

"A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY OF EAST LONDON, CAPE PROVINCE, WITH  
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES."

A thesis presented to the University of South Africa  
in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of  
Arts.

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"A Socio-Economic Study of East London, Cape Province, with  
Special Reference to the Non-European Peoples."

"Thus it is necessary to sound a note of warning to those  
"in public authority in East London as in other centres that  
"unless and until these vast schemes (of reconstruction)  
"are front ranked in importance and priority of claim upon  
"public attention disaster from the point of public health  
"and economic welfare lurks on the threshold for such  
"communities."

Sir Edward Thornton. 8th September, 1937.

FORWARD.

The development of gold mines in the Orange Free State is likely to be to modern East London what Kaffir Wars were to old East London. 'The Fighting Port', as it is commonly called, is the nearest harbour to these mines and is linked by good rail, road and air facilities. A wide variety of industry is already established. Development is likely to be rapid. At present the City contains over 80,000 persons, and with the addition of peri-urban suburbs has doubled its population in just over fifteen years. In the past it has claimed to be the healthiest holiday resort in the Union. This year a City-wide campaign has been organised to fight tuberculosis, as the City's statistics indicate that it has one of the highest rates of anywhere in the world. Within twelve years two government aided commissions of enquiry have sat in the City and reported on the administration and living conditions of the City's African population. Extremely strong adjectives have been used to describe, and drastic recommendations made to improve the socio-economic and general conditions of the African people. Under the holiday atmosphere of the City lies a very serious, complex, and potentially dangerous human problem.

Every South African city has its problem of European-Non-European relationship. East London, however, is in a fortunate position in that its problem is not as yet so large that it could not be righted within a comparatively short space of time. It differs from Johannesburg, Durban and possibly Cape Town in this regard. Nevertheless the potential development of East London suggests that the problem must be tackled immediately whilst it is still in manageable proportions. Further, its potential development ensures that money now invested in laying the foundations of reconstruction will bring generous returns in future years.

This dissertation is intended to be a socio-economic analysis and statement, in quantitative and descriptive terms, of some of East London's Non-European people. Part 1 is an analysis to throw light on the problem as a whole, to show its development over the years and the nature of some of its complexities. Part 2 is a statement of the situation in 1949 obtained through a social survey of the City's largest location carried out by the author and a group of Rhodes University College students. Part 3 is a discussion of major aspects of the problem in the light of Part 1 and 2, and contains the principal conclusions. A series of recommendations to the City Council which result from the study, are provided in Appendix A.

The dissertation is intended to have a practical bias so as to be of value in any scheme of reconstruction that may be established within the next few years.

Although some criticism is frequently levelled at institutions and associations, and particularly the City Council, this criticism is made with no intent to harm. It is made rather with the intention of emphasising certain factors which appear to have contributed considerably to the problem, and is made in the spirit of the whole dissertation ---to assist East London generally

and in particular the City Council, and to provide the Department of Social Science of Rhodes University College with data and statement of fact that will enable a comparative study to be made of East London, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Keiskama Hoek. The dissertation, it is hoped, will lay the foundations of development which will make Sir Edward Thornton's remarks no longer applicable to East London, and with the Rhodes University study, to the Border and Eastern Province as a whole.

I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to everyone who has so willingly assisted either in the research itself or by discussion on various topics mentioned in the dissertation. In particular Professor James Irving and the Rhodes University College students contributed greatly to the Survey described in Part 2. Without their assistance and advice the research would not have been possible. The present Mayor of East London, Councillor Edwin H. Tiddy, has been a tower of strength in the writing of this dissertation. Not only his advice on major issues, his patience in reading the rough script, but the extensive and intimate knowledge he has concerning the development of East London particularly after 1937 has been of invaluable assistance. To all who assisted, the clerk who found the dust-covered files in the recesses of the City Hall, the patient persons who assisted in correlating the Survey data, the interpreters and many others, to all these a kindly word of thanks is due.

PART 1.THE HISTORICAL ANALYSIS.CHAPTER 1METHODOLOGY.

Although drawing extensively on historical material, Part I (1) is not strictly historical in kind. It does not seek to explain the sequence of events from a given date to another given date, but rather, to elucidate, with reference to historical events, the cause and effect of past happenings on socio-economic conditions. The analysis is designed to place emphasis on the influence of the past on present conditions and to show the way in the future.

Of necessity, past socio-economic conditions, tendencies manifest in those conditions, and the policies of East London's local authority had to be ascertained and substantiated by statements, facts and figures. In many instances these have been difficult to obtain, and at times contradictory in nature. To fulfill these requirements research was carried out into the files of the Town Clerk's Office, the Public Health Department, the press and numerous other sources. Wherever possible the source of information is quoted at the foot of each page. Although numerical statements and especially vital statistics must be treated with caution, they are presented to indicate trends and tendencies, and for this purpose their probable inaccuracy is less significant.

Part I has been divided into five sections dealing with a) population, b) physical growth of the City, c) health d) administration and migration and e) municipal and African attitudes and policies. Each section is in turn subdivided into chapters, and where convenient chapters have been divided further. A too detailed dissection has been avoided to ensure continuity.

1) For a history of the early development of East London see 'East London: Its Foundation and Early Development as a Port', a Master of Arts thesis by Bruce Gordon.

SECTION A.POPULATION.CHAPTER 11.THE NATURE OF THE FACTS.

The primary source of information for the study of population is the census returns. Further sources of a local character are the Annual Reports of the Medical Officer of Health, and the Mayor's Minutes for the years prior to 1913. These sources suffer from two characteristics which can lead to inaccuracy of fact and interpretation. Firstly, the numerical statements themselves are frequently open to suspicion, and secondly, changes in the classification of the ethnic groups. Some elaboration of these sources of inaccuracy is necessary.

## a) Accuracy of the Population Estimates and Census Returns:

The three most important censuses of recent years are the 1936 and 1946 National Censuses and the 1926 Census the Non-European part of which was sponsored by the East London Municipality. The figures of all censuses must be viewed with caution. They are the most accurate figures obtainable, but even the nature of the African people prohibits complete accuracy. On the night of the 1936 Census the police took the opportunity to raid the Africans for passes. These raids were at that time, and still are, a constant source of concern to African people, and forced pass offenders to:

- i) avoid being registered with any official body,
- ii) keep clear of the location area whenever police raids became numerous or when official action of any kind was suspected,
- iii) request relatives and friends not to mention or include them in any enumeration of household residents etc.

In view of these facts it is probable that a number of persons

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2) East London Non-European Census, 4th May, 1926.

3) vide: pp 20 & 24f of the Report of the 1921 Census.

4) vide: Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the year ending 30th June, 1936, p.2.

were not included who should rightly be so. The opinion of the administrative officers of the Municipality<sup>(5)</sup> is that the census returns are a considerable understatement.

The 1926 private census was conducted by the census office for the Municipality.<sup>(6)</sup> Although no mention of the methods used or conclusions as to accuracy are available,<sup>(7)</sup> it is possible that, in view of the smaller population and more intimate contact between the administration and the African, the results may be considerably more accurate than subsequent returns. Censuses taken prior to 1926 included those of 1921 and 1911 for all ethnic groups, and 1931, and 1918 for Europeans only. Prior to Union a census was taken in 1904, 1891, 1875 and 1865.<sup>(8)</sup>

The Mayor's Minutes of 1912 suggest that the 1911 Census is "inaccurate as it was taken on a Sunday night when a large number of the inhabitants were in the country." In many respects the 1911 Census is not comparable with earlier censuses. The classification of ethnic groups differs from the pre-Union Cape Censuses, the geographic areas differ in size as the Magisterial District was used as the Census District and was not sub-divided into urban and rural classifications. The admission of the Director of Census, 1911, te wit; "prior to my appointment on 1st July, 1910, as director of the Census for the Union of South Africa, I had no experience whatever of census administration, or statistical work or methods"<sup>(9)</sup> has frequently made comparisons difficult and hazardous. The data of this census has not been utilised for any comparative purposes to any great extent.

- 
- 5) Particularly the Medical Officer of Health and the Manager of Native Administration.
- 6) In 1926 five municipalities carried out a census of Non-Europeans in conjunction with the European Census. They were: Cape Town, Wynberg, East London, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein.
- 7) The 1921 Census gave detailed accounts of the methods used, but U.G.32 of 1927 omitted much of the essential material,
- 8) vide: P.26 1921 Census Report & pp11-v 1891 Census Report.
- 9) Report of the 1911 Census U.G. 32 of 1912, p.1.

The Public Health Department made estimates of population for years when a census was not taken. Annual estimates as far back as 1910 are available from this source. The Mayor's Minute (10) provide an annual record of population estimates as far back as 1893. These estimates are classified according to tribal as well as ethnic groups. Owing to the personal control of the Location Superintendent at that time, and the limited number of residents, it is probable that these early estimates were accurate.

No record was kept of the movements of Europeans or Coloureds entering or leaving the City. Africans entering the urban area from country districts obtained permits to reside in the Location and this reflected to some extent the influx of population. There was no register kept of Africans leaving the City. Especially in the last two decades there has been a tendency to enter the urban area without first obtaining the necessary pass. This led to the proclamation of Section 12 of the Urban Areas Act, but even this measure has been evaded in recent years. Therefore the estimates of African population, more especially in the last two decades, are very uncertain as the following conflicting evidence suggests.

Reference to Appendix B, giving the East London population returns, shows that the 'Non-European' figures remained relatively stationary from 1931 to 1937. The greatest fluctuation was a reduction of 1,113 or 4% between 1932 and 1933, which was made up by an increase of almost 1,000 in 1934. Thus the population (11) estimates show that except for 1933, the Non-European growth was merely arrested and not seriously retarded. On the other hand, a report by the Superintendent of Locations dated 30:8:32

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10) Kept in the Office of the Town Clerk, East London.

11) 'Non-European' includes all ethnic groups other than European.

states: "...a marked change has taken place wherein the Native population has considerably decreased, resulting in there being 1741 vacant rooms...".<sup>(12)</sup> The estimates show a reduction of 1,113 persons for 1932 but the Superintendent's report suggested this was considerably larger. In view of the small proportion of Non-Europeans which the Coloureds and Asiatics comprise, it is not likely that the difference could be accounted for by this means.

Owing to general inaccuracy comparisons of minor fluctuations over the years are impossible. The figures are sufficiently accurate to allow comparisons of years where considerable changes have occurred, and for that reason alone they serve a useful purpose. During work on the Tables presented in Part 2 it was frequently noted that the larger movements in populations reflected by the census returns were also apparent in the Survey data. The 1946 Census figures are not yet published, but the Director of Census and Statistics kindly provide preliminary figures on request.

In recent years the incorporation of Cambridge (1942), Amalinda, Abbotsford, and Woodbrook into the parent city in 1944 has somewhat changed the composition of the population. Although changes for the latter three are insignificant as far as the Non-Europeans are concerned, they do influence the European figures. The incorporation of Cambridge added 2,260 Non-Europeans and 9,976 Europeans to the East London total. These additions have influenced more recent figures.

b) Changes in Definition of Ethnic Groups over the Years:

The Cape Census taken prior to the Act of Union classified the ethnic groups according to 'Malay', 'Fingo', 'Kaffir and

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12) File No. 80 Town Clerk's Department. August 1932 to August 1933.

Bechuana' and 'Mixed and Others'. Between the censuses of 1865 and 1904 differences in definition were introduced (13) which have made comparisons for 'Malay', 'Hottentot' and 'Mixed and Others' impossible. The 'Fingo' and 'Kaffir and Bechuana' classifications do not appear to have changed considerably and hence are comparable. The 1891 Census established the clear (14) distinction between 'White' and 'Coloured'. The 1904 Census made no distinction between Municipal Areas as opposed to Census (15) Districts, which corresponded to Fiscal Divisions. Hence no direct light is thrown on East London per se. Subsequent to Union, the Census of 1911, although stating that the system of the Cape was adopted as far as possible throughout the Union, made radical changes in the definitions given to the ethnic groups. Although no actual definitions are provided, statements such as 'those returned as Malay, Griqua, and Mozambique should logically (16) be classified as of Mixed Race' suggest that considerable changes were made. In general the method followed at 1911 was to classify according to 'European', 'Bantu', and 'Mixed and Other Coloured' when presenting comparative data.

The 1921 Census makes use of the definitions of 'races' (17) provided in the Act of Union. It also introduced the concept of 'European and Non-European', finding the latter a most (18) convenient collective term. It broke up the 'Non-Europeans' into 'Native', 'Asiatic and Coloured' and 'Mixed and Others'. The 1926 Census was primarily for Europeans. In so far as East London was concerned, its special census broke up the former

13) vide: P. xxi Report of the 1904 Census. G.19/1905. Also P.xvii to xxi Report of the 1891 Census. G.6/1892, and P.xxii and xxiii Report of the 1911 Census U.G. 32/1912.

14) vide: Paragraph 98, P.xvii of the 1891 Report.

15) vide: P. iv General Report of the 1911 Census.

16) vide: Paragraph 57, P. xxii General Report of the 1911 Census.

17) vide: P. 26 of the Report of the 1921 Census.

18) *ibid.*

alliance of 'Asiatic' and 'Coloured' into two distinct groups. (19)  
The 1936 Census gave clearer and more precise definitions and (20)  
continued to separate Asiatic from Coloured. However, it added  
to 'Coloured' the 'Mixed' group and thus included the original  
'Hottentot' classification of pre-Union censuses.

The conclusion from this brief exposition is that  
inter-ethnic group comparisons between censuses are most hazardous.  
This is particularly so in regard to the numerically small groups  
i.e. the 'Malay', the 'Hottentot' and the 'Coloured'. The Bantu  
speaking groups as a whole are reasonably comparable, and the  
only major change has been the incorporation of the pre-Union  
classification of 'Fingo' with 'Bantu' or 'Native'.

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19) Non-European Census, East London, 4th May, 1926.

20) U.G. 21/1938. P.viii.

CHAPTER III THE NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION (TOTAL FIGURES)

a) Total Growth:

The growth of the Non-European population has been characterised by steadiness and persistency. Minor fluctuations have occurred, but in no way can they be compared with the sudden growth of cities such as Johannesburg or Kimberley in their earlier days. Between 1946 and 1947 there appears to have been a drop <sup>from</sup> 39,405 to 37,583 but the figure is once more on the upward trend. On the other hand, there was an increase from 36,000 to 39,409 between 1944 and 1945, due possibly to the boom year of the war. The slowing up of the increase caused by the depression years of 1931 to 1937 has already been remarked upon (vide P. 7.) This retardation followed a period of sudden growth between 1925 and 1930 when the population increased by 8,462 or an increase in five years of 60% over the 1925 figure. This comparatively sudden increase followed a period of slow growth from 1911 when the population rose from 10,250 in 1911 to 13,000 in 1924. This represents an increase in 13 years of 27% over the 1911 figure.

The nature of the growth has undoubtedly followed the business cycle in its broadest outlines. No sudden decreases are evident for any one year at the outset of a depression. The tendency appears to be rather in the nature of a retardation of growth for the duration of the depressed years. No particular lag in either retardation or growth after the onset of depression or boom are evident. The figures suggest that growth is resumed immediately prosperity has returned, and to maintain itself at a steady rate until once more checked. No explanation for the decline of 1947 as business recession was scarcely discernable until 1948, can be offered.

A comparison of the increase over ten year periods since 1919 shows that the period of greatest growth was 1919 to 1928, followed by 1939 to 1948, and thirdly 1929 to 1938. The percentages of growth for the periods are:

<u>Year Period</u>	<u>% growth</u>	<u>Final years estimate of popul.</u>
1919-1928	41.7	19,850
1929-1938	24.4	26,250
1939-1948	30.8	37,988

Much of the proportional increase between 1919 and 1928 is accounted for by the large increase after 1925. The depressed years of 1931 to 1937 account largely for the low proportional increase of the 1929-1938 group. The reason for the relatively small proportional increase during the last war and post war years is hard to find, but the drop in population by approximately 1,500 in 1947 is undoubtedly a factor. A further factor would be the inaccuracy of the population data in more recent years, but no proof of this is possible. The results of the Survey substantially corroborate the Census data in regard to the years of greater or lesser influx.

b) Ethnic Groups Compared:

In order to adequately compare the proportions of the different ethnic groups over various censuses, it has been necessary to change the nomenclature and classifications of earlier censuses, so as to make them comparable with recent censuses. (21) The classification of 'Fingo' has been added to the 'Kaffir and Bechuana' to make the 'Bantu' column (see Table 2 below). The early 'Malay' classification has been changed to 'Asiatic' and hence includes Chinese, Indians etc. The early 'Hottentot' and 'Mixed and Other' have been added together to form the 'Coloured'.

The percentages of the total which each ethnic group comprised over the years is presented in Table 2 below:

21) See page 8.

Year	European	Bantu	Coloured	Asiatic	Total Persons.
1891	65.8	30.4	3.7	.1	7,918
1911	58.9	32.6	(	8.5 )	20,807
1921	56.9	34.5	6.3	2.3	29,783
1926	51.2	40.7	6.5	1.6	36,419
1936	46.7	44.1	7.5	1.7	46,643
1946. X	50.8	41.1	6.5	1.6	75,552

X After the incorporation of Woodbrook, Amalinda, Abbotsford, and Cambridge.

Most marked is the changing relation of the European and Bantu proportions. The 1946 figures are influenced by the incorporation of the four suburbs where the European population considerably outnumbered the Bantu population. It may thus be expected that if the process operating since 1891 continues beyond 1946, the European population will be numerically equal to the Bantu about 1956-1960. The Asiatic and Coloured community appear to be increasing their proportion, but not so rapidly as the Bantu. The largest proportional increase was between 1921 and 1926 when the Bantu group increased by 6.2%.

In conclusion, it appears that although the total population is increasing at a reasonably steady rate of approximately 4% per annum, the ratios of the ethnic groups are changing in favour of a preponderance of Non-European over European. The Bantu group is increasing its proportion at a faster rate than any other. The European is the only group whose proportion is falling. According to census returns the ratio of European to Bantu is likely to be unity in 1956-1960, despite the incorporation of European suburbs in the 1940's. With the knowledge that the census returns are probably under-estimates, it is likely that parity has already been reached, if not surpassed.

CHAPTER IV. THE NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION (AGE & SEX GROUPINGS)

The age distribution of Coloured, Asiatic and African persons in East London is provided by the 1926, 1936 and 1946 censuses only. The 1911 Census provides age groupings for 'Europeans' and 'Non-Europeans' for the major towns. Some light on the nature of the migration into the City can be gained from a study of these censuses. In view of the small proportion of the population which the Asiatic group comprises, it is omitted from this discussion.

a) The Coloured People:

Table 3 below, shows the per centage of the Coloured population falling into particular age groups over four censuses: (22)

Age group	1921	1926	1936	1946.
0 - 14	34.8	35.0	36.5	35.9
15- 19	12.1	10.4	9.2	10.8
20- 59	51.0	51.7	49.4	48.6
60 plus	2.1	2.9	4.9	4.7

This table suggests that the age composition has remained fairly constant. After a rise between 1921 and 1926 a small decline is noticeable in the productive age group from 51.7% in 1926 to 48.6% in 1946. The only indication of influx is the proportion of the age group 15-19 in the 1921 census, which suggests an influx of persons at, or prior to, that time.

The sex ratios over all ages for the four censuses are:

	M	F
1921	1	: 1.102
1926	1	: 1.106
1936	1	: .986
1946	1	: .983

In more recent years there has been a slight shortfall of females which was not evident in 1921 and 1926. No explanation of this phenomenon can be offered.

22) These age groups were chosen because they fall into line with census classifications and also because the groups 0 - 14 and 60 plus may be considered unproductive; group 15 - 19 as semi-productive, and the group 20 - 59 as productive or potentially productive.

This brief study of the Coloured people suggests that since 1921 the population has been "normal", with no sudden changes of composition over the years.

b) The African People:

Compared with the Coloured group the age and sex composition of the Africans is considerably more complex. Table 4 below, shows the per centage of the Population falling into particular age groups over four censuses.

Age groups	1921	1926	1936	1946.
0 - 14	18.5	17.1	21.9	21.5
15 - 19	( )	7.1	6.9	9.5
20 - 59	(83.7)	72.1	67.3	64.8
60 plus	( )	5.7	5.9	4.2

The table shows the unusually high per centage of persons in the productive age group has fallen by approximately 5% between 1926 and 1936 and by 2.5% between 1936 and 1946. (23) The semi-productive age group increased by 2.6% between 1936 and 1946. The table suggests that the proportion of children under 14 years of age has remained constant since 1926, but at a considerably lower per centage than the Coloured people. The same proportion among Europeans in 1926, and 1946 was 30.8%, and 27.8% respectively. Compared to the Coloured community it is significant that the group 15 - 19 and 60 plus have approximately the same proportions in each case. This suggests that the African population is heavily weighted towards the 20 - 59 age group at the expense of the 0 - 14 age group.

The characteristic of the age composition of females older than 19 years for all censuses is one of greater frequency to a maximum in the 25 - 29 age group. Thereafter the frequency falls in more or less regular amounts to old age. Expressed graphically the curve represents a parabola with vertex at the 25 - 29 age group.

23) For further elaboration on the per centages see P. 150.

The frequency of males at different ages and at different censuses is, however, considerably more complex. Expressed graphically the curves are parabolic in nature, but extremely irregular in shape. In 1946 the vertex of the parabola occurs in the 25 - 29 age group; the 1926 census shows the vertex to be in the 30 - 34 age group, although the 25 - 29 group is almost as large; in 1936 the vertex is definite in the 35 - 39 age group. This phenomenon suggests a marked change in the age composition of the population between 1926 and 1936. Both 1926 and 1936 indicate that males over thirty years--and over 35 in 1936---predominated in the City, while by 1946 this predominance had fallen to the 25 - 29 group. It is also significant that the 1926 figures show that the 25 - 29 group was of importance, although the most frequent was still the 30 - 34 group. It is regrettable that earlier censuses do not provide data to indicate the position prior to 1926. Over-all evidence suggests that during years of greater influx i.e. 1921 - 1926 and 1941 - 1946, the younger age groups predominated, but during years of smaller influx and economic depression i.e. 1931 - 1936, the younger age groups did not tend to enter the City at the same rate,

All censuses show a tendency to have a greater frequency in the 15 - 19 than in the 19 - 24 age group. (24) After the 19 - 24 group the frequency increases steeply to account for the 25 - 29 group. This increase is at a reduced rate in the 1926 and 1936 censuses as compared with 1946. The 1946 data also shows an increase in the 35 - 39 group which suggests that the immigration of elderly males which had characterised 1936 had not ceased. It is certain that East London has an unusual proportion of its African male population falling into the more elderly brackets of the age scale.

24) The author considers this phenomenon may be associated with the tendency to work on the Rand and other cities during this age. There is no satisfactory evidence to suggest what happens to this age group.

In 1936 and 1946 there is a decrease in the rate of decline in the 45 - 49 age group, after which there is a rapid fall off to the elderly age groups. Although among migratory populations it is hazardous to estimate the age composition of the people some ten years after the date for which actual figures are available, the decrease in the rate of decline in the 45 - 49 group suggests that the population falling into the 35 - 39 group in 1936 was in the 45 - 49 group some ten years later. In other words, it appears that this group remained in East London and did not return to its place of origin.

The mean age comparison of the sexes over all ages is shown in Table 5 below:

Census	<u>Mean Ages of the Sexes in the Censuses.</u>		
	<u>1926</u>	<u>1936</u>	<u>1946.</u>
Male	31.5	30.2	28.7
Female	27.8	28.2	27.8

The table shows a declining mean age for males and a relatively stationary mean age for females. It is significant that the mean age for females for 1926 is older than that of 1936. It was mentioned on page 16 that the 1926 figures showed large frequencies in both the 35 - 39 and 25 - 29 age groups. The 1936 census showed a preponderance in the 35 - 39 group only, with a sharp fall off after the 40 - 44 group and a high proportion for both 25 - 29 and 30 - 34 age groups. Hence it is not surprising that the mean age for 1936 should be younger than 1926. The decline in the 1946 mean age is undoubtedly influenced by the unusual increase in the frequency of the 25 - 29 age group.

The sex ratio of the total African population over the respective census years is: (male to female)

<u>1921</u>	<u>1926</u>	<u>1936</u>	<u>1946</u>
1:0.75	1:0.78	1:1.02	1:1.03

The discrepancy between the sexes which was evident in 1921 and 1926 had changed by 1936. The sex ratio after 1936 appears to be approaching the normal.

The censuses provide no information on sex ratios prior to 1921, but several reports by the Location Superintendent indicate the position prior to that date. Reports to the central government in 1917, 1915, and 1903, and also from the Mayor's Minutes of 1903, the following figures and per centages emerge for Africans living in the East and West Bank Locations:

Table 6.

Year	1917	1915	(25) 1903	1893
Male	5084	4770	7214	1471
Female	3096	2857	3906	468
Children X	1100	919	600	-
Total	9280	8346	11920	1939
Ratio male to female adult.	1:0.61	1:0.56	1:0.54	1:0.32

X No differentiation of sex, or age at which a child becomes adult, is provided by the reference.

These figures suggest that the ratio of male to female was increasingly disparate over the years. The process towards unity was greatly accelerated after 1926, although it had been manifest since the City's earliest years.

A tendency for females to exceed males in the under 19 age groups is most marked in the 1946 data, there being almost 200 more females than males in the age group 5 - 14 years. The discrepancy is not so great in the 15 - 19 age group. This phenomenon is not true of the 1936 data where slightly more males than females of the same age groups lived in the City. Males distinctly outnumbered females in these age groups in 1926. The conclusion is therefore that females have been immigrating (26) faster than males in recent years, and particularly in the younger age groups.

25) The figures for 1903 appear unusual due probably to the influx following the Boer War.

26) Although some natural increase of the resident population may have taken place, it is certain that the increase as a whole must be accounted for by immigration into the City from rural areas.

It is regrettable that it is not possible to trace the age and sex composition further into the past. Such an investigation would throw light on whether the influx of males of 35 - 39 years was peculiar only to 1936 and 1926, or had its roots deep in the past. It would also show the nature of the inhabitants of East London in the early years.

The conclusion is that a tendency exists for more of the younger age groups to enter the City as time progresses. The acceleration appears to be hastened by boom years and forms a major part of the population entering at such times. There is a definite lack of children of both sexes under 14 years of age, but the shortfall of children 15 - 19 years of age appears to have been made up between 1936 and 1946. There is a definite shortfall of males between 19 and 24 years of age, which in 1926 and 1946 in particular was markedly made up in the 25 - 29 age group. Since 1936 the sex composition of the population has been roughly parity, although before that date it differed widely in favour of a preponderance of males. In general, apart from the parity in the sex ratio, the population cannot be described as normal at any time either in the present or the past. There is however, a definite and almost regular tendency towards such a condition. The age groups 15 - 19 and 60 plus have already attained a proportion approaching that of the Coloureds which appeared normal. The age groups whose proportions remain to change are the 0 - 14 years and 20 - 59 years. It is suggested that changes in the social environment and checks placed on the migratory system, would greatly assist this tendency.

SECTION B. PHYSICAL GROWTH OF THE CITY.Chapter V. THE CITY AS A WHOLE.

The year 1948 marked the 100th year of the City's official existence. To celebrate this occasion two excellent publications appeared: "The 1848-1948 East London Centenary" published by the Municipality of the City, and the "Daily Dispatch Centenary Special" published by the "Daily Dispatch". Both contain articles dealing with the history and development of the City. Only the article of Una Long <sup>(27)</sup> makes more than casual reference to the Non-European peoples. The greatest development has taken place in the European area and it is for this reason that the Non-European area, and particularly the African areas, did not receive attention. Nevertheless, the ratio of European to non-European has never varied extensively at any time, and has always approached parity. The characteristic of the African area of the City is its lack of development, a fact which is having serious <sup>(28)</sup> consequences at the present time.

The incorporation of Cambridge in 1942 added a third African location to the City. In all cases the locations are separated from the European area of settlement by a "Buffer Area" of grass or open space. This characteristic has been with the City throughout its existence, and has been a cardinal characteristic of its policy although it has at no time been officially stated as such. The largest Location is Duncan Village (East Bank Location) - where the 1949 social survey was conducted - thereafter, West Bank Location, and finally Cambridge Location. The construction of the railway along the East Bank of the River in 1873 was the primary cause of the movement of the City's centre from the West to the East Bank of the River. A remnant of the pre-1873 siting is

27) Entitled "Glimpses of History" p.54 of "The Daily Dispatch Centenary Special".

28) vide: Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the City Council entitled "East London Municipal Native Administration, Commission of Enquiry" dated 18/1/50 p.10.

"High Street" which is now a small and relatively insignificant street on the West Bank. The West Bank Location is the oldest, and probably came into existence shortly after the arrival of the first permanent settlers. It was first referred to as "K<sub>a</sub>ffir Gardens".<sup>(29)</sup>

Just as the presence of the harbour has been the moving influence in East London's growth, the siting of the railway line laid the foundation to the lay out of modern East London. The station had of necessity to be near the harbour area. Around the station developed the commercial area of the City. The present European dwelling areas are the result of expansion into the Northern and Eastern peripheral areas and along the railway line to King Williams Town. Development along the West Bank has been slow, and in recent years has turned extensively to industry. Other industrial areas are to the immediate north of the station, along the railway line between town central and Cambridge.<sup>(30)</sup> The proposed area of expansion is Wilsonia which is further along the line beyond Cambridge. Industry has thus centred in three major districts and the fourth is planned. These districts are widely scattered and the only agent of centralisation has been the harbour and railway line.

Although the dwelling areas of the Europeans and Africans are separate, the Coloured and Asiatic people have mixed with both. There are a considerable number of Coloureds living in both the East and West Bank Locations as well as in the European area, particularly in North End. North End is composed of very mixed ethnic groups, and is a marginal area between European and Bantu. It is situated near the Southern

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29) vide: An oil painting in the East London Museum showing the Buffalo Harbour and area of the present location site and entitled "Kaffir Gardens".

30) vide: Report on "Advisory Town Planning Scheme" by Longstreth Thompson, 14th April, 1938. Office of the Town Clerk, East London.

border of the East Bank Location, and contains most of the Asiatic people although some live in town centre. Some of the most educated Africans also live in this area. Asiatics have never voluntarily lived in the locations, but were housed there in Municipal Lodging Houses during the years (31) after the Boer War.

The growth of the City has essentially been unplanned (32) and only in recent years has a definite plan been in existence. The lack of planning has had serious consequences in the North End where extremely narrow roads and insanitary environments (33) abound.

In general in the European area the roads are broad, due not to conscious town planning, but to the necessity of having broad streets for turning spans of oxen in the (34) earlier years.

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31) File No. 80. Town Clerk's Department.

32) The first post as "Town Planner" was established by the City Council in July, 1939.

33) vide: P.W. Laidler, "Slums", 1930, in the possession of the Public Health Department, East London.

34) Ibid.

Chapter VI. THE AFRICAN LOCATIONS: MUNICIPAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

(35)

The Welsh Report made the point that as far as Locations were concerned "out of sight, out of mind" had had a detrimental effect on their development. The locations are inconspicuously situated, and particularly so the East Bank Location. No major roads pass through them. They are surrounded on all sides by the "buffer area", although beyond that belt lies European property or commonage. Expansion therefore involves encroachment into European preserves or town lands approaching European preserves. This has been a major cause of the lack of expansion which has characterised the areas; and secondly the attitude that they should be moved holus bolus to a completely new site beyond the Municipal limits of the City. The most recent objection to African encroachment on European lands came from Amalinda. On 24th June, 1949, the relevant committees agreed to recommend to the City Council that 341 erven on the Amalinda boundary "be left as an open space and that the question of abandoning (for housing purposes) these sites be reviewed as and when the (remaining) 800 erven have been absorbed."

(36)

Both the Welsh Commission and the Thornton Commission (1937) heard evidence that the locations should be moved. Neither commissions recommended this. The Thornton Commission suggested "The utilisation of the present site with additions for a rebuilding scheme on town planning lines". It favoured this because

"(a) It is necessary to have the locations reasonably near town in order to save natives the expense of transport, and

(b) It is desirable to make use of the services which

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35) East London Municipal Native Administration Commission of Enquiry, 4th October, 1949.

36) vide: Report by Sir Edward Thornton and others entitled: "East London Municipality: Location Conditions" dated 8th September, 1937. Or "The Daily Dispatch" of September 18th, 1937.

the present location (East Bank Location) already enjoys in the way of water, sewerage, schools, churches, clinic, light, offices etc." The Welsh Commission was in sympathy with these reasons. (37)

The background and reasons for each of the arguments concerning the destiny of the East Bank Location will be discussed seriatim:

1) The Location on a New Site.

The first suggestions for planning a new location were made by the City and Water Engineer during January, 1918. (38) His report to the Council suggested the movement of the East Bank Location to the West Bank of the River as this "would enable you to town plan the area on the East Bank of the river and northwards as far as Amalinda and Cambridge." The move was an alternative to the spending of a sum of money on improvements in the East Bank Location. The Engineer envisaged the inevitable growth of the City in a northerly direction, and was anxious to remove the African community to make way for European settlement. He planned a series of arterial roads to cover the area and to link up Amalinda and Wilsonia with the City's centre and the Lower Buffalo River. He pointed out the advantages of "delightful motor drives" and the opening up of the Second Creek and Green Point.

The area to which the location and the Indian and Coloured people's villages were to be moved lay between the Buffalo River and the then main road to King Williams Town which ran along the West Bank. It would have been bounded on the South East by the existing West Bank Location, and on the North West by the Municipal boundary. Its extent would have been approximately 500 acres, "and it would be planned out

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37) vide: Welsh Report P. 19.

38) File No. 80. Town Clerk's Department. June 1916 - September, 1919.

in such a way as to allow both Indian and Coloured people and Natives to develop along their own lines." (39) He further suggested that the Council put up model buildings "which I am sure would yield a fair return on the capital expenditure". The Medical Officer of Health in his report dated 23rd June, 1920, agreed with the suggestion.

The Engineer's suggestions are valuable as they throw light on the development of the City during that time. It is a defensible argument that had his suggestions been carried out, the subsequent development would have engulfed Amalinda and the Western side of the railway line, rather than an Easterly movement towards Nahoon and Vincent Gardens. The area to which the Non-European population was to be moved is now occupied by the industries at Gately Extension and borders the Woodbrook Aerodrome. It is significant that within 20 years of his suggestion almost the reverse proposal should have been made by the Thornton Commission. This Commission suggested the removal of the African population of the West Bank Location to the East Bank Location, and the settling of Coloured people in the West Bank Location only. (40)

The Thornton Commission revived the removal argument but recommended against the suggestion. In 1948 a scheme was proposed by the Regional Representative of the National Housing and Planning Commission, (41) whereby another location should be built on the West Bank near the Collondale Aerodrome. The suggestion was not favoured and the whole matter was delayed for further consideration. A further unofficial suggestion was the removal of the Locations to the existing rural location of Newlands. (42)

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39) *ibid.*

40) *ibid.* This also has never been carried out.

41) Letter to the Town Clerk dated 8th November, 1948.

42) Newlands is approximately 18 miles from the City.

There the residents would be in a position to work in East London as well as Berlin and possibly King Williams Town. All such suggestions suffer from the serious disadvantage of incurring heavy transport costs to the African. In view of the findings of the Survey (p. 170) and the remarks of the Government Commissions<sup>(43)</sup> the problem of transport at present rates of pay and costs of living appears to preclude this alternative. Extensions on the West Bank is also hindered by the carrying capacity of the Bridge over the River for both trains and motors.

2. Development of the Present and Adjacent Sites prior to 1937.

As early as 1890 the Council built a dwelling costing £342 for the use of the Superintendent, Mr Potter,<sup>(44)</sup> and in 1895 the East Bank Location was provided with water from the Amalinda Reservoir. By 1896 five latrines equal to 34 seats had been constructed.<sup>(45)</sup> Since before the turn of the century, the Council owned a number of lodging houses in the East Bank Location. By 1920 the Council had also kerbed and guttered a small area of the streets, and had provided rudimentary street lighting in some areas. The Council has never provided water hydrants to combat the fires which occur frequently in the area.

The first practical step towards Municipal housing development resulted from the passing of the Housing Act No. 35 of 1920. Prior to the passing of the Act the Council had approved of the principle<sup>(46)</sup> "of improving the housing of the Natives in the Locations and on the 7th July, 1920, asked the executive to prepare reports "relative to the Council's powers in regard to the housing of Natives, and that in the mean time, a plan showing the lay out of

43) vide: "Report of the Commission to Enquire into the Operation of Bus Services for Non-Europeans on the Witwatersrand."

44) Mayor's Minutes for the year 1890.

45) ibid for the years 1895 and 1896.

46) Minute of Council dated 7th August, 1918.

a model location and buildings therein, be prepared and laid before the Council." (47) A minute of the Council dated 12/1/21 asks:

"That the Executive take the necessary steps, in conjunction with the local architects, to prepare a scheme or schemes for the erection of buildings under the Housing Act No 35 of 1920, for submission to the Council at the earliest possible date." (48)

It was thus with the idea of slowly moving the East Bank Location to the West Bank area that the first development came about. It was therefore natural that the West Bank Location should be the first to benefit. The West Bank project resulted in the building of 181 rondavels and 40 two roomed, semi-detached, oblong buildings from economic funds. They were of brick and substantially built. The roads were hardened and guttered. As compared with the East Bank Location it has kept this lead to the present day.

In conjunction with the West Bank scheme a policy of demolition of condemned dwellings in the East Bank Location was partially carried out. (49)

This scheme to abandon the East Bank Location was abandoned very shortly after its inception. The South African Railways and Harbours were opposed to the move "as it would result in the whole of the Natives employed in the town having to pass through the harbour area when going to and from work." (50) It was also an unfortunate coincidence that the scheme was devised concurrently with the greatest influx of Africans the town had experienced. Housing was in extremely short supply which made demolitions in the East Bank Location very difficult. During 1925 and 1926, 55 two roomed, and 31 single roomed brick dwellings were built by the Council in the East Bank Location. This number was later

47) ibid.

48) File No. 80 Town Clerk's Department. Dec. 1919 - Aug. 1924.

49) Reports by the Medical Officer of Health. File No 100 P.H.Dept.

50) Letter to the Town Clerk from the Divisional Superintendent's Office

increased to 62 two roomed, and 106 single roomed dwellings. This represented the first recognition of the difficulties of moving the location.

The idea of creating a separate area of settlement for Coloured people developed in 1926 and 1927 when Parkside was opened up for this purpose. This area lies between the North End and the East Bank Location. It was hoped to remove the Coloured people from both these areas leaving North End for Europeans only, and the Location for Africans only. (51) The scheme was directly opposed to the original intention of the City and Water Engineer in his report of January, 1918, where the Coloured and Asiatic population were to be housed on the West Bank.

On March 7th, 1927, the Superintendent of Locations requested the Council to seek permission to extend the existing boundaries of the East Bank Location. The proposed area was "to include that piece of commonage situated South of the most Westerly part of the Location, North East of the Concentration Camp, and beyond the water course West, almost opposite the new abattoir" (52) The area was suitable for approximately 250 sites of 50' X 50' each. In reply to a question from the Cape Provincial Secretary as to why the extension should be in that direction i.e. almost towards the European area of the City and directly in line with the Coloured housing scheme at Parkside, the Superintendent gave the following reasons: (53)

a) Its situation was affected by the sewerage, in that extension in a more North Westerly direction would involve the laying of an extra sewerage pipe for approximately two miles in length due to the ridge of high ground being above the existing sewerage level, and

51) Report by the Superintendent Locations dated 1st February, 1927  
File No 80 Town Clerk's Department.

52) *ibid* dated 7/3/27.

53) Superintendent's letter dated 18/7/27.

b) The European residences were still a good distance away. The Superintendent closed his remarks with a most interesting statement. With reference to the sewerage construction problem he says: "even this (the laying of an additional pipe) will sooner or later have to be done unless that part of the commonage in which the Concentration Camp is situated is made to come within the Location area."

It is most significant that the Location has not extended to the Concentration Camp area, <sup>(54)</sup> and only in 1949 was the problem of sewerage disposal reconsidered in connection with the proposed Home Ownership Scheme, <sup>(55)</sup> on the ridge of high ground. For the 22 years between 1927 and 1949 no additions to the Location area in this direction took place. <sup>(56)</sup> The extended area, known to-day as New Brighton, was approved of by Council on 18th May, 1927.

At the close of the 1936 depression Municipal development <sup>(57)</sup> in the Location consisted of:

West Bank Location:

- a) 40, two roomed dwellings and 181 single roomed rondavels costing in all £32,310.
- b) 22 streets, in all 1 1/3 miles in length, the 8 streets totalling 2/3 mile, in the new housing area having been hardened and guttered.
- c) 12 sanitary blocks.
- d) 49 street lights.
- e) A total of 55 water taps.

East Bank Location:

- a) Four Lodging Houses containing 159 rooms.
- b) 62, two roomed and 106 single roomed brick buildings costing in all £28,703.
- c) 94 streets totalling 16 miles in length, of which 5 miles were curbed and guttered.
- d) 30 communal sanitary blocks.
- e) 97 street lights
- f) 116 water taps

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- 54) The foundations of this Camp can still be seen on the East side of the road passing the Gompo Institute, it dates back to the Boer War.
  - 55) This scheme was based on financial assistance to an African wishing to build his own house, and was intended for the upper income group.
  - 56) An addition of some 18 acres was made near Amalinda during the building of the sub-economic scheme of 1939-1949.
  - 57) Annual Report of the Superintendent of Locations for the year 1936.

During the 1930 - 1936 depression the only development was a recreation sports ground (Rubusana Park) early in 1935, and the Recreation Hall (H.C. Peacock Hall) in July, 1935.

