,

I FORWARD a letter which was handed to me to-day by Mr. Charles Matthews, chairman of a meeting which was held at the Good Hope Hall on Saturday, 19th December, for the purpose of discussing the question of Chinese immigration, transmitting copies of the resolutions passed at the meeting.

2. At the request of Mr. Matthews, I have telegraphed to you, stating that the resolutions have been presented for transmission.

3. I send, in connection with this subject, a newspaper report of the meeting, and some extracts\* from the local press.

I have, &c.,  
WALTER HELY-HUTCHINSON.

Enclosure 1 in No. 104.

ANTI-CHINESE IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE to GOVERNOR.

Anti-Chinese Immigration Committee,  
P.O. Box 821,  
Cape Town,

December 21, 1903.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE the honour to forward to Your Excellency the following resolutions which were adopted by an overwhelming majority at a meeting of the citizens of Cape Town, held in the Good Hope Hall, on Saturday evening last, December 19th.

The Committee will be grateful if Your Excellency will kindly forward the resolutions to His Majesty's High Commissioner, and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
CHAS. MATTHEWS,  
Chairman of Meeting.

To His Excellency

Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson,  
Governor of the Colony.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF CITIZENS HELD IN THE GOOD HOPE HALL,  
ON SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19TH, 1903.

## RESOLUTION 1.

(Same as Resolution (1) in Enclosure 1 in No. 103.)

## RESOLUTION 2.

(Same as Resolution (2) in Enclosure 1 in No. 103.)

## RESOLUTION 3.

That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, Governor of this Colony, with the request that copies of the same be forwarded to His Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa and the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

## RESOLUTION 4.

That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Prime Minister of this Colony with a request that the Government will do all in its power to give effect thereto.

Certified correct,  
CHAS. MATTHEWS,  
Chairman.

\* "South African News," "Cape Times," December 21: not reprinted.

## Enclosure 2 in No. 104.

"THE SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS," Monday, December 21, 1903.

Probably never since the days of the anti-convict agitation of 1848 has a more representative or a more impassioned gathering or one of more serious import assembled in the city of Cape Town than came together in and around the Good Hope Hall on Saturday evening. The object of the meeting—to make protest against the threatened invasion of South Africa by Asiatics—naturally appealed to every class and section in the diversified community of the city and the Peninsula, and it was therefore no matter for surprise that the early evening trains and trams to town were packed with men, and that from seven o'clock onwards a constant stream of people poured up Plein-street and Parliament-street towards the hall. Before eight o'clock every inch of the Good Hope Hall was occupied, and hundreds were forced to remain without. At the gates of the Good Hope Gardens hired men distributed handbills encouraging the idea that Cape Colony had no right to interfere with the affairs of the Transvaal, but as after events proved these had little effect on the people.

It was a memorable scene in the hall at the opening of the meeting. The stage was crammed with gentlemen representing all classes of public life. Away from the orchestra stalls back to the walls of the hall stretched a sloping mass of faces. Men were even piled up high against the back and the side walls of the building. It would be impossible to state even approximately how many people were present, but most judges seem to estimate the number at between 3,000 and 4,000. Mr. Schreiner afterwards described the meeting as a large slice of South Africa. No description could be better. Besides, numbers of people were being constantly turned away from the doors, and an overflow meeting had to be held in the adjoining gardens for the benefit of these crowds.

New arrivals were constantly coming on to the platform, and finding room somehow, and the sight of a well-known face provided the audience with an occasion for cheers. For example, when Mr. Purcell appeared, loud cheers were raised, and when Dr. Petersen was seen coming in from the right, the applause was renewed.

Exactly at eight o'clock Mr. W. P. Schreiner took his seat amidst cheers. Mr. Merriman followed him amidst the enthusiastic cheering of the majority of the people, and the hissing and booing of a small section. At five minutes past eight Mr. Matthews had taken the chair, and was standing to address the great throng.

It would have been absurd to expect anything like perfect order throughout so immense a meeting, but it was very soon seen that the interruptions which began almost as soon as the chairman had finished his first sentence, were deliberate and concerted. There is no use in anyone disguising the presence at the meeting of an organised mob of disturbers, for the methods and arrangement of the disturbance were proof enough of this, apart from the fact that disturbers—who were mostly wedged in among the left side of the throng—openly cautioned each other to "act only on the signal." Who the signalman was is not known, but there is reason to believe it was a prominent city stock-broker, who subsequently led the fusillade of hisses and hoots against Mr. Merriman, and who had to be waited on by a deputation from the platform to ask him to conduct himself properly. Altogether there were about 50 in the disturbing gang, and the foulness and coarseness of their methods and language reflected no credit on their employers. It has often been remarked that a dozen men can disturb a meeting of thousands, and this was amply demonstrated on this occasion. For no sooner had a speaker got through a sentence than one of the disturbers started "booing," and this was taken up by the rest of the gang, causing counter demonstrations on the part of the great mass of the meeting. In this way the disturbances went on from the start of the meeting almost to the end. Mr. Jagger, who was the first speaker, got bad treatment from the roughs, and this led people to expect that when Mr. Merriman came forward the gang would shout him down unless something was done to quieten them. Something very like this did occur. Mr. Merriman was the next speaker, and when his name was called he stepped briskly to the front of the platform. A scene of intense enthusiasm and excitement followed. The cheers rose wildly. At least four-fifths of the meeting were standing in their places cheering, waving caps and sticks. "Good old Merriman" was shouted again and again. Mr. Merriman stood—his tall figure drawn up, his hands on his hips in the old familiar Parliamentary attitude, smiling and bowing at the applauding throng. A row of lights in the top "flies" was suddenly turned on, and the glare fell on his face. The cheering still went on. At length the Chairman interfered and the applause died down. This was the opportunity for the disturbers. Immediately they commenced a loud booing and hissing, and when exhausted vocally they started a vigorous tramping. In vain the Chairman appealed for order. The tramping continued, and this was succeeded by the singing of "Rule, Britannia," started by a particularly repulsive-looking rowdy, who led the disturbing element on the left. For just nine minutes the interruptions went on, and the interference of the Chairman proving unavailing, Mr. Merriman briefly seconded Mr. Jagger's motion, and sat down without making a speech. This hounding down of the South African party leader on a non-political occasion was naturally resented by the meeting, who again rose in their seats and raised cheer after cheer for Mr. Merriman.

Mr. Schreiner suffered from interruptions as well; but he managed, notwithstanding, to deliver a speech of great eloquence. At its close Dr. Darley Hartley and Mr. W. V. Simkins came on the platform, and when Mr. Schreiner had finished, the Chairman announced that Dr. Darley Hartley would move an amendment. But the resentment of the meeting had been so aroused by this time that Dr. Darley Hartley was not allowed to speak, and practically the whole assemblage called loudly for Merriman. "Merriman first, Merriman first," came the cries. Again the Chairman interposed, but to no purpose, and finally Dr. Darley Hartley had to sit down, and Mr. Merriman was asked to come forward by the Chairman. Again there was a scene of wild enthusiasm. Thousands of cheers rose, men waved caps and hats, and ladies waved handkerchiefs. The disturbers retaliated with hissing and booing, which they kept up during the few minutes which Mr. Merriman occupied in speaking.



If Mr. Merriman had been allowed to speak without interruption, there is little doubt that Dr. Darley Hartley and Mr. Simkins, the mover and seconder of the amendment, would have got a hearing, but the meeting, aggravated at the treatment of Mr. Merriman, shouted them down vigorously, and they, too, had to refrain from speeches.

The carrying of the resolutions created memorable scenes. Nine-tenths of the audience voted for the first one, the insignificant opposition getting smaller and smaller at each successive voting, so that the last was carried with practical unanimity.

The remainder of the meeting was comparatively uneventful, and it was an enthusiastic and excited throng which at 10 o'clock rose to sing the National Anthem, marking the end of a great memorable event in the history of the Cape.

The enthusiasm of the meeting was carried out into the streets. A large section of the people, probably numbering 1,000, surrounded the doors awaiting Mr. Merriman's arrival, and other groups stood around the gates cheering again and again for Merriman, Schreiner, and Jagger. When Mr. Merriman appeared, the waiting crowd broke into loud cheers, and insisted on escorting him to his club, applauding and singing "For he's a jolly good fellow" along the way. As Mr. Merriman was passing into the Civil Service Club, the crowd burst into shouts for a speech, and with a broad sense of humour cleared a space for him on the very steps of Cotswold Chambers. The hon. gentleman, to the delight of the onlookers, ascended the steps, and from the corner of the verandah of "Cotswolds" addressed the gathering in a few vigorous sentences, which were enthusiastically cheered by the great assemblage which nearly filled Church-square.

Amongst the large crowd on the platform were Messrs. Hon. Dr. Petersen, M.L.C., Hon. J. X. Merriman, Hon. W. P. Schreiner, J. W. Jagger, Rev. Dr. F. C. Kolbe, Dr. Darley Hartley, J. M. Stephen (President Chamber of Commerce), H. Liberman, A. Mathews, J. T. Molteno, Herbert Easton, Advocate Gardiner, Dr. Forsyth, H. P. Gordon (Political Labour League), I. Purcell (Workmen's Union), A. Corley (Trades Council), C. Craig (Trades and Labour Council), L. Blight (Trades and Labour Council), W. B. Melville, D. McKey, L. Berman, Advocate Greer, George Trill, R. R. Brydone, A. M. Fisher, Professor Fremantle, J. Iverson, J. Carver, J. Kenyon Kelty, W. Gilmore, T. A. J. Louw, D. C. Graaff, G. Kingswell, Dr. J. Petersen, Advocate Pyemont, &c., &c.

The Chairman (Councillor Matthews) said: Ladies and gentlemen, of course you are all well aware of the object of this meeting, namely, to protest against the introduction of Chinese into this country. (Loud cheers and dissent.) My remarks will be very brief. I notice that the editor of this journal (holding up a copy of the "Argus") makes a very strong appeal for fair play—(loud cheers)—on behalf of those colonists who are opposed to the ideas of the gentlemen who are calling this meeting. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, as far as I am concerned, I assure you that to the best of my ability everyone shall have fair play. (Loud cheers.) I would further appeal to you that when the speakers are addressing the meeting whether for or against the Chinese introduction—I would appeal to you to give them a fair hearing—(cheers)—and let the meeting be conducted in a spirit of fair play. (Loud cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, with these few remarks I would ask the secretary to read some telegrams and cablegrams.

#### MESSAGES FROM AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. Kenyon Kelty, the secretary, read the following cables and telegrams:—

"From Deakin, Prime Minister, Australian Commonwealth.—Secretary, Anti-Asiatic League, Cape Town.—Unofficially replying your cable. Am now able to assure you that the Australian policy of exclusion coloured aliens, re-endorsed yesterday by great majority at general election." (Prolonged cheering.)

From C. C. Kingston, First Commissioner for Customs of the Commonwealth, Adelaide.—"Red hot sympathy." (Loud cheers.)

From Right Hon. Richard Seddon, New Zealand.—"Earnestly hope in true interests of South Africa that movement to introduce Asiatic labour will not succeed. If such were to be the result of the great sacrifice made, it would cause heartburnings and feelings of widespread disappointment. (Loud cheers.) No Asiatic can enter this colony without paying £100. Speaking as one knowing Chinese on goldfields of Australia and New Zealand, I assert they would be no use for underground work, and that they would prove undesirable colonists in every sense of the word." (Loud cheers, and a voice: "Good old Dick.")

Telegram from the Trades Council, Johannesburg.—"Labour Unions, Transvaal, unanimously opposed introduction Asiatics. Our meeting on Monday broken up by about 200 roughs hired at 15s. each, thus free speech denied. Are compelled to appeal for help to combat this danger to South Africa."

A sympathetic telegram was also read from Mr. Quinn, of Johannesburg.

#### STRONG SPEECH BY MR. JAGGER.

Mr. Jagger, who was received with loud and continued cheering, hisses, and counter cheers, said: The first resolution which I have to propose is as follows:

"That the inhabitants of Cape Town view with extreme concern the possibility of the introduction of Chinese labour into British South Africa, and place on record their earnest conviction that the entry of large numbers of Chinese into any one colony would be to the detriment of the whole of South Africa; that such entry would be a hindrance to the prosperity of the white and coloured population of this country, and that it would seriously injure the aboriginal inhabitants of this part of the Empire by retarding their natural development in the paths of industry and civilization."

Gentlemen, I don't think it is necessary for me to hold forth to you on the importance of this resolution. To my mind the question to be decided is simply this: The time has come to decide whether in the future we are going to have a large white population or whether we are going to continue as in the past 250 years, to have a small white sparse population—(uproar)—has, I say, the time now come when we are to decide whether we are to have a large white population in South Africa, or whether we are going to go on as in the past with a thin sparse white population scattered throughout the country, and have all the unskilled labour done by inferior races. (Cheers.) I want to remind you for a minute that this Colony has been founded for 250 years. (Cheers.) I want to remind you that this Colony was founded only 30 years after the Pilgrim Fathers landed in America. In America there is a population of 60,000,000 whites. The white population in South Africa is less than a million. (Cheers.) Or take again the case of Australia. (Cheers.) It was founded 130 years after this Colony was founded, and there you have a population in the Australian Continent of close upon 4,000,000 of whites, against less than a million in this country. What has been the reason? To my mind, it is very simple, because white labour has never had a fair chance in South Africa. (Cheers, and a voice: "Nor fair play, either," and renewed cheers.) There has always been a sort of irritation in South Africa, that the only men thought fit to do unskilled labour were the inferior races. How can you have any strong Colony or State which has not a large white population? How do you expect this Colony to take its place beside Australia and Canada in the future if the whole of your unskilled labour is done by inferior races? (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I appeal to everyone here who has been here in this city for 20 years as I have been—(interruption)—I have been in South Africa now for 20 years next month, and I remember the time (if anyone will throw his mind over that time) when white men were doing heaps of work which 20 years ago was done by coloured labour. Please understand I don't want to put aside the coloured man. There is ample work for the white population and the coloured man. (A Voice: What about the Italian? ) We don't want the Italians either. Before I address myself further to the subject, there is one point I want to lead to. Some of my friends are very strong on the point that we have no right to interfere with a domestic matter that affects solely the Transvaal. (Loud cheers.) The last time I took part in a public meeting in this hall was on the 28th June, 1899, and that was to discuss a Transvaal matter. (Loud cheers.) I was on this platform and one or two of my friends, including Mr. Twycross and Mr. Simkins, were on the platform. The meeting was called to discuss a matter concerning the Transvaal. You doubtless remember the question of the grievances of the uitlanders. That meeting was called to support the uitlanders in their petition to the Transvaal Government to give them equal rights. (Loud cheers.) I supported them strongly and would do so again. I need hardly tell you that whatever concerns one part of South Africa concerns all of us. (Cheers.) What has Lord Milner himself said in regard to this very matter? He says the whole of South Africa south of the Zambesi is one country to a remarkable extent, socially and commercially, and whatever affects one affects the whole of it. This matter is going to affect the whole of the future of South Africa, and if it affects the Transvaal it affects this colony just as much. I know some of our friends, quite sincerely understand, are against the introduction of the Chinese into this colony, but they hold you can use restrictions in the Transvaal, so that the Chinese will not be able to come through. They are quite sincere in that. I only know two men in this city who say they want Chinese in this colony. It is now a matter of restrictions. Let us first of all look at the quantity they want to get in. The Chamber of Mines estimates that 129,000 will be required in addition to white labour. We shall still have to get 100,000 Chinese into the Transvaal and Rhodesia, because they want them in Rhodesia as well. But I put it to any sensible man here, "Will they be able to compound all these Chinese?" (Loud cries of "No.") No. Never. Look at the guards that would be required to take care of 100,000 men. It is not common sense. How are you going to prevent them percolating through and coming into the colony. We shall have to support a cordon of police all along the northern border.

#### THE PROPOSED RESTRICTIONS.

They will be continually debarring these men from crossing the border and sending them back until they will get tired of the job. (Laughter and hear, hear.) Vigilance will be relaxed, and then you will have the Chinaman working his way into the Colony. (Cheers.) I give my opponents full credit for being in earnest with regard to the restrictions proposed. It is intended to restrict them to certain kinds of work; they are going to debar them from entering into trade or from owning land, and also restrict them from engaging in work outside what they are imported for. But you will remember that the Chinaman is an intelligent man, far more so than the Kafir. (A voice: That's right.) He has been living in a state of semi-civilisation for many years. The Chinaman will agree to all these restrictions, but when he once settles down on the mines he will begin to feel these restrictions very irksome, because they are not only restrictions in the way I said, but also with regard to sanitary living, &c., which the Chinaman will not agree to. (Laughter and cheers.) Then the next thing—there is no nation on this earth that is better at combination or striking than are the Chinamen. Some fine morning we will wake up and see in our morning papers that a strike of 10,000 Chinamen has taken place. What will be the result of that state of affairs? You cannot imprison them as the goals will not hold them—(laughter)—you cannot starve them, because that would be against the laws of humanity. The mining men will rush to Pretoria and say that if these men are sent home they will close down the mines. I say that any man must see that these restrictions will gradually dwindle away.

#### HOW CHINAMEN WORKED IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Gentlemen, to show you that I have some warranty for what I say, I will give you some particulars about the Chinese employed in the Straits Settlements, where they are engaged at mining.

(Some interruptions.) Let me read you it. It is an extract from the "Economist" on the subject. It is as follows:—

In view of the demand for Chinese labour for the Rand, the remarks on the labour question at the local tin mines by Mr. Belfield, the British Resident in the Malay State of Selangor, whose report is forwarded by Sir. F. A. Swettenham, are interesting. Mr. Belfield states that, the mine-owners, in spite of the attractions offered by the high price of tin, were unable to obtain sufficient hands, and that when the coolie realises he is master of the situation he does not fail to press his advantage. In former days the coolies were usually paid a fixed wage, but with the advance in the price of metal, they demanded that their remuneration should take the form of a share in the output of the mine, and, Mr. Belfield adds, "it is easy to understand that this form of employment by results may be prolific of disagreement between the parties interested, and it is largely owing to the prevalence of this arrangement that the protectorate has been so continually engaged in the settlement of disputes." Trouble of another kind caused an outbreak last year. The coolies engaged in removing the overburden in alluvial mines work under their own headman, who contracts with the proprietor to remove the earth by piece work. The enforcement of an order that these gangs should work six and a-half hours a day aroused dissatisfaction, which culminated in riot. The rioters marched into the adjoining towns and attacked the public buildings, but were fired upon by the police, and ultimately the organisers of the disturbance were arrested and deported. These facts will not be very comforting to those who affect to believe that the advent of the Chinese will convert Johannesburg into a sort of earthly paradise.

(Loud cheers and "Hear, hear.") You will have something like that in the Transvaal if the Chinese are introduced. (Cheers.)

#### THE CASE OF THE MINE MANAGERS.

Now, there is another aspect of this question. It is this. It has been said, and quite sincerely said, that if you bring in these Chinese they will increase the work among the white men. (Cheers and dissent.) Now, I do not agree with that. (Cheers.) I do not dispute in the near future that statement will be borne out, but what will be the ultimate result of the progress made? The Chinaman, as I have said, is an intelligent being. He will very soon work, and he can work to run the mines. Does anyone deny that? I have got before me the number of white men on the Rand. (Interruption.) This is the number of white men employed on the Rand in 1895—8,000. Among these there were over 1,000 carpenters. Does anyone deny that the Chinese will make good carpenters? ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Here is another thing. The principal part of the business of the mining manager is to reduce the working expenses of the mine? Some cost as much as 19s. per ton of ore, some as much as 35s. (Interruption.) We will take the case of the manager of the mines whose working expenses are very high. The directors say, "Here's a mine being worked for 19s., and your's is costing 30s." The manager says: "If you allow me to put in Chinamen in place of the white men I will reduce your cost." (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, it is only human nature. (Cheers and Hear, hear.) This is the managers' position. The mine manager is there to manage that mine. He will probably be in Spain at one period, and in South America at another. (Hear, hear.) If he can get a few Chinamen to work the mine he cannot resist the temptation. (Cheers.) So, gentlemen, the ultimate result will be this—that in time the Chinamen will work out the white man altogether. (Loud cheers.) If Chinamen are a success, I prophesy that within a few years' time you will have no white men working on the Rand. (Loud cheers and some dissent.) As a matter of fact, a case occurred the other day. The Village Main Reef mine was worked by Mr. Creswell—(cheers)—who tried to employ white labour. As soon as he had gone the directors set to work to replace the white by coloured labour. The same will take place with the white man and the Chinese.

#### CAUSE OF THE DEPRESSION.

Now, I know perfectly well that trade is bad. I suppose that nobody suffers in proportion more than myself. I know that a good many of my friends in Cape Town are not in favour of the introduction of Chinese into South Africa, yet they are so tightly squeezed that they would take the Chinaman as a last resource. (Cheers.) I can understand the feeling, but I realise that the Chinese will not give them relief by any manner of means. (Cheers.) What is the cause of the depression at the present moment? (Interruption.) The real reason is this—because during the last two or three years we were doing twice the amount of trade we would have done if the war had not occurred. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It is the expenditure of Imperial money in South Africa; that expenditure of Imperial money has been stopped. Besides, we have had a long drought. Under those circumstances, can you be surprised at this depression? (Cries of "No," and some interruption.) Suppose you bring in 100,000 Chinamen to the Rand—(interruption)—he is a mean, non-spending, hoarding sort of a man. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) Let me read you Mr. Skinner's report. (Interruption.) This is the reason he gives why the Americans got rid of him (the Chinaman): "The greater part of his earnings is either taken with him out of the country or remitted to his relatives in China. They do not, as a rule consume the products, but prefer to trade with their own people." If you get 100,000 Chinamen like that, what good is it to do to trade? (Hear, hear.) The trader lives upon what has been spent by the people. The Chinamen will want nothing at all. (Interruption.) That has been the experience not only in California, but in every other country where the Chinese have settled. There is another point. (More interruption and loud cries of "Go on.") It is this. (The interruption continued here for over a minute, but the Chairman's voice was heard above the uproar shouting: "Gentlemen, give fair play.") I have heard it stated sometimes that if the mines do not get this labour they will have to shut down. Do you know what the state of the mines is at the present moment? Read the reports of the directors at the meetings. They will tell you that the

mines were never in a better position than they are in to-day. (Cheers.) Ever since the end of the war they have made steady progress. (Cheers.) The output has progressed month by month up till the end of October, and now it is almost on a level with what it was before the war. (Cheers and interruption.) The level before the war was 16 millions a year, in October it was 14½ millions. (Cheers.) I have not the slightest hesitation in saying this that if you never see a Chinaman the output next year will be quite on the level with 1899. (Loud cheers.) As a matter of fact the profits for the three months' working in the mines ending in September was about £1,140,000 or over 5½ millions in a year. Gentlemen, is it ordinary common sense to expect that men who have a profitable thing like that are going to close it down? I know there is no thought of closing them down. (Uproar.) Gentlemen, you may ask what do I suggest as a remedy? It is a fair question. Well, gentlemen, I say in the first place that the supply of labour in South Africa has not been exhausted. (Loud cheers, groans, and counter cheers.) I can quote the reports of men like Mr. Grant, who is a recognised authority on native affairs, who states that the effect of the war, and the effect of the mine-owners reducing the wages of the miners soon after the war account largely for the present shortage of labour. (Cries of dissent.) I will give you a few examples to show you that there is a good supply of labour. De Beers employ over 10,000 natives. They have just started to open the Du Toit's Pan Mine, for which purpose they want over 1,500 extra natives, and they have not the slightest trouble in getting them. (Cheers and a Voice: "Quite true.") Yes, they can get them without the slightest effort. (Cheers.) I was told only yesterday about the labour supply in Matabeleland. There is one mine there which is never short of labour—it is one of the two mines which has always paid a dividend. That mine is never short, because the men are treated fairly and justly. (Loud cheers.) I know that the manager of that mine discharges any of his white men if any of them ill-treat the natives. He sees justice done to the coloured man just as much as to the white. (Cheers.) I will give you another case nearer home. I saw in the papers the other day that the Harbour Board at East London were short of labour, and they had the audacity to talk about importing Chinese. You know we have an ample supply of native labour for the docks in Cape Town. Now here is East London, in the very heart of a large native district, unable to get sufficient labour, and here we are in Cape Town, nearly a thousand miles away, with a plentiful supply. (Loud cheers.) How is that? Because in East London the rate of pay is 2s. 6d. while in Cape Town it is 4s. (Cheers.) That is the explanation. (Cheers.) Has not the coloured man just as good a right to sell his labour for as good a price as a white man. (Cheers.) There is another point. The mine managers might get as much coloured labour as they can and supplement it by white labour. (Cheers.) That is the point. As a matter of fact this very fact of white labour was gone into. I will quote you the opinion of three engineers on the Rand, Messrs. Price, Skinner and Spencer :—

Whilst deprecating the universal employment of unskilled white labour, we are of opinion that it can be beneficially used in the following departments, and for the undernoted classes of work. Care should, however, be taken that an incentive should be held out to the unskilled man to better his position in proportion to his efficiency. In the departments mentioned underneath, this in the ordinary course of things would follow, for we believe that good workmen in these departments will always be in demand. . . . We think it would be advantageous for the industry to employ white labourers in main engine installations as engineer's assistants and cleaners, in mills for the feeder and cam floors and in oiling. White men might also be employed at a low initial wage around crusher stations, and at sorting tables young white boys could be advantageously employed, especially in the neighbourhood of towns. In the carpenters', fitters', and blacksmiths' shops, we urge that the principle of properly indentured apprentices be adopted, which, whilst releasing, to a certain extent, the native attendants, would largely assist the training up of youths to useful trades. In the above noted departments of work, there could, in our opinion, be little difficulty in keeping the white and native element separate while at work, and in each of these classes of employment, the incentive to work, with the prospect of bettering the man's position, would not be wanting.

(Cheers.) The sum and substance of that is that the mines could employ about 75 white men per 100 stamps, whereas at the present time they employ coloured men. (Cries of dissent.) That is the opinion of the mining men who speak from experience. That would provide employment for 3,700 white men, and would let a large number of natives free for the working of other mines which are not working. Then again there is the matter of labour-saving appliances. The three engineers reported :—

We consider that by the adoption of such labour in the foregoing departments, and with the mechanical labour-saving appliances, the present high estimate of the needs of the industry as regards native labour would be considerably reduced; for instance, in a mine where rock drills can be used in the majority of stopes, we say that to run 100 stamps, and to do the necessary development, 1,000 to 1,200 natives, together with 125 to 150 skilled whites, should suffice. (These unskilled whites do not include lads on the sorting tables.)

(Cheers.) Of course if the mine owners knew that they could get plenty of cheap labour they would not bother their heads about these labour-saving appliances. (Cheers.) I am not a mining engineer, but I say it is rubbish to suppose that everything has been done in the way of labour-saving appliances. (Cheers.) If the mine managers can be made to see that they won't get Chinese, they will soon put their heads together to devise means of economising their labour. (Cheers, uproar, and a Voice: "Next man, please.") Well, gentlemen, I am open to admit that if the policy which I have advocated here to-night of supplementing native labour by white labour and mechanical appliances, that the development of the mines might be slower, but I put it to any man here, is it such a tremendous disadvantage if we don't dig out all the gold in the mines in the next 25 years? (Cheers and cries of "No.") Is it such a tremendous disadvantage? ("No.") The gold won't run away. By adopting the policy I mentioned you will have in the Transvaal and South Africa a large white population. You will make South Africa fit to take its place with Canada and Australia. If you

bring the Chinese into South Africa you will have a sparse white population scattered over the land, and the whole work done by a people of an inferior race. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I beg to move the first resolution. (Loud cheers, hissing, and counter cheers.)

#### MR. MERRIMAN'S RECEPTION.

Mr. J. X. Merriman then rose to address the meeting, and a remarkable demonstration took place. The audience sprang to its feet, hats were waved, and prolonged cheering ensued. Hisses, hooting, and other sounds of disapproval came from a section of the gathering, who also began to sing "Rule Britannia," while one individual near the platform said to be a stockbroker named Twycross, who throughout had been loudly assertive, vigorously protested that "it was an insult to a Cape Town audience to put up Mr. Merriman to speak. Put up anyone else and we'll listen to him," he repeatedly shouted. After facing the storm, which the Chairman endeavoured to quell in vain, for fully five minutes, Mr. Merriman said: I am very sorry, Mr. Chairman, that a certain section of the audience are not anxious to hear what I have to say. However, I am not going to keep you here all night, and I will second the resolution and sit down. (Loud cheering, hooting, and cries of "Merriman.")

The Chairman then submitted the resolution to the meeting, which signified its approval boisterously, and the chairman declared the motion to have been carried by an immense majority.

#### MR. W. P. SCHREINER.

Mr. W. P. Schreiner, who was also enthusiastically welcomed, proposed the second resolution as follows:

"That the inhabitants of Cape Town pray that the Imperial Government will withhold sanction from any legislation introduced in any Colony of British South Africa not enjoying Representative Government to facilitate the importation of Chinese labour into British South Africa."

He said: Mr. Chairman, fellow-citizens of Cape Town.—It is a very warm evening, and I don't think you want to hear much of a speech. I am sorry, as I spent some time to-day in preparing some ideas—stringing them together in a ramshackle way—to express in support of the resolution which stands in my name, but really it is so very hot that I shall cut my remarks as short as possible. (Hear, hear, and "No.") The resolution I have to propose follows the one you have just carried by a very large majority. (Cheers and dissent.) Perhaps many of you expected some counter proposition to be put before you. I can quite understand that, but I want to tell you this—an opportunity will be given after I have moved this resolution and it is seconded. (Uproar.) Let us do it in an orderly manner. Let me ask you first to hear the resolution, and then we will try and cut it as short as we can and hear the amendment. What I am about to propose to you is not a matter that has not already been before you. The point is that in this country of ours there are colonies that have their own representative forms of government, and I am asking you in this resolution to ask the Imperial Government to be so good as matters stand not to sanction any legislation in colonies that have not their own representative government. (Loud cheers.) I think you know I would be the last man in the world to come before you and ask you to interfere with the concerns of a Colony having its own representative form of government—(hear, hear)—and I don't want to interfere with the concerns of the Transvaal, but this is a matter that affects the whole of South Africa. Legislation that these Chinese might be brought into South Africa is legislation that can only be passed if the Imperial Government gives its sanction. It is a fair thing for the citizens of Cape Town, who have never been afraid to express their views—I have always found that not always much to my liking—(laughter)—it is a fair thing to ask that the citizens of Cape Town should express their views for the information of the Imperial Government. Mr. Chamberlain—(loud cheers)—said himself that the introduction of Chinese would never be forced upon South Africa without the sanction of the majority of the population. He drew the attention of the people there (England) to the fact that they were to be aware that the sentiment of the people of South Africa was very adverse to the introduction of Chinese. (Cheers.) We have nothing to fear that the Imperial Government are going to be forced in this matter.

#### ADVICE FOR THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

Fellow-citizens, it would be a sad thing if we, gathered together as we are to-night in our thousands, were not to give some advice to the Imperial Government on the matter. Surely the old "shank end" and the old metropolis of South Africa is not afraid to express its opinions or its feelings in this matter. (Cheers.) I am told it is not a constitutional thing; believe me it is thoroughly constitutional. Believe me that is shown by the action of the Conference of delegates from the different States in South America held at Bloemfontein last March. Amongst the questions that were placed before that conference for immediate discussion was the all-important one of labour for this country. That question was brought forward at that Conference by no less a personage than Lord Milner himself. Now that was one of the items of the agenda of that Conference. It was a recognised matter of South African interest. Lord Milner stated that he himself had seen the great want of labour in the country. Surely if Lord Milner gave expression to his opinions we should not be afraid of expressing our opinions. (Loud cheers.) Certain resolutions on this matter were adopted by the delegates. Don't let yourselves be made afraid by the idea that prevails in some minds that if you express yourselves adverse to Chinese labour you are going against Lord Milner. Lord Milner holds an open mind on the matter. He stands in a great difficulty, trying to do his best under the circumstances, and it would be a strange thing if he was to come forward on one side or the other until the matter is decided. (Cheers.) His attitude will be to advise the Imperial Government to do whatever he may eventually think right. Let us agree to differ, but let us say that we will be ready to hear from him in his position as High Commissioner whatever he may think is the right course to

adopt. It is foolish of any of you to think that your community is of so little consequence to South Africa that is not worth asking its opinion on this matter. I saw a telegram in the "Argus" the other day which I recognised as coming from an old friend, Mr. Leonard, that the people in Johannesburg were anxiously awaiting the result of public meetings at O'okiep and Kenhardt. (Laughter.) I do not think that this is O'okiep or Kenhardt, but a very big portion of South Africa (Laughter and cheers.) What we do to-night will not only go to England but will go ringing round the whole of the Empire. I ask you, in the motion which I am putting before you, to strengthen the hands of the Imperial Government with regard to the Transvaal and to Rhodesia, which has not got its own form of government yet. I know that at the present time the Imperial Government are considering whether they will allow Chinese labour to Rhodesia or not, and it will soon have the question before it as to whether Chinese labour is to be introduced into the Transvaal, and it is right to strengthen the hands of a Government when it will have to consider this question which is fraught with such lasting consequences to South Africa. Then I say your voice will be a loud voice if you say to the Imperial Government "Stay your hand, the day is not yet when a matter of this kind can be brought about." (Loud cheers.)

#### THE LABOUR COMMISSION'S INCONSISTENCY.

And why do I say that? Why do I say we should approach the Imperial Government? At the conference at Bloemfontein it was formally decided unanimously that the restrictions for the whole of South Africa should be uniform with regard to the introduction of undesirable aliens into South Africa. (Cheers.) I am wanting a resolution carried similar to that the Conference adopted with Lord Milner at the head and to clear the aspersion that he (Lord Milner) would not hear my voice, and also what has been said that we have no business to say anything about such matters. (Loud cheers.) They (the Bloemfontein Conference) desired unanimously that the restrictions with regard to undesirable aliens into South Africa should be uniform. I plead here for a verdict of uniformity. (Cheers.) How are we to have a uniform restriction in one part of the country while we have not—(interruption)—how are we to have that uniformity. (More interruption.) It is perfectly true that at that Conference it was decided in the second place that if it should become absolutely necessary in the interests of industry then indentured Chinese labour should be imported. (Cries of "No," and interruption.) My good old friend and fellow-sportsman, Mr. Simkins—(laughter)—said the other day that the resolution for the introduction of undesirable aliens into South Africa should be uniform. (Laughter.) Let the Imperial Government hear with no uncertain voice that far from an uniform resolution for the introduction of those most undesirables proceeding from this country, that you all, irrespective of party, irrespective of political views—wholly irrespective of that—simply as South Africans who have homes here, no matter what your race, nationality, or colour may be—that you are all unanimously averse to this matter. (Great cheering.) Fellow citizens, I have here a large number of notes to worry you with, but I won't do it. (Loud cries of "Go on.") Well I will tell you this instead of going through the notes, that I have studied the Majority and the Minority reports very closely indeed—and I tell you that it is my business to study closely—(laughter)—and take it from me that I have done it. The Majority report of that Commission has shown this—I can quote from it—it has said on one side that one of the most important questions that have to be considered is whether or not Chinese labour is necessary for the purpose of the industries. (Interruption.) What has it done? I will tell you what it has done. It has ruled out of the scope of its inquiry the ascertaining at all to what extent white labour might be utilised. (Loud cheers.) Having ruled that that was outside the scope of its inquiry, yet they say that they are of opinion that it would be inadvisable to adopt a recommendation to import a large number of white labourers to the mines because it has been proved impracticable and impossible. (Laughter.) Having ruled the whole thing outside the scope of their inquiry, they come to a conclusion of that sweeping kind. (Laughter.)

#### THE LONDON "TIMES" AND SOUTH AFRICAN OPINION.

I appeal to those interested in white labour here to tell me whether I am right in supposing that we are looking forward, and still look forward, to the time when white labour will learn that this is a white man's country—(cheers)—and that they will be more and more employed in the great industries. (Cheers.) Believe me, now is the time to decide upon that. Do not wait till the Chinese have come. That Majority report was cabled to the London "Times" on the 23rd of November—not so long ago—and was the text for a leading article. In the "London Times"—I must not misquote the "Times"—(laughter)—it said: "The way is thus paved for the introduction of Chinese labour which public opinion in South Africa has apparently come to regard as the most promising although by no means most desirable solution of the problem." (Loud laughter.) You have a Commission that says that the question of white labour is outside the scope of its inquiry, then you have it saying that white labour is impracticable and impossible, and then you have the London "Times" saying that the way is now paved to give effect to the public opinion of South Africa. Do not misunderstand me. I do not blame the "Times"; it is groping in the dark. The London "Times" is not a paper that takes up this thing in order to run it through on wrong lines. Give an expression of your opinion to the London "Times," and then it will see that public opinion is not what it was led to suppose it to be by that report. (Loud cheers.) That public opinion going to the London "Times" may receive more attention than it would by some people at this end of the world. (Laughter and cheers.) Now listen while I put this before you. It shows the position. We are told that the Chamber of Mines—as "our Johannesburg correspondent tells us"—does not intend to let the grass grow under their feet. They will bring it before the Legislative Council at once. Their Commissioners will go to China as soon as Imperial effect is given to the scheme. Now look at that. While you are talking here negotiations are already opened with the Chinese Government. Is it premature, then, when I ask you to appeal to the Imperial

Government? I would that your expression of opinion might have weight with our august Monarch himself—(cheers)—and make him pause before giving his assent to a measure which will bring ruin on the country, and be an injustice to those who live in South Africa. (Cheers and continued interruption.) Nor will it make the people united. How are you going to get good relations existing among the inhabitants of the country? The London "Times" goes on to say that "after the Chinese are firmly established a final solution of the problem will not be discovered." We are to have the Chinese firmly established in South Africa, and we are told by the "Times" that then a final solution will not have been discovered! (Cheers.) We know also that the final solution will not be discovered. (Continued interruption, during which the speaker was inaudible.) When they mentioned the question of wages they touched upon the whole spot, or at any rate half of it. It is a question of whether larger dividends will be paid or not. (Cheers.) Has the whole of South Africa to be sacrificed to shareholders or companies? (Loud cries of "No, no.") No! (Cheers.) South Africans everywhere say "No," and if you all say No it shall not be so. (Cheers.) And then the mining industry, with which I have no quarrel, will turn itself round, and then it will take by the hand the working man, to whom it is rather disposed to turn the cold shoulder at present. Then it won't be afraid of trade unions and strikes, nor will they be afraid to give a fair wage for a fair day's work—(loud cheers)—whether for white labour or coloured labour. Then it will be found that the coloured and aboriginal populations will be induced by fair treatment to come to the mines to work, instead of having it made such a matter of difficulty and danger to go to work in the mines owing to the inconveniences of their having to go there in trucks, which they would not care to put cattle in. (Cheers.) The natives are willing to work in the mines if they get fair treatment. (Cheers and interruption.) We must not be dictated to by the capitalists. Once let them know that we are against the Chinese, and they will do their work like men. They always make the worst of the white and coloured labour at present. They did not do that some years ago. I could show you that in 1897 the strongest opinion was that with proper means and arrangements the whole of the labour difficulty could be solved by sending out more native labourers from Central and Western Africa, and the bringing in of skilled European labour. (Cheers and uproar.) What you want to do is to let your voices be heard with no uncertain sound throughout South Africa. You have heard how the Empire is interested in what you are doing to-night. Your voice will be heard in these places and in England. (Loud and continued cheering.) Let your appeal go forth to His Gracious Majesty and his Government to stay their hand. (Cheers.) Let them know that in your opinion such an importation will not be for the good of the country, and that if the Chinamen come it will be hopeless to expect the country to settle down. Let the Imperial Government feel that unless it gives uniform legislation for the whole of South Africa it won't have your sanction. I hope you will adopt the resolution I have proposed. (Loud cheers.)

#### MR CORLEY AND WORKING MEN.

Mr. A. Corley, who was received with loud cheers and some hisses, said: It does not behove a British audience to hiss a working man. It is not the fair play which working men usually get from a British audience. (Cheers.) You have heard the voice of merchants and statesmen against the introduction of Chinese into the Transvaal, and now will you just hear the voice of a legitimate working man—(cheers)—who understands the situation. I am not a silver-handed clerk from St. George's Street, so hearken to me for a minute. (Cheers and laughter.) Think of the sacrifices which we have made to get the possession of the Transvaal. Think of the countless lives of our brothers and friends—now buried beneath the veld—which were lost in order to get possession of the country for the British working man—or was it to get possession of it for the Chinese? (Loud cheers and uproar.) It looks to me as if such is the case. It was the Chinaman whom we fought for. (Laughter.) It was for the Chinaman that the glorious Union Jack was carried into battle—the Union Jack which we would not see pulled down. (Cheers.) Now they are going to bring the yellow man into the country—"Shame"—and Cotswold Chambers is helping you to do it. (Cheers.) Listen to me for a minute and I will explain to you how the British working man is situated with the Chinese. At the present time there are 12,000 white men on the mines, and 70,000 coloured men. The mines are turning out £1,000,000 a month, and that is not enough for the absent capitalists—they want more. (Cheers.) They want to do that by bringing in a man who will work for nothing, and find his own "skoff." (Laughter.) As previous speakers have said, let it be known here and in the British Isles, that you British workmen who have been inveigled into the Colony to be starved out of it again are determined to have this British South Africa ours alone, with the native who belonged to it before we set foot in it. (Loud cheers.) We as Britishers do not begrudge the British dominions to the coloured race. We want to bring them up to the level to which we have been brought ourselves. Do not let us forget we were once painted savages before the Romans found us. (Laughter.) We have been trying for the last 250 years to civilise the black race, and if we stop and bring in the Heathen Chinese, what are we doing? Where are our missions, where are our statesmen, where are the countless millions spent in the education and civilisation of the Kafir, if we take in hand the Heathen Chinese? (Interruption.) And that is from the working man's point of view. It is not from the capitalist's, though you have them on the platform here to-night. (Laughter.) Mind you, there are capitalists and capitalists. (More interruption.) I am willing to take a vote of the meeting whether I should cease or not. (Cries of "Go on.") I mean to speak to you in a feeling sense, as one that will suffer if the Chinese come into the country the same as you will suffer. We chartered ships to bring out troops, but they will have to charter ships to take the British back again. They are going to spend a million of the Government money to bring the Chinese if they get a chance. (Interruption.) I heard John Burns down in Hyde Park say, "If you shout, I'll shout louder." The louder you shout, the louder I will shout. Take my word for it, if you mean to bring the Chinese into the Transvaal—(cries of "Time" and continued disorder). You shouted differently four years ago. I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution. (Loud cheers.)



## THE AMENDMENT.

The Chairman : I have much pleasure in announcing that Dr. Darley Hartley wishes to move an amendment to this proposal.

When Dr. Darley Hartley rose to address the meeting a perfect pandemonium raged for some minutes, persistent cries for "Merriman" being raised.

The Chairman appealed for a fair hearing for the speaker, saying : "I hope you will not follow the bad example set you this evening."

Dr. Hartley made another attempt to obtain a hearing, but the meeting would have none of him, and he pocketed his papers apparently in despair.

Mr. Merriman then came forward, but the din of cheers and counter demonstrations was only increased. His remarks were nearly inaudible, but so far as could be gathered he was appealing for a fair hearing for Dr. Hartley. In a lull he was heard to remark : "I will say what I want to say elsewhere. Let us hear what the opposition has got to say. Let us hear how they are going to prevent the introduction of Chinese. Don't let it be said we shouted them down."

Dr. Hartley then made still another attempt to address the meeting, but despite the request of the Chairman and Mr. Schreiner the tumult utterly drowned his voice, and he had to be content with moving the following amendment :

"That this meeting, whilst recognising that any attempt to dictate to the Transvaal Legislative Council would only produce friction between this Colony and other parts of British South Africa and could in no way influence the decision of the people of the Transvaal as to the desirability of importing Asiatics, pledges itself to oppose by every legitimate means the introduction of Chinese and other aliens into the Cape Colony."

Mr. W. V. Simkins, who had a mixed reception, seconded the amendment, but his remarks were quite inaudible at the reporters' table on account of the disturbance.

The Chairman then put the amendment amid a continued uproar, and declared it lost. The original resolution was then submitted, and adopted with the greatest enthusiasm.

## RESOLUTIONS SENT TO THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

Advocate Gardiner said : Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have heard so much speaking that I do not intend to keep you to-night. (Hear, hear.) The proposal I have to make is that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor with the request that copies of the same be sent to the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. I do not think there is any resolution more worthy of being sent than the ones which have been read to you. Remember these resolutions are resolutions affecting the whole of South Africa. (Loud cheers.) "Here is just one thing I want to point out to the working man of this country, that this is going to affect not only the Transvaal but the Cape Colony. I read in the Commission's report that black labour was ousting white labour. If that is so, then what will the Chinese do when they come here? Gentlemen, are things not bad enough—(cries of "No")—already? Hundreds of men go to the Docks daily to try and get work when there is only work for a dozen. I know we shall be told that the Chinese are only to be brought in for the mines, but that is not true. Once they get here they will throw all white labour aside. At every trade they will take their turn. The Chinaman is going to reduce the wages here and to stock our towns with unemployed. (Cheers.) This resolution that I propose, as I said before, affects the whole of South Africa in the future. I ask you to support it. (Cheers.)

Mr. Liberman, who was received with cheering and hooting, seconded Mr. Gardiner's motion.

The motion was put to the meeting and carried by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. J. M. Stephen, who spoke next, had a good reception. He said : I know you don't want to hear a speech, and believe me I don't want to make one. The resolution I wish to propose is that copies of the resolutions be forwarded to the Prime Minister of the Colony. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. B. Brydone seconded this resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The proceedings concluded by the singing of the National Anthem.

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"CAPE TIMES," Monday, December 21, 1903.

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## GOOD HOPE HALL MEETING.

"It is a warm evening," said Mr. Schreiner, on Saturday night, "and I don't think you want to hear much of a speech." The remark hits off very well the attitude of the huge gathering which assembled in the Good Hope Hall to discuss the Asiatic question. It is some years since the walls of that building have resounded to the cheers of a public meeting, and it has certainly never been the scene of so uproarious a gathering as that of Saturday night. The meeting lasted 100 minutes, and not more than fifty were occupied with speeches. The rest of the time was taken up with demonstrations either for or against the various speakers. All roads led to the hall from half past six onwards. Although the meeting was not timed to begin before eight o'clock, the building was crowded to the doors by a quarter to eight. Just before seven a stalwart phalanx of natives, numbering from 150 to 200, marched up, and appropriated the front rows. Whether their presence was due to the organising capacities of the conveners, or whether it was due to the interest they take in the Asiatic question does not appear. At least, they were immensely enthusiastic throughout the proceedings, leading the cheers which greeted the principal speakers, and drowning the opposition in hoots and groans. Right through the hall there was a far larger body of coloured people than at any previous meeting in the Good Hope. There was a fair proportion of men, typical of the working classes. There was a strong contingent of Australians, many of whom were so new to the country as to be unaware of the



personality or history of the speakers. But among the two thousand or more who thronged the hall one missed the type which has come to be associated with Good Hope Hall meetings. Down in the front row, hard by the Kafirs, two ladies had taken up their positions. They were the only two in the body of the hall. On the crowded platform the class represented was certainly not the class who have occupied the platform at Good Hope meetings in years gone by. Mr. Jagger, for instance, remarked that the last meeting he had attended in the hall had been on June 28, 1899, when Cape Town gave its voice on the Uitlander question. "Where was Merriman then?" asked a voice, and the question marks the contrast.

At five minutes to eight, Mr. Jagger made his appearance, and was received with mingled cheers and groans. By this time there was not a vacant seat in the whole hall. The window sills, and every available ledge throughout the building were occupied, and even standing room was at a discount. Mr. Jagger was met from the opposite wing by the chairman (Mr. C. Matthews), accompanied by Mr. Merriman and Mr. Schreiner. The greater part of the audience instantly rose in their places, and gave the party a magnificent reception. Led by the sturdy natives in the front rows, they waved hats and sticks, and cheered themselves hoarse. The din was tremendous. As it subsided, the opposition took up the running, and prolonged groans and hoots from all parts of the hall augured badly for an orderly meeting.

The Chairman made some sensible remarks, asking for fair play for both sides, and then Mr. Kelty rose with a sheaf of telegrams. The first was from Mr. Deakin, Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth. "What has he got to do with it?" shouted several voices. Another message from an Australian statesman drew the remark, "Tell him to mind his own business." A prodigiously long message from Mr. Seddon impelled someone to ask who paid for its transmission, and Mr. Kelty had some difficulty in making himself heard. The audience wanted the speeches to begin, and at last Mr. Jagger rose, with a bundle of notes in his hand, and a bulky collection of documents on the table in front of him. For twenty minutes he was heard very patiently. He spoke more clearly than usual, and his speech discarded the usual tawdry rhetoric which has distinguished similar meetings elsewhere. But he had not the tact to recognise when the meeting had heard enough. After speaking for twenty minutes, cries of "Time" became insistent, and when Mr. Jagger picked up a bundle of papers, and remarked, "I have here a lot of white papers"—there was a perfect howl of derision. Mr. Jagger made repeated efforts to continue, but, with the exception of a few disjointed sentences, there was little more to be heard of his remarks, and at last he succumbed to the inevitable, moving the resolution of protest, and then resuming his seat.

One of the interesting points of Saturday's meeting lay in the fact that it was the first occasion for at least nine years that Mr. Merriman had ventured to face a public meeting in Cape Town, and a good deal of doubt was entertained as to the nature of his reception. When he rose with a slightly cynical smile on his face—perhaps he remembered the language in which he has in the past described Good Hope Hall meetings—there was a splendid demonstration in his honour from a considerable proportion of the audience. They rose in their places—natives and all—and thundered applause. The cheers lasted a couple of minutes, and as they subsided one became aware of an insistent hissing, which gradually grew in volume, until the cheering was drowned in hoots, groans, hisses, and cat-calls. Mr. Merriman's smile vanished. He waved his hand as if in entreaty. Someone in a corner of the hall shouted at the top of his voice, "It's an insult to Cape Town to ask Merriman to speak!" The meeting was now wild with excitement. Mr. Merriman stood his ground, gesticulating violently. Mr. Matthews made a desperate appeal for order. The crowd responded with an enthusiastic rendering of "Rule Britannia," and Mr. Merriman, as if to win them over, beat time with his sheaf of notes. But it was perfectly clear by now that there was a strong section of the audience who were determined that he should not be heard. Mr. Simkins and his friends appealed for fair play. It was of no avail. After a wild tumult of ten minutes' duration, Mr. Merriman recognised that it was useless to attempt to speak, and sat down, contenting himself with merely seconding the resolution. The motion was then put to the meeting, and carried by a very large majority, the sturdy black phalanx in front voting for it to a man.

Mr. Schreiner was the next speaker, and received a very friendly welcome on rising to move that the Imperial Government be requested not to sanction any legislation for the introduction of Asiatics, passed by the legislature of any colony not enjoying representative government. His speech was tactfully worded. He spoke of the great influence of Good Hope meetings, and made a special point that no one should refrain from opposing the introduction of Asiatics in the belief that by so doing they would be running counter to the policy of Lord Milner. For a quarter of an hour he addressed the gathering. Then he, too, was obliged to bow to the decision of the audience that he had spoken long enough. Mr. Corley, whose face was unfamiliar to the audience, many of whom wanted to know whence he came, seconded the resolution in a rich Irish accent, but his speech was so continually interrupted that it was practically impossible for any but those in the front row to hear him.

The amendment, deprecating dictation to the Transvaal, was to have been moved by Dr. Darley-Hartley. The doctor, however, was howled down as soon as he rose to speak. Mr. Merriman's supporters evidently believe in retaliation. As Mr. Merriman had been declined a hearing, it was not unnatural that Dr. Darley-Hartley should be refused. Mr. Simkins made an effort to speak, but had to content himself with moving the amendment in an inaudible voice. The amendment found little support; the 300 odd—including, by the way, many on the platform—who gave it their support were greeted with hoots and groans; and when the original motion was put it was carried by an overwhelming majority. Mr. Merriman's face, which had been considerably clouded, rapidly cleared as motion after motion was carried. But there was complete chaos for the remainder of the evening. At twenty minutes to ten the gathering broke up with the singing of the National Anthem.

From the hall a large crowd made their way to Church-square, where Mr. Merriman, having been refused an audience in the hall, made a dash for Cotswold Chambers, and, despite the indignant protests of the lady of the house, harangued the crowd from the balcony. "You have done a good night's work," he said, cheerfully, "and now you can go home and sleep soundly."

No. 105.

## THE TRANSVAAL CHAMBER OF MINES to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received January 12, 1904.)

Transvaal Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg,

London Offices, 202, 203 and 206, Salisbury House,

Finsbury Circus, London, E.C., January 11, 1904.

SIR, I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have this day received a cablegram from the Chamber at Johannesburg giving the gold output and native labour returns of the Transvaal for the month of December, and enclose herein a statement giving the details.

I have, &c.,  
A. N. GOLDRING,  
London Secretary.

## Enclosure in No. 105.

## NATIVE LABOUR.

	January-11, 1904.
Natives distributed to mines during December, 1903, by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association ... ..	5,410
Time expired and other wastage ... ..	5,880
Nett loss during December ... ..	470
Total number employed at end of December ... ..	68,841

Allotted to railways, 366 natives, but for which the decrease for the month of December would have been only 104.

## GOLD OUTPUT, TRANSVAAL, for the Month of December, 1903.

273,710 ounces for the Witwatersrand district, value ... ..	£1,183,887
7,351 ounces for the outside districts, value ... ..	31,223
<u>286,061 ounces of fine gold.</u>	<u>Total value ... £1,215,110</u>

being an increase of 6,248 ounces in weight, and £26,539 in value, as compared with the month of November.

The production in November, 1903, was:—

272,107 ounces for the Witwatersrand district, value ... ..	£1,155,836
7,706 ounces for the outside districts, value ... ..	32,735
<u>279,813 ounces of fine gold.</u>	<u>Total value ... £1,188,571</u>

and in December, 1902:—

189,537 ounces for the Witwatersrand district, value ... ..	£805,101
6,486 ounces for the outside districts, value ... ..	27,551
<u>196,023 ounces of fine gold</u>	<u>Total value ... £832,652</u>

No. 106.

Mr. LYTTELTON to GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE).

SIR, Downing Street, January 13, 1904.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 4th January, No. 1,\* conveying a Minute from the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony respecting the proposal to import Asiatic labour into the Transvaal.

\* No. 95.

2. I have carefully noted the views of your Ministers and the resolutions of the Cape Parliament.

I have, &c.,  
ALFRED LYTTELTON.

No. 107.

MR. LYTTELTON to HIGH COMMISSIONER VISCOUNT MILNER.

(Sent, 4.15 p.m., January 15, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 111.]

January 15. No. 1. Referring to my telegram November 21, No. 1,\* I have no later information than your telegram, December 4, No. 353.† Please send figures for November and December as soon as possible.

No. 108.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received January 16, 1904.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December, 28, 1903.  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 18th December,‡ I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a statement for the month of November, 1903, of the collection of revenue in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 108.

COLLECTION OF REVENUE IN THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER, 1903.

Treasury	...	...	...	...	£9,175	8	5
Customs	...	...	...	...	135,524	18	3
Post Office	...	...	...	...	35,860	0	0§
Amersfoort	...	...	...	...	29	17	3
Barberton	...	...	...	...	3,907	5	6
Belfast	...	...	...	...	184	9	10
Bethal	...	...	...	...	283	5	6
Boksburg	...	...	...	...	4,569	17	2
Carolina	...	...	...	...	182	19	6
Ermelo	...	...	...	...	422	14	1
Germiston	...	...	...	...	4,529	13	0
Heidelberg	...	...	...	...	6,932	3	4
Klerksdorp	...	...	...	...	6,263	15	7
Krüggersdorp	...	...	...	...	8,786	3	5
Lichtenburg	...	...	...	...	222	7	9
Lydenburg	...	...	...	...	2,888	5	7
Marico	...	...	...	...	650	13	11
Middelburg	...	...	...	...	1,287	0	4
Piet Retief	...	...	...	...	232	14	9
Potchefstroom	...	...	...	...	1,156	5	7

\* No. 64. † No. 71. ‡ No. 98. § Subject to adjustment.

Pretoria	...	...	...	...	22,728	15	1
Rustenburg	...	...	...	...	870	18	4
Standerton	...	...	...	...	771	6	7
Ventersdorp	...	...	...	...	97	5	0
Vereeniging	...	...	...	...	222	18	7
Volksrust	...	...	...	...	195	9	1
Wakkerstroom	...	...	...	...	367	3	8
Waterberg	...	...	...	...	934	3	11
Witwatersrand	...	...	...	...	28,260	16	6
Wolmaransstad	...	...	...	...	546	1	2
Zoutpansberg	...	...	...	...	11,967	12	9
					£289,782	9	5
Owners' share	...				10,407	13	7
Approximate Revenue, November	...				£279,374	15	10

STATEMENT of Revenue collected from 1st July to the 30th November, 1903, compared with that for the corresponding period of the preceding year.

Month.	1902.			1903.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
July ... ..	303,329	7	2	463,186	8	3
August ... ..	327,339	18	9	345,632	2	11
September ... ..	413,203	4	2	336,348	17	11
October ... ..	528,397	9	7	342,437	16	10*
November ... ..	329,816	12	10	279,374	15	10*
Total ... ..	1,902,086	12	6	1,766,980	1	9

\* Subject to adjustment.

JAMES BURNS,  
Accountant-General.

The Treasury,  
Pretoria,  
December 19, 1903.

No. 108A.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON to Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received January 16, 1904.)

[Answered by No. 126.]

SIR, Government House, Cape Town, December 30, 1903.  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 23rd December,\* and to my despatches† noted in the margin, I transmit letters and resolutions from George, Paarl, Queenstown, Hanover, King William's Town, and Somerset West, protesting against the introduction of Chinese into South Africa.

2. In connection with this subject I transmit a report‡ of a speech made on the subject by Mr. Douglass, the Commissioner of Works, at Eerste River, on the

\* No. 104.

† Nos. 96 and 103.

‡ "The South African News" of December 28, 1903: not reprinted.

26th December, together with an article extracted from the "South African News,"\* commenting on Mr. Douglass's speech.

I have, &c.,  
WALTER HELY-HUTCHINSON.

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Enclosure in No. 108A.

SCHEDULE.

- (1.) Letter from Mr. H. P. Raubenheimer, George, 19th December, 1903.
- (2.) Letter from Mr. A. B. de Villiers, P. J. Son, Paarl.
- (3.) Letter from the Town Clerk, Queenstown, 21st December, 1903.
- (4.) Letter from the Mayor of Hanover, 16th December, 1903.
- (5.) Letter from the Town Clerk, King Williams' Town, 22nd December, 1903.
- (6.) Letter from Mr. H. F. Fagan, Somerset West, 26th December, 1903.

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(1.)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

George, December 19, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to forward to you the enclosed copy of a resolution protesting against the proposed introduction of Asiatics into South Africa, which was unanimously passed at a meeting of the inhabitants of the town and district of George held here this afternoon.

In accordance with the concluding portion of that resolution I have the honour to request that Your Excellency may be pleased to forward it to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies for submission to His Gracious Majesty the King.

I have, &c.,  
H. P. RAUBENHEIMER,  
Chairman.

To His Excellency  
Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, G.C.M.G.,  
Governor of the Cape Colony,  
Cape Town.

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That this meeting of the inhabitants of the town and district of George records its most emphatic protest against the proposed introduction of Asiatics to South Africa to work in the mines, and pledges itself to use every means in its power to prohibit such introduction.

That this meeting unanimously supports the resolutions of both Houses of the Parliament of the Cape Colony to the effect that such importation will be fatal to the best interests of the people of South Africa.

That the Chairman be and is hereby instructed to forward this resolution to His Excellency the Governor with a request that His Excellency may be pleased to transmit the same to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies for submission to His Gracious Majesty the King.

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(2.)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

As an influential public meeting, held in the Pavilion Hall, Paarl, on the 7th of this month, the following resolutions were put, and unanimously carried,

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\* "The South African News" of December 28, 1903.: not reprinted.

and I am desired, as Chairman of the meeting, to respectfully submit the enclosed resolutions to Your Excellency for transmission to the Honourable the Secretary of State.

I have, &c.,

A. B. DE VILLIERS, P. SON.

To His Excellency

The Honourable Sir Walter Francis Hely-Hutchinson, G.C.M.G.,  
Cape Town.

#### RESOLUTION I.

This meeting protests emphatically against the wrong proposed to be committed upon the whole South African community by the importation of Asiatic labourers to work the mines, and pledges itself to resist such importation by all available means. It furthermore expresses its determination to use its utmost endeavours, if such importation, in direct opposition to the views of the Legislatures of the Cape of Good Hope is persistently carried out, to obtain the repatriation of the Asiatics imported.

Proposer, A. A. Sparenberg.  
Secunder, I. J. Marais, D'son.  
Carried unanimously.

#### RESOLUTION II.

This meeting earnestly appeals to all who love their country, and who desire its future development along the lines of similar communities under the British flag, to unite in strenuous opposition against a measure which will alter the whole character of our population, and place a fatal barrier in the way of our progress.

Proposed by G. P. Steyn.  
Secunder by J. G. du Toit.

#### RESOLUTION III.

This meeting instructs the Chairman to hand these resolutions to His Excellency the Governor, for transmission to the Honourable the Secretary of State.

Proposer, D. F. Marais.  
Secunder, F. P. Retief.

(3.)

SIR, Town Office, Queenstown, Cape Colony, December 21, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to hand you herewith a petition, signed by the Mayor, on behalf of the inhabitants of this town and district against the immigration of Asiatics into the Transvaal, and I am instructed to ask that you would be good enough to request His Excellency the Governor to transmit same to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for presentation to His Majesty the King.

I have, &c.,

E. STUPART,

Town Clerk.

The Military Secretary to  
His Excellency the Governor,  
Cape Town.

The Humble Petition of British Subjects Resident in Queenstown, Cape Colony.

TO HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

SHEWETH THAT,

YOUR Majesty's petitioner, being authorised by resolution at a public meeting of British subjects, resident in Queenstown, South Africa, holding the opinion that the question of the introduction of Asiatic labour into any British Colony is one that

concerns the Empire at large; being also of opinion that the question of the introduction of such labour into the Transvaal Colony is one in which all subjects of the Crown in South Africa have a common as well as a special interest; and viewing the proposal to introduce such labour into the Transvaal Colony as one which is retrograde, unwarranted by the circumstances of that Colony, and inimical to progress and civilisation in all Your Majesty's Colonies in South Africa.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays Your Majesty to be graciously pleased to disallow all measures and proposals having for their object the introduction of such labour into Your Majesty's said Transvaal Colony.

And Your Majesty's petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

(L. S.) WALTER PRICE,  
Mayor.

Town Office, Queenstown,  
December 21, 1903.

(4.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Hanover, Cape Colony, December 16, 1903.

I HAVE the honour to submit to you herewith copies of resolutions against the proposed importation of Asiatics into South Africa.

A. By the coloured population of Hanover Town and District, at a public meeting held by them in this town on the 11th instant.

B. By the general population of Hanover Town and District, at a meeting held in this town on the 12th instant, and I have the honour to request Your Excellency to transmit four resolutions to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to state at the same time that these resolutions were carried unanimously at crowded and thoroughly representative meetings.

The resolutions are as follows:—

A. This meeting of the coloured inhabitants of Hanover declares itself wholly opposed to the importation of Asiatics into any portion of South Africa as being prejudicial to the welfare of the whole country, and particularly to that of the coloured population; and we pledge ourselves by united action to use every lawful means to prevent the mining capitalists from importing Chinese or any other Asiatics.

B. (1.) This meeting records its emphatic protest against the wrong that it is proposed to inflict on the whole South African community by the introduction of Asiatic labourers for work at the mines. It pledges itself to resist such importation by all possible means, and if the scheme is proceeded with in disregard of the views expressed by the Legislature of this Colony, to use its utmost endeavours to obtain the repatriation of such immigrants.

(2.) This meeting calls on all who love their country, and who desire its future development upon the lines of similar free communities under the British flag to join strenuous opposition to a step which will alter the whole character of the population, and place a fatal bar in the way of its future development.

(3.) That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor for transmission to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
S. J. BURGER, J.P.,  
Mayor.

His Excellency the Governor,  
Cape Town.

(5.)

Town Office, King William's Town,  
December 22, 1903.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

At a largely attended public meeting held in this town, under the presidency of His Worship the Mayor, on the 18th instant, convened for the purpose of considering the question of the proposed introduction of Chinese labour into South

Africa, I was directed to convey to Your Excellency the following unanimous resolution, and to respectfully request you to forward copies thereof to the High Commissioner and His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

“That the introduction of Chinese labour into any portion of British South Africa, under any restrictions whatever, is undesirable and impolitic, and in the opinion of this meeting the same would be detrimental to the best interests of South Africa and the Empire generally.”

I have, &c.,  
SIDNEY S. PECK,  
For Town Clerk.

His Excellency  
Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, K.C.M.G.,  
Government House, Cape Town.

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(6.)

Somerset West, December 26, 1903.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE the honour herewith to forward you copies of resolutions *re* the Asiatic question, passed at a meeting held here on the 18th instant.

I have, &c.,  
H. F. FAGAN,  
Chairman.

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RESOLUTION No. I.

This meeting protests emphatically against the introduction of Asiatic labourers into South Africa, whether as workers in the mines or otherwise, and considers that if Asiatic labourers are imported into this country the result will be most calamitous to the whole community of South Africa.

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RESOLUTION No. II.

That a copy of the previous resolution be presented by the Chairman to His Excellency the Governor, with the request to have the same conveyed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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No. 109.

MR. LYTTELTON to GOVERNOR-GENERAL LORD TENNYSON (AUSTRALIA).

MY LORD,

Downing Street, January 16, 1904.

I HAVE the honour to request that you will cause the Secretary to the United Trades and Labour Council of South Australia to be informed that I have duly received his letter of the 10th of November\* conveying a resolution, carried at a meeting of the Council on the 9th October, protesting against the introduction of coloured labour into South Africa for the mines.

I have, &c.,  
ALFRED LYTTELTON.

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\* No. 86.



115

No. 110.

MR. LYTTTELTON to GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE).

SIR, Downing Street, January 16, 1904.  
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 9th of December,\* forwarding a letter from Dr. Jameson on the subject of the proposals for the introduction of Asiatic labour into the Transvaal. I received a summary of this letter from you by cable on the 9th of December.

I have to request that you will inform Dr. Jameson in reply that no final decision on the subject of the importation of Asiatic labourers into the Transvaal has as yet been taken, and that if at any time hereafter such importation should take place it would be for the Cape Colony to protect itself by further legislation against any apprehended influx of Asiatics against which, in the opinion of the responsible Government of the Colony the Cape might not be already sufficiently guarded by the legislation proposed to be passed by the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
ALFRED LYTTTELTON.

No. 111.

HIGH COMMISSIONER VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received 7.40 p.m., January 16, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

January 16. No. 11. Your telegram of January 15, No. 1.† Following are figures required:—

1. Transvaal. November: Revenue; Customs 133,700*l.*: other revenue 142,300*l.*: total 276,000*l.* Expenditure 336,086*l.* December: Revenue; Customs 175,000*l.*: other revenue 167,000*l.*; total 342,000*l.* Expenditure 293,690*l.* A sum of 50,000*l.* was contributed to Inter-Colonial Council funds in each month. This is included in expenditure. Crown Agents' expenditure is excluded.

2. Railways. November: Revenue 359,400*l.*: Expenditure 281,680*l.* December; Revenue 397,360*l.* Expenditure 273,820*l.* Figures for Railways are estimated, and December expenditure is only rough approximation drawn up at the beginning of that month. Corrected estimate will be sent later.

No. 112.

MR. LYTTTELTON to GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER.

(Sent 4.30 p.m., January 16, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 115.]

January 16. No. 2. Your telegram No. 1 of 2nd January.‡ His Majesty's Government, in view of your earnest advice and the information by which you support it, will not withhold sanction to the introduction of the Ordinance, a draft of which you have published. This draft is, I understand, identical with that inclosed in your despatch of 16th November, 1903.§

As it stands, the draft Ordinance would apply to Indian labour imported for the mines. Its provisions, if applied to British Indians, would probably be objected to by the Indian Government; but, on the assumption that it is intended to apply to Chinese only, I make the following observations in the interests of the mines as well as those of the labourers:—

1. The terms and conditions of his employment should be fully stated in the contract with the labourer and clearly understood by him. This is essential.

\* No. 90.

† No. 107.

‡ No. 92.

§ No. 72.

Clause 10 is insufficient for this purpose, *e.g.*, the provisions of clause 23 are not mentioned. Forms of contract embodying all the restrictions to which the labourer is subject should be set forth as a schedule to the Ordinance. The contract should be signed by the labourer himself in the presence of someone who will see that he understands it, and not by an agent acting on his behalf. Please see clause 9.

2. Clause 15, in so far as it compulsorily separates a child from his parents, is objectionable.

3. How is it proposed to secure that the Transvaal, having no seaport, is to enforce repatriation, either under clause 31 or under the contract?

4. There is no express provision for treatment and care of labourers on voyage out and home. As to this see section 115 of Natal Act 25 of 1891.\*

5. Legislative Council will no doubt consider minor matters of drafting; *e.g.*, in clause 1 definition of country of origin by degree of latitude seems too vague. In clause 20 all cases of unlawful absence which would include desertion should be contained in register, which should be submitted to superintendent to enable him to check it for the purposes of clause 26. In clause 29 widows are confused with wives of prisoners.

Of course you will reserve the Ordinance. It will be necessary to ascertain the views of the Chinese Government in order that His Majesty's Government may be assured that that Government will accept its provisions as the basis of the regulations which they desire to be drawn up in concert with the Chinese Ambassador in London.

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No. 113.

MR. LYTTTELTON to GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER.

(Sent 6.30 p.m., January 18, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 117.]

(Extract.)

18th January. No. 1. His Majesty's Government have come to the decision, after careful consideration of the very serious state of things described in your telegram of 28th December,† that there is no alternative to postponing the issue of the 10 millions war loan.

In the circumstances described by the telegram, from which it appears that the current year is likely to close with a considerable deficit, and that there is no prospect, until the latter part of the next financial year, of any substantial recovery of revenue, they realize that it is impossible to add to the Colony's liabilities, and they are also satisfied that as the market conditions are most unfavourable it would be impossible, under the contract, to ask the firms by whom the first 10 millions were underwritten to carry out their undertaking at the present time.

They would feel on these grounds alone that the plea for postponement was a strong one, but they are largely influenced by the considerations in regard to local feelings to which you draw their attention, and by their desire to do nothing which might add to the Colony's present embarrassment, or which might appear to show any want of appreciation of the difficulties which have arisen since the obligation was entered into.

They have decided, therefore, subject to the underwriters' concurrence, that the issue of this instalment of the loan must be deferred so long as these conditions continue to prevail.

In these circumstances there is clearly no object in introducing the loan Ordinance this Session. Do you concur in postponing legislation?

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\* COLONIAL OFFICE NOTE.—The section is as follows:—"115. In respect of all ships leaving the Colony with return immigrants the Protector of Indian Immigrants shall perform all the duties imposed on emigration officers in England by the Passengers Act, 1855."

† No. 91.

There remains the question of the deficit anticipated on the Budgets of this financial year and the next. You will fully appreciate the grave objection to asking Parliament to impose a further addition to the burdens of the British taxpayer, by whom large sacrifices have already been made. His Majesty's Government, therefore, look to you still further to diminish expenditure, and to secure an equilibrium next year at any rate, if you cannot secure it this year. There is the further inducement to avoid, if possible, allowing the Imperial guarantee to become operative, that all Transvaal loans will under (d) of Section 1 of the Imperial Guarantee Act rank only as third charges pending repayment with interest on Imperial disbursements under the guarantee.

I rely upon you to find means by which the necessary economies may be effected.

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No. 114.

GOVERNOR THE EARL OF RANFURLY (NEW ZEALAND) to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 8.10 a.m., January 20, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

[Answered by No. 125.]

My Government desire to protest against proposal to introduce Chinese labour South Africa. After years' experience in New Zealand my Ministers agree prohibition of Chinese immigration imperative in the best interests of British communities, especially those with, or likely to have, responsible Government. My Government most reluctantly enter into matters not in their jurisdiction, but consider that they would fail in their duty unless they expressed their great apprehensions. They foresee great dangers racial, social, political, and sanitary inevitably would be introduced by Chinese influx, however stringent conditions of introduction and employment may be. My Government find it is practically impossible to avoid very many and serious evils that arise, and in South Africa such introduction may create vested interests on the part of employers making it extremely difficult to terminate practice once sanctioned. Earnestly my Ministers recommend that you will consider this question, as the objections, in their opinion, heavily outweigh immediate pecuniary advantage, and they think immediate advantages would be dearly purchased by influx of foreign element, dangerous while unassimilated, and not to be assimilated without prejudice to our progress, institutions, and patriotic ideals.

