INDEX.

Mr. J.R. Cooper
Superintendent Bloemfontein Native Location......... 5118—5218
(Bishop Carey--5179-5180)
Mr. T.M. Mapikelu & Mr Mpolongwana ........... 5215—5216
Mr. Amos Matlhabe
Representing the Teachers' Association 5218—5219
Dr. J. Lobius
Location Medical Officer ......... 5219—5236
Mnr. M.H. Bauth
...... 5236—5264

E3 DEC 1934
LACE.
REGISTER: 10,658.
NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION
BLOEMFONTEIN, 24th FEBRUARY, 1931 9.30 A.M.
SEVENTYFIRST PUBLIC SITTING

PRESENT:
Dr. J.E. Holloway, (Chairman)
Dr. H.C.M. Fourie
Major W.H. Anderson
Mr. F.A.W. Lucas
Mr. C. Faye (Secretary)

Mr. John Richard Cooper, Superintendent of the Bloemfontein Native Location, called and examined:

CHAIRMAN: We shall be pleased to hear what you wish to bring before us?-- In the first place, I must apologise for not having prepared a written statement. I really haven't had an opportunity of doing so. I am Superintendent of the Bloemfontein Location, and I have taken out a few facts and figures which I shall endeavour to place before you, and you may possibly like to ask me some questions on those. Reference to the population statistics which I have given you between 1895 and the 31st December, 1930, shows briefly that European population in Bloemfontein during that period has increased by 612.5% as against the native population by 909.4%. And again, if we take the past ten years--1920 to 1930--we find that the ratio is 26:41%. These figures, I may mention, are taken from particulars supplied by the Director of Census, but the urban figures are taken from various municipal year books which are fairly correct. I shall now put in this statement of population in the Orange Free State.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>113,810</td>
<td>74,746</td>
<td>188,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVE:</td>
<td>373,264</td>
<td>67,937</td>
<td>441,201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>467,014</td>
<td>141,613</td>
<td>608,627</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INDICATES:**

- **1929**
  - Increase European rural population 56,190 .. 50%
  - Decrease, Native rural population 19,654 .. 5%
  - Increase European urban population, 7254 .. 10%
  - Increase native urban population 21833 .. 33%

---

**POULATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>European</th>
<th>Native</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>3,115</td>
<td>2,702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>11,501</td>
<td>19,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>10,988</td>
<td>12,169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>13,900</td>
<td>14,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>17,859</td>
<td>19,288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>18,957</td>
<td>21,522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>20,100</td>
<td>23,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/12/29</td>
<td>21,730</td>
<td>26,395 <strong>(M of 0)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/12/30</td>
<td>22,195</td>
<td>27,276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MALES:** 10,718. **FEMALES:** 11,477 (Males 12,740, Females, 14,538)

1926:

- Coloured M. 682 S. 1346 0.186 **T 2,083**
- Natives M. 8544 S.12959 0.1688 **T 23,196**
- A 9 19 **3 31**

**25,300**
CHAIRMAN: You say you get these figures from the Municipal Year Books?—Yes. Those are particulars furnished by the various Municipalities showing their native and European population.

How are these figures prepared?—By the Town Clerks.

With the help of the Census Year Book?—Ours in Bloemfontein are based on the last Census figures, and as you will remember that was in 1926, and the Census of the native population, which I think was the only one done in the Free State . . .

For subsequent years, how did you get the figures?—These particulars are issued yearly.

How did you arrive at them?—I took them as given by the various Municipalities in the Year Book.

But with regard to Bloemfontein?—With regard to Bloemfontein they are taken from your figures.

And subsequent to 1926?—Subsequent to 1926 they are based on the estimates furnished by your Department. I may perhaps just go into these matters. Again, taking the population of the Free State, we find in 1921 the figures which you have. Those figures indicate in 1929 an increase of the European rural population by 56190 or 50% over the 1921 figures and a decrease in the native rural population by 19654 or 5%, and an increase in European urban population by 7284 or 10%, and an increase in the native urban population by 21283 or 35%.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You say a 50% increase in the European population?—In the European rural population. That is, between 1921 and 1930.

DR. ROBERTS: It is perfectly possible, because you have an increase here in the European urban population . . .
CHAIRMAN: What is the basis of your figure?—These figures again are your figures, and also the municipal figures.

Yes, rural increase in population of 56,000. Either there is a bad mistake made, or my office has not supplied that figure?—Those were the figures which were taken from the statistics available.

I wonder if that 170 may be 117. This may have been dictated. That decrease in the native rural population. Are the figures for the native population, urban and rural, supplied by my office as well?—No, these were not based on statistics supplied by you. These were taken from the Union Year Book, and that was supplied by my office. Mr. Kuschke and myself worked these out.