The Housing Act of 1920 was therefore the initial move which lead to the Council accepting the principle of building for the African population. Although the initial intention never materialised in that the Location was not moved to a new site, it did produce the first Municipal houses. Until the availability of sub-economic funds in 1936 development was slow, but the availability of these funds at such a low rate of interest and repayable over such a long period changed the entire picture. The Council was able to think in terms of six figure sums. The matter of real significance in respect of the earlier attempts was the change of heart towards the Africans. It marked the first acceptance by the Council of its responsibility to the African community. It marked the beginnings of an attitude the fruits of which are only now commencing to become manifest.

CHAPTER VII. THE AFRICAN LOCATIONS: MUNICIPAL ACHIEVEMENTS CONT.  
1937 - 1950.

1) Housing and General Services:

The second impetus to further development resulted from the availability of sub-economic funds and the Thornton Commission's recommendations. This Commission placed on record what have been the major unsolved problems in African housing since 1937 when it said: P. 8. "There are two major problems in connection with ~~thei~~ development of the East Bank Location, namely--

a) Replacement of practically the whole of the existing wood and iron dwellings and redesign of layout site and dwellings for same,

b) extensions of existing area and the amount of additional land required for such extensions, and the methods to be adopted in construction of new dwellings."

The Commission's Report coincided with the retirement of Mr Charles Lloyd as Superintendent of Locations. Delay in the appointment of Mr R.C. Cook as Manager of Native Administration delayed consideration of the Report in the initial stages. The Native Affairs Committee of the Council was established in March, 1938, and began by a simultaneous attack on the two major problems enunciated by the Commission. In both regards it met with difficulties.

a) Replacement of the Existing Dwellings:

For the wood and iron area the Commission had in mind the building of dwellings on an 'urban' basis to accommodate 16,800 persons, roads planned on the contour, curbed and guttered, sewerage (not less than one W.C. to four dwellings, preferably one W.C. to each dwelling), water supply to each house, tap over concrete washing areas, electric lighting of streets and of dwellings, fenced etc.. The area was planned for a density of 12 dwellings per acre.

The first obstacle was the lack of a detailed contour map of the location area. This took some six months to make,

despite the employment of additional staff. The City Engineer's Department then made an initial lay-out plan which was forwarded to the Central Housing Board and occasioned the visit to the City of Mr Lockwood Hall, the Board's architect. The plan was redrafted on the 28th November, 1938, Council's proposals were explained to the Central Housing Board, and £500,000 requested on a sub-economic,  $\frac{3}{4}\%$  basis. Negotiations over house plans and finance were continued until January, 1940. (58)

The final loan to the Council amounted to £796,162 to build:

374	three roomed detached,
400	three roomed semi-detached,
2419	two roomed semi detached dwellings.
<u>3193</u>	

The proposed rentals were £1.4.6d  
 £1.3.3d  
 19.11d per month respectively.

The major problem was what to do with those African owned houses which could not be condemned under the Public Health Act. The matter received early attention from the Native Affairs Committee. (The compensation issue is the subject of more detailed study below), but it was the primary factor which led the Council to first utilise the unbuilt on fringes of the Location area and to make extensions to the Location boundary. No wood and iron houses were removed to make way for the Municipal houses, and the new scheme of development only applied to hitherto unbuilt on areas. In this regard the new housing scheme has proved a partial failure in that the wood and iron slum dwellings remain and the conditions described by the Commission as "a grave menace to the health of the Location and that of the town itself" remain also. From this point of view the position in 1950 is no better than that described by the Commission, in fact, owing to increased building by Africans, greater density per plot etc. the conditions have possibly deteriorated. Thus the original concept of replacing the existing dwellings has in practice ~~change~~ 58) Vide: Reports by the Mayor and the Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee dated 24/1/40. File No 80 T.C.'s Dept.

changed to one of building around the existing area. The primary intention has not yet been started.

b) Extensions to the Existing Area:

The Thornton Commission had in mind the construction of a rural 'spill out' scheme in Amalinda. This was necessary to take account of the annual increase in population and the limited space available in the existing area. The 1937 population requirements were deemed to need 600 acres of which 396 acres were available in the East London Municipal Area. Two privately owned areas of approximately 500 acres each, within the jurisdiction of the Amalinda Management Board, were suggested as 'spill out' areas. (59) Some weeks were spent in obtaining options on the land. In June, 1938, they were allowed to lapse. (60) The cost of the land would have been between £80,000 and £90,000. This opportunity to expand into a natural area of expansion for the Location was not taken advantage of because the Engineer's Department found rock only 4' to 5' under the surface of the ground and frequently much less, which made the area unsuitable for the establishment of pit privies which the Commission had recommended. The Council considered that if it was impossible to implement the Commission's schemes in full it would be wiser not to embark upon them at all. "The Council clearly could not undertake the purchase of ground which was going to cost £80,000 to £90,000 unless it could develop the location upon the lines indicated in the Commission's Report." (61)

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59) The 'spill out' scheme was experimented with in Durban by the Central Housing Board. It was designed for hilly country and was a series of loosely distributed dwellings with one narrow development road;  $\frac{3}{4}$ " water pipe with taps ever  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile and each dwelling situate on not less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of ground.

60) vide: Address by Cdr. E.H. Tiddy to the East London Rotary Club. "Daily Dispatch", March 28th, 1939.

61) *ibid.*

On 16th August, 1938, the Council resolved: "that the particular area known as Buffalo Flats be left undetermined, but when consideration is given to its utilisation the requirements of the East Bank Location be borne in mind," also "that the West Bank Location continue to be used jointly by Natives and Coloureds until such time as it is found that a separate Coloured Housing Scheme on the West Bank is necessary." The position has not changed to the present.

Hence before the close of 1938 the Council had decided to abandon the 'spill out' rural system, and to take no advantage of an opportunity to purchase land in a natural area of expansion. Further, it closed its eyes for the time being to expansion towards the only remaining area of open ground---the Buffalo Flats. It set to work on building in the area immediately adjacent to the wood and iron area and ignored the inevitable expansion resulting from an inadequate area in the Location itself, and in the face of a rapidly increasing African population.

During December, 1939, the "Daily Dispatch" published a number of letters criticising the Council for delays in getting the scheme under way. One letter pointed out <sup>(62)</sup> that sub-economic funds were available 'sometime in 1936---over three years ago', and that 'The Jamieson Commission. <sup>(63)</sup> ...inspected the Locations in June, 1937---two years and six months ago'.

Undoubtedly a certain amount of the delay was caused by the necessity of getting both lay out and house plans approved by the Central Housing Board. In this the Council was in no way to blame. It was also unfortunate that by the time the submission and resubmission of plans was concluded, the Housing Board had

allocated all its sub-economic funds for 1939-1940 to approved

62) "Daily Dispatch", 20th December, 1939.

63) Referred to here as the Thornton Commission.

64) "Daily Dispatch", 30th January, 1940.

schemes elsewhere. The Council was then promised a substantial amount in 1940 - 1941. (64) This was a contributory factor to the delay.

In conjunction with the African scheme, the Council obtained permission from the Provincial Authorities to erect 300 houses for Coloureds at Parkside at a cost of £74,870. Tenders were called for the construction of 100 Coloured and 150 African houses in June, 1940, in anticipation of the confirmation of the allocation of funds. Thereafter the City Engineer immediately asked that an area of 18.6 morgen on the North side of the Location be incorporated into the Location area. (65) This area was to accommodate the second lot of 150 African houses, the first 150 being built in the original Location area. This was the last area of ground to be incorporated into the Location before 1950.

During April, 1944, when about 500 houses had been built under the scheme, (66) Clr. Newman moved 'That 150 houses now completed in the Location shall be specially reserved for the inhabitants of one particular area in the Location to be agreed upon by the officials concerned with a view to:

- a) the demolition of undesirable or slum areas.
- b) provide building sites whereon new houses may be built

more economically and more rapidly by virtue of the nature of the ground as opposed to the slopes on which present building is being carried out." This motion brought to the fore once again the problem of demolition and compensation, and also the cost of building on slopes, a matter which had serious effects during the post war years. The heavy expenditure involved in laying foundations on the prevailing slopes made East London's cost per house higher than neighbouring cities e.g. Port Elizabeth

64) "Daily Dispatch" 30th January, 1940.

65) Report dated 12th September, 1940.

66) vide: 'Daily Dispatch' 11th May, 1944.

and Bloemfontein. This reintroduced the old question of the advisability of moving to a new site. In 1949 the Commission (The National Housing and Planning Commission) informed the Council that it was no longer in a position to supply the balance of the original loan in large sums, but that an annual estimate of proposed expenditure must be submitted to the Commission and a pro rata allocation made to the Council along with other municipalities. By the end of 1949 £280,980 had been spent. The Council asked for an allocation for 1950 of £150,000 for Native housing and £120,000 for European housing, but the Commission granted only £80,000 for both.

Some causes of why the Council was unable to make more use of the money may be mentioned to advantage. Undoubtedly building costs had soared during the war and continued to rise during the subsequent years. The Council would have been faced with increasing costs per house----already high as a result of the cost of foundations----resulting in fewer built for the money available than was at first estimated. The Council procrastinated in the hope of prices falling, as soon as the boom years were over. During the years there was extensive building of ex-servicemen's houses, materials were short, and it is doubtful if the building resources would have been available for the Location work at that time. Builders might have found speculation during the boom years more profitable than offering a reasonable tender which would have satisfied the Council.

As a result of the cost problem, the Council turned to investigate the construction of a cheaper house than that designed for this scheme. Numerous plans were submitted by the City and Water Engineer, some were replanned at the suggestion of the Housing Commission until an 'austerity house' was evolved.

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37 of these were built between 1949 and 1950

It was originally intended to employ African labour in their construction, (67) but due to a number of Africans being rendered homeless by a fire and the urgent need to complete the buildings, European skilled labour was employed. One 'Kimberley Brick' house was tried as a sample and abandoned. The building of houses departmentally was a new departure from the pre-war practice of calling for tenders.

Between 1937 and the beginning of 1950 the Council had built under the original scheme:

274	two	roomed	dwellings
331	three	"	"
24	four	"	"
37	three	"	" with kitchenette.

This was less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the original scheme. The cost was:

dwellings	£192,280
water supply	14,565
roads & drainage	33,741
sewerage	20,928
electricity	7,360
sundries	1,547
	<u>£270,421</u>

The total of African housing schemes for which the Council is responsible is therefore:

East Bank Location: 31 blocks of 4 rooms making 124 single rooms,  
 106 single roomed dwellings,  
 x 274 two roomed dwellings,  
 x 331 three roomed "  
 x 24 four roomed "  
 37 three roomed with kitchenette (austerity)  
1978 rooms

West Bank Location: 20 blocks of four rooms making 80 single rooms  
181 rondavels  
261 rooms

Cambridge Location: 112 single roomed brick dwellings,  
 6 two roomed dwellings,  
 20 wood and iron dwellings  
138 dwellings.

Those marked 'x' indicate those built under the 1937 sub-economic scheme.

67) The method of construction was wooden shuttering filled with concrete for the external walls and a brick wall for rooms. This involved the minimum of European labour and a maximum of African unskilled labour.

11) Special Services: Beer Brewing, Clinic and the Aged and Destitute Home.

Beer Brewing: Besides the provision of homes, the Council undertook the brewing of Kaffir Beer in the Locations. A major motive of the scheme was to assist in the control of crime which had grown over the years. By Government Notice No 1066 of 24th June, 1938, the Council was granted sole right to manufacture sale and supply of kaffir beer in East London. The measure became effective on 1st July, 1938. This followed a decision by the Minister of Native Affairs between municipalisation on the one hand and home brewing which had been recommended by the (68) Advisory Board on the other. A brief history of the project up to the time just before it was closed, is told in a lengthy report by the Manager of Native Administration dated 16th October, 1944. One of the old Municipal Lodging Houses in the East Bank Location was turned into a brewery and the beer sold at 2d a pint. The original price was 3d a pint, but the Council agreed to a reduction of a penny on the 6th July, 1938 in an endeavour to make the beer more popular. Beer was transported from the East Bank Location to the West Bank for consumption there.

Opposition to the municipalisation of beer brewing was strong on the part of the Africans. "Umlindi Wenyanga" (The Monthly Watchman) in its issue of 15th June, 1938, gives a clear picture of the history of the scheme and the objections of the Africans to it. It reports on the deputation of women "followed by a procession of almost 200 enthusiasts" which interviewed the Mayor (69) in the City Hall. It also mentions that the estimated revenue from the scheme was £1,000 per month, costs £260 per month, leaving a profit of £744 per month. In its early days due to a boycott (68) "Umlindi Wenyanga" (The Monthly Watchman) issue of 15th June, 1938. Resolution of the Advisory Board, 2nd December, 1937 (69) It is significant that the deputations mentioned: "It is degrading for Natives--irrespective of class--to be herded together in a beer hall, especially women."

by the Africans, the scheme ran at a loss of £145 per month, but (70)  
 between 1st July, 1938 and the 31st December, 1943, approximately  
 £5,000 profit was made. (71) It was hoped in 1938 that the annual  
 income from beer brewing would be large enough to reduce the  
 contribution from the General Rate Fund to the Native Revenue  
 Account. (72) By 1937 this contribution was £7,133 or 28% of  
 the revenue in the Native Revenue Account. (73)

The profits made never approached the figure estimated.  
 The primary reason for this was undoubtedly the continuation of  
 extensive home brewing. During July, 1938, 21,512 gallons of  
 illicit beer were reported destroyed in the East Bank Location;  
 171 persons were prosecuted and fines imposed amounted to £550.  
 The prosecutions were in respect of only 600 gallons of the 21,512  
 destroyed. (74) In 1940 over £12,000 was paid in fines for beer  
 brewing or being in possession of beer. (75) The lack of anticip-  
 -ated support led Council to contemplate regulations governing the  
 introduction, supply, or possession of sprouted grain in <sup>the</sup> Urban  
 Area of East London. The motion was defeated after a deputat-  
 -ion from traders in the North End, who feared serious falls in  
 their sales, had been heard. It was emphasised that the  
 trade in sprouted grain would merely shift to Cambridge and  
 Amalinda as the Council had no authority over those areas (at the  
 time). Further attempts <sup>were made</sup> to introduce the regulations after  
 1938, but were unsuccessful. (76)

Agitation for the introduction of home brewing increased in  
 1944, and although some Europeans were opposed to it and favoured  
 municipalisation, the brewery was closed in 1945

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70) "Daily Dispatch", 17th December, 1938.

71) Report of the Manager, Native Administration, 16/10/44.

72) Report by the City Treasurer on the Deficit of the Native  
 Revenue Account. 22nd July, 1938.

73) *ibid.*

74) Statement by Clr. Tiddy. "Daily Dispatch" 30th September, 1938.

75) *ibid.* 18th April, 1940.

76) Report by the Manager, Native Administration. 16/10/44.

and a system of limited home brewing introduced. The intense opposition to the scheme on the part of the Africans, and the continuance of home brewing on a large scale, made it clear that home brewing was of really vital concern. An indication of its vital role in the community is provided below (vide Chapter XXXV p.203)

(77)

Clinic and Nurses' Home: A dispensary, with an attendant doctor was established in the East Bank Location in September, 1931, although the first nurse to work in the Location was appointed in 1916. A Native Infant Consultation Bureau was established on the West Bank in 1931. A similar service was conducted for many years (since 1923) by the East London Child Life Protection

(77A)

Society. This work was finally taken over by the Municipality on 10th February, 1932. A second medical officer to the dispensary was engaged in 1947. In 1947 the services of the dispensary and clinics were provided gratis by the Council. Prior to that date 2/6d a visit had been levied if the patient was considered able to pay at all.

In 1941 a home to accommodate African nurses and health Visitors employed at the Location Clinic was built at a cost of £1,725. The Council from the beginning provided some accommodation for African nurses. The first nurse appointed was accommodated in, and used as a consulting room, one of the rooms in the Municipal Lodging Houses.

Home for the Aged and Destitute: On 16th May, 1944, the Manager of Native Administration requested the City Council to consider the erection of a home for the aged and destitute in the Location. The home was to be financed by sub-economic money at 1/-% interest, and was eligible for government subsidies.

77) A description of this building can be found in the 1931-1932 Report of the Medical Officer of Health.

77A) The building was erected by the Council at a cost of £303, but run by the Society.

Chapter VIII THE AFRICAN LOCATIONS: NON-MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT.

The East Bank Location was first established about 1885 when the old "Weslyan Location", which adjoined the North End in the vicinity of Braelyn, was moved "to a site a little further from the Town." (78)

By 1886 the East Bank new location had 123 huts, the Weslyan Location 83 huts, and the West Bank Location 69 huts. Thus by this time the East Bank was considerably larger than the Weslyan Location. (79)

The Mayor, in his Minutes for 1890 writes: 'I would state that after considerable trouble and no little opposition the old Native locations on the East Bank are a thing of the past. The firm action of the Council has resulted in the removal of the Natives to the new site selected, and a marked improvement has resulted'.

(80)  
A diagram of the East Bank Location dated December, 1903, shows that the lay out up to that time was in the vicinity of the present Tsolo Location. (81) It was bounded on the North side by the present area of Bantu Street and extended to beyond the old railway line (82) near its crossing with the Ncabanga Stream. Thence Westerly to the relatively low lying ground near where the old Municipal Beer Hall used to be (Mekeni Location) and West of the 'Duncan Village Dust Bowl' (Shortly to be turned into an additional recreation ground). The area near the Ncabanga Stream was marked as a 'vlei'. The Location was neatly laid out in blocks with lots measuring 40' X 40', and with complete disregard to the contour or the nature of the undulating ground. Every road met another at right angles and the streets were narrow.

The West Bank Location was similarly designed and in the area of

78) Mayor's Minutes for the year 1884.

79) " " " " " 1886.

80) East Bank Location Files, T.C.'s Department. Feb. 1903 - 1910.

81) This is the part of the Location directly in front of the Manager's Office, and N.W. of the Peacock Hall.

82) Built in 1903 and 1904.

the present wood and iron huts i.e. on the coastal flank of the area.

Since its earliest years the policy of the Council towards African development was one of strict control. This compared with the 'laissez-faire' policy in the European area. (83) An African wishing to take up residence in the urban area had to become registered with the Superintendent of Locations, and if satisfied that the applicant was 'a fit and proper person' and was lawfully employed, a plot of ground 40' X 40' (84) was granted to him, at a rental varying from time to time. On this plot the African built a structure. In the earliest years the design or construction of the dwelling was not the concern of the Council, but in 1894 (85) the Council called for a Health Officer to carry out the provision of the Public Health Act, one of which was the regulation of over-crowding in dwellings.

The very earliest huts were similar in kind to those found in the rural reserves----rondavels of wicker covered with mud and thatched. Very shortly thereafter the square or rectangular hut constructed of corrugated iron was introduced. Reference to the Mayor's Minutes for 1896 shows that in all there were 119 square houses (corrugated iron), 275 round huts (wicker and daub) , but in 1902 there were 439 square houses and 311 round huts. No figures are available for the intervening years. The Minutes till 1913 clearly reflect the number of square houses increasing considerably, and the round hut falling off. In 1949 only one rondavel existed in the East Bank Location, and that was an annex to a wood and iron building and in bad state of repair.

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83) vide: "Slums" Dr P.W. Laidler. Public Health Dept. East London.

84) This area applied to the older area of East Bank Location.

The New Brighton area incorporated in 1926 was designed for sites 50' X 50'.

85) The passing of the Public Health Act. vide Mayor's Minutes.1893.

The popularity of the wood and iron structure was not necessarily due to comfort, but also to the possibility of easily breaking up the structure into rooms each of which could be rented to a tenant, and hence become a means of increasing income. (86)

A rondavel could not similarly be sub-divided. There was also the difficulty of obtaining suitable thatch and building materials for rondavels. Second hand iron was readily obtainable from Europeans and building was easy. The Location Inspector's Reports for 1906 and 1907 speak of the disappearance of the round hut due to the continual repair they needed during the wet season. Proof of the existence of lodgers as early as 1883 can be found in the nature of the new regulations issued on 2nd July, 1883, when a new tax on 'Native being simply resident at the Locations and not hut holders' was introduced. Difficulty was experienced in collecting the 'Domicile Tax' or 'Site Rental' but 'under the new arrangements whereby sites are allotted to those who live alone with their families, and to those who take in boarders a somewhat better result is being obtained'. (87) (88) (89)

This arrangement laid the foundation to a system which has influenced the development of the Locations to a considerable extent, The charging of a differential rental for those living with their families only and those taking in lodgers has been a characteristic to the present day, and has contributed extensively to the condition of over-crowding discovered by the Thornton Commission and the 1949 Social Survey. It has also influenced considerably the income structure of a large proportion of resident due to the income received from lodgers and from

86) The Report of the Location Inspector for 1907 speaks of houses 'containing six and seven rooms'.

87) Lodgers are persons of both sexes, usually male, who have come to the City to seek work for a time only, and who intend to return to the country at a future date. They usually leave their families behind in the country.

88) Regulations framed under the Local Bodies Increased Powers Act No 12 of 1883.

89) Mayor's Minutes for the year 1884.

additional rooms. (vide PP 202-207 ). Evidence that the system created over-crowding from the beginning is contained in the Location Report for 1894, when the Superintendent states 'At present six adult boarders or domiciles are allowed, but in numerous instances I have found 12 or 14 people in the hut the overplus stated as visitors just come'. 'With the commencement of the present year a new lease or agreement has been made. Under the lease the lessee by paying four shillings in addition to his hut tax, is allowed to take in six adults as boarders free of domicile tax. This has now been in force two months, it is not working satisfactorily to me as representing the interests of the Council'. The influx of persons in 1897 led to a position where 'the present huts and dwellings are quite inadequate, and the consequence is that the Natives are crowding into the town, the suburbs, the bush etc.' (90) Lodging houses were suggested as a means of assistance and one was nearly completed in 1898.

This differential rental system provided a direct incentive to build as many rooms to one's house as the size of the plot permitted. Once the decision to take in lodgers had been made and the added rate charged the 'owner' (91) stood to gain ~~to~~ most by having as many tenants as possible. Up to 1920 it appears that the incentive to increase income through building was sufficient to make building keep abreast of increasing population. In September 1920, the Superintendent made the suggestion that 'Nissen steel huts be purchased for renting to Africans' and considered he could readily do with 20 at the time and possibly 30. This is no great number when the total African population was estimated at 12,000 persons and no really serious housing shortage was evident. The population figures suggested that the

fluctuation in migration both within one year and over the years  
90) Mayor's Minutes for the year 1897.

91) 'owner' refers to the owner of the house and not the land on which it stood, which was always the property of the Council.

were quite considerable compared with the population at the time  
 the Nissen Huts were suggested, <sup>(92)</sup> but the lodger system acted as  
 a buffer to absorb these influences without having to build extra  
 houses which would lie idle after the return movement home.  
 After 1925 the congestion of houses became so serious that the  
 Superintendent reported <sup>(93)</sup> 'It is very evident that the sole aim  
 of the majority of Native lease holders is, if not at present,  
 at least ultimately to continue extending their building until the  
 site is fully built on, the object can be quite understood when  
 it is realised that the letting of rooms is a good paying proposition.....  
 I am of opinion that in the future a condition should  
 be inserted in the lease to the effect, that a margin of at least  
 three feet shall be retained on three sides of the site, and ten  
 feet by the width of the site on the fourth.' Many sites in the  
 older area still comply with this requirement.

This system was one of the causes of the loss of rental  
 to the Council in its Municipal schemes during the 1930 - 1936  
 depression. Due to the number of persons that could be  
 absorbed in non-Municipal houses it was possible for owners to  
 charge a rental lower than that charged in Municipal built houses.  
 This had the effect of leaving a considerable <sup>number</sup> of Municipal houses  
 empty. As early as 1924 the Africans objected to municipal  
 building when a meeting of approximately 500 persons, called by the  
 Vigilance Association resolved: 'We, Native Location residents are  
 totally opposed to the Council owning dwelling houses in the  
 East Bank Location for the purpose of competing with the Natives  
 who own houses.....In view of the prevailing unemployment we  
 firmly oppose such ownership for the simple reason that such  
 Native owners make their living out of their houses.....' <sup>(94)</sup>

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92) vide P. 89

93) Report dated 5/11/25. File No 80 Town Clerk's Department.

94) Resolution dated 16/9/24, File No 80 Town Clerk's Department.

During the depressed years of the 1930's the Council frequently considered the idea of lowering the rentals of Municipal houses and actually did so. (95) There was little return to them however, and the Africans showed they preferred to rent from an African owner despite the difference in quality offered by the Council's house as opposed to an African house. By 1933 the population had so increased that the bad debts on Municipal houses dropped suddenly, and continued to remain low in subsequent years.

As a result of the Thornton Commission's recommendation to demolish the wood and iron area, and in order to minimise compensation costs and prevent possible speculation the Council in 1937 prohibited:

a) the transfer of sites from one person to another until a settled policy for the Location had been decided on,

b) and the building of additional rooms to existing huts.

Particularly the latter had a most serious effect on non-Municipal development. With regard to the former the first move to rescind came in February 1938 when it was agreed that transfers of hut sites in respect of deceased estates be permitted subject to the Medical Officer of Health's approval of the building. In September, 1938, (96) it had become evident the only effect the prohibition had had was to drive transfers underground and to prevent their registration with the Location Office. This condition continued until February, 1940, when the Manager of Native Administration soundly condemned it as 'serving no useful purpose whatsoever', (97) This aspect of the resolution was rescinded shortly thereafter.

With regard to the latter portion of the resolution the effect it had was to encourage overcrowding, and the construction of

95) Resolution dated June 1934.

96) File No 80. Town Clerk's Department.

97) Report dated 15/2/40.

illegal dwellings. The files of the Public Health Dept. contain numerous reports of illegal structures. An increase in the influx during 1938 and the war years aggravated the situation. From the administrative point of view the effect of the resolution was to remove the control the Manager had over the design, size and general suitability of the rooms. In the past all the structures had to be passed by him to ensure they conformed to the health requirements. The resolution removed this precaution. Thereafter, any type of structure---frequently with no window space whatsoever and containing many glaring insanitary features---was built. The Native Administration Department did not consider itself sufficiently sure in law to remove structures built illegally with the result that the problem grew and grew. Finally, on 14th December, 1949, regulations were gazetted to the effect that the regulation (Reg. 7 (ii)(3)), taking the place of the earlier regulation, "shall not apply to dwellings, buildings, fences, outhouses, or other structures erected prior to the promulgation of this regulation." There was nothing in the old regulation empowering the Manager to remove a building put up without his consent. This is contained in the new, but applies only to buildings erected post 14th December, 1949. Therefore the shacks erected between 1937 and 1949 without the consent of the Manager can only be disposed of by means of the Public Health Act, and only if sufficiently 'unhealthy' to be condemned in terms of it.

In general, therefore, the background to the area in which the 1949 Social Survey was conducted is one of intense settlement. Buildings were constructed often illegally and with materials often of a second hand nature. They were not planned as a unit, and usually built with disregard of health requirements. Apart from regulations governing ventilation, size of rooms, etc.

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98) File No 100 for the Years 1938 to 1943.

which were observed prior to 1937, little effort was made to actually stem the building of additional rooms. This lack of effort and control has had certain facts to recommend it, although the density of rooms per plot is high, and in some cases almost the entire plot is built over, the density of persons per room does not appear to be extremely excessive. (99) Had the policy of strictly removing illegal structures been carried out, then the degree of overcrowding in terms of persons per square foot would have been considerably higher, with detrimental effects on tuberculosis rates and other diseases where overcrowding is a contributory factor.

Chapter IX. THE AFRICAN LOCATIONS: NON-MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT CONT.ECCLESTIAICAL, SCHOLASTIC AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES.

As in the majority of Border towns ecclesiastical and scholastic institutions have been intimately bound together. The first non-denominational, government sponsored school in the Locations was opened in July, 1941, in the East Bank Location. The Welsh High School accepts scholars up to matriculation standard (it is a high school as opposed to a primary school). Prior to this, however, government assistance took the form of a grant to church and missionary bodies interested in education. Owing to the acute shortage of ground which characterises the Locations, no scholastic institution, with the exception of the Welsh High School, has been able to provide recreational facilities for its pupils. (100) Such recreational facilities that exist have grown up to serve the need of adults and independent of scholastic needs,

The City Council's contribution has been to provide sites of rather inadequate area for schools and churches at a nominal rent. It raised a loan of six hundred pounds to put up a corrugated iron fence round the only sports ground for Africans--- The Rubusana Park---in 1937; the capital being returned by levying a charge on matches played on the ground. The H.C. Peacock Hall was completed in 1935, the loan being repaid by a charge on (101) concerts and other entertainments held therein. The Hall has served a most valuable purpose as the Welsh High School was accommodated in it before the school's present building was completed. The National Council of Women have run domestic science courses in its basement since its inception; the library for Africans have been housed in it since 1938. At present the Bantu Urche is housed in its basement. This does not mention

100) Applications for school sites by governmental authorities have demanded adequate ground.

101) An earlier Municipal hall is reported in the files as early as 1905, but its whereabouts is not mentioned.

the innumerable gatherings of all kinds that have taken place within its main building. It is undoubtedly a valuable contributor to social welfare.

In view of the fact that educational and religious institutions do not fall directly under the eye of the City Council, it is perhaps excusable that their energies have not been directed more towards development of these institutions. The present overcrowded condition of location schools shows complete inadequacy of educational facilities. The African churches have set the example throughout, and evidence of missionary activity is abundant throughout the location's history. As early as 1895 the Mayor reported in his Minutes that six chapels and churches existed in the Locations. By 1910 there were 13 churches and 360 children attending three schools. Exactly which denominations were the earliest established churches is unknown, but by 1906 the files show that the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the 7th Day Adventists, Wesleyan and Congregational were in existence. The schools were run by the Wesleyan, the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations. Some of the missions had established churches in both the East and West Bank Locations.

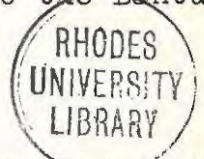
In 1917 the Council made the municipal hall available for schooling between 9 a.m. and 2 p.m. due to the lack of alternative accommodation. In November, 1917, it placed a grant of £100 on the estimates for 1918 'to be divided amongst the West Bank and East Bank Location Schools on the daily attendance of scholars on a pro rata basis'. This grant came as a result of a request by the East London Native School Committee who pointed out the inadequacy of the government education grant and added: 'as your Council derives substantial and profitable revenue from the Location, you might be moved in the cause of Native education,...

(102) The Mayor's Minutes for the year 1910.

(103) *ibid.*

This grant ceased in December, 1920, when government assistance increased.

In April, 1920, the Council signed an agreement with James Makambi for the lease of the site of ground 100' X 100' for a period of ten years. The purpose of the lease was to enable Makambi to erect 'thereon an accommodation for Natives and for no other purpose.' This was the first attempt to establish a type of lodging house, and a logical development from the system of single rooms being rented to tenants on the 40' X 40' sites. Makambi wanted a larger site where the rooms would be of brick under iron and more in the nature of a boarding house. The building is still in existence, but has deteriorated in condition to a point where it is no better than the wood and iron structures around it. It is now owned by the Council. The Makambi Hall was later added to it, and this is now loaned to the Bantu Boy's Club as a Youth Centre.



A major development in recreational projects occurred in 1949 when the National War Memorial Health Foundation and the Industrial and Commercial Worker's Union ( I.C.U. ) each applied for sites to erect what might be called community centres. The former intends to construct a large multi-purpose building, while the latter intends to build a large hall where the Union's members can congregate for recreational and social gatherings. Evening classes in adult education and academic tuition have been functioning during the evenings at the Welsh High School under the aegis of the Technical College and under the control of Mr W. Stevens. Church halls and schools are engaged regularly for religious and social gatherings.

The scarcity of accommodation had seriously retarded the development of large scale cultural activities. The need for buildings and trustworthy associations is constantly manifest.

Likewise the need for additional sporting facilities---particularly for children....is acute, as at present the only convenient place is the streets. Cambridge Location possesses no facilities in this regard at all, although the school is used for indoor occasions. The Africans on their part cannot claim to have been over energetic in either creating themselves or requesting Council to create the necessary facilities. Around the Rubusana Park has developed a number of sporting clubs of various kinds. Purely African organisations---as opposed to those predominantly led by Europeans---have developed more in conjunction with church organisations than for a purely social or recreational purpose. The Industrial and Commercial Worker's Union, although now verging on ecclesiastical characteristics, has been the only non-clerical, non-political organisation of any consequence. Until the appointment of an African Social Worker, Mr Eric Nomvete, by the National War Memorial Health Foundation the Africans had taken part in almost no social work of any kind amongst their own people. In the past the Africans had tended to look to European assistance and leadership in almost all non-political developments. (104)

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104) Two of the earliest organisations were the Vigilance Association 1916, and the Native Welfare Association which held its first annual general meeting 12/1/22.

SECTION C.HEALTHChapter XRELIABILITY OF THE STATISTICS.

The Annual Reports of the Medical Officer of Health provide elaborate statistics dating back to 1913. (105) The Public Health Act of 1919 requires an annual report providing certain data from Medical Officers of Health. Statistics relating to the state of health, sanitary conditions, overcrowding and housing are provided in each annual report. In respect of Europeans it is probable that the statistical tables, rates and ratios are sufficiently reliable for comparative purposes. This might even be extended to include Coloured and Indian People, but it is untrue for the African people. The argument that notification of disease is compulsory and hence all cases are known to the Medical Officer, is false.

In every statistical table showing disease or death rates there is a remark indicating whether it refers to East London residents or imported cases. The mobility of the African people is such as to make any statistical table concerning them extremely doubtful. Some Africans enter the urban area to receive medical attention offered by the Municipality while many leave the urban area to seek advice from rural witch-doctors or to die in their home area. Therefore many cases of notifiable disease caught in the City return to the country where the registration of death is not compulsory for Africans and hence evades notification. In the City itself some Africans prefer to seek the assistance of witch-doctors rather than that of the clinic or the hospital and return to the country to die. For comparative purposes figures showing the cause of death are unreliable. Some

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105) The ratios expressed in some of the annual reports do not agree with the figures given in the same report. There is therefore doubt as to the mathematical correctness of some ratios given in reports prior to 1944.

years ago the Registrar of Deaths was responsible for deciding the cause of death and the case was not referred to the medical profession. In this connection Dr P.W. Laidler's remarks in (106) 1944 are apposite. "The position in regard to the registration of deaths at the East Bank Location is that in a number of cases the deceased has at no time been attended by a medical practitioner and a medical certificate is, therefore, not obtained. This is particularly so in the case of infants or of persons who have been ailing a considerable time. In such cases the registering officer.....is required to make such enquiries as are possible to ascertain the cause of death, and .....a certificate ..... is attached to the registration form certifying.....that he or she is satisfied that the death is due to natural causes.....all diagnosis of the cause of death by unqualified person may be incorrect, and in view of the large number of such registrations it is not possible to place any confidence in the statistical information relating to death of Non-Europeans as related in the Annual Reports of this Department".

Similar arguments apply to births. Births in the City have been notifyable since 1923 but rural births are not compulsorily registered to this day. The census data shows the proportion of children to adults has always been small which suggests that many children live in the country while their parents work in town. Women frequently prepare to have their children in the country and bring them to the City in the first few years of life. Most frequently this occurs as soon as the confinement is over. Such children are introduced into the filth of location conditions at an early age and frequently succumb to the conditions only a week or two old. Such a child is not registered as a birth in the City as it was born elsewhere, yet

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106) vide: Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the year ending 30th June, 1943.

is included in the City's infantile mortality rate. The reverse case is equally possible where a child is born in the City and hence is compulsorily registered (although this is often not carried out if the confinement takes place in the home and with a witch-doctor in attendance) but is later taken to the country where it dies and the death not registered. Statistics presented in the form of a rate per head of the population suffer from additional inaccuracies due to the unreliable nature of census returns and population estimates.

Although the compulsory registration of births and deaths in East London has enabled some figures to be kept which indicate broad changes in conditions over the years they are virtually useless for detailed comparative purposes. Medical Officers of Health have repeatedly asked for the introduction of compulsory registration of births and deaths for the whole country but their requests have so far been fruitless. Dr. P.W. Laidler was particularly vociferous in this regard, although the mathematics of his own ratios can frequently be challenged.

The comparison between African and European rates is dangerous for reasons already mentioned and because of factors involved in the composition of the population, for example, the death rates cannot be compared because of the known differences in the age composition of the two groups. Changes in the nature of migration of Africans in favour of an influx of aged persons and children under five years would materially alter the African death rate, but, *ceteris paribus*, no similar change would have occurred in the components of the European population. In view of the complete uncertainty of the statistics in more recent times little purpose can be served in presenting them in detail. Where definite and reliable trends are evident however, they are mentioned and considered.

Chapter XI. THE GENERAL STATE OF HEALTH OVER THE YEARS.

The first annual report of the Medical Officer of Health was made in 1895. It provided no statistical data. In this report the M.O.H. stated "the sanitary conditions of the Location is decidedly good and compare favourably with that of any others that I have seen." In 1896 the Medical Officer reported "I believe that nowhere else in South Africa is to be seen a Native Population housed under such sanitary conditions as in this town. The huts are arranged with perfect regard to breathing room, regulations against overcrowding are, so far as I can ascertain, rigidly carried out, the streets are scrupulously clean all rubbish being deposited in bins placed in convenient situations, the pollution of surrounding soil with human excreta is prevented by an ample provision of latrines for both sexes, which I believe are fully made use of....." The doctor's reference to overcrowding is perhaps incorrect for the following year reports of overcrowding and Africans living in the bush and in town were made by the Location Superintendent. (108)

The extraordinary influx of population during the Boer War led to outbreaks of typhoid and diphtheria, but they appear not to have been serious. By 1907 the M.O.H. reported an infantile mortality rate of 97.5 for Europeans and 235.9 for Non-Europeans per 1000. Comparisons between the vital and morbidity rates for Europeans and Non-Europeans shows a considerable discrepancy in favour of Europeans. In many cases the Europeans' rate compares with the best of any country, but the Non-European rate compares more closely with the worst. From earliest years there appears to have been a far greater amount of sickness and poor health amongst the Non-European people than amongst the European. (110)

The cause is undoubtedly the socio-economic and health conditions

108) Mayor's Minutes

109) *ibid.*

110) *ibid.*

under which the respective groups lived. In 1907 the report mentions gastro-enteritis as a major cause of death amongst the Non-Europeans. This has continued to be a major cause to the present day. The M.O.H. on 1907 blamed the incidence in children on feeding with condensed milk and the lack of attention to cleanliness.

In 1911 the M.O.H. reported increasing tuberculosis among Africans 'as huts are often damp and leaking with no ventilation and admit no sun light.' This compares significantly with the Reports of 1896 and 1897. It appears that the long series of complaints and recommendations for improvement which have characterised the Annual Reports of the M.O.H. date back to the (111) Act of Union.

By 1913 the M.O.H., Dr. Ernest Hill, said in connection with an infant mortality rate of 323/1000 for Non-Europeans (112) 'the expression appalling may be applied without fear of exaggeration to the Native infantile mortality'. Little did the doctor know that this rate was to double itself (675.6/1000) in 1942: it is unfortunate that the statistics relating to infantile mortality amongst Non-Europeans are so unreliable. Had this not been so they would have been a valuable means of illustrating a continual deterioration of health conditions over the years. Nevertheless these statistics show a marked increase from 1913 to a maximum in 1942, then remain at a level approximately 550/1000 till 1946 when a fall of almost 40% to 350.4/1000 is observed, followed by a further continued fall. The decline in 1946 is attributed to the increased staff at the Location Clinic and the added concentration of work on pre and post natal clinics, the influence of education and propaganda amongst the people etc.

It is scarcely attributable to improved housing conditions as  
 111.) vide: Report of the M.O.H. on the conditions of the Location dated 2/3/1911. File No 80. T.C. Department.

112) Annual Report of the M.O.H. for 1913.

most of the 629 improved Municipal houses had been occupied for many years and no other improvements other than an increased wage at the close of the war were introduced. It appears that the major cause of the decline was the work done at the Location clinics. The Report of the M.O.H. covering the years 1914 - 1919 mentions the cause of death in a third of the infants to be diarrhoea which is discussed at length. (113) The doctor considered a major cause of the diarrhoea to be the uncleanly conditions in which children were left during their mother's time in domestic employment. Throughout the last half of the 1930's and the whole of the 1940's efforts were made to commence a creche. A small one, to cater for 35 children, was established in January, 1950.

In the 1920 Annual Report, (114) the doctor mentions illegitimacy as a major cause of death in infants. The factor was repeatedly stressed by Dr. Laidler in subsequent years. As the female population increased, and increased with emphasis on young women, so the illegitimacy rate increased. The occurrence of the concubin in town and a wife in the country is a common one. The break up of traditional social sanctions on immoral behaviour has undoubtedly been a major factor in making the infantile mortality and death rate what it has been. The effect of illegitimacy on death has influenced M.O.H.'s to favour the erection of hostels for women or the boarding out of women at the place of their employment. To the present no hostel has been built, but a considerable number of women do reside with their employer. This, however, has scarcely influenced the illegitimacy rate as males frequently visit these women at night. Although other means of obtaining access to the women would be required in a hostel there is little doubt that its influence on illegitimacy

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113) *ibid.*

114) P.3. Also P.3 of the Report for 1921, where the M.O.H. mentions that the death rate of illegitimate infants is double that of legitimate infants.

would be small if the moral standards of the people were not raised *pari passu*. Homes rather than hostels appear to be an easier method of achieving this and the value of hostels is a doubtful one. The statistics indicate an increasing amount of illegitimate births particularly in the later 1930's and 1940's.

It is usual to find the incidence of venereal disease related to moral standards and the relationship in East London is a clear one. In the same year as the illegitimacy rate is mentioned there is the statement (115) "so far as it is possible to estimate, it would appear that these venereal diseases are rather more prevalent than in the average town of the size." The venereal disease incidence appears to have increased over the years. In 1945 the M.O.H. increased the staff at the V.D. clinics and suggested special emphasis on pre and post natal clinics. Since then the incidence of these diseases has shown considerable decline. This decline, however, is due to improved curative facilities and the root cause i.e. immorality resulting from socio-economic conditions, has not been influenced.