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No. 115.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 6.10 p.m., January 20, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

(Extract.)

January 20. No. 1. Your telegram, No. 2, of 16th January.\* The Ordinance was introduced yesterday. The second reading will be taken to-day and Committee stage next week. You will have received by mail before then a copy of the Ordinance† as introduced.

We do not look to Indian labour for the mines.

I proceed to deal *seriatim* with your suggestions, by which I am much obliged.

(1.) I think the case will be met if we insert at the end of Clause 8, which takes the place of Clause 10 in the old draft, the words "the said contract shall fully set forth the provisions of Sections 12, 13, 17, 20, 24, and 27, Sub-section 9, of this

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\* No. 112.

† See enclosure in No. 122.

Ordinance, which shall be clearly explained to the labourer before signing the contract."

(2.) In the new draft Clause 15 in the old is eliminated.

(3.) We propose to introduce a provision making it necessary for the Lieutenant-Governor to prescribe the port to and from which indentured labourers would be brought and taken on repatriation, and to arrange with the Government of Natal to pass the necessary legislation for landing arrangements, inspection, and control on transit. The Natal Government is prepared to do this, as it has already expressed a desire that Durban should be the port of landing and re-embarkation, and is ready to introduce the legislation necessary.

(4.) There would seem to be no difficulty in making the same provision as Natal.

(5.) Minor amendments will certainly be considered. Clause 29 has been struck out of the draft.

I trust, with reference to your concluding paragraph, that reference to the Chinese Government will not involve much further delay. The situation here is of increasing strain, and I foresee that our financial difficulties will be greatly aggravated unless we can begin recruiting soon. An absolute reduction in the number of native labourers was shown last month for the first time. This month, up to date, is even worse. An unprecedented number of claims have been abandoned this month, which shows the financial straits of a large number of claim-holders and involves a further loss of revenue.

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No. 116.

COLONIAL OFFICE to MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY.

[Answered by No. 124.]

GENTLEMEN,

Downing Street, January 21, 1904.

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to inform you that he has had under his consideration the question whether the time has now arrived for undertaking the issue of the first instalment of £10,000,000 of the Transvaal War Contribution Loan, which you and the firms named in Messrs. Eckstein's letter to Lord Milner of the 21st of January, 1903,\* have agreed to underwrite.

2. You and those associated with you in this agreement will remember that it was proposed in that letter, that the issue of the first instalment of £10,000,000 should take place about this time, and His Majesty's Government have anticipated that the proceeds would become available, if not actually in the current month, at all events within the early part of this year.

3. In considering, however, the engagement entered into by the underwriters, Mr. Lyttelton feels bound to take into account the existing condition of the money market; and he recognises that it would not be consistent with the statement made in the letter written by his predecessor's instructions to your firm on the 15th of May last,† if he were to press for an early issue of this instalment at a time when he is advised by competent authority that the conditions at present prevailing and, so far as can be judged, likely to prevail for some time to come, are altogether unfavourable to such an operation.

4. Mr. Lyttelton is prepared, therefore, to postpone the issue of the first instalment of this loan until the conditions are, in his opinion, after taking the advice of the authorities with whom His Majesty's Government are accustomed to confer on such matters, such as to afford a prospect of effecting a successful issue.

5. I am to request that you will inform me, at your early convenience, whether you and the other firms who have joined in underwriting this issue, concur in the proposed postponement.

I am, &c.,  
FRED. GRAHAM.

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\* Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

† No. 12.

No. 117.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received 9.20 p.m., January 22, 1904.)

## TELEGRAM.

(Extract.)

January 22. No. 1. Your telegram, No. 1, of 18th January.\* Decision of His Majesty's Government with regard to the War Loan relieves me greatly, and I quite agree as to the desirability of postponing legislation.

I regret that the despatch promised in my telegram, No. 1, of 28th December,† is not finished yet. The general position is as stated in that telegram; but the accounts are so complicated that to show how the result is arrived at a very long and elaborate statement is needed. It is better to be a few weeks late than to send a statement which would leave any room for charge of obscurity.

As regards next year's estimates a deficit can and must be avoided. To further demands on the British taxpayer I am totally averse. But to avoid a deficit some reduction in the Constabulary is indispensable. We can, I am satisfied, gradually drop to 5,000 men without any loss of efficiency. I do not propose in any way to diminish the number of men kept in reserve and in full readiness to deal with any emergency. It is now quite possible gradually to save 1,000 men by reducing the number of small posts about the country which is greater than we require especially now that repatriation is finished. I have arranged with the Inspector-General for such a gradual reduction. In the present year the saving will not be great; but it will make a very appreciable difference next year.

No. 118.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received January 25, 1904.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 4, 1904.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your information, three copies of an Account of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Orange River Colony for the month of October and the period 1st July to 31st October, 1903.

I have, &amp;c.,

MILNER,

Governor.

\* No. 113.

† No. 91.

Enclosure in No. 118.

STATEMENT of RECEIPTS and EXPENDITURE of the ORANGE RIVER COLONY, from 1st July, 1903, to 31st October, 1903.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	In the month of October, 1903.			From 1st July, 1903, to 30th September, 1903.			Total from 1st July, 1903, to 31st October, 1903.			HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	In the month of October, 1903.			From 1st July, 1903, to 30th September, 1903.			Total from 1st July, 1903, to 31st October, 1903.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance on 1st ... ..	307,604	10	6	228,253	16	10	228,253	16	10	1. Public Debt Charges ... ..	—			4	1	0	4	1	0
1. Quitrents ... ..	604	7	9	1,783	16	8	2,388	4	5	2. Pensions and Grants ... ..	2,438	17	10	3,961	15	7	6,400	13	5
2. Transfer Duty ... ..	8,702	16	2	28,499	14	0	37,202	10	2	3. Lieutenant-Governor and Councils	629	3	6	2,368	14	3	2,997	17	9
3. Customs Duties and Excise ...	49,356	1	10	129,855	7	7	179,211	9	5	4. Colonial Secretary's Department	558	18	0	1,725	18	7	2,284	16	7
4. Licenses and Stamps (including Succession Duty).	7,362	8	8	40,535	12	4	47,898	1	0	5. District Administration ... ..	3,212	3	9	8,997	7	0	12,209	10	9
5. Post Office and Telegraphs ...	6,263	18	7	17,724	14	2	23,988	12	9	6. Treasury ... ..	335	3	6	1,176	1	0	1,511	4	6
6. Fines ... ..	845	10	0	3,137	12	6	3,983	2	6	7. Master of the High Court ... ..	282	5	10	805	0	0	1,087	5	10
7. Auction Duty ... ..	2,249	12	8	3,027	10	6	5,277	3	2	8. Audit Department... ..	363	9	8	911	15	3	1,275	4	11
8. Native Poll Tax ... ..	71	10	0	632	10	0	704	0	0	9. Customs .. ..	508	8	3	1,767	16	9	2,276	5	0
9. Pound Sales ... ..	116	10	8	366	3	7	482	14	3	10. Revenue Services ... ..	36	17	2	449	10	0	486	7	2
10. Mining Revenue ... ..	1,532	8	1	4,453	11	9	5,985	19	10	11. Administration of Justice ... ..	2,071	12	8	4,360	13	9	6,432	6	5
11. Interest and Dividends ... ..	1,269	6	4	9,005	9	11	10,274	16	3	12. Deeds Office ... ..	241	0	0	709	18	9	950	18	9
12. Hire of Government Houses ...	114	6	6	445	17	8	560	4	2	13. Prisons ... ..	2,294	13	7	7,420	3	5	9,714	17	0
13. Survey Receipts ... ..	—			89	3	2	89	3	2	14. Medical ... ..	3,479	11	7	8,733	15	4	12,213	6	11
14. Sales of Government Property ...	—			—			—			15. Education ... ..	6,712	4	3	17,326	14	0	24,038	18	3
15. Miscellaneous Receipts ... ..	509	0	4	1,147	17	9	1,656	18	1	16. Survey and Mines... ..	409	0	6	1,332	15	0	1,741	15	6

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16. Agricultural Department Receipts	729 4 10	1,819 2 3	2,548 7 1	17. Post Office and Telegraphs ...	8,558 18 8	23,876 15 4	32,435 14 0
17. Land Revenue ... ..	—	—	—	18. Stationery, Printing and Office Requisites.	2,086 14 7	5,322 19 2	7,409 13 9
18. Refunds ... ..	52 14 4	105 13 10	158 8 2	19. Public Works Recurrent ...	6,065 13 8	12,552 11 6	18,618 5 2
				20. Public Works Extraordinary ...	4,775 6 11	29,748 7 1	34,523 14 0
	79,779 16 9	242,629 17 8	322,409 14 5	21. Agriculture... ..	2,025 9 7	6,598 8 6	8,623 18 1
				22. Land Settlement ... ..	501 9 6	1,473 17 2	1,975 6 8
				23. Miscellaneous ... ..	295 15 3	1,906 7 11	2,202 3 2
				24. Refunds ... ..	138 0 7	366 5 11	504 5 6
	387,384 7 3	470,883 14 6	550,663 11 3		48,020 18 10	143,897 12 3	191,918 11 1
Advances ... ..	7,370 5 2	7,630 4 6	15,000 9 8	Advances ... ..	11,123 17 2	27,176 15 9	38,300 12 11
Deposits ... ..	412 4 1	966 0 3	1,378 4 4	Deposits ... ..	332 3 8	801 0 9	1,133 4 5
				Balance on 31st October, 1903 :—			
				£ s. d.			
				Treasury ... 72,939 3 7			
				Fixed Deposit 200,000 0 0			
				Sub-Accountants 62,750 13 3			
					335,689 16 10	307,604 10 6	335,689 16 10
£ 395,166 16 6	479,479 19 3	567,042 5 3		£ 395,166 16 6	479,479 19 3	567,042 5 3	

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JAMES COLLIE,  
Accountant.

BERNARD SENIOR,  
Acting Colonial Treasurer.

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No. 119.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received January 25, 1904.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 4, 1904.  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 28th November,\* I have the honour to forward, for your information, 12 copies of an Account of Transvaal Treasury Receipts and Issues for the period 1st July to 31st October, 1903.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

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\* No. 82.



Enclosure in No. 119.

ACCOUNT OF TREASURY RECEIPTS AND ISSUES FROM 1ST JULY, 1903, TO 31ST OCTOBER, 1903.

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REVENUE AND OTHER RECEIPTS.	In the Month of October, 1903.	From 1st July, 1903, to 30th September, 1903.	Total from 1st July, 1903, to 31st October, 1903.	Vote No.	EXPENDITURE AND OTHER ISSUES.	In the Month of October, 1903.	From 1st July, 1903, to 30th September, 1903.	Total from 1st July, 1903, to 31st October, 1903.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balances, 1st July, 1903.		4,182,120 1 1	4,182,120 1 1	I.	Pensions and Gratuities	137 0 8	585 19 6	723 0 2
Balances, 1st October, 1903:	2,634,251 5 3			II.	His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.	1,500 0 0	2,190 0 0	3,690 0 0
				III.	Executive and Legislative Councils.	1,014 0 0	3,514 0 0	4,528 0 0
CUSTOMS ... ..	147,370 13 4	482,078 1 1	629,448 14 5	IV.	Colonial Secretary ...	3,039 3 2	15,475 6 1	18,514 9 3
				V.	Public Works—Establishment and Maintenance.	20,266 9 3	121,116 12 2	141,383 1 5
MINING REVENUE—				VI.	Public Works—New Works.	35,000 0 0	160,002 13 11	195,002 13 11
Profit Tax (Gold Mines.	19,909 19 4	21,966 13 9	41,876 13 1	VII.	Education ... ..	36,200 9 8	81,801 18 10	118,002 8 6
Prospecting Licences.	35,910 9 2	84,507 1 4	120,417 10 6	VIII.	Public Health ... ..	5,011 9 4	9,431 6 3	14,442 15 7
Diggers' Licences	6,073 12 3	11,001 18 2	17,075 10 5	IX.	District Hospitals and Dispensaries.	5,000 0 0	12,511 18 10	17,511 18 10
Mynpacht Dues ...	797 10 0	6,734 14 1	7,532 4 1	X.	Pretoria Hospital ...	1,400 0 0	4,872 0 0	6,272 0 0
Miscellaneous (Licences and Dues).	822 4 1	4,634 13 9	5,456 17 10	XI.	Government Printing Office.	9,140 12 9	23,623 0 1	32,763 12 10
POST OFFICE ... ..	17,262 2 9	49,398 2 0	66,660 4 9	XII.	Grants-in-Aid.... ..	4,851 2 7	18,054 6 10	22,905 9 5
				XIII.	Attorney-General ...	5,025 6 4	9,916 16 1	14,942 2 5
TELEGRAPHS ... ..	9,785 12 9	31,937 9 3	41,723 2 0	XIV.	Commissioner of Patents.	355 8 4	1,034 0 6	1,389 8 10
LICENCES AND TRADE TAXES—				XV.	Registrar of Deeds ...	874 16 11	2,661 3 6	3,536 0 5
Trading, Professional, and Liquor Licences.	3,890 0 1	48,719 10 1	52,609 10 2	XVI.	Master of the Supreme Court.	896 8 6	2,648 6 8	3,544 15 2
Auction Dues ...	251 18 11	7,090 11 4	7,342 10 3	XVII.	Superior Courts ...	3,110 1 11	10,709 7 3	13,819 9 2
Market Dues ...	33 15 0	208 18 6	242 13 6	XVIII.	Prisons... ..	8,275 14 6	32,962 12 10	41,238 7 4
				XIX.	Magistrates ... ..	9,835 16 6	30,221 10 11	40,057 7 5

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ACCOUNT OF TREASURY RECEIPTS AND ISSUES FROM 1ST JULY, 1903, TO 31st OCTOBER, 1903—cont.

REVENUE AND OTHER RECEIPTS.	In the Month of October, 1903.	From 1st July, 1903, to 30th September, 1903.	Total from 1st July, 1903, to 31st October, 1903.	Vote No.	EXPENDITURE AND OTHER ISSUES.	In the Month of October, 1903.	From 1st July, 1903, to 30th September, 1903.	Total from 1st July, 1903, to 31st October, 1903.
NATIVE REVENUE—				XX.	Police ... ..	23,379 7 8	74,324 11 8	97,703 19 4
Passes ... ..	15,669 19 0	45,337 16 0	61,007 15 0.	XXI.	Lunatic Asylum ...	1,300 0 11	3,810 9 6	5,110 10 5
Poll Tax ... ..	9,058 0 0	53,072 8 0	62,130 8 0	XXII.	Native Affairs... ..	10,772 0 0	29,220 9 6	39,992 9 6
Miscellaneous (Taxes and Fees).	1,301 10 0	10,661 7 6	11,962 17 6	XXIII.	Treasurer ... ..	1,908 7 9	5,560 15 4	7,469 3 1
TRANSFER DUTY ...	18,433 19 5	58,049 18 9	76,483 18 2	XXIV.	Revenue Offices ...	615 0 0	2,240 0 0	2,855 0 0
ESTATE DUTY ...	2,167 11 4	7,214 9 6	9,382 0 10	XXV.	Audit Office ... ..	1,050 0 0	4,022 17 0	5,072 17 0
STAMP DUTY... ..	21,076 13 6	54,592 7 11	75,669 1 5	XXVI.	Customs ... ..	3,500 0 0	11,412 16 10	14,912 16 10
BANK NOTE DUTY ...	...	...	...	XXVII.	Postal and Telegraph Department.	30,713 12 8	89,201 4 11	119,914 17 7
COMPANIES' CAPITAL DUTY.	2,183 12 6	10,396 17 6	12,580 10 0	XXVIII.	Transport and Immigration.	1,790 2 2	5,609 17 0	7,399 19 2
LAND REVENUE—				XXIX.	Transvaal Volunteers...	5,649 15 2	36,037 19 0	41,687 14 2
Farm Tax... ..	1,499 11 5	5,770 4 1	7,269 15 6	XXX.	Mines Department ...	10,525 12 5	30,959 2 11	41,484 15 4
Erf Tax ... ..	1,037 10 0	7,075 1 8	8,112 11 8	XXXI.	Land Department ...	3,500 0 0	10,013 2 10	13,513 2 10
Stand Licences ...	4,210 15 1	16,508 11 1	20,719 6 2	XXXII.	Irrigation and Water Supply.	2,000 0 0	7,600 0 0	9,600 0 0
FINES AND COURT FEES.	3,662 9 3	11,237 1 8	14,899 10 11	XXXIII.	Surveys ... ..	2,187 8 3	6,075 15 4	8,263 3 7
RENT OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTIES.	1,053 9 0	7,779 8 6	8,832 17 6	XXXIV.	Agriculture and Forests	13,723 13 8	37,014 14 11	50,738 8 7
INTEREST ... ..	703 19 7	18,569 19 10	19,273 19 5	XXXV.	Census ... ..	...	...	...
				XXXVI.	Miscellaneous ... ..	3,441 9 5	4,560 16 6	8,002 5 11
					Transvaal Contribution to Revenue of Inter-Colonial Council.	...	200,000 0 0	200,000 0 0
					Compensation to Hatherley Distillery Company, Limited, for cancellation of Concession.	...	220,000 0 0	220,000 0 0
					Total Revenue Issues.	266,990 10 6	1,320,997 13 6	1,587,988 4 0

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE.	21,031	0	8	90,624	3	9	111,655	4	5							
Total Ordinary Revenue.	345,197	18	5	1,145,167	9	1	1,490,365	7	6							
EXTRA RECEIPTS ...	129	4	1	4,146	6	8	4,275	10	9							
Total Revenue with Opening Balance.	2,979,578	7	9	5,331,433	16	10	5,676,760	19	4							
Loans (Inter-Colonial Council). Advances Repaid ...	61,115	0	8	186,112	11	0	247,227	11	8							
Deposits ...	3,953,233	18	11	10,502,716	14	2	14,455,950	13	1							
Drafts and Remittances	467,476	16	3	1,484,330	11	5	1,951,807	7	8							
Total Receipts with Opening Balance.	7,482,143	14	5	20,186,672	0	0	25,034,564	9	2							
										LOAN ISSUES—						
										Land Settlement ...	20,000	0	0	120,624	8	2
										Public Works ...	41,115	0	8	32,488	2	10
										Telegraphs ...	...			33,000	0	0
										Issues against Imperial Grants.	78,719	3	11	789,156	12	2
										Total Expenditure Issues.	406,824	15	1	2,296,266	16	8
										Temporary Loans Repaid.	...			3,000,000	0	0
										Advances ...	253,486	16	3	156,487	3	2
										Deposits Repaid ...	4,015,063	15	0	10,899,837	19	9
										Drafts and Remittances	768,585	15	11	1,199,828	15	2
										Total Payments ...	5,443,961	2	3	17,552,420	14	9
										Balances, 30th Sept., 1903.	...			2,634,251	5	3
										Balances, 31st Oct., 1903.	2,038,182	12	2	...		
										Total ...	7,482,143	14	5	20,186,672	0	0

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Treasury  
22nd December, 1903.

JAMES BURNS,  
Accountant-General.

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## DISTRIBUTION OF CASH BALANCES AT END OF OCTOBER, 1903.

—	DEBIT.		CREDIT.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Bank ... ..	297,820	3 8		
Remittances Outstanding ...	17,651	4 9		
Cheques Outstanding ... ..			51,495	3 0
Imprest Balances, viz. :—				
Crown Agents ... ..	1,691,449	17 7		
Sub-Accountants (Revenue) ...	82,756	9 2		
Net Balance ... ..			2,038,182	12 2
Total ... ..	£ 2,089,677	15 2	2,089,677	15 2

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No. 119A.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to Mr. LYTFELTON.

(Received January 25, 1904.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 4, 1904.  
 WITH reference to my despatch of the 30th November,\* I have the honour to forward, for your information, two copies of the statistics of the Mines Department for the month of November, 1903.

I have, &c.,  
 MILNER,  
 Governor.

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 Enclosure in No. 119A.

 MINES DEPARTMENT, TRANSVAAL.
 

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## STATISTICS FOR THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER, 1903.

*Issued by the Government Mining Engineer's Office, Johannesburg.*

- †Statement No. 1.—Output as declared by Gold Mining Companies.
- †Statement No. 2.—Output as declared by Metallurgical and Chemical Works.
- †Statement No. 3.—Output as declared by Non-crushing Mines, Tailings Syndicates, and Alluvial Workings.
- Summary of the Gold and Silver Output of the Transvaal.
- †Statement No. 4.—Output of Coal Mines, with progressive totals from January, 1903.
- †Statement No. 5.—Output of Diamonds, with progressive totals from January, 1903.
- Statement No. 6.—White and Coloured persons at Work, with progressive totals from January, 1903.
- Statement No. 6A.—Coloured persons in the Employ of Companies and Companies' Contractors, with progressive totals from January, 1903.
- †Statement No. 7.—Summary of Accidents which occurred during the month of November, 1903.
- †Statement No. 8.—Explosives issued and exported.
- †Statement No. 9.—Boilers registered and used during November, 1903.

NOTE.—Owing to the fact that inaccuracies occur in some of the returns furnished to this Department, these figures are subject to revision, such corrections as are necessary being shown in the Bi-Annual or Annual Reports of the Government Mining Engineer.

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 \* No. 83.

† Not printed.

## ABSTRACT.

The following are the principal items to be noted in connection with the Statistics for the Month :—

## LABOUR (Statements Nos. 6 and 6A.), GOLD MINES :—

District.	Whites.	Coloured.
Witwatersrand ... ..	12,082	66,593
Other Districts ... ..	621	5,954
Totals for the Transvaal ...	12,703	72,547*

Percentage of coloured persons not at work on the last day of the month—10·2 %.

## LABOUR, COAL MINES :— ,

District.	Whites.	Coloured.
Totals for the Transvaal .. ..	469	8,767*

Percentage of coloured persons not at work on the last day of the month—13·0 %.

## GOLD OUTPUT (Statements Nos. 1, 2 and 3) :—

District.	Fine Gold.	Value.
Witwatersrand ... ..	ozs. 272,301·515	£ 1,156,666
Other Districts ... ..	8,501·291	36,112
Total for the Transvaal ...	280,802·806	1,192,778

## COAL OUTPUT (Statement No. 4) :—

District.	Tons.	Value.
Total for the Transvaal ... ..	186,060	£ 70,916

## SILVER OUTPUT :—

District.	Fine Silver.	Value.
Total for the Transvaal ... ..	ozs. 33,401·520	£ 3,624

## DIAMOND OUTPUT (Statement No. 5) :—

District.	Weight.	Value.
Total for the Transvaal ... ..	Carats: 29,631·00	£ 39,841

\* Actual number of Coloured persons in the employ of Companies and Companies' Contractors.

Summary. Gold and Silver. November, 1903.

## SUMMARY OUTPUT. TRANSVAAL.

## Gold and Silver.

From :—	Witwatersrand.		Heidelberg Magisterial District.		Potechefstroom Magisterial District (including Klerksdorp).		Pretoria District (Barberton, Lydenburg and Pietersburg).		Grand Totals.		Figures for previous Month.	
	Fine Gold.	Value.	Fine Gold.	Value.	Fine Gold.	Value.	Fine Gold.	Value.	Fine Gold.	Value.	Fine Gold.	Value.
Statement No. 1 ... ..	Ozs. 266,037·692	£ 1,130,060	Ozs. 2,417·060	£ 10,267	Ozs. 157·160	£ 663	Ozs. 5,843·620	£ 24,822	Ozs. 274,455·532	£ 1,165,817	Ozs. 279,101·500	£ 1,185,547
” No. 2 ... ..	6,065·703	25,765	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,065·703	25,765	6,227·637	26,453
” No. 3 ... ..	193·120	841	—	—	68·490	291	14·961	64	281·571	1,196	220·436	935
Totals ... ..	272,301·515	1,156,666	2,417·060	10,267	225·650	959	5,858·581	24,886	280,802·806	1,192,778	285,549·573	1,212,935

## PROGRESSIVE TOTALS.

## Gold Output.

Month.	Fine Gold.	Value.
	Ozs.	£
Statistical Year, 1901-1902 ... ..	891,999·196	3,788,968
Statistical Year, 1902-1903 ... ..	2,272,075·928	10,075,926
1902.—October ... ..	185,114·804	786,317
November ... ..	189,193·628	803,638
December ... ..	195,150·531	828,945
1903.—January ... ..	201,154·513	854,449
February ... ..	195,704·183	831,298
March ... ..	219,855·352	933,888
April ... ..	226,793·033	963,357
May ... ..	234,351·681	995,463
June ... ..	237,553·710	1,009,055
July ... ..	252,943·616	1,074,432
August ... ..	273,591·437	1,162,141
September ... ..	276,786·652	1,175,716
October ... ..	285,549·573	1,212,935
November ... ..	280,802·806	1,192,778

## Silver Output.

Month.	Fine Silver.	Value.
	Ozs.	£
Statistical Year, 1902-1903 ... ..	280,997·219	29,215
1902.—October ... ..	21,764·046	2,303
November ... ..	21,346·555	2,256
December ... ..	22,084·969	2,299
1903.—January ... ..	23,788·528	2,472
February ... ..	22,634·893	2,332
March ... ..	25,725·004	2,639
April ... ..	25,673·506	2,639
May ... ..	28,750·065	2,935
June ... ..	28,709·817	2,957
July ... ..	30,342·561	3,133
August ... ..	33,497·642	3,493
September ... ..	32,668·256	3,460
October ... ..	33,366·011	3,623
November ... ..	33,401·520	3,624

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[STATEMENT No. 6.—NOVEMBER, 1903.]

LABOUR.—WITH PROGRESSIVE TOTALS FROM JANUARY, 1903.

A.—Number of Employees (White and Coloured) at Work on the last Full Working Day of November, 1903.

DISTRICT.	GOLD MINES.						COAL MINES.						METALLURGICAL AND CHEMICAL WORKS.		TAILINGS SYNDICATES.		ALLUVIAL WORKINGS.		DIAMOND MINES.				GRAND TOTALS.			
	PRODUCING.		NON-PRODUCING.		TOTALS.		PRODUCING.		NON-PRODUCING.		TOTALS.		Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	PRODUCING.		NON-PRODUCING.		TOTALS.		Whites.	Coloured.
	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.							Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.		
WITWATERSRAND AREA :																										
Johannesburg ... ..	4,591	22,282	451	780	5,042	23,062	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	154	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,100	23,216
Germiston ... ..	3,215	18,761	1,293	4,875	4,508	23,636	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	80	7	80	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,531	23,796
Krugersdorp ... ..	1,466	9,172	1,066	3,380	2,532	12,552	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,532	12,552
TOTALS ... ..	9,272	50,215	2,810	9,035	12,082	59,250	...	...	...	...	...	...	74	234	7	80	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12,163	59,564
HEIDELBERG MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT ... ..	78	837	85	703	163	1,540	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	163	1,540
PRETORIA DISTRICT (Barberton, Lydenburg and Pietersburg)...	280	2,863	147	1,234	427	4,097	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	142	1,107	19	110	161	1,217	...	...	589	5,319
POTCHEFSTROOM MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT (including Klerksdorp) ... ..	2	52	29	173	31	225	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	19	...	...	...	...	2	6	2	6	35	250
SPRINGS-BRAKPAN AREA ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	162	3,189	3	3	165	3,192	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	165	3,192
MIDDELBURG AREA ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	198	3,269	6	11	204	3,280	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	204	3,280
OTHER DISTRICTS ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	1,154	...	...	100	1,154	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	1,154
GRAND TOTALS ... ..	9,632	53,967	3,071	11,145	12,703	65,112	460	7,612	9	14	469	7,626	74	234	9	99	1	5	142	1,107	21	116	163	1,223	13,419	74,299

\* In addition to these 65,112 Natives, 440 Coloured Convicts were at work on Gold Mines in Krugersdorp District.

B.—Progressive Totals of the Employees (White and Coloured) at Work on the last Full Working Day of each Month since October, 1902.

MONTH.	GOLD MINES		COAL MINES.		METALLURGICAL AND CHEMICAL WORKS.		TAILINGS SYNDICATES.		ALLUVIAL WORKINGS.		DIAMOND MINES.		GRAND TOTALS.	
	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.	Whites.	Coloured.
1902.—October ... ..	9,609	37,393	334	5,723	116	459	6	84	...	...	4	12	10,069	43,676
November ... ..	10,132	38,618	366	6,223	120	463	5	60	4	18	8	63	10,635	45,445
December ... ..	10,292	40,745	376	6,191	136	413	3	27	1	2	15	152	10,823	47,580
1903.—January ... ..	10,783	43,307	378	6,542	135	435	4	55	...	...	20	160	11,320	50,499
February ... ..	10,879	46,917	360	6,873	138	391	4	66	4	13	40	470	11,425	54,730
March ... ..	11,166	51,962	372	6,943	135	424	4	63	1	3	53	614	11,732	60,009
April ... ..	11,305	55,340	381	6,938	138	440	4	28	1	3	64	621	11,893	63,370
May ... ..	11,439	57,898	405	7,286	139	428	8	63	1	17	104	682	12,096	66,374
June... ..	11,825	59,491	433	7,394	126	355	5	51	1	20	107	753	12,497	68,064
July... ..	11,873	61,780	453	7,814	117	377	9	63	4	29	124	1,073	12,580	71,156
August ... ..	12,139	62,707	464	8,154	96	381	10	89	...	...	165	1,255	12,874	72,584
September ... ..	12,491	62,815	463	8,379	98	283	9	85	1	17	164	1,446	13,226	73,025
October ... ..	12,456	61,968	480	8,050	94	266	9	113	1	7	165	1,430	13,205	74,834
November ... ..	12,703	65,112	469	7,626	74	234	9	99	1	5	163	1,223	13,419	74,299



COLOURED LABOUR, WITH PROGRESSIVE TOTALS FROM JANUARY, 1903.

A.—Number of Coloured Persons in the Employ of Companies and Companies' Contractors on 30th November, 1903.

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District.	Gold Mines.			Coal Mines.			Metallurgical and Chemical Works.	Tailings Syndicates.	Alluvial Workings.	Diamond Mines.			Grand Totals.
	Producing.	Non-producing.	Totals.	Pro- ducing.	Non-pro- ducing.	Totals.				Pro- ducing.	Non-pro- ducing.	Totals.	
Witwatersrand Area—													
Johannesburg ... ..	24,561	1,068	25,629	...	...	...	161	...	...	...	...	...	25,790
Germiston ... ..	20,611	5,466	26,077	...	...	...	80	80	...	...	...	...	26,237
Krugersdorp ... ..	11,046	3,841	14,887	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14,887
Totals ... ..	56,218	10,375	66,593	...	...	...	241	80	...	...	...	...	66,914
Heidelberg Magisterial District ... ..	898	703	1,601	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,601
Pretoria District (Barberton, Lydenburg, and Pietersburg).	2,868	1,248	4,116	...	...	...	...	...	6	1,281	110	1,391	5,513
Potchefstroom Magisterial District (including Klerksdorp).	52	185	237	...	...	...	...	19	...	...	6	6	262
Spring-Brakpan Area ... ..	...	...	...	3,667	3	3,670	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,670
Middelburg Area ... ..	...	...	...	3,712	11	3,723	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,723
Other Districts ... ..	...	...	...	1,374	...	1,374	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,374
Grand Totals ... ..	60,036	12,511	72,547	8,753	14	8,767	241	99	6	1,281	116	1,397	83,057

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B.—Progressive Totals of the Coloured Persons in the Employ of Companies and Companies' Contractors on the Last Day of Each Month since October, 1902.

Month.	Gold Mines.	Coal Mines.	Metallurgical and Chemical Works.	Tailings Syndicates.	Alluvial Workings.	Diamond Mines.	Grand Totals.	Month.	Gold Mines.	Coal Mines.	Metallurgical and Chemical Works.	Tailings Syndicates.	Alluvial Workings.	Diamond Mines.	Grand Totals.
1902—October ...	41,503	7,174	470	84	—	19	49,250	1903—May ...	64,480	7,619	431	64	21	695	73,310
November ...	43,455	7,568	488	60	18	72	51,661	June ...	66,221	8,468	360	51	22	780	75,902
December ...	45,698	7,359	427	27	2	153	53,666	July ...	68,217	9,008	380	63	30	1,110	78,808
1903—January ...	48,058	7,271	459	55	—	180	56,023	August ...	69,688	9,233	399	91	—	1,380	80,791
February ...	51,540	7,361	422	66	13	477	59,879	September ...	70,255	9,489	292	85	23	1,543	81,687
March ...	56,577	7,495	429	63	3	660	65,227	October ...	71,658	9,307	275	113	7	1,623	82,983
April ...	60,557	7,479	445	28	3	679	69,191	November ...	72,547	8,767	241	99	6	1,397	83,057

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No. 120.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to Mr. LYTTTELTON.

(Received January 25, 1904.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 4, 1904.  
I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of the report of the debate in the Transvaal Legislative Council, 28th, 29th, and 30th December, 1903, on the subject of labour in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

## Enclosure in No. 120.

"THE STAR," Johannesburg, Transvaal, Monday, December 28, 1903.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

TO-DAY'S SITTING.

IMPORTED LABOUR QUESTION.

SIR G. FARRAR'S MOTION.

The next item on the Order Paper was Sir G. Farrar's motion.

Mr. LOVEDAY, rising before Sir G. Farrar, said: Before the hon. member speaks, I wish to propose an amendment.

The PRESIDENT said: The hon. member is not in order in making an amendment until the question is before the Council.

Mr. LOVEDAY: It is an amendment for the adjournment of the debate, Sir.

The PRESIDENT: It is impossible to move an amendment until the question is before the Council, until the question has been put from the chair.

Sir G. FARRAR said: I beg to move the motion standing in my name.

Mr. LOVEDAY said: Sir, I beg to move the adjournment of the House.

The PRESIDENT said: The hon. member is not in order. There is no question before the House.

Sir G. FARRAR then moved the following motion standing in his name:—

"That the attention of the Government be called to the report of the Transvaal Labour Commission, and that the Government be requested to introduce a draft Ordinance providing for the importation of indentured unskilled coloured labourers for the purpose of supplementing the supply of labour on the mines within the Witwatersrand area, under such restrictions as will ensure their employment as unskilled workmen only, and their return to their native country on the completion of their contracts: and that, in order to secure full consideration of the important issues involved, such draft Ordinance be published in English and Dutch for a reasonable time before being introduced into this Council."

The mover said: No more important motion has been before the Legislative Council, and it is probable that it will remain the most important motion in the history of this Council under Crown Colony Government. The solution of the labour question is wrapped up with the future of this country. On the solution of the labour question depends the future of the country. The subject has been discussed for several months past. Strong, and I might almost say bitter, opinions have been expressed on either side, but I sincerely hope that no words that I may say to-day may bring any expression of bitterness into the discussion of the motion before us. I have in front of me a very difficult task. There are great lawyers who are members of this House, and it is my duty to draw their attention to the evidence given before the Commission, and I have to draw their attention in no partisan spirit, but to lay the evidence clearly before the House in an impartial manner, so that any decision that may be arrived at may be arrived at without prejudice, in the interests of the country at large.

I will deal with my motion in two parts. In the first part I will draw the attention of hon. members to the evidence before the Labour Commission, and ask them to analyse the criticism of that evidence which is set forth in a report furnished by two members of the Commission who constituted a minority; and, in the second, I have to suggest to you the solution to this great problem.

Now, what is the history of the Labour Commission? Is the shortage of labour a new question? Certainly not; we have always been short of labour, but when we used to look at the map of the great Dark Continent of Africa, we always thought that we only required money, brains, and organisation to produce all the labour available. But, Sir, it was in the early part of the year that those who studied the question discovered what we anticipated was only a delusion. A great Conference sat at Bloemfontein, for the purpose of discussing the fiscal and labour questions of the country. The greatest authorities in South Africa upon the labour question were present, and the result was that the whole Conference found after due consideration that there was not sufficient labour for the normal requirements of the white people of South Africa. But, Sir, those

who were not present at the Bloemfontein Conference appeared to be not satisfied with the result of their deliberations. They said that the members of the Conference were prejudiced, and that information put before them was not sufficient detail or sufficiently correct to warrant their arriving at this decision; and then it was, Sir, that representatives in the Colony of all classes of opinion went to His Excellency, the High Commissioner and begged him to appoint a Commission for thoroughly investigating the labour question, in order that we might know once and for all if there really was sufficient labour in Africa for the requirements of the Transvaal. This Commission, Sir, was appointed in July last, and it is now my duty to draw the attention of this House to the two reports submitted to His Excellency the Governor, based upon the evidence which was heard.

The Commission commenced its sittings on the 3rd July last, for the purposes of making inquiries as to "What amount of labour is necessary for the requirements of the agricultural, mining, and other industries of the Transvaal, and to ascertain how far it is possible to obtain an adequate supply of labour to meet such requirements from Central and Southern Africa." The Commissioners were chosen by the Lieutenant-Governor, and consisted of men representative of every class of employer of labour in the country. They sat for 32 days. They examined 92 witnesses, and they elicited answers to 14,056 questions.

So far as possible, the witnesses examined were grouped according to the localities from whence they came, so that the Transvaal had 51 witnesses (of whom 23 dealt with mines and three with railways), Natal five, Orange River Colony two, Cape Colony six, Basutoland three, Bechuanaland two, Portuguese East Africa nine, Barotseland three, Rhodesia two, Swaziland one, British Central Africa two, West Africa two, East Africa one, and general one.

The witnesses consisted of 20 officials, 17 farmers, 23 from the mining industry, 19 labour agents, four missionaries, two natives, and seven general witnesses: and those who have read the evidence elicited will agree with me that the report contains as complete information on the South African labour question as it is possible to obtain.

Out of the 12 Commissioners, ten drew up a report which is known as the Majority Report, and two drew up a second report, which is known as the Minority Report.

Since these two reports differ so entirely in their conclusions, I am afraid it will be necessary for me to deal first with the findings of the majority, and afterwards with the conclusions of the two gentlemen who formed the minority.

#### THE MAJORITY REPORT.

The Majority Report is divided up into seven aspects. It deals first with an historical introduction showing that African labour has always been a difficult problem to the white inhabitants of the country. That, in 1835, the Dutch settlers had to import labour from the East, to make up the deficiency in local supply, and that later, Natal had to supplement their inadequate labour supply by the importation of Indian coolies. In 1890, it had been evident that the growth in the demand for native labour had far outstripped the available supply, and this resulted in the formation of a committee in the Cape Colony, in that year, for the purposes of trying the question of the scarcity of labour.

We next find that a second Commission was formed in the Cape, in 1893, also to make a full inquiry into the scarcity of labour, and it is significant to note that the Commission reported that "It is probable that some supply of labour from outside the Colony may have to be sought."

The scarcity of labour in the Transvaal also began to be felt in 1893, when the Chamber of Mines formed their first labour organization, and this was the outcome of several years' experience of the difficulties in procuring labour. If you refer to the annual report of the Chamber of Mines for 1891, you will read the following:—"During the winter months native labour became very scarce. Bills were laid before the Volksraad, praying that some measures might be taken for the assistance of the mines."

In 1897, the evidence before the Transvaal Industrial Commission also spoke strongly as to the importance of an adequate labour supply for the mines.

After the war the situation became so acute that in March last, as you remember, at a Conference held at Bloemfontein of representatives of all the South African States, the following important resolution was unanimously passed:—

That this Conference, after considering all available statistics and hearing the reports of the highest official authorities of the several States, has come to the conclusion that the native population of Africa south of the Zambesi does not comprise a sufficient number of adult males capable of work to satisfy the normal requirements of the several Colonies, and at the same time furnish an adequate amount of labour for the large industrial and mining centres. Under these circumstances, it is evident to the Conference that the opening of new sources of labour supply is requisite for all the South African States.

We now come to the labour requirements for the Transvaal, and the Majority Report divided these into four headings:—Agricultural, mining, other industries, and railways.

The evidence showed that there were 27,715 natives at work on agriculture, and that to-day there was a shortage of 52,285 natives.

I will show how this estimated shortage was arrived at when I deal later with the Minority Report, but it is evident that, in discussing shortage of farm labour, much depends upon the rate of wages for which the native will work, the markets available for farm produce, and the seasons—whether favourable or unfavourable to the industry.

#### MINING.

In order to inquire into the shortage of labour for mining, a mass of evidence from the most expert engineers we have here, who rank amongst the first in all the world, was submitted and cross-examined. The evidence showed that, before the war, the number of natives employed by 110 gold mining companies on the Rand was 111,697: that the number of stamps at work before the war was 5,240, producing gold worth £1,720,907 per month; and that, at the time of the sitting of the Commission, *i.e.*, in July, 1903, there were only 55,507 natives on the Rand gold mines, of which

8,833 natives were on non-producing mines. Further, that the producing mines, owing to the shortage of labour, were working at a great disadvantage and loss. Moreover, that out of the 7,145 stamps now erected, 1,320 were lying idle; and that, if the full number of stamps were at work, the mining industry would be capable of employing 5,612 skilled artisans and 95,799 more natives, whilst the non-producing mines would require 31,294 natives, in addition to those they have at work to-day.

Deficiency in July, 117,193.—This showed a total deficiency in July, for the gold mines of the Rand of 117,193 natives!

In coal mines, there were 9,000 natives employed, and, if the present number of stamps were in full work, the coal mines could account for 11,941 natives.

Of mining districts outside the Rand, only evidence of shortage was given from Barberton, Klerksdorp, and Lydenburg—9,230 natives. In the diamond industry it was also shown that 753 natives were employed, and that there was great hope of a very large demand in this direction.

The total shortage in July, therefore, in the whole mining industries of the Transvaal as existing to-day was shown to be 126,934.

In other industries outside those of agriculture, mining, and railways, evidence went to show that there were 69,684 natives employed, and that the demand of the future naturally depended upon the development of the country.

For railways, the demand was shown to be considerable. On open lines, the shortage was shown to be 3,598, whilst 12,402 natives were already in employment. The shortage of requirements for new construction work was estimated by railway engineers to be 36,152, but naturally, if there is to be no progress in the country, no new railways would be required.

The labour supply is next dealt with in the report, and, to arrive at this, the available supply from Central and Southern Africa was considered; figures were based upon census returns, Blue-books, official estimates, and written and verbal evidence. The Commission heard evidence with regard to the numbers given by competent witnesses of the available supply from areas where it is permissible or not permissible to recruit labour. They divided the various territories up into four heads, viz. :—

1. Districts where free recruiting was permitted, such as the Transvaal, Swaziland, Orange River Colony, Basutoland, Cape Colony, Bechuanaland, Transkei.
2. Districts where recruiting is prohibited, or conditions prohibitive, such as Natal, British West Africa, British East Africa (including Uganda), German East Africa, Portuguese West Africa, Congo Free State, Egypt, Madagascar, Somaliland, Abyssinia, Rhodesia, Barotseland.
3. Districts where the recruiting allowed was limited, such as German West Africa and British Central Africa (allowed up to 1,000 natives each).
4. Districts where recruiting was only allowed under special conditions, such as Portuguese East Africa.

The Commission then heard evidence as to the estimated populations of the above countries, and the number of labourers available in each.

Transvaal.—Estimated by Sir Godfrey Lagden to be 620,000, of whom 1 in 10 are capable of doing manual work for six months in the year.

Swaziland.—Population, 100,000. Sir Godfrey Lagden thought that 6,000 would be the maximum number of adults available.

O.R.C.—Here, the Native Commissioner reported that there was a shortage of labour for the local requirements.

Basutoland.—The Resident Commissioner stated that 37,000 men went out to work, and the Transvaal could not expect any more natives from that country.

Cape Colony.—In the Cape Colony proper, all evidence showed that the demand was greatly in excess of the supply.

Bechuanaland.—The Assistant Commissioner gave 2,500 as the maximum number available, at one time, for work.

Transkei.—The population was given by Mr. Stanford as 800,000, of which 100,000 males would work for an average length of six months in the year. He was, however, of opinion that this source of supply for work outside the Cape Colony would gradually entirely disappear owing to local demands for labour.

German West Africa.—In this country, permission to recruit 1,000 boys only has been granted, and this refers also to British Central Africa.

Portuguese East Africa.—It was shown that upon this country the Rand was almost entirely depending for its supply; 88·9 per cent. of the labour came from there. The evidence showed that the southern portion of the territory was being recruited most energetically, but that any increase, after 100,000 natives had been supplied, could not be maintained. That, as regards the northern territory—*i.e.*, north of latitude 22 deg.—a supply equivalent to that from the south might perhaps in five or six years be expected, but the number was entirely speculative.

#### CAUSE OF SCARCITY OF LABOUR.

Many reasons were given by witnesses for the shortage of labour, but it was generally stated that this was due to the enormous increase in the demand for native labour which has arisen since the war, and that higher wages given, owing to the demand being greater than the supply, enabled the natives to work for shorter periods, and to spend the greater part of the year in idleness.

Generally speaking, Sir Godfrey Lagden estimated that 1 in 10 of the natives in South Africa might be got to work on the mines for six months in the year, if they were willing, or, in other words, 1 in 20, for continuous work.

#### SUGGESTIONS TO IMPROVE LABOUR SUPPLY.

Many suggestions were made by various witnesses as to how we might improve our supply of native labour, and when we come later to the conclusions of the Minority Report we will see that they considered that the present shortage is largely due to "preventable temporary causes." Among

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the suggestions for improving the supply for the Transvaal, made by witnesses, were the following: The use of force, higher taxation, the stringent enforcement of the Squatter's Law, the prohibition to natives of squatting on Government lands, the abolition of native locations, the abolition of native reserves, such as Basutoland and Swaziland, and the settlement of natives near the towns.

A suggestion made by some of the witnesses to improve our native labour supply was to supplement it by the use of white labour, and this remedy was advocated by Mr. Cresswell, the manager of the Village Main Reef, backed up by Mr. Wybergh, who was, at the time, Commissioner of Mines. This question was very fully gone into, and a large amount of evidence was given to show that the employment of white unskilled labour on the mines was an economic impossibility; but, considering that this question was so tenaciously dealt with by the gentlemen who were responsible for the report of the minority, I feel that I can better analyse the findings on this important question, when I discuss later the criticisms set forth in the Minority Report.

The Majority Report, in dealing generally with the native supply for the Transvaal, came to the conclusion that the evidence on the whole showed that, except in Portuguese East Africa, all the white Colonies of South Africa were, at present, short of native labour. That eventually, the Transvaal would not be able to look beyond its own borders for any supply of native labour.

The Central African labour market was condemned by nearly all the witnesses as a possible labour supply for the Transvaal. The evidence showed that a supply from that country could not possibly be considered as a serious proposition, and in this the witnesses appear to have endorsed the opinion given by Mr. Chamberlain on the occasion of his visit to this country.

The Majority Report has summed up with the following findings, which I will quote verbatim, viz.:—

- "1.—That the demand for native labour for agriculture in the Transvaal is largely in excess of the present supply, and, as the development of the country proceeds, this demand will greatly increase.
- "2.—That the demand for native labour for the Transvaal mining industry is in excess of the present supply by about 129,000 labourers; and, whilst no complete data of the future requirements of the whole industry are obtainable, it is estimated that the mines of the Witwatersrand alone will require, within the next five years, an additional supply of 196,000 labourers.
- "3.—That the demand for native labour for other industries, including railways, is greatly in excess of the present supply, and will increase concurrently with the advancement of mining and agriculture.
- "4.—That there is no adequate supply of labour in Central and Southern Africa to meet the above requirements."

#### THE MINORITY REPORT.

I will now venture to discuss the Minority Report, which was signed by two of the Commissioners, Messrs. Quinn and Whiteside.

If this report is carefully read, no one can fail to come to the conclusion that it is not an exhaustive report upon the evidence given. In fact, that much of the evidence given, and especially that of the engineers of the mines, is not considered reliable!

Considering that we are dealing principally with the labour requirements of the mines, it must naturally be difficult for two bodies of men to arrive at the same conclusions, if one section entirely disbelieves the veracity of all the witnesses who set forth the numbers required for the principal industry! Therefore, I will call this minority report a criticism of the evidence which the signatories of the majority report considered in all good faith to be absolutely a true statement of facts!

The minority report ends up with certain conclusions, which I will here relate, and later I hope to be able to prove conclusively that these conclusions were not based upon fair deductions from the evidence which was given before the Commission! The conclusions are as follows:—

(1) That there is sufficient labour in Central and Southern Africa for present requirements, although efforts will be required to obtain it.

(2) That the present so-called shortage in the Transvaal is largely due to temporary and preventable causes.

(3.) That understanding future requirements to mean such as, if satisfied, will benefit the country as a whole, we consider there is also sufficient labour in the territories named above for future requirements.

(4.) That in many ways the supply of native labour can be supplemented and superseded by white labour.

To begin with, I will deal with the question of population. You will remember that the majority report only dealt with the population south of the Zambesi from which there was a supply of labour available. To this number they were only able to add 1,000 from north of the Zambesi, since we have no permission to recruit any more, and 1,000 from German West Africa.

The minority report, on the other hand, comes to the conclusion that, south of the Zambesi, there are 6,326,511 natives—men, women, and children! I would here remark that this compares fairly well with the numbers given by the experts before the Bloemfontein Conference, when it will be remembered that it was stated that Africa did not comprise sufficient population south of the Zambesi to satisfy the normal requirements for labour, and that the Conference could not consider seriously any supply from north of the Zambesi.

The gentlemen responsible for the minority report have been enticed into the unknown regions north of latitude 22 degrees, and from those districts it is astonishing to find that they seriously think that out of the 556,000 natives in Rhodesia north of the Zambesi they can provide labour for the Transvaal; that from British Central Africa we can some day expect labourers from the 900,000 inhabitants; and that from the Uganda Protectorate, the estimated 4,000,000 men, women, and children will, in time to come, give us labourers for our requirements.

The minority report contends that the above numbers, together with an estimated population of 1,815,180 inhabitants of the northern Portuguese Provinces, which Mr. Breyner considered to be a

purely fanciful estimate, shows an enormous population of 7,271,800 souls from which we are to draw our labour supply.

The following evidence, however, with regard to the northern Portuguese territory, was given by Mr. Breyner, but this the minority report has evidently ignored, viz. :—

Mr. Breyner, on Portuguese territory north of lat. 22 degrees :—

1934. "I want you to give us an estimate of the total quantity of labour available which we can get from that territory?"—"Well, I say in a few years, labour can be got there. Sixty thousand natives could be got there in about five or six years."

2219. "You have stated, Mr. Breyner, that only during the last year was recruiting started in the northern territory—has there been sufficient time to fairly judge of the results?"—"It would require two or three years to judge about this matter. It is necessary to wait until those natives who are already here return to their homes and spread the news."

Is not this question of expecting labour from "Darkest Africa" but a wild dream of the future? Some day in the distant future our dreams of making these savage Africans serious workers may be realized, and we shall never relax our efforts to try and obtain labour there. In fact, have we not lately gone to a lot of trouble and expense in securing agreements for a small supply of labour from the Portuguese East Africa Company and the Portuguese Nyassa Company? But it is with a feeling of despondency that we look upon this Central African labour source when we consider our experience here with this race of natives. We must dispel from our minds, once and for all, that a native inhabitant of a tropical country, living on fruits, can come here to work in our mines, and withstand our vigorous winter. We do not want this place to be the cemetery of these unfortunate people! All evidence goes to show that they are not now, and will not be for many years to come, serious labourers, fit for a serious industry. Even when a railway was built through their own country, Uganda, the Government had to import coolies from India for the purposes of construction. Moreover, what do we find if we wish to take natives from these districts, which we hope will some day be the centre of free trade and flourishing white settlements? Are we not tending to shorten their own labour supply? And, if we listen to the complaints of white settlers from these Central South African districts, do we not hear them crying out against any suggestion that the Rand should draw labour from their territories?

Is this huge industry to be a school for teaching savages to become civilised workers? Look at our experience of British Central African boys on the Robinson Deep, and on the East Rand, where they had been found to be thoroughly inefficient. Who can seriously ask a huge industry like this to go to Europe for capital for the purpose of erecting enormous works, when they know that their chief labour supply must be drawn from Central Africa? What British manufacturer would invest two millions in a factory, as we have to do, if he were told that he might depend for his labour on a casual supply of savages from Central Africa?

#### UGANDA.

We now come to Uganda. Well, we sent up to Uganda and we asked permission to recruit there, which was denied us. The railway there was built by coolies, although we have there four millions of natives, and it must be remembered that the people of that country are, to a great extent, against their labour going out to work. If Asiatic labour comes here it is paid a much higher price.

Take the British Central African. Probably at home he can earn ten shillings per month, but here, to show you we are doing our utmost, we pay these boys 45s. We bring them here and we repatriate them, and that costs us about £6 per boy, so that these boys are costing us as much as the skilled native labour we get here, and therefore if you pay these boys these high rates, you must always reckon that when they go back to their country, the whole standard of wages is raised throughout, and therefore naturally people, when they have spent nine millions on a railway in a country, are not likely to part with the whole of their labour, because they, like us, expect industries to develop in their country.

Mr. Chamberlain, when we discussed the question with him, said the obtaining of labour in Uganda was not a practical proposition. I go further, Sir, and say that in addition to our recruiting, it was stated in the paper some nine or twelve months ago that Sir J. B. Robinson had put up £100,000 in order to recruit labour all over Africa, and he said that the surplus labour which he did not require he should give to the mines. Well, Sir, he has not got any labour for himself, and he is certainly not getting any for the mines, so you see in addition to ourselves, there are others endeavouring to do the same, and with the same result.

#### PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA.

Now, in regard to Portuguese East Africa, north of latitude 22. There is evidence there that shows that in time we may get labour from there. Mr. Breyner, an authority on Portuguese labour, was asked to give an estimate of the total quantity of labour available from that territory. He said: "Well, I may say in a few years labour can be got there. Sixty thousand labourers can be got there in about five or six years' time."

Then Question 2219: "You have stated, Mr. Breyner, that only during the last year was recruiting started in the northern territory. Has there been sufficient time to fairly judge of the results?"

Mr. Breyner said: "It will require two or three years to judge about the matter. It is necessary to wait until these natives who are already here return to their homes and spread the news."

Sir G. Farrar, proceeding, said: I may say that north of latitude 22 the Portuguese Government do not control the whole of these territories. They are controlled by the chartered companies, and, to show you we have not been idle in that direction, we have secured agreements with the Portuguese Zambesi Company, and the Nyassa Company, and we are shortly to start recruiting in these areas. From July, 1902, to 1903, we secured 1,401 boys, and if you add the natural increase to that and spread that increase over a number of years, I think we shall have to wait considerable time before we get practical relief from these territories.

THIS VOLUME IS TIGHTLY BOUND |

At the Bloemfontein Conference, the supply from Central Africa was considered. That is, of course, the Zambesi, but the whole position is this. I admit you have a large population there, but what you have got to make up your minds about is, Is that labour a practical business proposition to give you relief here? I will ask the members for Pretoria this question. Suppose there is an undertaking in Eretoria which requires a million of money, and that proposition is wholly dependent on labour from Uganda and British Central Africa, and suppose you say to the people who put the money up that they must depend on labour from these districts, do you think they will do it? That is the practical issue. I will put another proposition to you. There is a mine called the Turf Club Mine. They have got to sink for four years at a cost of 35s. a foot to get to the reef, and with the cost of the shaft and equipment, they have got to spend a million and a half of money. That is one of the deep level propositions on which the expansion of the country, the future policy of the Government and everyone depends. I will put the question to anyone. You go to these people whom you want to put up the money—your million and a half of money—and say, when you have sunk your shaft and done everything, that your future depends on the supply of labour from Central Africa and Uganda. What will they say? I think they will say, "Good afternoon, gentlemen. We prefer to keep the money in the bank." You see these gentlemen of the Minority Report add seven millions to the available supply. Why don't they add the population of Egypt? We have inquired there, and labour cannot be obtained. Why don't they add the population of Morocco on to it? The Sultan's army there is available, and they can just as well add that on. Take Portuguese West Africa. We have been there, but we cannot get labour. Why not add on the population there? We have even been to Liberia, and we cannot get a supply from there. But I must give credit where credit is due. Our friends in the Cape Colony, they did get some labour there. Their agents were more energetic. They take a great interest in us just now, and they certainly did get a class of labour that was received with open arms in the Cape Colony, but of course that was not a class of labour suitable for mines or farms. That is a detail which they do not trouble about. So really, gentlemen, if you take the population of Uganda and Central Africa, you must regard it from a practical point of view; that is to say, you must ask yourselves whether you can get relief from there in the near future, and is that labour which you will get of a suitable character, labour accustomed to the use of pick and shovel, or that can be taught pick and shovel work in the time that will bring us a solution of this difficulty?

The minority members say, "At the same time we are prepared to admit that the quantity of labour offering itself in this, the principal market of South Africa, falls short of the demand," and they go on to say, "But this to a great extent is owing to the ill-advised reduction of wages carried out in 1900." This I shall deal with in a moment.

#### SHORTAGE BEFORE THE WAR.

It has been said also in the Minority Report that we were not short of labour before the war. Well, I say we were always short of labour before the war. Before the war the shortage of labour was not felt in the central portion of the Rand. The boys always like to gather there, where they have better shops and there is more illicit liquor selling, but the shortage of labour was felt in the outside districts. I will take an example the Kleinfontein Mine. They had 160 stamps erected before the war, and they never had more labour than they wanted to work 110. On the West Rand there are the Lancaster West and Roodepoort Central Deep, and all those people before the war were short of labour.

If we come to take outside evidence, you see it in the answer to question 10,363. Mr. Rogers said, with reference to Buffelsdoorn, "The past records of the company show that though every effort was made to secure an adequate supply of labour, it resulted in failure. The supply was always short of the demand, of an inferior quality, very dear and difficult to keep." "With regard to the Eastleigh," he said, "The mine was closed down on May 1, 1898. The principal cause of failure was shortage of native labour."

#### THE REDUCTION OF WAGES.

Now I come to this very ill-advised reduction of wages. I say it was ill-advised, but who has not made mistakes? Has no one in this House ever made a mistake? Has no one in this House ever made a greater mistake than that? Did not we make a mistake about the war? If you had asked hon. members how long the war was going to last, what would they have said? The members on my side would have said six weeks. Now, with regard to this reduction of wages, I take the report of the late Commissioner of Mines, who said, "The policy in regard to the reduction of wages to the natives employed in the mines has been steadily adhered to by the mines. Their policy, if successfully carried out, will have a very marked economic effect upon the development of the country. Not only will the companies which are now working materially benefit by the reduction, but it will enable them to open out and work profitably mines and gold-bearing areas that have hitherto been considered unpayable."

That shows that there is a diversity of opinion in regard to the reduction of wages. Wages are always a question of supply and demand, and of course it was difficult for these gentlemen who reduced the wages in 1899 or 1900 to know what the future demand would be. But still there is another thing to look at. The native is not ambitious. Offer him piece-work in which he can make more money, and he won't take it. All he comes here for is to get a certain amount of money. The higher wages he gets the quicker he goes away, so there are two sides to every question.

I admit the reduction was a mistake, but is it such a mistake as these minority members would point out? I grant you if we had done what they practically advised us to do, namely, reduce the status and wages of the white skilled workers, the white man in this country, on whom we have to depend to build up the future of this country, then I think that would be a grave, radical mistake, for which there would be no pardon. But in the question of native labour there are two sides to the question.

Now, what were the wages paid before the war? Forty-seven shillings. Since the war and up to 1902, 32s. Practically in January, 1903, the premier schedule was returned to, but in April of this

year we even went higher. We paid surface boys 50s., and underground boys 60s., and to-day the average wage is 54s. We have gone further than that. Before the war we fed our boys fairly well, and it worked out at the rate of 8s. 10d. per head per month. Now, you can go through the returns of any mine, and you will find our feeding costs us nearly double, namely, 15s. They have got higher wages, better feeding, and I say we have done everything we possibly can to get labour for the mines.

Now we come to the steady increase of 3,000 per month referred to in the Minority Report. In the month of January it was 967, February 2,966, March 3,746, April 3,063, May 3,038, June 1,952, July 2,208, August 1,566, September 238, October 492, November 353, and in December it will probably be nil. The Minority Report did not say "Your organisation is imperfect," or anything of the kind. They practically admit we are doing everything we possibly can to get labour.

#### WASTAGE.

I said before that the organisation is not perfect. Boys go home at the end of their period, and to-day we are facing a wastage of probably 5,800 per month. In November we brought in 6,000 boys, and there was a wastage estimated for December of 5,800. Are we satisfied about that wastage? We have engaged one of the most experienced men in the management of natives on the mines of the Witwatersrand to inquire into this wastage question. We are going to see what can possibly be done by establishing locations at various spots, and even by offering to house natives on a different principle, and so practically we are doing everything we possibly can to improve our present supply. Why shouldn't we? Can we afford to stand idle?

#### THE ESTIMATED DEMAND.

The difference between the two reports in the estimated demand is:—

Agriculture :										
Majority	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	80,000
Minority	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	55,000
Mining :										
Majority	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	197,644
Minority	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	115,250
Other industries :										
Majority	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	69,684
Minority	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	69,700
Railways :										
Majority	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	56,000
Minority	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20,000
It will thus be seen that the difference between the two estimates is:—										
Agriculture	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25,000
Mining	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	82,394
Railways	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36,000

Well these minority figures are correct if everything is at a standstill. What do you want an increase in agriculture for? If you do not want to make any railways there will be stagnation broadcast in the country.

Now, in regard to agriculture. The evidence of the demand is based on 11,000 private farms, half of which are occupied, which gives 5,500. The natives required, and the requirements of the owners are fixed at 22,000. Then it was reckoned on another basis, '75 of the private farms was cultivated, and '3 of the total area of the Transvaal was cultivated, and by taking one native to three acres, it was estimated in that way. The Minority Report says: "That is not correct." They say there is '58 of the land cultivated in Natal, but they provided for no development of agriculture in the future.

Mr. Bleloch, said in his evidence: "During the first six months of this year there were imported into the Transvaal £2,305,449 worth of foodstuffs, which should be produced in this country." I think that is correct. I think the minority gentlemen must be very short-sighted. Is this huge industry, this mining industry, going to do nothing towards the development of the country outside of this industry? Is it simply going to be when this industry is worked out a lot of empty holes and baboons and lions running in the country? I think different.

We come to the number of boys per stamp. The engineers estimate that the usual requirements of the mines must be taken at about 20 natives per stamp on producing mines, and the Minority Report estimates that the actual number of natives per stamp on producing mines may be taken at from 10 to 12. The minority gentlemen say we do not know our business, and instead of paying all these extra natives, they say, "You can do without them, and you can work your mines with from 10 to 12 natives per stamp." It is a very difficult thing to explain a technical question. It is impossible to fix a definite number of natives for each mine, because the circumstances of each mine vary so much. Take the central portion of the Rand. They have to work wide reefs, and if your reefs are wide enough you can use rock-drills, and rock-drills can be used in places where the reef is up to 4 or 4½ feet. In my opinion, I should say 4½ feet is the most practical width. You cannot use rock-drills on the narrow reefs, because you break your waste rock into fines, and that cannot be sorted. It is estimated that practically one-quarter of the rock you raise is fines, and, therefore, no doubt, it greatly depreciates the value of the ore. If it is a rich mine, no doubt it could stand the depreciation, but not if it is a poor mine.

Now, sir, it may be argued that if you have plenty of labour you would do away with rock-drills, but it is nothing of the kind, because it always pays us where the reefs are wide enough to use rock-drills. It is certainly cheaper to use rock-drills on a wide reef if costs are calculated by the ton



drilled than by hand. Now, take the question of rock-drilling. A rock-drill breaks 11 to 20 tons in 24 hours. A native breaks about half a ton, so that the whole question as to the number of boys per stamp depends on whether you can use rock-drills or not. Now take a central portion of the Rand. You can break 60 per cent. of your rock by rock-drills, and 40 per cent. by hand, but on the eastern section we can break about half the quantity, 30 per cent. by rock-drills and 70 per cent. by hand. On the western section they almost entirely have to work by hand, and on the extreme eastern section they have to work by hand, so it comes to practically this proposition, that if you have a mine where you can break a lot of rock by rock-drills you want less boys per stamp, but if you have to work by hand, I will show you afterwards that you want many more boys to work.

There is another thing about rock-drills. It is more or less impracticable to use a rock-drill in reefs with sandstone partings or in stringers, because you break up your sandstone, you reduce it to fines and you cannot sort it out, and if it is a low grade mine you greatly reduce the value of your ore. Then, with regard to the flatness of the reefs, if the angles of the reefs are 30 degrees the ore will run on the incline, and you do not have to shovel. If it is flatter you have to shovel it and you want more boys. Then, with rock-drills, the excessive use of rock-drills makes efficient sorting impossible, and I take it that for efficient sorting you probably require four to six boys per stamp. Take an example of what sorting means. Suppose you have a 14 dwt. mine. Of course I am sorry to inflict this technical evidence on you, but it is a thing we cannot very well pass over. Well, suppose you have a mine worth 14 dwts. and a reef of four feet. If you do no sorting you will probably recover 60 per cent. of the assay value. Your life would be 27 years, your value 35s. and 20s. to cover your working costs and your profit would be 15s. per ton. Suppose you sort 25 per cent., your life is reduced to 20 years, but your mine is increased in value. You have increased the value of your ore, you have put up your expense and your profits will be 22s. 6d. per ton. That shows you what a great benefit sorting is. It practically means it does not pay you to send to your mill anything that bears gold that is unpayable.

I take an example as to the number of boys. I worked it out very carefully with one of my mines; on the Angelo. If you have no sorting, you want 14 boys; if you sort 20 per cent. you want 17 boys; if you sort 30 per cent. you want 19 boys. At the Driefontein, with no sorting, you want 15 boys; with 20 per cent. sorting you want 18 boys; and with 30 per cent. sorting 20 boys. At the Comet, with no sorting, you want 17 boys; with 20 per cent. sorting you want 21 boys; and with 30 per cent. sorting you want 23 boys.

#### NUMBER OF BOYS PER STAMP.

As to the number of boys per stamp, all I can say is, if I have to work these mines with 10 or 12 boys per stamp then you can, I say, take those mines off the list, because they are absolutely unpayable. The Chamber of Mines stated that the average required per stamp was 20 boys, and that the most efficient method of working stopes was by hand, and development by rock-drills.

Now, before the war they knew something about working. They used 17.9 boys per stamp, and they were always short. Then there are the returns since the war which I have worked out, and the average number of boys per stamp since the war is 13.7, and we know the result.

At the Native Labour Commission Mr. De Jongh gave evidence on the number of boys per stamp. In reply to question 9,739 he said: "The position to-day is that the present crushing companies employ 13.7 boys per stamp, as against 15, but they are also shorter than they ever were before, and they get along with this lesser number for three reasons: First, they have no more; second, they do not do the same amount of development, and suffer loss there; third, they do less sorting, and they devote their time and labour to the easiest portions of the mines."

Then Sir Percy Fitzpatrick also gave evidence as to the number of boys per stamp. In reply to question 2,635 he said: "The Rand Mines group are at present working with just a fraction under 10 natives per stamp. In the middle of 1899 they were working with 16, and they were then short of natives. We do not regard this as a sound basis, this proposition of 10 natives to a stamp. I mentioned in my statement that the Rand Mines group cannot be taken as representing the average of the fields, for one thing because I may say we had opportunities of selecting before the others did, and they were exceptionally well-selected properties, and it would be quite impossible for the average of the Rand to work on the same lines as we can work. We are doing this under severe pressure by the authorities at a very great sacrifice of economic considerations. For example, in almost every mine we have had to either abandon or very greatly modify the sorting, and we are running larger stopes for rock-drills, which we would not work if we could get hand drilling done, and, of course, that means that we are sacrificing profits. That can be done when you are committed to a certain course. It is better than shutting down. It must be done for the same reason that companies which are actually started will not only work for a small profit, but they will work for no profit, and even continue to work at a small loss for a long time (as experience shows all over the world) rather than abandon the thing altogether. Now, we are not anywhere near the position of working at a loss, but there are companies which I could quote, and I have an intimate knowledge of them, too, which would be working at a loss if they had to work on this basis, and that is the reason they have not been started. There is one company, even in the Rand Mines group, which is included in that average of 10 natives per stamp, which, taken by itself, averages 18.45 natives per stamp, and would be very glad to get more, and has had to make an enormous sacrifice of profit to work on the basis of 13 natives per stamp."

Then another question put to Sir Percy Fitzpatrick was question 2,784: "The experience is that the reduction of the boys to 10 per stamp has greatly reduced the profits as compared with the 16 boys per stamp." And the reply was: "We would prefer a sound economical basis of 15 or 17 boys per stamp on the central portion of the Rand."

And then, in Mr. Rogers's evidence, the following questions and answers occurred:—

10,435: "You have spent a lot of money in the mine at Buffelsdoorn?"—"Yes."

10,436: "You have not made much profit?"—"No, we have made a loss."

10,437: "Through scarcity of native labour?"—"Absolutely."

10,443: "You had much rather work two of the stopes by hand labour?"—"It cannot be done in any other way to make a success of it."

10,413 : "What is the full complement of the Ferreira?"—"The full complement is working on a basis of 80 stamps, which would mean about 2,000."

10,415 : "There must be about 400 to 500 short now?"—"Yes."

Then (continued Sir G. Farrar) take the Simmer and Jack Mine. The reply to question 11,906 states : "The Simmer and Jack are running to-day with 17 boys per stamp. If we had started up the Nigel Deep, we should want 50 boys per stamp at least, and our surplus would go there, working underground. It would not go in supplanting white labour."

And, with regard to the Robinson Deep, these questions and answers occurred :—

11,919 (in Robinson Deep) : "How many are they short?"—"Do you mean to run to the very best advantage?"

11,920 : "Yes."—"Well, with 200 stamps I should think they ought to have about 4,000."

Proceeding, Sir G. Farrar said : It is all very well talking about the central portion of the Rand, because the future of this country will not depend on that.

Now, we take Mr. Spencer's evidence. He said :—

11,940. "Referring to the Western District, I consider that the lowest average number of natives allowable per stamp is 25, owing to the unsuitability of rock drills for the very narrow stopes in this district, and the large percentage of sorting that has to be done to secure a reasonable profit."

11,962. "Why on the Western Rand do you require to employ such a large number of natives per stamp compared with some other parts of the Rand?"—"Because our reefs, taking an average, are not suitable for rock drills. That is to say our reefs are not even leaders. They are stringers, and not altogether very rich."

Then, in Mr. Price's evidence, the following questions and answers dealing with the June, 1903, basis, occurred :—

10,796. "You need a complement of 16.54 boys per stamp?"—"Yes."

10,797. "Whereas your complement is what?"—"5.5."

10,828. "You are not sorting rock at all?"—"No."

10,829. "But if you had sufficient native labour, what would you sort?"—"About 20 per cent."

10,831. "You mention that you are breaking about 96 per cent. or 97 per cent. of your rock with rock drills?"—"Yes."

10,832. "Then you ought not to break more than 60 per cent.?"—"Quite right."

10,791. "The most economical condition of working a mine is that 60 per cent. of your required ore should be broken by machine drills and 40 per cent. by hammer boys?"—"Yes."

#### WHAT SORTING MEANS.

Continuing, the speaker said : I will give you another striking example of what sorting means. Take the Wolhuter Mine. Before the war the Wolhuter Mine produced ore worth 8.9 dwts., and made a profit of £8,500 per month, and they used 18 boys per stamp. Now they are endeavouring to run their mine with nine boys per stamp. Their values decreased through the excessive use of rock drills to 6.4, and they are hardly paying expenses. That is practically what it means. If you make excessive use of rock drills in any but the very highest grade of mines, you render those mines absolutely unpayable.

We go to the eastern end. Take the question 12,102. "But taking extremes upon the Van Ryn, how many natives do you require under the best economical conditions?" And Mr. Denny replied, "Not less than 20 boys."

Sir G. Farrar proceeded : Gentlemen, I have now dealt with this question of the number of boys per stamp. We say under the best economic conditions it requires 20 boys per stamp. They say you can work your mine with 10 or 12 boys per stamp. My answer to them is this. If these two gentlemen in the ordinary walks of life are correct, there is the biggest opening that ever waited on men. Why? Because we are employing the highest skilled engineers and managers in the world, and if they don't know their business, and these gentlemen do, let them make room for these gentlemen—(hear, hear)—and they will show us how to work with 10 to 12 boys.

Now, gentlemen, regarding the witnesses quoted by the minority gentlemen, Mr. Neale and Mr. Ingle. There is a slight discrepancy about the Minority Report, but they only had seven days to write it in, and it is perfectly pardonable. Here are Mr. Neale's answers :

11604. "What number of boys do you require per stamp on the mine where you are general manager?"—"Roughly, it would work out at about 11 boys."

"What size is the reef on the average?"—"About nine inches to one foot, but we have no blasting, it is all pick work."