DR. ROBERTS: Is the contention that you cannot have an increase of 56,000 in the rural population.

CHAIRMAN: You have 50,000 here which do not appear in the Year Book. 202,000 instead of 252,000 for the total Europeans. This is for 1929. You must get the estimate now. I fear there is something wrong in the way the figures have been taken out. The European population at 1929 is shown as 211,000 as against 252,000?—That is the European population.

It is given at 211,000 in the Year Book for 1929, estimated main population. The Bantu population for the Free State is given as 507418 as against 442500, which you give, and the figure in the Year Book at 1929 is 507418?—Does that include coloured?

No, they are not given there; they are given separately. The totals do not agree. It may be that our figures are wrong, although we were very careful about them, knowing that we may be challenged on them. Still, we are principally concerned with Bloemfontein, and these are your own figures.
It is felt that the Bloemfontein figures, although they are possibly unique, insofar as the native population is concerned, that they exceed the European population by some 5,000 or more, which does reflect a process of migration from the rural areas and the territories to the urban centres, which imposes an extraordinarily heavy burden on municipalities in the way of administration and housing of these natives.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you not think that the ratio there of 1905 is so similar that it indicates rather the need for natives to come in and get work for the corresponding European population? — Yes, it is quite possible.

So it is not really a floating into the towns?—

No, there is indubitably a large number of what we might call a floating population. Because, if we take for instance the number of natives who apply for work, who average about 500 a month approximately, that is 6000 per year . . . . If all these natives settled elsewhere the figures would be different.

The witness subsequently supplied the following amended list of figures of population in the Free State:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>113810</td>
<td>74746</td>
<td>188556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>129339</td>
<td>82000</td>
<td>211339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INDICATES: 

1929 Increase European Rural population 16529 . . 15% 
" Native " " 62913 . . 16% 
" European Urban " " 7254 . . 10% 
" Native " " 21883 . . 33%
MR. LUCAS: Is there anything to stop a native coming in and going out again and then coming back again in a week or so?-- There is not really, but our practice is to endorse a native's certificate. If he has been hanging about the area for some time, we endorse the certificate to leave and not to come back within a certain time.

Yes, but can you check him?-- No, not without elaborate machinery, which we haven't got at present.

So that this 500 per month may represent, perhaps, only a few hundreds on an average for the whole year?-- Yes, that is so, but we haven't got the machinery to control it.

DR. ROBERTS: Have you ever been able to control for your help what the ratio should be of white to black in Bloemfontein?-- No.

Does this represent anything . . . ?-- I have tried--I have gone so far as to take out the number of industrial concerns in Bloemfontein; the number of employers and male domestics, and the number of employees in service at a certain time, but I cannot arrive at any figure which I can say is authentic. It would require too elaborate machinery which we haven't got the means of providing. For instance, among the domiciled natives, the resident natives, many of them never take out a permit to seek work. They work for me and then for the next man, and naturally it is not necessary to issue permits to seek work all the time, and therefore the number of permits issued to seek work is not really a true reflection of the number of natives who are out of work. I hope you are able to follow what I mean.

Yes, I am following you. This to me represents a
very, very important question. I am referring now to your population table. Does that ratio which seems to be a fairly constant one represent the growing number of natives of Bloemfontein as the European population grows?—No, it is undoubtedly in excess. I would say that I would not attempt to give accurate figures, but as far as my observations go, and as far as the machinery which I have at my disposal is concerned, I would make an estimate, which is that if we analyze the native population, including the children, etc., based on the 1926 Census, this gives us approximately 1500 to 1600 unemployed natives in Bloemfontein. That 1600 of course I must say would include the number of natives seeking work, but it does not include the regular residents of the town. At present we have a fair number of standholders out of work. Those of course we are able to get at more or less by the fact that they have difficulty in paying their fees. Then of course we gain some idea of the number of residents out of work. That is also due to the fact that the employer of native labour in many instances shows a distinct preference for strange labour. He has the idea that the native who comes from elsewhere is more docile, and invariably that native will work for a smaller wage.

But this still represents such a constant ratio that there must be the operation of a definite economic factor?—Yes, I grant you that, but the fact remains that we have that number of unemployed which of course among the native population is not outrageous. As you know their hospitality is unlimited. They will never see a man lying by the roadside as a European would. They
Mr. Cooper

would always give them something to eat.

It ranges from about 1.3 to about 1.5, and it is constant for 25 years, showing that after all there must be a constant relationship here?—Yes, of course the unemployment problem in Bloemfontein will become more aggravated, because the avenues of employment are not keeping pace with the natural increase of the natives.

