The proportion of girls to boys is about the same as at Witsieshoek and there is the same difficulty with regard to herding. However, the schools are good, and the buildings are almost without exception substantial, cool and airy.

A comparison of conditions in the two kinds of reserves, one with, the other without a chief, leads me to the conclusion that too much was expected from local initiative at Witsieshoek. The guiding influence of the missionary was practically ignored and the extreme conservatism of the native and his indolence were too strong to permit progress. The possibilities at Witsieshoek were great. History tells us what can be achieved by a chief with foresight and energy, e.g. Khama and Moshoesho, but here we have proof of evils if the chief is a weakling.

Probably the Borolong in Thaba'Nchu would have been in a worse state had the missionaries not taken the matter in hand as far as the schools are concerned.

In both reserves we find boys coming to school for the first time when they are eighteen years of age. Till then they have herded cattle and smarmed birds. At eighteen they come to school in order to avoid paying poll tax. I am inclined to think that no boy should be exempted from paying poll tax because he attends school, unless he is in a class above the fourth standard.

I need not comment on the fact that the old tribal system has ceased to exist in urban and rural areas.

Not only is the tribal system breaking up, the old traditions are also gradually being thrown overboard. In olden days the initiation schools of boys and girls were held in secret. The penalty for violation of the secrecy was death. Now, however, these schools seem to be held anywhere by the roadside or in places easy of access. I found a girls' initiation school in progress under a big tree on the main road from Brandfort to Winburg. Inspector Franz also came upon a similar school near Piesburg. He had no difficulty in persuading the girls to pose for a photograph. I take these occurrences as distinct signs that the old traditions are being lost. Where the initiation schools had tribal significance in the old days they are today nothing else but schools of vice and obscenity.

I am inclined to believe that the sooner it is realised that the tribal system has ceased to be useful, the better. In the Free State at any rate the system has broken down and is breaking down. European legislation, the civilising influence of the white man, the dissemination of democratic ideas, the intermingling of members of various tribes in labour centres and on farms are the factors that assist and hasten the breakdown. Tribal sanctions have little force today and the moral code of civilised life is not yet understood. We cannot go back to the original conditions, so it means as if we can do nothing else than assist as much as possible in developing a civilised tradition amongst the Bantu who is rapidly losing his own traditions.

VI. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF NATIVES.

While I cannot speak of conditions existing 25 years ago my observations in this province during the last ten years seem to point to a definite retrogression. The
European farms are becoming smaller and smaller as time goes on and the owners cannot allow their servants grazing for more than a limited number of cattle. The result is that the surplus cattle is turned into cash which quickly dwindles and vanishes at the nearest country store. I have the impression that few natives understand our European system of finance. Investment of capital to earn interest, savings banks, insurance are all mistrusted, partly because of ignorance, partly because so many have been fleeced by begs companies. There is a fair percentage of educated natives who have savings bank accounts, or who buy Union Loan Certificates. We have one school in which a Thrift Club has been started. But on the whole the native has to learn much before he will realise the value of money.

My impression is that the Native today is poorer than he was ten years ago. Most native labourers are in debt, and the debts are due partly to "lobola", and partly to the fact that his wages are too small. In many cases the debts are due to lack of judgment, a fault which is not peculiar to the native but from which the European undoubtedly suffers also.

In the Free State there is a growing tendency on the part of all natives to adopt the European mode of life, including all its amusements, and unfortunately also all its vices. In Bloemfontein dances are held regularly in approved European style and native men and women attend in up-to-date evening dress.

I have not come across any native who keeps a servant. Few natives have a sufficiently high income to be able to pay wages, and if the ability to pay did exist very few natives would be found who would hire themselves out to members of their own race. This unwillingness on the part of the natives to be employed by natives militates against the development of a system of native employers employing native labour.

VII. NATIVE MIGRATION.

There seems to be an increased tendency on the part of natives to migrate from rural to urban areas. In most cases the reasons given are (1) the hope of higher wages and shorter working hours (2) educational facilities for their children. I am of opinion that greater educational facilities on the farms would be a powerful factor against migration from farm to town. Near Venterburg, on a farm called Fairview, a native school was opened a few years ago. It causes the farmer some trouble but on the other hand he has never lacked an adequate supply of labour. A farmer in the Bothaville district has had the same experience. Instances may be multiplied and will be found in almost any district in the O.F.S. It is unfortunate that development of rural schools is crippled at present. The Union Government being unable to supply the funds a hundred applications for rural schools had to be refused.

There also seems to be an increased tendency for natives to move into the Free State from the northern part of the Cape Province, particularly from the Herschel district. Migration from the Transvaal or Natal is not very great as far as I can judge.

I have met with very few cases of natives from outside the borders of the Union.

I am of opinion that very few natives migrate into the native territories in the Orange Free State. Judging by the treatment meted out to teachers the Reserve Boards do not
welcome strangers. Even if they are allowed to live in the reserves, no privileges whatever are accorded to them and often life is made so unpleasant for them that they soon leave.

There is a continual flow backwards and forwards from the native territories in the Cape and from Basutoland into the Free State. Drought and the failure of crops drives the population out to seek work, but the bulk returns when conditions at home improve.

The social effect of this continual migration is a breaking down of tribal distinctions. It gradually brings the natives to realise the essential unity of the Bantu race. It is conceivable that within another generation the European will be opposed not by a collection of tribes but by a solid wall of a Bantu people, united by the common wish to obtain from the European by force whatever is not granted to him freely.

The economic effect is increased poverty. The habit of running away from unpleasant realities does not assist in overcoming difficulties.