11,556. "How many stamps is that for?"—"Twenty."

Now that is a mine in Lydenburg where everything is done by water, and I think it is rather hard that engineers and mine managers who have to go through 2,000 feet, perhaps, should have to work the mines with the same number. Even the hon. member Mr. Loveday will admit that it is no fair comparison.

Then there is the evidence of Mr. Ingle, who has had 30 years' experience in South Africa. He managed the Cornucopia and the Teutonia Mines, and tributed in the Black Reef. He had also been at the statistical work on the Norse Deep and clerk of the works at the Jumpers.

Answer No. 3,869 : "I take it that when we have had it as a statistical fact that in other countries five men are able to run a stamp, when we admit that already we are using two men per stamp, we have three men per stamp to be provided for by native labour. Our supply of labour per stamp is two white men and 15 natives, as against the foreign demand of five white men per stamp."

Question 3,870 : "Where do you get that figure of five white men per stamp?"—"I get that figure from statistics. In 1900 and 1901, the Mount Morgan had 2,126 men with 484 stamps, the East Murchison 856 men with 170 stamps, the North Coolgardie 1,753 men with 363 stamps."

But Mr. Ingle had not been in Australia. We have in our midst an engineer who had been for many years here, and who was for over two years in Western Australia as engineer to one of the largest companies there, Mr. Ernest Williams. I asked him "Are these terms correct?" because the number of tons crushed always depends on the stamps. His answer to the question was : "Mr. Ingle's reply to Question 3,870 was entirely misleading. The conditions in Western Australia and

on the Rand are very different. In the West Australian district quoted, one-third of the mills have no cyanide plant, and none of them have slimes treatment plants. The usual weight of the stamp is 900 lbs. Many of the mills run intermittently, but on the average working the East Murchison goldfields would require 11.4 men per stamp to reach the Rand stamp duty, and the North Coolgardie goldfields would require 20 men per stamp, for the same duty." Their stamp is 900 lbs., and ours is 1,250. The stamp duty at the West Murchison would come to 2.20 and that of the North Coolgardie to 1.25 tons per day. The tons crushed at the former are 84,618, and 103,271 at the latter, and the gold obtained 75,585 ozs. for the former, and 147,053 at the latter. I have, however, stated that Mr. Ingle is perfectly excusable, because he admitted that he had no knowledge of Australia.

Then you can take Mr. Denny's evidence. In answer to question 12,129, he says: "When I came to this country I thought, as perhaps a great many others did, that white labour might be exclusively employed, and I brought over from Australia a certain number of white men, first-class labourers, whom I had employed there, but I found after the first month, I could not get the work out of them. When comparing the white man of Australia with the white man here, you are dealing with two enormously different factors, for the reason that the white man has found himself in contact with a servile race, and will not do work here as before he did."

I have now dealt with the two witnesses which the minority, in my opinion, have rather unfortunately quoted.

#### A SECOND POINT OF DIFFERENCE.

The second point of difference between the Majority and the Minority Reports is that the Minority states that the mines in other countries are worked with less than half the number of labourers, and with greater economy than on the Rand. The Report also states that when the Chamber submitted a report to Mr. Chamberlain, they showed a great bias in one direction, while not going at sufficient length into the low-grade mines in other countries. Now, in regard to working with greater economy in other countries, you take West Australia. In 1892 there were 98 gold-producing mines paying no dividends, and 19 only paid dividends. The value per ton of ore is valued as £4 4s. 5d. Only one company paid a dividend on less value than half an ounce per ton. Generally the mines are working short and rich chutes of low-grade quartz, but the dividend payers, with few exceptions, have ore above one ounce value, and it can be seen that low-grade, or 10dwt., is not paying in West Australia. With regard to Mr. Ingle's evidence, we can say we are lucky enough to pay more dividends than is the case in West Australia.

#### MR. LEGGETT'S EVIDENCE.

The next part is the reference to the 1897 Commission and Mr. Leggett's evidence. That evidence was in regard to two mines, neither of which could be compared to the Witwatersrand. If we take the Sierra Buttes and Plumas Eureka Mines of California, as showing what can be done in other countries, I think I can prove that the minority gentlemen have also been rather unfortunate in this respect, in that the manager of the Sierra Buttes was Mr. James, who is now consulting engineer to the Goerz companies. Mr. James had said, "I might point out that natural facilities for working these mines were such that scarcely any comparison can be drawn between them and Rand mines. In the first place both the Sierra Buttes and the Plumas Eureka were worked by means of adit levels, consequently broken ore, after being conveyed to the chute, gravitated to the loading stations in the tunnels, and was thus removed in horizontal planes to the mill by mules. The water in the American mines also flowed by gravitation, consequently no hoisting or pumping was necessary. The American mines are worked by water power, no allowance is made for mine development, while the redemption is 2s. 6d. per ton. In the Sierra Buttes the lodes differ from 35 to 55 degrees, and very little shovelling is required after the ore reached the chutes."

I asked Mr. James for a comparison with the Lancaster Mine, and he made this out to be 1s. 3½d. per ton in favour of the Lancaster.

#### COMPARISONS OF WORKING COSTS.

Now, I will try to show you that after all we are not doing so badly here, compared with other countries. I will compare the working costs of the Sierra Buttes with the deepest mine on the Rand, the Robinson Deep. Now, sir, the charges on the Robinson Deep, taking the same basis as the Sierra Buttes and Plumas Eureka are 18s. 3d. compared with 18s. on the Sierra Buttes. I should very much like these minority gentlemen to go through those figures, because, in my opinion, no country in the world can teach us in regard to economic working of the mines.

Then they quoted Mr. Hall's evidence before the Industrial Commission. Mr. Hall says that practically you ought to work here as cheaply as on the other side, in America, but these gentlemen do not quote this portion of Mr. Hall's evidence: "The cost of living of all white employees is 25 to 35 per cent. greater than in American mining centres. From this it appears that the difference in cost of living here as compared to American mining regions may account for between, say 2s., as a minimum, and 3.52s. as a maximum, in the cost of mining and reduction per ton." I think, taking everything into consideration, that these minority gentlemen, even ascertaining the price of bread in California and in Johannesburg, might have made some allowance for the difference of the cost of living in those two countries, and everything proves that in spite of what these two gentlemen say, we are working to-day cheaper than any other country in the world under similar conditions.

#### THE HOUSING QUESTION.

There is another question which was pointed out in regard to Western Australia, and which I should like to point out to my hon. friend, Mr. Raitt, and that is the housing question.

Mr. Williams says the Australian workman does not get the luxuries of the Rand workman. He will not pay rent if he gets a bit of land upon which to erect a tent or canvas dwelling. Fully two-thirds of the workmen of the Western Australian goldfields live in tents and canvas dwellings.

The discomforts endured by Western Australian workmen would not be tolerated by miners here, so in regard to wages and the treatment of our miners we are better than any other country, compared with us.

#### LABOUR-SAVING DEVICES.

The Minority Report states that the following report was made by the engineers of the Witwatersrand area to Mr. Chamberlain: "There is no prospect of materially lessening the requirements of the mines for natives by improvements in methods and machinery, or by the more extended use of white labour." This is another misquotation. What they did say was: "It has been the aim of the engineers here to make use of machinery and labour-saving devices to a greater extent than has ever been employed in gold mining. Strenuous endeavours have been made in the past and will continue to be made to extend labour-saving appliances in substitution wholly or in part of the native drill-boys. It is not claimed that all possible means of elucidating the labour problem by the application of mechanical devices have been exhausted. On the contrary, the necessity of still greater effort is fully realised, and it is frankly acknowledged that in the matter of haulage, both under and over-ground there is scope for still greater improvement."

Then these minority gentlemen, after misquoting these engineers, say that "Given a desire, there are good prospects of lessening the requirements of the mines for natives by improvements in methods and machinery, or by the more extended use of white labour." The minority, therefore, state: We should use (1) more labour-saving machinery; (2) white unskilled labour. They say, "Given the desire." They imply we have no desire. Well, what about the desire? Gentlemen, there is a desire, take my word for it. You have only got to open the very able report of the State Mining Engineer. You will there see a mine referred to, the Glynn's Lydenberg. You will see there the installation they are putting up; while at the Kleinfontein alone the equipment put up has been the means of saving 170 boys on the surface. Then take another thing. Look at the Chamber's report. They estimate that they have spent in rock-drilling machinery a sum of no less than £1,250,000. And this has taken the place of 37,000 natives. There are other means being tried to save labour, and only last week I saw that in that celebrated mine the Village, the ore from the stopes was being conveyed to the chutes by mechanical contrivances. We are not fools. We are short of labour, and, therefore, it is to our interest to bring in every labour-saving appliance possible. Given a desire, it is self-evident, it is common sense, that wherever labour-saving appliances are possible, we must utilise them.

#### WHITE LABOUR.

Now, sir, we come to that very great question, the use of white labour. How has this great industry been built up? It has been built up by the employment of the highest skilled labour in the world, in conjunction with coloured labour, and I say that the evidence I have quoted against the statements put forward by the minority report, and, comparing the working costs, I say from an economic point of view, no one can teach this great industry anything in regard to the working of the mines.

Now, sir, how did the employment of this unskilled white labour arise? It arose, sir, out of necessity. The war was finished, many men were discharged, and had to seek employment. Had the whole industry been running, many of these men would have been placed absolutely into their usual avocations, that is on cyanide works and mills, bossing boys, and various other requirements on surface work; but we had no stamps running, and, therefore, had to do our best to meet the requirements, which were temporary requirements, to find those men employment, to give them a start for them to get better employment in their various avocations in life. Everyone did his best to give those men a start, and no one did more, probably no one was more enthusiastic or more honest in it than Mr. Creswell. Every credit is due to him; every credit is due to all men who try and persist in experiments which are practically a failure. The experiment was to prove whether unskilled white labour was practicable or not.

The Minority Report refers to questions 9,731 and 13,230 and 13,231. Now, I will take labour on the Wolluter and compare it with the Kleinfontein. On the Wolluter Mine, during the eight months ended December, 1902, they sank 1,038 feet at a cost of, roughly, £20. At Kleinfontein during the five months from January to May, 1902, they sank 758 feet, at a cost of £13 15s., showing a difference in favour of the Kleinfontein of £6 8s. 11d. per foot. At the Wolluter there were 130 white men per month with an average length of stay of four weeks, with wages for the first month 10s., third month 12s., sixth month 14s. At the Wolluter the white wages per foot amounted to £10 11s. 10d., while the wages at Kleinfontein (black and white) per foot were £5 4s. 6d., showing a difference in wages per foot in favour of the Kleinfontein of £5 7s. 4d. It is unnecessary to say that the Minority Report did not press that inquiry further.

#### THE VILLAGE MAIN REEF EXPERIMENT.

Now, sir, I come to the experiment on the Village Main Reef. I have told you, sir, that Mr. Creswell deserves every praise for the great efforts and energy he showed in carrying on the experiment. He had, according to the evidence, 1,000 unskilled men through his hands in six months. The average stay of each man was about one month. What was Mr. Creswell's plan? It was practically with a 100-stamp mill, you could work with 1,000 or 1,200 natives, 125 to 150 skilled whites, and 75 unskilled whites. Now, sir, the Minority Report, in support of Mr. Creswell's experiments, quoted the report of Messrs. Price, Spencer and Skinner. I may say that these experiments had been carried on for some time at the Village Main Reef, and at the latter end of last year the Chamber of Mines wanted to know what was the result of them, and whether they were an economic success, and they appointed Mr. Hennen Jennings and myself to interview Mr. Creswell with a view to getting his report on the experiment. In our interview with Mr. Creswell we wanted a fair unprejudiced, unbiased report. The result was that Messrs. Price, Spencer and Skinner made a report, and upon that report the minority placed their argument, but they did not quote the last paragraph in Messrs. Price and Skinner's report.

In answer to question 13,423, Mr. Creswell said, "I do not advocate dispensing with all our native labour. It is a most valuable asset to tide us over till conditions very materially alter, but what I do maintain is that with the present native supply eked out with unskilled whites we can work as cheaply as in 1899, and eventually very much cheaper."

The experiments with white labour on this mine began in January, 1902, and continued until August, 1903. If we take the average working of the Village Main Reef in the years prior to the war and in 1899, 1902, and 1903, what do we find? The mine before the war was worked by the late Mr. Doveton. I take it he did not know the war was coming. He worked his mine fairly, and it was closed down prior to the war. Under the late Mr. Doveton, from January to August, 1899, the average amount of rock crushed was 14,734 tons per month. The average amount sorted was 25 per cent. The profit was 36s. 6d. per ton, and the value recovered was 15.1 dwts. Under Mr. Creswell, from January to December, 1902, eleven months and one week, the average amount of ore crushed was 9,600 tons. Twenty per cent. was sorted, and the profit per ton was 11s. 4d., against Mr. Doveton's 36s. 6d. From January to September, 1903, no sorting took place; after January and February the average amount of tons crushed monthly was 14,872 tons, and the average profit was 12s. 19d. I might say that the development redemption account under Mr. Doveton was 5s. per ton, and under Mr. Creswell it was redeemed at 3s. 3d. a ton. I only show these figures in order to compare the profits. Mr. Creswell's experiment, on these figures, means that the reduction in value points to the excessive use of machine drills in stopes where they ought not to have been used, and this was probably due to the attempt to prove the white labour theory.

Later on I shall apply Mr. Creswell's working with other mines on the Rand, which will show you what margin of profit would be left to the shareholders if that experiment were applied to them. I will take, first, Mr. Price's evidence on the Village experiment. Question 10,807: "I understand you had something to do with investigating a similar experiment carried on at the Village Main Reef?" The reply to that was: "Yes, I was one of a committee of three appointed to enquire into the advisability of employing unskilled white labour on the fields here, and as it had been carried on on a large scale by the Village Main Reef we selected that mine to give all our attention to."

Replying to a further question as to the result of the experiment, Mr. Price said: "From this it is seen that during August and September 3,670 tons more were crushed than during March and April at an extra cost of £11,198, or a cost for the extra tonnage of £3.10s. per ton. In other words, by the use of white labourers the Village Main Reef was able to crush about 1,800 tons a month more, at a loss of 18s. 6d. per ton on the extra tonnage. Instead of making a profit of 15s. 9d. per ton, thus the experiment was costing the Village Main Reef in round figures £3,000 a month."

Mr. Jennings was asked, in question 13,841, "Can you tell us why the actual extraction on the Village Main Reef for August was only 69 per cent., against an average of 87 per cent.?" He replied: "It can be explained in three ways. Either they are doing extremely bad work on the Village Main, or the gold, as calculated for by the assays, is not being accounted for, or the tonnage estimate is incorrect. I have some figures which compare for the month of August the Village Main Reef with the Robinson Deep. The average screen sample on the Robinson Deep is 11.97 dwts. On the Village Main it is 12.5 dwts. The profit per ton on the Robinson Deep is 20s. 8d., and on the Village Main 11s. 8d., although the grade was practically half a dwt. higher on the Village Main."

Question 13,842: "And the profit on the Robinson Deep was as you have said?"—"Yes, the statement showing the tons crushed per stamp, the yield per ton, and the cost per ton, shows that for July and August and June the Village Main had a sudden increase in the tonnage crushed and the tons crushed per stamp per 25 hours, whereas there was a sudden decrease in the yield per ton and in the actual extraction. This might be explained in the three ways above mentioned. In my opinion, the most probable way is that the tonnage has been over estimated."

#### SOME COMPARISONS.

Continuing, Sir G. Farrar said: Now, we will apply this test of Mr. Creswell's say to a mine like the Simmer and Jack. If this experiment had taken place on the Simmer and Jack, which is a very large low-grade mine, and resulted in a falling off in the recovery of value as occurred in the last four months of Mr. Creswell's regime, then the Simmer which headed the list of the first 12 producing companies in 1899, and when the recovery averaged 8.3 dwts. per ton, that recovery value would have been brought down to 4.6 dwts. per ton, and this would mean a monthly reduction in the output of about 8,000 ozs. on the 18.9 basis, and instead of the Simmer and Jack making a profit of £30,000 monthly, it would not have paid expenses.

I will compare the experiment of the Village Main Reef with the Robinson Deep. If the same percentage in that reduction of value had been applied to the Robinson Deep, which for the last two months has headed that list, and averaged 11.23 dwts. we should find that under Mr. Creswell's regime we should have a recovery value of 6.29 dwts., which would hardly pay working expenses.

#### MR. ROBESON'S REPORT.

Then since the Village Main Reef has changed management, the engineer, Mr. Robeson, has made a report. I would sooner not use Mr. Robeson's statement, but as it has been made it cuts both ways. I think the Village Main Reef directors are very honest in publishing that report. People may think otherwise, but I think in publishing that report and showing that under the conditions prevailing in 1903, the working costs have been 4s. higher per ton mined with unskilled white labour than they would have been with black labour, they were honest. I think the shareholders of the Village Main Reef have a very strong case against their directors in allowing that experiment to be carried on for an interminable period at a loss to their shareholders at the rate of £3,000 per month.

Against Mr. Creswell's experiment other mines also endeavoured to find employment for these unskilled white labourers, and did their best to make it a success. The Lancaster Mine made an experiment for 18 months, and it shows that with machine drills unskilled white labour cost 7s. 6d. per shift against natives at 2s. 6d. per shift, tramping 100 per cent. more shovelling 15s. against 6s. 3d., and hand-drilling 300 per cent. more. At the Geduld they also made the experiment with shaft sinking, and their experiment shows that unskilled white labour per shift cost 10s. as against 3s.

for natives. The Crown Reef tried the experiment from June, 1902, to June, 1903. They employed 1,382 white men, an average of 168 per month. Each man averaged 40 shifts and the white men cost 8s. 5d. per shift against natives 2s. 6d. A report that is in evidence shows that white labour on this mine has been costly and unsatisfactory. The Company has paid £17,100 more for the work done than if the work had been carried out by natives. But the men employed had not been permanently benefited. They looked on this work as a make-shift to tide them over a certain period. The Crown tried them and they reported that the cost over a 17 months' trial, with the average number on per shift of 166, was 37 for white labour to 1 per native labour, and the efficiency of the white labour was 1·87 against 1 for native labour. The manager of the Crown Reef reported, "In analysing the costs of the period, which include the extra cost of unskilled whites, and the extra tonnage produced by them, it is found that the average working costs are 2s. 7d. per ton higher, and the profits are consequently, 2s. 7d. per ton lower than they would have been had the work been entirely done by coloured labour." I would like to warn you against Mr. Price's evidence; he made report on Mr. Creswell's work, and I warn you against it because the minority report states that "this testimony from a witness (Mr. C. J. Price), who afterwards stated that white labour was four times as expensive as native labour—but given before the Chinese proposal assumed an acute form—is of interest," and therefore, these gentlemen have rejected his evidence.

#### SIR GEORGE'S VISIT TO THE MINE.

Now, I read myself the evidence of the trial and experiments on the Village Main Reef Mine, but I was not satisfied by any means, and I went down the mine, and I will tell you what I think of the whole thing from more or less a business and practical point of view. The mine is an ideal mine, situated in the centre of the town. It has large reefs convenient for men working with rock-drills. I went into one stope, "J.C., Main Reef leader." The average width of that stope was eight feet—none of your 22 inch stope—and, as Messrs. Skinner and Price report, it is an absolutely ideal mine for the use of rock-drills, and Mr. Creswell had every opportunity to make his experiment. He had a mine not short of development; he had 750,000 tons developed, he had no rises, no winzes, or anything like that. All he had to do was to put in machines. His experiment was to put one white man to work a drill with a helper; he tried to work two machines with one skilled and two unskilled men. He was unsuccessful, and it resulted in a strike. Since he left they have all gone back to the old principle on which we worked on the Witwatersrand for years past—that is we worked two drills with five natives to each shift. During the experiment a strike ensued owing to discontent, no one was satisfied and contracts were being continually measured up month by month. He paid on the Main Reef leader 60s. per fathom, and since he left and they had gone back to the old principle they paid 55s. a fathom, the men were satisfied, and they make money. On the South Reef he paid 77s. 6d. per fathom, and since he left they paid 67s. 6d. per fathom, the men are satisfied, and make money. I also went into other stopes, "G.H., 80." Under Mr. Doveton the reef could be taken out in a stope of 33 ins., and since rock drills have been put into it the stope was 48·30 ins. In this case the stope was increased 50 per cent. in width. There was no sorting. If you crush 50 per cent. of rock then you decrease the value of your rock going to your mill, which Mr. Creswell did. Mr. Doveton worked his South Reef with an average of 36 ins., by manual labour; in Mr. Creswell's time, during 1902, this same stope averaged 44 ins., and in 1903 56 ins. If you will compare 56 with 36 ins. you will see where the decrease in value comes in. Take the result to the shareholders. According to the evidence the result to the shareholders was a loss of 4s. per ton, or £3,000 per month.

Now, Mr. Creswell passed 1,000 men through his hands in six months, and one would have thought that some practical benefit would have resulted. How many of these men have been taught? Two have been taught—they were capable rock drill men, and they were two men of this country named Kruger and Hertz. (Laughter.) There were about eight others, and the rest have gone. I will give another comparison. I will not take the cost per ton. I asked my manager. How much money did you make? There were two mines, the Village and the City, alongside each other. They are both working with this great scarcity of native labour, and what are the comparisons between these two mines? The City in September of this year crushed 16,500 tons, with a profit of 22s. 1d. per ton; the Village 17,450 tons, with a profit of 12s. 8d. per ton. In October the City crushed 18,300 tons at a profit of 20s. 6d., and the Village 19,284 tons at a profit of 9s. 5d. per ton. In November the City crushed 17,200 tons at a profit of 23s. 4d. per ton, and the Village 18,045 at a profit of 7s. 3d. My answer is this, that, as a practical and business man, I am very glad I hold shares in the City and not in the Village. Mr. Creswell maintained that he could work as cheaply as in 1899, and very much cheaper. I do not think he worked as cheaply as in 1899, and I think it would be a very long time before he would work very much cheaper. If the whole industry carried on this experiment to-day, based on £3,000 per month per 100 stamps, this experiment would have cost the industry over a million a year.

If you are greatly interested in Mr. Creswell's experiment, I will show how you can carry it on for £50,000 a year. The hon. member, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, came to me 12 or 15 months ago, and said he thought it would be an excellent thing to take a quarry, so that these men who sought employment could be trained as skilled operators. I said certainly it would be a very excellent thing, but if you put them in a quarry you won't teach them much, because, after all, it is not a question of teaching them to use a drill, but it is a question for them to study the formation of the hanging wall and footwall, so that they could break the rock advantageously. That was what Mr. Creswell was doing: he had an ideal mine with wide reefs, and he was training the men to become skilled rock drillers. If the Government is anxious that this experiment be continued, they can take a mine that is closed down, and teach the men there. I dare say it would take £50,000 a year to do it, and I dare say the industry would much sooner contribute £1 for £1 for that experiment than pay a million a year.

If you look at the order paper you will see that Mr. Raitt requests the introduction of legislation dealing with the compensation of workmen. No wonder he has to introduce this motion when Mr. Creswell was giving blasting certificates after a month to men who were thrown broadcast on the Rand. Now, sir, you boil down all these experiments, and you will read what is very instructive on



page 586, Clause 13: "Since the establishment of the mining industry, it has been a constant endeavour on the part of the controllers to reduce the working costs, so that the extensive gold deposits not of the high-grade central portion of the Rand, but the low-grade at present unworkable, may be worked. These low-grade deposits constitute by far the greater bulk of the workable ore contents of the country, because it is evident in this, as in other countries, that the low-grade ores are larger and more permanent than those of larger grade, the policy or necessity being to limit the working of richer ore deposits. Means must be found in the future to remedy that necessity if the mining life of this country is to have its proper duration." They tell you, sir, that 33 companies treated 33 millions of tons, and the profit was 10s. In Clause 20 it says that for the proper working and development of the industry a large amount of unskilled labourers are required.

Well, sir, I have been here 15 years, and until I carefully went through this evidence I have never recognised it. But I do recognise that if the country is to have a future you want a large amount of unskilled labour, because it is not on the picked portion of the Rand that your future development is to take place—it depends on the low-grade rock you can bring into operation. It means this, that every ton of low-grade rock you treat there will be more work for skilled men.

Now, sir, I have finished with the economic question of the Village Main Reef, and I repeat that I have the highest estimation of Mr. Creswell. He has worked very energetically, and has done his best to make this experiment a success. There the thing finishes.

#### OPINION OF MR. CRESWELL'S EXPERIMENT.

Then we come to a chapter in this history to which I am sorry to have to refer. I would be glad if anyone could prove differently, but I say that the experiment was an absolute failure, and not only to the shareholders. Let me read Mr. Creswell's answer to Question 13,131, in which he gives his reasons for the failure of the other engineers:—"I am of opinion that the consensus of expert opinion laid before you is largely due to the following causes: That the financial authorities at home viewed it at the outset with disfavour, being afraid that the employment of a large number of white men as labourers would make the labour element too strong a factor in economic questions, and when representative government is given, in political questions. That the leading experts, besides being naturally influenced by these ideas on the part of their employees, had made the success of their careers here on the old, cheap, inferior labour system, and would be reluctant to admit that a new departure must be made if any way of perpetuating it were possible. That in these circumstances all arrangements and results adverse to white labour would be welcomed, while those on the other side would be combated and sifted with the view of proving them fallacious. It does not therefore seem to me surprising that, approached in this way, an experiment requiring careful handling and resolution to overcome difficulties that may arise, should in many cases have been pronounced a failure. I would add that there are other causes. I have heard of another mine in which the use of white labour is being with comparative success carried on."

There are other cases Mr. Creswell had heard of in which white labour was being carried on with success. I have looked for that mine for three months, but I have not been able to find it. A very grave imputation is made against the engineers and managers who control the various mines on the Witwatersrand. It means that, acting under instructions, and with male fides, they reported against the experiments with white labour. I need hardly say that these managers and engineers are men of the highest standing in any part of the world. Their character and straight-forwardness is the great recommendation they have in seeking employment in other parts of the world. I say we have proved that these engineers were swayed by no political reasons whatever. They tried and tested the questions, and were not prepared for political considerations to condemn the colony to an expense of one million a year to prove an unsound economic proposition.

These political suggestions do not stop there. Mr. Creswell looked round for political support, and he found that support in the very heart of the Government—in the late Commissioner of Mines. Mr. Wybergh is a man for whom I have the greatest possible respect in every possible way, and when his department came under consideration in this House, I stood up and defended him. This grave question should to my mind have been probed to the bottom before now.

Let us turn to question 13,949 and Mr. Wybergh's answer: "Do you know anything of the experiment in the use of white unskilled labour since the war?"—"Well, I can't say that I know anything personal about it, because I have not been in a position to have to undertake or not to undertake such an experiment myself. I have followed the controversy on the subject with very great interest, and I should not like to give expert evidence on the matter, but I have a general knowledge of the fact that experiments have been carried out to a certain extent. I had a long discussion with Mr. Honner-Jennings about a year ago on the subject."

13,954. "Can you tell the Commission what his opinions were, or are, on the matter?"—"I think it would probably be better to get them from himself, but as he made no secret of his opinions, I may say that what he told me was that he did not want white labour, and that he did not believe in it—at least it came to this really, that he did not want it—he objected to it."

Now, sir, that was an after-dinner conversation—hearsay evidence—and it may be correct or not. All I can say is that if I were tried for everything I said after dinner, I would have a poor chance of being acquitted.

Then answer 13,958. "What I mean is that the question as to whether white labour would be employed or whether it would be obtained from elsewhere depends entirely on the wishes of the mine owners."

Question 13,996. "Have you had any practical experience as a mine manager?"—"No, I have not been a mine manager."

Question 13,998. "Would you do away with all native labour and put in white labour?"—"I would if I could, but it is not practicable."

When Mr. Wybergh gave evidence he forgot that his own Government was also carrying on experiments with white labour, to which I will refer later.

Major Micklem's answer to question 7,650 is as follows: "On a native labour basis, it was estimated to cost £30,000 with natives, whereas the estimated final cost with whites is over £80,000?"—"Yes, that is the Braamfontein and Krugersdorp line."

Capt. Pritchard also spoke of the labour on railways, and said, "I put £2,000 per mile as a low estimate of the difference between natives and white unskilled labourers. White unskilled labour is 2½ times as expensive as native labour."

Question 7,796. "Roughly the difference in the cost of the authorised programme of 730 miles—the difference in the cost of natives and white labour on the programme—will be £1,500,000 in favour of native labour?"—"Yes, that is a very low estimate. I think I may say that if we were going to ask the Inter-Colonial Council for money to make these lines with white labour, I would certainly ask for another 2½ millions."

Mr. Price also gave evidence: Question 7,434. "What are your views on the subject?"—"Well, my personal view is this, that with the experience we have had with white labour for the class of manual labour usually done by natives in this country, if it is to be filled in with white people, and be a white man's country, and to progress in the way we are all looking for it to do, we cannot afford the expense that would be involved. The labour as compared with the natives is in the relation of £1 which it costs for a native, to about £2 10s. to £3, according to the conditions obtaining, in the case of the white man."

#### THE EXPERIMENT ON THE RAILWAYS.

Now, sir, what was the result of the experiment on railways? A thousand men came out. They were tried, and I believe 900 returned. That was the practical result. From the evidence I have read I would like you to note particularly that the engineers and also the general manager, Mr. Price—a man of great experience in this country—reported that it would be a failure.

We come to question 13,961 (Mr. Wybergh). "Since you have been in your present position, have you had instances in regard to yourself or others of political pressure in any direction being brought to bear on you or them?"—"That is not a pleasant question to answer, but I must say I have been subject to political pressure." (Mr. Creswell stated that the mining engineers had been subjected to political pressure, and I think it is the duty of the Government to say whether the engineers who have reported on the experiments with white labour on the railways were also subject to similar pressure.)

I think, sir, it is a sad and deplorable state of affairs that practically the only honest man in the service of the Government should at this critical juncture in the affairs of the country be driven from the Government. Sir, it is a question that ought to be cleared up. (Hear, hear.) We have had these insinuations about the capitalists' influence, which all bears upon this question. I should like to know, sir, if the hon. member, the Attorney-General, has so far forgotten his previous history in this country, how in days gone past, when in Kimberley he fought the capitalist influence of De Beers, and I should like to know if he has now succumbed to the capitalistic vote of this country. (Hear, hear.) I should think the history I am now detailing you of this great industry shows, so far as we capitalists are concerned, that we have quite enough to do to manage our own business. All we want is to be left in peace to manage our business under the most economic conditions and in the best interests of the country. All we want is that justice shall be administered to rich and poor alike. We want an end of all these insinuations as to the capitalist. I wish the political situation had been clearer. It did not finish here in support of what had gone past. A letter was produced beginning "My dear Mr. Creswell," signed by Mr. Percy Tarbutt, a director of the Village Main Reef.

It is also said in the Minority Report that I practically am not fit to give an opinion on the question of white labour, on account of a speech I made at Driefontein on March 31st last.

#### THE DRIEFONTEIN SPEECH.

I think, Sir, Mr. Tarbutt's letter had better be cleared up. What I said at Driefontein needs no explanation. What I said was this:—

"How have these fields been built up? What have been the conditions of labour? They have been these: White skilled labour at high wages has been employed in conjunction with unskilled coloured labour in the proportion approximately of one to eight. It is true that the wages of skilled men have been high, and in my opinion they will always remain high, because the skilled labour we require ranks with the best quality in the world. Now, since the war we have been short of native labour, and owing to that shortage, and in order to assist some of those who so gallantly fought in the war, a large amount of unskilled white labourers have been employed. This has been done as a temporary measure, with a view to assisting those who are unskilled to become skilled, and to find permanent employment. During the past six months there has been a great controversy on the question of unskilled white labour, and we have heard the usual cry of making this a white man's country; but we are used to the cry of those who, knowing nothing of this country, come to teach us our business which has taken us years to learn. At first they tell us we must send all our natives on to the land, and use nothing but unskilled white labour in their places. That would mean that only the richest mines on these fields would be able to work, even if the wages of the skilled workmen were reduced by one-half. Then we have the cry: 'You must use what black labour there is in the country, and make up with unskilled white labour' I think, as a temporary expedient, a certain amount of unskilled white labour can be used, but it will not solve the great problem you have in front of you. Supposing, for instance, unskilled white labour were to be largely used, it means that the price of your unskilled white labour is regulated by the price of your unskilled coloured labour; therefore, it means that we should have to find the cheapest class of unskilled white labour that would be prepared to compete. That means subsidising labour, in other words, bringing it into this country from all the sources of Europe. What would be the inevitable result? Why, that this unskilled labour would very soon become skilled labour and compete against you. For my part I am absolutely against indentured cheap white labour. Many of you were here before the war, and bore the brunt of the very anxious times that we have been through, and I say that if white labourers are to come into this country, let them come



in of their own accord. The whole country is open to the white man who wants to make this country his home. Let him, therefore, come in not subsidised, but as a free agent, and compete in the open market for wages, which are always a question of supply and demand."

From that speech (continued the speaker) I have nothing to withdraw. That celebrated letter of Mr. Tarbutt's has been used as a political weapon, to damn the capitalists interests over the four quarters of the globe. Now, what is the position? The position of the white man is, as I have said, that he is highly paid, he is highly skilled. Why? Because on account of the cost of living here. If you preserve the status of these white, skilled labourers they will always be an asset to your country. They come to settle in the country; they will live and assist with the permanent residents of this country to build up a white race worthy of the country we live in. Now, what was Mr. Creswell going to do? He was endeavouring to introduce unskilled white labourers below a living wage. It was a temporary experiment—it could not last. What would it result in? That these white skilled men, with high wages, who have settled in the country, who, on account of their skill can get high wages in all parts of the world, that their wages would be reduced, and that they would endeavour to seek employment in other mining centres. Now, what does the importation of unskilled whites mean, and the lower rate of wages? It means labour combinations; it means no one is satisfied; that you produce strikes; you import a poor class of white man into the country; no one is satisfied; you will have nothing but discontent and strikes.

And, therefore, sir, rather than face that, I myself, had I been in Mr. Tarbutt's position, would have written practically the same letter, because all that we want is a contented, respectable white population, which will help to build a race worthy of the country. Now, sir, I think I have finished with the political insinuations. I have dealt with them as far as the engineers are concerned; no doubt the hon. member the Attorney-General will deal with them as far as the Government are concerned, and no doubt, if he has a bad case, with his great legal ability he will be able to make a good one. (Laughter.) And I think we should leave the political question to the people who made these insinuations. The speaker here quoted from Mr. Lee's speech, reported in the "Leader" of December 15. "Mr. Lee at the close of the meeting of the Drivers and Firemen said that our so-called labour leaders had done all that lay in their power to burke the discussion of the vital question on trades union grounds; their methods of discussing the same was always from a political standpoint, that he could come to no other conclusion than that the so-called labour leaders were advocating the importation of whites for political reasons, and ignored completely any trades union principles which in his opinion should be the first and foremost consideration." Gentlemen (continued Sir George) I think the political part of the question we will leave with Mr. Lee and Mr. Whiteside.

Now, sir, the minority wish to regulate the development of the country by the supply of African labour, the reason being: "The mineral wealth of the Transvaal is the property of the people of the Transvaal, both white and coloured, and not of the foreign investor." That means, sir, that the mines belong to the people. I thought the railways belonged to the people—not so; the railways are means of indirect taxation that people would feel, and therefore there is no advocacy of the continuation of white experiments in regard to the railways. In regard to the Johannesburg Town Council, that is also the property of the people, but the taxes directly are felt by the people, and, therefore, any great experiment in regard to labourers is not to be experienced there. Now, sir, it is said that these unfortunate foreign investors must have only a fair rate of interest. Now, what is the rate of interest?

Replying to question 2,687, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick said: "In 1868 there were 40 companies which paid dividends. The capitalised value of these 40 companies was, I think, 70 millions, and the dividends paid amounted to under five millions. The amount invested in cash as working capital was nearly 40 millions. Therefore the profit paid on the capital as it stood at that period was about 7½ per cent., not 46 per cent. as you said just now.

And these unfortunate foreign investors are not to be entitled to this 7½ per cent.? A question has been raised on the evidence of over-capitalisation. (In connection with this matter Sir G. Farrar quoted in support of his contention from Mr. Hall's and Mr. Hennen Jennings' evidence given before the Industrial Commission.) Proceeding, Sir G. Farrar said: The question of capitalisation has nothing to do with it. Your future prosperity depends on the amount of capital that can be put into the country, and the amount of the rock that can be extracted from the ground.

#### THE QUESTION OF STANDING STILL.

Now, I come to the question of standing still. We have "to regulate the development of the country by the supply of African labour." What does it mean? If you have to regulate developments according to African labour practically you depreciate 30 per cent. of the whole of your mines and also practically 30 per cent. of the credit of your country.

I have not gone into the question of the 11,000 future stamps, because I think unless people can see their way clear to get labour for the existing deficiency there is very little chance of people spending the money they have in putting up these further 11,000 stamps. There is another thing, too. There is a distinction between the stamps that are erected and those not erected. With regard to the bulk of the stamps erected before the war, you acknowledge the liabilities of the late Government, and I think you will admit you are liable to get labour for those stamps already existing.

Mr. Hamilton's evidence was also referred to as to the mines remaining idle and not progressing. At this time you have 3,420 stamps idle. These stamps would employ 5,612 skilled men, also unskilled men. These men would spend locally in wages two million per annum, and if these stamps were working it would mean an output of 11 millions sterling. I will not tell you of the loss to shareholders, I will only point out to you the loss to yourselves. Mr. Hamilton points out that from the 11,000 new stamps, costing £44,000,000, 30 per cent. would be spent oversea, while 70 per cent. would be spent locally.

Take also another point: for every ton of rock crushed white labour gets, say, 6s. 6d. per ton, native labour 4s. per ton, and local supplies 7s. 6d. The 3,000 stamps idle would spend £4,000 in white wages, £2,800 in native wages, and £5,000 in local supplies. Take also the evidence as to standing still of Mr. Birchenough, of the Board of Trade, who visited this country to report on the real danger of the situation.

## THE DANGER OF THE SITUATION

"The real danger of the situation lies in the prolongation of the present financial strain. . . . A speedy relief is desirable, not only for the financial groups, which have to bear heavy interest charges on non-productive mines, but in the interest of the whole industrial and commercial development of the Transvaal. It is a race against time, and that is why experiments, however well-meaning, which take years to show their results, are impracticable. Troublesome as the problem is, its difficulties are mainly concentrated upon one factor. There is no dispute as to the wealth which lies in the Transvaal, nor is it denied that all the essential conditions which affect gold mining are more favourable than before the war, with the single exception of the labour supply. It remains, therefore, to find an acceptable solution of this one question. The interests which are at stake are not merely those of the financial groups, but, as I have indicated, the whole industrial and commercial interests of the Transvaal are too important for it to be allowed to stand indefinitely in the way."

There you have the testimony of an independent gentleman, who was sent out by the British Government to inquire into the trade requirements of the country. Mr Hamilton's evidence also shows the financial position of the country. Your gold output to-day is practically the same as in 1897. To-day the value of your goods imported is £23,000,000, dividends and interest debts, £3,000,000. The gold exported is £12,000,000, leaving a deficit of £14,000,000, which is to be supplied by the country, and you can only provide for that deficit by getting the gold out of the ground. Take the expenditure of 1898. The Government expenditure in 1898 amounted to £4,000,000, while the debts, including railways, in 1898 amounted to £14,000,000. The Government expenditure in 1903, including railway carriage on goods, was £7,000,000, while the country's debts in 1903 were: Borrowed, £35,000,000; war debt, £30,000,000; municipal, when completed, £3,000,000; making a total of £68,000,000, and you want money for other purposes, such as water, &c. That shows you your spending, and I take it everything is going on in the same way throughout the country, and I cannot understand how we can afford to stand still.

What does Mr. Hamilton say? He says, question 1,057: "It seems to me that you have to generate here, by means of the mining industry, sufficient motive power to start into activity the industries of the country as a whole, including the agricultural industry. It may be quite possible to run this country in such a way that at the end of a certain number of years you would have nothing left but holes in the ground and a cemetery on the hill. In order to do that you would require a series of monumental blunders, but the thing is merely possible and whether you get that result or not and whether you use the gold got out of the ground in creating other industries, in employing your men to get out gold in order to employ other men in growing wheat and various other things, depends altogether upon whether you create enough energy in the centre to start into life the trade and industry of the country."

That may be an ex parte statement, but it is the opinion of a man of the highest financial ability probably in South Africa.

What does the Prime Minister of France say—(laughter)—or rather, what does the Finance Minister of France say? The French Finance Minister, M. Rouvier, in delivering his Budget, ascribed the depression in the world's market to the stagnation of the Transvaal mines. So long as these mines are not fully working, he said, the morbid condition of the world's market would continue. So you see, sir, upon the working of these mines depends the prosperity, not only of the people of South Africa, but of those far beyond it.

I have finished with the Labour Commission's report. I hope you will agree with me that it is a document founded on fact; and, whether you agree with me or not, that document will last, and will be quoted for many years in the history of this country. The report has shown that the native labour supply is inadequate for normal requirements; that the deficiency cannot be supplemented by white unskilled labour; that black and white labour cannot be used on an equality as an industrial proposition; that, with the present cost of living, white labour cannot be exclusively used; and that the future of this State depends on the amount of low-grade rock you can extract from the bowels of the earth, and extract it profitably. Sir, can you stand still? The hon. member, Mr. Bourke, said you can stand still by repudiating your liabilities. I say I don't think anyone can afford to stand still. Can the Government afford to stand still? They can, provided they declare a moratoria in the country.

## THE SOLUTION.

Now, what would the Majority have said had they been asked for a solution? They would have said the only solution is to maintain your credit; to restore credit to your country is to supplement your present labour supply from an outside source. And I regret, sir, it is my duty to call the attention of the Government to this deficiency of the labour supply, to call attention to their financial position. I think it would have been much better had they realised the financial situation of the country, and brought in a Bill themselves. Now, I have to deal with the final portion of my resolution, and what is the solution? I won't tell you the solution. The much-abused Bloemfontein Conference told you the solution. What did they tell you the solution was? They finally unanimously passed the following resolution:—

This Conference is of opinion that the permanent settlement in South Africa of Asiatic races would be injurious, and should not be permitted, but that, if the industrial developments positively require the introduction of unskilled labourers under a system of Government control by which provision is made to indenture and repatriate them at the termination of their articles, it should be permissible.

That resolution was not passed by these small Crown governed Colonies, but unanimously passed by two large self-governing Colonies of South Africa, with both their Premiers present. Now we come to the question of supplementing this labour supply.

## "SWAMPING THE COUNTRY."

It is said that I have advocated bringing in 300,000 Asiatics and swamping the country. I saw in a letter the other day a suggestion for a compromise, the writer of which said, Why not let in

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60,000? I say I don't even want 60,000. The industry and all who are connected with it are business people. We want to restore our credit; we want to supplement the present supply. We think this labour is procurable, and we have evidence to that effect, but we don't know it is suitable. That labour will cost, under indenture and repatriation restrictions, from £15 to £20 per head; probably they will cost, including repatriation, 80s. per unskilled labourer per month, against about 76s. we are paying the natives to-day. To bring in some 10,000 as an experiment would cost the industry £200,000, and do you think that we of the business men are going to rush at this thing and bring in the large number before we know that they are a success? We say that this importation has got to be handled most carefully in every possible way, and gradually, and it will take a considerable length of time before we can tell whether this labour is suitable or not. In my motion I have said that this labour shall be confined to the Witwatersrand. Why did they do this? Not from any selfish point of view to hamper the growth of the industries outside in country districts, but because they only want these labourers brought in under the severest restrictions, and we wish it confined to the area of the Witwatersrand so that the Government can absolutely see that the first experiments are carried out under their own supervision. If it is a success, sir, in the Witwatersrand, possibly then we can release labour for other industries outside, but what we wish to avoid in every possible way is the indentured labourer coming in except under complete supervision so that there is no fear of their spreading over the country.

#### THE PROPOSED ORDINANCE.

In regard to this Ordinance that I ask the Government to bring in, I take it the Ordinance should apply to all unskilled labourers imported under indenture, except from Africa south of the Zambesi, such indentured labour should only be imported or employed in batches of not less than 250 by properly-licensed persons, who should give security for the due observance of the law and for their repatriation on the expiry of their indenture. Absolute provision should be made for the employment of those labourers on unskilled work only, and it would be advisable, in the first instance at any rate, to confine them to the mining area of the Witwatersrand, and to limit their total term of service to a period of from three to five years. They should be compelled to carry passes and to reside on the premises of their employer, under proper supervision, and should be forbidden to trade or hold land, either directly or indirectly. The contracts made by the labourers must be approved by a Government official, but the imposition of restrictions should not be a matter of private contract only, but be settled by Ordinance, especially with regard to the protection of the white unskilled artisan. Express provision must be made by law for regulating the importation, employment, and residence and repatriation of these people, and heavy penalties must be imposed by them on employers and on labourers for any breach of the law, as to terms of service, nature of work, or observance of regulations. Any labourer in whose case the law has been broken should be liable to instant deportation at the expense of the importer. That is a rough outline of the Ordinance which we recommend the Government to take into consideration.

#### THE OBJECTIONS.

What are the objections to this? You have the experience of Australia and California, where they let them in first and legislated for them afterwards. We propose to legislate first before we let them in. After all, is not your position here similar to the position of the Western States of America in the early sixties? They were short of labour. They had, like you, enormous capital expenditure on railways and in every direction to face, and they would not have been in the position they are in to-day except they had used Asiatic labour. They used them to build up the country, and when they had finished with them they endeavoured to get rid of them. We don't propose that. We wish you to legislate for them before they come. Now, sir, what other objections are there? You have got the objections of the white trader, who said that if these people come into the country they would be allowed to trade. Nothing of the kind. Did not I urge you the other day to put Asiatics already in the country on a proper footing? Did not I urge that their position should be dealt with under the immigration law of 1902? If that is done that will protect the position of the white trader. Then they say they will hold land. Well, we provide in the Ordinance that they will not hold land either directly or indirectly.

In regard to the question of the skilled artisan, what we say is, preserve the position of your skilled artisan in every possible way, so that he may maintain the same relation in regard to Asiatic labour as he does to-day.

#### THE NATIVE QUESTION.

It was agreed before us in regard to Natal that they got coolies in there, and neglected the native question. I say, never neglect for a day the great native question you have in front of you. Suggestions were offered in regard to forced labour, the breaking up of Basutoland and Swaziland, and several other reservations, but all these suggestions are impracticable, but if you adopt in the whole of South Africa a uniform policy, a gradual policy of creating wants for the natives, of teaching them to work and practically applying a modified Glen Grey Act to them, then you will be able to produce much more native labour than you can to-day. If you supplement your native labour temporarily by Asiatic labour to get over your difficulties, I say never for a moment stop the gradual progressive policy in regard to natives; not a policy which will land you in another war, but a policy which will teach them the art of labour, teach them to increase their wants.

#### THE CASE OF THE FARMER.

The farmer may say: "If the mines get labour, why should not I?" The only thing I can say to the farmer is this: If we get labour, and it is successful, I hope we shall be able to spare natives for the farmer. But you must look at it from the wider point of view. If your country is going to stand still, your credit is going to be ruined, and you will have no markets for your produce.

Sir,—I have finished. In the Minority Report there have been grave insinuations and accusations made against the conduct of this great industry. They say it is conducted not with due regard to the people of this country, but for the benefit of absentee shareholders. No similar industry in the world can show so bright a record as the industry that is built up in this country; and I say, sir, to those gentlemen who have made those accusations and insinuations they are absolutely unworthy of the people who made them. It is a mere accident that I stand here to-day as the head of the industry.

In the Council I am only a citizen of the country, without any more status than the poorest man, and I think my record in this country will show that whatever the industry wanted, if it was against the interests of the people, I should be found on the side of right and justice. In the future no blame will attach to those who honestly endeavour to find a solution of this great problem on the lines suggested by me. In spite of all that is said, no blame will attach to them, but the greatest responsibility will rest on those who, without a solution, appeal to prejudice to hinder the development of this great country on which the future of the people, and the future of South Africa depends. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

SIR P. FITZPATRICK SECONDS.

Sir P. FITZPATRICK formally seconded the resolution.

AN ADJOURNMENT PROPOSED.

4.10. Mr. LOVEDAY said he wished to move an amendment to the effect that the consideration of the motion proposed by Sir G. Farrar be adjourned until Monday, the 18th January. When Sir G. Farrar asked him to agree to the postponement of the debate until the 28th December, that all the members of the House were unanimous in agreeing to that date, he himself and Mr. Bourke only found out afterwards that there were some who did not agree. He pointed out at the time that he thought it impossible for anyone to peruse the evidence given before the Commission and be in a position to argue on this question on the 28th, and now he was more confirmed in that opinion than ever, and that was the reason he moved the adjournment. It looked as if—he did not say it was so—but it looked like an attempt to rush the matter through, and he certainly must protest because he thought the time given to members was absolutely unreasonable. Some of them had had that enormous blue-book placed before them that day, and they were called upon to debate the question before they had even opened the evidence. The evidence was concluded on the 6th of October, and it was then ready practically to go into the hands of the printers. He understood the whole of the evidence was practically in type on the 6th, and therefore it could have been printed and circulated to the various members. Had that been done, every member would have been in a position to debate this question to-day. The complete copy he received on Wednesday evening, and he might say he had spoilt his Christmas holidays in trying to master a portion of it, but he had only succeeded in getting a very superficial knowledge of the evidence.

THE NEWSPAPER REPORTS.

He had been told that he should have consulted the reports in the newspapers. He regretted to say that the newspaper reports were of such a nature, and there was so much partisanship, that he did not think any person could have drawn proper conclusions from what was published in the newspapers. And when they came to consider that there were 100 or close upon 100 witnesses, that the cross-examination of these was extremely long, and that they had to read every bit of the evidence of each before they could come to a thorough conclusion as to what they were really driving at, it would not be fair and reasonable to press the continuance of the debate that day. He was not in a position, like some of the members, to employ clerical assistance, or to employ men to work up the case for him. He had got to fag it up himself, and when they asked him to take a thousand pages of "Gazette" size and go through the whole of that in a few days and come there prepared to refute or to agree with Sir G. Farrar's statements, he said it was impossible. The evidence was prepared for the purpose of putting members in a position to understand the question before they were called upon to vote. They were not in that position, and, therefore, he proposed the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. RAITT seconded the motion, and said he did so for the same reasons advanced by Mr. Loveday. He had followed the evidence as it was led, and he filed up newspaper cuttings, but he was bound to admit that after having received the whole evidence it was absolutely necessary for him to reconsider the whole matter. The Blue-book was placed in his hands also on Wednesday, and since then he had been at it night and day, and he found himself at an extreme disadvantage in endeavouring to combat and refute the arguments put forward by Sir G. Farrar. In his speech Sir George had carefully gone over the whole report, as he (Mr. Raitt) wanted also to do, and to traverse the mover's statement, and to make out a different case altogether. It was absolutely essential that they should have a little more time. The President, when acting in another capacity, had said that the Government had no intention of being rushed in the matter. He put it to that Council, had they any intention of being rushed? Did it not look as if they were being rushed when at three days' notice they were supposed to consider a tome of those dimensions and deliver a verdict thereon.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he sympathised with the hon. members in the almost heroic efforts they had made in grappling with the evidence, and he admired their sacrifice in giving up their Christmas holidays. He sympathised with them because he had gone through the experience himself. He would have been pleased if more time had been given him to get up the evidence, but they were engaged in a very urgent and important matter—(hear, hear)—and he, for his part, was prepared to go on, and he thought the majority of the members were also prepared to go on. He would point out to hon. members that their application for adjournment was somewhat unreasonable in view of what took place three weeks ago, when Sir G. Farrar agreed to postpone the motion of which he gave notice from December 10th until the 28th, after consulting the members of the House. He understood hon. members agreed to the 28th. At any rate when the President put the motion for adjournment to the 28th there was no dissentient voice. At that time they were all well aware of the mass of evidence they had to go through. The evidence, though perhaps not in that

particular form was, nevertheless put into the possession of members a fortnight ago, and he thought if hon. members had properly tackled it they would have had time to master it by that time. He would point out that the resolution of itself, even if carried, had no effect. It would be necessary to introduce legislation to give effect to the resolution; legislation had to be prepared, put before the country, and then it had to be introduced in the House. His hon. friends would have plenty of time before it was introduced to read the evidence carefully, and plenty of opportunity of mastering the speech which the mover of the resolution made in introducing it. The arguments which they were desirous of preparing against the resolution could be offered just as well when the second reading of the Ordinance was prepared. Taking all these things into consideration, he thought it would be the almost unanimous wish of the Council that they should go on with the debate. (Hear, hear.)

4.40. Mr. BOURKE expressed himself in favour of the adjournment. He had understood that all the members had agreed to the motion being taken that day, but he now asked for the adjournment, not as a right, but as an indulgence—he asked for more time in order to more fully digest the evidence than he had been able to do up to now.

4.41. Sir G. FARRAR said he thought the request for an adjournment was hardly fair. He had consulted the members with regard to the postponement of the motion, but if he had not consulted Mr. Loveday he apologised. When he agreed to the original postponement of the motion, he had said it should be understood that no hon. member should object on the 28th December as to the time during which the evidence was in their hands. No one objected at that time. He thought the idea of postponement was unfair, especially in view of the country members having come long distances in order to discuss the matter, and he agreed with the Attorney-General that hon. members would have ample time to get up the report in order to speak on it later on. That matter should be discussed, and they would know exactly where they were.

4.43. Sir P. FITZPATRICK said he also begged to oppose the motion to adjourn the debate, endorsing what had fallen from the Attorney-General and Sir G. Farrar. He would like to correct one or two statements which, if not corrected, might cause misunderstanding. The evidence had been available for more than three days, as suggested by an hon. member. It had been available for a considerably longer period in another form, and circulated to all members. In the second place, one hon. member omitted to say that for two-and-a-half months the evidence had been available, and he would like to know what the biased reports referred to were. He gathered from Mr. Loveday's remarks and Mr. Raitt's that it was considered that anything was biased which was in favour of the views expressed by Sir G. Farrar. Mr. Loveday had said he was not prepared to refute what had been said, and Mr. Raitt wanted to come there to build up a case different to the motion. It was worth noting that the report was re-published, he thought verbatim, from "The Star" newspaper, which was the chief opponent of imported labour.

4.45. Mr. BRINK regretted that some members had had their Christmas holidays spoilt, but, speaking for himself and another member, he had risked his life in wading through floods in order to be present that day.

4.46. Mr. LOVEDAY said that the newspapers criticised evidence while the Commission was sitting. Besides, no one knew how much of the evidence that was reported was official, or how much had been left out. He found the majority of the House against him, and would therefore withdraw the motion.

4.47. Mr. HULL said: I agree with Sir George Farrar when he states that the question contained in the motion is probably one of the most important that will ever be considered by the Council so long as it remains a nominated body. It seems to me that, no matter what the decision of the Council may be, that decision will receive disapproval from one section or other of the community and of South Africa generally. If the Council were to agree to the proposal moved by Sir George Farrar, a very large section, and a very influential section, of the people of South Africa would say, "The Council has sanctioned the introduction of a race of people who may be a curse to South Africa." Future generations may also rise up and disavow us. On the other hand, if we reject the motion, another large and important section will say that we have stopped the progress of South Africa and very nearly ruined it. Though the views of the people are so divergent, it is some little consolation to note that upon this particular question at all events there has been no introduction of race feeling; for once the two white peoples of South Africa, Boers and Britons, can meet on the same platform and discuss an important political and social question with no reference to racial feeling. (Hear, hear.) That is a highly satisfactory condition of affairs, and the pity of it is that it seems that a very important section of the people of this Colony—I refer to the Boers—are not, in my opinion, adequately represented in this country. It is when an important question of this kind is submitted to us for consideration that one feels the enormous responsibility that has been placed on one, and one feels inclined to express the desire that representative government should be called into being almost immediately. It is, however, a question of this kind that will accelerate the granting of responsible government. The question is one of great importance, and for that reason, I hope that every member of this Council will consider it for himself, make up his mind fearlessly and independently, and cast his vote according to the dictates of conscience, so that, no matter what opinions are expressed, one can at all events give one's opponent credit for one thing—honesty and a desire to do his very best for the country. (Hear, hear.) There is one thing only so far as I can judge on which every one in this Council is absolutely agreed. It is that there should be no thought or suggestion of introducing Asiatics to South Africa unless this Council is absolutely assured, on the evidence given before the Labour Commission, that labour can be found in no other way. We all realise—especially those of us who have lived here or intend making South Africa our permanent homes—that South Africa itself possesses a native question which has given a great amount of trouble in past years, and which will continue to give trouble until it is settled in years to come. Therefore I say it is our duty to hesitate a long time before we should be accomplices to the introduction of another factor to the native problem. Now, I would like to say a word or two as to the constitution of the Labour Commission, and also as to the methods of procedure. I may say at once that I don't think the Government is to be congratulated on the personnel of the Commission. I don't wish to be misunderstood, and I don't wish people to go away from here with the idea that anything I may say is understood as a doubt on the honesty or bonâ fides of the members who constituted

the Commission. But I do say this, that in my judgment the Commission was not a good Commission. Remember, it was appointed at a time when the Asiatic question had already reached an acute stage in Johannesburg, and the public in Johannesburg in July last had made up their minds on one side or the other. Therefore it seems to me that it was bad policy on the part of the Government to go to Johannesburg to select members of the Commission or to select men notoriously associated with the mining industry or Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Many are personal friends of mine—men for whom I have the highest respect, but I think it was a great mistake to select the Commission from there. However, I do not wish to press the point unduly. Immediately the names of the Commission were published the public of Johannesburg—who are not very bad judges after all, in some cases—made out that a vast majority of the Commissioners were in favour of the importation of Chinese labour, and a small minority were opposed to it. It is a curious thing that the attitude then taken is the same as when the report came out. Now, I may be asked, whom would you have appointed? I venture to think that if the Government had been sincerely desirous of having an independent and impartial finding, some of the Judges in South Africa—there are plenty of Judges—could have done it, or arrangements could have been made to appoint Judges from England. Now, as regards in regard to the methods adopted by the Commission—I may say I am one of the few members of the Council who have been in the happy position of reading every line of the report. There is a vast amount of valuable information, but I think the Attorney-General will agree with me when I say that the document might have been less bulky without detracting from its value. It contains an enormous amount of irrelevant matter. Now, I would like to say something of the attitude of the Chamber of Mines to the Commission, and the nearest description I can give is that the Chamber was plaintiff in the case. They have a very large interest in the country, and were entitled to have their say in the inquiry. And they did have their say. One would have expected that in the position of plaintiffs they would have come forward when the Commission opened; called their witnesses and submitted their statement. But what did they do? The Commission had been sitting 22 days, I believe, when the Chamber of Mines appeared upon the scene, and in what capacity? The nearest description I can give is that the Chamber seemed to be assessors or advisers to the Labour Commission. They prepared and handed in a document which was practically a commentary on the evidence already adduced. I think it is necessary to refer somewhat fully to this Commission, because I do not think it is right we should lose sight of this fact, that, after all, the reports of the majority and minority are, to say the least of it, the reports of a very strong partisan body. In order to assist members in their endeavours to follow me, I will indicate shortly the lines I propose taking upon the present discussion.

#### THE CASE HE SUBMITTED.

Briefly the case I am going to submit to the Council is this: Firstly, I shall endeavour to show, and I hope I may succeed in showing, that the figures contained in the Majority Report, showing a shortage of labour are grossly exaggerated, are over-stated, and are unreliable. That is the first case I shall endeavour to make out. Secondly, I propose inquiring into the causes which have brought about the existing shortage in native labour, and I shall also endeavour to show that the mining industry are entirely responsible for that shortage. In the next place I shall offer some observations with regard to the proposal to employ white labour. And, fourthly, the last case, I shall hope to make, I shall try to indicate the steps which, in my judgment, ought to have been taken, and which ought still to be taken to remedy the existing unfortunate condition of affairs. I know the task I have set myself is a very difficult one. I do not mean it is difficult to prove the case I have set myself, because I believe my case to be overwhelming, but I feel I hardly possess the capacity to do full justice to it. After the luncheon hour I said to my friend the Attorney-General, that if this were a legal tribunal instead of a Legislative Council, and if the Attorney-General were counsel whom I was instructing, I would wage almost everything I possess in this world that I would make out such an overwhelming case that there would be no other side to the question.

#### THE FIRST IMPORTANT POINT.

Well, the first important point I would like the Council to consider is this: Has it been clearly shown that there are no reasonable prospects of meeting the immediate requirements of the mines in the matter of native labour? I use the expression immediate requirements of the mines advisedly, because I think that every member of this Council will agree with me when I say as soon as you settle the immediate requirements of the mines the whole of the rest of this controversy will disappear. Once, I say, you find a solution to deal with the mining problem, once you can satisfy the immediate requirements of the mines, then the rest of the controversy will disappear. You must remember the whole of this controversy, the whole of this agitation, was started not by the agricultural people, not by the railways, not by the other employers of labour, but by the mines. The mines only are responsible. And, therefore, I repeat, if we can show there are reasonable prospects to satisfy the immediate requirements of the mines, the rest of the case will disappear, and for that reason I propose confining myself more or less to considering the reasonable requirements of the mines. I am very pleased to be able to tell the Council that I will not inflict upon them the vast body of figures that Sir G. Farrar did this morning; but, unfortunately, it is almost impossible to deal with a question of this kind adequately unless one makes some reference to statistics.

#### REQUIREMENTS OF THE MINES.

The majority of the Commissioners state that the mines require for their immediate purposes something like 117,000 kafirs—my friends will correct me if I am wrong in the figures—and the majority of the Commissioners base their estimates upon certain data supplied by the Chamber of Mines. Before taking these points step by step, I do not know if anybody can dispute my assertion that the majority of the Commissioners based their calculations upon the evidence placed before them by the Chamber of Mines. The Chamber of Mines have submitted to the Labour Commission an estimate, and according to that estimate—and I am glad Sir George gives the figures this morning—it



requires 20 natives per stamp to run the mines. Of course I admit that some of the mines can work with an average of 10 boys per stamp, and that others require very much more. But the point I want to make, and want the members to consider, is that the whole of the figures of the Majority Report are based upon the data furnished by the Chamber of Mines. Perhaps it would be just as well before I go any further to indicate to the members of this Council who are not familiar with the functions of the Chamber of Mines as to what that body has done. For many years past the Chamber of Mines have published month by month very elaborate and very carefully prepared and very valuable statistics showing under various headings the number of stamps at work, the number of natives employed, the gold production and all that kind of thing. All this information the Chamber has been compiling and preparing for years past, and I repeat the information has been of a most valuable kind. Well, I have been going into statistics of past years prepared by the Chamber, and in order to ascertain whether or not the figures upon which the majority of the Commissioners based their report are reliable we must consider more figures. I have taken out the statistics of the Chamber of Mines prior to the war, and I have taken out the two big years 1898 and 1899, when the mining industry reached its height. At all events the mining people have always looked back with a great deal of satisfaction upon the efforts which the mines made in those years, and the height which the mines attained in those years. In August, 1899, the mines had at work 6,240 stamps. These figures are from the official returns of the Chamber. During that same month they had employed 96,704 natives; so that it means that in August, 1899, 6,240 stamps were working and were kept at work and produced excellent results by the aid of some 96,000 kafirs. I know that since this unfortunate Chinese agitation has been started the mines have attempted to go back on their pre-war figures. They tried to show, or some of the gentlemen connected with the mines have endeavoured to show, that their figures with regard to the number of natives employed before the war were unreliable, and that as a matter of fact they had not 96,000 boys employed, but something like 111,000 boys. I leave it to the members of this Council whether for a discussion of this kind we will allow the mines to play fast and loose and to juggle their figures. I only draw attention to this point to show how figures have been juggled.

#### PRE-WAR FIGURES.

I want the Council to follow me for a few minutes on these pre-war figures. Those members of the Council who were in this country before the war will recollect that at almost every Chamber of Mines' meeting, and certainly at every general meeting of shareholders on the Witwatersrand, one fact was insistently drilled into the shareholders and the public, and that was that owing to the bad administration by the late Government of the Liquor Law and the Pass Law, from 20 to 30 per cent. of the natives employed on the mines were always rendered inefficient. That is a fact which cannot be disputed. It was stated during the course of the enquiry by the Labour Commission by some of the witnesses that they had this enormous inefficiency in their native supply before the war. It means that before the war they had 96,000 boys, of whom 20 per cent. were always inefficient, working 6,240 stamps. Now, if you work that out you will find that it took on an average about 12 boys, 12·3 I think is the figure, per stamp to run these mines. I have taken the month of August, 1899, because that is the pet month of the Chamber of Mines, but if you work backwards from August, 1899, right along through the whole of that year and the year 1898, you will find that the figures average 12 boys per stamp consistently. There is clear proof to be obtained from the statistics of the Chamber of Mines—and the Chamber of Mines, you must recollect is the body that represents the mining industry in Johannesburg—that the mines worked efficiently and well upon an average of twelve boys per stamp.

Now, sir, I know it will be said that the mines always complained in those days of their being short of labour. That I admit. But here again I would like to refer members of the Council to the mining statistics. My attention was drawn to certain statistics published by the Chamber of Mines in 1890 and 1889. As a rule the mines only published the number of boys employed by them, and for a long period of time they did not publish any estimate or any figure as to what they considered was their shortage of labour. Between May, 1898, and August, 1899, an additional set of very valuable figures was published. These figures show, I may tell you, first in one column the number of natives employed, then in the adjoining column the number of natives short, or the number of natives required. Now, sir, if you add together those two sets of figures—the number of natives employed and the number of natives short—you will find, of course, what the mines considered in those days to be the full complement of the natives required for their purposes. Now, if you work out these same figures—I am not selecting any particular period, I am taking the figures for the whole period—I say if you collect these figures and calculate the natives upon the stamp basis you will find in 1898 the mines considered their average requirements per stamp were 15·2 boys, not 20 or 24, as Mr. Sidney Jennings suggests, and from January to August, 1899, the average was 14·4 boys. These figures are obtained from the mining people themselves, from their official books published year by year. I want to know from my friends who are connected with the Chamber of Mines what explanation they have to give as to why it is that before the war they worked efficiently and well with 12·3 boys per stamp, and why it is that they estimated their requirements to be 14·4 per stamp, and why it is that they tell the Government now that their minimum requirements are 20 boys per stamp. I would like, before I leave this part of the question, to refer to the figures which are given in the Majority Report. In the Majority Report it is stated that in July, 1903, 46,600 natives were employed upon the mines. Now the number of stamps at work during that month, according to the Majority Report, was 3,725. Then, again, you find 46,600 natives working 3,725 stamps. It curiously works out to the number of boys required before the war; that is to say, in July this year it took 12·5 boys to work a stamp, while before the war, as I pointed out, the figure was 12·3 boys. Now, I cannot understand their object in overstating their case. If the Chamber of Mines have the very good case which they say they have, why do they jeopardise it by overstating it? It has been said to me over and over again since the Majority Report has been published, that of course they could do with far less. But I may tell them: "You are either 120,000 kafirs short or you are not. If you are not 120,000 kafirs short, how many are you short, so that I may know

where we are?" I would also refer to the Chamber of Mines' returns for October and November this year, the two months just past. According to the returns of the Chamber for October 31, 1903, there were 63,879 boys at work. I am talking of the Companies who are associated with the Chamber of Mines. On the pre-war basis of 12 boys per stamp there should have been at work 5,323 stamps, that is, assuming they did the same amount of work as before the war. Instead of that there were 4,125 stamps employed. That shows that with the same number of natives as before the war the mines could have worked over one thousand stamps more than they do now. The figures for November work out at about the same ratio. On this same question and the number of boys required, I don't know whether my friend, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, was reported correctly when he addressed a meeting in Johannesburg. According to the newspaper reports he was reported to have said that we don't want a large number of Chinese, we could do with very few. Well, if that is so, I would like to know from him how he proposes to supplement it to make up the deficiency? Because I submit that upon their own evidence they cannot do with less than 117,000 natives. If they want that, how could he go after dinner and say they could do with a few Chinese?

"EXAGGERATION AND OVER-STATEMENT."

But, sir, the exaggeration and over-statement to which I say the gentlemen associated with the mining industry have given themselves, was not confined only to their own requirements, but the Chamber of Mines went out of their way to make estimates to-day for five years hence—for agricultural requirements, railway requirements, dock requirements, and other requirements. I believe an estimate has been made as to the requirements of the shipping companies in East London and Port Elizabeth in five years' time, but not a tittle of evidence was adduced before the Labour Commission showing how they arrived at these estimates, but these figures were, I suppose, taken into consideration by the majority. I mention this to show how generous these people have been to estimate the requirements. There is one more matter to which I would rather not refer, but it is a question upon which I think some explanation is due, and if my information is correct, it goes to show how wildly extravagant these figures of the Majority Commissioners are.

WHAT MR. HULL WAS TOLD.

I was told in Johannesburg—and my information has been confirmed at Pretoria—that in estimating the number of natives required for the agricultural purposes of this Colony, a rather peculiar and interesting thing took place. I was told—if I am wrong my friends who are members of this Commission and of this Council will correct me—that in forming the estimate as to the requirements, a very gigantic figure, something like 110,000, was placed in the Majority Report. I am told that the Minority Commissioners, or some of them, objected to this huge figure on the ground that it was preposterous and altogether too high, but the Majority gentlemen insisted that their figure was the correct figure. This is the story that has been told. Well, the story goes on that at the last moment, after the report had been fair-copied ready for signature, the eleventh of the Majority Commissioners was sent for for the purpose of obtaining his signature. This particular gentleman had not the opportunity of being present when the discussion in regard to these figures went on. When he was asked to sign this report, he said: "I know nothing at all about your mining and railway requirements, nor the requirements at Port Elizabeth; but I do know something about agricultural requirements, or I think I do. Your figure of 110,000 is absurd, and I won't sign the Majority Report unless you alter it." Then they said—so the story goes—"Very well, we will compromise with you; we don't want you to sign the Minority Report or a third report. What do you think is fair?" He said: "Well, knock off 30,000." So 30,000 was knocked off, and the reduced figure was included in the Majority Report.

"A THREE-FOLD POLICY."

There is one thing that struck me very forcibly in reading over this evidence, and that is that right throughout this labour enquiry the Chamber of Mines seemed to be influenced by a three-fold policy. Their one policy was to over-state, to magnify the labour requirements of South Africa; another policy was to minimise the effectiveness of kafir labour for the mines; and the third—and a very important policy—was to belittle the causes which produced the shortage of labour. Well, now, sir, with regard to this last point, the question of the insufficiency of kafir labour. I noticed my friend, Sir George Farrar, this morning also seemed to deny the value of the kafir as a labourer. I do not myself believe he is the best labourer in the world, but I think any fair-minded man who traces the history of South Africa during the last 40 years must honestly admit that the kafir has been an excellent worker considering all the circumstances. (Hear, hear.) Look, sir, 40 or 50 years ago, before there was any notion of any mines being discovered in South Africa. The kafir then was a happy chap, living in his location; he did not know what "labour" was—he didn't want to. Some 30 years ago, the diamond mines were discovered, and what happened. These kafirs, who never knew what work was induced to come out. They did not know one end of a shovel from another. They came out and gradually met the requirements of the diamond mines; but the diamond mines were not the only employers of labour. With the diamond mines there was an enormous railway extension, and public works of all kinds were begun in South Africa. The kafir met all requirements of the times, and it is a curious thing, sir, although these natives and their efficiency have been belittled, that during the last 15 years since the goldfields have been discovered—I suppose then—the number of kafirs would not exceed 50,000 or 60,000, and since the goldfields have been discovered 100,000 have been induced to come and labour. How anyone who remembers these figures can say that the kafir is not an excellent labourer I cannot understand. I venture to say that every diamond, every ounce of gold, every bag of grain in South Africa has been produced by our kafirs.



## THE CAUSES OF THE SHORTAGE.

Well, now, sir, I come to another point of my subject. Admitting to-day the conditions of native labour on the mines are very unsatisfactory, yet I do not think we ought merely to make a statement that the conditions of labour are unsatisfactory without attempting to enquire into the causes of them. Now, sir, I feel convinced that anybody who inquires into the causes that have produced this shortage on the goldfields must come to the conclusion that the mining people, and the mining people alone, are responsible for the lion's share prevailing. I admit, sir, it is impossible for anyone to say that this particular thing or that particular thing caused the shortage. It seems to me, sir, that a number of circumstances—I won't say have conspired—a number of circumstances, I shall submit, for which the mining people are responsible, have happened to create the shortage. I shall consider some of the causes which have produced this shortage. When the war broke out the mines had some 100,000 boys at work. These boys, you must remember, had been brought together not in a week or in a month or in a year, but it had taken the mines 12 or 13 years of hard constant work to get these boys together. The war broke out, and what happened? All the boys had to disappear, to go back to the locations. The mines stopped work, and the result of 12 or 13 years' hard work on the part of the mines disappeared. Of course, the mines were not responsible for the war. I don't blame them for that; but it is important that we should remember what happened at the outbreak of the war. The war lasted 2½ years, and during all that period these kafirs returned to their ways of living. One has to state a bald fact of that kind to realise in what a condition the mines found themselves at the end of the war. Well, what did the mining people do?