The European population,—Yes, that is so.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Yes, is this the first time you have had unemployment among the natives here,—No, we have always had an unemployed native population, for the past seven years at any rate. I think I am right in saying that.

But it was not as high as this, was it,—No, it was not, but it has always been in the vicinity more or less of the same figure. The figures are not accurate, and that is why I was looking forward so much to this Census.

DR. ROBERTS: I am afraid I am following this up too severely, but if you will look at the 1925 figures, you will find that the European population was 11,500 and the native population 16,232. There must have been an enormous amount of unemployment in Bloemfontein?—Yes, if I am not mistaken the military were here at that time and I am under the impression that they employed a tremendous number of people. You will notice that a census was taken then.

Were you here then?—No. I was in Natal then.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: It is asserted that the 1913 Act released an enormous number of natives from farms and that they came into the towns?—I went into that and I find that from 1913, when the Act came into force, it did not have an immediate effect on the influx of natives into Bloemfontein. I went into that; it was only later after
the Act had been working for some time, that we began to notice the effect. It was only later that the influx figures showed an increase.

DR. ROBERTS: Your figures do not show that?--The act was promulgated in 1913, and of course it would not have an immediate effect. But take 1915. It jumped from 14,000 in 1915 ....

The European in 1910 is 11,000 and the other is 12,000. In 1915 there was very little difference?--The increase has been gradual. I am not saying it has not. It is the present position of natives in relation to the European population with which I am dealing now, and undoubtedly what is the most serious point is the number of standholders who are out of work, and their children are growing up and coming on to the labour market, and of course there is no employment for them.

DR. ROBERTS: That is so, but I want to impress on you again that the more correct view is taking the ratio of the European to the native population rather than the gross increase?--Yes. I am not saying that the position at the present time is absolutely hopeless, but I say that it will gradually get worse if this continues, unless more avenues of employment, more industrial concerns open up, because, daily, we find that the result of the Government policy of government works substituting native labour by whites is adding to our problem, and that in itself is making the position much worse. The boys who are discharged from the Railways here all flock to the locations, and someone has to be out of work. That is the position which rather worries me.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Recruiting is taking place
in the location?—Yes, it only commenced a month ago, and
they are limited to take, say, 120 a month. The mines cannot
take more.

If that limitation were removed, do you think they
could take more?—Yes, I think so.
Chairman: Who imposed the limitation?—The mines cannot take
more, so I understand.

They do not want more?—No, they cannot do with more
at the present moment.

There is no limitation by anyone else?—No, the only
limitation is that imposed by the mines.

Major Anderson: Are there any private recruiters
working there?—Yes, there is one recruiting agent here—two
as a matter of fact. One is recruiting for the Native Recruiting
Corporation of Johannesburg.

Senator Van Nisberk: Is this the first year that this
business of recruiting in the location has started?—Yes, it
started about a month ago. It was never done before.

Did the Government give permission for recruiting to
take place in the location?—Yes, they did.

And can they cancel the permission if they regard it
as necessary?—Yes, the Government can cancel it.

In what way can they cancel it under what law?—They
can cancel the permission under the Native Labour Act.

There has been no objection from the residents of Bloemfontein to this recruiting taking place in their location, has
there?—No, none whatever, but I may say that it was opposed
to a certain extent by farmers round about. They thought at
one time that the effect would be to attract labour away from
the farms, and they were rather nervous of this. The people
of Bloemfontein did not object at all.

Now, can you tell us how many men left your location
to go to the mines in the last month?—55 of them left in two
days. In all they sent away about 115. Those are the last
figures which I had. That was in about a month.

And where they easily obtained?—Yes, they were ob-
tained very easily, and as a matter of fact, they can get more
men if they want to. There are quite a number available. They
haven't been working a month yet.

CHAIRMAN: Now, will you please proceed with these
points which you were raising in your remarks?—In regard
to 27,276 natives, among those there are some 2000 who are
living in town with their employers. The area of the location
is 922 acres and of those 922 acres 674 acres are occupied.

DR. ROBERTS: The others are not occupied?—I
shall come to that in a minute. In 1920-21 the area of the
location was 492 acres and the whole of that was fully occu-
pied.

CHAIRMAN: Does that include the coloured location?—
No, it does not.

Do any of your figures include the coloured location?—
No, we have set aside a special area of a few acres for the
coloured people.

