

A HISTORY OF GRAHAMSTOWN

1918 - 1945

**A Thesis for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS**

by

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT AND FOOTNOTES

<u>AYB</u>	Archives Year Book
CA	Cape Archives
CL	Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown
<u>Co Mins</u>	Minutes of the Grahamstown City Council
Cr.	Councillor
<u>DSAB</u>	<u>Dictionary of South African Biography</u>
<u>GDM</u>	<u>Grocott's Daily Mail</u>
Gibbens	Gibbens, Melanie "Two Decades in the Life of a City: Grahamstown 1862 - 1882." M.A. Diss. Rhodes U. 1982.
<u>GO</u>	<u>Grahamstown Observer</u>
<u>GPM</u>	<u>Grocott's Penny Mail</u>
<u>GTJ</u>	<u>The Grahamstown Journal</u>
<u>JAH</u>	<u>Journal of African History</u>
JC	Joint Council
Kotzé	Kotzé, C.E. "A Social History of Windhoek, 1915 - 1939." Phd. Diss. UNISA. 1990.
<u>SAWW</u>	<u>South African Who's Who</u>
Sellick	Sellick, Rose-Mary "A Study in Local History: Grahamstown 1882 - 1904." M.A. Diss. Rhodes U. 1983.
Southey	Southey, Nicholas Derek "A Period of Transition: a history of Grahamstown 1902 - 1918." M.A. Diss. Rhodes U. 1984.

ABSTRACT

This study in local history describes socio-economic developments in Grahamstown between 1918 - 1945, and analyses the extent to which these developments mirrored trends in the macrocosm. During these years the city failed to become industrialised, but enhanced her reputation as an eminent educational centre.

Despite being financially handicapped, the City Council undertook large public works schemes for the provision of essential services, such as electricity and an adequate supply of water. In addition a water-borne sewerage scheme was introduced, and roads were repaired and tarred.

The influx of a large number of poor rural Blacks into the urban area placed a considerable strain on the city's health services, and housing projects had to be implemented.

Local political affiliations and race relations are examined against the background of national developments, especially the growing entrenchment by the State of the policy of segregation. Attention is also devoted to the impact upon the community of international political crises.

The cultural and sporting pursuits, as well as the entertainments enjoyed by Grahamstonians, are investigated; and a picture of the local "mentalité" is presented.

Preface

This thesis represents a continuation of research previously undertaken at Rhodes University in respect of earlier periods of Grahamstown's history.¹ The theses of K.S. Hunt, M. Gibbens, R. Sellick and N.D. Southey trace Grahamstown's development from 1827 - 1918. By 1918 Grahamstown was no longer an important city in the economic or political life of South Africa, but a study of the city's history between 1918 - 1945 is very valuable as many of the socio-economic problems of urbanisation that it faced mirrored the problems of the macrocosm.

The choice of Grahamstown during this period as the subject of this thesis was influenced by the desire to investigate the social phenomena of a city renowned for its intellectual and cultural achievements, during a period of international crises. The high percentage of English speaking residents in Grahamstown during those years makes the city an ideal subject for an

¹ K.S. Hunt "The Development of Municipal Government in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, with special reference to Grahamstown 1827 - 1862." AYB, 1961.

M. Gibbens "Two Decades in the Life of a City: Grahamstown 1862 - 1882." M.A. Diss. Rhodes U. 1982.

R. Sellick "A Study in Local History: Grahamstown 1883 - 1904." M.A. Diss. Rhodes U. 1983.

N.D. Southey "A Period of transition: a History of Grahamstown 1902 - 1918." M.A. Diss. Rhodes U. 1984.

examination of the social effects of the decline of the British Empire on an extremely patriotic, pro-British community. The reaction of this population to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism and the debate about Black political rights, provides a useful local perspective on national trends in South Africa during the period under review.

Local history

Over the last two decades local history has come into its own as an established historical genre. In South Africa a number of local studies have been produced in the last decade, some notable publications being the University of Cape Town's series entitled Studies in the History of Cape Town, and the recent detailed composite history of Pietermaritzburg entitled Pietermaritzburg 1838 - 1988: a new portrait of an African city.² Recent doctoral theses have been written by Keith Tankard³ and C.E. Kotzé⁴ on East London and Windhoek respectively. The first two works mentioned contain chapters written by various specialists, and they therefore lack the unity of a history written by one person.

Local history research has come to be viewed as an excellent means of gaining clearer insights into national developments.

² This publication is edited by John Laband and Robert Haswell.

³ K.P.T. Tankard "The Development of East London through four decades of municipal control, 1873 - 1914." Phd. Diss. Rhodes U. 1991.

⁴ C.E. Kotzé "A Social History of Windhoek, 1915 - 1939." Phd. Diss. UNISA. 1990.

In this respect local studies of English counties in the Seventeenth Century have provided valuable perceptions pertaining to the build-up to the Revolution.⁵ The danger does exist of making generalisations that if certain trends emerged in one locality they must have been present in other regions of the larger area. Comparative studies of various localities help to establish the general applicability of the results of research into a particular locality. In this thesis comparisons are drawn between developments in Grahamstown and developments described in Kotze's study on Windhoek, as her thesis roughly covers the same time span.

Although Grahamstown and Windhoek differed considerably in respect of such factors as the nationality of origin of their populations, their past historical associations and geographical settings, they both had to provide essential urban services to their populations during an era of extreme economic adversity. Both of these Southern African municipalities faced the challenge of administering Black locations. In addition, comparisons have been drawn with other urban areas in the Eastern Cape. Where applicable developments in Grahamstown have also been placed in a national and international context.

Local history also provides the historian with insight into the workings of and effect of national policy at the local level. The importance of linking local history to national history is

⁵ For example: W. Hunt The Puritan movement: the coming of revolution in an English county. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. Press, 1983.

stressed by P.J. Waller:

"Without the national quantity local history is parochial history; with it there is a chance that historians can truly measure political behaviour, for that, after all, takes place on the national and local stage at the same time, sometimes in collusion, sometimes in collision."⁶

In recent years writers of local history have been called upon to justify the value of their discipline to society as a whole. This challenge has served to highlight the valuable role that local history can play in explaining and solving contemporary problems. The current social, economic and political problems of South Africa have popularised calls for "problem-orientated" research which will help provide today's decision makers with meaningful insights which will help them as they grapple with contemporary difficulties.⁷ The ways that the people of Grahamstown faced the problems of providing education and essential services, such as a secure supply of water, electricity and sanitation, in the face of economic adversity, undoubtedly provide useful lessons for the South Africa of today.

Valuable as it is to look to the past for origins and parallels for the many problems that contemporary urban areas face, the good local historian is nevertheless aware of the dangers of

⁶ P.J. Waller Democracy and sectarianism: a political and social history of Liverpool 1868-1939. Liverpool: University Press, 1981. p.xiv-xv.

⁷ Editorial in Contree: journal for South African urban and regional history (24/1988).

looking at the past "through the peep-hole of the present".⁸ Looking at local history solely in order to attempt to find solutions to present problems can lead to an unbalanced picture of the past being attained, as major concerns of today were not always perceived as major problems in the past.

Local histories often provide vital information for members of other disciplines, such as sociologists and geographers. Conversely, just as other disciplines have benefited from the work of historians, historians researching local history have benefited from the work of amongst others, demographers, economists, social psychologists and cartographers. Local histories which do not tap information provided by other disciplines are today found wanting. For example H.J. Dyos comments on the failure of the Victoria County History for Warwickshire to give the reader a sense of what it was like to live in Birmingham, or "even how the sheer physicality of the city of Birmingham has evolved, how the million-piece jigsaw has been solved."⁹ The historian has to give an integral image of the locality. Factors such as the population, technology and environment have to be taken into account in portraying the ambience of a locality. A local history must give its reader an impression of the "personality"¹⁰ of the area or city, and the author has to give a broad analysis of what life was like for

⁸ H.J. Dyos (editor) The study of urban history. London: Arnold, 1968. p.5.

⁹ Ibid., p.6.

¹⁰ Discussion of this concept in H.J. Dyos (editor) The study of urban history. London: Arnold, 1968. p.64.

all the inhabitants, from all strata of society. The more complete local history must include consideration of the attitudes and values of all groups within the society. In addition the architecture and material culture of a city should be taken into account, and in this respect photographs are invaluable. As economic factors play such a crucial role in the development of a city, it is vital that its economy should be thoroughly investigated. In short, a local history is expected to cover all aspects of the life of an area so that a global picture is presented.

Sources

The major primary sources of information consulted were the local newspapers, City Council records, oral interviews, diaries of residents, and the minutes of local organisations such as the Joint Council. At the beginning of the period under review Grahamstown had two major newspapers, namely the Grocott's Penny Mail and the Graham's Town Journal, which were published on alternate days. As of May 1920 the Journal became incorporated into the Grocott's, which was henceforth entitled Grocott's Daily Mail and published on every day of the week, except on Sunday. In addition to reporting local happenings in depth, the paper gave a comprehensive coverage of national and international events, and its correspondents regularly aired their views on a wide range of issues, which were not solely limited to parochial concerns. The series of local gossip columns that the paper ran on Saturdays also provide a valuable source of information for assessing the local "mentalité". A small local weekly paper the

Grahamstown Observer was launched in 1933, but only ran for a very short time. This paper concentrated primarily on local news, and provides a mine of information on local entertainment and sport.

The records of the Grahamstown Municipality proved to be very useful sources of information, especially in respect of details about the administration of the Black residential areas. Oral interviews revealed nuances regarding social interaction not reflected in written sources. The diaries consulted gave insights into the daily activities, entertainments and pursuits of the community.

CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW OF GRAHAMSTOWN 1918 - 1945

(I) Developments prior to 1918 and Description of Grahamstown in 1918

Grahamstown's geographical setting inland had contributed both to her prosperity and her subsequent decline as the leading city in the Eastern Province during the Nineteenth Century. The city had flourished during the first few decades of its existence because of its position on the frontier, but this advantage fell away when the frontier moved eastwards away from Grahamstown.¹ The growth of Port Elizabeth had meant that Grahamstown was outstripped as the dominant city in the region. Since the 1860s Grahamstown had been increasingly sidelined as a centre of economic importance, and the city had failed to develop into an industrial metropolis.

During the 1870s Grahamstown was bypassed by the major railway line to the interior and this delivered a considerable blow to her future economic prospects. In addition, high railage costs meant that the nearby coastal cities of Port Elizabeth and East London were far more attractive to entrepreneurs, and Grahamstown's failure prior to 1931 to acquire an adequate supply

¹ Grahamstown's decline as an important commercial centre is dealt with at length in H.L. Watts, "Grahamstown: a socio-ecological study of a small South African town", and M. Gibbens, "Two Decades in the Life of a City: Grahamstown 1862 - 1882".

of water severely impeded industrial development. Searches to find exploitable mineral resources in the vicinity of the city had proved unsuccessful,² and the city's only viable natural resource appeared to be its clay deposits which were utilised for brick production.

During the first half of the Twentieth Century, however, the city still continued to enjoy some of the attributes of "the capital city of the Eastern Province":- she continued to be the seat of the Eastern Districts Division of the Supreme Court and the headquarters of the Police Force in the region. The city also gained prestige from being the capital of the magisterial district of Albany and the headquarters of the Church of the Province of South Africa's Diocese of Grahamstown which covered a wide area of the Eastern Cape.

The city's schools had gained a high reputation during the Nineteenth Century, and the founding of Rhodes University College in 1904 had greatly enhanced Grahamstown's stature as a leading educational centre.³ By 1918 the economic fortunes of Grahamstonians had come to be largely dependent on the city's success as an educational centre and a market and commercial centre for the local farming community.⁴

² See Southey Ch 2.

³ See Southey p.329 - 337.

⁴ See the theses of Sellick and Southey for details about the city's relative economic stagnation from 1883 - 1918.

In 1918, Grahamstown, which then had the 17th largest White population in the Union of South Africa,⁵ had the typical layout of a colonial settlement, as the majority of its Black population was residentially separated from the White population.⁶ The physical appearance of the countryside surrounding the urban area had been considerably altered by colonial influence in the Nineteenth Century, as the rolling hills to the south of the valley in which Grahamstown is situated, had been covered with pine plantations by the Municipality. These plantations constituted a prominent feature of the city's landscape, and the foresight of those who had established them was frequently praised in the local newspaper. The streets and gardens of the White section of Grahamstown also contained a large number of trees which contributed to the city's attractiveness and sedate atmosphere.⁷

The Business District stretched along two broad streets in the centre of the urban settlement, namely High Street and Bathurst Street. The architecture of the city's commercial properties was predominantly in the ornate Victorian style. The Nineteenth Century "Gothic" style cathedral of St. Michael and St. George dominated the Church Square which was the focal point of community gatherings on important ceremonial and other momentous

⁵ Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa Vol.7 p.125.

⁶ Gibbens p.9 - 11 compares the layout of Grahamstown with the segregated layout of Delhi, India in Victorian times.

⁷ GDM 10.1.1931.

occasions.⁸ The Market Square was also an important commercial and social gathering point, especially on Stock Fair Days when farmers from the surrounding district would bring their families into the city.⁹

From early in Grahamstown's history the West Hill area of the city had been considered the elite residential area, and as superior to the Settlers' Hill area (which centred around Lawrence Street on the south side of town).¹⁰ The latter area contained many buildings dating from the 1820s.¹¹

The many streams that traversed the city meant that several market gardeners were able to operate within the city limits. Grahamstonians thought of their city as being very spread out.¹² In 1918 the vast majority of the streets were in a bad condition and were not tarred.¹³ In marked contrast to large cities such

⁸ For instance the Public Service of Thanksgiving held on 14.11.1918 at the end of the First World War. - See APPENDIX E, Photograph 1.

⁹ Co Mins 5.5.1920. 202 farmers and other visitors to Grahamstown's monthly Stock Fairs signed a petition in which they requested that the Tea Room not be removed from the vicinity of the Market Square.

¹⁰ See Gibbens Ch 2. Relocation from West Hill to the Market Square area was often the corollary of financial embarrassment.

¹¹ See H.L. Watts, "Grahamstown: a socio-ecological study of a small South African town", Ch XV.

¹² GDM 18.5.1920.

¹³ Southey p.129 refers only to the macadamization of Market Square and High Street.

as Cape Town and Port Elizabeth there was no public transport.¹⁴ The City Council controlled the prices that taxi-cab drivers could charge.¹⁵ Motorized transport had begun to replace animal drawn vehicles.

The slum sectors of the White area bordered on the Black area which was situated on the eastern side of town. The old cemetery served as a partial buffer between the two areas.¹⁶ The Black area which was referred to by Whites as the Location,¹⁷ consisted of the Hottentot and Fingo Villages and the two Municipal Locations. Administrative control over the Location was divided between the Government and the Municipality, as erven in the two villages were held by freehold title, whereas the Municipality rented out erven in its Locations. Fingo Village residents were liable for the payment of municipal rates, and the educated elite amongst the Black community subscribed to the view that "many of the better class of African" resided in

¹⁴ GDM 18.5.1920. The absence of buses and trams was considered by some to add to Grahamstown's charms.

¹⁵ Co Mins 2.6.1918. Between 7 am and 7 pm the point to point rate was one shilling and sixpence for the first passenger and 6d for each additional passenger.

¹⁶ H.L. Watts "Grahamstown: a socio-ecological study of a small South African town" Ch XV. See also Map -- APPENDIX B.

¹⁷ In the primary sources there is confusion over terminology:
The term Location is often used to refer to all areas for Black or Coloured residents, but sometimes it refers solely to the Black areas known as the Municipal Locations.
In this thesis the term Location is used to refer to all the land occupied by Blacks and Coloureds, unless particular areas are specified.

Fingo Village.¹⁸ The City Council had always found that the division of control over the Location hampered its administration of Blacks.¹⁹

Living conditions in the Location were very insanitary.²⁰ Many of the dwellings were "pondokkies" or wattle and daub huts. The flimsy nature of many of the shelters is revealed by a report in the Grocott's Daily Mail in 1928,²¹ in which the water tanks erected by Location residents are described as being stronger than the houses.

The City Council had always been extremely parsimonious about spending money on Location amenities.²² From 1913, however, it ceased to make a profit out of the Location as from then on its expenditure on the Location exceeded the revenue it received from Location residents.²³ Nevertheless, streets in the Location remained in an appalling condition, and extremely inadequate provisions were made for the supply of water and sanitation facilities.²⁴

The Municipal Locations were administered in terms of municipal

¹⁸ Joint Council records, CL MS16556.

¹⁹ See Southey p.192 - 193.

²⁰ See Southey Ch 6.

²¹ GDM 16.2.1928.

²² See Sellick Ch 6 and Southey Ch 6.

²³ See Southey p.187.

²⁴ See Southey Ch 6.

regulations which had originally been framed in 1881.²⁵ In terms of these regulations a Location Inspector was required to live in the Location in a house provided for him by the Municipality. From 1912 a curfew had been imposed forbidding Blacks, who were not in possession of permits issued by the Resident Magistrate or the City Council, from walking in the streets between 9.30pm and 4am.²⁶

Grahamstown's White community was predominantly English speaking in 1918, and prided itself on its loyalty to Britain and the British Royal family.²⁷ This community was also exceptionally proud of the achievements of the 1820 Settlers and of the past glory of Grahamstown. The Black residents were encouraged to show loyalty to the British Monarchy. Amongst the Black community there was a reverence for the memory of Queen Victoria, probably partly influenced by the prominence given to her name on the Fingo Village title deeds issued in 1855.²⁸

Grahamstown had a small Indian community which was extremely successful economically. Many Indians resided in their business premises, which were mostly situated within the White Central

²⁵ Gibbens p.283.

²⁶ Southey p.237.

²⁷ Southey p.343.

²⁸ See T.R.H. Davenport Black Grahamstown: the agony of a community. p.11 for discussion of the belief that Queen Victoria had made a direct grant of the land.

Business District.²⁹

In 1918 many Grahamstown residents, both Black and White, owned many agricultural animals which they kept within the urban area. This contributed to causing a considerable "fly nuisance" which was not conducive to public health.³⁰ Tuberculosis and respiratory diseases were commonplace in the Location.³¹ The city's hospital, the Albany Hospital, was extremely outdated and attempts to acquire a new modern hospital had been thwarted for several years.³²

Grahamstown was still dependent on gas lighting and the bucket system of sewerage removal in 1918, as plans for modern facilities such as electrification, a new Water Scheme and water-borne sewerage, had not come to fruition prior to 1918. The most important obstacle the city faced in its endeavours to attain modern civic facilities, was the long standing problem of the Council's limited income, caused by its failure to attract industrial development. The only way that the Council could finance large public works was by means of taking out substantial loans. The Citizens' Union (a body of concerned citizens formed in 1912) had realised that the city would have to come under the Cape Municipal Ordinance (Ordinance 10 of 1912) in order to gain

²⁹ N.Dullabh Factors Affecting the Location of the Indian community in Grahamstown. p.30.

³⁰ Co Mins 25.6.1924.

³¹ See Southey p.176.

³² See Southey p.167 - 174.

access to large amounts of loan finance required for vital improvements.³³ In 1917 the Citizens' Union's aim had been achieved when the city abandoned its opposition to the Ordinance, because in terms of the former Act 18 of 1902 it was unable to borrow sufficient money for an urgently needed water scheme.³⁴ The promulgation on 22 August 1917 of Ordinance 18 of 1917 (which differed only slightly from Ordinance 10 of 1912) meant that Grahamstown fell into line with the other municipalities of the Cape Province.

Amongst the restraints that the Ordinance placed on the financial activities of the Grahamstown City Council, was the provision making it necessary for the Administrator of the Cape to grant approval for all municipal loans.

(II) Developments during 1918 - 1945

Developments in Grahamstown during these years to a large extent mirrored worldwide and national trends as the city could escape neither the impact of global and South African economic and political crises, nor the influence of technological advances. The extremely limited scope of industrial growth in the city was the only major difference between Grahamstown's development during this period and developments in the macrocosm.

³³ See Southey Ch 1.

³⁴ See Southey p.29.

(a) Grahamstown's economy(a.i) Overview of the period 1918 - 1945

The years under review witnessed rapid industrial expansion in South Africa,³⁵ and the city's failure to follow this national trend meant that she did not share to the same extent the prosperity enjoyed by the rest of the country during periods of economic recovery.³⁶ Grahamstown's economy was badly hit during periods of nationwide economic downturn.³⁷

After the First World War the South African economy enjoyed a postwar boom which was followed by a slump in 1922. The middle years of the 1920s saw a slow recovery, but this trend was reversed by 1928 as world economic recession began to set in. Economic conditions worsened to such an extent during the Great Depression of 1929 - 1933 that the country was compelled to abandon the Gold Standard on 28 December 1932. The abandonment of the Gold Standard heralded the beginning of a long period of economic growth for the country. The country's manufacturing output increased by 116% during the Second World War, but the war years also witnessed a 32% increase in prices as a result of inflation.³⁸

³⁵ The brief periodisation of the South African economy given in this chapter follows that accepted by authorities such as D. Hobart Houghton and T.R.H. Davenport. For a more detailed account of the debate about economic developments during 1918 - 1945, see Ch 2.

³⁶ GDM 31.12.1937.

³⁷ See Ch 2 for further details.

³⁸ D. Hobart Houghton "Economic Development, 1865 - 1965" in M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.) The Oxford History of South Africa Vol.II. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971. p.36.

Agricultural prices throughout the world were subject to violent fluctuations during the 1920s and 1930s. The process of urbanisation in South Africa was accelerated by the "Poor White" problem and the rural poverty faced by many Blacks. The rapid industrialisation of the late 1930s helped to wipe out the "Poor White" problem,³⁹ and the demand for labour generated by the Second World War led to the relaxation of government attempts to regulate the influx of Blacks into urban areas.⁴⁰

The dearth of industry in Grahamstown led residents to refer to education as the city's "industry". Fortunately for the city's economy, the local schools (with only one exception, the Wesleyan Girls' High⁴¹) went from strength to strength during the period under review. The Teachers Training College expanded and the city's crowning educational achievement was the steady growth of Rhodes University College.⁴² The College's success made a marked impact on the physical appearance of the western side of the city as many new student residences as well as teaching and administrative buildings were erected.⁴³ The amount of

³⁹ D. Hobart Houghton "Economic Development, 1865 - 1965" in M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds) The Oxford History of South Africa Vol.II, p.34.

⁴⁰ T.R.H. Davenport South Africa: a modern history. Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1987. p.338.

⁴¹ This School closed in 1928.

⁴² The successes of these educational institutions are discussed in Ch 6.

⁴³ As early as 1923 a resident who had been away from Grahamstown for several years remarked upon his return by train that "The new college hostels stood out very well." Diary of Dr. C.G.A. Cory, 24.11.1923. CL.

building construction at the College contrasted with the small number of commercial and private White residential properties that were constructed during this period.⁴⁴

Agriculture, the other important mainstay in the city's economy was not as fortunate as education, as it was badly hit by droughts and the fall in world agricultural prices during the Great Depression. Farmers did not pay high wages to their Black labourers, and this contributed to the massive influx of Blacks into the Location during the period under review. The City Council's public works helped to generate employment, and Black leaders pointed to these schemes as one of the reasons for the influx of Blacks into the urban area.⁴⁵ These schemes could not by any means eradicate the massive unemployment situation in the Location. Many unemployed Blacks' sole source of income was derived from taking in lodgers into their already overcrowded dwellings.⁴⁶ Others, particularly women, brewed beer to make a living. Court cases involving the illicit brewing of beer

⁴⁴ See Ch 2 for more details in respect of the building industry in Grahamstown.

⁴⁵ T.R.H. Davenport Black Grahamstown: the agony of a community. p.13.

⁴⁶ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 27.10.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

were regularly reported in the local press.⁴⁷

(a.ii) Attempts to attract industry 1918 - 1945

Grahamstown's water shortage problems during the 1920s discouraged industrial development. In comparison, nearby King William's Town was able to attract industry because of her abundant water supply.⁴⁸ Windhoek, which also suffered from water problems, was not highly industrialised.⁴⁹

The City Council attempted with limited success to attract industry to Grahamstown. The need for industry was generally acknowledged, but when potential developments threatened the scenic beauty and tranquillity of the city, there were protests from locals who felt that their property values would be detrimentally affected.⁵⁰ Grahamstown's lack of industries was seen by many as one of the reasons for the city's success as an educational centre, and a section of the educated elite advocated the view that the city should concentrate on becoming the "Oxford of South Africa" rather than trying to attract industrial

⁴⁷ For instance the Grocott's Daily Mail of 18.4.1921 reported 7 Beer cases involving 10 to 25 gallons of beer. 5 of those convicted paid fines of £3 and the other 2 went to goal for 3 weeks. On the 9.3.1931 the same paper reported on beer convictions involving offenders who hailed from the notorious "I" Street in the Government Location: Cina Mazaja was fined £6 for having in her possession a pint of brandy and 4 gallons of sugar beer; Nolofise Kilewe was also fined £6 for having "a large quantity of kaffir beer in barrels."

⁴⁸ Municipal Year Book 1936 - 1937.

⁴⁹ Kotzé's Ch 3 on Windhoek's economy does not highlight any major industrial developments.

⁵⁰ See Ch 2 for details pertaining to the opposition to the establishment and expansion of certain industries.

development. Opponents of this view argued that many Grahamstown children had to leave the city after they had completed their education as there were very few career opportunities in the city.⁵¹

On several occasions unsuccessful negotiations were entered into with prospective pottery manufacturers, but it was only towards the end of the period under review that Mr J. Hamburger, a pottery expert from Germany who had been appointed to the staff of Rhodes University College due to financial assistance from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, was able to establish a viable pottery concern in the city.⁵² A few industries which processed the agricultural produce of the region were established, but one non-agriculturally based manufacturing business, namely the Burmese Colour Needle Factory which manufactured gramophone needles, was established.⁵³ The expansion of the city's brick manufacturing industry was hindered by high railage costs, especially to centres in the Transvaal.⁵⁴

(a.iii) Commercial developments 1918 - 1945

The prosperity of businesses in Grahamstown was naturally dependent on the wealth of the district's farming community and the continued presence of the educational and government institutions that were situated in the city. Local economic

⁵¹ GDM 6.5.1921, 19.2.1940.

⁵² Co Mins 25.2.1942, 19.12.1945.

⁵³ GDM 26.10.1928.

⁵⁴ GDM 12.1.1932.

interests made it imperative for Grahamstown to guard against attempts to transfer the Supreme Court and the Police Head Quarters to Port Elizabeth. The importance of the presence of government institutions in an urban area, is highlighted by a comparison with the stimulus that such institutions gave to commercial development in Windhoek.⁵⁵

The heavy reliance of Grahamstown's retailers on the purchasing power of the employees of institutions was well illustrated in 1938 when the Provincial Authorities threatened to close the Prince Alfred Infirmary.⁵⁶ The City Council hurriedly came up with concessions regarding sewerage charges to induce the Authorities to keep the Institution in operation.⁵⁷

Like their predecessors of the previous century,⁵⁸ Grahamstown shopkeepers appreciated the income derived from troops stationed in the city.⁵⁹ They went all out to entertain troops attending the Annual Defence Force camps held in the city during the 1920s,⁶⁰ and there was much disappointment when the 1928 camp had to be held in Queenstown because of the acute water shortage

⁵⁵ See Kotzé Ch 3.

⁵⁶ Co Mins 23.6.1938.

⁵⁷ Co Mins 4.7.1938. This topic is discussed at greater length in Ch 3.

⁵⁸ See Gibbens Ch 2. The departure of troops from the city in 1870 delivered a considerable blow to local commerce.

⁵⁹ Co Mins 20.6.1923.

⁶⁰ Co Mins 12.9.1923, GDM 6.10.1923.

in Grahamstown.⁶¹ The 1927 camp was the last to be held in Grahamstown,⁶² but the establishment of the 44 Air Training School on the city's aerodrome during the Second World War provided a much needed boost to the local economy at a time when the absence of many local men on Active Service meant that spending power in the city had been reduced.⁶³

The early 1930s were extremely bad years for businesses in Grahamstown as there were many insolvencies during the Depression. Salary reductions were the order of the day during these years and the City Council had to give relief work to unemployed men.⁶⁴ The extension of credit to clients who were unable to meet their debts was often given as a cause of insolvency.⁶⁵ Luckily several families were able to recover after the Depression, and managed to become prosperous again.⁶⁶ The Grahamstown Publicity Association became one of the victims of the Depression when it ran out of funds in 1932.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Co Mins 7.3.1928.

⁶² Co Mins 4.5.1927. The Council received a letter of appreciation for the hospitality extended to the Officers and men. For further details regarding the military training of Grahamstown men see R. Griffiths First City: a saga of service. Cape Town: Timmins, 1970.

⁶³ GDM 1.3.1941.

⁶⁴ See Ch 3 for further details.

⁶⁵ For instance John Styles, an electrical engineer whose business failed, claimed that his clients were unable to pay cash for his work. GDM 12.2.1931.

⁶⁶ For example H.A. Mather-Pike's car dealership went insolvent (GDM 6.6.1931), but he later became Mayor in 1948.

⁶⁷ GDM 18.2.1932.

Empire Trade was seen by many Grahamstonians as a solution to the economic ills of Britain and the Dominions, and appeals were launched urging consumers to buy Empire products only.⁶⁸ Economic recovery set in after South Africa finally abandoned the Gold Standard.

During this period Grahamstown often successfully hosted conferences, and locals became increasingly conscious of the importance of the city's historical buildings as tourist attractions.⁶⁹

The local Chamber of Commerce strove to safeguard the interests of its members, mainly by agitating for improved rail and Post Office facilities for the city.⁷⁰ In 1939 the Chamber successfully squashed an attempt by Location shopkeepers to have different trading hours in the Location from those in the Town.⁷¹

Many Blacks earned a living by hawking, either on behalf of Whites or for their own account.⁷² Indian traders were successful, but they were often denied trading licences by the City Council, which frequently went into Committee to debate the

⁶⁸ GDM 31.3.1931.

⁶⁹ GDM 26.3.1931.

⁷⁰ CL MS16929.

⁷¹ Co Mins 26.7.1939.

⁷² Co Mins 2.2.1927.

granting of such licences.⁷³

(a.iv) Transport and Communications 1918 - 1945

There was a great increase in the number of cars on the streets and the local authorities managed to secure that the National Road passed through the city.⁷⁴ During this period the city became an important regional bus terminus.⁷⁵ In keeping with the worldwide development of air transport, an aerodrome was established.⁷⁶

Grahamstown's geographical setting proved to be advantageous when the African Broadcasting Corporation decided to set up its Eastern Province broadcasting station in the city in 1934. The Corporation's choice of Grahamstown was influenced by the fact that a large portion of the broadcasting arc would have been lost at sea if a coastal station had been constructed.⁷⁷

(b) Public Works

(b.i) Overview 1918 - 1945

The need to secure the future prospects of the city's reputation as a desirable educational centre was a major motivation for the City Council to proceed with the introduction of costly modern

⁷³ See Ch 2 for further details.

⁷⁴ Co Mins 22.12.1937.

⁷⁵ GDM 10.7.1937. The South African Railways and Harbours built a bus depot on the site of Grahamstown's first power station.

⁷⁶ Co Mins 22.10.1919. See Ch 2 for further details.

⁷⁷ GDM 15.6.1931.

essential services, despite its limited income. The local educational institutions formed a "Schools and Colleges Association"⁷⁸ which put pressure on the Council to improve the city's facilities. Opposition to the implementation of modern public works was led by individuals who were concerned about the large expense involved.⁷⁹

(b.ii) General

Other long awaited modern public works were inaugurated long before the completion of the badly needed water scheme, which had been the motivation for the city's adoption of Ordinance 18 of 1917. In 1922 a modern abattoir was completed.⁸⁰ Windhoek also acquired a modern abattoir in the 1920s,⁸¹ but Grahamstown lagged far behind her regional neighbour King William's Town which could boast of having acquired a modern abattoir as early as 1905.⁸²

(b.iii) Electricity

In July 1924 the city's first Electricity Power Station was brought into operation.⁸³ Electricity had been introduced into

⁷⁸ GDM 29.4.1921.

⁷⁹ See Ch 3 for biographical details pertaining to the leaders of this opposition.

⁸⁰ Co Mins 16.8.1922.

⁸¹ Kotzé, p.19.

⁸² Municipal Year Book 1936 - 1937.

⁸³ GDM 2.7.1924. See Ch 3 for further details.

South Africa simultaneously with overseas developments.⁸⁴ In 1882 Kimberley had become the first South African city and urban area south of the equator to introduce electric street lighting.⁸⁵ During the 1890s the cities of Pretoria, Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg had established municipal power stations.⁸⁶ In the Eastern Cape King William's Town had followed suite in 1903, Port Elizabeth in 1905, and Queenstown in 1912.⁸⁷

Grahamstown had not previously followed the national trend regarding the establishment of municipal power stations as the City Council had been bound by a thirty year contract with the South African Lighting Association which gave that company the monopoly of supplying the city with gas until 1924.⁸⁸ Windhoek⁸⁹ and Graaff-Reinet⁹⁰ acquired their first municipal electricity schemes the same year as Grahamstown, namely in 1924.

The Grahamstown Electricity scheme initially ran at a loss, but within a few years it became a profitable income generating

⁸⁴ Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa. Vol.4. p.275.

⁸⁵ Kimberley Municipality Commemorative pamphlet, 1982.

⁸⁶ Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa 1931 - 1932. Vol.14. p.97 - 98.

⁸⁷ Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa 1931 - 1932. Vol.14. p.97 - 98.

⁸⁸ See Sellick p.104 for details relating to the signing of this contract.

⁸⁹ Kotzé, p.19.

⁹⁰ Minnaar, A de V. Graaff-Reinet 1786-1986. p.23.

concern.⁹¹ The Council introduced an "Assisted Wiring Scheme" which enabled householders to pay in instalments for the electrification of their homes and to buy electrical appliances by means of Hire Purchase.⁹² By 1931 the consumption of electricity had increased to such an extent that an additional generating plant was necessary.⁹³ Not all ratepayers were in favour of spending more money on electrification, but the majority of the city's property owners realised that the city's electrical generating capacity had to be increased, and a new Power Station was erected on a new site on the outskirts of the urban area, where there was ample room for future expansion.⁹⁴

Exceptional growth in the use of electricity was a worldwide phenomenon during the period under review, and was not even curtailed by the effects of the Depression.⁹⁵ A power station could be most economically run if there was an even demand for electricity throughout the day, so the Municipality vigorously attempted to popularise the use of electrical appliances during daylight hours. Grahamstown used many of the same tactics, such as shows of electrical equipment, as the Municipality of Cape Town used in its attempts to promote the consumption of

⁹¹ See Ch 3 for further details.

⁹² Co Mins 23.5.1923, 6.4.1927.

⁹³ See Ch 3 for Tables illustrating the growth of the use of electricity in Grahamstown.

⁹⁴ Co Mins 1931. p.343, 1934. p.143.

⁹⁵ See J. Carruthers "G.H. Swingler and the supply of electricity to Cape Town." Studies in the History of Cape Town. vol.5.

electricity.⁹⁶

The City Council's profitable trade in electrical appliances was severely criticised by members of the public who argued that ratepayers' money was being used to set up a business in competition to local traders at a time of great financial hardship.⁹⁷ The demand for electric current continued to increase, and by 1938 extensions were needed to the new Power Station.⁹⁸

Electricity made possible the introduction of refrigerators and many other appliances which improved the quality of life of members of the White community. The extension of gas street lighting to the Black residential area had not been regarded as a priority,⁹⁹ but good electric street lighting was installed in the Hottentot Village at the same time as in the White areas.¹⁰⁰ The erection of street lights in other parts of the Location was an issue that was taken up by the Native Advisory Board¹⁰¹ and the Joint Council in the 1930s.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ See J. Carruthers "G.H. Swingler and the supply of electricity to Cape Town." Studies in the History of Cape Town. vol.5.

⁹⁷ GO 10.7.1933.

⁹⁸ Co Mins 26.10.1938.

⁹⁹ Grahamstown's entry in the South African Municipal Year Book 1922. p.54, states that gas lamps had been extended "to almost every locality mainly inhabited by Europeans."

¹⁰⁰ GDM 15.7.1924.

¹⁰¹ Advisory Board Minutes 5.3.1936. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

¹⁰² Health Committee Minutes 16.3.1937. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/6.

(b.iv) Water Supply

The much needed water scheme was only completed in 1930, and this meant that the city had to endure a terrible drought in 1927 and the first few months of 1928. The acute water shortage during this drought forced the Council to drill five emergency boreholes at St. Andrew's College to supply the city with water.¹⁰³ Many possible reservoir sites were investigated before a scheme at Howieson's Poort was finally decided upon.¹⁰⁴ The care that the City Council took in thoroughly investigating the viability of sites prevented the construction of a dam that was situated in a catchment area with inadequate run-off.¹⁰⁵

The disastrous siting of Windhoek's Avis Dam (which was constructed during 1930 - 1933 despite doubts expressed by engineers as to its location)¹⁰⁶ reflects favourably Grahamstown's caution about the choice of a site. However, the delay retarded possible economic growth during the 1920s, and the water famine of 1927 - 1928 posed an extremely serious threat to Grahamstown's reputation as a viable educational centre. In comparison to Graaff-Reinet which had its Van Ryneveld's Pass Dam officially opened in 1925,¹⁰⁷ Grahamstown was dilatory in providing for her water requirements.

¹⁰³ Co Mins 7.11.1927.

¹⁰⁴ See Ch 3 for further details.

¹⁰⁵ See K.S. Hunt "The Story of Grahamstown's Water Supply", in the Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society. Vol.2, No.2, 1976.

¹⁰⁶ Kotzé, p.89.

¹⁰⁷ Minnaar, A de V. Graaff-Reinet 1786-1986. p.19.

The opening of the new Reservoir filled many Grahamstonians with renewed civic pride, as it was confidently believed that the critical water shortage which had nearly ruined the city in 1927 would never be able to occur again.¹⁰⁸ The completion of the Scheme did not herald the end of water related problems, as filtration difficulties occurred and the water reticulation system had to be overhauled.¹⁰⁹ The abysmal state of the Location's water supply also had to be tackled.

(b.v) Sewerage Works

The Council experienced difficulty in paying off the Howieson's Poort Scheme loan as its revenue from the sale of water was lower than expected. Citizens who had a few years before been exhorted to use water as sparingly as possible were now encouraged to increase their consumption. The implementation of Water-borne Sewerage was the next logical step, as this much needed improvement for the health of the community would cause an escalation in the consumption of water, which would in turn help to cover the costs of the water scheme.¹¹⁰

Grahamstonians were conscious that the smaller neighbouring towns of Queenstown and King William's Town had already introduced water-borne sewerage.¹¹¹ Windhoek's water-borne sewerage scheme had been started before the Depression had made its

¹⁰⁸ GDM 9.4.1931.

¹⁰⁹ See Ch 3 for further details.

¹¹⁰ See Ch 3 for further details.

¹¹¹ GDM 26.7.1933.

presence felt,¹¹² but the Grahamstown scheme had to wait until after the worst of the economic crisis was over, and only came into operation in December 1936.¹¹³ As was the case in Windhoek, the Grahamstown scheme did not cover the majority of the Black area. Graaff-Reinet residents also considered the introduction of water-borne sewerage in the early 1930s, but it was only installed there in 1972.¹¹⁴

(b.vi) Roads

Subsequent to the completion of the sewerage works, the Council turned its attention to tarring the city's roads.¹¹⁵ As in other urban areas during these years, road tarring was very much in vogue.¹¹⁶ However, when islands were first introduced into the middle of roads they were unpopular,¹¹⁷ and it was thought that the money spent on them could have been spent on more worthwhile projects.¹¹⁸ The City Council maintained that the islands were necessary as they prevented accidents, and as time passed they came to be regarded as an attraction of the city. Attention was eventually paid to dealing with the terrible

¹¹² Kotzé, p. 23.

¹¹³ GDM 22.12.1936.

¹¹⁴ Minnaar, A de V. Graaff-Reinet 1786 - 1986. p.23.

¹¹⁵ Co Mins 17.12.1937.

¹¹⁶ Kotzé, p.99 comments on the success of street tarring in Windhoek.

¹¹⁷ Co Mins 27.3.1918.

¹¹⁸ There was much correspondence in the local press on this subject, especially in the Grocott's Daily Mail during March 1941.

condition of roads in the Location.¹¹⁹

(c) Municipal Finance 1918 - 1945

The City Council relied heavily on its income from rates,¹²⁰ and the derating of private school hostels in 1936 was a considerable blow at a time when the Council was paying off large loans it had incurred to provide modern essential services which had been demanded by the schools in the first place. The derating meant that the burden of direct taxation in 1936 fell on only 59% of the valuation of the city as opposed to 71% in 1931.¹²¹

(d) Health 1918 - 1945

The City Council was not directly responsible for the administration and financing of the city's hospital, but together with the Divisional Council it was responsible for contributing towards eradicating the hospital's deficits.¹²² In 1922 Grahamstown's new hospital was finally occupied and was named the Settlers Hospital as its completion was made possible by the grant of £10000 from the funds collected in commemoration of the Centenary of the landing of the 1820 Settlers.¹²³ Shortly after it had been vacated, the old ramshackle Albany Hospital in Hill Street was completely gutted by fire.¹²⁴ The new

¹¹⁹ Co Mins 7.12.1938.

¹²⁰ Municipal finance is discussed in greater depth in Ch 3.

¹²¹ Co Mins 22.6.1936.

¹²² Health care is discussed in Ch 4.

¹²³ GTJ 26.10.1922.

¹²⁴ GDM 16.4.1923.

hospital was always short of funds, so the community rallied round and raised money by means of fetes etc. The Rhodes University College Rag funds were regularly donated to the hospital.¹²⁵

Unlike the situation in Windhoek, where there was a special "Native Hospital",¹²⁶ Blacks and Whites were both catered for by the Settlers Hospital, albeit in separate wards.¹²⁷ Health needs in the Location¹²⁸ were initially administered to by charitable organisations, but the force of public opinion eventually compelled the City Council to take action in this respect.¹²⁹

The only major epidemic to hit the city was the world wide Flu Epidemic which hit the city with a vengeance in October 1918, completely disrupting all spheres of life. The concern of many Grahamstonians for their fellow citizens came to the fore as many people risked their own lives nursing the sick.¹³⁰ Outbreaks of Typhus in the Location were a recurrent concern. As the years progressed there was a growing realisation amongst Grahamstown Whites that poverty and malnutrition were important

¹²⁵ Oral interview with Mrs B. Rennie, 1991.

¹²⁶ See Kotzé, p.238.

¹²⁷ GDM 22.4.1940.

¹²⁸ Location administration is discussed in Ch 4.

¹²⁹ See Ch 4 for an account of the public's involvement in the "Grahamstown Malnutrition Controversy".

¹³⁰ See Ch 4 for further details and references to other accounts of the Epidemic in Grahamstown.

contributing factors to the poor health situation in the Location. Poor health amongst Blacks was a nationwide problem and was not peculiar to Grahamstown.¹³¹

(e) Administration of the Location 1918 - 1945

The City Council was, as in previous eras,¹³² primarily concerned with control over the city's Blacks, and largely indifferent to their welfare. Money for improvements to Black residential areas was begrudgingly voted for by Councillors, usually only when the need for such improvements became crucial, or was demanded by the Government.¹³³ Towards the end of the period reviewed there was, however, an increase in the number of Councillors who were particularly concerned with Black welfare.¹³⁴

The City Council did complete one Black housing project (New Town) in the 1920s, and it built a Recreation Hall in the Location in 1934, but these facilities did not go very far in

¹³¹ S. Marks & N. Anderson "Diseases of Apartheid" in J. Lonsdale (ed.) South Africa in Question. London: James Currey, 1988. p.176.

¹³² See Sellick Ch 6 and Southey Ch 6.

¹³³ GDM 10.5.1920. The newspaper reported that there were "people both in and out of the Council" who begrudged "any portion of the rates drawn from Europeans being expended upon the Location". See Ch 4 for details of how the Council was obliged to respond to criticisms made by F.W. Jameson of the Central Housing Board regarding the inadequate provisions made for sanitation in the Location.