The 1927 Annual Report was the last written by Dr. Ernest Hill who had served the Council since 1913. In his introductory remarks he mentioned improvements in the health of the European community and continued "I wish that the same could be said for the Coloured and Native population in whom the general and infant-ile mortality has increased enormously, and the years past show the highest figures on record..... if these ignorant people are to maintain any sort of health in crowded urban conditions their surroundings must be sanitary; they must have sufficient water, adequate sanitary accommodation, opportunities for personal cleanliness,.....But they have not these things, and I regret to

115) P.6. *ibid*.

116) It will be recalled that 1927 was the closing year of a series characterised by the highest influx of persons in the history of the City.

have to record that the recommendations which I have moved from time to time for their betterment have not received the sympathetic consideration which I expected."

Dr. P.W.Laidler's Annual Report for 1931 contained 40 closely printed pages dealing with the Locations and African people. He describes it as a report on the social and sanitary conditions of East London Locations. The work entailed some research into such matters as family budgets, the urban customs of the local Africans and their effect on health, education etc.. He emphasised the relation between the African and European areas of the City and pointed out that disease knows no Colour Bar. In his conclusion he writes: "The facts are plain. In any scheme for the improvement of the 'Public Health' the Location areas cannot be omitted. The 'Location' health question and the 'Public Health' question is invariably connected with that of the Native's poverty.....The needs of labour.....bring the Native into intimate contact with the European, and it must follow that the health of the Native is of paramount importance to the European? There is a wealth of information both statistically and descriptively. The conclusions place the responsibility for the conditions in the Locations squarely at the feet of the European, although the doctor was particularly careful to mention the short comings of the African people, and he describes in detail some customs inimical to health. (117)

Dr. Laidler warned the Europeans that "an African of low sanitary standard will always be a menace to the health of the European (118) Public health has to be bought, and to limit a public health rate is to limit the degree of health obtainable, and in my opinion a larger contribution from the European rate to (117) vide: "Native (Bantu) Beliefs...." P.W. Laidler. S.A. Journal of Science. Vol. XVII pp. 418-422 Nov. 1931. 118) vide: for elaboration "The Relationship of the Native to South Africa's Health" P.W. Laidler. S.A. Medical Journal, October 8th 1932.

Native Revenue Account is necessary for the protection of the European." The doctor's warning was scarcely heeded, for no improvement in conditions or health rate are evident. The first major move was taken by the M.O.H. when he initiated the erection of the East Bank Location Dispensary in 1931. An Infant Welfare Clinic was run by a charitable organisation long before.

During the 1939 - 1945 war the influx of migrants added to already existing overcrowding, and contributed to death and morbidity rates. Many of the rates reached their peak during these years. At the close of the war the Public Health Department had considerably increased its staff and expenditure on health in the Locations. A second full time medical officer at the Locations clinic was appointed in 1947. Nevertheless it was only the Public Health Department that made any practical steps to improve conditions in <sup>the</sup> five years following the war. New houses built during this time number 45 and no effective efforts to solve the compensation issue or to demolish the old wood and iron structures have been made. Annual capital expenditure in the Locations since the war has dropped to an average of £8,000 (119) per annum as compared with £92,000 p.a. in the European area. These figures are not absolute, as certain expenditure in European areas is indirectly to the Africans' advantage i.e. street making etc. but the figures are indicative of the principle that has led to a condition of increasing disease and death in the African's area.

Unfortunately no figures are reliable enough to prove mathematically that conditions have worsened. However, remarks of the M.O.H. over decades and the Report of Commissions clearly show that any improvements that have been achieved are negligible

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119) Abstract of Accounts. City Treasurer's Department.

when compared with the problem as a whole. Improvement in the infantile mortality rate since 1946 indicates that results can be achieved by improved curative measures, but only up to a point. Capital invested in curative work after a point will be characterised by decreasing returns. The cause of the disease and illness will not have been removed however, The point has possibly been reached in East London when curative facilities--- except infectious disease beds----will produce a return in terms of health considerably lower than a proportionate investment in preventive work. An example of the saving in health costs is the tuberculosis incidence in the Municipal built houses as compared to that of the wood and iron houses. (Believed to be one quarter .

The African's state of health and the fight being made by the Public Health Department to keep conditions at least in check (120) illustrated Dr Laidler's statement that public health has to be paid for. Unlike most economic goods, public health has up to a point, the characteristic of costing less the greater the amount of capital involved in aiding the production of good health in a community. If the 1938 housing project, involving over 3,000 houses, had been achieved and had been followed up by increasing amounts of sub-economic housing (121) to cope with the war years and the post war years' influxes, the cost of public health to-day and the problem facing it would have been markedly different. Efficiency in industry and commerce resulting from the healthy labour would have been one of the by-products resulting from this capital investment. It is this fact that lies behind the statement of Sir Ernest Thornton in the prologue of this dissertation.

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120) vide P. 33 of the Welsh Report.

121) Assuming this housing could have been built at a cheap rental and in a position where no heavy transport costs would be involved as they are in Port Elizabeth.

Chapter XI.TUBERCULOSIS.

Tuberculosis has reached such alarming proportions in the City that 1950 has been proclaimed an 'anti T.B. year', and a special drive by the South African National Tuberculosis Association (S.A.N.T.A.), with the assistance of the "Round Table of East London" for fund raising has been started. The object of the drive was to raise £18,000 for the construction of a Settlement in the Fort Grey Forest Reserve. The Settlement is planned to cater for persons after discharge from hospital, primary tubercles, orthopedic cases and the families of tuberculous during rehabilitative processes. The Executive Committee of the Association decided not to accept the chronic spitter in view of the responsibility of the local authority as laid down in the Public Health Act. The local authority has since accepted responsibility for this and has planned an austerity hospital to cater for 200 beds in the first instance. Such work is however curative rather than preventive in nature.

Statistics presented by the S.A.N.T.A. in its publication "Stop T.B." shows East London to rank next to Port Elizabeth for the highest T.B. incidence per head of population in the world. (122) Although it can legitimately be argued that the statistics are unreliable due to the migratory nature of the African population, it cannot be denied that, in the main, each case diagnosed is a case of tuberculosis. In that light, although the rate can be taken exception to, the number of cases is beyond doubt.

Table 7 below presents an indication of the growth of the notifications of the disease (all forms) (123) since 1910-1911

(Non-Europeans, resident only):

122) The 'world' undoubtedly refers only to countries which keep statistics, but includes Bombay, Cairo etc.

123) Only early in 1950 have some medical practitioners been aware that bone tuberculosis is a notifiable disease.

Year	1910/11	20/21	30/31	40/41	45/46	46/47	47/48	48/49	'50
Notifications (124)	33	47	100	216	484	425	468	409	479
Rate per 100 of the popul.	3.6	3.7	4.3	4.2	6.4	5.4	6.0	5.0	6.0

The trend of the rate per head of the population is clearly a growing one. The European rate is also rising in sympathy, especially in the last decade. In evidence before the Welsh Commission the Medical Officer of Health described it as 'an epidemic'. Table 8 below, shows the number of notifiable disease cases, the number of these which were tuberculosis, and the per centage for all persons (resident and non-resident). The years 1st July, 1945 to 30th June, 1949, are given annually whereas the figures for previous years are expressed as means for the quinquennial period.

Years	total notifiable diseases	T.B.	%.
1/7/30-30/6/1935	361	268	74
" 35- "	41	559	416
" 41- "	45	712	564
" 45- "	46	893	733
" 46- "	47	782	682
" 47- "	48	785	703
" 48- "	49	736	658
" 49- "	50	980	817

These notifications suffer from inaccuracies mentioned in Chapter X and from the influences of additional diseases made notifiable since 1935, but they are certainly indicative of trends. Figures prior to 1930 are either unobtainable or completely unreliable. The table suggests that T.B. since 1930 has comprised approximately 80% of all notifiable diseases and the per centage is increasing. At no time since 1930 has the incidence of any notifiable disease other than tuberculosis exceeded 10% of all notifiable cases. Tuberculosis has hitherto been a disease primarily affecting the Non-European group. The cause of the disease and methods of prevention are well known. It is remarkable that for so many years tuberculosis could have been responsible for so high a per centage of all notifiable cases.

124) The rate is clearly incomparable with other areas and accurate enough only to show trends. The population includes both residents and non-residents while the T.B. incidence shows only residents. It is therefore an understatement.

This is no reflection on the Medical Officers of Health. Their reports show continuous efforts to combat the disease and continual reminders to the Council of the menace of tuberculosis to all persons. Tuberculosis, unlike typhoid, against which there were mass injections during the drought of 1949, is a sensitive indicator of general living conditions. Typhoid has a more clearly defined social cause, usually in insanitary water supplies. Water supply is relatively less costly to provide than is adequate social and general amenities. The former tends to be one single item while the latter almost almost all the essentials of living. This undoubtedly is <sup>the</sup> major cause of why tuberculosis has been ignored to a great extent while attention has been paid to other diseases. It is nevertheless significant that the European group has not up to recent times been greatly influenced by tuberculosis. (125) This position appears to be changing rapidly. There is little doubt that tuberculosis has been a major disease in East London since the turn of the century. In 1903 "tuberculosis was hailed as the most decimating disease of the Native and Coloured" (126) Phtysis is first reported as "often met with" among the Africans of the Border district as early as 1877. (127) On 16th February, 1912, the Superintendent of Locations requested the Council to build a tuberculosis hospital in the East Bank Location, or the use of the existing Lodging Houses to be used for the purpose. He added "Most Natives would have to be taken in free".

Tuberculosis is connected not only with poor living conditions in East London, but also with the migratory nature of the City's labour. (128) Dr. Laidler remarked "this moving population

scattering infection uncontrolledly is a danger to the district.

Of importees the greater mass reside less than 12 months in the (125) vide: "East London Daily Dispatch" for Friday, 17th March, 1950.

(126) "The Unholy Triad: Tuberculosis, Venereal Disease, Malnutrition." P.W.Laidler. 1937.

(127) *ibid.* Reproduced from the Medical Times and Gazette August 4th 1877. Dr. Agan.

(128) *ibid* P.3.

Locations". The problem, therefore, cannot be viewed solely as one affecting East London. However hygienic and adequate the conditions in East London are made, the incidence of tuberculosis will still remain <sup>un</sup>usually high if the migratory nature of the population continues. Not only will tuberculosis be imported from outside areas and so raise the rate, but the conditions inside the area themselves can scarcely be brought to a satisfactory state until the population is settled. It appears, therefore, that the tuberculosis problem must ultimately be viewed in conjunction with the migratory issue and not solely as a matter of improved housing and diet.

An investigation into the Municipal Tuberculosis register covering an unselected sample of 200 Europeans, 225 Coloured and 750 African cases between 1939 and 1949, showed the mean ages of the cases to be:-

TABLE 9. MEAN AGE OF NOTIFIED TUBERCULOSIS CASES EAST LONDON, RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT (IN YEARS).

	<u>EUROPEAN</u>	<u>COLOURED</u>	<u>NATIVE.</u>
MALE	39.7	29.4	29.0
FEMALE	28.7	26.4	25.3

The male tends to contract tuberculosis older than the female in all ethnic groups. Among Europeans the difference in mean age between the sexes is 11 years as opposed to 4 years and 4.7 years respectively in the other groups. The mean age at which both sexes contract the disease is older than either the two other groups and is markedly so for males. The average European male gets the disease ten years older than the average Coloured and African.

A closer examination of the European figures shows (129) similarity to overseas experience. There is a decline in the incidence for the 10-14 year old group. The highest incidence for males is in the 34-39 age group, although the

129. Vide: Ashworth Underwood "A Manual of Tuberculosis" Page 450.

rate remains high until after 55 years of age. Female Europeans tend to contract the disease before 35 years of age and particularly between 20 and 25, thereafter there is a gradual decline to old age. The sex ratio of cases (male to female) is 1:0.74.

The incidence among the Coloured people follows a similar pattern for females as among Europeans, though the male pattern differs markedly. Coloured males appear particularly immune from 9 - 19 years of age. The greatest incidence is between 20 and 23 years indicating a marked increase after 19 years of age. After 30 years of age the incidence falls off by more or less regular amounts to old age thus avoiding a high incidence in the 50-60 age groups. Among the Coloureds a higher proportion of cases are under 9 years of age than among Europeans. Coloured females also suffer more severely between 9 - 19 years of age than does a similar group among Europeans. The sex ratio of cases (male and female) is 1:0.78.

Among the Africans the incidence is a far more complex phenomenon. It is made so primarily by the migratory nature of the population. As far as possible this group has been divided into residents of East London and non-residents. All non-traceable <sup>(130)</sup> cases and cases who admitted recently coming into East London from outside areas were considered as non-residents. The incidence between the two groups differed considerably.

Among residents the older group of males were the most frequent sufferers, although all age groups between 25 and 49 years had high frequencies. The incidence among children under 4 years is very high. Male resident children from 5-9 are also considerable sufferers, but from 10-24 years the incidence falls to very low levels.

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130. After a case is notified by a medical practitioner it is investigated by a social worker or health visitor.

Female residents appear to suffer somewhat more than males (ratio male to female 1:1.1) and the age of sufferers is more spread out over the whole life span. The greatest frequency is in the group 20-30 years of age, after which there is a decline to old age.

Among non-residents the younger male age groups are the chief sufferers - the 15-44 age groups. The incidence among older males is negligible which contrasts with residents. The phenomenon applies also to non-resident females, but the most frequent age is 15-19 years, i.e. it is more confined than among males. The sex ratio (male to female) is 1:1.1). A notable characteristic of non-residents of both sexes is the number of children under the age of 14 who become sufferers. It is suggested that children are brought in for medical treatment, but as soon as tuberculosis is diagnosed the child is taken back to the country. The diagnosis is registered in East London, however. Female children predominate over male children during these ages and this accounts for the sex discrepancy.

The frequencies for both sexes and for residents and non-residents must be influenced by the age and sex composition of the population (see Chapter IV p 14 ). The age and sex composition of the population is not similar to the European and Coloured, so no direct comparisons between them are possible. If the facts and tendencies known to exist in respect of the age and sex composition of the African population are taken into account, it does appear, from casual inspection at least, that rather similar laws of tuberculosis incidence are operating among the Africans as among other groups. Undoubtedly variations must exist and further research into this little known field in South Africa must be made before any definite conclusions can be drawn.

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CHAPTER XIII.SANITARY CIRCUMSTANCES AND GENERAL AMENITIES.

The Sanitary facilities and the general amenities or public utilities possessed by a community have a direct bearing on health. Housing, diet etc., undoubtedly have a bearing on health but in the past facilities of this kind have usually been a personal matter while utilities such as water, sewerage, guttering, drainage, streets and street lighting etc have been communal or public utilities, paid for by taxes, and administered by a public body. It is, therefore, to be expected that the influence of the public administration, i.e. the City Council and its staff, is to be seen most clearly in the public utilities available to the community. If this assumption is true, then this portion of the dissertation will reflect the factual aspect of the interest shown by the public administration, and should therefore be read in conjunction with Ch. VI & XV "THE AFRICAN LOCATIONS: MUNICIPAL ACHIEVEMENTS" and "THE ATTITUDES AND POLICIES OF THE CITY COUNCIL".

In the more recent building schemes sponsored by the Council, care has been taken to provide adequate sanitary facilities in the form of a lavatory per house and water laid on in the house. The streets have been guttered and some macadamised. The gutters and streets in the course of time have become overgrown with grass or are rough with large stones where not macadamised. The earlier Municipal housing schemes provided sanitary facilities in the form of communal blocks frequently with only partitions dividing the sexes. This has been the method used in the wood and iron area since its beginning. The Council has been fully alive to its obligations in respect of the scheme for which it made itself responsible in toto, i.e. building houses as well as providing public utilities. In

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the remainder of the Location areas, however, conditions have been described as "extremely unsatisfactory and unhygienic!"<sup>(131)</sup>

There is some difference between the sanitary circumstances of the various locations. The Cambridge Location was handed over to the East London City Council in the form of single-roomed brick dwellings. The number of wood and iron dwellings was insignificant and the policy has been to demolish these. All houses are owned by the Council. The communal lavatory blocks are sufficiently numerous to give a reasonable ratio of persons per pan, but there is no special provision for children. This provision is vital in African society where there is a strong recognition of the difference between childhood and adulthood.<sup>(132)</sup> In all Locations, for many years and on various occasions Africans have asked for separate facilities but with little success. In Cambridge Location the centre road is guttered and kerbed but not macadamised. It is rough but a vehicle can move along it. Some of the remaining roads are impassable. There is some street lighting. Refuse is thrown into large bins which are collected and the contents disposed of by the Public Health & Social Welfare Department. Waste water is disposed of down the lavatories or thrown on the grass. The provision of single-roomed dwellings for all types and sizes of households is clearly insanitary, but an attempt to enlarge two rows of houses by joining them together with additional rooms was turned down by the Council in May 1942. One of the reasons was that the existing houses had been built under a different financial formula from what the additions would be and this lead to complications with rentals etc.<sup>(133)</sup> In general, however, the Cambridge Location is the most sanitary when taken as a whole, although it is well below the standard set at the New Duncan Village housing scheme.

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131) Thornton Report  
 132) Vide "Reactions to Conquest" M. Hurter  
 133) Report by the Manager, Native Administration  
 File No. 80 Town Clerk's Dept.

The West Bank Location compares favourably with Cambridge Location although a high proportion are wood and iron dwellings. There are a few hundred yards of macadamised streets; about  $\frac{2}{3}$  mile of road out of a total of  $1\frac{1}{3}$  are kerbed and guttered although the surface is frequently very rough. Certain roads in the wood and iron area cannot safely be traversed by a car. There is some street lighting. Sanitary facilities are based on the communal block system for both wood and iron and municipally built houses. There are thought to be about 35 persons per pan. This estimate, however, tends to understatement as frequently a number of pans are out of order; there is an increase in the population for certain months of the year; and most important, there is a rush on lavatory accommodation when working males return in the evening.

The lowest standard of sanitation and hygiene is found in the wood and iron areas of the East Bank Location. Human excreta litters the areas in the vicinity of the lavatory blocks as much as it does a 100 or more yards from them. It is understandable that a person is not anxious to walk 100 yards to relieve himself during the night, and this frequently causes the unhygienic condition some distance from the lavatory blocks. Much of the condition around the block is caused by children who find admission barred to them as an adult is using one of the pans. As there are no doors and hence no privacy it is understandable that an adult may object to the entry of a child to use an adjacent pan. The number of persons per pan is estimated at 95, so there is no question of sanitary facilities being adequate. ( 134 )

On the other hand the unhygienic behaviour of the African people leaves much to be desired. Children frequently urinate and defecate in the street gutters

without any words of censure from parents or adults. The author has witnessed cases of adult males and females defecating in public places with complete disregard for the persons passing by in the vicinity. Such behaviour is contrary to public practice, however, and must be viewed as the exception rather than the rule. Children are aware it is incorrect as they get up and run on the approach of the author or any other white man or uniformed African.

The lack of hygiene in connection with human excreta undoubtedly rests on the human attitude towards it, and also on the lack of available facilities. Africans have very little knowledge of germs or bacteria. Illness is often viewed as being caused by ill will on the part of some person or persons and not to bacteria resulting from unhygienic practices. Teaching on these subjects appears to be limited in its efficiency. The African who has attended school for some years and possibly taken a course or courses in hygiene often understands the theory of germs. Some do practise the hygiene taught them but some fail to practise it in their homes or ordinary life at all. The teaching of Hygiene to illiterate or uneducated persons is frequently viewed by them as interesting yarns of the whiteman. The facts of germs and other non-visible bacteria are often classed as "fairy tales" just as are explanations about the world being round, the stars and the universe generally, scientific creation of man etc. Such teachings have little or no practical ( 135 ) effect on the unhygienic practices of uneducated townsmen. The possibility of using a highly powered microscope to illustrate bacteria might improve the position, but being unfamiliar with the microscope it is doubtful if it would be believed. The author is of the opinion that films on hygiene serve only a limited purpose although no experience has been gained in this field. In the author's opinion

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135 ) This is the author's experience after eighteen months of work in this direction.

the only really effective way to instil some code of behaviour akin to that of hygienic practices would be to mobilise public opinion. If campaigns could be carried out to foster a sentiment of pride in hygienic behaviour amongst the upper and more educated groups then some form of social pressure might exist to enforce hygienic behaviour. At present moral sanctions enforcing such behaviour are negligible.

The lack of social sanctions is bound up with the general surroundings of the area. It can only be described as a slum <sup>(136 )</sup> and slum behaviour is its human characteristic. Although miles of roads have been macadamised and miles kerbed and guttered, it is but a small proportion of the total. Many of the roads have huge furrows crossing them where rains have eroded the surface; some are so overgrown that bushes cover a portion of the surface; quite a number are impassable to anything but a team of oxen and a wagon. Street lights are provided in some of the streets while the remainder are in darkness. Street bulbs are small and the amount of light little, although stone throwing is frequently a cause.

Possibly the most repugnant feature of the sanitary conditions is the street side gutters. The only provision for waste water disposal is to throw it into the lavatory or the under-ground drain; onto the road outside one's door; into the bush surrounding the area; or, most frequently into the street side gutters. The water then runs down the gutter to empty itself into a drain or into the Ncabanga Stream which runs through the area. As the majority of households dispose of their waste water in the gutter there is a continuous flow during daylight hours. There is a deep groove washed in the gutters in many places and a proportion must sink into the ground. Illicit kaffir beer is frequently thrown into the gutters by the police, despite continuous objections

by the Africans, Public Health & Social Welfare Department Officials and others, the practice still continues. <sup>(137)</sup>

Places where no guttering exist or where it has been worn through turn into muddy, black coloured streams. The effect of all this is to create a repugnant stench.

Attention is paid to gutters; they are swept, even swilled out with water; they are limed occasionally; but all to little effect. Under the circumstances they are kept as clean as is humanly possible, but the fault lies in the lack of facilities for disposing of waste water in an hygienic manner.

In conclusion, it is evident that no Location is fully supplied with the public utilities generally accepted now-a-days as essential. The macadamising of all roads or the provision of fluorescent street lighting is not expected, such utilities belong to the luxury level - but particularly in the East Bank Location the very essentials of sanitary conditions - adequate waste water removals, adequate sanitary pan accommodation, clean streets and gutters etc., have not been provided. Both Government Commissions have deplored the conditions, but little change has been made for decade after decade. The new Municipal scheme provides all that could be desired, and the improved circumstances have already shown themselves beneficial to health by reducing disease rates etc., to a relatively low level. The local authorities responsibility cannot be questioned, but in the past it appears to have shunned that responsibility to a serious extent.

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137 ) Vide: Item 11 of the Minutes of the Location  
Advisory Board for the meeting of 23/2/50.

SECTION D.                      ADMINISTRATION AND MIGRATION.

Chapter XLV.                      CONTROL.

Since 1891 the administrative responsibility for the Location has resided in the Location Superintendent or Manager of Municipal Native Administration. Prior to 1891 it appears that a Non-European was in control as the Mayor's Minutes for 1893 state: "The wisdom of placing a European in charge has manifested itself on more than one occasion". Mr R.H. Potter held the post from 1891 to 1901, thereafter it was held by Mr Chas. Lloyd till 1937, and by Mr R.C. Cook till July, 1950. Since the introduction of the Urban Areas Act, 1923, the incumbent has been licensed by the Minister of Native Affairs, and the post made compulsory.

In East London, prior to the recommendations of the Thornton Commission, there was no special committee of the Council for the special study of African administration, and the Location Superintendent was answerable to the Town Clerk. As a result of the Commission's recommendations a special Native Affairs Committee of the Council was established in 1937 to act as a liaison between the Council and the newly appointed Manager of Native Administration. To this Committee fell much of the responsibility for the sub-economic housing schemes of the 1940's. It was later amalgamated with the Public Health Committee.

Administration prior to 1923 dealt primarily with the carrying out of Council policy, but with the passing of the Urban Areas Act the post assumed responsibility for governmental policy to a larger extent than hitherto. Although the actual control of Africans has been vested in the Superintendent a local administrative clash has always been evident in repair and constructional activities. The Superintendent has had on his

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138) Mr R.T. Wicks was appointed as assistant in 1900.

staff a group of labourers for the maintenance of roads and the up-keep and cleansing of streets, ablution blocks, and other communal facilities. The construction of these facilities has however been done by or executed under the aegis of The City and Water Engineer and handed over to the Superintendent when completed. All housing schemes have similarly been arranged, although the Superintendent has on occasions asked for permission to use his own staff to construct houses on the assumption that costs would be reduced. Such a suggestion has never reached fruition on a major project however.

The Public Health Department has also been concerned with the administration of the Locations, particularly with regard to the demolition of buildings, the issuing of trading licences, and the inspection of sanitary facilities. The Health Department's files contain numerous memoranda to the Location Superintendent pointing out defects in ablution block cisterns, windows and ventilation, the cleanliness of street gutters etc., and on many occasions it appears that the defects were not speedily remedied as they appear time and time again. The Superintendent is thus responsible for the day to day health and sanitation of the Location, a duty which falls under the Health Department in the European area of the City. It must therefore be expected of the Superintendent that he is in part a Medical Officer of Health, an Engineer, as well as an Administrator.

This raises a broader issue. Is the policy of the Council one where the administration of Africans is completely separate from the administration of other ethnic groups in the City? If so, then the Locations should have their own Town Clerk, M.O.H., Engineer, Welfare Officer etc. The Council in the past has oscillated between the two alternatives:

- a) The African population is to be entirely divorced from

the administration of the Europeans.

- b) The African population is to be considered as part of the City and to be handled by the same administration and in the same manner.

The administration of pass laws, labour registration and the Urban Areas Act generally would then be a duty of the Location Superintendent but no other duty. (139) No decision on this broad issue, as far as the Urban Areas Act will allow, has ever been made by the Council, and the Welsh Commission failed to understand the position or make recommendations thereon.

The dominant method of control has been registration and the issuing of passes and permits. Except for the earlier system of headmen it has been bureaucratic in nature. (140) The Thornton Commission stated "the administration is extremely defective, staffing appears more than adequate, but it is engaged almost entirely on clerical work and little or no notice is taken of actual location conditions." The Welsh Report states that "Mr Cook and his staff are at present mainly occupied in office duties," which suggests that the position had not changed since 1937. The system of registering hut owners originated from the need to collect hut site tax, but as early as 1903 (141) a register of employed males has been kept. The need for this action arose earlier than 1895 as the Mayor in his Minutes stated: "I should once more like to draw the attention of the Council to the urgent need of a registry office for labour..... There is no way of apprehending deserters from service."

The influx of migrant Africans which accompanied the Boer War was perhaps the immediate cause of the 1903 regulations. (142)

139) For a further elaboration see the Report of the M.O.H. 18/1/50.

140) Bureaucratic is used in the sense of control from an office desk carrying out strict and detailed regulations made by the local authority. Little is left to the discretion of the official and little personal contact is made between the people governed and himself.

141) File No 80 Town Clerk's Department.

142) Regulations governing the Location were published on Page 125 P.T.O.

(143)

In a report to the M.O.H., Johannesburg, the local Medical Officer stated: "The Locations are established for the benefit of Natives who are bona fide workers in the Municipality, (144) and to ensure this the following instruction has been given to the Location Superintendent: 'No permit is to be issued to any person allowing him to reside in the Location unless he produces to the Superintendent of the Location, a certificate, signed by his employer, to the effect that he is a bona fide employee which certificate must be reviewed quarterly'". This method of control created the necessity of providing for a visitors permit for those entering the area only to visit friends and relations, and also for temporary permits for the time a person was seeking employment. A lodgers permit was only granted on the production of the employers certificate. These permits necessitated further clerical work.

An indication of the extent to which bureaucratic administration was followed is an account in the East London "Daily Dispatch" (August 15th, 1911) of a discussion between the Magistrate and the Public Prosecutor in a case of two African women accused of beer brewing. During the discussion the Public Prosecutor said: "The Council is quite in the dark as to the actual number of Natives in the Location, apart from the Census returns....A number of people live in the Location and are not registered." The Superintendent in a report to Council replied: "Each year a new register is commenced and a re-registration taken of everybody, even to the smallest child, when every lodger is furnished with a location permit, such permit being renewed every two months provided the holder is following some lawful calling." The Public Prosecutor on 28th August, 1911, replied that he was not

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of the Cape of Good Hope Gazette for 13th January, 1903. Also Sections 12, 13, & 14 of the Act No 11 of 1895 are relevant.  
 143) File No 80 Town Clerk's Department, dated 3rd September, 1903.  
 144) This term refers to the Municipal area only and not Amalinda at that time.

satisfied with the existing register as drawn up by Regulation No 11 Chapter 18 of the Location Regulations and preferred "the system of registration.....of individual Natives under a properly organised pass system similar to that adopted by other large towns....."

The Location files up to the close of the first decade of the century suggest that the European staff of the Native Administration Department were regularly in the Location, but thereafter there is little evidence to support this. In 1911 the Superintendents duties included not only African administration but "the supervision of the whole of the Town Common Lands, supervision of the Beach camping grounds at Christmas, collecting of some £5,000 annually of rates and taxes with only three European assistants...." (145) There is thus little probability that time permitted of frequent personal visits into the Locations.

The Cape Municipal Ordinance No. 10 of 1912 provided for the imposition of a curfew for both sexes which meant the carrying of a pass by a woman if in a public place outside the Location during the curfew hours. Although objections to this were raised in 1922 and subsequently, the Council refused to consider its repeal. The curfew regulations were repealed by a provision of Act 25 of 1930, but re-introduced on 29th May, 1931, and remain to the present day.

Prior to the proclamation of 1939 the machinery provided by the 1923 Act as amended by Act 25 of 1930 was used to control the influx of migrants. Sub-section 6 of Section 5 of the Urban Areas Act as amended by Act 25 of 1930 was proclaimed in 1933 as an additional measure to deal with unemployment resulting from the depression. This measure was aimed at preventing Africans

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145) A Report by the Public Prosecutor, 28th August, 1911.  
"Daily Dispatch".

from entering the Urban area to seek work or to reside therein. On the improvement of trade in 1935 the City Council resolved to waive the proclamation, but was empowered to institute it again if conditions demanded.

The argument as to whether the Council should exercise its option under Section 12 of the Urban Areas Act, 1923, was again raised in 1936. The Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923 provided an optional clause (Section 12) wherein a Municipality could decide whether or not to proclaim the area of its jurisdiction under the Section. In such an event it could decide whether or not the registration system and pass laws thereby provided applied to both sexes or to males only. The Superintendent was opposed to the proclamation in East London as additional Native Clerks, offices and special African constables would be needed, but the M.O.H. favoured it as it also provided for medical examination on entry to the City, and as such an examination for infectious diseases could be carried out. With the appointment of the new manager of Native Administration, and a petition from the National Council of Women, the option was exercised and made applicable to males only. The resolution of Council was made in November, 1937, and the promulgation became effective on 1st January, 1939. Cambridge Municipality decided likewise and their promulgation came into force on the 10th December, 1938.

The proclamation of this regulation made the method of bureaucratic control almost complete. Additional staff, both European and Non-European, were appointed to administer it and the police force was considerably enlarged partly as a result of the difficulty of execution. Despite its existence it has not proved fully effective, and has been evaded frequently. The Welsh

(146)  
Report states: "We believe that there are large numbers  
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146) P. 12.

who should not be in the Location and whom the Municipality should not be required to accommodate". Objections to police raids in search of passless Africans have been made on frequent occasions and the pass system is most unpopular with the African people. (147)

The great emphasis on bureaucratic control has influenced the headman system. The earliest policy of the Council appears to have been the appointment of "Africans to govern themselves. Headmen were responsible for the African population prior to the appointment of the first European Superintendent in 1891. As early as 1884 the Mayor in his Minutes stated: "The appointment of assistant headmen has also had a beneficial effect." Headmen were also extensively used after Mr Potter's appointment, and they acted as the liaison between the Superintendent and the people. They were carefully chosen for the respect their own people showed them, and not necessarily for their educational qualifications. They acted as policemen in their capacity as executors of location regulations, but also represented their people to the Superintendent. They had personal and active acquaintance with the persons in their ward. They were paid a salary somewhat in excess of the average African. There is evidence to suggest that with very few exceptions they performed their duties sincerely and proved to be a good means of control.

On 1st. April, 1926, the Central Government took over the policing of the Locations from the Municipality. This was a major direct step to remove the personal relationship between the governed and the governing authority. As a result of this move the number of headmen was reduced, and those who were retained assumed duties of a clerical nature in the Native Administration Department. They were no longer chosen for the respect shown them by their own people, but rather for their educational and

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147) Minutes of the Location Advisory Board for the meeting held on 28th November, 1949.

clerical ability. Clerks in the administration office are still referred to as 'headmen', but they no longer can be compared with the system as functioning prior to 1926.

The last remaining direct link between the African people on the one hand and the Superintendent and the Council on the other is the Joint Location Advisory Board. The Superintendent's Report of January, 1921 states: "In view of the fact that a good deal will be required of the Natives in case the Locations are removed, would it not be advisable to constitute a Native Advisory Board, members of such to be duly nominated and elected by site holders at the Locations..... I know this would be most agreeable to the Natives and anything done would be more appreciated than if the Natives were only consulted through a deputation who were without any legal standing". The Board's earlier years were not altogether successful as there is evidence to suggest that the African people failed to have confidence in its members.

The Vigilance Association held a meeting of about 500 persons in September, 1924, and made a number of requests to the Council, one of which was for a meeting with the Council "as we have no more confidence in the majority of the Location Board"<sup>(148)</sup>. In a report on the matter the Superintendent wrote to the Council "I cannot understand how the conclusion is arrived at as regards not having confidence in the majority of the Location Advisory Board members as they have only just been returned to the Board, and in all but one case without opposition".

Lack of confidence in the members of the Board was voiced on many occasions, and the author has met with the attitude during visits to the Location in very recent times. It is significant that the need for a Board was felt before the headmen system was superseded by the Police in 1926. There is no direct

evidence on the cause of why the policing duties were assumed in that year, or that the headman system was breaking down, yet it is significant that both the Advisory Board and Policing by the Government should have been introduced within five years of each other. It will be recalled that the years between 1921 and 1926 were years of the greatest growth of the African population in the City, and this may have accelerated a position which, due to physical and numerical expansion, was becoming increasingly difficult to administer by means of the personal administration of headmen.

Prior to 1947 there were two Boards, one for each Location. After that date the Boards were amalgamated and in 1948 an expansion occurred to include the Cambridge Location members. The Chairman of earlier Boards was the Location Superintendent, but after 1937 the Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee of the Council automatically became the Chairman.

The Advisory Board has not directly been used as a means of control. Although its position is guaranteed by the provisions of the Urban Areas Act, and all matters to do with the Locations are referred to it for an opinion, its powers are purely advisory. A possible cause of the lack of coöperation from the people has been the political nature of the Board. Apart from the members elected by the Council, elections are fought along party lines and all site tax payers have a vote. Yet this <sup>is</sup> hardly likely when all Africans take a keen interest in political affairs. The answer possibly lies in the restricted nature of the electorate. There are scarcely more than 2,500 persons eligible to vote, and this comprises but a small proportion of the Location's adults. It also includes only the owners of property and excludes the lodgers or tenants. The political nature of the Board is evident, yet the political parties

sink their differences when having to decide on a major issue. In such an event a "caucus meeting" of the Board is held and a more or less united front is shown to the Chairman and the Superintendent who are the only European members of the Board. The use of the term 'Caucus Meeting' suggests that the Africans view the Board as a means of presenting the African's case to the European rather than an instrument whereby a mutual agreement on Location matters could be thrashed out. It is not surprising in view of the limited powers of the Board that no efforts to reach a compromise should be made, or the attitude of the Board members should <sup>not</sup> be one of compromise.

It is possibly in the light of the increased bureaucratic method of administration which has led to increasingly impersonal methods of control, and the relative failure of the Advisory Board system, that the recent demands for headmen have been made. These demands have been for a return to the old method of headmen based on wards, and have been strongly voiced by Advisory Board members. During evidence before the Welsh Commission a group of Africans complained that the Superintendent and his staff were never seen in the Location. These facts lend support to the contention that the Africans are aware, and dislike, the extent to which personal control has been abandoned. Most certainly impersonal control has meant the gradual disappearance of any definite knowledge of actual location conditions and circumstances. The statistics available as to the number of persons per plot, the number of persons in each tribal group, the number of rooms per plot etc., cannot be as exact or as detailed as those of the first decade of the century. Under present conditions it is virtually imperative to have a social survey to discover conditions and facts which should be constantly in the mind of any competent administrator, and persistently before Councillors during their term of office.

Chapter XV.MIGRATION.

This chapter is to be read in conjunction with the biological data already provided in Chapters 3 and 4 and is intended to emphasise the socio-economic features of the phenomenon.

There is little doubt that the migration of Africans to the City has been intimately connected with the business cycle. It is significant that East London has never suffered from a prolonged shortage of labour, and measures to control the influx have become increasingly evident since the early 1920's. The readiness with which Africans have come to East London is possibly due not to high wages, but to the fact that the City is situated in the midst of the Reserves. This has meant that little expense was involved in moving to and fro from time to time. The Superintendent in his report on the advisability of enforcing Section 12 of the 1923 Act pointed out "that our position as compared with numerous other municipalities considerably differs owing to our proximity to the Native Reserves. In case of a slump in trade there is no difficulty for Natives to get back to their homes, whereas in many other centres, it is only those that have saved some money that can do so." During 1894 the Location Inspector reported: "The number of Natives seeking work during the past year were above the average, but I believe all succeeded in obtaining work." The position in 1905 was: "the labour supply has varied considerably during the latter of the twelve months. At times we had abundance of labour, and in the course of a few days we were short. This is owing to the rushes of trade. At times a large number of Natives

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149) Mayor's Minutes for the Year 1894.

150) Report of the Location Superintendent. Mayor Minutes, 1905.

are employed at the wharf and a few days later hundreds less are required." The following year, however, was a depressed year and the Superintendent's Report suggests "the Locations have not grown much larger..... Kaffir beer, as reported from time to time, has been largely brewed, when compared with the previous year..... Native labour has been fairly plentiful." In 1908 there was some retrenchment and Africans were replaced by Europeans as a matter of Council policy.

Resulting from an increase in pay at the close of the 1914-1918 war, the Superintendent reports a large influx early in 1920. (151) The Report states "usually about this time of the year we have instead of an increase a general falling off. Evidently the increased wages and not too good results in their crops would account for the present influx." The Superintendent thus points out that bad agricultural conditions in the rural areas were also a cause of migration.

The large influx of 1920 tended to overcrowd the Locations. (152) The Superintendent reported: "we are continuously turning people away who are legitimate visitors because there is no further accommodation in the house wherein the person resides that the party is desirous of visiting..... The question that may arise in connection herewith is as to why sufficient accommodation is not available at the Locations. My reply thereto is, building materials have been beyond financial reach of natives..." He continues by mentioning the increase in wages and rural drought as other causes. The interesting point in these reports is the impression conveyed that overcrowding prior to 1920 did not exist in any extensive form, and secondly the control which was kept on the persons residing in each house. The emphasis placed by the Superintendent on the cost of building materials

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151) Report dated 3/5/20.

152) Report dated 3/6/20.

being too high for the Africans to build with suggests that the early system of building was adequate to meet the migratory movements of the City in its earlier years. In June, 1920 "an extraordinary night inspection of houses and huts" was made to search for non-permit holders. A number were found and were prosecuted but "comparatively few persons were found to be undesirables or unemployed...." (A register of persons in each house is still kept, but there is little doubt that the location still has numerous unemployed, and a group of undesirables is beginning also to be in evidence.)

Some results of the influx of the 1920's was given in a report by the M.C.H. (153) on the question of proclaiming the area in terms of Section 12 of the Urban Areas Act. Dr. Laidler remarked: "The East Bank Location is becoming a retreat for the unwanted Natives of surrounding areas and provinces. Recent troubles (the 1930 strike) in this location are due to the following causes:

- 1) The large number of casual labourers and unemployed.
  - 2) Economic unrest, due not so much to low wages as to the number of non-workers parasitic upon regular wage earners...."etc.
- This position must have been aggravated by the influx of Natives during January to April 1930 when despite the shortage of work the influx continued. (154)

Although a fall in the population during certain months was evident, there remained so many unemployed and unauthorised lodgers in the location that steps were taken in 1932 to remove them. (155) The Superintendent suggested a house to house investigation "with the object of reducing the population to be more fitting with present day requirements....The intention is to be in a position to advise the police as it is believed that a very large percentage in the Locations are without authority or permit."

153) Report to Council dated 3/2/30.

154) Report to Supt. dated 4/3/30. File No 80 T.C. Department.

155) Report of Superintendent dated 28/7/32.

The efforts after the promulgation of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act in 1933 (Promulgation 255) were directed towards greater and greater control of the influx.

Promulgation of Section 10 in 1933 did not apply to Coloured persons, and the Superintendent (156) mentions "a fairly large number of Coloured people" entering the area in 1934. In the same report it is pointed out that the Section 10 was promulgated "as a measure of protection for the unemployed Natives resident in the Locations". When discussing Section 10 with the Location Advisory Board the Superintendent was at pains to emphasise that it was intended as a means of protection to the more permanent residents of the Location. (157) The basis of his argument was that immigrants would "snap up all available employment" to the detriment of East London residents. The Board was in sympathy with this view and agreed to its implementation. The Superintendent's remarks in 1934 concerning the influx of Coloured people, however, tends to suggest that the influence of the Section was nullified to some extent by its inapplicability to non-African people. Its effects appear therefore to have rather favoured non-African groups at the expense certainly of migrant Africans and possibly the permanent residents.