Do the 1921 figures include the coloured people?—
Yes, the 1921 figures do, because in those days the coloured
people were residing with the natives in the location. I
have a number of details in regard to the improved
conditions of residents. I may say that sometime ago I wrote
a paper dealing with various municipal undertakings, and it
might be of interest to the Commission if I were to extract
some points for your information. In the first place, I should
like to deal with the improved conditions of residents as pre-
vailing in the location now, and if you will allow me, I shall
quote to you from this particular paper, and members might like
then to put some questions to me on these points. I have reviewed the conditions of native housing, native administration and other matters affecting the native community in the Bloemfontein Municipality. First of all I deal with the question of improved conditions of residents. If you will allow me, I shall just quote from my paper in this respect.

In regard to improved conditions of residence, these imply three types of places for the use and occupation of Natives, viz:—locations, Native villages and hostels.

Although difficulty is being experienced by some local authorities in acquiring and setting apart land for communal occupation, it is generally accepted that the greatest question with which these bodies are faced is the exceptional liability involved in the provision of the required housing accommodation. The Act provides for the leasing of lots to Natives on which to erect their own houses, or the local authority may itself erect buildings or huts for the occupation of Natives on conditions which it may lay down. As an instance of the former, a reference may again be made to Bloemfontein, which at present is housing some 25,000 Natives at little or no cost to the local authority or ratepayer. As an example of the municipal housing system, we may mention Johannesburg, housing some 25,000 or 26,000 at a cost of some £800,000 to the local authority or ratepayer. Again, we find Cape Town with a municipal housing scheme involving an outlay on round figures of £250,000, but accommodating some 5,000 Natives only and involving a reported loss of some £45,000 to date. The monthly rental in most municipal housing schemes is from 17/6d for a two-roomed house of limited dimensions and 25/- for a three-roomed property, amounts in most cases beyond the capacity of the Native to pay and insufficient to meet the interest and redemption charges on the capital sum involved.
In Bloemfontein, the total monthly charge is 6/6d and if the Native should have purchased from the Council the necessary material to complete the building, which averages £35 for a four-roomed house (dimensions of rooms 12' x 12'), this amount is repayable in monthly instalments of not less than 10/-, including interest and redemption charges.

For the purposes of comparison, it may be noted that the accumulated liability of the Bloemfontein Council for Native housing totals some £7,000, recoverable, of course, as loan monies. Notwithstanding the financial considerations involved, opponents of the assisted building scheme urge that it is an incentive to Natives to migrate to those centres which it obtains and that this aggravates the difficulties of administration.

In this connection, it might be mentioned that, during the period 1921-1929, Bloemfontein, with the assisted scheme, showed an increase in its Native population of 35.9%, as against Kroonstad and Bethlehem 61% and 23.2% respectively. All three places are Railway centres and offer similar avenues of employment, with the added attraction in Bloemfontein of the minimum wage determination. It is felt that, whatever the disadvantages may be, they are both, from the Native's standpoint and particularly from that of the European ratepayer, outweighed by the advantages. The ratepayer is relieved of heavy financial commitments, maintenance and supervision costs and the Native, cognisant of the interest he can acquire in the area, is encouraged not only to take an interest in the property, but also in the management and control of the resident urban Native community.

Based on the Bloemfontein figures under the assisted building scheme, the actual cost to the Native, exclusive of his own labour, is approximately £57 for a four-roomed house,
£100 if erected by a Native contractor, and, by White artisans, as is usual in Municipal housing schemes, £200 to £250.

Estimating the interest charges at 5% per annum and redemption at 2% and supervision and maintenance costs at the moderate figure of £10 per annum, two alternatives arise, either to charge a sub-economic rental or an amount beyond the means of the average Native to meet. Investigation will invariably show that where Natives are paying rentals of £1.5.0 per month and upwards, they are compelled to augment their earnings by various means, legitimate and otherwise.

Consideration of the housing question would be incomplete without mentioning that houses erected by Natives must be for their own occupation and that the privilege can be restricted to meeting the needs of Natives ordinarily employed within the area of the local authority. Power is granted to the local authority to require Natives who are resident but not employed in its area to remove.

On the question of administration, I may say, for various reasons to be touched upon later, Natives are leaving the territories and reserves and deserting rural areas. Native townships have been established in and around urban centres. The old conception of industrial and urban areas as the exclusive domicile of the White man can no longer be entertained. Having been unable to obtain figures showing the increase in the Union urban resident Native population in the past decade, you are asked to accept the Bloemfontein figures as an example of a perpetual process generally applicable to all the larger Union centres. This peaceful invasion of urban areas continues and is creating problems of considerable concern.

As to administration, it might be said that we are not ready either for the ideal Urban Native Council or for
for the secondary stage of direct Native representation on urban Municipal Councils. It can be safely said that the mass of Native opinion is at present too unformed and the prejudice of European thought too persistent to bring such ideals into the arena of practical politics and it would appear that the safe avenue to follow is that of expediency.