## THE REDUCTION OF WAGES.

In the face of this frightful disorganisation, they calmly and deliberately, in Capetown in October, 1900, passed a resolution to reduce the rate of native wages to 30s. per month. The rate which ruled before the war was something like 50s. per month, but they passed this resolution in October, 1900, when they knew they had no boys in the mines, when they knew—or ought to have known—that it took them many years to get their full complement of natives; when they knew—or ought to have known—that it would take a long time to get the full complement back again—yet they adopted the policy of reducing the wages! I know the policy of reducing the wages has been belittled; I know some of the gentlemen associated with the mines still maintain that that policy was a good policy; but, sir, I am not attempting to put before this Council my own individual opinions, I shall show you by reference to the evidence that in the opinion of some of the best judges in South Africa, the best qualified to judge, the policy of reducing the wages has been the source of one of the principal causes of the mischief. (Hear, hear.) Well, sir, the Chamber of Mines will say: "It is perfectly true we reduced the wages, but as long ago as February last we raised our wages up to the pre-war days, and, although we raised the wages, the boys have not come in. Well, sir, in reply to that, if it took the mining people, who are admittedly some of the cleverest men we have in South Africa, if it took them eighteen months to find out that their policy in reducing wages was a wrong and bad policy, it is a matter of proportion to ascertain how long it would take a stupid kafir who believed he was humbugged in the matter of wages, and who believes he was humbugged for eighteen months, to get his mind disabused as to the bona-fides of the wages. On this matter I shall refer the Council by and by to the evidence of witnesses called. Now, sir, the policy of reducing the wages was not the only bad policy the Chamber of Mines adopted.

## THE W.N.L.A.

I wish to refer shortly to the policy which was started after the war, by an offshoot of the Chamber of Mines, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. Before the war it was the practice to recruit boys or to allow boys to come to the mines voluntarily, and to engage those boys. The result was that 10 or 12 years ago certain mines became well known to the boys, who came down and worked 6 or 9 months, and when their contract expired they returned to their homes, and then, after a period of 3 or 6 months, they returned to the mine. A batch of natives would come from a location to a mine, be compounded together, do their work together, and at the end of their contract period return to their homes with their money, and content. This policy had also been belittled: "It has had a bad effect on the boys." He was told by compound managers that the policy of the W.N.L.A. was this: They established a central compound in Johannesburg; every boy who was recruited was brought down and placed in the central compound; from that he was distributed amongst the mines that required him. We will say a batch of boys, 50 or 100, coming from one location; well, they were not allowed to engage to work for a particular company which they knew; they were not even allowed to go in their batch of 50 or 100; they went where they were supplied to—say, five to one company and a dozen to another. What was the result? The compound managers tell me these boys—of course they were distributed, they were sent into compounds—and the result was that 10 boys from the Northern Transvaal were mixed up with 50 or 60 boys from Portuguese East Africa. We all know what these natives are. They have their petty jealousies, which usually lead to fights. I may tell you the boys in the minority were kicked and thumped in the compound; in many cases their chits for money were stolen from them.

Sir E. FITZPATRICK: Stick to the evidence.

Mr. HULL: I wish you would not interrupt me. These boys had their chits stolen, and they returned to their homes discontented. That is another one of the causes which, owing to the bad policy of the Chamber of Mines, brought about the shortage.

## BOYS FROM DELAGOA BAY.

Then, again, there is another minor matter, for which the mining people are not so much to blame as the Government or the military authorities. While the war was still on, some time in 1901, I am told that no proper accommodation or arrangement was made for boys who came from Delagoa Bay. These boys were sent in open kafir trucks. They were exposed to the sun and the

wind, they were buffeted about, and in many cases, I am told, they arrived in a very helpless and terrible condition on the gold fields. These things happened at a time when the mining people should have strained every effort to induce these boys to come back. These things happened then, and although they may be trivial things now, yet they had a very bad effect on the natives then.

#### THE EMISSARY TO CHINA.

There is only one more matter which I want to bring forward. I notice that the commissioner whom the Chamber of Mines sent to China in anticipation of the introduction of Chinese, that he, Mr. Skinner, states in his report in the Chamber of Mines that the Chamber should be very careful, or rather the employers of labour should be very careful how they treated the Chinese labourers; and he makes a number of suggestions as to feeding, housing, and clothing them; and he lays particular stress upon the point that there should be absolute bona fides with these Chinese. When I read that, I thought to myself, if these mining people will only treat our South African natives in exactly the same way as Mr. Skinner suggests the Chinese should be treated, it would go a long way to make the mines more popular than they are at present. (Hear, hear.)

#### THE COUNCIL ADJOURNS.

I intend now to refer to the evidence that was placed before the Labour Commission in connection with the reduction of wages, showing what effect, in the opinion of some of the witnesses, the reduction had on these boys, and also referring to cases of bad treatment in the mines. It will take me some little time—probably some 20 minutes or more—to get through the evidence, and I propose, therefore, that the Council do now adjourn.

5.57. After a brief discussion, the Council agreed to adjourn until 2 o'clock to-morrow (Tuesday), on the understanding that on that occasion a motion would be brought forward to suspend standing orders to allow the Council to sit to-morrow (Tuesday) as long as deemed necessary.

### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29.

#### THE COUNCIL MET AT TWO OF THE CLOCK.

Mr. HULL continued his speech in opposition to the motion proposed by Sir G. Farrar on the previous day. He said he was engaged yesterday in showing the Council that the figures upon which the majority of the Labour Commission based their recommendations were grossly exaggerated and overstated; and he was also engaged in showing to the Council the causes which, in his opinion, militated against the mines having their full complement of native labourers. During the course of his speech he indicated that he was not intending to submit his own individual opinions, but that he relied for his statements, first upon the statistics of the Chamber of Mines, which had been published prior to the war; and, secondly, with regard to the bad treatment of natives, upon certain evidence which had been laid before the Labour Commission, and which was contained in the Blue book. Before referring to the evidence, he wished to refer to an observation which fell from Sir G. Farrar yesterday. He understood the hon. member to say, when he was dealing with the policy of the Chamber of Mines in the matter of the reduction of native wages, that he considered there were two sides to that question, in other words that the question as to whether their policy was right or wrong was open to debate. He would like to remind his hon. friend of a memorable speech which he made on the 31st of March.

Sir G. FARRAR (interrupting) said he thought the hon. member, the eminent lawyer, who was addressing the house, should be absolute correct. What he (Sir George) said was that the reduction of wages was a mistake.

Mr. HULL said the words used were that there were two sides to the question, but if Sir G. Farrar told him that he did not make use of those words he was perfectly satisfied. Still he wanted to remind the hon. member of what he said in his speech on March 31, at the East Rand. He was reported in "The Star" newspaper to have said, "As to the reduction of wages, I have no defence to make." There was an absolutely unqualified statement so far as the reduction of wages was concerned, showing that on that point Sir George Farrar agreed with him (Mr. Hull). Now with regard to the evidence, the first witness he wished to refer to was the Rev. W. Dyke, a missionary who had been 20 years or more in Basutoland, and therefore it was obvious that he ought to be an authority on the question in Basutoland. On page 3 of the evidence Mr. Dyke said: "The natives were paid before the war at different rates. I believe before the formation of your Mining Council, immediately after the war, when they expected that their labour would be more remunerative than it was before, they were surprised to find that they were offered 30s. per month; in other words 1s. per day, because the month was to be reckoned at 30 working days, and this, of course, they did not consider was sufficient inducement to take them away from their country, and the consequence was that few responded. A certain number enlisted, and I know the chiefs undertook to almost order their people to go, as a proof of goodwill. But those who were independent laughed at the idea of going for 1s. per day, especially as Kimberley at the time was paying double that wage. The bad impression thus caused has not been altogether removed. When a native gets an idea into his head it takes a long time to remove it, and the consequence is that there has been ill-feeling brought about, and although the matter has been regulated it has not removed all the bad impressions. Then they complain that although 50s. per month has been offered it is not 50s. a month really, and they consider there is a kind of what I may call sharp practice in the matter." Proceeding, Mr. Hull asked the members of the Council to remember that the point he desired to make was that the effect of the reduction of wages had not yet disappeared from the native mind. With regard to the treatment of the natives, Mr. Dyke said, on page 4, that the natives complained that they went to the Rand and were compelled to work on certain mines against which they were prejudiced, and they

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expressed a desire to have a certain amount of choice in the matter. They also complained that when they were maimed for life no compensation whatever was given to them. Another objection was the general state of health of the natives employed on the Rand, and this question was taken up by the chief himself, who threw it out several times and complained to the Resident Commissioner that his people died on the Rand, and he did not want them to go away if it meant losing their lives. The natives complained of want of attention when they were ill, and said that many became seriously ill through want of attention at the beginning of their illness. On page 5, Mr. Dyke said another serious difference was that the boys were not allowed to choose their own employers, and a grievance was made of the new system of payment adopted. The bad impression caused by these things still existed in a measure amongst the Basutos, and they took a long time to dispel. The better rate of pay and the improvements that had been carried out on the mines would improve the supply from Basutoland. He believed the arrangement under which the natives were not allowed to choose their mines was adopted since the war. The next witness he wished to refer to was the Rev. F. Suter, also a missionary, and coming from the St. Lucia district. On page 23, this witness said the natives returning from the mines did not speak very well of the Rand, but he was certain that if the conditions on the mines were improved a greater number of Zulus could be got to come to the Rand to work, provided the present rate of wages was maintained, as the Zulu would go anywhere for money. The next witness he wished to refer to was Mr. Thomas Maxwell, who was in the employ of the W.N.L.A., and had had a very large experience with compounds on the goldfields prior to the war. On page 34, he said he doubted the wisdom of the policy adopted of taking away a great many recruiters who had been known to the natives for many years, and substituting other recruiters, and other methods, especially as many of the boys had got rich during the war. He did not think sufficient time had been allowed for the improved rate of pay and improved conditions to be thoroughly understood by the natives, and for it to influence the labour supply. In reply to Mr. Goch, on page 35, he emphasised this point. He said it was not a question of the time it would take to spread the news, but the time it would take the native to accept it as reliable. The native would wait proof from some returning brother. Mr. Perry, the manager of the W.N.L.A., informed the Commission that the practice of allowing natives to choose the mines they would go to had been adopted between four and five months. That, said Mr. Hull, showed that up to between four and five months previously the boys were not allowed to contract at their pleasure. They were brought to a central compound and from there distributed to the different mines. Proceeding to quote from the Blue-book, Mr. Hull said Sir Godfrey Lagden, the Commissioner for Native Affairs, was asked whether he had any comments to make regarding the mortality among natives employed on the mines and works from November 1, 1902, to June 30, 1903, and in reply, he said:—

“What I may draw attention to is the apparently very inordinate death-rate amongst those coming from the East Coast; in fact, it is striking. The percentage is 88-934 of the whole mortality. It is one of the things which struck me most forcibly when I came here, the very great mortality amongst the natives on the mines. I had heard of it often in Basutoland; it was a frequent expression. The paramount and other chiefs used to say: ‘We do not like our men to go to Johannesburg, because they go there to die.’ I did not in those days know what it really meant. I know now it meant a very large mortality, and ever since I have been here I have devoted considerable efforts to try and improve the living of the natives on the mines, believing profoundly that the more—within reason and without any idea of pampering the natives—we can make the conditions attractive, in so far as labour can be made attractive, the larger will be the proportion of natives seeking labour at the Witwatersrand.”

Further on, on page 130, Sir Godfrey Lagden said, “supposing the conditions were made as perfect as they could be from a health point of view, he did not think there would be any noticeable difference in the supply of labour in six months. The knowledge that the improved conditions existed would only filter back slowly to the natives in their kraals. Supposing the best impression were carried to them, it would affect the supply.” Replying to Mr. Quinn, in question 1,900, Sir Godfrey Lagden said, when he first came there in the middle of the war, the conditions under which the natives existed on the mines were very bad. In his opinion, in order to make the compounds what they ought to be, the first thing to do was to stop the means of communication of disease by having clean and good floors; and the second thing of the necessity of which he was convinced was to have a useful and suitable variety of food, with vegetables mixed with it. Mr. Mello Breyner, one of the recruiters employed by the W.N.L.A. in Portuguese territory, said, on page 144, that the association consulted him as to how to pay the boys, and as to their distribution in the country. He was never of opinion that the wages of the natives should be reduced, but had maintained that they should be the same as before. And Mr. Breyner's partner, Mr. Wirthl, expressed the opinion that the reduction of wages was a big mistake. The next witness whose evidence he referred to was Colonel Colin Harding, C.M.G., who stated: “As you are aware the popularity of a mine or any other work mainly depends upon the white men who are in charge of the natives employed. The compound overseer or manager should be a kind of father, ready to hear any complaints and personally make himself acquainted with the men under his charge. I have repeatedly heard from boys returning from work complaints against foremen who are in charge of them underground; men who have no knowledge of any Kafir language, and little of English, give an order which is not understood, consequently there are aggravating and silly mistakes on the part of the native in carrying out such an order. Such white men have no dignity, and are not consistent; often at times too familiar, and at others too severe. One native going to his home with complaints and generally dissatisfied will do more harm in the way of discouraging natives from seeking work than 50 who return to their kraals satisfied will do good. Too much care cannot be taken in all work to avoid accidents. Recently on my way to Bulawayo I met more than one native who was returning to his home seriously maimed, and who complained to me that they were unable to walk, and could obtain no food to see them to their homes. These cases, I believe, occur more often in the case of natives working for small sub-contractors than when working in any responsible company; nevertheless, they are liable to cause a lot of harm and are injurious to the employment of voluntary labour. The injury is indirectly felt

by other companies, who realise that it is to their advantage to treat their employees with consideration and fairness." He next quoted from the evidence of Mr. Douglas Fraser, agent for the Labour Association in Basutoland, the points of which were that there were many complaints from the natives who went to the Transvaal mines before the war as to the quality of the food, bad housing, scurvy, sickness, and mortality, indifferent treatment at the hands of ignorant overseers, who did not understand their language or ways, six months' contract, and no settled rate of pay. Mr. Hull laid emphasis on the following part of Mr. Fraser's evidence: "I think there is still room for improvement in food. Hundreds of tons of musty and damaged grain come to the Transvaal, and are quite unfit for horse food or mules, and what becomes of it? Sufficient care is not given to provide sweet and fresh meal. A large quantity supplied to the mines is quite unfit for food." He also quoted from Mr. Fraser's evidence as to the necessity of making the method of payment as simple as possible, and also the answer to a question whether he could prove his allegations regarding musty food, which was: "I cannot prove it to-day, but I am well aware of it; I am well aware that that has been the case in the past." The next quotation was from the evidence of Mr. David Erskine, who was district manager for the Northern Transvaal for the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, who stated, regarding future recruiting, he was of opinion that, owing to the increase of wages and the good treatment received by the natives at the mines, which was becoming generally known throughout the district, a gradual increase in numbers could be expected. He (Mr. Hull) marked the answer to show that, inferentially, Mr. Erskine implied that there must have been bad treatment of the natives in some previous period. Continuing, he quoted Mr. Erskine's evidence which showed that his reason for believing that there would be an increase in the numbers recruited was that the news of the high wages had not yet been properly circulated amongst the natives. If a place had a good name the native would go there. Previous to the war the Rand had a good name and the natives all went there, and even when he recruited at 30s. he did very well because the natives had been there before, and had received good wages, and would not believe they got 30s. until they came and found out for themselves. Mr. Hull next quoted from Mr. Holterhoff's evidence, the purport of which was that in 1896 and 1897 he was recruiting for the mines at Hectorspruit, and that the free recruiters were getting much better results than the Rand Labour Association, that the boys from Portuguese territory looked upon the W.N.L.A. as a "forcing institution," and that if the Portuguese Government allowed the boys to leave at their own free will, with roads free for the boys to travel on, that 6,000 boys per month could be recruited by free recruiters. He proceeded to quote from the evidence of Mr. Courtney Acutt, who had had large experience of natives in Natal and the Transvaal, and who he believed was specially invited by the Labour Commission to give evidence. The quotations were to the effect that natives would be more inclined to go with a free agent than with the agent of the Native Labour Association. Small matters such as period of service, and details like "putting in the pound" as the natives describes it, affected the labour supply as a whole and made mining unpopular as compared with other occupations. They made Johannesburg unpopular. Johannesburg was very popular. It was quite usual during the war for the men to say, "Oh, well, then, we are going back to Johannesburg." He said to the natives "Why do you want to get back to Johannesburg, when you can get £3 here?" They said, "We like Johannesburg: it is fashionable." (Laughter.) To day it was not fashionable. (The Attorney-General: "Hear, hear.") It was not fashionable, because the news of the rise of wages had not got back to them in all the districts. Mr. Hull also quoted an answer by Mr. Acutt regarding the disabilities natives experienced in travelling, and the want of consideration shown them in travelling.

He next referred to Mr. M. S. Erskine's evidence. In March, 1902, he started recruiting throughout the Cape Colony, and after three months he had failed to induce any of the Colonial natives to engage at the 30s. per month wages. At the meetings he held the chiefs and headmen told him plainly they would use all their efforts to persuade their men not to engage for the mines unless the pay was raised to the wage existing before the war. He then went to Mafeking and Bechuanaland, in both of which places he was unsuccessful, the natives making the same complaint as in the Cape Colony. He then proceeded to Krugersdorp and drove through Rustenburg, Pelandrusburg, and Zeerust, up to Nabie's Kraal, which is situated near the Crocodile River. He interviewed the chiefs en route at all the big stads, and without exception they all expressed the greatest surprise at the low rate of pay. In his opinion the chief reason of the poor supply of native labour from the Cape Colony, when first started, was owing to natives only receiving 30s. per month under a six months' contract. Another grievance the natives had, was not being allowed to return to their old mines. Then, further on, Mr. Erskine stated he was aware there had been faults in the compounds, such as filth, bad construction, and bad cooking. Mr. Hull next quoted from Mr. Charles Goodyear's evidence. Mr. Goodyear had 24 years' experience of the native districts of the country and he stated the increase in wages by the Rand mines had not yet been properly realised by the mass of the natives, and they had not yet been attracted back, as he was confident they would be when they got to know from the men now working at the Rand that the rates of 50s. and 60s. were really paid. In his opinion the low rate of wages which prevailed till February prevented natives coming to the Rand. He expected a probable increase over what was the condition before the war. That supply he hoped to get from Khama's Northern Protectorate, about 4,000 boys, who would be all extra boys brought into the field. The evidence of Mr. H. C. Sloley, Resident Commissioner of Basutoland, was next quoted from. He used to hear that the natives complained of the death-rate. He heard that what they might call the Christian section complained of the demoralisation of their sons, and he heard that they complained of harsh treatment and exactions in the way of monthly tax and flogging. He heard that they complained of being robbed on the road. These complaints referred to six or seven years ago. At present they complained that if a man got ill he was not allowed to return until he was so ill that he was not allowed to return alone, and then there was the difficulty of getting a man to travel with him, and he sometimes died on the road. One of the natives said that the meal was not good, and gave them pains in the stomach. Mr. Hull next quoted from the evidence of Mr. W. Clark, from the East Coast, to the effect that the natives considered, when they were brought to the central compound and distributed to the different mines, they had an idea that they were being sold. He next quoted from the evidence of Mr. M. W. Liefeldt, Resident Magistrate at Willowvale, regarding the conditions which induced or deterred natives to come to the Transvaal to

work. He suggested material improvement in railway transport, and more considerate treatment instead of the present overcrowding in open cattle trucks and unnecessary discomfort, and arrangements being made to enable natives to procure food. He also advised strict adherence to promises given on engagement, with granting of permission to a sick man and friend to return home when desired, and higher salary according to distance from home. Continuing, the hon. member said that Mr. Liefeldt rather expanded that answer in question 6022, "I have made it my special duty to inquire along the line, and I find that an improvement has already set in, and that the railway officials have already received instructions not to send natives in open trucks, and not to overcrowd them; so that that, within the last, I may state has been remedied." The hon. member quoted further from Mr. Liefeldt's evidence, showing that the witness considered the effect of the shilling-a-shift wage would be to stop labour entirely. With regard to natives getting so much a shift, "which makes it appear to the natives that they have to work longer than one month for one month's pay," the witness (Mr. Liefeldt) said they were very slow to understand: "these little ways," and they would say, "I have been engaged at so much per mensein, and now I have to work so many days more than a month, and it is not a month in my country." Witness added that the ill-treatment (i.e., "when the natives come back short of the ornaments of their front teeth") referred to treatment at the mine; a native having his tooth knocked out would spread a report which became magnified each time it passed another one's lips, and that one tooth developed by exaggeration into 20 teeth. Mr. Liefeldt added: "Still, that is spread. It is the harm that a thing of that kind does." Witness was then asked: "To any extent?" and replied: "No, I do not think so. There have been cases. The question was whether these things would induce the men, when they return, to induce their friends to go." Witness's interrogation here said: "I do not think the state of things is bad in that direction?" to which the witness (Mr. Liefeldt) replied: "I think the native in spreading these reports does so, more in the shape of comparison. For instance, I may say it is a common saying with them: 'While before the war we expected a certain amount of ill-treatment, since the war, under the King's Government, we expected an improvement, but we did not get it. On the contrary matters have not improved.'"

#### MR. GRANT'S EVIDENCE REFERRED TO.

The next evidence (proceeded the hon. member) was the evidence of Mr. William Grant, who, he took it, was one of the most important witnesses examined before the Labour Commission. Sir Godfrey Lagden referred to Mr. Grant as being in his opinion one of the greatest experts in South Africa upon the native labour question. Mr. Grant was before the war in the employ of the Chamber of Mines, or, rather, the then Native Labour Association. The hon. member quoted largely from Mr. Grant's evidence in chief, and read, *inter alia*, the following: "Surely it was not too much to expect that any intelligent person properly qualified to re-organise the labour supply for the mines, would have had due regard to these separate factors, instead of which they appear to have been completely ignored—(law of supply and demand set aside)—the native side of the question has been similarly treated, and, according to numerous native statements, freedom of contract has been comparatively denied, and attempts have been made to bring him under what can only be described as constructive coercion." Another extract quoted along with other matter from Mr. Grant's evidence in chief was: "Assure just and fair treatment during the period of service, including the payment of an equitable rate of wages, and I feel confident that under these conditions the full requirements of the mining industry can be met from the population of the Transvaal and adjacent territories. The actions and blunders of the past year instead of attracting have distinctly alienated natives, and no proof whatever has been afforded that the number of men required cannot be made available, provided conditions of service are satisfactory, not to the employer only, but also to the employee." Replying to question 8,138, Mr. Grant said: "I address myself to the mines particularly, that being the one leading question concerning the country. If the labour, as far as the mines are concerned, was a settled point, other things would settle themselves. I look upon the mining question as really the nave of the labour wheel. That is my estimate of the position." The hon. member quoted Mr. Grant's replies to questions showing that the witness did not approve of the measures taken to get labour for the mines, both before and after the war, but particularly since the war. Replying to the observation: "We have it in evidence that the increase per month has been something like double what it ever was before the war, in the natives working on the mines." Mr. Grant said: "This is since the raising of the wages. That is since there have been other measures. To come now to the very inception of the organisation of the thing, it is perfectly clear to any man possessing a knowledge of the natives that the principles upon which this organisation was started were clearly in opposition to the fixed prejudices and ideas of the natives. Consequently the whole thing acted, as it became known, as a deterrent to labour, and completely disorganised the labour market, as concerning the mines." Question 8,714 was: "Now, do you mean to say that it is your opinion, Mr. Grant, that if the handling of this question of labour for the mines had been on different lines, we should have been able to have abundant labour?" And Mr. Grant's reply was: "I have no hesitation in saying so, none whatever. I give it to you as my honest conviction. My opinion is this, that the outcome to-day—to put it in clear and concise language—is the absolute result either of ignorance or design. I go so far as that." He (the hon. member) would ask hon. members to read the whole of Mr. Grant's evidence. Before leaving the same he would say that a letter was handed in by Mr. Grant during the course of the enquiry. He (the hon. member) did not wish to base any case on the subject, but he would say this, that there was a certain portion of it which, to his mind, required explanation. The letter purported to be written by Messrs. Eckstein & Co., and was dated Capetown, October, 1900. The Council would remember that in October, 1900, the Chamber of Mines had decided upon the policy of reducing wages to 30s. He merely said that to show that at the same time that this reduction was resolved upon, this letter, which appeared on the face of it to be a circular letter, was issued. It was a curious thing that, although there was a certain amount of hostility displayed towards Mr. Grant when examined, yet the thing was allowed to drop there; and I think the matter should have been carried farther, in the interests of Messrs. Eckstein, the W.N.L.A., and the Chamber of Mines. This particular paragraph referred to in the letter should have been probed to the bottom. He (the hon. member) merely called attention to it, because up to

now there had been no explanation of it. Reference to the letter appeared on page 483, and quoting it, the hon. member read: "The mining groups have all agreed that no form of voluntary labour of any kind is to be recognised. Boys not recruited by the Association, but coming into the country of their own free will, are not to be engaged by any mining company to whom they may apply, as the company will have bound themselves to take their supply of labour from one channel only—the Association. Any voluntary boys must, therefore, if they wish to work on the Witwatersrand, apply to the central compound of the association, and they will then be sent to the mines to which they wish to go, provided that this mine has not its average number, as compared with other mines, otherwise they will be distributed to such mines as have not their full average. Should the boys not wish to go to such mines, they are at liberty to return home, or to seek work in other districts, but they will obtain no employment on the Witwatersrand mines." That was a paragraph which required some explanation. Another reply of Mr. Grant's was: "My opinion is this, that if an agent had proceeded under the sanction of the Government or the Chamber of Mines, to interview the chiefs and acquaint them fully with the condition of things without reference to wages, leaving the wages question to be subsequently dealt with, then I do not hesitate to tell you that months ago every stamp connected with these fields would have been in operation."

#### OTHER EVIDENCE REFERRED TO.

The hon. member, Mr. Hull, also quoted from the evidence of Mr. Samuelson (Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal), on the effect of the bad harvest, the pay of the military, and complaints of the natives, witness saying, "I think one of the most prevalent complaints is the reduction of wages some time since." Witness's evidence as to the complaints of natives regarding treatment on the railways was also quoted by the hon. member, who next gave extracts from the evidence of Mr. Brownlee, R.M. at Butterworth, Cape Colony. There were extracts which he wished to read from the evidence of witnesses, some in the employment of the Chamber of Mines, and a large number absolutely independent. When one read that evidence, one marvelled how it was that the mining people had succeeded in all these years, notwithstanding the bad treatment of the natives, to keep their mine going. He supposed it would be regarded as heresy if he compared the treatment of natives on the Rand with that given to them by De Beers, but he had been told by men who were competent to express opinions on the subject that the natives, and especially the Basutos, preferred going to Kimberley to coming here. He did not think that anyone could accuse him of negrophilist instincts, but he would say this, that if the evidence he had read were collected and published, it would raise such an outcry by Exeter Hall people that he would not be surprised if the British Government had to appoint a Commission to inquire into the treatment of natives. There was another factor to which he would like to refer—one which must have helped considerably in bringing about the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs. He referred to the undue haste which had beset everybody during the last three years. It would be remembered that long before the war was over people anticipated its ending. The mines started long before the natives were there to do the work, and merchants rushed in too. Then the Government was affected by this undue haste, and when they looked back at the last three years they must all admit that they had been in too great a hurry. It would have been better to hasten slowly. In this connection, he would like to refer to a speech of Sir P. Fitzpatrick at the beginning of last year. Sir Percy was at that time president of the Chamber of Mines, and it was the custom at the end of the financial year for the members of the Chamber to meet together. A statement was then delivered, in which the past year's work was reviewed, and an indication given of the mining prospects of the future. This statement or speech was carefully prepared. In February last Sir P. Fitzpatrick, in his speech to the Chamber, said that "it was only right to take stock of the position, and see how much they had progressed. Looking back at the past year, they could admit that their anticipations were rather sanguine. . . . The former prosperity could not be restored like one could switch on the electric light, and courage, time, patience, and strenuous effort were needed to bring them back to the position in which they were during 1899. . . . He could not share the despondency as regarded the African supply—it was clear that the number that were there before the war had not returned to them. . . . He would say that the prospects were better, much better, nor did he share the view that to get back to the 100,000 natives would be a calamity, because it would be a sticking point. . . . The labour question was the real problem, but he thought they would certainly solve it, but not with one magic touch. . . . Many proposals for the introduction of Asiatics had been before the Chamber, but none had been seriously considered or discussed. . . . The resources of Africa had to be exhausted before they looked elsewhere. Some believed that it was not possible to get labour here, but there were others, of whom he was glad to be one, who did not share that conviction. It was his hope and belief that they would obtain even in the near future sufficient to continue the development of the industry and collateral industries, and by the use of a uniform, just, and rational law for natives they would have sufficient unskilled labour to do the work that lay before them." Continuing, Mr. Hull said it was because of the undue haste and mismanagement on the part of the mining people that the Chamber of Mines asked them to take a short cut to prosperity, and they were told that Chinese were going to settle the question. He would say at once that he was no believer in short cuts—it was better to adopt a policy of slow and steady progress. He knew that if a law passed sanctioning the introduction of Chinese a temporary boom would be created, and they all knew that there was always a reaction after every boom—and what then? It was their duty to tackle the question, and if in their undue haste they had built up a superstructure on foundations that would not carry it, let them admit it honestly. He submitted that the question of importing Chinese was a national one—one that concerned the whole of South Africa. He knew that the Press of Johannesburg had proclaimed that the labour authorities should have no voice or say in the matter, and if the question were not so serious one might be amused at this. But they knew the Johannesburg Press, and they knew who their masters were, and he would like to remind them of the attitude of that Press before the war. The Press then was unanimous in invoking and imploring aid and interference from all British Colonies, both in and outside of South Africa. Yet to-day the Press said that the matter must be settled by Johannesburg



only—a matter that was of vital importance to Natal and the Cape Colony. Why was there not some logical consistence? Why did not the Press say, “the Chamber of Mines should settle the question alone?” Now it was said that all Johannesburg was agreed as to the importation of Chinese. If Johannesburg consisted of the mines and Stock Exchange he would have nothing to say, but he submitted that the large portion outside the mines and Stock Exchange—he would not call it the more intelligent Johannesburg—was opposed to the importation of Chinese labour. Then he was authorised by a very well-known gentleman—General Botha—to say that the Boers with whom he (the General) was in touch were unanimously against importing Asiatics. He would now refer to the employment of white labour, and he noted that the majority Commissioners in their report stated that the question of the employment of white labour did not strictly fall in the scope of the reference. He assumed that the Commissioners did not concern themselves very much with the question. They also stated frankly that the experiment of Mr. Creswell at the Village Main Reef was not carried out under test conditions. He would like to say a word to clear up misunderstandings as to the aims and objects of those who were opposed to Chinese labour. It had been represented that the object was to ask the mines to extend the use of white labour so as to supplant kafirs with unfortunate whites. That was an utter misrepresentation of the true facts of the case. What the advocates of white labour wanted, he understood was to ask—with a great deal of justice he thought—that the mines should, if possible, reorganise their departments and extend and encourage the use of white labour, because, by extending the use of that labour, a large number of natives would be released, who could be used in other portions of the mine. The experiments were stated not to pay; but under what conditions was the Village Main Reef trial tried? It was true that Mr. Creswell—who was very ardent about the test—was told by his board of directors that he could go ahead; but at the same time his board and the men under him knew that the consulting engineer was hostile to the experiment, and had practically condemned it in advance. Every experiment implied the possibility of failure, and unless he was loyally supported and had hearty co-operation, how could Mr. Creswell succeed? He was surprised that in all the evidence no single word of appreciation was given by the mines for the benefits they had already received. It was notorious that since the war came to an end the mines had derived great benefits from the change of flag. Mr. Hull referred to the meeting of the shareholders of Goertz and Co., in June of this year, at which the chairman drew attention to increased railway facilities, lower rates, reduction in gelatine charges, &c. Well, he did not propose to occupy the time of the Council very much longer, and he did not propose saying much with regard to the question of the importation of Chinese, those speakers who would follow him on the subject on his side would say all that he intended to say. But there were three things that he insisted upon. He would insist first that, no matter what restrictions might be made upon the importation of Chinese, those restrictions must, and inevitably would break down. He also insisted that if the idea was that by bringing in the Chinaman they would induce the kafir to work they were utterly wrong. Take the case of Natal, and see what happened there after the importation of the Indian. But, on this point, he could use no stronger language than was used by his friend Sir Percy Fitzpatrick at a meeting of the Chamber of Mines. Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, in discussing the question of the importation of Chinese labour under restrictions, said:—

“Realise, gentlemen, the fears of others. They see in the neighbouring Colony of Natal, the white man ousted by the Indian in the lower walks of trade and commerce, in the market gardens and fruit growing, in town property and land, in classes of labour which the white man could do even there, in Government employment, in offices, and on the railways. In a hundred ways they are cutting out some of the most desirable classes of white settlers. Legislation and contract may safeguard against it here, but is it unreasonable for some people to fear that if the Chinaman be as good and as desirable as his advocates say, other classes and individuals in the community will want the same privilege as that extended to the mines, and will ask why should this most desirable class of labour be granted to them as a monopoly? Is it unreasonable for them to fear that the safeguards will gradually be broken down, and that little by little the Chinaman would spread like a blight across the country, encroaching upon every enterprise, as his intelligence and industry would no doubt enable him to do, in which white men and British settlers should find profitable, useful, and honourable occupation? That is some of the case against the yellow man.”

He could only say that he entirely agreed with Sir Percy Fitzpatrick. Then he (the speaker) would again repeat that the question of the introduction of Chinese into this country was a national question. (Hear, hear.) His friend Sir George Farrar had referred to what had taken place at the Bloemfontein Conference, at which representatives of all the South African Colonies were present. It was there decided that definite arrangements should be arrived at with regard to restrictions, before any Asiatic labour was imported. He wanted his friend Sir George Farrar to stand by the terms of the Bloemfontein Conference. It was arranged, he repeated, that before there should be any importation of Asiatics all the Colonies should be consulted; the Colonies were partners to the compact.

Sir G. FARRAR: I must correct my hon. friend. I did not say that.

Mr. HULL said that he understood that the Conference at Bloemfontein was attended by the Prime Minister of Cape Colony, the Prime Minister of Natal, and by representatives of each of the Colonies of South Africa. That combination of gentlemen passed a resolution, in which the principle was clearly laid down that no Asiatic labour should be imported unless it was clearly shown that all the resources of South Africa were insufficient. That was a compact between all the Colonies represented, and it was not competent for the Transvaal, one of the parties to that compact, to pass legislation dealing with the importation of Asiatic labour unless the other Colonies were consulted. He said it was the duty of the Government to confer with the neighbouring Colonies before legislation of that kind was introduced. (Hear, hear.) Now, he had come to the last part of his speech. He knew it would be said that it was all very well to point out the mistakes that had been committed in the past by the mining industry, that it was all very well to point out the causes which have produced the shortage in the labour supply—the fact remained they were

short of labour. What remedy were they going to propose? His reply to that question was the same reply that he would give if anybody asked him to explain the reason of the existence of the shortage of labour. The reason for that shortage was not attributable to one cause or one circumstance, but it was due to a combination of circumstances; and so he would say that if they wanted to get a solution of the difficulties that prevailed they could not say that the solution could be provided by this particular thing or that particular thing or even by the importation of Chinese; but it seemed to him that the true answer was that they would have to adopt a number of remedies. He agreed with Sir Percy Fitzpatrick that the first thing they had to make up their minds about was that they must exercise patience, and that they must use strenuous efforts, and he would say that if the mines had devoted some of the energy and some of the time which they had given to this Asiatic question, to the settlement of our native question, probably our own native question would be a long way on the road to a solution. (Hear, hear.) It was the duty of the mines to set the lead; and the mines and the Government could, by co-operation, he submitted, tackle that South African question of ours. Let the mines make up their minds to tackle this question, and let them co-operate with the Government—let there be loyal co-operation all round. Let them make the conditions of living on the mines more attractive—let them, as Mr. S. Erskine said, treat the natives in the same way as they proposed to treat the Chinese, let the mines disabuse their minds of the bogey of white labour—there was going to be no white labour troubles in South Africa, for the conditions were not favourable—let them do their best to employ white labour, and let there be strenuous efforts all round, and he was sure that the question would be satisfactorily settled. He knew that the policy which he advocated would not be accepted, for the simple reason that it did not spell immediate improvement. Most of the advocates of Chinese labour wanted a boom. But the right policy for South Africa to follow, for them (the Council) to follow was a slow and sure policy. He had been told that he ought to have abandoned the fight long ago. He had been told that to continue the fight was like flogging a dead horse; that the influence of the mines of this country was so enormous that it had even succeeded in getting the sympathies of the highest heads of the Government. He had also been told that long before this question had been put on the paper, members of the Council, or the majority of them, had made up their minds on the question. He did not believe it. He appealed to hon. members individually, that this was a national question, that this was a big question, and that they should make up their minds themselves, and vote according to their conscience. (Applause.)

SIR R. SOLOMON'S SPEECH.

4.30. THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL said: It was quite impossible to exaggerate the importance of the resolution moved by his hon. friend, Sir G. Farrar. He called the attention of the Government to the report of the Labour Commission, which disclosed a serious shortage of labour in the mines and asked the Government to introduce legislation to permit the importation of coloured labourers from beyond South Africa for the purpose of supplementing the unskilled labour in the mines of the Witwatersrand district, under certain restrictions, and, above all, under the strict condition that they should be repatriated on the termination of their indenture. He (the Attorney-General) quite agreed with his hon. friend, Mr. Hull, that the resolution, or the question which was raised by the resolution, was so important that for his (the Attorney-General's) part he would wish that it could be deferred and settled by the representatives of the people of this country. (Hear, hear.) But if it was an important question, it was also a very urgent question; and they had to deal with this question as they had to deal with every important question, to the best of their ability, under the limited Constitution which they enjoyed. As far as he could see the majority of the people of the Transvaal, at all events, were in favour of the resolution; as far as he could see, certainly the great majority of the people living in the Witwatersrand district—which was peculiarly, and more than any other district, affected by the stagnation of the mines—was in favour of the resolution. His attention had not been called to any meetings in the outside districts protesting against the resolution, nor had he seen that any petitions had been made with the signatures of those who were opposed to it. It was the right of every man to petition that Council against any step the Council intended to take. But he had seen petitions numerous signed in favour of the resolution, and he would have thought that if there were so many people in the country against the resolution they would have signified their opinions at all events by means of petitions, which was as simple a proceeding as a Referendum. There had been, he admitted, discussions, and meetings had been called at Johannesburg and in the Cape Colony, and at these meetings resolutions had been passed protesting against the motion of his hon. friend. He (the Attorney-General) was not one of those who took the view that the action of the people in the Cape Colony, in calling meetings, was an interference with the internal affairs of the Transvaal. He agreed with his hon. friend, Mr. Hull, that the importation of Asiatics into South Africa was very largely a South African question. The boundaries of the different Colonies of the country were very artificial, and unless proper precautions were taken, the importation of Asiatics into the Transvaal might seriously inconvenience the other Colonies. It did seem to him that the people of the Cape Colony had as much right to express their opinion upon this important question as the people of England. Sometimes he found a cable saying what the "Globe" thought; and then they were told next morning what "The Times" thought; then what the "Morning Post" thought; then another morning they were told what the "Spectator" thought; and on the next morning they were told that the "Spectator" had recanted. (Hear, hear.) Well he would say that the whole of the people of South Africa had as much right to express their views upon the question as the people of England had. But as long as they did not interfere with the people of Cape Colony, in the measures they took for the improvement of their labour supply, he thought it was a matter that they, in the Transvaal, should decide for themselves. But while he admitted that the people of the Cape Colony had a perfect right to discuss this question, he did take exception rather to the manner in which it had been discussed. He should have thought that, knowing that the prosperity of South Africa depends upon the full working of the mines of the Transvaal, and that the stagnation of the mines causes depression in the trade, not only of this Colony, but in the whole of South Africa, he should have thought that there would be some recognition of these facts at the meetings which have been called in the Cape Colony. He thought perhaps some proposal might have



come from there as to how they could reach the high water mark of progress attained before the war. But the whole question, as far as he could see, had been discussed as if the proposal of Sir George Farrar was the outcome of a conspiracy amongst the capitalists to get rid of white labour and substitute Chinese labour for it. One would think that Sir George Farrar proposed to flood the country with Chinese, to put no restrictions on their coming there, and to give them opportunities of entering every employment in life. Instead of that, the proposal was merely to supplement the unskilled labour of the mines on the Witwatersrand area, and under such restrictions as would be set forth in the Ordinance which would follow the resolution, and which, while not defeating the main object of the Ordinance, would prevent those evils arising which they were told had arisen in other countries where Asiatics had been allowed to come in without any restrictions. He had seen it stated by a responsible speaker at a meeting in Cape Colony that those who supported this proposal, even with restrictions, knew perfectly well that it spelt ruin to South Africa, and that it was only for raising the dividends of the mining companies and the value of the shares.

#### IMPUTING MOTIVES.

It was an extraordinary thing to him that there were so many people in the world who would impute motives to those who could not agree with them. They were so confident of their own opinions and convictions that they could not understand anyone disagreeing with them, and if perchance someone should disagree, the basest of motives was at once attributed to him. He could only speak for himself, and he could truly say that, in considering this question, he had thought nothing whatever of dividends or the value of shares, but he had tried, as far as he possibly could, to consider what was best in the true interests of South Africa.

#### THE CAPITALISTS.

##### PROGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

There were people who, he knew, had capitalists on the brain. He did not for one moment say, and he did not think he had shown it, that he loved them particularly, any more than he did a labour party, but he did sometimes try to think of what capital had done for South Africa. He did not want to go back as far as he could go back, because he was as sensitive about his age as any woman—(laughter)—but he could go back, at all events, 35 years, and when he thought of South Africa as he knew it 35 years ago, and as he knew it to-day, the progress was simply marvellous. Thirty-five years ago the only railway communication in the whole of South Africa was a train from Capetown to Wynberg, and Capetown to Wellington, and the telegraphic communication was not much more extensive. They had to content themselves with one mail steamer a month; there was no cable communication, and the white people in the country were small in numbers and scattered about. South Africa was unknown. No one outside ever thought about it. So unknown was it that he believed in those years, to save expenditure, the War Office had actually arranged that the chaplain stationed at King Williamstown should take the morning service there on a Sunday, and then ride over and take afternoon service in Durban. (Laughter.) So ignorant were the people concerning South Africa that when he went to Cambridge 31 years ago, they would not believe that he came from there because he was not black; and when he attempted to speak in English they said he was a Scotchman. (Laughter.) And he overheard his college servant say to a fellow college servant that the new man on the staircase was one of those Australians from the Cape. In those days one was almost ashamed to be a South African, because one was rather ashamed to belong to a country which was unknown. He was not ashamed to belong to South Africa to-day, and he did not believe that any man who had, he would say, the good fortune to be born in South Africa was ashamed of her to-day. When he compared South Africa of 30 years ago to South Africa of to-day, he said the progress had been simply marvellous.

#### THE CAUSE OF PROGRESS.

To what was that progress due? Was it due to the efforts of the people of the country? Don't let them take credit to themselves for that. It was due to the fact that Providence gave South Africa a great resource in its mineral wealth, and that capital was found to pour into this country from outside for the purpose of exploiting that mineral wealth. That is the reason of the progress of South Africa during the last 30 years; and when he looked forward, not to standing still, but moving forward he had to admit that the progress of the future depended very much upon capital pouring in to further exploit their resources. And when his hon. friend presented to him a case, and said that the industry on which the prosperity of South Africa depended was short of labour, that that labour cannot be procured from the sources of the supply in South Africa or Central Africa, he said to himself that these were statements which he would consider; and if he found they were correct he, for one, would not object to the importation of the necessary labour from outside South Africa; subject only to such restrictions as were necessary to prevent those evils arising from the importation which they said had arisen in other countries where Asiatic labour had been imported without any restrictions whatever. He said to-day what he said publicly on another occasion. It was not very interesting to refer to one's own speeches, especially when one might have to contradict them, but on that occasion, at all events, the speech which he made at the public session of the Inter-Colonial Council was one that he stood by to-day. A discussion took place there with regard to the importation of coloured labour for the purpose of constructing the railways, and he then said that the prosperity of the Colony depended upon the proper and efficient working of the mines, and so far as he could see an adequate supply of labour was absolutely necessary for that. If such a supply was not available in South Africa it must come from elsewhere. That was what he said at the public session of the Inter-Colonial Council, and that was what he stood by to-day.

## A FOOL'S PARADISE.

Sir G. Farrar had referred to certain resolutions which were passed at the Bloemfontein Conference, but before these resolutions were passed, some of them at all events began to think they had been living in a fool's paradise with regard to the supply of native labour. The idea they had that South and Central Africa were teeming with available black men began to disappear. Month after month the mines were making every effort to get labour, and yet they could not reach what he called the high-water mark of progress before the war. They found that every native they engaged for railway construction at once raised a howl from the Chamber of Mines, and they were told that every native they employed was a native taken from the mines. They had to stop railway construction, not only because the necessary native supply was not forthcoming, but also because it was borne in upon them that unless the condition of the mines was healed, so far from laying down rails they would have to take them up. At the Bloemfontein Conference a resolution was passed to which Sir G. Farrar had referred, and the Minority Report dismissed that resolution by saying that the only statistics they had before them in Bloemfontein were those furnished by the Chamber of Mines. If the gentlemen who were assembled at Bloemfontein had before them the evidence which came before the Labour Commission they would no doubt have paid more attention to that evidence than the gentlemen who signed the Minority Report, and they might perhaps have come to a more accurate conclusion; but still it was curious that, on the whole, the resolution came to at Bloemfontein had been borne out completely by the evidence given before the Labour Commission. It was not upon the statistics of the Chamber of Mines that that resolution was passed. There were assembled there the Premiers of Natal and Cape Colony, and men like Sir Godfrey Lagden, Mr Stanford, Mr. Moor, who had been acquainted with native affairs for years past, and had some idea of the native population south of the Zambesi, and the requirements of South Africa in the matter of native labour, and they came to the conclusion, after serious consideration, that there was not sufficient native labour south of the Zambesi to satisfy all the requirements.

## THE BLOEMFONTEIN RESOLUTION AGAIN.

Another resolution was passed at that Conference to which he would like to refer. It ran as follows:—

The Conference is of opinion that the permanent settlement in South Africa of Asiatic races would be injurious and should not be permitted; but if industrial development positively requires it the introduction of unskilled labourers under a system of Government control only, by which provision is made for indenture and repatriation at the termination thereof, should be permissible.

If he had been at the Conference he should have had no hesitation in voting for that resolution, and the condition of things contemplated in the resolution was, as far as they could judge from the evidence arising in this country, and Sir G. Farrar had taken the same view of the matter that the gentlemen assembled from different parts of South Africa at Bloemfontein took, viz.: that when the condition of things required it, although it would be disastrous to allow the permanent settlement of Asiatics, they might be permitted to supply the necessary labour under strict conditions of repatriation. He did not mind confessing that when that resolution was passed he was somewhat indignant, as in his opinion it was premature. He was in Johannesburg at the time, and his friend Sir P. Fitzpatrick would bear him out when he said that he expressed himself as opposed to the importation of Asiatics unless it was proved to his satisfaction that the supply of labour in South Africa was not sufficient; and he also said that the only way to settle the question was by the appointment of a Commission which should thoroughly investigate the matter. The Commission was appointed.

Mr. Hull took exception to the personnel of the Commission; and said that the Government might have appointed Judges of the Supreme Court. Well, much as he would like to have had the opinion of Judges of the Supreme Court, after hearing the evidence, he thought it would have been a most undesirable thing to have those Judges, who we supposed to live in a non-political atmosphere, mix themselves up in semi-political questions. Then Mr. Hull said they might have obtained judges from England. He did not know why for the investigation of important matters affecting that country they should import men from England when they had good men in South Africa. The duty which was entrusted to the Commission was a very delicate and difficult one, and, as far as he could see, they discharged that duty to the best of their ability. They spared no efforts in obtaining information from every part of South Africa, which in every way bore upon matters relevant to their inquiry. Neither Mr. Hull nor himself were obliged to swallow either of the reports, because they had before them valuable information elicited from the witnesses, from which they could draw their own conclusions. He had for himself read the greater part of the evidence put before that Commission, and he could only say that he agreed in the main with the conclusions of the majority upon the principal matters submitted for their consideration.

## THE MINORITY REPORT.

He had also read the report of the two gentlemen who differed from the majority. He admitted that although they were only two, their report was entitled to every consideration, but what struck him when he read that report was that there was such a grave defect in it as to make it absolutely valueless. The minority inquired into the mining, agricultural, and other requirements of the Transvaal, but that was not the important part of the duty entrusted to them. The Commission was appointed to inquire into the requirements of the Transvaal, and what was perhaps more difficult and more important, the supply which might be expected for those requirements from Central and South Africa. Whether they agreed with the Majority Report or not, they must agree that the second part of the enquiry was most carefully gone into by them. The minority, however, took the native population of South Africa at 6,000,000, and of Central Africa at 7,000,000, making a total of 13,000,000; and then they said that from these figures it appeared that there was ample labour for present requirements, whether the proportion of adult males be taken as one in eight, or one in ten, after making ample provision for local demands. It struck him when he read that, that

if that had been the view taken by all the Commissioners, it would have been hardly worth while having a Commission appointed. The Government might have asked all the mines what their requirements were; they might have found out what the requirements of agriculture and other industries were, and then have said that there were 13,000,000 natives in the country, and, taking the proportion of adults as one in eight or one in ten, said there were sufficient labour for all requirements. The fact that the minority had not condescended to give their reasons for coming to the conclusion that there was sufficient labour in South Africa, the fact that they had shut their eyes to the whole of the evidence with regard to the native supply in Central and South Africa, and simply drew a conclusion, such as that stated in section 61 of their report, made that report, in his opinion not worth the paper on which it was written.

#### MR. GRANT'S EVIDENCE.

He should have thought, at all events, that some attention would have been given by these gentlemen to the evidence of Mr. Grant. His hon. friend said that Mr. Grant was a most important witness. He thought he was, and the gentlemen who signed the Minority Report had found fault with the majority of the Commissioners for having dismissed Mr. Grant's evidence in a few words. He thought, to use a simile which was used by Mr. Hull, if he had been counsel for the Chamber of Mines, and that matter had come before a Court of Law, he would have made Mr. Grant the principal witness for the Chamber of Mines. He did not wish to weary the Council by referring to evidence more than he was absolutely obliged to, but he would be obliged to quote evidence to support some of the statements he made. He found that Mr. Grant at first made a general statement that the requirements of the Transvaal could be satisfied from the Transvaal and from the neighbouring States, and then he said in the same statement: "The suggestion to supply the alleged deficiency from Central Africa I view with grave misgivings. The radical change in regard to climate and diet has been referred to by different authorities, and I see nothing to warrant a belief in permanent beneficial results from the introduction of a people alien in habits and language to the South African tribes. Moreover, the principle of engaging men at a distance who are entirely ignorant of local conditions, and below the current rate of wages paid locally, contains no element of satisfaction or permanence. A considerable outlay will be involved in cost of transmission from and to their homes. The mines cannot be directly recouped this expenditure, and will doubtless feel justified in enforcing a low scale of wages." Now Mr. Grant discouraged any importation from Central Africa, and if they looked further into his evidence at what they might call his cross-examination, they would find that he did not anticipate any large supply of labour could be got from Central Africa, and yet he (the Attorney-General) found in the Minority Report that the population was put down at 7,000,000, and the conclusion the gentlemen who signed the Minority Report was that by allowing one adult for every eight of the population there was something like 800,000 or 900,000 in Central Africa available for labour in the Transvaal, and yet Mr. Grant said he did not look for any supply of labour to come from Central Africa. If they read the evidence of Mr. Grant, they would find that he also looked with disfavour, or at all events he gave no encouragement to the mines with regard to labour from Zululand, because, he says, all labour in Zululand would be required for Natal.

He gave no encouragement with regard to the labour from either the Cape Colony or Natal, because all the labour in the Cape Colony and Natal would be required by them for their own purposes. And then Mr. Grant summed up his whole evidence, which so entirely contradicts the statement which he (the Attorney-General) had read that the requirements of the Transvaal could be supplied from the Transvaal and neighbouring colonies, that he must again weary the Council by referring to that evidence. This is what Mr. Grant said when he was examined by Mr. Evans:—

How do you reconcile these statements with the statement you have got in your evidence here, "I feel confident under these conditions the full requirements of the mining industry can be met from the population of the Transvaal and the adjacent territories"?—Yes, of course, I did not exclude Portuguese territory. I included Portuguese territory in that remark, and I call Portuguese territory an adjacent territory to the Transvaal. Do you not agree with me?

Oh, yes, I agree with you, but what do you base this conclusion on? Have you made any estimates of your own?—I have not.

Then how do you arrive at this conclusion?—By my previous experience and contact with natives and the general knowledge I have of the whole subject.

Unless you have some figures I do not quite see how you can draw that conclusion from your previous experience. Your conclusion is that the full requirements of the mining industry could be met from the population of the Transvaal and adjacent territories. Have you any figures as to these requirements?—I know what the requirements are to-day. Part of my evidence to-day I wrote in January last.

It does not say so?—Oh, I think so. I beg your pardon if it does not. I said, after some months of careful observation and thought, in the month of January last I committed my opinion to paper. I need not tell you circumstances have altered very much, and, as all sorts of developments are contemplated, the idea of the increase of labour required is extending every day.

But with the knowledge you have now, are you still of that opinion?—I say that, taking into consideration the whole of the circumstances right through the country, there will be the greatest difficulty; the increased requirements of the Rand—because I look forward to very great developments in all directions, not only as immediately connected with the Rand, but with railway constructions, public works, and so on.

Do you think these requirements could be met?—I should say not, unless there was a material change in the native world throughout the continent.

Now Mr. Grant (continued the Attorney-General), it seemed to him, like the prophet of old, went there to curse and came away blessing. He made a statement, which he committed to paper in January last. He seemed to have a very vague idea of what the requirements of South Africa were. No doubt while he was in Johannesburg as witness for the Commission, and after he had heard the questions put to him, he came to form some idea of what these requirements were, and his final answer was, he did not think these requirements could be met unless there was a material change in the native world throughout the continent. That appeared to him (the Attorney-General) to be exactly the case for the mines. They did not for one moment say that there was not a large

population in Central and South Africa, but they did say that they would not come to work; they said that the whole condition of the native character would have to be changed before the available natives went out to work. Could they carry the case for the mines further than that?

#### AROUND AFRICA.

The majority had, in their report, taken them around Africa. They took them first of all to the Transvaal, and the number of men available in the Transvaal had been given by Sir Godfrey Lagden. They took them to Swaziland, and they were told there was no use looking to Swaziland or Natal, because no recruiting was allowed there. Natal required all the available labour of Natal and Swaziland.

The COMMISSIONER for NATIVE AFFAIRS: And Zululand.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And Zululand. Sir James Hulett, he continued, stated that Natal and Zululand might be able to supply 60,000 or 70,000 natives, and Natal required more than that number. And if they looked at the statistics they would find that during last year there were more natives going into Natal for work than were coming from Natal to work; that was exactly what Sir James Hulett had said—that their own requirements cannot be supplied by the natives they had in Natal and Zululand, and that they had to import natives from other parts of the country. The majority report took them to Basutoland, and they showed them from the evidence of the Rev. Mr. Dyke and from the evidence of Mr. Sloley, the Commissioner there, and from the evidence of Mr. Douglas Fraser, that the mines could not get labour from Basutoland.

#### THE CAPE COLONY.

They took them to the Cape Colony, and it was hardly worth while taking them there, because it must be clear to everyone that the supply of native labour in the Cape Colony had never been equal to the demand. He found that resolutions with regard to native labour had been passed in the House of Assembly from time to time from the year 1874, and some of these resolutions were rather of an amusing character. In 1874 a motion by Mr. Ayliff was agreed to without a division, as follows:—

“That in view of the extension of railway undertaking now authorised, and the consequent demands upon the labour supply of the Colony, the Government be authorised to take such measures as it may deem expedient for obtaining from any part of the world, such labour as will best meet the requirements of the country, and that means be adopted for ascertaining the practicability and cost of the introduction of coolies from India and China; and that this resolution be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor by respectful address.”

He found, in 1876, Mr. Gird moved in the House of Assembly:—

“That in order to meet the urgent wants of the Colony in respect to the supply of labour for agricultural and domestic purposes, the Government be authorised to send a competent agent to China or India, to procure a ship-load of coolies, either Chinese or Indian, under conditions of service for a certain period, to test the suitability of that class of labour for this country.”

There were several amendments moved, and the resolution was passed in the following form:—

“That in order to meet the urgent wants of the Colony, in respect to the supply of labour for agricultural and domestic purposes, the Government be authorised to enter into a contract for the importation of Chinese coolies, not exceeding 1,000, providing that the cost per head does not exceed the sum of £17 sterling, and provided further, that the Government should not act until applications are made for not less than 500 Chinese immigrants under the provisions of the Aided Immigration Regulations.”

And that resolution was passed at a time when the requirements of the Cape Colony could not be anything like what they were to-day. It was passed by a majority of 10, there were 22 who voted in favour of the resolution, and there were 12 who voted against. And then they had a Labour Commission appointed in 1890 to investigate the reasons of the scarcity of labour in the Cape Colony. They had another Commission appointed in 1893, also to investigate the reasons for the scarcity of labour in the Cape Colony, and he thought if he did not make a mistake that both Commissions recommended that natives should be brought from Damaraland and Portuguese East territory, and so forth. There had, in addition, been meetings of the Fruit Growers' Association and Wine Growers' Associations and Horticultural Associations, and he did not know how many other associations, and he found that at one of these associations a resolution was passed for the importation of labour, so wide in its terms that Chinese could be imported, and when the attention of these people were called to the fact they said they had an Agricultural Minister who would look after it. So he did not think that the requirements of the Transvaal could be met to any great extent by recruiting in the Cape Colony or in the Transkei territories, which were portion of the Cape Colony, and from which, according to Mr. Stanford, only about 60,000 or 70,000 would go out to labour, and these were engaged in very important works, which were going on in the Cape Colony itself, such as the harbour works of East London, Port Elizabeth and Capetown, and railway works and so forth. Then the majority take as to other parts of South Africa, to the British West African Colonies, British East Africa, including Uganda, German West Africa, the Congo Free State, and even to Egypt, Madagascar, Southern and Eastern Rhodesia. And the evidence was to the effect that every effort had been made by the Chamber of Mines to get labour from the different States. The evidence was conclusive that in every State the Government stated “We want all the labour we have for ourselves—we will not allow recruiting.” It is true that the Chamber of Mines recruited about a thousand men from British Central Africa, from where, we are told in the Minority Report, we should get 7,000. It is true that a thousand were obtained, which was all they were allowed to take. The whole of the evidence before the Labour Commission is that in other parts of South Africa to which we had looked for labour—other parts that were supposed to be a reservoir of supply for South Africa—every effort had failed to supply that labour. All this evidence, to which I refer hon. members because I do not wish to weary the Council by many quotations, goes to show that it is useless for the mines to look for the labour

they require for the efficient working of the mines from the States of South Africa to which they have hitherto looked for a supply of that labour. The evidence is not only that of the Chamber of Mines, but consists of official documents and correspondence which has passed between the authorities in this country and those in the different States. I wish now to say a few words as to the requirements of the Transvaal as it appears from the report of the two gentlemen who signed the Minority Report. In carefully going through these reports it did strike me that the Majority took the reasonable course; when they wanted to know what were the requirements of the railway they called in experts to give the best evidence on the matter, and when they wanted evidence as to the mines they naturally looked to the Chamber of Mines for information. I don't know on which evidence the Minority Report proceeded. I find in regard to the railways the majority of Commissioners think that 56,000 natives were required, and they came to that conclusion after hearing witnesses who were competent to speak as to those requirements. The Minority put the number down at 20,000—why, I don't know. No reason whatever is given for making it 20,000 instead of, say, 26,000. For agricultural purposes, I find the Majority apportion 80,000 natives, and the Minority 55,000, but I will not discuss that, as I know nothing at all about it. Then I find that the Majority put the requirements of the mines at 197,000 and the Minority 115,000. As to the mines in the Witwatersrand area, the Minority puts the number of natives at 75,000, and the Majority at 143,000. Why this difference? The reports of the statements both of my hon. friend Sir George Farrar and Mr. Hull seem to indicate that the proper way at arriving at the requirements of the mines is by the number of men employed to the stamp. I am afraid that in that matter I can give no expert opinion, but the evidence is put before me, and it is my duty to deal with it. Now, sir, I would say, if I were sitting as judge in this matter, "Considering that the persons responsible for the working of the mines in the Witwatersrand area have gone to great trouble and expense in procuring the greatest experts in mining in the world, I would say that when these experts—whose duty it is to work the mines, not only efficiently but economically—tell me that an average of 20 men are required for every stamp, it would take very strong evidence on the other side to upset their view." Mr. Hull has said that in putting these figures before the Commission the Chamber of Mines had juggled with them. Well, sir, I suppose it is as easy for other people to juggle as well as the Chamber of Mines. There had been a great deal of juggling at Home over a question of interest, and we were told that the figures were used as illustrations. I will point out to my hon. friend—perhaps it may not have struck him—that a charge of jugglery could have been brought against the Chamber of Mines if these statements had been prepared for the purpose of handing to the Commission. But this evidence and these figures were prepared 18 months ago, before the Commission was ever appointed, and formed the basis of distribution of natives between the different mines in the organisation called the Native Labour Association, an organisation which distributes labour over the mines, and which has been distributing according to those figures for the past 18 months. They were compiled at a conference of mining engineers, in order to assist in the distribution of the labour. It seems that this point has been lost sight of. To my mind, it is conclusive that when the Chamber of Mines put these figures before the Commission, they were not juggling with the figures provided for the economic and efficient working of the mines. The Minority Report, or rather the gentlemen who signed it, have absolutely discarded the evidence put before them by the Chamber of Mines, and have come to the conclusion that those figures are absolutely wrong and, though the most experienced experts tell them that twenty men are required to work a stamp, they come to the conclusion that 10 to 12 are sufficient. And they came to that conclusion on the evidence of a gentleman who, I think, was manager to Glynn's Lydenburg, and on the evidence of Mr. Ingle. Sir George Farrar, who is far more competent to deal with this than I am, has pointed out that the conditions of working at Glynn's Lydenburg are entirely different from the conditions which obtain on the mines of the Witwatersrand area, and he has also pointed out that it doesn't follow that because you can work Glynn's with 10 you do not require a far larger number to do work here. The Minority Report goes on to say—it seems a most extraordinary statement—that the Glynn manager's evidence is confirmed by Mr. Ingle's testimony as to Australian mines. When I read that I naturally came to the conclusion that Mr. Ingle was a gentleman who had had large experience in working mines in Australia, and who would be able to compare those conditions with the conditions prevailing here, and would be able to put such figures before the Commission as would enable one to draw some conclusion as to the number of natives required for each stamp here. I turned to Mr. Ingle's evidence with great interest, and found with amazement that he had never been in Australia, and I found that all the figures he gave as to the number of boys per stamp required in Australia were taken from statistics. I suppose the Commission could have done that for themselves. Yet the gentlemen who signed the Minority Report overthrew the whole of the evidence—which was to be the test of our requirements—and went on the evidence of the manager of Glynn's and of Mr. Ingle, who has not been in Australia. I hope he will forgive me if I say that it seems as if he doesn't know much about the mines in the Witwatersrand. Let us refer to Question 3931 and his answer to a question of Mr. Evans: "I have two friends from Rhodesia who could give valuable evidence, but who are afraid to do so on account of what would happen to them if they did. They have told me that in Rhodesia at the mines they were connected with, the labour was tumbling over itself to get employment. I know that there is a feeling amongst men who are in a position to afford most valuable information that if they spoke out what they mean, their reception on the mines afterwards would be the reverse of what they desired, for their employment is their bread and butter." Mr. Tainton suggested that, as an allegation of coercion had been made, the matter should be heard in camera. On resuming the public sitting, the chairman announced that Mr. Ingle had been able to produce one of the two Rhodesian witnesses he had mentioned, and there was a probability of getting the evidence of the other. Mr. Ingle could not at the moment give the names of the persons referred to, who might lose their employment if they spoke out, but if he could supply the names, that witness or any other would be fully protected if they came forward to give evidence. I do not know whether Mr. Ingle can at present give the names, but I do know this. One of the witness's names is Stuart, and his experience of Rhodesia is that he has been there six months, and for three months managed two mines, one of which had to shut down—not for want of native labour, but through want of capital. The mines together only engaged some 300 men. Mr. Stuart was asked if labour was not tumbling over itself and he said, "Nothing of the kind. I

know an agent up there who can't get any labour." Now this, sir, is the evidence on which the gentlemen who signed the Minority Report had come to the conclusion that 10 or 12 natives are sufficient to work a stamp, in the face of the overwhelming evidence of gentlemen whose honour is beyond dispute, whose ability is beyond dispute, whose business it is to work these mines efficiently and economically, and who have told the Commission over and over again that an average of 20 natives per stamp was required. Well, sir, my hon. friend, Mr Hull, gave us some figures yesterday afternoon to support the opinion of the Minority Commissioners with regard to the number of men required to work a stamp. I have said before, other persons can "juggle" with figures. Perhaps when I have dealt with them my hon. friend will say I have "juggled" with them, but I give them as I understand them. One of his arguments was, you have employed 46,000 boys, I think it was, in a certain month this year. They were working 3,725 stamps —

Mr. HULL : That is in the Majority Report.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL : There were 16,000 boys working 3,725 stamps—my hon. friend says 12 boys to the stamp, but will my hon. friend refer to the evidence of Sir Percy Fitzpatrick on this very point, where he said—I think Mr. Quinn was cross-examining—it is question 2,723 : "You are using 10 boys to-day where you were using 15 before the war. Why was not the statement of the immediate requirements based on the efficiency of the present time, instead of 1899?—Answer : For one reason, because it would be wholly incorrect. Take the requirements of the Rand Mines group. They are, as the engineers recommend, actually 2,000 more than they were estimated to be 18 months ago. If you want the estimate revised up to date you could increase the figures given by 2,000." Question 2,724 : "Am I right in saying you manage with 10 boys where you originally had 15?"—"No ; what do you mean by managing with 10 boys per stamp? We are not managing profitably, but going behind in our development and contributing nothing towards the expansion, on which the whole future of the place is based. Leaving all that out, we are going on from day to day with 10 boys per stamp where formerly we were able to do our business much more profitably, and do it all, or nearly all, with 16 boys per stamp." That (continued the Attorney-General) is just it : showing when, according to my hon. friend's figures, they were using 12 boys to a stamp, it was because they could get more, but they were not worked profitably.

5.45. Mr. HULL : That is misquoting involuntarily. I pointed out, upon the Chamber of Mines' statistics, which were in their books compiled before the war, it required, on an average, 12·3 boys for every stamp, and then, incidentally, I referred to the figures which occurred in the Minority Report, and drew attention to the figures for July or August of this year, which were quoted by the Majority Commissioners. In July the number of boys employed was precisely the number employed prior to the war. One thing was perfectly clear—I tried to make it clear—that before the war the mines managed to work on 12 boys per stamp and no more. (A member : "No.")

5.47. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL : I can't say where my friend got his figures from —

Mr. HULL : I didn't juggle with figures.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL : Perhaps you will say I am juggling with figures.

Mr. HULL : You are trying to juggle with your words.

5.48. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL ; No. This, of course, can be dealt with more completely by gentlemen who have been accustomed to figures, whereas I have not been engaged in mining ; but I do come back to this, that on the broad ground, on the evidence, which came before this Commission, I do feel that the Majority were justified in coming to the conclusion that 20 boys to a stamp were required for the Witwatersrand area, and not 10 to 12 as stated by the Minority Commissioners.

#### THE ALLEGATION OF EXAGGERATION.

Now, sir, the gentlemen who signed the Minority Report have also given as their opinion that the figures of the Chamber of Mines have been exaggerated, because they have not taken into account to what extent white labour might supplement the deficiency of native labour, and that no encouragement has been given to the employment of white labour on the mines. Well, sir, that is a matter also which I do not feel competent to deal with, but, after listening to my hon. friend, Sir G. Farrar, yesterday afternoon, I think it is impossible for anyone to come to the conclusion that white labour can be profitably employed as unskilled labour on these mines. There is no doubt whatever, looking at it from a broad point of view, that there is certain labour in South Africa which has always been done by black persons ; it has almost been stigmatised as black men's labour, and somehow or other you never get white labour to do that labour efficiently. We have tried white labour on the railways here, and that white labour, from accounts given to me, has been a failure. My hon. friend asked me whether the Government had corrupted the railway engineers to get them to bring their evidence before the Commission in regard to the failure of white unskilled labour on the railways. Well, I don't think my hon. friend was serious when he asked that question ; but, sir, there is a more important question than that, which I shall deal with presently. I shall have to say something with regard to the evidence of Mr. Wybergh, and painful as it may be to me, I shall have to make some statement in response to the invitation given to me, and given to the Government, yesterday afternoon, by my hon. friend Sir G. Farrar. But before I come to that statement, I would just like to point out this, that when people say that proper encouragement has not been given to the employment of white labour on the mines they have not read the evidence of Mr. Creswell, as set forth in questions 13,471 to 13,492 ; and they have altogether ignored the fact that it was not only Mr. Creswell who was trying the experiment with white labour on the mines, but that a much larger number of labourers than were employed by Mr. Creswell were employed by the Eckstein group of mines, and that every encouragement, so far as possible, was given to make that white labour a success, and the opinion of all the mining engineers engaged on these mines was to the effect that white labour would not be profitably used.

#### MR. WYBERGH'S EVIDENCE.

Now, sir, I find the Minority Commissioners say that Mr. Wybergh has proved conclusively that the requirements of the mines, as given in their evidence, are greatly exaggerated. Well, sir, I criticise Mr. Wybergh in the same manner as I am bound to criticise evidence given by any other



witness, and I do say this, that I find some difficulty in drawing any conclusion whatever from the evidence of Mr. Wybergh as to the requirements of the mines. Mr. Wybergh gives no figures whatever to show what ought to be the requirements of the mines; he gives no figures whatever from his office showing how many boys ought to be used to a stamp; but the whole of Mr. Wybergh's evidence which justified the Minority Commissioners to come to the conclusion that he had satisfactorily shown that the requirements of the mines were exaggerated is contained in one sentence, which is "that you haven't sufficiently tried white labour."