¹³⁴ The few ministers of Religion who served on the Council were interested in Black Welfare, but most importantly the entry into the Council in 1940 of the Revd. G.H.P. Jacques (who was a leading member of the Joint Council) influenced the Council to take a greater interest in providing for Black needs.

dealing with the slum conditions and overcrowding prevalent in the Location.¹³⁵ Government officials who visited Grahamstown in 1936 and 1937 criticised the Municipality's administration of the Location.¹³⁶ The City Council realised that considerable Sub-Economic funding would be needed, and decided to embark upon several Sub-Economic Housing schemes which were implemented in the early 1940s.¹³⁷ These schemes were similar to schemes undertaken by other South African cities such as Port Elizabeth, as the Council leased out the houses it built.¹³⁸ The Windhoek Council's approach to improving location housing was different as it "rebuilt" dwellings and did not lease them.¹³⁹

In response to the unprecedentedly large influx of Blacks into the Location from the surrounding areas during the early 1930s, the City Council took the stand that it should only be responsible for providing facilities for Grahamstown born Blacks and those who were employed in Grahamstown.¹⁴⁰ The Council therefore took the decision to bring the city under Section 12 of the Urban Areas Act, as this would pave the way for the Government to remove from Grahamstown those Blacks who were found

¹³⁵ Location Housing is discussed in Ch 4.

¹³⁶ Report by F. Rodseth, Inspector of Urban Locations, CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5, Reports by F.W. Jameson of the Central Housing Board, CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/7.

¹³⁷ Co Mins 1937, p.58, 27.8.1941, 24.6.1942.

¹³⁸ Grahamstown social workers and members of the Joint Council visited the Port Elizabeth housing developments in 1941. JC Minutes 29.7.1941. GDM 19.8.1941.

¹³⁹ Kotzé, p.118.

¹⁴⁰ Co Mins 1937 p.158.

to be surplus to the labour requirements of the city. The Council enforced the registration of Black males in employment, but the Government subsequently refused to remove those Blacks whom the Council regarded as being "surplus".¹⁴¹

During the period under review the City Council unsuccessfully endeavoured to put an end to its lack of legal authority over the Government-controlled Fingo Village, as the Government did not support the Council's plans to expropriate the land there.¹⁴² The Grahamstown experience in this respect differs markedly from the Windhoek experience where a location was moved on the insistence of the Government.¹⁴³

The establishment of Municipal beer halls was extremely popular amongst municipal authorities in Southern Africa during these years, as they were excellent revenue generators.¹⁴⁴ The Grahamstown Municipality's decision to follow this trend aroused much opposition amongst members of both the Black and White communities.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Co Mins 27.9.1939, Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes, 9.6.1939, 21.9.1939.

¹⁴² Co Mins 4.1.1945.

¹⁴³ See Kotzé, p.120.

¹⁴⁴ The Grahamstown City Council was very impressed by the success of beer halls in Pietermaritzburg. (Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes, 29.4.1938). Windhoek also acquired a beer hall during the 1930s -- See Kotzé p.120.

¹⁴⁵ See Ch 4 for further details. The issue does not appear to have aroused much controversy in Windhoek. -- See Kotzé p.120.

(f) Race Relations 1918 - 1945

The Racial Question was considered to be the relationship between English and Afrikaans speakers. Grahamstown had a very small Afrikaans speaking community, and many Afrikaans speakers preferred to have their children taught in English.¹⁴⁶ White Grahamstonians' attitudes towards the "Native Question" were dominated by the contemporary paternalism that dominated Black/White relations in South Africa. The Grocott's Daily Mail reported on very many criminal cases involving Location residents,¹⁴⁷ but very few positive articles appeared regarding life in the Location.¹⁴⁸

Many Whites helped nurse sick Blacks in the Location during the Flu Epidemic, and were shocked by the appalling living conditions

¹⁴⁶ GDM 3.4.1941.

¹⁴⁷ Cases involving assaults and stick fights were frequently reported. For instance on the 3.1.1931 the Grocott's Daily Mail reported as follows: "New Year's Eve in the Location ... Pritchard Kleinbooi ... alleged that a Native woman attacked him with an axe and caused injury to his head." A few days later on 7.1.1931 the paper reported on a case involving a stick fight between rival teams of footballers. A notable case involved the son of the Matabele chief Lobengula:- Fana Lobengula was fined 10 shillings for striking a woman. GDM 30.7.1924.

¹⁴⁸ The few positive articles tended to be written in the same vein as the following comment on an entirely Black run stall at a fete held in aid of the hospital: "a welcome innovation and a praiseworthy one showing that the native community are not unmindful of their responsibilities in regard to the Hospital." GDM 3.9.1924.

they came across there.¹⁴⁹ Following this eye opening experience, many White charitable organisations became concerned about the welfare of Location residents. This new concern was a major new development in the history of Black/White relations in Grahamstown, as was the subsequent establishment in 1921 of the Grahamstown Welfare Association (consisting of Black and White branches) which strove to improve race relations and the lot of the residents of the city's Black areas.¹⁵⁰

In 1931 the Welfare Association transformed itself into a branch of the nationwide Joint Council Movement and intensified its activities to improve conditions in the Location.¹⁵¹ The White members of the Joint Council made attempts to gain more understanding of "Native" life. The membership of Joint Council consisted of highly educated members of both the White and Black communities, so it was appropriate that one of the Joint Council's greatest successes during the 1930s was the supportive role it played in the establishment of Grahamstown's first Black Secondary School.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Southey p.213 notes how the Flu crisis occasioned the only time during the period 1902 - 1918 when Whites showed active concern for the welfare of the Location. According to the Ladies Benevolent Society, there was a "decided wave of public enthusiasm for welfare work" following the Flu Epidemic. (J.M. Berning Outline History of the Ladies Benevolent Society Grahamstown 1867 - 1954. CL PR2855). As late as 1936 Dr. Ella Britten (a local physician who was particularly concerned with the welfare of Blacks in the Location) referred to the appalling impact of the Flu on the Location. (JC Minutes 22.10.1936. CL MS16584)

¹⁵⁰ CL MS16560.

¹⁵¹ JC Minutes CL MS16584.

¹⁵² See Ch 6 for further details.

The Joint Council set out to influence the City Council to improve living conditions in the Location, but was not always able to do so, its biggest failure being its unsuccessful campaign against the establishment of the Municipal Beer Hall, which was opened in 1939.¹⁵³

(g) Politics

From 1921 - 1943 the Albany seat in the House of Assembly was regarded as a safe seat for the South African Party (S.A.P.) and later the United Party (U.P.).¹⁵⁴ During most of the Parliamentary elections the South African Party or United Party candidates were unopposed. In the elections that were contested by Independents, the Party had to fight against allegations that because Albany was such a safe seat the Party did very little to advance the local interests of the constituency. From 1924 the Party bowed to the wish of the farming sector of the electorate that it should be represented in Parliament by a farmer.¹⁵⁵

The Grocott's Daily Mail strongly supported the Party,¹⁵⁶ and the necessity for unity between English and Afrikaans speakers

¹⁵³ Co Mins Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes, 26.5.1939.

¹⁵⁴ This topic is discussed in Ch 5.

¹⁵⁵ Both R.H. Struben and T.B. Bowker who represented Albany in Parliament were farmers. -- See Biographical Sketches.

¹⁵⁶ The paper was edited for 33 years by Albert Wadds Wright, who had been born in England. He retired to England in 1939. GDM 1.8.1939.

was repeatedly stressed in editorials.¹⁵⁷ In addition the paper maintained an ardently pro-British stance, enthusiastically promoting the advantages of South Africa's membership of the British Commonwealth.¹⁵⁸ Columns entitled "News from the Empire's Capital" were regularly published. Grahamstonians were well informed about international and national political events.¹⁵⁹

The Albany Seat in the Cape Provincial Council was held from 1927 to 1948 by the charismatic Mr J.C. Rae,¹⁶⁰ who stood as an Independent. Rae was also elected Mayor of Grahamstown in 1927, but unfortunately he became involved in a personality clash with the Town Clerk, Mr J.T. Yeomans.¹⁶¹ The clash reached a pinnacle in 1928 when the Supreme Court declared Rae disqualified to hold office as a Mayor and a Councillor on the grounds that he had failed to pay municipal rates within the time stipulated

¹⁵⁷ The sufferings of both English speakers and Afrikaners at the hands of marauding Blacks during the Nineteenth Century was used as an argument in favour of unity between the two White groups. GDM 10.3.1938.

¹⁵⁸ J.M.B. Hertzog and D.F. Malan were frequently criticised for their advocacy of Afrikaner Nationalism -- for instance on 7.8.1924 the editor expressed the wish that Hertzog and his "henchman" Malan would gain a clear insight into "the good that the Empire did."

¹⁵⁹ Letters to the Grocott's Daily Mail commented on happenings all over the world, and a local branch of the League of Nations Union was formed. GDM 13.3.1923.

¹⁶⁰ See Biographical Sketch of Rae.

¹⁶¹ See Biographical sketch of Yeomans, and Ch 3 for further details of the clash between Rae and Yeomans.

by the Lomax Ordinance.¹⁶² Rae was unseated and 6 other Grahamstown Councillors realised that they had contravened the Ordinance, and handed in their resignations. This local "storm in the municipal teacup"¹⁶³ affected other Cape municipalities where Councillors had contravened the Lomax Ordinance. Rae failed in his attempt to be re-elected onto the City Council and calm returned to the Council Chamber when Professor C.W. Bowles of Rhodes University College, who had a reputation as a conciliator, was elected as Mayor, having just been elected onto the City Council for the first time.¹⁶⁴

As was the case in many South African cities,¹⁶⁵ the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa (I.C.W.U. or I.C.U.) was active in the Location during this period. There was division within the union as not all the members accepted the leadership of Bennett Ncwana.¹⁶⁶ The Joint Council was radically opposed

¹⁶² See Ch 3 for further details on this Ordinance, (Ordinance 22 of 1925).

¹⁶³ CL MS16530.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ T.R.H. Davenport South Africa: a modern history. Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1987. p.263.

¹⁶⁶ GDM 21.7.1925. S.M. Bennett Ncwana launched the newspaper The Black Man, but he was not generally popular with other Black leaders. According to Clements Kadalie in My Life and the I.C.U. London: Frank Cass, 1970. p.55, Ncwana assisted I.B. Nyombolo with the publication of the African Voice which violently attacked him and the I.C.U. P.L. Wickins in The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1978. also refers to the conflict between Ncwana and other I.C.U. leaders. Ncwana became General Secretary of the "League of Economic Independence" which welcomed Hertzog's Native Bills. -- See S. Dubow Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919 - 36. Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1989, p.152 & p.213.

to the I.C.U. and strove to lessen its influence in the Location.¹⁶⁷ A rate boycott was led by Douglas Danga,¹⁶⁸ and during the late 1930s Fingo Village and Hottentot Village Vigilance Committees were established.¹⁶⁹

(h) Religion, Sport and Entertainment

Grahamstown's many churches had earned the city the reputation of being the "City of Saints." Churches in both the White and Black areas enjoyed support, despite the popularity of sport during the decades under review.¹⁷⁰

In respect of the entertainment that it enjoyed the White community of Grahamstown mirrored similar communities in England and America.¹⁷¹ During this period the advances made in cinematographic technology enhanced the enjoyment that Grahamstonians derived from this popular form of entertainment.¹⁷² Radio reception in Grahamstown was

¹⁶⁷ JC Minutes, 28.7.1931. CL MS16584.

¹⁶⁸ CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5 Report by F. Rodseth, Inspector of Urban Locations. Danga lived at 15 Raglan Road in the Fingo Village (Co Mins 27.7.1938), and appears to have followed in the footsteps of S. Danga, who was Chairman of the Native and Coloured Vigilance Board in 1920 (GDM 30.10.1920). Sellick p.161 - 163 refers to Samuel Danga who was involved in the Native Education Society.

¹⁶⁹ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/8 25.3.1938; CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10 27.1.1939.

¹⁷⁰ See Ch 6 for further details.

¹⁷¹ See for example C.L. Mowat Britain between the wars 1918 - 1940. London: Methuen, 1955.

¹⁷² Following the introduction of "talkies" in the late 1920s, pictures of movie stars were frequently published in the Grocott's Daily Mail.

problematic before the establishment of the city's Broadcasting Station in 1934,¹⁷³ but thereafter radio broadcasts played a very important part in the lives of the citizens. Location residents acquired cinema shows and during the Second World War they were given the opportunity of listening to radio news broadcasts.¹⁷⁴

As befitting an educational centre, many intellectual and cultural Societies were formed, and this together with the city's past historical associations, helped Grahamstown to preserve its own distinctive character. In addition to social clubs, the city also had local branches of national movements such as the National Council of Women and the Boy Scouts.¹⁷⁵

Grahamstown Whites provided local Blacks with several entertainment facilities such as a Recreation Hall and a library in the Location.¹⁷⁶ They also encouraged the "Pathfinders" Movement which was similar to the Boy Scouts Movement.¹⁷⁷ Many White women did not go out to work, and, as they usually had more

¹⁷³ People oscillating their sets in an attempt to tune into a station ruined the listening pleasure of others, and tempers were easily frayed.--For instance an irate listener wrote as follows to the Grocott's Daily Mail on 26.10.1933: "It is about time that local radio enthusiasts sent an invitation to Herr Hitler to come out to Grahamstown to start a concentration camp for the purpose of interning some of the dreadful people who have amateur, or inadequate sets, and who are continually endeavouring to tune into stations their machines are incapable of reaching."

¹⁷⁴ Co Mins 24.10.1945.

¹⁷⁵ See Ch 6 for further details.

¹⁷⁶ JC Minutes, Annual Report 1933 - 1934. CL MS 16584.

¹⁷⁷ GDM 5.3.1932.

than one "Native" servant, they had more free time at their disposal than their counterparts in England, where it had become more difficult to find servants after the First World War.¹⁷⁸ Visiting cards were the vogue and West Hill continued to be regarded as the elite residential area.¹⁷⁹ A correspondent to the Grocott's Daily Mail aptly commented that the interests of many Grahamstonians revolved around 3 Bs-- namely, Business, Bridge and Bioscope.¹⁸⁰ Not all leisure time was devoted to personal enjoyment, as Charitable work was extremely popular. The Second World War brought an end to much of the snobbery, as the whole community became involved in the war effort, and in many instances uniforms obscured class distinctions.¹⁸¹

(i) Community Identity and Ideals

During the period under review considerable interest in Settler History was shown by the White community. There was great disappointment when the Centenary Celebrations of the arrival of the 1820 Settlers were postponed to 1921 because of the 1920 General Election.¹⁸² The Celebrations were nevertheless a great success, and were graced by the presence of the Governor-

¹⁷⁸ CL MS14793 Diary of Mrs S. Kidd. p.162. During a trip to England she realised how glad English women "would be of our Native servants".

¹⁷⁹ Oral interview with Mrs B. Rennie, 1991.

¹⁸⁰ GDM 29.11.1933.

¹⁸¹ Oral interview with Mrs B. Rennie, 1991. See Ch 6 for further details.

¹⁸² GTJ 31.1.1920.

General, Prince Arthur of Connaught, and his wife.¹⁸³

The years under review witnessed no diminution in Grahamstown's professions of loyalty to the British Royal Family. The city always sent loyal messages to the Monarch upon the occasions of important events in the lives of members of the Royal Family.¹⁸⁴

The city's loyalty was especially evident when Royalty or their representatives visited Grahamstown, as the citizens went to great lengths to entertain their distinguished visitors. The Black and Coloured communities also presented loyal addresses to visiting Royalty, and in an address presented to the Governor-General in 1921, the city's Blacks mentioned that they trusted that the King would always protect the legality of the Fingo Village land grants.¹⁸⁵ Grahamstown's link with Britain was strengthened during the Second World War, when the whole community wholeheartedly supported the British war effort.¹⁸⁶

The period under review witnessed both the White and Black communities of Grahamstown gaining modern facilities, but in markedly different degrees. When the Second World War ended the local authorities in Grahamstown were filled with idealism about the future of all race groups, but White objections to the

¹⁸³ GDM 12.4.1921.

¹⁸⁴ For instance in 1921 the city sent good wishes to King George V on the occasion of the betrothal of his daughter, Princess Mary. Co Mins 30.11.1921.

¹⁸⁵ GDM 12.4.1921.

¹⁸⁶ See Ch 6 for further details.

temporary use of Oakley House by Coloured school children portended difficulties ahead.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Co Mins 26.9.1945.

CHAPTER TWO

GRAHAMSTOWN'S ECONOMY 1918 - 1945

(a) Introduction

During the years under review the central Government intervened to a considerable extent in the South African economy, and academics have paid close attention to these interventions which advanced the economic interests of Whites at the expense of the economic well-being of Blacks.¹ During the 1920s William Miller Macmillan² became the first liberal historian to argue that the participation of both Whites and Blacks in the country's economy meant that segregationalist policies would not succeed in the long term. Despite the growth of the economy following the entrenchment of segregationalist policies, liberals continued to believe for many decades that economic growth would eventually bring an end to segregationalist policies.³

From the early 1970s onwards the view of revisionist historians

¹ See C. Saunders "Historians & Apartheid" in Lonsdale, J. (ed) South Africa in Question. London: James Currey, 1988. The legislation in question included such Acts as the Wage Act of 1925, the Mines and Works Amendment "Colour Bar" Act of 1926, and most importantly the Native Service Contract Act of 1932.

² W.M. Macmillan (1885 - 1974) was Lecturer in History and Economics at Rhodes University before he became Professor of History at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1917. For further biographical details see W.M. Macmillan My South African years: an autobiography. Cape Town: David Philip, 1975.

³ C. Saunders "Historians and Apartheid".

such as Frederick Johnstone,⁴ to the effect that segregation had benefited economic growth, gained much credence. Attention became focused on intra-capitalist rivalry for cheap Black labour.⁵ Nevertheless, recent political developments in South Africa, especially since 1990, have validated much of the liberals' argument in respect of the incompatibility of segregation and economic growth.⁶ In addition, Saul Dubow has shown that "segregationalist policies were not simply a knee-jerk response to capitalist interests."⁷

Central Government intervention in the economy was not limited to the entrenchment of segregation in the workplace, as, in common with other governments during these years, it also introduced protectionist policies and Control Boards.⁸

⁴ See F.R. Johnstone Class, Race and Gold. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.

⁵ See for instance M. Lacey Working for Boroko. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1981. Lacey argues that the rivalry between the different fractions of capital was resolved during the period 1924 - 1932, and the Fusion Government looked after the interests of both farmers and the mining industry.

⁶ C. Saunders "Historians & Apartheid" p.27 refers to Merle Lipton's suggestion that advanced capitalism, which requires a skilled and stabilised work force, is incompatible with segregation and apartheid; whereas earlier forms of capitalism thrive on the use of cheap unskilled labour. (M. Lipton Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa, 1910-84. Aldershot: Gower, 1985.)

⁷ S. Dubow Racial Segregation and the origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919 - 36. Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1989. p.52.

⁸ For instance the Customs Tariff Act of 1925. For further details relating to South Africa see T.R.H. Davenport South Africa: a modern history, and for details relating to Britain see C.L. Mowat Britain between the wars 1918 - 1940.

Most Grahamstonians fervently believed that Empire Trade would solve the economic problems which beset Britain, and would boost the local economy. In 1927, the visit to Grahamstown of the Colonial Secretary, Leopold S. Amery,⁹ who was an avid imperialist and protectionist, was viewed as an event of great economic importance to Grahamstown and its environs.¹⁰ Unfortunately, the economies of Britain and the Dominions were not as compatible as the proponents of Empire Trade believed.¹¹ British consumers were opposed to buying expensive Dominion products when cheap foreign food was available, and from the Dominions' point of view many British products were uncompetitive on the international market. In the final analysis, economic realities carried more weight than the propaganda in favour of Empire Trade,¹² and Grahamstown was "well stocked with the foreign made article, particularly of United States manufacture."¹³

⁹ Leopold S. Amery (1873-1955) was Colonial Secretary from 1924 to 1929, and was a life long imperialist and protectionist.

¹⁰ GDM 12.9.1927.

¹¹ R.F. Holland Britain and the Commonwealth Alliance 1918 - 1939. p.18 - 19.

¹² The pro-British Grahamstown Observer claimed that Dominion indifference was the cause of the British Government's decision to close the Empire Marketing Board: "The British Government is tired of spending British taxpayers' money in pushing the goods of Dominions who are too lazy, ignorant, or apathetic to interest themselves in playing the game." GO 21.8.1933. German goods to the value of £729 were used during the construction of the Howieson's Poort Scheme as they were the cheapest. GDM 5.2.1931.

¹³ GDM 22.11.1927.

(b) Industry in Grahamstown

As discussed in Chapter 1, very little industry existed in Grahamstown. Wagon making had been a prosperous concern in the past, but its days were numbered following the advent of motor transport.¹⁴ In 1940 the Grocott's Daily Mail enthusiastically reported that a scene reminiscent of the past could be seen at the wagon building works of Messrs J. Nunn & Sons, as this company had landed a Government contract to construct 15 spring trolleys,¹⁵ but the industry was an anachronism in an age of increased usage of motor lorries.

Ratepayers on several occasions resisted the introduction of industries into Grahamstown.¹⁶ The future development of the successful Burmese Colour Needle Factory was threatened in 1928 when 17 people protested against proposed extensions to the factory's premises in Park Road on account of the "insanitary behaviour" of its Black employees,¹⁷ but the Council approved of the proposed expansion of the factory.¹⁸

¹⁴ Co Mins 23.1.1918. Request from a wagon maker for a reduction in a rental charge on account of the depressed state of the wagon making industry.

¹⁵ GDM 4.11.1940.

¹⁶ Protests often centred around the presence of Black employees in the area of the proposed industries. For instance the protestors who successfully resisted the establishment of a Jam factory in Fitzroy Street complained about "the Native traffic to and fro" if such a factory came into existence. GTJ 11.9.1919. Co Mins 8.10.1919.

¹⁷ GDM 8.11.1928.

¹⁸ Co Mins 5.12.1928.

Grahamstonians continually hoped that the city would be able to derive considerable benefit from her clay deposits. In 1922 hopes were raised when the Council entered into negotiations with an English entrepreneur, R.G.S. Chandler, who proposed to form a company in England which would exploit Grahamstown's clay.¹⁹ The negotiations came to naught because the Council was unable to provide housing for tradesmen from England, and was also not able to guarantee an adequate supply of water.²⁰

In 1940 Jurgen Hamburger, the Carnegie Instructor in Pottery at Rhodes University College, purchased ground from the Council and constructed a workshop and installed a kiln.²¹ In 1942 he leased additional land, despite doubts raised by members of the Council about the advisability of leasing land to someone who was not a naturalised subject.²²

During 1942 and 1943 some investors from Johannesburg expressed interest in Grahamstown's clay, but their attempts to buy out Hamburger's interests were unsuccessful.²³ In June 1945 Hamburger wished to open a Pottery and Gift Shop, but the Council declined to grant him a licence, as it felt that it would be unfair to further the economic interests of an alien at a time when local men, who had fought in the war, would soon be looking

¹⁹ Co Mins 12.4.1922.

²⁰ Co Mins 26.9.1923, GDM 23.11.1923.

²¹ Co Mins 24.1.1940.

²² Co Mins 25.2.1942.

²³ Co Mins 9.9.1942, 22.9.1943.

for business opportunities upon their return from active service.²⁴ At the end of 1945 the Council agreed to sell an additional 59 acres of land to Hamburger so that he could manufacture pottery on a large scale.²⁵

(c) Commercial activities

Grahamstonians prided themselves on the excellence of their local commercial undertakings, which were able to supply a large variety of luxury goods, clothing and other merchandise.²⁶ In addition to numerous specialist shops, there were a large number of General Dealers and Departmental stores.²⁷ In 1915 William Miller Macmillan in his pioneering study, Economic conditions in a non-industrial South African town, had criticised the local belief that the ownership of a shop was the first step on "the highroad to respectability and wealth," and had shown that the absence of large-scale industrial development in Grahamstown was the root cause of the city's failure to become economically prosperous.²⁸

The proprietors of the local shops were heavily dependent on the

²⁴ Co Mins 27.6.1945.

²⁵ Co Mins 19.12.1945.

²⁶ Oral interviews with Mrs I. Barrett and Mr. M. McKillen.

²⁷ Some of the more important stores were Fitchat's Departmental Stores, T. Birch & Co., Bayes & Co., and Milroy's. M. McKillen specialised in supplying imported crockery, but also stocked a wide range of other goods such as furniture, window blinds and confectionery.

²⁸ W.M. Macmillan Economic conditions in a non-industrial South African town. p.8.

patronage that resulted from the continued existence of institutions such as the Supreme Court and the Police Headquarters in Grahamstown, and this accounted for the vigorous manner in which the local Chamber of Commerce and the City Council fought against moves to remove these institutions from Grahamstown.²⁹

Local White traders often signed petitions against the granting of trading licences to Indians, as they feared the competition of these traders.³⁰ Indian traders sometimes instigated the signing of these petitions, when they feared competition from other Indians.³¹ In spite of the difficulties Indians experienced in obtaining trading licences, there were by 1931 Twenty-six Asiatics who were licensed as General Dealers and Fresh Produce Dealers, and eight who were licensed as Hawkers.³²

²⁹ Alarm was expressed in 1919 and 1926 that the Police Head Quarters would be removed from Grahamstown. Co Mins 29.1.1919, 11.5.1926. Port Elizabeth residents were anxious to have the Supreme Court located in their city, and special concern was expressed in Grahamstown in this regard in November 1927 and August 1945. Co Mins 2.11.1927, 7.11.1927, 22.8.1945, GDM 24.8.1945.

³⁰ For instance in 1926, 96 persons signed a petition against the granting of a General Dealer's licence to Ismail Mahomed in respect of a premises situated at 35 Beaufort Street. The Council refused to grant the licence, and did not reverse this decision when 191 persons signed another petition in support of Mahomed's application. Co Mins 17.3.1926, 5.5.1926.

³¹ An Indian by the name of Partel [sic], sent a letter to the Council protesting against "M. Ismail's application for a General Dealer's licence." Co Mins 5.5.1926. (See previous footnote for more details about the Ismail Mahomed case.) See also N. Dullabh Factors affecting the Location of the Indian Community in Grahamstown. p.38 for an account of oral evidence gathered in respect of Indians instigating petitions against fellow Indians.

³² Co Mins 1931, p.152.

(d) Financial Institutions in Grahamstown

The Grahamstown Building Society, the Eastern Province Building Society and the Eastern Province Guardian Loan and Investment Company managed to operate successfully during the period reviewed, despite the unfavourable economic climate. The Eastern Province Building Society and the local branch of the Standard Bank acquired impressive new buildings in the Church Square,³³ and the Grahamstown Building Society opened new branches in other centres in South Africa.³⁴

(e) The Municipal Market

The Market was an extremely important institution in the local economy, and the order in which sales were conducted was a matter of vital consequence to farmers.³⁵ The Ostrich Feather Market was re-opened on 4.9.1919 in the vain hope that the Feather Industry would become prosperous again.³⁶ Local agricultural conditions and the state of the national economy determined the economic success of the Market, which was inevitably adversely affected during the Great Depression.³⁷ The amount of wood sold on the Market decreased over the years as more and more

³³ GDM 14.11.1927, 31.5.1932.

³⁴ GDM 20.11.1936.

³⁵ For instance Co Mins 24.4.1918, 8.5.1918, 6.8.1930.

³⁶ Co Mins 24.9.1919.

³⁷ Co Mins 1931, p.78. In his report the Market Master attributes the decrease in revenue obtained from the Market to the Trade Depression. See Ch 3 for Tables showing the amount of revenue that the Council derived from the Market.

members of the public purchased electric stoves.³⁸ A wide variety of agricultural products, with the exception of milk, could be purchased at the Market.³⁹

In 1939 a successful Market was opened in the Location, and residents were able to purchase produce there at lower prices than those charged by shopkeepers in the Location.⁴⁰ Economic conditions during the Second World War, when inflation became a problem, led to the abandonment of the policy of free delivery of produce purchased at the Market.⁴¹ At the end of 1944 the Council decided to fall in line with many other Municipalities, and established its own Market Agency, instead of awarding the agency on a yearly basis to the Market Agent who submitted the highest tender.⁴² The Municipality's Market Agency proved a success during 1945.⁴³

(f) Building of new houses

Very few residential houses were built in the White area during the years reviewed, and in 1922 the Council considered offering

³⁸ Co Mins 1935, p.335. Market Master's Report.

³⁹ According to a publicity brochure on Grahamstown entitled Grahamstown: the Educational centre of the Eastern Cape (no date) published circa 1939, butter was obtainable at the Market from 1 shilling to 1s 6d. per pound, eggs from 7d. to 1s 6d. per dozen, and cheese at about 1 shilling a pound. Fresh meat was sold on Wednesdays and Saturdays at from 3d. to 8d. per pound.

⁴⁰ Co Mins 23.8.1939, Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 21.9.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

⁴¹ Co Mins 24.6.1942.

⁴² Co Mins 22.11.1944.

⁴³ Co Mins 28.3.1945.

a five year moratorium on the payment of rates to encourage the building of houses.⁴⁴ The need to go to such lengths to encourage the construction of new houses was not felt by other Municipalities in the Cape, as Grahamstown received very scanty support for its rate moratorium idea when it presented the concept at the Cape Municipal Congress in 1923.⁴⁵ The high rates that the Council charged,⁴⁶ were seen by many as a great hinderance to the city's economic growth, and a reason for the exodus of many workmen from the city.⁴⁷

(g) Wages in Grahamstown

Wages in Grahamstown were low, and women's wages were even lower than men's.⁴⁸ A controversy arose in 1920 when the City Council excluded its Lady Typists from a general salary increase,⁴⁹ on the grounds that the women had no dependants, and lived at home.⁵⁰ Mrs A.M. Wadds Wright,⁵¹ the only woman on

⁴⁴ Co Mins 27.9.1922.

⁴⁵ Co Mins 28.3.1923.

⁴⁶ Discussed in depth in Ch 3.

⁴⁷ GDM 20.9.1928, Co Mins 22.2.1939.

⁴⁸ For instance an advertisement in April 1920 for the position of Temporary Assistant in the Classics Department at Rhodes University College stated that a man would receive £225 and a woman £175 remuneration per annum. GDM 21.4.1920.

⁴⁹ Co Mins 11.2.1920.

⁵⁰ GDM 11.2.1920.

⁵¹ Agnes Mary Wadds Wright was the wife of the editor of the Grocott's Daily Mail, and she held the distinction of being the first woman City Councillor in the Cape Province. She served on the Council from 1917 to 1938, on the Albany Hospital Board for 16 years, and on the Juvenile Affairs Board for 21 years. See APPENDIX A, Photographs 2 and 3.

the Council at the time, strongly criticised the Council's attitude in this respect.

In 1924 it was estimated that the majority of White tradesmen earned approximately £1 a day,⁵² and the situation had not improved by 1936, when, in terms of an agreement between the Grahamstown Master Builders' Association and Allied Trades Association, and the Builders' Workers Industrial Union, painters were guaranteed a minimum wage of 2s 3d. per hour, and all other tradesmen 2s 8d. per hour.⁵³

Black wages were very low, and as there were very few rich Whites in Grahamstown, many Whites could not easily afford to increase the wages of their Black employees.⁵⁴ When Black members of the Grahamstown Welfare Association asked their White fellow members to try to press for the level of Black wages to be increased, the White members were not able to achieve any success, as the matter was "a most difficult one to take up."⁵⁵

The high cost of living following the First World War compelled Black workers to appeal to the local Chamber of Commerce in March 1920 for wage increases.⁵⁶ A deputation of Blacks pointed out

⁵² GDM 10.7.1924.

⁵³ GDM 9.9.1936.

⁵⁴ JC Records CL MS16556.

⁵⁵ Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes, 24.7.1923. CL MS16560.

⁵⁶ GPM 10.3.1920.

to the Chamber that the wages of Blacks who worked in the local stores had not been increased during or since the First World War, and many employees were only paid 12 shillings a week.⁵⁷ The Chamber responded by appealing in the local press to employers "to do justice to the native and coloured man in order that he might live in reasonable comfort."⁵⁸

The influx of many poor Blacks into Grahamstown from the surrounding areas meant that there was an oversupply of Black labour in the city,⁵⁹ and employers were not compelled by market forces to increase Black wages. By the end of the 1930s Black domestic servants were only paid 25 to 30 shillings a month, plus food.⁶⁰

The considerable price increases which occurred during the Second World War, again focused White attention on the poor wages paid to Blacks in Grahamstown. In August 1940 W.H. Windsor of the Government's Wage Board informed the Chamber of Commerce that the wages of Black labourers were too low in many instances, and he warned that "when a native receives only 10 shillings a week it can be readily understood how eagerly he will welcome any Nazi suggestion that under a new order of things he will get wages

⁵⁷ GTJ 13.3.1920.

⁵⁸ GPM 15.3.1920.

⁵⁹ See Ch 4 for an account of the Council's response to this influx.

⁶⁰ Publicity brochure entitled Grahamstown: the Educational centre of the Eastern Cape.(no date). p.48.

amounting to 10 shillings a day."⁶¹

White South Africans were encouraged during the Second World War to cut down on the number of servants they kept as part of the war effort,⁶² but Revd. C.W. Alderson, Warden of St. Paul's College, saw the payment of increased wages to local poverty-stricken Blacks as being equally as important as eradicating the evil of Nazism.⁶³

At the end of 1940 the Joint Council supplied the Wage Board in Pretoria with the following information about the cost of living for Blacks in Grahamstown:-

It calculated that the cost of the minimum amount of food required by a Black family consisting of five persons was £5 10s 0d. per month, and that, therefore, a minimum wage of £7 9s 8d. per month was required to support such a family if the following monthly expenses were taken into account:-

Fuel, Light, Soap & Sundries 7/6d.; Poll tax, monthly 1/8d.;
Rent per month 16/-; Clothing 8/6d.; Education & Religion 6/-.⁶⁴

The low level of Black wages continued to be a controversial issue throughout the Second World War, as many Whites felt that

⁶¹ GDM 23.8.1940. He was pleased to find that the Municipality paid their labourers not less than 18 shillings a week.

⁶² See C. Saunders (ed) Reader's Digest illustrated history of South Africa: the real story. 2nd ed. p.351.

⁶³ JC Records CL MS16556.

⁶⁴ JC Records, letter to Wage Board, 28.11.1940. CL MS16556.

Blacks should accept any employment offered to them, irrespective of the amount of remuneration that they would receive in return for their labour.⁶⁵

(h) Poverty in Grahamstown

W.M. Macmillan's 1915 study Economic conditions in a non-industrial South Africa town had revealed the poverty of poor Whites in the city, and the plight of these people did not improve during the period under review. The Ladies Benevolent Society cared for many poor White families, and were dismayed to find that in some cases husbands deserted their wives in Grahamstown because they knew that the Society would look after them.⁶⁶ Investigative work done by the Joint Council and the Rhodes University Social Studies Club during the 1930s revealed that considerable poverty prevailed in the Location,⁶⁷ but the full extent of this poverty was only truly realised by the majority of the city's Whites following a large controversy which erupted in 1941 in respect of Black infant deaths from malnutrition.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ GDM 16.10.1941.

⁶⁶ J.M. Berning Outline History of the Ladies Benevolent Society Grahamstown 1867 - 1954. p.8. CL PR2855.

⁶⁷ JC Records CL MS16556. Information was obtained in 1935 from 66 houses in the Location. None of the householders interviewed owned property in the Reserves, and 40% of them were widows or grass widows. There were on average 6.4 people per house, and the average family had a monthly income of £2 4s 9d. (if the food supplied by the breadwinner's employer, and rent received from lodgers was not taken into account.) JC Minutes 20.8.1935. CL MS16584.

⁶⁸ This controversy is discussed in depth in Ch 4.

During the Great Depression the City Council and the city's charitable organisations adopted the principle that a system of doles would not be entertained,⁶⁹ and the Council gave relief work to some 20 unemployed Whites, and 10 unemployed Coloureds.⁷⁰ This relief work only catered for a small proportion of the city's unemployed, as in 1932, 70 White men were registered as unemployed and it was estimated that a "large number" of Coloureds and approximately 400 Blacks were unemployed.⁷¹

Many poor people, both White and Black, drifted into Grahamstown during the Depression, especially in 1933, when the region was in the grip of a severe drought.⁷² Forty-five White families were in such dire financial straits during that year, that they were unable to pay for sanitary removals.⁷³ Poor people were allowed to take firewood home from the plantations free of charge.⁷⁴

The Depression years saw both Whites and Blacks begging for money

⁶⁹ CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/1.

⁷⁰ See Ch 3 for further details.

⁷¹ CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/1. The Juvenile Affairs Board also had 52 boys and girls who were looking for work on its books.

⁷² Co Mins 1932, p.319, Health Committee Minutes 15.3.1933. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/2.

⁷³ Health Committee Minutes 15.9.1933. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/2.

⁷⁴ Health Committee Minutes 1.6.1933. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/2. Poor Blacks in Windhoek were also allowed free access to firewood during the Depression. -- See Kotzé p.115.

in Grahamstown.⁷⁵ Begging was still a problem in 1937,⁷⁶ and the City Council passed a resolution prohibiting people from soliciting alms by exposing wounds and using begging letters.⁷⁷ The end of the Depression did not bring prosperity to all, and in 1937 the Child Welfare Society expressed alarm at the arrival of discharged "Cactus workers" in the city, as the Society was already committed to providing daily dinners to some 80 children from poor families.⁷⁸

State intervention did help to alleviate poverty to a certain extent, as Old Age Pensions were introduced at the beginning of 1929,⁷⁹ and the Child Welfare Society came under the control of the Union Government, as opposed to the Cape Provincial Council, in 1940.⁸⁰

(i) Job reservation

Many White workmen feared competition from Blacks and Coloureds in the labour market, and a controversy arose in 1931 when the Grahamstown Master Builders Association and the Building Workers Industrial Union complained to the City Council about certain painting work which had been executed in the City Hall by

⁷⁵ GDM 14.9.1933. "To-day the native is joining the band of European beggars."

⁷⁶ GDM 25.8.1937.

⁷⁷ Co Mins 1937, p.211.

⁷⁸ GDM 13.10.1937.

⁷⁹ Act No. 22 of 1928 which was amended by Act No. 34 of 1931 made provision for pensions for Whites and Coloureds.

⁸⁰ GDM 11.3.1941.

Coloured labour.⁸¹ The editor of the Grocott's Daily Mail was, however, critical of the Government's Civilised Labour policy, as he argued that this policy was uneconomical and cost the country a lot of money.⁸²

(j) Transport and Communications

In 1930 the local aerodrome was licensed for medium and light aircraft,⁸³ and aeroplanes regularly called in at Grahamstown during the late 1930s.⁸⁴ However, the most important development for Grahamstonians in the field of transportation during the period reviewed was the increased usage of motor cars.⁸⁵

Grahamstonians were anxious to acquire a new Post Office Building as their existing one was inadequate for the city's needs. Unfortunately, the Council was legally unable to build a Post Office, so pressure had to be placed on the Government.⁸⁶ Building operations in respect of the long awaited new Post

⁸¹ Co Mins 1931, p.127.

⁸² GDM 5.1.1931.

⁸³ Co Mins 3.9.1930.

⁸⁴ Publicity brochure entitled Grahamstown: the Educational centre of the Eastern Cape. p.48.

⁸⁵ Co Mins 1937, p.142. The Schools and Colleges Association urged the City Council to rigidly enforce the "Highways Code" and speed limit, on account of the "increasing speed and amount of motor traffic in Grahamstown." On 3.2.1938 the Grocott's Daily Mail commented that the motorist could travel between Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown "comfortably within 3 hours."

⁸⁶ GDM 16.10.1936.

Office building only began in 1945.⁸⁷

(k) The Community's response to Economic difficulties

Grahamstonians were extremely concerned that people from outside Grahamstown should not take jobs away from locals.⁸⁸ In 1923 there was a controversy when allegations were made that the Council had employed an outsider, but it was subsequently discovered that the person in question was an old Grahamstown man.⁸⁹ In 1932 local taxi owners were opposed to the granting of licences to owners of cabs who resided outside the municipal limits, but the Council was legally obliged to grant such licences.⁹⁰ Municipal relief work was only given to those men who could prove that they had resided in Grahamstown for two years.⁹¹

White Grahamstonians' repudiation of responsibility for providing employment for outsiders was also extended to those Blacks who left farms in the surrounding areas on account of the low wages they were paid. The majority of Whites in Grahamstown were extremely critical of "loafers" in the Location, and they advocated that unemployed Black men should leave Grahamstown to

⁸⁷ GDM 12.9.1945.

⁸⁸ For instance local Blacks were unhappy when 2 Blacks from Kroonstad were hired by the Municipality in 1938. See Ch 4 for further details.

⁸⁹ Co Mins 10.10.1923.

⁹⁰ GDM 28.4.1932.

⁹¹ Health Committee Minutes 27.6.1932. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/1.

seek employment on the country's mines.⁹²

The plight of the farming community during the Depression meant that there was tremendous support within the district for the abandonment of the Gold Standard. About 600 people attended a non-party meeting in the city on 5.1.1932, and passed a resolution to the effect that "the abandonment of the Gold Standard would mitigate the present hardships being endured by the primary producers."⁹³

The Joint Council was in favour of Black builders constructing houses in the Location as this would lower the cost of building suitable accommodation for the city's Blacks, but the City Council maintained that it was unable to contract with Black builders in its housing schemes as no Black contractor had sufficient capital or ability to make out a satisfactory tender.⁹⁴ In keeping with the national trend, a Black Trade Union was established in Grahamstown during the Second World War, under the auspices of the African Workers' Union.⁹⁵

The attempts of the local residents to turn Grahamstown into a prosperous industrial city had come to naught by 1945, and they had to make the most of the situation by continuing to use the

⁹² Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 30.6.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

⁹³ GDM 6.1.1932.

⁹⁴ JC Minutes 4.4.1941. CL MS16584.

⁹⁵ JC Minutes. Secretary's Report for 1942 - 1943. CL MS16584.

city's paucity of industrial development as an advertisement for its suitability as an ideal educational centre. At least in 1945, Grahamstonians could pride themselves on the fact that Rhodes University College showed every sign of having an extremely promising future.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ GDM 10.7.1945.

CHAPTER THREE**MUNICIPAL FINANCE AND THE FUNDING OF PUBLIC WORKS¹**Overview 1918 - 1945

The Grahamstown City Council's indebtedness at the end of 1918 was to the tune of £96453.² No Sinking Fund had been established before the passing of Ordinance 18 of 1917,³ and this meant that the city's past expenditure of borrowed money, especially the expenditure on the Slaai Kraal Waterworks,⁴ was a financial burden during most of the period under review.

The City Council was heavily dependent on its revenue derived from rates for the financing of its operating expenses. This source of income was limited by the failure of the city to attract large scale industrial and residential development. Other sources of income such as the Municipal Market and the Abattoir were insufficient to avert the necessity of resorting

¹ See end of Chapter for Tables illustrating salient features of Municipal Finance.

² Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa Vol.3. p.846.

³ See Ch 1 for a summary of the city's acceptance of this Ordinance. The City Council instituted its Sinking Fund in 1918. Co Mins 31.1.1923.

⁴ GDM 26.7.1933.

to the borrowing of loan capital for major projects.⁵

The Council thus needed to husband its resources with extreme care. It invariably found itself trying to reduce its expenditure on staff salaries and grants to charitable organisations. Health care and Location development in particular suffered as a result of this parsimony. (These two topics are dealt with in detail in Chapter 4).

However, faced with the choice of paying for modern facilities or falling behind developments in other urban areas, the city opted for progress in spite of the expense involved. The educational institutions, which formed a "Schools and Colleges Association",⁶ were an important force motivating for civic advancement. The opponents of municipal progress were afraid of the increased economic burden that the borrowing of finance would entail.

In a recent thesis entitled The Politics of Water Supply: a history of Cape Town's water supply 1840 - 1920,⁷ D. Grant has shown that class influenced the division between the advocates and opponents of municipal expenditure. Class did have a bearing on the situation in Grahamstown, as the leaders of the

⁵ See Tables itemising the various sources of Municipal income.

⁶ GDM 29.4.1921, Co Mins 1.6.1921.

⁷ D. Grant "The Politics of Water Supply: a History of Cape Town's Water Supply 1840 - 1920" M.A. Diss. U. of Cape Town. 1991.

opposition to municipal spending, namely William Robb Robertson⁸ and John James Vroom⁹, were not numbered amongst the wealthier members of the community.¹⁰ The provisions of the Lomax Ordinance (Ordinance 22 of 1925)¹¹ meant that only property owners were entitled to vote at meetings where decisions were taken about incurring municipal debts, so many people who did not enjoy a high income and rented their accommodation, were precluded from taking part in the decision making process pertaining to the city's finances.¹²

During the period reviewed the City Council had to face many challenges such as a disastrous drought and the Great Depression.