It is difficult to see what can be done with the surplus natives in urban areas and to prevent the increasing migration to such areas. I have already suggested that increased educational facilities would be a powerful factor in staying the influx. It seems to me, however, that what is needed is a Rural Areas Act as a parallel to the Urban Areas Act. The paying of cash wages, registration of service contracts, improvement in housing conditions, and encouragement to become economically independent seem to be the remedies that suggest themselves. In olden days the labourer was paid a certain number of heifers or goats or sheep. The natural increase gradually increased the natives wealth and he was inclined to stay where he was. Now farmers are no longer able to permit natives to run livestock on the farms as the farms decreased in area. Hence wages must take a different form. If the wage could take such a form that the native is made to realise that he profits in proportion to the profits of the farming operations, it would be a powerful incentive to him both to give efficient service and to remain on the land.

Migration from the native territories will continue as long as these are overstocked and as long as the unprofitable and wasteful methods of agriculture are not done away with.

II. LANDLESS NATIVES.

The natives for whom no land is available may be absorbed partly by the labour market on the farms. The bulk will move into the town locations for the same reasons that make the Poor Whites move into the towns. They will eventually form a class of "Poor Natives", as much a problem, a cross, and a burden to the State as the Poor White.

XIV. FARMING BY NATIVES.

I have met with natives who farm on their own land only in the Thaba-Nchu district. They produce maize and raise an inferior kind of cattle. In summer the cattle are fat, in winter they die from starvation. Most farms are badly overstocked. I have not seen a single farm where really up-to-date farming methods are employed. Modern machinery is acquired, tractors are used, but the general appearance of fields, houses, implements and outhouses is often one of neglect.
XVI. NATIVES LEASING LAND TO NON-NATIVES.

I have not come across an instance in the Free State where Europeans or Coloured people lease land from Natives. Near Koffiefontein, however, there are cases where Europeans lease land from Coloured people. (See also XXIX).

XIX. RECREATION OF NATIVE EMPLOYEES.

I am not aware of a single instance where a large employer of Native labour provides for any recreation for his employees. The municipalities of Bloemfontein and Kroonstad assist sport clubs, but most clubs that do exist have come into being either entirely at the initiative of the Natives themselves or at that of an enthusiastic missionary.

XXXIII. TRADE WITH NATIVES.

There are no native store keepers in the Free State. In many locations natives are permitted to run a kind of restaurant or tea room but trading licences have been consistently refused. Marked licences have been issued. Unfortunately I cannot recall the names of any native proprietors of tea rooms, but they can easily be obtained. From all appearances they seem to be making quite a good living.

The fact that tea room proprietors are able to make a living out of their business appears to prove that the native can manage a business concern if given a chance. It is therefore not surprising that he resents the attitude of the European which prevents him from obtaining a general dealers' licence. The demand for trading rights is but one phase of the aspirations of the Bantu to become economically independent. The urbanised native realises, however, daily that he must develop an economic system in his area equivalent to that in the European town. He is being taught daily more and more of the civilised methods of controlling a town. Life in town locations is regulated by legislation. The inhabitants are required to pay taxes that light, water, streets and sanitary services may be provided. Machinery is created for location government similar to that required for the European town. The native learns more and more to govern himself under the guidance of the European. It seems reasonable therefore to accede to his demand for trading rights.

Town locations are popularly assumed to be labour reservoirs for the towns. If the population figures are studied, however, it seems as if this assumption cannot be accepted readily. The European urban population of the Free State is approximately 82,000. The Native Urban population is about 72,000. It seems impossible that 82,000 whites can continue for all time to employ an almost equal number of servants.

In a table attached to this statement in reply to No. XXVIII will be found the European and Native populations of a number of towns in the Free State. These figures were obtained from the relative town offices at the beginning of last year.
They seem to point to the fact that the town locations have outgrown the "location" stage and have become Native townships. Very many natives know no other home but the location and their number will increase materially as time goes on.

It seems, therefore, that the native must be encouraged and assisted in developing trades and industries so that he can do his share in absorbing surplus labour. Necessity will force the natives to accept employment from a native employer and overcome the unwillingness mentioned under VI.

XXIV. EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON NATIVES.

The attitude of Europeans towards Native Education varies considerably. Very often it cannot be said to be other than illogical. In a general way it is accepted that the native must be educated, but as to the extent of his education and particularly as to the aim thereof there seems to be no definite idea. At present the general opinion is that native education should have an agricultural or industrial bias. But there is no answer to the following questions:

Where can the trained farmer or the trained carpenter find a market for his trade in the Free State?

Agricultural and industrial training is expensive. Who is to find the money?

As the native is prevented from plying his trade in other than Native areas by the colour bar, and as the native in the Reserves can neither pay for nor appreciate the skilled work of the Native tradesmen, how can he make a living?

How can we persuade the native to attend agricultural schools, there being no land available for him to farm?

At Thaba'Nkulu there existed for many years the Moreka Industrial School for Native Girls. It had to be closed down because (a) it was not patronised by Free State Natives

(b) it was too expensive to run the school, the cost amounting to about £100 per pupil per annum.

When the girls' school was closed down the Barolong asked for an agricultural school. The Education Department was prepared to grant the request on condition that the support of the people was guaranteed. This guarantee was not forthcoming and so the matter was dropped. Objection was raised to our proposal to make it a school for training the small holder. It was obviously useless to start a school in which farming on a large scale was taught as very few natives would ever have the privilege in the Free State of owning a farm of extensive acreage.