The actual proportion of the population that could be considered urbanised or permanently resident in East London had never been ascertained by scientific techniques prior to 1949. In 1935 the Superintendent reported (158) that he considered 30% of the African adults were urbanised, 30% semi-urbanised, and 40% rural. The population at the time comprised 9,845 male adults and 5,995 female adults with 2,583 children. Unfortunately no suggestion as to how this decision was made, and no definitions of terms used are given. It is significant that he estimated as many

156) Report dated 9/5/34

157) Minutes of the Location Advisory Board. 14/6/33.

158) Memorandum to the Committee on Natives in Urban Areas, 19th July, 1935. Report dated 18th September, 1935.

as 30% or 4,750 were urbanised.

Mention was made above that a seasonal migration appeared evident. The files offer little information on this point. The only information is that contained in the Superintendent's reports of the early 1930's. These suggested an influx in January, February and March and a fall off by June. The Officer in charge of the Registration Office is of opinion that this pattern is still the general rule. After June there appears to be an increase until September when some persons return to the country after spring rains to sow or prepare their land in the Reserves. Thereafter there is an increase until November after which there is a general exodus for the Christmas holidays. The influx is greatest in the first few months of each year.

The files contain no mention of the places from which the migrants come. It is generally assumed that the Transkeian areas contribute the greatest numbers, but no investigation into this aspect of the phenomenon appears to have been made in the past.

The influx of women into the City since the 1920's has had interesting repercussions. East London, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein are the only three major Cities in the Union where the sex ratio approaches unity. A proportion of the females are the legitimate wives of working males, but a considerable number of the females are living as concubines with migratory males. Although difficult to define what is meant by 'illegitimate' in African moral codes, the annual Report of the M.O.H. over many years shows an illegitimacy rate of frequently more than 60% of all African births. Complaints of 'sweethearts'

running away from women and children and leaving them with no means  
 159) The Wagan Commission's Report (Native Laws Commission).  
 160) Due particularly to the prevalence of the sororate and levirate customs.

of support are frequent. Living in concubinage not only increases the spread of venereal disease, but has a direct bearing on the per capita income of both urban and rural households. The position is similar to one man supporting two families. A portion of the monthly wage is frequently sent to the rural or legitimate spouse and children and the remainder used for the support of the bread winner, the concubine and dependent children. Cases of women with four children each with a different father are not unknown to the author.

A further repercussion has been the competition for domestic service as the supply of females is considerably greater than the demand. Domestic wages are still in the region of £2.10.0d p.m. with some extras, which is a relatively small wage when compared with the Rand towns. Other sources of income to females are also highly competitive. It is probable that this competition has an influence on beer production and the price of beer, although no evidence on this point is available from the records. The income value of a female tends to be small.

A very detailed discussion on the actual migration of the sexes, their ages, speed of movement, duration in each place etc. is the subject of a special study being conducted at present. For this reason only the broad outlines of past movements and their influence on East London are discussed above. The subject is a huge and highly involved one and the author hopes to prepare an article on the subject for publication in a scientific journal before the end of 1950. The migration of African people in East London and its relation to the Ciskei and Transkei Reserves has never been studied before, in fact the subject does not appear ever to have been considered by the City Council or its officials. The author is presently of opinion that it is East London's number one problem, and the creation of acceptable housing and socio-economic conditions are dependent on its cessation.

Chapter XV.I. THE ATTITUDES & POLICIES OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

The dominant characteristics of the City Council's policy towards the Africans and the Locations has been the control of migration into the City and the balance of the Native Revenue Account. These two policies have been foremost in the minds of the Local Authority since before 1890. From approximately 1923 onwards there has grown an awareness that the City Council was also responsible for the well-being, the housing, health and welfare of the African people. To some, the latter growth may not appear so obvious, but the author is of opinion that this change of heart is a rapidly growing one.

Chapter XII entitled 'Control' shows in detail the various methods the City Council adopted to control influx into the City, and the elaborate, bureaucratic machinery employed to control the Africans when in the Locations. During the early years, registration and control generally were instituted as means to ensure that taxes were not evaded and that each immigrant contributed his share to the Native Revenue Account. There was a far closer connection between registration and tax paying than is the case today, particularly since 1939. The differential site rental between lodger-keeping households and non-lodger-keeping households was first introduced to ensure that lodgers were taxed for the use of Municipal services. In more recent years the Council has tended to differentiate between registration and tax paying. The increasing contribution of the General Rate Fund (161) to the Native Revenue Account has been viewed seriously by the Council, but its attitude thereto, until early in 1950 has not been to enquire how the income side of the balance sheet in the Native Revenue Account could be enlarged, but rather to stop or (161) This amount was estimated at £36,152 for the financial year ending 30th June, 1950.

view with disfavour any item likely to increase the debit side of the sheet. This attitude has been an influential cause of the lack of utilities mentioned in Chapter 13 entitled "Sanitary Circumstances and General Amenities".

Pressure from certain local organisations, and particularly the National Council of Women, coupled with speeches inside and outside the House, Government Commissions etc. have been sufficient to force the Council to take action to prevent further deterioration of social conditions and to commence rebuilding. Unemployment and the presence of a number of males earning a precarious existence in the Location, crime etc. have been the stimuli to encourage Council in its endeavours at greater and greater control of immigration. To this extent the Council has been aware of the consequences of a predominantly migrant labour force. Despite increased efforts at registration etc. the influx has continued, but the rise of income in the Revenue Account has in no way corresponded to the increase in population and its own devaluation in terms of goods and services. The site rental has not increased since 1928 neither has the number of plots built on. These are the major income items in the Account. The result of these phenomena has been to create a vicious circle---lack of income in the Revenue Account and the need for contributions from the General Rate Fund has made Council unwilling to enlarge the debit side of the Account by making the necessary improvements; the lack of amenities and general living conditions have been useful weapons in the hands of persons anxious to improve the City and its Locations or to uphold the 'rights' of the Africans; resulting pressure on the Council has forced it, inter alia, to move for

162) Speeches of Mrs Margaret Ballinger, Senator Welsh, and others have all had official exception taken to them sometime or other in the past.

163) In 1908 the hut tax without lodgers was 2/6 inclusive of water and sanitary services while that for keeping lodgers was 7/6 inclusive. The respective figures in 1950 are 3/6 and 12/3.

greater and greater regulation of the migrant male; through evasion of registration and the inability of the Council to charge a 'rightful' tax for services expended on such migrants, the income to the Revenue Account has fallen off in proportion to the population and the diminished value of the currency.

The Mayor's Minutes show that earlier Councils were greatly concerned over the close relationship of population and taxation. The Mayor in his Minutes for 1896 states: " I note that the number of Natives residing in the town and suburbs are on the increase. This is to be deplored, as the majority of these Natives do not contribute to the town revenue but, on the contrary, they cause an increase to our expenses." The earliest records show that the Council's attitudes to the Locations was not one of making the Revenue Account balance, but making it contribute to the General Rate Account. In 1894 the Mayor's Minutes recall the fact that the revenue from the Locations was £750 which was exceeded only by the Rate Account and the Market Account, while expenditure on the Locations came only ninth on the list and after such items as Police Account, and the Town Office Account. The Mayor's Minutes provide ample evidence of the policy that the Locations were to be a revenue producing enterprise.

This revenue producing policy of earlier Councils lay the foundation of the insanitary conditions which now confront the City Council. In 1911 the District Surgeon's Annual Report (164) stated: "The East London Native Location is in a very delapidated, untidy condition, due I think to an absolutely insufficient portion of its revenue being devoted to its upkeep." On 22nd October, 1917, a request in the form of a circular from the Secretary for Native Affairs (165) to all local authorities to the effect "..... that all monies derived from the Location should be expended on them.....", was replied to by the City Council in the following (164) Dated 5/11/1912.  
165) File No 60 T.C. Dept..

terms:.....".....this Council is in sympathy with the principle that the treatment of Natives should be of a generous nature but that it is pointed out that during the current Municipal year the Council proposes spending on Locations a sum considerably in excess of the anticipated revenue therefrom, and adding that the Council is unable to see its way to commit itself to adopt the principle that all the monies derived from the Locations should be expended on them."

This policy was part of the attitude of the time that the African population was essentially of a temporary nature. The Africans were in the City only to supply the needs of the Europeans, and were not viewed as in any way forming an integral part of the City. It was emphasised in Chapter XII entitled "Control" that the Council has not to this day made up its mind whether or not to view the Locations as administratively part of the City. It is therefore not surprising that its wants have frequently been ignored, and capital reluctantly expended.

The decade 1920 - 1930, was crucial for East London. It was the time of greatest geographic and demographic expansion. The idea of transferring the East Bank Location to the West Bank was given up shortly after its inception in favour of Municipal building for Africans under the 1920 Housing Act. The City Council had become faintly aware of its responsibilities under the new Public Health Act of 1919 and the Urban Areas Act of 1923. The decay saw the erection by Africans of numerous additional rooms to each house in the Location without any corresponding increase in the site rental charge. In 1926 the New Brighton area was added to the Location and divided into sites which increased the income of the Revenue Account by a small amount. Nevertheless it became increasingly difficult to make the Revenue Account

balance. Finally, about 1928 the attempt was abandoned and since that time the grant from the General Rate Account has increased annually. (166) During the 1930's apart from a new Dispensary little new development took place, and the losses on Municipal houses lying empty or from bad debts were considerable. In more recent times expenditure on health services has been a major debit item. (167) The Welsh Report pointed out that expenditure on 'health services for Natives' had increased twelve times between 1943 and 1948. Statistically this is not a fair comparison as items such as tuberculosis and venereal disease clinics had been charged to the Town Account prior to 1943, and were only charged to the Native Revenue Account after that date. Nevertheless, a huge increase in expenditure on health items due largely to increases in staff has taken place. (168) The Commission considered this increase justified.

It would be unjust to consider that the sub-economic scheme of the late 1930's was entirely due to the threat that the Union Health Department would step in and after clearing up the Location present the bill to the Council. The Africans possessed valuable champions in the members of the Native Affairs Committee of the City Council, and the intentions of the Council when it accepted the scheme were undoubtedly sincere and hopeful. On the other hand it is true that the cost of the scheme to the Council would have been small ( $\frac{1}{4}\%$ ) compared to the benefits accruing. In the author's opinion the sub-economic scheme was a valiant effort to overcome the insanitary conditions which had grown increasingly worse since before 1920. It was a partial failure but the intent was honourable and coupled with trading licences represented a marked step in the changed attitude which began about 1923.

166) In 1930 the Amount was £3,500, 1931 £822, 1932 £5,411, 1933 £6,505. Report by the Town Clerk 15/1/35.

167) Page 30 of the Report.

168) Page 32 of the Report.

In the execution of the project, apart from technical difficulties, the Council made resolutions which subsequently proved most costly. The prohibition on site transfers and the building of additional rooms has been dealt with in detail, but the action as a whole must be viewed as part and parcel of a policy to freeze the then existing situation in the face of dynamic and powerful demographic forces. The decision not to carry out the 'expansive' aspects of the Commission's recommendations, the 'spillout' scheme, and the decision to delay finalisation on the use of the Buffalo Flats for expansion were other aspects of the general policy. It is uncertain how long it would have taken to rebuild over the present wood and iron area, but certainly not less than five years had no war intervened and the compensation issue decided. Disregarding any changes that might have occurred in the composition of the population as a result of re-housing, the rate of expansion was such that a difficult problem of homeless persons with <sup>no</sup> ground allotted to them, or requiring early addition to the sub-economic scheme, would have resulted. As the situation was, the decisions of the Council created a position leading to increased overcrowding on a large scale and an increase in the insanitary conditions. In fact, it unconsciously provided the conditions to encourage the trend of deteriorated circumstances which the Thornton Commission condemned. This largely explains the need for increased expenditure on health since 1943. The Council succeeded in confining the Location to the then existing boundary but only at a cost in terms of ill-health, high disease rates, a rising public health bill, diminution of control on the part of the Administration etc. Its actions have created the conditions which led in recent years (169) to the erection of 'shanty towns' on the periphery of Johannesburg.

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169) The author is of opinion that a form of 'shanty town' is already growing up in the back yards and on the country smallholdings of Europeans in Amalinda and the suburbs extending along the railway line towards King Williams Town.

A major handicap to the constructive policy has been the need to call upon experts or to obtain the services of a Commission to advise the Council on the most suitable method of overcoming its human problems. Although the services of professional Medical Officers of Health and City Engineers were obtained before the turn of the century, the officer in control of Africans has never been a professional official. The highly involved process of culture change has been going on in East London since earliest days, and many of the present problems arise out of the adaptation of the African people to a more European way of life. Despite this, the problem has never been viewed by the Council as one requiring the services of a technical person versed in the problems of culture change, 'race' contact and urbanisation. The Council would scarcely consider the construction of a major water conservation scheme without the assistance of a highly qualified technical engineer, yet the construction of an efficient and contented labour supply....let alone a contented African community--- has never been viewed as requiring the assistance of a professional official. Proof of this attitude can be found in the relative salary grade of the Location Superintendent which is three grades lower than the heads of other major departments.

Particular reference should now be paid to two items which have been of major importance in East London, and which throw more light on the attitude of the City Council in regard to Africans and the Locations. They are trading and the Payment of Compensation for dwellings pulled down or demolished.

#### TRADING:

The early requests for trading facilities were influenced by the attitude that the Africans were in East London solely to provide the labour requirements of Europeans. Although trading in wood and other minor items was carried on since before the turn of

the century, the first request for a general dealers Licence appears  
(170)  
to have been in 1908, but the Council replied by prohibiting shops,  
(171)  
trading stations or trading of any nature in the Locations.

A request by the Church Council to permit two general dealers licen-  
-ces, two in the East Bank and one in the West Bank Location, was  
(172)  
refused on the 23rd May, 1916. On the 12th of July, 1922

the Location Advisory Board advised Council to grant a dealers  
licence to cover the sale of candles and matches in the Location,  
but by February, 1923, the reports show that only cafés, fruit  
(173)  
shops and tin smiths were allowed to trade. On 7th April,

1926, Council reaffirmed its decision not to grant a general  
dealers licence. A request for trading sites was again made

by the advisory Board on 6th September, 1927. By 1932 'a  
Native Traders Association(had) existed in the East Bank Location  
(174)  
for some years past" but nothing is recorded about its

activities in the files. In May, 1932, the Council once more  
resolved that "no general trading will be allowed in the Locations,  
and that it only allows Natives to trade in the Locations as fresh  
produce dealers."

The Annual Report on the Locations dated  
23rd December 1936, shows that there were;

eating houses	6	
fresh produce dealer	75	
miscellaneous shops	2	
wood yards	93	in the East Bank,

and in the West Bank Location:

eating houses	1
fresh produce dealers	7
wood yards	7.

In December, 1936, the M.O.H. and the Location Superintendent

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170) Location Superintendent made the suggestion in August, 1908,  
that three general dealers shops be erected by the Council  
and rented to Africans. This proposal was again made in  
1936 and 1947 but was not carried out.

171) *ibid.*

172) File No 80 Town Clerk's Department.

173) Reply by the Location Superintendent to a request for details  
of the Locations from the Town Clerk of Cape Town. Feb. 1923.

174) Report by the Location Superintendent dated 15/9/32.

made a joint report to the Council suggesting that 'three sites with the necessary brick buildings erected thereon should be provided by the City Council for the purpose of general trading and also for conducting butchers shops <sup>(175)</sup> in the East Bank Location and one in the West Bank Location.' The "Daily Dispatch" reports at length the discussion in the Council of this report. Views were expressed pointing out that 'it was now proposed to enable them (the Africans) to sell in the Location anything and everything.... That would affect not only the traders in the North End but also those in Oxford Street. There were probably none of them that did not make some money out of the Natives dealing with them in the way of furniture, clothing and other articles...' On the other hand, other councillors mentioned that "if they compared East London with other towns of the Union or of the Cape Province they would find this was the only large town..... which had refused trading licences to the Coloured and Native people..."; also "Because the Council had refused a right for so long, did that constitute any argument for continuing to refuse it?" Eventually it was agreed to place this item on the next loan schedule where it could come before a meeting of the rate payers. The scheme fell away.

In 1939 the Council lowered the tariff of charges in respect of coffee and fruit shops in the Locations. The Manager reported that "the owner of a coffee shop pays £22.17.0d and the owner of a fruit shop £16.17.0d per annum, which practically precludes them from earning any reasonable living." The above payments refer to the shop tax and site rental combined. "No hawking of any description (was) allowed in either location" by <sup>(176)</sup> 22/9/39.

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175) "Daily Dispatch" 10th december, 1936.

176) Letter from the Town Clerk to an applicant for a hawkers licence.

Finally in 1941, the Council agreed to the principle of allowing a general dealers business in the Location, and since that date general dealers' licences have been granted to those whose premises were in reasonable condition. (177) The first action under the new permission was a recommendation by the Manager on 9th July, 1941, to permit Natives traders to live on premises adjoining their shops. He also suggested the sites on which the six general trading shops should be built. The Native Affairs Committee agreed on 29/7/41, but the facilities have never been provided. In a report to the Public Health Committee of the Council dated 17th June, 1946, the M.O.H. emphasised the difficulties in which the Africans were placed; "The policy of refusing to licence the usual undesirable and unsatisfactory premises proposed by Africans.... leads to hardships....(as) it is impossible to submit any alternative proposal.....The Council does not allow the purchase of ground or the erection of any business building by a Native, and thus far the Council has not undertaken the building of any premises suitable for licencing. The Native is thus of necessity thrown back on his own resources and having no building suitable for licencing resorts to illicit trading." The right to trade was therefore not without strings. This report led directly to further reports from the City Engineer, the Manager of Native Administration and the Medical Officer of Health (178) wherein the estimated cost for

1) butchers shop was	£396
2) fresh produce and general dealers was	£632
3) native eating house was	£598.

The Public Health Committee of the Council on the 14th February, 1947, resolved to defer consideration and asked the Manager to submit a further report on the type of building required. The

Native Affairs Committee on 31/3/47 recommended the erection of  
 177) This permission did not apply to the running of bioscopes which, after repeated requests since the turn of the century, have not been granted on a commercial basis in the Location.  
 178) Vide: Report of the M.O.H. dated 5/2/47 and 17/6/47.

a number of shops on three out of the seven trading sites set aside under the sub-economic building scheme. These shopping facilities have never been built by any authority either public or private. (179) Finally in 1950 plans have been drawn and the loan passed by the Ratepayers for the erection of three blocks of 12 "booths" to cost not more than £3,715.

The most urgent need from a health angle is the provision of butchers shops as at present extensive trade is carried on in most unsanitary and unhygienic conditions. Flies swarm round the meat so thickly that they frequently obscure it from view. The Council is fully aware of this position, and has been so for some years. An attempt at eradicating this means of unhygienic trade was made when the police and other controlling agents were approached to suppress it, but legal opinion suggested that a prosecution could only take place if the sale of the meat was actually witnessed. The Africans scatter on the approach of a white man or a uniformed African, and the policy at best can only lead to further trading in subversive and possibly even more unhygienic ways. The position is clearly one resulting from a lack of facilities.

(2) DEMOLITION AND COMPENSATION.

The City Council was first faced with the problem of condemning dwellings and its consequence on 1st. November, 1923. The Medical Officer of Health informed the Council that he had ordered the vacation of some dwellings as unfit for human habitation under the Public Health Act. The people concerned had nowhere to go other than into the newly constructed Municipal houses on the West Bank. The rental was fixed at 18/- per hut.

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179) Recent rulings under the Native Urban Areas Act preclude Europeans from trading in the locations, thus the responsibility for providing such amenities falls either on the Africans or the Municipality.

In May, 1924, a further 46 houses were condemned in the West Bank Location. (180)

This startled the Africans who immediately made hasty renovations to their buildings, and those whose buildings had had to be vacated asked to rebuild using the materials from the old house. (181) The Bantu Women's League requested the Council to provide money for materials and renovations. The Superintendent replied to them that they need not fear having to vacate their dwellings as no steps would be taken until sufficient accommodation had been erected for them.

The first large scale demands to be paid compensation for dwellings condemned as unfit for habitation under the Public Health Act of 1919, was made by a meeting called by the Vigilance Association on 16th September, 1924. This meeting resolved: "That all dwelling houses that have been condemned by the Medical Officer of Health....and thus the owners have been restricted from renovating same, the Council in consequence of such restriction should make compensation for such dwelling houses to the respective owners as provided under Act 21 of 1923 (Urban Areas Act), or that they be allowed to rebuild such houses." Complaints were raised at the meeting that after being told to vacate, the occupants "had nowhere to go". (182) The Superintendent elaborated this phrase by saying "I think what is intended to be conveyed.....is not so much 'nowhere to go to', as it is being rendered homeless with little prospects of being able to pay rent". He continues by giving examples of cases where this had been the chief objection to moving into a Municipal house. The attitude towards compensation taken up by the Location Superintendent and subsequently the Council was "that when a place is condemned it is valueless" and therefore no payment in respect of the loss of the building to the owner should be paid.

180) File No. 100 Public Health Department.

181) Report of the Location Superintendent, 2/7/24.

182) Report dated 2/9/24.

The owner could use for rebuilding what good material remained, or else be paid out the breakdown value of such material.

Finally, on 20th and 22nd April, 1926, the Medical Officer of Health reported 32 houses in the East Bank Location totally unfit for human habitation and recommended their demolition. This was approved by the Council on 5th May.

No further development took place till 1936, when legal opinion was obtained in respect of Section 18 of the Amendment Act, No. 25 of 1930, to the Urban Areas Act 1923. The <sup>(183)</sup> Opinion centred round whether or not Act 25 of 1930 superseded earlier legislation in regard to condemnation of, vacation of, and compensation for dwellings, and if so, whether the provisions of the Health Act fell away. The opinion emphasised that Section 18 was an optional section in so far as "an urban authority may if its Medical Officer of Health certifies in writing that a dwelling is so dilapidated....."etc. The opinion continues by pointing out that if the Council decides not to act under the Section there is nothing in the Act "which states this Section No. 18 supersedes all pre-existing regulations". Should the Council exercise its powers under the Section then it must comply with the offers of compensation made in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) of the Section i.e. the Council must offer either:

- "(a) Other adequate housing accommodation at the rent and on the conditions prescribed in respect thereof in the same or other location under its control.
- (orb) Subject to the payment by the Local Authority of reasonable compensation to such occupant for the loss (if any) sustained by him as a result of such removal, a site at the rent and on the condition prescribed in respect thereof in the same or other location under control of the Local Authority for the purpose of erecting a dwelling thereon".

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183) Opinion given by Messrs Wiggins and Dalby.

The Council, however, in its orders to evacuate certain houses had acted in accordance with the Public Health Act and Regulations of the Municipal Ordinance of 1912 neither of which were included in the schedule of laws repealed by the Urban Areas Act of 1923 or the Amendment Act of 1930. (184)

It appears that action under the Amendment Act goes further and empowers the Council to pull down the property in question if offers (a) or (b) of Section 18 are made. The legal opinion expressed the view that "In all cases where Demolition of dwellings in the Locations is required, the best method of procedure in our opinion is by carrying out the provisions of Section 18 of Act 25 of 1930. (185)

In the case Rex vs. Noziswe Njoli (186) the Magistrate gave judgment, inter alia, on the use of Section 18 as opposed to the use of Sections 1, 2 and 3 of the Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945. He stated: "I find that Section 3 of the Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945....gave the Minister power to compel a Local Authority to make provision in terms of Section 1, which refers to the provision of accommodation for Native occupation where existing facilities are unsuitable or inadequate. Having regard to the wording of that Section, and to the provisions of Section 1, 3 and 7, it seems to be perfectly clear that Parliament intended the Minister to have the final say in all matters appertaining to the establishment maintenance, removal, curtailment and abolition of Urban Native locations.....In 1930 Section 18 of Act 25 of 1930

184) *ibid.* The Town Clerk's letter of 14/5/36 to the Assistant Native Commissioner stated: "my Council hopes to be in a position later to adopt the procedure laid down by Sect. 18 of Act 25 of 1930".

185) In a report to the Council dated 5/1/37, the M.O.H. emphasised that if Section 18 was followed then demolition would have to be carried out by the Council and not by the owner of the property, which would entail cost. It was perhaps this matter which made the Council decide on restricting the transfer of sites and the building of additions or alteration to existing dwellings in Sept. 1937; and the reduction of the period of lease from two years to one month. In the report the M.O.H. admits that "While notices were served to vacate premises as a whole, in practice the owner has been allowed to remain."

186) East London, 1946.

was enacted and gave a local authority power, where its Medical Officer of Health had issued the necessary certificate in respect of a dwelling, to require the occupants to remove therefrom and to demolish it....The first difference between the two sections which strikes me is the different requirements as to compensation. Where action is taken under Section 3 for the removal, curtailment, or abolition of a Location conditions as to compensation and otherwise fall under the direction of the Minister. Now Section 18 makes no provision for any such directions by the Minister and the Local Authority is required only to pay reasonable compensation for the loss, if any, suffered and to provide alternative accommodation or a site. I am of opinion that the rebuilding or re-construction of a Location in which the existing provision is found to be unsuitable or inadequate for normal requirements must, of necessity, also fall under the Minister's direction..... The second difference which strikes me is that where Section 3 refers to 'the provision made in the area of any urban Local Authority for the needs of Natives ordinarily employed within that area for normal requirements', Section 18 refers to 'a dwelling in any Location or Native Village under its control'. It seems to me that the words referred to in Section 3 mean a whole Location or Village without any limitation such as is found in Section 18 and here I think lies the basic difference in the purpose of the two Sections.....I must come to the conclusion that the two sections were designed to meet different sets of circumstances; Section 3 where a Location or a Village as such was affected and Section 18 where a dwelling or at most a few dwellings in such Location or Village was or were affected.....I come to the conclusion that the East London City Council on being required to make adequate and suitable provision for the Natives in its area, and having decided

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to demolish and reconstruct the East Bank Location for that purpose, can only do so in pursuance of Section 3 of the Act under the watchful eye of the Minister and that an attempt to perform that service using the machinery provided by Section 18 is merely a subterfuge to evade its responsibilities as to compensation".

This judgement, which was against the interests of the Council, was the culmination of prolonged disagreement with the Native Affairs Department. (187) The Council held the view that the "demolition value" of the building was all that need be paid in the way of compensation. (188) This "demolition value" was the value of the materials after the dwelling had been pulled down. The Council was averse to considering the "standing value" or the value of the dwelling as it stood. The Native Affairs Department requested the application of the following formula:-

- (a) The standing value of the dwelling, less the value of its usable materials, plus
- (b) The cost of breaking down the building.
- (c) The cost of transporting the materials referred to in a) as well as the furniture and household effects of the residents concerned, or alternatively the provision by the Council of free transport.
- (d) A sum equivalent to 25% of the standing value of the dwelling in consideration of the inconvenience and expense to which residents are put in removing.
- (e) In the case of residents who do not possess dwellings the cost of transporting their furniture and household effects, if any, or alternatively the provision of free transport by the Council.

The Council viewed this as "founded more upon benevolent than equitable considerations". (189).

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187) vide: Agenda of the Council meeting of 7th August, 1940.

188) vide: Letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs dated 29/6/44.

189) vide: Resolution passed by Council dated 2/8/40.

A further point on which the Council and the Native Affairs Department disagreed was the method of assessing the value of the property. The Council wished to appoint a sworn appraiser. The Department was prepared to accept this if the Africans agreed, but it pointed out that the most favoured method was for both the Council and the Africans through the Advisory Board to appoint an evaluator, and in the event of disagreement an umpire be agreed to between them. At the close of 1944 the Council <sup>(190)</sup> stood out strongly against the Department and voted £500 for the payment of compensation to be debited to the Native Revenue Account. At the same time the Council authorised the Manager of Native Administration to give one month's notice (Section 18 of the 1930 Amendment Act) to the owners of 16 dwellings. The occupants were to be housed in Municipal houses. The Secretary for Native Affairs <sup>(191)</sup> intervened and ordered the action to be stopped. The Council thereupon resolved that a deputation be sent to <sup>(192)</sup> interview the Minister.

By June, 1945, an official valuation of the wood and iron properties in the East Bank Location had been made. The method used was to evaluate "22 Native-owned houses..... which have been certified as unfit for habitation in terms of Section 18(1) of the Native Urban Areas Act" <sup>(193)</sup>. The valuation ranged from a minimum of £15 to a maximum of £110, <sup>(194)</sup> and averaged £51 per house. The Manager remarked:

"The houses in question are situated in a very old portion of the Location and in the majority of cases are inferior to many

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190) Resolution of Council dated 26th October, 1944.

191) Letter and telegram dated 30th November, 1944.

192) The only reference to the fate of this deputation that is readily available is that of the City Treasurer's report dated 5th September, 1945. Vide also P.3. of the judgement given by P.E. Todd in the case Rex vs. Nosizwe Njoli.

193) Meeting of the Native Affairs Committee dated 25/10/45.

194) Report of the Manager, Municipal Native Administration dated 26/6/45.

hundreds of properties of more recent erection which consist of far more valuable materials, and the average valuation quoted above cannot possibly be taken as an average over the whole Location. With these figures as a guide, however, after a rough survey of the houses in the Location, I estimate that the amount of compensation computed on this basis will be approximately £155,000 plus a further amount of £5,000 for costs of demolition, a total of £160,000. However, it was thought that approximately 45% of the compensation awarded could be recovered by the sale of the material. The net costs to the Council would thus be £85,250. The Manager was asked to serve notices on all the lodger occupants of the 22 houses referred to as they could be accommodated in Municipal Houses.

In December, 1945, the Council still held to the "principle of paying compensation to the Natives concerned in respect of the demolition value of the premises concerned" (195)

On 4th February, 1946, the Native Affairs Committee of the Council asked the Manager to proceed with the demolition of the 22 houses in terms of Section 18 of the Act and pay compensation in accordance with the Council's scheme. One of the occupants was Nosizwe Njoli whose case was heard by the Magistrate, P.E. Todd, and decided in her favour. The Magistrate's judgement on the attitude of the Council is most illuminating. On page 3 of his judgement he says: "It is interesting to note that the general attitude of the Native owners has at all times been identical to that of the Secretary for Native Affairs, and it would seem that only the obstinate refusal of the Council to pay the slightest heed to any viewpoint but its own and its fixed determination to adhere to unilateral action in carrying out this undertaking has caused the widespread dissatisfaction now evident".

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195) Letter from the Town Clerk to the National Housing and Planning Commission dated 18/12/45.

The author in dealing with the African people has become aware of a distinct feeling of distrust towards the Council, and the compensation issue has been given as an example of why no faith is placed in the Council. There is little doubt that the attitude of the Council over compensation has been a major contributory cause of this lack of faith.

The last major occasion on which the compensation issue was discussed was on 18th May, 1946, when the Council met the Chief Native Commissioner, the Director of Housing and the Inspector of Urban locations. The matter had not been reintroduced prior to receiving the Welsh Report. The need for expansion to unoccupied ground is necessary, and for this reason a firm of town planners has been called in to advise, but if the existing East Bank Location is to be improved at all, it is essential that the Council does not take the easy path of utilising unoccupied land and shelve the compensation issue still further. It has been prone to do so in the past, and its attitude has not, according to the Magistrate in the Njoli case, been the most considerate of the African's point of view.

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196) The Magistrate in the Njoli case said: "It seems that the Council, even at this early stage (1940), boggled at the thought of paying out compensation for existing Native-owned houses under the direction of the Minister and the decision to use unoccupied land undoubtedly put off the evil day".

CHAPTER XVI.1.ATTITUDES AND POLICIES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE.The Governing Authority:

Unlike the European population who can express their desires in electing a constituted body like the City Council, the African people have no constituted body which is representative of them all. The Location Advisory Board does not represent more than a small fraction of the total population at any one time, and instances can be cited where the Board's decision has been at variance with the wishes of the people as expressed at a mass meeting. The Board has only advisory powers and therefore cannot be compared with the policy and regulation making City Council. The African people are essentially the subjects of instructions and laws, and have no powers of self government or of governing any other ethnic group. Therefore, it is not unnatural that the nature of their attitudes and policies should have been centred around objections to the policies of the governing authority. Further, in view of the limited privileges granted the Africans, e.g. no general dealers licences until recent years; the inability to own land and hence constantly being subject to a theoretical, if not practical, insecurity of tenure; the low wage scale and the general lack of educational and instructive facilities; etc. it is not surprising that through their own efforts they have not built a village or town in any way comparable to the European area. (197)

The history of their attitude towards the Council is one of objections to Council policy and of asking to be granted further privileges and opportunities to develop themselves. This does not imply a bellicose or even a hostile attitude, but rather one of quiet submission with vociferous objections at public meetings called by various associations.

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( 197 ) An example is the proclamation under Section 10 of the 1923 Urban Areas Act, Board and public meetings held in 1933.

Although there has been no actual point blank refusal to carry out the requirements of the regulations there has been a tendency to disregard them especially in connection with permits and passes, building of additional rooms to existing houses, and particularly the brewing of kaffir beer.

By far the greatest proportion of convictions in local courts have been for contravention of liquor and beer regulations, followed by pass and permit regulations, while relatively very few administrative or legal actions have taken place in pursuance of the building regulations. It is not suggested that the regulations have been disregarded intentionally, although in many cases they may have been breached consciously, but rather as a result of economic pressure, or of the wish (198) to increase income as in the case of the building regulations.

(ii) BEER BREWING: Since earliest times the efforts of the Council to control the brewing and consumption of kaffir beer have been resented by the majority of Africans. While the consumption of European highly intoxicating liquors has been condemned by the upper strata of African society and the churches, sympathy has not been so manifest with efforts to control kaffir beer consumption. The latter has been and is still viewed as a national beverage and in view of its low alcoholic content and high food value does not prove harmful to those who consume it. The files contain frequent reports (199) of thousands of gallons of kaffir beer having been destroyed. Until 1946 the brewing and consumption of kaffir beer was totally prohibited yet it has always been made and consumed despite constant police and administrative action. It is significant that even when the Council possessed the theoretical monopoly of brewing the beverage, and attempted to go so far as to

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198) Vide P. 204

199) In 1938 the files report that 21,512 gallons were destroyed in one month. File No. 80.

prohibit the sale or possession of sprouted grain in 1939, the practice of home-brewing continued.

In August 1908 a deputation was organised by Dr. W.B. Rubusana to object to the monopoly by Chinese and Indians of the washing trade. Washing had been a means of adding to the African's family income and during the 1908 depression the drying up of this source was a serious blow. Dr. Rubusana pointed out that the Africans had taken to brewing kaffir beer to get money to pay their rent. He considered that "That is one of the greatest causes for brewing kaffir-beer, to get money to pay their rent, because they have no work". The possibility of a correlation between depressed years and the incidence of beer brewing is further emphasized by a report of the Superintendent in 1906. He pointed out that during 1906, which was a depressed year, the location had not grown much larger, and continued:- "Kaffir beer, as reported from time to time, has been largely brewed, when compared with the previous years".

1905 was undoubtedly a prosperous year as the Mayor's Minutes indicate.<sup>(200)</sup> There is thus some evidence to suggest a correlation of these phenomena in the earlier years of the century, but there is no evidence to suggest an unusual increase in beer brewing in the 1922 and 1930 depressions. It appears evident, however, that beer brewing is intimately connected with the financial circumstances of the Africans, and therefore must not be viewed solely as a social phenomenon, or one emanating solely from immoral causes. This fact suggests an answer to the continued resistance of the Africans to the monopoly by the Council held in 1938-1945. In December

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200) Mayor's Minutes for the year 1906.

1941 the Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee considered the opposition to the monopoly "chiefly due, no doubt to the influence of women who were deriving a handsome income from the illicit sale of beer".

(iii) SOCIAL CLASS:

Although the attitude towards beer and beer brewing is almost generally one of sympathy, the same cannot be said for other sources of income. There appears to have been a class structure in the social organisation of the Africans for many years. The files and Mayor's Minutes refer to "An upper class" of Africans often referring to the more educated and professional group, as opposed to the more migrant and less educated group. There is, however, a third distinct classification comprising several house owners or small taxi owners. This is a commercial group who do not enter employment with a European but work often on their own account. They frequently live on their income from rents received from tenants, and some degree of charging above the controlled price in the location shops is suspected. The general attitude towards this group is difficult to gauge, although it is certain that some shops are known for high prices, and the word is passed around among friends to that effect. The African generally has no scruples about doing down another African if he is no relation, and some members of the professional class are not above high handed deals. If the business is lucrative then little concern is felt for its ethics.

Although this attitude appears to be general, there remains a very different attitude to relatives. The  
(201)  
Medical Officer of Health in his Annual Report mentions the impoverishment suffered by families as a result of putting up migrant persons and visitors from the country areas.

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The hospitable attitude of Africans to relatives is well-known to Social Anthropologists, and the same principle is carried over to urban life. It is extended in the form of generous loans of money to relatives when unemployed or in need of extra money. There is a tendency which the author has noticed, but no evidence is available from files, that the care of aged relatives is sometimes overlooked, and the custom may be falling into disuse as far as these are concerned. This tendency was noted when interviewing applicants for entry into the Aged & Destitute Home. Its causes may be the reluctance of children to lend to aged parents knowing they can never be in a position to repay, and the general break up of the clan and even family organisation and obligations.

(iv) SOCIAL INSECURITY:

The fact that Africans generally, and particularly the aged, have a deep sense of social insecurity, has led them to dislike living in Municipally built houses. There is no possibility of owning these houses even after living in them and paying rent for thirty or forty years. At meetings it is frequent to hear a spokesman mention this fact and continue by pointing out that at old age, when too old to work, the rent per month for a two-roomed building is more than his monthly old age pension. He is aggrieved to think that he will be turned out of that house in old age owing to his inability to pay rent. Africans also prefer the African-owned houses as they can easily postpone paying rent if they become ill or some misfortune befalls them. There is little fear of being ejected as might be the case in a Municipally built house.

In the 1930 depression numerous municipal houses were un-  
 (202)  
 occupied, and the Africans preferred to live in an African

owned house, knowing that they would not so readily be ejected on default with the rent.

This factor explains the reason for the popularity of the Home Ownership Scheme on a free-hold or 99 year lease basis. The African is disappointed to find, however, that a rental amounting to £1.2.6.p.m. must be paid to cover services and development costs. His problem is once more how to pay this amount when too old to work and in the absence of pensions of reasonable value. In the initial stages of discussions on this scheme the Africans viewed the rental as an injustice and pointed out that Europeans did not pay it. They had no idea that Europeans had to pay rates which usually greatly exceeded £1.2.6. per month, and that if they were granted freehold tenure they too would be required to pay 2½d in the pound general rate and 1d in the pound health rate. The author has frequently met with considerable ignorance on the part of Africans of what the European has to pay in the way of rents, rates and taxes generally.

(v) ATTITUDE TO EUROPEANS:

To some measure, the African views the European as living a relatively free and financially unencumbered existence with no heavy financial obligations. He is aware that prices for commodities generally are the same for both ethnic groups and the African quickly learns the auction system of buying on the Municipal market. He is not aware, however, of the less conspicuous forms of expenditure such as rates and taxes, insurances, professional and particularly medical fees, etc. When explained to him, the desire for equal treatment in all respects is not reduced however, and this attitude profoundly influences the attitude towards all schemes of reconstruction or change. One of the Africans' first considerations when

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discussing any project is to ask whether or not it applies to Europeans as well, and what the factors of discrimination are. It is this attitude which, besides the discomfort of nightly police raids, contributes extensively to the hatred of the Pass Laws and other discriminatory regulations. The author has found it beneficial when introducing any scheme or project to the African people, to spend a considerable time on explaining how it works, or has been carried out, amongst Europeans. This explanation tends to reduce the resistance to and suspicion of the suggestions by a marked degree.

In broader terms, the African has become suspicious of the European. In the author's experience there is a profound distrust by the Natives of a European working amongst the African people. Only when well-known, and his motives have been tested and found to be in sympathy with the aspirations of the African people, is he trusted to the slightest degree. The first notion of the African is that any European male doing any work whatever in the locations is a plain clothed detective which raises a familiar chain of resistences and reluctance to co-operate in the African either personally or as a group. This factor requires a considerable amount of time and tact to dispel. It would not apply to a person appointed to a familiar post in Native Administration such as the Manager or his staff where the duties are clearly defined and known by the Africans, but to a new post such as a Social Worker, a considerable degree of suspicion and lack of co-operation has first to be overcome.

The attitude of non-co-operation with officials or any European enquiry from an African is now being extended to a general attitude on an organised scale. In very recent times the African National Congress has recommended a policy

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of non-co-operation wherever discrimination is manifest. In East London there appears to have been a hardening of attitude towards European government in so far as an influential group now expounds the point of view that rather than accepting half measures as a compromise, refuse to accept an offer in toto. This attitude was evident during the discussion on the proposed Home Ownership scheme by the Advisory Board in March, 1950. The Council had offered a 99 year lease of land to Africans, but the Minister of Native Affairs favoured only a 30 year lease with option of renewal (the latter option was only inserted in August 1950, and was not mentioned in the earlier discussions). During the earlier discussions the Board stood out for freehold tenure or nothing. Even a thirty year lease is a considerable step as compared with the monthly tenancy at present in vogue, and, coupled with suitable compensation clauses, there was little the Africans could fear from the Scheme.

This example is given to illustrate the hardening, or perhaps even the change, of attitude in very recent times. In the past East London has possessed men willing to stand on street corners and denounce Europeans and European Government, but their efforts have not been made practical through any legally recognised channel as was the example above. Two successful strikes were organised in 1922 and 1930 by the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union under Mr. Clemens Kadalie who is now a resident of East London. (203) The files contain some accounts of speeches made from time to time to denounce the European group, but for the first time the attitude has taken the form of organised non-cooperation. The intended one day strike of July, 1950, failed in East London, but the Advisory Board has already acted. The future trend of these attitudes and their success will be an interesting study for future years.

P A R T 2.

A SOCIAL SURVEY CARRIED OUT IN THE

DUNCAN VILLAGE (EAST BANK LOCATION)

EAST LONDON. JUNE AND JULY, 1949.