⁸ Robertson was dismissed as the Superintendent of the local Fire Brigade in 1920. He subsequently was elected onto the Council in 1922. He was a General Dealer, a motor car painter and trimmer, and at one stage he supplied dog licence discs to the Council. The Voters Rolls for 1924 - 1925 and 1927 - 1928 list him as owning property valued at £500 and £695 respectively. The 1927 Roll shows him as the occupant of a property valued at £1010. He was a prime mover behind the formation in April 1932 of the Grahamstown Civic Association, which opposed the City Council's policy of increased spending. (GDM 9.4.1932). He was one of the Grocott's Daily Mail's most regular correspondents.

⁹ Vroom was a gardener. He is listed in the 1924 - 1925 Voters' Roll as owning property to the value of £1035. The 1927-1928 and 1937 Voters' Rolls show him as owning property to the value of £695. He entered the Council in 1930 and was radically opposed to the Howieson's Poort Scheme. He was also a frequent correspondent of the Grocott's Daily Mail.

¹⁰ See Tables giving details pertaining to property valuations in Grahamstown.

¹¹ This Ordinance was very important as it regulated municipal government, setting out inter alia the conditions which Councillors had to fulfil in order to be eligible for holding office.

¹² The Grocott's Daily Mail reported on 13.6.1925 that there was much local dissatisfaction with the fact that the Ordinance placed "the balance of power in the hands of property owners."

The analysis of how the Council responded to the challenges it faced can be divided into four time periods, namely (a)1918 - 1926; (b)1927 - 1929; (c)1930 - 1939; and (d)1940 - 1945:-

(a) 1918 - 1926

(a.1.) Overview 1918 - 1926

These years saw the Council having to face the economic challenges that the end of the First World War brought in its wake. Despite economic adversity the Council introduced its first Electricity Scheme and the ratepayers agreed to the raising of a loan to finance a major Water Scheme at Howieson's Poort.¹³

(a.2) Administration of Municipal Finances 1918 - 1926

During this period the Town Rate did not cover water or sanitary fees. Water meters had been installed in most of the large institutions and they were charged according to their consumption,¹⁴ but most properties were charged for water on a property valuation basis.¹⁵ Sanitary removal fees were regulated by contracts between the Municipality and the firm of Messrs Ansley and Co. who performed this service.¹⁶

From 1918 - 1920 the Council was able to keep the Town Rate at

¹³ GDM 10.6.1926.

¹⁴ Co Mins 25.10.1922.

¹⁵ Co Mins 1937 CA/1/2/10/1/7 p.45.

¹⁶ Co Mins 23.3.1921.

3d.¹⁷, but its increased expenditure meant that from 1921 to 1926 an additional 1d. rate was levied.¹⁸ A major drain on the Council's income was the interest it had to pay on its accumulated debt, as by 1924 at least 1d. in the rate was dedicated to this purpose.¹⁹

The drastic price increases caused by the First World War impacted on the Council's finances. In respect of revenue, it decided to increase the charges it levied for providing crushed stone,²⁰ but, because of the rise in the cost of living, it was compelled to increase its expenditure on staff salaries. In 1918 the Council followed the example of other municipalities and granted its employees War Bonuses, which increased its monthly wage bill by approximately £490 per month.²¹ At the beginning of 1920 further wage increases were granted to help the employees cope with their increased living expenses.²²

The Council's financial position deteriorated during the ensuing years and it was forced to keep a close watch over its expenditure on wages. In October 1920 a request from its Black

¹⁷ GTJ 22.11.1919. Taking the water rate into consideration the paper estimated that the city's aggregate municipal rate for 1920 was 4½d.

¹⁸ See Table outlining the Town Rate.

¹⁹ GDM 13.10.1924. The paper reported that the Council aimed to reduce its indebtedness by approximately £4000 a year.

²⁰ Co Mins 27.3.1918.

²¹ Co Mins 17.1.1918.

²² Co Mins 11.2.1920.

is the anger it expressed at having to pay more for its official advertisements because the Language Ordinance of 1923 decreed that such advertisements should be placed in both English and Dutch.³²

The Council faced several extraordinary amounts of expenditure between 1918 - 1926. Combined municipal pressure on the Government resulted in the municipalities being recompensed four-fifths of the money that they had expended on combatting the 1918 Flu Epidemic.³³ Grahamstown's Flu expenditure had amounted to £6500,³⁴ of which she had to pay £1400,³⁵ and a "Flu rate" of three-eighths of a penny had to be levied in 1920 to cover the balance not paid by the Government.³⁶ Other large amounts of expenditure incurred during these years included the expenditure of £2730 13s 4d.³⁷ on the 1820 Settlers Centenary Celebrations, and the payment of £5500 to the Public Library for evacuating the premises it occupied in the City Hall.³⁸ The Council was able to finance the buying out of the Library's rights in the City Hall by selling land that it owned.³⁹

³² Co Mins 28.3.1923.

³³ Co Mins 29.1.1919.

³⁴ Co Mins 18.12.1918.

³⁵ Co Mins 27.1.1919.

³⁶ Co Mins 28.1.1920.

³⁷ Co Mins 12.4.1922.

³⁸ Co Mins 20.4.1921.

³⁹ Co Mins 30.11.1921.

In 1922 a scandal involving the misappropriation of Council funds was revealed. The scandal was dubbed the "Champagne Scandal" as the former Mayor, Sir Cuthbert Whiteside,⁴⁰ was accused of having used Table money to buy champagne for his private consumption from a fellow Councillor, F.W. Nelson.⁴¹ Cr. Nelson was also accused of misusing his position as Chairman of the Forestry Committee to secure a contract to the value of £93 for a man who was in his own employ. The amounts of money involved were not considerable, and the Administrator of the Cape and the Solicitor General declined to take action against Nelson.⁴²

The years under review were characterised by inefficient bookkeeping practices in the Town Office. In 1925 the Council decided to remedy this situation by firing the Town Clerk, F.G. Clarkson,⁴³ and appointing J.T. Yeomans⁴⁴ in his stead. Yeomans had gained an excellent reputation as Town Clerk of Oudtshoorn and after his appointment at the end of 1925 he set about introducing more efficient accounting procedures.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ See Biographical Sketch of Whiteside.

⁴¹ Co Mins 6.12.1922.

⁴² Co Mins 28.2.1923, 1.8.1923.

⁴³ Co Mins 10.8.1925. Clarkson had been appointed a member of the Order of the British Empire in recognition of his services as Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of the local branch of the Governor-General's War Relief Fund during the First World War. -- Co Mins 27.3.1918. See APPENDIX A, Photograph 2 for photograph of Clarkson.

⁴⁴ See Biographical Sketch of Yeomans.

⁴⁵ Co Mins 3.3.1926.

Unfortunately, a personality clash emerged between Yeomans and Councillor J.C. Rae,⁴⁶ who published criticisms of the Town Clerk in the local newspaper.⁴⁷

(a.3) Public Works Expenditure 1919 - 1926

(a.3.i) General

During 1918 - 1926 the Council paid considerable attention to the financing of public works. On 4.4.1919 a loan for £5000 for the new abattoir was passed at a public meeting by 41 votes to 38.⁴⁸

(a.3.ii) Water Supply

The prolonged search⁴⁹ for the most suitable site for a new water scheme meant that various investigation costs had to be met. In particular, a loan of £2000 had to be raised to cover the cost of the investigation of the proposed scheme at Botha's River, which had been undertaken by the Consulting Engineer, R.W. Menmuir.⁵⁰ Concern about expense led many citizens, and especially J.J. Vroom, to favour the raising of the embankment of the Jameson Reservoir,⁵¹ despite the fact that the

⁴⁶ See Biographical Sketch of Rae.

⁴⁷ GDM 22.9.1926.

⁴⁸ Co Mins 9.4.1919.

⁴⁹ Sites on the Botha's River, the New Years River and the Kariega River were investigated. The Baltrasna Scheme in the Broekhuizen's Poort Valley enjoyed Council support in 1920. Other possible plans such as the extension of the existing Water works at Slaai Kraal and the building of a dam wall beneath the Blaaukrantz Bridge enjoyed support amongst the public.

⁵⁰ Co Mins 17.7.1918. For further details in respect of R.W. Menmuir see Southey p.125.

⁵¹ Co Mins 5.7.1922.

Administrator ruled against the extension of the Slaai Kraal reservoirs.⁵² Thorough investigation was essential as a meeting of enrolled voters held on 3.11.1922 demanded that a Government or other expert would have to give his approval before any scheme was approved by the citizenry.⁵³

In 1926 the Council decided to act on the advice of G.A. Stewart, a Consulting Engineer from Johannesburg, who had pronounced that a scheme at Howieson's Poort would be the most viable investment for the city.⁵⁴ J.J. Vroom was against the scheme, and a demand was made for a poll to be held pertaining to the raising of the £110000 which it was estimated that the Scheme would cost.⁵⁵ The poll held on 9 June 1926 came out in favour of the loan expenditure by a margin of 432 to 192 votes.⁵⁶

(a.3.iii) Electricity

The City Councillors were extremely enthusiastic about the introduction of Electricity into Grahamstown, and as early as 1918 some Councillors wanted the Town Hall to have its own plant.⁵⁷ However, the Municipality's 30 year agreement with the South African Lighting Association prevented the Council from undertaking any such electrification until the middle of 1924.

⁵² GDM 7.5.1920.

⁵³ Co Mins 8.11.1922.

⁵⁴ GDM 5.4.1926.

⁵⁵ Co Mins 19.5.1926.

⁵⁶ GDM 10.6.1926. 71.2% of property owners voted.

⁵⁷ Co Mins 5.6.1918.

Preparations for electrification began in earnest in 1920 when Professor W. Buchanan (of the University of the Witwatersrand) was appointed to draw up plans and specifications for a scheme.⁵⁸ In September 1921 there was an enormous show of hands in favour of the raising of a loan of £40360 for the building of a power station.⁵⁹ In 1922 Buchanan was given a grant of £100 towards his expenses while inspecting plants in England.⁶⁰

The scheme was inaugurated in July 1924, but ran at a loss until the cost per unit was increased from 9d. to 10d. in June 1925.⁶¹ Thereafter the scheme became profitable, and proceeds from the sale of electricity were used to supplement the Council's income from rates. Unfortunately, part of the power station encroached on land that the Council had previously granted to the interdenominational Higher Mission School for Black children,⁶² so the Council became embroiled in a legal battle with the school.⁶³ The Council eventually granted the school's trustees another site for the erection of a new building.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Co Mins 1.12.1920, GDM 2.12.1920.

⁵⁹ Co Mins 21.9.1921.

⁶⁰ Co Mins 12.4.1922.

⁶¹ Co Mins 3.2.1926.

⁶² Co Mins 3.12.1919.

⁶³ GDM 3.4.1924, Co Mins 17.3.1926.

⁶⁴ Co Mins 4.5.1927, GDM 24.5.1927.

(a.3.iv) Sewerage

A number of ratepayers protested in 1922 when the Council entered into a new agreement with the contractors, which increased the removal fees from 6d. to 9d. per pail.⁶⁵ Cr. W. Kershaw⁶⁶ was in favour of levying a special Sanitary rate based on property values, and the payment of a fixed sum to the contractors, but his idea did not enjoy the support of the Council.⁶⁷ During these years it was realised that a water-borne system would have to await the completion of a water scheme.

(b) 1927 - 1929(b.1) Overview 1927 - 1929

The period 1927 - 1929 witnessed many crises in the Council as there was a dispute about how high the Town Rate should be, a drought necessitated considerable emergency spending, and a Mayor was unseated following an altercation about bookkeeping practices in the Town Office.

(b.2) Administration of Municipal Finances 1927 - 1929

The members of the City Council were divided on the issue of the amount of the Town Rate to be levied for 1927. A valuation of property had been completed in Grahamstown in 1926, and some Councillors felt that the rate should amount to no more than 3d. The Mayor, M.G. Godlonton, who enjoyed prestige locally due to

⁶⁵ Co Mins 15.2.1922.

⁶⁶ He was a local merchant who committed suicide in 1926. GDM 2.3.1926.

⁶⁷ Co Mins 18.1.1922, 15.2.1922.

the fact that he was a descendant of the famous Nineteenth Century publisher Robert Godlonton, headed a group of Councillors who favoured the levying of an additional farthing to be known as an "emergency rate" which would be used for reducing the Municipality's accumulated deficits. The additional rate was passed by the Council,⁶⁸ but 39 citizens signed a petition protesting against it, and demanded the holding of a poll on the issue.⁶⁹

The poll was duly held on 16.2.1927 and a majority of 298 voters opposed the farthing rate.⁷⁰ The Mayor, together with four of his supporters, resigned.⁷¹

J.C. Rae, who was riding on a wave of popular approval, having recently been elected as Albany's member of the Provincial Council, was elected as the new Mayor.⁷² His term of office coincided with an extremely serious water crisis which almost spelt disaster for the city during the drought of 1927. The seriousness of the situation prompted Cr. F.W. Nelson to take the initiative in making arrangements for the drilling of emergency boreholes. Rae was annoyed when Nelson drafted a contract with

⁶⁸ Co Mins 22.12.1926.

⁶⁹ Co Mins 12.1.1927.

⁷⁰ Co Mins 18.2.1927.

⁷¹ Co Mins 18.2.1927. (One of the Councillors who resigned was W.R. Robertson, his motivation for supporting the additional rate having been his desire to reduce the state of the Municipality's indebtedness.)

⁷² GDM 17.2.1927, Co Mins 2.3.1927.

a Drilling contractor, E.W. Naude, for the execution of the drilling operations. Rae refused to sign the contract as he claimed that its terms were financially disadvantageous to the City Council.⁷³ The ensuing legal dispute with Naude about payment for his services was just one of the ramifications of the crisis.⁷⁴

A loan of £10000 had to be taken out to cover the emergency water expenditure.⁷⁵ Vroom and Robertson wanted the Council to show original vouchers for the expenditure before the loan was approved, but the rest of the public did not support their demand and approval for the loan was granted.⁷⁶ The majority of the Councillors vetoed a proposal to levy a ½d. emergency water rate to help eradicate the deficiency.⁷⁷

An enormous amount of bookkeeping work was generated by the water crisis and the Town books were not ready for the Provincial Auditor when he arrived in Grahamstown in March 1928.⁷⁸ Due to his absence from Grahamstown on Provincial business in Cape Town, Rae only found out at the end of May that the Auditor had not been able to audit the books. Rae accused the Town Clerk, J.T. Yeomans, of suppressing mention of the affair in Committee

⁷³ Co Mins 19.5.1927.

⁷⁴ Co Mins 5.3.1928.

⁷⁵ Co Mins 11.11.1927.

⁷⁶ Co Mins 9.12.1927.

⁷⁷ Co Mins 29.12.1927.

⁷⁸ Co Mins 12.6.1928.

minutes, and he held him responsible for failing to pressurise the Accountant, W.A. Nicolson, to eliminate the bookkeeping backlog.⁷⁹

Under Rae's leadership, the Council passed a resolution compelling Yeomans, Nicolson and another official (A.H. Will the Market Master) to resign.⁸⁰ The Council found that it was not an easy matter to take such arbitrary action against these employees who had the backing of the public for their stand that they were entitled to be given a fair hearing. The South African Association of Municipal Employees (S.A.A.M.E.) also demanded that the dismissed employees should be given a chance to defend themselves against the Council's allegations.⁸¹

A large public meeting was held and two-hundred and forty-nine citizens signed a petition requesting a Commission of Enquiry by one or more independent citizens into the reasons for the summary dismissal of the Town Clerk.⁸² Letters in support of a fair hearing for the officials were sent to the Grocott's Daily Mail, and allegations were made that Rae himself had taken the Accountant away from his bookkeeping duties to take photographs

⁷⁹ Co Mins 12.6.1928.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Co Mins CA 3/AY/1/1/1/23 Letter from the Department of Labour, dated 4.9.1928.

⁸² Co Mins 4.7.1928.

for a publicity brochure for the city.⁸³ S.A.A.M.E. made an application to the Secretary for Labour for the appointment of a Conciliation Board to investigate the matter.⁸⁴

Events took a dramatic turn on 19 July 1928 when a local ratepayer, T.E. Butt,⁸⁵ applied to the Supreme Court for an order declaring Rae disqualified to hold office as a Mayor and Councillor on the grounds of his failure to pay municipal rates within the time stipulated by the Lomax Ordinance.⁸⁶ Butt succeeded in unseating Rae.⁸⁷ Six other Grahamstown Councillors who had also contravened the Ordinance, handed in their resignations.⁸⁸

A Conciliation Board assembled in Grahamstown on 13 August 1928, and took evidence at a public sitting. Many of the witnesses testified that the City Council's employees had to work a considerable amount of overtime. The Board's unanimous decision

⁸³ GDM letters in numerous issues from 25.6.1928 onwards. It was mooted that those Councillors who had favoured the introduction of a higher town rate for 1927, and had subsequently resigned (see above), were behind the agitation in favour of the Town Clerk.GDM 17.7.1928.

⁸⁴ Co Mins CA 3/AY/1/1/1/23 Letter from the Department of Labour, dated 4.9.1928.

⁸⁵ Rae had defeated Butt by 158 to 102 votes in the September 1924 Municipal elections for Ward 2.-- Co Mins 3.9.1924.

⁸⁶ According to the Ordinance Councillors had to pay their rates within 3 months of the due date in order to be eligible to serve on the Council.

⁸⁷ Co Mins 19.7.1928.

⁸⁸ Co Mins 21.7.1928.

was that the dismissal of the Town Clerk and the Market Master was not justified. The Board felt that the Accountant should be given a further opportunity of proving himself.⁸⁹ The City Council decided to abide by the Board's decision.⁹⁰

Rae did not succeed in his attempt to be re-elected onto the Council, and there was much quibbling about the payment of certain debts that he had incurred during his mayoralty.⁹¹

At the end of 1928 the Council consolidated a number of its loans and the new loan was oversubscribed on the second day of issue, despite unfavourable comments in the Auditor's report about the Council's management of its finances.⁹²

Financial stringency was essential during 1929. Many requests for grants were turned down,⁹³ and the Council was forced to double its cemetery fees⁹⁴ and to decline requests for financial assistance to worthy causes such as drought relief.⁹⁵ Financial support to Rhodes University College was however

⁸⁹ Co Mins CA 3/AY/1/1/1/23 Letter from Department of Labour dated 4.9.1928.

⁹⁰ Co Mins 28.8.1928.

⁹¹ Co Mins 3.10.1928.

⁹² GDM 27.11.1928.

⁹³ Co Mins 28.1.1929.

⁹⁴ Co Mins 5.6.1929.

⁹⁵ Co Mins 7.8.1929.

maintained.⁹⁶

(b.3) Public Works Expenditure 1927 - 1929

(b.3.i) General

A new development during these years was the Municipality's first housing scheme in the Location, namely the "New Town" scheme. The scheme was financed by a loan from the Central Housing Board.⁹⁷ Initially the Council decided to build the houses departmentally,⁹⁸ but changed its mind and put the project out to tender.⁹⁹

(b.3.ii) Water Supply

Before it could proceed with the Howieson's Poort Scheme, the Municipality had to purchase the riparian rights of farmers whose property ran along the Palmiet River. Two of these farmers demanded more money than the Council was prepared to pay, and the Eastern Districts Court ruled in their favour.¹⁰⁰ Work on the scheme began in 1929.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Co Mins 28.1.1929.

⁹⁷ Co Mins 2.5.1928.

⁹⁸ Co Mins 2.5.1928.

⁹⁹ Co Mins 7.11.1928. See Ch 4 for further details on this scheme.

¹⁰⁰ Co Mins 7.3.1928.

¹⁰¹ Co Mins 7.8.1929. Medical Officer of Health's report for the year ending 30.6.1929.

(b.3.iii) Electricity

A new plant was installed at the power station in 1929,¹⁰² and the Council took advantage of the terms of Municipal Ordinance No.7 of that year, which enabled it to sell electrical appliances.¹⁰³

(b.3.iv) Sewerage

The Grahamstown Ratepayers' Association suggested that the Council should consider a water-borne sewerage scheme,¹⁰⁴ but nothing could be done until an adequate water supply had been secured.

(c) 1930 - 1939(c.1) Overview 1930 - 1939

These years saw the Council coping with the effects of the Great Depression and a considerable loss of income caused by the derating of school hostels. During these years the Council changed its method of charging for water and the levying of a water deficiency rate was introduced to offset the loss of income on the Howieson's Poort Scheme which was officially opened in 1931. Other major schemes completed during this period were the erection of a new Power Station and the installation of water-borne sewerage.

¹⁰² Co Mins 4.12.1929.

¹⁰³ Co Mins 4.12.1929. An exhibition of electrical appliances was held from 3 - 5 December 1929.

¹⁰⁴ Co Mins 3.7.1929.

(c.2) Administration of Municipal Finances 1930 - 1939

Financial stringency continued to be the order of the day during the Depression years of 1930 - 1933.¹⁰⁵ By 1932 the economic situation in Grahamstown was so bad that the Council had to provide relief work to a group of 20 unemployed White men.¹⁰⁶ These men were given the task of destroying noxious weeds on the Commonage, and were paid two shillings a day by the Council and an additional two shillings a day by the Government.¹⁰⁷ Representations by Cr. Revd. G.H. Dickerson, who was the minister in charge of the Union Coloured Church, persuaded the Council to also provide relief work to 10 Coloured labourers.¹⁰⁸ The Council decided to pay these men 2s 6d. a day to repair the Mountain Drive.¹⁰⁹

When the Council announced that it was compelled to institute salary deductions from 1 January 1933,¹¹⁰ the local branch of the South African Association of Municipal Employees (S.A.A.M.E.)

¹⁰⁵ For example the Council determined on 5.12.1930 that it would spend the least possible amount on entertaining delegates to the 1931 Municipal Congress to be held in Grahamstown.

¹⁰⁶ By June 1933 there were 24 Whites on relief work. Finance Committee Minutes 1.6.1933. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1//2.

¹⁰⁷ Finance Committee Minutes 4.7.1932. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/1.

¹⁰⁸ Finance Committee Minutes 20.1.1933. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/2.

¹⁰⁹ The granting of relief work to Coloureds in Grahamstown compares favourably with the situation in Windhoek where Coloured workers were dismissed so that unemployed Whites could be given relief work. See Kotzé p.199.

¹¹⁰ Finance Committee Minutes 16.2.1933. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/2. A deduction of 5% was made from the monthly salaries of all regular employees. 5% was also deducted from the wages of all weekly paid White employees, but no deductions were made from the wages of Black employees.

raised no objection. Salaries were only fully restored the following year.¹¹¹

In addition to having to cope with the effects of the severely depressed economy, the Council was faced by a rate boycott by Fingo Village residents,¹¹² and some of its rating powers were lost. The Council's income from rates was reduced in 1930 when in terms of Ordinance 30 of that year, Government school hostels were derated. The loss of income was not so serious as it only amounted to £170 per annum.¹¹³ Unfortunately, this loss of rating power was to be followed by more serious losses. The following year the Government, in terms of Act 32 of 1931, exempted most of its properties in Grahamstown from municipal rating.¹¹⁴ The impact of this second loss (which amounted to £776 p.a.) was lessened by the fact that the derating was spread over a reducing period of five years at 20% p.a.¹¹⁵

The Council's third loss of rating power occurred unexpectedly in 1936, and had extremely grave consequences for the Municipality's finances. J.I. Mann, the member of the Cape Provincial Executive Committee, who sponsored Ordinance 30 of 1930, referred to above, had intended that it should only make

¹¹¹ Co Mins 1934. p.182.

¹¹² This topic is dealt with in greater detail in Ch 4.

¹¹³ Co Mins 3.9.1930.

¹¹⁴ Co Mins 1936, p.165.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

provision for the derating of Government school hostels,¹¹⁶ but the legislation was badly drafted. The Christian Brothers' College in Kimberley successfully applied to the Appeal Court for a ruling declaring that all school hostels were exempted from rates in terms of the Ordinance. This judgement was pronounced on 27.3.1936.¹¹⁷ Amending legislation for the restoration of rating powers on private schools was rejected by the Cape Provincial Council.¹¹⁸

The City Council was faced with a loss of income of approximately £4000 per annum, and considered levying an emergency rate of 1½d. to meet this deficit.¹¹⁹ The Councillors, however, decided against taking this action by a margin of 12 votes to 2. Many members of the public resented the fact that the school hostels were not rated and felt that the roads passing schools should not receive priority treatment when the tarring process was begun. The schools had encouraged the Council to borrow large amounts of money for public works, and now they were perceived as not contributing their fair share towards the repayment of these loans.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ GDM 29.9.1936.

¹¹⁷ Co Mins 27.7.1938.

¹¹⁸ J.C. Rae had voted against the rating of private school hostels and this issue was vigorously debated during the run up to the Provincial Council election held in October 1936. GDM 7.10.1936 - 12.10.1936.

¹¹⁹ Co Mins 22.7.1936.

¹²⁰ Co Mins 25.4.1938.

The local Member of Parliament, T.B. Bowker, was unable to persuade the Government to give Grahamstown a grant-in-aid to offset the city's considerable loss of income.¹²¹ In 1938 the Council was able to recover some 1936 rates from certain educational institutions which had not made formal applications to be treated as non-rateable.¹²²

In 1939 a sub-Committee of the Finance Committee investigated the desirability of consolidating all rates and municipal charges so that one rate would cover all municipal services,¹²³ but this proposed change was never made. The Council decided to defer the introduction of a compulsory refuse removal service because of public dissatisfaction with the proposed levying of a property valuation based rate to pay for this service.¹²⁴ A Pension Scheme for municipal employees was eventually introduced in 1939.¹²⁵

(c.3) Public Works Expenditure 1930 - 1939

(c.3.i) General

During this period the Council increased its expenditure on Location facilities,¹²⁶ and obtained loans to help various

¹²¹ Co Mins 29.10.1937.

¹²² Co Mins 26.10.1938. Kingswood College, St. Aidan's and Rhodes University College paid their 1936 rates but refused to pay interest.

¹²³ Co Mins 26.7.1939.

¹²⁴ Co Mins 22.2.1939.

¹²⁵ Co Mins 23.8.1939.

¹²⁶ This topic is discussed in detail in Ch 4.

sporting institutions improve their facilities.¹²⁷ Loan finance was also used to build the city's Broadcasting station.¹²⁸ In 1937 a loan of £12000 was proposed for the tarring of the city's streets.¹²⁹ The idea of building a municipal swimming pool had to be rejected because it was calculated that such a project would be beyond the city's financial means.¹³⁰

(c.3.ii) Water Supply

The financing of the city's water supply occupied much of the Council's time during the 1930s. The Council's first major water related task during this period was the raising of a loan of £8000 to cover the preliminary expenses of the Howieson's Poort Scheme.¹³¹ Following the Auditors' discovery in 1930 that many people receiving municipal water were not on the water rate roll,¹³² the Council set about collecting arrear payments.¹³³

In order to be able to levy a water deficiency rate, the Council in October 1930 managed to secure the repeal of Section 16 of

¹²⁷ See Ch 6 for further details.

¹²⁸ Mayoral Minute 1933 - 1934. Co Mins 1934. p.334.

¹²⁹ Co Mins 17.12.1937.

¹³⁰ Co Mins 1935, p.101.

¹³¹ Co Mins 27.3.1930.

¹³² Co Mins 28.8.1930.

¹³³ Co Mins 29.8.1930.

Ordinance 18 of 1917.¹³⁴ Another preparatory measure that the Council had to institute before the opening of the Howieson's Poort Scheme was the installation of water meters.¹³⁵ These meters were extremely unpopular as many Grahamstonians firmly believed that they were highly inaccurate.¹³⁶

Water consumption during the early 1930s was extremely low in Grahamstown,¹³⁷ and the Council attempted to encourage more usage so that it could lessen its losses on the Howieson's Poort Scheme. The Grocott's Daily Mail supported the Council's efforts to stimulate the demand for municipal water, and the editor maintained that reservoir water was far superior to water from rainwater tanks.¹³⁸ The low level of consumption was partly the result of the large number of water tanks that the Municipality had previously encouraged the residents to maintain. The deficit on the Howieson's Poort Scheme amounted to £6907 for the years 1931 - 1932,¹³⁹ and large deficits of this magnitude continued for many years, necessitating the levying of a maximum

¹³⁴ Co Mins 21.10.1930. The City of Grahamstown Municipal Amendment Order No.25 of 1930 appeared in the Cape of Good Hope Official Gazette of 10.10.1930.

¹³⁵ Co Mins 5.11.1930.

¹³⁶ GDM 1.5.1931, 2.12.1933.

¹³⁷ It was reported that the city's consumption was almost $\frac{1}{2}$ that of other towns with similar populations. Co Mins 1933, p.124.

¹³⁸ GDM 29.7.1933.

¹³⁹ Finance Committee Minutes 16.2.1933. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/2.

water deficiency rate of 1d. until the end of 1941.¹⁴⁰

The Grahamstown public were dismayed when they learnt in 1933 that municipal neglect of the water filters meant that a new chlorination plant would have to be installed.¹⁴¹ In 1936 when the Council proposed to spend £35000 on a sedimentation tank and urgently needed repairs to the reticulation system, public opposition to this municipal waterworks expenditure was again led by J.J. Vroom. Vroom's demand for a poll on the matter was acceded to,¹⁴² but the poll came out in favour of the loan.¹⁴³

The implementation of the sewerage scheme brought about the desired increase in water revenue, but because of health reasons the Council was no longer able to cut off water supplies to enforce payment of overdue accounts.¹⁴⁴ In 1937 the Council entered into special higher water tariff agreements with the non-rateable educational institutions, as it was agreed that these organisations should contribute towards the reduction of the city's water debt.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ The deficiency rate for 1932 was ½d. Co Mins 1932, p.174; but the rate was thereafter maintained at 1d. until ½d. was levied for 1942. Co Mins 19.12.1941.

¹⁴¹ GO 31.7.1933.

¹⁴² Co Mins 21.12.1936.

¹⁴³ Co Mins 1937, p.52. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/7.

¹⁴⁴ Co Mins 1937, p.50. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/7.

¹⁴⁵ Co Mins 1937, p.134.

(c.3.iii) Electricity

As part of its campaign to popularise the use of electricity, the Electricity Department opened a Sales Department at the beginning of 1930.¹⁴⁶ There was a large public outcry in 1933 when plans were mooted to move the Council Chamber upstairs in the City Hall so that the Electricity Showroom could be situated on the groundfloor.¹⁴⁷ It was argued that such a move would be an insult to the City Hall's glorious history, and the Council was much criticised for competing with private traders.¹⁴⁸ The Electricity Department subsequently set up shop in an adjacent building.¹⁴⁹

In August 1931 a Consulting Engineer, A.E. Val Davies, reported that Grahamstown had outgrown her first electricity scheme, and advised that a new power station should be constructed on a more suitable site. He warned that the experiences of other centres in South Africa proved that the phenomenal growth of demand for electricity meant that patched up schemes were not the best option in the long term.¹⁵⁰

A poll of enrolled voters approved the expenditure of £35200 on electricity extensions by a margin of 322 votes to 91.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ CA 3/AY/5/2/3/1. Sales for that year amounted to £3000.

¹⁴⁷ GO 10.7.1933.

¹⁴⁸ GO 10.7.1933.

¹⁴⁹ Co Mins 28.6.1939.

¹⁵⁰ CA 3/AY/5/2/3/1.

¹⁵¹ Co Mins 1931, p.343.

However, the idea of spending money on a new power station during an economic depression was anathema to many, including W.R. Robertson. A group of citizens who shared Robertson's views, formed the Grahamstown Civic Association in April 1932, and campaigned against extensions to the electricity scheme.¹⁵² The opponents of the new electricity scheme argued that Grahamstown would never develop into an industrial centre, and that therefore, there was no need for the city's electricity generating capacity to be increased.¹⁵³

Tenders were invited, but before the Administrator granted his approval of the scheme, South Africa went off the Gold Standard in December 1932. The devaluation of South Africa's currency meant that fresh tenders had to be invited in 1933.¹⁵⁴ The new power station eventually took over the load from the old one in 1934, and the Council sold the old property to the South African Railways for £2100.¹⁵⁵

Demand for electricity continued to increase, and in 1938 the Council decided upon further extensions,¹⁵⁶ which were implemented during the Second World War.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² GDM 9.4.1932. Co Mins 1933, p.2.

¹⁵³ Co Mins 1933, p.10.

¹⁵⁴ Co Mins 1933, p.24.

¹⁵⁵ Co Mins 26.8.1936.

¹⁵⁶ Co Mins 26.10.1938. £17500 out of the estimated cost of £23300 was to be raised by means of a loan.

¹⁵⁷ Co Mins 27.8.1941.

(c.3.iv) Sewerage

The Council's desire to increase water consumption, made it favourably disposed towards the introduction of water-borne sewerage. G.A. Stewart was again employed by the Council, this time as the Consulting Engineer charged with planning the city's water-borne sewerage system. His proposed scheme, which would cost £150000 if the Location was included, was published in the Grocott's Daily Mail in June 1932.¹⁵⁸ The following year the Council adopted the principle of providing water-borne sewerage for Grahamstown.¹⁵⁹ The Council decided that the Location would have to be left out of the scheme, and in 1934 the Administrator of the Cape authorised the loan of £133500 for the financing of the scheme.¹⁶⁰

The Council introduced an Assisted Drainage Scheme and had to pay compensation for gardens which had to be uprooted during the laying of the pipes.¹⁶¹ Unfortunately, the cost of the scheme amounted to £30000 more than had been estimated.¹⁶² After the implementation of the scheme, public opinion was critical of institutions which were slow to connect their premises to the scheme.¹⁶³ The refusal of the Provincial Authorities to connect the Prince Alfred Infirmary to the sewerage system,

¹⁵⁸ GDM 25.6.1932.

¹⁵⁹ Co Mins 1933,p.115.

¹⁶⁰ Co Mins 1934, p.517.

¹⁶¹ Co Mins 26.2.1936.

¹⁶² Co Mins 22.4.1936,p.95.

¹⁶³ GDM 12.7.1937.

caused much public indignation and the Council suffered an annual loss of income to the tune of £150.¹⁶⁴ Twenty-two residents signed a petition against the odours emanating from the Infirmary's septic tank.¹⁶⁵

The Provincial Administration reacted to the Council's complaints by announcing that it would be cheaper for them to close the Infirmary and accommodate the patients in the Conradie Hospital in Cape Town.¹⁶⁶ The Council realised that Grahamstown could not afford to lose such an important institution, and offered the Infirmary free sewerage connection, a supply of 200000 gallons of water per month and payments towards the number of conveniences installed.¹⁶⁷ The Provincial authorities accepted the Council's offer, and did not close the Infirmary.¹⁶⁸

(d) 1940 - 1945

(d.1) Overview 1940 - 1945

During this period the Council had to cope with the economic effects of the Second World War.

(d.2) Administration of Municipal Finances 1940 - 1945

The absence on active service of many municipal staff meant an increased wage bill for the Council. In addition to having to

¹⁶⁴ Co Mins 1937, p.105.

¹⁶⁵ Co Mins 1937, p.175.

¹⁶⁶ Co Mins 23.6.1938.

¹⁶⁷ Co Mins 4.7.1938.

¹⁶⁸ Co Mins 28.9.1938.

find temporary replacements for these officials, the Council had to pay the difference between the normal wages of their employees and the military pay that they received. A legal dispute arose regarding the amount of money the Council was prepared to pay its staff who were away on military duty.¹⁶⁹ The South African Association of Municipal Employees contended that the Council should not take the family allowance paid by the military into consideration when calculating the difference payable. The Municipality's stand that the family allowance should be taken into consideration was rejected in a court judgement in 1942.¹⁷⁰

As the war progressed the Council found it increasingly difficult to find suitable staff to do its bookkeeping,¹⁷¹ and it was compelled to raise the salaries it offered in order to fill vacant posts.¹⁷² The increased cost of living during these years meant that the Council had to grant salary increases,¹⁷³ and between 1940 and 1944 the wages of its Black employees rose by 60%.¹⁷⁴ During this period the Council maintained its stand that Councillors should not receive any payment for their services.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Co Mins 26.2.1941, 27.8.1941.

¹⁷⁰ Co Mins 22.4.1942. Court case "Maher versus the Municipality".

¹⁷¹ Co Mins 27.11.1940, 26.11.1941.

¹⁷² Co Mins 26.8.1942.

¹⁷³ Co Mins 26.11.1941.

¹⁷⁴ Co Mins 20.12.1944.

¹⁷⁵ Co Mins 24.4.1940, 19.12.1945.

The city's property owners approved the raising of several large loans, such as the £7000 loan taken out to provide essential services at the Air Training camp,¹⁷⁶ and an amount of £5000 which was earmarked for the erection of a Tuberculosis hospital for Blacks.¹⁷⁷

In 1942 a Health rate of ½d. was raised to cover the eventual introduction of a compulsory refuse removal system.¹⁷⁸ The Council was also able to raise money by selling timber to the South African Railways.¹⁷⁹

(d.3) Public Works Expenditure 1940 - 1945

(d.3.i) General

Inflation and the disruption of world trade engendered by the war, caused building costs to rise dramatically during these years. This affected the costs involved in the Council's building schemes in the Location.¹⁸⁰ Large loans were taken out in 1941 and 1942 to finance the tarring of the city's streets.¹⁸¹ The street reconstruction project was fraught with

¹⁷⁶ Co Mins 26.3.1941.

¹⁷⁷ Co Mins 24.2.1943, 28.4.1943.

¹⁷⁸ Co Mins 19.12.1941.

¹⁷⁹ Co Mins 27.1.1943, 9.6.1944.

¹⁸⁰ See Ch 4 for details of these schemes.

¹⁸¹ Co Mins 22.1.1941: A loan of £23470 - this included money needed to pay for the Council's share of cost of the National Road. Co Mins 16.3.1942: A further loan of £13000 was required for roadworks.

difficulties as problems were incurred obtaining bitumen,¹⁸² and members of the public strongly objected to the construction of islands in the streets.¹⁸³

The idea of a municipal swimming pool was mooted on various occasions, but it was decided that it would have to wait until after the war was over.¹⁸⁴

(d.3.ii) Water Supply

Increased water consumption meant that the water deficiency rate could be reduced to ½d. in 1942.¹⁸⁵ That year also saw the public approve of the borrowing of £39800 to increase the filtration capacity of the waterworks.¹⁸⁶ In 1944 a 60% increase in construction costs necessitated the raising of an additional £6066 before work could begin on a Service Reservoir.¹⁸⁷ By 1945 an additional pumping plant was needed to meet the city's increased demand for water.¹⁸⁸

(d.3.iii) Electricity

The war meant that equipment ordered from Sweden for extensions to the plant was unobtainable, and had to be manufactured in

¹⁸² Co Mins 25.2.1942 and 23.8.1944.

¹⁸³ Co Mins 26.3.1941.

¹⁸⁴ Co Mins 22.12.1943, 23.5.1944, 28.6.1944.

¹⁸⁵ Co Mins 19.12.1941.

¹⁸⁶ Co Mins 10.8.1942.

¹⁸⁷ Co Mins 19.6.1944.

¹⁸⁸ Co Mins 22.8.1945.

Johannesburg.¹⁸⁹ The profits of the Electricity Department were reduced by the provisions of the Factories Act and cost of living allowances which increased its wage bill.¹⁹⁰ By 1945 a new steam raising plant was needed.¹⁹¹

(d.3.iv) Sewerage

During these years the sewerage deficit became less of a financial burden to the Council.¹⁹² The Council decided to take legal proceedings against people who declined to connect their properties to the sewerage system.¹⁹³ The Council's parsimonious decision in 1940 not to appoint a Civil Engineering Assistant,¹⁹⁴ meant that there was insufficient supervision exercised over the operating of the scheme, and a complete blockage of the system occurred in February 1943.¹⁹⁵

Evaluation of the Municipality's handling of its finances

By 1945 the increased demand for essential services provided by the Municipality had eliminated certain financial problems, but also made more expenditure necessary. During the years 1918 - 1945 the Council was often justifiably criticised for the way it

¹⁸⁹ Co Mins 23.10.1940.

¹⁹⁰ Co Mins 20.12.1944.

¹⁹¹ Co Mins 24.10.1945.

¹⁹² Co Mins 26.6.1940.

¹⁹³ Co Mins 22.5.1940.

¹⁹⁴ Co Mins 28.2.1940 and 27.3.1940.

¹⁹⁵ Co Mins 23.5.1944.

administered the city's finances, but in the final analysis, the Council's boldness in undertaking large and expensive public works schemes must be acknowledged. As was the case with Windhoek,¹⁹⁶ negotiations with central government authorities played an important role in determining the state of local municipal finances.

¹⁹⁶ See Kotzé pages 78 - 79 for references to the Windhoek municipality's financial dealings with the Administration.

LIST OF TABLES ILLUSTRATING SALIENT FEATURES OF MUNICIPAL FINANCE

1. Tables showing sources of Municipal Revenue covering the period 1925 - 1938, during which time several large Public Works schemes were undertaken.
2. Tables showing Municipal Expenditure covering the period 1925 - 1938, during which time several large Public Works schemes were undertaken.
3. Table showing the Town Rate 1918 - 1945.
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5. Tables showing Property Valuations and the number of Houses within various Valuation brackets, 1922 and 1936.
6. Table showing Property Valuations and the number of Business and Professional Premises within various Valuation brackets, 1936.
7. Tables illustrating the Growth of the use of Electricity in Grahamstown between 1925 - 1939.