Unfortunately Native education did not in the past receive the attention it deserved from the Governments in South Africa. All educational effort was in the hands of the various missions. With a few notable exceptions, they found it impossible to give more than a literary education. This requires little equipment and is cheap. The system was perpetuated when the Governments subsidised Native education because the grants were not sufficient to cope with the requirements for the introduction of industrial work in the schools, even there where it was demanded. In the Free State education and knowledge of English had become synonymous terms and "book learning" was the only kind of education that the native could get. Generations of neglect had the effect that a wrong kind of tradition had grown up. The introduction of the vernacular/
vernacular met with considerable opposition. To introduce Afrikaners demanded the patience of a Job. The introduction of any kind of handwork, e.g., Native pottery, mat weaving, tin work, gardening met with stolid resistance. Nevertheless, some form of practical work has been started in all schools and is progressing slowly.

The difficulty is that the Native cannot see the value of the practical work. To him it seems foolish to try to revive a Native industry like mat weaving. Why not buy the stuff ready made at a store? Gardening is considered as a modified form of forced labour, and I believe it is often done only because the inspector demands it. It is worthy of note that the introduction of Afrikaners and gardening has changed many a farmer who was opposed to Native education into a warm supporter of Native schools.

I am not prepared to say that the Native who has passed through the lower primary school (i.e., Standard IV) is more industrious than his illiterate brother. I believe that habits of sustained industry are fostered more by economic necessity than by education.

The Native who has passed the Fourth Standard can adapt himself more readily to changing conditions, but as the majority of Native pupils leave school before they have reached Standard I, very little, if any, help is derived from the little knowledge they have been able to absorb.

The earning capacity of the Native is certainly increased considerably by schooling. The Native who has passed through the lower primary school and can read and write a little English or/and Afrikaans, is useful as store-boy, messenger and other work of that kind. But there is little opportunity to become anything else.

XXV. OPENINGS FOR EDUCATED NATIVES.

For the purpose of this question, I shall consider Native educated if they have passed at least Standard VII. In the C.F.R. such Natives can become teachers, ministers of religion, policemen, court interpreters and, occasionally, clerks. Very highly educated Natives, of course, may become medical practitioners or lawyers. For the bulk of educated Natives there are no openings except those mentioned, and it is worthy of note that these openings exist only in the service of the churches, the government or in a municipal pass office.

It is a curious fact that a Native doctor would not be allowed to attend a white patient in a hospital, yet numerous white patients, many of them women, travel hundreds of miles to get medical treatment from Dr. Moroka at Thaba'Nchu.

There are no Native lawyers in the Free State as far as I know, and I do not know of any other avenues of employment open to Natives other than those mentioned above.

The obstacles in the way of opening avenues of employment may be stated to be:

(a) The legal and traditional colour bar.
(b) Lack of capital and enterprise on the part of the Native.
(c) Refusal on the part of Europeans to allow the Native to develop economically, as isinstance by the refusal to grant trading rights. The Native is thereby prevented from acquiring capital, his ambitions are stifled and he cannot give employment to any Native whether he has been educated or not.
I am inclined to think that we are playing a dangerous game. We give the Native a little taste of better things by education and through contact with us, enough to whet his appetite but not enough to satisfy it. We are thereby assisting in the breeding of agitators and a dissatisfied Native proletariat, which, because it has a "little knowledge" but little else besides, will eventually prove a greater danger to the white community than it is today. If the European in South Africa is logical he must take up one of two attitudes: either no education at all or education without restriction. In view of the developments during the past century, the former alternative is impossible. Hence, education without restriction is the only possible way, provided that opportunity is also given for adequate economic development.

It may be argued that educational and economic development of the Native will make him a powerful competitor of the European. I believe, however, that this will not be the case. Educational and economic development will mean that the wants of the Natives increase and that thus a bigger market for the commodities of civilisation is created. In order to satisfy the increased wants the Natives must earn more in order to be able to spend more, and in this way more money will be circulated which can only benefit the European community as well as the Native community.

XXVIII. EFFECT UPON NATIVES OF CERTAIN LEGISLATION.

(A) As to the effect of certain legislation upon Natives I would like to make a few remarks on the Native (Urban Areas) Act and on the Native Taxation and Development Act.

The effect of the Urban Areas Act has been good. During the last six years I have travelled through the Free State in all directions and have noticed an improvement in Native locations which is remarkable. There are a few locations where improvements are still badly needed, notably the location at Viljoensdrift and at the Jormelia Coal Mine. Under the Act all location revenue must be spent for the benefit of the location, an excellent arrangement but in practice it is interpreted that the European town shall not pay anything towards improvements in the location. Once the European realises that the presence of the location means an increased turnover and that under present circumstances it would be most inconvenient to do without it, his attitude will probably change. I assess the turnover due to the presence of Native locations in the Free State at about £100,000 per month. For this reason it seems to me fair that the services debited against location revenue for administration (apart from the salary of the staff controlling the location) should be given free. In smaller locations the amount saved in this way would mean a great deal, while even larger locations would be able to derive considerable benefit.

Under the Act municipalities may subsidise and maintain schools and evening classes but they have no power to levy a special tax for the purpose. I would like to see an amendment of the Act by inserting a clause similar to Section 15 of the Native Taxation and Development Act, viz., that if the Urban Natives desire it a levy for certain specified services may be raised. The proceeds should be spent on the services specified, subject to the approval of the Minister for Native Affairs. If a levy for educational services were levied school fees could be done away with; it would be possible to budget a head for expenditure; it would compel the unwilling ones to pay their share; it would remove great temptation from the Native teachers who are now employed to collect the fees; it would bring many young Natives to
to school who are now merely loa Hải about; it would be cheaper for the Native who is willing to pay.

The Department has received a number of petitions asking for the introduction of such an educational tax, viz., from Bloemfontein, Bethlehem, Vredefort, Barry, Reitz, Smithfield, Zaent, Frankfort. I have reason to believe that every town location in the Free State would welcome such a measure. It would then be possible to equip the schools adequately and in many cases would make it possible to put up suitable buildings.