#### MR. WYBERGH'S RESIGNATION.

Now, sir, I come to make, what it is my duty to make, a statement which I would rather have to be made by someone else. My hon. friend, Sir George Farrar, referred the Government to an answer given by Mr. Wybergh in reply to a question put him by Mr. Quinn. Mr. Wybergh was asked whether during the time he held the office of Commissioner of Mines, any political pressure had been brought to bear upon him, and the reply was—I have not the question here, but I think I am right—the reply was to the effect that he regretted to say it, but as the question had been asked of him, he must admit that political pressure had been placed on him. My hon. friend said that that matter ought to be probed to the bottom; but, sir, my complaint is: Why was it not probed to the bottom? (Hear, hear.) If I had been a member of that Commission, I would have probed it to the bottom. I would have used all the skill of cross-examination I possessed to get to the bottom of that question. (Hear, hear.) I would have asked what was meant by political pressure. I would have asked—and insisted upon a reply—who had put that political pressure upon him. It is insinuated in some quarters that that political pressure had been put on Mr. Wybergh by the Government of this country. Sir, I hurl back that insinuation into the teeth of the man who dares to make it. (Hear, hear.) If that political pressure has been put on Mr. Wybergh by any person or company in Johannesburg, let it be declared. (Hear, hear.) I can only say that if political pressure has been brought upon Mr. Wybergh, he has been more unfortunate than I or any of my colleagues. No political pressure, or pressure of any kind whatever, has been brought to bear upon me since I have been in office, and I dare it to be said so; and I say it not only on my behalf, but I can say it also on behalf of every one of my colleagues. But, sir, this statement of Mr. Wybergh's may perhaps be as unfortunate, and may have as little foundation for it, as the statement which also appears in a letter in which Mr. Wybergh tendered his resignation as Commissioner of Mines. In a letter to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Wybergh, in resigning his appointment, gave as his reasons that the Government of this country was under the influence of the financial houses. Sir, I say for myself—and what I say for myself I can say for my colleagues—I am not under the influence of a financial house or of any other man in this world. I have never been under the influence of any man, and I never shall be. Sir, I was astounded myself when I saw those reasons given by Mr. Wybergh when he sent in his resignation, because it did appear to me, as one who has had something to do with Governments, that if Mr. Wybergh had held the view that the Government of this country was under the influence of financial houses he would at all events have taken the opportunity at some time or other to communicate his views to his Excellency the Governor, or to one of his colleagues; and I say emphatically that never at any time that I can remember has Mr. Wybergh ever suggested to me that the Government of this country was under the influence of financial houses; and, sir, I have also to state this, that whether Mr. Wybergh held those views or not, of course I cannot say, but I will say this—and I will say it most emphatically, and with a challenge to contradiction—that these were not the reasons why Mr. Wybergh resigned his appointment. (Hear, hear.) Sir, the opportunity may arise of laying correspondence on the table of this Council, but I do feel it my duty to say now that, as far back as August last, Mr. Wybergh was asked to resign his office, not for any political reasons, but purely for the reasons of the administration of office. (Hear, hear.) In being asked to resign, we may have been quite wrong, and formed a wrong estimate of his ability to administer that office; but at all events those were the reasons why he was asked to resign. No political pressure was ever brought to bear upon him, and when Mr. Wybergh, therefore, gave as his reasons for his resignation that the Government was under the influence of financial houses, it was a matter of astonishment, not only to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, but to myself and the rest of his colleagues, because I say again, most emphatically, that these were not the reasons why Mr. Wybergh resigned his position. (Hear, hear.) Then, sir, it has been insinuated also that Mr. Wybergh was asked to resign his position because of this very question we are discussing to-day—the importation of Chinese labour. Never on any occasion was Mr. Wybergh asked to resign because he, on that question, may have held different views from other members of the Government. The question, when Mr. Wybergh resigned, had not been considered by the Government, and I go further and say this, that Mr. Wybergh knew—and I tell it you—that every official member of this Council is entitled to vote and speak on this question according to the dictates of his conscience. (Applause.) Sir, I trust I have not said more than it was my duty to say. It has been a painful matter, and we could have wished it had not arisen within the walls of this House. We were quite prepared, notwithstanding the insinuations that were made against us, in respect of Mr. Wybergh's resignation—not only in this country, but also in England—we were prepared to bear silently those accusations, knowing that, some day at all events, the truth would come out. But, sir, after the references which were made by my hon. friend, Sir G. Farrar, on this matter in his speech yesterday afternoon—he put it to the Government in such a way that we came to the conclusion we could no longer be silent on this matter. (Hear, hear.) If I have overstepped the mark, if I have said more than my duty called for me to say, I can only apologise for doing so. It has been a painful matter. I have said all I wished to say on it, and I now pass to other points of the debate. But I now move the adjournment of the House.

6.4. This was agreed to, and Standing Orders were suspended.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The Council met at 10.30 of the clock.

SIR G. FARRAR'S MOTION.

THE DEBATE CONTINUED.

10.40. Mr. VAN RENSBURG resumed the debate on Sir G. Farrar's motion with reference to the importation of Asiatic labour. He said the question was of supreme importance, and interested not only everyone in that Colony, but in all the Colonies of South Africa, and almost the whole civilised world. The Commission appointed by the Government to inquire into the labour question had gone very thoroughly into the matter, and he wished to congratulate the majority on the good work they had done in bringing forward such a complete report. The evidence presented to the House by the Commission had been so thoroughly analysed by Sir G. Farrar, Mr. Hull, and the Attorney-General, from both sides of the question, that there was very little for him to say about it. Personally he was satisfied with the conclusions in the Majority Report, and he found himself in full accord with Sir G. Farrar. He wished to add a word, however, with regard to the restrictions which it was proposed to impose on the importation of Chinamen. As the law stood to-day, a Chinaman had the full right to come to this country if he paid the registration fee of £20 or £30; and he (Mr. Van Rensburg) would like to see that done away with. There was a sort of fear on the part of some people that the Chinaman would come here under these proposed restrictions, and earn enough money to enable him, after he was repatriated, to return under the old law by paying the registration fee. He thought, to avoid any possibility of this, Chinamen should not be allowed to come in under the old law. People were under the impression that the mining people wanted to swamp the country with Chinamen, but any man in the Colony ought to be able to see that that was not their intention. If it were so they would not propose the stringent restrictions enumerated by Sir G. Farrar. They did not want to force the Chinaman on everybody, but all they asked was that those who wanted him should be allowed to have him and keep him in compounds, and guarantee his repatriation at the expiration of his term of service. The hon. member, Mr. Hull, had said that he still believed that there was labour enough in the country, and the reason why it was that the natives did not go to the mines was the treatment that they received. In one of his remarks the hon. member had said that the poor nigger was put into open trucks, exposed to the sun and exposed to the wind; but they all knew that the Government had had a lot to do and that the railways had been kept fairly going. He did not know what the hon. member proposed, whether he wanted the boys from Delagoa Bay to travel in first or second-class carriages, but that was a thing that could not be done. The hon. member would remember that when they had plenty of boys there were no railways. They were then exposed to the sun and to the wind, and they had to walk the whole distance; and when they arrived at Johannesburg the great majority of them were in such a condition that the mines could not make use of them until they had been fed for a month or more. You could still see some photographs of these natives sent to Johannesburg to labour on the mines. The hon. member who opposed Sir G. Farrar's motion had not given one instance to prove that the report of the Commission was not right. There might be some small mistakes in figures. (Mr. Hull: "Where is the mistake?") He said there might be a mistake. There were the mining men, the Chamber of Mines, the men who had built the country up, and had developed the country, and to a great extent made it the success it was to-day. Must they not take the word of these men? Did they consider these men as schoolboys who asked for a thing they did not want? They were men not only representing their own money, but also millions from over the sea. It was said that the Commission reported on not only the labour required to-day but the labour that would be required later on. That was quite a wise step. In four or five years' time they would want double and more than double the number of boys they did to-day, and it was their solemn duty to provide what they knew would be required. They must take it into consideration the thousands of people who were coming into the Colony. The country was absolutely short of labour to-day. There was not sufficient to work the mines. It had been said that before the war there were plenty of boys. He had had something to do with surface mining work, and he knew of some cases in which a white man had to overlook only two boys—they could not get more—and the result was that a good many good properties had to be given up. Nor as far as the farming population was concerned was there enough labour. They had a country which could produce everything they wanted; yet they were importing everything. They were importing vegetables in tins and fruit in tins. Was it advisable that they should import all these things, and to allow that capital to go out of the country all through the want of labour? It was said that the question of labour was raised only by the mining industry, and as far as the present proposal for the introduction of Asiatics was concerned he agreed that might be so. He did not know whether the petition to the Volksraad was still in the hands of the Government, but he would like to refer to it, for the first people to grumble about labour were the farming population. During the five or six years he represented Heidelberg he did not attend a single ward meeting but the complaint was made that the people had no labour. So the question of labour had arisen from the farmers. The country had greatly altered during the last 10 or 14 years. About 10 years ago, where a man could do with one boy on his farm to-day he required 10 boys. Many could not do with less than 20 boys. He did not want to speak for himself. He had 30,000 fruit trees on his farm, but he had not one boy too many. So, as far as labour on the farms was concerned, he was convinced that they had not sufficient. The agricultural community and the mines must work together. It was quite clear that the mining people were assisting agriculture as



much as they could, and they had done so before the war. For where did the money come from for the agricultural shows? By working together he was sure that with the mineral wealth of the country, and the soil of the country, they would make the country one of the finest in the world. Having quoted the evidence of Mr. Moorcroft Edwards to show the scarcity of labour on the farms, the speaker said the hon. member, Mr. Raitt, in his arguments, feared that by importing the Chinamen the poor farmer would perhaps be farmed out of his farm by the Chinaman. Only a couple of days ago, when they were dealing with the Gold Law the same hon. member got up and said that the farmer was not entitled to the mineral rights, and that he was entitled to a certain part of the surface rights. The hon. member did not then think of the poor farmer, but now that the poor farmer was strong enough to clinch his own argument the hon. member was sorry for him. (Laughter.) He (the speaker) was convinced that in justice to the people of South Africa every member would use his own discretion—that of course he would do—but they must look at one thing, that their great future depended upon the agricultural development, and upon the mineral wealth of the country. They had men willing to sink money in it, and as far as he was concerned he would always lend them all the assistance he could.

#### SIR GODFREY LAGDEN.

11.10. The COMMISSIONER FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS said he had given full evidence before the Labour Commission, and much that he might say was already in print. He did not propose, therefore to traverse the evidence or to read extracts or to repeat what had been fully urged by the other speakers, but to limit himself to the subjects with which he was familiar, and to give his opinion. He quite agreed with Mr. Hull and others who had spoken that that was one of the most momentous questions that had ever been discussed in that House. The great labour question had the attention of South Africa for a great many years, it had been constantly recurring. All the various States of South Africa had at various times encountered the question, and had taken action at different times of different natures to try and meet the difficulty. They should give the States and Colonies of South Africa credit for having thought out the question before committing themselves. Natal committed itself by importing coolies from India; the Cape Colony committed itself through two Commissions, which recommended the importation of foreign labour; the Transvaal had committed itself by a Commission which had come to a similar conclusion, and was committing itself in its action to day; Rhodesia had already committed itself by legislation. In 1860 Natal had determined it was necessary for them to get Indians; they had come to the conclusion that the native population of 800,000 in Natal and Zululand was insufficient to meet their wants. The Cape Select Committee of 1890 recommended importation from Portuguese territory; and the second Commission of 1893 reported that local labour was inadequate, indicated the necessity of procuring labour outside, and emphasised the necessity of importation in order to bring wages within the reach of farmers; they reported that farming operations were suspended, cultivation curtailed, and, in fact, that farming was practically paralysed. In this year there was a very important Conference in Bloemfontein, and that Conference was unanimously agreed. As the Attorney-General had stated that Conference was composed of leading men in South Africa, and of experts who gave their advice on all expert matters. Their conclusion was that there was a shortage of labour in South Africa, that there was not a sufficient local supply to meet the wants of the dominion and that recourse must now be had to other sources. They went further, and they expressed their opinions as to the conditions under which labour should be imported. In that expression at Bloemfontein of the most powerful body of men that had ever been associated together in that country, they saw the voice of South Africa, not the voice of the Transvaal.

#### SUPPLY BEFORE THE WAR.

Regarding the question of the supply of labour before the war, they had to be guided by men of business who were deeply interested in the matter. They could not reasonably doubt that when they gave their opinion that there was a shortage of labour before the war that that opinion was genuine. They were bound to take it seriously. There was no other body so capable of expressing an opinion as to the shortage as the body of men known as the Chamber of Mines, composed as it was of men of light who were leading the great mining industry of that country. He accepted the opinion of that body that there was a shortage before the war, and they represented that shortage to the Government, and called upon the Government of the Republic of that day to assist them. Further than that he was familiar with the fact that there was a shortage before the war because he was in a position in South Africa, in Basutoland, which enabled him to know it. There were men closely connected with the mining industry in Johannesburg and other places who came to him and asked him to help them in recruiting labour. He met them as he always did, with a desire to help them, and in doing so, of course, he questioned them. His memory did not fail him when he said that every man who came to him at that time represented the shortage that existed and the difficulty there was in getting labour. It was within his knowledge, it came from the highest sources in the country, that there was a shortage of labour at that time, and if there was a deficiency at that time, how much more must there be a deficiency when the demands were so much greater? When he came to the Transvaal to assume his duties it was his duty on arrival to find out as much as he could of the history of the labour question before the war, and one of the first things he endeavoured to find out was the system of recruiting labour at that time. He came to the conclusion, as he came to the conclusion to-day, that the efforts then made were beset with difficulties and were spasmodic. The Chamber of Mines in fact, all the mines, made great efforts of a spasmodic nature it was true, to get labour from Portuguese West and East Africa, the Congo Free State, the Cameroons, and from all parts of South Africa. The plan adopted was that of individual touting. That system he had always held was a bad one. Irresponsible men went into the country; they were paid so much for every man they produced; there was great competition, and great conflict, and it nearly always resulted in these irresponsible touts making pledges and promises to the natives that they could not fulfil, and which they did not fulfil. He knew that because, time after time, of the thousands who went from Basutoland, many came to

him and said that they had been misled and humbugged. The system, which he thought was unwholesome, led to a great many evils, one of which was desertion. There was no system of organisation through the mines, there was no system of distribution, and the consequence was that when one tout delivered boys to the mines, other touts would induce them to go to another mine. It was a bad system; it led to crime and complications, and he did not think it helped the labour question. Now, since the war there had been a great change in that respect. It was true that there were some people who urged that an organisation recruiting for a great number of mines is a bad thing. (Mr. Loveday: "Hear, hear.") As he said, there were two sides to the question, and putting one opposite the other, he had no doubt in his mind that the organisation was the best. He had always been an opponent of the touting system. (Hear, hear.) It had been urged by some speakers and by persons outside that House that bona fide efforts had not been made to recruit native labourers since the war. They had positive evidence that during the two years since the war 157,478 natives had been recruited by one organisation, that was the Native Labour Association. He did not think they could have better evidence of the intention to recruit. It was true that they were not all on the mines to-day, because they come and go, but these numbers were a striking feature. The Native Labour Association had received the approval of the Government, and so far as it could be given the help of the Government, which he hoped would be continued. The Association had their agents all through the Transvaal, and they had received such help and encouragement as it was possible to give from the officers of his department, and if their efforts to recruit labour was not *bona fide* he would have known it. The efforts to recruit in the Transvaal by these agents of the Native Labour Association had, to the best of his belief, been genuine.

#### PRE-WAR FIGURES.

Before the war there was estimated to be at work on the mines 96,000 native labourers, and in addition to that number it was conjectured that there were 40,000 engaged in other industries and in domestic service scattered about the Witwatersrand. To-day, the number on the mines was 70,000 instead of 96,000, actually at work, but there were on the Witwatersrand, he was in a position to state positively, as many labourers as there were before the war. They were not on the mines, but there were in the area of the Witwatersrand precisely the same number of natives as before the war, and it was an increasing quantity. He wished to allude to certain points in Mr. Hull's speech regarding the number of natives at work before the war. He (Sir Godfrey Lagden) went to the office of the Commissioner of Mines, and from the records there he found that 96,000 were actually at work in October for the period just prior to the war. Pursuing his enquiries further, he was given to understand that that 96,000 was made up of men who were actually told off on a certain day of a given month, and did not include those who were not at work—firstly, in consequence of drink, and secondly in consequence of what was called "shacking." That was to say, it was the custom in those days for boys to get drunk or a fit of laziness and go to the compound overseer and say, "We do not want to work," and it was the habit then to allow them to sit with their backs against the wall all day. The Master and Servants Act was not applied, and the boys were set aside, and they were not, he understood, included in the 96,000 boys taken on that date. Mr. Hull referred to 25 per cent. being always incapacitated on account of liquor and the pass legislation. (Mr. Hull: "Twenty per cent.") Enquiries he made on the subject at the time led to the information that from Saturday to Monday no less than 25 per cent. were actually out of work through drink; for the rest of the week he did not know what the percentage was. Mr. Hull and Mr. Raitt had urged a great many reasons, principally upon the evidence of Mr. Grant, as to the cause of the shortage since the war. He had very little personal knowledge of Mr. Grant, but when the Labour Commission called him to give evidence, they asked him a pointed question—and he did not know the reason—about Mr. Grant. He recorded his opinion that he considered Mr. Grant was by his experience and travels in South Africa one of the most competent in the matter of native laws and customs in South Africa, but he said he knew nothing about his competence to give an opinion on economic questions. And although he had stated that about him he was in no way responsible for the opinions he had given. His hon. friends, in urging the reasons which operated in the matter of shortage since the war, referred principally to the reduction of wages, distribution, bad state of travelling, and general treatment. These charges were all quite correct. (Mr. Hull: "Hear, hear.") They existed before the war, they existed immediately after the war, they had been readily acknowledged, and they had been in many respects remedied. A great deal of the evidence quoted by Mr. Hull had been corrected by other witnesses, whose evidence had not been quoted. A point on which Mr. Hull relied was the reduction of wages. Now, he remembered the matter coming up long before the war was over, and when he arrived there he inquired what the rate was. It was fixed by army orders, and the Republican Government, before leaving Pretoria, found it necessary to issue a proclamation that no person should be allowed to give more than a certain wage to natives. This came under review when Lord Roberts arrived, and it was found necessary to have an order limiting the wage to 30s. Then the mines were allowed to be opened up one by one during the later part of the war, and all the natives were paid at the rate fixed by the military authorities, and as they were able to get a certain sufficiency it would have been unreasonable to elevate the rate of wages without any accountable reason. The question was discussed all through Africa as to whether the rate that had been paid by the military was not more suitable than that paid by irresponsible people, and it was urged that whatever rich people might be able to pay, it was certain that the farmers could never compete with the higher rate. It was argued that if it was possible to maintain a useful standard such as the farmers could pay, it would be a wise course to follow, and he believed that the people who held that view were wise in their generation. But he was sorry to say that the rate went up and up until it had reached a level which he thought the farmers could not pay. (Hear, hear.) In February last the wages were raised, and at the time some thought that this would have the effect of bringing labour forward. But very little difference in the supply was seen from month to month after the rise in the rate. He thought that the question had been rather laboured, and it was time that the spectre of

it should be laid. There was no native who did not know the prevailing rate of wages, and who had known it for a long time. As to distribution of the natives, if one had an organisation there must be a form of distribution, and even before the war the matter had given rise to heart-burning. He had had hundreds of natives before him who complained that they wanted to go back to certain mines but had not been allowed, and had deserted—that was one of the evils of touting. As to the question of compound overseers, Mr. Hull was perfectly correct. It had been their object to do their best to see that the men were of good character, if only on paper. Since they started the system, many men had been thrown out. Then there were the questions of health, housing and so forth. These had all been bad before the war and when peace had ensued, and it could not be expected that the old order of things could be changed in a day. Steps were quickly taken to bring about changes. He himself had approached the Chamber of Mines and the leading companies in Johannesburg and done his best to associate himself with managers and compound officers, with a view to making the conditions of life as good as possible for the natives they wanted for labourers. It was realised that it was necessary to do something, and they were determined to do it, and he had no hesitation in saying that in the comparatively short space of time that had elapsed since the war, a great deal had been done to bring about material changes, though he did not deny that there were yet things undone which had to be remedied. There had been a spirit amongst the great employers of labour to meet his department as to the bringing about of changes which were reasonable, right and proper for the natives. Things had been bad in regard to food, and it had been a common occurrence to buy up the worse truck and chuck it on the mines for the natives. He believed that these days had gone, and if bad food was supplied, he was sure that the man supplying it would be immediately dismissed. Housing had also improved, but it had always been bad, and people had thought that the ground was fit for the native to lie on; he thought things were changing in that respect, though South Africa changed slowly. Still, he thought that Johannesburg, in the matter of compounds and the housing of natives, had changed quicker than any other part of South Africa. The death-rate, compared with Kimberley, was not extraordinary. As to the sickness of natives, it was impossible to bring about new conditions in a day. A commission had inquired into the causes of the high death-rate, and had suggested changes and remedies. These changes were mostly effected, and the remedies, so far as was possible, had been carried out, and what had not yet been done was going to be done. There were more hospitals and native attendants, medicines and appliances, and they desired to look at the question in a fair and open spirit. Mr. Raitt had referred to the Cape natives disliking to come here to labour, and had spoken of Mr. Brownlee's mission here. He was himself responsible for that mission. There had been reports that natives feared to come here for certain reasons, and he had communicated with the Prime Minister of Cape Colony with a view to a deputation coming here to the mines over which they were to be conducted, so that facilities could be given them for finding where the ill-treatment took place. The commission, therefore, came and went as it wished, and Mr. Brownlee said: "Generally speaking, the conditions of the natives on the mines on the Witwatersrand are good." Then, as to sickness, the native generally lay quiet till he was very bad; then he got a panic and wanted to go home. The doctors would say, "We can't let you go," and the native would get up in the middle of the night and go to the station. There he might get someone to pay his fare, and might later be found dying on the railway—it was one of the native traditions that if he was to die he should die at home. They were, however, doing their best to arrange that such natives should be allowed to go at an early date, in company with one of their fellows. Mr. Raitt had alluded to the ill-treatment of natives coming from the Cape. He had tried to run down the case of a single native who would come forward and say he had been ill-treated, and had been six months at it without success. Then the rate of wages at the Cape centres of industry were so absurdly high that it was not likely that the Cape natives would be attracted to the mines, even after the rise of wages. There was another detriment—that the Cape natives had privileges which they could not enjoy here. One was the franchise, and a native who held the franchise was allowed to go freely and get liquor to his heart's content. They liked their liquor and the freedom to get it. He thought that this was one of the reasons that prevented Cape natives from coming here. It must be remembered that there were inspecting officers to whom natives with grievances could go, and there was a special magistrate, whose duty it was to hear cases in which natives were concerned. That the natives could have no compensation in case of accident was another deterrent. Six months ago communications had passed between himself and the mines, and he represented that it was a question that should be considered. The matter had been worked up, and if it had not been for his absence on the commission it would have already been announced that the mines had voluntarily decided to award compensation to natives—£35 in case of death, and £17 10s. in case of injury. This had been done of the mines' own accord, and they must all realise that it was a right, just and proper thing. As to Mr. Grant's remarks on the W.N.L.A., some years ago Mr. Grant was going to start an organisation that was to be in the form of a monopoly. He (the speaker) recognised that it was a desirable thing and promised to help Mr. Grant. He believed that the organisation disappeared. He wondered why Mr. Grant, who thought that that institution was desirable, should think that the W.N.L.A. was not desirable. Some hon. members had seemed to imply that it was a matter of reproach that the Government should not have assisted the labour organisations, the mining industry, or organisations of labour or employers of labour of any sort, in getting labour; but if it was a matter of reproach, and the Government was to take the blame, he would be glad to take his full share of the blame, for he did not think the Government could be better employed than in facilitating the employment of labour. It had been urged in the evidence read yesterday that one of the great deterrents, after the war, to natives coming, was that the Government took no action to let the natives know the position of affairs. Correcting this statement, the hon. member detailed the steps he took at that time to let the natives know; indeed, he addressed a letter (which was not read yesterday, at the same time by his hon. friend) to every Government in South Africa, requesting that the natives in the various territories should be informed of the position of affairs. He wrote that letter a year ago—long before the Labour Commission was dreamt of.

## EXETER HALL.

Then the hon. member, Mr. Hull, appealed last night to Exeter Hall, and he presumed in doing so, that the hon. member would stand by the judgment of Exeter Hall.

12.0. Mr. HULL: No, no, sir. I object to this.

The COMMISSIONER of NATIVE AFFAIRS: Well, sir, the hon. member, Mr. Hull, went on to suggest a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of—

Mr. HULL: I must object. I said if Exeter Hall were aware of the evidence laid before the Commission, I would not be a bit surprised if they induced the Government to appoint a Royal Commission.

12.2. The COMMISSIONER of NATIVE AFFAIRS: I think that is an appeal to Exeter Hall (Laughter.) The hon. member had suggested a Royal Commission. Well, he (the Commissioner of Native Affairs) would welcome such a Royal Commission, because he thought if such were to read the evidence through and proceed to the mines on the Witwatersrand they would come to the conclusion that the conditions of the natives on the Witwatersrand were as good as, if not better, than the conditions of the white miners in Cumberland and Durham. (Applause.) Whatever the conditions of the natives had been in the past—and he would admit things were then bad—yet things were now much better.

## THE LABOUR COMMISSION.

The Labour Commission was appointed at a time when the shortage of labour was gravely serious, and the situation alarming, and he thought they (the Council) ought to acknowledge that the Commissioner's report displayed a most searching inquiry, that it was well constructed, and that it traced very clearly the whole of the labour question. The conclusions in that report confirmed the resolutions passed at the Bloemfontein Conference. He believed sincerely that both reports were drawn up by men who had, and who have, the best interests of the country at heart. As to the labour required for the mining industry, it was a technical matter for experts, but he was prepared to accept the facts and opinions of responsible people like the Chamber of Mines and others competent to give opinions on it. He himself did not believe that the mining industry, and other employers of labour, were going to satisfy themselves as men of business by employing one single man more, or seeking one man more than they were absolutely obliged to. On the subject of supply he saw in the report a wrong interpretation was placed upon an estimate he gave as to the one in ten of the population. He would read his own note of his evidence on this matter:—

"If you take any native population you may divide it by five to reduce it to adult men. Then if you allow for old men—for those who have to remain for tribal or kraal affairs and home agriculture—you reduce it still further. Then you must allow for the older and younger men who could not get far away, who work at farms and in other local ventures. Finally, if you wanted to arrive at the men of ages between 18 and 40, which are the ages approximately when men go away long distances to work, you may divide the whole population by 10. Thus, if there were in the Transvaal 800,000 people, and you divide that number by 10, you would get 80,000, and as the general period of labour does not exceed six months, there could be 40,000 at work during each half of the 12 months. But these would not all be available for the great mining industries of the Witwatersrand, because they are largely distributed over the country in domestic service, farm work, and general industries. In fact, they go where they are attracted, along the line of least resistance. In Rhodesia, which is another type, they have not learned to go out to work, because they have not yet reached the human standard which have wants to gratify, and therefore are only driven out by hunger. In arriving at figures, I am confirmed by the results to be found in German statistics, which show that the population has to be divided by 10 to give the number of able-bodied men fit to serve as soldiers in the field."

Proceeding, the hon. member said there was no territory in South Africa that had not complained and was not complaining of want of labour and the high wages. Many industries were shut down; others were paralysed. The natives themselves had, in the opinion of those best able to judge, done and were doing a great deal of work. (Hear, hear.)

## THE NATIVES' ATTITUDE.

The demand for labour had increased wonderfully in many directions; the native had been very much sought after; an indifference had been developed in the native amounting almost to insolence, which he much regretted, though this was common not to the Transvaal only, but also to South Africa. However, when they remembered how the native had been approached by civilised men, begging him and imploring him to come out and work for them, they could not altogether be surprised at the characteristics recently developed by the natives, who had thus felt the force of his position and acted up to it. It was only human nature. It had been urged that one way of getting a larger supply of labour would be to break up locations and enforce the Squatters' Law.

## "SUMMARY ACTION."

Summary action of this description, however, was such that he thought South Africa would hesitate to take. (Hear, hear.) He could not do better than read the short extract of the Majority Report in this respect:—

To weaken or destroy the existing bases of native society clearly involves social consequences of the gravest and most far-reaching character. It may be said generally, that in our opinion such changes should not be considered from the standpoint of their effect on the labour supply. The existing relationships between the white and black races are more important than a full supply of African labour for local industries, and modifications of these relations, the effect of which will probably be felt for generations, should be fully

considered from these wider points of view before adoption. . . . Legislation of this character would no doubt have a far-reaching effect ultimately, but in order to be effective it should be generally applied throughout South Africa, and even when so applied its results upon the labour supply in the country would only become apparent after a considerable lapse of time.

These were very powerful words. He endorsed every word. Other solutions were proposed, and amongst them was always trotted out that of "force." Again, he would read a short extract that conveyed in admirable words an answer :—

The proposal to apply force appears to have been dictated by the conviction that in order to obtain an immediate result no other agency would be effective. The testimony of many witnesses under this head indicates that they were in favour of measures which would compel the native to work either by requiring from him a certain measure of labour annually or by such drastic change in his condition as would have the same effect. The Commission is of opinion that suggestions of this nature are of no practical value. Not only are they opposed to the views of the majority, but the consequences of compulsory labour prejudicially affect employer and employed alike and create social problems of the utmost magnitude.

No words could express the answer better. He only wished to add to these words that legislation which might end in the violent disturbance of existing native conditions in South Africa might, if it was hastily and ill-advisedly conceived, have that effect which throughout the history of South Africa all its wisest men had endeavoured to avoid, namely to give the natives common cause for combination against us. He sincerely hoped that no heroic measures would ever induce South Africa, or this country at any rate, to imperil the peace of this country in such a way.

#### THE EFFECT OF IMPORTED LABOUR.

After paying a tribute to the work (properly controlled) of the natives, the hon. member said he should be the last person to concur in any suggestion of importation if he thought that by so doing they were doing wrong to the natives of this country or doing anything to impoverish them; but he had come to the conclusion that the supply of native labour in South Africa was not equal to the demand, and that they were not likely to impoverish the South African natives by getting it from other sources. If so be the time came that the South African native realised the value of his labour to himself, and enter into the general economy of the whole dominion, and gave his labour freely, the need of importation would have passed.

#### THE CENTRAL AFRICA EXPERIMENT.

The hon. member then dealt with the experiment of the natives from Central Africa (Nyassa), this batch being allowed to come after many months' vexatious correspondence; 188 out of 300 natives were taken ill at an unseasonable period, but everything was done for the boys, and they came very well out of the epidemic of illness. However, these boys did not appreciate the kindness shown them, and they subsequently struck work. They had been duly and legally contracted for in Central Africa, and there was no flaw in the whole case. They were obstructive, insolent, and generally misbehaved themselves, there was a sort of rebellion, and he had no alternative but to put the case into the hands of the resident magistrate, with the result that some 88 of the boys were convicted and sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment. At the end of the third day of their imprisonment he ascertained that the culprits were in a penitent frame of mind, and he obtained a remission of their sentence at the hands of the Lieut. Governor. The men were released, and were sent back to the mine, where they conversed with their fellows who had remained above ground all the time; and the result was that the next morning they all went down to work, and since then they had done all the work required of them. He mentioned that as one instance of the experiment from Central Africa.

Reports had lately been circulated through the Press by mine managers to the effect that the Central African boys were a failure. The mine manager had a perfect right to say that he had his shareholders to consider, and that he could not produce adequate profits with that class of labour, but he (Sir Godfrey) was sorry it had happened. Whilst agreeing that the managers had a right to say this if they found the natives a failure, he did not agree that natives from any particular part of Africa could not be made to work in any other part. If their conditions of life were properly studied and patience was used these men from Central Africa would be as tractable and amenable to work on the mines as the natives of South Africa. It would take time, and it might be a costly experiment, and they had no right to expect that one mine should bear the entire cost, and perhaps disorganise its entire working while the experiment was going on. (Hear, hear.)

#### THE INTRODUCTION OF FOREIGN LABOUR.

With regard to the principle of the introduction of foreign labour to this country, he went with those who expressed their regret that it should be necessary at all. The idea of importing Asiatic labour, and, still more, the idea of allowing Asiatics to settle in the Colony, was repulsive to him, and to everybody in that House, and everybody in South Africa—(hear, hear)—but in saying that they must remember that they had got to face the fact that there was a very great vacuum, which could not be supplied from sources at their disposal. The policy indicated by the mover of the resolution was that they should gain by the experience of other countries, and avoid the pitfalls into which they had fallen, by not allowing this imported labour to run riot in the country, but that the spirit of the legislation under which they were introduced should be the marking down of every man who came by indenture, and his repatriation at the expiration of his indenture. If rigid legislation of that nature were enacted, and if that legislation were carried out, there was nothing unreasonable in the proposal. If the country was united in its resolve to import Asiatic labour, and if the country, in union with the Government, was united in its determination to import the labour under restrictive laws, which admitted of

indenture and repatriation, there was nothing to stand between the resolve of the people of the country and the Government in that determination. He had only to say that he believed in the urgency of the matter now before the House, and he held the conviction that the circumstances and the interests of the country justified the motion proposed by Sir G. Farrar. He supported that motion, and intended to vote for it. (Hear, hear.)

#### MR. HOSKEN SUPPORTS.

12.30. Mr. Hosken said, in common with the previous speakers, he recognised the importance and gravity of the question they were considering, and he thought the Government were to be congratulated on having so promptly recognised the urgency of the question, and appointed the Labour Commission, the report presented by which body was a monumental document, not by reason of its bulk—(laughter)—but because of its importance. He was convinced that it would be historical. The examination of the labour question set forth in it, as affecting not only the Transvaal, but South Africa, was so comprehensive, so complete, and so far reaching that it would long remain a record on that great question. And he was all the more ready to acknowledge this fact, because the finding of the Commission was in accordance with his own experience. Although he was not in the proud and happy position of having been born in South Africa, a distinction which some members of the House could lay claim to, he was amongst those who had spent the greater portion of their lives, and practically the whole working portion of their lives, in that country. For 30 years he had been resident in South Africa, and during that period he had come into personal contact with the labour question as an employer of labour.

#### ALWAYS BEEN A SHORTAGE.

From his very earliest experiences, there had always been a shortage in the native labour supply. During the many years he resided in Natal they there experienced the same difficulty. The sugar industry there, which was one of the first and largest industries to be centralised and established, soon became face to face with the shortage, and arrangements were made far back to meet that difficulty, and, despite many expedients, amongst which was the practice of subsidising the paramount chief of Zululand to provide facilities for natives passing through his territory, the difficulty continued. Then came the experiment of importing Indian labour, and the coolie arrived on the scene. He knew perfectly well all that was said as to the disastrous results which had followed the introduction of the coolie to Natal, but from his experience there as merchant and farmer, he asserted that the introduction of the coolie had been to the vast advantage of the whole Colony. It had increased its resources, improved its conditions, and increased the value of the land to three times what it was 20 years or even 15 years ago. The produce of the land during that time had also increased by at least five times. All these results had been brought about by the introduction of the coolie to supplement the supply of native labour.

#### THE SMALL TRADER IN NATAL.

He was well aware that the introduction of the coolie had resulted in the elimination of the small white trader, and that was likely to be the result of an indiscriminate introduction of either the Indian or the Chinese labour. But, from the proposals before the House, it was quite evident that every precaution would be taken in the way of restrictions to meet this difficulty. From the point of view of the free trader, he was far from saying that it was altogether right to prohibit these people from trading. If circumstances were such that the majority of the people desired to trade with a certain class of trader, who could furnish them with what they wanted at a cheaper rate than the other classes, the majority of the people surely had a right to be considered, but, as there were prejudices against this view on the part of the people, he did not put it forward as a practicable suggestion. The Indian trader who was already in their midst must be appreciated by the general public, or he could not exist. The fact that he was there showed that there was a demand for him. In the neighbouring Colony that fact was also evident, because the Indian trader had there monopolised a good deal of the trade.

#### THE MINES.

When he first came to the Transvaal he came as the representative of mining companies; he was for several years local director of a number of mines, and in that capacity was a member of the Chamber of Mines, and served on the Labour Committee. From the earliest days of his recollection, that committee met with difficulty in getting enough labour, so the question of the shortage of labour was not a new one.

#### THE POSITION IN 1899.

A good deal had been made of the figures which had been quoted to show the position of the labour market in the Witwatersrand area in 1899. Sir Godfrey Lagden had put the number of natives employed otherwise than in the mines at 40,000 in 1899, but the Chamber of Commerce, who discussed this matter in that year, put the number at 25,000.

Sir GODFREY LAGDEN (interposing) said the figure of 40,000 was given him when he came there as mere conjecture.

Mr. HOSKEN, proceeding, said if they took the approximate number at 30,000, it would probably be near the mark. Now there were 108,000 employed on the mines, and the two figures added together gave them a total of natives in the Witwatersrand area, in 1899, of 138,000. Now, with regard to the present situation, if they took the returns at the end of November, they found that 70,800 natives were employed on the mines, and 58,353 were engaged in other employments, which gave a total of 129,000. From inquiries he had made at the Native Affairs Department, he found that there were 4,000 other natives not accounted for in the 58,000, and, adding these, they got a total in the



Witwatersrand area of 133,000, not very far short of the number in 1899. It was matter for congratulation that they had gathered together this army of nearly 140,000 workers since the troublous times they had passed through.

#### THE MINORITY REPORT.

Dealing next with the Minority Report, Mr. Hosken said he thought it was disingenuous. It did not fairly support its own arguments, and in some instances it contradicted itself. Clause 11 of the Report said the policy of the Chamber of Mines tended directly to the perpetuation of the inferior race labour system; by the importation of Asiatics, and was in opposition to the growth of a large white working population. Later on, in Clause 76, they put forward the extraordinary proposition that the mineral wealth of the Transvaal was the property of the people of the Transvaal, both white and coloured. The economic questions involved in such a statement he did not propose to refer to, but he should like to draw attention to Clause 4 of the summary, which said that in many ways the supply of native labour could be supplemented and superseded by white labour. In one place, they claimed that not only was the coloured labour entitled to consideration, but also to a definite personal interest in the mineral wealth of the country; and in two other clauses the proposition ultimately was that the native labour, as such, should be eliminated entirely, and not given any consideration, and that, he thought, was contrary to the whole economic principle and position in South Africa, and was untenable. Then the Minority Report laid great stress on the pre-war position, and seemed to consider that if they attained to the position in 1899 it would be sufficient for all reasonable and rational requirements. But they anticipated a considerable advance beyond the position in 1899. They had already an immense increase in population, as shown by the records of the Johannesburg Town Council, which showed how rapidly buildings were being put up, but that increase was, they hoped, only the beginning of a vast influx of population; and to carry this superstructure of population it was necessary that their industries should advance and enable that population to exist. It was evident that they must provide for a very great expansion.

#### THE BLOEMFONTEIN CONFERENCE.

Turning next to what Mr. Hull said about the Bloemfontein Conference, Mr. Hosken said he could not attach the same importance to the resolutions passed by that assembly as his hon. friend did. Mr. Hull said the resolutions passed there should be binding on the Colonies represented there. He could not go so far as that, but he would like that to be the position in regard to one resolution, in which the Conference declared that the supply of native labour available was not adequate, and it was evident that the opening of new sources of supply was requisite in the interests of South Africa. He would like to be bound by that resolution. Proceeding to still further criticise the Minority Report in regard to its statements as to the native population of South and Central Africa, Mr. Hosken said Cape Colony was credited with a native population of 1,652,000, and a proportion of those were seized on as available for the mines. As a matter of fact, 100,000 natives from the Transkeian territory were at present in the habit of proceeding outside to work.

Whilst Mr. Hosken was speaking the House adjourned for lunch.

#### AFTERNOON SITTING.

After the adjournment for luncheon,

Mr. HOSKEN continued his remarks, and referred to the native population available for labour in the various parts of South Africa. As regards Natal, the estimated labour available in that Colony and Zululand, out of a total population of 900,000, was 160,000 males, while the Majority Report stated that there were 201,000 who were registered as being at work last year. There were 70,000 coolies—20,000 under indenture—and it might be that there were a further 14,000 who had completed their indenture. They also knew that 15,000 natives left Natal last year for labour outside the Colony, but the 16,000 who entered the Colony more than made up the loss. Therefore, it was most reasonable to consider that labour could not be furnished from Natal. In the Orange River Colony the native population was estimated at 130,000 in 1891; but since the war it had been estimated that the number had increased to 146,000. That, however, included 4,000 labourers on the mines and 3,000 introduced from Basutoland for railway work, so that they came back to the round figure of 130,000. In connection with this they had a very useful object lesson. Some of the witnesses before the Labour Commission advocated more drastic measures in dealing with the native. Pressure had been put upon the natives in the Orange River Colony in the past, and through those drastic measures one of its best assets had been driven from the Colony. There were 22,000 farmers in the Orange River Colony, and if they took it that 1 native in 10—the standard of Sir Godfrey Lagden—was available for work, there were 13,000 natives so available, which meant that there were 13-22nds of a native to each farm. (Laughter.) As regards Rhodesia, they were trying there to introduce labour from outside, so it was clear that that place as a source of supply existed only in imagination, while the natives from German South Africa were only sent down as an experiment, and, therefore, that could also be dismissed. The natives of Basutoland being practically a nation of farmers, naturally preferred to work in their own country, and only a limited number could be expected to go outside, especially as far as the Witwatersrand. The figures for Portuguese East Africa were 1,815,000. That was an enormous figure, especially bearing in mind that the Portuguese official representative at the Bloemfontein Conference had stated that the safe number to take was 1,000,000. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps it would be better to be on the safe side and say one and a half millions. The hon. member also dismissed the Zoutpansberg and Central Africa as not being able to supply the demand for labour, and with this concluded his reference to the Minority Report. He went on to say that the letter written by Mr. Percy Farbutt was a very disquieting letter. He would not discuss the merits of publishing a private letter, and he simply stated the fact as it existed. It disclosed a state of affairs

which, to those who were inclined to look for that sort of thing, gave grounds for their believing that their position was correct; and he did think, from the evidence quoted, that there was some ground for the stand made by the Minority Report.

#### REDUCTION OF WAGES.

He entirely agreed with the criticism set out in the Minority Report with regard to the reduction of wages—that was an absolute blunder on the part of those who were responsible for it. In reference to the Majority Report he pointed out that it recognised in the first instance the accepted position in South Africa that the employment of servile labour under the control of superior white labour was desirable from an economic and industrial point of view; but he did not agree with Clause 82 of the report, for it made an unfair reflection on the native. It said that the natives were not industrious. In the Transkei the natives turned out in larger numbers than before, and they worked under conditions and in a way that was very creditable to them, and if they were advancing in the social scale they were also getting better as labourers. In Clauses 70-73 the position was more clearly stated, for there they found the majority recognised that as the native advanced towards civilisation so his wants increased, and so he improved as a worker. Generally, the conclusions and findings set forth in the Majority Report were fully justified and substantiated by the evidence. There was an entire unanimity on the part of witnesses as to the shortage of labour; there was practically unanimity as to the deficiency of the African supply. There were a few peculiar notions and ideas and extraordinary statements regarding compulsory labour, but apart from all this there was a practical unanimity as to the shortness of the supply of natives in South Africa. Therefore, they must consider the position set forth in the resolution of the Bloemfontein Conference—and he hoped his hon. friend, Mr. Hull, would accept it—(laughter)—that there was a shortage of labour in South Africa. From whence was that shortage to be filled? They had one proposal—to introduce cheap white labour from Southern Europe—and the other was to introduce Asiatic labour. He was in favour of Asiatic labour under restrictions. In the first place, if they introduced cheap white labour they would change the entire social fabric of South Africa economically and otherwise, and would bring about a revolution greatly to the disadvantage of the settlers already established in the country. It would certainly reduce white wages. With their past experience of the poor white element it would be a dangerous thing to introduce the poor white. He was, therefore, in favour of labour from the East. The labour from the East was easy to legislate for, was entirely different in characteristics from the white man and the native; he was docile, intelligent, and industrious, and as at the present time the only possible thing was to provide labour in a servile form, he maintained they should accept it from the nation ready to furnish it. Because of these opinions, the motion of Sir G. Farrar would have his support. (Applause.)

#### MR. BOURKE'S SPEECH.

345. Mr. BOURKE said he confessed that he had had the greatest difficulty in making up his mind in regard to this question. He commenced by sympathising most deeply with the labour demands, and his inclination was entirely in favour of the request set forth in the motion of the hon. member Sir George Farrar. He (Mr. Bourke) was prepared to recognise the want of Chinese. He recognised that they had their drawbacks. But he remembered also that at all events in times past they had a European element which was just as dangerous to the moral conditions of the Transvaal as any that could be introduced by Chinese. He was therefore not prejudiced against them—he was prejudiced rather against the low type of European. He recognised fully what had been done for the Transvaal and for South Africa by the mining industry. He recognised that it had raised them from a condition of penury to one of affluence; that it had carried them through difficult times. He also recognised the great personal services rendered by the leaders of the industry; their courage, their generosity, and their public spirit. (Hear, hear.) But he was one of those who most strongly objected to any drop or any fall in the position of the white man in South Africa. The groundwet of the country provided a distinction, and it would always be his aim and object as far as possible to maintain that difference, and therefore he was not in favour of producing in the country a condition of affairs that would bring about a reduction in the status of the white man. He could not recognise that the Legislative Council in its present form did represent the people of the country. He felt that it was a question that should be dealt with by the people, and under the circumstances should have been postponed till representative institutions were established. The Executive Council, in response to a request from influential sections of the community felt that there was no other course but to lay the matter before a Commission. He did not want to say anything reflecting on the personal character of the gentlemen who formed that Commission, but he could not lose sight of the fact that it was entirely appointed from Johannesburg. ("Question.") Well, with the exception of Mr. Brink and Mr. Forbes. And the Commission sat in Johannesburg—a thing that would not have been allowed in the case of a jury. A jury would have been required to withdraw from influences which might have biased their judgment. He also took exception to the speed with which they had been asked to decide. Now as to the Majority Report, he found that the findings and evidence were based, not on figures, but upon assumptions, and on going into the estimates made in the report he found himself justified to a certain extent in his refusal to accept the finding of the majority. Estimates, they knew, were misleading; in a matter of such importance they should satisfy themselves on the absolute accuracy of the facts and deal only with facts. The Majority Report also said that "considering the controversial character of the inquiry . . . the unanimity as to the urgent need for labour was remarkable," while in a later clause they said, "There was a great divergence of opinion as to the increasing of the number of natives in the future by legislation or other means," so he thought the majority signatories would admit they were not satisfied. It was evident from the Majority Report that as soon as the supply of labour rose in the past those in responsible positions at once reduced the rates of wages, and this in every case had been followed by a falling-off in the supply. In 1896 the Chamber of Mines reported that "it must be considered that



the supply was better, and wages could be reduced." All the way through the report of the majority it was clear that the shortage of labour after the war was due to the circumstances of the country owing to the war; it was also clear that after the war the mining industry reduced the rate of wages. The shortage was due to other causes. In 1897 there was a good supply in spite of the fact that Johannesburg railways and Johannesburg were being built; the whole of the Transvaal was advancing. In 1898 and 1899 there was a fair and steady supply; the shortage, such as it was, was being gradually overcome by the increase in the supply, and there was nothing to show that the future supply of this country was not going to be equal to reasonable demands. He would remind Sir Godfrey Lagden of the condition of natives after the war, which naturally had a very disturbing effect on them. Some natives had been treated by the soldiers as if they were very nearly equal to the white men, and the demoralisation would take time to remove. A very large amount of money had been paid in compensation to the natives, and as they had been a long time away from home, when they returned they had plenty of money, and it was naturally some time before they wanted to seek for work again. Mr. J. W. Watts, of Barberton, had before the Commission referred to the influence on the native of the Exeter Hall party, the "new chum" and the "white kafir," and had stated that the last was the worst; if such people were here in numbers it was a matter that should have the attention of the Government. The adult natives of the Transvaal had been stated to be 137,830, but the requirements of the mines, &c., at the present moment were not known. Now the number stated to be employed on industrial work was 67,000, and there must have been a large number employed by the different Government Departments, such as Repatriation, &c., and they had heard that these would be turned out and would seek work elsewhere. The estimated number of natives from East Africa before the war was 80,000, and seeing that it was stated that it was not likely this number could not be reached again, he did not see that the W.N.L.A. could be commended, as it had entire control of that quarter. He contended that they were not justified in saying "The supply is not available." The Majority Report stated that in 1899 there was sufficient labour in spite of the fact that there was no proper organisation or legislation. They were told that the Chamber of Mines had put forward a very reasonable request for labour, but it was not the first time that such requests had been brought forward by the Chamber. Before the war certain privileges had been granted. He could not vote for a supply of Chinese to be brought here till the whole of the labour organisation had come into the hands of the Government and until the Government had had sufficient time to decide for itself, independent of every private organisation. No account had been taken by members of the fact that the organisation was a private one. It had yet to be shown that in the hands of the Government the arrangements would not work better. His hon. friend Sir George Farrar said that there were 72,000 Asiatics in Natal; it might interest him to know that the number was considerably greater. He quite accepted the hon. member's statement that the natives were better cared for and fed on the mines, and that they had little or nothing to complain of. Sir George Farrar had also stated in effect that the opinions had been taken of very clever, able, and earnest men, who had to consider their employers' interest. They paid little or no consideration to the consequences that might result from the adoption of a recommendation of that sort to the country. ("Question.") Well, the hon. member inferred that after that country they would seek elsewhere, which meant that when the goldfields were exhausted, they would go to other fields and employ their talents there.

Sir G. FARRAR: I never said anything of the kind. I wish the hon. member would quote me correctly.

Mr. BOURKE: I take it I am perfectly justified in drawing a fair inference from his remark.

Sir G. FARRAR: The hon. member said I said so. In discussing the question of political charges against these gentlemen, I said their character was the great recommendation they had in seeking employment in any part of the world, wherever they went.

Mr. BOURKE, continuing, said Sir George Farrar had quoted the returns on the capital invested as 7½ per cent.; now if he had stated how much the capital was at present employed on production, and how much was still in the condition of preparing for production, it would make a considerable difference, and show a great increase in that percentage. The hon. member had stated that the French depression, according to the French Minister of Finance, was due to the want of gold from South Africa; were they, then, to take into consideration the position of Europe, or were they to take into consideration the wants and the position of their own country? (Laughter.) The importation of Chinese, it was stated, was going to be the remedy which was going to save them from all their troubles and ills. The Chamber of Trade sent a telegram to the hon. member, according to the newspapers, that because the railway traffic was falling off therefore they should have Chinese to make up the traffic. The drop in the railway traffic was, as Mr. H. D. Solomon said, due to overtrading for some time past. The depression in South Africa was due to natural causes, the depression in Europe was due to natural causes, the want of gold in France, Germany, and England was due to the overtrading which had taken place. The American Trusts, over-manufacture in Germany, and other causes, had all tended to create the present depression, and now, according to the hon. member, they in South Africa were contributing to it because they did not import Chinese to increase the gold output. (Sir George Farrar: Hear, hear.) The hon. member said there was a heavy expenditure; if they imported Asiatics or any class of aliens it would only accentuate the position, and would not cure it. They had to deal with that matter on sound economic lines, and not on any fictitious arrangements, such as the hon. member advocated. Sir G. Farrar also alluded to the fact that there were heavy loans, and he alluded to the war contribution, and then he asked if he (Mr. Bourke) wanted the country to stand still by repudiating the war contribution. He would not go into that question now, but he wished to say he did not repudiate any arrangement that he made, he only repudiated the right of the hon. member to make the arrangements for him. In Sir George Farrar's closing remarks, he said they had made mistakes, that he (Sir George) had made mistakes. Well, they knew he had made mistakes, and he would not refer to them if Sir George Farrar had not done so. He had alluded to one, and Sir George knew perfectly well the other.

Sir G. FARRAR: What is the other?

Mr. BOURKE said they had made historical mistakes, and they had acknowledged them. He did not wish to deal with that, except to point out that they had made mistakes in the past, and he took

it that that question was a political mistake also. If Sir George Farrar had made mistakes in other directions, he might also make a mistake regarding the importation of Chinese, and he could not expect them to follow his lead blindly on any line that he might choose to lead.

#### CRITICISM OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

The Attorney-General had stated that when the position was put before him he was sensible of the reasonableness of the request, and was prepared to grant it properly guarded. He took it that the Attorney-General dealt with the question not only as a lawyer, but as a statesman, and he took it he had taken full account of all the possible consequences that might follow the importation of an alien race into that country; the Attorney-General was satisfied with regard to safeguarding the importation of providing for repatriation. He would like to remind him of what a famous Irishman once said, he believed in the House of Commons, that he would undertake to drive a coach and four through the best-framed law that was ever made, and he had no doubt that the Attorney-General could do it himself. (Laughter.) He also reminded the Attorney-General that with all the assistance which his Department was able to give, Ordinances were brought out the other day which had two important omissions; they omitted to provide in the Municipal Law for a Mayor for Johannesburg and a Deputy Mayor for Pretoria. (Laughter.) If mistakes like that could be made with the advice of the Municipal Commission, which sat at Johannesburg, which had the benefit of the assistance of Mr. Hosken, they would be quite capable of making mistakes in any law relating to the importation of Chinese. (Laughter.) They agreed with the Attorney-General that there should be an organisation for recruiting, but that organisation should be in the hands of the Commissioner for Native Affairs, and should be entirely controlled by him. Sir George Farrar had given them an example of how a Chinaman found his way from Durban, and he took it that if they agreed to the importation of Chinese they would find their way through the compound stockades, and get all over the country, and into the adjoining Colonies. For the benefit of Mr. Van Rensburg, he mentioned that the Asiatics in Natal had a large number of cattle, goats, horses, sheep, and other animals, and they had produced very large crops last year. The Chinese would over-run the country, and would compete against the poorer class of whites. He could not understand how the Attorney-General or the Commissioner of Native Affairs could support that measure when they knew the Transvaal at the present moment were acting in conjunction with the other Colonies of South Africa on the Native Commission. By adopting that motion, they ran the risk of preventing some of the recommendations of that Conference from being carried into effect.

#### POSITION IN NATAL.

The fact that Natal had committed itself to the Asiatic was no reason why they should follow suit. The condition of things in Natal was such as to make it exceedingly difficult to forecast what the future would be. They knew at the present moment that the Indians alone outnumbered the whites. He quoted from the speeches of the late Mr. Harry Escombe, whom he described as one of the best and most patriotic men who ever trod South Africa. On June 5, 1890, Mr. Escombe proposed that the Government be asked to take evidence and report with regard to Indian immigration, and in what respect Indians come into competition with European Colonists, and generally on the whole question. Then, in a later speech, Mr. Escombe mentioned that in ten years the Indian population had increased from 10,000 to 30,000, and in moving the second reading of the Immigrants' Amendment Bill on June 9, 1891, he said: "Those who introduced immigrants did not introduce them for the benefit of the country; they introduced them for their own purposes, because the labour they obtained was cheaper than the labour otherwise obtainable. Therefore too much attention should not be paid to the argument that the Colony was benefited." The Indian Government objected against the enforcement of any penalty against Indians who refused to leave the country, and that indicated to his (Mr. Bourke's) mind the possibility of trouble with foreign countries in case their subjects refused to leave the country at the conclusion of the term of their indenture. In another speech of March 5, 1897, Mr. Escombe spoke of enforcing the New Zealand Act, and he also referred to the action of the United States; the conclusion of his speech was: "No man regrets more than I do that it was thought necessary some years ago to introduce Indian labour into this Colony, but these regrets are no good." The opinion of a true statesman and patriotic man was that he regretted they had ever put foot in the country.

#### THE NATIVE PROBLEM.

The problem they had to face was simply this. They had a country with a comparatively small white population, and with great agricultural and mineral possibilities, and they had a large native population practically idle. The problem was how to apply the labour which was available, and in dealing with it they were bound to consider it from its beginning. When Europeans first came into this country they freed the blacks from the tyranny of their chiefs, and gave them absolutely nothing in its place. The consequence was that the native had become to a certain extent demoralised. They had nothing to replace the control which they had previously, nothing to compel obedience; nothing which tended to get from the native the best possible results. The native problem had always been with them. The Natal Parliament passed it by, and introduced a new element which only increased the difficulties without removing them, the consequence being that the native problem in Natal was as far off solution as ever. This native problem should be tackled by the Government, and with the least possible delay. He did not mean that their policy should take the direction of forcing the native to labour, but it should be dealt with on such lines that it would be impossible for the native to hold back from becoming civilised. The first essential towards civilisation was to learn to work. Education without work was a mischief rather than a good. If an alien race were imported, the natives would be quick to learn what was mischievous from them, and not so ready to adopt what was good. The idea in importing alien labour was in order that the resources of the country, which should be steadily developed, and should last for a large number of years, might be exhausted in the least possible time. It would mean a rapid development of the mining industry, but no corresponding development would take place in the other industries of the country. Having quoted an article from

the "Economist," in which the writer said that the present situation in the Transvaal was the outcome of an exaggerated notion of the recuperative powers of the country and a feverish haste to get rich, Mr. Bourke said he was willing to foster by every legitimate means the gold industry, but he could not go in for any risky or unsound business. He welcomed Sir G. Farrar's motion if it led to firm action on the part of the Government to develop the resources of labour in the country. If they had not expected so much after the war the result would have been different, and their progress would have been more gradual, and by this time they might have got out of their difficulties instead of just entering upon them. In this matter, the responsibility of the Government was great. They had the responsibility of appointing the unofficial members of the Council, and whatever decision that Council arrived at the Government would be responsible for; and whatever mistake was made would be the mistake of the Government, and not the mistake of the individual members of the Council. If they created an artificial prosperity by the introduction of aliens, the end would be that in a few years the industry would be so exhausted, or so reduced that it would not be capable of continuing, and then they would have to deal with a large white population and a large alien population also.

The hon. member, Sir P. Fitzpatrick, was a short time ago opposed as much as anybody to the introduction of Chinese, and he (Mr. Bourke) had yet to learn why the hon. member had changed his mind. Proceeding, Mr. Burke suggested that there was a very great doubt whether the importation of Chinese labour would be a success, and whether it would not be a serious detriment to the country. He quoted from a speech made elsewhere by the hon. member, the Colonial Secretary to the effect that he (the Colonial Secretary) had spoken in favour of the Council not committing the country to any very great undertaking until Representative Government took place, and that said (Mr. Bourke) was the view he himself took. Concluding, the hon. member said it was against his own inclination and desire (because he wished to see the present state of affairs quickly remedied), but he felt compelled to vote against the motion of the hon. member, Sir G. Farrar.

446. Mr. SOLOMÓN said that it was a most unfortunate thing that within a few months after the declaration of peace there should be such a division as the present. He was in hopes, up to a certain time, that a compromise between the two parties would take place. Unfortunately such had not been the case, and to-day they were face to face with a question of very great importance, with the Dutch inhabitants looking on to see the result of the division. If the Dutch could have taken a hand in this matter it would have assisted them much. He, himself, proposed, some time ago, that a Commission should consider the question, and amongst the members of the Commission he desired that Messrs. Botha, Smuts and Schalk Burger should have a place; he was anxious that such a Commission should receive the benefit of the advice of the three named, when dealing with the native affairs of this country, and he understood that they were willing to act on such a Commission. Unfortunately the Government did not see eye to eye with him on that occasion. They suggested a Commission of their own, and that, he thought, was how the Labour Commission came into existence. He was also induced to bring forward that motion then because the matter was somewhat pressing; the Government and the Chamber of Mines had done nothing, and he thought it his duty to mention the matter then, and he mentioned it in the way he did. It had been said that the personnel of the Native Labour Commission was not satisfactory, also that the members were biased. But, with regard to the latter point, when they had to deal with an important matter like that—the most important for them since the war—he thought every man, up to a certain point, was biased, if he took any interest in public affairs, and the welfare of the country. He, however, did think the Government might have appointed a technical mining man on the Commission to help them, especially on such matters as working costs. As far as the Witwatersrand was concerned, he was inclined to think the Commission was a fair one. It had been said it consisted of the Chamber of Mines and the Stock Exchange, but there were other members, and the Government were anxious, he understood, to appoint men who were representative of the community. They (the Commission) did a lot of work, and they did it conscientiously. Although he thought the Commission might have been improved on, yet they did their best, and they had given the public a mass of information, and it was for the Council not to be bound by the report, but to form their own conclusions from the evidence. As to the W.N.L.A., he was not in favour of its formation, and he still thought it a mistake; but, on reading through the evidence very carefully, he would not say that the formation of the association was justified, but that until the Native Labour Department, under this Government, was put on a proper footing he was not certain that it should be taken out of the W.N.L.A.'s hands, and put into the Government's hands. The past reduction of the native's wages had been frankly confessed to be a mistake, a confession which was apt to moderate his criticism, but still it was not a business-like proceeding, and it was one which was bound to lead to disaster. The matter was now being put right. They were told they must wait a considerable time so that the natives could learn that the wages had been increased, and they were told that once the natives had confidence they would come in in larger numbers. But if it had taken the W.N.L.A. two years to arrive at the conclusion that the wages should be increased it was going to take the natives a long time to gain confidence and come back.

#### THE NATIVE QUESTION.

He said that if Sir G. Farrar's resolution was carried it would see the birth of legislation for the native of this country. Of all the questions that were likely to come before the people of the Transvaal or South Africa this native question was the biggest. They might have their differences with the Dutch element in educational matters and other matters. These were questions that could only be put right when they went in for a policy of give and take. But when a question like this, the native question—a question which affected the future of this country, when the native population outnumbered the white population as it did—was before them, he said it was the biggest problem South Africa had ever faced. He thought that if, at the close of the war, his hon. friends Sir P. Fitzpatrick and Sir G. Farrar had used their influence with the Government to begin with legislation that should have existed on this question, then he (Mr. Solomon) felt there would have been many more boys at work on the mines than at present. (Hear, hear.) He gave the hon. members named credit for the very best motives; they had thought they could get the labour by forming the W.N.L.A., but under

the circumstances they had not been so successful as they might have been. As to the Labour Commission's report, it was no good to quote special clauses; they must take the evidence as a whole, and come to a fair and business-like view on the whole, and take a common-sense decision on the whole. He was satisfied there were thousands of natives walking about in the country, doing nothing. Was this a state of affairs that could be tolerated very much longer? These natives were going to recognise their strength one day. They were impartial during the war; they robbed the Briton and they robbed the Boer. (Laughter.) They got rich and fat—and there was a Boer proverb that said that when the native got fat he got cheeky. Some members might not agree with him, but he knew the majority of the people of this country would agree with him when he said that the day would come when they would have the educated native, a man of personal magnetism, a man who would be an organiser, and realise the strength of the native of this country, and that was when our trouble would begin. He did not mean to say they should go to extremes, or go to war with the natives, but the policy of allowing the natives to run about the country and get drunk on Kafir beer in their kraals was a policy that should exist no longer in the Transvaal. They must legislate in that matter. An Aborigines Society in England had passed a resolution against the introduction of Chinese into the Transvaal, and yet that society was opposed to their legislating for the native. He deprecated "meddlesomeness" from Home in the matter of their native policy. A Native Labour Commission was now sitting in Cape Colony; for its members he had the greatest respect, but somehow or other no interest was being taken in the matter, people having no confidence in that particular Commission. Some of the Commissioners should really be witnesses, and there should be a much stronger Commission formed; if so, it would have the confidence and support of the people of South Africa.

#### WHITE LABOUR.

As to white labour, he was not quite convinced it had had a fair trial, and a great deal of use had been made of a letter written by Mr. Tarbutt. However, the mining houses declared that it would not pay them to have white labour; they said—and there was a great deal in their contention (it was quite a business proposition)—they had to make a certain return to the shareholders, and they could not see their way at present to employ white labour to a greater extent. He himself was not in favour of white labour, because the circumstances of this country were quite different from those of the Australian Colonies. He thought that they in this Colony would always be protected by having the "moderate" Dutch element.

#### THE DUTCH ATTITUDE.

The Attorney-General had said that in the absence of meetings held by the Dutch, he came to the conclusion there was no objection, and he (Mr. Solomon) felt somewhat in the same position. At the Dutch meeting at Heidelberg they were hostile to the importation of Chinese labour, but at Krugersdorp a declaration was made that the farming interests should work hand in hand in the mining interests, and that until the Labour Commission report was issued they did not feel justified in arriving at any conclusion. The Commission's report had now been published, and even Mr. Botha had not sent in any objection to that report. There was nothing before them, in view of the Krugersdorp meeting, to say there was any objection to the importation of Chinese labour. On the contrary, Mr. Hull yesterday said that Mr. Botha did not send any message that he was opposed to the introduction of Asiatic labour.

#### MR. WYBERGH'S RESIGNATION.

As to Mr. Wybergh's resignation, the hon. member said: No one was more delighted than I was to hear the explanation given by the Attorney-General. I have had the honour of his acquaintance for many years, and I and many others never for one moment thought that Mr. Wybergh's insinuations referred to him; but I think it is a very great pity indeed that my hon. friend, Sir G. Farrar, did not take advantage of his position on the Labour Commission to ask Mr. Wybergh a question—what did he mean by "political pressure being brought to bear upon him"; and I challenge Mr. Wybergh to make a statement in the public Press and to tell the public who was responsible for this "political pressure," because, although I have had differences with Mr. Wybergh in this House, still I do not believe that Mr. Wybergh would make a statement of that sort unless there was foundation for it in some way or other. I would remind hon. members that in June some time I asked that a Commission of Enquiry should be held into the Administration of the Mining Department. I was informed practically that the Government was satisfied with the administration, and they voted against my motion for the Select Committee. What did we find? Within a very few months, Mr. Wybergh is dismissed because, for the reason my hon. friend gave us, "We want a better administration."

#### THE CHINESE LABOURERS.

Proceeding, the hon. member said that his prejudices against the Chinese were as strong as they had ever been, but the position to-day was very much more acute than some months ago. Returning from England, he found that unless they could get more mines to work and build more railways, it might be they would be unable to fulfil their obligations. What did it mean? It meant national bankruptcy. Were they going to undertake the responsibility of a position like that? When the people across the water said they would not invest a penny in our Colony unless we put our house in order, were they (the Transvaal) going to undertake the responsibility of a bankruptcy staring them in the face? That was a position which hon. members should consider very carefully. It was said that about 8,000 Chinese were to be brought in at first. He was surprised to hear that. That statement should have been made a long time ago. It would have done much to allay opposition, because there was an idea that 170,000 Chinese were going to be brought. This frightened the people. But when the proposition was put that 8,000 would be the first number, he did not think it was so bad as it looked, because they could see what sort of restrictions were necessary, and if they found more were necessary, they could easily make use of them. It had been said

that 8,000 was nothing. But his contention was this: If the people in Europe found that that resolution were passed authorising the importation of labour it would create a feeling of confidence, which would go a great deal towards inducing people to put money into the development of the mines. Nobody expected a boom. What people expected was this, that when things got right in Europe—because there were other things in Europe at the present time which depreciated the money market—vast sums were locked up in the Bank of England—people would say, when the question was settled: “There is an undertaking about to be developed; they have labour and we are perfectly willing to put money into the Transvaal.” That was the position he took up in regard to Asiatic labour. He was a member for the Witwatersrand, he took it, and he had been appointed a member of the Council because, perhaps, he was a good deal in contract with the different associations. But, as far as he was concerned, he would do as little harm possible there. (Laughter.) He was glad his hon. friends (Sir G. Farrar and Sir P. Fitzpatrick) appreciated the remark. He felt he was in this position: he was subject to public opinion, and if he was satisfied that the majority of the people were wholly in favour of the introduction of Asiatics to do away with the depression, then he felt he was bound to vote for the motion of Sir G. Farrar. If one were an elected member, it would be another thing. He had been told, rightly or wrongly, that he was one of the members for the Witwatersrand, and he was certain that there was a large majority there in favour of the importation of Asiatic labour, and he could do nothing else but vote for it. There was no question as to the position he, as a member of the Council, had to take up if the people of the Witwatersrand said to him, “You have not voted on this motion of Sir G. Farrar, how are you going to make up the deficiency?” Whether the Minority Report was correct or not, was not for him to say. He had to judge the evidence. He was satisfied in his own mind that there was a deficiency, not only in to-day’s requirements, but in the future requirements. His hon. friend, Mr. Hull, said they must wait, they must go slowly. Certainly. He (Mr. Solomon) did not want to go too fast, but he did not want to go so slow that the wheels of the machinery would stop. If they went on as they were going they would get no money into the country, and that was a position he was not prepared to face. It was his intention to propose an amendment to his hon. friend Sir G. Farrar’s motion—an amendment to provide that the proposed Bill should be for only three years. But he felt that as the debate was protracted to such an extent that he could give notice of that matter when the draft Bill came up before the House, with the same chance of success that he had that day, and, therefore, he had not taken the opportunity of introducing the amendment. He merely mentioned that because it was understood such an amendment would be brought forward that day. With reference to the restrictions, he was satisfied that proper restrictions would be used. There were a good many Asiatics in Johannesburg, and he had taken a great deal of trouble to find out as much as he could about them. The department was in the hands of Captain Hamilton Fowle. He had criticised appointments by the Government, but upon that appointment the Government had every reason to be congratulated. He found Captain Hamilton Fowle could put his hand on any Asiatic at a moment’s notice, if necessary. He presumed that the whole matter would be in the hands of the Government, and if with the assistance of the mining people they could not make such restrictions as would protect their own people, then he would say that they were not the intelligent people they flattered themselves to be. (Hear, hear.) Some hon. members said they must have patience. That was an argument that came very well from a rich man, but it was not an argument that appealed to the hungry man. They had to provide for a community which to-day was practically forced against its will, on account of the exigencies of the case and the surrounding circumstances, to agree to the importation of Asiatic labour. He only hoped that the bitter feeling which had been engendered in the controversy would be allowed to die, and whether they agreed with the motion or not they would be able to do their best to persuade the Government to legislate in such a way as to enable them to make use of the labour they had in South Africa. By doing that he was sure that the importation of Chinese labour would only be a temporary measure, and would assist in the development of the country.

#### THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

5.30. The COLONIAL SECRETARY said the debate had been already so far protracted that he had no intention of taking part in it, except in so far as to set right one or two statements made from time to time by hon. members which must be set right. But having to intervene to that extent, he wished briefly to explain why he felt bound to vote for the resolution. He realised absolutely what Mr. Bourke had asked the Government to realise, namely, their responsibilities in the matter. He (the Colonial Secretary) was quite prepared to say again what he said in a speech which was his misfortune to make at the Caledonian banquet. He was prepared to adhere to that; and he did so believing that the introduction of Asiatic labourers under the conditions proposed by his hon. friend Sir G. Farrar would not necessarily be an irrevocable step—a step that the people of this country could not at some future time go back upon if they found that contrary to all reasonable expectations that step had turned out a disastrous one for the country. He believed that, protected by the restrictions it was proposed to impose, the step would not be an irrevocable one. There was only one point in the debate upon which everyone was agreed, and that was that there was not at the present time enough labour forthcoming for the requirements of the country. He had not heard anyone dispute that statement, although almost every other statement as to the supply available and as to the actual requirements had been disputed. Now, a Commission was appointed to investigate those points, and a good many remarks had been made derogatory to the standing of that Commission and to its qualification to pronounce upon the question submitted to it. He thought these criticisms had been fully disposed of by other speakers, and he did not propose to enter into them. But he would just say this: Whether the Commission was or was not qualified to report upon the question they were asked to report upon, they were at least qualified to collect the fullest available evidence on the subject, and that evidence was now before the House. He had not heard any member declare that that evidence was incomplete, that it was not furnished with sufficient data for a reasonable judgment upon the question. He had not heard any member say, with the exception of Mr. Bourke, that all the figures which the Commission gave were estimates—and nothing more than estimates. He

would like to ask Mr. Bourke one question, and that was whether he thought that if the Commission had sat for five years before they reported—if they had waited five years before putting in the figures as to the probable native population of South Africa, as to the probable requirements of the mines and other industries—whether they would then be able to arrive at anything more than estimates? There was one point with regard to the constitution of the Commission raised by the last speaker. He said that it was an unsatisfactory Commission to this extent, that the Boer population were not represented by their accredited leaders. He said that the Government ought to have asked those men to serve on the Commission so that the Boer people might have been represented. His (the Colonial Secretary's) answer to that was that the Government did do so. Two gentlemen, one of which was Mr. Schalk Burger, were asked to serve on the Commission in recognition of the fact that the events of the war had brought them forward as leaders of a large section of the Dutch people, and they both declined.