TABLE SHOWING SOURCES OF MUNICIPAL
REVENUE 1925 - 1928

YEAR	1925- 1926	1926- 1927	1927- 1928
	£	£	£
Rates	18 051	17 807	21 996
Sanitary Fees	64	17 807	255
Water	7 974	220	8 063
Licences	1 009	8 634	383
Abattoirs	1 054	1 230	1 211
Cemeteries	197	219	260
Estate	896	2 172	416
Fire Brigade	15	16	10
Locations	512	520	530
Market	3 626	3 764	3 682
Pound	193	240	209
Forestry	855	861	1 004
Parks, Gardens	1 313	1 246	613
Electric Supply	11 291	13 722	14 844
Fines	---	32	---
Interest	6	6	6
Building Plan Fees	48	---	---
Other Revenue	534	534	879
Total	52 399	51 223	54 361

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL YEAR BOOKS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

TABLE SHOWING SOURCES OF MUNICIPAL
REVENUE 1928 - 1933

YEAR	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33
	£	£	£	£	£
Rates	22 176	22 342	22 096	22 152	22 327
Sanitary Fees	243	155	123	126	130
Water	8 930	9 582	13 884	14 643	15 548
Licences	312	319	320	275	249
Abattoirs	1 200	1 082	1 104	1 143	1 227
Cemeteries	149	218	251	243	139
Estate	1 027	1 700	1 606	1 506	1 434
Fire Brigade	47	15	9	12	20
Locations	798	900	822	922	1 015
Market	3 477	3 169	2 927	2 550	2 841
Pound	214	263	235	226	271
Forestry	1 365	1 582	1 372	1 431	1 143
Parks, Gardens	911	1 076	1 189	722	1 236
Electric Supply	16 330	19 845	19 506	19 406	20 080
Fines	---	---	---	---	---
Interest	6	10	---	173	38
Other Revenue	451	980	983	699	769
Total	57 636	63 238	66 427	66 229	68 467

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL YEAR BOOKS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

TABLE SHOWING SOURCES OF MUNICIPAL
REVENUE 1933 - 1938

YEAR	1933- 1934	1934- 1935	1935- 1936	1936- 1937	1937- 1938
	£	£	£	£	£
Rates	22 158	22 159	19 640	19 633	22 497
Sanitary Fees	156	162	199	9 729	11 109
Water	15 348	15 758	15 545	18 371	19 761
Licences	254	255	297	118	384
Abattoirs	1 150	1 134	1 182	1 205	1 083
Cemeteries	187	225	193	209	180
Estate	1 652	1 919	1 955	2 273	2 798
Fire Brigade	16	74	48	84	56
Locations	1 027	1 039	1 043	1 203	1 290
Market	2 979	2 733	2 671	2 507	2 566
Pound	264	252	275	297	335
Forestry	933	1 271	1 180	1 204	1 583
Parks, Gardens	966	1 132	961	940	891
Electric Supply	21 255	22 779	25 323	26 831	27 833
Fines	---	---	---	---	2
Interest	---	---	---	---	---
Other Revenue	987	757	875	1 514	862
Total	69 332	71 649	71 387	86 118	93 230

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL YEAR BOOKS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

TABLE SHOWING MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURE
1925. - 1928

YEAR	1925- 1926	1926- 1927	1927- 1928
	£	£	£
Administration	1 893	2 465	2 466
Sanitary	2 629	2 619	1 666
Public Health	588	488	1 402
Streets and Bridges	11 641	2 976	4 248
Street Lighting	2 236	2 106	1 601
Water	2 786	2 071	2 288
Electric Supply	6 068	6 609	8 868
Abattoir	763	562	891
Cemeteries & Pauper Burials	213	598	372
Estates	432	404	255
Fire Brigades and Ambulances	322	210	372
Locations	1 362	777	964
Market	1 693	1 477	1 715
Pound	202	205	275
Forestry	1 896	817	932
Town Hall Parks etc	2 556	2 112	1 745
Mayoral Allowance	300	104	270
Public Entertainments	520	---	---
Grants to Hospitals etc	1 382	873	1 168

YEAR	1925- 1926	1926- 1927	1927- 1928
	£	£	£
Elections	9	39	71
Assize	---	---	---
Valuations	57	388	4
Legal & Audit	386	261	234
Insurance	106	269	24
Pensions & Graturities	307	335	551
<u>Loan Charges:</u>			
Interest	6 645	6 981	9 025
Redemption	3 239	3 808	5 416
Other	---	---	---
Maintenance & Depreciation	1 277	1 277	432
Other Expenditure	258	1 685	580
TOTAL	51 766	42 516	47 835

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL YEAR BOOKS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

TABLE SHOWING MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURE
1928 - 1933

YEAR	1928- 1929	1929- 1930	1930- 1931	1931- 1932	1932- 1933
Administration	2 862	3 136	3 467	3 301	3 172
Sanitary	2 055	2 045	1 808	2 134	2 130
Public Health	340	368	1 154	914	914
Streets and Bridges	6 511	6 961	8 350	7 549	6 810
Street Lighting	1 600	1 600	1 600	1 600	1 600
Water	1 958	2 493	4 864	3 968	3 927
Electric Supply	7 683	11 191	10 894	12 610	12 759
Abattoir	869	812	829	771	730
Cemeteries & Pauper Burials	324	281	358	373	337
Estates	28	8	10	10	225
Fire Brigades and Ambulances	701	451	486	390	359
Locations	1 493	1 819	1 459	1 669	2 003
Market	1 825	1 848	1 788	1 749	1 688
Pound	626	702	603	1 103	990
Forestry	1 316	1 610	1 303	1 101	1 511
Town Hall Parks etc	1 784	3 054	2 909	2 455	2 590
Mayoral Allowance	162	201	253	209	184
Public Entertainments	---	---	427	---	---
Grants to Hospitals etc	1 137	1 538	1 591	1 458	1 393

YEAR	1928- 1929	1929- 1930	1930- 1931	1931- 1932	1932- 1933
Elections	51	66	54	92	81
Assize	---	---	---	---	---
Valuations	1	15	21	17	---
Legal & Audit	290	353	174	185	199
Insurance	114	96	106	110	91
Pensions & Gratutities	596	652	540	456	535
<u>Loan Charges:</u>					
Interest	8 810	7 815	12 824	13 799	13 928
Redemption	5 837	6 517	7 901	6 666	6 573
Other	---	---	15	---	---
Maintenance & Depreciation	1 923	3 350	1 515	300	1000
Other Expenditure	725	303	372	516	561
TOTAL	51 621	59 285	67 675	65 532	66 290

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL YEAR BOOKS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

TABLE SHOWING MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURE
1933 - 1938

YEAR	1933- 1934	1934- 1935	1935- 1936	1936- 1937	1937- 1938
Administration	3 254	3 483	3 648	3 965	4 526
Sanitary	2 113	2 262	1 900	7 276	7 081
Public Health	1 067	810	932	1 149	1 327
Streets and Bridges	7 539	7 536	7 347	7 502	7 850
Street Lighting	1 600	1 600	1 700	1 700	1 700
Water	4 099	4 210	5 353	7 397	5993
Electric Supply	13 489	14 440	16 312	17 224	18 223
Abattoir	759	1 141	991	888	995
Cemeteries & Pauper Burials	327	352	366	397	440
Estates	321	331	65	85	146
Fire Brigades and Ambulances	379	443	465	504	521
Locations	2 019	2 356	2 193	2 544	3 069
Market	1 728	1 744	1 666	1 631	1 877
Pound	621	751	838	885	905
Forestry	1 365	1 472	1 565	1 555	1 963
Town Hall Parks etc	2 556	2 326	2 369	2 141	2 331
Mayoral Allowance	166	239	233	254	227
Public Entertainments	---	438	---	---	---
Grants to Hospitals etc	1 517	1 310	1 275	897	956

YEAR	1933- 1934	1934- 1935	1935- 1936	1936- 1937	1937- 1938
Elections	62	89	86	62	23
Assize	---	---	---	---	---
Valuations	14	13	28	20	23
Legal & Audit	148	300	300	300	300
Insurance	92	360	264	233	183
Pensions & Graturities	528	550	567	514	459
Loan Charges:					
Interest	14 794	14 505	13 662	17 224	18 887
Redemption	7 294	7 514	7 499	9 442	8 832
Other	---	---	---	---	---
Maintenance & Depreciation	975	750	750	400	700
Licensing	---	---	---	---	26
Other Expenditure	724	494	663	900	1 132
TOTAL	69 550	71 819	73 037	87 089	90 695

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL YEAR BOOKS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

TABLE SHOWING THE TOWN RATE
1918 - 1945

YEARS	RATE
1918 - 1920	3d.
1921 - 1926	4d.
1927 - 1931	3d.
1932*	3½d.
1933 - 1941*	4d.
1942*	3½d.
1943*	3 and Three-Eighths of a penny
1944 - 1945*	3½d.

* Includes Water Deficiency Rate.

EXTRA RATES:

1920 Three-Eighths of a penny Flu Rate.

1942 - 1943 Health Rate of ½d.

1944 - 1945 Health Rate of Three-Eighths of a penny.

COMPILED FROM GRAHAMSTOWN CITY COUNCIL MINUTES

TABLE SHOWING THE EFFECT OF THE DERATING OF
SCHOOL HOSTELS AND THE STEADY GROWTH OF
MUNICIPAL INDEBTEDNESS FROM
1930 - 1939

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>RATABLE VALUATION</u> £	<u>INDEBTEDNESS AT END OF THE YEAR</u> £
1930	1757958	269647
1931	1707540	275194
1932	1725269	277472
1933	1722489	308808
1934	1730349	322132
1935	1743919	379228
1936	1548944	453286
1937	1543989	466536
1938	1559628	484156
1939	1573413	513666

COMPILED FROM: Official Year Books of the Union of South Africa
Vols. 13 - 22.

TABLE SHOWING PROPERTY VALUATIONS
AND THE NUMBER OF HOUSES WITHIN
VARIOUS VALUATION BRACKETS
1922

Number of Houses	Valuation up to £
108	100
805	400
127	500
90	600
90	700
67	800
36	900
28	1000
56	1250
44	1500
23	1750
13	2000
11	2500
15	3000
8	3500
6	4000
16	over 4000

COMPILED FROM : Grahamstown City Council Minutes 25.10.1922.

TABLE SHOWING PROPERTY VALUATIONS
AND THE NUMBER OF HOUSES WITHIN
VARIOUS VALUATION BRACKETS
1936

Number of Houses	Valuation up to £
281	300
274	301-500
189	501-700
174	701-900
88	901-1100
56	1101-1300
35	1301-1500
27	1501-1700
24	1701-1900
12	1901-2000
57	2001 UPWARDS

COMPILED FROM : Grahamstown City Council Minutes 1936.

TABLE SHOWING PROPERTY VALUATIONS
AND THE NUMBER OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL PREMISES WITHIN
VARIOUS VALUATION BRACKETS
1936

Number of Premises	Valuation between £
21	1-300
24	301-500
26	501-700
25	701-900
15	901-1100
24	1101-1300
9	1301-1500
13	1501-1700
17	1701-1900
6	1901-2000
4	2001-2300
8	2301-2500
7	2501-2700
3	2701-2900
9	2901-3100
3	3101-3500
5	3501-4000
3	4001-4500
2	4501-5000
16	5001 UPWARDS

COMPILED FROM : Grahamstown City Council Minutes 1936.

TABLE ILLUSTRATING THE GROWTH OF THE
USE OF ELECTRICITY IN GRAHAMSTOWN

1925 - 1939.

YEAR	TOTAL CAPACITY OF PLANT	UNITS SOLD OR USED	WORKING EXPENSES	NUMBER OF CONSUMERS
	Kilowatts	No.	£	No.
1925-26	420	485 793	**	865
1926-27	420	391 000	6 637	942
1927-28	420	512 365	7 096	1 002
1928-29	420	532 026	7 456	1 053
1929-30	820	572 501	8 008	1 142
1930-31*				
1931-32	820	1 177 403	10 489	1 248
1932-33	820	1 450 042	11 516	1 373
1933-34	2900	1 707 732	12 120	1 383
1934-35	2900	2 445 184	12 639	1 428
1935-36	2900	2 841 664	14 042	1 511
1936-37	2900	3 265 121	15 796	1 550
1937-38	2900	3 461 782	15 790	1 560
1938-39	2900	3 858 899	16 889	1 562

* Owing to the suspension of the Industrial Census no data in regard to Electric Light and Power Stations were collected in 1930 - 1931.

** Not quoted.

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL YEAR BOOKS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

GRAHAMSTOWN POWER STATIONESTABLISHED 1924REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>REVENUE</u>	<u>EXPEN- DITURE</u>	<u>WHITES EMPLOYED</u>	<u>BLACKS EMPLOYED</u>	<u>TOTAL EMPLOYED</u>
	£	£			
1925-26	13 906	14 366	10	14	24
1926-27	13 720	13 441	10	11	21
1927-28	14 956	14 239	14	12	26
1928-29	14 825	13 692	14	12	26
1929-30	16 330	15 523	14	13	27
1930*					
1931-32	18 541	18 564	16	15	31
1932-33	20 048	18 854	16	15	31
1933-34	21 255	21 286	17	19	36
1934-35	22 778	22 079	18	20	38
1935-36	25 323	23 587	20	22	42
1936-37	26 831	25 765	20	26	46
1937-38	27 833	27 320	21	26	47
1938-39	28 615	28 195	22	27	49

* Owing to the suspension of the Industrial Census no data in regard to Electric Light and Power Stations were collected in 1930 - 1931.

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL YEAR BOOKS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER FOUR

PUBLIC HEALTH AND LOCATION ADMINISTRATION¹(I) Public Health(a) Health Care in South Africa 1918 - 1945

During the period 1918 - 1945 the allocation of financial resources for health care in South Africa was influenced by the contemporary social, racial, political and economic power structures of the society.² The Government failed to introduce a national co-ordinating health authority, and health services were provided by local authorities and the Provincial administrations. Public dissatisfaction with the Government's handling of the 1918 Influenza Epidemic led to the passing of the Public Health Act (Act No.36) of 1919, which made provision for

¹ See end of Chapter for Tables detailing the results of the Censuses of "Natives" held in 1938.

² Although health care in South Africa is the subject of considerable academic interest, no recent all encompassing definitive work (in the same vein as E.H. Burrows' A History of Medicine in South Africa up to the end of the Nineteenth Century) can be singled out for the subject. Most recent studies on health in South Africa (such as A. Seedat Crippling a nation: health in apartheid South Africa. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1984) concentrate predominantly on the apartheid era. Tuberculosis in South Africa has received in depth coverage in R.M. Packard's White Plague, Black Labor: Tuberculosis and the Political Economy of Health and Disease in South Africa. London: James Currey, 1989. A useful overview of health care between 1910 - 1948 is given by S. Marks & N. Andersson in "Diseases of Apartheid" in Lonsdale, J. (ed) South Africa in Question. London: James Currey, 1988.

the establishment of a Department of Public Health, but control over hospitals remained the responsibility of the Provincial Councils.³ Local authorities were responsible for maintaining sanitary living conditions and controlling the outbreak of infectious diseases.⁴

Health care suffered as a result of the multiplicity of bodies responsible for its financing.⁵ The history of health care in Grahamstown illustrates how authorities at all levels of government were tight-fisted in respect of money spent on health care. Disputes between the various bodies about financial responsibilities for health expenses were commonplace.⁶

A particular grievance of the Grahamstown City Council was the fact that, together with the Divisional Council, it had to contribute towards eradicating the deficits of the Albany Hospital Board.⁷ This system was unfair on the city's ratepayers as they had to pay both Municipal and Divisional rates. In 1921 the Council repudiated paying towards the

³ Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa Vol.3,p.237.

⁴ Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa Vol.14, p.234.

⁵ Report of the Committee of Inquiry re Public Hospitals and Kindred Institutions. UG 30 - 1925.

⁶ For instance the Council rejected a request from the Albany Hospital Board that it should pay £148 10s 0d. for the treatment of a "European female" Tuberculosis sufferer. Co Mins 2.7.1930.

⁷ Co Mins 15.12.1920, 23.3.1921, 17.3.1926. The Cape was the only Province in which local authorities were legally compelled to contribute to hospital finances.

deficit incurred by St. Monica's Home in Queenstown.⁸ The Council felt so strongly on the issue of municipal responsibility for hospital debts that it brought the matter up at congresses of the Cape Municipal Association, in the hope that joint municipal protest might sway the Government.⁹

The Vos Committee of Inquiry,¹⁰ which reported to the Government in 1925 on public hospitals, complained about the lack of a national hospital authority, but nothing had been done to centralise health care by 1942 when the Government appointed the Gluckman Commission¹¹ to investigate the sorry state of health facilities in South Africa. One of the implications of the lack of a single hospital authority was the reluctance of nurses to transfer from one province to another, as this would result in them losing pension and other privileges gained by long service.¹²

As was the case in other urban areas,¹³ the community enthusiastically raised funds for the local hospital. This

⁸ Co Mins 19.10.1921.

⁹ Co Mins 18.5.1921, 17.3.1926.

¹⁰ Report of the Committee of Inquiry re Public Hospitals and Kindred Institutions. UG 30 - 1925.

¹¹ The National Health Services Commission. The Commission's report (UG 30 - 1944) was published in 1944. Local reaction to the Commission's findings is discussed later in this chapter.

¹² GO 21.8.1933.

¹³ Hospital fund raising was also popular in Windhoek, see Kotzé p.243.

chapter highlights the effects that the paucity of funding had on local health in Grahamstown.

Whites feared that Blacks would spread disease in urban areas, and academic attention has been devoted to the role that this fear played in the development of legislation enforcing urban segregation.¹⁴ The role that concern for public health played in the framing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act has been recognised.¹⁵ White Grahamstonians also realised that illness in the Location endangered their own health, and in 1921 the Grocott's Daily Mail advocated that Blacks seeking employment should be in possession of medical certificates, as "insidious, malignant, loathsome and infectious diseases" were to be found amongst Blacks.¹⁶

Much debate has centred around the legislation passed during the period under review,¹⁷ but it is generally accepted that while it promoted the interests of White capital, it compounded the problems of poverty and disease amongst rural Blacks, especially those in the Reserves. The development of deep level mining in

¹⁴ M.W. Swanson traced the influence of this fear on the early development of urban segregation in South Africa, in "The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900 - 1909", JAH, Vol 18, No 3, 1977.

¹⁵ T.R.H. Davenport South Africa: a modern history. Johannesburg: MacMillan, 1987, p. 260.

¹⁶ GDM 22.4.1921. Medical examinations of Black male employees became compulsory in 1938 when the Council began registering such employees. This topic is discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁷ See Ch 2 for a summary of this debate.

the Transvaal during the early part of the Twentieth Century coincided with increased health problems, especially in respect of respiratory diseases, amongst migrant workers.¹⁸ The quality of health in the Reserves was also detrimentally affected by the inadequate size of the smallholdings there, and malnutrition was a common condition. Typhus was a particular problem in the Transkei,¹⁹ which was not far from Grahamstown.

Grahamstown's health problems mirrored those of the rest of the country as urban Blacks and Poor Whites throughout South Africa were generally susceptible to infectious and nutritionally based diseases.²⁰ This chapter focuses on the city's response to the challenge of providing health services and housing, in the face of financial difficulties and the large influx of poor rural Blacks into the Location.

(b) Health facilities in Grahamstown

The last years of the old dilapidated Albany General Hospital were far from happy as financial difficulties beset the Hospital Board. By the end of 1920 the Hospital Board's finances had reached such a nadir,²¹ that it was rebuked by the Administrator

¹⁸ M. Smith, Seminar entitled "A Crazy Patchwork: A Political Economy of Health in South Africa, 1900 - World War Two." Rhodes University, 1991.

¹⁹ Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa. Vol 14. p.232.

²⁰ S. Marks & N. Andersson, "Diseases of Apartheid", 1988.p.176.

²¹ The Board's deficit at 31.12.1920 amounted to £1576 1s 11d. Co Mins 18.5.1921.

of the Cape and was unable to pay the wages of its staff for January 1921.²² The public rallied to the aid of the Board, and the Eastern Province Automobile Association held a Gymkhana to help the fund raising effort.²³ The City Council was extremely unhappy that its share of the hospital deficit for 1920 amounted to £177 14s.²⁴

Public confidence in the hospital was undermined by the complaints made in 1920 by Mr Justice V. Sampson²⁵ about the institution's internal management.²⁶ His complaints were made following the death of his daughter in the hospital, and wide press coverage was given to the report of the Inquiry held into the matter.²⁷ The report was extremely critical of the sanitary arrangements in the hospital, and, although the allegations that it made about the lack of precautions taken in respect of Typhoid infected pails were denied, the unflattering portrait it painted of the hospital's administration was justified.²⁸

²² GDM 20.1.1921, 10.2.1921.

²³ Co Mins 23.2.1921.

²⁴ Co Mins 18.5.1921.

²⁵ Victor Sampson (1855 - 1940) was a prominent citizen. When he died, the City Council noted that he had represented Albany in Parliament, had been a Judge of the Eastern Districts Court, and had worked towards the beautification of the old cemetery. Co Mins 24.4.1940. For further biographical details see G. Randell Bench and Bar of the Eastern Cape. p.33-38.

²⁶ GDM 23.9.1920.

²⁷ GDM 18.1.1921.

²⁸ Co Mins 26.1.1921, GDM 27.1.1921. Separate pails were provided for Infectious Disease Wards.

The foundation stone for a new hospital had been laid in 1918,²⁹ but construction of the building only commenced in 1920.³⁰ Building operations came to a standstill during a builders' strike in 1921,³¹ and the hospital was only eventually opened in October 1922.³² Fortunately it was generally agreed that the hospital would be a fitting memorial to the memory of the 1820 Settlers, and £10000 of the money collected to commemorate the centenary of their landing was donated to the hospital, on the condition that the hospital was named the Settlers' Hospital.³³

Financial troubles continued to plague the Hospital Board,³⁴ and the irate City Council requested its representatives on the Board to "use their utmost endeavour to have the Hospital estimates of expenditure reduced."³⁵ In 1930 a Round Table Conference on hospital funding was held, and the City Council and the Divisional Council both agreed to contribute £400 a year to the hospital.³⁶

By 1939 the Hospital Board was anxious to have the annual grant

²⁹ GPM 4.3.1918.

³⁰ GPM 2.2.1920, GDM 21.9.1920.

³¹ GDM 10.2.1921.

³² GTJ 26.10.1922. The Administrator of the Cape Province performed the opening ceremony.

³³ L.G. Couch A short Medical History of Grahamstown p.51.

³⁴ GDM 1.5.1924. The hospital was referred to as being penniless.

³⁵ Co Mins 17.3.1926.

³⁶ Co Mins 3.5.1930.

increased, but the City Council was unable to provide more financial support.³⁷ Relations between the Council and the Hospital Board reached an extreme low in 1942, as the result of a dispute about the Council's responsibility for providing hospital accommodation for infectious disease cases.³⁸ In 1922 the Administrator of the Cape had approved the treatment of infectious disease cases by the hospital,³⁹ but the steady increase in the number of non-infectious disease cases over the years, placed a tremendous strain on the hospital's ability to accommodate infectious disease cases. The Hospital Board asked the Council to put pressure on the Government for the establishment of a Fever Hospital, and declared that as it had agreed to let the Military authorities take over the top floor of the hospital, it would not be able to accept any more infectious disease cases.⁴⁰ The Council claimed that in terms of the Public Health Act of 1919 it was not responsible for providing hospital accommodation for infectious disease cases occurring outside the municipal boundaries. The Council criticised the Board for agreeing to give a portion of the hospital to the Military, but the Board replied that the Military had agreed to build a block to relieve the overcrowding in the Black wards.⁴¹

³⁷ Co Mins 25.1.1939.

³⁸ Co Mins 4.6.1942.

³⁹ Co Mins 18.6.1942.

⁴⁰ Co Mins 4.6.1942.

⁴¹ Co Mins 18.6.1942.

The conflict was defused to a certain extent when Dr. van der Spuy, of the Department of Public Health, visited Grahamstown on 18.8.1942. The Council decided to borrow funds for the erection of a Tuberculosis block,⁴² and to investigate the cost of building an Infectious Disease block. The Medical Officer of Health agreed to make temporary arrangements for the accommodation of Black infectious disease cases, and the Board agreed to accommodate White infectious disease cases.⁴³

The Council was again not prepared to make an additional grant to the Board,⁴⁴ and subsequently decided that the £400 annual grant would henceforth only be given "if and when" the Council was legally obliged to contribute funds to the Board.⁴⁵

In 1917 the Child Welfare Society established a clinic known as the Lownds Bureau in the Location.⁴⁶ During the 1920s the City Council maintained that it had no funds available for a Location Nurse or a Health Visitor in the Location.⁴⁷ A Location nurse was eventually appointed by the Municipality in 1936,⁴⁸ and a Coloured Nurse was appointed by the Albany Hospital Board the

⁴² Co Mins 19.8.1942.

⁴³ Co Mins 19.8.1942.

⁴⁴ Co Mins 23.9.1942.

⁴⁵ Co Mins 21.12.1942.

⁴⁶ GDM 29.7.1941. It also administered the Buxton Bureau for Whites.

⁴⁷ Co Mins 11.10.1922, 23.12.1929.

⁴⁸ Co Mins 24.6.1936.

following year.⁴⁹ In 1936 the Catholic Church opened a dispensary in the Location.⁵⁰ Financial assistance from the Council enabled the Coloured Nurse Committee to open a Coloured Clinic in 1940.⁵¹ Many individuals and charitable organisations were also active in the Location, and attempted to alleviate the illness and poverty they encountered there.⁵²

In 1944 the City Council welcomed the recommendations of the Gluckman Commission,⁵³ as it felt that the establishment of a Health Centre for Blacks would relieve the Council of its financial responsibilities for the provision of personal health services so that it could concentrate upon environmental services for the benefit of the community.⁵⁴

The history of the provision of ambulance services in Grahamstown during the period reviewed illustrates the extent of the community's financial support for health facilities, and also the racial prejudices of the White community. In 1935 the city

⁴⁹ GDM 19.11.1937.

⁵⁰ GDM 8.10.1936.

⁵¹ GDM 15.3.1940.

⁵² GDM 29.7.1941. For instance the Toc H League of Women Helpers provided breakfasts and clothing for approximately 17 children. GDM 5.8.1941.

⁵³ The National Health Services Commission. UG 30 - 1944. The Commission recommended the establishment of a National Health Service which would concentrate on preventative health services for all South Africans regardless of race. Many of the key recommendations of the Commission were never implemented. See S. Marks & N. Andersson "Diseases of Apartheid", 1988. p.179.

⁵⁴ Co Mins 20.12.1944, 24.10.1945.

acquired a motor ambulance as a result of an appeal fund launched by the Grocott's Daily Mail, and 12 citizens who offered their services as drivers were telephoned from the Fire Station when they were needed.⁵⁵ The ambulance was only for the use of urgent Black cases, and other Black patients had to make use of 2 two-wheeled stretchers.⁵⁶

(c) Measures taken to maintain sanitary living conditions

During the years under review the City Council took steps to reduce the health hazards occasioned by the large number of agricultural animals that Grahamstonians maintained within the city limits. The issuing of dairy licences in respect of premises within certain residential areas became controversial.⁵⁷ In June 1920 the Medical Officer of Health and the Sanitary Inspector reported that they were against the establishment of new dairies in the residential portions of the city.⁵⁸ When the Council decided in 1926 that "any goat, swine, equine or bovine animal" kept in the municipal area had to be registered,⁵⁹ 245 persons signed a petition claiming that the regulation was "vexatious" and an "interference" against

⁵⁵ Health Committee Minutes 31.5.1935. CA 3AY/1/2/10/1/4

⁵⁶ Co Mins 24.6.1936.

⁵⁷ Co Mins 5.11.1919. Memorial from West Hill residents protesting against the renewal of a dairy licence. Co Mins 25.4.1923. A dairy licence was refused because of the proximity of the premises to an orphanage and certain schools.

⁵⁸ Co Mins 30.6.1920.

⁵⁹ Co Mins 3.11.1926.

their rights and privileges.⁶⁰ The Council was not swayed by the petition, and in 1935 the decision was taken that the Medical Officer of Health would allocate a portion of the town in which dairies would be prohibited in the future.⁶¹ On 22.6.1938 the Council ruled that all dairy licences within the residential sectors would not be renewed after 1.7.1948.⁶²

The considerable "fly nuisance" prompted the Ratepayers Association to agitate on several occasions for the Council to introduce a compulsory system of household refuse removal.⁶³ The Council decided in 1927 that "the present time was not opportune for the inauguration of a compulsory system,⁶⁴ but the Ratepayers Association continued to press for such a system.⁶⁵ On 7.11.1928 the Council approved of the principle of a compulsory weekly refuse removal, but financial considerations⁶⁶ meant that such a system was only introduced in 1942.⁶⁷ Until then householders who wished to have rubbish removed had to purchase tickets which they gave to the driver of the removal

⁶⁰ Co Mins 1.12.1926.

⁶¹ Health Committee Minutes 12.9.1935. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/4.

⁶² Co Mins 22.6.1938. It was decreed that if any such dairy was sold before July 1948 its registration would not be renewed.

⁶³ Co Mins 25.6.1924, 6.4.1927.

⁶⁴ Co Mins 6.7.1927.

⁶⁵ Co Mins 5.9.1928.

⁶⁶ See Ch 3, sections (c.2) and (d).

⁶⁷ Co Mins 19.12.1941.

cart when they desired to make use of the service.⁶⁸

The state of refuse removal in the Location was far worse and was described by F.W. Jameson of the Central Housing Board as being "utterly farcical".⁶⁹ He reported that only one scotch cart and horse was used for removals from the rubbish receptacles which were placed at intervals in the Location, and that only a fraction of the refuse was removed. The result of this unsatisfactory situation was that much rubbish was blown around the Location by the wind. The danger of the spread of disease by flies was intensified by the fact that many Location residents hoarded manure in stacks until they could sell it at a favourable price to market gardeners.⁷⁰

The large number of rodents in the city was a cause for concern. In 1921 and 1923 the Council offered a reward of 3d. for each rat delivered to the Sanitary Inspector's office.⁷¹ In 1923 the Council paid £78 6s 3d for the destruction of 6305 rats.⁷² The Council was again compelled in 1938 to pay serious attention to rodent control,⁷³ as the problem had reached such proportions

⁶⁸ The debate about refuse removal was an emotive local issue. GDM 14.2.1939.

⁶⁹ Co Mins 1937. p.395 - 396.

⁷⁰ Co Mins 1937 p.388. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/7.

⁷¹ Co Mins 24.8.1921, 23.5.1923.

⁷² Co Mins 26.9.1923.

⁷³ Co Mins 25.5.1938, 22.6.1938. Rat inspections were carried out, and numerous premises were fumigated.

that it was reported upon in the local press.⁷⁴

The Council took a firm stand against the sale of meat infected with Bovine Measles,⁷⁵ and refused requests from the United Farmers Association for the establishment of a municipal insurance scheme which would financially compensate farmers whose slaughter stock was found to be infected with the disease.⁷⁶ The freezing of carcasses showing less than 10 measles was subsequently accepted by the Council, but meat treated this way had to be stamped.⁷⁷ The Council maintained strict supervision over the slaughter and sale of meat within the municipality, but the Master Butchers Association complained that the same supervision was not exercised in respect of meat slaughtered outside the municipal limits and brought into the city for sale.⁷⁸

The Council also maintained a strong stand in respect of its belief that it was imperative that Whites and Blacks should have separate sanitary conveniences, in order to lessen the danger of Whites contracting diseases from Blacks.⁷⁹ The issue became controversial when water-borne sewerage was installed, as Whites

⁷⁴ GDM 1.2.1938. Concern was expressed about the large number of rats, especially in the local gaol.

⁷⁵ Co Mins 26.9.1923.

⁷⁶ Co Mins 3.11.1926, 23.1.1929.

⁷⁷ Co Mins 23.7.1941.

⁷⁸ Co Mins 1.12.1926.

⁷⁹ Co Mins 19.10.1921. No. 11, Section IV of the Municipal Regulations.

were faced with the additional expense of providing an extra water closet for their Black servants. A group of White residents forwarded a petition to the Administrator of the Cape, in protest against the Municipality's insistence on the erection of 2 closets on White properties in which Blacks were employed.⁸⁰ The Council agreed not to impose an annual charge for the servants' water closets, but maintained that separate facilities were essential as local medical advice was to the effect that the prevalence of infectious and contagious, and especially venereal diseases, in the Location, prohibited the "use of a family closet by native servants."⁸¹

(d) Outbreaks of disease

The City Council initially only employed a Medical Officer of Health on a part-time basis to assist it control the outbreak of disease, but in August 1921 it decided to make a full-time appointment as from the beginning of 1922.⁸² The part-time Medical Officer, Dr. G.C. Purvis, was given 3 months notice, and Dr. J.P. de Villiers was appointed to the full-time post.⁸³ When de Villiers resigned in 1926,⁸⁴ he was replaced by Dr. G.F. Heathcote. In 1945 the Council decided to appoint a part-time Medical Officer for the Location.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Co Mins 25.3.1936.

⁸¹ Co Mins 25.3.1936.

⁸² Co Mins 24.8.1921.

⁸³ Co Mins 18.1.1922.

⁸⁴ Co Mins 1.9.1926.

⁸⁵ GDM 28.7.1945.

The Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918 was the largest health disaster to hit the city during the years reviewed.⁸⁶ The City Council was extremely critical of the Government's refusal to accede to national demands for it to stop Blacks travelling on trains. The Council was convinced that the spread of the disease could be slowed down if Blacks were prevented from travelling by rail, and the Town Clerk despatched several telegrams to Pretoria, protesting against the arrival of Blacks on trains at the Grahamstown station.⁸⁷

The City Council obtained special powers to deal with the emergency.⁸⁸ Temporary Hospitals were set up in the White and Black areas, and the City Hall became the co-ordination centre for the relief operation.⁸⁹ Many people risked their own lives nursing the sick. The death toll in Grahamstown as a result of the Flu was:- 401 Blacks, 68 Coloureds, 64 Whites and 4 Indians.⁹⁰

After the Epidemic rumours were spread amongst White residents

⁸⁶ The impact of the Epidemic on Grahamstown is narrated by H.C. Hummel in "Grahamstown, 1914 - 1918: four wartime themes" Contree No. 28, October 1990, p.21-29; and is also covered by Southey, p.180 - 182, 210 - 213. Coverage of the topic on a national level is given by H. Phillips, in "Black October: the impact of the Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918 in South Africa." AYB 1990 Vol.1, p.1-265.

⁸⁷ GTJ 24.10.1918.

⁸⁸ Co Mins 9.10.1918.

⁸⁹ See Ch 3 for details relating to the financial implications of the Epidemic.

⁹⁰ Southey, p.182 and p.211.

that the Blacks were ungrateful for the efforts that Whites had made on their behalf during the crisis. These rumours were quashed when a deputation of Blacks presented an address of thanks to the City Council.⁹¹

The Flu caused a considerable setback to health in the Location as its effects were felt there for many years thereafter.⁹² The City Council feared further outbreaks of Influenza, and kept a supply of blankets and other equipment for 6 months as a precautionary measure.⁹³ So great was the Council's fear of a further outbreak, that when some cases of the disease were reported in December 1919 amongst Blacks on a Council owned farm, it did not hesitate to come to the financial aid of these people.⁹⁴

Typhus was a particular problem in Grahamstown, and cases occurred every year, especially around the month of June.⁹⁵ The worst outbreaks were in 1920⁹⁶ and 1937.⁹⁷ During all outbreaks of the disease relations between Whites and Blacks became strained, and the Council's reluctance to spend money on health care came to the fore.

⁹¹ GTJ 21.11.1918.

⁹² JC Minutes 22.10.1936. CL MS16584.

⁹³ Co Mins 18.12.1918.

⁹⁴ Co Mins 17.12.1919.

⁹⁵ Co Mins 7.8.1929. Medical Officer of Health's report.

⁹⁶ GDM 24.8.1920, 4.11.1920.

⁹⁷ GDM 19.2.1938.

The Council anticipated a severe Typhus outbreak in 1920, and decided to construct a "disinfecting chamber" in the Location for the purpose of disinfecting clothing.⁹⁸ A temporary Fever Isolation Hospital was established during the outbreak, and Cr. Revd. W.Y. St. George Stead,⁹⁹ who lived in the Location because of his duties as priest in charge of St. Philip's Church, was attached to the Health Committee to help it deal with the crisis.¹⁰⁰

The total number of patients admitted to the hospital was 35 (7 came from the district).¹⁰¹ One of the patients, a labourer by the name of Moses Mohele, left the hospital without permission, and was brought to court for contravening Section 29 of the Public Health Act of 1919. During the court case the matron of the hospital, Miss Lownds, objected to the fact that a Black constable had warned her to appear before the Court.¹⁰²

The Medical Officer of Health, Dr. G.C. Purvis, claimed £3 3s a

⁹⁸ Co Mins 25.2.1920.

⁹⁹ William Yewdall St. George Stead (1858-1943) was born in Bradford, Yorkshire, England. He emigrated to South Africa in 1884 as a Church of England Missionary, and came to St. Philip's, Grahamstown, in 1905. SAWW 1925-1926. He served on the Council between 1912 - 1924. Co Mins 28.7.1943. He was appointed Deputy Mayor in 1919 (Co Mins 26.2.1919). He was well known for his interest in Black welfare, and was a leading member of the Grahamstown Welfare Association, which was the forerunner of the local branch of the Joint Council in the city. See APPENDIX A Photographs 2 & 3.

¹⁰⁰ Co Mins 3.11.1920.

¹⁰¹ Co Mins 15.12.1920.

¹⁰² GDM 4.1.1921.

day as payment for his services to the Typhus patients in the hospital, but the Council was only prepared to offer him £2 5s per day, in terms of the Public Health Act of 1919.¹⁰³ Dr. J. Alexander Mitchell, the Secretary for Public Health, acted as arbitrator in the dispute, and awarded Purvis £254 out of the £519 15s he had originally claimed.¹⁰⁴ The Council successfully applied to the Government for a refund of two-thirds of the money that it had spent on suppressing the epidemic.¹⁰⁵

The Council's reluctance to spend money on the treatment of Typhus patients is further illustrated by its withdrawal of payment for the Medical Officer of Health's locomotion expenses in connection with Typhus work in the Location.¹⁰⁶ In addition, when the Council decided in 1922 that it should take precautionary measures to prevent another outbreak, it appropriated money that it had previously earmarked for other Location facilities, such as streets and disinfectants.¹⁰⁷

The Council attempted to eradicate Typhus by "deverminising" the inhabitants of the Location.¹⁰⁸ The Medical Officer of Health was instructed to give talks to Black schoolchildren on the

¹⁰³ Co Mins 9.3.1921.

¹⁰⁴ Co Mins 13.7.1921.

¹⁰⁵ Co Mins 21.9.1921. The Government paid £299 8s 1d.

¹⁰⁶ GDM 2.6.1921.

¹⁰⁷ Co Mins 29.3.1922.

¹⁰⁸ Co Mins 6.7.1927.

importance of bodily cleanliness.¹⁰⁹ When a White person was infected with Typhus in 1929, a delousing campaign was organised throughout the Location as it was concluded that the patient had most certainly contracted the disease from "Natives".¹¹⁰

During the 1937 Typhus outbreak two Black women were employed to visit houses in the Location in order to seek out sick people who were not being treated by a doctor.¹¹¹ Contacts were inoculated and were also given oral tablets as a protection against the disease. Early in 1938 White fears about the possible spread of the disease to the White residential areas were aired in the press,¹¹² and the Medical Officer of Health replied that 2 "European" cases had recently occurred.¹¹³

In 1943 there was a minor outbreak of the disease in the Coloured area.¹¹⁴ During an outbreak in the Location in May 1944 the Albany School Board suspended needlework classes for girls from the Black Secondary School, as these classes at the Domestic Science centre were held in a classroom which was also used by pupils from the Victoria Girls' High School.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ Co Mins 6.7.1927.

¹¹⁰ Co Mins 3.7.1929.

¹¹¹ Health Committee Minutes. Medical Officer of Health's report February 1937. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/6.

¹¹² GDM 15.2.1938.

¹¹³ GDM 19.2.1938.

¹¹⁴ Co Mins 24.11.1943.

¹¹⁵ JC Records CL MS16556.

Smallpox was not a problem in Grahamstown. Much anxiety was aroused in 1927 when it was reported that a case of the disease had been discovered in the Location,¹¹⁶ but it proved to be a false alarm.¹¹⁷

Tuberculosis continued to be a major problem in the Location,¹¹⁸ as the overcrowding and poor housing conditions there favoured its spread.¹¹⁹ In 1918 the Council requested the Government to provide special train carriages for Tuberculosis sufferers.¹²⁰ At the local level the Council dealt with the problem mainly by providing free disinfectants for the disinfection of premises inhabited by known cases.¹²¹ Periodically members of the City Council would express concern about the high death rate in the Location, and attention would be drawn to the prevalence of Tuberculosis, but it was generally accepted by Councillors that nothing much could be done about the problem as its root cause was poverty.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Co Mins 25.1.1927.

¹¹⁷ Co Mins 2.2.1927.

¹¹⁸ See Southey p.176 - 177 for an account of the prevalence of the disease up until 1918.

¹¹⁹ Speech by the Medical Officer of Health at a JC meeting 15.9.1936. CL MS16584.

¹²⁰ Co Mins 27.3.1918.

¹²¹ Co Mins 7.8.1929.

¹²² Co Mins 11.1.1928, 7.11.1928, Health Committee Minutes 5.2.1937. At the meeting held on 7.11.1928 the following statistics were given pertaining to Location deaths for the years ending June 1924 : 42; June 1925 : 47; June 1926 : 59; June 1927 : 65; June 1928: 47.

In May 1938 the Albany Hospital Board appealed to the Council to establish a Tuberculosis hospital in Grahamstown for Blacks.¹²³ The Board pointed out that students in Grahamstown could fall victim to the disease if no action was taken in this respect by the Council. The Council was only called upon to contribute 25% of the finance as the Government would contribute 50% and the Provincial Council 25%.¹²⁴

By 1940 the Council decided to proceed with the establishment of a Tuberculosis facility in the grounds of the Settlers Hospital,¹²⁵ but it was dismayed by the expensive plans that the Public Works Department drew up for the project.¹²⁶ The ratepayers approved of the borrowing of £5000 for the hospital,¹²⁷ but the Provincial Administration subsequently decided not to allow the erection of such a facility within the hospital grounds.¹²⁸ At the end of 1945 the Council learnt that the Government did not propose to pursue the question of a Tuberculosis hospital in Grahamstown until it had reached a final decision about its future Tuberculosis policy for the nation.¹²⁹

The Council's financial obligations in respect of Tuberculosis

¹²³ Co Mins 25.5.1938.

¹²⁴ Co Mins 25.5.1938.

¹²⁵ GDM 23.8.1940.

¹²⁶ Co Mins 21.1.1941.

¹²⁷ Co Mins 24.2.1943, 28.4.1943.

¹²⁸ Co Mins 23.5.1945.

¹²⁹ Co Mins 19.12.1945.

care were increased in 1945 when it became legally responsible for paying a subsidy to the Grahamstown Tuberculosis Care Society.¹³⁰

(e) Malnutrition

During 1941 malnutrition in the Location became a highly controversial issue in Grahamstown. The "Malnutrition Controversy" began in earnest on 26 July 1941 when the Grocott's Daily Mail published an open letter which R.F. Currey, the Headmaster of St. Andrew's College, addressed to the Mayor on the subject of recent Black infant deaths in the Settlers Hospital.¹³¹ In his letter Currey expressed concern about the fact that in a report to the City Council the Resident Medical Officer of Health to the Albany Hospital Board attributed the deaths to the fact that the children had been malnourished since birth. Currey emphasised that the report did not ascribe the children's malnutrition to "ignorance on the part of the parents, as we Europeans often try to soothe our consciences by complacently assuming," but to poverty. He called for a commission to report to the Mayor on conditions in the Location, stressing that "children in Grahamstown - not in Warsaw or Minsk or some other city of stricken Europe, but here in Grahamstown - are dying of starvation."

¹³⁰ Co Mins 27.6.1945.

¹³¹ GDM 26.7.1941. The infant mortality rate in the Location was very high. In 1934 Dr. E. Britten gave the following figures for infant deaths in Grahamstown:- Black 300/1000; White 25/1000 to 75/1000. (Joint Council Minutes 27.3.1934. CL MS16584)

Currey's letter evoked a flood of replies. One correspondent, who used the nome de plume "Give them citrus", suggested that Location residents be given surplus citrus which would otherwise go to waste.¹³² (This suggestion was implemented as the Fish River Citrus Co-operative donated 70 bags of oranges to the poor in the Location.)¹³³ Other short term solutions, such as the provision of a food kitchen, were suggested,¹³⁴ but many people realised that an effort should be made to find long term solutions.¹³⁵ Revd. C.W. Alderson, the Warden of St. Paul's College, suggested that all Whites should visit their servants' homes themselves to gain an accurate insight into their financial circumstances.¹³⁶

The gallant efforts of citizens who did voluntary welfare work in the Location were praised, but Dr. Eileen Krige, the wife of Dr. J.D. Krige of the Department of Anthropology at Rhodes University College, showed that this charitable work only touched the tip of the problem.¹³⁷ When concern was expressed about the inadequacy of local Black wages, attention was focused on the custom of Grahamstown employers to give their servants baskets

¹³² GDM 27.8.1941.

¹³³ GDM 29.7.1941.

¹³⁴ GDM 30.7.1941, 6.8.1941.

¹³⁵ GDM 30.7.1941.

¹³⁶ GDM 31.7.1941.

¹³⁷ GDM 5.8.1941.

of food rations to take home. M.D. Foley,¹³⁸ a Black member of the Joint Council, argued that too much emphasis was placed on this practice, and that "viewed from the right angle" the food baskets were in reality "a strong proof of the poverty of the Native population of Grahamstown".¹³⁹

The Mayor, A.W. Parsons, defended the Council by stating that it had no control over the many economic factors which caused the overcrowding in the Location. The Council convened a Malnutrition Conference which was attended by delegates from the Albany Hospital Board, the Albany Divisional Council, the Child Welfare Society, and the Magistrate.¹⁴⁰ The Conference produced a number of recommendations which included the establishment of a crèche and a Municipal Milk Depot for Location residents.¹⁴¹

The Conference Report was criticised in the press by a correspondent who called himself "Reasonably Doubtful":- He questioned the use of 1936 population figures in the report, when 1938 census figures were available, and pointed to the contradictory findings that "the Natives' hospitality to all and sundry contributed to the problem", and that "the disintegration

¹³⁸ He was a shopkeeper in the Tantje Location. (Voters' Roll 1927).

¹³⁹ JC Records, CL MS16556.

¹⁴⁰ Co Mins 23.7.1941.