Attached will be found a table of the population and income from Native taxes in a number of towns in the Province. Scrutiny of this table will reveal that the additional 6d., or l/− (the maximum should be 1/−) will cause no hardship if it is borne in mind that some parents have at present to pay as much as 3/6 per month in school fees.

(B) With the aims of the Native Taxation and Development Act I have no qure: It seems to me, however, that it is anomalous to create a Development Account under the Act which remains practically stationary. The account consists of a fixed contribution of £240,000 from the Consolidation Revenue Fund plus one-fifth of the Native Poll Tax. According to the census figures available, it appears that the Native population of the Union increased in ten years by about 15%. Consequently, the Poll Tax receipts cannot increase by more than 15% per annum, not nearly sufficient to meet the urgent and legitimate demands made upon the Development Account. In 1930 the Development Account contained £340,000 from Consolidated Revenue, plus £240,000 from Poll Tax, a total of £580,000. In 1931, at the rate quoted above, it will contain only £553,600, the extra £3,400 not being sufficient to meet the needs for the additional schools required in the Free State alone, not even mentioning the other three Provinces.

It seems to me economically sound to devote the whole of the proceeds derived from Native Poll Tax to Native Development. While it is admitted that the Country must expend large sums on police and the administration of justice, as well as on the Civil Service generally because of the presence of a large Native population, it must also be pointed out that devoting the whole of the Revenue from Poll Tax to Development should be looked upon as in the nature of investment of capital which will prove highly profitable in the long run. The greater the efforts made for developing the Natives, the greater will his wants become, and the sooner will the Revenue derived from indirect taxation be increased. Educational and economic development will lead to increasing use of civilised use of foodstuffs, clothing, housing, amusements, luxuries and all the other requirements of civilised life and the indirect Revenue derived will easily equal, if not surpass, the amount that can ever be raised from Poll Tax.

It is quite conceivable that the sudden diversion of one and a quarter million of revenue into other channels may upset the budget for years to come. It is suggested, therefore, that the contribution from the Poll Tax be increased annually by 30% until the whole of the revenue derived from Poll Tax is paid into the Development Account. Supposing that the contribution for 1931 is £250,000 then the contributions would be:
i 1932: £300,000; in 1933: £350,000; in 1934: £432,000;
1935: £513,400; in 1936: £522,000; in 1937: £746,498;
in 1938: £895,748. Adding to these amounts in each case the fixed
fixed amount of £340,000 we would be able to devote in 1939 a sum of about one and a quarter million pounds to Native development, the sum being approximately equal to the revenue now derived from Poll Tax.

XXX. NATIVES AND COLOURED PERSONS IN TOWNS.

In your questionnaire reference is made to Natives and coloureds in towns only, but I would like to refer briefly to coloured and Native people in a certain country area as well.

The intimate contact between Natives and Coloureds leads in many cases to intermarriage. What the social status of the coloured married to a Native (or vice versa) really is, is hard to determine. In some cases the coloured people accept the Natives marrying into their families as equals, in other cases they ostracise them. What the reason for this illogical attitude is I have been unable to ascertain.

A few years ago I undertook historical researches in the Koffiefontein area concerning a race of coloured people occupying a tract of land approximately 40,000 morgen. They are generally known as the "Oppermans", from the name of one of their ancestors. The result of these researches is contained in a monograph which I prepared but which I think it advisable not to publish. However, if your commission wishes to peruse the manuscript, I have no hesitation in placing it at your disposal. In this area I have come across cases where pure white natives married into the Opperman family and where one case was accepted into and another was practically expelled from the family circle. I was inclined to think that the Native was accepted as an equal if his mode of living approximated to that of the coloured people, but if it did not he was not considered eligible. I am, however, not satisfied in my own mind that this is the real reason.

In general it may be said that the coloured people of the Free State have less energy, less backbone and less initiative than the Natives. They are proud of the fact that they are not Natives and that they may have white blood in their veins. The seventeen coloured schools in the C.F.S. give the Department almost as much trouble as the two hundred and seventeen Native schools because of the almost entire lack of local initiative.

XXX. GOOD FEELING BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND NATIVES.

There has been a distinct change for the better in the attitude of the European towards the Native but unfortunately a change for the worse in the attitude of the Native towards the European during the last five years. I attribute the attitude of the Natives to the following causes:

(1) Increasing poverty. It is a well known fact that the man who has nothing to lose is not a supporter of law and order.

(2) The Native agitator who exploits half truths and sows poison wherever he goes.

(3) Wellmeaning but unwise European friends of the Native who often formulate grievances for the Native which the Native himself may never have regarded as such if he had not been prompted.
The educated native who has lost touch with his own people, and professes to speak on their behalf. Most of the political propaganda regarding the vote or the Land Act or the Native Administration Act and other legislation leaves the ordinary native cold until he is told what untold wrongs he is suffering. The native undoubtedly has legitimate grievances, but a good many of those voiced by the articulate educated native are, until they are pushed into the limelight, of less importance than they are made out to be.

Ill advised utterances by Europeans from public platforms and in the press go a long way towards upsetting the natives. Some people wish to treat the native as a social equal, some kick him and swear at him; some wish to pay to the native the same wages as to the white man, others assert that he gets too much already. All these conflicting views come to the ears of the natives, the bulk of whom are not yet able to think for themselves and they are to their minds so many inspirations and revelations and react on them like oil on the fire under a boiler.

