

Urban Conditions and Administration.

Summary of the Report of the

There has been a considerable amount of migration from the rural areas to the urban areas. It is estimated that in 1921 the number of persons who had migrated from the rural areas to the urban areas was 120,000. This number is based on the census of 1921 and is subject to revision. The number of persons who have migrated from the rural areas to the urban areas since 1921 is not known.

The Census of 1921 revealed an increasing concentration of the Native population in the urban areas. The number of persons in the urban areas in 1921 was 1,200,000. This number is based on the census of 1921 and is subject to revision.

PART III

NATIVES IN URBAN AREAS

Urban Conditions and Administration.

Growing Urbanization of Natives.

402.

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

403.

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

NATIVES IN URBAN AREAS, UNION, 1911 AND 1921.

	Number.		Rate of Increase, Per Cent.
	1911.	1921.	
Males.....	410,161	439,707	7·20
Females.....	97,981	147,293	50·33

404.

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

Urban Area.	Period.	Percentage Increase of Population.	
		Natives.	Europeans.
Capetown.....	1921-1926	36·51	9·66
Port Elizabeth.....	"	22·57	20·64
East London.....	"	44·17	12·56
Bloemfontein.....	"	23·06	13·15
Pietermaritzburg.....	1921-1930	27·5	17·0*
Graaff Reinet.....	1921-1931	115·83	— 1·53
Kroonstad †.....	"	99·1	20·6
Parys.....	"	72·44	6·51
Uitenhage.....	1921-1930	71·35	19·64

* Europeans and Coloured (enumerated together).

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

405.

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

406.

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

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

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

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

† Females resident in locations only.

407.

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

408.

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

The Principles of the Urban Areas Act.

409.

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act, No. 21 of 192³, as amended by Act No. 25 of 1930, contains in respect of European areas two very important principles of public policy, namely:

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

410.

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

411.

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

412.

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

413.

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

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

414.

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

*The Implications of the Anti-Slum Provisions of the Act.***415.**

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

416.

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

*Progress Achieved under the Act.***417.**

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

418.

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

419.

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

Bloemfontein.**420.**

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

421.

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

422.

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

423.

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

424.

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

Capetown.

425.

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

426.

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

427.

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

428.

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

429.

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

430.

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

431.

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

432.

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

433.

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

434.

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

435.

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

436.

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

437.

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

Durban.

438.

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

439.

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

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

440.

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

441.

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

East London.

442.

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

443.

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

444.

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

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

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

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

445.

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

446.

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

447.

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

448.

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

449.

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

Johannesburg.

450.

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

451.

Many Natives working in Johannesburg live at Alexandra Township.

452.

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

453.

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

454.

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

455.

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

456.

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

457.

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

458.

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

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

459.

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

DETAILS CONCERNING JOHANNESBURG SLUM PROPERTIES, NOVEMBER, 1931.

Property.	Sq. Ft.	No. of Rooms.	No. of Inhabitants.	No. of Inhabitants per Room.	Value.		Annual Rental. Estimated.*	Percentage of Valuation.
					Site.	Improvements.		
"A".....	18,000	43	367	8.5	£ 330	£ 4,750	£ 645	12.7
"B".....	15,550	33	238	7.2	405	1,300	495	28.0
"C".....	3,257	35	308	8.8	610	3,260	525	13.56
"D".....	15,000	26	242	9.3	330	350	390	59.1
"E".....	35,000	47	220	4.7	1,860	3,090	605	14.25

* The Johannesburg Municipal Native Affairs Department states that 25s. per room per month is the average rental charged for slum property.

460.

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

Kimberley.

461.

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

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

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

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

462.

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

463.

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

464.

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

465.

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

466.

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

467.

At first the rental was:

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

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

468.

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

469.

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

470.

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

471.

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

472.

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

Pietermaritzburg.

473.

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

474.

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

475.

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

476.

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

477.

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

478.

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

479.

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

Port Elizabeth.

480.

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

481.

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

482.

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

483.

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

484.

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

485.

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

486.

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

Pretoria.

487.

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

488.

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

489.

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

490.

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

491.

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

492.

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

493.

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

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

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

Housing—How to be Provided.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

502.

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

503.

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

504.

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

505.

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

506.

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

Natives doing skilled work at present. Trade unions insist that standard rates should be fixed on such contracts and this in practice the colour bar works to

507.

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

508.

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

509.

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

510.

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

511.

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

Sanitation.

512.

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

513.

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

Chairmanship of Location Advisory Board.

514.

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

515.

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

516.

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

Separate Urban Native Revenue Account.

517.

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

Native Townships.

518.

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

519.

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

520.

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

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521.

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

522.

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

Europeans and Natives in Urban Areas.

523.

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

524.

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

525.

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

Factors in the Labour Problem.

526.

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

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

527.

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

528.

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

Urban Conditions and Administration of Native Affairs in Urban Areas.

529.

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

530.

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

531.

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

532.

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

533.

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

534.

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

535.

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

536.

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

537.

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

538.

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

Rising Standard of Living.

539.

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

540.

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

541.

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

542.

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

543.

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

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

544.

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

545.

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

546.

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

547.

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

548.

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

Influence on European Labour.

549.

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

550.

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

The Root Cause of Low Native Wages.

551.

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

552.

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

553.

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

554.

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

555.

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

Chronic State of Chaos of Labour Market.

556.

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

557.

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

These Evils Must be Attacked in the Reserves.

558.

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

559.

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

560.

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

561.

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

Can Immediate Remedies be Applied?

562.

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

563.

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

564.

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

Recreation.

565.

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

566.

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

567.

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

568.

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

569.

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

570.

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

571.

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

572.

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

573.

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