¹⁴¹ GDM 6.10.1941.

of the tribal system was a contributory cause".¹⁴² R.F. Currey, who had been responsible for publicising the issue so effectively, commented that the Conference's main finding was to the effect that local measures were inadequate in the face of a problem which had roots deep within the nation's life and whole social system.¹⁴³

The ideas of a crèche and a Milk Depot were successfully implemented,¹⁴⁴ but as Currey had reflected, these measures could not eradicate the problem.¹⁴⁵ The malnutrition problem in the Location was further aggravated at the close of the Second World War by the national shortage of maize. The Council successfully appealed to Mrs M. Ballinger,¹⁴⁶ the Natives Representative in Parliament, for assistance in getting Grahamstown's Mealie Quota raised.¹⁴⁷

(II) Location Administration

(a) The Government Locations

The City Council had long been unhappy about the fact that it did

¹⁴² GDM 10.10.1941.

¹⁴³ GDM 13.10.1941.

¹⁴⁴ Co Mins 24.3.1943, 26.7.1944.

¹⁴⁵ Co Mins 23.5.1945. The appalling death rate of young Black children was still a matter of concern in 1945.

¹⁴⁶ V.M.L. Ballinger (1894-1980) lectured at Rhodes University College before becoming a senior lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1919. In November 1937 she became one of the four M.P.s allocated to represent Blacks in Parliament.

¹⁴⁷ Co Mins 22.8.1945, 5.9.1945.

not have the same administrative control over the freehold Government Locations (the Fingo and Hottentot Villages) as it did over the Municipal Locations.¹⁴⁸ The Councillors regarded the Government Locations, and especially Fingo Village, as a refuge for undesirable elements it was able to oust from the Municipal Locations.¹⁴⁹ "I" Street in the Government Location was notorious as the home of many criminals.¹⁵⁰

The Council did not receive the full amount of rates that it was entitled to from the Fingo Village, as the followers of Douglas Danga refused to acknowledge the Municipality's right to exact rates in the Village.¹⁵¹ By the end of 1933 outstanding rates for properties in the Fingo Village amounted to £1027¹⁵² and

¹⁴⁸ See Ch 1 and Southey p.191.

¹⁴⁹ GDM 15.5.1920. Cr. W.Y. St. George Stead is quoted as follows: "The Council has no control over the so called Government Location, with the result that undesirable characters removed from the Municipal Location carry on their nefarious work in the Government Location."

¹⁵⁰ The accounts of many court case proceedings refer to "I" Street as the place of residence of the accused. For instance the Grocott's Daily Mail on 25.4.1931 reported that "Two hefty looking Natives from "I" Street" were charged with assaulting a middle-aged Black. The Council Minutes of 15.8.1923 contain a report from the Location Inspector, in which he describes a fracas in "I" Street, and comments as follows: "This particular street has always been troublesome, and appears to be occupied largely by loafers and undesirables. During the past few years it has been responsible for more Kaffir beer cases than any other two streets together, and unfortunately it not being a Municipal Location, we are unable to remedy this state of affairs."

¹⁵¹ Report of F. Rodseth, Inspector of Urban Locations, 1936. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

¹⁵² Co Mins 1934, p.210.

this amount had increased to £1100 by the end of 1935.¹⁵³

When the Council was considering in 1937 whether Grahamstown should be proclaimed under Sections 5 and 12 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act,¹⁵⁴ Douglas Danga led a deputation to the Magistrate, Mr L. Gane, and submitted that the Fingo Village should be managed by its own Committee, and not by the City Council.¹⁵⁵ The Magistrate was not at all sympathetically inclined towards the deputation's request and condemned the Villagers for making no effort themselves to improve living conditions in the Village. (When Grahamstown was eventually proclaimed under Sections 5 and 12 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1938, the fact that the land in Fingo Village was held by freehold title meant that the Village had to be declared as "an area approved for the residence of natives", and Blacks who could prove that they had purchased property in the Fingo Village were excluded from the "influx control" provisions of the legislation.)¹⁵⁶

A slight rapprochement between the Fingo Village residents and the Council occurred in April 1938 when a deputation led by

¹⁵³ Report by F. Rodseth, Inspector of Urban Locations, 1936. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5. Rodseth estimated that only 80% of the Fingo Village residents paid their rates.

¹⁵⁴ The proclamation of the city under these sections of the Act is discussed later in this Chapter.

¹⁵⁵ GDM 7.7.1937.

¹⁵⁶ CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

Thomas Nkosinkulu¹⁵⁷ met with the Council and declared that the residents would henceforth be encouraged to pay their rates.¹⁵⁸

The inability of many Fingo Villagers to pay for improvements to their homes led the Council to press the Government to expropriate their land so that new housing schemes could be undertaken.¹⁵⁹ In 1936 F. Rodseth, the Inspector of Urban Locations stated that such a move would be immoral,¹⁶⁰ and in 1939 D. Smit, the Secretary for Native Affairs, declared that, because of the outbreak of the Second World War, it was not an opportune time to expropriate land from Blacks.¹⁶¹

Confusion had reigned over the years regarding the transfer of Fingo Village title deeds and the inability of many Fingo Village residents to produce title deeds, meant that there was a lack of clarity as to who was actually responsible for the payment of rates for specific properties.¹⁶² The Government, therefore, during the Second World War, instituted an inquiry into the status of the title deeds, and issued substitute titles to the

¹⁵⁷ He was the interpreter at the Magistrate's Court.

¹⁵⁸ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 30.4.1938. At the meeting it was also agreed that the Council would in turn improve living conditions in the Location by inter alia appointing constables to maintain law and order, and improving the conditions of the roads in the area. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/8.

¹⁵⁹ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 20.6.1939. CA 1/2/10/1/10. Co Mins 27.9.1939.

¹⁶⁰ Report by F. Rodseth, CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

¹⁶¹ Co Mins 27.9.1939.

¹⁶² Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 25.8.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

residents.¹⁶³

In 1945 the Council tried hard to persuade the Government to accede to its wishes to expropriate the land, but the officials of the Native Affairs Department remained firm in their opposition to the Council's intention, and declared that they were extremely disappointed with the Council's attitude as they had long considered Grahamstown to be "a town that stood for a liberal and progressive policy."¹⁶⁴

(b) The Municipal Locations

The City Council was particularly concerned with eradicating the illicit brewing of beer and stick fights in the Municipal Locations. Strict Municipal regulations prohibited the possession of "imitombo", the sprouted grain used for making beer,¹⁶⁵ and the carrying of knobkerries and dangerous weapons was also prohibited within the Municipal area.¹⁶⁶ The Council

¹⁶³ Major Apthorp, the Commissioner who conducted the inquiry, concluded that two-thirds of the owners were descendants of the original grantees. Co Mins 4.1.1945. The Native Administration Act of 1927 made provision for the appointment of a Commissioner and the substitution of a cheap form of transfer.

¹⁶⁴ Report by C.A. Heald, 10.1.1945. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/17.

¹⁶⁵ Co Mins 6.7.1927. The regulations allowed the Location Superintendent or the Police to search any building or vehicle for beer, without a search warrant.

¹⁶⁶ Co Mins 2.2.1927.

also maintained the curfew which had been introduced in 1912.¹⁶⁷ Concern about Blacks illegally obtaining liquor, was the prime motivation behind the Council's decision to have the Municipal Locations "established" under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923.¹⁶⁸ When the Council learnt that the Supreme Court in Grahamstown had quashed a conviction for bringing liquor into the Aliwal North Location because that Location had not been formally "established" under the Act, it resolved to have the Municipal Locations "established" so as to prevent a similar difficulty arising in Grahamstown.¹⁶⁹ In terms of Government Notice No.783 of 1926 the Municipal Locations were "established" under Section 1 (1)(a) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, Act No 21 of 1923.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ See Ch 1. New curfew regulations had to be adopted following the passing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act No 25 of 1930 which superseded the Act of 1895 under which the original curfew regulations had been introduced. Co Mins 25.5.1932, 28.1.1933.

¹⁶⁸ See T.R.H. Davenport The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa: the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and its Background. Grahamstown: Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1971, for an account of how J.C. Smuts intended to give urban Blacks security of tenure, but Opposition moves resulted in this principle being dropped from the Act.

¹⁶⁹ Co Mins 10.8.1925, 21.10.1925.

¹⁷⁰ Co Mins 7.7.1926. The areas defined as Municipal Locations in terms of the Government Notice were:

(a) An area approximately 63 acres in extent, situated on the south side of the Fingo Government Location, having Powell Street as its northern boundary, the Port Alfred railway line as its western boundary, and the town lands or commonage as the southern and eastern boundaries.

(b) An area, approximately 83 acres in extent, situated on the north side of the Fingo Government Location and bounded on the west by a branch of the Kowie River, on the south side by another branch of the Kowie River, and on the north and east by the town lands or commonage.

In keeping with the national trend,¹⁷¹ the Council was reluctant to bring Grahamstown under the 1930 "influx control" amendments to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. The main reason for the Council's reluctance to have the city proclaimed under Section 5 of the Act, was its fear that if this was done the Council would be required to spend a large amount of money, and that the size of the Location would be increased.¹⁷² (Throughout the period reviewed the Council remained strongly opposed to increasing the extent of the Black areas.)¹⁷³

Living conditions in the Location deteriorated as rural Blacks flocked into the urban area during the late 1920s and early 1930s, and the 1936 Census revealed that the city's Black population had increased by over 62% or 3517 people in 15 years.¹⁷⁴ F. Rodseth, the Inspector of Urban Locations, visited Grahamstown in 1936 and recommended that the city should be proclaimed under sections 5 and 12 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.¹⁷⁵ He also recommended that a special Council Committee should be responsible for the administration of the

¹⁷¹ Registered locations only numbered 234 in 1937, and only 76 municipalities had undertaken service contract registration by 1937. -- See T.R.H. Davenport in M. Swilling, R. Humphries and K. Shubane (eds) Apartheid City in Transition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991, p.8.

¹⁷² Co Mins 1931. Medical Officer of Health's report. p.240.

¹⁷³ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 9.2.1945. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/17.

¹⁷⁴ Medical Officer of Health's Housing Report 29.7.1936. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

¹⁷⁵ Co Mins 26.8.1936. Section 12 made provision for service contract registration.

city's Blacks, as he observed that the Health, Location and Market Committee did not take much interest in the welfare of the Location residents.¹⁷⁶

The Council investigated the implications of proclamation, and accepted the idea in principle,¹⁷⁷ but only reached a definite decision in August 1937 at a special Council meeting attended by A.L. Barrett,¹⁷⁸ the Chief Native Commissioner.¹⁷⁹ Barrett accused the Council of using delaying tactics, and successfully pressurised the Councillors into agreeing to accept the proposed proclamation.¹⁸⁰ The Councillors were swayed by the fact that Section 12 of the Act made provision for the removal of "surplus

¹⁷⁶ Report by F. Rodseth, Inspector of Urban Locations, 1936. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

¹⁷⁷ Co Mins 25.11.1936.

¹⁷⁸ Barrett and J.M. Young (also a senior official of the Native Affairs Department) had been appointed in 1935 by the Secretary of Native Affairs to investigate proposed changes to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. They toured South Africa during 1935 - 1936 and produced a report which trounced Stallardism. (They heard evidence in Grahamstown on 27.9.1935.) F. Rodseth was Secretary to the Young-Barrett Committee. The report was suppressed, because of opposition from the Minister of Native Affairs, P.G.W. Grobler.-- See T.R.H. Davenport in Apartheid City in Transition, p.10, and S. Dubow Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919 - 36. Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1989, p.124 and p.208. Dubow (pages 77 - 80) illustrates how the Native Affairs Department had an ideology of sympathetic paternalism, but was the "Cinderella of the ministerial family," and did not enjoy the same prestige as the powerful Department of Justice.

¹⁷⁹ Co Mins 18.8.1937.

¹⁸⁰ Co Mins 18.8.1937. Barrett said at the meeting that he had been born and educated in Grahamstown and was shocked at the deterioration in living conditions that he had observed in the Location.

Natives" from the urban area by the Government.¹⁸¹

At the beginning of 1938 the Council followed F. Rodseth's advice and established a Coloured and Native Affairs Committee.¹⁸²

It was originally planned that the registration of Black males would begin on 1 March 1938, but the Government suspended the process until 1 July 1938.¹⁸³

The service contract legislation only applied to Black males, who were medically examined before they could be registered.¹⁸⁴

The legislation also made provision for the payment by employers of 1½ months wages if a servant became ill, and many Whites expressed reservations in this respect as they feared that they would be compelled to pay sick pay to servants who feigned illnesses.¹⁸⁵ Blacks wishing to work in Grahamstown had 6 days to look for work, and those who contravened the law faced arrest without a warrant, and, if convicted, a fine of £5 or one month

¹⁸¹ Co Mins 1937, p.158. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/7.

¹⁸² Co Mins 26.1.1938, 23.2.1938.

¹⁸³ GDM 24.3.1938. On 25.3.1938 the Government Gazette published the Proclamation for the Segregation of Natives in the Urban Area of Grahamstown. (Proclamation 63, Government Gazette Vol.CXI No 2516) Proclamation 115 of 27 May 1938 restricted the right of Blacks to enter the urban area of Grahamstown. (Government Gazette Vol.CXII No 2530)

¹⁸⁴ The editor of the Grocott's Daily Mail was critical of the exclusion of Black females from the registration process, as he maintained that it was no indignity for a Black woman seeking employment to submit to a medical examination. He pointed out that if female servants were not medically screened employers would run the risk of having "infection of an unpleasant nature" introduced to their families, and especially their children. GDM 4.9.1937.

¹⁸⁵ Co Mins 18.8.1937.

in prison.¹⁸⁶

Local Blacks were unhappy when two Blacks from Kroonstad were hired as registration clerks.¹⁸⁷ Employers had to pay a registration fee of 1s 0d. a month.¹⁸⁸ Two censuses were held to determine the number of "surplus" Blacks,¹⁸⁹ and the Council decided that there were 2042 "redundant" Blacks in Grahamstown.¹⁹⁰

The Government was unwilling to remove these Blacks from the urban area, and even the attempts of T.B. Bowker, the local Member of Parliament, to force the issue were unsuccessful.¹⁹¹ When A.L. Barrett visited Grahamstown, in June 1939, he told the Coloured and Native Affairs Committee that he had not at any time intended to imply that redundant Blacks would be removed if the Council undertook the registration of Blacks.¹⁹² Local ratepayers moaned that they received no benefit from the registration fees that they had to pay, but the Council decided not to suspend the process as the majority of the Councillors

¹⁸⁶ CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/6.

¹⁸⁷ Co Mins 26.1.1938. JC Minutes 4.2.1938. CL MS16584. The posts were not advertised locally.

¹⁸⁸ Co Mins 29.10.1937.

¹⁸⁹ See Tables giving the results of these censuses.

¹⁹⁰ See Table outlining the results of the November 1938 Census.

¹⁹¹ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes, 28.4.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

¹⁹² Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes.9.6.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

believed that it deterred Blacks from coming to the city.¹⁹³ As a concession to the ratepayers, the Council decided to reduce the registration fee from 1s 0d. to 6d. per month as from 1.1.1940.¹⁹⁴ The Government advised the Council to seek to have those Blacks, who refused to take up employment, convicted under Section 17 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.¹⁹⁵ This Section of the Act made provision for the removal of convicted "won't works" to farm work colonies, but these institutions were used by the Government itself during the Second World War as internment camps for those who opposed the war effort.¹⁹⁶

(c) The Native Advisory Board

A Native Advisory Board was established in 1924, in terms of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.¹⁹⁷ This Board did not have considerable influence over the City Council,¹⁹⁸ but it did get the Council to take action regarding specific grievances, such

¹⁹³ Co Mins 27.9.1939, 25.10.1939.

¹⁹⁴ Co Mins 25.10.1939.

¹⁹⁵ Co Mins 27.9.1939.

¹⁹⁶ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes, 21.9.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

¹⁹⁷ Co Mins 25.6.1924. The Board consisted of 5 members: 2 from the Tantji Location, 2 from the Emaggunwebeni Location, and a White Chairman.

¹⁹⁸ For instance when it opposed the introduction of a municipal beer hall (this topic is discussed further below), it did not put up considerable resistance, and declared that "Should, however, the Council decide to carry its proposal into effect, then the Board ask the Council to make provision for a special concession for private brewing for ceremonial rites." Co Mins 25.5.1938. No Advisory Board existed in Grahamstown during the second half of 1938, when the Beer Hall Controversy reached its height, as no nominations were received. Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes. 17.6.1938. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/8.

as the lack of lighting in certain Location streets.¹⁹⁹ The Board's subservience to the Council is well illustrated by the Council's refusal in 1945 to accept the name that the Board recommended for the southern Municipal Location.²⁰⁰

In 1939 the Board scored a victory over the Council when it resigned en bloc because the Council declined to send a delegate to the national Advisory Board Congress in Durban that year.²⁰¹ The Council was forced to compromise and a delegate was eventually sent. (Board members valued attendance at national Advisory Board Congresses, as from 1929 onwards these congresses became increasingly effective forums for Black urban leaders.)²⁰²

(d) Location Inspector/Superintendent

J.P. McNamee was Location Inspector from 1917 until 1926, when he resigned to take up the post of Location Inspector in Port Elizabeth.²⁰³ After his departure the City Council discovered that unauthorised expenditure to the extent of £112 9s 10d. from the Location Revenue Fund had been spent on repairs to the

¹⁹⁹ Advisory Board Minutes, 5.3.1936, 2.4.1936.

²⁰⁰ Co Mins 28.3.1945, 27.6.1945. The Board recommended that the Northern Location be called "Temba" and the Southern Location "Ekuphumleni". The Board subsequently suggested the name "Mpilo" for the Southern Location, and this name was approved by the Council.

²⁰¹ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 15.12.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

²⁰² T.R.H. Davenport in Apartheid City in Transition, p.11.

²⁰³ Co Mins 7.7.1926.

Inspector's house.²⁰⁴ The money had been earmarked for repairs to Location roads and the erection of latrines, but this work had not been carried out.²⁰⁵

The Council experienced difficulty in replacing McNamee as candidates for the position were not keen to live within the Location.²⁰⁶ H. Walker was eventually appointed,²⁰⁷ and he filled the post until he was dismissed in 1938, following a dispute with the Council about leave that was due to him.²⁰⁸ F. Rodseth, the Inspector of Urban Locations, described Walker in 1936 as a "suitable type", but claimed that he had become lax.²⁰⁹

P.R. Dyer, who had experience of Location administration in the Transvaal, was subsequently appointed.²¹⁰ He objected to living in the centre of the Location, so the Council had to compromise on this issue, although it felt that the Inspector should reside in the Location to "place a feeling of restraint on the Natives".²¹¹ Dyer had plans for improving life in the Location by encouraging such things as gardening, sport and the

²⁰⁴ Co Mins 3.11.1926.

²⁰⁵ Co Mins 3.11.1926.

²⁰⁶ Co Mins 1.9.1926.

²⁰⁷ Co Mins 6.10.1926.

²⁰⁸ Co Mins 23.2.1938, 23.3.1938.

²⁰⁹ CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

²¹⁰ Co Mins 28.2.1938.

²¹¹ Co Mins 22.6.1938.

Boys' and Girls' Clubs,²¹² but he became disillusioned when most of his time had to be spent collecting rentals.²¹³ Before he resigned in 1940 as a result of a disagreement with the Council about his locomotion allowance, he drew up a memorandum outlining the difficulties that he had had to deal with in the course of his work.²¹⁴ In the memorandum he claimed that when he assumed duties on 1.4.1938 he was confronted with a department which had been functioning without any kind of organisation, but he had managed to reduce the rental arrears from £533 7s 10d. to £274 13s 1d. during the first 9 months of his service. He objected to the fact that the Council had illegally compelled him in 1938 to collect increased rentals from the residents before the Administrator of the Cape had given his approval to the increases.²¹⁵

Dyer complained that "the lot of a Superintendent is not an enviable one, more especially so where one comes into contact with so much abject poverty, misery, illness and disease, and at the same time has to contend with the arrogance of not a few."²¹⁶ The Council thanked him for the work that he had done to improve the conditions of the Black community, and

²¹² JC Minutes 20.5.1938. CL MS16584.

²¹³ JC Records CL MS16556.

²¹⁴ JC Records, Memorandum re position of Superintendent of Locations, CL MS16556.

²¹⁵ He claimed that the Council had illegally benefited to the tune of £268 10s 0d. by collecting the increased rentals before they had been legally sanctioned.

²¹⁶ JC Records CL MS16556.

appointed R.H. Murray, who had been Location Superintendent in Port Alfred, in his stead.²¹⁷

(e) Location Housing

The City Council was extremely dilatory in providing for the housing needs of Location residents. In 1923 the Council considered raising a loan for a housing scheme,²¹⁸ but nothing was done in this respect until 1928. The Council's tardiness in applying for a loan of £3000 for this purpose from the Central Housing Board, led the Board to threaten to allocate the money to another municipality if the Council delayed any longer.²¹⁹

The Council was anxious to build its Location houses as economically as possible, and the local Ratepayers' Association felt obliged to point out to the Council the dangers of constructing huts with walls only 4½ inches thick.²²⁰ The Councillors finally decided upon 9 inch walls, but reduced the number of huts to be constructed from 32 to 26.²²¹ The Council was proud of the fact that the capital cost of its scheme was lower than that of Pietermaritzburg's "Model Native Village".²²²

No difficulty was experienced in letting the houses, which became

²¹⁷ Co Mins 24.1.1940, 27.3.1940.

²¹⁸ Co Mins 15.8.1923.

²¹⁹ Co Mins 2.5.1928.

²²⁰ Co Mins 7.11.1928.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Co Mins 7.8.1929.

known as the "New Town" houses.²²³ The Council's insistence on saving as much money as possible on the scheme was short sighted, as damp penetrated the walls, and building repairs had to be carried out in 1935.²²⁴

By 1936 the Council realised that it would have to do far more to tackle the enormous housing problem in the Location, as the publication of the results of the Census held that year meant that the appalling overcrowding in the Location could no longer be ignored.²²⁵ At the beginning of 1937 the Council resolved to apply to the Administrator for authority to obtain a loan of £25000 to improve housing in the Location and to eradicate slum premises throughout the city.²²⁶

The Council requested F.W. Jameson of the Central Housing Board to advise it on how to improve living conditions in the Location.²²⁷ Jameson was horrified by the way that the Council had mismanaged the Location, and the Council was reluctant to

²²³ Co Mins 7.8.1929.

²²⁴ Health Committee Minutes 13.6.1935. CA 3AY/1/2/10/1/4.

²²⁵ Medical Officer of Health stated in his Housing Report of 29.7.1936 that "the Native population was not thought to be nearly what the count proved it to be." CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

²²⁶ Co Mins 1937, p.58.

²²⁷ He had formerly been City Engineer of Kimberley, and had recently given the Fort Beaufort Municipality advice about improving conditions in the Location there. (Health Committee Minutes 2.4.1937. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/6.)

make public the reports he compiled following his investigations.²²⁸ He condemned the Council for allowing residents of the Municipal Locations to build shacks after submitting inadequate sketch plans to the Location Superintendent.²²⁹ He was also critical of the Health and Town Engineer's departments for failing to control the proliferation of shacks in the Fingo Village, and he concluded that 90% of the houses in the Black area would have to be demolished.²³⁰ Jameson calculated that after the removal of "redundant" or "surplus" Blacks 1610 new dwellings would have to be built for the city's Coloureds and Blacks.²³¹

In January 1938 the Council resolved to build 25 three roomed cottages between "T" and "M" Streets in the Municipal Location.²³² It also resolved to pay particular attention to improving housing along Raglan Road in the Fingo Village, as this road was to form part of the National Road.²³³ On 23.3.1938 the Council took the decision that it would deal with dilapidated properties in Raglan Road and Albany Road (a main road leading out of the city) in terms of the Slums Act, Act No.53 of 1934,

²²⁸ JC Minutes 5.8.1938, 17.11.1938. CL MS16584. A slightly abridged copy of Jameson's findings was eventually forwarded to the Joint Council. GDM 31.1.1938 -- "The Ratepayer is wholly in the dark in regard to a question of very great importance and complexity."

²²⁹ CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/7.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/7.

²³² Co Mins 26.1.1938, GDM 27.1.1938.

²³³ Co Mins 26.1.1938.

as these properties stood on freehold ground.²³⁴

The Council believed that the Coloured and Black people should be residentially segregated and saw the housing schemes it envisioned as an ideal opportunity to remove Black people from predominantly Coloured areas, and Coloured people from predominantly Black areas.²³⁵

By the end of 1938 the Council had decided to double the number of cottages it intended to erect in the Municipal Location, but the Central Housing Board did not approve of the concrete blocks the Council intended to use as building materials.²³⁶ On 28.6.1939 the Council decided to accept the lowest tender it received for the construction of the cottages, and Central Housing Board approval for a revised building plan was finally obtained in September.²³⁷ The houses were all completed by February 1941, but they were not an unmitigated success as they were extremely cold in winter,²³⁸ and by 1945 bad cracks had appeared in the roofs of some of the structures.²³⁹

²³⁴ Co Mins 23.3.1938.

²³⁵ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 25.2.1938. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/8. It was unanimously agreed that Albany Road was essentially a Coloured area, and Raglan Road was essentially a Native area.

²³⁶ Co Mins 7.12.1938.

²³⁷ Co Mins 28.6.1939, 27.9.1939.

²³⁸ GDM 27.2.1941. The Joint Council condemned the cement floors in these homes. JC Minutes 4.4.1940. CL MS16584.

²³⁹ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 2.11.1945. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/17.

The Council introduced a Hire Purchase scheme whereby Location residents could purchase second hand wood and iron and other building materials for repairing their huts, but this scheme was not at all popular amongst the Location residents.²⁴⁰

A Sub-Economic housing scheme for Coloureds was completed in 1941.²⁴¹ This project was far superior to the project in the Municipal Location as the tenants were supplied with water-borne sewerage and indoor plumbing.²⁴²

An additional room was added to each of the "New Town" cottages, but in 1945 these cottages were found to be in a deplorable state on account of the poor workmanship of the building contractor.²⁴³ Two housing schemes for old and indigent Blacks were undertaken,²⁴⁴ and 21 extra cottages were erected in the Municipal Location during 1943.²⁴⁵

Several Councillors realised that it would be advantageous if a special Committee of experts could draw up a comprehensive plan for Location reconstruction, but the majority of the Councillors

²⁴⁰ Co Mins 28.2.1940, 28.8.1940, 4.1.1945.

²⁴¹ GDM 20.3.1941. Account of a "roof-ready" ceremony.

²⁴² Co Mins 28.3.1945.

²⁴³ Co Mins 27.8.1941, Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes: Acting Location Inspector's Report for June 1945. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/17.

²⁴⁴ Co Mins 19.12.1941, 24.6.1942, 26.7.1944.

²⁴⁵ Co Mins 23.6.1943.

rejected this idea.²⁴⁶ Although the Council's housing projects were a step in the right direction, they were insufficient to meet the enormous housing needs of the Black community. In his Mayoral Minute of 1944, Revd. G.H.P. Jacques²⁴⁷ summed up the situation well when he declared that "Public opinion must assist the Council to go in for much larger schemes if we are to touch the moderate demands voiced by human misery in our locations."²⁴⁸

(f) Location Water Supply

The inadequacy of the supply of water to the Location remained a problem throughout the period reviewed. The Council's attempts to improve the situation did not confront the enormity of the problem.

Location residents often had to contend with serious water shortages and on some occasions no water was available at all.²⁴⁹ During the early 1920s the residents complained that the hours that the water was supplied were inconvenient as they coincided with the time most Blacks left the Location to go to work in the White area.²⁵⁰ The drought of 1927 occasioned an exceptionally serious water supply problem in the Location, and

²⁴⁶ Co Mins 26.11.1941.

²⁴⁷ See Biographical Sketch of Jacques.

²⁴⁸ Co Mins 23.8.1944.

²⁴⁹ Co Mins 1935, p.321. Mayoral Minute 1934 - 1935.

²⁵⁰ Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes 17.2.1922. CL MS16560.

the Council decided to alleviate the situation by constructing several tanks along the pipeline from the borehole that it constructed in the Location to supply the Power Station with water.²⁵¹

In order to be able to draw water from the Municipal standpipes, the Location residents initially had to purchase tickets which cost 2s 6d. and were valid for three months,²⁵² but these charges were subsequently dropped and water was supplied free of charge.²⁵³ Following a serious Location water shortage in October 1934, the Council was compelled to spend £2000 on the laying of new mains.²⁵⁴ The expenditure of this money did not go very far in solving the Location's water problems, and in 1938, the Council, in an attempt to cut costs, decided to improve the Location water supply by using second hand material which would become redundant as a result of the introduction of a new reticulation system in the White area.²⁵⁵ Only a very little discarded piping could be salvaged, so the Council had to purchase new piping to extend the Location's water supply "as far as circumstances would permit".²⁵⁶ During 1941 the number of

²⁵¹ Co Mins 19.5.1927.

²⁵² Co Mins 28.8.1930, 21.10.1930.

²⁵³ Medical Officer of Health's Housing Report 1935. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/4. GDM 18.12.1940.

²⁵⁴ Co Mins 1935, p.321.

²⁵⁵ Co Mins 25.5.1938.

²⁵⁶ Co Mins 23.8.1939.

standpipes in the Black area were increased to a total of 53.²⁵⁷

(g) Location Roads

Following representations made in April 1938 by a deputation led by Thomas Nkosinkulu,²⁵⁸ the Council made an effort to repair the terrible condition of the Location roads. The Location Superintendent and his men were instructed to do the work, and a light tractor was employed to speed up the work, after the oxen that were originally used developed sore hoofs.²⁵⁹ These repairs did not tackle the magnitude of the problem, as the Revd. C.W. Alderson of St. Paul's wrote to the Grocott's Daily Mail in 1941 complaining about the condition of the roads in the Location.²⁶⁰

(h) Sanitation in the Location

Water-borne sewerage was only extended to a few properties in the Location on account of the cost involved.²⁶¹ The deplorable state of the Location's communal pail latrine system was criticised by the Young-Barrett Committee in 1935,²⁶²

²⁵⁷ Co Mins 27.8.1941.

²⁵⁸ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 30.4.1938. This deputation is also referred to earlier in this Chapter -- see Section II (a).

²⁵⁹ Co Mins 25.5.1938., Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes, 25.11.1938.

²⁶⁰ GDM 20.3.1941.

²⁶¹ In 1939 the water-borne sewerage system was extended to the Beer Hall, the Recreation Hall, and the Location offices. Co Mins 26.4.1939. In 1941 the sewerage main was extended to the cottages built for the Coloured community. Co Mins 28.5.1941.

²⁶² Co Mins 1937, p.132.

F. Rodseth in 1936,²⁶³ and in 1937 F.W. Jameson was extremely critical of the Council's lack of concern for adequately providing for the sanitary needs of Grahamstown's Black residents.²⁶⁴ Jameson claimed that the entire Location was "actually a vast latrine", and pointed out that the Location Superintendent was too absorbed in clerical duties and rent collection to be involved in reforming sanitary conditions. He praised some residents, who had, on their own initiative, installed pit privies on their plots; but he reported that these people did not allow their boarders to make use of the privies.²⁶⁵

In his reports Jameson roundly condemned the Health Inspector, J.B. Stirling, and he claimed that this official showed "an utter disregard of human values" as he had failed to take appropriate action when the Council did not provide an adequate pail removal service for its own employees at the Nightsoil Pail Cleansing Depot, or for the employees of Butchers who kept cattle at the municipally owned Butchers' Kraals.²⁶⁶

The Council planned to remedy the appalling sanitation situation

²⁶³ CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

²⁶⁴ CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/7. Reports by F.W. Jameson of the Central Housing Board.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ In both these instances Jameson found that people were living in shelters that were entirely unfit for human habitation.

in the Location by extending the pail removal system,²⁶⁷ but Jameson persuaded the Councillors that privy pits would serve the health needs of the Black community better.²⁶⁸ Pit privies were constructed on each plot in the Municipal Location and many were installed in the Fingo Village,²⁶⁹ but problems arose in 1939 when several privies became waterlogged.²⁷⁰ Jameson again visited Grahamstown and declared that he was impressed by the improved sanitary conditions in the Location.²⁷¹ He claimed that those privies which were rapidly filling up were used by too many people. The life span of many of the privy pits proved very much shorter than had been anticipated, and in 1944 the Council had to revert to the pail removal system.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ Co Mins 1937, p.132. The Council decided to instal a latrine on each plot in the Municipal Location. The 1937 Typhoid outbreak was mentioned as a motivation for instituting this policy.

²⁶⁸ Co Mins 1937, p.237, Jameson was the patentee of the Humus pedestals and seats that the Council decided to install, and he waived his royalty as a mark of appreciation of the Council's decision to instal pit privies in the Location. Co Mins 21.12.1938.

²⁶⁹ Co Mins 22.12.1937, Co Mins 24.8.1938 -- Medical Officer of Health's Report for the year ending 30.6.1938. The Council was powerless to compel Fingo Village plottolders to install privies, and some refused to allow the Council to construct privies on their plots, as they could not afford to pay the monthly 2s 6d. fee that the Council charged. Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 17.11.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

²⁷⁰ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 26.5.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

²⁷¹ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 2.8.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

²⁷² Co Mins 25.10.1944. Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 7.7.1944, 4.8.1944. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/16. The ground in Fingo Village and in parts of Tantje proved to be unsuitable for privy pits.

(i) The Municipal Beer Hall

The City Council decided that the establishment of a Municipal Beer Hall would be the best way for it to control the liquor problem in the Location, and at the beginning of 1938 it resolved to exercise the exclusive right to manufacture, sell, and supply kaffir beer in the urban area.²⁷³ Opposition to the opening of a Beer Hall came from many sources:-

The Native Advisory Board opposed the Council's plan to establish a "Native Eating House and Beer Hall", as it argued that such an establishment was "against Bantu moral laws and customs".²⁷⁴ The Joint Council urged the Council to give domestic brewing a year's trial before proceeding with the erection of the Beer Hall.²⁷⁵ The National Council of Women and Douglas Danga²⁷⁶ also protested against the proposed Beer Hall.²⁷⁷

The City Council was not swayed by this opposition as it maintained that beer produced by private enterprise in the Location was adulterated to give extra potency and to cause intoxication.²⁷⁸ It also claimed that it had no intention of urging the consumption of beer as a means of obtaining

²⁷³ Co Mins 26.1.1938.

²⁷⁴ Co Mins 25.5.1938.

²⁷⁵ JC Minutes 5.4.1938. CL MS16584.

²⁷⁶ See Ch 1 for Biographical details.

²⁷⁷ Co Mins 26.6.1938.

²⁷⁸ Co Mins Memorandum dated 22.6.1938.

revenue.²⁷⁹

The South African Temperance Alliance collected 207 signatures on a petition urging the Mayor, G.W. Lucas,²⁸⁰ to call a public meeting at which the City Council could explain its reasons for deciding in favour of a Municipal Beer Hall.²⁸¹ The Mayor replied to this petition by publishing in the press a memorandum which mainly referred to the successful operation of Beer Halls in other towns.²⁸²

The local branches of Toc H and the Toc H League of Women Helpers joined the Joint Council and the Temperance Alliance in their opposition to the Beer Hall, and the City Council agreed to meet their representatives at a round table conference on 8.8.1938.²⁸³ Despite the representations that these bodies made and protest meetings in the Location, the City Council continued to favour the building of a Beer Hall.²⁸⁴

The opponents of the Beer Hall rejected the Council's argument that home brewing was not feasible on account of the anomalous

²⁷⁹ Co Mins Memorandum dated 22.6.1938.

²⁸⁰ G.W. Lucas taught Mathematics at St. Andrew's College.

²⁸¹ Co Mins 27.7.1938. JC Records CL MS16556.

²⁸² JC records CL MS16556.

²⁸³ Co Mins 27.7.1938.

²⁸⁴ JC Records CL MS16556.

legal position of the Fingo Village,²⁸⁵ which made home brewing illegal there. It was argued that this legal technicality could easily be overcome if the Council liaised with the Departments of Justice and Native Affairs.²⁸⁶

The Joint Council's three main arguments against a Municipal Beer Hall were as follows:-

Firstly, municipal beer would cost more than the home brewed variety, and the Location residents would have even less money to spend on nourishing food. The Joint Council conceded that the profits of the Beer Hall would be spent on amenities in the Location, but it protested that Black women would suffer the most because a reduced amount of money would be available for their needs. The high food value of the beer would provide no benefit for Location children, who were the most in need of nourishing food.

Secondly, illicit private brewing would still continue and the social ills it caused would not be eliminated.

Thirdly, Beer Halls were contrary to African traditions, and would disrupt family life by keeping men away from their homes for long periods.²⁸⁷

Another petition, signed by 26 people, called upon the City Council to convene a public meeting in connection with the Beer

²⁸⁵ The Village did not fall under the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.

²⁸⁶ JC Records CL MS16556.

²⁸⁷ JC Records CL MS16556.

Hall issue.²⁸⁸ At a special meeting of the City Council held on 7.12.1938 the petitioners' request was rejected by 7 votes to 5, and the Council reaffirmed its decision to proceed with the introduction of a Beer Hall.²⁸⁹ An important factor influencing the City Council's decision was the amount of profit that illicit brewers were apparently making in the Location, as reference was made during the course of the meeting to recent court cases in which heavy fines for illicit brewing of beer had been paid on the spot.²⁹⁰

The Joint Council called its own well attended public meeting on 14.12.1938 and again called upon the City Council to give home brewing a year's trial.²⁹¹ The Joint Council appealed to the Cape Provincial Executive about the City Council's refusal to call a public meeting on the issue, but the Executive refused to become involved in what it regarded as a domestic dispute.²⁹² The Council equated the opposition to the Beer Hall with the opposition that had been mounted against the Howieson's Poort Water Scheme,²⁹³ and believed that it was also acting wisely in this matter.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁸ JC Records CL MS16556.

²⁸⁹ Co Mins 7.12.1938.

²⁹⁰ JC Records CL MS16556, Co Mins 7.12.1938.

²⁹¹ JC Records CL MS16556.

²⁹² Co Mins 26.4.1939.

²⁹³ See Ch 3 for details.

²⁹⁴ JC Records CL MS16556.

The Beer Hall opened on 6.5.1939 and ran at a loss of £205 14s 10d during its first year of operation.²⁹⁵ In August 1940 the Council decided to shorten the Beer Hall's hours of opening in order to cut down on Beer Hall expenditure.²⁹⁶ By the middle of 1941 the Beer Hall's financial position had improved, and in 1944 patrons requested that the premises be enlarged as the facility had become so popular.²⁹⁷

(j) Policing the Location

The City Council attempted on numerous occasions during the 1930s to persuade the Police to patrol the Location more effectively, and to establish a Police sub-station there.²⁹⁸ Requests for better policing of the Black areas were made by the Black members of the Grahamstown Welfare Association and the Joint Council,²⁹⁹ as well as by the Native Advisory Board.³⁰⁰ The Police maintained that it would be too expensive to establish a

²⁹⁵ Co Mins 24.7.1940.

²⁹⁶ Co Mins 28.8.1940.

²⁹⁷ Co Mins Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 4.2.1944. The social consequences of the establishment of the Beer Hall are considered in Ch 6.

²⁹⁸ Co Mins 5.11.1930, Health Committee Minutes 15.6.1933, 11.6.1936, Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 17.6.1938, 24.3.1939. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/2, 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5, 3/AY/1/2/10/1/8, 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10.

²⁹⁹ Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes 4.11.1930, 9.12.1930. CL MS16560. JC Minutes 19.6.1934. CL MS16584.

³⁰⁰ Health Committee Minutes 15.6.1933, 12.10.1933. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/2. The Board was particularly concerned about policing over weekends when "red blanketed natives" came into the Location. Douglas Danga was also concerned about crime in the Location, as he, and others, submitted a petition asking the local authority to expel undesirables from the Fingo Village.-- Report by F. Rodseth CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

sub-station in the Location, and by 1938 the City Council decided to resort to employing 4 Black constables to maintain law and order in the Location.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 29.4.1938. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/8. Co Mins 22.6.1938, 26.6.1940.

TABLES SHOWING THE RESULTS OF THE CENSUSES OF "NATIVES"
HELD IN 1938

Census of "Natives" July 1938

Area	Males	Females	Totals
Fingo Village	1493	1924	3417
Hottentot Village	377	405	782
Municipal Location	1869	2252	4121
Totals	3739	4581	8320

Summary

	Males	Females	Total
Locations	3739	4581	8320
Accommodated in Town by Employers	337	450	787
Total	4076	5031	9107

Average Number of Persons Per House or Stand

Municipal Location 560 houses	7.35
Fingo Location 370 stands	9.23
Hottentot Village 59 stands	13.25

COMPILED FROM: Grahamstown City Council Minute Book 1938, p.213.

Distribution of Population and Employment Statistics:
Census November 1938.

Urban Area of Grahamstown.

	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL
	18 years & over	under 18 years	18 years & over	under 18 years	
1) No. of "Natives" resident within the urban area	2179	1909	2963	2070	9121
2) No. of "Natives" resident & employed within urban area	1379	101	1242	84	2806
3) No. of "Natives" resident in area but employed elsewhere than in urban area	-	-	-	-	-
4) No. of "Natives" not resident in urban area but employed within urban area	-	-	-	-	-
5) No. of "Natives" resident urban area but not employed	808	1803	1733	1971	6315
6) No. of "Natives" bona fide visiting urban area	32	12	57	23	124
7) No. of "Natives" who in opinion of local authority are necessary for the reasonable labour requirements of the area	1300	100	1220	84	2704

8) No. of "Natives" resident within the urban area who are considered by the local authority NOT necessary for reasonable labour requirements...& whom it is desired be removed	318	422	809	493	2042
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COMPILED FROM: Grahamstown City Council Minute Book 1938, p.398.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLITICS¹(a) Grahamstown's reaction to international political developments

During the years 1918 to 1945 Grahamstonians put their trust in the strength of the British Empire, and fervently opposed many of the moves made by Afrikaner nationalists to loosen South Africa's connections with Britain.² The large size of the Empire made Britain appear to be very strong, but in reality Britain's global presence was not the equivalent of global power,³ and the United Kingdom's resources "failed increasingly to match the strategic obligations facing her."⁴

Britain's lack of adequate resources meant that she had to rely heavily on her "moral authority," and she came to place great

¹ See end of Chapter for Table listing the results of Parliamentary Elections in Albany.

² For instance the community was totally opposed to the Republican ideals of D.F. Malan. GDM 7.8.1924, 15.10.1936.

³ See A. Clayton The British Empire as a Superpower, 1919 - 39 Athens Georgia: University of Georgia Press, c1986.

⁴ R.F. Holland Britain and the Commonwealth Alliance 1918 - 1939 Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1981. p.92.

faith in treaties.⁵ The influence of British ideals on Grahamstown's population was considerable, and "British fairplay" was much valued. The numerous local schools emulated the ethos of British public schools which popularised the belief that justice always triumphed over evil forces.⁶ The Mayor, C.W. Whiteside, aptly summarised this belief during his speech to Grahamstown's children during the 1919 Peace Celebrations, when he claimed that "civilization has no time for the bully and the oppressor of the weak".⁷ He went on to tell his young audience that "they had to draw from the event they were celebrating the lesson of kindness and forbearance, the lesson of justice and fairplay, and the principles of manliness."⁸

The popularity of the British Royal family played a large role in influencing the populations of the Dominions to be sentimentally attached to the concept of the unity of the British

⁵ See C. Barnett The collapse of British power. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984.

⁶ C. Barnett The Collapse of British power.

⁷ GTJ 5.8.1919.

⁸ Ibid.

Empire.⁹ The growth in Communications technology meant that public opinion became a very important factor in the democracies during the period reviewed,¹⁰ and the Monarchy took advantage of radio broadcasts to promote the war effort during the Second World War.¹¹

Following the First World War South Africa sought to establish her independence from Britain in international affairs, and the Balfour Declaration of 1926, and the Statute of Westminster of 1931 were important steps in this direction.¹² Although Grahamstonians were proud to be South Africans, they fervently believed that South Africa should fight for Britain, and they

⁹ Edward, the Prince of Wales, who became Edward VIII, was extremely popular in the Dominions. On 21.9.1923 the editor of the Grocott's Daily Mail commented that the Prince's "whole career suggests that he will be a popular, discreet and discerning monarch." The Prince's tours of the Empire did much to foster the idea of the unity of the English people who were scattered throughout the world. His visit to Grahamstown in 1925 occasioned considerable excitement (GDM 19.5.1925), and there was great disappointment in the city when he abdicated in 1936. (Many locals were extremely disillusioned by the fact that a man who had "asked men to lay down their lives in war for the Empire," was not prepared to "sacrifice his love" for a woman and "live for the Empire." GDM 24.12.1936.)