The steps to be taken to effect improvement are to my mind:

1. to give the native every opportunity to become economically independent;

2. to put a stop to the activities of the agitator;

3. to teach the European to be more careful of his utterances to and about natives, especially in public;

4. to make an attempt at understanding the native better by requiring all European schools to teach one native language in all standards above the Sixth, even if Latin or French has to be sacrificed in order to be able to do so. If more Europeans knew a native language much of the agitation would stop automatically, and the native would be more careful in expressing his thoughts about Europeans, while at the same time giving the European the opportunity of knowing what is really going on in the native mind.

Conclusion. This, Sir, concludes my statement which has grown more lengthy than I intended. Thanking you for your patience in reading it,

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,
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B. Social Conditions.
MEMORANDUM OF EVIDENCE
TO BE PRESENTED BY THE BLOEMFONTEIN JOINT COUNCIL
BEFORE THE NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

It has been found impossible to cover in this memorandum with any degree of completeness the list of subjects suggested in the pamphlet published by your Commission. We therefore intend to confine this evidence more especially to those heads which seem to the Joint Council to be of particular importance in Bloemfontein and to those on which reports have from time to time been framed for the Council or in which the Council has undertaken some research.

A. The Economic position of the Native in Bloemfontein.

1. INFLUX.

The influx of natives into the Bloemfontein urban area is fully discussed in the memorandum presented to and adopted by the Joint Council in 1930. (See App. A). There the opinion is expressed that the local wage determination, although possibly accelerating, is by no means solely responsible for the influx into Bloemfontein. The population figures for the years 1910 to 1930 (See App. B) bear out this contention. (European population figures are given for comparison.) A large number of natives in the Bloemfontein location are of course not permanently resident there, and no exact figures can be obtained, but according to the best opinion, of the 27,000 inhabitants approximately 22,000 to 24,000 are permanent residents. Of interest too are the figures taken from the location Superintendent's Report for the year ending 31st. March, 1930, showing the territorial origin of the influx (given as percentages):-

O.F.S.
No figures are obtainable as to the influx of native women. This seems to be fairly large, but the majority of women thus entering come to join relations, and only a very small proportion come wholly unattached.

2. COST OF LIVING.

The cost of living for the average household of the unskilled native labourer in Bloemfontein was worked out by committee of the Joint Council during the months Dec., 1927 to March, 1928. The report of this committee (Published in the Social and Industrial Review, July 1928) has been criticised on several heads. It must be stated too that since the report, it has come to the notice of the Council that one item in the budget was incorrect, viz., rent, which was put in at 13/2 instead of 6/6. This, however, affects the total budget by about 2½d per diem. All the items were carefully considered by the Joint Council, and accepted as representing a very fair picture of the average household. It should be noted at the same time that independent budgets worked out in Cape Town and Johannesburg, both produced higher figures than those obtained in Bloemfontein, i.e., per month:


3. EMPLOYMENT AND THE WAGE DETERMINATION.

(a) EMPLOYMENT: The figures given in App. D. show the number of labourers employed in Bloemfontein over the period April 1929 to -
to January 1931. Inspite of fluctuations, the increase since 1929 is marked, and we have found this increase very hard to account for. Eight of the leading employers in town were visited, including the S.A.R. and the Municipality.

The latter two supplied the following figures of employees:—


We were also assured by a majority of the leading men in private trades and industries that they had had to retrench heavily during the past eighteen months.

Two explanations are offered:

(1) The Native Registration Office figures do not claim to be quite accurate, as until duly notified, the employees name is not taken off the register. We were informed that there might be as many as 500 names of employees on the books at present who are in fact out of work.

(2) Considerable building operations have been going on in Bloemfontein, and as it was impossible to visit all contractors, some of those may have been omitted who are at present occupied on big contracts.

Neither of these explanations seem to us very satisfactory, and it is unfortunate that we have been unable to compile comparative tables showing in what directions the additional labour has been absorbed.

(b) DIVISION OF EMPLOYMENT: The table in App. E gives the number of natives as divided amongst the various forms of employment.

(c) UNEMPLOYMENT: Owing to the difficulty of controlling the influx into a town of some 27,700 inhabitants, the unemployed figures cannot by any means be regarded as accurate. They are as —
as follows: - June 1930: 1044, Sept. 1930: 1200, Feb. 1931: estimated at 1500. Actually the numbers are probably considerably larger, as these represent only the number of men who have obtained permits to look for work, and have not been successful in doing so.

(d) RECRUITING: Recruiting by the Native Recruiting Corporation has taken place in the Bloemfontein urban area since the 27th. Jan. 1931. To date 175 men have been recruited (169 from outside, i.e. not permanent inhabitants). It is therefore impossible to state at present what the effect of recruiting will be in Bloemfontein.

(e) PERMANENCE OF EMPLOYMENT: This is a subject upon which it is difficult to generalize. Practically all employers of labour were of opinion that any native who proved his abilities was worth keeping even at a wage above that of the minimum. Thus we were informed by two of the large stores that they had from 12 to 20 natives who had been with them for over 5 years. This, however, varies in the different trades, and in some it would seem that the majority of labourers have very little opportunity for acquiring skill during a lengthy service. In the building trade, for instance, it was found that although several firms had a permanent staff of from 10 to 20 natives, who were retained even during slack times, for big contracts anything up to 200 men are taken on, and are paid off immediately upon completion of the job. At the other extreme, in such trades as furniture dealing and plumbing, it appears to pay the employer to retain a permanent staff who develop into a class of semi-skilled labour, which is generally paid more than the minimum. On the whole the feeling seems to be spreading that it is more economical to retain natives and train them thoroughly, but at present -
present natives with long service records certainly form a very small proportion of the total labour force, and the Joint Council wishes to express the opinion that this principle should receive far greater attention from all employers.