Something might be said in favour of representatives of Native interests on Municipal Councils. Until, however, the Native masses are raised to a higher sense of civic responsibility and European opinion becomes more tolerant of Native ideas and aspirations, any idea of direct representation must be set aside as unprofitable and unworkable.

The system of local government obtaining in the Transkeian Territories and in Basutoland could hardly be extended to our urban areas. There the people are more or less homogeneous, whereas in our urban centres the types are widely divergent. A system of representation by chiefs, petty chiefs and headmen would generally be unacceptable to the mixed communities of urban centres. It is, therefore, suggested that the truest and most acceptable form of development in the administration of urban Native affairs is along the lines of existing institutions.

Our Native urban areas are governed by European Town Councils, whose regulations and resolutions are administered by a responsible Committee selected by the Town Council from its own members. This Committee may seek the advice of the Natives through the Native Advisory Boards, but except in the making, withdrawal or amendment of regulations, is not compelled to do so. Herein lies the strength and the weakness of the present system of the governance of urban Native communities - strength in the power it gives to curb or restrain the sometimes wild ideas born in the most fertile but untrained minds of Native Boards; weakness in that it cramps
initiative and leaves the merest loophole for an outlet of Native ideas and aspirations. Experience has shown, however, that an elected Board, co-operating with an efficiently organized urban Native Administration Department is an invaluable factor in creating an atmosphere of trust and confidence between the authorities and the Native population. Although not vested with executive powers, the Board might be given certain executive duties, all, of course, under the supervision of the permanent authorities of the Town Council. This, again, would have the effect of arousing the interest of responsible Native opinion in the management and control of its own affairs and educating the Native masses in a sense of civic responsibility.

The efficient administration of urban Native affairs is of considerable interest to both communities. This can only be attained by maintaining an unbroken chain of contact between the urban Native community and the local authority. Laws and regulations are necessary, but co-operation and consultation are the chief essentials to success. The following illustration shows how this can be maintained:

A. Union Native Affairs Department, } Government.
B. Provincial Administration
1. Town Council
2. Town Council N. A. C. } Municipal
3. Native Administration Department

4. Native Advisory Board } Native
5. Central Board } Population
6. Blockmen (and Block Committees) } Location residents
7. Location residents

No. 7 (location residents) elect No. 7 (Blockmen and Block Committees). No. 5 (Central Board) composed of all elected Blockmen and Block Committee members meet monthly to consider any matter affecting various Blocks and decide questions to be placed on agenda for consideration by No. 4 (Native Advisory Board) and if necessary submission to No. 2.
(Native Affairs Committee) through No.3 (Native Administration Department) and finally to the Town Council, and if necessary to the Government.

Space does not permit of further detail, but it must be mentioned that minutes of Native Advisory Board meetings are kept and copies submitted monthly to the Native Affairs Committee, also that all matters of public interest, such as housing, roads and streets, sanitation and location services generally are considered at the monthly meeting of the Native Advisory Board, and recommendations made to the Town Council.

In connection with Administration, it remains to add that the greatest care should be exercised by local authorities in the appointment of officials. They should be of undoubted integrity, have a keen interest in and knowledge of Native affairs generally. Linguistic qualifications are most valuable, but not primary qualifications.

The Superintendent or Manager should have direct access to his Committee and not, as so frequently happens at present, have to approach the Council through some other Official. His knowledge of administration generally and of Native administration and Native law and custom in particular, should be thorough. The Department should be so organized as to indicate definitely where the Native should apply for instructions or advice on particular matters. The Native mind quickly reacts to understanding sympathy - an indispensable quality in the equipment of an Administrator.

What is responsible for the present influx of Natives into urban areas? The primary reasons, of course, are economic and social. Amongst those most frequently put forward by the Natives are:

(a) The low rate of wages,
(b) Indifferent housing conditions,
(c) Absence of education facilities
(d) Scarcity of work on farms
(e) 1913 Land Act.
Others, again, mention the absence of definite terms of employment and the small amount of stock they are allowed to keep and the allotment of insufficient ground enabling them to augment appreciably their cash earnings. Natives from the Territories and Reserves say that, after reaping their crops, with the proceeds of which they pay their debts and taxes, they are compelled to leave their homes in search of a livelihood until next reaping season.

The following comments are offered:

(a) On the question of wages, outside the mealie areas in the Orange Free State, wages offered average 12/6 to 15/- per month, plus half a bag of mealie meal at, say, 6/- and coffee and sugar valued at 2/10d. Facilities for stock raising and ploughing are limited, thus reducing their means of augmenting their wages to a minimum. In the mealie areas, wages average from 25/- to 30/-, plus food, as mentioned, and ploughing facilities. On stock farms in the proximity of Bloemfontein, wages average 15/- to 20/- and privileges as mentioned. These figures will assist in a comparison with the Bloemfontein minimum wage of 3/6d per day, out of which the Native standholder must pay monthly fees of 6/6d, and with the balance support himself and family.