Mr. SOLOMON: Do I understand that Generals Botha and Smuts were invited?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY replied that he had not said so. He had said that two gentlemen, one of whom was Mr. Schalk Burger, had been invited to serve. But he (the Colonial Secretary) would pass over the composition of the Commission and would say whether they accepted the conclusions of the majority report or minority report they must accept the evidence. He could say that on reading that evidence as to the requirements of the country and the probable supply of labour likely to be forthcoming from South Africa and Central Africa, he could come to no other reasonable conclusion than that the available supply was insufficient, and not sufficient by a long way, even for the present requirements of the country. And not only that. There had been no suggestions of any plan by means of legislation or otherwise which could be employed to bring up the available supply up to the present requirements—he did not say future requirements—except at the expiration of a long period of time. That statement might be right or wrong. It had been said that the supply had been under-estimated, and the labour requirements over-estimated, but he thought it only just to say that no evidence had been put forward in support of either of these contentions, though various reasons had been brought forward to explain them. Then the question of wages had been alluded to, and the treatment of natives in the mines and the bad methods of recruiting; it had been said by one hon. member that the deficiency was not altogether due to the blundering of the mining industry, but to design. He would like to say that so far as he could form an opinion, the conditions under which the natives travelled, worked and lived might not be good, but they were better than they were before the war, and should be a cause of improvement and not of a falling off in the supply. As regarded wages, the mistake as to the reduction had long since been rectified, and, according to the best evidence they could get the chance was well known. These things were not sufficient to account for the shortage, and some of the hon. members had not disposed of the other reason for the shortage which was referred to in the Majority Report, that the requirements of the country were greater than they were before; possibly, if they only knew it, they would find that the number of natives working was not less than before the war. They were told to be patient and go slowly. He was all in favour of going slowly, and he thought it was true that in many ways they had gone faster than the actual facts warranted; they had been optimistic. But to be optimistic was no sin. Optimism was a pardonable tendency which if kept in check might produce good results; but when people asked them to go slowly, was it realised that they were being asked to stop the progress of the country. It would mean letting the capital which had been put into the country lie useless. The capital had been put into the country and must not lie fallow. He could not conceive how that would benefit any section of the community. Some said: "We must go slow, otherwise the wealth of the country will be worked out in a few years, and there will not be the means of living." He thought that argument was based on a fallacy. The wealth of the country referred to was a gold reef, but if the reef was a few thousand feet below the surface, it was no use till it was brought into the medium of exchange. How would the country benefit by the working of the reefs? They benefited because the reefs brought capital and created demands for labour and commodities and all kinds of industries. The capital put in must receive the best payment in the shortest possible time. It was an advantage that the reefs should be worked as fast and as economically as possible. Did they think that capital—which was to be the cause of development—would be none the less likely to come to this country if it was allowed to make its way under certain principles of economy, or if it was to be hampered by people who said: "You shall not go faster than we went in 1899," or some other arbitrary date? They must not, he continued, impose artificial restrictions other than those demanded in the best interests of the community. Now, the importation of labour had been said to be incompatible with the best interests of the country, and Mr. Bourke had shown them a terrible picture of the time when the restrictions would be relaxed and the Chinese allowed to displace traders and white inhabitants. He believed, however—and he thought there was reason to believe—that the restrictions would not be relaxed, and he did not believe that there was a single section of the community that would ever favour the relaxation of the restrictions. If it was found that the restrictions could not be enforced he thought public feeling would be so strong as to interfere, and to go back upon what had been done if that was necessary. Mr. Raitt had said that the restrictions which the Government was trying to impose at present on the incoming of Asiatics were a dead letter, and had argued that when a large number were introduced the restrictions with regard to them would also be a dead letter. Mr. Raitt had said that the number of Asiatics in the Transvaal was double what it had been before the war. He had got a statement from the Permit Office which now controlled the movements of Asiatics. The number before the war was 860 and there were 930 now. From 1889 to 1893, 83 Chinese came in; from 1893 to 1895, 180 came in, and between 1896 and 1899, 589 came in. Since the British occupation in 1900, until 1903, 78 Chinese had come in. His information was to the effect that no Asiatic was allowed to have a trading licence till he had been registered and paid his fee; he was not allowed to be in the country till he had done that. The number of persons that had been sent over the border since the British occupation was 620, and of this number 41 were Chinese. All he could say was that he would leave these figures with the Council and with the hon. member and if the hon. member knew where these men were, by whom the number of these deportations could be swelled, he would be obliged to him if he would inform the Government. This was only by the way. The hon. member brought this forward as a sign that no restrictions would be of any use. He (the Colonial Secretary)



did not say that it would be possible to enforce restrictions in the future, but, anyhow, the hon. member had not proved that it would not be possible.

#### THE CASE OF NATAL.

Mr. Bourke drew a terrible picture of the state of things in Natal, and argued from that that they must expect a companion picture in the Transvaal, but he neglected the fundamental difference between the two sets of circumstances. In Natal they had never attempted repatriation. What they had done was to say that if a man did not go back they would fine him £3. Well, it was very often worth a man's while to pay the three pounds and stay, if he could trade profitably, and especially as he became a free inhabitant of the country. At Bloemfontein Sir James Hulett, who was then in the Natal Ministry, informed the Conference that Natal had not in the past attempted stringent repatriation, but that they were then attempting to come to an agreement with the Indian Government, whereby this stringent repatriation could be put in force. But he went on to say that whether they could repatriate these men or not at the end of their indentures, they meant to have them. That constituted altogether a different state of things to that contemplated by his hon. friend, Sir G. Farrar. They, in the Transvaal, did not say that they would have the Chinaman whether they could repatriate him or not, but they said they would not have him at all unless they could repatriate him. Therefore, to compare the state of Natal with the Transvaal was not to compare like and like, but like and unlike. He did not intend to take up the time of the Council any longer in this matter, because most of the arguments that could be used had already been adduced. He would only like to say that, whatever remedy they might adopt for dealing with this question, the deficiency of labour, would be a slow one in his opinion. Mr. Hull said the importation of Asiatics was a question of a short cut, and what was wanted in this country was patience, and that short cuts had never paid. He (Mr. Duncan) believed that if this resolution passed, and if the Ordinance following it was passed, allowing the importation of Asiatic labour, there would be just as much need of patience and just as great a slowness in the development of the country as would satisfy even Mr. Hull. He did not think that it was going to bring salvation in a day. It was not. One hon. member said they must wait till the Kafir was educated, and until he had been taught to work, and until the Government had taken him in hand and brought him to a certain plane. He did not believe the country could afford to wait, and he also believed that the people of the country were strong enough to see that the restrictions imposed on the imported labour were enforced. He was supported in that opinion by one gentleman who signed the Minority Report, and who said, when addressing a meeting on the Market Square at Johannesburg, that he would appeal to the men of this country to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the country, and if they did that, and fling indifference on one side, all the Chambers of Mines that ever existed would be unable to stop their bringing about such a state of affairs as would make this country one for white men to live in. That, he (the Colonial Secretary), might quote as from a high authority, and he believed it. He believed that the rest of the hon. members were not going to prevent this from being a white man's country, but to vastly facilitate and accelerate that end.

The House adjourned at six o'clock.

#### EVENING SITTING.

S.10. Mr. CRONJE, speaking in Dutch, which was interpreted by Mr. Brink, said it was quite correct, as stated by the Attorney-General, that that was one of the greatest and intricate cases they had before the Council. Much had been said about what happened before the war. It had been said that before the war they had enough labour. That he must deny. He could not say much about Johannesburg, but he could speak about Klerksdrop and the surrounding country. On the Buffelsdoorn Mine they had 60 stamps, and they could only work 40 stamps since 1897, on account of the shortage of labour. The Afrikander Company was in the same position, and could not work their stamps. The farmers had constantly come to him as Sub-Commissioner of Native Affairs, to try and get labour. He had gone at least 50 or 60 times to the mines to get boys for the farmers. That proved they had not sufficient labour before the war. It was said that the wages of labourers were reduced after the war, but even in those pre-war days the people paid a higher rate than they should do to the boys, but the farmers could not help themselves, and, seeing that the population was increasing, what was going to happen now? The mines and agriculture required more labour, and if they did not import more labour from outside, where were they going to be? He acknowledged that the Plakkers' Wet was a success in certain localities. It was absolutely impossible that any civilised Government should attempt it. The Squatters' Law could not touch these natives as long as they could prove that they had sufficient to exist upon. Now, they were told that when labour was imported from outside it would not be to the advantage of the farmer. But when the mines were supplied with labour, there would be a sufficient supply of natives to work on the farms, and then, when the Squatters' Law was also imposed, he believed that the farming community would have enough native labour, and things would not go on as they did now at Potchefstroom, where wives and daughters had to work like slaves in the fields, and the crops were destroyed on the land through want of labour to harvest them. He had gone about himself and had offered as much as 3s, and food to the boys; but he could not obtain any labour. What would become of the country if the Council refused the importation of labour? The mines would be closed down, and farmers would abandon their farms; therefore he considered it his duty to support Sir George Farrar's motion. He did not believe there was one member of the Council who was very anxious to import Chinese labour if it were not that every one of them saw the necessity of importing labour. He hoped every member would support the motion. There was another thing. Young children worked in the fields, and did not go to school. When their

parents were asked why they did not send their children to school, they answered, as a rule, the children had to work because there was no labour. They must consider that most important question, because it was absolutely necessary that the children should be educated. He therefore hoped every member, irrespective of party, would support Sir George Farrar's motion. (Applause.)

SIR P. FITZPATRICK'S SPEECH.

Sir P. FITZPATRICK said: Sir, the question before the House has to be discussed from two points of view—one, which it is the duty of every member to hear, and that is what I might call the national point of view, and the other the technical, that is the point of view of the industry. And the discussion of the technical side devolves to a very large extent upon two members of this House, my hon. friend, Sir Geo. Farrar, and myself, and if I have deferred taking part in this debate for some considerable time it was because I thought it was only due to that technical side that I should allow other members to raise what points they could in opposition to this motion, and that in no partisan spirit, so that I might be able to adduce refuting evidence if possible, and so lessen the labour of my colleague who introduced the motion. Now in approaching the subject I would first of all like to express my gratitude to my hon. friend, Mr. Hull, for quoting an address I made at the Chamber of Mines about a year ago, which address I had completely forgotten. I do recollect it quite well now, and I do endorse what he said, that it was most carefully prepared. It was written out, and I say further that every word which I put in that address I abide by to-day. (Mr. Hull: Hear, hear.) It is not because it is a personal question that I wish to inflict a quotation upon this honourable House, which has suffered many quotations already, but because I think there are many men in this country who are exactly in the same position in which I was and am, and I would like to make clear that position as briefly as possible from that day to this; and in doing so I accept and respond to the invitation given by my hon. friend, Mr. Bourke, that is, to explain the change of attitude, which I submit is no change at all. My hon. friend, Mr. Hull, gave a long quotation from this address, which I take it the hon. members of the Council remember, but I am obliged to supplement that quotation by reading five or six lines earlier than he began and a few lines after he stopped. The introductory lines were: "But we have also before us the fact that labour of some sort has to be forthcoming for the working of the mines, and therefore, whatever our personal feelings or convictions may be, we are bound, in the first instance, to fairly examine every solution that is offered to us, so that there may be no misunderstanding upon this subject. I take this occasion to state exactly what has been done, and briefly, and as impartially as I can state the case, for and against (the Chinese labour). Many suggestions and many proposals for the introductions of Chinese have been before the Chamber one way or another. None has been accepted and none has been seriously considered or discussed." Then follows the quotation beginning, "We adhere positively to the position already defined."

MR. HULL'S EXPLANATION.

Mr. HULL at this stage rose and said: I don't wish to interrupt my friend unnecessarily, but he has just accused me of having quoted from his statement at the Chamber of Mines and having omitted certain paragraphs which occurred. Now, if my friend will be good enough to refer to the book he is quoting he will see I am quoting from a paragraph: "We who are responsible for the conduct of the industry." That paragraph occurs several pages in advance of what he has started to read. I think if my friend wishes the House to follow him he ought to read the whole of his speech or to read the portions in question, I don't wish to have any misunderstanding, but I think it right there should be a clear statement before the House of what my hon. friend stated 12 months' ago.

Sir P. FITZPATRICK: Sir, I have a good deal to inflict on this honourable House, but I don't propose to read the whole of the Chamber of Mines address. I would also like to say that I do not accuse my hon. friend of anything, I made no comment whatever; I merely suggested that I should supplement the quotation by reading a few words before the end, and if I have omitted a paragraph I am sorry, but I do not think it unpardonable, as I really don't think it matters. I want to supply the context of a certain paragraph quoted.

Mr. HULL: I quoted, "We who are responsible."

Sir P. FITZPATRICK: I have plenty to correct the hon. member on. The House will not lack in interest. The quotation was "we adhere positively to the position already defined by us as to the resources of Africa having to be exhausted before we look elsewhere for unskilled labour." Then follow the ten or twelve lines which Mr. Hull quoted, and then come these words which were not quoted: "It is my belief and hope that we shall obtain even in the near future sufficient labour to enable us to develop our industry and the collateral industries to the extent we have hitherto anticipated by the application of a uniform, just native law and policy and which is a vital condition always to have a sufficiency of unskilled labour to do all work that lies before us." I think that it appears superficially at least to be the most unacceptable quotation that could be made to me. From my own speech the following words were omitted: "In order to do this we shall require the continuance of the hearty co-operation of all. It is not sufficient to protest against a solution either by white labour or Asiatic labour. It is not enough to oppose a thing one may think undesirable, it is necessary to help along some other which is desirable, and that other must be desirable in no exclusive and selfish sense. Action is needed. To the Members of the Chambers of Mines I will say this. The solution has first to be sought in the development of the African resources. It will not be sufficient to make a tentative or half-hearted attempt. The efforts will have to be thoroughly, exhaustively, and patiently carried out, and that is why, in spite of any storm of criticism which may follow, he deprecated the solving of this from any other than the most complete standpoint. For



others outside the Chamber there was also a word to be said. We shall get protests from working men against the introduction of Chinese labour and against the employment of cheap white labour, and I can heartily sympathise with the protestations of those people. But protests did not find a solution; something has got to be done. You can't leave the question when it is to-day calmly relying upon Africa, and merely protesting against all other sources, and a solution will have to come. There are many who object to the Chinese coming, but they are altogether unfamiliar with the subject, but ignorance is no defence."

Later on Sir Percy quoted again. I said: "I want to put the case for Chinese labour as it has been put to me. That question is the one that now commands our attention." The hon. member also did me the honour to quote another portion of the case for the Chinese labour. These are the words: "And until we are satisfied and you are satisfied and the people of this country are satisfied that Africa cannot provide us with a solution of our labour difficulties, it is unnecessary to turn to Asia. Now, I put it to you what others say and feel." My honourable friend quoted the words which follow: "I put it to you what others say and feel." It might have been supposed that the remarks which were quoted by my hon. friend were an original comment on my own. Sir, it was an effort on my part to state the case fairly for and against. At the conclusion of the quotation given to this honourable House there are these words: "There is, as I have indicated, much to be said on both sides. I have touched but little upon it. It is not possible to ignore the subject, nor is it right for me, in this position, to give one side, without attempting to give the other, however imperfectly either or both may have been presented. I leave this most important subject of all with these final words: Africa is our field. Africa, if it is to be a white man's country at all, with a definite, uniform and rational native policy, a policy not of bad, violent, and radical changes, but one of firm and gradual reform, it is our duty and our interest, when Africa has proved inadequate, to consider other alternatives." Sir, I think it is unnecessary, it is impossible to offer an apology, because I adhere to everything I said. I made use of those remarks, sir, being in the position which my hon. friend, Sir G. Farrar now occupies. I conceive it to be my duty, occupying that responsible position, the nominal heads of the industry of South Africa, to rise above the merely party view, and attempt to take a view which would be consistent with the interests of the whole country. I claim no credit for that, but I do claim this, sir, that I follow in the footsteps of my predecessor, who set a first-class example, and I believe that my hon. friend, who introduced this motion, respects and adheres to the policy which was laid down years ago. It was my duty to give both views. It was my belief that, although the Chamber of Mines must necessarily, by reason of its prominence, its power, its predominance in the community, be open to suspicion and jealousy, resentment, if you like, it was right to make every effort, notwithstanding these things, to interest the people in the proceedings of the Chamber and to induce the people of this country to move step by step with us in the development of our affairs so far as we could. Therefore, sir, during the term of my office I did try to acquaint the public with everything that we possibly could. I did not flatter myself that the general public looked to the monthly meetings of the Chamber of Mines for light and leading, but, at any rate, it was our duty to give what information we could. It would be very instructive to hon. members who have not followed these things, to look back and find out how these developments have been forecast. At that time, when the Chinese question was beginning to be discussed, it would have been perfectly easy to keep it out of the annual meeting of the Chamber. Nothing easier. Anyone looking back must see that it was deliberately brought forward in the very forefront of the questions under discussion and why? In order that the public might know everything that was going on in order that they might interest themselves in the developments, and in order that they might come forward, too, with their solutions, if they had any. Now, sir, the position was this: as to the policy of the development of Africa—the policy of relying upon Africa first.

#### TWO FACTORS.

There were two factors which could limit the experiment, two factors which probably limit every experiment—time and the development of fresh facts. Now, I could make a fair defence upon the ground of time. How long did we propose to wait for development? But I make no defence upon that ground. I rely solely upon the evidence which came out at that time, and immediately afterwards, and continuously ever since. The ground has been covered by other speakers in this debate, and I don't think it is necessary for me to go over the facts again to show how here, and there, and everywhere where our hopes were pitched high we met with disappointment and refusal, where practical experience showed we could get nothing, where foreign Governments refused us facilities, where our own Imperial Government denied—I do not say unfairly and improperly—us privileges, for they have to regard the interests of others who are equally in their care. Our principle, my principle, was to be guided by the facts. Facts have been against me. I admit my theories are not superior to facts. I believe in the consistency of sticking to principle, and the principle here was to be guided by the facts. That was the principle to which I have adhered. At the time these remarks were made, I recognised quite well, and it is clear from the address, that there were four alternatives, namely: development of African labour, use of cheap white labour, importation of foreign white labour, or stagnation. Now, sir, it is in the power of three or four gentlemen who are most prominent in their opposition to the importation movement to say to-day if they will that at the time of that address, and before it, I discussed this matter with them, and I called upon them to recognise the essential difference between their attitude and mine, and this essential difference was that they held that Chinese labour was not a possible alternative whilst I held the reverse.

#### "STARVATION v. CHINESE."

And I said: "I am not with you in advocating stagnation and collapse in this Colony in preference to the importation of unskilled labour under proper safeguards." But, more than that. It is possible that the day will come when this community will have to choose between—and I put it

strongly—starvation and Chinese, and they will not choose starvation for all their theories. I appealed to those gentlemen to divest themselves of the atmosphere in which they lived and to put themselves in the position of those who did not know where to turn for their own food, and whose souls were cut out of them because they could not provide food for their own families, and I ask them: "Who will make the sacrifice? You who preach, or they who suffer?" Six months ago at the Inter-Colonial Council, when I appealed for the introduction of indentured Indians for the railways so as to divert the necessity of importing Chinese for the mines, I said worse things could happen than this. You may fail to avail yourself of this controlled relief, but India stands by you ready to open her flood-gates, and in the day of disaster or starvation the people here may say "Give us relief at any cost—no restrictions and no indentures," and we shall have the Indian races here, and they are British subjects and difficult to deal with, not suitable for the work we want, but who in other departments will compete with our own people. If I made a mistake then, sir, I would acknowledge it, but I do not think I made a mistake, and I adhere to it.

Now, sir, I must come to the more detailed subject. My hon. friend—and it is part of the duty which devolves upon me to defend the technical side of this question—my hon. friend, Mr. Hull, and I give him prominence partly because of the ability with which he stated the case, and the strength with which he stated it, and partly because he was the first to present an opposite view—he said that he would deal under four heads with the question; he would endeavour to show, and hoped to succeed, that the figures of the Majority Report showing a shortage of labour were grossly exaggerated, overstated, and unreliable. That was the first. He also said that—and I would ask hon. members to bear it in mind throughout the discussion—he had read every line and every word of this evidence. (Mr. Hull: Hear, hear.) I am glad he adheres to it because it is the less necessary for me to remind him of certain things which he seems to have forgotten; he found fault with the Chamber of Mines' statement because the Chamber of Mines, as I understood him (I do not pretend to quote literally, and I will accept any corrections which the hon. member may offer me) should not have made a statement because they were a highly partisan body, and illustrating that—the extravagance of the Chamber of Mines' statement—he referred to the fact that the Chamber of Mines imported into their statements certain details as to the requirements of the various Harbour Boards, present and future, requirements. I think, sir, that sounds a little bit ridiculous, but it is susceptible of another presentation. The Chamber did put forward this statement upon the authority of the different Harbour Boards. They presented this statement, and in quoting their authority the Chamber practically invited investigation of this subject, and it was open to the Commission to pursue any enquiries which they might think fit. The tip, I may say, was given to them. But why? Because the Chamber anticipated that it might be thought that certain areas were open to them for recruiting, whereas they knew from the Harbour Boards, and from these centres that others who were nearer and had a better claim upon these areas already reckoned upon tapping them. Was it unfair? Was it unwise? Was it unjust to the public? I think not, sir. I think it was highly proper. The figures, said my hon. friend, were grossly exaggerated and overstated and unreliable. Secondly, the mining industry was wholly responsible for the condition of affairs. My note is, "The mess." I put it that way. I think that was what the hon. member tried to convey—

Mr. HULL here intervened, saying: I never used the word "mess."

Sir P. FITZPATRICK: Did I say the hon. member used the word "mess"? I said I used it, sir. Thirdly, the hon. member proposed to make some observations on the question of white labour; and, fourthly, he would try to indicate the steps which in his judgment should have been, and still should be taken to remedy the unfortunate existing state of affairs. Now, sir, the remarks of my hon. friend constituted in my mind a very strong indictment of the Chamber of Mines—(Mr. Hull: "Hear, hear")—and it is an extraordinary thing to me that the hon. member is himself a member of the Chamber of Mines. (Sir G. Farrar: "Hear, hear," and laughter.) And if he felt so strongly upon this subject, surely his interest would have been sufficiently stimulated to attend one meeting of the Chamber of Mines—(Sir G. Farrar: "Hear, hear")—and get off a little of the criticism which he has launched at this House, and get it off in time to prevent the Chamber making these hideous mistakes. Surely public spirit, common interests, the interests of those, may I say, of the millionaire or millionaires whom he represents should have prompted him to take an interest in the body, and to guide the counsels of the body who were mismanaging the general interests of the industry. My hon. friend said that if the immediate and reasonable requirements of the industry could be satisfied, then the controversy would disappear. Well, sir, I might even take him upon these grounds; and would readily if it were not for the risk of stultifying the case as presented by the Chamber and by the industry, and endorsed by the Majority Report, which case I consider to be sound and good, but I could take it on the lowest basis then put forward, and still justify the motion proposed by my hon. friend.

#### REASONABLE AND IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS.

How far are we from satisfying the reasonable and immediate requirements? You have had the answer to-day from the technical adviser to the Government. You have had light thrown on it by the Hon. the Commissioner for Native Affairs, and you have had an analysis by the Hon. the Attorney-General, and you have had this afternoon the Hon. the Colonial Secretary's view on it, and all this has been impartial analysis. I think we can depend upon it. I will leave that, and say that the hon. member charged the Chamber of Mines with having juggled with the figures, and he quoted some returns, I believe, of July, 1899, for the Chamber, of 96,700 natives, or thereabouts, and then referred to later estimate of about 100,000. He suggested very clearly that the latter figure was an afterthought, and that therein lay the juggling. He also stated, sir, that, as I have before observed, he had read every line and word of the evidence. Well, sir, if so, how did he escape the set and elaborate explanation given by Mr. H. Webb in his evidence? The evidence which my hon. friend seems to have forgotten was submitted upon oath, as was all the evidence given before this Labour Commission. I have felt that some of the references made could not have been made had this fact been present to his mind. I don't believe the hon. member would state evidence on oath, or otherwise that he did not sincerely believe in. I do not believe he realised the import of his words when he suggested that others did so.

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## MR. WEBB'S EVIDENCE.

The evidence was put in by Mr. Webb, and his explanation was ample. That explanation was also given to us by the Acting Commissioner of Mines. I need not go through it. Hon. members will recollect that I am reluctant to take up the time of the hon. Council, but there is much in this. It is essential that hon. members should understand the facts, and it is also right to do justice to the attitude of the Chamber of Mines, and it is more particularly necessary to do justice to the engineers, collectively and individually, who submitted this evidence, and who have no opportunity of entering a defence here to-night. This is what is stated by Mr. Webb, and every word and every line of his evidence has been read by his hon. friend: "The Chamber of Mines report 96,704 as the total number employed. The late Government show 95,326 for the same month. The monthly returns to the late Government were made out on forms which called for the average number of natives working per day of 24 hours, not the number in the compound. The returns to the Chamber of Mines were made on a form calling for the number of natives actually employed. On enquiring into the matter of how the returns were made by the various companies to the Chamber of Mines, I find that those for July, 1899, were from 91 companies, that 19 companies the returns from which I have since been able to get made no returns then, and that four Witwatersrand coal companies were included in these columns, out of the number then working. I find that some of the companies made returns on actual workers, that is, shifts, and others on the number of boys in the compound. For these reasons the figures given in the Chamber of Mines returns, not being compiled on a uniform basis, are not reliable." Lower down Mr. Webb said: "Eighty companies have replied. Of this number 54 state that their returns were made up on the total number of boys in the compound, and 26 replied that the returns were made on the average shifts worked. Nineteen made no returns."

I do not wish to enter a defence for Mr. Webb's figures. Mr. Webb has done his best. It happens that his investigation agrees with that of the Department of Mines, still I do not wish to say there is no error. The statement made was made perfectly bona fide, and that there is the defence within this evidence every line and word of which my hon. friend claims to have read, and that defence and explanation were ignored when the statement was made.

Mr. HULL, interrupting, said: If my hon. friend will refer to the speech I made, he will find I distinctly said that I was warned that since this Asiatic business had started the Chamber of Mines or some agent associated with them had been at considerable pains in altering the figures to show that instead of 96,000 boys employed before the war something like 110,000 were employed. Those are the figures quoted by Mr. Webb.

Sir P. FITZPATRICK, continuing, said: Those were figures which were juggled. That is my point. My hon. friend proceeded to deduct from this number the number of boys who were drunk and ill and out of work. Now, I can quite understand the mistake. He did not realise that the deduction had already been made, and that therefore another would be unfair. In the course of his address he said I did not quote 30 per cent. of boys who were drunk. He might have quoted my 60 per cent. if he had looked up the evidence. I have nothing to concede. Our complaint is addressed, not against or at, but to the late Government. We stated that upon certain mines and days which we named 20 and 40 and 60 per cent. of the natives were disabled through drink. It is not for me to say what the average is, because it is quite impossible for me to get the data. I have never thought about the subject. My hon. friend the Acting Commissioner of Mines, has dealt with this question of averages so far as lies in his power. Now, sir, it has been asked why the Chamber of Mines quoted fourteen boys per stamp and now quotes twenty. There have been many estimates, but I will take twenty as the appropriate number. Well, sir, before the war there was a shortage proclaimed—how great it was I do not know, and it really does not matter. Therefore the figure fourteen—which is below the figure which I have any knowledge of, and I do not know where my hon. friend got it—that figure of fourteen was below the average which they could and would have worked at if they could have got the boys. But my point is this: the Chamber, or the engineers, quoted a higher number per stamp to day. Why? Because they have been asked what is the ideal ratio of natives per stamp. It is a matter of professional knowledge, a technical matter, which they worked out on the data available for them, and which in their calculations came to a certain figure—they did not make it more, and they did not make it less. They gave the figure in response to a clear question as to what was the ideal economic ratio.

## RATIO OF NATIVES PER STAMP.

I now come to a technical matter, for which I must apologise again. The ratio of natives per stamp is affected by many things, as, for instance, the weight of stamps, originally 900 lbs., is now, I think, 1,250; sorting which hon. members will realise means a much larger number of men than is thought; then there is the slimes process, and other things. On the eastern and western extension of reefs, where the reefs are narrower, there are a score of things which affect the ratio of boys per stamp, and which it is not necessary for hon. members to concern themselves with, but which I must indicate as explaining why the ratio is different in different localities and on different mines, and will continue to differ at different times upon the same mine. Therefore, apparent inconsistency is not a ground upon which to base a charge of bad faith. There may be bad faith anywhere, but that is no ground, because of the difference in the ratio. There are too many facts governing this ratio which have to be ascertained before an opinion can be formed. Now as to that ratio of 14 boys per stamp, it was that because of the shortage of labour, which my hon. friend has acknowledged, before the war. What I wonder at is that my hon. friend, from his seat in the Chamber of Mines, did not ask for an explanation of these things and fortify himself for this very discussion. It seems to me such a reasonable thing if I am going to make an attack—

Mr. HULL: I hope, sir, that this is the last time that I shall have to rise to object to being put in a false position.

Sir P. FITZPATRICK: I hope so.

Mr. HULL: It is just as well the Council should know that although I am a member of the Chamber of Mines, I have only attended one meeting. I became a member five or six months ago,

and I attended one meeting. Since then I have not put in a single appearance. My hon. friend knows that. Why should he try to put the Council under a false impression?

Sir P. FITZPATRICK: That is one more meeting than I have attended. (Laughter.) I have had no opportunity of attending more. Well, sir, this is independent of all other experiences. My friend quoted the answer to question No. 4,219—in order to show how successful recruiting had been before the war—Mr. Erskine, of the Primrose Mine, who said: “I managed to raise the complement to 3,500 for 160 stamps.” These were old stamps of 900 lbs. weight, which is 22 boys per stamp, and yet my hon. friend never worked it out. This is the evidence quoted by my hon. friend with pride and satisfaction to knock us out. Twenty-two boys per stamp! I would also like to know, having read every line and every word of the evidence, why it has not occurred to him to quote the estimate framed by the engineer, of 160,000, or thereabouts, as the number of boys necessary for the present complement of mines. That estimate, as it has been explained by my hon. friend, the Attorney-General, was prepared, not in view of Chinese labour, but for the private guidance of the chamber, who are directing this industry. It came out by accident on an inquiry being instituted and questions being asked as to what we reckoned our requirements were. Sir, I could ask any member of this Council to consider why, what motive, we could have to play the fool with each other at a Council meeting with regard to the estimate of our own requirements, knowing nothing, dreaming nothing of Chinese labour? It was long before the subject was discussed. What could possess us to put a fictitious estimate upon our requirements? The figures were never to go outside the four walls of the Chamber; then why should we do it? Let me go further and explain how this estimate was arrived at. Engineers representing the separate groups met together—ten, or a dozen or fourteen—and accepting the latter figure, it made 13 to 1 against every man who wanted to overrate his requirements. Why? Because this was for the distribution of natives, and anyone who put his requirements down as 10 too high meant 10 out of the pool which should be given to the other 13. How is it possible, 13 to 1, 1 against 13, that such a fraud could be perpetrated upon each other, and upon the community, as an over-estimate—a false and fictitious estimate, I say, from the evidence submitted by the engineers of the Rand, men of the highest standing, of long experience, and of the highest character (Mr. Hull: Hear, hear), personally known to everyone; personally known, and personally respected and regarded by my hon. friend, and I know it. (Mr. Hull: Hear, hear). It must have been a failure to appreciate the real meaning of his words that led him to charge these men with making a misrepresentation. It could not be anything else. I know it. I know he has no doubt about these men's honesty, and I am not saying this for gallery effect. I am certain that he overlooked the significance of his remarks, when he stated this was an exaggeration, an over-estimate and unreliable. It was stated by my hon. friend that in November of this year 64,000 natives were here and working 5,400 stamps. The figures do not really matter. I do not really wish to hold my friend to them, but they give me an opportunity to make an explanation. The number of natives upon the Rand include those distributed to the developing companies. The point is this, that there are directors and owners of developing properties who are equally entitled with ourselves, assuming that we own producing property, to any distribution of natives. There is no power among ourselves or in the law, which can compel them to forego their rights and enable us to assume them. Under no conceivable arrangement could the Chamber of Mines or the Native Labour Association put pressure upon these people to forego their rights, or if we deprived them of these rights, all they had to do under the articles of association, is to see the Native Labour Association or appeal to the Hon. the Commissioner for Native Affairs, who would quickly see whether they should not have the right to recruit independently, such as was competent for any responsible person to do in British territories, saving where independent Colonies prohibited it.

#### AN OVERLOOKED POINT.

That is the point which is constantly overlooked, that the developing companies have rights. They have, undoubtedly for themselves, also obligations. Their interest charges amount up at a fearful rate. There is no production, there is no profit to set up against them, and when you ask them to forego their right to natives, you are asking them to supply the steady drip of their life's blood as companies. There is no prospect of a recovery at all, and what will the shareholders of these companies say, and what will the directors on the spot, responsible to these shareholders, make by way of their defence? Nothing. There is none. Sir, I am obliged to give a quotation or two from this ponderous book (Native Labour Commission Report), and, unfortunately, from my own evidence. Question 2,635, in reply to the Chairman: “The Rand Mines group are at present working with just a fraction under 10 natives per stamp; to be exact, 9·94. In the middle of 1899 they were working with 15·9 per stamp; say 16 then, as against 10 to-day, and they were then short of natives. We do not regard this as a sound basis, this proportion of 10 natives to a stamp. I have mentioned in my statement that the Rand Mines group cannot be taken as representing the average of the fields, for one thing, because I may say we had opportunities of selecting before the others did, and they were exceptionally well-selected properties, and it would be quite impossible for the average of the Rand to work on the same lines as we can work. We are doing this under a severe pressure of necessity, and at a very great sacrifice of economic consideration. For example: In almost every mine we have had to either abandon or very greatly modify the sorting, and we are running larger stopes for working rock drills, which we would not work if we could get hand drilling done, and, of course, that means we are sacrificing profits. That can be done when you are committed to a certain course; it is better than shutting down. It must be done for the same reasons that companies which are actually started will not only work for a small profit, but they will work for no profit, and even continue to work at a small loss for a long time, as experience shows all over the world, rather than abandon the thing altogether. . . . There is one company even in the Rand Mines group which is included in that average of 10 natives per stamp, which, taken by itself, averages 18·45 natives per stamp, and would be very glad to get more, and has had to make an enormous sacrifice of profit to work on the basis of 18·4 natives per stamp.” I have nothing else to add there.

That closes the quotation, sir. What I wish to point out to the hon. members is that in these in one group, the Rand Mines, owned, controlled and worked by the same people, the average is 10 per

stamp, and yet one individual mine is 18·4. Why? Is it not perfectly obvious that there are differences in conditions which prevent certain mines from working on the average, or working anything like the average. Why otherwise should we rob the other mines for the benefit of one in particular?

Now, an answer to a question by Mr. Quinn. Do you think it is likely that anyone will accept as reasonable a statement of figures based on a period 18 months ago, when companies had to take 15 boys per stamp as against 10 now? Why was not the calculation based on the efficiency now under the changed conditions shown by these figures? Instead of showing us 145,000 as the number required, it shows an enormous number less. I don't quite know how they could get at a basis unless they took the actual results. Later the question was asked: "We have the fact that before the war the Rand Mines managed with 10 boys per stamp. Why, then, was this a calculation of the immediate requirements numbering 145,000 based on the pre-war standard of efficiency as against the present one." The answer was: "The reason was that the engineers had no prophetic instincts. They made the calculation 18 months ago and did not then know what was going to happen." I quote this to you as an indication of the ideas the Minority had in forming their report. Would it be possible to work at no profit at all? I think I might have made the retort: "How is it possible for other people to do their business without a profit, and how long would they last?"

#### THE KAFIR AS A WORKER.

Well, sir, my hon. friend has delivered a eulogy on the Kafir as a worker, and I concur with him. He has traced the work of the Kafir for the last 30 years. That is what he said, but I draw more than he appears to have done. The Kafir, the cheap labourer, has been the basis of the South African development and all South African profit. If we have to vary that basis we have to reconstruct our theories and reconsider the position entirely. As I ventured to put it to the Commission, even on these fields we have extended in every direction effectively. Where we used to have wagons we have railways; where we used to get water from running streams we have a network of dams, and are projecting a big scheme of waterworks costing several millions. We are drawing, as we know to-day, the capital of Europe, and a great deal of interest we have caused in Europe on that account. We have drawn the brains of Europe and America. But in labour we have not extended beyond the original limits very much. We believed that our original field was sufficient and inexhaustible, but it is not. We have to go outside what we thought was the nucleus we could draw upon. It is in labour alone we appear to be restricted in area. My hon. friend said that the Chamber of Mines had been making a desperate effort to get Chinese, and it would have been well for the country if they had directed as much energy to the development of the African supply as they had done to the others. My hon. friend Mr. Loveday said "Hear, hear." Perhaps he also has read the evidence, and, if so, he will satisfy himself that the efforts that have been made to get African labour were far more than had been directed to getting foreign labour.

#### NUMBER OF CHINESE REQUIRED.

It is perfectly impossible for any fair-minded man to advance that theory if he has read this evidence or knew anything like half of the subject as every well-informed person is in a position to know. I have been told by Mr. Hull that I said only a small number would be required. I said at a meeting of the African Labour League the other day that my own personal conviction was that although the estimated requirements of native labour were perfectly correct upon an economic basis, my personal belief was that a very much smaller number of Chinese would carry us over the dead centre. That as we want to avert the crisis and stay off depopulation and perhaps starvation, and to prevent a backward step in this country, and give us breathing time to gain strength for further effort. Not to flood this country with an alien race, because that was his objection to the Chinese. I do not believe they are all that Mr. J. X. Merriman made them out to be. I do not think they would blush if one told the truth in their presence, and I do not believe they are the curse people make them out to be. I am convinced they can be controlled, and that smaller numbers than have been talked about as being required will suffice.

#### SUPPLEMENTING THE SUPPLY.

I adhere to what I said before, that there is no one source of labour, but that many sources must be tapped. My own belief is that one gradual development towards the natural goal to realise in the main or almost in the whole upon white labour. It may not be a year or five or ten years, but I believe the white race will be the backbone of the country, and I believe, sir, that it is necessary in order to attain that, just as necessary as to gain the growth of a fruit tree you prune it; just as necessary as a general in the field says: "Abandon so-and-so to gain another advantage," just as necessary as it is to do these things, so necessary is it for us to take what may appear a backward step in order to go forward on better lines and go forward continuously. We can make no start as we are now. We are hand tied and foot tied. We have a burden more than we can bear. We must gain strength somehow in order to make a fresh start. That is why I believe in supplementing the unskilled labour of this country, that labour by which, as my hon. friend rightly says, we have built up the prosperity of this country, we must supplement that supply with a little extra supply from outside, neither trying a violent change to white labour, which is impossible now, nor facing what is called the alternative of waiting, which means ruin and starvation. In California, sir, for twenty years after 1860, under no restrictions, and with the aid of the six importing companies, with the attractions of free-trading and the fascination of gambling, with all these things they got together in California 75,000 Chinese, although comparatively speaking, they are next door to China. In the subsequent twenty years the 75,000 have dropped to 43,000. Not one has been expelled, but no more have been admitted. Is there a threat of ruin in that to us? I think not, sir. When this subject was being discussed here, cables were passing backwards and forwards, between here and London, and in one of them it was stated that Mr. Ross Skinner, who passed

through California to gather information, was gone there to recruit labour for the mines. The following day in London there appeared the remarkable news—"We cannot spare them; we cannot spare any from California." That was the answer. Now, sir, the supply of native labour has been disorganised by the war. I said that it was my belief that many boys had gone back. They had acquired new habits. They had got out of their bachelor life in compounds. They had married and turned over a new leaf. Anyhow, they have not come back. There was the excessive wage paid by the military. There was the reduction in pay. My hon. friend Sir George Farrar said there were two sides to that question. There are mine and his. Let us all be consistent. I have always stuck to the same thing.

#### THE RATE OF WAGES.

The rate was fixed at £1 by the late Government, and continued under the military to be £1. We were advised in Capetown that this was so, and if that it was possible we would be allowed to start some mines at that beginning. There was a lot of opposition by the military authorities to any idea of raising the pay. I consider those gentlemen were eminently practical. But we took another view. We thought it was impossible to get native labour to work at £1 per month, and we stuck out for a rise up to 30s. I am quite prepared to admit that it was a mistake not to stick out for more—not to make it higher, although there is a great deal to be said seeing the circumstances of the time. I could not foresee what hon. members know to-day. But there it was. We stuck out for a rise and not a lowering of pay. We did consult all the available authorities, including one of the gentlemen who has been so forgetful as to say in this Commissioner's report that it was not, in his opinion, desirable. I do not want to give the name of that gentleman because I believe it was a perfectly bona fide mistake. But I was largely influenced myself by his experience. We did consult them. We had to stand the racket, and I am quite prepared to stand it. I opposed the raising of the wages later, on these grounds. I believe it would be right to say we, the public here, are big employers of labour, we regulate the scale of pay throughout the country practically. We do it for the householder, for the farmer, and the contractors. The farmer and the general public cannot stand this rate of pay. I knew that and said let us go on and try it for a time. It is better to make a sacrifice for a time than to make a mistake which cannot be rectified. I am responsible for not raising the pay above 40s. I fought every rise above it. I skipped the reference to distribution because it was immaterial. When distribution was effected it was not in sixes and sevens, or fives and tens, but in much larger numbers. When a gang was broken up perhaps one-half would keep together. We all know the native, and know that two or three of his friends suffice him for company; so I shall say little of these complaints, which do not exist now.

#### "NOT EVIDENCE."

Now I come near the end of that part I find that what my hon. friend quoted was what a missionary heard from a number of Kafirs; what had been reported to a magistrate, or the gossip of the kraals to recruiters of things passing before the minds of the natives. All this was valuable as a guide, but it was not evidence. "I am told," "I hear it is said," and so the story runs, and that was the burden of my hon. friend's discourse, and that was the case which was to be so overwhelming, which was going to damn the mining industry, on which he was going to instruct my hon. friend the Attorney-General, and get him to present before the Judges of the Courts of England. Well, I really wonder what the English Judges would have said were it possible to conceive the Attorney-General presenting such a case, but to the great surprise of my hon. friend he stated exactly the opposite case. It was gossip, gossip that threaded its sinuous way through the whole of this case. We have never been able to get the facts of the people who would support them; we have never been able to pin people down to a definite charge and come to Sir Godfrey Lagden and call Mr. Perry up and sift this thing to the bottom. I do not dispute that there are cases; I say I do not know them. To every man who has come forward we have said at once, "Come along to Sir Godfrey Lagden, bring it out, and let us have one clear case." Everyone failed, and there is not a case on record.

#### MR. SKINNER'S SUGGESTION.

Reference has been made to Mr. Skinner's suggestion that we should treat the Chinese well, the inference being that we do not treat the natives well—an inference. Reference has also been made to the superior treatment in De Beers compound. Now, owing to the unfortunate enforced absence of my hon. friend from his seat in the Chamber of Mines, it has not been possible for him to see the report of the compound manager, and of the medical adviser to the Chamber, but he will be able to see it before the next debate comes on, and instruct himself and inform himself as to the conditions existing in both the mines of the Rand and the De Beers Mine. He will be able to see that these gentlemen representing many groups are of opinion that we have nothing to learn from De Beers regarding compounds and the treatment of natives, barring one thing—the hospital. This, for certain reasons, we do not desire to duplicate here, the reason being that there are white nurses in that hospital, and we have a different opinion on that point. Sir, the evidence of the Commissioner, Mr. Hardy, has been quoted, in which he says that most of the injured boys come from the small contractors. That is something we have suffered from, that, since every boy coming from here is supposed to come from the mines, every charge that can be made against the place is levelled at the Chamber of Mines. I had a small difference with the Commissioner for Native Affairs. Something has been said about Mr. Douglass Fraser's evidence as to musty food, only fit for horses. The question "What became of it?" is the foundation of that charge against us. What becomes of that food? I don't know, and there is nothing to show what becomes of it. But the Chamber of Mines always buys it. That is the inference, and it is on this we must be tried by English Judges. Now, what becomes of it? Let the question be answered by Mr. Raitt. (Laughter.) Now, my difference with the Commissioner of Native Affairs is this. He said, in a moment I think of rather large generosity and perhaps wishing to let the hon. member down a little bit, that all his charges were true—that they were true before the war, and before the Commissioner of Native Affairs came here. Well, sir, that satisfied everybody



except us. It is quite satisfactory to my hon. friend's Department, and my hon. friend who made the charges. But where do we come in? We don't know about this. We have never suffered this sort of thing before the war. Am I to assume that my hon. friend tried these meales that we would not give to our horses and mules? That is not proof: it is an insinuation. We have taken every possible care. Our contracts are placed with stringent care with good people, and every possible care was exercised, and why not? Am I to put it at its lowest, and say that they are as valuable to us as our horses and mules? No, we have a better defence than that. We have not fallen so low that we disregard the human beings who work for us. That we make mistakes is possible, certain, I suppose, but that we do such things habitually is absolutely untrue. The simple fact why natives do not come here is that there are six employers for every native who offered. We have been told that Zululand has become unfashionable; let me tell you, my hon. friend, that Zululand is prohibited ground. One other thing was given in the way of evidence against us. My hon. friend, Mr. Hull, inferentially explained that Mr. Erskine implied there must have been bad treatment before the war. That was evidence against the Native Labour Association, which was started after the war. Heaven help me! I can't follow it. He also quoted a portion of the complaint of the Hector Spruit farmer, but left out that portion where the man went on and revealed his purpose, and claimed that the old touting system was best. We have to bear the sins of the old Government and the sins of the present Government: the Commissioner of Natives, and the sins of the railway. I don't know if my hon. friend, the Attorney-General, still represents the railways. Then we have to answer "the one tooth that grew to twenty," and that is the case that was going to smash us and be submitted before the Bench of English Judges. All these things are the evidence brought forward in support of the charge against the Chamber of Mines in its treatment of natives. Sir, I could give an illustration of the quotation, that of Mr. Grant, which was completely withdrawn in a later paragraph, that in which my hon. friend kindly expressed solicitude for the firm to which I have the honour to belong, which solicitude would have been quite unnecessary if he had only read the context in the letter and not stopped where he did, which explained the whole thing. The letter needs no explanation. It appears in substance on page 488, Native Labour Commission Report. The reference to voluntary boys is well known, or ought to be, by every member of the Chamber of Mines. We have been told, sir, there is no reference made to the benefits. We have received benefits; we have acknowledged them. The benefits have been enumerated at the meetings of Messrs. Goers and Co., but no mention was made of the profits tax which his Excellency Lord Milner mentioned specifically as an off-set against these claims. No mention was made of other things, such as the increase of native wages and food and increase of white labour. These things reduced the profits, but all that is said to show what we have got is that somebody said one can expect reductions of costs from 25s. to 22s., and ultimately to 17s. 6d. Sir, I regret that I should have to precede my hon. friend, Mr. Loveday, because I am sure he has something very instructive to say, and it will be useful to know what it is, but my friend, Sir George Farrar, will no doubt deal with it. I am prepared for it, because he has already shewn his strict impartiality by attending a public meeting on this subject. He complains he had not time to master the facts of the evidence, but he had time to attend a public meeting and express his views. Perhaps facts are not essential to procure conviction. I understand the hon. member that he is in favour of waiting. So are the gentlemen who signed the Minority Report. It is a curious thing that both those gentlemen participate in the water scheme, and certainly Mr. Quinn, as chairman of the Water Board, estimated for Johannesburg an increase of 50 per cent. in size and requirements in the next three years. I have just read addresses of the hon. members for Pretoria about the requirements here with much interest, what they project for the next five years. What is it all for? Upon what do they base it? Where are they going to get the money from? What is the necessity for it? The cure is stagnation. What is the idea in Capetown of prospecting a new harbour, or in East London of reclaiming the site of the Buffalo River. What is the use of completing the extensions at Durban and Delagoa Bay? We are told that patience is the cure; but do these people realise what it means on their own account? Do they know the significance of this thing, and upon what their prosperity rests? No more, sir, than hon. gentlemen in Pretoria who think that Pretoria will progress without the mines. It is a mistake. They had better revise their calculations. They had better account to the people of Pretoria, to the clerks in the Civil Service, who will lose their billets, to the staffs in merchants' offices, to the employees of the Municipal Council, and to the people who were extending the town of Pretoria. What do you want with your new waterworks; what is the idea of bringing water from the Ollifants River? The thing is visionary, sir, it is unnecessary. The waterworks you have here, the present arrangements will be ample, more than enough, because you have got to go back to the basis of 1897. You are not going to stick at the basis of 1899; but you have got to reduce it all by 40 per cent. Everyone knows the condition of this country is based upon the output, and saving a reasonable allowance, they will have to come back to the output. There will be a difference because people will stick on and face starvation, just as the mining companies will work on even at a loss for a time, as long as they can. But there will be a big shelling out notwithstanding, and amongst other things the population will have to be reduced and everything else too.

#### THE POLICY OF PATIENCE.

The policy of patience is what I want to refer to. Mr. Loveday can preach patience, but what about the man in the street who is going to lose his work. The toad under the harrow knows exactly where each tooth goes. The butterfly upon the rosebush preaches contentment to it? (Laughter.) My hon. friend Mr. Hull says "Hear hear." Sir, he is a director of the West Rand Estates a new and valuable discovery. What is the good of it all? The thing is veld—bare veld, and worthless without labour. It may contain the wealth of a Bonanza, but it is worthless without labour. That is a fair example. Now, sir, I must refer to some of the remarks made by my hon. friend Mr. Bourke. He gave the queerest and weirdest reason I ever listened to in my life, and I say that, without disrespect, as he assured me, that he could give and take hard knocks. He assured this hon. House, as I understand him, that he had been in favour of this motion, or the spirit of this motion. He had not had time to read everything, but he had read the Majority Report, and

that had converted him. (Laughter.) Well, sir, if it were not for the amount that hon. members have suffered already, I could wish that this debate might be adjourned until to-morrow, in the hope that he might read the Minority Report, and perhaps he would change his mind again and vote for the motion. He excuses himself for turning over several pages, and it reminded me so forcibly of what happened on another occasion with disastrous results—the mischievous pranks of two boys who gummed together two leaves of the Bible before the clergyman came to read. It was in Genesis, and he read: “Now Noah’s wife was 102 years old,” and he turned over the gummed pages—“one hundred cubits long and sixty cubits wide, pitched inside and out, and made of cedar wood.” (Laughter.) I picture to myself my hon. friend when he reads his logic in the morning’s paper, and I fancy myself saying as the worthy clergyman did when he turned to the Psalms, “We are fearfully and wonderfully made.”

WHERE THE COMMISSION WAS HELD.

My hon. friend objects to the fact that the Commission was held in Johannesburg. Would he have had it held at Wolmaransstad? The object of the Commission was the available sources of supply, not to discuss Chinese. I do not wish to press a point that must be clear to everyone, that if a certain answer was received, a certain solution would be offered. What is the objection to Johannesburg? I cannot see it. I cannot follow my friend through his Indian argument, and there is no necessity for it. The differences between this Colony and Natal are so great that there is no analogy present or past. As a general rule, when people of our own race do a certain thing, we understand more or less the principles or ideas which guided them, and if they do a thing we don’t think right, it is generally advisable before passing judgment to look into the local surroundings, and we may find we would have done the same. The people of Natal as a whole approve of what they have done, even although they have free Indians there. We don’t contemplate anything of that sort. The Premier and the principal people of Natal gave it as their opinion that Indian labour was priceless in Natal, and that Natal would be ruined without it. I wish that my hon. friend could take all this evidence home and obtain a larger view of the whole. I wished to offer him the stimulating example of the English Judge who had to deal with a Welsh jury, who were much in the same position. There was the case of a burglar who had been caught half in at a window. The jury returned a verdict of “Half guilty,” and Lord Justice Stephens, after enquiring the reason for the verdict, sentenced the top half of the prisoner to six months’ imprisonment, and told him he could do what he liked with the rest. (Laughter.) That is the solution. If my hon. friend had gone at it straight, he would have found there are things both ways. But going on the whole question, taking a comprehensive view, you come back to this: It is a question of solution. Have you a solution to offer, and if not, what is your objection to this one. My hon. friend, Mr. Raitt has also given us some gossip. First of all I would like to say that he is the best advocate on our side, because he has told us that white labour, under conditions which it is generally understood, is impossible, generally speaking. He told us it is impossible to substitute white labour for black labour; he has told us that for underground work it was only savages, not the semi-civilised natives we have here, but the Gazas and East Coast boys, are suitable. Now, we know exactly where we are. I do not know the numbers, they are not available. He complained of the methods of the Chamber, a recruiter was sent to a part where he was unknown, a contractor who wanted his old boys could not get them; a compound manager said he was not free to take them. I ask him if there is anything in one of these charges, will he kindly take it to the hon. the Commissioner for Native Affairs and have the thing investigated. Will he do us the favour to represent one complaint so that we may have one case brought home to us. One solution that had been offered by both Mr. Raitt and Mr. Bourke had been, he understood, the establishment of a Government Department which will take charge of all recruiting. That is a vote of confidence in the Government, to which I say, with all respect, I am not prepared to subscribe. I can see, I believe, I fancy I feel, that other heads of Departments, having in view the criticism which is likely to come at the next session, looking around for hon. members who have got such complete trust in them, as the two hon. members, Mr. Bourke and Mr. Raitt, had. If we should give it up, and place it in the hands of a Government Department, I do not say that the Government Department would not be efficient, according to the measure of its ability, but I do say that it is not possible for any Government Department to offer the inducement, the legitimate inducement, that we can offer, of large salaries, and the services of experienced men, and I must also add the gratuitous services of ten or fifteen of the directors of the industry, constantly giving, day in and day out, unceasing attention to the subject. Does the hon. member, Mr. Raitt, propose that the Government should do as it has been said was done by us in pre-war days, and offer inducements to the chiefs—particular inducements to the chiefs to give his fatherly advice to the tribe to go out to work.

Mr. RAITT: The influence of the chiefs should be enlisted by the Government to obtain this end.

Sir P. FITZPATRICK: Yes, enlisting is a good word. But what we want to know is how is the hon. member to enlist the labour? It is a fine phrase. Is the labour to be enlisted as it was supposed to have been done before? Are the native commissioners to have their interest stimulated?

Mr. RAITT: Certainly.

Sir P. FITZPATRICK: And payment according to results? The hon. member says it is not for him to say. I think he is like the Bishop of Timbuctoo, who is asked to amuse his congregation by standing on his head, “No,” he said, “it is a length to which even a Colonial Bishop does not go.” The hon. member is not going to the length of offering rewards to officials of the Government, I see no sense whatever in it. Either you want pressure by the Government or you don’t. If you do it is compulsory labour, if not you go on as you are. Relying on a fair organisation under the supervision of the Government, exercising its control for the benefit of the whole community—it is not workable; it is quite unworkable. We have been told that the old conditions were bad, and the old rate of pay was discouraging. Under the old and bad conditions we got plenty of boys, and it is stated under the new and good ones, we do not get them. If the rates of pay were low, and that was the cause, I can understand that it would



affect the supply to the mines, but why should it affect the supply to independent people outside the mines, to contractors and people in Pretoria. Pretorians had never reduced wages, and why were they short? The people of Natal were short, and they did not reduce their pay; and the people in the Cape Colony and Orange River Colony were short, and they did not reduce the wages. We have practically as many natives within a thousand or two from Portuguese East Africa. There is another explanation, and it is that the demand throughout the country is greater than the old available sources can satisfy. There were four solutions. Native labour, white labour, imported Asiatic labour and stagnation. No Government will go so far as to enforce native labour for our benefit and the Imperial Government will not sanction it.

#### WHITE LABOUR.

In regard to white labour, Mr. Creswell said that, why he did not succeed was because he could not get the right class of labour. He had only one selected mine, and yet, when he could not get the right men for one mine, he wanted them to believe that white labour could be used along the reef. I need not go through it all. The position, unfortunately, with Mr. Creswell, was that he really honestly believed he was right, and everybody else was wrong—everybody else. There was not a discordant note in all the professional opinion. He alone must be right, and he really could not see it. He meant it honestly, he could not see it. But, sir, I refer to this for another purpose. Mr. Hull said it could not be successful because he (Mr. Creswell) did not have the sympathy of his consulting engineer. Now, sir, it is due to this consulting engineer that I should say this, that at an earlier stage, a good many months ago, it was clear to most of us that the experiment could not succeed. An incident occurred which should rightly have involved the resignation of the manager. The consulting engineer, Mr. Sidney Jennings, came to me and said: "There is more in this than personal feeling or professional etiquette. There is a big thing at stake, I will resign in order that the white experiment may be carried on without the slightest prejudice or interference. I will resign and make it easy. He need not resign, and that was the arrangement. Now, sir, I have been told, and I have heard it repeatedly said, we went back upon our own consulting engineer in favour of the manager. That is not true. It was an offer and a very fine offer of the consulting engineer himself, to facilitate a certain experiment which he thought might be for the benefit of the place, and might possibly be successful, although it was contrary to his judgment. That consulting engineer was conducting experiments five times as large as the one on the Village Main Reef, and doing it without advertisement, and doing it within reasonable limits, and within those limits making a success of it, and those experiments, if I may call them so, if they have not gone beyond the stage of experiments are being continued to-day. They are within the limits that are expressed in the figures, which I have quoted, 10 boys to one stamp. I have furnished the evidence against ourselves. If I wanted to make a case for Chinese labour, is it conceivable I should have put the evidence of the Rand Mines voluntarily? Did I not know it could be used; did I not know it ought to be used; did I not hope it would be fairly used? It has not been fairly used. The extreme case of success has been used as an example of what may be done on the average, and all proof to the contrary has been ruthlessly discarded. Then there was that unfortunate letter of Mr. Tarbutt's which has been produced in evidence against us by Mr. Hull. Mr. Tarbutt said that somebody else had said that Wernher, Beit, and Co. had expressed so-and-so. Before it reached Mr. Creswell there were four removes. The letter was written on July 3, 1902. In October and November, 1902, I personally brought Mr. Creswell into contact with two members of the firm who were supposed to have expressed those views. I never knew about this letter. He never asked them about it, or if those were their views. He never gave the slightest sign that would give them an opportunity of denying it. He kept it in his pocket probably for later use, and from July, 1902, to September 22, 1903, nearly 15 months, he was conducting these experiments by reason of the support of the very firm who were supposed to have expressed those views—in daily contact with that firm without once showing the letter. Must I comment upon it? I do not think it is necessary. Sir, is it to be wondered that I resent this? In this evidence I am the recipient of a testimonial and complimentary remark. I want no compliments at the expense of the gentlemen with whom I am proud to work. I will not have them. I expressed no opinion that were contrary to theirs. I received no directions from them. No pressure was brought to bear except one question. The one question was: What is the time limit for this patience? That is all; that is the question I had asked myself. I must say that in vindication of the gentlemen whose opinions had been bandied about so very freely at third and fourth hand. The third alternative, sir, was Chinese labour, and I would like to say this plainly. If it is criminal no case can be made for it—none—and I honour the gentlemen who oppose it on the ground that it is criminal and injurious to the future of South Africa. If it is not criminal, what justification is there for any artificial restriction, that is the question we have to face. Mind you, I say this: were there a possible alternative I should endeavour to force development upon white lines, but it is not possible, and I do not see any justification for the artificial limitation which is proposed, because the motion of my hon. friend, Sir G. Farrar, is not, in my opinion, criminal, and does not carry any reprehensible suggestion in it.

#### THE RESTRICTIONS.

I believe, sir, that the restrictions can be made effective. I do not propose to go into that, but I do hope that the restrictions will be embodied in regulations, not embodied in the law. The law should regulate the spirit of the restrictions so that the regulations can never be in conflict with the law, but they should be in such a condition that if anything fails they can be altered at once without waiting for a session of Parliament. For we have had experience with regard to the Liquor Law and the Gold Law of having to wait six or twelve months to get a regulation altered, because it was part of the law. The law should dominate the regulations in such a way that in no circumstances can the regulations be relaxed, but if they are not effective they can be strengthened as an additional safeguard. I am as anxious as anybody to make a success of these regulations, so that there shall be no leakage and no breakdown, and that is why I press this suggestion. I am told that this is a

national question, one extending beyond the boundaries of South Africa, and I have seen copies of cables for the use of the public meeting of Capetown sent by the Premiers of New Zealand and Australia, and the Commissioner of Customs for the Federal Ministry. I do not admit the position taken up. I do not admit that it alters the condition of this country as a portion of the Empire in such a way that they can improperly make suggestions. I believe the Empire is held together, and will be held together, by the spirit of co-operation, and not cohesion. I believe in local independence. The people of this Empire have always shown individuality, which is the backbone of self-reliance, a spirit reflected upon the individuals of this community, and so on small communities affecting a great Empire. They jealously preserve that local independence. They cling to, and properly, their local patriotism, but it is regulated, governed, controlled by the larger, greater patriotism which holds us all together. Essential to that greater independence is that local independence. Whatever I can say cannot be said as well as it has been expressed before, "Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress in my own." The position of the South African Colonies is somewhat different. I do not wish, in regard to any of them, to use the word interference, least of all with regard to the South African Colonies, because if men there experienced the same nervous apprehension as I experienced—if they are as ignorant of the Chinese subject as I was, and not so well informed of the conditions as I was, how can I blame them for feeling anxious? There is a proverb, and a Chinese proverb, which I think we can apply to ourselves: "If a stranger be in your melon patch observe him not too closely. Inattention is sometimes the sincerest form of politeness." (Laughter.) I think they may very well claim—and I am sure their claim will be courteously met—a right to restrict any spread of the Chinese into the neighbouring Colonies. There we will meet them, and there I hope they will be content to meet us. There is a great deal to be said on that question—as to their dependence upon us, and how the intimate relations between these Colonies might be affected by any unwise action now. I hope nothing that may be said will be taken in such a way as to strain the good feelings which I believe exist or to drive the people of this country towards another ideal, towards the cultivation of trade in other directions, towards the reckoning up of a balance sheet merely, or away from the development of federation. We have to find the solution. That is my difficulty. I have listened to all that has been said by my hon. friends who oppose the motion. I have talked with all of those who would discuss the matter with me, and no effort has been spared by my hon. friend or myself to get at some workable solution. I have not found any. Nothing has been said here, not a single suggestion has been given, to help us out of our difficulty. What we want is not merely criticism, but instructive criticism. Our aim is, as I have said before, ultimately to make this as much a white man's country as possible. I use the phrase "white man's country," as I have used it before. We know that, by wishing it, we cannot get the native out of Africa. I cordially agree with Mr. Solomon as to the magnitude of the problem, and with the view uttered by the Attorney-General that this labour question is not to be mixed up with the native question. It is a passing question, but the native question is one that will be with us, and with our children's children, one of the biggest problems that a small white people has ever had to tackle, and we have got to face it together. The aim, sir, is a white man's Africa, as far as is compatible—a large, contented and prosperous white community. Upon what can be formed this expectation? Upon the prosperity of the mineral industry, as pointed out by the Attorney-General. What is wrong? Only labour, sir. When you have a problem to face you have got to get your facts straight. See what the problem is. See what is wrong. See what your solution is, and go straight for it, and go ruthlessly. Discard side issues. Hurt somebody you must, damage somebody you will; to abandon your previous theories, postpone your former hopes; all is inevitable, but if you have the courage of your convictions you have got to face it. Face it, sir; face it, face the only proposition which I can see which will give us this relief and start us on the forward journey. (Applause.)

MR. LOVEDAY.

10.45. MR. LOVEDAY said he regretted that at that hour he had to inflict a speech upon the House. His hon. friend had already referred to the personnel of the Labour Commission. He fully agreed with every word his hon. friend had uttered, but would go a little further, and say that it was a great mistake that partisans should have been appointed to the Commission. When he looked at the names of the gentlemen who had already pledged themselves to a course of action before they sat on the Commission, he thought it was impossible that they there should not think it very difficult to accept their report. For instance, what did they find? They found that his hon. friend, Sir George Farrar advocated the importation of Asiatics at a meeting on the 1st April of the present year,—a very fit day he (Mr. Loveday) must admit. (Laughter.) Further, he found that Messrs. Goch, Tainton, and Philip were members of the Foreign Labour Association. He also found that at a meeting called by Mr. Michael Dodd, Mr. Perrow was asked to address the meeting in support of Chinese labour. (Sir George Farrar: "The 1st of April was your day. The meeting was on the 31st of March. The opposition was on the 1st of April.") (Laughter.) Well, one day did not make much difference. Then his hon. friend, Mr. Brink, was reported in the "Leader" to have said that foreign labour must be brought into the country, as the native labour was not sufficient for the needs of the country. Then they had Mr. Sam Evans, whose pro-Chinese proclivities were well known. Thus they had a Commission of gentlemen who really had made up their minds that there was no labour in South Africa, and that the introduction of Chinese was the only solution. He would say that it was better in future that if a Commission were appointed that the members be men who had not expressed their opinion; and it would be much better for hon. members to have the evidence to judge for themselves. Now, Sir George Farrar wished the Government to introduce a Bill. Why did he not introduce a Bill himself? The House would be much freer to deal with it, and the promoters of the Bill would not then have been able to rely on the able assistance of the Attorney-General to steer the Bill through the House. (Hear, hear.) It had been said that there had always been a shortage of labour. Quoting the report of the Chamber of Mines for 1897, he showed that there was such a marked improvement in the number of boys in that year that a meeting was convened of the Chamber to consider the reduction of wages. A resolution was passed reducing the wages on an average 30 per cent. The change gave little inconvenience. Yet, in face of that statement of the

Charaber, how could the Commission report that there never was a sufficiency of native labour, for for two years they had more labour practically than was required? There had not at any rate been a shortage of labour always, and the returns of the mines showed the handsome profits from 5 to 250 per cent. It seemed to him that the majority had a desire to exaggerate and the minority to reduce. If they had been furnished with a list of all the companies and all the stamps hung up they might have been able to judge whether some of the stamps had been dropped never to be raised again, because there were many companies in that pleasant position to-day. He now came to the wonderful statistics furnished as to the native population. Taking the Transkei he found that out of 800,000 natives it was calculated that 100,000 were able-bodied. In Natal Mr. Samuelson told them that out of the same number 164,000 men were able-bodied. It was a wonderful discrepancy between two calculations, and there was nothing to show why this should be so. The most remarkable part of it was that in Natal 201,000 men worked during the year. Mr. Samuelson said he did not attach much importance to the figures, though, he understood, they had been compiled for the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal. He did not, in fact, know how they or the members of the Commission were to arrive at the number of able-bodied natives in the whole of South Africa. He would pass on to the evidence of Mr. Mello Breyner, and he wished that members would remember that testimony which most of them seemed to have forgotten—as to the large number of natives on the East Coast. That evidence was in no way refuted, and was practically substantiated by Mr. Ferris's evidence. They found that it was calculated that in Portuguese territories in the East there were 800,000 natives, and 750,000 was a liberal computation of the number available for mine work. It struck him that if it was made worth its while for the Portuguese Government to see that there was a better supply, that Government would not be trammelled by Exeter Hall considerations or by the Government at Home. He took it that the Portuguese would like to have the labour more utilised—he did not mean by pressure, but by a little judicious taxation. They made only 13s. when the boys left, 10s. when they came back, and 6d. for every month over the stipulated time. They had here an association which was practically a monopoly, whatever Sir George Farrar might say. That association was being run for all it was worth for the mines, and if anyone else wanted labour they were dependent on the association. The boys were smart enough to know when they were dealing with a private association. They had heard a great deal about the treatment of natives before the war. It was not surprising that the native still shunned the mines, and he would refer members to the evidence of Mr. Douglas Fraser and Mr. Grant—and if anyone knew how the natives were fed and treated it was these two gentlemen. Then, the places of supply had not been exhausted. One man offered 20,000 from Somaliland, but it appeared, that at the last moment a guarantee of £5,000 was asked for. It was in evidence that several thousands were sent to Madagascar to work on the railways. Surely they might have been used in this country. The Acting Commissioner of Mines had made a discovery the previous night, but he had not followed it up. He had found that the late Government had statistics based on calculations on the shift system, which was unreliable, but he should have pursued his researches further, and he would have found that the total number of labourers working was also given at the end of the year. If there were 89,000 on December 31, 1898, would the hon. member contend for one moment that 21,000 boys were recruited between December 31 and July 30? That showed that these returns could not possibly be correct. Not only that. The war clouds were already on the horizon in the beginning of 1899, and men were beginning to cut their coats according to their cloth. Sir G. Farrar said he had been up to Rhodesia and they had no labour there, and that he could not understand that there were 500,000 natives there, and he did not believe it. He presumed Sir G. Farrar went through the country in the train, and did not go into those country districts.

Sir G. FARRAR: Oh, yes, I did.

Mr. LOVEDAY said how Sir George Farrar came to the conclusion that there were not 500,000 boys there he could not see, and he did not see how the hon. member could expect them to believe it. As to the point that natives from Uganda did not know how to use the pick and shovel, he wondered whether any who came from Eastern Portuguese territory knew the use of tools when they first came, and yet they were told that they were the very best boys the mines had. Having combatted the statement of the Commissioner for Native Affairs, who had said that a very fair percentage of the boys in the Transvaal were at work, Mr. Loveday went on to criticise the evidence given by Mr. Bleloch, who said that natives should not be engaged in house work of the class usually performed by women amongst civilised people. While he said that Mr. Bleloch did not give them any solution of the problem as to how they were going to replace the domestic boy. With regard to the boys required for railway purposes he noticed that those who quoted the number of miles of railway to be made forgot entirely to mention that labour which could be got to work on the railways would never go to the mines.

#### CLOSING DOWN OF MINES.

With regard to what had been said about the closing down of mines on account of shortage of labour, a property in the Klerksdorp district had been referred to. He was very pleased to hear that the property had to close down on account of shortage of natives, because hitherto he had been under the impression that the reason was shortage of gold. If they had statistics before them they would be able to determine how many of these properties which proclaimed that they closed down for want of labour really shut down because they had not enough gold to make them pay. They had been told that the working on the Witwatersrand Goldfields, considering all things, was cheaper than in any other place in the world, and if that were really so, he was very much surprised that native wages should have been cut down to a miserable 30s. a month. The hon. member had paid a high tribute to Mr. Creswell, and at the same time he pulled everything to pieces that Mr. Creswell had done, and if Mr. Creswell was the man he was said to be, he must have been badly treated. They used white labour on the Crown Reef and lost 2s. 7d. per ton, but the hon. gentleman who told them that forgot that this company, which could not afford to lose 2s. 7d. per ton, paid a dividend of from 125 to 170 per cent. per annum. They were also told that if Mr. Creswell's idea of using white labour had been carried out it would have lost a million per annum to the shareholders. That would have been a magnificent gain to the country. It was true the shareholders would have suffered a little, but out of

their four millions of dividends per annum they might have spared a million to this country. He did not expect them to do anything so heroic, but it would have been all the better for the country if the million had been spent here.

#### MR. TARBUTT'S LETTER.

Then the hon. member had tried to explain away Mr. Tarbutt's letter but was it to be wondered at that the public, with a letter like that before them, put the construction they did upon it, viz., that the mining people thought Chinese labour far preferable to white labour, because it would not raise the labour difficulty. They were next told that the desire was to bring in 10,000 Chinese as an experiment; and that they were to be sent back again, but if they proved a success and better workmen than the kafir, was it not a foregone conclusion that they would have all the mines worked by Chinamen, and dependent upon the Chinamen. There would come a day when the Chinese, realising the strength of their position, would demand their freedom, and were the mines going to be philanthropic enough to send them back? He did not think they would. They would say, "We will give them their liberty and hang the country. What would be the position if all the mines were worked by Chinamen, who were very conservative and would want not only food, but clothing from abroad. The mines now took £200,000 worth of mealies in the year, which would be lost to the farmers of the Colony. Then take the question of wages. On the basis of the figures in 1898 the wages of the boys amounted to £2,650,000 and the whole of that money was spent in South Africa. This money, which would be twice as much if they could get the Chinamen they wanted, would be taken away to China, and how was the Colony going to benefit by working the mines under these circumstances. The small white population which was here would disappear if there was no trade, and they would have the enormous sum paid in wages going to China, the whole of the dividends going to Europe, and the Transvaal farmers would be left high and dry.

If they wanted ocular demonstration of what the compound system meant, and in an acute form, they had only to go to Kimberley. He regretted that Mr. Stanford was not called as a witness before the Labour Commission, because had that gentleman been called he (the hon. member) believed Mr. Stanford would have said there was a fairly large supply of labour, if properly regulated, to be had in the Transkei. As to the Attorney-General's remark that the Boers had not sent in objections to the Chinese, he (Mr. Loveday) said that the reason was that the Boers were practically broken in spirit; they said, "You have taken our country, because we could not rule it; now rule it yourself, and rule it as you like; and see if you can rule it any better." That was the answer they would get to-day from nearly every Boer in the country.

#### MR. LOVEDAY'S REMEDY.

As to the remedy for the labour problem, it might be a very slow one, but he did not think it would have the awful effect his hon friend Sir P. Fitzpatrick stated, and make people go glove in hand and say, "Anything rather than starvation." At a previous period the people had faced a bad time, when they had no capitalists to help them over the gate, and then they, the people, did the best they could. Was there a sufficiency of labour in South Africa? If they took the number of boys hanging about, there was a sufficiency of labour in South Africa, but the question was, how to get these boys to work, and had every means been exhausted to get these boys to work? As long as they allowed these natives to live on the land for practically nothing—for a very little taxation—they would get very little labour in this country. He suggested that no natives be allowed to squat on any farm except those farms occupied by white persons, because they found to-day that they (the natives) were squatting over lands belonging to the great land corporations and paying taxes to them; and the natives would squat there and never work as long as they had as much land as they liked to cultivate. If this Squatters' Law was to be altered, they must consider that the native must be protected in any contract he entered into with the farmer. That could be done by the native commissioners, who could see that every contract was fulfilled. There might be a maximum number of boys for certain areas, and further a certain number of boys might be allowed to go and work wherever they pleased. Then the Attorney-General had referred to the Glen Grey Act. Well, they could have a Glen Grey Act as far as the splitting of the ground was concerned, and he (Mr. Loveday) would tax the boys very heavily, but say, "If you do a certain amount of work, I will remit the whole of the tax." He thought under these conditions they would get a large number to work, especially if they knew the land was there. This idea, he believed, would have been put into operation by the late Government. He advocated taxing the boys heavily, but remit all the taxes if the native did a certain amount of work. Surely they could expect some labour from the native—were the natives never going to work? Were they going to encourage the natives in idleness? Whites had to work, some doing 365 days in the year, but the native was under the impression he could idle. If they could get the natives to work only six months he was better off even then than any other man in the world. These locations meant nothing more or less than polygamy, beer-drinking, and idleness. Were they going to pit that against civilisation and labour?