Chapter XVIII. THE NATURE OF THE SURVEY.

(1)

The possible value of a social survey in the Duncan Village was envisaged by two separate bodies.

- (a) The Municipal Council of the City of East London realised that additional information regarding the composition and nature of the African<sup>(2)</sup> and Coloured<sup>(3)</sup> population in its location would be of value in rehabilitation schemes.
- (b) The Social Science Department of Rhodes University College felt that its research projects should include East London. The author's appointment by the City Council of East London in the capacity of Social Worker (Locations) made this possible.

Thus the survey had to lend itself to practical and utilitarian considerations. The greatest need in East London was a suitable housing plan. Due to the paucity of existing data on any particular subject, it was not feasible to concentrate on one aspect of this problem such as the rent structure or family structure. The survey had to include such vitally influencing factors as migration, the degree of "urbanity" or "rurality" of the population, the income of households, overcrowding etc.<sup>(4)</sup> Its primary object was to give a statement of the socio-economic circumstances of the people living in the wood and iron structures in the East Bank Location. It therefore had a definite and limited object, although the matters with which it was concerned were varied.

- 1) A.F. Wells in "The Social Surveys in Great Britain" P.13 defines a social survey as "a fact finding study, dealing chiefly with working class poverty and with the nature and problems of the community".
- 2) African: refers to the indigenous, Bantu peoples, chiefly composed of AmaXhosa and AmaFingo tribes.
- 3) Coloured: refers to the group of people of neither true Bantu nor European origin, but a group of mixed Bantu, European, Hottentot, Asiatic and other ethnic groups which have inter-married.
- 4) See in particular "Estimating Housing Needs" Alexander Block P.12. for the value of socio-economic aspects as opposed to demographic factors.

B). THE NATURE OF THE PEOPLE STUDIED.

The population of Duncan Village as provided in the 1946 National Census was: African 10,198 males, 9,391 females; Total 19,589. Coloured 488 males, 518 females: Total (5) 1,006. This figure for Africans is probably an under-estimate. It is estimated that 25,000 Africans were living in the location during the time of the survey. (6) The figure for Coloureds is approximately correct. The Coloured community tends to live in a locality of its own, on the North-Eastern periphery of the area. There are some scattered elsewhere. As a whole they do not represent more than a small minority. There is a small amount of inter-marriage between Coloureds and Africans, where the male tends to be the Coloured partner. This is not very marked, however. The Coloured community tends to be more settled and urbanised than does the African taken as a whole. The Coloureds' interests are more akin to those of the European than are the Africans. This does not mean that his standard of living is markedly different, although this is possibly the case when viewed generally, and is certainly so when compared with the lower income groups of Africans.

There is a marked difference between the economic classes of Africans living in the same geographical area. (7) Broadly defined, there is one group comprising teachers, ministers, and the professional class generally, and wealthy traders; a second comprising the less well-to-do, semi-educated (Standard VII to Matriculation) and usually permanently resident in the location; thirdly, the group of unskilled labour which is often migratory, unsettled, and living on a

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5) vide: Chapter II

6) This estimate is calculated from the weekly returns of the 'Lice Searchers', found in the Office of the Location Health Inspector, Duncan Village, and is reasonably accurate.

7) The fact that quite markedly different economic and social classes live in close proximity to each other and have close contact with one another has had an influence on class attitudes which is worthy of prolonged and intensive study.

bare subsistence level. Geographically these groups live intermingled one with the other, and no particular areas has developed for any special class.

A good description of the customs and day-to-day relations of some of the people has been provided by Prof. (8) Monica Wilson. The book was written from the social anthropological point of view. It is regretted that no study has been made in more recent times to throw light on changes that have taken place between 1936 and 1949.

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8) "Reaction to Conquest" Monica Hunter P.459 f. published 1936.

SECTION A. THE PRELIMINARY WORK.Chapter XLX. THE METHODOLOGY OF THE SURVEY.(i) African Suspicion.

The method employed was the questionnaire <sup>(9)</sup>, a copy of which appears in Appendix D. Once this method had been decided on it was essential that time be spent warning the Africans that such an investigation was to take place. Africans frequently become alarmed at having to divulge information, as they fear that it will sooner or later be used to their detriment. This feeling is most marked, and would have made the survey impossible if allowed to interfere excessively with it. For this reason the confidence of the Africans had first to be obtained.

During the first two weeks in March, 1949, an investigation was made to enquire into the reaction of Africans to enquiries by a European into migration, income and social conditions. <sup>(10)</sup> It was noted that they tended to lose their fear when informed that the author was a social worker amongst the Africans working for the Public Health and Social Welfare Department of the Municipality. The fact that the initials

C.E.L. (City of East London).  
P.H.D. (Public Health Department)

were printed on the car convinced them that it had nothing to do with the police. They then made enquiries as to what was wanted. On being informed that the author was interested in housing, rehousing, and social matters they took an immediate interest in his ideas. When some knowledge of Xhosa was shown the relationship changed from one of enquiry

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9) For the validity of the questionnaire in general see "Social Surveys" D. Caradog Jones P.193.

10) Non-controlled participant observation - ("Scientific Social Surveys and Research" Young P.122) was out of the question due to the difference of skin colour between the Africans and the author. This method was used extensively by Charles Booth in London; Nels Anderson "The Hobo" and in Lynds "Middletown".

to one of friendship and interest, and it became clear that answers to questions would be reasonably truthful. They made continued enquiries as to why it was necessary to know how many children they had and what were their ages. When informed that it made a difference to the number of rooms in each house that may be built, they understood easily and often entered into a long description of their present, often overcrowded conditions. Some suspicion was aroused when asked where their home area <sup>(11)</sup> was, and this may have been due to the fact that at that time a rumour was circulating to the effect that a large number of migrant Africans would be repatriated to their homes due to the influx of this group to the larger urban areas, including East London.

After having spent a good deal of time walking through the location and chatting to many Africans en route about their daily problems <sup>(12)</sup> and always trying to adopt a sympathetic and understanding attitude, and never an official one, the author eventually became quite well-known, and to be talked about amongst themselves. After a time Africans came up in the street and asked to be informed what was intended to be done. This often led to interesting discussions on social matters generally, and enabled an assessment to be made of the nature and extent of the suspicion that was likely to jeopardise the survey.

(ii) Mass Methods.

It was soon realised that although efforts to overcome the suspicion were meeting with some success, they would not go very far. Some method of getting at the people as a whole

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11) "Home area": is the place where migrant persons still have their relatives, and where they often own property. It is usually in the Ciskeian and Transkeian Native Reserves.

12) See "Scientific Social Surveys & Research" Young P.122. for the value of external observations, especially in connection with "Russion-Town".

and not individually would have to be used if any hope of getting co-operation before the end of June was to be achieved. In view of this a combined meeting of African teachers in the location was addressed. After the purpose of the intended survey, who was to do it, and the benefits to be derived from it, had all been explained, they were asked to inform as many of their friends and pupils of the scheme as possible, and in this way to spread the news abroad. After some considerable discussion of the point, and some very searching questions being put on frequently irrelevant matters, the majority agreed to assist in this way. A minority said they were scared to tell many people lest the police raid their houses in search of illegal immigrants to the urban area,<sup>(13)</sup> and the people blame the teachers for the raid. After further discussion they pledged their support unanimously.

On March 25th a gathering of the principal Ministers of Religion was addressed. All the major churches in the Location but two were represented. Less scepticism was found than amongst the teachers. They agreed to tell their congregations of the scheme the following Sunday, and to announce that a public meeting was to be held in the Peacock Hall to discuss the matter.

This meeting was attended by about 120 persons, mostly elderly men. With the aid of an interpreter they were informed of the survey, who would carry it out, and its advantages. After innumerable questions and some debate, they agreed to it, and to tell their friends. On this occasion the links provided to make the survey practical and of use to the Africans was the necessity to know facts about the African people in East London to enable a housing scheme to be devised, and hence reduce the incidence of tuberculosis and disease. The relationship between bad housing, overcrowding, and tuberculosis was well-known by them and was grasped easily.

13) Illegal in terms of Proclamations under the Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945.

(iii) First Pilot Survey.

During this time the questionnaire was being drawn up. After all supposedly relevant questions had been written down, they were grouped according to headings: Plot, family, work and income, and migration. Two households, taken at random, were then visited, and it was found that several alterations and additions had to be made to clarify the information received, and to account for unforeseen incidentals. Prof. J. Irving sent two copies of the questionnaire used in Grahamstown for a similar survey. A number of the questions in the Grahamstown survey were found to be useful and did not appear in the one being attempted in East London. These questions were added, and a whole sub-heading, "sleeping rooms" was introduced. The revised questionnaire was then tried out in the location on two more houses. On this occasion some four more questions were introduced, while the question "How many distinct family groups are living on the plot?" was discarded. This question was felt to be redundant.

The revised questionnaire was then sent to Prof. Irving for his comment.

Prof. M. Wilson provided two questions that had proved useful during a survey at Broken Hill, N. Rhodesia. They were:- "When did you get your first work in town?" and "What proportion of time have you spent in town and in the country since?". After experimentation with these questions it was decided not to include them as the Africans tended to be unable to answer the first question and suggested that the

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14) Plot: is an area of ground usually 40 ft. x 40ft. or 50ft x 50ft. and may contain several rooms and several households.

14a) Household: Is any group of related or unrelated persons sharing a room or rooms who recognise some form of social relationship making them a homogenous social entity while living there. See also "Estimating Housing Needs" Alexander Block P.l.l.f.

15) Survey of "Housing survey of non-European locations" 1948.

16) See "Economics of Detribalisation in Broken Hill" Godfrey Wilson - Rhodes Livingstone Papers.

information could be got from the files of the Native Labour Registration office. The second question bewildered them and took an excessive time for them to work out, which tended to bore them, and inclined them to guess. In this connection it was felt that questions relating to their connections in the home area i.e. animals owned there, relatives living there etc. would provide an indication of the degree of rurality or urbanity more readily than the two questions suggested, although other important information relating to the proportion of time spent in town and country would be lost for the time being.

(17)

(iv) Second Pilot Survey.

A new draft of the questionnaire was drawn up, and ten copies made. At this time the intention was to include the 628 Municipally owned, brick houses, and the questionnaire included questions on this group. This was subsequently dropped as it was feared that the students would not be able to do them as well as a representative sample of the old wood and iron buildings which were the main centre of investigation.

On April 8th and 9th two plots containing 6 and 4 rooms respectively were attempted. This included ten households. As a result, the following questions were found to be of doubtful value and were marked for special attention during subsequent experiments.

(1) "Do you sleep with the windows wide open.....open.... or closed.....?" The answer to this was often "Well, when the weather is cold I close them, when hot I open them". Some remarked that the fear of robbery and intrusion at night made it wiser to keep them closed. An answer could more

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17) The questions were not pressed because a special survey of African Labour histories in East London had been planned and such questions could more easily be incorporated there.

readily be obtained by walking through the location at night on warm and cold nights. The question might prove valuable in an intensive survey connected with the incidence of tuberculosis.

(2) "How often do you go visiting friends in the country at week-ends" The answers received were usually "rarely" or "not often", even in those cases where the home was within 20 miles of the City.

(3) "What do you do on Sundays? (rest, visit friends, go to football etc.) The usual answer was "wander about", or "go to church" or "rest".

(4) "What time do you leave to go to work". The Africans seemed not to know the answer, and confused it with the time to get up.

(5) "What do you do when you get home from work?". The answer was invariably "walk around" or "rest", and such question seemed unsuitable. The above questions were asked during experiments with these copies, but were subsequently dropped.

After these ten questionnaires had been completed, the answers were examined from the point of view of what results were forthcoming, and if any additional questions were required to provide the results expected. It was decided to completely redraft the questions under "Family". The Old draft did not conform to the multiplicity of variation that was found to exist in the households visited. The decision was made to rely more on the intelligence of the students to describe the particular household structure he/she was visiting. The results show that the students wrote notes to this effect with some degree of success. The decision to break up the questions relating to the household into two parts was made

at this time. Formerly questions relating to a family and

19) Family: is a man, woman, and dependent children. The man and woman may not necessarily have been 'married', or the children be biologically related to both of the spouses but must be to one.

to non-related social groups (or related but not by marriage i.e. two sisters) had not been clearly differentiated on the form. In addition it was decided that the following questions either served no useful purpose or were too qualitative or obscure, and were omitted from further questionnaires.

- (1) "How is refuse disposed of?" The answer is always "in a dead-box", or thrown into the street". These are the only possible ways as none is burnt by the people themselves.
- (2) "Are there signs of refuse lying about?" The answer is always "yes" except when a street cleaner has gone by within half an hour.
- (3) "How old was your husband/wife when he/she was first married?" Other questions covered this point.
- (4) "Where is your chief?" The reply was invariably the same as to the question "Where is your father's kraal" The Manager, Native Administration, was sometimes referred to as 'Chief' by those recognising no African chief.
- (5) "When do you get home from work?"
- (6) "What time do you go to bed?"

(v) Third Pilot Survey.

4 On experimentation with the newly drafted questionnaire, of which 10 copies were made, it was found that not only did it take a shorter time to do, and reduced considerably the boredom that respondents had tended to show on previous occasions, but the results were quicker to pick out for correlation purposes. The questionnaire generally tended to be clearer and more wieldy. The item of greatest difficulty was still the ages and sexes of children. <sup>(20)</sup> Ages in particular were difficult to obtain with any degree of accuracy.

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20) vide: S.A.J.E. March 1948 on Births and Marriages.

(vi) African Resistance.

During this experimentation period it became apparent that on visiting parts of the location where fewer efforts had been made to gain the confidence of the people a degree of suspicion still remained. Many women refused to answer the questions on the grounds that their husbands were away at work, and this sort of thing had nothing to do with them. It was suggested that if the Council would appoint a number of headmen some of this reluctance to divulge information without the husband's consent would disappear, if the headmen's approval had first been obtained. As no headmen existed this suggestion was worthless. The majority of people had still not heard of the intended arrival of the students or of the scheme generally. On more than one occasion it was suggested that an African interpreter who "could tell us everything" should be employed. If possible the interpreter was to be a well-known elderly man. This phrase was not interpreted to mean that the author could not express himself in Xhosa, but rather that if a respected personality known to the African was employed, there would be more opportunity to ask questions and discuss it at length. For this purpose just such a person was found, and the method (21) tried. It soon became quite obvious that the time needed by this method would have made it impossible and it was dropped. It was not uncommon for a whole morning to be spent discussing it with a household of ten people.

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21) This was the method used by M. Hunter during her work in the same area. "Reaction to Conquest" P. 438.

B. THE SAMPLE:

During April and May attention had been paid to the problem of ensuring that a representative sample of the whole area was chosen. A note had been made of the length of time taken to obtain information from each household. Approximately half an hour was found to be most frequent. This was necessary to know the approximate number of plots that the students would be able to cover. It was thought that 500 plots would be the maximum. The survey results show that 408 were done <sup>(22)</sup> but the work on some of these was so poor and uncertain that the figure was reduced to 375 by doing away with the most uncertain and unreliable. In all there are 1,678 plots with buildings on, although some of these are taken up by shops, schools and churches. The number of plots containing dwelling rooms only is unknown, but approximates 1,575. The possibility of taking every third plot (500 x 3 = 1500) was investigated, but was turned down because 20 of the 23 students were women and care had to be taken that they were not molested in any way. Also it was essential that adequate supervision of their work by means of regular visits to them during their interviews, and by ensuring that they were carrying out the work correctly, was maintained. These requirements made the possibility of taking every third plot unwieldy, as it would have meant the students were spread over 69 plots at any one time, and hence some considerable distance apart. Some alternative had to be found.

After obtaining a map of the whole area with the names of streets and the numbers of plots printed thereon<sup>N</sup>, the Municipal Tuberculosis Register was obtained, and the incidence

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22) The shortfall of 92 plots is in part accounted for by the assumption at the time that the students would work on Saturday mornings. During the survey, however, it was felt that the risk of them working during that time was too great, and it was dropped.

of recorded Tuberculosis since 1st July, 1943 was marked on  
 each plot.<sup>(23)</sup> The plots were then grouped according to  
 blocks.<sup>(24)</sup> The arithmetic average for the incidence of  
 tuberculosis per block was then calculated. The result  
 showed a considerable difference in the mean incidence of  
 tuberculosis over the location,<sup>(25)</sup> Some areas had a  
 definitely higher or lower mean than others.

On discovering this phenomenon an inspection of the  
 area was made to observe if the conditions of the houses, the  
 density of houses per plot etc. varied in sympathy with the  
 varying tuberculosis mean.<sup>(26)</sup> They were found to agree  
 remarkably closely.<sup>(27)</sup> In general it may be stated that  
 from inspection in loco the areas of greatest density both for  
 houses and persons was the area with the highest mean incidence  
 of tuberculosis per plot, and vice versa. The living condi-  
 tions appeared to be in direct relation to the tuberculosis  
 incidence. To further corroborate this phenomenon a visit  
 was paid to the Manager, Native Administration, during which  
 he was asked to point out the worst areas.<sup>(28)</sup> The areas  
 indicated closely corroborated the original finding. A  
 further visit was made to the Sergeant in Command of the East  
 Bank Location Police Station during which he was asked to  
 point out the highest, medium and lowest crime rate areas.  
 Unfortunately no statistics appeared to be readily available,  
 so a general indication on a map was made. This again showed  
 a close correlation with existing fact and opinion. Further  
 proof of the health standard of the area was obtained from  
 the Location Health Inspector who also substantiated the  
 opinions already expressed.

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- 23) For valuable assistance in this field I am indebted to  
 Mrs. E.E. Birch, the Municipal Tuberculosis Health Visitor.  
 24) Block: is an irregular number of plots, never less than  
 four nor more than 30, usually surrounded on all sides by  
 a road, and oblong in shape. It usually contains 12 to 20 plots.  
 25) For details of this calculation and the method of reduction  
 to 500 plots see Appendix C.  
 26) See "Standard of Living Rated from Observation". E.L. Kirk-  
 patrick. American Journal of Sociology 1933-1934 P. 360.  
 27) Ibid.  
 28) 'worst' in terms of living conditions & difficulty of admin.

This appeared to be satisfactory proof that the mean tuberculosis incidence per block could be used as a method of selecting a representative sample. At the same time it would enable the students to work together at any one time as they would all be working on adjacent plots or the same block. This was the method adopted and it worked very conveniently in practice.

After having worked out the mean incidence of the disease per block for the location, the blocks were grouped according to intervals of .25 cases per plot. The frequency per interval i.e. the number of plots per interval, was then calculated and divided by three as it was estimated that the students would cover one-third of the whole. The resulting figure per interval was then noted. On a map of the area showing the average incidence per block, the calculated figure per interval that the students could cover was distributed in as widely scattered and representative geographic proportion of the whole as possible. This helped to distribute the sample as evenly as possible over the whole location area.

The method was used to good effect when taken as a guide, and was left sufficiently flexible to suit the difficulties of practical application. In general, the students did those blocks which had been allocated in this way, although cases of others not determined by this method, but by a decision made at the time on the spot by the author or by the student did occur. In general, however, the method proved very successful. The shortfall between the 500 plots expected and the 375 achieved does not mean that an area of the location was omitted, but rather that scattered individual plots were omitted. The whole sample area chosen was investigated, but not as thoroughly as expected on the first instance.

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29) For further argument on this method of sampling see  
Appendix D.C

C. ADDITIONAL SURVEY OF INCOMES.

By May 10th experience had shown that the inaccuracy of the results regarding the incomes of adult males in employment was so great, as to render this section of the work very uncertain. Often a woman did not know her husbands' income as he never told her, or even if she did she was loath to divulge it without his permission. Moreover, neighbours had an unpleasant habit of coming into the room in which the questions were being asked. They were inquisitive, but it had the effect of embarrassing the respondent and causing possible errors, It was not thought wise to prevent neighbours from listening as the success of the survey largely depended on the number of people who would coöperate and who knew about it.

To obtain a check on incomes three weeks were spent interviewing employers of African labour. In the first instance a visit was made to the Union Department of Labour in the City to see if use could be made of wage determinations, or if the Department had statistics of the kind readily to hand. It was found that nothing suitable was available, and that the multifarious wages paid under each determination made any reasonable use of this method quite out of the question. Some employers also pay a wage higher than that laid down in the determination, and no real method other than door to door visits to employers would possibly provide the required information.

A letter was written to the local Chamber of Industry and Chamber of Commerce, and to the Trades and Labour Council to explain the reasons for the enquiry, and asking for their members coöperation. This proved a valuable introduction to the

employers from whom the greatest degree of coöperation was forth-

31) Wage Determination as established under the Wage Act No 44 of 1937 as amended.

32) vide: Commission of Enquiry Report. East London. p.38.

coming. In addition, the S. A. Railways and Harbours, Government Departments generally and the Municipal Departments provided the necessary information.

Besides interviewing the majority of the members of the Chamber of Commerce, The Retailers Council and some of the smaller industries in the City, a door to door visit was made down both sides of Oxford Street from its junction with Kimberley Road to the North and Fleet Street to the South. The three blocks of buildings between Fleet St. and Caxton St., Caxton St. and Terminus St., Terminus St. and Union St. on the Western side of Oxford St. were interviewed. The Colosseum Building was also included. This is the most densely built up area in the City.

At a later date further information was obtained from the larger industries, and these figures have been included in the Table appearing in Appendix D. . The table covers 8,700 male Africans, and, in addition, a small table of female incomes. That reflecting females was, however, worthless, as almost every business employs a female to scrub floors once or twice a week. It is not customary for Xhosa males to scrub floors, and especially the door ways leading to the street or other public places. So strict is this custom that when a man is seen doing it by other (33) Xhosa he is privately informed that if he continues he will be stoned as punishment. Firms employing females for this work do so on a casual basis. The woman works for a limited number of hours a week. She then goes to the next business, then to the next and so on. Few businesses knew who else their own servant worked for. Hence it was impossible to assess one workers income. When a female is employed full time (other than in domestic service) her wage is fixed by the appropriate determination under the Wage Act and is frequently on the same

33) No attempt is made to use the correct prefix for tribal names, languages, or number of tribes.

rate as males. Hence females are employed only when the nature of the work gives them an advantage over the males.

Those firms employing varying amounts of labour each week were asked to provide their figure for the week May 15th to 21st inclusive, as a standard week for both wage and number employed. To avoid complications with unemployment insurances, cost of living allowances and other additions and deductions, the amount the African actually took home with him was asked for in each case. Rations were valued according to the stipulations of the Wage Act. The wage scale includes the basic salary and the cost of living allowance. The cost of living index for April was standing at 152.6 with the average for the year 1938 at base 100 (Retail).  
(34)  
The index rose to approximately 154 during May

There is a small error in the male wage scale as it represents the total number of Africans employed by the S.A. Railways and Harbours in East London and most of the Government Departments, and the total for the Municipality, but not all commerce and industry is included. Hence the total figures are not strictly representative of the City as a whole.  
(35)  
The exact number of Africans working in the City is unknown, and so also is the proportion between each type of employer. i.e. government, industry, commerce, etc.. No mention is made of domestic servants of which there are approximately 10,000. The majority are female.

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34) The application of the cost of living index as issued by government is of doubtful value as it does not include many of the foods customarily consumed by Africans.

35) The error favours the upper income groups at the expense of the lower, but is believed to be insignificantly small.

D. FINAL PREPARATIONS.

On June 16th a vigorous campaign of propaganda was started in the Location. The area chosen for the campaign conformed to the areas chosen for the Survey on the tuberculosis rate principle. These visits also served as a further check on the areas to ensure they were more or less similar to the areas around them. The area was first of all closely inspected to ascertain its representativeness, and then as many of the inhabitants of the block as possible were gathered in a vacant space or street corner. This was sometimes carried out after 5 p.m. when the men had returned from work, but as it was almost dark by this time it was later abandoned. When asked to attend this gathering the majority agreed with enthusiasm, those who refused were ignored. At these gatherings, held at frequent intervals throughout the Location, groups of often over 100 persons were addressed. With the use of an interpreter the following points were made: why the Survey was necessary, and the possibilities of new housing schemes; the nature of the people who would be coming to carry it out; the fact that the major political parties and the Joint Location Advisory Board, the Ministers of Religion and the teachers had all agreed to it; the essential fact that no names of persons would be asked for so that illegal immigrants and tax offenders would have no fear; replies to questions must be truthful as lies would have serious effects on the African people themselves through interfering with calculations with housing requirements, and that those who heard the address were to tell their husbands of the Survey, so that nobody could say they could not give the information because their husbands did not know about it; also, those present were to tell their friends and warn them. Questions were asked after the talk. Special emphasis was placed on the fact that no names would be asked for,

and that the truth must be told.

After having addressed a locality on one day, the following morning was spent in wandering about the area addressed the day before. This was essential to ensure that no false rumours were circulating and to clear up any points that might have come up while discussing it amongst themselves the previous evening. Many questions were asked during these re-visits, and on one occasion two women asked if it was really true that the intention was to pull down the existing houses before building the new. During discussions amongst Africans after they had been addressed, a tendency to divide into opposing camps was noticed. A few were sceptical of the motive of the Survey, while the majority pledged their support. Arguments between these groups often arose, and care was taken by the author to expose any arguments against the Survey, and persuade the sceptics to agree to its value and implications. This called for tact and patience in debate as any attempt to hurry away to another area was taken as a sign of weakness. By the end the majority of sceptics had joined the other camp.

Arrangements for the accommodation of the students and the paper requirements were attended to. The number of copies ordered were 550 of the form dealing with the plots (page 1 of the questionnaire), 4,000 copies marked 'family', 4,000 marked 'details of sleeping rooms', and 12,500 copies of the migration form. This proved to be an over-estimate by about a quarter. The forms were collected into bundles of approximately 6 'family' and 'details of sleeping rooms' and 20 migration for each one dealing with a plot. They were clamped together with a removeable wire clip, and proved a convenient size to handle. Students carried two or three with them, and when interviewing a plot with more than six households took extra forms from spare copies.

Chapter X X.THE SURVEY ITSELF.

The students arrived on Friday, 24th June. On Saturday 25th, a meeting was called to discuss the questionnaire. It was pointed out that the structure of the plots was such that each usually contained four to eight rooms, and each room usually contained a household. Thus four to eight 'family' and 'sleeping rooms' were to be filled in for those plots i.e. one for each household. The number of migration forms used depended on the number of adults over 16 years of age in each household. The first page of the questionnaire described the plot as a whole, and the squared sheet following was for a foundation plan of all the buildings on the plot.

In addition, each question <sup>was</sup> discussed and its exact meaning explained. The students were warned that Africans tend to disregard babies in arms when listing their children. Other peculiarities of this nature were also explained. <sup>(36)</sup> The students were instructed to treat a household as they found it at the time of the visit and to disregard the assertion by Africans that they were only 'visiting' or 'staying for one night'. Thus some genuine visitors were included in the sample, but these assertions by Africans were usually only an excuse for illegal entry, and the people were usually staying for a longer period. The mobility between place and place during the time of the Survey was negligible, and it is doubtful if one person was included more than one, once.

Details of transport arrangements from town to the Location were explained, as well as the programme of entertainments for the students. The dates of lectures on sociological topics relating to East London were also agreed to.

36) Many of the peculiarities were found in "Reaction to Conquest" M. Hunter. P. 459f.

The first work in the location was carried out on the morning of Monday 27th June, in the predominantly Coloured area. It was hoped that the students would more easily become acquainted with the questionnaire if they had not the language difficulty to contend with. All but one of them spoke both English and Afrikaans. The speed with which the sample dealing with Coloured people was completed as compared with the sudden slowing down when the predominantly African area was met, shows that some difficulty with Xhosa was experienced. Four interpreters were used at this stage, but the general idea was to find an African on the plot being interviewed who spoke English or Afrikaans, and borrow his services during the interview. This method proved successful in general, and the interpreters were used on plots where nobody spoke either of the European languages.

It is felt, however, that if the services of six or eight interpreters had been obtained a larger number of plots could have been covered as some delay resulted from having to wait for an interpreter on some occasions. The students complained of the language difficulty, but owing to limitations of finance little could be done at that stage. On frequent occasions students mentioned the fact that when asked if an African spoke English or Afrikaans, the reply was "no". However, after some tactful handling it was sometimes found that the African had a good working knowledge. This is probably part of the suspicious attitude adopted to any enquiry carried out by Europeans, and the fact that it was frequently overcome speaks well of the tact and perseverance of the students. It is also an indication of the effects of the propaganda methods employed prior to the commencement of the survey.

There is evidence to suggest that the propaganda was reasonably effective. On many occasions Africans wanted to

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know why they were being missed out when they fell outside the sample area. A study of the results, and the comments of the students at the time, show that the number of Africans who refused to give information was extremely small. Note was taken of whether or not the ease with which information was obtained improved as the survey progressed. An improvement would be due to improved technique of investigation on the part of the students, or to a spread of the fact that the survey was actually being carried out, on the part of the Africans. Undoubtedly an improvement was noticeable in this regard, but its cause could not be determined, although it is definite that the students did improve with experience.

(i) Incidents of Group Non-co-operation.

On the whole the co-operation of the Africans was good. Isolated incidents of group non-co-operation were met.

On one occasion the author was called away and the students continued on their own. On returning, some half an hour later, it was found that almost every student was looking for a plot that would co-operate. Numerous Africans were strolling around in the street, locking their room doors, or fleeing to the bush. Immediately a meeting was called in the middle of the street and every African in sight was summoned to attend. After some hesitation this was achieved. After having enquired how many present had heard the address made to them some few days before, and finding the number to be quite large, they were asked why then had they become scared? They said that the students had entered the street in a line about eight deep, with others straggling behind, and this had scared them; some had given the warning pass work of trouble. Before the students could get to work all doors were locked, and the people completely non-co-operative.

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The opportunity to introduce the students to them was taken, and some of the best results of all were obtained from this area. This is an example of the extremely tactful approach that was required.

Following on the results obtained from introducing the students to the people as described above, an experiment was made in the same thing some two days later, in one of the worst areas of the location. The students and the author walked together to the centre of the area to be studied, and all the houses in the district were called upon to come and meet them. When walking to the area a number of Africans had seen our approach, and when asked to meet the students they simply refused. Difficulty was experienced in getting the students into any of the rooms even on an individual basis. On the whole if a student approached a house alone, or two or three students a whole area, they were made welcome, but a group of 23 students raised antagonisms and fears not otherwise introduced. This fact was observed on all subsequent occasions. When moving from one area to another only a short distance away, the party moved in small groups at irregular intervals.

The group attitudes are interesting because the author was well-known to the inhabitants of both the areas, and the Africans must have recognised him as the person who addressed them only a few days before. They knew the nature of the author's work in the Municipality. In the one case the students arrived in a group without the author, and the fear set in, but on his arrival, and the Africans persuaded to gather to hear an address, the fear disappeared. On the other occasion, the author arrived with the students and no amount of persuasion or command would entice them to meet the students as a group. It is possible that the locality and

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social conditions are an influencing factor, but there is no very marked difference in the social conditions of the two areas. Both have one of the highest tuberculosis incidences per plot. <sup>(37)</sup> It is regrettable that further investigation in this field falls outside the scope of this thesis.

On three occasions, elderly, married African women refused to tell the women students the facts required, on the grounds that the students were too young, and were unmarried, i.e. they were 'iintombi'. As soon as this was reported an interpreter or the author obtained the information, but only after some difficulty as other excuses were then concocted. The information was marked "doubtful" and was checked again after a week had elapsed to allow any incorrect answers to be forgotten. It appeared that their answers were correct in the first instance however.

An unexpected difficulty arose in the areas of the location with the poorest social conditions. A number of respondents wanted to be paid for giving the information and were most annoyed when it was refused. This did not occur in the better areas. The request was, of course, not granted. Some then refused point blank to provide the answers. On such occasions the household was ignored. Others agreed to co-operate when they learnt that the students were not being paid for their work, and that the work was entirely for the good of the Africans. The incidence of this phenomenon was rare, however, and probably amounted to less than 3% of households interviewed.

(ii) Co-ordination.

The author's function in the operation of the questionnaire

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37) The incidence in the first case was 4.22 T.B. cases per plot, and in the second 4.66 cases per plot.

was co-ordination. The duties were to move from one student to another, helping them with difficulties, introducing them to a new plot on completion of an old, and generally trying to win the co-operation of the people. When co-operation appeared to be somewhat difficult to obtain, a large packet of sweets was bought which was distributed to children as publically as possibly, without being ostentatious. This proved very efficacious.

(iii) Checking the Data.

When the students had covered the sample area, one and a half working days remained, and this was utilised by going back over the ground they had already covered and checking on the data they had obtained during the first visit. Although many of the plots remained unchanged, some valuable additions and corrections were obtained.

The students concluded their work at 4.30. on July 6th. Thereafter the author and Mr. Mbewu worked every evening in the location obtaining information from the men on their return from work. In addition two plots from each students' work were chosen, and a return visit to the plot was made to check on every question asked by the student. As a result, the work of three students was queried, and all the plots done by these were re-examined. On completion it was decided to scrap entirely the work of one student.

The work of the two other students was corrected. On the whole, however, the standard of accuracy was found to be very high, although there were some questions that had been missed regularly by one or two students. The work of checking data and adding working males was discontinued on July, 26th. Besides weekdays, work on this continued on Saturday afternoons, and on Sunday mornings, as a large number of Africans were at home during these times.

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The work was stopped on this date because it is known that there is a considerable exodus out of the locations during August and September as Africans return during these months to home areas to prepare for spring ploughing. (38)

SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS:

Before leaving some students were asked to criticise the questionnaire. The following difficulties were met and suggestions made:-

(1) Difficulty was found in obtaining the name of the 'owner' of the plot. (39) The questions asking for the name and address of the owner of the plot should be asked each householder and not just once for the plot as a whole. Often one person on a plot knows the address of the owner, but it may not be the one answering the questions on the plot, i.e. P.1 of the questionnaire.

(2) The question on landlords and 'owners' should include one related to substitutes, as the students were informed that the 'owner' was often away, and a substitute acting in his place.

(3) There was insufficient space to reply to some questions as the form on the "Family" was cramped. The whole form was too involved and more questions should be asked, rather than leaving it to the initiative of the student to sort out and record correctly the household structure.

(4) Question 4 of the "Family" dealing with how a person was married should be asked in two parts. First, 'Are you married at all, or are you living as a sweetheart', and secondly, 'How were you married?'

(5) The sequence of questions on the "Family form were difficult, and it was suggested that questions relating to age

38) ibid.

39) No plot is owned by Africans as all the ground belongs to the Municipality, only the house on it is the African's property. See Race Relations "Survey on Urban and Rural Areas" Vo. XIV No. 2. 1947 P.26.f.

should come first.

(6) To help assess age more correctly every student should be given a list of historical incidents and their dates. Notable incidents suggested were the influenza and typhus epidemics, the wars, rindepest invasion, and visits of royalty.

(7) A questions should be asked concerning the length of stay of any 'lodgers' or 'strangers' in the house, as many respondents said they were staying 'only one night'. Also a question on the number of visitors who sleep with them per month should be asked.

(8) The number of mattresses and sleeping mats in a room might be asked as a check on the number of occupants in the room.

(9) A question on the income from Kaffir-beer brewing should be included.

(10) The question on education on the "Migration" form should come first as it provides the student with some knowledge of the type of person being dealt with.

(11) The unemployed should be asked how long they have been unemployed and how much they received per week when last working.

(12) The rate of pay should not be asked for in months, but in weeks. All students were agreed that no improvements could be made in the execution of the questionnaire other than that more interpreters should have been used.

An unexpected interfering phenomenon was the colour consciousness of some of the location dogs. When Europeans were seen or smelt they became vicious which they did not for Africans. One student was nastily bitten, and was indisposed for four working days.

SYNOPSIS:

In general the methodological aim was to devise firstly a way of overcoming the suspicions of the African people; secondly, to devise a questionnaire that would be sufficiently comprehensive, yet concise enough to be worked with easily and speedily, and yet not become ambiguous; thirdly, to execute the questionnaire in a way least likely to arouse the group fears and suspicions of the Africans, and yet be subject to the requirements of physical safety for woman students; fourthly, to make the sample as representative as possible; and fifthly, to check on the work regarding its accuracy and thoroughness by as many means as possible. In this way it was hoped the method would be adequate to provide the desired results, both from the point of view of quantity, and quality in accuracy and precision. It is believed that this was achieved.

Chapter XXI. THE PERSONNEL OF THE SURVEY.The Students:

All the students were undergraduates. Twenty were women, and three were men. Eighteen of them were reading for the Bachelor of Arts, Social Science degree, and the remainder for the Bachelor of Arts degree. In order of academic standing one was a third year, seven were second years, and fifteen were first year students. Those studying for the B.A.S.S. degree carried out the survey as a practical for their degree, and the remaining five were volunteers.

Attention was paid to their morale as it was clear that some disheartenment at the monotony and the filthy conditions of the location would tend to reduce the quality of their work. They were entertained by the Mayor and Councillors, and as much freedom of action to enjoy themselves was permitted, subject to the usual chaperonage and hours of the University. On the whole their morale was good throughout. They worked hard and thoroughly.

The Interpreters:

These consisted of three of the Location Learner Health Assistants of the Public Health Department, and the author's interpreter-clerk. Their home language was Xhosa, but all were fluent in English, and had taken English as a subject in the Junior Certificate Examination. Before working with the students care was taken to ensure that each properly understood the questions, and each had previously carried out an investigation of one plot in the author's presence to ensure accuracy of interpretation.

Their suggestions for the wording of some questions proved valuable.

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The Clerks:

The Clerks who helped in the correlation and sorting of the data were given concise instructions as to accuracy, objectivity and preconception. Wherever doubt about a particular answer arose the question was often checked in the Location or where this was not possible it was marked as 'unknown' or 'not traced'. Not only mathematical checks but the re-doing of sections of the work was carried out to obviate clerical errors.

SECTION B. THE RESULTS AND STUDY OF THE DATA.Chapter XXI.1. THE SAMPLE.

In all, the students and subsequent visits obtained data from 375 plots, made up as follows:-

Table 10.

Plots x Rooms.	Total Number of rooms. X	Total number visited. X	% of Rooms Visited.
1 x 1	1	1	100
21 x 2	42	39	92.8
28 x 3	84	66	78.5
59 x 4	236	180	76.2
45 x 5	225	157	69.7
92 x 6	552	331	59.9
47 x 7	329	245	74.4
35 x 8	280	159	56.7
22 x 9	198	104	52.5
13 x 10	130	73	56.1
5 x 11	55	25	45.4
4 x 12	48	27	56.2
1 x 13	13	6	46.1
1 x 14	14	7	50.0
1 x 15	15	12	80.0
375	2222	1432	64.4

This shows that 64.4% of the possible number of rooms on the 375 plots were studied. There is a tendency for plots having fewer rooms to be studied most thoroughly. This is due to the fact that plots having numerous rooms tend to contain migrant and working persons more often than plots containing only a few rooms. Hence it is probable that the inhabitants of multi-roomed plots would be at work more often than those of few roomed plots, and hence would not so readily be included in the survey. This factor might lend some bias towards the urban group rather than the migrant group. The average percentage of rooms studied for plots containing less than nine

X Correlation coefficient between these is .7966 plus/minus .0636.

42) This fact is due to the tendency of house owners with large properties to turn the property into a type of flats, while small house owners tend to take in more personal friends.

rooms, and excluding the plot containing one room is 72.5%, while the same figure for plots containing more than eight rooms is 55.2%. The relative proportion of plots to each percentage is 327 to 47, which would tend to reduce considerably the weighted influence of the low percentage of 55.2% for plots having more than eight rooms. It is significant that the correlation coefficient for the plots studied vis a vis the possible number that could be studied is .7966 plus/minus .0636. This coefficient is certainly significant. In view of this it does not appear probably that the influence of this bias is marked, and for practical purposes may be disregarded.

The sample covered in all 1698 males and 1887 females or a total of 3585 persons. Of these, 330 males and 281 females under 16 years of age were not living in the area covered by the survey. Reference was made to an additional 269 adult persons about whom only very scanty and probably unreliable information could be gained. <sup>(45)</sup> For purposes of calculation these persons have been omitted, only in 42 cases of the 269 is reference made to the fact that they were living in the location at the time of the Survey.

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43) On checking on these persons after the students had left, no information about them was available, and it seemed that nobody knew them. It is suspected that some were persons not lawfully resident in the location.

Chapter XXIII. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION.(i) The 14 and Under Age Group.

Definite information about the age and sex of children of 14 years and under was obtained from 791 males and 805 females i.e. 1596 children. Of these 461 were males and 524 were females i.e. 985 children, were actually living in the East Bank Location. The difference of 611 children or 38.7% is accounted for by those living in the rural areas, but whose parents <sup>(44)</sup> were in East London. The children of unattached <sup>(45)</sup> migrant males were not included.

Table 11 below is the age and sex distribution of all the children mentioned in the survey, whether in the East Bank Location or the country area.

Ages	Male	Female	Total
0 - 4	397	409	806
5 - 9	205	219	424
10 - 14	189	177	366

In yearly groupings there is a large fall off from 152 to 65 for males and 140 to 70 for females between the first and second twelve months of life. The high infantile mortality rate has already been remarked upon. There being no corresponding table in the 1946 Census, no comparison is possible. The sex ratio is 1 : 1.02 male to female, which is approaching the biologically probable.

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- 44) Parents in this particular case refers to a household of male and female living together who may or may not be officially married, but one of whom has children in the country; it also includes a lonely woman with no male support who had children in the country. It does not include the children of 'unattached' migrant male however.
- 45) "Unattached" indicates that the males had neither female nor children with them in the city, although they may have such in the country.

Table 12 below is the age and sex grouping of children actually living in Duncan Village.

AGE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
0 - 4	228	267	495
5 - 9	128	141	269
10 - 14	105	116	221
	461	524	985

In yearly groupings there is a marked fall off from 95 to 36 in males and 93 to 47 in females between the first and second years of life. This shows a fall of 55% for both sexes combined.