(f) THE EFFECT OF THE MINIMUM WAGE: The investigation of this question is today surrounded by difficulties owing to the prevailing depression, and the evidence obtained is of a conflicting nature. Some employers assured us that their retrenchment was largely due to the introduction of a minimum wage. Others, and especially those requiring more specialized labour was required, stated that this wage would affect only slightly, if at all, the quantity of native labour employed. Two of the smaller firms of builders and two furniture dealers were of opinion that the wage determination was in no way responsible for displacement of labour -- in any case in their own concerns. The average wage in trade and industry in 1928 seems to have varied between 1/6 and 2/6 per day (2/6 in the building industry). (In domestic service today the wage per month averages about 25/- or 30/- for females and 30/- or 40/- for males). The investigation of this question has brought to light some interesting points:

(1) As far as could be ascertained, the wage determination has not resulted in making 3/6 the only wage paid. Old and experienced hands are still receiving considerably more than the minimum, and several employers stated that the wage determination would not affect their policy in this respect. The proportion receiving more than 3/6, especially with the larger employers, is however very small, though three firms in the more specialized trades have always paid their natives more than the minimum. Here we might mention too that employers very rarely pay -
pay above the minimum for skill not acquired in their own concerns. The disadvantage of this need hardly be pointed out, and we feel that great benefit would accrue, not only to the native, but to the community as a whole if employers could be made to realise that skill was worth paying for and also (as stated in par. (e) supra) the economical value of training natives and retaining their services over longer periods.

(2) Practically no trace could be found of the substitution of European for native labour in private enterprise, almost every employer stating that it would be quite impossible to have natives and Europeans working together on the same job. Of interest is the experiment attempted by one large firm, where three unskilled Europeans have been taken on and are apparently quite content to work alongside of the native.

(3) In some places the complaint was made that the administrative control of the payment of the minimum wage was deficient, and that consequently considerable evasions of the law were taking place. It must be added that this complaint was rare and unsubstantiated and in most cases directed against the evasion of wage determination as far as white labour was concerned.

4. EFFICIENCY OF NATIVE LABOUR.

Interesting opinions were obtained on this question from local employers. One large employer only stated that the average native was not worth his 3/6. Two builders, one furniture dealer and one leading firm of plumbers assured us that they would under no circumstances change their trained native unskilled labour for untrained Europeans. Several inclined to the view that although the poor white who was untrained might work harder over a short period -
period than the native, he was in no way the equal of the trained native over long periods requiring steady work, and not even as reliable.

5. NATIVE TRADE.

(a) ABSENCE OF TRADING BY NATIVES -- HAWKING -- COMPETITION:

In the Bloemfontein urban area no trading by natives is allowed. The principal occupations in which natives are concerned on their own account are set out in App. F. The only competition with the European trader arises therefore out of the hawking allowed. Most of the eating houses appear to run hawking businesses at the same time and licenses for both eating houses and hawkers are £5. per annum.

Twelve European establishments were visited, all dealing practically exclusively in native trade, and the unanimous opinion expressed was that native trade was exceptionally bad at the present time. This was ascribed (1) to the depression and (2) to native hawking, and several of these concerns have of late been acting more as wholesale suppliers to the native hawker than as retailers. At present hawking by Europeans is still allowed, and several of these traders state that by this means alone are they enabled to carry on. European hawking will cease entirely by the end of the current year (See Provincial Gazette, 6th. February, 1931).

The position at present seems entirely unsatisfactory, and both sections of the community have grievances. Contrary to expectation, two of the Europeans in native trade were in favour of giving trading rights to natives, and without exception those visited stated that from their point of view, full trading rights would be less harmful to them than hawking. Trading rights would of course -
of course place the native under the same regulations as the European trader.

The case for native trading was put very strongly by the Bantu Traders Association, and it was emphasised by several leaders that they in no way regarded hawking as a sufficient compensation for the absence of trading rights, especially as hawking is more expensive than trading. The hawker has, for instance, to invest in trollies, horses, etc., and this form of trade is far more difficult to control by the owner. Further it was urged that trading by natives would assist, certainly to some extent, in alleviating the unemployment problem in the location.

It must be stated here that the Joint Council is in favour of the granting of full trading rights to the native. (See App. C.) On the merits of the case, and even disregarding its ethical aspect, we feel that only harm can arise from withholding these privileges. Not only is the tendency of this restriction to create illegal trade and hence a disregard for the law, but it is at the same time a source of great discontent to the native. The importance of this latter consideration to white South Africa as a whole, cannot be overemphasised. If we are in any way attempting to build up a policy whereby points of friction between white and black may be removed, this would seem to be one of the first steps to be taken. Finally the time has come to realise that native locations can no longer be regarded merely as reservoirs of labour for European commerce and industry. They have come to stay and are growing rapidly. The contact between European and Native is each day becoming more close, and the only method of making the location the economic asset to the country which it should be, is to encourage advance in every possible direction.

(b)
(b) **QUALITY OF NATIVE TRADE AND CHANGES**: Mealie meal and malt occupy the most important positions in the sale of foodstuffs. Meat, sugar, tea and coffee are also important, and even tinned foods cannot be disregarded today. With regard to soft goods (clothing, blankets, etc.) some conflicting evidence was forthcoming. Some second-hand dealers were of opinion that natives would always buy the cheapest goods --- hence second-hand, if possible. The majority, however, and especially larger firms, stated that it did not really pay to keep second-hand articles, and it does seem (e.g. by comparing the number of second-hand dealers with the number dealing in new goods) that by far the greater proportion of the natives buy new goods, though of cheap quality.

Fashions change as they change with the European, and certain coloured prints and blankets that were selling well some time ago, cannot be sold today.