#### MR. LOVEDAY'S VIEW OF THE FUTURE.

Immediately (continued Mr. Loveday) they permitted Chinese to come to this country the native question would remain as it was. They would not then need to trouble about the natives—as in the past. If Chinese came he felt that the native question would rest. They said that the native would work hard when the Chinese came; but did he work when the coolie came into Natal. (Mr. Hosken: Yes.) He would like the statistics—though not those stated by Mr. Samuelson, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs for Natal. He felt most keenly they were taking a step that day that they would probably regret in the future.

#### OTHER SPEAKERS.

11.55. Mr. BRINK said he was one of the men who was formerly very much against the importation of labour to this country, but he was now in favour of the motion. He was sorry that Mr. Loveday when a member of the Volksraad did not then find a solution. As Mr. Cronje had said, they had not

the labour. To make farming a success, they wanted not only cheap labour, but they wanted continuous labour. As to the remarks about Mr. Stanford not having given evidence before the Labour Commission, the Chairman of that Commission did all he could to get Mr. Stanford to come. The Cape Government were written to, but they replied that they were sending two magistrates instead. They were short of labour for agriculture. The Attorney-General, who was a great statesman and a great lawyer, one of whom the South Africans were proud, had himself said he wished to see South Africa developed, and take a right position with the other Colonies as a member of the great Empire. The figures of the agricultural requirements (to which figures reference had been made), had been altered, but the other figures were correct. Possibly the agricultural figures were underestimated. How Mr. Loveday was going to work a farm with one and a half boys—(Question)—was more than he could understand. He only wished the poor Boers would find labour. The coolies, he submitted, had been a blessing to Natal.

12.12. Mr. ROUX said he very much doubted if they had developed all the resources of the aborigines, but he believed that the importation of foreign coloured labour would have a very salutary effect on the native labour. He was confident it would teach the native the dignity of labour. He supported the motion before the House, and in doing so he was confident he was doing his country a service. He was born in South Africa. He must thank some of the members of the Council for the interest they had taken in the ex-burgher class of this Colony. He trusted that this interest was quite genuine.

12.17. MR. WARE said he should have liked to place before the Council statistics showing the shortage of labour amongst farmers and information showing how children were kept away from school at an important time because of the lack of labour at their homes; but there was not time now for the elaboration of such points. It had been said that the vote of the official members was a foregone conclusion. The Attorney-General had informed the House that every member was voting in this matter according to his own individual feelings and freedom. He (Mr. Ware) should like to take this opportunity of endorsing that. He did not know how the official members on the front bench were going to vote until he learnt it from their speeches in the debate itself, and as to the fifth official member on the front bench, as he had not yet spoken, he (Mr. Ware) did not know how that hon. member (the Commissioner of Lands) was going to vote. Mr. Ware denied that the financial houses had exercised any influence on them.

12.20 The COMMISSIONER OF LANDS said that being the only member of the Executive who had not spoken, he thought it might not be well to record a silent vote. He wished to say he was in harmony with the motion of Sir George Farrar. The arguments from almost every member who had spoken were so overpowering in favour that it was not necessary to say anything more. A position had arisen from time to time in regard to Australia and an analogy had been drawn between Australia and the Transvaal. It was known throughout the world that Australia was under the tyranny of the Labour Party, one of the main principles of which was a minimum wage—a living wage which might be anything according to the manner in which the men chose to live. That touched the whole question, the margin with which they had to deal between the cost of production and the living wage. It was perfectly evident that Australia could never develop its resources; they had hundreds of thousands and millions of tons of ore which would yield half an ounce to the ton, but with the minimum wage they could not be worked. Curiously enough, that had a most conservative effect. The bondholder over Australia had consented to allow it to go on. He knew his security could not be touched as long as labour was dominant, and when it would be dominant no longer the bondholder would have to deal with the Labour Party. Personally he said there was no analogy between Australia and the Transvaal. They had not got an artificial wage which prevented their country being developed. There was no margin for them to employ white labour.

#### SIR G. FARRAR'S REPLY.

12.25. Sir G. FARRAR, replying to the debate, said that the hon. members, Mr. Bourke and Mr. Loveday, based a great portion of their arguments upon the speeches of Mr. Escombe. The book containing Mr. Escombe's speeches had been handed to him, and he would turn up one page, and beyond that page he would not go. He states: "Any man who seeks to introduce labour from abroad cannot do so at the public expense. On the other hand, no person has the right to say to an employer you shall not get your labour where you please." That was his (Sir George Farrar's) case. He went further than that. He said they wished to get their labour under proper restrictions, and with due regard to the interests and the people of the country. Mr. Bourke asked what the French Minister of Finance had to do with the Transvaal. He had quoted what the French Minister had said in the Senate that he ascribed the depression in the world's markets to the stagnation of the Transvaal mines. So long as these mines were not working, he said the morbid condition of the market would continue. That Colony produced over one-third of the gold output. Mr. Bourke said the output of gold had nothing to do with people outside of the Transvaal. He (Sir George) said the policy of Mr. Bourke advocated was the burying of the talents that God Almighty had given to that country; and then Mr. Bourke complained that the Attorney-General had not provided Pretoria with a Deputy Mayor. If that were his policy the sooner the people of Pretoria got another man the better. Mr. Bourke had also referred to the political occurrence in 1896. I may say, continued Sir George Farrar, in not a word of my speech did I refer to any political question. There are three members of this House whom I deem it an honour to call my friends, who were concerned in that political occurrence, and I can tell the hon. member that we or our children or our children's children will never be ashamed of the part we took. We were wrong, we suffered according to the laws of the country, and I say that these three honourable gentlemen and myself have always worked in the cause we advocated then—equal rights for every white man south of the Zambesi.

#### MR. HULL'S FIGURES.

The hon. member (Mr. Hull) had made a very grave attack on the figures submitted to the Labour Commission by the Chamber of Mines. He said that during October 5,323 stamps should have been

working instead of 4,275, and he based that on the basis of 63,000 boys. The official figures of that month were quite right, 63,000 boys, but Mr Hull did not understand what were producing mines and what were non-producing mines. Producing mines were those that were provided with stamps and non-producing mines were those not provided with stamps. If they took 63,000 boys, the number of stamps dropping was 4,250, and the number of boys employed per stamp figured out at 12·1. For the purpose of argument he took Mr. Hull's figure of 12 boys to the stamp, in order to show how continuously inaccurate he was, and dividing by that figure the number of boys available in October, 1903, for the producing gold mines, viz., 51,358, he found even on Mr. Hull's basis only 4,280 stamps could have been run, and not 5,323 as he had stated. Mr. Hull stated that in 1898 and 1899, 6,240 stamps were worked by 96,700 natives.

Mr. HULL : I said nothing of the kind. I said in July, 1899, or in August, 1899, the big month, 6,240 stamps were run by 96,000 boys.

Sir G. FARRAR : I thought the hon. member would contradict me, so I cut it out of the paper. He then read the extract referred to and proceeded to say that Mr. Webb, in his evidence, showed that the number of 96,700 had already been subjected to the reduction for inefficient boys by those companies who returned the net number of boys at work. If Mr. Hull had read the figures of the State Mining Engineer, he would have found that the number of inefficient was 15·1 instead of 20 per cent., that the total employed on the Rand was 112,106, and not 96,700, that 96,935 were actually employed on producing mines, and if that number were divided by 6,240 stamps they found that there were 15·5 boys employed per stamp instead of 12·3, as stated by Mr. Hull. The next question he had to deal with was the attack by Mr. Hull against the mines regarding the ill-treatment of natives. There was not a single specific case of ill-treatment mentioned in the evidence. The natives were under the control of the Government, and if the natives were ill-treated it was the duty of the Government to point it out. He defied the hon. member, the Commissioner for Native Affairs, to state that in any case he had pointed out to the mines where an improvement could be made it was not attended to immediately.

Mr. HULL : I cannot allow this. The whole of my speech, sir, is based upon evidence which is contained in this Blue-book—evidence produced before the Labour Commission, of which my hon. friend Sir George Farrar was a member. Every word which I stated to this Council was borne out by witnesses there. The witnesses testified to the ill-treatment on the mines. I personally know nothing at all about it, the ill-treatment on the mines, but every word I stated in this Council is borne out by witnesses, missionaries—I know they are despised—and magistrates in South Africa.

Sir G. FARRAR : I read the evidence about the Village Main Reef, and I read it very carefully, and I went through the mine to satisfy myself. I say to the hon. member, "If you thought this ill-treatment on the mines existed, the whole of the mines were open to you, and why did you not follow my example for yourself."

#### A TELEGRAM FROM THE CHAMBER OF MINES.

Then as to the question of the railway travelling, I have a telegram in my hand from the Chamber of Mines, and I think I may be in order to read it :—

Mr. Hull said that some time after the natives began to come back no proper accommodation was made for the boys travelling from Delagoa Bay, and the result was that they often arrived in a helpless and ailing condition. As regards this charge, it can only be said that the best was done that could be done under the then existing conditions, and the military requirements and the available rolling stock. Anyhow the natives received no worse treatment than our own soldiers, who unavoidably were conveyed in open trucks. Mr. Hull further charged the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association with allowing the natives no choice of contract. This is not correct. Natives have always been given as free a selection of the mines as they wished to go to, as was possible, that is to say, any native who on arrival at the depot in Johannesburg expressed a wish to be sent to a particular mine and could give reasonable proof that he had worked there before, was almost invariably allowed to go where he wished. Since the middle of this year the Association has gone further, and has given all natives, whether they have worked on a mine before or not, the option of making their selection at the recruiting station before they leave their own district, and this selection has in all cases been carefully observed. As regards Mr. Hull's reference to the payment for 30 days instead of a calendar month, the former has been universally practised on these fields for a great many years, and has been found to be acceptable to the natives and to work well.

#### FURTHER REFERENCES TO MR. HULL.

Proceeding, Sir George Farrar said the charge was a most unjust one. As a mine-owner, he said they had done their utmost in every possible way that these natives should be fairly and justly treated. They (the mine-owners) had co-operated with the Government in every way so that the mine employees should in every way carry out the wishes of the Government. The hon. member had made a gross attack on the Chamber of Mines, but he (Sir George) said that the hon. member's evidence was to be compared with his statement when he said "I am authorised by General Botha to make such a remark," and before the echo of his (Mr. Hull's) voice passed from out of that Chamber, he (Mr. Hull) had to stand up and deny what he said; and he (Sir George) said that the hon. member's charges against the Chamber of Mines was on a par with what he said on behalf of General Botha. The hon. member made insinuations against the Labour Commissioner and members of it; he said it was not fairly constituted, and that before they were constituted they expressed opinions. "I will prove my case. I will go to the Bloemfontein Conference. Can you get over it? You cannot! You can say these people were got at, but there is the resolution at Bloemfontein which will stand up a landmark in this country and no one can get over that." He maintained that the only solution of the difficulty was the importation of labour from outside. The hon. member, Mr. Solomon, struck the nail on the head when he said they had to look forward. Let them

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take his own case. He went to the Bloemfontein Conference, and was taught by men whom he knew, and he had the sense to learn. He did not go back and speak to his people on the 1st of April as the hon. member had said—(laughter)—but on the 31st of March, and he told them everything. He had his people against him then, and he had the Attorney-General against him, and he had Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, whom he held in the highest esteem, also against him. To-day they were with him. In all these things one had got to take responsibility. Supposing hon. gentlemen defeated him on that division—

Mr. HULL: Impossible.

Sir G. FARRAR: You wait a bit. Continuing, he said he had followers, and his hon. friend Mr. Hull had followers, and what solution, what comfort had the latter to offer to his followers if that motion were defeated? All he could say to them was patience. What would patience give? Patience would mean dissatisfaction, and his hon. friend's followers would say to him, "Why did not you look ahead?" He (Sir George Farrar) would not stand up there and advocate that policy unless he was absolutely sure it was the correct one, and he repeated the words which he used the other day. No blame would attach to those who voted with him, but the gravest responsibility would rest with those who, absolutely through prejudice, would stop the development of the country, and the future prosperity of the people, and the whole of South Africa. (Applause.)

#### THE DIVISION.

At the conclusion of Sir P. Fitzpatrick's speech there was an almost general exodus and the front bench was occupied for a time by only one representative of the Government, and Mr. Loveday's speech did not obtain the attention it warranted as an oratorical effort. Towards the end of his speech members began to file back, and a quarter of an hour after midnight the House was once more filled, the only member absent being Mr. J. Z. de Villiers.

The distinguished visitors gallery was occupied by Sir Henry Craik, Colonel Caddell, V.C., Mr. Julius Wernher, Mr. Rissik, and Colonel Glyn, while the ladies' boxes were fully occupied. Great interest was centred in Sir G. Farrar's reply, which was eloquently delivered, and the House appreciated the vigour and incisiveness which he infused into his speech. He sat down at 12.47, and there was, despite the fact that the result was a foregone conclusion, a breathless anticipation when the President (the Lieutenant-Governor) read the motion prior to putting it to the vote.

After calling on the "Ayes" and "Noes," he declared: "I think the ayes have it."

Mr. Hull challenged a division and the division bell rang. At 10 minutes to 1 the division was taken. It resulted as follows:

#### AYES, 22.

The Attorney-General.  
The Colonial Secretary.  
Commissioner for Native Affairs.  
Acting Commissioner of Mines.  
Commissioner of Lands.  
Sir J. P. Fitzpatrick.  
Sir G. Farrar.  
Mr. Hosken.  
Mr. Cronje.  
Mr. Roux.  
Mr. Brink.  
Mr. Everard.  
Mr. Van Rensburg.  
Mr. Solomon.  
Postmaster-General.  
Director of Customs.  
Director of Education.  
Director of Public Works.  
Dr. Turner.  
Surveyor-General.  
Director of Agriculture.  
Dr. Ward.

#### NOES, 4.

Mr. Loveday.  
Mr. Bourke.  
Mr. Hull.  
Mr. Raitt.

The PRESIDENT: The division shows: Ayes, 22; noes, 4. The motion is therefore carried (Applause.)

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL immediately moved the adjournment of the House, and it was decided to sit again on January 18 and to discharge the orders put down, and to put them down for that date.

The House adjourned at 12.55, having sat for 11 hours.



No. 121.

HIGH COMMISSIONER VISCOUNT MILNER to Mr. LYTTTELTON.

(Received January 25, 1904.)

High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg,  
January 4, 1904.

SIR,

WITH reference to your despatch of the 21st November,\* I have the honour to enclose for your information a copy of the undermentioned documents on the subject of the work of English navvies engaged for the Central South African Railways.

I have, &amp;c.,

MILNER,

High Commissioner.

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 SCHEDULE OF ENCLOSURES.

1. December 15, 1903. Letter to Commissioner of Railways.
  2. December 31, 1903. Letter from Commissioner of Railways (with enclosure).
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Enclosure 1 in No. 121.

ACTING SECRETARY to the INTER-COLONIAL COUNCIL to COMMISSIONER of RAILWAYS,  
Johannesburg.High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg,  
December 15, 1903.

SIR,

WITH reference to my letter of the 30th November, I have the honour to forward a copy of a despatch from the Secretary of State with regard to the work of the second batch of English navvies engaged for the Central South African Railways.

Although these navvies have now been sent home His Excellency would be glad to have a report on the specific subjects mentioned by the Secretary of State, since your letter of the 18th November did not actually deal with them.

I am, &amp;c.,

R. H. BRAND,

Acting Secretary to the Inter-Colonial Council.

The Commissioner of Railways,  
Johannesburg.

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 Enclosure 2 in No. 121.
COMMISSIONER of RAILWAYS, Johannesburg, to ACTING SECRETARY to the INTER-COLONIAL  
COUNCIL.Commissioner of Railways, Johannesburg,  
December 31, 1903.

SIR,

WITH reference to your letter of the 15th inst. I have the honour to inform you that the accompanying statement shows the actual quantity of work done by the navvies on the Springs Eastward Railway, Camps Nos. 1 and 2 belonging to the second batch of men shipped out from England, and Camp No. 3 being composed of men from the first batch, who worked till September under the Chief Resident Engineer.

It will be seen that the change from day work to piece work (with a bonus) was directly responsible for the improved out-turn. Several tempting offers were made to the men as soon as they arrived to go on to piece work, because it was well known from experience on open lines with the first batch of navvies that the estimates would never carry the charge for similar men on daily wage; but it was not till the men were offered 2s. per cubic yard for all work in excess of 4 cubic yards per man per day that they could be got to agree. The terms may be considered too liberal, but a glance at the last two columns of Statement "A," attached to the Chief Engineer's Report of the 14th

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\* No. 63.



November last, which was communicated to you under cover of my letter, No. 03/1156/3 of the 18th November, will show that the cost of work to the State was immediately halved and fell from £1 0s. 9d. to 9s. 1.3d. per cubic yard, and as long as the men continued to exert themselves it continued to fall till, in November, it was little more than one quarter of the cost in July. Some of the fall in price must be attributed to the distribution of the comparatively small sum incurred in sending the navvies out, over several months; but the net result was that the Chief Engineer was getting an average of four cubic yards from every navvy per day, against, perhaps, less than two.

As soon as the experiment had been in hand for a sufficient length of time to make the statistics reliable, and these statistics showed the cost to be excessive, it was considered what the position was likely to be if the navvies were allowed to work out their agreements, and as far as the railways are concerned their departure has probably not taken place a day too soon.

From the enclosed statement it will be seen that the only month in which satisfactory work was turned out was September, when 90 per cent. of the men earned a bonus of £5 or more. This fell to about £3 per head in October, and in November hardly a man earned any bonus whatever. No difference was made in the treatment of the men from month to month, and the variation in the out-turn can only be accounted for by supposing that the men began to think that the terms of their agreement were handsome enough, and the bonus which they might earn by a little extra exertion would give them no greater luxuries than they already enjoyed.

I have, &c.,

E. P. C. GIROUARD, Lieut.-Colonel,  
Commissioner of Railways.

The Acting Secretary,  
Inter-Colonial Council,  
Johannesburg.

ENGLISH NAVVIES ON SPRINGS EASTWARD RAILWAY—OUTLINE OF WORK.

	JULY.		AUGUST.		SEPTEMBER.		OCTOBER.		NOVEMBER.	
	Total cubic yards.	Per man per day.	Total cubic yards.	Per man per day.	Total cubic yards.	Per man per day.	Total cubic yards.	Per man per day.	Total cubic yards.	Per man per day.
<i>No. 1 Camp—</i>										
Piece work ...	—	—	12,367	6.5	21,019	6.1	21,219	5.9	16,160	4.7
Daily wage ...	12,200	2.5	7,658	1.7	2,703	*2.8	760	1.03	799	1.2
<i>No. 2 Camp—</i>										
Piece work ...	—	—	15,283	5.7	23,710	5.7	16,911	4.4	16,285	4.0
Daily wage ...	—	—	6,795	1.8	516	2.4	201	1.3	827	3.3
<i>No. 3 Camp—</i>										
Piece work ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	11,341	3.7	12,590	3.2
Daily wage ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	304	0.5	802	1.0
Total ...	12,200	—	42,103	—	47,948	—	53,736	—	47,463	—

\* One gang averaged 8.5 cubic yards per man per day during the whole of September.

No. 122.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received January 25, 1904.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg,  
January 4, 1904.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you a copy of a draft Ordinance to regulate the introduction into the Transvaal of unskilled non-European labourers.

The draft Ordinance will be published this week in the "Gazette" in its present form, which, as you will observe, differs considerably from that in which it has been previously sent to you.\*

I have, &amp;c.,

MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 122.

DRAFT ORDINANCE TO REGULATE THE INTRODUCTION INTO THE TRANSVAAL OF  
UNSKILLED NON-EUROPEAN LABOURERS.

**Preamble.** WHEREAS it is desirable to make provision for regulating the introduction from outside Africa, South of 12 degrees North of the Equator into this Colony of unskilled labourers not being of European descent ;

BE IT ENACTED by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows :—

**Interpretation of terms.** 1. In this Ordinance, and all Rules and Regulations made thereunder, unless the context otherwise requires, the following expressions in inverted commas shall have the meaning placed opposite to them, that is to say :

"Labourer" means a male person belonging to a non-European race other than one of the races indigenous to Africa South of 12 degrees North of the Equator introduced into this Colony under contract of service ; "unskilled labour" means such labour as is usually performed in this Colony by persons belonging to the aboriginal races or tribes of Africa South of the Equator ;

"Importer" means any person introducing labourers into this Colony or any person to whom labourers have been transferred under this Ordinance ;

"Country of origin" means in the case of any labourer the country from which such labourer is introduced ;

"Contract" means the contract of service entered into by a labourer as provided in this Ordinance ;

"Imprisonment" means imprisonment either with or without hard labour ;

"Premises" includes the place where labourers are actually engaged in working, and one mile in every direction from such place.

## APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS ; THEIR POWERS AND DUTIES.

**Superintendent and Inspectors of labourers.** 2. The Lieutenant-Governor may appoint a Superintendent of labourers (hereinafter styled the Superintendent), who shall have the general administration of this Ordinance, and shall perform such duties and exercise such powers as may be imposed on him by this Ordinance or by regulations made thereunder, and may likewise from time to time appoint such Inspectors, Medical Officers, Clerks, and other officers as may be necessary for the proper administration of this Ordinance.

\* In No. 72.

3. The Superintendent or any Inspector may at any time enter upon the premises on which labourers are employed and inspect the condition and general treatment of such labourers and the condition of their housing accommodation and hospital accommodation, and may enquire into any complaint which an employer may have against a labourer or which a labourer may have against his employer, and may require any labourer to be brought before him on any such visit, and may either before or after such enquiry as aforesaid make a complaint or lay an information in his own name or on behalf of a labourer against the employer or against any other person before the magistrate of the district.

General powers of Superintendent and Inspectors.

4.—(1.) The Superintendent or Inspector may summon any person as a witness whose evidence he considers necessary for the proper determination of any enquiry held by him; such summons shall be served in the same manner as a summons issued by a magistrate is required to be served.

Power to summon witnesses on enquiry. Penalties for refusing to be sworn and for giving false evidence.

(2.) Every person on whom such summons has been duly served, who without any reasonable excuse refuses or neglects to attend at the time and place mentioned in such summons, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding Ten Pounds, and in default of payment to imprisonment not exceeding one month.

(3.) The Superintendent or Inspector may require every statement given by any person at an enquiry held by him to be given upon oath, and for such purpose he is hereby authorised to administer an oath to every such person.

(4.) Every person who refuses to be so sworn when thereto required shall be deemed to have hindered the officer holding the enquiry in the execution of his duty, and shall be liable to be punished accordingly.

(5.) Every person who, after being so sworn, wilfully makes a false statement as to anything material to the proper determination of the matter then in question shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and shall be liable to be indicted, and, if convicted, punished accordingly.

#### INTRODUCTION OF LABOURERS.

5. No person shall introduce labourers into this Colony unless he has obtained a License to do so from the Lieutenant-Governor under the next succeeding section; any person contravening this section shall be liable to a penalty of one hundred pounds for every such labourer introduced by him and shall further be bound to refund to the Superintendent any expenses incurred by him in returning such person to his country of origin.

Prohibition of introduction of labourers except under this Ordinance.

6.—1. The Lieutenant-Governor may, subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, grant a license to any person to introduce labourers into this Colony to perform unskilled labour only in the exploitation of minerals.

Licenses.

(2.) No such license shall be granted unless and until the Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied that suitable accommodation for the housing of such labourers on the premises on which they are to be employed will be ready on their arrival in this Colony, and that proper security in terms of section nineteen has been given by the applicant for the repatriation of every labourer introduced by him. On every such license there shall be paid the sum of one hundred pounds.

(3.) No such labourer shall be employed elsewhere in this Colony than in the Witwatersrand District.

7. Every person obtaining a license under the last preceding section to introduce labourers shall for such purpose enter into a contract in writing with such labourers, which contract shall be signed by the labourers to be bound thereby, or by the person authorised in writing to contract on their behalf.

Contracts with labourers—how execute d.

Such contract shall be of full force and effect in this Colony as soon as it is registered in the office of the Superintendent.

8. The introduction of labourers shall be subject to the following conditions, which shall be embodied in the contract between the importer and the labourers:—

Introduction of labourers subject to conditions

(a.) That so long as the labourer remains in this Colony he shall be employed only on unskilled labour in the exploitation of minerals.

(b.) That he shall only serve the person introducing him or any other person who has obtained a license under this Ordinance to introduce labourers, and to whom such first-mentioned person may lawfully assign his rights under the contract for a term of service to be fixed by the contract.

(c.) That on the termination by effluxion of time or otherwise of the contract or a renewal thereof the labourer shall be returned without delay at the expense of the importer to his country of origin.

Period of contracts. No contract to be registered until bond mentioned in section 19 be entered into.

9.—(1.) No such contract as aforesaid shall be for a longer period than three years, nor shall it be renewed for any period or periods which together with the first period thereof exceed five years; nor shall any such contract be registered at the office of the Superintendent which does not contain the conditions prescribed in the last preceding section nor until the bond mentioned in section 19 has been entered into and lodged with the Superintendent.

(2.) Any person introducing or employing labourers under a contract not including the conditions prescribed in section 8 shall be deemed to be guilty of a contravention of this Ordinance and liable to the penalties prescribed in section 5 hereof.

Transfer of contracts.

10. Any importer may with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor and under the regulations made by him assign by deed his rights under any contract with any labourer to any other person who has obtained a license to import labourers under this Ordinance and has given the security mentioned in section 19 hereof; and thereupon such labourer and such other person shall be bound by all the terms of such contract as fully as if such other person had been a party thereto originally; provided that no such assignment shall be valid until the Superintendent is satisfied that the labourer has given his consent thereto. Notice of every such assignment shall be given to the Superintendent, and a certified copy of the deed of assignment shall be registered at his office.

#### CONTROL OF LABOURERS.

Returns by importer on registration of contract.

11. Every importer shall on the registration of the contract made by him with the labourers introduced by him, deposit with the Superintendent a return showing:

- (a) The number of labourers introduced by him;
- (b) The place or places at which such labourers are to be employed;
- (c) Such other particulars as may from time to time be required by regulations;

and there shall be lodged with such return an abstract of the certificate of some medical officer as to the health and fitness for labour of each such labourer.

Labourer not allowed to trade or to acquire lease or hold land. Passport to be issued to every labourer.

12. No mining, trading, or other license whatever shall be granted to any labourer or to any person on behalf of or as agent or trustee for any labourer; nor shall it be lawful for any labourer to acquire, lease, or hold any land, building, or fixed property, or any *mynpacht* claim, or any right whatever to minerals or precious stones either in his own name, or in the name of any other person on behalf of or as agent or trustee for him.

13. The importer shall on the registration of the contract between him and the labourers introduced by him obtain from the Superintendent for every one of such labourers an identification passport in the form prescribed by regulation, which shall contain a complete record by which the holder may be identified and traced, and shall in any Court of Law be *prima facie* evidence of the facts therein recorded.

The said passport shall always be carried by the person described therein and shall be renewed on the first day of January of every year. There shall be paid to the Superintendent by the importer on the issue and on every renewal of such passport such sum as may be prescribed by regulations not exceeding two pounds for each year.

Register to be kept by importer.

14. The importer shall cause a register to be kept of all labourers introduced or employed by him, and shall enter in the said register all deaths and desertions occurring among such labourers, and shall cause a return to be made to the Superintendent within the first seven days of every month of the number of labourers introduced by him or transferred to him or by him during the preceding month, the number of labourers actually employed by him on the last day of that month, and the number of deaths and desertions which have occurred during such month.

15. The register kept under the last preceding section shall be open at all times to the inspection of the Inspector, who shall be entitled to demand from the importer such further information as he may require in respect of the entries in the said register and the returns made under the last preceding section.

Register kept by importer to be open to inspection.

16. Labourers shall reside on the premises on which they are employed, and shall be provided with accommodation which in the opinion of the Superintendent is sufficient and suitable, and shall be in charge of a Manager appointed by the importer and approved of by the Superintendent.

Labourers must reside on premises on which they are employed.

17. No labourer introduced under this Ordinance shall leave the premises on which he is employed without a permit signed by some person authorised thereto by the importer, provided that no such permit shall authorise the absence of such labourer from such premises for more than 48 hours from the time when it was issued.

Labourers must be provided with permits in case they be absent from premises on which they are employed.

The said permit shall bear the date on which and the periods for which it was issued, and also the name of the labourer to whom it was issued, with his registered number.

Permits on which they are employed.

Every person contravening the provisions of this section shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £10, and in default of payment to imprisonment not exceeding one month.

Production of passport and permit may be demanded from any person suspected to be a labourer by member of Town Police or South African Constabulary.

18. It shall be lawful for any Inspector appointed under this Ordinance or of any member of the Town Police or South African Constabulary to demand from any person whom he has reason to suspect is a person imported under this Ordinance, and is to be removed from the premises on which he is employed, the production of the passport mentioned in section 13 and of the permit mentioned in the last preceding section, and on the failure of such person to produce such passport or permit to arrest him without warrant, and take him before the nearest Court or Resident Magistrate to be dealt with according to law.

Production of passport and permit may be demanded from any person suspected to be a labourer by member of Town Police or South African Constabulary.

#### RETURN OF LABOURERS TO THEIR COUNTRY OF ORIGIN.

19. (1.)—Every importer shall prior to the introduction by him of labourers into this Colony enter into a bond with two sufficient sureties in the form in the schedule hereto annexed, undertaking to return such labourers to their country of origin in accordance with his contract and the provisions of this Ordinance.

Bond to be entered into by importer for return of labourers to their country of origin.

(2.) The amount of such bond shall be fixed by the Superintendent and shall be sufficient to pay for all expenses in connection with the return to their country of origin of all labourers in respect of whom such bond is entered into.

(3.) If such bond be not entered into by the importer prior to the introduction of such labourers as aforesaid, the license granted to him shall be cancelled and the introduction of the said labourers shall be deemed and taken to be a contravention of section 5 of this Ordinance, and the importer shall be liable to the penalties provided in that section.

20. In reckoning the term of service of any labourer for the purpose of ascertaining the time when such term expires, all periods of time shall be excluded during which the labourer has been absent from his work for any of the following causes, that is to say :

How period of service to be reckoned.

(a) Imprisonment after conviction of any offence ;

(b) Desertion ;

(c) Unlawful absence from his work duly certified as such by the Superintendent ;

provided that no labourer shall be deemed to have been absent from his work within the meaning of this section on account of any desertion, unless he has been duly convicted thereof; and provided further that this section shall not apply to any imprisonment, desertion, or unlawful absence which is not duly recorded in the register required to be kept by the importer under section 14 of this Ordinance.

Labourer refusing to perform service for which he has contracted may be ordered to be returned to his country of origin.

21. If any labourer who has contracted to serve in this Colony shall, on or after his arrival, refuse without good and sufficient reason to proceed to the place where his service is to be performed or to perform such service, he may, at the discretion of the Superintendent and in addition to or in substitution for any penalty provided by this Ordinance, be ordered to be returned to his country of origin.

Return of  
labourer to  
country of  
origin on  
conviction  
of an  
offence.

22. The Lieutenant-Governor may in the event of any labourer being convicted of any offence and sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine, order the return of such labourer to the country of his origin at any time during the period of such imprisonment or on the expiration thereof; provided that if such order is not given until after such labourer has completed his sentence of imprisonment the importer may take him back into his service for the unexpired portion of the period for which he has contracted, in which case such order shall be withdrawn.

The Lieutenant-Governor may likewise order the return of any labourer who has been declared of unsound mind by a competent Court, or who has become permanently incapacitated for work by physical infirmity or disease.

How  
labourers to  
be returned  
to their  
country of  
origin.

23. In the case of every labourer who, under the provision of this Ordinance, is required to be returned to his country of origin, the Superintendent shall take all necessary steps for his return at the expense of the importer.

Penalty if  
labourer  
refuses to  
return to  
his country  
of origin.

24.—(1) Any labourer, liable under his contract or under the provisions of this Ordinance to be returned to his country of origin, who refuses to return may be arrested without warrant and brought before a magistrate, and shall upon conviction be sentenced to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months.

(2) If any labourer sentenced under the last preceding sub-section shall, after the expiration of his term of imprisonment or any subsequent term of imprisonment imposed under this sub-section, refuse to return to his country of origin he may be arrested without warrant and brought before a magistrate and shall on conviction be sentenced to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 12 months, and with or without a fine not exceeding £100, and in default of payment to a further term of imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

#### REGULATIONS.

Regu-  
lations.

25. The Lieutenant-Governor may make regulations for any of the following purposes :—

- (1) For the grant, refusal or revocation of licenses to importers under section 6 of this Ordinance ;
- (2) For the registration, identification and inspection of all labourers, and for the issuing and renewing of passports to them and for the fee to be charged thereon ;
- (3) For the registration and proper enforcement of contracts with labourers, and of all transfers, renewals or alterations of such contracts ;
- (4) For the return of labourers to their country of origin under the provisions of this Ordinance ;
- (5) For the introduction, repatriation, and control of the families of labourers ;
- (6) For securing correct returns and the keeping of proper registers under section 13 of this Ordinance, and for the proper inspection of such registers ;
- (7) For the proper control of labourers ;
- (8) For the medical examination of labourers on arrival in this Colony and during their residence therein ; and for such measures as may be necessary to prevent the introduction or spread of infectious diseases ;
- (9) For the proper housing, clothing, rations and food of labourers and the observance of all requisite sanitary precautions ;
- (10) For the protection of the property and rights of labourers ;
- (11) For the care of sick and injured labourers ;
- (12) For the inspection of the premises on which labourers reside ;
- (13) For preventing desertion from service by labourers ;
- (14) Generally for the proper administration of this Ordinance.

5119

26. The Lieutenant-Governor may prescribe the following penalties for the breach of any regulations made by him in virtue of the powers conferred by this Ordinance:—

Penalties  
for  
breaches  
of regu-  
lations.

- (1) In the case of a labourer :
  - (a) A fine not exceeding £20 ;
  - (b) Imprisonment not exceeding six months ;
- (2) In the case of any other person :
  - (a) A fine not exceeding £100 ;
  - (b) Imprisonment not exceeding one year ;
  - (c) Forfeiture of any license granted by virtue of this Ordinance ;
  - (d) Disqualification from holding any such license in future.

#### OFFENCES.

27. The following persons shall be guilty of offences against this Ordinance, and shall be liable on conviction to the penalties herein specified in respect of such offences :

Offences  
against  
this  
Ordinance.

- (1) Every person who fails to keep the register, make the returns, or give the information required under sections 14 and 15 of this Ordinance, or who wilfully keeps a false register, or makes a false return, or gives false information, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £100, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding six months.
- (2) Every importer who unlawfully withholds any wages or portion of wages earned by a labourer shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding three months.
- (3) Any person who employs labourers otherwise than on unskilled labour in the exploitation of minerals shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £500, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding two years.
- (4) Any person who knowingly transfers, or attempts to transfer, or procures the transfer of any labourer to a person other than one licensed to introduce labourers shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £500, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding two years.
- (5) Any person who shall knowingly sell, lease, or otherwise transfer or attempt to transfer any land, fixed property, mynpacht, or other mining title to any labourer or to any person on behalf of, or as agent or trustee for, any labourer shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £500, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding two years.
- (6) Any person who shall knowingly hold, purchase, lease, or otherwise acquire or attempt so to do, any land, fixed property, mynpacht, or other mining title, or shall carry on any trade or business on behalf of, or as agent or trustee for, any labourer shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £500, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding two years.
- (7) Any person who shall obstruct any duly authorised officer in the discharge of his duties under this Ordinance or any regulations made thereunder shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding three months.
- (8) Any person who shall harbour or conceal any labourer who has deserted from the service of his importer, or who has committed any breach of this Ordinance, or who shall aid and abet any labourer to desert as aforesaid, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding three months.
- (9) Any labourer who shall desert from the service of his importer or shall refuse to work for him when required to do so, or who shall unlawfully absent himself from work, or who shall perform any work or carry on any business other

than that of unskilled labour in the exploitation of minerals, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £25, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding two months.

- (10) Any labourer who shall have any interest, whether as partner or otherwise, in any trade or business, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding three months.

The foregoing penalties shall be independent of any other punishment to which the offender shall be liable.

Certain laws not to apply. 28. The provisions of the Masters and Servants Law, 1880, and of Law No. 3 of 1885, or any amendment thereof, shall not apply to any labourer introduced under this Ordinance, or to any contracts made thereunder.

Introduction of British Indians for employment on railways. 29. Nothing in this Ordinance contained shall apply to the introduction into this Colony by the Lieutenant-Governor of British Indians to be employed on the construction of railways sanctioned by the Governor, or on other public works; provided always that such introduction shall be subject to such regulations as the Legislative Council may approve of; and provided further that the provisions of this Ordinance in respect of the return of labourers to the country of origin shall *mutatis mutandis* apply to such British Indians.

Title. 30. This Ordinance may be cited for all purposes as the Labour Importation Ordinance, 1903.

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SCHEDULE.

Know all men by these presents that A.B., of C.D., of and E.F., of , are held and firmly bound unto our Sovereign Lord, Edward VII., by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, in the sum of for each labourer imported by the said A.B., under a contract dated made under the provisions of the Labour-Importation Ordinance, 1903, to be paid to our said Lord the King, his heirs and successors, to which payment well and truly to be made we bind ourselves and every one of us jointly and severally for and in the whole our heirs, executors, and administrators by these presents.

The condition of this obligation is such that if the above bounden A.B. returns the labourers imported by him under the aforesaid contract when required so to do in accordance with the provisions of the aforesaid Ordinance, then this obligation shall be void, otherwise it shall be of full force and effect.

Signed

In the presence of

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No. 123.

GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE) TO MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received January 25, 1904.)

SIR, Government House, Cape Town, January 6, 1904.  
I HAVE the honour to transmit to you the documents specified in the annexed Schedule, respecting the introduction of Asiatic labour into South Africa.

I have, &c.,

WALTER HELY-HUTCHINSON.

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## SCHEDULE OF ENCLOSURES.

1. December 29, 1903.—Letter from Town Clerk, Uitenhage, forwarding resolutions.
2. December 30, 1903.—Minute from Ministers, No. 1/693, forwarding resolutions from Aberdeen, Cape Colony.
3. January 5, 1904.—Leading article from "Ons Land."\*

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 Enclosure 1 in No. 123.

SIR,

Town Office, Uitenhage, 29th December, 1903.

I have the honour to hand you herewith copies of certain resolutions on the Chinese question, passed by a public meeting of the inhabitants held on Monday the 21st instant, with a respectful request that His Excellency cause a copy of the resolutions to be forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.,  
P. THOMSON,  
Town Clerk.

The Secretary to His Excellency the Governor,  
Government House, Cape Town.

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"This meeting records its emphatic protest against the wrong it is proposed to inflict on the whole South African community by the introduction of Chinese labourers for work at the mines. It pledges itself to resist such importation by all possible means, and if the scheme is proceeded with in disregard of the views expressed by the Legislature of this Colony, to use its utmost endeavours to obtain the repatriation of such immigrants."

"This meeting calls on all who love their country and desire its future development upon the lines of similar free communities under the British flag to join in strenuous opposition to a step which will alter the whole character of the population and place a fatal bar in the way of its future development."

"That copies of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

I have, &c.,  
P. THOMSON,  
Town Clerk.

Town Office,  
Uitenhage,  
29th December, 1903.

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 Enclosure 2 in No. 123.

## MINISTERS to GOVERNOR.

Prime Minister's Office Cape Town,  
30th December, 1903.

Minute No. 1/693.

Ministers have the honour to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, a copy of a letter received from the Town Clerk of Aberdeen, submitting certain resolutions in opposition to the introduction of Asiatics into South Africa, adopted at a public meeting held on the 23rd instant, which it is desired may be transmitted to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

J. GORDON SPRIGG.

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\* Not printed.

SIR, Town Office, Aberdeen, 26th December, 1903.  
 HEREWITH I have the honour to enclose three Resolutions unanimously passed at a numerously attended public meeting, held at Aberdeen, Cape Colony, on Wednesday, 23rd instant, with the request to hand over the said Resolutions to His Excellency the Governor for transmission to the Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

By order,  
 W. F. JUHRE,  
 Town Clerk.

The Private Secretary  
 of the Prime Minister,  
 Prime Minister's Office,  
 Cape Town.

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Resolutions unanimously passed at a Public Meeting held on the 23rd December, 1903, at Aberdeen, Cape Colony.

- (1.) This meeting earnestly protests against the wrong sought to be done against the South African community by the importation of Asiatic labourers to work in the Mines, and resolves to use all possible means to oppose such importation.

It further declares that should such importation—in opposition to the principle of self government—be carried through, it pledges itself to use its utmost efforts to bring about the repatriation of Asiatics.

- (2.) This meeting addresses a solemn appeal to all who love South Africa, and wish to see it flourish with other similar communities under the British flag, to unite in strenuous opposition against a measure which will alter the whole character of our population and be a fatal hindrance to progress.
- (3.) Resolved that copies of the Resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor with the request to forward same to the Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Town Office, Aberdeen, December 26, 1903.

I, the undersigned, Wilhelm Ferdinand Juhre, Town Clerk to the Municipality of Aberdeen, certify herewith that the above are true and correct copies of Resolutions unanimously passed at a public meeting held at Aberdeen, Cape Colony, on the 23rd day of December, 1903.

W. F. JUHRE, Town Clerk.

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Prime Minister's Office, Cape Town,  
 December 30, 1903.

SIR, I AM directed by the Prime Minister to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, and to inform you that he has this day submitted to His Excellency the Governor, for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the resolutions accompanying your letter, recording the opposition to the introduction of Asiatic labour into South Africa, expressed at a public meeting held on the 23rd idem by the inhabitants of Aberdeen.

I have, &c.,

R. SOTHERN HOLLAND,  
 Private Secretary.

The Town Clerk,  
 Aberdeen.

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No. 124.

MESSRS. WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received January 26, 1904.)

Transvaal War Contribution Loan.

1, London Wall Buildings, London, E.C.,

SIR,

January 25, 1904.

WE are in receipt of your letter of the 21st instant,\* and have the honour to inform you that all the Guarantors concur in the views therein expressed.

We have, &amp;c.,

WERNHER, BEIT AND COMPANY.

No. 125.

MR. LYTTELTON to GOVERNOR THE EARL OF RANFURLY (NEW ZEALAND).

(Sent 10.10 p.m., January 25, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

I have received your telegram † conveying the views which your Government have formed with regard to the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal. I fully recognize the title of all the self-governing Colonies to express their opinion on so important a question, and especially of those who, like New Zealand, rendered memorable service in the war in South Africa.

But His Majesty's Government have declared that their policy is to treat the Transvaal as though it were a self-governing Colony, unless a distinct Imperial interest is concerned, and to interfere as little as possible with local opinion and local wishes. This policy has many reasons to support it, but, among others, it is based on the conviction that each of the States of the Empire, by reason of its direct interests and special knowledge of the conditions affecting it, is best able to deal with its own problems, and it is this conviction which has guided His Majesty's Government in its action in regard to the question of alien races in New Zealand and Australia. It must not be forgotten that there is much that is abnormal in the economic condition of the Transvaal which may call for abnormal measures, and His Majesty's Government, consistently with the policy which they have laid down, could not refuse to accede to the wishes of one part of the Empire on a matter which it regarded as of paramount importance to its well being in deference to representations from another part of the Empire not directly interested. His Majesty's Government, nevertheless, feel assured that the Transvaal Government will give such weight to the opinion of any self-governing Colony as the exceptional circumstances of their country permit.

I have communicated to Lord Milner the terms of your telegram and also this reply.

No. 126.

MR. LYTTELTON to GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE).

SIR,

Downing Street, January 26, 1904.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 30th of December last ‡ transmitting letters and resolutions from George, Paarl, Queenstown, Hanover, King William's Town, and Somerset West, protesting against the introduction

\* No. 116.

‡ No. 108A.

† No. 114.

of Chinese into South Africa, and to inform you that copies of the resolutions passed at a meeting of the inhabitants of the town and district of George, and of the petition received from the Mayor of Queenstown have been laid before His Majesty the King as desired.

I have, &c.,  
ALFRED LYTTTELTON.

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No. 127.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received 7 p.m., January 28, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

(Extract.)

Matter most urgent. 28th January. No. 1. My telegram of 20th January, No. 1.\* The Labour Ordinance has passed Committee.

Following are only amendments of essential importance. Reference made to the draft sent in my despatch 4th January†:—

In Clause 6, Sub-clause (2) omitted, and the following substituted: “(2) Such inserted “and in particular shall not include any of the trades and occupations mentioned in Schedule 1 to this Ordinance.” The schedule in question contains a long list of various forms of skilled labour used on mines.

In Clause 6. Sub-clause (2) omitted, and the following substituted: “(2) Such licence shall be granted till the Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied (a) that the Government of the Colony or State in which the port is situated through which such labourers may enter South Africa for the purpose of being conveyed to the Transvaal have made adequate provision (i) for the medical examination of such labourers on their arrival at such port; (ii) for preventing the landing of labourers who, after such medical examination, are found to be insane or suffering from a contagious or infectious disease; (iii) for the control of labourers to this Colony or from this Colony back to their country of origin; (b) that suitable accommodation for the housing of such labourers on the premises on which they are to be employed will be ready on their arrival in this Colony; (c) that proper security in terms of Section 19 has been given by the applicant. (3) On every such licence there shall be paid the sum of £100, and every such licence shall state the port in South Africa through which such labourers shall be introduced.”

In Clause 7 the words “Or by the person authorised in writing to sign on his behalf” omitted, and the following inserted: “In the presence of some person possessing the qualifications prescribed by regulation, who shall, before such labourers sign the contract, explain to them the provisions thereof, as well as the provisions of this Ordinance mentioned in the schedule referred to in the next succeeding section.”

In Clause 8, about the end, the following new sub-clause added: “(d) That so long as the labourer remains in this Colony he shall be subject to the provisions contained in the Labour Importation Ordinance, 1904, and more especially to the provisions contained in Sections 14, 15, 19, 22, 26 and 29, Sub-section (2) thereof, which shall be substantially set forth in a schedule to the contract.

Clause 9 now provides contract may not be longer than for three years, but may be renewed on same conditions for another three years.

Clause 14 amended so as to include in register all cases of unlawful absence from work and generally to make register more complete.

In Clause 24, Sub-clause (1); the word “sentenced” has been omitted and the words “liable to a fine not exceeding £10, and in default of payment” substituted,

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\* No. 115.

† No. 122.

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and the following new Sub-clause (2) takes the place of the old one: "(2) If any labourer sentenced to pay a fine or suffer imprisonment under the last preceding sub-section shall, after the payment of such fine or expiration of the term of imprisonment, as the case may be, refuse to return to his country of origin, he may be forcibly sent back to his country of origin by the Superintendent."

Minor amendments are mostly consequential.

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No. 128.

MR. LYTTTELTON to GOVERNOR SIR W. F. HELY-HUTCHINSON (CAPE).

(Sent 4.1 p.m., January 29, 1904.)

TELEGRAM.

29th January. No. 1. Referring to your telegram of 4th January, No. 1,\* His Majesty's Government have duly noted Ministers' Minute on subject of importation of Asiatic labour into South Africa, referring to the expression of their views contained in their previous Minute of August 17th and to the resolutions of Cape Parliament adopted in its last Session.

You should now remind your Ministers that the policy of His Majesty's Government was in last July announced to be to treat the Transvaal as though it were a self-governing Colony, unless a distinct Imperial interest is concerned, and to interfere as little as possible with local opinion and local wishes, and that in such a matter as the introduction of Asiatic labour the liberty that is allowed to the Cape Colony and Natal to decide upon what course to pursue in their own interests could not be denied to the Transvaal.

His Majesty's Government entirely adhere to that policy.

The Resolution of the Bloemfontein Conference† which gave rise to the expression of opinion by the two Houses of the Legislature was arrived at unanimously by delegates from all the States of British South Africa including the Cape Colony, and was to the effect that the permanent settlement in South Africa of Asiatic races would be injurious and should not be permitted, but that, if industrial development positively requires it, the introduction of unskilled Asiatic labourers under a system of Government control providing for the indenturing of such labourers and their repatriation at the termination of their indentures should be permissible.

His Majesty's Government are of opinion that, while it is of great moment that the policy adopted by the South African Colonies in all matters of importance should be harmonious, it would not be possible for them, unless some distinct Imperial interest is concerned, to refuse to accede to the wishes of the Transvaal on a matter of paramount importance to its well-being and industrial development.

Such a refusal would be rendered even more difficult of justification in view of the precedent long since established in the case of the adjoining Colony of Natal.

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\* No. 95.

† Printed in [Cd. 1640], page 13.



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## APPENDIX I.

### A DESCRIPTIVE AND STATISTICAL STATEMENT OF THE GOLD MINING INDUSTRY OF THE WITWATERSRAND.\*

Compiled and prepared for the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES and HIS MAJESTY'S HIGH COMMISSIONER for SOUTH AFRICA by the Committee of Consulting Engineers appointed by the Chamber of Mines, as follows:—

Mr. Hennen Jennings (Chairman).  
 Mr. G. A. Denny.  
 Dr. F. H. Hatch.  
 Mr. F. Hellmann (represented by Mr. W. G. Holford).  
 Mr. G. J. Hoffmann.  
 Mr. W. L. Honnold.  
 Mr. S. J. Jennings.  
 Mr. J. H. Johns.  
 Mr. R. N. Kotze.  
 Mr. S. C. Thomson.  
 Mr. H. R. Skinner.  
 Mr. H. H. Webb.  
 Mr. G. E. Webber.  
 Mr. P. Yeatman.  
 Mr. F. J. Carpenter (Secretary).

The above gentlemen were selected as representing the Engineering Interests as detailed on Exhibit No. 1.†

#### HISTORICAL.

Vague reports regarding the existence of gold in the Transvaal were current for very many years before outputs were reported. The following are some of the cardinal dates in connection with Gold Mining in South Africa:—

- 1868. Carl Mauch mentioned the existence of gold near the Oliphants River.
- 1870. Gold was found in the Murchison Range.
- 1873. Gold was found in the Lydenburg District at Pilgrim's Rest.
- 1882. The De Kaap Gold Fields were started.
- 1884. The Struben Bros. started quartz mining on the farm "Weltevreden" in the Western district, and started a 5 stamp battery.
- 1885. The Sheba Mine was discovered, and Barberton founded.
- 1885. The first gold from the conglomerate beds of the Witwatersrand was panned.
- 1886. Johannesburg was founded.
- 1887. The first stamp mill was started working banket.
- 1887. Coal was discovered at Boksburg.
- 1888-9. First boom.
- 1889. Formation of Chamber of Mines.
- 1890. First Cyanide Test Works, and start of the Robinson Cyanide Works.
- 1891. Chlorination Works at the Robinson Mine.
- 1892. Extensive Deep Level Companies formed.
- Aug., 1892. Opening of railway to Johannesburg *via* Free State.
- 1893. Rand Victoria Borehole,—Reef found depth 2,343 feet.
- 1895. Second boom.
- 1895. Bezuidenville Borehole,—Reef 3,127 feet.
- Dec. 1895. Jameson Raid.
- 1896. Extensive Erection of Slimes Plants.
- 1897. Industrial Commission of Enquiry.
- 1899. Deepest shaft (Catlin) 3,700 feet.
- Oct. 1899. Declaration of War.
- 1901. Three Companies re-started milling in May.
- 1901. Borehole Turf Club,—South Reef cut at 4,804 feet.
- May 1902. Peace.

The Witwatersrand Goldfields are located on an elevated plateau, nearly 6,000 feet above the sea.

The Witwatersrand (or white-waters-ridge) projects somewhat above the plateau, and the outcrop of the conglomerate reefs can thus in a measure be said to be the dividing watershed between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the tributaries of the Vaal River draining into the Atlantic, and those of the Limpopo or Crocodile River to the Indian Ocean.

The conglomerate beds of the Witwatersrand are composed of quartz pebbles bound together by a siliceous cement containing iron pyrites. The name "banket" has been given to the conglomerate from its general resemblance to an almond sweetmeat with this Dutch name, which, however, refers specially to the ore taken from the oxidised zone, which in the early history of the fields was called "free-milling," and was found to extend to only a limited depth. See Cabinet 3, 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d.

The gold contained in the conglomerate is not often visible to the naked eye, occurring almost invariably in the matrix, its existence in the pebbles having been recognised only in rare instances. The gold is for the most part in very fine particles, and when examined under

\* Presented to Mr Chamberlain at Johannesburg in January, 1903, and reprinted from Report of the Chamber of Mines.

† The exhibits are not reprinted in this book.

the microscope shows sharp crystalline structure, giving no evidence of being rounded and moulded by attrition, as is observable on examination of gold found in alluvial deposits. See Cabinet specimen "3b."

There are several series of these conglomerate beds in planes more or less parallel to each other. The most common designation of them, starting from the lowest geological horizon, is as follows:—Du Preez series, Main Reef series, Bird Reef, Kimberley series, Elsberg and Black Reefs.

The cross-section marked Exhibit "2" shows their relative positions, and also that exploitation has proved that the reefs, where steeply inclined at end near the outcrop, have a tendency to flatten in depth, and conversely, where the outcrop region shows an abnormally low angle of inclination, there is generally an increase in the immediate dip region; thus indicating a probability of approximation to uniformity of inclination in the deeper levels throughout the whole area.

Gold is found as an essential constituent in all the banket beds included in the foregoing list, but thus far the Main Reef series has chiefly justified extensive exploitation, and even here only within certain limits (see Exhibits "3" (small scale plan of fields) and "4" (the working results of the fields)).

Besides the Companies whose production is shown on Exhibit "4" as connected with the Main Reef series, some 28 Companies have worked on the Du Preez, Kimberley, Steyn Estate, Elsberg and Black Reefs.

Some parts of the Heidelberg District, such as the Nigel, may be considered to be on the southern rim of the syncline of the Main Reef Series, and six producing Companies have operated here.

The production from the foregoing miscellaneous sources, aggregating £3,086,367, is shown in detail on Exhibit "5," and may be summarised as follows:—

Series.	No. of Operating Companies.	Gold Produced.
Northern Quartzites ... ..	2	£ 1,115
Du Preez Reef ... ..	3	1,078,506
Kimberley Reef ... ..	7	70,197
Steyn Estate Reef ... ..	1	15,700
Elsberg Reef ... ..	1	175
Black Reef ... ..	14	584,389
HEIDELBERG DISTRICT.		
Nigel Reef ... ..	5	1,293,474
Heidelberg Roodepoort Mine ... ..	1	42,811
Total ... ..	34	3,086,367

The distance along the strike of the Main reef formation from Randfontein on the West to Holfontein on the East is some 62 miles, throughout which extent the reef has been almost continuously traced. Of this area, the Central Section, for a distance of about 12½ miles has produced about 76 per cent. of the gold won.

Conglomerate beds have, however, been traced over a far greater area, and correlated by geologists with the Witwatersrand series. It has been stated that there is

Continuity proved by outcrops and boring for ... ..	164 miles
Continuity concealed by more recent measures ... ..	123 miles
Continuity interrupted by faults and dykes ... ..	21 miles
	308 miles

The Exhibit marked "6," copied from Truscott's book, has been compiled from work of various geological observers, and shows this statement geographically and geologically.

As the subject of the genesis of the conglomerates and gold contained therein is open to much difference of opinion amongst geologists and engineers, it will be unprofitable to attempt to deal with it in detail. The most generally accepted theories seem to be:—

That the conglomerate beds and enclosing sandstone and quartzites were sea-shore deposits formed during subsidence of a coast line.

That after their deposition and consolidation the banket-bearing strata were folded into anticlines and synclines. North of Johannesburg subsequent erosion removed the anticline. The deposition and erosion in connection with the syncline have been such that a statement of a basin-shaped deposit has much justification. The beds have been subjected to fault and dyke action, which has broken them up extensively in places, *vide* the model of the Nourse Deep.



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The origin of the gold within the beds can be considered as—

- 1st—prior to the formation of the conglomerate;
- 2nd—contemporaneously with the conglomerate;
- 3rd—subsequently to conglomerate.

The advocates of "prior to" assume that the gold and pebbles alike are the products of erosion or denudation of an older formation containing quartz veins.

No. 2 requires the hypothesis that the sea was very shallow, and contained a solution of gold and iron sulphide, coupled with precipitating agencies.

No. 3. This is the impregnation theory, assuming the gold and pyrites to have been deposited in the beds by infiltrating solutions, the mineral solutions seeking the planes of least resistance, *i.e.*, filter-bed of the banket, the deposition of the gold and other metals being thus brought about as in quartz veins. This latter theory is the most accepted by Engineers here.

The classification of the Witwatersrand beds seems a simple matter when looking at any one section, but in reality is complex. Even in the Main Reef series there is great variation in the number, distance apart and thickness of the beds, and there is much diversity of opinion regarding their correlation on account of extensive and complex faulting, especially in the extreme Eastern and Western sections.

The value of banket ore cannot generally be gauged by mere inspection, and, to establish the average gold content in the ore comprised within a given area, very elaborate systems of sampling are introduced, which involve the careful sectioning of the reef at 5, or at most 10 feet, intervals, and the application of the law of averages.

The necessity for these careful methods arises from the fact that the gold contents of the reefs fluctuate sharply as from point to point, and accordingly the average value can be arrived at only by the introduction of a mathematical scheme of averages.

The existence of pyrites might be thought a good index, and as a general indication this is favourable, as gold is rarely found in the banket, unless associated with it; but on the other hand pyritic impregnations are frequently found containing little or no gold.

The pay banket may vary in thickness from a few inches to 15 or 20 feet. The encasing rock may be soft sandstone or hard quartzite; the dip of the beds may vary from vertical to horizontal; the mine may be wet or dry. The depth from which ore is hoisted may vary from 100 to 200 feet up to that of 2,000 to 2,500 feet.

The amount of waste rock—that is, quartzite or other rock containing little or no gold, which is dislodged by blasting operations—that is sorted out from the reef proper, varies between 0 and 40 per cent.

This process of sorting out as practised here amounts simply to the rejection of valueless material.

The mining area may be a home for faults and dykes, or the reefs may be found free from serious disturbances.

Thus it is unreasonable to expect uniform cost of extraction—when comparing one mine with another—any more than uniform yield. The great reputation these fields justly have for security and regularity is in gold mining merely relative and based on the law of averages.

Gold-mining as a business in other parts of the world has been recognised as the acme of speculative investment. Here, though capricious as units, the mines are, as a whole, regular within certain fixed limits; and it is perfectly true that *greater* reliance can be placed on the continuance of the deposit than has ever before been known in gold-mining, and, therefore, large preparatory outlays on the basis of a staple industry are more justifiable.

Up to the time of the discovery of the Witwatersrand deposits, no auriferous conglomerates had been worked on a large industrial basis in any part of the world.

At the start, therefore, these fields were unique as to general experience, and consequently the engineer had to grope his way and the capitalist to follow cautiously, or risk rashly.

One of the early difficulties was the unsatisfactory extraction of gold from the ore. At first, not more than 50 to 60 per cent. was obtained by the amalgamation process; later on Concentration and Chlorination of Concentrates improved matters, but it was not until the chemical treatment of all the sands and slimes by the Cyanide process was introduced that satisfactory results in this regard were reached. Now it may be said that the average well-equipped mine can recover 85 to 90 per cent. of the gold contents of its ore.

The investor has gradually realised that, in order to insure the best results and put his property in a position to make profits with the low-grade ore, a large amount of development work, big mills, cyanide works, and great capital outlays in many directions are required.

It has been estimated (see Exhibit "19," page 158) that on an average it must have cost companies at the rate of about £5,000 per stamp for development work and all capital outlay connected with their mines. There have been about 6,000 stamps crushing at one time on these fields, which would make the total capital outlay for producing companies figure at about £30,000,000. This makes no allowance for non-producing companies, or for the great outlays in Johannesburg in connection with central administrative control. A check on this estimate is shown in Exhibit "10," in which the capital expenditure for 68 companies is given, and it is seen that on a stamp basis this works out at £4,811.

Exhibit "7" gives in tabular form—

The nominal capitals of 120 companies.

The amounts expended on Development and Equipment.

The dividends declared to date.

Percentage paid in dividends to capital actually expended under, and above, ground,—  
53 per cent.

Market valuation, December 31st, 1902, £173,000,000.

This shows that, although dividends have been paid over fifteen years, the mine owners have expended in development, equipment and improvement, apart altogether from the cost or purchase of mining property, some £17,441,743 more than they have as yet received in profits.

Exhibit "8," on the other hand, shows the estimated areas worked by the companies to date, and the number of claims still to be worked.

This tabular and graphical statement is worthy of much attention, as it not only shows the companies' possibilities, but also the mining rights still retained by the Government.

It may be stated that in the past the cost of construction and development work has been excessive, chiefly perhaps on account of transport rates. On the other hand greater depths require deeper shafts, more powerful machinery, &c., and, other things being equal, would thus cost more per stamp for equipment and development. Extension of the "cream" section of the fields is now possible only through very deep level mining, and large outlays must still be faced.

Exhibit "9" is a cross-section taken through the Central Rand, and gives details of Main Reef series. This shows the reef to have a dip at the outcrop of 73 degrees, but that in its downward continuance, as shown by workings and boreholes, this has flattened to 26 or 27 degrees. The commercial importance of this change of dip is apparent on inspection of the diagram. For it is seen that, for any given vertical depth, a flattening gives, as a whole, more reef to work, but less per claim. Furthermore it is possible to start mining at a greater number of points and by a larger number of independent companies.

On this section some details of the works of the Ferreira Company are also given, which illustrate the fact that two reefs or beds are exploited, the dykes and other disturbances affecting them being also shown.

As a general rule in the Main Reef Mines there exist two reefs justifying prospecting and exploitation, the thinner, or South Reef, being the richer. In many mines there are large bodies of ore which are unpayable under present conditions, and are necessarily reserved for a time of lower working costs.

It is hoped that this section will also make clear the meaning and principles of a deep level company. The term "deep level" has come into existence rather as a form of speech than as any indication of relative depth.

Titles to mining ground held under the Gold Law of the late South African Republic consist chiefly of mijpachts (mining leases) and claims, the former being an owner's right dependent on size of farm.

The size of a claim is 150 Cape (or 154.95 English) feet in the direction of the course of a reef by 400 Cape (or 413.2 English) feet in the direction of its dip.

Amalgamations of claims are allowed, but licenses at the rate of 5s. per month for prospecting, and 20s. per month for digger's claims must be paid on all claims or portions of claims pegged out.

The originally observed angle of dip, the confidence of the owners and the length of their purses, regulated the number of claims incorporated in outcrop companies.

A Deep Level Company is a company holding ground to the dip or in the deeper horizons of an ore deposit, the outcrop area of which is held by other parties or Corporations.

The distance from the outcrop of the reef to the beginning of the Deep Level Company is entirely dependent on the width of ground taken up by the outcrop Company, and is not defined or limited by law.

Some Deep Level Companies have been formed where the distance from the outcrop to their northern boundary has been less than 400 feet, and others several thousand feet.

Further Deep Level Companies have been formed to the dip of previously formed Deep Level Companies, and are then known as the Second Row of Deeps; and again, companies exist to the dip of these and are known as the Third Row, and so on. In the section given (Exhibit 9) the Ferreira Deep would represent the First Row, the Village Deep the Second, Booyen's Estate the Third, and the Turf Mines the Fourth.

On these fields some 53 Deep Level Companies have been formed, of which 14 have reached the producing stage. Some 81 Deep Level Shafts have been sunk in the aggregate 88,405 feet; of these 50 have intersected the reef.

Exhibit "10" shows that the various groups estimate a further expenditure of £50,400,000 in connection with Deep Levels and other projected developments.

The greatest depth from which ore is now being extracted is at the Robinson Deep, where stopes are worked at a vertical depth of 2,400 feet; the reef at this depth has all the normal characteristics observed in outcrop mines. The ultimate depth to which mining will be conducted on these fields is dependent on the grade of ore met with and the working costs, the latter being influenced by labour and supply conditions, depth of hoisting, and the temperatures and water encountered as depth is attained. At present the outlook for the last two of these factors of working costs is most favourable, and engineers on these fields are now discussing mining as possible at depths of from 6,000 to 12,000 feet.

An insight into and grasp of the reduction processes can best be obtained by an inspection of some typical mines. A short description of the ore reduction processes accompanies the Volume of Photographs and Cabinet of Specimens herewith presented, which will assist in illustrating the description, and afterwards aid in recalling and further elucidating various details necessarily imperfectly seen and assimilated in the short time that a visitor can devote to so large a subject. This description is herein included as Exhibit 29, together with a diagram of a typical Gold Reduction Plant and an Ore Treatment Chart.

The statistics and information given in the printed Reports of the various companies on these fields practically throw open the doors of the mines, reduction works, laboratories and workshops to any shareholder who may care to enter; the amount of reliable and detailed information which is published on the working of these mines is probably without parallel in any other mining district of the world, nor is it surpassed in any other class of business enterprise.

It may be pertinent to mention here that in 1897 some of the leading business men, managers and engineers of these fields went to great trouble in collecting statistical information in relation to all vital points affecting the local Mining Industry, and then submitted them and their views with frankness and in detail to the Industrial Commission of Enquiry appointed by the late Republican Government.

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The Commission opened their sittings April 20th and closed them June 4th, 1897. There were 33 witnesses in all, four members of this Committee, having given testimony. The topics dealt with were numerous and far-reaching.

In the accompanying copy of the proceedings of the Committee, marked Exhibit 19, attention is drawn to special pages with folded corners, corresponding to the index, in which are marked with blue lines such subjects as are considered to have the most interest and bearing on our problems at the present time. It is believed that much valuable information was then given that will even now bear inspection and perusal. In addition to the testimony much useful information will be found in the Appendix, such as information *re* Netherlands Railway Company and the Dynamite Monopoly, statistics regarding the population of the Transvaal, Gold Law, Budgets, &c. Exhibit 12 (a-g) gives extracts from the Report of the State Mining Engineer to the South African Republic for 1898, and 12 (h) shows compilations from this report for 1896-1898.

We now beg to call your attention to a mass of statistical information, which, though somewhat hurriedly compiled by the members of this Committee, is accurate and reliable, owing to the hearty and effective co-operation of numerous officials of the various mines with which they are connected.

Particular attention is invited to Exhibit 4, which is a record of the operations of all producing companies from Randfontein to Holfontein, a distance of 62 miles along the sinuosities of the reef; it embraces the results obtained from 1887 to the outbreak of war.

The salient facts to be noticed from this statement are that these 79 companies have crushed 33,828,692 tons of ore, produced £70,686,590 of gold = 41s. 9.4d. per ton, and distributed in dividends £17,962,366. Subtracting dividends from yield, it is found that the costs on this basis would show 31s. 2d. per ton, and that 25 per cent. of the gold won has been distributed in dividends.

In the Central portion of the Rand, from Langlaate Block B on the West to the Witwatersrand Company on the East—a distance of about 12½ miles—it is seen that £54,434,439 of the yield has been obtained and £15,804,164 of the dividends, or 76.16 per cent. of the yield and 87.98 per cent. of the dividends.

The varying dips of the reef are also shown, and it may be assumed that, though no two mines have the same dip, the average of the Fields is roughly 30 degrees.

The extreme depths of working shafts are shown. It is difficult to arrive at the vertical depth worked out, but the average depth of the shafts equals 886 feet.

Investigating the individual yields of the mines, the following is found from Exhibit "4.A":—

No. of Companies.	Tons Crushed.	Yield per Ton.	Dividends per Ton.
13	2,155,702	Under 25	8. 4.6
12	3,378,559	" 30	9.1
12	7,792,868	" 35	7 10.7
11	6,327,879	" 40	7 6.1
19	8,894,363	Over 40	11 2.5
12	5,279,321	" 50	27 10.1
79	33,828,692		10 7.4

We draw attention to the following remarks in connection with the figures given above.

The sums shown as the value of the mines' output are liable to considerable misconstruction. It is popularly supposed, for instance, that a mine which assays on the average 6 dwts. of gold per ton will return that value sterling when the ore is treated, and, therefore, it is stated with some frequency that ores worth 6 dwts. per ton—equivalent to, say, 25s.—will pay to mine and treat in places where the working costs are not above 20s. per ton. The error of this view lies in the fact that no allowances are made for errors in sampling, under-estimation of the width and losses in treatment.

These errors and losses are variously estimated, but it is unsafe to take a factor of more than 70 per cent. of the original assay value to represent the final yield and below is illustrated the application of the principle:—

Probable original valuation of ore yielding

	Shillings.
25s. per ton would be ... ..	35.7
30s. " " ... ..	42.9
35s. " " ... ..	50.0
40s. " " ... ..	57.1
45s. " " ... ..	64.3
50s. " " ... ..	71.4

As it is realised that the working costs as shown by subtraction of dividends from returns are—considering the unfavourable conditions incidental to opening out new fields—hardly a guide for the future, especially considering the fact that some companies have reinvested profits in improvements, development and equipment, apart altogether from the cost or purchase of

mining property, Exhibit "18" has been prepared, showing the results of working for the year 1898 and those obtained since the restarting of milling in 1901.

(The returns of 1899 would have been preferred for this purpose, but the extreme unsettlement for some months prior to the outbreak of war renders the figures unreliable as a basis of average.)

The average returns of 36 companies (out of a total of 77 companies) working 3,196 stamps in 1898 was 45s. per ton, costs 23s. 10d. per ton, total dividends paid, £3,752,622 or 15s. 8 1/2d. per ton; tons crushed per month, 398,882 dividends, £312,718.

From May, 1901, to October, 1902, the ore milled totalled 2,777,557 tons, or, 154,308 per month, the yield £5,988,065, or 43s. 1d. per ton, the cost £3,572,891, or 25s. 8 1/2d. per ton.

In the costs of 1902 the 10 per cent. Government tax does not yet appear, but will have to be met. Say on an average it amounts to 1s. 6d. per ton, then working costs since the resumption of milling would appear at 3s. 4d. per ton higher than in 1898. Exhibit "18a" gives the results of working for October, 1902, and shows that, comparing the working costs of this month with those of 1898, and adding the tax as above, the costs are 4s. 4d. higher.

In connection with losses sustained by the Mining Companies incidental to the war, Exhibit "11" shows the total amount to be £6,916,117, segregated under various headings.

The loss on deferred dividends, calculated on a distribution of £5,000,000 per annum, and on an average life for the mines, and working only half the average stamps operated in August, 1899, would, on a stamp *ratio* basis for the two periods, amount, at 5 per cent. compound interest, to, roughly, about £125,000 per month.

These losses are still accruing. The Financial Groups, rather than having many mines inefficiently worked, have concentrated all the available labour upon particular properties, and consequently many mines fully equipped and ready for work are left unproductive, which, if the labour were available, would be earning revenue. In addition, there are the many Deep Level Companies which are unable to commence operations for the same reason as given.

It is impracticable to detail the losses in connection with these companies under the head of purely financial charges, but the seriousness of these is perfectly obvious.

In order to rightly appreciate the relative importance of the mines under discussion compared with the total gold production of the Transvaal, attention is called to Exhibit "12 b." From this it is seen that the State Mining Engineer estimated the total production of gold from 1884 to the end of 1898 at £70,228,603. Since that date there has been produced £24,627,483 of gold, of which the Mines of Exhibit "4" produced £23,966,259 and all others only £661,224. Putting all figures together, it is seen that the Main Reef Mines have produced £83,185,894 (or 87.7 per cent.), and the remainder of the Transvaal £11,670,192 (or 12.3 per cent.), a total of £94,856,086.

Exhibit "10" has been prepared to give some idea of the Engineers' anticipations regarding the possible extension of the industry in the event of abundant labour supply and other favourable conditions; and this must be regarded as a very optimistic estimate, as it is based on ideal conditions.

This statement should be received with great reserve, as it is based on hopes founded on suppositions difficult of fulfilment; but it at least gives the possible achievements attendant on the successful efforts of Investor, Engineer and Miner, coupled with fostering care and aid from Government and the right solution of the present labour difficulties.

The existence and prosperity of these fields depend—

- 1st.—On the nature and extent of the ore deposit;
- 2nd.—On the yield obtainable;
- 3rd.—On the cost of obtainment.

The nature and extent of the Witwatersrand Fields have been roughly sketched, and the yield obtained in the past carefully analysed. It may be confidently stated that there are no general unfavourable indications regarding future yield at present in sight; still it must be remembered that, as working costs are reduced and scale of operations extended, a lower yield per ton must naturally be expected; for it is seen that there is an almost indefinite amount of conglomerate ore, and, as working conditions become more favourable, so will the working of more extensive amounts of low grade ore be justified.

In the past the decrease in yield per ton in proportion to the scale of working has been modified by the process of "sorting out" valueless rock shown on p. 6\* and improvement in the percentage of gold extraction by means of the Cyanide process; the extraction has increased from 55 per cent. in 1889 to, in some cases, 90 per cent. in 1899. The elastic limits of these factors, have, however, been nearly reached.

The principal factors which will determine the problem are those of time and cost.