¹⁰ R.F. Holland Britain and the Commonwealth Alliance 1918 - 39. p.29. Radio transmissions became an increasingly effective means of influencing people, especially during the Second World War. During that war the Grocott's Daily Mail often published refutations of enemy radio propaganda. (GDM 16.1.1940).

¹¹ GDM 14.10.1940. Princess Elizabeth's radio broadcast was very much appreciated in Grahamstown.

¹² For extensive coverage of South Africa's foreign relations during this period see S. Pienaar South Africa and international relations between the Two World Wars: the League of Nations dimension. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1987.

were extremely reluctant to break off too many ties with Britain.¹³

Many English speaking White Grahamstonians believed that the 1820 Memorial Settlers Association's scheme for encouraging the immigration of English settlers would boost the voting power of English speakers in South Africa, and would help to lessen the predominance of Blacks over Whites in the country.¹⁴ The scheme brought 10 000 settlers to South Africa during the 20 years that followed its inauguration in 1920,¹⁵ but it could not alter the demographic balance in South Africa.

During the 1930s Grahamstonians lived under the ever growing threat of war in Europe, as Hitler expanded his power in Europe.¹⁶ In 1936 some Rhodes University College students came

¹³ During the national controversy about the adoption of a national flag for South Africa, Grahamstonians were passionately opposed to plans to omit the Union Jack from the national flag, and the City Council obtained special permission to fly the Union Jack outside the Supreme Court after 31.5.1928. GDM 24.5.1926, 14.5.1927, 9.6.1927, 8.3.1928, 21.3.1928. Co Mins 4.4.1928. See Photograph 4 which depicts the inauguration of the national flag at the City Hall. There was some disappointment in Grahamstown when the news broke that a resident South African, Patrick Duncan, was to be appointed Governor-General in 1937, and T.B. Bowker, the local Member of Parliament, promised to do his best to secure that the following Governor-General would be a man from overseas. GDM 20.11.1936.

¹⁴ GTJ 19.8.1919.

¹⁵ GDM 13.11.1940.

¹⁶ The pro-British Grahamstown Observer was extremely concerned that the British Empire should be prepared to repel Hitler, and was especially alarmed about his intentions regarding South West Africa. GO 4.9.1933.

out against the idea of fighting in a future war,¹⁷ but general enthusiasm surrounded the establishment that year of a flying club in the city as it was realised that fighter pilots would be vital in a war.¹⁸

In common with other Blacks in South Africa, Blacks in Grahamstown showed considerable concern for the plight of Blacks in Abyssinia when Mussolini invaded that country in 1935.¹⁹ The White community was dramatically made aware of this concern in May 1937 when a song depicting the war, entitled "Imfazwe E Besiniya," was sung at a "Native Coronation Concert" held in the City Hall.²⁰

There was massive support in Grahamstown for South Africa's declaration of war on Germany in 1939, but there was initial disappointment when the number of volunteers for military service

¹⁷ The Grocott's Daily Mail published a letter from "A Rhodes Student" who criticised the establishment of a flying club and the general appeal for students to learn to fly, as he argued some students considered it "wicked to drop bombs onto other men's wives, mothers and children." (GDM 15.8.1936). Another correspondent argued that the establishment of the flying club would make the city a target. (GDM 17.8.1936). The following month the editor was extremely critical of the refusal of Stellenbosch students to participate in military training. (GDM 2.9.1936).

¹⁸ The Flying School was transferred to Pretoria at the end of 1939 (GDM 9.12.1939.), but the 44 Air Training School was subsequently established in the city.

¹⁹ See T.R.H. Davenport South Africa: a modern history, p.314. Many Blacks equated Mussolini's actions in Abyssinia with Hertzog's 1936 "Native" bills.

²⁰ JC Records CL MS16556. "The deep throated male voices were right in the atmosphere of gun fire, while the women interpreted the higher pitched terrors of the war."

from Grahamstown was lower than expected, and less enthusiastic than the response from the surrounding districts.²¹ Recruitment picked up after recruitment rallies were held,²² and the community generously contributed money to the war effort.²³ The Black residents of Grahamstown joined Blacks throughout South Africa in their support of the war against Germany.²⁴

At the end of the war there was a general wish that everyone should have a fair deal, and that the "rotten deal" that many soldiers received after the First World War should not be repeated, but economic difficulties made this wish a difficult one to fulfil.²⁵

The Second World War made Grahamstonians fully realise the great importance of America, and, when President F.D. Roosevelt died in 1945, the City Council resolved to send a message of sympathy to his family.²⁶ This respect was in marked contrast to the

²¹ GDM 17.10.1939.

²² GDM 13.6.1940. Students were initially encouraged by General Smuts and other leaders to complete their courses before enlisting, but the restrictions on student enlistment were subsequently lifted. (GDM 4.4.1941, 16.3.1942). 70 Rhodians died in the war. (Rhodes University Student Handbook, 1983, p.11)

²³ GDM 12.8.1941. Grahamstown's contribution to General Smut's Birthday Fund was the highest per capita contribution in the Union.

²⁴ Co Mins 26.6.1940. A resolution from "The Bantu of the City of Grahamstown and District" in support of the war was forwarded to the Magistrate.

²⁵ GDM 25.10.1945. A Coloured ex-soldier complained that he was not hopeful that Coloureds would get a fair deal.

²⁶ Co Mins 25.4.1945.

disdainful attitude which the Grocott's Daily Mail had adopted towards America during the preceding two decades,²⁷ despite the fact that photographs of American film stars regularly appeared in the newspaper during the 1930s.²⁸

(b) Party politics

Rhodes University College students were prohibited by the College's Senate from taking part in party politics.²⁹ Many local women were extremely interested in politics, and the Women's Enfranchisement League, which had been established in the city in 1910,³⁰ regularly publicised the cause for women's suffrage and encouraged voters at election times to vote for candidates who favoured the enfranchisement of women.³¹ The Women's branch of the South African Party was very active, and there was general satisfaction within the Party when, following the passing of the Women's Enfranchisement Act of 1930, the Men's and Women's branches of the Party fused in 1931.³²

²⁷ For instance an editorial on 16.8.1924 claimed that American presidential elections did "not as a rule interest the average South African."

²⁸ GDM 28.4.1932. The editor recognised the role that the American film industry played in "Americanising" the world, but commented that there were "numerous features of American life" which were "distasteful, if not repugnant, to Britons."

²⁹ GDM 18.4.1931, 29.3.1938.

³⁰ Southey p.313.

³¹ GDM 15.3.1924, 4.6.1924, 4.2.1926.

³² GDM 17.4.1931.

Between 1918 and 1920 the Unionist Party and the South African Party were rivals, but shortly before the 1920 General Election, the South African Party candidate, W.M. Espin,³³ withdrew his candidature, in order not to cause a split between the supporters of the two anti-Hertzog parties.³⁴ F.J.W. van der Riet,³⁵ the Unionist candidate, who had represented Albany in Parliament since 1912, was therefore returned unopposed.³⁶ The Unionist Party merged with the South African Party following the 1920 election, and this enabled Van der Riet to be returned unopposed again to Parliament in the 1921 General Election; but this time he represented the South African Party. His nomination as the party's candidate was not without drama, as most of the farmers present at the nomination meeting vehemently demanded that a farmer should be their Member of Parliament.³⁷

Van der Riet was appointed as a Judge in 1923, and therefore had to resign his seat. The South African Party's candidate in the

³³ Espin was an attorney. See Southey Ch 7 for details about his previous unsuccessful attempts to be elected to Parliament.

³⁴ The Grocott's Penny Mail, which strongly supported the South African Party, praised Espin for making a "personal sacrifice for his country." GPM 2.2.1920.

³⁵ Van der Riet (1868 - 1929) was an advocate. See Southey Ch 7 for details of his political career prior to 1918.

³⁶ See Table outlining election results.

³⁷ GDM 18.12.1920.

by-election was Henry Fitchat,³⁸ a former Mayor of Grahamstown,³⁹ who successfully managed to fight off the challenge mounted by a former party member, Advocate George Reynolds,⁴⁰ who, standing as an Independent, appealed to the farmers for their support.⁴¹ Fitchat failed to inspire the party's nomination for the 1924 election, as the party organisers decided to bow to the farmers' demands for a farmer as their representative in Parliament, and orchestrated the nomination of Robert Struben,⁴² a successful farmer from Somerset West, as the party's candidate.⁴³

George Reynolds again stood as an Independent, but he was generally perceived to be a supporter of the Pact, and the South African Party feared that Nationalist inclined voters in

³⁸ H. Fitchat (1864 - 1943) established a successful store that bore his name in Bathurst Street. He was elected as a member of the Cape Legislative Assembly in 1908. For further details about his political career prior to 1918 see Southey Ch 7.

³⁹ He served as Mayor between 1906 and 1908, and between 1910 and 1912, as well as between 1915 and 1918.

⁴⁰ Frederick George Reynolds was the son of George Reynolds who had served as Mayor of Grahamstown between 1878 - 1882, and 1889 - 1891. F.G. Reynolds had a distinguished career as a student at Rhodes University College before his admission to the Bar in 1911. He was a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Eastern Cape between 1948 - 1955, and Judge President from 1953 - 1955. In 1955 he accepted an appointment to the Appellate Division, and thereby became party to the political manoeuvre which removed Coloured voters from the common Parliamentary roll. For further biographical details see G. Randell Bench and Bar of the Eastern Cape. p.70 - 73.

⁴¹ GDM 8.3.1923.

⁴² See Biographical Sketch of Struben.

⁴³ GDM 26.4.1924.

Alexandria would swing the vote in his favour.⁴⁴ Reynolds denied that he had any connection with the Pact, and his supporters went to great lengths to emphasize his pro-British stance.⁴⁵ He strove to gain support by claiming that, if elected, he would get Parliament to spend money in "British" Albany,⁴⁶ and that it would not serve the interests of the constituency to vote for Struben as the South African Party regarded Albany as a "pocket borough" and would do nothing to further the interests of the district.⁴⁷

General Smuts' visit to the constituency boosted the South African Party's image, and lifted the voters "out of the pettifogging arena of parish pump politics."⁴⁸ Albany did not follow the nation wide anti-South African Party trend, and Reynolds was defeated by a majority more than twice that of the by-election of the previous year.⁴⁹

Struben was an extremely popular Member of Parliament, and he was returned unopposed during the elections of 1929 and 1933.⁵⁰ When he died in 1936, Thomas Bowker,⁵¹ a local farmer, was able

⁴⁴ GDM 5.6.1924.

⁴⁵ GDM 4.6.1924.

⁴⁶ GDM 10.6.1924.

⁴⁷ GDM 21.5.1924.

⁴⁸ GDM 28.5.1924.

⁴⁹ See Table outlining election results.

⁵⁰ See Biographical Sketch of Struben.

⁵¹ See Biographical Sketch of Bowker.

to successfully follow in his footsteps, after warding off the challenge presented by J.C. Rae⁵² in the 1936 by-election.⁵³ Bowker was returned unopposed in the elections of 1938 and 1943.

Despite the efficient way that the local branch of the South African Party (which subsequently became the United Party) was organised, it was unable for two decades to recapture the Albany seat in the Cape Provincial Council after it was won from the party in 1927 by J.C. Rae.⁵⁴ During the Second World War Rae gave his unconditional support to the policy of General Smuts.⁵⁵

Following South Africa's declaration of war on Germany, the United Party in Albany did lose some members in Alexandria who supported Hertzog;⁵⁶ but the party went from strength to strength in Grahamstown, as its members enthusiastically organised fund raising activities during the Second World War.⁵⁷

⁵² See Biographical Sketch of Rae.

⁵³ See Table outlining election results.

⁵⁴ Rae defeated the South African Party candidate, Charles Gardner, in the 1927 election. GDM 17.2.1927. Rae was able to maintain his popularity despite his reputation as someone who favoured the granting of trading licences to Indians, (GDM 18.1.1927) and allegations that he was a supporter of D.F. Malan. (GDM 15.10.1936). He was regularly returned unopposed, except in the 1936 election when he successfully contested the seat in the face of the challenge mounted by J.E. Weeks of the United Party, winning by a majority of 116 votes. GDM 22.10.1936.

⁵⁵ GDM 10.4.1941.

⁵⁶ GDM 6.11.1939.

⁵⁷ GDM 5.10.1940.

(c) Black politics and the involvement of White liberals in political developments affecting Blacks

In contrast to the largely unified stance that Whites in Parliament adopted in respect of "Native policy," Black political organisations failed to present a united front in South Africa during the years reviewed.⁵⁸ Saul Dubow has shown how Hertzog was able to blunt Black resistance to his franchise bills by exploiting the desperate need of many Blacks to acquire additional land.⁵⁹

Following the disastrous 1920 municipal workers strike in Port Elizabeth, which ended in 19 deaths after police failed to control strike breakers, the Grahamstown Native and Coloured Vigilance Board submitted a letter to the Grocott's Daily Mail denying rumours that the local Blacks also intended to go on strike.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ T.R.H. Davenport South Africa: a modern history. p.253 - 353.

⁵⁹ S. Dubow Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919 - 36. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989. p.18.

⁶⁰ GDM 30.10.1920.

In 1921 Samuel Masabalala,⁶¹ who had organised the Port Elizabeth strike, and Selby Msimang,⁶² applied to the Grahamstown City Council for permission to hold meetings for the purpose of expounding the principles of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa.⁶³ The Council raised no objection to Msimang addressing local Blacks, but stated that it did not view the advent of Masabalala with pleasure.⁶⁴

In July 1925 the local Chamber of Commerce received a request from Bennett Ncwana⁶⁵ for a meeting to be held between the Chamber and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union.⁶⁶ Ncwana did not keep his appointment, but a deputation of Union supporters who did not accept the leadership of Ncwana met with the Chamber, and claimed that Ncwana only represented a small section of the local Black community.⁶⁷ The delegation

⁶¹ Samuel Makama Martin Masabalala was born in 1877 in Uniondale and was educated in Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. He belonged to the Cape Province Native Congress and the African National Congress. For further biographical details see Karis, T. and Carter, G.M. (editors) From Protest to Challenge. Vol.4. p.76.

⁶² Henry Selby Msimang (1886 - 1982) hailed from Pietermaritzburg, and was also a member of the African National Congress. For further biographical details see Karis, T. and Carter, G.M. (editors) From Protest to Challenge. Vol.4. p.104 - 105.

⁶³ Co Mins 23.3.1921.

⁶⁴ Co Mins 23.3.1921.

⁶⁵ See Ch 1 for biographical information on Ncwana.

⁶⁶ Records of the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce, CL MS16929.

⁶⁷ GDM 21.7.1925.

informed the Chamber that the members of the Union were not antagonistic towards local employers.⁶⁸

There was an upsurge in the activities of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union in 1931,⁶⁹ but the Union encountered opposition from the Joint Council and thereafter was not considered by local Whites to present a major threat to their interests.⁷⁰

As discussed in Chapter 1, many Whites were appalled at the living conditions that they came across in the Location during the 1918 Flu Epidemic.⁷¹ This increased awareness among Whites of the plight of many Location residents helped to lay the groundwork for the emergence in 1921 of the Grahamstown Welfare Society which was to become increasingly involved in efforts to uplift the quality of life in the Location, and to protect the rights of Blacks.⁷²

⁶⁸ GDM 21.7.1925.

⁶⁹ GDM 3.2.1931. "One of Clements Kadalie's henchmen ... held a meeting of natives yesterday."

⁷⁰ After the aims of the Joint Council had been expounded at a mass meeting of Blacks held in the Location on 8.6.1931, the Joint Council claimed that it had succeeded in causing "the I.C.U. and other kindred extremist organisations" to lose ground. JC Minutes, 28.7.1931. CL MS16584. No further concern about the activities of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union is expressed in the JC Minutes from 1932 onwards.

⁷¹ GTJ Numerous issues, October and November 1918.

⁷² Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes, CL MS16560.

In May 1921 the distinguished West African academic Dr. J.E. Aggrey visited Grahamstown during his tour of South Africa which was to inspire J.D. Rheinallt Jones⁷³ and others in the establishment of the Joint Council and the South African Institute of Race Relations (S.A.I.R.R.).⁷⁴ Following Aggrey's visit the Revd. W.Y. St. George-Stead wrote to the Grocott's Daily Mail pointing out the injustices of the way Blacks were more severely punished by the local court than Whites.⁷⁵ This letter sparked off a flurry of correspondence for and against his indictment of the judiciary.⁷⁶ In October 1921 Stead was a prominent participant at a public meeting of White citizens concerned about race relations.⁷⁷ The meeting took the decision to form the Grahamstown Welfare Association which strove to work for the improvement of mutual relations between Whites and Blacks.⁷⁸

⁷³ John David Rheinallt Jones (5.7.1882 - 30.1.1953) emigrated to South Africa from England in 1905. He was Assistant Registrar of the University of the Witwatersrand from 1922 to 1927, and from 1927 to 1936 he lectured on Native Law and Administration. In co-operation with C.T. Loram and J.H. Pim he founded the Joint Council Movement. In May 1929 he organised an inter-racial conference at which the decision was taken to form the South African Institute of Race Relations, of which he became the Secretary. From 1937 - 1942 he represented the Blacks of the Transvaal and Orange Free State in the Senate. DSAB, Vol V p.640.

⁷⁴ JC Minutes 4.7.1941, CL MS 16584.

⁷⁵ GDM 17.5.1921

⁷⁶ GDM 18.5.1921, 19.5.1921, 23.5.1921, 24.5.1921.

⁷⁷ Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes, CL MS16560. The Bulhoek massacre of 24.5.1921 had focused the attention of many Whites on the problem of race relations.

⁷⁸ Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes, 24.11.1921. CL MS16560.

The Grahamstown Welfare Association consisted of two branches: a European Branch and a Native Branch. The Native Branch was invited to send deputations to certain meetings of the European Branch. The suggestion made in 1930 by Howard Pim⁷⁹ of the Johannesburg Joint Council that all the Grahamstown Welfare Association's meetings should be held jointly was rejected, as it was considered that "local conditions were such that it was desirable for the European and Native Sections to hold separate meetings in order that each section might prepare an agenda to be discussed at the next Joint meeting"⁸⁰

The Grahamstown Welfare Association functioned as a forum at which representatives of the Black community expressed the grievances of Location residents,⁸¹ but one of the major concerns of the White members was that the Association should oppose unjust legislation which was detrimental to Blacks.

⁷⁹ James Howard Pim (27.9.1862 - 28.4.1943) came to South Africa from Britain in 1890, and was employed by C.J. Rhodes to organise the accounting of the British South Africa Company. As a long serving member of the Johannesburg City Council he devoted considerable time to Black affairs, and Pimville is named after him. He helped to establish the Joint Council Movement and the South African Institute of Race Relations. DSAB Vol I p.621 - 622.

⁸⁰ Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes, 14.8.1930. CL MS16560.

⁸¹ The Association was able to achieve limited success in getting the City Council to take some action regarding Black grievances about grazing fees and the Location water supply. Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes, 24.7.1923, CL MS 16560.

At a Joint Meeting in 1922 the Chairman gave the Black delegates an outline of the proposed "Native Bill for Urban Areas",⁸² and at a meeting held on 14 September 1926 several Blacks spoke on the Liquor Bill, the Poll Tax Act, the Colour Bar Act and Hertzog's proposed Native legislation.⁸³ The Grahamstown Welfare Association was opposed to the Prime Minister's proposal to disenfranchise Blacks in the Cape, but it revealed its paternalistic nature by its disapproval of the clauses in the Liquor Bill which increased the facilities for Black access to strong drink.⁸⁴

The Grahamstown Welfare Association established contact with the Johannesburg Federated Joint Council and J.D.Rheinallt Jones addressed the Association on two occasions.⁸⁵ Throughout the decade of its existence (1921 - 1931) the Association did not meet regularly and had to be resuscitated on several occasions after periods of dormancy which occurred during 1924 - 1925 and 1927 - 1929. In July 1930 the Association was spurred into

⁸² Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes, 17.2.1922. CL MS16560.

⁸³ See T.R.H. Davenport South Africa: a modern history. p.293 -297 for a summary of the main features of Hertzog's Native Bills of 1926, which were not passed by Parliament.

⁸⁴ Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes, 14.9.1926. CL MS16560.

⁸⁵ These visits took place on 24.4.1923 and 3.2.1931.

action by the imminent visit of W.G. Ballinger⁸⁶ to the city.⁸⁷ From then on the Association became very active and the groundwork was laid for its conversion into a branch of the Joint Council Movement in 1931.⁸⁸

The end of 1930 saw the Grahamstown Welfare Association becoming involved in a court case. One of the Association's members, Advocate W. Stuart⁸⁹ defended a Black woman in Port Alfred who had deserted service after being cruelly treated by her mistress. Stuart did not charge for his legal services and paid the fine that was imposed on the woman.⁹⁰

The last important work undertaken by the Grahamstown Welfare Association was the submission of evidence to the Native Economic Commission (the Holloway Commission) when it visited Grahamstown

⁸⁶ William George Ballinger (21.9.1892 - 20.7.1974) emigrated to South Africa from Britain in 1928 to act as an advisor to the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union. He investigated the problems of race and economics in South Africa, and as an opponent of Imperialism he denounced British rule in Bechuanaland. He was a member of the Senate from 1948 to 1960 when the Black vote was abolished. DSAB, Vol V p.25 - 26.

⁸⁷ Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes, 22.7.1930. CL MS16560.

⁸⁸ JC Minutes, 10.3.1931. CL MS16584.

⁸⁹ Stuart was elected to Parliament in 1948 as one of the 3 representatives of the Black people of the Transkei. See G. Randell Bench and Bar of the Eastern Cape. p.127-128 for further biographical details.

⁹⁰ Grahamstown Welfare Association Minutes, 9.12.1930. CL MS16560. The Association's Secretary, J.E.H. Mylne, was of the opinion that the woman would have gone to prison if the Association had not come to her aid.

in 1931.⁹¹ The fact that the Commission visited Grahamstown was a triumph for the persistence of the Grahamstown Welfare Association, as the Commission had decided to omit Grahamstown from its itinerary in order to save money.⁹² Subjects that Association members gave evidence on included Child Mortality and Criminal Procedure.⁹³

At its meeting on 10 March 1931 the Grahamstown Welfare Association reorganised itself under the name of the Grahamstown Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, to bring itself in line with the establishment of Joint Councils in other towns.⁹⁴

In contrast to the Grahamstown Welfare Association which had an executive consisting only of White members, the new Joint Council's executive included six Black members.⁹⁵ One of the

⁹¹ GDM 24.3.1931.

⁹² JC Minutes, 10.3.1931. CL MS16584.

⁹³ Grahamstown Welfare Association Minute Book, CL MS16560.

⁹⁴ JC Minutes, 10.3.1931. CL MS16584.

⁹⁵ The executive included:

Black members:- Revd. A. Mazwai, Mr M.D. Foley, Mr A.A. Moyake, Mr J.G. Tyamzashe, Revd. J. Jorha and Mr Nomgqokwana.

White members:- Major A.G. Mullins, Dr. F.A. Saunders, Dr. M. Saunders, Dr. J.E. Duerden, Revd. G.H.P. Jacques, Mr H. Rushmere, Councillor Lewis Miles, Mr H.R. Barnes, Mr C.I. Greener, Mr A.C. Mathieson (Chairman), and Mr J.E.H. Mylne (Secretary).

Black executive members, Gilbert Tyamzashe⁹⁶ subsequently tendered his resignation, as it was contrary to the terms of his employment as a Government servant for him to be a member of a Joint Council.⁹⁷

The White membership of the Joint Council continued the trend set by the Grahamstown Welfare Association, and consisted largely of staff members of Rhodes University College and the local schools, and members of the legal profession and the clergy.⁹⁸ These members wanted justice, educational opportunities and decent living conditions for Blacks. They believed that the best way that Blacks could achieve these goals was by obtaining the help and co-operation of Whites, and they were suspicious of "agitators" and trade union leaders within the Black community. One of the first actions of the Joint Council was an attempt to counter the anti-White feelings which had been aroused by Douglas Danga, who had been successfully agitating for the non-payment of rates by Blacks.⁹⁹ Addressing a meeting of 500 Blacks in the Location on 8 June 1931, J.E.H. Mylne, a local teacher,

⁹⁶ John Gilbert Tyamzashe was a prominent member of the Black community in Grahamstown, and his death in 1940 at Lovedale was reported in the Grocott's Daily Mail (GDM 20.4.1940). He was an interpreter in the Magistrate's Court for over 30 years. He retired in August 1938, and took up residence in the Kingwilliamstown district.

⁹⁷ JC Minutes, 19.5.1931. CL MS16584.

⁹⁸ Some prominent members were:
Rhodes University College lecturers:- E. Mountain, J.V.L. Rennie, J.D. Krige, R.D. Hobart Houghton.
School teachers: J.E.H. Mylne, R.F. Currey.
Clergy: Revd G.H.P. Jacques, Bishop Vyvyan, Canon Mather

⁹⁹ See Ch 4 for further details.

criticised Danga for abusing Europeans and attacking the Churches, as well as for collecting money to be used in an attempt to gain better wages and conditions for Blacks. Mylne argued that Blacks would be in a stronger position to attain improved wages if they had the goodwill of Whites, maintaining that:

"However great your troubles may be they never justify discourtesy, simply because rudeness by Natives to Europeans damages the Native cause."¹⁰⁰

The White members were eager to learn more about the disabilities and conditions under which Blacks lived, and addresses by visiting and local speakers on topics ranging from "Native education" to "Native franchise" were well attended.¹⁰¹

Visiting speakers and their subjects included:

J.D. Rheinallt-Jones on the need to educate public opinion in respect of race relations, and on another occasion on the South African Institute of Race Relations (S.A.I.R.R.);¹⁰² Professor W.M. Macmillan on "the folly of the belief that White civilisation had to be defended";¹⁰³ and Revd. Max Yergan¹⁰⁴ on "Native Self Help."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ JC Records, CL MS16556.

¹⁰¹ JC Minutes, 3.4.1936, 20.4.1937, 8.11.1938.

¹⁰² JC Minutes, 3.6.1932, 4.7.1941. CL MS16584.

¹⁰³ JC Minutes, 25.7.1932. CL MS16584.

¹⁰⁴ Revd. Max Yergan (1895 - 1975) was a Black American who furthered the work of the Students' Christian Association at Fort Hare.

¹⁰⁵ JC Minutes, 25.10.1932. CL MS16584.

The Joint Council continued the Grahamstown Welfare Association's concern about Government legislation relating to Blacks, and kept the local Member of Parliament (Struben and afterwards Bowker) informed about the Council's resolutions regarding government intentions. Protest about proposed legislation was sometimes successful: The Joint Council joined in the opposition to the government's intention to extend the tot system to the Transvaal and were pleased when the government decided not to proceed with the measure.¹⁰⁶

The White members were not always united in their reactions to certain bills: The Native Service Contract Bill of 1931 was seen by most White members as being extremely harsh on Blacks as it made provision for the whipping of servants, but local Advocate Harry Rushmere (a member of the executive who later became Chairman) contended that the criminal clauses of the bill were no more stringent than existing laws applying to White apprentices.¹⁰⁷ A telegram was sent by the Joint Council to Struben condemning the bill, and the members took pride in being part of pressure exerted by the nation wide Joint Council movement which resulted in the amelioration of certain of the bill's clauses.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ JC Minutes, 28.7.1931. CL MS16584.

¹⁰⁷ JC Minutes, 13.10.1931. CL MS16584.

¹⁰⁸ JC Minutes, Annual Report 1931 - 1932, CL MS16584. Struben regretted that the opposition mounted by himself and others had not succeeded in removing all the obnoxious clauses from the Bill. (JC Minutes 3.6.1932)

R.D. Hobart Houghton¹⁰⁹ delivered a paper to the Joint Council in June 1935 on Hertzog's "Native Bills," and expressed his disapproval of the policy of segregation.¹¹⁰ A resolution opposing changes to the Cape franchise was passed at a meeting held on 3.4.1936,¹¹¹ but the members soon had to accept Hertzog's abolition of the Black franchise in the Cape as a fait accompli.

In 1937 T.B. Bowker addressed the Joint Council at a meeting held in the Location,¹¹² and maintained that the Native Laws Amendment Act (which restricted the inflow of Blacks into urban areas) was in the interests of Blacks.¹¹³

The Joint Council continued the Grahamstown Welfare Association's concern for Black employees who were badly treated by their employers,¹¹⁴ and it also took a special interest in publicising

¹⁰⁹ See Biographical Sketch of Houghton.

¹¹⁰ JC Minutes, 12.6.1935. CL MS16584.

¹¹¹ JC Minutes, 3.4.1936, CL MS16584.

¹¹² The Joint Council adopted the policy of holding many of its meetings in the Location so that it would be easier for more Black members to attend meetings. JC Minutes 29.5.1936. CL MS16584.

¹¹³ JC Minutes, 24.8.1937. CL MS16584.

¹¹⁴ When it was reported to the Joint Council that a Black man named James Nomngobwana, who had lost the sight of one eye in the course of his employment, was likely to lose his job without any compensation, the organisation intervened and managed to obtain compensation for him and a promise from his employer that he would continue to employ him, albeit at a lower wage. JC Minutes, 26.5.1931. CL MS16584.

the difficulties that Blacks faced in connection with the Administration of Justice in South Africa.¹¹⁵

(d) Municipal Politics

In the sphere of Municipal politics, most controversial issues revolved around allocation of municipal finance.¹¹⁶ Cr. Mrs A.M. Wadds Wright,¹¹⁷ the wife of the editor of the Grocott's Daily Mail, enjoyed the support of the Women's Enfranchisement League, and took a special interest in Council matters which were of particular concern to women.¹¹⁸

Often Grahamstown ratepayers showed little interest in municipal elections, and their apathy in this respect was frequently referred to in the Grocott's Daily Mail.¹¹⁹ A Ratepayers Association was founded in November 1922, but it did not exert considerable influence on municipal policy, as for instance the Association had to wait for over a decade before the Council implemented its desire for an efficient system of refuse removal.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ JC Minutes, 26.11.1934. CL MS16584. A pamphlet entitled "The Native and the Administration of Justice" was published by the Joint Council. CL South African Pamphlets, Vol. 38.

¹¹⁶ See Ch 3.

¹¹⁷ See Ch 2 for Biographical details.

¹¹⁸ GDM 16.8.1920.

¹¹⁹ GDM 20.2.1923, 22.8.1923, 7.9.1925.

¹²⁰ See Ch 3.

The Black and Coloured residents of the Fingo Village and the Hottentot Village were represented by the Councillors for Wards III and V, and when Vigilance Committees representing these people were established shortly before the Second World War the Council declined to grant them official recognition.¹²¹ During the Second World War the annual election of Councillors was suspended for 3 years in terms of Ordinance 10 of 1940.¹²²

¹²¹ GDM 26.9.1945.

¹²² Co Mins 28.8.1940.

TABLE SHOWING THE RESULTS OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN ALBANY

DATE	RESULT
1920	<u>F.J.W. VAN DER RIET</u> (Unionist) unopposed
1921	<u>F.J.W. VAN DER RIET</u> (S.A.P.) unopposed
1923	<u>H. FITCHAT</u> (S.A.P.) 1327 F.G. Reynolds (Independent) 1087
1924	<u>R.H. STRUBEN</u> (S.A.P.) 1744 F.G. Reynolds (Independent) 1225
1929	<u>R.H. STRUBEN</u> (S.A.P.) unopposed
1933	<u>R.H. STRUBEN</u> (S.A.P.Coalition) unopposed
1936	<u>T.B. BOWKER</u> (U.P.) 3294 J.C. Rae (Dom. P.) 2338
1938	<u>T.B. BOWKER</u> (U.P.) unopposed
1943	<u>T.B. BOWKER</u> (U.P.) unopposed

S.A.P. = South African Party, U.P. = United Party, Dom.P. = Dominion Party.

COMPILED FROM: Schoeman, B.M. Parlementêre verkiesings in Suid-Afrika 1910 - 1976. Pretoria: Aktuale Publikasies, 1977.

CHAPTER SIX**RACE RELATIONS AND SOCIAL TRENDS****(a) Race Relations**

Paternalism was the overriding determinant of the attitudes Grahamstown Whites adopted towards Blacks during the period 1918 to 1945. There emerged, however, as the years progressed a growing divergence of opinion amongst members of the White community as to how Blacks should be administered and cared for. Social standing was an important factor in this division, as those Whites who were more highly educated and enjoyed economic security were generally those who took a special interest in Black welfare and advancement,¹ while those who were less educated and not so well off economically, were primarily concerned with safeguarding their own interests which they often perceived to be threatened by Black advancement. The farmers of the district in particular, were especially concerned with keeping Blacks under control so that crime did not intrude into their own lives.²

¹ The membership of both the Grahamstown Welfare Association and the Joint Council was dominated by academics and professional people.

² Farmers were especially concerned about stock thefts. In 1937 a deputation of farmers appealed to the Council to eject unemployed Blacks from the Location, as many of the people who were convicted of stock theft were Location residents who had no work. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/7.

Race relations in Grahamstown during this period were influenced to a large extent by the way in which the city's Whites viewed Nineteenth Century historical events. White Grahamstonians were exceptionally proud of the achievements of the 1820 Settlers, and their penchant for glorifying the achievements of their ancestors,³ meant that the memory of a past, when a black skin had so often denoted the enemy, was ever present.⁴ In their attempts to forward their policy of unity between English and Afrikaans speakers, the South African Party and subsequently the United Party used the argument that both the British and the Boers, while honourably bringing civilisation to the country, had suffered at the hands of plundering Blacks.⁵

Piet Retief, who was perceived by Whites to have been the victim of Black treachery, had lived in Grahamstown before he joined the

³ Great interest was shown in Settler history during the years 1918 - 1945. For instance the Centenary of the arrival of the 1820 Settlers was celebrated on a large scale in Grahamstown in 1921, and a branch of the South African National Society was established in the city. (GO 25.9.1933) There was much enthusiasm for collecting Settler relics, and extensive interest was also shown in the unveiling of the replica of the Dias Cross at nearby Kwaaihoek in 1941 (GDM 17.6.1941), and the Centenary of Dick King's ride was not forgotten even though it occurred during the Second World War. (Co Mins 22.4.1942). Many local buildings were declared historical monuments during the years reviewed. (For instance the Provost was declared a Historic Monument in 1937. GDM 10.7.1937).

⁴ Articles on the frontier wars were frequently published in the Grocott's Daily Mail. (For instance "Some Reminiscences of the Kaffir Wars." GDM 17.2.1938.)

⁵ For instance in 1938 the local Member of Parliament, T.B. Bowker, in a speech he delivered in Parliament, said: "Grahamstown ...[is] rich in history...British and Afrikaners side by side. They were brothers in those days...Many a burnt laager with its murdered occupants..." GDM 10.3.1938.

Great Trek.⁶ Sir George Cory's⁷ well publicised interest in Retief,⁸ and his advocacy of the honouring of Dingaan's Day,⁹ did not help foster racial understanding between Whites and Blacks.¹⁰

The editorials in the Grocott's Daily Mail reflect the paternalistic attitudes of the White community, as they portray Blacks as being intellectually inferior to Whites.¹¹ The editor's attitude is well encapsulated by the following quote: "The average Native today understands that the White-man is here for the good of the Native, that he is not here merely to exploit him."¹² From the late 1920s the editor found himself defending

⁶ His house in Grahamstown was proclaimed a national monument in 1937. GDM 22.7.1937.

⁷ Sir George Cory (1862 - 1935) was one of the foundation professors of Rhodes University College. Although he was Professor of Chemistry at the College, he is better remembered for his historical research and his 6 volume history of South Africa entitled The rise of South Africa. He was an important figure in the life of the local community until he retired to Cape Town in 1925. He was knighted in 1922 for his contributions to historical research in South Africa, and his documents and books formed the basis of the Cory Library for Historical Research which was established at Rhodes University College after his death.

⁸ Although Cory declared in 1923 that he believed that no treaty had been signed by Dingaan and Retief (GDM 14.7.1923), he had great sympathy for Afrikaners, and the Voortrekkers in particular. See K. Smith The changing past: trends in South African historical writing. p. 44 - 48 for further details on Cory's attitude towards Afrikaners.

⁹ GDM 8.12.1923.

¹⁰ The editor of the Grocott's Daily Mail stated that it was wrong to call the day "Dingaan's Day" as this honoured the name of a very bad man. GDM 20.12.1937.

¹¹ For instance GDM 15.8.1924, 22.1925.

¹² GDM 12.9.1924.

White South Africans' racial attitudes in the face of overseas criticism.¹³ He contended that the "Englishman and English woman do not understand the Native."¹⁴

Occasional assaults on White women were extensively reported in the local press,¹⁵ and considerable alarm was raised when several such attacks occurred in 1937 and 1938.¹⁶ Concern was expressed that, although the women in question had managed to escape without being seriously harmed, Grahamstown's reputation as an eminently suitable educational centre was in danger.¹⁷ Most Whites subscribed to the view that Blacks should be better controlled and disciplined, and that a Revolver Club should be started for women to deter further attacks,¹⁸ but the idea that compulsory education for Black youths might be part of the solution to the problem also gained currency.¹⁹

The Municipality was not in favour of segregation being made compulsory by the Provincial authorities,²⁰ but it strongly

¹³ GDM 16.12.1927.

¹⁴ GDM 6.7.1937.

¹⁵ For instance GDM 6.11.1924. "Girl Students experience alleged impudent assaults by Native."

¹⁶ GDM 7.8.1937 "Two young European women attacked by a Native near Fort Selwyn." GDM 6.12.1937 "Attack on Girl Guides near Mountain Drive". GDM 14.2.1938 "Once more we have to record outrageous attacks by Natives on European women in the city."

¹⁷ GDM 14.2.1938.

¹⁸ GDM 18.12.1937.

¹⁹ GDM 19.2.1938, 22.2.1938.

²⁰ Co Mins 22.6.1938.

believed in segregation.²¹ Cinema licences for moviehouses outside the Location were issued subject to the stipulation that only "Europeans" could attend performances, and when Black choirs performed in the City Hall, the City Council ruled that no Blacks other than those taking part in the concerts would be allowed in the Hall.²² Class played an important role in determining the racial attitudes of the White community, as the City Council had no objection to responsible members of the Indian Community being admitted to performances in the City Hall, and wealthy and well educated Indians were respected by many Whites.²³

The desirability of segregated facilities was so ingrained in the thinking of the members of the White community that even someone like Professor K.D. White, of the Classics Department of Rhodes University College, who worked indefatigably on the City Council for improved housing and health facilities for Blacks, could strongly advocate that a butchery should have 2 separate sections for Whites and Blacks on the grounds of public health.²⁴

Many Whites resented Blacks making use of public facilities such

²¹ Co Mins 26.10.1938. When an Asiatic was ejected from a public convenience designated "For Europeans," he complained that the only other conveniences were marked "For Natives Only." The Council therefore took the decision to have all public conveniences in the city designated as being either for "Europeans" or "Non-Europeans."

²² JC Records, CL MS16556. One of the few aspects of Black culture that Grahamstown Whites admired was choral singing by Blacks.

²³ Oral interview Mrs B. Rennie. For instance the Grocott's Daily Mail of 13.7.1937 reported at length on the death of Miss Monica M. Naidoo who had been educated at the Grahamstown Convent.

²⁴ Co Mins 26.4.1944.

as children's swings in the White area,²⁵ and protests were often expressed about the presence of Blacks in White areas.²⁶ Blacks resented the fact that they were often kept waiting a long time in shops, because they were Black.²⁷

Racial tension was not limited to the relationships between Whites and other races, as the Coloured community on many occasions preferred not to closely associate with the Black community,²⁸ and tension also existed between Blacks and Indians.²⁹

(b) Control over the use of alcohol

The consumption of alcoholic beverages was a very controversial issue in Grahamstown. Registered Black voters were allowed to purchase alcohol, and many Whites were of the opinion that this privilege should be withdrawn, as these voters were able to make

²⁵ GDM 2.9.1933. "People say that the swings on Fiddlers Green were erected for the pleasure of European children...[who] are frequently elbowed out by natives." GDM 23.9.1933. "People say that the police should stop natives from sitting on the lawns in High Street."

²⁶ GDM 30.10.1937. Gossip Column by 'Pertinax': "One feels that something should be done to stop the nuisance caused by young Natives, who make the possession of a few Johannesburg newspapers an excuse for loitering noisily outside His Majesty's Theatre."

²⁷ GDM 24.6.1932. Letter from "A Poor Suffering Servant Girl."

²⁸ Co Mins 16.7.1919. The Coloured and Black communities wanted to have separate Peace Celebrations after the First World War.

²⁹ For instance the Grocott's Daily Mail of 16.4.1931 reported on a feud which had erupted in the Location on account of racial feeling which was shown towards the Asiatic husband of a woman called Rosie.

a profit by illegally selling liquor to Blacks who were not entitled to buy it.³⁰ The South African Temperance Alliance had a strong following in the city, and Raisin Fetes, which promoted the growing of grapes for non-alcoholic purposes, were regularly held.³¹

Control over the use of alcohol was such a contentious issue that it caused many a dispute in the Council Chamber. A notable uproar occurred in 1919 when the local Licensing Court reversed the decision it had taken the previous year to prohibit the sale of alcohol on Saturday afternoons.³² Many individuals and organisations joined in the storm of protest against the abolition of the Saturday restriction.³³ The Mayor, C. Whiteside,³⁴ who, as the Council's representative on the Licensing Board, had voted in favour of the lifting of the Saturday restriction, resigned from the Council. A well attended public meeting was held on the issue, and a poll was demanded in respect of the Mayor's action.³⁵ The poll came out in favour of the Mayor's action, and he withdrew his resignation.³⁶

³⁰ Co Mins 18.3.1920.

³¹ GDM 3.4.1940.

³² Co Mins 12.3.1919.

³³ Coloureds joined in the protest, and a resolution condemning the action of the Licensing Court was passed at a mass meeting of Coloured people. Co Mins 12.3.1919.

³⁴ See Biographical Sketch of Whiteside.

³⁵ Co Mins 26.3.1919.

³⁶ Co Mins 9.4.1919.

The visit paid to Grahamstown in 1923 by the famous American Prohibitionist, W.E. "Pussyfoot" Johnson³⁷ evoked considerable interest and debate,³⁸ but the most prolonged alcohol controversy during the period 1918 - 1945 revolved around the establishment of the Municipal Beer Hall.³⁹ Like their counterparts in other South African urban areas, "respectable" Blacks in Grahamstown claimed that a Beer Hall would ruin the morals of Blacks.⁴⁰ The Joint Council actively supported the Black elite in their opposition to the Municipality's plan to build a Municipal Beer Hall, but despite all the arguments that it presented against the proposed Beer Hall, the Municipality decided to proceed with its plans.⁴¹

³⁷ William Eugene Johnson (1862 - 1945) founded the Red Ribbon temperance reform club in America in 1889. In 1919 he lost an eye when medical students broke up one of his temperance campaign meetings in London.

³⁸ GDM 23.8.1923, 25.8.1923.

³⁹ See Ch 4 for further details.

⁴⁰ See P. du Plooy "The African Reaction to the beer halls" in Laband, J. and Haswell, R. (eds) Pietermaritzburg 1838 - 1988: a new portrait of an African city. Educated Blacks felt uncomfortable in noisy Beer Halls, where other customers often became drunk and unruly.

⁴¹ See Ch 4 for further details. The Joint Council claimed that the interest the issue aroused amongst local citizens was in "surprising contrast to the usual apathy shown towards civic affairs by citizens in Grahamstown", and leading Joint Council members were indignant that the Council had turned down two petitions for a meeting of ratepayers on the issue, "notwithstanding the influential character of the petitions". JC Records CL MS16556. An important aspect of the Joint Council's argument was expressed by Dr. Ella Britten who wrote to the Grocotts Daily Mail on 7.2.1939 stressing that the Beer Hall would be a great temptation to Black men to spend the money that was badly needed by their children. She clinched her argument by stating that:

"Vitamins in father's municipal beer won't stop T.B. in baby's undernourished body!"