From two traders, who have been in the business upwards of 15 years, we were able to gather that amongst the older generation, the same class of goods is still being bought that was bought 15 years ago. Amongst the younger generation it is different. They follow more closely the European fashions. Tailor-made suits are required and instead of workman's boots, light, pointed shoes are worn, to quote only two examples.

(c) **QUANTITIES**: Most of the buying is done in small quantities, and natives do not appear to lay in stocks for any length of time.

(d) **METHOD OF PAYMENT**: Only two of the native traders visited gave credit to any extent. By two not giving credit we were told that their policy was based on mistrust of the native. Without exception the remaining traders (8) visited stated that they -
they sold for cash merely because they were cash stores, and wished to avoid elaborate bookkeeping. By two large town shops (general providers) practically no credit is given, but very little native trade is done. More precise evidence was obtained from two furniture dealers visited. The one sells, on an average, to natives, five suites of furniture per month and the other trades to the extent of £50. or £60. per month with natives. Both volunteered the information that natives were very good payers, and by the latter it was stated as a fact, that for over five years not a single suite of furniture, sold under H.P. agreement to natives, had been taken back. Credit given to natives is of course limited and controlled and in most cases only given to persons known to be of good standing. Even taking this into account, it seems to be of importance to note that, without exception, those in a position to judge (i.e. those dealing with both European and Native) emphasised the fact that it was far safer to give credit to the native of good repute than to the poorer class of European.

(e) SPENDING POWER: As far as our investigations went, no increase in the spending power of the native could be detected. As far as the European trader is concerned, generally native trade seems very bad, which is ascribed to the depression and to native hawking.

6. ECONOMIC ORGANISATION -- BANKING:

In going into this aspect of the native problem, the extremely unorganised condition of the native must immediately be felt. At present, and especially after their experience of dishonest leaders, natives generally seem suspicious of any investment in their own organisations. The following information has -
has been obtained locally:-

(a) **SAVINGS SOCIETIES**: In Bloemfontein there are two native burial societies, the Barolong Burial Society (Founded 1896) and the Batho Paballo Burial Association (Founded 1923). Both these act as burial societies and as savings societies. Any subscription is paid, of which only 3d. goes to cover the expense of the Society, while the balance remains the property of the member, and can be withdrawn at one month's notice, or is paid out at death. This subscription entitles the member to £5. at the death of a child or wife, or in the case of a bachelor, at the death of parents and grandparents. The societies' funds, however, are not strong enough to cover all costs, and levies are therefore made on all members when necessary. It should be noted that no interest is paid to members on the money invested, and on this account members keep very little money there.

The Bantu Loan Bank, founded in June 1927, is an institution of a more advanced nature. Here shares are bought by members (2/9 being paid for a share of 2/6, and the 3d. becoming the property of the bank) and interest of 4½% is paid as soon as a member has £1. invested. Loans are made to shareholders for industrial, commercial and educational purposes at the rate of 5%. The membership now is very nearly 200. Up to the present important assistance has been rendered in the building of two churches, and the bank is also keeping two boys at school.

A new society, the Rekololang Matlo, was founded in 1930 with a view to assisting members to pay off debts on their houses. Serious losses are sometimes sustained when natives cannot pay off the money owing on their houses, which are sold in execution. Membership fees are 1/- per month, and loans are made to members subject to the condition that one room in the house -
house thus paid off is placed at the disposal of the society, which then lets the room for its own benefit until the loan is repaid. (N.B. On an average 15/- per month can be obtained from the lease of one room).

(b) WORKERS UNIONS: Here again the lack of organisation is the outstanding feature. At present there is only one strong union in the Bloemfontein urban area, as the Builders Union, which had a fairly large membership a few years ago, is today non-existent. The Bantu Traders Association, however, has a membership of approximately 115, consisting of Eating-house keepers, hawkers, pedlars, etc. The Association, whose aims and objects cover a very wide field, was founded in 1925 in Bloemfontein, apparently with the main object of working for native trading rights. Today it is attempting to spread its organisation through the country. The monthly subscription is 2/6, but it is stated that difficulty is experienced in getting members to pay.

(c) BANKING: It has been possible with the time at our disposal to investigate only one European savings society with regard to its native custom. We have therefore chosen an institution which carries on a relatively large business with the natives. From figures obtained it appears that out of 2,900 depositors at the end of January, 1931, 398 were natives, with total deposits amounting to £6423 : 19 : 8d. No figures could be obtained as to the rate of increase of native depositors, but as twenty new accounts have been opened since the beginning of 1931, and only one closed, it would appear that this rate is fairly rapid. This too was the opinion expressed by the institution.

(d) SUMMARY: The Joint Council has expressed by resolution the -
the opinion that everything possible should be done towards
organising the native on sound lines in commerce and industry.
Only in this way can their economic strength be improved, and to
any economist it should be evident that in lack of organisation,
and not in organisation, the danger lies today. Strong workers
unions could, for instance, realize the same objects as wage-
determination, with far less danger of disorganising industry.

7. TENURE AND HOUSING:

It is intended here to touch merely upon the wider aspects
of this problem.

Tenure in Bloemfontein is a form of leasehold. The usual
procedure is that the native is granted a stand upon which he
then erects a building, the building only becoming his property.
No native may lease more than one stand. Native builders are
generally employed, and materials may be obtained by means of a
loan through the Town Council, repayment of which must be made at
the rate of not less than 10/- per month. The amount paid to the
Municipality is 6/6 per month (consisting of 1/- for water,
1/6 for stand fees, and 4/- for medical health and sanitation
services). The average house costs about £65, although there
are a great number today which have cost over £200 to erect.