The sex ratio of male to female is 1 : 1.14 in the Survey and 1 : 1.13 in the Census. Sex discrepancy may be a result of biological selection but is most probably related to the phenomenon common among the population to send their children to the home area to be brought up.

A comparison of the percentages in the three quinquennial age groups of the Survey with percentage in the same age groups of the 1946 Census reveals that

Table 13.

AGE	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	Survey	Census	Survey	Census	Survey	Census
0 - 4	49%	45%	51%	42%	50%	43%
5 - 9	28%	30%	27%	31%	28%	31%
10 - 14	23%	25%	22%	27%	22%	26%

As far as males are concerned, the survey and census broadly agree. The survey suggests an increase of 4% in the 0 - 4 age group. This is possible in view of the fact that the census was taken in 1946 following the years of highest infant mortality in the city. On the other hand, the proportion in the two older age groups has fallen by 2% in each case.

With regard to females there is a difference of 9%. Should infant mortality be the deciding factor, then this is possible as the survival rate of females is higher than males, which is reflected in the table. The Survey shows a reduction of 4% & 5% for the older age groups, part of which may be accounted for by the increase of 9% in the 0 - 4 group and its influence on the other proportions.

It is difficult to determine whether the increase in the 0 - 4 group in the Survey is the cause of the lower percentages in the two older groups or vice versa. The author knows of no cause which might be an influence other than the reduced infantile mortality rate between 1946 and 1949. The comparisons, if one accepts the infant mortality hypothesis, do show that the sample of children is adequate and compares with the census data covering the "entire" <sup>(46)</sup> population. There is also the fact that the Survey data includes a small number of Coloureds which is not reflected in the Census data. The number of Coloureds is, however, small and not really significant.

(ii) The 14 - 19 Age Group.

This semi-productive age group is singled out for emphasis in view of recent growth. Table 4 (Part 1) shows the increase in the proportion of this group between 1936 and 1946. The Survey showed there to be 99 males and 144 females in the group. The number of females in this group is large compared to males, especially in comparison with the numbers shown in Table 11 (Part 2). The Survey suggests there to be an excess of males in this age group. This phenomenon may be associated with the migration to the Johannesburg mines about this age and with the circumcision ceremonies which are also a characteristic of the age group. It is also in agreement with the Census data in that a disparity is shown between the sexes

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46) Vide: Chapter II.

in favour of females. It appears to have been evident since 1936 only and largely as a result of an influx of females.

iii) The Adult Age Group.

Table 14 below, shows the adult sex and age distribution of the sample:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total.</u>
20 - 24	109	188	297
25 - 29	165	193	358
30 - 34	117	128	245
35 - 39	153	131	284
40 - 44	82	81	163
45 - 49	71	71	142
50 - 54	38	49	87
55 - 59	31	32	63
60 - 64	20	29	49
65 - 69	12	20	32
70 plus.	10	16	26
	<u>808</u>	<u>938</u>	<u>1746</u>

The predominance of females over males is in part due to the fact that the Survey is biased towards females owing to the males being away at work during the time the interviewing was taking place. Thus although most females were visibly accounted for, not all males were. This might lend a bias in favour of females as some males may not have been mentioned during questioning. Nevertheless, the 1946 National Census reveals that over all ages there were 484 more African females than males, and 153 of these were in the 20 - 70 plus age group. Therefore the Census shows a slight tendency for there to be more adult females than males, but not to the extent indicated by the Survey. The author is of opinion that the Survey has exaggerated the tendency due to the known error mentioned above.

Table 14 above shows the age group with greatest frequency for females is 25 - 29 which the census data supports. However, the frequencies do not fall off 'in more or less regular amounts to old age'. There is a sudden fall off in the 40 - 44 age group, the census, however, shows a similar tendency but not quite to the extent shown by the Survey. In fact, the Survey and

census show similar tendencies in these respects throughout the older age groups.

The Table shows the greatest frequency for males to be in the 25 - 29 age group, although the 35 - 39 age group is almost as large. In this regard, also, the apex of the figures follows the 1946 census closely.

In conclusion it appears that the sex and age composition of the population has not changed markedly since 1946. In all major characteristics the Survey agrees with the Census data, although minor differences in certain ratios occur due to the bias towards females resulting from the time the questionnaire was used.

The relative distribution of persons over various tribal groups is as follows: (16 years and over)

Table 15.

Tribal group	Males	Females	Ratio	Totals	% of total.
			M : F.		
Coloured	108	126	1:1.17	234	12.2
Xhosa	530	448	1: .91	978	51.1
Fingo	260	335	1:1.28	595	31.1
Masuto	26	38	1:1.47	64	3.3
Baca	12	13		25	1.3
Others	9	9		18	.9
	<u>945</u>	<u>969</u>		<u>1914</u>	

Unknown 2.

An unusual feature of this table is the markedly greater number of Xhosa males to females and Fingo females to males. A preponderance of Xhosa males might be explained by the migratory factor tending to give a bias to males, but that does not explain why the Fingo males do not show the same tendency. It is commonly known that the Xhosa people regard the Fingo people as 'inferior', and hence there is likelihood that some Fingo males/ . . . themselves Xhosa when strictly they were Fingo'. This might not apply so strongly to females as it is quite in order for a Xhosa male to marry a Fingo female, but not so socially acceptable for a Fingo male to marry a Xhosa female although it does in fact occur. If this is not the explanation, then it may be a subject for further research to enquire as to whether the Fingo males in a rural area do not migrate so readily as females, or if they do, do they come to East London or go elsewhere?

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47) The Fingo were at one time the servants of the Xhosa people and were introduced into the Colony in large numbers during the 1856 Kaffir War.

Chapter XX.V.      THE COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS.

Of the 1423 rooms investigated information as to the nature of the occupants was obtained from 1386 of them. The difference is made up of shops, churches, and those of which the relationship of the occupants was unknown, or where two rooms were occupied by one household.

			(48)
Of the 1386 rooms	5	contained two families in one room,	
	444	" a family,	
	33	" a family plus related children (or adopted, under 16 years).	
	216	" a family and other adults, usually related but not necessarily so.	
	102	" two or more males living together.	
	586	" other mixed persons, often not related or of the same sex, and did not contain a family as defined.	

Expressed in per centages:

.4%	dual families
32.0%	a family
2.4%	a family plus related or adopted children
15.7%	a family and other adults.
7.3%	two or more males living together.
42.2%	other types of 'mixed persons'.

As each of the first four groups contain a family, it may be concluded that there are 703 families. This represents 50.5% of the total. In other words, just over half the rooms contained a family, and the remainder contained what might be described as 'mixed persons' or 'non-family households'. (49) The 216 cases containing a family and other adults (over 16 years of age) are those where a relative or lodger are staying with a family.

Table 16 below shows the frequency of children per family of 449 families mentioned above. (all children under 16 years of age)

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48) Family: as defined on page 126.

49) Non-Family household or Mixed persons are households which do not contain a family. They comprise chiefly migrant males, or women without husbands, but who may have children.

Type of Family	Frequency	%	Cumulative Frequency of Children.
Man, woman & no children	123	27.4	
" " & 1 child	142	31.7	142
" " & 2 children	81	18.0	304
" " & 3 children	56	12.5	472
" " & 4 children	27	6.0	580
" " & 5 children	9		625
" " & 6 children	8	others	673
" " & 7 children	2	4.4	687
" " & 9 children	1		696
	<u>449</u>		

Unknown 5.

This table suggests that 77.1% of the families have less than three children. Out of a total of 449 families i.e. 898 adults, there are 696 children. The population appears not to be reproducing itself. (50) An influencing factor is the tendency to send children to rural areas. Page 150, showed that of all the children accounted for, 38.7% were not living in Duncan Village. On this assumption, then 38.7% of 696 children i.e. 180 were living away. On this basis then, 696 plus 180 i.e. 876 should be involved. This, however, still indicated that the population is not reproducing itself. There are obvious possibilities that may be the cause.

- a) The number of adults with no children is out of proportion with the number of families, and hence the number of adults is unusually large.
- b) There may be a tendency for those families classified as having adults staying with them to have a larger proportion of children to adults than families without additional adults, and also the number of children classified under 'mixed persons' may be unusually large.
- c) Parents may not have informed students of all children in the home area, and hence created a considerable inaccuracy in this regard. All the above factors may be operating singly or in combination.

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50) vide: "Negro Harlem; an Ecological Study" E. Franklin Frazer in "American Journal of Sociology" July, 1937.

Table 16 above, takes no account of whether persons living together as man and wife have been 'married'. Hence the group (51) of man, woman and no children includes those persons now living as man and wife, but who are only doing so temporarily. Many will break from the union whenever it suits them. Hence it is possible that the frequency of 123 couples with no children does over-emphasise the number of adults to children.

Table 17 below is the frequency of children in families containing additional adults.

No. of adults	Number of Children.							
	0.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
3	33	40	24	20	5	2	1	
4	13	17	11	7	4			1
5	3	3	4	1				
6	1	1	1	1	2			
7		1						
	50	61	41	29	11	2	1	1

Hence there are	50	cases of a man, woman and	0	children.
"	"	"	61	" " " " " " 1 child.
"	"	"	41	" " " " " " 2 children.
"	"	"	29	" " " " " " 3 "
"	"	"	11	" " " " " " 4 "
"	"	"	2	" " " " " " 5 "
"	"	is	1	" " " " " " 6 "
"	"	is	1	" " " " " " 7 "
			<u>216</u>	

In all there are 297 children to 196 pairs of parents i.e. 392 adults. On the assumption that 38.7% of the children are in the home area, the ratio becomes 374 children to 392 parental adults. This population also appears not to be reproducing itself, and hence does not appear to be playing a role under (b) above.

Table 18 below, is the number of adults to the number of children in rooms containing mixed persons:

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51) This term here refers to marriage by Christian or civil rite as well as Native customary unions.

No. of Adults.	No. of Children.								No. of cases.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	
1	28	29	18	13	9	3	2	1	103
2	22	22	9	10	2				65
3	14	11	12	2	1				40
4	8	8	2	2		2			22
5	2	2	1						5
6	1								1
	75	72	42	27	12	5	2	1	236

Hence there are 565 children to 472 adults. It is possibly too uncertain to assume that in this case 38.7% of the children were away in the home area. The fact that these children are staying with only one parent may influence the decision to send children in a way unknown to the Survey. (52)

In general it appears that in households, excluding families as defined, the ratio of children to parental adults is approximately 1635 to 1762 or 1:1.08 and thus also appears not to be reproducing itself. More involved factors than those mentioned may be operating.

Table 19 below, showing the proportion of families having suffered the loss of dead children may throw light on this matter, but it must be born in mind that a) the number of families with no children is known to be unusually high and b) not all the children in the home area can be accounted for. It is unfortunate that the accurate ascertainment of the influence of these factors is impossible. Nevertheless the infantile mortality rate for Africans in East London for the past ten years (1st July, 1938 to 30th June, 1948) averages 529.6 per 1,000, and the African birth and death rates for the same period averages 26.65 and 34.0 per 1,000 respectively. (53) This evidence supports the view that the African households in East London are not reproducing themselves. (54) A birth rate of 26.65 per 1,000 is under normal conditions

reproducing itself with ease. The only conclusion that can be (52) vide P. 209.

53) Dr Sinclair-Smith, M.O.H. East London, Memorandum Submitted to the Commission of Enquiry into Native Administration, East London. 1949.

54) 'Normal' might be considered as that of the Europeans.

drawn is that the social environment is such as to tend towards annihilation.

Table 19 below reflects the ratio of 'children alive to children dead in 260 families who have suffered such a loss. The 260 families mentioned are part of a sample of 500 families taken at random. Hence 52% of the families had suffered such a loss. The children are less than 11 years of age, and include those who died both in Duncan Village and the home area.

No. of children living per family	No. Dead.													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
0	5	4	2	2					1					
1	19	10	5	6	2	1		1		2				
2	20	18	12	6		4	1					1		
3	19	13	11	8	6	1								
4	7	14	4	3	2		1	1	2					
5	6	7	4	3	3	1		1	1					
6	3	1	3											
7	3	1		1		1	1							
8			2		1									
9		1												

This shows that 55 or 20% had the same number dead as alive; 115 or 47% had more children alive than they had dead; and 90 or 34.7% had more children dead than alive. It is to be noted that one family had no children alive, but 14 dead. In all (55) 737 children were alive and 700 dead or a ratio of 1.05 : 1.

55) For notes on a method of utilising some of the data of this chapter in a practical manner, see Appendix E.

Chapter XXVI. THE MARRIAGE STRUCTURE.

The existence of a numerical preponderance of males in the 35-39 and 40-44 age groups has been shown by the Survey and the Census data, and has an interesting repercussion on the marriage structure.

Table 20. below shows the differential "marriage" <sup>(56)</sup> ages between the sexes:

Male Ages	YOUNGER							SAME	OLDER	
	35	30	25	Years. 20	15	10	5		5	15
15-20								1		
21-25							10	14	1	
26-30						8	45	29		
31-35					4	21	27	9	1	
36-40				4	16	31	31	21	3	
41-45			3	3	8	21	15			
46-50			2	6	7	15	11	7	1	1
51-55			1	1	7	5	12	1		
56-60	1	2		3	2	9	3	1		
61-65	1	1			5	3	1			
66 plus		1	1	3	1	3	3	3		
Total	2	4	7	20	50	116	158	86	6	1
%	.44	.88	1.54	4.4	11.0	25.5	34.5	18.9	1.32	.22

The age column of males is on the left, and the top horizontal column is the number of years younger or older the woman is to the man. It appears that over all ages 44.2% of the males "marry" women of six or more years their younger; 18.6% "marry" women 11 or more years their younger. <sup>(57)</sup>

56) "Marriage" here refers to all kinds of union, and temporary casual unions.

57) See "The Age Factor in marriage - A Philadelphia Study" - James H.S. Bossard. American Journal of Sociology Vol. 38 1932 - 1933. P. 543. for comparative figures.

Table 21 below is the percentage of males in ten yearly groupings who "marry" women six or more years younger than themselves.

Age Groupings Males	6 - 11 years%	11 & more years %
15-25	-	-
21-30	7.4	-
26-35	22.9	2.8
31-40	45.2	21.4
36-45	55.1	21.8
41-50	65.0	29.0
46-55	57.3	31.8
51-60	64.6	35.4
56-65	84.4	46.9
61 & over	73.0	50.0

It thus appears that, in general, the older the male the more likelihood there is of him "marrying" a woman considerably younger than himself. <sup>(58)</sup> This factor partly accounts for the preponderance of females in the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups.

The problem remains, what of the women in the older age groups? There is no marked tendency towards polygamy, and that factor is not operating. Of the sample of 450 "Marriage" here studied, 403 stated they had been married by some rite, and 47 admitted having been through no rite at all. The figure of 403 marriages by a rite is, however, extremely doubtful as the reliability of the answers to questions of this sort is low. It is possible, in fact probable, that a portion of the older women are living as prostitutes, beer-brewers and she-been queens in Duncan Village and other areas. <sup>(59)</sup> Research carried out in the rural area of Keiskamma Hoek, some 80 odd miles from East London, shows that of a sample of 285 households in the area 117 or 41% were without a male head.

58) Ibid p. 346. The author says: "As men grow older, they tend to marry women increasingly younger than themselves."

59) Article entitled: "Population structure of a Ciskei Native Reserve" D. Hobart Houghton. S.A. Journal Of Economics. September, 1949.

The following table shows the distribution of the sample:

Table 22.

<u>Ages</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Under 10 years	264	263
Over 10 and under 20	218	215
" 20 " " 30	59	128
" 30 " " 40	71	105
" 40 " " 50	59	85
" 50 " " 60	38	36
" 60 " " 70	33	53
" 70 years	32	37
	774	922

This shows there are 15.1% more females of 30 years and over than there are males. Proof of the existence of this fact at Keiskamma Hoek enables the tentative deduction to be made that a portion of these age groups of females are in the rural areas, and have left the City. This is in agreement with the fact that some of the males in Duncan Village have forsaken their wives in the rural areas, and have "married" a woman in the city, and intend to live with her and disregard their obligations in the rural area altogether. (60)

The practical implications of this discrepancy in the marriage ages of the sexes are that (a) in the future a large numbers of widows and children will be living in the urban area. It is doubtful whether such people would migrate back to the rural area as the children would have been born in the city, and know only a city life, and (b) as the children marry, a large number of aged females, living probably on very small incomes and pensions, may be expected, and would materially influence a long term rehabilitation scheme.

The discussion further brings into relief the problem of providing for the unmarried and newly married male. Unfortunately no accurate data is to hand concerning the ages at which Xhosa males tend to marry in the cities, but the question in East London is highly involved owing to the

competition of young eligible men with the older men marrying

60) Obtained by talking with males in Duncan Village while carrying out other work in the area.

females of a younger age group. It is possible, in fact probable, that the number of females in the younger age groups is adequate for all males in any age group, and this may be an influencing factor in the immigration of this female group in recent times. If this is so, and those males who marry females of their own age group continue to live in the urban area, then the problem of housing this group will increase in sympathy. The only safe way of gauging the phenomenon is to have a similar survey in five to eight years time if no official records such as marriage certificates etc. reflect the situation.

The survey provides some information concerning the ages at which women had their first child. Unfortunately, the ages of Africans are so uncertain that the probable inaccuracy of the table makes it worthless for absolute purposes, but trends may be noted.

Table 23.            Ages of Females on having First Child.

<u>Age</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
15 and under	30
15.1 - 16	25
16.1 - 17	25
17.1 - 18	50
18.1 - 19	36
19.1 - 20	62
20.1 - 21	35
21.1 - 22	33
22.1 - 23	31
23.1 - 24	24
24.1 - 25	22
25.1 - 26	19
26.1 - 27	5
27.1 - 28	13
28.1 - 29	9
29.1 - 30	7
30.1 - 35	12
35.1 - 40	7
plus 40	4
	449

Average 21.98.

The table includes women whose children are born out of wedlock and this in part accounts for the relatively large number of women of 15 years and under who have children. The table shows that 228 or 50.8% were under 20 years of age; 145 or 32.3%

between 20 and 25 years; and 53 or 11.8% between 25 and 30 years.

On the assumption that children are born about a year (61) after marriage, the most common age of marriage for females is between 17 and 20 years. The tendency is for women to have children before they are 25 years of age, as only 16.9% of the sample had their first child after 25 years of age. This is possibly a cause of the high birth rate among Africans.

The results of the survey in regard to the proportion of persons married by civil or Christian rite or by native custom as opposed to those living as married, but not actually so, tend to be inaccurate. Many students reported that the answers to the questions on this point was unreliable. The survey shows that:

Table 24.

269	cases	or	34.4%	were	married	in	a	church	only.					
254	"	"	32.5%	"	"	"	"	by	lobola	or	native	custom	only.	
127	"	"	16.2%	had	not	been	married	at	all.					
93	"	"	11.9%	had	been	married	by	native	custom	and	in	a	church.	
28	"	"	3.6%	"	"	"	"	in	an	office	only.			
11	"	"	1.5%	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	and	by	native	custom.

Not only inaccuracies noted by students tend to invalidate these results, but the nature of African weddings also. It is very difficult to know whether an African considers the party given after a wedding in a church in the location as 'isintu' (62). It is possible that some of the gifts presented at the party may even be viewed as lobola. It is felt that so much of the answer given depends on the purely subjective interpretation of none too clearly defined ceremonies, that the results cannot be relied upon. It is significant, however, that 16.2% admitted never having gone through a rite at all. Quite

61) See "The time interval between Marriage of Parents and the Birth of their First Child in Utah City Utah". Christese, American Journal of Sociology, January, 1939.

62) 'Isintu' is the name given to the actual Xhosa wedding ceremony.

probably this percentage is somewhat higher, as possibly many others stated lobola had been given when in reality nothing had passed between the parties at all. Some might view a small party after they had decided to live together as 'isintu' yet none of the respective person's parents or relatives may have been at that party. It is felt that a useful addition to questions on marriage might have been to ask if the parties were "married" in the home area or in the town. "Marriages" in the home area are almost always properly conducted ceremonies, while the tendency is for those in the City to be purely informal, unless carried out in a church. Such a question might have served as a check on the figures above.

Chapter XXVII. URBANITY AND RURALITY OF THE SAMPLE.

In order to estimate the degree of urbanity or rurality of a sample of 2,200 persons of 16 years and over, the answers to numerous questions on relatives, animals owned, etc. were examined. Each individual was taken on his/her merits as far as the data available reflected his/her position. It is not possible to give a detailed account of the chief criteria used to make this decision as every case was different, but in general the length of time that the person had known East London, what relatives were living in the home area, how long it was since a return visit was made, what animals were living there and what in East London, where tax was paid and if quitrent was paid, were the primary criteria used. <sup>(63)</sup> Other factors such as family or household conditions in Duncan Village, type of employment, education, church affinities etc. were also considered when doubt existed. Each individual was classified as "urban", "rural" or "semi-rural". The "urban" classification comprised all those who appeared to have lost all connection with the home area. The "rural" group comprised those who were migratory, and living in Duncan Village for a period of time only, and whose ties with the home areas suggested they belonged there rather than in East London. The "semi-rural" groups comprised those about whom no clear cut decision could be made. Some difficulty was experienced especially with persons whose home area was near the city, such as Nahoon or Komgha. Some of these went 'home' every week-end, owned cattle, and had close relatives there, yet had lived in East London for many years, and owned property in the location. In such cases, where doubt existed, they were classified as "semi-rural".

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63) Stent: "Africa" Journal of the International African Institute. July 1948. p. 161 for a discussion on this point.

The results of this classification were:

Table 25.

Urban		Rural		Semi-Rural		Total	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
342	506	458	349	243	302	1043	1157

Expressed as percentages:

32.8% of the males are urban.  
 43.9% " " " " rural.  
 23.3% " " " " semi-rural.

43.7% of the females are urban.  
 30.2% " " " " rural.  
 26.1% " " " " semi-rural.

As a whole

38.27% are urban.  
 37.28% are rural.  
 24.45% are semi-rural.

(64)

A study of the Coloured community revealed:

Urban		Rural		Semi-Rural		Total	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
89	99	17	15	2	12	108	126.
							Total: 234

Hence 188 or 80.4% are urban  
 32 or 13.6% are rural  
 14 or 5.9% are semi-rural.

Table 26.

Deducting these numerals from Table 25 above:

660 Africans or 33.6% are urban  
 775 " " 39.4% are rural  
 531 " " 27.0% are semi-rural.

Table 26 above thus refers to Africans only, and does not include the Coloured community. It shows that a bias of approximately 8% towards urbanity exists in Table 25 above.

The sex proportions for Africans is expressed in Table 27 below:

Males.		Females.	
Urban	253 or 27.1%	Urban	407 or 39.5%
Rural	441 or 47.2%	Rural	334 or 32.4%
S.-R.	241 or 25.7%	S.-R.	290 or 28.1%

Totals: 935 males and 1031 Females: 1966 persons.

This table shows that 12.4% more females were classified "urban" than males, and 14.8% more males were classified "rural" than females, while 2.4% more females than males were classified as "semi-rural".

64) Mixed with the sample were a number of Coloured persons, at times married to Africans, but frequently living by themselves amongst the Africans.

From this it appears that females are more urbanised than males. This fact has important sociological implications, involving such factors as (a) easier adaptability to a new environment, (b) greater pleasure got from some of the benefits and stimulation of urban life, (c) less attachment to land and animals and (d) fewer means to establish a rural home if once given up etc. The implications are that if adequate housing facilities were made available, an incentive would be provided by the women for the men to settle as permanent urban dwellers. This presupposes a settled married existence,<sup>(65)</sup> and a reduction in the amount of loose and temporary unions that exist at present. Also, if greater adaptability to new environments is a cause, the influence of the women on the men would ease the relative difficulty experienced by the males, and hence may affect the mobility or stability of employment, and hence a rise in real wages, and improved social conditions. It would tend towards the establishment of a home in the urban area, the lack of which may be the crux of social disorganisation at present.

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65) See "The length of Time Required for the Stabilisation of a Population". Berrard B. Karpinos. American Journal of Sociology Jan. 1936.

Chapter XXVII THE RENT AND HOUSEHOLD INCOME STRUCTURE.RENT.

The willingness of the Africans to provide information about rents paid was considerably better than was at first anticipated. There was no unusual excess of rents said to be 12/3 which is the amount paid by a plot 'owner' to the City Council for the rent of the plot and permission to keep lodgers. If no lodgers are kept the rent is 3/6 p.m. 12/3d. would have been a convenient figure to quote if the respondent had no intention of telling the truth. On the whole, the questions for this section were well answered.

Table 28 below shows that 32.4% pay rents of between 13/1 and 15/- per month per room. Most of these fall on the round figure of 14/- and 15/- p.m. <sup>(66)</sup> The majority of rentals fall on the amounts of 7/6, 10/-, 12/6, 15/1, 17/6 and £1. This pattern is discernable in the table. Most of those paying more than 24/- per month are paying for more than one room, and those paying 50/- and over are paying for a room used as a shop. A portion of the more well-to-do class have purchased their own properties, and do not have to pay rent. Many of this class still keep lodgers, and gain a considerable income from rent. The group paying 0/- to 5/- is comprised chiefly of persons paying a nominal rent, often to relatives who own the house. Some are acting as substitutes for the owner during his absence, and are paid for their services by a reduced rental. A lower rent is charged for a small room-shack outside the main building than for a room inside the main building. There does appear to be a correlation between the size of room and the rent, but on the whole the rent charge for smaller rooms is very little less than that paid for larger rooms.

Frontage does not appear to be an influencing factor. From

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66) Mean of rents between 0/- and 20/- = 13.03/- per month, and covers 828 cases or 97.7% of all rents taken in the survey.

personal discussion with rent payers it has been found that a small portion pay a "black market" rent i.e. a rent over and above that laid down by the Rent Board, or that popularly believed to be paid. This has taken place as a result of the acute shortage of accommodation in recent times. It is not widespread however.

Table 28      Rents Paid per Month.

<u>Rents p.m.</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Rents p.m.</u>	<u>Frequency.</u>
0/- - 5/-	40	17/- - 18/-	1
5/1 - 6/-	4	- 19/-	1
6/1 - 7/-	9	- 20/-	27
- 8/-	26	22/1 - 23/-	2
- 9/-	6	23/1 - 24/-	1
10/-	71	- 25/-	5
11/-	11	27/1 - 28/-	1
12/-	64	29/1 - 30/-	3
13/-	82	31/1 - 32/-	2
14/-	147	50/1 - 55/-	1
15/-	151	55/1 - 60/-	2
16/-	98	60/1 - 65/-	1
17/-	17	Unknown	71

Total 918

There appears to be no increase or decrease in rent in the better or worse areas of the Location. There does not appear to be a "Zoning" of rents as is found in European areas.

i) INCOMES:

Appendix D contains a table showing the incomes of families households containing a family and other adults, and mixed person households. (67) A condensation of this appendix is given in

Table 29 below.

<u>Incomes</u>	<u>Families</u>		<u>Fam. Households</u>		<u>Mixed Persons</u>	
	<u>Frequency.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
0/- - 80/-	48	15.8	13	9.2	73	29.7
80/1 - 140/-	25	8.2	15	10.6	32	13.0
140/1 - 200/-	144	47.4	48	33.9	70	28.4
200/1 - 240/-	30	9.9	11	7.7	16	6.5
240/1 - 280/-	20	6.6	9	6.3	13	5.3
280/1 - 320/-	12	3.9	10	7.0	13	5.3
320/1 - 360/-	9	2.9	15	10.6	7	2.8
360/1 - 400/-	7	2.3	9	6.3	7	2.8
400/- plus.	9	2.9	12	8.4	15	6.1

For convenience this Table is further condensed in Table 30

67) Definitions of these terms can be found on pp 126, 155.

Table 30

Incomes	Families	Fam. Houheholds.	Mixed Persons.
0/- - 140/-	73 or 23.0%	28 or 19.8%	105 or 42.7%
140/1 - 240/-	174 or 57.2%	59 or 41.5%	86 or 34.9%
240/1 - 320/-	32 or 10.5%	19 or 13.4%	26 or 10.6%
320/1 plus.	25 or 8.2%	36 or 25.4%	29 or 11.8%
	<u>304</u>	<u>142</u>	<u>236</u>

The interval unit of Tables 29 and 30 is irregular because of the tendency among Africans to give their incomes in whole numbers such as £8 when in reality it is £8.2.6d. Thus if the interval is 0/- - 160/- and 160/1 to 240/- those persons whose income was £8.2.6d would fall into the interval 0/- - 160/- into the one above. Although this argument applies to all intervals, it has been taken account of in these particular cases because of the huge proportion of salaries that fall into this group.

In the upper wage group it is significant that family households have a larger per centage than families. This is due to the additional income from working lodgers. 'Mixed person' households have a greater spread over all intervals than the other two groups, and also show a tendency to cluster around the lower income levels. The upper income groups are primarily households composed of migrant males with no dependents living with them, and usually living two or three per room.

#### ii) Person Unit Incomes:

Bearing in mind the possible inaccuracy of the data for the lower income levels, <sup>(68)</sup> and assuming that no tendency exists for one type of household to understate its income more than any other, <sup>(69)</sup> then a comparison of the income per person unit might be more suitable to illustrate the comparative wealth of each type of household.

68) An African not earning a fixed wage per month always tends to understate his income.

69) Person unit based on one unit per person of 12 years and over and half a unit for those under 12 years.

(70)

Table 31 Income per types of households per person unit.

<u>Income per person unit per month.</u>	<u>Families</u>	<u>Fam. Households.</u>	<u>Mixed Persons.</u>
0/- - 40/-	101 or 33.2%	51 or 36.4%	103 or 41.9%
40/1 - 80/-	141 or 46.0%	60 or 42.6%	60 or 24.8%
- 120/-	38 or 12.3%	18 or 12.6%	31 or 12.8%
- 160/-	15 or 4.9%	1 or .7%	13 or 6.3%
- 200/-	-	-	17 or 7.0%
200/- plus.	9 or 2.9%	12 or 8.5%	18 or 7.5%

This table shows that the difference between the family and the family household are not very marked. The mixed person household shows greater spread, and a tendency to cluster around the lower income brackets.

Table 31 shows that the tendency suggested in Table 30 i.e. that fewer family households fall into the lowest income group than families, is not true on a person unit basis. There is a difference of 3.2% in favour of family households in Table 31. Further, the greater frequency in the intervals 240/1 to 320/- and 320/- plus for family households vis a vis families which is not apparent in Table 31 to the same extent as it is in Table 30, suggests that poorer families take in lodgers to the extent that makes their person unit income approach the level of those that do not. This suggests that families are, in the main, living at levels approaching the biological limit.

### iii) Remittances to Home Areas.

Amounts sent to the home area were difficult to assess as few send regular amounts each month or week. Money is sent only when available. No accurate results could be obtained from the methods of this investigation.

Table 32 below provides the amounts as given by the Survey:

<u>Amount p.m.</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Amount p.m.</u>	<u>Frequency.</u>
0/- - 20/-	103	101/- - 120/-	6
20/1 - 40/-	49	- 140/-	1
- 60/-	23	- 160/-	4
- 80/-	17	160/- plus.	6
- 100/-	21		<u>230</u>

This shows that 44.4% send amounts up to 20/- and 7.4% amounts

70) This item refers primarily to direct wages as the Survey showed of what income was derived from indirect means.

*little*

over £5.1.0d. p.m.. Those sending the large amounts are chiefly traders and teachers. The necessity to send money to rural areas seriously depletes the income remaining for expenditure in the City. Undoubtedly this reduction is more serious to the family man than it is to the single working male. The family man has to keep his family in the urban area as well as make payments to relatives in the home area, while the single male worker has only himself to keep in the urban area.

iv) Income from Rents:

Many of those now appearing in the upper income brackets are there as a result of receiving a considerable proportion of their income from rents collected from tenants living in the properties they own. Table 33 below shows the amounts received from tenants.

<u>Amount p.m.</u>	<u>Frequency.</u>
0/- - 10/-	36 or 11.0%
10/- - 20/-	4 or 1.2%
20/1 - 40/-	26 or 9.7%
- 60/-	67 or 21.1%
80/-	70 or 22.1%
100/-	54 or 17.0%
120/-	33 or 10.5%
140/-	16 or 5.1%
160/-	3 or .9%
180/-	3 or .9%
200/-	5 or 1.6%
	<u>317</u>

Average: 60.04/- p.m.

Hence the source of income is quite considerable. If owners are to retain their present position it is necessary for them to continue renting rooms to families and lodgers. The Survey showed that a number of persons 'own' considerably more houses than one, and that a small multi-house owning group exists. This group is undoubtedly the upper income group, although it is possible that the houses are owned by persons other than Africans such as Europeans or Asiatics. The African may be playing the role of substitute owner and fulfilling the requirements of the law in that regard. However, no certain information on this point was obtained apart from the fact that a class exists who do own more than one house, and may be receiving a considerable income from rents as a result. The magnitude of this class is unknown.

CHAPTER XXIX.INCOME IN RELATION TO URBANITY & RURALITY.

This chapter is an examination of the household incomes in relation to the classification of the degree of urbanity or rurality of the household. In the case of families the urbanity or rurality of the family has been determined by that of the male, which in non-family households the individual persons have been taken. The sample of family-households is quite inadequate and has not been included.

Numerous complications arose in this study and the author considers the work to be unreliable for the following reasons:-

- (a) the sample is too small.
- (b) the decision as to urbanity or rurality is somewhat arbitrary and the incomes of "rural" persons in particular are very uncertain.
- (c) the method used to determine both the urbanity and rurality of the cases and the income was not so well suited to the requirements of a study of this kind as would be say, family budget and labour history studies, or methods involving very close and intimate contact with cases.

The results are stated however, and are discussed with the reservation above being kept well in mind.

TABLE 34.INCOME OF FAMILIES.

INCOME P.M.	URBAN FAMILY		SEMI-RURAL FAMILY		RURAL FAMILY.	
		%		%		%
0/--80/-	14	12.7%)	6	7.7)	8	7.1%)
80/1-160/-	20	18.4%)	24	30.7)	31	27.4 )
160/1-240/-	49	44.6 )	32	41.0 )	56	49.6 )
240/1-320/-	10	9.0 )	9	11.5)	8	7.1 )
320/1-400/-	8	7.3 )	4	5.1)	7	6.1 )
400/-	9	8.2 )	3	3.0)	3	2.7 )
	<u>110</u>		<u>78</u>		<u>113</u>	

This table suggests that urban families are the wealthiest as

they contain a lower per centage in the less than 160/- p.m. bracket, and a higher per centage in the plus 240/1 p.m. bracket. 'Semi rural' families have the greatest proportion in the lower income brackets, but they possess a greater number in the upper income groups than 'rural' families. The 'rural' family is therefore characterised by a large proportion in the middle income group, a small proportion in the upper brackets, and fewer than 'semi rural' families in the lowest income bracket.

A discussion of this phenomenon appears on page 209.

Table 35 Income and Non-Family Households.

Income p.m.	Urban		Semi-Rural		Rural		
	F.	%.	F.	%.	F.	%.	
0/- - 80/-	42	46.7	13	28.3	7	9.2	
80/1 - 160/-	27	30.0	10	21.7	13	17.1	
160/1 - 240/-	13	14.4	15	32.6	22	28.9	
240/1 - 320/-	2)		5)		17	22.4)	
320/- - 400/-	5)	8.9	3)	17.4	9	11.8)	44.8
400/1 plus.	1)		0)		8	10.5)	

This table emphasises the poverty of urban non-family households, which is due in the majority of cases to the lack of male support. 76.7% of urban non-family households earn less than 160/- p.m.. This compares significantly with 26.6% in the case of the rural group. This phenomenon emphasises the importance of the male, and gives an indication of the plight of urbanised families when the male becomes unemployed or sick. The high per centage of rural non-family households in the upper income group is due to the presence of migrant males sharing a room. The semi-rural group show the characteristics of both the urban and the rural groups in that there are a considerable number in the lower and the upper income brackets. They appear to be in the process of transition.

CHAPTER X XXHOUSING AND SANITATION.

Table 1 page 29 shows that 4 and 6 roomed dwellings are the most common type in the Location. The number of rooms does not include bathrooms or lavatories that might exist on a plot, nor any kitchens that have been built outside, and are not used for sleeping or eating purposes. 67% of the plots have less than 7 rooms. The mean of rooms per plot was 5.9. Plots with more than eight rooms tend to be those where the 'owner' is shack-building. On occasions it was found that up to eight small rooms had been added to the back of the main building, and these were being rented at 10/- p.m. or more. Their construction was often of rusted and corroded iron, the floors of mud, and windowless. During recent rains it was found that over half of these rooms had leaked and the mud floors were wet. The rooms are sometimes too small to allow a bed to fit in, and the occupants usually sleep on the floor, sometimes on a mattress, but usually on the traditional sleeping mat of plaited grass.

Although no questions were asked concerning the conditions of the rooms, many of the wood and iron houses that have been properly constructed are in quite good repair, and do not leak. The survey shows that 320 or 22% of the room occupants said their room leaked. Many of the shack rooms at the back of main buildings were constructed without the supervision or consent of the Superintendent and were built to provide accommodation for the unusual immigration of 1946, 1948 and 1949. Apart from overcrowding generally, the most unhygienic living conditions exist in these shack rooms, and not in the main buildings. Some of the . . .

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main buildings have undoubtedly fallen into disrepair, especially in the older areas of the location (Tsolo Location), but there are almost none at all in New Brighton Location which is of comparatively recent age.

The students were asked to measure the length, breadth and height of each room. Although some students were incorrect in their measurement, they tended to always over estimate the sizes. On the whole, however, 85% of the students estimated correctly to within a foot. A check was made of these measurements subsequently in a sample of three plots per student. On this basis the cubic foot capacity of the rooms is:

TABLE 36.

FREQUENCY.		FREQUENCY.	
Less than 300 cu.ft.	29	1301 - 1400	26
301 - 400	22	1401 - 1500	86
401 - 500	20	1501 - 1600	14
501 - 600	51	1600 - 1700	21
601 - 700	36	1700 - 1800	29
701 - 800	70	1801 - 1900	12
801 - 900	53	1901 - 2000	17
901 - 1000	199	- 2100	8
1001 - 1100	27	- 2200	16
1101 - 1200	98	- 2300	-
1201 - 1300	19	more than 2300	76

Total: 929 rooms, not traced 523 rooms.

The greatest frequency is at 1000 cubic feet of air which is the result of rooms being 10' x 10' x 10', which was a common dimension in the location. Likewise the frequencies for 800 cu.ft. and 1500 cu.ft. are the result of building 10' x 10' x 8' and 10' x 12' x 12' respectively. These sizes were often laid down by specification in the early history of the area. (71) The real significance of this is seen when the number of persons living in each room is related to the size of the room.

71) Almost every house is built of corrugated iron on a wood frame. The number of brick walled houses could be counted on one hand.

This is a fair index of overcrowding and can be compared with legal requirements. These requirements are that every person of ten or more years must have four hundred cubic feet of air space, and persons under 10 require 200 cubic feet of air space. Owing to an error when constructing the questionnaire the table below reflects the position of persons of 11 years and over having 400 cubic feet, and 10 and under having 200 cubic feet. The difference is small, and will tend to understate the conditions rather than overstate them. The black marking represents the marginal groups i.e, those living just within the requirements of the Act. Those below the marking are undercrowded, and those above are overcrowded. The degree of overcrowding becomes increasingly worse the further upwards and away from the black line one moves.

Table 37.

Overcrowding.

Cubic Capacity per room (c.f.)	Person units.													Total.	
	1	1½	2	2½	3	3½	4	4½	5	5½	6	6½	7 plus		7
Less than 300	3	1	3	3	9	3	6	1							29
301 - 400	4	1	3	3	4	2	1	2			1				22
401 - 500	2		5	6	4		2			1				1	20
- 600	6		1	3	15	4	1	1	3	1					51
700	6	2	5	4	5	4	4	4	3						36
800	7	2	15	8	15	7	8	1	4	2				1	70
900	3	2	16	4	11	4	2	4	3	2	2				53
1000	15	5	38	1	32	15	24	16	12	4	5	1		1	199
1100	2		7	2	9	5		2							27
1200	6	1	15	16	18	10	12	8	4	4	2	1	1		98
1300	1		7	4	2	1	3				1				19
1400	2		4	8	2	3	3	2	1		1				26
1500	7		40	14	17	14	7	5	2	2	2			2	86
1600		1	1	2	5		2	1	1					1	14
1700	1		6	6	1	4		2			1				21
1800	5		5	2	6		4	2	2	2		1			29
1900		1	3	1	3	2	1						1		12
2000	1			1	7	3	2	1	1					1	17
2100			1	1	4		1	1							8
2200	1		2	1	3	3	2		3						16
2300															0
plus 2300	5	2	15	10	12	4	8	2	4	3	4	1	2	4	76
	<u>78</u>	<u>18</u>		<u>130</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>		<u>11</u>	<u>929</u>
			<u>182</u>	<u>183</u>											

For example, there are seven person units living in air space sufficient for one person unit; on the other hand there are two households of one person unit each living in air space sufficient for 5½ person units. 47.2% of the rooms are definitely overcrowded, and 52.8% are not. The average number of

persons (all ages) per room was 3.7.

On a square foot basis, allowing for 40 sq ft. per person of 11 years and over, and 20 sq. ft. of ten years and under, the degree of overcrowding then becomes: 438 or 43.2% overcrowded, and 577 or 55.7% undercrowded.

The position is actually more overcrowded ~~than~~ the table shows as the majority of rooms are used for eating, sleeping and cooking. Only some plots have a kitchen detached from the eating and sleeping rooms, and the whole of the african's daily routine is carried out in the same room. Africans are not accustomed to sleeping with windows open, and only open them on warm nights. There is very little cross ventilation as very few of the rooms have ventilation bricks, and windows are not suitably situated.