As the Government Economic Commission will no doubt consider these questions, it is not proposed to pursue the subject further. The result of the Commission's investigations will be looked forward to with interest.

(b) Regarding housing, this generally compares very unfavourably with those in the larger urban centres and it is frequently left to the Native to make what provision he can with the aid of a few sheets of iron.

(c) Education facilities: that there is an increasing demand among the rural Native population for the education
of their children, is emphasized by the number of children from the country areas attending the town schools. Education is essential. Amongst other things, it inculcates in the Native a sense of discipline and responsibility and increases his efficiency and consequent value to his employer. The practice of confining it principally to urban centres, however, necessitates transporting the Native from his rural environment and thus, by his contact with urban conditions and its various attractions and influences, creates and engenders a feeling of dissatisfaction with the home atmosphere. The lure of town life should, if possible, be avoided, certainly not encouraged. One way of doing this is to face the inevitable and increase the number of schools in the rural areas. Particular attention should be paid to training in manual and agricultural pursuits.

In this connection, the following particulars are of interest, taken from the Report of the C.F.S. Education Department for the year ended 31st December 1929.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>U R B A N A R E A S</th>
<th>Children of School Age - 18%</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Roll population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bothaville 14,000 Bothaville</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viljoenskroon</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brandfort 8,000 Brandfort</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ficksburg 14,000 Ficksburg</td>
<td>1,750</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosendal</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reitz 15,000 Reitz</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tweeling</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R U R A L A R E A S</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem 21,800</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethulie 2,050</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These few examples, of which there are many, will serve to show the number of rural children attending schools in urban areas, and the urgent necessity of providing schools in the rural areas, the absence of which is a considerable factor in intensifying the problems of both areas.

(d) Scarcity of work: In view of the previous remarks and the frequent complaints of farmers as to the scarcity of labour, this appears paradoxical. When we consider, however, that after the conclusion of the reaping and ploughing seasons, numbers of Natives, armed with permission to seek work, apply to the urban Labour Bureau for employment, one is inclined to accept it as correct that a seasonal shortage of employment at least does exist in the rural areas. Many farmers again by the introduction of machinery, have been able to reduce their labour force considerably, thus permitting them to retain a minimum number permanently, whereas the farmer who is solely dependent upon Native labour for sowing and reaping, is compelled both to engage and discharge large numbers periodically, who, on termination of employment, invariably, with few exceptions, migrate to urban areas, become absorbed in industries and other urban occupations, and, finding town conditions more congenial and attractive, cultivate a sense of antipathy to rural surroundings and conditions.

(d) The Natives felt that the promulgation of the 1913 Land Act, in the absence of simultaneous provisions being made for them to settle elsewhere where they could run their stock and raise crops, compelled them to dispose of their animals and seek refuge in the towns. They felt that the new conditions did not offer compensation for the privileges they had enjoyed of squatting and ploughing on shares. The exceptions referred to are those whose temporary absence from the Reserves and Territories, although compellable,
is merely with the object of augmenting their income and returning with their savings.

Having mentioned some of the contributing factors to the urban problem and the duties and obligations it imposes upon local authorities, it is proposed to consider in brief what might be termed its "local economic aspects and effects" in relation to the European and Native Urban Communities generally. The genesis of the problem is as stated economic, aggravated and accentuated by the perpetual artificial augmentation of and natural increase in urban Native communities. The principle of urban Native segregation has generally been accepted as desirable and necessary. There is, however, a wide diversity of opinion as to the privileges Natives should enjoy in these areas.

The traditional policy of treating urban Native locations and villages as reservoirs of labour to supply the demands of European employers, still reflects a large volume of European opinion, especially in the northern provinces. Against this, however, we are faced with the fact that, in these areas, are large and increasing numbers of Natives who have discarded all ties with kraal life and become detribalised, many with large families who never will make contact with tribal conditions. That this has been recognised is emphasized by legislation permitting them to acquire vested rights in such areas by owning property and trading concerns and, again, by the efforts of local authorities and other bodies to add to the amenities of life of location residents, schools, churches, markets, entertainment halls, recreational and other facilities necessary to communal life have been provided, in the conduct and control of which the Native is encouraged to take an active interest.