With regard to the security of tenure, it is the policy of
the Municipality to allow as much latitude as possible, and
no house is sold in execution until a man is at least 6 months
in arrear. Even when a house is so sold, the Municipality always
bids up to the extent of the arrears, and if bought the original
owner is then given the opportunity of buying back the house.
Inspite of this liberal policy, 109 houses were sold in execution
(out of 3,300) during 1930.
There is therefore a certain amount to be said for the system obtaining in Bloemfontein, but there can be no doubt that amongst the natives the feeling is very strongly in favour of owning land. Withholding land is of course the traditional policy, but in spite of a certain amount of security, this system is a source of great discontent amongst the natives, and on this ground is to be strongly deprecated.

(a) **CHANGES IN BUILDING** : One of the marked features of the location today, is the improvement which is taking place in the quality of the buildings being erected. This improvement has been steadily growing and there is no comparison between the older sections of the location and those being erected at the present moment. Marked improvement can also be noticed in the interiors of the houses.

(b) **SOCIAL CONDITIONS** : The Joint Council has been unable to investigate with any thoroughness the social influence and factors amongst the urban natives. For the information of the Commission we attach a report drawn up for the Council by one of our Bantu Members describing the facilities for recreation and sport which natives enjoy in Bloemfontein. (App. F.)
1. It would appear that the influx of Natives into Urban Areas is not peculiar to Bloemfontein but is general throughout the Free State. The problem arising from this influx is therefore not a local one and cannot be dealt with by one local authority.

2. **Causes:** Migration takes place from the European country districts and from the Native Territories. The causes of influx from European Areas are (i) better wage conditions in the towns, under which is included security of tenure. That this is not entirely due to the much discussed Wage Board decision is shown by the fact that the influx takes place into those urban areas unaffected by the decision. (ii) better educational and social facilities in the towns. The causes of migration from the territories are (i) overcrowding through lack of land and (ii) poor agricultural methods resulting in low yields per unit of land.

3. **Results:** The result of the influx is unemployment in the Locations. This has not hitherto, resulted in starvation because of the communistic hospitality of the Natives, but it has resulted in rowdyism and crime and in the lowering of the standard of morals. This latter result is probably not so much due to overcrowding as to the contact of native and European civilisations.

4. **Observations:** (i) It is impossible not to sympathise with the Natives regarding wages and education. It is very evident that the Bantu people are aspiring to education and very little provision for this purpose exists in the rural areas. (ii) The question of higher wages may be left to the law of supply and demand. Unemployment in the Locations is bound to check itself automatically, unless there is general Native unemployment. The Prime Minister (General Hertzog) himself stated, in reply to a question as to whether the
Board decision would not result in a labour shortage on the farms, that the remedy lay in paying more adequate wages on the farms. One of the most serious disabilities under which Native labourers on the farms suffer is the insecurity of tenure. If some system of peasant proprietorship could be devised it would undoubtedly relieve the pressure and stimulate production, thus reflecting itself in a general increase of production.

(ii) Overcrowding in the Territories can only be relieved by grants of more land and production per unit of land can only be stimulated by the expenditure of much more money than in the past on Native Agricultural Colleges, travelling experts and the Native Development Fund. It should be remembered that the same causes are driving the poor Whites into the towns and that opinion seems to be veening to the theory that the poor Whites are made in the rural and not in the Urban areas.

5. Remedies. All remedies so far suggested involve the restriction of the movement of Native labourers and as such are bound to have the economic results incident on the prevention of the mobility of labour. It is hardly necessary in this advanced age, that labour must be fluid and must be allowed to flow to the best market. If this condition is interfered with industry and agriculture will both suffer severely. Further, any interference with the movement of labourers will be a civil restriction on the liberty of the subject and as such cannot be contemplated with equanimity. For these reasons alone it is impossible to agree to proposals which aim at preventing Natives from entering Locations or at deporting them after a certain time unless they have obtained employment.
The Natives themselves ought to be on their guard against supporting such proposals on the grounds that new-comers will take away employment from those born and bred in the Location. Such legislation may be successful in protecting a particular area but it is no solution to the problem and is a most dangerous precedent, in addition to being a very selfish policy.

6. Conclusion: Legislation, to be effective, will have to be both national and of a restrictive nature and is, on the latter ground, to be condemned. Individual local authorities can, possibly, provide for their own comfort by legislation which would be uneconomic and unjust. From the local point of view there is no remedy except that of urging the government (1) to provide more land, (2) to vote more money for Native agricultural development (3) to offer greater facilities for Native education in rural areas (4) to investigate the possibilities of allowing Natives to hire (or to hold) land in European areas on reasonable economic tenure (5) to establish a central Labour Exchange Bureau for Native Labour (6) to appoint as soon as possible, an Economic Commission to make a survey of Native economic conditions.
### Native and European Populations in Bloemfontein

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*x census.*
Number of male natives employed under registered contracts in Bloemfontein.

( April 1929 to January 1931.)

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<td>6,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 1930</td>
<td>7,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1930</td>
<td>7,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1930</td>
<td>7,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1930</td>
<td>7,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1930</td>
<td>7,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1930</td>
<td>7,748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1930</td>
<td>7,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1930</td>
<td>7,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1931</td>
<td>7,707</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statement showing number of male natives employed and number of concerns in which employed———-August 1930.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Concerns</th>
<th>No. Employed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trades &amp; Industries</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stores, etc.</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railways</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels &amp; Private Hotels</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools &amp; Hospitals</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brickmaking</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Departments</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Employers</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natives working on own</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7523</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Numbers of Natives working on own account and their principal occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawkers and pedlars</td>
<td>50 (approx.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating-house keepers</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxis</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bootmakers</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builders</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle shops</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailors</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brickmakers</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N.B. Only Nos (1) and (2) include exempted natives.)