Lavatory Facilities are provided by communal blocks dispersed over the Location. The number of persons per pan is in the region of 90 to 95 and many persons are expected to walk up to 150 yards. Naturally many do not, especially at night time, and prefer to use the bush or street gutter. Drinking water is obtained from stand pipes in the streets, and necessitates carrying it in buckets for distances up to 150 yards.

The Survey shows that: Table 38

231	or	61.6%	dispose of waste water in a street side gutter,
59	or	15.7%	" " " " " " " " lavatory,
32	or	8.5%	" " " " " " " " by throwing it on a street,
13	or	3.4%	" " " " " " " " " down a drain,
7	or	1.9%	" " " " " " " " " on a bush,
7	or	1.9%	" " " " " " " " " in a sink,
6	or	1.6%	" " " " " " " " " in a yard,
3	or	.8%	" " " " " " " " " in a pit,
<u>17</u>	or	4.5%	are unknown.
<u>375</u>			

In view of the fact that 61.6% of the households throw their dirty water into a street side gutter which are often 200 yards from the nearest drain it is doubtful whether any concrete guttering would not become eroded in a comparatively short time. Such a gutter would have water running down it constantly for up to 16 hours a day, and the water itself might carry corrosive

chemicals. In view of this it appears a waste of effort to repair the existing delapidated street gutters until such time as a more suitable method of waste water disposal has been introduced. At present the only sanitary methods of waste water disposal are those of throwing it into a lavatory or down a drain, which accounts for 72 cases or 19.2%. The water thrown on the street or into a bush or down a pit may sink into the earth and eventually contaminate underground water supplies, as well as attracting flies and other pests. Quite a proportion of the clothes washing----both European and African clothing---- is done on the banks of the Ncabanga Stream which is usually stagnant, especially in winter or/dry season, and is in the middle of the Location. Many of the Location drains lead into this stream. The concrete washing slabs provided near some of the lavatory blocks assist in this direction, but they are insufficient. There are no facilities for hanging the washed clothes other than on the dung covered ground. Near the banks of the stream the bushes are extensively used.

This chapter provides numerical statements of the descriptive passages of the Thornton and Welsh Reports where insanitary conditions and overcrowding are described by very strong adjectives. Although figures of this kind and the facts they describe contribute little to the solution of problems relevant to rehabilitation, they serve to illustrate the extent to which the problem has grown, and the urgency of finding a solution. The Chapter serves as valuable ammunition for anyone agitating to have conditions improved, and in that it serves a purpose.

The following table shows the ages at which a sample first came to East London and the present age of those born in the City

Table 39.

<u>Age on entry</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Born here Age now</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Born here Age now.</u>
Under 5 yrs.	17		18	
5.1 - 10 yrs.	27		41	
15	35		88	
20	115	27	200	33
25	133	19	197	22
30	109	20	139	16
35	94	7	80	8
40	61	10	57	7
45	20	4	33	
50	22	1	29	6
55	17	1	14	5
60	4	1	13	3
- 70	1	2	4	3
	<u>655</u>	<u>92.</u>	<u>913</u>	<u>103.</u>

Total . 1763.

The inaccuracy of African ages is well known and hence any smaller interval unit than 5 years is misleading. The table shows that 357 or 54.5% of the males, and 536 or 58.7% of the females (excluding those born in East London) first came here between the ages of 15.1 and 30 years. This age group is not only the most productive but also represents the most probable marrying age. It must be born in mind that the above table does not reflect anything more than the age on entry. It indicates nothing regarding the year the entry took place. In view of this it is necessary to view it conjointly with the Table of the Year of Entry ( See Table 40 below)

Table 40 shows that the influx into East London during the first part of 1949 was large. This applies particularly to females. An interrogation of some of the persons who arrived during this time showed that drought and starvation were the main cause. However, the figure for 1949 represents the months of January to June inclusive, and it is commonly known that a tendency exists for Africans to return to home areas during August and September to prepare for spring planting. It is therefore possible that the increase for 1949 is somewhat

magnified, as undoubtedly a portion will leave as soon as the spring rains fall. Nevertheless, it appears that the increase for 1949 is still out of proportion to previous increases. The table shows cycles of migration, and indicates that every three or four years there is an increased rate of entry into the City. An examination of the column marked "Total" shows that an increase in the rate occurred in 1930, 1932, 1936, 1939 and 1942 onwards. 1947 is a particularly low year as was also shown by estimates. Frequencies for years 1900 - 1939 show a normal fall off which might be expected.

TABLE 40.

YEAR OF ENTRY INTO EAST LONDON  
(16 years and over).

Year of entry.	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL.
Jan to June 1949	79	140	219
1948	68	83	151
1947	42	51	93
1946	50	59	109
1945	43	59	102
1944	35	39	74
1943	33	36	69
1942	27	43	70
1941	24	39	63
1940	27	34	61
1939	37	31	68
1938	29	25	54
1937	10	22	32
1936	16	35	51
1935	13	21	34
1934	19	9	28
1933	4	7	11
1932	14	26	40
1931	7	8	15
1930	26	19	45
1925-1929	49	83	132
1920-1924	29	43	72
1915-1919	15	31	46
1910-1914	19	18	37
1905-1909	8	7	15
1900-1904	2	4	6
Before 1900	4	2	6
Born in E.L.	92	110	202
Unknown	127	57	184
	948	1141	2089

Not traced 111.

With regard to the geographic origin, the survey showed that 1269 persons or 63.4% originate from East London District

or the Ciskei generally; and 616 or 30.8% from the Transkei generally. These areas are undoubtedly the main areas. It is interesting to note that over twice as many come from Ciskeian areas as from the Transkeian area. In other words, East London has a greater attraction in the areas near to it, than it has further afield. This fact further substantiates the view of the Superintendent (P.96) that East London is favoured by Africans because ~~of~~ no heavy transport costs to and from the home area are involved. This point will be re-taken up in Part 3 below, as it is of vital concern to the City.

#### CHAPTER XXXII.

##### THE RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE.

The questions regarding the religious nature of the people were designed to enquire into the number of times the different sexes attend church per month, and what were the most popular churches. The nature of the survey did not permit of an enquiry into the nature of the ceremonies, the history of the church, the influence of the church on the people etc. <sup>(73)</sup> A more intensive investigation probably following social anthropological techniques would be required for such a study. Table 41 below shows the sex distribution of a sample of 2090 adult persons taken at random from the Survey and their church attendance per month.

	M.	%.	F.	%.	T.	%.
Not attending church	372	37.4	265	24.2	637	30.5.
Attending once p.m.	66	6.6	59	5.4	125	5.9.
" twice p.m.	112	11.1.	109	9.9	221	10.5.
" thrice p.m.	50	5.0	64	6.0	114	5.6.
Four and more times	398	38.9	595	54.5	993	47.5.
	998		1092		2090	100.0.

The accuracy of the table is good, although a tendency exists for the frequency of the group attending four or more times per month to be an over-estimate, and some persons who

73) An interesting contribution in this field is "Negro Religious Expression" E.T. Krueger. American Journal of Sociology 1932-1934 P.22. as well as numerous social Anthropological writings in this country and elsewhere.

said they attended church four times a month do so only twice or thrice. The frequency for the group not attending at all is a minimum. The figure may actually be higher as some Africans believe that when questioned they should answer what the Europeans want them to answer, which may not necessarily be the truth. Such a tendency may manifest itself in questions of a religious nature more readily than in others. It is significant that 30.5% do not attend church at all. This percentage is made up of 37.4% males as opposed to 24.2% females. 38.9% of males as opposed to 54.5% of females attend church four or more times per month. There appears to be almost the same proportion of males (22.7%) and females (21.3%) who are church-goers, but who do not attend four or more times a month. These figures may be biased by the domestic servants working and sleeping in European areas who return to the location at weekends and attend church on Sundays. Hence the number of females may be increased.

( 74 )

The 10 most popular churches appear to be the following:

TABLE 4.2.

Name of Church	M.	F.	T.	%.
Wesleyan-Methodist	222	314	536	36.5
Bantu Presbyterian	116	139	255	17.3
Anglican	80	97	177	12.0
Roman Catholic	40	46	86	5.8
Congregational Union and Botha Church	32	48	80	5.4
Topea (Order of Ethiopia)	24	34	68	3.8
Baptist	14	30	44	2.9
Independent Methodist & Independent Congre- gational	21	20	41	2.8
Apostolic Church	17	19	36	2.4
Church of Christ	15	19	34	2.3
Others			119	8.9
			1470	

From this it appears that the European 'low' churches are most popular, and in particular the Wesleyan-Methodist. The

(75)

tendency towards fission is markedly evident as the list of churches is certainly not complete. The Industrial

and Commercial Worker's Union (I.C.U.) is included because its

74) A fuller list of churches appears in Appendix F.

75) For comparative purposes see "Measuring the Progress of White Protestant Churches" Ross W. Sandinson. American Journal of Sociology 1932-1934. P.432.

members were of opinion that it was their church, and that they went there to pray. It is interesting that this originally political body has now assumed a religious significance.

From calculations made as to which churches could claim to have the highest proportion of regular church-goers, it appears that no church in particular has a greater tendency than any other. To obtain this information for certain however, it would be necessary to enquire from each church what its regular attendance number was, and compare this with Table 48.

The churches can serve as a valuable means of spreading any information authorities may wish to spread. Owing to the illiteracy of a large number of the inhabitants no written notice is of much value, and often a loud speaker van is required for advertising purposes. The churches might be made use of in the spread of social welfare work. The incidence of blindness, cripples, mentally deficient etc., is very difficult to ascertain. It is difficult to discover the patients. If the churches agreed to disseminate information among their members that organisations and associations exist for the treatment of such complaints, much benefits would accrue to the churches for their role in the life of the community, and to the community itself. Apart from local rugby associations, the churches are the only form of group organisation that exist. The schools have little influence on the adult community, although an African Parent's Association is in existence. It is considered that the Churches are capable of playing a valuable role in this regard.

CHAPTER XXXIII. . . SURVEY CONCLUSIONS.

In the preamble to "A Social Survey of East London, 1943" by Mr. W.T. Hodgson of the Department of Social Welfare, there appears these remarks: "This social survey of East London...was not intended..to be a sociological survey, such as Professor Edward Batson's Social Survey of Cape Town. While it is recognised that any comprehensive social survey of an urban community should consider first an interpretation of its social and economic life, which is the very background and matrix of social work, the scope of this study has to be limited for reasons of time, staff and other practical considerations". Similar practical considerations influenced the 1949 Survey, but an aim was to provide what Mr.Hodgson lacked, and in that way to supply "the very back-ground and matrix" on which the future of social work in East London must depend. The 1949 Survey was in no way intended to compare with that of Professor Batson, but it is believed that the Survey, in conjunction with Parts I and III of the dissertation, will provide sufficient of the social and economic background to enable a fuller interpretation of Mr.Hodgson's work to be made, and used practically.

The survey method employed proved successful in that it produced a considerable body of reliable information. The method of sampling by means of the tuberculosis incidence might be objected to on the grounds that tuberculosis attacks only a select group. Had a sample of the whole of the population of East London, irrespective of ethnic group, been required, then the argument would hold good as there is definitely a greater incidence of the disease among the non-Europeans than among the Europeans, and a sample covering the entire population might not have been reliable under those conditions. Further, medical science is not satisfied that no differential proclivity exists between persons of Bantu descent and persons of European descent. There is a possibility that Africans are ceteris paribus biologically more prone to the disease than Europeans, and in that

event it would not be scientifically sound to use the incidence for the purpose to which it has been used in this Survey. Apart from a small group of Coloured persons, the East Bank Location is inhabited by a more or less homogenous group of Africans among whom no differential proclivity towards tuberculosis appears at all. When it was proved that the average incidence of tuberculosis per block corresponded so accurately with the known areas of 'better' or 'worse' social and housing conditions it appeared to be a reliable instrument on which to mathematically calculate how many of each average incidence to include in the sample. It must be emphasised that the incidence was used purely as a mathematical instrument, which compares with using it, for example, as indicating directly which households to include, i.e. so many who have had two cases of the disease in five years, so many with three cases, four cases etc. Such a method differs markedly from employing the law of averages as a mathematical instrument. Further, the sample being spread as widely as possible over the whole location area adds to its representativeness. The method proved practical and was a means of providing important human requirements.

The accuracy of the results could have been improved if more interpreters had been employed. Greater efforts might have been made to gain the confidence of the African people. Such efforts should have been directed towards mass enlightenment rather than individual discussion. Although the churches and schools proved valuable in this regard, the fact that 30.5% of the people do not attend church at all indicates that additional methods must be employed. From experience, it has become clear that the most vital body whose co-operation must be obtained is the Vigilance Association. Without its co-operation any scheme of the sort attempted is doomed to failure. Public speaking to groups on street corners, backed by return visits to ensure accuracy, proved a valuable method which might have been

used more extensively and at more frequent intervals.

Although the limits of the survey method are very pronounced in the study of religious activity, the facts found concerning the proportion in each denomination and the number attending church are valuable. Its value lies in the possible use that could be made of religious institutions for the spread of information on hygiene, good habits of living, ethical values etc. The Survey makes no claim to throw light on the present role of religious institutions on the life of the people. Such information would have to be provided by other and more prolonged methods.

The value of a social survey lies chiefly in its statement of conditions at any one time. However, with the dynamic study made on Part I, the Survey has usefully illustrated the presence of trends and the continuation of trends evident from census data. The Survey has brought to light important phenomena not obtained through censuses or other more orthodox methods of investigation. It is hoped that the experiment will be repeated in the not too distant future so that trends suggested by this Survey can be substantiated or refuted, and their nature more accurately determined.

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PART 3.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.

PART 3.DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.CHAPTER XXXIV.SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE  
COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION.

The growth in population of the various ethnic groups is such as to necessitate extensive increases in the area of ground occupied by each group. The evidence suggests that the European population of the City will, like that of the majority of other large cities, shortly be exceeded in numbers by the non-European groups. As the proportional increase of the Coloured and Asiatic community is small, amounting to only 1% in the 20 years prior to the incorporation of Cambridge and considerably less after the incorporation, the major cause of the decline in the European proportion is the increase in the African proportion. The idea of a small African labour force to provide the needs of European labour is no longer applicable in East London. As the area planned by the National Housing Commission in 1937 can cater only for 16,800 persons at the utmost, the area needed to adequately house the African population in 1953 would be approximately double the 1937 location area. Such imperative development must necessitate the relinquishing of land now owned by Europeans. The City Council failed to take advantage of its opportunity to enlarge the area in 1937, but will inevitably have to make the decision very shortly.

The African population, unlike the other ethnic groups, is rapidly changing its own composition. Much of the numerical increase of this group since 1926 has not been due to the increase of the productive age groups. Between 1926 and 1936 the influx of females was the noticeable feature reducing the proportion of productive males in the population. The general trend in the composition of the African people is towards a similar position as the Coloured and European groups. The Survey in 1949 showed that the 14 and under age group

had increased its percentage of the total population by 5% over the 1946 census figure. This represents an acceleration of a trend evident in Censuses for many decades. The 15 - 19 age group has increased particularly as a result of the immigration of females of this age. Increases in the 19 and under age groups have serious repercussions on educational and recreational facilities.

(1)

The present overcrowded schools are not sufficient to provide the needs of children already in the Location i.e. the 26.5% of the population, yet if the population was stabilised and the children now living in the country returned to their parents in East London, the child population would increase by over a third. The same argument applies to recreation, only in a more urgent way. Recreational facilities have in the past mainly catered for adults only. Calculations for requirements made from census data should be increased by at least 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % when planning for children. (2)

This suggestion involves the assumption that within the life of the building schemes the children now in country areas would return to their parents, and the population approach a position where children of 14 and under represent higher proportions than at present. (3) It is commonly accepted that insanitary circumstances, overcrowding, and the general lack of parental control in the City are causes of the tendency to send children away. Evidence presented in both Parts 1 and 2 could scarcely suggest that conditions have improved since 1938. It is therefore surprising that an increase had occurred if these factors were the major operative ones. Strong forces operating in the opposite direction must be driving the children in. It is suggested that the general state of poverty (4) of the Reserves is that major force.

1) vide: "Daily Dispatch" dated 27/7/49.

2) It could be argued that this figure should be made greater as the children of migrant males have not been included in the Survey. This is justifiable, but the assumption is that seeing the adult male and female population is plus/minus parity, and almost every female has children, either legitimate or illegitimate. that, ceteris paribus, the position is

The point of emphasis is that insanitary conditions and possibly overcrowding are factors which will be removed when new housing schemes are undertaken. The more orderly condition of life under an improved environment may encourage parents to keep their children in the City. It is thus essential that educational and recreational facilities are provided *pari passu* with housing. Should such facilities not be made available then results in the form of juvenile delinquency, slum conditions in the form of children crowding the streets etc. will result. It is possible that parents might prefer to leave their children in the country schools if none become available in the City. If this was the case then it may be the major cause at present, but the number of children not attending schools suggests it is not.

The 15 - 19 age group is somewhat differently placed from the 0 - 14 groups. Although schooling for the 15 - 19 is highly desirable, it is none the less only an alternative to work. The Welsh High School is the only institution catering for more adult children, and a large number get refused admittance every year. On the other hand, the alternative to education i.e. work, is seldom available to this group. The male youth is frequently not fully physically developed and is not favoured for hard work; unless he has been to school he has had too little experience to learn a European language and is totally unskilled in all respects. He is in no position to compete with the older male, as the wage Act applies similar scales of pay to youth or old age irrespective of experience.

The principal sources of income to females of the 15- 19 group are baby watching and clothes washing. Working African mothers frequently employ such girls to look after their children during working hours. European women employ them as nurse girls. Their rate of pay in the Location averages about 5/-

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 one approaching what it might be if the children of women now in the City take the place of those of the migrant male. The argument raises most interesting but highly involved matters which as yet insufficient data is available to make calculation with or deductions from.

- 3) The Africans themselves give the factors as the major ones.
- 4) vide: Lecture by Prof. Hobart Houghton "The Importance of the Social and Economic Structure of the Area" B.C.A. Symposium 1950.

per week, and is little more outside. They frequently turn to temporary love affairs with youths and bear illegitimate children at an age when they are unable to care for them.

Hence for both male and female the chances of finding remunerative employment are slight. With the present relative abundance of adult labour, competition is so great as to leave the 15 - 19 age group dependent on illicit sources of income, and immoral practices to while away the time. In the author's experience this group is largely responsible for dealings in dagga, gambling, theft on the Market Square and other delinquent acts.

Causes of the increased influx of this group are highly involved. There appears to be no direct incentive for them to come to the City. The Africans say it is just the lust for adventure, to see new things, to become "educated". Many parents dislike girls in particular coming to town, and the author is frequently asked if steps cannot be taken to repatriate such girls and to stop others coming in. Parents realise that their daughters fall into immoral ways.

## (5)

Research in East London has shown that some of the males in the 15-19 age group leave the City after a stay of a year or two and proceed to the Rand Mines. For some years they then tend to oscillate between the Mines, their country home and East London. This process continues till about 24 - 26 years of age, thereafter the youth tends to seek work in one of the coastal towns and frequently in East London. This phenomenon is possibly related to childbirth in the newly established country home.

The City is thus frequently used as a place to wait in until old enough to proceed to the Mines. The author is of opinion that this tendency is common. While in the City

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5) Report to the City Council, East London, entitled "An Investigation into the Background of Male Workers applying for Permits to Seek Work during October and November, 1949, at the Native Registration Office, East London." P.H. Dept.

these youths frequently fail to register with the Registration Officer, and live an illegal existence in the Location. The Magistrate of the Children's Court has remarked <sup>(6)</sup> that many offenders of tender age are in the City without even the knowledge let alone consent, of their parents. Some Africans have remarked that these youths run away from the Reserves as they have to do all the work in the absence of their father and brothers. They find living in East London exciting, if precarious, until they decide to, or are old enough to proceed to the Rand.

The Mines are therefore an alternative to the lack of educational facilities and for local employment. The implication is, however, that the local youth---which usually settles in East London after 26 years of age---is receiving its education in the immoral practices common to the "shanty towns" of the Rand, and is not being taught a skill or productive trade in any way likely to be of value to him or the City in later life. Therefore there is no immediate prospect, under prevailing conditions, of East London's future labour supply becoming more productive or less inclined to criminal tendencies.

In conclusion, it is evident that this growing body of youth of both sexes is already a major problem. The Magistrate has pointed out its relation to juvenile delinquency, and undoubtedly a great deal of the gambling, theft and other immoral acts can be attributed to it. The only encouraging factor is that the 1946 census shows the proportion of the 15 - 19 age group to be already approaching that of the Coloured people, and to have passed that of the European people. <sup>(7)</sup> Although the proportion has still to grow by about 1% to equalise the Coloured group, the major influx of this group in relation to others has already occurred between 1936 and 1946. The problem is already with us in almost its complete magnitude in relation to other age groups, but will of course increase in sympathy with the increase in the total population. This does not apply to

6) <sup>A</sup> discussion was called by the Chief Magistrate, East London on 10th May, 1950, to find an answer to the problem.

7) The 15 - 19 group comprised 9.1% of the total European population in 1946.

the 14 and under age group where a considerable increase can be expected in the future.

It is difficult to see any solution until such a time as work or training for work is made available to them in sufficient quantities, and they become part of a permanent East London population from childhood. The imposition of administrative controls, legal punishments for illegal entry etc. will do little good unless extensive police and administrative control is to be carried out. Such a costly move is however unlikely and its dividends in the form of non-cooperation and increased suspicion of the European generally are not likely to be beneficial.

ii) THE ADULT AGE GROUPS.

The steadily declining proportion in the 20 - 59 age groups is in itself an indication of a fall in the productive proportion of the population over the years, but this decline has been accompanied by a marked increase in the female adult population particularly between 1926 and 1936. Assuming African females to be unproductive in a strict sense, the fall in the proportion of productive persons in the Location is considerably greater than the Census data indicates at first sight. Whereas prior to 1926 East London possessed a very high proportion of productive males who sent their earnings to their wives in the country, there are to-day relatively fewer productive males in the total population. but they tend to spend more of their money in East London. On the other hand, the tendency towards parity of the adult sex ratio has in turn been responsible for the faster increase in population relative to the European or Coloured community who have had their females with them for many decades in the past. The fact that a substantial proportion of the influx belonged to the 15 - 25 age groups; and male influx, until very recently, belonged to the more middle aged man; the high

rate of admitted concubinage found by the Survey; and the illegitimacy rate, suggest that a very considerable proportion of the females are not the legitimate wives of the males. Hence although the sex ratio appears normal, in reality it represents a different picture. Unless some form of economic relationship between the productive male and the "Unproductive" female exists, it might be expected that a high proportion of the females are destitute. At the same time, many males send considerable sums of money to their wives and children still in the country. The effect of the sex parity under existing conditions of social disorganisation has been to place an increased burden on the shoulders of the productive male. There is a call on him from his family in the country, but at the same time he tends to enter an economic relationship, and not infrequently a social one also, with a female in the City. This relationship tends to be the sole source of income to a considerable proportion of husbandless women and children, and acts as a direct incentive to concubinage. It is suggested that a major cause of concubinage in East London is the presence of husbandless women and their children, who, without a male bread winner, would be destitute. The fact that 49.6% of households were composed of non-family groups, and the relative poverty of such households, as shown by the Survey, adds weight to this argument.

The problem of husbandless women and their children will become increasingly serious as the population becomes older due to the disproportion of the marriage ages of the sexes, and the present age composition of the population. The death of the male when the woman is some 8 - 10 years younger will throw a heavy burden on the female past the age when concubinage is possible and yet having several children to educate and maintain. Unless otherwise supported, such households would have increasingly to depend on migrant males staying with them as boarders, and it is therefore probable that, ceteris paribus, the system of lodgers ---with elderly women in charge--- is likely to be further extended. If not otherwise assisted, many will fall on beer brewing

as an alternative method of making a living.

iii) CONTROL.

These few implications must be viewed as a result of a set of circumstances where women have entered the urban area in abundance, and since 1936 have become more numerous than males. Such women have succumbed more readily to the process of urbanisation than have the males living contemporaneously with them. When in the City they have tended to remain while the males tended to view his visit as only temporary. Recent suggestions by the Minister of Native Affairs to introduce regulations governing the influx of females to urban areas indicate that other cities are beginning to experience what East London experienced between 1926 and 1936, and which has been a major problem to the City ever since. Publications of the Race Relations Institute and other bodies have emphasised the ill effects of a disproportionate sex ratio, and East London is in a position to emphasise the fact that even with a parity of the sexes, the residents must be properly constituted families. A condition such as exists in East London, although having had a sex ratio approaching parity for nearly 20 years, indicates that as many "evil" effects and social disharmonies may result as from a disparate sex ratio.

This argument introduces the issue of the type of control necessary. In this connection East London might serve as an example for the rest of the Union. The object of the regulations contemplated by the Minister of Native Affairs in April, 1950, was to allow women to join their husbands only after the husbands had been resident in the urban area for five years. The experience of East London has been that men tend to form temporary alliances with women already in the City. As soon as such an alliance is made the per capita income of both rural and urban households is reduced as one male is maintaining two women and their children. Further, the moment the support given to the urban female is removed by the

male's return to the country, she is left destitute and seeks the support of another migrant male. It appears sounder in policy to encourage the migration of the male and his wife and children as a family unit. This might involve a degree of conscious planning and organisation by the administering authority. As far as East London is concerned, it has never before been attempted. It would involve having a house and employment awaiting the migrant. In East London this would be difficult, and might have severe consequences. There is no house available to the imported family, and little prospect of their being one in the immediate future; but most important, is the effect on the husbandless woman and her children who would be left destitute by the removal of her relationship to a male. The population would tend to become disparate as a result of a surfeit of women. The country areas appear unable to accommodate them and they appear to urbanise readily, therefore prospects of repatriation are remote. They might become a burden on the Municipality or the State. The experience of this City might serve as a valuable guide to those cities not yet faced with a problem of parity of the sexes, and where the relationship between male and female has been established. The socio-economic consequences of the composition of the East London African population are perhaps unique in the Union, due perhaps to the position of East London vis a vis the Reserves, and the lack of any legislation in the past to control the influx of women. In the long run, however, the lack of this legislation may prove of ultimate value to the City as in time the population stands a chance of adjusting itself; the wives of men in town entering the City and creating the true family tie on which a settled urban community depends. The tendency of the past has been towards proportional normality between the age groups, and it is suggested that the socio-economic forces will tend to do likewise if not disturbed by influencing legislation.

Chapter XXXV.: THE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE & BUILDING SCHEMES.

Some estimate of the extent of social disorganisation can be obtained from the Table on page 156. It was there pointed out that 50.5% of the rooms investigated (8) contained a family, or a family and additional persons. It is significant that almost half of the households contained a social unit other than a family. The assertion that most of the non-family households are migrant males living together is not born out by the facts. The Survey showed that of all the rooms only 7.3% contained such a social unit and 42.2% of all the households were composed of other types of mixed persons. A very common type of social unit of this sort was two women and their children living with no male source of income. Proof that such households contain an excess of females lies in the fact that, knowing the sex ratio of adults to be parity, and that families, dual families and families with related or adopted children must have an adult sex ratio of parity (to fall into the definition of "family" on p.26) and assuming adult children have a sex ratio of parity; and that the 'other adults' living with families are mainly male lodgers; and that 7.3% of households contain only adult males, it appears inevitable that females must predominate in the 'mixed person' household. The Survey showed this type of household to be the poorest as a household as well as <sup>on a</sup> person unit basis.

Such a high proportion of non-family households makes the provision of houses on a purely <sup>family</sup> basis an impossibility for almost half the households. The assumption of the Thornton Commission was a family unit, and it has been the unwritten policy of the Council to build accordingly. The majority of non-family households consisting of women and their children are in no position to pay a rental approaching £1 p.m. as the combined earnings of (9)

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- two women in domestic service amounts to about £5 p.m. .
- 8) The Survey does not apply to the 628 municipal houses where a definite policy of selecting families has been adopted.
- 9) The generally accepted formula of one fifth of income spent on rent is invalid in the lowest income groups, for the simple reason that a human being can live without shelter, but not without food. Hence food is the vital item.

No mention has been made of the care of the children in the absence of both adults. Over the years the Council has frequently considered the building of hostels for migrant males. However, at present, migrant males living alone only occupy 7.3% of the rooms as opposed to 42.2% occupied by other forms of non-family household. Therefore a far greater problem, and one to which the Council should turn its attention before that of hostels for migrant males, is some method of housing such women and children. One method to assist would be the establishment of small hostels with a woman acting as manager cum cook etc. and obtaining her income through the care of the migrant males.

The latter suggestion is an elaboration of the lodger system at present in vogue. The keeping of lodgers is remunerative and provided adequate safeguards are maintained the system would be less morally objectionable than the lodger-living with the family system at present practiced by 15.7% of the households. Migrant males find difficulty in keeping house and this is frequently the immediate cause of concubinage. The design of the house would have to be such as to be readily convertible into a semi-detached dwelling as soon as the need for providing for migrant males ceased.

The Survey results throw little light on the size of the houses to be built for the population as factors such as absence of children, the unusually high infantile mortality rate, the social disorganisation, and the rent factor tending towards lodgers etc., make predictions impossible on available data. There appear to be no studies showing the influence of improved housing on survival or on the birth rate for Africans. It appears that the ratio of 1, 2, 3, and more roomed houses could best be ascertained from the experience of towns and cities who have already housed their African population. (10) The composition of the households, and particularly the families, may, ceteris paribus, change more rapidly in East London than the change in the

10) It is suggested that Bloemfontein, Somerset East, and Port Elizabeth may be of value in this regard.

proportion of families in the population, or the proportion of the various age groups. Part 1 suggests that the change in the composition of the population has been slow and steady rather than quick and sudden. A change in housing or living conditions generally may change the survival and birth rate relatively quickly, thus bringing about a change in the composition of a household in little more than a decade. The only safe means of checking this important factor is to repeat the Survey at regular quinquennial intervals, and covering in particular the new housing schemes so as to make the old and the new comparable in this regard.

From a pragmatic point of view, if the present rate of building is continued, the Council may keep on building only three roomed buildings <sup>(11)</sup> and ignore any other sized dwellings. Assuming the Council to have built 1,120 dwellings in the East and West Bank Locations in the 30 years between 1920 and 1950, then on the average 37 houses per annum have been constructed. Assuming ten persons per dwelling, then 370 persons per annum have been housed. The average increase in population per annum has been slightly less than 1,000 persons since 1910. <sup>(12)</sup>

As two and three bed-roomed dwellings are the most convenient sized dwelling required by a standard population, and usually amount to over 65% of dwellings, then 370 out of a 1,000 i.e. 37% falls considerably short of the requirements. Hence, unless building is to be stepped up to a level in excess of even the 1939 - 1949 level i.e. 628 houses in ten years, then the Council can continue to build houses with only three rooms and disregard the requirements of other sized households.

In the past a large proportion of houses were of one and two rooms, and only the 1939 scheme envisaged larger houses. The size of families as they appear from Tables 16 and 17 suggest that attention should be paid to two roomed dwellings with an

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11) Instructions from the National Housing and Planning Commission recommended that only three roomed dwellings be built until further notice.

12) This is numerically true, but factors mentioned in the P.T.O.,

area set aside for cooking so that both major rooms could be used for sleeping in. Such a dwelling might carry a rental a family could afford at present rates of wage and cost of living. The dilemma in such matters is that a larger family needs a larger house which involved higher rentals, yet, because of its size and the reduced per capita income, it is this family that can least afford a higher rental. From a socio-economic point of view it is clearly incorrect to assess rentals on the cost of the building. The only way from this point of view is some system of differential rental. As a practical measure the Council is wise to heed the recommendations of the Commission and to build larger houses as the lodger system and dual families makes the payment of rentals ---often above the ability of one family to pay---a practical possibility. Objections on grounds of morals to this suggestion are valid, but it must be remembered that as a result of a high infant mortality rate, and the prevailing custom of sending children to the country area which may or may not continue when the community is properly housed, the size of families is now smaller than what might be expected in future years. Further, so long as the existing social disorganisation and the relationship of husbandless women and their children to migrant males persists, and is carried over to the new houses, it will remain particularly difficult for one male alone to keep a woman and children in the urban house as well as the country at the municipal rental. There is some doubt as to the ability of a male to keep one woman and her children in the urban area at present rates of pay and cost of living. The few municipal houses at present occupied enables a careful selection of tenants to be made, but any scheme to rehouse the major proportion of the population in municipal houses rented at present rates is likely to meet with major considerations of payment and will, ceteris paribus, require extensive dual tenancy by certain households if the danger of malnutrition and disease is to be avoided.

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previous chapter show that considerable changes in the composition, which have an influence on housing, have occurred concurrently.

As early as 1932 the rent for the hire of one living room in the East Bank Location was approximately 15/-. The Survey showed that the rental structure for better or 'authorised' structures centred around 15/- in 1949. Despite the growth of population and the relatively small increase in sites made available since the incorporation of New Brighton in 1926, the rents have not increased appreciably. The possible causes of this appear to be:

- a) the influence of the Rent Board is great,
- b) the answers given to the students did not reflect the actual rents paid and a considerable 'black market' rental remained undetected.
- c) The Africans cannot pay a higher rental.

No tendency was discovered to pay a higher rental in the 'better' areas of the Location and a lower in the 'worse' areas.

Unless gravely mistaken, judging from work among the Africans (13) the influence of the Rent Board is not great in the Locations. The array presented in Table 28 shows clearly that the rents given to the students fall into a definite pattern which might not have been the case had they been misinformed. The natural laws of demand, supply and price do not appear to be operating to their conclusion as the demand for accommodation far exceeds the supply of it (at least 47.2% of the rooms were overcrowded on a minimum standard), yet nowhere was there to be found what might be described as an exorbitant rental. It is possible that a higher rent cannot be paid without reducing the amount spent on food to an impossible level. If so, it is biologically impossible for rents to rise by any marked degree. The generally accepted figure of 20% to 25% of income to be spent on rent is not applicable to the very low income groups who are

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13) This contention may be challenged by the Board, but in 15 months work among the Africans only on two occasions can the author remember the Rent Board being spoken of.

scarcely at subsistence level. The calls for food are greater than the calls for rent.

Evidence before the Commission of Enquiry into Native Administration in East London (14) supplemented by as yet unpublished research, (15) suggested that from £6 to £6.10.0d was the minimum that could be spent on edible items for a family of husband, wife and three children under 16 years of age. This figure appears reasonable for 1949 in the light of evidence from other cities. (16) Even at this level of expenditure malnutrition in the form of swollen bellies and thin limbs was frequent. (17) Assuming the figure of £6 to be the barest minimum expenditure on edible items for this kind of family, then a family whose total income from all sources is £8.10.0d per month i.e. £2.2.6d per week has only £2.10.0d per month to cover all non-edible items, including rent. If rent accounts for 15/-, only £1.15.0d p.m. remains to cover non-edible groceries, taxation, clothing, entertainment, etc. Reference to page 171 suggests that almost 50% of households receive £8 p.m. or less from direct wages. These facts lend support to the argument that for the majority rent cannot rise owing to the pressure of biological requirements.

Due to the nature of the Survey very little account was taken of indirect income. Particularly lodgers and kaffir beer brewing had been lucrative sources of income in the past. These two activities are agents for the transference of income from unattached migrant males to the female of a family or to the mixed person household. They appear to take the place of domestic employment which is difficult to get owing to the abundance of females in the population. The single working

14) Data entitled "African Family Budgets" presented to the Commission on 5th August, 1949. Public Health Dept..

15) An investigation into African family budgets was made by the Public Health Department in order to verify the findings presented to the Commission.

16) vide: U.G. 31 of 1944 "The Bus Services Commission", also the Race Relations Publication "Survey of Urban and Rural Areas" Volume XIV, No 2, p. 33.

17) No account was taken of the method of preparing the food, nor the distribution of money over the different kinds of food.

males send a relatively small proportion of their wages to the home area, and on a per capita basis they are the wealthiest members of the community. The income from lodgers and the brewing of kaffir beer and concoctions is considerable. The makers of such beverages are women, and it is they who reap the profit and add to the household income. In this light it is easily understood why the resistance to the Municipalisation of kaffir beer was so strongly objected to, particularly by the women. It is even possible that any move to prohibit the sale of kaffir beer in fact, as opposed to the theoretical regulations, may have most serious repercussions on the welfare of households and particularly the non-family household with no male support. The infantile mortality rate rose to its highest peaks during the time municipalisation of beer brewing was in force. The same principle in regard to illegitimate sources of income applies to the keeping of lodgers, particularly in the municipally built houses where the rentals are higher than in the wood and iron area, and where there is less likelihood of carrying on a successful brewery undetected by the police and administration.

The extent to which the present state of disorganisation is related to systems usually viewed as immoral and undesirable; the increasing facility with which such systems could be repressed under different conditions; and the consequences likely to follow from destitution resulting therefrom, must suggest to those in authority the use of extreme caution in reconstruction.

#### 1) Income from Rents.

One of the influencing factors in the design of the wood and iron structures was its suitability for increasing the rooms available for renting. Superimposed above the system of a family taking in a lodger, is the system of renting out more and more rooms to different households. Both systems are lucrative. The first is, at present, merely a means of supplementing the household income while the second, to some people at least, is a sole source of income. The Survey showed that despite regulations

governing the point, a multi-house owning group existed. The magnitude of the group could not be assessed, but the motives encouraging such a group are clear when it is realised that a six roomed house, occupied by six households each occupying 15/- p.m. rental, produces £4.10.0d p.m. to the owner. The water, sewage and site rental to the Municipality amounts to 12/3 p.m., leaving a net income of £3.17.9d p.m. Such a house costs about £110 to purchase---depending on its condition. £3.17.9d equals £46.13.0d per annum, which is approximately 42% of £110. Repairs to such buildings are small if carried out at all.

It may legitimately be argued that this high rate of interest is the reason why rentals have not risen over the years; that because of the lucrative nature of additional rooms this method has taken the place of an increase in the rent itself. (18) Reductions from the Reports of the Superintendent show that the mean of rooms per plot in

	<u>East Bank Location</u>	<u>West Bank Location.</u>
1931 was	4.1	2.9
1936 was	4.2	3.1
1937 was	4.3	3.1

The Survey in 1949 showed this figure to be 5.9 in the East Bank Location. Therefore, on the whole, each site had just over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  additional rooms on the plot. (19) This addition indicates an increase of approximately £1.2.6.d per month which is the equivalent of a rise of approximately 3/10d per month per room in rent on a six roomed dwelling. As 3/10d represents approximately 26% increase in income, it does appear possible that an increase in the number of rooms has taken the place of a rise in rentals. This phenomenon adds support to the contention that rents cannot rise for biological reasons because an owner would certainly choose to raise rents in addition to building. It suggests that the overcrowding of sites resulting from a decision of Council in 1937 has had an unforeseen advantage

in that, as a result, rents have not increased to add further  
 18) Annual Reports of the Superintendent for 1931, 1936 and 1937.  
 19) The number of occupied sites in the East Bank Location in 1937 was 1620; and in the West Bank Location for the same year was 221.

to the difficulty of balancing the household budget.

The Superintendents early as 1925 mentioned that the sole aim of many lease holders was to build until their site was completely covered. It is suggested that, in addition to the multi-house owning group, there is a tendency for a man to put any savings he may have into the purchase of a house, or if he is already a lease holder, to extend his building during his working life. Ownership of a house is an income when past working age. An income during old age is becoming an increasingly serious problem in the City. The Old Age Pension is £1 p.m. The decay of the old system of maintaining aged persons in the "umzi" has meant increased insecurity to this group. Ownership is also security to a widow in old age. These factors were undoubtedly in the minds of those objecting to municipal housing in 1924.

The Thornton Commission envisaged doing away with all the wood and iron structures, and their replacement by sub-economic municipal housing. The Council still appears to have that aim, although the Home Ownership Scheme is a departure from the policy. However, considerable social welfare problems will be encountered as the means of livelihood to a considerable number of people will be lost. One requirement will be an extension to the present Age and Destitute Home. Even assuming that the Council pays compensation on the auction value of the property i.e. approximately £110 per average house, then the owner, at times an elderly widow, will receive a lump sum of £110 and no prospect of investment in any form that will take the place of the £3.17.9d p.m. hitherto received from rents. Furthermore, such a person would have to pay rent on the Municipal scale where hitherto he/she had lived rent free. As soon as the £110 is used up, the person, if aged, becomes a liability on the Municipality, and is dependent on the totally inadequate Old Age Pension. Therefore, a further consequence of such a policy will be the need to find almost rent free accommodation for those made destitute, and particularly the husbandless women

and her children. At present a proportion of this group live rent free with relatives, or act as substitutes for owners during their absence and hence also live almost rent free. Should the existing housing system be supplanted---as for public health reasons it must---by another scheme probably sponsored by the Council, then such households must live as almost unpaying lodgers with other households or the Municipality accept its responsibility and provide some form of rent free accommodation. It is suggested that a parasitic living on other households would reduce the per capita income of all concerned to dangerous levels in the majority of cases. These are most urgent consequences of a large scale housing scheme, and costs involved in accepting such responsibilities for needy households can only be born by the Council. In the past, under the African built scheme, the costs have been born by the Africans, but at a price indicated in the vital statistics for the City.

#### ii) Transport Costs.

During the City's history suggestions and attempts have been made to remove the East and West Bank Locations to other places. In some respects it is a fortunate accident that the East Bank Location was not moved further out of town when the old Wesleyan Location was removed. With possibly the exception of Cambridge Location, all the Locations are within walking distance of the place of work. The Survey showed that 70.9% of the males walk to town from the East Bank Location, and only 15.5% travel by bus. (20) Of the women, 59.5% said they walked. The bus fare to or from the Location and Town is 3d, and although the buses are occasionally full to capacity during rush hours, the service provided can only be described as excellent, and very little delay is occasioned through having to wait for the next bus. This is not the major reason why people prefer to walk.