Settled and domiciled Native communities have been
created in and around urban centres, forming an integral part of our urban economic structure. These communities generally, and in Bloemfontein in particular, show a progressive rate of increase relatively, if not actually, higher than that of the European population, having the effect of gradually providing an urban Native labour supply in excess of the demand. This, with the efforts being made to replace Native by European labour must, under existing conditions, eventually bring us face to face with "a Poor Native problem".

(Perhaps it should, at this stage, be stated that efforts have been made to obtain reliable statistics, but without success, which has made it necessary to rely upon periodical reports by responsible authorities.)

As a natural sequence to a glut in the Native labour market, may be expected a lowering of Native wages and an increase in unemployment figures, both Black and White. Under conditions as at present obtaining, there are indications that the urban Native populations (White also) are increasing more rapidly than the means of subsistence.

Nominally, the use of Native labour is restricted to unskilled callings, thus eliminating the competitive spirit and limiting his opportunities and, incidentally, his earnings and spending powers. If the position as outlined above can be accepted, a demand for remedial measures arises.

The economic interests of European and Native are interwoven and interdependent. This being so, are we not correct in assuming that the restrictions confining the Native to a definite competitive circle is a factor of correlative and mutual interest in our economic life? Open competition, with no differentiation in wages and working conditions is the urge of many. This bold policy I leave to those who advocate it, and abler pens than mine to show whether, under
under existing conditions, it would be equitable and of mutual benefit.

Encouraging the residents of urban locations and townships to build up their own economic life in those areas has been suggested as offering a measure of relief. Can this be seriously considered? Will the present system of land distribution and the economic conditions of the Natives generally in the Territories and rural areas permit of this? Regardless of his interests and material welfare, the migration to the towns continues, which movement it is felt would be accelerated by extending unrestricted facilities for settlement. That Natives in urban areas should enjoy reasonable facilities for improving their economic and social status cannot be disputed; it is equally evident, however, that the unrestricted settlement and residence of Natives in urban centres under existing conditions would not be to the benefit of either community.

Until the Native is educated up to a keener sense of his duties as a citizen, and until his opportunities and attractions to settle in rural areas are improved, it will be necessary in his and our interests to exercise reasonable measures of control over his movements and activities generally.

Laws and regulations are a necessary evil, but it is felt that, in this connection, the regulating measures to be applied should be of an educative and advisory nature and not merely prohibitive and penal, and, further, that any obligations to be improved should be shared by all parties concerned and not in the main by the Native. With this object in view, the following suggestions are offered:—

1. (a) Native labour bureaus in all industrial centres.
   (b) That periodical statistics of supply and demand be rendered to the Union Native Affairs Department.
   (c) That particulars of supply and demand be published
through the bureaus, magistrates and local authorities in urban areas and through Magistrates, Native Commissioners and Police in the rural and territorial sources of supply.

(d) That employers in urban areas be restricted to engaging their labour from the local supply.

(e) That the Governor-General or Minister be empowered to proclaim urban areas in which the supply of Native labour is equal to or in excess of the demand to be prohibited areas.

(2) Again, as an alternative or supplementary measure, the following deserves consideration:-

"That the Director of Native labour be authorised to issue temporary permits under such conditions as he may prescribe for the engagement by employers or their accredited representatives, of Natives in urban areas where a surplus of labour is shown to exist."

Under the present system, or lack of system of regulating urban labour supplies, we find the following:-

(a) No means are offered the Native of ascertaining from recognised official sources where there is a demand for labour.

(b) Preference shown by employers for what they term "the outside boy" is encouraged, thereby contributing to the aggravating factors of the local problems, as the engagement of an "outside boy" invariably means an addition to the ranks of the locally unemployed.

(c) Although the employer is a party to the position created as referred to under (b), the responsibility for justifying his presence in the area is solely upon the Native.

Briefly, the objects aimed at under (1) are:

(a) To serve as media or agencies for disseminating information and advice on matters relating to the supply and demand of Native labour, particularly by personal contact.

(b) Co-ordination in control and regulation of Native labour.
(e) Additional and supplementary to (a).

(d) To discourage the present preference shown by employers for the "outside boy" even when a plentiful supply of labour is available locally.

(d) To distribute the responsibility between the employer and the Native and not unduly to restrict the movements of the latter, which would also have the effect of gradually educating the Native to the wisdom of proceeding only to those centres offering employment.

It is recognised that the scheme as outlined above would require careful attention to detail and that a considerable period would probably lapse before appreciable improvements were forthcoming. It is felt, however, that with the active interest of the various authorities concerned, a system could be evolved whereby the present practice of controlling the movements of Natives solely by laws and regulations, which, however, necessary, are undoubtedly a continual source of irritation and dissatisfaction, would gradually make room for administrative measures of an educative nature having the sympathetic co-operation of all parties.