The vital importance to mining of the factor of time is easily demonstrated. In any ore deposit there is a certain unalterable amount of ore, and any profit obtained from exploiting it is more valuable the quicker it is made available for further investment.

If we could assume the output, its value, and cost of production to be constants, and that the deposit would yield, say, 10 million tons of ore which would give a profit of 15s. a ton, then, if it were exhausted in equal yearly amounts, in

	100 years an owner would receive 100 annuities of £75,000 each.	
Or if in 50	" " " 50	£150,000 "

With so speculative an investment as mining 5 per cent. compound interest would certainly be demanded. The "present value" of the investment on—

	The 100 years basis would be £75,000 × 19.8479095 = £1,488,590.	
" 50	" " " £150,000 × 18.2559246 = £2,738,380.	

\* Page of this book.

If, by lowering working costs, and bringing under exploitation, say, double the foregoing assumed tonnage (or 20 million tons) of ore, which would yield a profit of, say, only 10s. a ton, the calculation would work out at—

For 100 years	100 annuities of	£100,000 each,	or for
" 50 "	" 50 "	" £200,000 "	

the present value of which, taking the previously assumed factors, would be in the former instance £1,904,790, and in the latter instance £3,651,185.

The necessity for activity in order to attract more capital is thus very clear, and Exhibit "10" shows that much is demanded and contemplated in this regard.

#### WORKING COSTS.

This is the cardinal factor for consideration. As working costs increase, so will the number of tons of ore crushed decrease and the extent of operations be curtailed. As they decrease so will the extent of the operations increase, as well as the money that is put into circulation. The more men employed at the mines and money coming from the mines, the greater and more prosperous will be the population that is directly and indirectly dependent on the mines.

In Exhibit "12a" the expenditure for wages and stores is shown, as given by the State Mining Engineer's Department for the year 1898 for both Gold and Coal Mines; the main items are Labour, Explosives and Coal.

Labour	=	60.07	per cent.	of the total cost.
Explosives	=	11.85	" "	" "
Coal	=	8.20	" "	" "

This statement is somewhat indeterminate as regards the producing mines, so Exhibit "13" has been prepared, which, under 11 divisions, gives the expenditure for 58 producing mines for the year 1898, also 17 non-producing companies.

This shows that 53.44 per cent. of the total cost for producing companies is for Labour.

Under divisions:	{	White	... ..	28.39	per cent.
		Black with food, &c.	... ..	25.05	" "

The balance is for various supplies, of which the principal are:

Explosives	... ..	10.95	per cent.
Fuel	... ..	8.23	" "

The dominating importance of the Labour Factor, viewed simply from the working cost basis, is thus at once apparent, and the right consideration and solution of it is not only the main question for the mines, but also seems to be vital for the advancement and prosperity of the whole of South Africa.

A right adjustment will make for prosperity both industrially and politically.

The total population of South Africa south of the Zambesi has been estimated at 6,000,000, of which only 1,000,000 are whites.

On distribution this would only figure out at between 4 and 5 per square mile for both races. (Some statisticians state that the average on this basis for the whole world is 28).

The native races have not, as in some countries, been swept away by contact with civilization, but under British protection they increase and multiply exceedingly; they have shown capacity to even survive the vices of the white man. Thus it seems to us that the existence of these black races must be taken into account, whether we think it a good thing for this country to be wholly a white man's country or not, because they are here to stay and breed as fast as any of the European races.

The history of this country, as well as that of others where white and black are thrown together, clearly proves that the white is the superior race mentally, and that the black should recognise it. In other words it is the natural attitude of the white man to feel his superiority, and relegate to the black the lower grade manual work.

When the black and white races are in contact in countries where the black is numerically superior, self-preservation of the whites and the greatest good and harmony will prevail only if a distinct line is drawn, and it is recognised that the white is master and the black is man.

The experiment has often been tried of working white side by side with black men, making them more or less fraternise, but the result has always been to the detriment of the white men, who become declassed, are ashamed of themselves, and are not respected by the blacks. Good men may be found, ignorant of the conditions of the country, who are willing to try the experiment above indicated, but they will not stop long at it.

In agriculture it is perfectly possible for the white and black to work jointly at the same task, *i.e.*, the farm owner may work with the hired black labour in the fields. In this case the white man hires the black and is master; in a mine, however, when both are hired to do the same work, they are fellow labourers.

From the foregoing it is hoped that the necessity of rigidly defining white and black work at the mine is apparent.

The only possible way to bring about (even in time) a condition of affairs in which the white man could undertake to do all labour connected with the mines, under a set of con-

ditions even approximately similar to those prevailing in Europe, would be by the rigid exclusion of every native from the area of the fields, no matter what his mission or occupation.

Is this impracticable or desirable in view of the impossibility of extending the system throughout this and the adjoining Colonies, and the high living costs prevailing among the white population?

To obtain the necessary white and black labour for the requirements of the Industry from the discovery of the fields in 1886 to the stoppage of the mines by war in 1899, *i.e.*, for a period of thirteen years, unceasing efforts were made in recruiting native labour and obtaining specially skilled white labour; and, in looking back at most of the reports, it will be found that there have been complaints from Managers of lack of labour almost from the beginning. In fact, the balance of supply and demand has always been in favour of the labourer; consequently, it has been impossible to exert the pressure necessary on either white or black to obtain maximum efficiency.

At the time of the outbreak of the war there were engaged in and in connection with the mines, say, 100,000 Kafirs and 12,000 white men. The outbreak of the war suddenly stopped the huge machine, for the movement of which it had taken thirteen year of diligent effort to collect the necessary labour. Naturally, when it is once stopped, a strenuous effort is required to set it going again at full speed.

A point to be remarked and remembered is: that Johannesburg has been growing progressively far ahead of all other places in South Africa, that the Gold Mining Industry has by no means reached its zenith, is still on the up-grade, and thus, to obtain a sufficiency of white as well as black labour, importation has had to be resorted to and constantly kept up, as South Africa has not been able to supply the white labour required.

Thus, it must be remembered that there has been a continual scarcity of the right kind of white as well as black labour; the salaries and wages given to specially qualified men illustrate this point most thoroughly.

Exhibits "12" and "14" show the earnings of the white man as given by the State Mining Engineer's Report, and also as given by the Groups for 1898.

Exhibit "12" shows that during that year the average annual receipts of 9,854 men amounted to £353 per man. Is there any other industry in the world where so great a number of employees has, on an average, received so large a wage for their services?

This high wage is still maintained, as is shown by Exhibit "14," where the wages paid by Groups are given for December, 1898, as £26 10s. 11d., and for October, 1902, as £24 10s. 9d. respectively, the difference being due to the greater number and lower pay of unskilled white labourers.

With the above scale of salaries and wages it is possible for the single or detached married men to save to a large extent, as the companies provide housing free, or at a purely nominal rent; the rates ruling at the Mine Boarding Houses average £6 a month.

The married men who have their families in Europe, and send them on an average £10 per month for their maintenance, can thus make some progress in saving.

The married men who have their families on or near the mine, and who propose that they shall grow up with the country, have a very different set of conditions to face, as is shown by Exhibit "15."

Under the various headings herein mentioned we find that the average expenses of a family, consisting of a man, his wife and three children, amount to £24 10s. per month.

It is this latter class that is most required by both the State and the Mining Industry; it is in the interests of the former to foster it, for the birth-rate of a country can be taken as largely indicative of its prosperity, and for the latter it is certainly desirable to retain the services of men trained to work, satisfied with their lot, and steadied by responsibility, whose children can grow up and be developed from the apprentice stage to that of master workman in any special work demanded.

Exhibit "16" gives relatively the number of married and single white employees:—

Married, with families at the mines	...	...	20.13 per cent.
Married, with families away	...	...	15.98 "
Single	...	...	63.89 "

In the proceedings of the Industrial Commission of Enquiry (page 120), it is seen that of the employees of fifty-three companies in 1897 there were;—

Married, with families at the mines	...	...	12.9 per cent.
Married, with families away	...	...	33.1 "
Single	...	...	54.0 "

Exhibit "4" shows the average yield of the Mines of the Witwatersrand Fields to be 41s. 9.4d. per ton, and the average profits derived to be 10s. 7.4d. per ton.

The high and important position which these fields have won in the Gold Mining Industry is referable to other factors than the value of the yield per ton of ore—if the average value of the ore worked here is compared with that of other countries as set forth below. The prime factors in the gradual advancement of these fields to a position of pre-eminence—apart from human endeavour are the great extent of the basket deposits and the large tonnage which they

include containing moderate amounts of gold. Some higher yields per ton from the Gold Fields of the world are as follows:—

Countries.	Mines.	Shillings per ton.
Australia:—		
New Zealand ... ..	(Wahai Gold Mines) ... ..	55/4
Queensland:—	(Mount Morgan) ... ..	109/10
	(Charters Towers Field) ... ..	103/7
	(Gympie) ... ..	102/0
	(Croydon) ... ..	68/11
	(Ravenswood) ... ..	60/10
	(Etheridge) ... ..	75/3
West Australia ... ..	(Great Boulder) ... ..	120/-
	(Kalgoorli) ... ..	140/-
	(Lake View) ... ..	120/-
Tasmania ... ..	(Tasmania Gold Mine) ... ..	82/-
	(New Golden Gate) ... ..	70/-
India:—		
	(Mysore) ... ..	108/7
	(Champion) ... ..	107/3
	(Ooregum) ... ..	83/5
	(Nundydroog) ... ..	97/5
United States:—		
Cripple Creek ... ..	(Portland) ... ..	200/6
Nevada ... ..	(Comstock) ... ..	205/4
Colorado ... ..	(Camp Bird) ... ..	127/9
Venezuela:—		
	(El Callao) ... ..	152/2
Mexico:—		
	(El Oro) ... ..	55/3
Canada:—		
	(Le Roi) ... ..	49/6

The wages ruling for white labour in various other gold mining districts of the world are seen by Exhibit "17." This is only approximately correct, extensive data not being to hand; this shows the average wages on the Rand to be for extensive operations the highest in the world.

In the proceedings of the Industrial Commission, pages 47, 140, 149, 151, 157, 174, 213 and 302, statements regarding wages paid to miners are shown.

A point requiring careful notice and consideration is the graduation of wages, which will illustrate forcibly the fact that the wages of underground workers average well in amount compared with those employed on the surface, and that the engine-driver and mechanic do not fare much better than the average miner.

Inspection of detailed pay sheets of mines employing only white labour shows that there is no tendency to establish what might be termed a favoured class in certain departments, but that wages are graduated and arranged so that there is no distinct dividing line between skilled and unskilled workmen, as is the case where different races are employed.

With the moderate grade of the ore on these fields, the rate of wages paid to white labour has been possible or justifiable only by—

- 1st.—The extensive scale of operations which has been adopted, the expenditure of an immense amount of capital for equipment and improvements, and the liberal use of improved mechanical devices;
- 2nd.—Regarding the Native races employed as merely muscular machines, and paying them much lower wages than the whites.

With regard to the first point: It has been the aim of the Engineer here to make use of machinery and labour-saving devices to a greater extent than has ever before been employed in gold-mining. That this is so is on the whole frankly admitted by Engineers from other parts of the world. In certain special details it might be questioned, especially in connection with underground transportation; but here the nature of the deposit must be taken into consideration, and the small average tonnage obtained from the stripping of a unit area of the reef. The smaller this amount, and the lower the cost of muscular labour, the less is the justification for Capital outlay in this respect.

With reference to the excellence of the machinery connected with crushing, and the number of tons crushed per stamp, we are not afraid of comparison.

The general surface equipment of the mines includes in most instances machines of the best design and highest duty of their class, whether this refers to prime movers, electrical generating plants or air compressors. In connection with this last, it may be of interest to mention that the State Mining Engineer reported in 1898 that there were in operation during that year, on an average, 1,850 air-operated machine drills, which, as they use, at a very moderate estimate, 10 h.p. per drill, is equivalent to the utilization of 18,500 h.p. to supplement human muscle in this department of work. Strenuous endeavours have been made in the past, and will continue to be made, to extend labour saving appliances in substitution, wholly or in part, of the native drill boy. So far the efforts have been either a failure or, at best, have met with only partial success, owing to the difficulties of fulfilling the required conditions of efficiency and cheapness.

The extension of the principle of mechanically operated devices for transport forms part of the general economic policy in connection with the equipment and working of these mines, and on every hand may be seen systems of steam or electrically operated transporting mediums, consisting of wire haulages, belt conveyors and locomotive ways, devised to economise the labour force and bill.

In the treatment of the sands by the cyanide process, mechanical skill has effectively created a combination of arrangement by which full use is made of the action of gravity in the transference of charge from one tank to another, thus minimising the employment of human labour.

It is not claimed that all possible means of elucidating the labour problem by the application of mechanical devices have been exhausted; on the contrary, the necessity for still greater effort is fully realised, and it is frankly acknowledged that, in the matter of haulage, both under and overground, there is scope for still greater improvement.

But it may be confidently affirmed that nowhere in the world, in metalliferous mines with a thickness of deposit similar to the Rand, are labour-saving devices employed to a greater, or even to the same extent; nor is there record of a thin reef deposit being worked in a more energetic manner or on a greater scale, and on this account it has been possible to employ a great amount of white labour on a class of mechanical work which requires a higher grade of intelligence than is developed in the native.

With reference to the second point: The native has been employed merely as the muscular machine for the less skilled departments of work, and has been directed and supervised by white men.

The ratio of employment of white to black labour, is seen by reference to Exhibit "18," to have been in

1898 ... ..	1 white to 7 black.
Oct. 1902 ... ..	1 white to 5 black.

The difference in the ratios over the two periods shows the numerical superiority of the black to be still most decided. The reason for the difference in ratios of the two classes of labour is that, in 1902, there was a more plentiful supply of white labour, and a great scarcity of black.

Also, a mine requires in certain general departments a staff, consisting of engine-drivers, foremen, &c., which cannot be materially reduced from its full numerical strength, even though the mine may be working only at half its capacity.

To a certain extent at some mines the native unskilled labourer has been replaced by the white unskilled workman.

There is a justification of this policy on grounds of expediency which may be stated as follows:—

Mines which have been hampered in their efforts to re-start milling, owing to shortness of natives, have succeeded in arriving at this stage at an earlier date by the employment of this special class of unskilled white labour; and thus, even if profits per ton have been somewhat lower than formerly, still it thus became possible to stop the drains on reserve capital, and the loss by deferred interest on dividends could also be lessened. The giving of employment at a critical time to a certain number of white men stranded here was regarded as an obligation by the mine-owners which they have endeavoured to meet, but necessarily this policy is only justifiable to meet the stress of certain temporary conditions, and at best can be put in practice only to a limited extent.

Exhibit "18" (b) shows that the average cost for working in 1902 is some 2s. 10d. higher than in 1898.

The increased cost per ton is by no means indicative of the real loss experienced by the change of the ratio formerly existing between black and white labour, as in 1902 the natives have been supervised more closely than in 1898, and have received 30 per cent. less wages.

In 1898, the cost of coal to the mines (with bagging) was considerably higher than in 1902.

Explosives in 1902 have averaged about 30 per cent. less.

These savings have all been engulphed in the factors of labour, and by a reduced scale of working, and the total costs, including the Government tax, as seen on page 11,\* are some 4s. 4d. per ton higher.

One result of the shortage in the native labour supply has been the incentive to great efforts on the part of Managers to make the most of what is at hand, and to stop the waste that naturally takes place when labour is more abundant.

The taskwork and piecework system of paying natives is being introduced. Though difficult to establish, it is productive of good, as in some instances the work obtained per native is doubled, and on an average the work per native is increased 10 to 15 per cent. This method, therefore, is tending towards maximum efficiency. Payment on the basis of results is certainly good moral training for the native. The subject of efficiency is dealt with in Exhibit "19," pages 219 and 220.

\* Page of this book.



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The shortage of labour has also a tendency to train the inventive and organising faculties of the Captains of the Industry, and more is now being done with the labour available than was formerly ever before accomplished. Therefore comparisons, by results, of the ratio between white and black labour in the past and present are further obscured and complicated.

Where the experiment has been made in departmental work of replacing native workers by unskilled whites, the consensus of opinion among the Managers is that it has been costly and unsatisfactory; costly, as on an average the work performed has varied from a maximum of 1 white to 2 natives to a minimum of 1 white to less than 1 native, and the pay in the ratio of say 10s. for the former to about 2s. for the latter per shift.

The experiment has been *unsatisfactory* as the skilled white men have been unsettled, are fearful of reduction in their pay, and have agitated; and the unskilled men are also dissatisfied from the fact that the remuneration they receive is much less in comparison to their work than that given to the skilled men. Their stay at the mines has generally been short, and their work as a whole has not been favourably reported on by the Managers.

As a mere muscular machine the best developed native, when he has remained long enough at the mines to be thoroughly trained, is the equal of the white man. The brain and industrial training are the white's only superiority. In classes of work into which brain power does not enter, or enters only to a limited extent, it is hopeless to seriously consider, from an economical standpoint, the substitution of a mere muscular machine costing 20s., or even 10s., a day for one costing up to 2s., or even 3s., per day and capable of developing the same energy.

Thus, suppose white labour were insisted upon by owners of rich mines, and only whites were employed, at a minimum wage of 12s. per day, Exhibit "20" shows the detailed calculation on the basis of the wages paid in 1899, when whites received about the same as at present, but the natives 2s. 4d. per day with food. Granted that the 12s. white man may do twice as much work as the average Kafir. Even with these favourable assumptions for white men, it is seen that the average cost per ton would be increased 10s. 1d., that 50 per cent. of the mines would be practically worked without profit, and the remainder would reduce their dividends 44 per cent. And what good would have been accomplished? Employment would have been given to 6,943 men, who would soon imagine that they had serious grievances, as their wages would average only £187 per annum, or £15 12s. per month of 26 days, whereas the skilled men paid under the old schedule would be receiving wages as shown in Exhibit "14," the average per month being £26 10s. 11d.; and, with the present conditions of cost of living ruling at the mines, they would be debarred to a great extent from becoming family men.

Would this condition of affairs make for the happiness of the white race, their good or advancement?

It might be stated by some that the right policy would be to introduce a scale of wages which would be gradated proportionately between the extremes of the skilled and unskilled labour. If we grade up wages of the latter to be more in conformity with those of the former, the cost per ton would be still further increased. By examination of Exhibit "4" it is seen that the total average profit from all gold produced by the mines on the Witwatersrand Fields, as shown by dividends declared, is only 10s. 7 1/2d. per ton; this would mean that only the richer companies (as shown on page 10), out of a total of 79, could afford to continue operations.

Thus in the end the white population would be decreased, and, for the present, no inducement given to further investment of capital; and it is doubtful if, in ten years, as many stamps would be employed as were in operation in September, 1899.

If we were to grade down the skilled workers' higher scale of pay to be more in conformity with the present earnings of unskilled men, hardship and dissatisfaction would be prevalent among the former (who are already seriously crippled in resources by the war); those amongst them who have families would have great difficulty in supporting them under present living conditions, and, practically, until these were changed, the mines would be worked to a large extent on a "single man" basis, and by a more or less second rate class of men as the best technical and skilled workers would leave these fields whenever they saw an opportunity of doing so.

Thus, to obtain the maximum population, intelligence and contentment, work among the whites must be confined to skilled departments where brain tells, and the mere muscular work apportioned to races willing to be considered inferior, and to work cheerfully for wages far below the scale required by the white population to support their families in the condition of affairs obtaining in this country at the present time, or to be expected in the immediate future.

With such labour conditions the low grade mines can be made to pay, and a greater number of mines kept going; and thus a greater number of white skilled men having financial stability, sound ambition and character could be employed in connection with the mines than is possible in any other way.

Regarding relative costs of necessary foodstuffs in England and the Transvaal, Exhibit "21a" forcibly and graphically shows the enormous difference in retail rates ruling at the present time in these two countries. Exhibit "21b" shows the difference on a similar basis between the Transvaal and New Zealand.

From the foregoing simple marshalling of facts, it seems that no other conclusion can be drawn than that, under existing conditions on these fields, the continuance and expansion of the mines, and the prosperity, contentment and existence of the white population depend, in a large measure, on an adequate supplementary supply of cheap labour through the medium of coloured races.

With plenty of cheap native labour well superintended by white men, it is possible for the mines to employ, on the general staff and in mechanical departments, a considerable number of the latter at each mine, and to pay them high wages if they show efficiency.

The greater the efficiency of both white and black labour, the less will be the working costs, and the greater the number of stamps at work and men employed.

It must be remembered, however, that it will not be possible to pay high wages to efficient white men if the present system is interfered with by dictation on their part and levelling down of their efficiency to suit the more incompetent worker. Should such a contingency arise, the necessity of levelling down all pay will become correspondingly imperative.

The impossibility of extending indefinitely the employment of white labour brings into prominence the necessity of an abundance of cheap native labour.

We do not propose to disguise the seriousness of this problem. It is the main one for these fields, and must enter into the planning also of all the industrial enterprises of South Africa.

Exhibit "22a" gives an estimate of the native population and its distribution in South Africa.

Exhibit "22b" gives tables showing percentages of natives recruited from different localities.

The present condition of affairs is briefly: In 1899 there were employed at the Gold and Coal Mines in the Transvaal, say ... .. 100,000 natives.

At the end of May, 1902	...	...	...	37,000	"
" November, 1902	...	...	...	48,000	"

To return to the same conditions as obtained before the war some 52,000 more natives are required.

The recruiting by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, in spite of reasonable expectations of success, has been particularly disappointing in last November and December.

Exhibit "23" shows some statistics regarding native labour and possible future requirements.

The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association was formed in September, 1900. It undertakes the entire recruiting of native labourers for all the mines of the Witwatersrand Fields, and distributes them to the different groups of mines in proportion to requirements agreed upon, and *pro rata* to natives obtained. Its chief utility is to prevent wasteful competition among the different mines in obtaining their natives; and it also protects natives against unkind and unjust treatment on their journeys, or unfairness in promises made to them.

The Native Labour Association also, in a measure, artificially adjusts the discrepancy between supply and demand.

Its existence depends on the good faith of all concerned.

Though thus far results have not come up to expectations, we still believe it to be the best system, and it is being loyally upheld by the mine managements. We trust its resources, activity and recruiting ground will be vigorously and materially strengthened and extended, and that the Government will give all possible support and aid, especially in connection with Central Africa.

The causes that have been assigned for the present distressing shortage of native supply are:—

#### 1st. The War.

- (a) During its progress the native obtained employment at high rates of pay, and made large accumulations of cash and property without being subjected to taxation.
- (b) Subsequent to the Declaration of Peace a great demand arose for labour to repair damages and to revive and extend all classes of industrial and agricultural enterprises; thus engendering excessive and competitive demand for his services at increased rate of wages, the mines here alone making an effort to reduce the pre-war rate of pay.

#### 2nd. Abundant harvests.

#### 3rd. Insufficient pressure on the native to make him labour proportionately to the white man.

#### 4th. Reduction in the Schedule of native wages.

Regarding Nos. 1 and 2, there is no diversity of opinion.

No. 3 requires some amplification. By "insufficient pressure" is meant not only too light taxation, but too much laxity in controlling his methods of life. The genuine wants of the native are few and simple, and the acquisitive faculty not largely developed. His laws and customs, which are respected by the Government, allow him polygamy. The wives, instead of demanding support from the male, support him by their labour. Thus the greater the number of wives the native has, the richer and more independent he is. His best investment is in the matrimonial market, for, as he accumulates cattle, so his customs allow of their exchange for wives, and, as he accumulates daughters, so he gains cattle. Abnormal prosperity, such as that lately existing, allows large investments in wives, and thus entirely releases many native men from the necessity of ever again labouring; but it is important to note that his wives continue the burden of toil unceasingly.

No. 4. Reduction of the Schedule of Native Wages. Regarding this factor, strong views are held for and against, and this Committee cannot chronicle unanimous views even among its members.

The average wage of the native in 1899 was estimated at 49s. 9d. per month, the 30 days' monthly wage varying, in accordance with the Schedule, from 70s. down to 30s. Before even these rates were established higher prices had been paid, which were in a measure reduced in 1897.

In October, 1900, at a Conference of representatives of the Mining Industry, held in Cape Town, rates were adopted of a minimum of 30s. and maximum of 35s. for 30 shifts' work, with latitude for Managers to give 7½ per cent. of their natives special rates at their own discretion.

Realizing that these rates were too inflexible, and did not give sufficient encouragement to the best workers, the pay was altered on November 4th, 1902, so that Managers could extend piece and task work. The maximum and minimum Cape Town rates were retained, and the piece and task work rates were to be based on the average results obtaining under the former

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system, increased pay being permitted only where the workers showed improvement compared with their performance under former conditions. In order, however, to meet special cases, it was agreed that 7½ per cent. of the natives could be paid 45s., and 5 per cent. of them any rate desired, with the proviso that the average earnings of all natives upon a mine should not exceed 50s. for 30 shifts.

The advocates for low native pay claim that, with food and housing, the natives get—at the cheapest rates—nearly 2s. per diem, which is as much as certain white labourers receive in some mines of Europe (*vide* Exhibit "19," Industrial Commission Report, page 218).

That the more pay the native gets, the shorter the time will he remain at the mines.

That the mines cannot possibly continue to bid up for the services of the native.

That the smaller will always be able to outbid the greater employer, and that a stand might as well be made at a low as a high figure; furthermore, that high pay cannot increase the supply if natives do not exist in sufficient numbers in the country.

The opponents of low rates claim:

That the more the native is in demand, and the more prosperous he is, the more illogical it is to imagine that he can be secured if a rate of wage which he has been educated for some years to believe to be his right due is reduced, especially as others are willing to employ him at higher wages.

The fallacy of the "length of stay" argument, they claim, is shown by the fact that natives, whose time has expired at the mines, take employment in the town at higher rates, and remain for long periods.

The recent experience shows that any estimates of future saving in the matter of native pay are quite chimerical.

That in order to induce natives to remain at work, their wants must be cultivated, and that higher pay naturally cultivates wants by giving means for their gratification.

These are in brief the views expressed by both schools of opinion.

There is no good to be gained by dwelling too much on mistakes of the past, or by looking too pessimistically on the possibilities of the future.

We are all in accord in our belief that the native of South Africa is an excellent and powerful muscular machine, and, if he can be obtained in sufficient numbers, and induced to remain on the mines for extended periods, we do not desire to look further afield; but the fact is we are alarmingly short of the complement required to run the existing mines, and it may be well to briefly state the reasons which appear to us to explain the present condition of things.

For expansive prosperity, whether from the aspect of the shareholders in the mines, or the white employees thereof, we believe that an abundant supply of cheap labour drawn from the coloured races is of supreme importance, and without this aid there do not appear to be any great potentialities for the shareholder, the white mine employee, or the country at large.

The burning question is how this vital factor in the general prosperity can be provided as the mining industry demands. The only remedies seem to be:—

- 1st. More legal and moral pressure to compel a greater number of natives in British Possessions to work, and for longer periods. It is gratifying to note that steps in this direction are being undertaken, not only for the benefit of the mines, but for all the Industries of South Africa.
- 2nd. To extend the present recruiting area with the utmost vigour, and to give not only money inducements, but consideration and care to natives from more distant districts.
- 3rd. Importation of Asiatics.

We consider that No. 3 should be undertaken as a last resource, and under most stringent Government control.

#### FUEL.

Returning to Exhibit "13," the economical importance of the fuel factor is indicated; it figures at 8.23 per cent. of the total costs; without this fortunate existence of coal mines in close proximity to the gold deposit, the past and present working costs would have been impossible.

#### THE COAL FIELDS.

Exhibit "24" shows geographically the extent of the Transvaal Coal Fields as at present known. The coal of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony occurs in beds which lie in nearly horizontal stratification over the older, and uptilted strata of the Witwatersrand Beds. The coal, which is associated with shales, is overlaid by a well-bedded coarse sandstone (which is extensively quarried for building purposes), and is underlaid by a coarse boulder conglomerate or "fireclay" (which is used for the preparation of fire-bricks). The coal seams are usually of considerable thickness, and embrace varieties of gas, smithy and steam coal.

1. *The Vereeniging Coalfield*, which, commencing North of the Vaal River near Vereeniging, crosses the river and extends for an unknown distance into the Orange River Colony. Seams of 10 to 20 feet are worked here in the Central and Cornelia Collieries, of the Vereeniging Estates Company, Limited.

2. *The Brakpan-Springs Area*, which is situated at the Eastern end of the Gold-fields, the coal deposits actually overlying the auriferous banket beds. The coal-seams in this area lie at an average vertical depth of 120 feet from surface.

They vary in thickness between 18 and 22 feet. The best quality of coal lies at the base of the deposit and measures from 6 to 8 feet in thickness.

There is rapid alteration in quality within any given area, and large portions of the field carry coal of too poor a quality to be marketable.

The average analysis of marketable coal from the Brakpan-Springs area, and that of an average Welsh anthracite, are tabulated below:—

	Welsh Anthracite.	Brakpan-Springs Coal.
Fixed Carbon ... ..	90.00	50.98
Volatile Matter... ..	6.10	17.29
Sulphur .. .. .	0.96	0.64
Ash ... .. .	2.12	26.20
Moisture... .. .	1.78	5.89

The average evaporative efficiency of Transvaal Coal may be taken as at 50 to 60 per cent. of the best Welsh anthracite.

The principal coal companies working in this field are the Transvaal Coal Trust, the Cassel Coal Company, the Clydesdale, the Great Eastern and the Tyne Valley.

3. *The Middleburg-Belfast Area.*—This coal area extends from Middleburg east to Balmoral, and is contemporaneous with the Newcastle-Dundee coalfield of Natal, the coal deposits probably extending over the Ermelo and Wakkerstroom districts. The coal in this area is of a better quality than that of the Brakpan-Springs area, as the following average analysis shows:

Fixed Carbon ... ..	67.43
Volatile Matter (including Moisture) ... ..	31.09
Sulphur ... .. .	0.42
Ash ... .. .	1.06

The principal coal companies working near Middleburg are the Transvaal and Delagoa Bay Collieries, the Witbank, the Douglas and the Transvaal Consolidated Coal Mines, Limited.

4. *The South-Rand Coal Area* lies to the South of Heidelberg, extending as far as the Vaal River. Coal has been proved here by boring and shaft sinking; only limited exploitation has as yet taken place, but encouraging reports are given.

5. Beside the above there are a number of small outlying patches of coal formation, and from some of these coal is being won.

#### TRANSVAAL COAL OUTPUT.

The following table (compiled from the State Mining Engineer's Reports) gives the total output of Transvaal Coal Companies from 1893 to the present year.

Year.	Tons of 2,000 lbs.	Selling Value at Pit's Mouth.	
		Total.	Per Ton.
1893 ... ..	548,534	£257,454	9/4.64
1894 ... ..	791,358	359,694	9/1.08
1895 ... ..	1,133,466	516,215	9/1.30
1896 ... ..	1,437,296	612,561	8/6.28
1897 ... ..	1,600,212	612,668	7/7.88
1898 ... ..	1,907,808	668,346	7/0.07
1899 ... ..	1,755,282	619,406	7/1.66
1900 ... ..	506,794	197,127	7/9.48
1901 ... ..	797,144	329,118	8/3.08
1902 (six months ending June 30).	663,596	267,208	8/0.64

At the present time, 61 per cent. of the coal produced in the Transvaal comes from the Springs-Brakpan area, 23 per cent. from Middleburg-Belfast area, and 16 per cent. from the other districts.

The quantity of coal consumed by the Witwatersrand Gold Mines during the statistical year, ended June 30th, 1902, was, according to the State Mining Engineer's Report, 469,841 tons, and the cost to the mines £366,685.

#### EMPLOYEES ON THE COAL MINES.

The number of whites and natives employed in coal mining in the Transvaal during the year 1898 was 391 and 6,901 respectively; the number employed during the first six months of 1902 was 212 and 4,591 respectively.

The cost of living is practically the same as on the Gold Mines.  
The cost of coal to a particular mine is dependent on railway rates as well as cost of extraction.

Formerly all transportation of coal was done in bags, the bagging alone figuring out as high as 2s. per ton—see Industrial Commission Report, page 155.

The rate per ton in 1897 was 3d. per ton mile.  
" " 1899 " 2d. " "  
" " 1902 " 2d. " "  
And will be in Feb. 1903 " new sliding scale.

Exhibit "25" graphically illustrates the distance over which one ton of coal is conveyed by various railways for the same total charges as the C.S.A.R. rates for 1902. From this it is seen that the United States Railways carry coal 180 miles for the same money as the Central South African Railways take it 30 miles.

Exhibit "26" gives the amount of coal consumed and cost in 1898 for 78 companies included in the various groups, the total being 972,238 tons, costing £774,955, the average being 15s. 11.3d. delivered at mine.

#### EXPLOSIVES.

As is seen from Exhibit "13," this is a most important item, figuring in 1898 at 10.95 per cent. of the total costs. Exhibit "27" shows the material reduction brought about since then. The comparative costs of 1899 and October, 1902, show an average reduction of 30 per cent.: this is most satisfactory in view of the encouragement held out for further reductions.

#### RAILWAYS.

Turning again to Exhibits "12" and "13" we find there remains 27.38 per cent. to deal with in the Department of various supplies.

The influence that railway rates have on these can be seen by inspection of Exhibit "28," which shows graphically the relative cost of various supplies at Home, on the Coast, and at the Mines, in percentage of F.O.B., and also gives percentage by three different routes from the Coast, the route *via* Delagoa Bay figuring out most favourably on basis of costs alone.

Even *via* Delagoa Bay, the Railway rates compared to Home costs are:—

Steel Rails	...	...	...	...	131 per cent.
Cement	...	...	...	...	436 "
Deals	...	...	...	...	120 "
Pitch Pine	...	...	...	...	356 "

The charges per ton mile by the different South African Railway systems are as follows for various classes of goods:—

	Distance.	Pence per Ton Mile.		
		Normal.	Interm.	Rough.
	Miles.			
From Lourenco Marques to Johannesburg ...	396	4.24	3.13	2.52
" Durban " " "	485	3.80	2.84	2.43
" East London " " "	665	2.76	2.07	1.77
" Port Elizabeth " " "	713	2.72	2.07	1.77

The average charge for this class of goods by the Railways of other parts of the world are on an average approximately:—

America	...	...	0.30 pence per ton mile.
England	...	...	1.40 "
India	...	...	1.13 "
Germany	...	...	0.749 "

In the Industrial Commission Report (pages 10, 11, 36, 37, 97, 148, 153, 154, 155, 187 to 191, 221, 240, 256, 343, 454), much information is given about rates in other parts of the world, and, on pages 146, 147, 184 and 225, suggestive thought *re* the working of South African lines.

Not only do Railway rates have a material direct bearing on the supplies to the mines, but as they affect the necessary supplies connected with the living expenses of their employees, and even the tradespeople of Johannesburg, so they must in a measure indirectly react on the mines by making the cost of living high or low in this country.

It is most gratifying in connection with the important factor of Railway rates to note the reduction announced, by which the rates on the C.S.A.R. system will be reduced some 20 per cent.

#### AGRICULTURE:

The agricultural interests also suffer through excessive local rates. On page 222 of the Industrial Commission Report it is stated:—

These high rates are not only bad for the Mining Industry, but also for Agriculture. The railroads in this country should form a potent factor in its development, by enabling the

farmer to sell his produce in the market in competition with goods from other parts of South Africa, and if railroads and agriculture were both on a sound basis here, we should no longer see such an anomaly as we now witness—America, 10,000 miles away, supplying Johannesburg and the mines with mealies, Australia, Sweden and Switzerland sending butter and tinned milk, and even California supplying portion of the tinned fruit.

“In this connection, I beg to put in evidence a table taken from the ‘Statistician and Economist’ 1893-94, showing the relative value in 1892 of the various products of the State of California, where, as we know, gold mining, which started in 1849, was the pioneer industry:—

	Products.	Value.	
		\$	£
1.	Wheat ... ..	26,626,584	5,325,317
2.	Gold... ..	9,361,466	1,872,297
3.	Wool ... ..	7,260,000	1,652,000
4.	Grapes ... ..	4,844,331	968,866
5.	Mealies ... ..	1,208,213	241,643
6.	Oats ... ..	794,956	158,991

From the above it is seen how in time the mineral industry gives way to the agricultural in its importance regarding the country's general development. Without going into discussion of the great subject of the agricultural potentialities of this country, we would state that we thoroughly realise their bearing upon the advancement of the Mining Industry, both in cheapening cost of living and giving natural labour reservoirs. And we recognise that the maximum possibilities connected with the Mining Industry will only be reached by a corresponding expansion of the Agricultural interest. They must go hand in hand and mutually advance or retard each other.

#### WATER SUPPLY.

In the evidence before the Water Supply Commission, December 31st, 1901, the Chamber of Mines stated that the amount of water needed by the Industry would be met by furnishing approximately 20,000,000 gallons a day, additional to the present supply, at a date about five years after normal conditions are restored. This figure was based on estimates made by a Committee of Engineers appointed for that purpose, and is dependent upon a large increase in the stamping power on these fields. This latter increase is, as we have shown, dependent on a large supply of coloured cheap labour, and favourable economic conditions.

The requirements of the non-mining population of the towns for the year 1908 were estimated at 19,000,000 gallons a day by the Water Supply Commission.

It is possible to obtain this estimated supply of 39,000,000 gallons a day, but, it will involve a large capital outlay, which would only be justified by the certainty of a very large increase in the stamping power of the fields.

In getting this water for the Mines and Towns, a certain amount of encroachment on the supply available for irrigation purposes may take place, but, as 400 gallons of water consumed in crushing a ton of rock will produce more wealth than the same quantity of water used to irrigate land, we consider that the demand of the mines and towns for water should be met first, and the demand for water for irrigation should be considered thereafter.

#### CAPITALISATION OF COMPANIES.

The original nominal capital of a Company on these fields was fixed without any system, and was really only a convenient basis for the division of profits.

If the value of the fields could have been known originally as they are now, the nominal capital of a Company should have been fixed to cover two values:—

- 1st. The cash necessary for the equipment and development of the mine.
- 2nd. The present value of the profits to be derived from the mine.

The fact that no such system was adopted, and that the nominal capital was fixed at merely some convenient figure, is evidenced by many instances among the Witwatersrand Companies, in which the nominal Capital stands at a figure out of all proportion to the actual Capital which has been expended.

The Ferreira Company might be cited as a typical instance. This Company, with a nominal Capital of £90,000, has spent in hard cash £750,000 in development and equipment. The share buyer figures out the relation between the profits made by the company and its nominal Capital, and bids for the shares accordingly. The nett result is that the value placed on the £1 Ferreira Share is 20 or 25 times that amount.

Exhibit “7,” showing nominal capital and market values, proves that the estimates of the capital required have, as a whole, been far too small.

If, in the minds of the public, the company has been over-capitalised, they will either not buy the Shares, or else they will purchase them only at a discount proportioned to meet the case. We claim that the information obtainable regarding these fields is so exhaustive and lucid, that a purchaser who invests in shares can calculate the figure which will yield him a fair rate of interest.

When the public buys at a large premium the Shares of a company whose nominal capital has been fixed too low, the interest he receives on his investment is not in the least reflected by the percentage declared as dividends on the nominal capital. Thus, the present owners,

*i.e.*, the Shareholders of these mines, are credited with receiving an enormous interest on their investment, whereas, as a matter of fact, the dividends paid in 1898 only amount to a small percentage on the market value of the shares, which latter is the amount of money the shareholders or owners consider to be the value of their mines.

#### SUMMARY.

The main *natural advantages* of the Witwatersrand Gold Fields appear to us as follows:—

The great extent of the deposit.

The comparative certainty of obtaining over large areas ore that will yield a moderate average profit per ton, when exploited under favourable conditions of labour and supplies.

The close proximity of extensive coal fields.

A healthful climate, stimulating to all classes of labour.

The small amount of water to contend with in the mines, yet an average rainfall of 30 inches per annum.

The comparative small amount of timber required in development and exploitation of the ore.

The small increase in temperature as thus far shown due to depth, the best estimates showing an increase of only 1 degree Fahr. for 208 feet. Further investigation, however, is now proceeding, directed to obtain reliable data from the deepest points yet pierced by shafts and boreholes, the results of which may somewhat modify the figure previously given.

#### NATURAL DISADVANTAGES.

The extensive faulting and dislocation of the conglomerate beds.

The thinness of the pay seams in certain sections, necessitating the mining of the non-payable material, and the subsequent expense of sorting it out again.

The manner and the minute particles in which the gold is found makes the process of concentration very difficult, and demand that practically the whole of the ore crushed should be subjected to chemical treatment. The average dip of 30 degrees is not a favourable one for cheap exploitation.

The distance from source of supplies, as well as distance from the Coast, in connection with the altitude of the Fields, adds to the cost of supplies for the mines and cost of living to the population.

The sparseness of population per square mile gives no great local labour reserves to draw from.

The proportion of natives to whites in the country, *i.e.*, 5 to 1, makes it neither a good white man's nor black man's labour market.

#### CONCLUSION.

The value of these fields as a producer of dividends, or as the foundation for the expansion of South Africa, depends on the amount of ore that can be treated at a profit.

The lower the working costs, the lower the grade of ore that can be worked and the greater the quantity, for the conglomerate beds are not of uniform value, but vary greatly in yield, as has been shown; and in this connection it may be repeated that a reduction in working costs will principally benefit the poorer mines.

Thus, the lower the grade of ore worked, the greater will be the number of mines and men employed.

The employment of all white labour, under existing conditions, would result in the working of only those mines with the highest yield per ton, and would stop the expansion of all new work connected with the mining industry.

Our great problem is the obtainment of an abundant coloured labour supply.

In the solution of this problem we ask for support and encouragement from the Government, feeling that on its proper solution depends not only the dividends of the mines, but the welfare of the whole country.

We have not touched directly on the question of taxation, but have simply endeavoured to present a frank, full but concentrated statement of all the facts that we consider affect the present and future working of these Fields, leaving the Government to draw its own conclusions.

HENKEN JENNINGS.

G. A. DENNY.

H. H. WEBB.

G. E. WEBBER.

W. L. HONNOLD.

W. G. HOLFORD.

GEO. J. HOFFMANN.

R. N. KOTZE.

FREDK. H. HATCH.

J. HARRY JOHNS.

SIDNEY J. JENNINGS.

S. C. THOMSON.

POPE YEATMAN.

H. ROSS SKINNER.

## APPENDIX II.

### TRANSVAAL.

ACCOUNT OF TREASURY RECEIPTS AND ISSUES FROM 1ST JULY, 1902, TO 30TH JUNE, 1903.

REVENUE AND OTHER RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE AND OTHER ISSUES.									
		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.				
Net Balance, 1st July, 1902	...	...			1,098,199	17	6			CHARGES ON ACCOUNT OF PUBLIC DEBT...	139,637	6	1
										PENSIONS AND GRATUITIES	2,171	14	0
CUSTOMS	...	2,176,658	3	3						HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR	25,572	7	1
										HIS EXCELLENCY THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.	9,518	19	7
MINING REVENUE—										SECRETARIAT—			
Profit Tax (Gold Mines)	...	116,316	4	0						Colonial Secretary	17,374	17	11
Prospecting Licences	...	279,867	10	5						Public Works—			
Diggers' Licences	...	45,205	5	4						Establishment and Maintenance	382,413	10	4
Mynpacht Dues	...	47,105	10	10						New Works	587,397	10	8
Miscellaneous (Licences and Dues)	...	18,223	6	10						Education	257,620	12	11
										Public Health	73,541	12	7
POST OFFICE	...	175,348	7	9						Lunatic Asylum	15,749	8	0
										Pretoria Hospital	13,282	18	3
										Government Printing Office	104,458	19	5
<i>Carried forward</i>	...	2,858,724	8	5						<i>Carried forward</i>	1,628,739	16	10



ACCOUNT OF TREASURY RECEIPTS AND ISSUES FROM 1ST JULY, 1902, TO 30TH JUNE, 1903—continued.

REVENUE AND OTHER RECEIPTS.					EXPENDITURE AND OTHER ISSUES.						
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>Brought forward...</i>	2,858,724	8	5	1,098,199	17	6		<i>Brought forward</i>	1,628,739	16	10
TELEGRAPHS	117,706	13	2					SECRETARIAT— <i>cont.</i>			
LICENCES AND TRADE TAXES—								Surveyor-General	21,774	18	7
Trading, Professional, and Liquor Licences	187,515	18	4					Asiatic Immigration	4,178	1	11
Auction Dues	26,037	13	10					Administration of Permit System	6,845	0	0
NATIVE REVENUE—								Meteorological Department	410	11	0
Passes	134,736	0	9					LEGAL DEPARTMENTS—			
Poll Tax	271,606	10	0					Attorney-General	21,597	1	3
Miscellaneous (Taxes and Fees)	12,986	17	2					Superior Courts	32,231	16	5
TRANSFER DUTY	504,900	5	2					Commissioner of Patents	4,110	7	4
STAMP DUTIES	209,223	4	11					Sheriff	2,820	0	0
Companies' Capital Duty	77,714	10	0					Registrar of Deeds	9,521	12	5
<i>Carried forward</i>								Master of the Supreme Court	8,809	16	4
								Liquor Commission	401	1	9
								Resident Magistrates	120,770	13	11
								Police	285,883	16	1
								Prisons	111,803	4	4
								TREASURY—			
								Treasurer and Revenue Offices	26,699	19	2
								<i>Carried forward</i>			

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REVENUE AND OTHER RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE AND OTHER ISSUES.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>Brought forward...</i>				<i>Brought forward...</i>			
LAND REVENUE—				Audit Office...	11,409	2	10
Farm Tax ... ..	33,267	7	4	Customs ... ..	39,314	17	0
Erf Tax ... ..	20,922	11	6	Post Office and Telegraphs ... ..	314,231	11	1
Stand Licences ... ..	73,949	6	5	MINES—			
				Commissioner of Mines and Secretarial Branch.	10,767	10	1
FINES AND COURT FEES ... ..	38,121	0	10	Engineering Branch ... ..	39,223	15	11
				Registration of Mining Rights ... ..	48,965	2	3
RENT OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTIES ...	13,076	1	7	Geological Survey ... ..	4,185	12	5
				NATIVE AFFAIRS—			
INTEREST ... ..	21,548	14	11	Commissioner for Native Affairs and Secretarial Branch.	29,543	0	0
				Native Commissioners ... ..	37,399	0	0
MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE...	81,138	13	10	Labour Inspection Branch ... ..	9,748	0	0
				Pass Branch... ..	19,110	0	0
Total Ordinary Revenue ... ..			4,683,205 18 2	Swaziland Administration ... ..	11,921	0	0
				Sabi Game Reserve ... ..	2,772	0	0
<i>Carried forward...</i>			5,781,405 15 8	Director of Civil Supplies ... ..	6,986	10	3
				Transport ... ..	21,873	2	0
				Exchange and Bank Charges ... ..	1,493	15	3
				Crown Agents' Charges ... ..	1,892	11	2
				Transvaal Enquiry Bureau, Capetown ...	2,322	10	0
				Agriculture ... ..	66,976	3	7
				<i>Carried forward...</i>	2,966,733	1	2

ACCOUNT OF TREASURY RECEIPTS AND ISSUES FROM 1ST JULY, 1902, TO 30TH JUNE, 1903—continued.

REVENUE AND OTHER RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE AND OTHER ISSUES.			
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
<i>Brought forward</i> ... ..			5,781,405	15 8	<i>Brought forward</i> ... ..	2,966,733 1 2
(1).—Extra Receipts ... ..	...		744,303	8 11	Grants in Aid ... ..	89,496 2 6
GOVERNMENT OF THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY—					Immigration ... ..	8,467 1 6
Contribution on account of—					South African Constabulary ... ..	2,176,244 1 10
(a) South African Constabulary Expenditure.	250,000	0 0			Grants to Volunteer Corps ... ..	105,000 0 0
(b) Administration of the Permit System.	1,125	0 0			Compensation to Natives for Surrender of Arms.	67,027 1 11
(c) Transvaal and Orange River Colony Enquiry Office.	822	10 0			Expenses of Commissions ... ..	6,780 16 1
IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT—					Contributions to Municipal Bodies in lieu of rates.	16,000 0 0
Contribution on account of South African Constabulary Expenditure for period subsequent to 30th June, 1902.	1,000,000	0 0			Land Department ... ..	60,200 0 0
			1,251,947	10 0	Irrigation and Water Supply ... ..	6,900 0 0
IMPERIAL GRANTS (not repayable)—					(3).—Compensation to Hatherley Distillery Company, Ltd.—First Instalment.	76,875 0 0
(a) South African Constabulary, for expenditure of the year ended 30th June, 1902.	1,000,000	0 0			(4).—Adjustment of Deficiency on Orphan Chamber.	216,417 3 11
					Restoration of places of Religious Worship destroyed during the War. . .	18,450 0 0
					Special Payments in respect of Liabilities of the late Government.	23,107 16 6
					Miscellaneous... ..	25,363 18 3
					Total Revenue Issues ... ..	5,863,062 3 8

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REVENUE AND OTHER RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE AND OTHER ISSUES.							
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		
<i>Brought forward</i> ... ..							<i>Brought forward</i> .. ...				
(2).—(b) Transvaal Railways, Share and Debenture Interest for the year ended 30th June, 1902.	650,000	0	0				EXPENDITURE FROM LOANS—				
(c) Repatriation—Sub-head A... ..	3,000,000	0	0				Deficit on Civil Administration to 30th June, 1902.	541,509	11 6		
(d) Do. do. B... ..	2,000,000	0	0				Land Settlement ... ..	647,500	2 2		
							Public Works ... ..	145,034	0 0		
							Telegraphs ... ..	193,552	14 0		
IMPERIAL GRANTS (repayable)—							EXPENDITURE ON SERVICES PROVIDED FOR BY IMPERIAL GRANTS—				
Repatriation—Sub-head C ... ..	3,000,000	0	0				(a) South African Constabulary... ..	348,370	0 0		
				9,650,000	0	0	(b) Transvaal Railways (Share and Debenture Interest).	142,326	11 1		
							(c) Repatriation—Sub-head A. ... ..	3,000,000	0 0		
							(d) Do. do. B. ... ..	210,218	7 8		
				£17,427,656	14	7			3,700,914	18 9	
Loans (Inter-Colonial Council for Loan Issues per contra).	...			1,527,596	7	8	REPAYMENT OF IMPERIAL GRANT-IN- AID.	...		3,000,000	0 0
Advances Repaid ... ..	...			22,414,298	5	11	Advances ... ..	...		£14,091,573	10 1
Deposits ... ..	...			6,037,454	1	11	Deposits Repaid ... ..	...		23,929,806	9 5
Drafts and Remittances ... ..	...			6,876,482	18	3	Drafts and Remittances ... ..	...		4,930,749	4 4
							Investments ... ..	...		7,019,239	3 5
							Total Payments ... ..	...		130,000	0 0
							Net Balance, 30th June, 1903	...		£50,101,368	7 3
				£54,283,488	8	4	Total ... ..	...		4,182,120	1 1
										£54,283,488	8 4

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Treasury,  
19th October, 1903.

JAMES BURNS,  
Accountant-General.

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## DISTRIBUTION OF CASH BALANCES AT END OF JUNE, 1903.

	Debit.		Credit.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Bank ... ..	469,161	2 11		
Remittances Outstanding ... ..	183,925	13 7		
Cheques Outstanding ... ..			104,946	8 10
Imprest Balances, viz. :—				
Crown Agents ... ..	3,611,936	9 4		
Sub-Accountants (Revenue) ... ..	22,043	4 1		
Net Balance ... ..			4,182,120	1 1
	£4,287,066	9 11	£4,287,066	9 11

- (1).—Extra Receipts.—These consist of certain funds and investments belonging to the late Government and of the surplus realised on liquidating the Post Office Savings Bank of the late Government. They have been brought into revenue for this year to the extent to which they have been realised or are of ascertained value. The following is a detailed list :—

	£	s. d.
Post Office Savings Bank Investment Board ... ..	346,602	5 9
Amortisation Funds—Advances repaid, including interest ... ..	54,327	11 11
Arme Burgher Funds— Do. do. ... ..	16,872	17 4
Ondersteuning Funds— Do. do. ... ..	11,569	14 3
National Bank Shares ... ..	130,000	0 0
South African Republic Loan to Transvaal Cold Storage Company ... ..	69,023	1 9
Balances on Suspense Accounts transferred to Revenue ... ..	89,681	17 7
Other Miscellaneous Receipts ... ..	26,226	0 4
	£744,303	8 11

- (2).—This is the balance of the sum of £800,000 provided by the Imperial Government to meet the charge for interest on Railway obligations of the Transvaal for the period up to 30th June, 1902.
- (3).—This represents the instalment paid in Pretoria of the compensation for abolition of the Hatherley Distillery Concession, provided for by Ordinance No. 53 of 1903. The balance (£220,000) was paid in London subsequent to 30th June, 1903.
- (4).—The Orphan Chamber Funds (*i.e.*, the funds representing estates administered or invested by the Master of the Supreme Court) were found, on the British occupation, to be insolvent, the amounts paid in from time to time not having been invested as required by law, but having simply been paid into the Treasury, which paid out principal sums and interest as required. This sum represents the amount required to make good the deficiency with interest due thereon.

JAMES BURNS,  
Accountant-General.

## APPENDIX III.

### I.—TRANSVAAL ESTIMATES, 1903-4.

*Abstract of the Estimated Revenue for the Year 1903-4.*

	£	£
Customs ... ..		1,800,000
Mining Revenue—		
(a) Licenses ... ..	400,000	
(b) Profits Tax ... ..	340,000	
	740,000	
Post and Telegraphs ... ..		360,000
Taxes on Trades and Professions ... ..		200,000
Native Revenue—		
(a) Native Passes ... ..	200,000	
(b) Native Tax ... ..	300,000	
	500,000	
Transfer Duty... ..		450,000
Stamp Duties ... ..		250,000
Land Revenue ... ..		100,000
Miscellaneous ... ..		100,000
		£4,500,000
Total ... ..		£4,500,000

ABSTRACT OF ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1903-4, SHOWING ALSO THE  
APPROVED ESTIMATES FOR THE YEAR 1902-3.

No. of Vote.	Title of Vote.	Approved Estimates, 1902-3.	Estimates, 1903-4.	Increase.	Decrease.
	Charges on account of Public Debt ...	£ 125,000	£ —	£ —	£ 125,000
I.	Pensions and Gratuities ... ..	2,000	4,000	2,000	—
	His Excellency the Governor ... ..	23,978	—	—	23,978
II.	His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor	9,522	12,752	3,230	—
III.	Executive and Legislative Councils ...	2,613	16,772	14,159	—
IV.	Colonial Secretary ... ..	112,239	46,212	—	66,027
	Carried forward ... ..	275,352	72,736	19,389	215,005

No. of Vote.	Title of Vote.	Approved Estimates, 1902-3.	Estimates, 1903-4.	Increase.	Decrease.
	Brought forward ... ..	£ 275,352	£ 79,736	£ 19,389	£ 215,005
V.	Public Works—Establishment, and Maintenance.	} 696,162	} { 411,243 433,767 }	} 148,848	—
VI.	Public Works—New Works ... ..				
VII.	Education .. .. .	303,805	306,231	2,426	—
VIII.	Public Health ... ..	55,446	69,489	14,043	—
IX.	District Hospitals and Dispensaries ...	37,825	63,283	25,458	—
X.	Pretoria Hospital ... ..	12,346	16,585	4,239	—
XI.	Government Printing Office ... ..	85,354	72,171	—	13,183
XII.	Grants in Aid ... ..	69,946	98,396	28,450	—
XIII.	Attorney-General ... ..	32,280	41,236	8,956	—
XIV.	Commissioner of Patents ... ..	4,750	5,565	815	—
XV.	Registrar of Deeds ... ..	11,840	11,446	—	394
XVI.	Master of the Supreme Court ... ..	8,810	11,490	2,680	—
XVII.	Superior Courts ... ..	45,363	45,108	—	255
XVIII.	Prisons ... ..	121,575	124,935	3,360	—
XIX.	Magistrates ... ..	121,447	142,451	21,004	—
XX.	Police ... ..	321,593	370,203	48,610	—
XXI.	Lunatic Asylum ... ..	18,581	20,148	1,567	—
XXII.	Native Affairs ... ..	103,175	114,915	11,740	—
	Administration of Swaziland ... ..	45,000	—	—	45,000
XXIII.	Treasury .. .. .	17,808	23,683	5,875	—
XXIV.	Revenue Offices ... ..	8,969	9,564	£ 95	—
XXV.	Audit Office ... ..	13,809	16,616	2,807	—
XXVI.	Customs ... ..	43,570	47,893	4,323	—
XXVII.	Postal and Telegraph Department ...	314,752	414,259	99,507	—
XXVIII.	Transport and Immigration ... ..	37,000	20,000	—	17,000
	South African Constabulary ... ..	1,250,000	—	—	1,250,000
XXIX.	Transvaal Volunteers ... ..	105,000	200,000	95,000	—
XXX.	Mines Department ... ..	107,291	128,215	20,924	—
XXXI.	Land Department ... ..	60,200	49,080	—	11,120
XXXII.	Irrigation and Water Supply .. ..	—	45,580	45,580	—
XXXIII.	Surveys ... ..	22,658	27,563	4,905	—
XXXIV.	Agriculture and Forests ... ..	105,062	134,845	29,783	—
XXXV.	Census ... ..	—	15,000	15,000	—
XXXVI.	Miscellaneous ... ..	37,300	18,200	—	19,100
	Total Ordinary Expenditure	£ 4,494,069	3,588,896	665,884	1,571,057

## APPENDIX IV.

### ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE TOTAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE IN THE YEAR FROM 1ST JULY, 1902, TO 30TH JUNE, 1903.

RECEIPTS.	Revised Estimate.	Actual Receipts.	More than Estimated.	Less than Estimated.	PAYMENTS.	Estimates (Original and Supplementary).	Actual Expenditure.	Excess on Estimates.	Saving on Estimates.
	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance on 1st July, 1902.		271,511 17 7							
<b>HEADS OF REVENUE.</b>					<b>HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.</b>				
1. Quit Rents ... ..	17,000	35,014 2 1	18,014 2		1. Public Debt Charges ... ..	95,900	5,777 8 6		90,122 11 6
2. Transfer Duty ... ..	37,000	69,913 10 11	32,913 10 11		2. Pensions and Grants ... ..	14,415			
3. Customs Duties and Excise ... ..	240,000	288,804 15 11	48,804 15 11			3,705	31,987 4 1		1,132 15 11
4. Licenses and Stamps ... ..	83,000	111,223 18 3	28,223 18 3		3. Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Councils.	8,175	9,301 2 0	826 2 0	
5. Post Office and Telegraphs ... ..	56,000	69,532 3 2	13,532 3 2		4. Colonial Secretary's Department ... ..	5,340	5,274 9 4		65 10 8
6. Fines ... ..	10,000	12,842 5 3	2,842 5 3		5. District Administration ... ..	30,022			
7. Auction Duty ... ..	4,000	9,653 5 7	5,653 5 7			500	28,673 1 2		1,848 18 10
8. Native Poll Tax ... ..	14,000	20,740 9 0	6,740 9 0		6. Treasury ... ..	4,360	4,172 9 0		187 11 0
9. Pound Fees ... ..	200	1,326 15 0	1,126 15 0		7. Orphan Master ... ..	1,982	1,977 13 9		4 6 3
10. Diamond Mines and Prospecting Licenses.	9,000	6,908 16 7		2,091 3 5	8. Audit Department ... ..	2,451	2,116 18 8		331 1 4
11. Interest and Dividends ... ..	15,000	13,778 5 4		1,221 14 8	9. Customs ... ..	4,320	3,943 16 4		376 3 8
12. Railway Profits ... ..	300,000	300,000 0 0			10. Revenue Services ... ..	2,500	2,076 13 0		423 7 0
13. Bridge Tolls... ..					11. Administration of Justice ... ..	16,317	15,293 14 5		1,023 5 7
14. Hire of Government Farms ... ..	100	285 9 1	185 9 1		12. Deeds Office ... ..	1,815	1,830 13 7	15 13 7	
15. Hire of Government Houses ... ..	1,200	745 9 0		454 11 0	13. Municipal Police ... ..	45,200	23,852 18 0		21,347 2 0

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STATEMENT SHOWING THE TOTAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE IN THE YEAR FROM 1ST JULY, 1902, TO 30TH JUNE, 1903—continued.

RECEIPTS.	Revised Estimate.	Actual Receipts.	More than Estimated.	Less than Estimated.	PAYMENTS.	Estimates (Original and Supplementary).	Actual Expenditure.	Excess on Estimates.	Saving on Estimates.
	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
16. Survey Fees ... ..					14. Prisons ... ..	25,501	32,618 8 3		582 11 9
17. Sales of Land and other Government Property.	12,000	12,077 17 6	77 17 6			7,700			
18. Miscellaneous Receipts ... ..	1,000	2,151 8 0	1,151 8 0		15. Medical ... ..	24,121	23,985 1 6		1,835 18 6
19. Refunds ... ..	500	1,537 0 8	1,037 0 8			1,700			
					16. Education ... ..	69,780	61,925 3 0		7,854 17 0
						7,050			
					17. Surveyor-General ... ..	4,000	10,796 18 2		253 1 10
						57,741			
					18. Post Office and Telegraphs ... ..	20,304	78,044 13 5		0 6 7
						7,250			
					19. Stationery, Printing and Office Requisites.	3,465	14,334 15 6		130 4 6
						3,750			
						22,125			
					20. Public Works Recurrent ... ..	16,900	47,060 3 7	5,535 3 7	
						2,500			
					21. Public Works Extraordinary ... ..	83,322	97,278 18 9		2,093 1 3
						16,050			
					22. Agriculture ... ..	8,070	30,902 13 11		10,167 6 1
						15,000			
						18,000			
					23. Miscellaneous ... ..	8,050	23,058 18 7	408 18 7	
						13,500			
						1,100			

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STATEMENT SHOWING THE TOTAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE IN THE YEAR FROM 1ST JULY, 1902, TO 30TH JUNE, 1903—*continued.*

RECEIPTS.	Revised Estimate.	Actual Receipts.	More than Estimated.	Less than Estimated.	PAYMENTS.	Estimates (Original and Supplementary).	Actual Expenditure.	Excess on Estimates.	Saving on Estimates.
					24. South African Constabulary ...	250,000	250,000 0 0		
					25. Refunds ... ..	{ 5,000 30,000 }	33,538 19 5		1,361 0 7
					Total Gross Estimates ...	974,281			
					Less Estimated Savings ...	143,300			
Total Revenue ...	£ 800,000	956,535 11 4	152,203 0 5	3,767 9 1	Total Expenditure ... ..	830,981	839,922 15 11	6,785 17 9	141,144 1 10
Advances from Army Paymaster for Expenditure on Refugee Camps.		360,000 0 0			Expenditure on Burgher Refugee Camps.	}	342,649 12 8		
Advances ... ..		127,945 10 2			Expenditure on Native Refugee Camps		30,027 18 11		
Deposits ... ..		35,984 1 5			Repaid to Army Paymaster ... ..		5,536 6 4		
"Agricultural Department Receipts" Amount received from Military for Stock.		18,318 10 0			Advances ... ..		141,155 15 3		
					Deposits ... ..		12,035 1 3		
					Commandeered and Confiscated Property Refund.		94,865 0 6		
					"Agricultural Dept. Receipts." Refunds on account Stock:				
					To War Office £38,588 3 6				
					„ Others ... £7,260 19 4		45,849 2 10		
					Total Payments ... ..		1,542,041 13 8		
					Balance in hand 30th June, 1903—				
					In Treasury ... £ s. d.				
					On fixed Deposit ... 150,000 0 0				
					With Crown Agents 36,743 19 9				
					In hands of Sub-Accountants ... 21,153 10 1				
							228,253 16 10		
	£	1,770,295 10 6					£ 1,770,295 10 6		

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A. BROWNE,  
Colonial Treasurer 10th August, 1903.

JAMES COLLIE,  
Accountant. 10th August, 1903.

## APPENDIX V.

### ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

Estimated Revenue, 1903-4, as per Abstract appended	...	£563,300
Estimated Expenditure, 1903-4	" " "	558,685
Estimated surplus	... ..	£4,615

*Abstract of Estimated Revenue for Year to 30th June, 1904, showing also Estimate for Year 1902-3.*

Heads of Revenue.	Estimate, 1902-3.	Estimate, 1903-4.
	£	£
Quit-rents ... ..	11,000	16,000
Transfer Duty ... ..	22,000	40,000
Customs Duties and Excise ... ..	180,000	220,000
Licenses and Stamps (including Succession Duty) ... ..	45,000	95,000
Post Office and Telegraphs ... ..	42,000	80,000
Fines ... ..	6,500	10,000
Auction Duty ... ..	3,000	8,000
Native Poll Tax ... ..	14,000	30,000
Pound Fees .. ..	200	1,000
Mining Revenue—		
Claim Licenses ... .. £9,500		
Prospecting Licenses ... .. 500		
Registration of Diamonds ... .. 1,500		
Coal Tax .. .. 3,500	9,000	15,000
Interest and Dividends—		
Dividend, National Bank ... .. £12,500		
Surplus Interest, Funds Department ... .. 15,000		
Interest on Fixed Deposit and on Loan to Bloemfontein Town Council ... .. 5,300	16,000	32,800
Railway Profits ... ..	300,000	—
Bridge Tolls ... ..	500	—
Hire of Government Farms ... ..	2,000	—
Hire of Government Houses ... ..	500	2,000
Survey Receipts ... ..	500	500
Sales of Government Property ... ..	1,000	1,000
Miscellaneous Receipts ... ..	3,000	1,000
Agricultural Department Receipts ... ..	—	2,000
Land Revenue ... ..	—	9,000
Refunds ... ..	450	—
Total ... ..	656,650	563,300

*Abstract of Estimated Expenditure for Year to 30th June, 1904, showing also Estimate for Year 1902-3.*

Heads of Expenditure.	Estimate, 1902-3.	Estimate, 1903-4.
1. Public Debt Charges ... ..	£ 95,900	£ 5,625
2. Pensions and Grants... ..	14,415	16,573
3. Lieutenant-Governor and Councils ... ..	7,475	9,495
4. Colonial Secretary's Department ... ..	4,520	6,980
5. District Administration ... ..	30,022	38,462
6. Treasury ... ..	4,225	5,155
7. Master of High Court ... ..	1,690	3,225
8. Audit Department ... ..	2,450	3,830
9. Customs ... ..	4,320	6,899
10. Revenue Services ... ..	2,500	2,200
11. Administration of Justice ... ..	16,316	18,196
12. Deeds Office ... ..	1,615	2,730
13. Prisons ... ..	25,501	36,982
14. Medical ... ..	24,121	26,365
15. Education ... ..	69,780	87,820
16. Survey and Mines ... ..	7,050	6,765
17. Post Office and Telegraphs ... ..	57,741	118,491
18. Stationery, Printing and Office Requisites ... ..	7,250	11,141
19. Public Works recurrent ... ..	22,125	56,264
20. Public Works Extraordinary ... ..	83,322	56,965
21. Agriculture ... ..	8,070	24,734
22. Land Settlement ... ..	—	6,738
23. Miscellaneous ... ..	8,050	7,050
South African Constabulary ... ..	—	—
Municipal Police ... ..	45,200	—
Refunds ... ..	—	—
Total ... ..	543,658	558,685

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## APPENDIX. VI.

### THE TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE RIVER COLONY. INTER-COLONIAL BUDGET FOR FINANCIAL YEAR 1903-1904.

#### *Estimated Revenue for 1903-1904.*

Net Receipts of C.S.A.R. for the year 1903-4	...	...	...	£ 2,150,080
Transfer from C.S.A.R. Net Receipts of the year 1902-3	...	...	...	200,000
Total				£2,350,080

#### *Abstract of Estimated Expenditure, 1903-1904.*

##### I.—SERVICE OF GUARANTEED LOAN.

	£	£
Interest and Sinking Fund	1,433,334	
Management Charges on Loans—£250 for each Million	7,708	
	1,441,042	

##### II.—ADMINISTRATION.

A. South African Constabulary	1,520,061	
B. Governor's Establishment	23,550	
C. Surveys	25,550	
D. Permit Office	10,550	
E. Transvaal and O.R.C. Inquiry Office	2,100	
F. Expenses of Council	5,000	
G. Education	2,500	
	1,589,311	
Total Expenditure	3,030,353	
Total Revenue	2,350,080	
Deficit	£680,273	

## APPENDIX VII.

### CENTRAL SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS. BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR FINANCIAL YEAR 1903-1904. ESTIMATED GROSS REVENUE FOR YEAR 1903-1904.

I.—Revenue, Actual and Estimated, for 6 months, January to June (inclusive), 1903-1904.

	Pas-sengers.	Parcels.	Parcels Cartage.	Goods and Minerals.	Live Stock.	Goods Cartage.	Mails.	Rents.	Miscel- laneous.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
January to March ...	329,492	29,178	235	1,019,766	58,275	28,026	199	10,727	8,422	1,484,320
April to June ...	320,000	29,000	215	922,905	50,000	26,100	200	10,600	7,000	1,366,050
<b>Totals ...</b>	<b>649,492</b>	<b>58,178</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>1,942,671</b>	<b>108,275</b>	<b>54,126</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>21,327</b>	<b>15,422</b>	<b>2,850,370</b>

Assuming Traffic for 1903-1904 to be maintained at the same average as during the last six months of 1902-1903, Revenue would be—

*	1,298,984	116,356	960	3,885,342	216,550	108,252	798	42,654	30,844	5,700,710
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Add for Increase of Traffic 8 per cent. to Passenger and Parcels Traffic, 5 per cent. to Goods and Mineral Traffic, and assuming payments to Railway on account of carriage of Mails to be £10,000 in excess of amount paid to Post Office by the Railway for services rendered by the former, the Estimated Gross Revenue for 1903-1904 will be—

Total as in * plus 8 p.c.	Total as in * plus 8 p.c.	Total as in *	Total as in * plus 5 p.c.	Total as in *	Total as in * plus 5 p.c.	Total as in Note above.	Total as in * plus 10 p.c.	Total as in *	Total Estimated Gross Revenue.
1,402,903	125,664	960	4,079,609	216,550	113,675	10,000	46,919	30,844	6,027,124
Deduct anticipated loss on Revenue owing to reduction in Passenger and Through Goods Rates.									550,000
Estimated Gross Revenue for 1903-1904 ...									5,477,124

II.—Establishment Rolls, and Working Estimates for Year July 1st, 1903, to June 30th, 1904.

Abstract.	DEPARTMENT.	Actual Expenditure, 1902-1903.	Estimated Expenditure, 1903-1904.
		£	£
E	Engineering Department ...	451,804	520,310
L	Locomotive, Carriage, and Wagon Department.	1,222,000	1,428,043
T	Traffic Department ...	699,023	807,500
S	Telegraph Department ...	62,700	74,897
M	Medical Department ...	45,357	48,604
G	General Charges ...	145,573	169,844
C	Cartage Department ...	103,600	120,000
X	Stores Department ...	58,196	72,839
Y	New Major Works—Revenue ...	52,843	65,007
Z	Hire of Rolling Stock ...	37,000	20,000
<b>TOTALS ...</b>		<b>£2,878,096</b>	<b>£3,327,044</b>

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## III.—Gross Earnings, Working Expenditure, and Nett Earnings for Financial Year 1902-1903.

		Gross Earnings.	Working Expenditure.	Nett Earnings.
		£	£	£
1902.				
July	... ..	345,829	168,530	177,299
August	... ..	349,293	152,785	196,508
September	... ..	405,161	180,095	225,066
October	... ..	413,679	219,653	194,026
November	... ..	465,862	228,543	237,319
December	... ..	506,041	244,527	261,514
1903.				
January	... ..	521,927	257,931	263,996
February	... ..	459,032	231,639	227,393
March	... ..	503,361	295,767	207,594
April	... ..	441,888	278,594	163,294
May	... ..	467,157	288,595	178,562
June	... ..	470,000	278,594	191,406*
Totals		5,349,230	2,825,253	2,523,977

\* Includes £13,000 on account of Haulage of Mails and Telegraph Receipts for the year not brought to account.

Up to nearly the end of May, figures from Gross Earnings are taken from Weekly Traffic Receipts. June Gross Receipts are estimated only. Expenditure to the end of March is actual. For April, May, and June Expenditure is estimated only.

## IV.—GENERAL REVENUE STATEMENT.

		Year 1902-1903.	Year 1903-1904.
		£	£
GROSS EARNINGS	... ..	5,349,230	5,477,124
WORKING EXPENDITURE	... ..	2,878,096	3,327,044
NETT EARNINGS	... ..	2,471,134	2,150,080
PERCENTAGE WORKING EXPENDITURE OF GROSS EARNINGS	... ..	53.8	60.7

E. P. C. GIROUARD, Lieut.-Col.,  
Commissioner of Railways.