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20) The "East Bank Location Bus Service" is privately owned by a European.

A discussion with the owner of the Bus Service, and with whose kind permission this is published, revealed that for an average week in August, 1949, the number of passengers carried each day was:

Sunday	2,100
Monday	6,600
Tuesday	6,300
Wednesday	6,100
Thursday	5,800
Friday	7,000
Saturday	7,900

There is further evidence to show that on wet days the number increases considerably. It is noticeable that on pay days Friday and Saturday, the service is used by a greater number of people. Thursday has the lowest frequency for working days. This immediately precedes pay day. There is a more or less even decline throughout the week. It is suggested that a high proportion of the Africans cannot afford the 3d fare to their place of work each day. (21)

In conclusion, it is hoped that, in view of the difficulty at present experienced to pay for this item of relatively little cost, the Council will not decide to establish Native Villages beyond walking distance from the City. Such a decision, in view of the existing financial circumstances of the majority of households, may have most serious and unforeseeable repercussions. The Thornton Commission in its recommendations mentioned the question of transport costs. Effects on the infant mortality rate, tuberculosis rate, the general moral tone of the area in view of the relation of poverty to beer brewing and lodgers, may be most serious and if tackled sincerely may be a most costly item to the City.

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21) vide: "Report of the Industrial Legislation Commission"  
U.G. 37/ 1935, paragraph 187; also "The Barlow Royal  
Commission on The Distribution of the Industrial  
Population" H.M. Stationery Office.

The Survey suggested that of the African people in the East Bank Location, 33.6% were definitely 'urban', and 39.4% definitely 'rural', while in 27% of the cases no clear cut decision could be made. The estimate of the Superintendent in 1935 was 30% urbanised and 40% rural and the remainder semi-urbanised. These figures are strikingly similar and although the population has increased considerably since 1935 the proportions appear not to have changed markedly. Bearing in mind the objections as to the reliability of the study in this regard, the Survey suggests that 'urban' families are wealthier than 'rural' or 'semi-rural' families. The cause of this phenomenon may rest in part with the tendency for industry to pay higher wages than either commerce or the municipality. Industry and the salaried posts in the government service do require a degree of education and skill, and hence carry with them a slightly higher salary. At least one major industry in the City has a pension and sick fund scheme for Africans. The temporary work found in the harbour and during the wool season would clearly not attract the urbanised worker if more permanent work was available. On the other hand it would attract the worker whose intention it was to stay only a limited amount of time.

A factor which may have influenced the percentage of families in the respective income brackets in each case is the use of the male in determining the degree of urbanisation of the family. This factor is important when considering the influence on the family income of remuneration from domestic labour. Employers of domestic labour, being in the main unable to speak Xhosa, prefer a domestique at least able to speak English, if not able to prepare European food. These qualities appertain more to the 'urban' woman than any other.

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22) The use of the words 'urban' and 'rural' is the same as that in Chapter XXVI.

23) Evidence given by G.M. Berlyn for the Border Chamber of Industries before the Welsh Commission.

This is undoubtedly a contributory cause of 'urban' families having larger incomes than others. Women, however, tend to become urbanised more readily than males, and many are living in temporary unions with migrant males. Such women, although themselves 'urban' and possibly employed as domestiques, would be classified as 'rural'. Therefore there is a tendency to overstate the proportion in the upper income brackets of the 'rural' and 'semi-rural' brackets.

The poverty of many of the 'urban' non-family households, due to the presence of women and children with no male support, contrasts with the 'rural' non-family household where the figures are influenced by the number of migrant males sharing a room. A further factor accounting for the low percentage of the 'rural' group is the facility with which such persons can return to country areas when destitute in the City. This is denied to 'urban' persons. The Superintendent remarked that returning home during depressed years was common among the males in the past, and it is probable that this applies equally to females. The children of the 'urban' non-family household are in a more difficult position vis a vis their 'rural' counterparts. 'Rural' households can readily send children to the country districts to be brought up by grandparents, but no such facility exists for the 'urban' group. Such children are directly dependent on the income earned in the City. Without a male, sufficient income becomes difficult to obtain, and it is probable that the greatest degree of malnutrition abounds among this group. It is also this group which is more unlikely to be sent to school because of the cost of clothing and books involved and the need to care for the younger children when the adult works. It is therefore least likely to benefit from the School Feeding Scheme at present operated.

The 'rural' household is not only dependent to some substantial measure on the Reserves, but it must remain so if it is not to fall into the destitution existing particularly among 'urban' non-family households, or until the male has found permanent employment in one of the upper wage scales. It is suggested that dependence on country districts is particularly evident among 'rural' non-family households. Rehabilitation measures based on family settlement must allow for the 'Urban' female and her children, who, with no possibility of relief from country areas, is dependent on her labours and on public support.

Prior to the turn of the century the sanitary and health conditions of the East Bank Location was in advance of most other cities. In 1949 the City had one of the highest tuberculosis rates in the world, and averaged an infant mortality rate of over 50% during 1938 - 1948. Unlike Native Administration, Public Health has had a professional officer in charge since 1895, yet the statistics presented in Part 1 and the sanitary conditions shown by the survey would hardly convince one of this. Such a fact must call to mind doubts as to the practical efficacy of appointing a professional man to the post of Manager, Native Administration, if no changes are to be made in the nature of municipal government. The health conditions of the Locations have been presented, and constructive suggestions made in innumerable reports to the City Council, numerous Annual Reports of the Medical Officer of Health for many years, and by the Department of Health in 1937.

It is not the duty of this dissertation to enter too far into defects of administration, local politics, or the causes of the failure of the City Council to rectify or keep abreast of a problem which has grown in size and seriousness over the years: Part 1 of the dissertation presents some of the facts of the past, and the attitudes and policies that have assisted in creating the major health problem which exists to-day. Some facts are that expenditure on public health is mounting yearly, and although the infant mortality rate has dropped by over 50% in the last three years, the dividends in the form of tuberculosis, over-all death rate etc, do not appear to have been so great. The Council has failed to realise that a parsimonious, niggardly expenditure on capital items of public health necessitates expenditure on curative measures if disease is to be faced and alleviated. Unlike most economic phenomena, increased expenditure on capital items of public health means less expenditure on maintenance and upkeep of the public's health in later years.

Undoubtedly increased expenditure on curative measures will reduce certain vital rates, but this reduction can only take place up to a point if the existing environmental and socio-economic conditions remain. Such conditions must remain if the Council is to continue spending an average of £8,000 p.a. on capital items in Native Locations and £92,000 p.a. on capital items in the European area (since the war); and if it is to continue its attitude towards compensation for demolition and expand on virgin land rather than face up to the overcrowded, leaking, eroded, badly ventilated and ill-designed slum which at present contributes so greatly to the disease and death rates. The inability to face demolition is extremely costly, and is one item reflected in health expenditure.

The attitudes of the African people to hygiene and European medicine are not the ideal for promoting health. The Public Health Department employs a number of trained Africans whose duty it is (inter alia) to teach hygienic practices etc.. The migratory system is inimical to rapid results, and the lack of adequate schooling to inculcate more scientific methods of thought into the coming generation may seriously handicap the growth of faith in European medicine as opposed to that traditional to the Africans. The migratory system per se, and its relation to social disorganisation and household finances, is a major contributor to disease and death rates. Regulations to govern the influx of Africans which were promulgated in 1939 and so strongly recommended by the Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Laidler, have shown no influence on the health rates at all. The medical examination of immigrants which accompanies the regulations have been of dubious value, as indeed such a spasmodic examination of so few is bound to be. There is no similar check on visitors to the Location who may carry disease as easily as the intending worker.

A major issue at present is to decide just how far the Public Health Department, and the Department of Native Administration are to be co-ordinated. The policy in the past

has been to consider the administration of the Locations as an entity apart from other departments. Of necessity, the Public Health Department had to enter the field to provide clinics. More recently a health inspector and staff has been moved to the East Bank Location. The Social Worker for the Locations was placed under the Public Health and Social Welfare Department (to give it its full name), and most recent of all the Public Health Department has volunteered to become responsible for the cleansing of street gutters and rubbish removals. (24) Public Health has increasingly fallen under the staff of the appropriate department. Since about 1928 the Native Revenue Account has had ever increasing contributions made to it from the General Rate Account; since 1920 the Engineers Department has had interests in the Locations, and the major building schemes have fallen under its aegis. There should be little difficulty in deciding the administrative dilemma in which the Council is at present placed as the general trend has increasingly been towards extending present machinery over the area.

Whatever changes are made in administration, the basic problem is one of rehabilitation in all its varied forms, and until this process is complete the costs of health will continue to rise as they have in the past. The continued influx of Africans and the inability of housing and related factors to keep abreast of even the annual influx of persons omens evil for the future, and no fall in disease rates or health expenditure can be expected until rehabilitation is carried out on a scale large enough to account for the present population and the annual increase. Any curtailment of health expenditure will only aggravate the situation as the amount of ill-health will continue as before, and less will be done to cure it. The burden will not only be transferred to a later date, but owing to so much of the City's disease being of an infectious nature the burden for future years would tend to be increased..

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24) vide: Report of the M.O.H. on the Welsh Report.

Although the first casual glance at the census returns for Africans since 1936 shows a population with a sex ratio of parity, closer examination reveals a marked degree of social disorganisation. This disorganisation shows itself primarily in the lack of family units, the lack of children in the total population, and the high illegitimacy rate resulting to a great extent from the temporary nature of a number of marital 'unions'. The disorganisation is characterised in the majority of cases by impoverishment and destitution (25) particularly among those with no male source of income, and also among those who share one male's income with other relatives in the rural area. The effects of impoverishment coupled with insanitary conditions, show themselves in the City's vital statistics.

In order to suggest a method of settlement, the cause of the disorganisation itself must be considered. It appears that, in general terms, a major cause is the migratory tendency at present operating, and the system of lodgers, rack-renting, beer brewing etc. that has developed in the City as a result of the migration in past years.

The present overcrowded conditions result directly from the lack of expansion into neighbouring ground at the time when European settlement in Amalinda was extensive farm land. (26) The lack of urge to expand on the African's part appears to be a result of the renting system whereby a property increased in size until the site had been fully built upon. The City Council was not disposed to expand into European areas until it was forced to consider it by the Thornton Commission. Prior to that, financial matters were an influence in that expansion would have involved more roads, water taps, sewers, street

25) It is considered that this is rather a result than a cause of the disorganisation, although under certain circumstances, it may in fact be a cause.

26) Expansion into such land is clearly less costly and less likely to embarrass European sentiment than expansion into a peri-urban area such as Amalinda is to-day.

lighting etc.. The significant point is that the urge or demand on the part of the Africans for more sites has been comparatively negligible. It is suggested that had this urge been more strongly manifest, then, over the course of years, as a result of pressure on the City Council the East Bank Location would have grown considerably larger in area than it is to-day. The rack-renting and lodger systems enabled influxes of persons to be absorbed into existing dwellings, resulting in increased income to owners of dwellings, and easy facility for the migrant to leave when desired. These systems tended to facilitate the migratory process, and at the same time tended to derive their sustenance from it. Likewise the people practising such systems---coupled with the influence of beer brewing---were equally tied to migration. With the exception of the urbanised family household, all types of households through one or other system stood to gain some sustenance from migrant people. Whether it is the woman entering into a temporary alliance with a migrant male or the lonely female and children brewing beer for sale to, or preparing food for, migrant males, they are by some means receiving benefit from the migrant.

On the other hand, because the migrant is only temporarily resident in the City, and because a financial, and frequently social, relationship had been established with households during the stay, the movement back to the country creates extensive dis-organisation. The disorganisation appears to be greatest the closer the relationship with the household. The male, living in concubinage with a female who has children, creates greater disorganisation on his departure than the recipient of his money from beer at the week-ends.

The urbanised family household with no rural connections would appear to be in almost as severe predicament when unemployment prevails as the woman and children with no male support. However, the urbanised family is in a financially superior position vis a vis non-urbanised families during 'better' times

due to the male's superiority in the labour market, and the fact that his stability enables him to purchase a house or houses in the Location and have an indirect source of income. Furthermore, because of the educated nature of urbanised families, able to speak English and prepare European foods, such persons have an advantage over rural females in the domestic labour market. It thus appears that this type of household is not only the least disorganised but is also the most stable. The creation of such households appears to be a desirable aim in social policy, and one for which the Council might profitably design its energies. The existence of such households has been the unwritten assumption behind the Commissions' building scheme and the intentions of the City Council. The fact that this assumption is true of just over half the households only, necessitates the implementation of measures to increase the number of urbanised families at a speed almost commensurate with the speed of building. Administrative measures to assist in achieving this necessity can be found in Appendix A. The study has shown that the consequences of such action may be severe on East London in view of the interrelationship of existing non-family households with the migratory process. At the same time, the tendency manifest since 1926 for younger age groups of both sexes to come to the City suggests that a tendency may develop, if it has not already done so, for such young persons to marry and establish themselves without reference to the country districts. In other words, the conditions are already suited, and the tendency already present to create the state of affairs which from a socio-economic as well as ethical point of view are most necessary.

The socio-economic consequences likely to result from already established tendencies and consciously administered policies of the City Council could be alleviated by planned utilisation of the husbandless women and children in remunerative work such as 'boarding house' keeping, the collection of rentals from tenants in the wood and iron area should it be purchased

by the Council to avoid added costs of compensation for demolition, and other suitable employment for such households. Apart from such remuneration the Council must be prepared to accept the liability of such persons until such time as the children of such households commence to work and bring the per capita income of the household to a sufficient level to live on. It must be emphasised that such additional expenditure is only temporary in that the effect of a consciously administered scheme to settle the community on an urbanised family basis may be rapid and hence would necessitate supplementing the existing husbandless woman and her children only during the time the children are schooling in preparation for work. Not all such households would require assistance, but those who do cannot be left to tend for themselves without severe repercussions on health rates and general misery.

The above cost is but one of several additional to actual houses that the Council must incur in any building scheme. To carry into effect a scheme as suggested by the Thornton Commission involves more than the mere building of houses. The original scheme itself made provision for an additional recreational site, school sites, trading sites, church sites, community baths etc. What has been at fault in the execution of the scheme is the lack of action to bring into being facilities other than housing. The study has shown the potential danger inherent in a policy which ignores essentials such as additional recreation centres and schools. Without them the prospects of juvenile delinquency and low productivity of labour will continue to characterise the City as they have in the past.

The Council's policy towards the Locations has been three pronged. Rehabilitative in the form of rehousing; cure of the sick through clinics, health centres and dispensaries; -----  
 27) vide: Report to the Town Clerk entitled "Compensation Duncan Village" by the Social Worker, Locations dated 8th July, 1950.

and control through stricter regulations leading to increasingly bureaucratic tendencies. None of these approaches have been carried out fully or thoroughly in practice. Theoretically the Thornton Commission's recommendations would have solved the housing problem, but time has shown that even if its execution had been rapid there would have been a considerable annual increase to account for in each year. The practical execution of the scheme broke down entirely before a quarter of the houses were complete and the 'expansive' aspects were not carried out at all. The clinic services are reasonably complete, and the Aged and Destitute Home is a step in the direction of care for the destitute. The beds in the infectious disease hospital ( 104 beds for all ethnic groups) are clearly inadequate for the demand from tuberculosis alone. The regulations governing the permanent inhabitants, and those in addition to govern migration, are complete in that they cover all aspects and are theoretically fool proof. The only exception to their complete nature is the lack of regulations governing the registration of females. However, due in part to the environment in which they function, they are of dubious value in practice. They succeed in annoying the Africans not only from an intellectual level in that such legislation is discriminatory, but also because of the police raids which are synonymous with such regulations.

Although lack of thoroughness has characterised municipal achievements, they are further characterised by lack of originality. The earliest achievement was moving the Weleyan Location, but thereafter all attempts to move proved abortive although constantly and almost regularly entertained. At the present time the matter is still under consideration ('Daily Dispatch' 26th August, 1950). The building of lodging houses which began in 1896 and may have fulfilled a need at the time, but would be of dubious value in a long term policy to-day are also under consideration. Since the 1920 Housing Act the City Council has considered rehabilitation solely from the

point of view of housing. So much has this been so that the improvements to the old wood and iron areas have not been entertained because of impending housing schemes---which, in the main, never materialised. An example of assets that could have been provided years ago are recreational and educational facilities. The so called 'Duncan Village Dust Bowl' could have been turned into a sports field and would have served the old wood and iron area as well as the new and would not have hindered housing plans. The same applies to other facilities on the new plan which are outside the built on area. Demolition so far carried out has been in the main to make way for sanitary facilities. Demolition for housing has not been tackled, nor any scheme to overcome the problem has been discussed other than that of gradual transfer of households from one selected area to the new site. Church institutions have repeatedly asked for sites on which to build schools and halls, but owing to the presence of dwellings on the proposed site they have only been reserved and not as yet built on. Demolition of the houses hindering the building of such communal facilities would have been possible at the time when municipal houses were available to house those displaced. It appears that housing schemes and plans have in the past <sup>been</sup> responsible for hindering the development of communal facilities to be built by non-municipal associations. The attention paid to housing has blinded the Council's eyes to developments among equally essential facilities which might have been financed from other than strictly housing funds. In part, the same applies to sanitary facilities which have been postponed pending building operations. The Aged and Destitute Home is an example of one scheme which was not strictly housing, but this owes its existence to the enthusiasm of the Manager, Native Administration, and not to the Council.

Lack of originality and enthusiasm has characterised the

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28) In 1950 determined effort has been made to provide some form of elementary building to house shops and hawking and also to provide warm water showers in the new building scheme for 1950.

creation of clinics. The earliest was founded and maintained by the Child Life Protection Society and only taken over by the Municipality some years thereafter. Despite tuberculosis being abundant in the City since 1912 the idea of caring for tuberculotics in a cheaper way than orthodox hospitalisation has (29) only just been acted upon, and once more by a private society.

This criticism is possibly truest in regard to administration. The social problems of the population have never been studied from a scientific point of view, although the experience of Mr Chas. Lloyd stood the Council in good stead for many years. Despite the presence of the Advisory Board no closer relationship between the Africans and the Council appears to have been created now than at the City's beginning. Few Councillors ever visit or have visited the Locations on anything but official occasions. The Locations are still the lost and forgotten areas of the City just as they were shortly after the move of 1884. Social and benevolent work in the past has been done by the Manager, Native Administration, and by voluntary workers of charitable associations. The author's appointment is a belated recognition of the Council's responsibility from the welfare point of view.

The lack of understanding of the social disorganisation which has characterised the area for over half a century and for (30) the last quarter century in particular, has been the major contribution to the type of regulation existing at present. Although ignorance of the socio-economic consequences of past migration may be an excuse for the methods devised of controlling it, it is surprising that since 1939 the Council has never paused to enquire into the efficacy of the registration system in vogue.

No efforts have been made to enquire into other methods of controlling migration. Methods such as permitting entry of families only and discouraging single males; home purchase as

29) Dr. Laidler, before his death, had envisaged a composite scheme on these lines, but it never materialised.

30) That is, since the influx of females sometime between 1926 and 1936 in particular.

(31) opposed to renting; co-ordination with the Native Affairs Department to consciously import certain landless families from proclaimed conservation areas of the Ciskei; encouraging business to pay a differential cost of living allowance to married males with a family as opposed to single men without their families in the City etc. These are but a few incentives which might settle the community as opposed to encouraging its movement through temporary permits, short leases of sites, police raids etc.

Despite these strictures, it must not be forgotten that in the last few years the Council has realised that the African labour force is not in the City just to supply the labour needs of the European. The fact that general dealers licences are now granted to Africans, free services at the Location Clinic, the proposed blocks of shops to be built by the Council, the Home Ownership Scheme, agreeing in principle to the keeping of lodgers in municipal houses to assist in rent payments, experimentation with the use of African labour in the construction of their own houses, the Aged and Destitute Home, the appointment of a social worker in the Locations etc. are indications that the City Council is commencing to face the reality of the situation with which it is faced. In an indirect way it is realising that the construction of dwellings is not all that is involved in rehabilitation. The presence of the African as an individual, as a man possessing a family to whom he is attached, and as a body politic closely watching each detailed move of the Council, is beginning to make itself felt. There has been a definite change in attitude towards the African people in recent years, but, on the other hand, there are indications (32) of a stiffening of policy on the part of the Africans, and a tendency towards non-cooperation where compromise was formerly the aim.

In the present state of our knowledge only the future can tell whether or not the change of attitude on the part of the

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31) The Home Ownership Scheme is a beginning in this direction.  
 32) Particularly the refusal of the Advisory Board to accept the conditions of the Home Ownership Scheme.

Council will be sufficiently pronounced and rapid in its execution to counteract the changing attitude towards non-cooperation on the part of the Africans. It appears from the evidence that the change of policy on the part of the Council was manifest before the change of attitude on the part of the Africans. It could ~~only~~<sup>not</sup> be fairly claimed that the recent attitude of the African has as yet influenced the policy of the Council. This matter may be of vital significance in future years.

The recent development in Council policy lends itself to the furtherance of social and economic rehabilitation on a scale hitherto unknown in East London. The failures of the past can be a lesson for the future. The vast schemes of reconstruction which Sir Edward Thornton saw to be so vital in 1937 apply with even greater urgency in 1950. The socio-economic conditions of East London are fast reaching the point where, coupled with the change of attitude on the part of the Africans and a stiffening of Council policy towards them, the deteriorated public health and economic welfare could readily give way to more active, belicose forms of social disorganisation. The evidence suggests that the time is fast drawing near when it will be too late to place 'these vast schemes' of reconstruction before an African community whose mental attitude will be one of co-operation, compromise and tranquility. The socio-economic conditions of East London's non-European peoples, and particularly those of the African, are serious in the extreme. It rests with the enfranchised half of the City's population to decide how rapidly and in what measure these conditions are to be righted.

APPENDIX A.PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS TO THE CITY COUNCIL.

Two major issues which would go very far in solving East London's problem are i) Housing and

ii) A Settled Urban Community.

In view of the building scheme of 1950 and the proposals for 1951 (33) little need be said about building per se. The Council is building as cheaply as possible and is building large houses, rents are as low as costs will permit with no system of differential rental, and building potential is being exploited to the maximum. In view of the contentious nature of the siting of future Locations now being decided by the City Council, no comment will be made here except to suggest that to remove the Locations beyond walking distance from work might be catastrophic.

A) The Council must adopt a definite policy to prepare the African population for the houses to be built in the future. Immediately there will be ample families to occupy the houses, but the number is very limited. Unless a definite policy of urbanisation on a family basis is pursued the houses will ultimately not be inhabited by families, but, if demolition is carried out, by women with no male support and unable to pay the required rental without 'illegal' means of making an income. Some means of achieving this are:-

i) Registration: The present system is understandably most unpopular, and its value is in doubt. Instead of issuing permits to allow a man to seek work rather permit entry only to a man who has brought his wife and children with him. On entry, grant the man a house, if municipally built all well and good, if not, then a definite place in some other structure, but at all costs know exactly where that family is. By establishing a Labour Bureau assist him in finding work. The need for passes in such a case falls away---the rent receipts act in their stead. The women urbanise readily which would tend to anchor the male and assist in the settling process. At the same time, only landless males would tend to come to East London as no male is going to bring his wife and children from country areas only to take them back again in a few months time. Migrant males now in the City would know they had to bring their family with them if they left and wished to return. Hence either they would not return to the City if they wished to come alone, or else would forsake their wife in the country and not leave the City. (The wife now in the country could be given a time limit to join her husband as another alternative) Within a very short time the proportion of families in the population would rise considerably.

ii) Request leading industrialists and employers of labour to pay a slightly higher cost of living allowance to married employees than to unmarried ones. This would be to their advantage as an African would immediately tend to remain in that employment and hence increase efficiency. At the same time it increases the per capita income of the family unit, which, inter alia, would assist in rent paying and reduce the need to take in lodgers for the purpose.

iii) Co-operate with the Native Affairs Department in introducing families from country reclamation areas for settlement under i) above. This would assist both town and country.

iv) Have all customery unions and weddings registered with the Native Commissioner or some other body and documentary proof provided for all marriages and unions, i.e. force a man to decide which is to be his legal wife so as to get to grips with the concubinage issue. Any man entering the urban area with his 'wife' and children must register his marriage and receive documentary proof thereof.

B) The Effects of a deliberate urbanisation policy must be taken account of. Immediate factors needing attention in this connection are:-

i) Schooling facilities, particularly high schools, both academic and technical; to cater for the 15 - 19 age group now becoming delinquent through lack of work and schooling. Thereafter, more primary schools to cater for the expected increase in the 'child' age groups. This is vital if the migratory tendency of the 17 - 24 male group---to and from the Mines---is to be arrested and used in East London as semi-skilled labour. The School Board should receive every assistance in this connection.

ii) Destitute Women and Children with no male support will be a costly item. They depend at present on migrant males. The Council's proposal to erect a hostel for unmarried persons is a good one provided the design is such that it could be used as flats at a later date. A huge single roomed structure threatens to become a "white elephant" if urbanisation on a family basis is carried out. A desirable structure would be one where the present lodger system i.e. migrants boarding with women and children, could be continued under control; thus enabling some women to cook and look after migrant males as in the past. (The needs of casual employment for the wool industry and perhaps the harbour may necessitate having some purely migrant males on a specific contract of service and housed in such bachelor quarters.) For those who can find no employment, then two alternatives are open to the Council: a) provide almost rent free accommodation in municipal houses---such households tend to be small and could occupy small houses, or b) retain a 'better' portion of the wood and iron area to accommodate such households also almost rent free.

Whatever is done, it will be costly. The women will become destitute as soon as the present systems are interfered with by rehousing. The provision of creches on a large scale for these people would enable such women to work as domestiques, and if the Social Welfare Department could be persuaded to subsidise these at usual rates, the Council might find this the cheapest method of solution. It must be stressed that the numbers of such households will tend to diminish as soon as families are settled. The problem should have been reduced to negligible proportions in 20 years through a) present children growing up and/or b) women marrying unattached males and the household then becoming an urbanised family unit.

iii) Aged Women are at present a serious problem but the number will grow considerably. Not only the expectancy of life of females is thought to be longer than males, but the existing marriage structure, and the presence of women with no male support, will greatly swell the number. The Housing and Planning Commission may lend money at 1/- % interest for the provision of Homes to cater for such persons, and the

Council might usefully use this opportunity. The demand will grow considerably and will be sustained for at least 40 years.

iv) The Council cannot rely on Voluntary Organisations to provide the necessary Social Workers to administer the complex housing problems resulting from rehabilitation and rehousing. A large staff will be called for which will have to work hand in glove with the Department controlling sub-economic housing whether it be Native Administration or Public Health. a special male Housing Manager for African sub-economic estates is an essential, and the suggested social workers should be placed under that section.

c) Greater control over the Location as a whole---as opposed to persons by registration---is essential. The control must be personal, and frequently intimate. It is suggested that as soon as finance becomes available the Council purchase the entire wood and iron area with the ultimate intention of demolition. This overcomes compensation problems and the African receives a fair return ( say the auction value). The Council stands to make a considerable profit even if rents are lowered. The Council must increase the credit side of the Native Revenue Account, and this would do so admirably. At the same time money would be available to pay social workers and their needs, who would not only assist in rehabilitation but would provide that element of personal control which has been so conspicuously lacking since before 1926. Greater personal supervision coupled with extensive propaganda would undoubtedly reduce enormously the disease rates, and particularly the tuberculosis rate. (34). The Locations must not remain the dark, unknown suburbs of this City. European and African social workers, as well as Councillors and the public, must move into it, get to know its problems, and in this manner not only promote physical health, but also change the attitude of Africans to Europeans and particularly to European medicine. The psychological barriers at present functioning are perhaps the most powerful forces contributing to disease rates. They can only be overcome by integrating the European and African areas in a positive way. This must involve greater interest, understanding and assistance on the part of Europeans.

In conclusion, the Council must consciously bear in mind that it is handling a socio-economic situation possibly unique in the Union. This has been caused particularly by the presence of the Reserves in close proximity, and the lack of restrictions on the entry of women. What has been tried in other centres is not necessarily the wisest in East London, though on many occasions it may be. The City possesses great opportunities to stabilise its population and hence increase its productivity. This should be the major aim of Council policy as the lack of it is the core of most of the City's socio-economic problems.

rate

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34) The Tuberculosis/might actually rise initially due to cases being found in an early stage, who, without personal control, would not have come to clinics and doctors until in an advanced---and hence often useless- stage from a medical point of view.

DUNCAN VILLAGE SURVEY

Name of Investigator.....

Whenever you have reason to doubt a reply state so at the end of that question, and give your remarks as to why you doubt it, and what you think the true answer might be.

-----

- 1) Plot number (observe).....
- 2) Name of road or street (observe).....
- 3) Total number of rooms on the plot (excluding bath room and lavatory).....
- 4) How many rooms, except bath room and lavatory, are joined under one roof? .....under one roof  
.....under one roof  
.....under one roof.
- 5) How many rooms were locked during your visit?.....  

In the rough sketch you draw of the rooms on the plot, place a question mark in the rooms locked during your visit. Thus enabling me to visit the rooms after work when the occupant returns from work.
- 6) How many room doors open into a passage and how many into the open?..... into a passage .....into the open.
- 7) Does the owner live on the plot?.....
- 8) If not, give the address.....
- 9) What vegetables are grown as food on the plot?.....
- 10) How is waste water disposed of?.....
- 11) Estimate how far in yards is the nearest water stand.....
- 12) Estimate how far in yards is the nearest lavatory.....

DUNCAN VILLAGE SURVEY.

- | Room No.....   | <u>FAMILY</u> | <u>Adults</u> | <u>Children under 11yrs.</u> |
|--|---------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| 1) How many people sleep in the room?<br>If one family occupies more than one room give particulars. |               | .....         | .....                        |
| 2) What is the relationship of the people living in the room? Give particulars and details:          |               |               |                              |
| 3) Is there a room on the plot that is used only as a kitchen?.....                                  |               |               |                              |

To be asked families, i.e. man, woman and children living as married, not other groups of persons living in a room.

- 4) Were you married in a church?.....by lobola?.....in an office?.....  
not been married?.....(tick off those applicable).
- 5) How old are you?.....How old is your sweetheart/wife/husband? (Delete those inapplicable).....
- 6) How long have you been living together?.....  
If married, for how long have you been married?.....
- 7) How old were you, if a woman, when you had your first child?.....
- 8) Does your sweetheart/husband/wife live with you in this room now?.....  
If not, where is he/she?.....(Delete those inapplicable).  
M. F. T.
- 9) How many children have you got still alive? Ages:  
How many children have you had that have died? Age  
at death:
- 10) Which of these are living with you in the room? Ages:  
Where are the others? (give name of town).....  
M. F. T.
- 11) How many children not your own are staying with you  
give ages:
- 12) Whose children are they? (state relation of father to the head of the  
household).....
- 13) Where is their father, or mother if the father is dead?.....
- 14) Are there any relations staying in the room? (relations such as an elderly  
mother, married children and their children.)
- 15) Are there any unrelated friends or lodgers staying in the room? Give  
particulars of age, marital status, where wives are etc.)

Questions to be asked non-family groups of persons occupying a room.

- 16) Age of any adult male, and age and sex of any dependent children either living  
in the room or elsewhere.  
Where is his wife?.....  
Where are his children?.....
- 17) Age of any other adult male and related details:
- 18) Age of any adult females and related details:
- 19) How long have the occupants been living in the room together?.....
- 20) How many occupants are there altogether?.....



DURBAN VILLAGE SURVEY.

MIGRATION.

Room No.....

TO BE ASKED EACH INDIVIDUAL OF 16 YEARS AND OVER.

- 1) When did you first come to East London?.....
- 2) Where did you live before you came to the East Bank Location?.....
- 3) Where is your father's kraal outside East London?.....
- 4) What relations have you living there?.....
- 5) When did you last go to see them?.....
- 6) Do you visit them every year, or more/less frequently?.....(delete)
- 7) How many cattle, sheep, goats, pigs have you?.....  
(write c for cattle, s for sheep etc.)
- 8) Where are they?.....
- 9) Where do you pay your tax?.....(land or poll tax)
- 10) How many times per month do you go to church?.....
- 11) What Church?.....
- 12) What time does work begin?.....
- 13) What time does work finish?.....
- 14) How do you go to work? (bus, bicycle, walk, car etc.).....
- 15) How long have you been sleeping in this room?.....
- 16) Where were you staying before? (give address).....
- 17) Are you a Xhosa, Fingo, Pondo, Baca, Coloured etc?.....
- 18) What standard did you pass at school?.....

Informants' Age.....Sex.....Relation to head of the house.....

Remarks:

APPENDIX B.POPULATION---EAST LONDON (Census & Estimates.)

Year	European			Non European (all ethnic groups)		
	M.	F.	T.	M.	f.	T.
1875			1276			858
1891	2575	2185	4760			1884
1904	8677	5997	14674	6452	2329	8781
1911			12522			6813
1913			14000			11500
1914			13566			11550
1918			14492			11600
1919			15500			11900
1920			16800			11838
1921	8483	8465	16948	6727	5111	11838
1922			17200			12900
1923			17500			13000
1924			17800			13000
1925			18500			14100
1926	9158	9476	18634	9832	7952	17784
1927			18800			17785
1928			19234			19850
1929			19603			21171
1930			20021			22562
1931	9722	10268	19990	10177	10371	20548 Natives only.
1932			20672			25496
1933			21132			24383
1934			21355			25368
1935			21855			25000
1936	10579	11168	21747	11951	12437	24388 Natives only.
1937			22000			25250
1938			22273			26252
1939			22619			27120
1940			22975			28046
1941			22928			28500
1942			32904			30250 (Cambridge also)
1943			33320			32250
1944			35133			36000
1945			36502			39409
1946	18567	19753	38390	15327	15811	31138 Natives only.
1947			39126			37583
1948			39820			37988
1949			41790			39992

APPENDIX C.METHOD OF SAMPLING BY TUBERCULOSIS INCIDENCE.

Further to the theoretical arguments advanced on Page 187 ff, a numerical statement of the procedure is presented below.

Range of Incidence per plot.	Plot numbers	Mean Incidence per plot	number of plots per block	Plots chosen
	1760 - 1772	2.69	13	
2.51	342 - 357	2.69	16	16
to	30 - 38	2.55	9	9
2.75	1171 - 1192	2.68	22	
	1431 - 1444	2.72	14	
	92 - 99	3.50	8	
	723 - 744	3.46	22	
	797 - 816	3.45	20	20
	248 - 261	3.29	14	
	495 - 512	3.50	18	
	1112 - 1118	3.28	7	7
3.26	1327 - 1346	3.40	20	20
	1383 - 1408	3.50	26	
to	1139 - 1152	3.50	14	13
	1193 - 1206	3.38	14	
3.50	1517 - 1536	3.30	20	18
	1465 - 1472	3.37	8	8
	1501 - 1508	3.50	8	
	1603 - 1610	3.50	8	
	171 - 182	4.42	12	
	962 - 967	4.50	6	6
	903 - 919	4.41	17	15
4.26	230 - 245	4.44	16	16
	224 - 229	4.50	6	
to	358 - 365	4.50	8	
	284 - 289	4.33	6	
4.50	679 - 684	4.33	6	6
	711 - 716	4.50	6	

The first column is merely the range of the means of the incidence of tuberculosis.

The second column shows the plot numbers in each block.

The third column shows the actual mean incidence of tuberculosis for the block as a whole.

The fourth column shows the number of residential plots in each block.

The fifth column shows the actual plots that were chosen for the Survey. These blocks were scattered as far apart over the whole geographic area as possible.

The above is only an example, the full list covering the entire location area from a mean incidence of less than .25 per plot for a block of 4 plots to 5.83 and 5.88 for two blocks amounting to 38 plots would cover several pages.

APPENDIX D.INCOMES OF HOUSEHOLDS PER MONTH.

<u>Income</u>	<u>Families</u>	<u>Fam. Households</u>	<u>Non-Fam. Households.</u>	<u>Total</u>
0/- - 20/-	6	-	19	25
21/- - 30/-	9	4	18	31
31/- - 40/-	19	4	17	40
- 50/-	6	-	1	7
- 60/-	2	2	6	10
- 70/-	3	-	6	9
- 80/-	3	3	6	12
- 90/-	1	3	5	9
-100/-	4	1	9	14
-110/-	4	2	1	7
-120/-	7	5	7	19
-130/-	-	-	2	2
-140/-	9	4	8	21
-150/-	6	3	4	13
-160/-	49	16	22	87
-170/-	22	6	7	35
-180/-	25	6	12	43
-190/-	3	4	5	12
-200/-	39	13	20	72
-210/-	7	1	2	10
-220/-	4	4	7	15
-230/-	5	3	-	8
-240/-	14	3	7	24
-250/-	6	-	1	7
-260/-	4	1	3	8
-270/-	3	3	-	6
-280/-	7	5	9	21
-290/-	-	-	-	-
-300/-	4	4	4	16
-310/-	2	-	1	3
-320/-	6	6	8	20
-330/-	2	1	2	5
-340/-	3	6	4	13
-350/-	-	-	-	-
-360/-	4	8	1	13
-370/-	-	1	-	1
-380/-	3	4	1	8
-390/-	-	1	-	1
-400/-	4	3	6	13
plus 400/-	9	12	15	36
	<u>304</u>	<u>142</u>	<u>246</u>	<u>692</u>

P.T.O.

## AFRICAN MALE WAGES. EAST LONDON. Aug. 1949.

Wage p. week.	Govt. Depts. & SAR & H.	Municip.	Commerce & Indus.	Total
15/1 - 18/-			4	4
18/1 - 20/-			2	2
20/1 - 22/-			4	4
- 24/-			4	4
- 26/-	1	1	4	6
- 28/-			97	97
- 30/-			12	12
- 32/-			14	14
- 34/-			2	2
- 36/-			57	57
- 38/-	1		33	34
- 40/-			62	62
- 42/-	1395	1142	547	3084
- 44/-	171	48	185	404
- 46/-	627	28	479	1134
- 48/-	177	17	89	283
- 50/-	327	16	163	506
- 52/-	134		108	242
- 54/-	202		166	368
- 56/-	430	1	118	549
- 58/-	2	1	175	178
- 60/-	18	16	30	64
- 62/-	2		19	21
- 64/-	449		20	469
- 66/-	246	2	39	287
- 68/-	107	3	186	296
- 70/-	86		30	116
- 72/-	38	1	3	42
- 74/-	3		13	16
- 76/-	1		121	122
- 78/-	1		4	5
- 80/-	2		12	14
80/1 - 85/-	6		74	80
85/1 - 90/-	26	1	20	47
90/1 - 95/-	16		15	31
95/1 - 100/-	20		7	27
100/1 - 110/-	7		1	8
110/1 - 120/-	4		2	6
120/1 - 130/-	1			1
130/1 - 140/-	1			1
Plus 140/-			1	1
	<u>4501</u>	<u>1277</u>	<u>2922</u>	<u>8700</u>

APPENDIX E.A Method of Devising Household Room Requirements.

As the Survey was in part a practical or utilitarian undertaking it is not out of place to include some remarks on methods of utilising the data obtained. The figures provided in Chapter XXV might give an indication of the proportion of different sized houses to be built. This can easily be assessed by the person unit method. According to the Public Health Act every individual of ten years and over must be considered as an adult as far as room space is concerned; and persons under 10 years half the space. Provision must be made for a suitable division of the sexes after 10 years of age, and children under 1 year may sleep with their parents. Therefore, if one person unit equals a person of ten years and over, and half a person unit for those 1 - 9 years old, one can reduce the households to a person unit basis. Over large numbers the sex factor can be disregarded.

Apply the person unit formula in the following way:

1 - 2	person units	require	a	one	bedroom	dwelling,
$2\frac{1}{2}$ - 3	"	"	"	two	"	"
$3\frac{1}{2}$ - 4	"	"	"	3	"	"
$4\frac{1}{2}$ - 6	"	"	"	4	"	"
7 & over	"	"	"	5	"	"

In East London, however, the composition of the population, infantile mortality rate, and the absence of large proportion of the children make the use of this formula at the present time rather hazardous.

According to the Survey, and using the formula, the present population requirements are:

1	bedroomed dwelling	27.4%
2	" "	49.7%
3	" "	18.5%
4	" "	4.4%

For a more settled population the ratio might be approximately

1	bedroomed dwelling	10%
2	" "	45%
3	" "	35%
4	" "	10%

The Coloured and European population in East London is stable enough to permit of the use of the formula, but it could not readily be applied to Africans until the population had become stable, and the infantile mortality rate dropped to a more normal figure.

APPENDIX F.RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

Below is a list of Churches and other religious bodies functioning in the East Bank Location. The list is thought to be incomplete. The numbers attached indicate the relative strength of the Churches as found by the Survey. This is not necessarily the position in September, 1950 as it is thought that membership is fluid. Very little is known about this aspect of African life in East London.

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Wesleyan Methodist	222	314	536
Bantu Presbyterian	116	139	255
Anglican	80	97	177
Roman Catholic	40	46	86
Congregational Union & Botha Church	32	48	80
Utopia (Order of Ethiopia)	24	34	58
Babtist	14	30	44
Independent Methodist & Independent Congregational	21	20	41
Apostolic Church	17	19	36
Church of Christ	15	19	34
Moravian	9	9	18
7th Day Adventist	7	7	14
Dutch Reformed Church	6	6	12
Authodox Church & St. Peters & Good Sheperd	3	9	12
Gospel Church	5	6	11
Lutheran	2	7	9
St. Barnabas	4	5	9
Salvation Army	4	4	8

Other Denominations known to the author:-

Kingdom Church (Rutherford)  
 African Presbyterian  
 African Methodist Episcopal  
 Jehova's Witness  
 Zion  
 'Native' Church  
 Church of Christ & Saints of God  
 Ethiopian Catholic  
 Bantu Church of Christ (Bishop Limba)  
 Apostolic Penticostal Holiness  
 True Templars  
 Coloured People's Burial Society

Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union.  
 etc.