The additional and supplementary powers to be granted to the Director of Native labour could be exercised as temporary or tentative relief measures.

It is felt that a discussion of the Urban Native Problem would be incomplete without a brief reference to the question of wages and particularly the influence of the Wages Board determinations on unskilled Native labour.

Employment figures for Bloemfontein show that, prior to the minimum wage determination, which took effect as from 1st January 1929, when the average wage was 2/- to 2/6 per day, 6,500 male Natives were under contracts of service. Between January 1929 and June 1929, when the minimum payable was 19/- per week, or 3/- per day, the number increased to 5,700. The period 1st July 1929 to 31st December 1929 showed an increase
as at the latter date to 7,610, when the minimum payable
was 19/- per week, or 3/3d per day. With the present
minimum wage of £1 per week, or 3/3d per day as from 1st Jan-
uary last, the December 1929 average employment figures have
been maintained.

Although disproving the apprehensions of those who
feared that the minimum wage determination would have the
effect of a reduction in the employment of unskilled Native
labour, an examination of the figures show an increase in dis-
charges of local residents and an increase in engagements of
what the employer terms the "outside Native", or non-resident.
Particularly is this evident amongst the smaller employers.
The employer feels that he is entitled to a better return for
the additional outlay entailed.

No doubt the extensive building operations in Bloem-
fontein during the past two years have contributed towards
the increase in employment figures, but it has been shown that
employers, who, prior to the minimum wage determination were
paying the higher rates than obtaining, have not found it
necessary to effect many changes in the personnel of their
Native employees, whereas those who have been paying bare
subsistence rates for which they received a relative return
in services, have made numerous changes.

There is no doubt, however, that competition from
within and from without and the pressure of economic conditions
generally have awakened in the responsible Native a further
realisation of the part he can play in furthering the protecting
his own interests by rendering more efficient services.

Perhaps it might be mentioned that, since the fixing
of a minimum wage for unskilled Native labour in Bloemfontein,
the number of applicants for work has increased. This
applies both in the case of local and also outside Natives.
The figures read as follow:

April 1927 to March 1928 .. 5349
April 1928 to March 1929 .. 6730
April 1929 to March 1930 .. 9473

of whom, in each cases, approximately 33% were non-residents.

As stated, the determination took effect as from 1st January 1929 and at present 7,610 male Natives are under service contracts.

These, and the population figures of Bloemfontein, although primarily of local interest, are an indication of a possible and probable condition applicable to all urban centres and emphasize the necessity of steps being taken to protect urban communities against a position fraught with consequences of vital concern to the country generally.

Perhaps I might add a few words to my remarks in this paper. As regards housing and rental, briefly, as you know in some towns the Municipality erects housing accommodation, but in other towns housing accommodation is allowed to be erected by the natives themselves. I deal with that particular point in my Statement. I might mention that we had a £20,000 Government Loan. The native is allowed to erect his own house. The Municipality estimates the amount of material required, and supplies the material. No advance of cash is made. The bricks he makes himself, and the result is that things come to him very much more cheaply than they would otherwise. The municipal rate on the native is 6/6d. He has to pay that, and then he pays off for the material as well.

CHAIRMAN: Have you got figures showing the amount that is lent to the natives?—Yes, the average is between £40 and £15.

Does that cover all the material?—Yes, many of them
buy secondhand materials and put that in, but many others do not. We allow them to put in these second-hand materials which, of course, have to be approved of first.

You have no figure showing the cash outlay which a native makes on the average for building his house?—Yes, I have all these details in my Statement.

SENIOR VAN NIEKERK: To what do you ascribe the great influx into Kroonstad and into Bethlehem too?—Well, I think it is the same as it is all over the country at the present time. It is due to economic pressure, or rather to economic conditions.

The fact that you have not got any municipal location houses has not acted as a deterrent for the native to come here instead of going to Kroonstad?—No, I do not think so. Bloemfontein, of course, has the advantage of its geographical situation. We get the natives passing from Basutoland to the mines, and many of them break their journey here. Bloemfontein is the greatest industrial centre in the Free State, and that is the reason, I suppose, that so many of them come here. You have small industries at Kroonstad, Bethlehem and other places, and also the 1913 act has undoubtedly had the effect of driving natives to the town. They could not bring a great deal of stock with them. That is so, but there were many other advantages in the towns, particularly after the passing of the 1913 Act, which prevented farmers from keeping them any longer on the shares basis. The natives found that the Act was put into effect before provision had been made to absorb them. The farmer could not afford to keep on year a permanent labour force all the/round. Of course the farmer has his seasonable demands, and at certain times of the year requires a fairly large labour force, but at