The City Council opened its Beer Hall in May 1939, and in March the following year the Joint Council learnt that there was unhappiness among Black men about the fact that women were allowed to frequent the Beer Hall.⁴² Many Black women were also upset on this score, and a meeting of women from both the Municipal and Fingo Locations held on 15.4.1940 called upon the City Council to prohibit women from patronising the Beer Hall.⁴³

In August and September 1940 allegations were made that since the establishment of the Beer Hall there were far more drunken men to be seen on Friday and Saturday evenings than formerly.⁴⁴ The Location Superintendent, R.H. Murray refuted these indictments of the Beer Hall, by stating that it was not unusual for people to arrive at the Beer Hall in an intoxicated state.⁴⁵ He claimed that drunk people were not served at the Beer Hall, and stated that owing to the low percentage of alcohol that Municipal Beer could legally contain, a person would have to consume an enormous amount of it to become intoxicated.⁴⁶

A Black correspondent of the Grocott's Daily Mail claimed that "The language and the state of men and women coming out of that Beer Hall give a lie to the statement that it has and is

⁴² JC Minutes 12.3.1940. CL MS16584.

⁴³ JC Records CL MS16556. Letter dated 18.4.1940 from P.E.B. Ngxiki.

⁴⁴ GDM Articles and letters appearing between 29.8.1940 and 10.9.1940.

⁴⁵ JC Records CL MS16556.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

improving the morals of the Natives."⁴⁷ A White farmer entered the argument and claimed that it was "a well known fact that natives who drink their poisonous home brew crave for meat," and that since the establishment of the Beer Hall sheep stealing had almost become a thing of the past in the area.⁴⁸

The main arguments raised by the local Black elite against the Beer Hall were eloquently expounded as follows in evidence given before the Native Affairs Commission in 1941,⁴⁹ by Dr. R.T. Bokwe,⁵⁰ the Assistant District Surgeon of King William's Town:-

He contended that the establishment of the Beer Hall had not only failed in its objective to diminish the trafficking of illicit liquor, but had "actually contributed towards an increase in it." He also claimed that since the establishment of the Beer Hall, the number of liquor dens in the Fingo Village had risen from one or two to no fewer than five, as clever entrepreneurs had established new dens in the vicinity of the Municipal Beer Hall in order to receive indirect protection from their close proximity to the legal liquor outlet. He stated that, "A drunken man, woman or child walking up or down Beer Hall streets feels

⁴⁷ GDM 6.9.1940. Letter from A. Ngxizele.

⁴⁸ GDM 4.9.1940.

⁴⁹ "Statement on behalf of the Grahamstown Bantu Location Residents" by Dr R.T. Bokwe, JC Records CL MS16556.

⁵⁰ Roseberry Thandw'efika Bokwe (1900-1963) was the second son of Revd. John Knox Bokwe and his wife Maria. He was educated at Lovedale, Fort Hare and the University of Edinburgh where he qualified as a medical doctor in 1933. CL PR4095. See T. Karis and G.M. Carter From Protest to Challenge. Vol.4. p.9 for further biographical details.

a certain justification in being drunk in this locality." Bokwe acknowledged that Beer Hall profits contributed to the provision of amenities in the Location, but he argued that the residents would rather go without such improvements which were bought at the cost of the suffering of fellow residents. (To illustrate this point he referred to the tennis courts which had been built with Beer Hall revenue, in full view of the Beer Hall. He said that tennis players were "entertained to the sad spectacle of seeing a man who earns no more than a shilling or two spend a sixpence or more of this daily at the beer hall.") An important theme running through the evidence presented by Bokwe was the Location residents' unhappiness about what they considered to be an attempt by the Municipal authorities to lower the morals of the Location residents. He contended that the prestige of Fingo Village, had been lowered by the establishment of the Beer Hall at the junction of the Location's most important streets, namely Wood Street and Durban Street. He said that the social stigma of drunkenness in the Location had been diminished because the authorities had given 'direct sanction' to 'being drunk'.⁵¹

In its evidence to the Commission the Joint Council stressed that the absence of a large unattached male population in the Locations meant that the Grahamstown Beer Hall could never hope to show the large profits that were obtained in places such as

⁵¹ "Statement on behalf of the Grahamstown Bantu Location Residents" by Dr R.T. Bokwe, JC Records CL MS16556.

Johannesburg.⁵²

The Revd. G.H.P. Jacques⁵³ told the Commission that there had been no suppression of illicit liquor by the exclusive sale of beer by the City Council.⁵⁴ He expressed his concern about the numerous prosecutions for illicit selling, which he contended showed "a serious condition of things, which is a menace to the wellbeing of the Locations". However, the Revd. G.H. Dickerson of the Union Coloured Church took an opposing viewpoint and claimed that since the establishment of the Beer Hall there had been far fewer disturbances at night as a result of illicit drinking.⁵⁵

The Public Prosecutor, Mr C.D.J. Theron gave evidence to the effect that there was "a good deal of illicit European liquor traffic" in the Locations, and stated that he thought that the Municipality should be the sole dispenser of malt.⁵⁶

Despite the storm of controversy that surrounded the Beer Hall, the City Council refused to abandon it.⁵⁷

⁵² JC Records CL MS16556.

⁵³ See Biographical Sketch of Jacques.

⁵⁴ JC Records CL MS16556.

⁵⁵ GDM 20.10.1941. Dickerson said that he thought that the "Natives" had been inspired to oppose the Beer Hall.

⁵⁶ JC Records CL MS16556.

⁵⁷ See Ch 4.

(c) Social conditions in the Location

White members of the Joint Council were particularly concerned about social conditions in the Location and they helped improve conditions there as best they could, by doing such things as establishing a library for the community, and encouraging Location residents to take a greater interest in gardening.⁵⁸ A highlight of the Joint Council's attempts to improve the quality of life of Location residents was the successful role it played in ensuring that the residents obtained in 1934 the Recreation Hall that they had long wished for:- The Municipality agreed to build the hall, and Joint Council members who were property owners voted in favour of the loan that the Municipality needed for the building operations.⁵⁹ When Black members of the Joint Council expressed concern that the Municipality would be solely motivated by money making considerations in its administration of the hall, a Committee consisting of 3 White members of the Joint Council took the Black members' suggestions about the control of the hall to the City Council.⁶⁰ These suggestions, which included a request for use of the hall to be granted free of charge for educational purposes, were readily accepted by the Mayor and the Town Clerk.⁶¹

As many Black women wished to join the Joint Council, a Women's

⁵⁸ JC Records and Minutes CL MS16556 and MS16584.

⁵⁹ JC Minutes 17.10.1933. CL MS16584.

⁶⁰ JC Minutes 14.9.1934.

⁶¹ JC Minutes 28.5.1935. CL MS16584.

Auxiliary was formed.⁶² In addition to joint meetings attended by both Black and White women, the Black branch held many meetings on its own. The Black members were very concerned about parental control over children in the Location,⁶³ and they welcomed the formation of Girls' and Boys' Clubs.⁶⁴

The Joint Council conveyed requests for such things as better accommodation for Blacks on Railway buses and improved postal deliveries in the Location, but were invariably informed that the stringent economic conditions brought about by the Depression stood in the way of fully and immediately meeting Black requests for improved services.⁶⁵ The Joint Council was also unable to do much to eradicate problems such as gambling and lawlessness among young Blacks, and crime in the Location.⁶⁶

Location residents maintained many of their traditional Xhosa customs and beliefs, and many believed in magical happenings.⁶⁷

⁶² Report of Women's Auxiliary 1932 - 1933. JC Minutes CL MS16584.

⁶³ The Joint Council could not do much in this respect as some of the children complained about were already over the age of 21.

⁶⁴ JC Minutes 22.3.1939. CL MS16584. The boys were taught boxing.

⁶⁵ JC Minutes 28.7.1931 and Annual Report 1931 - 1932. CL MS16584.

⁶⁶ See Ch 4 for more details pertaining to crime in the Location.

⁶⁷ For instance in 1934 several people went to the Location Office for protection "against spirits which were attacking them, by throwing bricks through closed doors and solid walls." JC Minutes, 11.9.1934. CL MS16584.

Many Whites were extremely critical of the "immorality amongst the Native and Coloured people,"⁶⁸ and the high rates of illegitimacy which prevailed amongst these communities.⁶⁹

(d) Education

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 Education was Grahamstown's main "industry" during the years reviewed. Educational issues were therefore of particular interest to the local community, and the presence of so many academics in the city influenced local attitudes concerning educational matters. Apart from the Wesleyan Girls' High School which was forced to close because of financial difficulties,⁷⁰ the city's other educational institutions continued to expand in spite of adverse economic conditions, and the Grocott's Daily Mail frequently carried reports of the opening of new educational buildings.⁷¹

(d.i) Rhodes University College

The College's growth during the years 1918 to 1945 is the highlight of the history of education in Grahamstown during the

⁶⁸ GDM 30.11.1920.

⁶⁹ For instance according to the Medical Officer of Health's Report for the year ending 30.6.1936 there were only 2 illegitimate White births in the city during that period, but 47.4% of the Coloured births, and 49.3% of the Black births during that time were illegitimate. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

⁷⁰ GDM 18.9.1928.

⁷¹ For instance the opening of the new wing at the Victoria Girls' High School in 1931 (GDM 11.4.1931) and the new library block at the Teachers' Training College in 1939 (GDM 21.11.1939).

period under review.⁷² The foundation stone of the main Arts block was laid in April 1920,⁷³ and throughout the succeeding years many new buildings were completed⁷⁴ and several new departments were established.⁷⁵

The College took over the Grahamstown Art School in 1924, and a new building was built in 1927 to house the Fine Arts Department.⁷⁶ The completion in 1937 of the Baker and Kendall main block and tower, transformed the physical appearance of the College, as the old Drostdy building had to be demolished to make way for this development. The first Graduation ceremony to be held in Grahamstown was held in 1921.⁷⁷ The College suffered a severe financial reverse in 1932 when the Government cut its grant by 23%, but from 1938 to 1945 the College grew at a phenomenal rate, despite the disruptive effects of the Second

⁷² For a detailed account of the College's history during these years see R.F. Currey Rhodes University 1904 - 1970: a chronicle.

⁷³ GPM 19.4.1920. The ceremony was performed by Sir Otto Beit.

⁷⁴ Four Dining halls were built during the period reviewed: Founders Hall (1920), Oriel Hall (1923), Drostdy Hall (1940), and St. Mary's (1941). The following Student Residences were constructed: Botha and Jameson (1922), Milner (1926), Struben (1936), Phelps (1938), Graham (1940), John Kotzé and Beit (1944), Cory (1945).

⁷⁵ For instance a Department of Psychology was established in 1927, and a Department of African Studies came into being in 1939. The Leather Industries Research Institute was founded in 1942.

⁷⁶ See R.F. Currey Rhodes University 1904 - 1970. p.52 for further details.

⁷⁷ GDM 13.4.1921.

World War.⁷⁸ In 1945 the College decided to make a special effort to cater for the educational needs of ex-soldiers, and its administrators were confident that efforts made in this direction would help to hasten the arrival of the day when the institution could claim full University status.⁷⁹

Local residents were generally amused by the antics of College students in connection with initiation rituals⁸⁰ and the collection of funds for the hospital during Rag festivities.⁸¹ College students invariably came to the assistance of the local residents in times of crisis, especially when fires broke out in

⁷⁸ GDM 10.7.1945. One unfortunate episode marred the College's record during the War years: 1942 marked the beginning of a 5 year dispute between the College Council and a Lecturer in the Department of Music, who was accused of unprofessional conduct. The controversy caused by the "Field case" made the City Council hesitate in 1943 before making its annual grant to the College. Co Mins 20.12.1943. Field took the College Council to court for defaming his reputation, and the Eastern Districts Court ruled in his favour. The College Council unsuccessfully appealed to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court for a ruling against this judgement, and by the end of 1947 had to foot a legal bill amounting to £12500. See R.F. Currey Rhodes University 1904 - 1970 p.97 - 99 and G. Randell Bench and Bar of the Eastern Cape p.72 - 73 for further details.

⁷⁹ Rhodes University was inaugurated on 10.3.1951.

⁸⁰ For instance the Grocott's Daily Mail reported on 5.3.1938 that Freshmen were required to wear vivid green ties and starched collars of the evening dress variety throughout daylight hours.

⁸¹ The Grahamstown Observer commented on 18.9.1933 that hilarious merriment of the "rag" had meant that Grahamstonians "might for an hour or two at least forget Hitlerism, de Valera, drought, depression, coalition, fusion, and the thousand and one ills that flesh is heir to...". Rag festivities were abandoned during the Second World War, as it was felt that such activities would not be in keeping with the gravity of the international situation. GDM 7.9.1939, 12.9.1940.

the city.⁸²

Reminiscences of past students paint a vivid picture of the fun and camaraderie that College students enjoyed during the years under review.⁸³ Female students had to be accompanied by chaperones when they attended social functions and gatherings (other than Church services),⁸⁴ but this practice was less strictly enforced during the 1930s than in the 1920s.⁸⁵

(d.ii) Private Schools

The private church schools, namely St. Andrew's, the Diocesan School for Girls, the Assumption Convent, St. Aidan's College, and Kingswood, maintained their excellent reputations. The teachers at these schools generally fostered in the minds of their pupils a respect for British ideals such as "Fair Play" and patriotism to the British Empire.⁸⁶

⁸² For instance Rhodes University College students helped save books and other artifacts during the fire that broke out in the Albany Museum in September 1941. GDM 8.9.1941.

⁸³ Reminiscences in the Jubilee Rhodian 1904 - 1964.

⁸⁴ Oral interview with Mr Justice G. Wynne, 1990.

⁸⁵ Oral interview with Mrs B. Rennie, 1991.

⁸⁶ For instance several war memorials were erected after the First World War. (For example the clock tower at St Andrew's GDM 6.12.1923, and the new chapel at St Aidan's, GDM 18.12.1926). During the Second World War pupils donated the money that would have been used to buy book prizes to the war effort. (For instance in 1939 the St Aidan's Prize Fund was given to Polish refugees, GDM 6.12.1939.) School girls knitted blankets and other articles for Air raid victims during the Second World War. GDM 13.11.1941.

(d.iii) Controversial Educational Issues

Then, as today, the issue of school fees was a controversial issue,⁸⁷ and the Albany School Board declined to introduce free schooling for all schools under its control, as it claimed that if this was done, certain schools would become overcrowded and others would lose many pupils.⁸⁸ By 1945 there were 4 Government Aided schools for White pupils in Grahamstown, and 3 Government Schools for White children.⁸⁹

The English/Afrikaans language question was also a controversial educational issue, which had to be dealt with by the local School Board. For instance in 1933 there was a controversy when the appointment of a particular teacher at the Manley Flats School (near Grahamstown) was delayed because the teacher concerned only had a second grade bilingual certificate.⁹⁰ The School Board protested, and the appointment was confirmed.

During the period reviewed no Afrikaans school existed in Grahamstown. Afrikaans children were taught in their home

⁸⁷ GDM 9.6.1920. See E.G. Malherbe Education in South Africa, 1652 - 1922 and Education in South Africa Vol II 1923 - 75 for details about free education and the controversy surrounding language media in the history of education in South Africa.

⁸⁸ GDM 4.7.1945. The Grahamstown Primary was a free school.

⁸⁹ The Government Aided Church schools were St Joseph's Primary, St Peter's Primary, the Sacred Heart Primary and St Bartholomew's Primary. The 3 Government Schools were the Grahamstown Primary, Graeme College and the Victoria Girls' High School. Report of the Board of Survey appointed by the Provincial Education Department. GDM 4.7.1945.

⁹⁰ GO 24.7.1933.

language at the Grahamstown Primary School where parallel classes were held to cater for both language media.⁹¹ Some Afrikaans parents who did not want their children taught in Afrikaans, transferred them to English medium schools not controlled by the Board, when the Board introduced special Afrikaans medium classes.⁹²

The question of making provision for the education of Coloureds and Blacks was also very controversial. A noteworthy incident of racial discrimination arose in 1920 when the Administrator of the Cape turned down the local School Board's request to lease a room in which several "partially Coloured" children would be taught free of charge, thanks to an offer of free tuition made by the Teachers' Training College.⁹³ Some of the children in question were the offspring of "a European who had laid down his life for his country," but the Provincial Administration maintained that the Board would create a very unhealthy precedent if it established a fourth class of people to be educated, when there were already three classes, namely "European, Coloured and Native."⁹⁴

Racial controversy again arose in 1945, when the Board of Survey

⁹¹ GDM 3.4.1941.

⁹² Ibid. Special objections were raised by parents when Afrikaans children, in standards ranging from Kindergarten to Standard VI, were grouped together under one Afrikaans teacher.

⁹³ GPM 1.3.1920.

⁹⁴ Ibid. Coloured and Black children were not legally obliged to attend school.

appointed by the Government to investigate schooling in Grahamstown reported that the Grahamstown Primary School was most unsuitably located as it was situated amidst the smoke and grime of the railway station, in an area that "threatened to become a Coloured area," and recommended that if and when education was made compulsory for Coloured pupils, the school building should be converted into a Coloured school, and the White children provided for elsewhere.⁹⁵ Revd. G.H. Dickerson, of the Union Coloured Church, severely criticised the attitude expressed in the report, and pointed out that smoke and grime were also harmful to Coloured children.⁹⁶

Local religious institutions provided primary schooling for Blacks and Coloureds.⁹⁷ A group of Black parents were concerned that the Higher Mission School⁹⁸ only catered for pupils up to Standard VI, so they formed a Native Parents' Association in an attempt to secure the establishment of a Secondary School for Blacks.⁹⁹ In June 1936 this Association first approached the City Council for a grant of land for the

⁹⁵ GDM 4.7.1945.

⁹⁶ GDM 5.7.1945.

⁹⁷ Pupils who attended the Higher Mission School and the Coloured Higher Mission School (which only went up to Standard VI) owed a considerable debt of gratitude to Revd. W.Y. St. George Stead and Revd. G.H. Dickerson. CL MS14830, CL MS14872.

⁹⁸ See Ch 3 for details pertaining to the dispute between this school and the Municipality in respect of the encroachment of the Municipal Power Station on the school's property.

⁹⁹ JC Records CL MS16556.

proposed school.¹⁰⁰ The Council promised to provide a site adjoining the Higher Mission School and the Joint Council offered to help the Parents' Association collect funds for the school.¹⁰¹ Toc H¹⁰² and the Social Studies Clubs of Rhodes University and the Training College also contributed towards the fund raising project, but the concerted efforts made by the parents to collect funds were greatly admired by the White community and are still a source of pride for Black residents of Grahamstown today.¹⁰³.

Fund raising efforts included a "Native Coronation Concert" held in the City Hall on 10 May 1937 in honour of the Coronation of King George VI,¹⁰⁴ and a bazaar "organised entirely by Natives" at St. Philip's Mission School.¹⁰⁵

Many Grahamstown Whites were sceptical about the need for the Secondary School as they felt that Secondary education for Blacks should not be encouraged.¹⁰⁶ In addition they doubted that

¹⁰⁰ Co Mins 24.6.1936.

¹⁰¹ An appeal for funds was published in the Grocott's Daily Mail on 20.8.1936.

¹⁰² The local Toc H was founded in 1926. GDM 17.6.1926.

¹⁰³ Grocott's Mail 13.9.1991.

¹⁰⁴ JC Records CL MS16556. The Coronation of George VI took place on 12.5.1937.

¹⁰⁵ GDM 7.9.1937.

¹⁰⁶ JC Records CL MS16556.

Blacks would pay school fees.¹⁰⁷ The Joint Council persisted in the face of this opposition, maintaining that the school would be a fitting Coronation Memorial.¹⁰⁸

In August 1937 at a meeting of interested parties, a Committee of Trustees was appointed, and the funds collected were handed over to the Magistrate, who agreed to be a member of the Committee.¹⁰⁹ The Education Department promised to pay two-thirds of a teacher's salary, and this made possible the appointment of Ben Mahlasela¹¹⁰ as the school's first teacher, when it opened its doors in February 1938 with a total of 38 pupils. Classes were initially held in rented premises provided by the Methodist Mission School, until the school building was completed and officially opened on 2.9.1939.¹¹¹ Several White women voluntarily taught domestic science and needle work.¹¹²

The school steadily grew, acquiring more teachers and pupils, and

¹⁰⁷ The editor of the Grocott's Daily Mail adopted the following stance: "When a secondary school for Natives in Grahamstown is established one of the first duties of the teaching staff,...should be the endeavour to inculcate into the minds of the pupils something at least approaching civic pride which carries with it an obedience to the laws of the land." GDM 4.9.1937.

¹⁰⁸ JC Records CL MS16556.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ The pioneering role that Mahlasela played in the history of higher education for Blacks in Grahamstown is still remembered by the local community today, and a new school bears his name. Grocott's Mail 13.9.1991.

¹¹¹ GDM 14.9.1939 gives an account of the opening ceremony.

¹¹² JC Records CL MS16556.

although it was handed over to the Albany School Board in April 1940 for administration,¹¹³ the Joint Council maintained an interest in its welfare.¹¹⁴

(d.iv) Technical education

As a result of the poor state of the economy, especially during the Great Depression, many young White people were encouraged to further their skills training.¹¹⁵ A group of concerned Whites established an Industrial School for Natives in 1930,¹¹⁶ and the Black girls who attended it were able to learn spinning, cookery, needlework, laundry, and "general housewifery."¹¹⁷

(e) Religion and Sport

The large number of religious institutions in Grahamstown influenced the life of the city in many ways, especially in the field of the provision of education, as referred to above. Churchmen and women played an active part in attempts to better the living conditions of Blacks in Grahamstown,¹¹⁸ and many of

¹¹³ GDM 3.4.1941.

¹¹⁴ It presented prizes to the school. JC Minutes 11.5.1944. CL MS16584.

¹¹⁵ In 1933, 138 people enrolled to take courses at the Technical Institute. The average yearly enrolment during the years 1926 - 1932 was 124.9. GDM 16.8.1933.

¹¹⁶ GO 3.7.1933, JC Records CL MS16556.

¹¹⁷ GDM 30.11.1936.

¹¹⁸ For instance a clinic was established in the Location by the Catholic church. -- See Ch 4. Sister Mary (Miss Maddison) of the Community of the Resurrection was known as "The Friend of the Natives" because of her concern for Black health and welfare. GDM 28.2.1941.

them tried hard to change negative White attitudes towards Blacks.¹¹⁹

Sport was extremely popular in Grahamstown during the 1920s and 1930s, and was blamed by some as being the cause of empty church pews on Sundays.¹²⁰ Most sports flourished in the city and many clubs expanded their grounds and facilities,¹²¹ but the city was increasingly sidelined by visiting overseas sports teams which concentrated on visiting larger centres, and most of the important regional fixtures were held in Port Elizabeth or other towns.¹²²

There was vigorous sporting competition between the various local schools, and Rhodes University College students were so keen on their sport that they even helped build sporting facilities.¹²³ The city's two most famous sportsmen during these years were the

¹¹⁹ For instance Revd. C.W. Alderson, the Warden of St. Paul's Theological College, publicised the inadequacy of Black wages during the Second World War. -- See Ch 2.

¹²⁰ GDM 8.10.1925.

¹²¹ Golf, Tennis and Bowls were particularly popular sports, and the City Council helped to foster their development, by providing loans to clubs practising these sports, for the improvement of their facilities. For instance the Golf Club obtained a £1500 loan in 1938 for a pumping plant which enabled it to water its greens on the golf course. GDM 8.3.1938.

¹²² GDM 27.7.1936. The editor maintained that Grahamstown should make an effort to get Currie Cup cricket and rugby matches played in the city at least once a season. (There was great disappointment in 1938 when the touring British rugby team did not include Grahamstown on its itinerary. GDM 15.3.1938.)

¹²³ GDM 9.9.1937. The students had themselves "excavated the site of the fine swimming bath and levelled the ground for the new tennis courts."

Springbok rugby players, Danie Craven and P.G. Lochner, who were enthusiastically welcomed home by their pupils at St. Andrew's College and Kingswood College after the Springboks' successful tour of Australia and New Zealand in 1937.¹²⁴

The playing of sport on Sunday was frowned upon by some Christians,¹²⁵ and a controversy arose in this respect in 1933 when the Grahamstown and Districts Lawn Tennis Association applied to the City Council for a loan for the construction of 9 tennis courts and other facilities at the City Lords Sports Ground.¹²⁶ A petition against the playing of tennis on Sundays was circulated,¹²⁷ and the Council resolved to only agree to raising money for the Tennis Association on condition that no tennis was played on Sundays. The membership of the Grahamstown and Districts Lawn Tennis Association declined during the succeeding years as players preferred to join clubs which were able to provide facilities for tennis on Sundays.¹²⁸ The Association was anxious to have the clause prohibiting Sunday tennis deleted from its lease as it was not able to meet its annual rental because of its decreased membership, but the Dutch Reformed Church submitted a further petition against the playing

¹²⁴ GDM 3.11.1937.

¹²⁵ The Evangelical Church Council was against Sunday Tennis. GDM 11.10.1933.

¹²⁶ Co Mins 1934, p.333. Mayoral Minute 1933 - 1934.

¹²⁷ GDM 14.10.1933. Supporters of Sunday tennis commented that the signatories to the petition should not make their servants work on Sundays.

¹²⁸ Co Mins 26.4.1939.

of tennis on Sundays.¹²⁹ The City Council was eventually obliged to reduce the annual rental it charged for the tennis courts, from £80 to £40.¹³⁰

Sport was popular in the Location, and several Sports organisations existed there, such as the Morning Star Lawn Tennis Club and the Native Rugby Board.¹³¹ Requests from Location sportsmen to make use of White sporting facilities were invariably turned down,¹³² and Location residents were very unhappy with the site that the Council granted them in 1938 for a sports ground.¹³³

During the Second World War no sport was scheduled for those Sundays which had been earmarked by King George VI as days of prayer.¹³⁴

(f) Entertainment

The technological advances of the period under review meant that

¹²⁹ Co Mins 28.6.1939.

¹³⁰ Co Mins 26.7.1939.

¹³¹ Co Mins 1931, p.388, Health Committee Minutes 14.2.1935. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/4.

¹³² Co Mins 24.6.1936. A request from the Grahamstown Coloured Football Club asking for the use of Fiddlers Green was not granted.

¹³³ Coloured and Native Affairs Committee Minutes 28.10.1938. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/8. Deputations from the Fingo and Municipal Locations claimed that the slope of the ground was too great for a sports field, but the Council maintained that "quite a lot had been done to level the ground, but the Natives themselves do very little indeed."

¹³⁴ GDM 9.9.1940, 24.3.1941.

White Grahamstonians had to rely less than in previous eras on their own talent and ingenuity to provide entertainment for themselves. The ready availability of cinematographic entertainment, wireless broadcasts and gramophone recordings meant that there was less need for live entertainments.¹³⁵

Writing in the 'Music Jottings' column of the Grahamstown Observer in 1933 'Minim' contended that the members of the local community had come to prefer listening to "potted" music rather than taking the trouble of making their own music.¹³⁶ In support of this observation 'Minim' claimed that old residents gave "one to understand that 15 to 25 years ago there was greater musical activity in Grahamstown".¹³⁷ 'Minim' diagnosed the popularity of sport at school as one of the causes of Grahamstown's musical decline and urged headmasters to encourage schoolboys to sing.¹³⁸

Despite 'Minim's criticisms the community was able to enjoy various musical renderings. The Training College presented musical concerts,¹³⁹ and Rhodes University College organised

¹³⁵ This was a world wide trend. The Grocott's Daily Mail reported on the slump in the piano trade because of gramophones and radio. Kotzé, p.262 - 263 also comments on the gradual decline in the public performance of popular music in Windhoek as the result of the proliferation of gramophones and records.

¹³⁶ GO 3.7.1933.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ GO 3.7.1933.

¹³⁹ GDM 17.7.1933.

Community concerts and musical lectures.¹⁴⁰ Visiting overseas artistes occasionally visited the city.¹⁴¹ The opening of the Broadcasting Studio in June 1935 encouraged locals to take part in musical and other broadcasts.¹⁴² Community singing was particularly popular during the Second World War.¹⁴³

Amateur dramatics were still very popular,¹⁴⁴ and drama festivals were organised by the Grahamstown Drama League.¹⁴⁵ The opening of His Majesty's Cinema in 1935 was an important event in the history of entertainment in the city, as the cinema became the venue of many Talent Nights and other live entertainments.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ GDM 22.2.1940.

¹⁴¹ For instance the well known Russian born pianist Benno Moiseiwitsch visited Grahamstown in 1936. GDM 14.7.1936.

¹⁴² GDM 21.11.1939.

¹⁴³ GDM 12.9.1940. "Scope Night" at the Grand included community singing and a programme of act presented by student artistes.

¹⁴⁴ The death in 1924 of Charles Fabert (affectionately known as "Daddy Fabert") struck a considerable blow to amateur theatrical productions in Grahamstown, as this much loved Liverpool born actor had inspired many productions during the preceding 20 years. See R. Griffiths The Grahamstown Club 1886 - 1986 for further details on Fabert's career, and APPENDIX A, Photograph 3 for a photograph of Fabert. In addition to the theatrical renderings of local residents, the Rhodes University College Dramatic Society was very active. (GDM 15.9.1937).

¹⁴⁵ GDM 13.11.1945.

¹⁴⁶ GDM 8.9.1937. The cinema also hosted parties for members of the "Shirley Temple" and "Popeye" clubs. (GDM 12.11.1937).

(g) Social Societies and Clubs

Social Societies and clubs played an important role in the lives of many Grahamstonians. The Caledonian Society for instance, enjoyed a loyal membership, J.C. Rae¹⁴⁷ being one of its leading lights.¹⁴⁸ The city's two gentlemen's clubs, the Albany Club (founded 1896) and the Grahamstown Club (founded 1886) continued to flourish in spite of the stringent financial times of the early 1930s.¹⁴⁹ In 1926 the Settlers Ladies Club was founded,¹⁵⁰ and became extremely popular gathering point for farmers' wives on Stock Fair Days.¹⁵¹

Freemasonry was extremely popular in Grahamstown,¹⁵² and the City Council even suggested to the Cape Municipal Association that Masonic buildings should be exempted from rates.¹⁵³

The presence of members of the Royal Air Force in Grahamstown during the Second World War had a marked impact on the social life of the community, at a time when many local men were away

¹⁴⁷ See Biographical Sketch of Rae.

¹⁴⁸ GO 17.7.1933. In the early 1930s this Society had more lady members than gentlemen members.

¹⁴⁹ For a detailed history of the Grahamstown Club, see R. Griffiths The Grahamstown Club 1886 - 1986.

¹⁵⁰ GDM 2.11.1926. The Club's premises in Hill Street were officially opened in March 1928. GDM 7.3.1928.

¹⁵¹ Leaflet inserted in the Club's first Minute Book.

¹⁵² Many of the city's prominent citizens were Free Masons.-- See Biographical Sketches.

¹⁵³ Co Mins 1923. This proposal did not receive a seconder at the 1923 Cape Municipal Congress.

on active service.¹⁵⁴

In 1932 a Nature Reserve Society was formed to prevent the destruction of indigenous flora on the Mountain Drive.¹⁵⁵

Working picnics were organised and members weeded out scrub pines which posed a threat to the natural flora of the area.¹⁵⁶

Many boys and girls belonged to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and much of their efforts during the period under review were devoted to collecting money to pay off the costs involved in the building of the Scout Hall and the Girl Guide Hall.¹⁵⁷

(h) Charitable Societies

Many Grahamstonians (especially women) were highly motivated to do charitable work, and were active members of societies such as the Ladies Benevolent Society,¹⁵⁸ the Child Welfare Society,¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Oral interview with Mrs.B. Rennie, 1991.

¹⁵⁵ Oral interview with Mrs B. Rennie, 1991.

¹⁵⁶ GDM 22.4.1932.

¹⁵⁷ For instance the Boy Scouts used a "Mile of Pennies Scheme" as part of their efforts to finance the construction of their Hall. GDM 12.2.1931. Lewis Miles, who was Mayor from 1932 - 1937, took a particular interest in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and helped them financially. -- See Biographical Sketch of Miles.

¹⁵⁸ See J.M. Berning Outline history of the Ladies Benevolent Society. CL PR2855.

¹⁵⁹ This Society was started in 1917, and followed in the footsteps of the Social Welfare League which had been started in Grahamstown in 1915 largely as a result of the interest that Professor W.M. Macmillan had shown in local poverty (as discussed in Ch 2). The Child Welfare Society did not limit its work to Whites only, as it realised that "Native welfare was entirely bound up" with White welfare. GDM 27.2.1931.

the Women's League of Help¹⁶⁰ and the Witchell Linen League.¹⁶¹ As mentioned in Chapter 4 many Whites did charitable work in the Location. A local branch of the National Council of Women was established in September 1937.¹⁶²

Large numbers of women became involved in charitable work during the Second World War, when the local Branch of the South African Women's Auxiliary did much useful war work.¹⁶³ In addition the local community hosted several Child Evacuees from Britain,¹⁶⁴ and sent food to Britain at the end of the war.¹⁶⁵

(i) Visits of Distinguished Dignitaries

Grahamstonians went to considerable lengths to entertain and impress their important visitors. The visit of the Prince of Wales to Grahamstown in June 1925 was a momentous event for the

¹⁶⁰ This organisation regularly collected funds for the hospital. GDM 4.7.1923.

¹⁶¹ This Society collected linen for the hospital. GDM 22.7.1937.

¹⁶² GDM 15.9.1937. This organisation, which consisted of representatives of many Women's organisations, concerned itself with a wide range of social issues.

¹⁶³ The Mayoress' Knitting Circle was formed in September 1939, but the branch was only officially recognised in March 1940. An Anti-Waste Shop and a Soldiers' Club were established, and members consoled those who lost relatives on the front. GDM 12.12.1945, and Oral interview with Mrs M. Patrick, 1991.

¹⁶⁴ GDM 13.11.1945.

¹⁶⁵ GDM 7.8.1945.

residents of the city,¹⁶⁶ and the visits of successive Governor-Generals were also important events.¹⁶⁷

The manner in which Grahamstown entertained visiting dignitaries invariably included the following events: an official welcoming party at the Railway Station; the presentation of an official address outside the City Hall; a drive around the city with stops at the various educational institutions - Rhodes University College usually provided Tea; the presentation of loyal addresses by the Black and Coloured populations; official municipal receptions; an outing along the scenic Mountain Drive; and, if time permitted, a Kudu Shoot on a farm in the district, and a trip to Port Alfred.¹⁶⁸

(j) Class and Language Differences

After the First World War there was dissatisfaction about the fact that the poorer classes had to pay to attend many of functions of the Peace Celebrations held in 1919.¹⁶⁹ The total involvement of so many members of the community in the effort to

¹⁶⁶ GDM 19.5.1925. Unpublished Typescript copy of a lecture delivered by H.C. Hummel to the Lower Albany Historical Society on the subject of the Prince of Wales' visit to Grahamstown and Port Alfred. Abridged version of the lecture published under the title "The greatest episode in the history of Port Alfred" in Toposcope Vol.XX, 1989.

¹⁶⁷ For instance the visits of Sir Patrick Duncan to the city in 1938 and 1941. GDM 24.1.1938 & 20.6.1941.

¹⁶⁸ GDM 15.5.1925.

¹⁶⁹ GTJ 29.7.1919.

win the Second World War,¹⁷⁰ meant that class differences ceased to be so significant, as rich and poor worked side by side.¹⁷¹

The small Afrikaans speaking community's cultural and social activities were largely centred around the Dutch Reformed Church which had a membership of 530 by 1937.¹⁷² A Kultuurvereniging existed, and in 1931 the Grocott's Daily Mail reported on a Kultuur Dag, at which Afrikaans songs were sung and talks were given on old Cape Dutch Architecture.¹⁷³ English speaking Grahamstonians became excited about the Centenary of the Great Trek when they were given the opportunity of starring as extras in a movie which commemorated the event.¹⁷⁴

(k) Annual events

The annual Delville Wood and Remembrance Day ceremonies took place in front of the War Memorial which was unveiled in June 1924.¹⁷⁵ The city was noticeably quieter during academic holidays, especially during the weeks following Christmas as many

¹⁷⁰ Black women also contributed to the war effort by doing knitting etc. GDM 11.3.1941.

¹⁷¹ Oral interviews Mrs B. Rennie and Mrs M. Patrick, 1991.

¹⁷² GDM 6.11.1937.

¹⁷³ GDM 4.6.1931.

¹⁷⁴ GDM 13.7.1937.

¹⁷⁵ GDM 9.6.1924. The memorial was the work of the sculptor Gilbert Ledward.

Grahamstown residents spent this time at the nearby coastal resort of Port Alfred.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ On 26.12.1936 the editor of the Grocott's Daily Mail commented that it had been so quiet on Christmas Day that "one could have fired a machine gun down High Street without injuring anyone." It was considered useless calling meetings during academic vacations as so many Grahamstown residents had holiday homes in Port Alfred. GDM 24.4.1923.

CHAPTER SEVEN**CONCLUSION**

In 1945 Grahamstonians could congratulate themselves on numerous civic accomplishments which had been achieved since 1918. When a visitor from Vryburg wrote to the Grocott's Daily Mail in July 1939 claiming that the city had not progressed since he had lived in it as a scholar 40 years before, the editor was easily able to refute his claim by referring, inter alia, to the fact that since the completion of the Howieson's Poort Scheme in 1930 the city was assured of a water supply for 4 years, even if no rain should fall; and to the start which had been made on the scheme for tarring the roads.¹

The public works schemes undertaken during the period reviewed in this thesis were indeed a considerable boon to the city's residents; but unfortunately, the city's Black population, which, as the years progressed, represented an ever increasing percentage of the total population,² only benefited from them to a limited extent.

¹ GDM 4.7.1939.

² See Table showing Population Census Figures (APPENDIX C). In June 1936 the Medical Officer of Health reported that the White population which had approximately equalled the Black population in 1921, was by that stage outnumbered in the proportion of 7 to 5. CA 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5.

The introduction of electricity was a major advance as the quality of the former gas lighting had been very poor.³ The advent of water-borne sewerage meant that people in the White area no longer had to contend with the odours emanating from the nightsoil removal vans.⁴ The tarring of the city's roads eliminated the dust problem which had formerly made life unpleasant at times.⁵

Grahamstown's scenic beauty reconciled many White residents into accepting that the city would probably never attract major industries.⁶ Many editorials in the Grocott's Daily Mail praised the city's beautiful gardens and street islands, and a publicity brochure entitled Grahamstown: the educational centre of the Eastern Cape published in the late 1930s by the Municipality and the South African Railways and Harbours Administration commented on the "air of spaciousness" and "noticeable absence of slums" in the city.⁷

One of the city's attractions that the above-mentioned brochure referred to was the ample supply of "Coloured and Native

³ Co Mins 27.7.1921. The Schools and Colleges Association complained about the weak pressure and quality of the gas.

⁴ Oral interview with Mrs B. Rennie.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ For instance a letter in the Grocott's Daily Mail of 29.11.1933 in which the charm of the High Street is praised.

⁷ Grahamstown: the educational centre of the Eastern Cape. (no date). p.3.

servants" who lived in the "spacious location outside the city."⁸ There was, however, by the latter years of the period reviewed, a sizeable grouping of members of the White community who were actively concerned about the terrible poverty, overcrowding and atrocious living conditions that existed within the Location.⁹ Many Whites were still more concerned about matters affecting their day to day lives, such as the Municipality's plans to levy a rate in connection with the removal of rubbish,¹⁰ than about the welfare of Blacks in Grahamstown; but by 1945 the amount of interest shown in improving conditions in the Location had increased.¹¹ This increase in interest was largely the result of the publicity that had been given to conditions in the Location by local clergymen, and academics from Rhodes University College and other educational institutions.¹²

The fight for freedom from the tyranny of Nazism during the Second World War inspired the community to wish for a square deal

⁸ Grahamstown: the educational centre of the Eastern Cape. (no date). p.48.

⁹ Many of these people were members of the Joint Council. CL MS16584, MS16556.

¹⁰ GDM 14.2.1939. "To many citizens the Council's draft regulations for the compulsory removal of rubbish are even more important than the plan for providing Natives with beer."

¹¹ GDM 28.7.1945. A comparison was drawn between the radically different living conditions in the White and Black areas.

¹² See for example the account given in Ch 4 in respect of the "Malnutrition Controversy" of 1941.

for all,¹³ but the racial prejudices of the White community meant that the residential segregation of different race groups was considered highly desirable. Many Whites believed that Blacks would be amply satisfied with lower standards of living, and especially housing, than Coloureds, who in turn would be well satisfied with lower standards than Whites.¹⁴

Grahamstown was on many occasions inexorably affected by developments in the macrocosm, and in many instances negotiations with the Government determined the local outcome:- For example Grahamstown, despite being a non-industrial city, could not escape the influx of Blacks during a period which witnessed increased Black urbanisation throughout the country.¹⁵ The Government, however, refused to accede to the Council's plans for forced removals to deal with the overcrowding and unemployment in the Location.¹⁶

The Council's unwillingness to provide housing for Blacks who had

¹³ For example the Council decided to make building plots available at a discount to both White and Coloured Ex-Servicemen. Co Mins 28.3.1945.

¹⁴ This belief had guided the Council's decisions throughout the period reviewed. For instance in 1929 the Council justified its economising on the New Town housing scheme by claiming that the houses still provided a "highly improved standard for the native." Co Mins 7.8.1929. The homes built for Coloureds during the Second World War were far superior to those built for Blacks. (See Ch 4).

¹⁵ It is interesting to note that in 1938, the year that Grahamstown adopted influx control measures, there was a large increase in the number of municipalities adopting influx control regulations. -- See T.R.H. Davenport in Apartheid city in transition. p.18.

¹⁶ Discussed in Ch 4.

not been born in Grahamstown, was understandable, as it sorely lacked the requisite financial resources.¹⁷ The lack of income generating industry in Grahamstown made the housing problem seem insurmountable to many locals. As Dr. J.D. Rheinallt Jones¹⁸ observed, Sub-Economic housing schemes did not address the real cause of the Black housing problem, which was the low standard of wages paid to Blacks.¹⁹

Grahamstown's failure to industrialise also meant that many young males, from both the White and Black communities, had to leave the city to find jobs elsewhere.²⁰ By 1945 Grahamstown had realised that her prospects of future advancement would be best served if she threw her lot in with other areas in the Eastern Cape, and so the City Council joined the South Eastern Areas Public Bodies Association,²¹ and the Albany and Districts Sporting Union was formed to further the interests of all sports.²²

¹⁷ See Ch 3 for an account of the Council's financial difficulties.

¹⁸ See Ch 5 for Biographical details.

¹⁹ Co Mins 29.9.1937. Report by the Town Clerk: Minutes of the Conference on the Native Laws Amendment Act and Meeting held in the City Hall, Pretoria on the 28th and 29th September, 1937.

²⁰ The Census conducted by the Municipality at the end of 1938 showed that there were 36% more female Black adults than male Black adults. Joint Council Minutes MS16556. This trend continued for decades afterwards -- See T.R.H. Davenport Black Grahamstown: the agony of a community. p.14. The preponderance of White females over White males is well detailed in H.L. Watts, "Grahamstown: a socio-ecological study of a small South African town."

²¹ GDM 2.10.1945.

²² GDM 19.7.1945.

The only major way that Grahamstown influenced the rest of South Africa was through her educational institutions which were attended by students and scholars from other parts of the country. Local Blacks managed to achieve a share of the benefits that higher education bestowed, when they, with help from the Joint Council, succeeded in securing the establishment of the city's first Black Secondary School.²³

Additional health services were introduced during the period reviewed,²⁴ but the rapid increase in the size of the city's Black population during the period meant that these services could not adequately meet all the needs of the community. Poverty was indisputably the underlying cause of poor health in the Location.

During the years reviewed the Albany electorate never swerved in its devotion to the cause of British Imperialism, and this made the constituency a safe parliamentary seat for the South African Party and later the United Party.²⁵ Nevertheless, the Members of Parliament for Albany were expected to do their best to secure the advancement of local economic and farming interests. Devotion to the advancement of local interests enabled an Independent, J.C. Rae,²⁶ to hold the Albany seat in the Cape Provincial Council from 1927 to 1948, despite the strength of the

²³ Discussed in Ch 6.

²⁴ See Ch 4.

²⁵ See Ch 5 for Table outlining election results.

²⁶ See Biographical Sketch of Rae.

support within the constituency for the South African Party and the United Party. Rae was, however, unsuccessful in his attempt in 1936 to be elected to the national Parliament.²⁷

In both 1918 and 1945 the Grahamstown community rejoiced at the end of a traumatic World War. During the intervening years the community had to endure many trials and tribulations, such as the drought of 1927, when the residents' use of water was severely curtailed; the Depression of 1929 - 1932, during which time the editor of the Grocott's Daily Mail commented that fortunately there was one side of life that commercial depression was not able to destroy, and that was the charitable and intellectual side of life;²⁸ and the Second World War when the residents gave their all to the war effort, and empathised with the sufferings of the British people.²⁹

Many of the decisions Grahamstown faced regarding the allocation of financial resources during the years reviewed are still major issues in South Africa today, as the nation debates how to allocate its limited financial resources, in the face of the acute health, educational and housing needs of the population. The money spent on education in Grahamstown between 1918 and 1945 was money well spent; but the failure of the city's residents to attract industry and ample employment opportunities, meant that well intentioned moves to improve housing and other poverty

²⁷ See Ch 5.

²⁸ GDM 4.6.1932.

²⁹ See Ch 6.

related ills could only achieve limited success.

The solutions that Grahamstonians provided to the social, economic and political problems of the period 1918 - 1945 reflected the values and beliefs of that age. Grahamstown during the years 1918 to 1945 can be regarded as a mirror of that age because so many national and international trends were reflected in the city during those years. Although many of the guiding principles, such as Imperialism and Paternalism, which influenced the actions of those in positions of authority, have since been discredited, the history of Grahamstown during the years reviewed reveals that, in several instances, improved living conditions and facilities, as well as educational opportunities, could be achieved, by perseverance in the face of economic and other difficulties.

APPENDIX A

PHOTOGRAPH 1.

UNITED PUBLIC SERVICE OF THANKSGIVING
HELD ON NOV 14 TH 1918, IN CHURCH SQUARE, GRAHAMSTOWN,
UPON THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN THE GREAT EUROPEAN WAR.



C.W. Whiteside J.P., Mayor.
Revd. C.K. Hodges, Mayor's Chaplain.

(Photograph in the possession of the Grahamstown Municipality.)

PHOTOGRAPH 2.

THE MAYOR, COUNCILLORS AND OFFICIALS
OF THE GRAHAMSTOWN CITY COUNCIL.
 1919 - 1920



Standing: Cr. F.W. Nelson, E.J. Alexander (Curator of Gardens), Dr G.C. Purvis (M.O.H.), Cr. J.S. Gush, F.G. Clarkson MBE (Town Clerk & Treasurer), Cr. J.C. Orsmond, R.J. Cogan (Sanitary Inspector), Cr. E.J.H. Jardine, Cr. B. Jacobson.

Sitting: Cr. D. Knight, J.P. (ex-Mayor), Cr. C.S. Webb, J.P. (Chairman Works and Lands Committee), Revd. W.Y. St. George Stead (Deputy Mayor), C.W. Whiteside, J.P. (Mayor), Mrs A. Wadds Wright, Cr. J.H. Webber, J.P., Cr. C.H. Wood (Chairman Forestry Committee), Cr. Lennox Smit.

Front row: Stuart Chandler A.M.I.C.E. (City Engineer), R.G. Bowles (Market Master).

Insets: Cr. A. Paterson (Chairman Health and Market Committee), Cr. Henry R. Wood, J.P. ex-Mayor (Chairman Finance Committee).

(Photograph in the possession of the Grahamstown Municipality.)

PHOTOGRAPH 3.GRAHAMSTOWN [1820 SETTLERS] CENTENARY CELEBRATIONSCommittee April 1921.

Back row left to Right: Melville Dold, E.J.H. Jardine, R.H. Sherry, J. Brookshaw, Chris Webb, M.W. Stirk, Stephen Smith, C.H. Wood (Deputy Mayor), Daniel Knight, R.J. Cogan, Charles Fabert, Revd. C.K. Hodges.

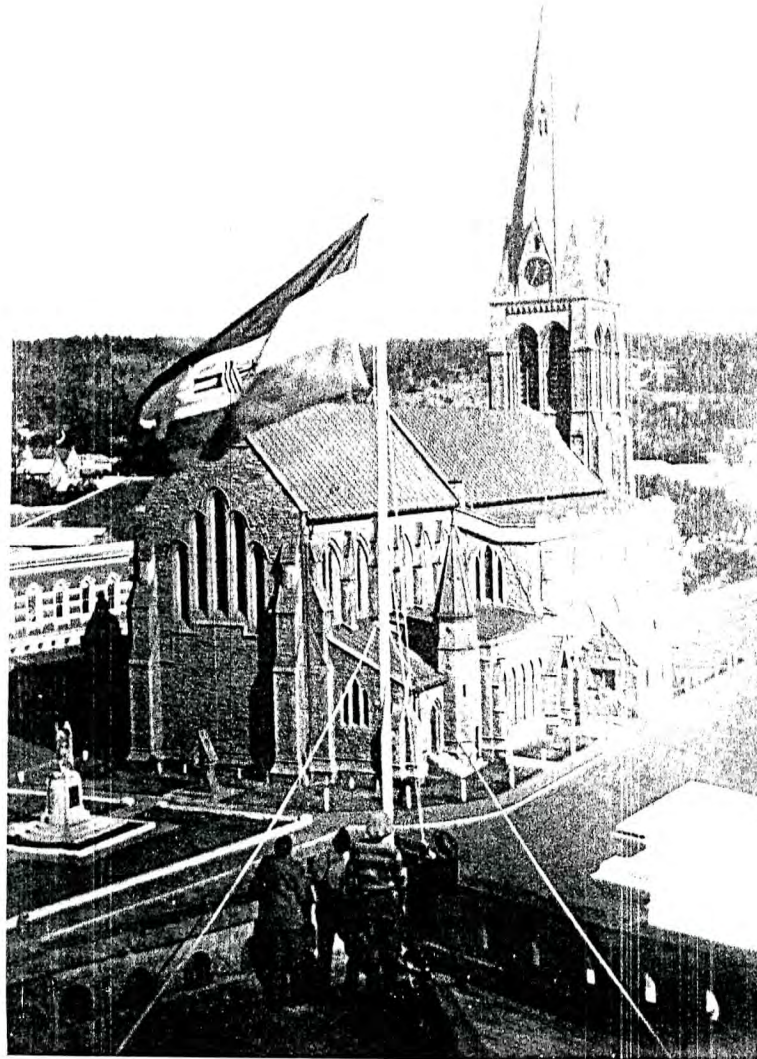
Middle row: A.B. Shand, Dr. F.A. Saunders, Mrs Wadds Wright, Revd. St. George Stead, Sir Cuthbert Whiteside (Mayor), Daphne de Waal, L.M. Dold, Mrs Crozier Richards, Miss Ada Nelson.

Front row: Muriel Mungeam, W. Gowie, Capt. Overbeek (Secretary), Algoa Short, S. Chandler (City Engineer), F.W. Armstrong.

(Photograph in the possession of the Grahamstown Municipality.)

PHOTOGRAPH 4.

INAUGURATION OF THE NATIONAL FLAG
OF SOUTH AFRICA.



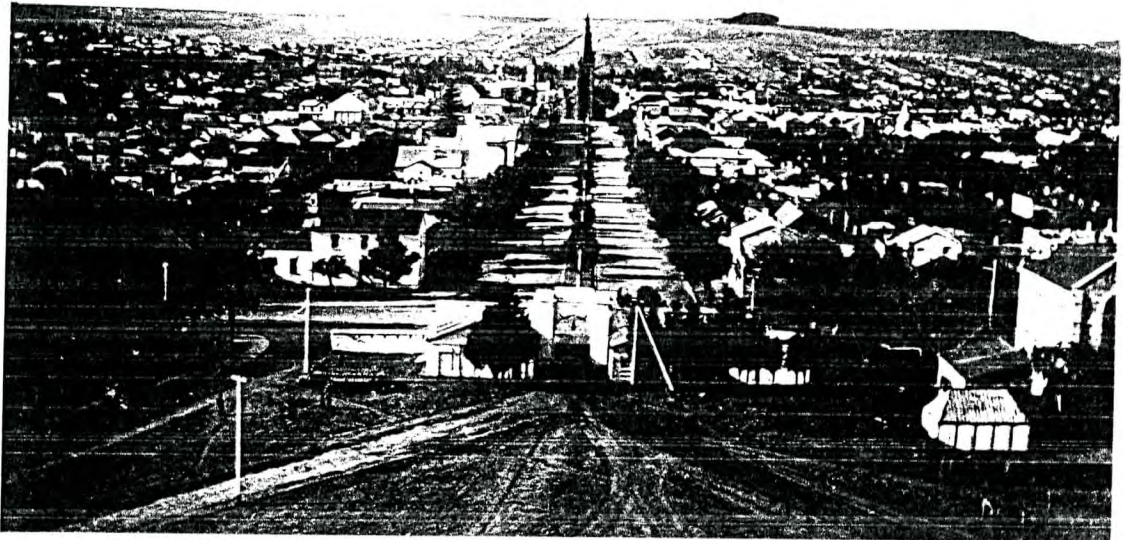
City Hall, Grahamstown,
Union Day, 31st May 1928

J.C. Rae, M.P.C. Mayor

(Photograph in the possession of the Grahamstown Municipality.)

PHOTOGRAPH 5.

VIEW OF GRAHAMSTOWN FROM RHODES UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.
[1930s]



(PIC2590 Cory Library, Rhodes University.)

APPENDIX B

MAP OF GRAHAMSTOWNNoting plan of Grahamstown 1922 - 1939

CAPE ARCHIVES M4/244

Scale: 50 Cape Roods = 1 inch

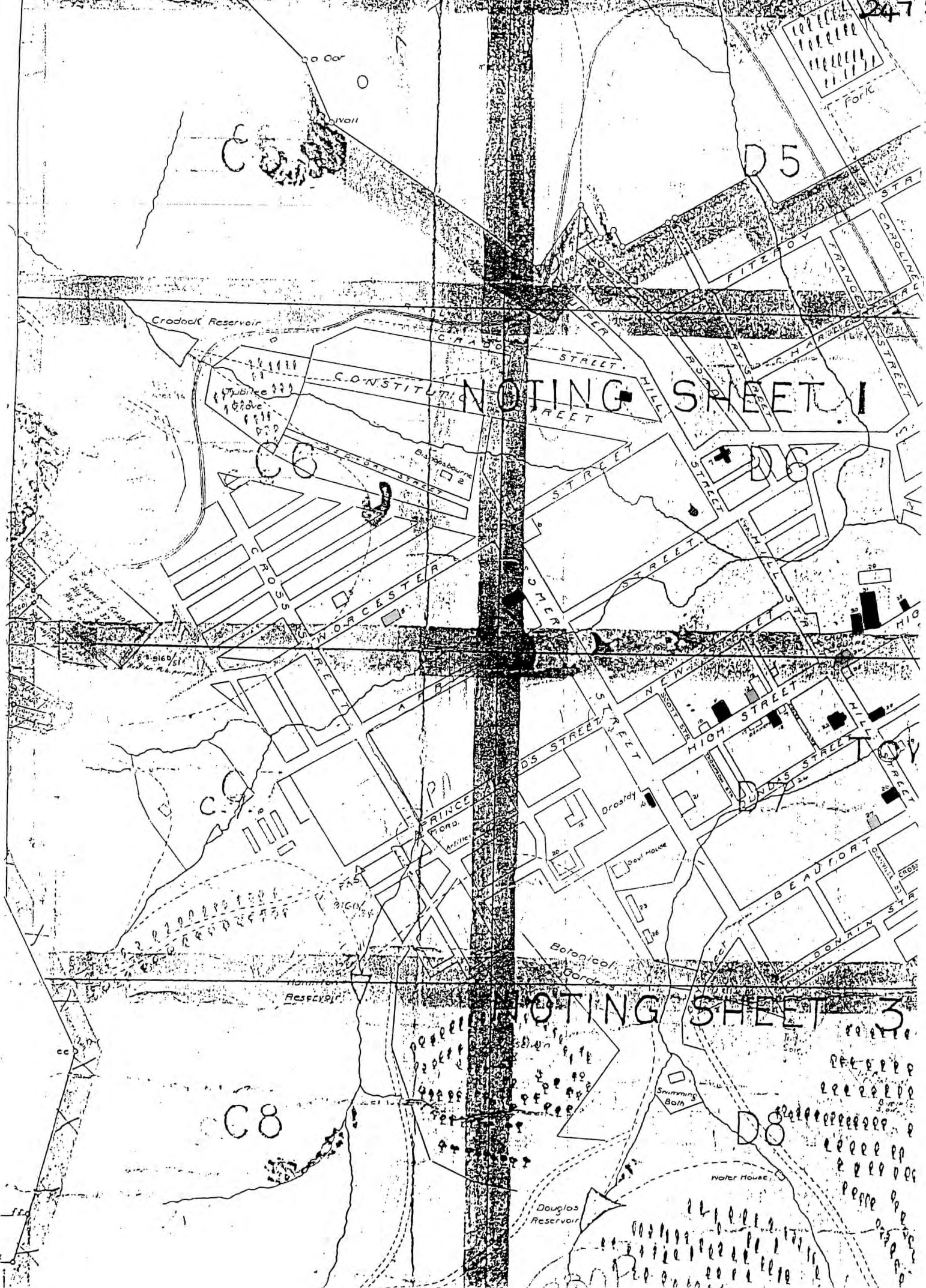
"Compiled from the original plan loaned by the Municipality, [signed] E. Gould. 6.4.22.

The streets of Oatlands Estate as shewn on the General Plan thereof do not exactly agree with the boundaries as they exist on the ground.

The widths of the Streets and the dimensions of the Public Buildings have been slightly enlarged for the sake of perspicuity."

<u>Buildings</u>	Streets	No. on Plan
St. Aidan's College	Constitution Street	1
Diocesan School for Girls	Worcester Street	5
St. Andrew's	Somerset Street	6
Christ Church	Upper Hill Street	7
West Hill Wesleyan Church	Somerset Street	8
Magistrate's Court	High Street	11
Post Office	High Street	12
Albany Museum	Somerset Street	16
Eastern Districts Court	High Street	18
Roman Catholic Church	Hill Street	22
Trinity Church	Hill Street	26
Convent	Beaufort Street	27

Albany Hospital	Hill Street	28
Standard Bank	Church Square	30
City Hall	Church Square	31
Commemoration Church	High Street	32
Cathedral of St. Michael & St. George	Church Square	34
Masonic Temple	Hill Street	38
St. Philip's Church	Wood Street	46
Fort England Asylum	Fort England	47



NOTING SHEET 1

NOTING SHEET 3

C8

D5

C8

D8

Crooked Reservoir

Botanical Garden

Douglas Reservoir

Water House

Swimming Bath

PRINCE TORD

Drosdy

Boat House

Worcester Street

CONSTITUTION HILL

UPPER STREET

FITZROY STREET

CAROLINE STREET

FRANCIS STREET

Fork

WATER HOUSE

WATER HOUSE

WATER HOUSE

WATER HOUSE

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NOTING SHEET 2

F5

F6

F7

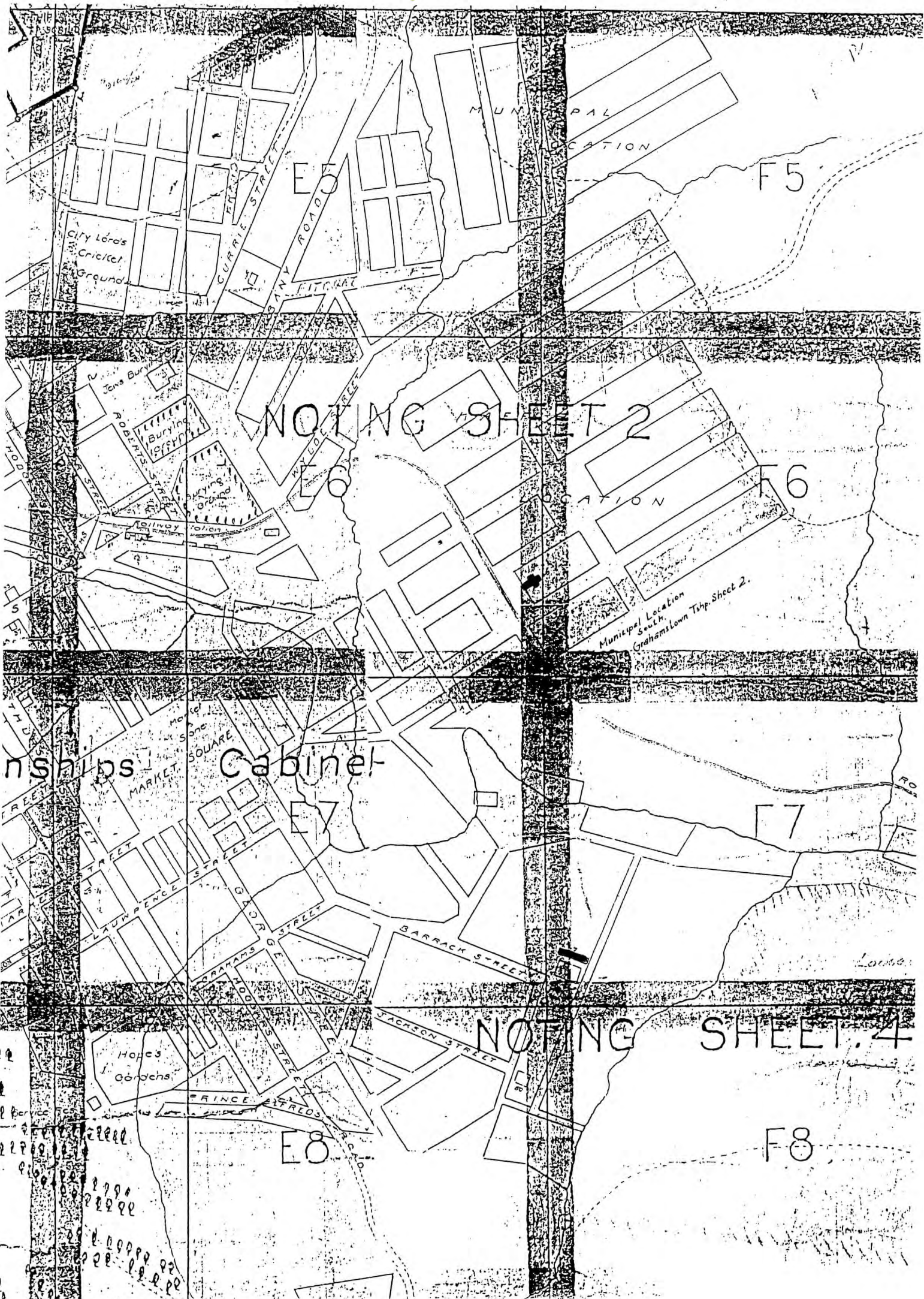
F8

nships

Cabinet

E8

NOTING SHEET 4



Municipal Location South Grahams Town Tshp. Sheet 2.

Loma

APPENDIX C

POPULATION CENSUS FIGURESGrahamstown

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EUROPEAN</u>	<u>"NATIVE"</u>	<u>ASIATIC</u>	<u>MIXED AND OTHER</u>	<u>ALL RACES</u>
1918*	7 087				
1921	7 237	5 631	143	1 898	14 909
1926*	7 652				
1931*	7 602				
1936	8 198	9 131	122	2 322	19 773
1946	9 054	10 874	181	2 889	22 998

* A Census was taken only of Europeans

=====

The size of Grahamstown's European Population in relation to the European populations of other urban centres in the Union

<u>Year of Census</u>	<u>Grahamstown's Position</u>
1918	17
1921	16
1926	17
1931	20
1936	20
1946	22

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL YEAR BOOKS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
AND CORY LIBRARY LIST OF POPULATION CENSUS DATA MS17121

APPENDIX D

MAYORS OF GRAHAMSTOWN
1918 - 1945

(Normal term of office: September - September)

Cuthbert William Whiteside (1918 - 1922)

Frank C. Haider (1922 - 1924)

Maurice Glanville Godlonton (1924 - February 1927)

John Cargill Rae (March 1927 - July 1928)

Henry Horatio Hart (August - 5 September 1928)

Cullen Walter Bowles (1928 - 1930)

William Purnell Bond (1930 - 1932)

Lewis Miles (1932 -1937)

Gilbert William Lucas (1937 - May 1940)

Arthur Wellesley Parsons (June 1940 - 1941)

George Henry Paul Jacques (1943 - 1945)

COMPILED FROM: List of Mayors kept by the Grahamstown Municipality

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF IMPORTANT
GRAHAMSTOWN PERSONALITIES

1) BOWKER, Thomas Bouchier 28.9.1889 - 21.7.1964

Bowker was the son of Bouchier Bowker, who was one of the pioneers in the development of Ostrich farming in South Africa. Thomas was born in Grahamstown and educated at the Marist Brothers College, Port Elizabeth. He distinguished himself in the School Higher examination and was awarded the Municipal Silver Medal. After leaving school he took up Ostrich farming, but, following the slump in the Ostrich feather market in 1914, he later turned to sheep farming. On 15.4.1914 he married Gladys Elaine Hart, and the couple had 3 children. Before he entered Parliament in 1936, he sat on the Divisional Council and on the local School and Hospital Boards. He represented Albany in Parliament from 1936 until his death. He believed in a broad South Africanism, and was the prime mover of the 1820 National Monument Scheme and the Orange-Fish River Irrigation Scheme. He diligently worked for the interests of the Albany district, and he was affectionately known by his constituents as "Uncle Tom". From 1944 to 1951 he served as a member of the National Parks Board of Trustees. He piloted the Rhodes University (Private) Bill through the House of Assembly, and shortly before his death in 1964 Rhodes University conferred the degree of

Doctor of Laws honoris causa on him.

SOURCES: SAWW, 1940 & 1960; GDM 27.7.1964; CL MS16530.

2) HOUGHTON, Robert Desmond Hobart 24.10.1906 - 18.7.1976

Houghton was born in Alice. He was the son of Kenneth Hobart Houghton, a teacher. He was educated at St. Andrew's College Grahamstown (1919 - 1924), Rhodes University College (1925 - 1928), and at Magdalen College Oxford (1929 - 1931). He married Betty Grover, a graduate in mathematics of the University of London. (No children were born of the marriage). In 1932 he returned to Grahamstown where he was appointed a senior lecturer and head of the Department of Economics at Rhodes University College. He was a prominent member of the Joint Council, and was particularly interested in the problems of unemployment, poverty and rural development. In 1940 he volunteered to serve as a gunner with the South African armed forces in the Middle East, and he was mentioned in dispatches. He was taken prisoner at Tobruk in June 1942, and spent the rest of the Second World War in captivity in Italy and Germany. While still in prison camp he was appointed the first occupant of the chair of Economics and Economic History at Rhodes University College. He subsequently became well known for his works pertaining to the South African economy, which were widely translated. He was especially interested in the migrant labour system and the economic problems of Ciskei and Transkei, and he received a number of international awards for his writings. During 1959 and 1960 he served as President of the Economics Society of South

Africa, and he was a founder member of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council. After his retirement he was Director of Rhodes University's Institute of Social and Economic Research from 1967 to 1973. He made significant contributions to the work of the South African Institute of Race Relations and was a member of the Human Sciences Research Council between 1968 and 1972. In 1974 the University of the Witwatersrand awarded him an honorary LL.D degree. He died in 1976 at Hogsback.

SOURCES: DSAB vol V p. 363 - 364, JC Minutes CL MS16584.

3) JACQUES, George Henry Paul 23.1.1869 - 28.12.1946

Jacques was born in Kent, England. He married Mary Alice McIntyre in 1896, and the couple had 4 children. He emigrated to South Africa in 1889, and in 1916 he was appointed a Member of the Order of the British Empire on account of his war services. In 1891 he entered the Ministry of the Methodist Church, and was stationed in Durban, Cape Town, Queenstown, and Port Elizabeth, before he became Chairman of the Grahamstown District in 1929. He was also elected President of the Methodist Conference in 1929. He was a prominent member of the Joint Council. He served as Chairman of the Albany Hospital Board for 7 years, and as Chairman of Kingswood College Council for 9 years. He entered the Grahamstown City Council in 1940 and served as Mayor from 1943 - 1945. In 1945 the University of South Africa conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity

honoris causa on him, partly on account of his public services to Grahamstown.

SOURCES: SAWW 1945, Co Mins 24.10.1945, Minutes of the 65th Annual Congress of the Methodist Church, 1947.

4) MILES, Lewis 28.9.1871 - 6.2.1943

Miles was born in Ramsgate, Kent, England, and he emigrated to South Africa in February 1891. In 1893 he settled in Grahamstown, and went into business as a monumental mason. He married Olive Mary Poulton on 14.10.1897, and the couple had 5 children. He was a member of the choir of the Commemoration Methodist Church, and he was also prominent in Masonic circles. He first entered the Grahamstown City Council in 1922, and served as Mayor for 5 years, from 1932 - 1937. He was Chairman of the Works and Lands Committee, the Sewerage Construction Committee, and the Coloured and Native Affairs Committee. He also served on the Waterworks Investigations Committee. He took a keen interest in the welfare of Grahamstown's Black community, and it was through his instrumentality and financial assistance that the Boy Scouts' Hall and the Girl Guide Hall were built. He also served for a number of years on the Board of the Albany Museum. He died at his daughter's home in Alice.

SOURCES: SAWW, 1936, GDM 6.2.1943, Co Mins 24.2.1943.

5) RAE, John Cargill 11.5.1874 - 27.9.1955

Rae was born and educated in Dundee Scotland. He came to South Africa in 1899 and tried his hand at various occupations:- artisan, farmer, shorthand teacher, sweetshop owner, and journalist. He contributed poems to the press and was described as "a writer with a happy knack of writing lines with a lilt fortified at times by a strong strain of delightful satire." He never married. Standing as an Independent he won the Albany seat in the Cape Provincial Council election in 1927, and he held this seat until 1948. During his membership of the Provincial Council he was especially concerned with furthering the interests of the local Government Schools. He entered the Grahamstown City Council in 1925 and served as Mayor from March 1927 until July 1928. He was much admired for his decision in 1927 to use his Mayoral hospitality allowance to provide a Christmas party for the poor children in the Location. He was Honorary chieftain of the Caledonian Society, and its official Bard. In addition he was a keen Freemason, and also served as Secretary of the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce. He was connected with the Grocott's Daily Mail in an editorial capacity for many years. Ill health influenced his decision to move to Port Elizabeth, approximately a year before his death at the age of 81.

SOURCES: SAWW, 1936, 1955, GDM 28.9.1955, Co Mins 11.1.1928.

6) STRUBEN, Robert Henry 29.3.1876 - 28.2.1936

Struben was born in Pretoria. He attended St Andrew's College for a short time, before he continued his education at the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and at Wadham College Oxford. While he was in England he met and married Daisy Shaw-Yates. The couple had 2 children. He served in the Anglo Boer War, and during the First World War he was mentioned in dispatches, and awarded the Order of the British Empire. He did much for organised agriculture in South Africa, and was instrumental in forming the Cape Province Agricultural Association, of which he was the first Vice-President. In addition he served on the committees of the Central Farmers' Association, the South African Agricultural Union and the Cape Agricultural Union. He also acted as Chairman of the Cape Area Committee of the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association. Between 1928 and 1931 he was a member of the St Andrew's College Council. He was elected as Member of Parliament for Albany in the 1924 General Election, and although he was not from the Albany area (he farmed near Somerset West), he was returned unopposed in succeeding elections until 1936. He actively expounded the cause of the local farming community. In 1927 he was elected a party whip for the South African Party and he became a government whip in the Fusion Government of 1934. He collapsed and died on 28.2.1936 on the steps of the House of Assembly while on his way to an appointment with the Minister of Agriculture.

SOURCES: SAWW, 1936, DSAB, vol IV p. 632

7) WHITESIDE, Sir Cuthbert William 26.10.1880 - 25.10.1969

Whiteside was born in Ramsgate, England, and came to South Africa in 1891. He became a Solicitor and Notary Public of the Supreme Court in 1901, and Albany's Justice of the Peace in 1912. He married Janet Louisa Humpage on 29.9.1909, and the couple had 3 children. He served as Mayor of Grahamstown from 1918 - 1922. In 1920 he inaugurated the 1820 Memorial Settlers Association to commemorate the arrival in South Africa of the British Settlers, and the following year he was knighted on account of his role in promoting the commemoration of the Centenary of the arrival of the Settlers. He was prominent in Masonic circles. He retired to Knysna where he died on the eve of his 89th birthday.

SOURCES: SAWW, 1936, Grocott's Mail 28.10.1969.

For Photographs of Whiteside see APPENDIX A, Photographs 2 and 3.

8) YEOMANS, John Thomas 23.3.1880 - 9.5.1969

Yeomans was born and educated in Chesterfield, England. He suffered from a respiratory ailment, and in the hope that South Africa's warm climate would benefit his health, he decided to emigrate to South Africa in 1903. He married Wilhelmina Hudson on 8.5.1912, and the couple had 3 children. Before taking up the position of Town Clerk and Treasurer in Grahamstown at the end of 1925, he had been Town Clerk of Uitenhage from 1912 - 1919 and Town Clerk of Oudtshoorn from 1919 - 1925. He held the position of Town Clerk and Treasurer of Grahamstown until he reached retirement age in 1945. As a student of local government he

took a keen interest in the proceedings of the Cape Province Municipal Association, and served on the Executive Committee of that Association. He published several papers on Municipal Finance, including a comprehensive review of the financial responsibilities of the state and of local authorities for the construction of national roads, based upon systems in vogue in other parts of the world. He was elected a Fellow of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants (Great Britain) in 1917, a member of the Institute of Public Administration (Great Britain) in 1925, and a member of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries (Great Britain) in 1933. He was a Vice-President of the Cape Midlands Development Association for several years. He took particular interest in education and was Chairman of the Victoria Girls' High School Committee for many years and was also elected as a member of the School Board. In addition he was a Vice-President of the Boy Scouts. As the Chairman of the Eastern Province Branch of the South African National Society, he devoted much time to the preservation of buildings of historical interest in the Eastern Province. He was declared medically unfit for active service during the First World War, so he undertook the duties of Joint Honorary Secretary of the Governor-General's Fund, and was a member of the Recruiting Committee as well as Honorary Secretary of the Returned Soldiers Employment Committee. During the Second World War he served in the Civilian Guard. He was Senior Church Warden of Christ Church for many years. Following his retirement as Town Clerk in 1945 he became a member of the City Council for a short while, but he resigned in January 1949. He relocated to Cradock for

health reasons, and celebrated his 80th birthday at St. Peter's Anglican Church in that town. He subsequently moved to Graaff-Reinet where he died on 9.5.1969.

SOURCES: SAWW, 1936, GDM 29.8.1945, GDM 7.4.1960, Grocott's Mail 13.5.1969 & also information supplied by Mrs S. Collett of Kenton-on-Sea.

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III. BIBLIOGRAPHIC AIDS, DIRECTORIES AND WORKS OF REFERENCE

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V. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

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Proclamation restricting the right of Blacks to enter the Urban Area of Grahamstown. Proclamation 115, Government Gazette Vol.CXII No.2530.

VI. INTERVIEWS

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Booi, E. Victoria Road, Fingo Village. 1991.

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VII. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

(a) CAPE ARCHIVES

ARCHIVES OF THE TOWN CLERK, GRAHAMSTOWN.

(i) Grahamstown City Council Minute Books

3/AY/1/1/1/19	9.1.1918 - 3.12.1919
3/AY/1/1/1/20	17.12.1919 - 23.5.1923
3/AY/1/1/1/21	23.5.1923 - 3.2.1926

(There is a duplication of Minutes at the beginning of 1926, as handwritten and typescript copies of the Minutes of several meetings exist.)

3/AY/1/1/1/22	20.1.1926 - 21.7.1928
3/AY/1/1/1/23	3.7.1928 - 8.12.1930
3/AY/1/2/10/1/7	1937

(The 1937 Council Minutes are incorrectly listed as Standing Committee Minutes in the Cape Archives Depot's "Inventory of the Archives of the Town Clerk, Grahamstown.")

(ii) Indexes to the City Council Minutes

3/AY/1/1/4/1 Index Aug 1909 - Dec 1919
 3/AY/1/1/4/2 Index Dec 1919 - Dec 1925
 3/AY/1/1/4/3 Index Jan - Nov 1926

(iii) Works and Lands Committee Minutes

3/AY/1/2/2/1/19 Oct 1917 - Dec 1923
 3/AY/1/2/2/1/20 Jan 1924 - Feb 1926

(iv) Finance Committee Minutes

3/AY/1/2/3/1/9 Aug 1915 - Jan 1922
 3/AY/1/2/3/1/10 Jan 1922 - Feb 1926
 3/AY/1/2/3/1/11 May 1928 - Jan 1930
 3/AY/1/2/3/1/12 Jan - Dec 1930
 3/AY/1/2/3/1/13 Jan - Dec 1930

(v) Health Committee Minutes

3/AY/1/2/6/1/4 May 1915 - Sept 1918
 3/AY/1/2/6/1/5 Oct 1918 - Dec 1924
 3/AY/1/2/6/1/6 Dec 1924 - Feb 1926

(vi) Electric Lighting Committee Minutes

3/AY/1/2/8/1/1 Sept 1922 - Nov 1924

(vii) Grahamstown City Council General Standing Committee Minutes

3/AY/1/2/10/1/1 Jan - Dec 1932
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/2 Jan - Dec 1933
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/3 Jan - Dec 1934
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/4 Jan - Dec 1935
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/5 Jan - Dec 1936
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/6 Jan - Dec 1937
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/8 Jan - Dec 1938
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/9 Jan - Dec 1939
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/10 Jan - Dec 1939
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/11 Jan - Dec 1940
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/12 Jan - Dec 1941
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/13 Jan - Dec 1941
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/14 Jan - Dec 1942
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/15 Jan - Dec 1943
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/16 Jan - Dec 1944
 3/AY/1/2/10/1/17 Jan - Dec 1945

(viii) Special Committee Minutes

3/AY/1/3/1/1/5 Oct 1913 - May 1919

(ix) Minutes of Public Meetings

3/AY/1/4/1/2 Aug 1914 - Dec 1929

(x) Chartered Consulting Engineer's Reports

3/AY/5/2/3/1 Reports on Electricity Extension Scheme, 1931 - 1933

(xi) Annual Audited Financial Statements

3/AY/8/1/1 Dec 1928 - Dec 1934

(xii) Location Cash Books

3/AY/8/3/7/1 May 1916 - Aug 1920

3/AY/8/3/7/2 Aug 1920 - Dec 1923

3/AY/8/3/7/3 Jan - Mar 1924

3/AY/8/3/7/4 Oct 1932 - Jul 1935

3/AY/8/3/7/5 Aug 1935 - Dec 1938

(xiii) Water Contracts

3/AY/9/3/1 - 3 Howieson's Poort Scheme, 1929.

(xiv) Governor-General's War Relief Fund

3/AY/Add. 2/1/1 Minutes Sept 1914 - Mar 1919

3/AY/Add. 2/1/2 Minutes Mar 1919 - Mar 1920

MAPS

M2/1538 - 9 Sewerage Scheme

M3/1224 - 5 Sewerage Scheme

M3/1226 Topographical plan of Grahamstown and locality - proposed stormwater drainage.

M/3/1227 - 34 Sewerage Scheme

M3/1276 Municipal Hall for Native Location

M3/3771 Power Station 1927

M4/244 Noting plan of Grahamstown 1922 - 1939

M4/458 Plan of Grahamstown showing proposed sewerage scheme

(b) GRAHAMSTOWN MUNICIPALITY: RECORDS HOUSED AT THE GRAHAMSTOWN CITY HALL

Grahamstown City Council Minutes

1931 - 1936 6 Volumes
1938 - 1945 8 Volumes

Files

Historic Monuments file

List of Mayors of Grahamstown 1862 - 1990

Photographs (See Appendix A. for copies)

(i) Photograph of the United Public Service of Thanksgiving held on 14.11.1918, in Church Square, Grahamstown. (PHOTOGRAPH 1.)

(ii) Photograph of the Mayor, Councillors and Officials of the Grahamstown City Council, 1919 - 1920. (PHOTOGRAPH 2.)

(iii) Photograph of the Grahamstown [1820 Settlers] Centenary Celebrations Committee, April 1921. (PHOTOGRAPH 3.)

(iv) Photograph of the Inauguration of the National Flag of South Africa, City Hall Grahamstown, 31 May 1928. (PHOTOGRAPH 4.)

(c) CORY LIBRARY FOR HISTORICAL RESEARCH, RHODES UNIVERSITY Manuscripts

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Correspondence with the author regarding Revd. Max Yergan, 1985.
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COLOURED HIGHER MISSION SCHOOL

Records 1934 - 1947. MS14872.

CORY, C.G.A.

Diaries of Dr. C.G.A. Cory. uncatalogued.

EASTERN PROVINCE GUARDIAN LOAN AND INVESTMENT COMPANY

Account Books 1865 - 1938. MS16921.
 Declaration Books 1921 - 1941. MS16921.

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Minute books 1876 - 1942. (1921 - 1924 wanting)
 Letter books 1874 - 1934. (1925 - 1927 wanting)
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GRAHAMSTOWN HIGHER MISSION SCHOOL

Records 1918 - 1937. MS14830.

GRAHAMSTOWN WELFARE ASSOCIATION

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Diary. MS14793.

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The Native and the Administration of Justice. Johannesburg:
 Joint Council Movement, [193?]. (South African Pamphlets Vol.38)

GRAHAMSTOWN MUNICIPALITY AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS ADMINISTRATION

Grahamstown: the educational centre of the Eastern Cape, no date.

Maps

Electricity Scheme L(757), MP177
 Town plan 1924 R(757)g1, MP669

Photographs

PIC902 Prince Arthur of Connaught's visit to Grahamstown in 1921.

PIC2011 Rhodes University College Rag 1924.

PIC2038, PIC2047 Building operations at Rhodes University College during the 1930s.

PIC2590 View of Grahamstown taken from Rhodes University College during the early 1930s. (See Appendix A. PHOTOGRAPH 5.)

PIC2996 Native Secondary School pupils.

(d) SETTLERS' CLUB

Minute books as well as financial and other records
1926 - 1945.

(e) PRIVATELY HELD PAPERS

HUMMEL, H.C.

"The greatest episode in the history of Port Alfred."
Unabridged unpublished Typescript copy of lecture delivered to the Lower Albany Historical Society on the subject of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Grahamstown and Port Alfred in 1925. (Abridged version published in Toposcope Vol.XX, 1989.)
Loaned to the author by Professor H.C. Hummel.

KIMBERLEY MUNICIPALITY

"Kimberley: 100 Years Street Lights, 1882 - 1982"
Brochure in the possession of the author.

LEVICK, W.M.

The lives of Robert and Jennie Mullins
Typescript (mimeographed)
Loaned to the author by M.A. Earl-Taylor of Grahamstown.

APPENDIX B

MAP OF GRAHAMSTOWNNoting plan of Grahamstown 1922 - 1939

CAPE ARCHIVES M4/244

Scale: 50 Cape Roods = 1 inch

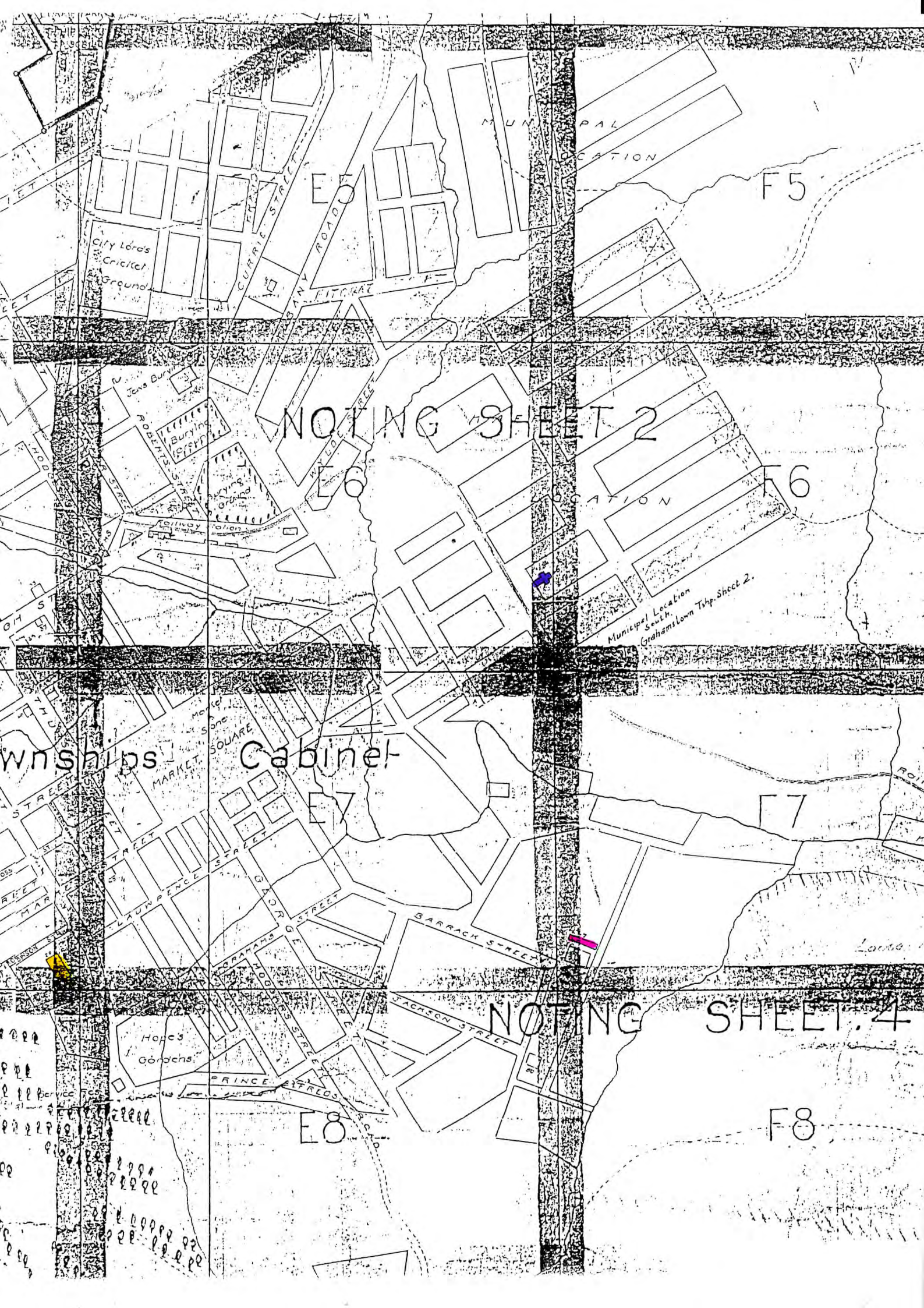
"Compiled from the original plan loaned by the Municipality, [signed] E. Gould. 6.4.22.

The streets of Oatlands Estate as shewn on the General Plan thereof do not exactly agree with the boundaries as they exist on the ground.

The widths of the Streets and the dimensions of the Public Buildings have been slightly enlarged for the sake of perspicuity."

<u>Buildings</u>	Streets	No. on Plan
St. Aidan's College	Constitution Street	1
Diocesan School for Girls	Worcester Street	5
St. Andrew's	Somerset Street	6
Christ Church	Upper Hill Street	7
West Hill Wesleyan Church	Somerset Street	8
Magistrate's Court	High Street	11
Post Office	High Street	12
Albany Museum	Somerset Street	16
Eastern Districts Court	High Street	18
Roman Catholic Church	Hill Street	22
Trinity Church	Hill Street	26
Convent	Beaufort Street	27

Albany Hospital	Hill Street	28
Standard Bank	Church Square	30
City Hall	Church Square	31
Commemoration Church	High Street	32
Cathedral of St. Michael & St. George	Church Square	34
Masonic Temple	Hill Street	38
St. Philip's Church	Wood Street	46
Fort England Asylum	Fort England	47



F5

NOTING SHEET 2

F6

Municipal Location South
Grahamstown Twp. Sheet 2.

Wnshps

Cabinet

F7

NOTING SHEET, 4

F8

E8

Handwritten notes and symbols in the bottom left corner, including a vertical list of 'P' characters and other illegible markings.